

The Primaries: Picking November's Racist Poison

Democrats Are No "Friends of Labor"— Build a Workers Party!



Steven L. Borns

Carter says god isn't going to make him president, but...



Humphrey says he won't campaign, but...



Ford can kiss and shake hands at the same time.

UPI

MAY 3—After last Tuesday's Pennsylvania primary gave front-runner Jimmy Carter a clear field for the Democratic Party presidential nomination, a tearful Hubert Humphrey announced "with a heavy heart" that he would make no last-ditch efforts to get his party's bid. Then he walked off the TV news set and phoned George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO. The "non-candidate" candidate no doubt wanted to personally give his firmest supporter the bad news that his prospects are now reduced to the unlikely chance of a deadlocked convention in Madison Square Garden.

In this campaign of non-issues when all of capitalism's candidates in both parties have essentially the same program—make the workers pay for the miseries of the capitalist economy—the labor tops had hoped to buy themselves a few favors by backing some candidate who demagogically claimed to represent the interests of organized labor. But working people clearly grasped the hollowness of Humphrey's phony "full

employment" pitch and Jackson's "jobs for all" bluster. All the "friends of labor"—Humphrey, Jackson, Udall—are out in the cold.

The weeping Humphrey no doubt found soft shoulders to cry on among the labor mandarins. The bureaucrats' election-year "strategy" reveals their heads as quite as soft as their shoulders. For all their maneuvering for the role of "king-maker" to one of the twin parties of big business, the labor tops will get for their trouble Jimmy "Open Shop" Carter.

Racist, Open-Shop Peanut Boss

The labor fakers will have a bit of trouble passing Carter off as a "friend of labor." In Carter's non-union peanut processing plant in his home town of Plains, Georgia, the workers get \$2.54 an hour. A delegation of SEIU officials which tried unsuccessfully to tour the plant was told by the workers that they got only two holidays a year (*Los Angeles Times*, 25 March).

Carter received less than five percent of the black vote when he was elected Georgia governor in 1970. As governor he was such a strong opponent of court-ordered busing that he publicly threatened to support a racist school boycott in protest of an Augusta desegregation plan. As governor, Carter carefully cultivated his state's excellent reputation with big business as one of the most woefully non-unionized, lowest paying areas in the U.S. With his record of support to the union-busting Taft-Hartley bill, Carter now claims that as president he would not veto any bill repealing section 14B (the so-called "right to work" provision)—but of course will "not crusade" for such repeal!

Carter is running as the candidate of respectable southern racism, the "thinking man's alternative" to George Wallace. His alleged "slip of the tongue" in advocating "ethnic purity"—compounded by references to "black intrusion" into white neighborhoods

and to the invasion of wealthy neighborhoods by "high-rise low-cost housing"—has made him the recipient of the backlash vote. There seems to be a method behind Carter's "slips" in his otherwise verbally glassy-smooth campaign. In speeches before largely black audiences his litany of American heroes includes Martin Luther King, but when addressing all-white audiences Carter omits King from the roster. But worried that his chase after the "backlash" may alienate minority voters, over the weekend Carter cynically asked the Caucus of Black Democrats to give him a list of the bureaucratic positions it would like in order to buy the black vote.

A Grin and a Prayer

What is it about Jimmy Carter that has catapulted him from near-obscurity through a meteoric rise in popularity not seen since that other barefoot boy from Wall Street, Wendell Wilkie? Mainly, Carter is the beneficiary of a thoroughgoing disgust for governmental politics engendered by the Watergate scandals and similar exposures of bourgeois hypocrisy and corruption. Carter's crew of media manipulators has correctly gauged the obvious: the American people hate Washington politicians. So Carter's lack of national political experience becomes his chief virtue.

Carter's campaign has been characterized by an attempt to emphasize personality over politics—quite sensible since there are virtually no substantive differences among the major candidates. His appeal is based mainly on what he does not have: connections to Washington, Watergate, political bosses and what he terms "labor bosses." What he professes to have is something akin to the boy scout code, an inside track with god and a big smile. Not since Herbert Hoover said in the depths of the Depression, "What this country needs is a good big laugh" has a serious presidential contender come out with more household platitudes. To listen to Carter explain it in his own words is like being slowly smothered in rhetorical molasses:

"My strength comes from people like you, who don't want anything selfish out of government but who want to see us once again have a nation as good and honest and decent and truthful and competent and compassionate and as filled with love as are the American people."

—*Wall Street Journal*, 2 February

Jimmy Carter is part of a long line of sophisticated politicians who rail

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PÁGINAS CENTRALES: SUPLEMENTO EN ESPAÑOL

- ¡Salvar la vida de Mario Muñoz!
- Golpe militar en la Argentina

Build a Labor Party...

(continued from page 1)

against "big government" in populist fashion. Despite his appeals to god, country, motherhood and peanut butter, Carter has been around long enough to have accepted free rides on a jet to Latin America for Georgia-based companies like Lockheed and Coca Cola. For all his talk about cutting "defense" spending, Carter supports the most destructive imperialist nuclear weapon in the world, the Trident submarine. Interestingly, the Trident uses Georgia-made Lockheed missiles. For all his talk about love, Carter supported Nixon's mining of Haiphong harbor.

The peanut king is heavily exploiting his evangelical religionism. Since the March 23 primary in heavily Southern Baptist North Carolina, Carter has been trading heavily on his fervent piety. Not since Richard Nixon held Sunday prayer breakfasts with Billy Graham while raining down hell's fire on Southeast Asia has the country witnessed such unabashed hypocritical piety. When he lost his first attempt to become Georgia governor in 1966, Carter says, he came away with "inner peace"; as governor he has "spent more time on my knees" than ever before. He believes in the "power of prayer" and seems to feel it necessary to disclaim the role of god's favorite son: "I don't think God is going to make me president by any means, but whatever I have as a responsibility for the rest of my life, it

will be with that infinite personal continuing relationship."

Gerald Ford has also become frankly evangelical in recent years. Thus it appears that the presidential "choice" to be presented to the U.S. working people—besieged by massive layoffs and mounting inflation, ravaged by slashed social services in decaying urban centers, menaced by imperialist military adventures which could launch a nuclear war, attacked by government strikebreaking and goaded by the most brazen racism—is supposed to boil down to which capitalist candidate has the inside track to god.

There is a strategically important side to Carter and Ford sharing that old-time fundamentalist religion. The polls show that Carter appeals to potential Ford voters and therefore has the best chance to beat Ford and recapture the Democratic voters who voted for Nixon in 1972. A key reason why the "stop Carter" movement has not been very successful is that Democratic Party loyalists understand it could backfire, throwing Carter supporters into the arms of Gerald Ford. So the vision of the old Rooseveltian "solid South" has replaced the image of the "labor coalition" in the Democratic Party bosses' back rooms.

Labor Tops' Strategy Flops

Carter owes the labor bureaucracy who opposed his candidacy nothing at all, not even the tokenistic demagoguery they cite when trying to sell their capitalist friends to the labor ranks. So Meany, who played the spoiler role in the Democratic Party 1972 campaign of McGovern, will have his dreams of being "king-maker for the capitalists"

dashed if Carter is nominated. But Leonard Woodcock, after his "stop Wallace" maneuver, can now embrace the open-shop Georgian as his own.

The bureaucrats' strategy was to elect labor delegates to the Democratic convention committed to Carter in the South and Jackson in the North while really hoping for Humphrey. A coalition of nine non-AFL-CIO unions with so-called "progressive" leaders, led by the UAW and CWA, had launched a multi-pronged strategy aimed at stopping Wallace early, preventing any other candidate from locking up the nomination and electing union members as convention delegates, thus ensuring that the bureaucrats would wield a substantial voting bloc with which to wheel and deal in the smoke-filled rooms. In Wisconsin, for instance, "labor" delegates ran on a Udall slate in the liberal districts and a Carter slate where Wallace was strong. Behind official AFL-CIO pre-convention neutrality, Meany looked on approvingly. But the grand strategy fell on its face. Wallace was already stopped, but the "stop Carter" second leg never got off the ground.

The bureaucrats' inability to control their members' votes became increasingly obvious. The Pennsylvania primary, where virtually every union official in the state and Philadelphia's two warring party factions all temporarily united behind a "vote Jackson, stop Carter" position, demonstrated Carter's ability to win support over the heads of the bureaucracy in the coal fields and mill towns. Indeed, with a glowering Meany once again sitting on the sidelines and a simpering Woodcock praising Carter's ability to say "god bless you," Humphrey might have been speaking for his embarrassed labor backers when he told newsmen Thursday, "One thing I don't need at my stage of life is to be ridiculous."

From Samuel Gompers' policy of "reward your friends, punish your enemies" to labor's romance with the New Deal Democrats to the present, the bureaucracy has been a pillar of support to the capitalist system and its electoral excrescences. What is apparent this year is not only the union misleaders' betrayal of the workers' basic interests, but also the bankruptcy of the labor tops' electoral policies even on their own narrow terrain of political backscratching and influence-peddling.

Meany's evident hostility to Carter does not revolve around his reactionary racist politics nor around the slave wages this partisan of the open shop pays his non-union workforce in his peanut processing plant. It stems from the fact that Carter is not part of the "old boys' club" of big-city politicians, nurtured on Keynesian economics and cold-war anti-Communism and willing to talk out of both sides of their mouths to flatter the labor brass. Contrasting Carter with Humphrey shortly before the Pennsylvania primary, a leader of the ILGWU in Philadelphia said Humphrey has been "established with

the people here for decades and he's never been a disappointment" (*Los Angeles Times*, 18 April).

HHH: Bureaucrats' Friend, Workers' Enemy

As Meany & Co. bemoan the apparent political demise of Humphrey, favorite son of the AFL-CIO godfather, workers should take a closer look at the one who got away, this archetypal "friend of labor." As the only nationally prominent Democratic politician invited to address the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO convention April 8, Humphrey demonstrated his continuing appeal to the fossilized union hacks. This political war-horse received numerous standing ovations and was fondly embraced by Harry Boyer, head of the state labor federation. Since his blistering rejection by antiwar liberals and his unsuccessful attempt to stop McGovern in the 1972 primaries, Humphrey's spot in Meany's heart has grown ever warmer, and his phony "Balanced Growth and Economic Planning" bill was widely hailed in labor's high councils.

From a post-Watergate perspective, Humphrey does not look very clean. His 1970 campaign manager, Jack Chestnut, is on his way to jail. According to William Safire (*New York Times*, 11 March) Chestnut "wisely took the Fifth Amendment" when asked to testify before the Senate Watergate committee about Humphrey's connection to the infamous "milk fund." Howard Hughes aid Robert Maheu has charged that Humphrey took \$100,000 under the table in 1968 from the CIA-connected billionaire. This is apparently not very important to the labor tops, though it might be to those who will have to manage the campaign of the Democratic nominee.

The ties that bind Humphrey and his labor backers were forged over several decades. Many of the present labor hacks rose to positions of prominence in the unions at the same time that Humphrey was climbing in the Democratic Party—largely through the same process: championing a hysterical campaign to drive "reds" out of the labor movement and chain the unions tightly to the party of the New Deal and the second imperialist world war.

While Humphrey's ideological guns have generally been trained on the "Soviet menace," the victims of his scatter-shot anti-communist monomania have included a multitude of trade-union militants. His record of anti-communist and anti-labor repression is unsurpassed among liberal cold-warriors.

Humphrey began his political career as mayor of Minneapolis, elected with labor support. In the summer of 1948, the ambitious politico concluded a pact with CIO president Philip Murray in which the labor chieftain would protect Humphrey's flanks while he launched a frontal assault on leftists, "Communist-fronters" and CPers in Minnesota. Humphrey cut his teeth by purging the left wing of the state's

Financiers Won't Settle for Super-Sellout

Carey Rips Up NYC Transit Contract

APRIL 30—New York governor Hugh Carey today threw out the month-old contract between the NYC Transit Authority (TA) and Transit Workers Union (TWU) Local 100. Even though the transit pact provided for no wage increase, no improvement in pensions or fringe benefits and ignored job security, the governor, speaking as chairman of the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB), ordered the union and management to come up with a new agreement by May 15.

The Control Board's high-handed decision—in effect throwing collective bargaining out the window—echoed an "opinion" by state attorney-general Louis Lefkowitz asserting that any cost-of-living (c-o-l) increases are illegal under the wage freeze for NYC municipal employees. Carey strongly implied that no c-o-l increase would be allowed unless paid for in advance by so-called "productivity savings" (job attrition, layoffs, speed-up, etc.).

The sell-out transit pact, product of the last-minute deal by the TA and TWU tops to head off a transit strike, had been hailed as "a bargain" by various bourgeois commentators. TA chief David Yunich crowed, "We gave them [the workers] nothing." But the New York financiers who give the EFCB its marching orders objected to the few cents per hour increase from the "improved" (but still far from adequate) c-o-l formula, which is already "in principle" tied to "productivity" cut-backs. The EFCB argues that granting this pittance in cost-of-living increases hinders its efforts to take a hard line in bargaining for contracts covering

250,000 city workers that are up July 1.

TWU International president Matthew Guinan promptly made clear his willingness to make even more concessions to city bosses so that the cost of bailing out NYC's "financial crisis" is placed on the backs of the poor and working people. After expressing his "disappointment" (how touching!) at Lefkowitz' union-busting decision, Guinan announced the next day that if the Control Board took part in negotiations an agreement could be worked out by July 1 (when the first c-o-l raise is due). Against the treachery of Guinan and Local 100 head Ellis Van Riper, who simply "bargain" away one union gain after another, militants in the TWU must demand: Stop the giveaway! No contract, no work!

An authoritative strike committee, democratically representing the union ranks and recallable at any time, should be elected at once. Demands should be raised for a substantial pay hike with full c-o-l protection; for more, not less, jobs, through a sliding scale of hours (30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay); and for abolition of the transit fare, a position Guinan & Co. claim to support but have never done anything about.

Militants must also demand a break with phony "friends of labor" like Democrats Carey and NYC mayor Beame—both elected with the support of the TWU—and the formation of a workers party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government. Such a program cannot be carried out by the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, but requires a genuine class-struggle leadership for its implementation. ■

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Democratic-Farmer-Labor (DFL) Party. He blacklisted the liberal and Communist Party supporters of the Henry Wallace campaign, using loyal goons to kick them out of DFL meetings and Minneapolis cops to arrest them on trumped-up charges.

The "happy warrior" moved on to the Senate, where in 1950 he sponsored an amendment to the McCarran Act which set up concentration camps for suspected subversives. (During his tenure as vice president, six of these camps were refurbished for possible use against antiwar activists.)

While the Murray cabal was expelling so-called "Communist-dominated unions," Senator Humphrey in 1952 advocated placing "suspect" unions on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations, thus making membership in the witchhunted unions a criminal act. He called for strengthening the anti-Communist oath provision of Taft-Hartley and for stricter screening provisions. He even proposed that "Communist-dominated" unions not be recognized as collective bargaining agents.

The union bureaucracy's fondness for Humphrey is based on the collusion of this "friend of labor" with the misleaders of labor against union democracy, militancy and class independence.

Break with the Democrats and Republicans!

Now that Humphrey is concentrating on his bid to succeed Mike Mansfield as Senate majority leader, the union brass will no doubt grudgingly embrace open-shop Carter for president. Already Charles Marcian, head of the New Jersey AFL-CIO, has indicated his support for the front-runner.

The bureaucrats' strategy of class betrayal encompasses both their rotten contract sellouts and their shameless grovelling before the electoral "choices" of the bourgeois parties. The labor tops' policies only aid the efforts of racist right-wingers like Wallace (and his "respectable" version, Carter) to demagogically capitalize on the widespread disgust with cold-war liberalism and Watergate-style corruption by posing as the partisans of the "little man" fed up with the status quo.

The struggle for a genuine political expression of the interests of the working class—a workers party based on the power of the organized union movement—is inextricably linked to the fight to dump the ossified class traitors who hamstringing the labor movement on all fronts. Only the emergence of a class-struggle alternative leadership in the unions, fighting for a planned economy and a workers government, can clear away the dead wood left over from the anti-"red" purges and raise the labor movement to its historic task as defender of the working masses and champion of all the oppressed. ■

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Free MIR Leader Edgardo Enríquez!

Chilean Exiles in Peril in Argentina

The international campaign to save the life of Mario Muñoz, the Chilean mine workers' leader presently being hunted down by the murderous Argentine junta, has brought to light a number of additional cases of Argentine political prisoners whose lives are also in grave danger.

Reports coming out of Argentina this week indicate that the situation for foreigners is becoming increasingly precarious, particularly for the tens of thousands of Chileans exiled there. During the first week after the coup, three UN-sponsored exile hotels were raided by the military and scores of Chileans, Uruguayans and Paraguayans were rounded up and taken in for questioning. Subsequently there have been reports of as many as 1,300 persons being bused toward Chile.

In addition, last week spokesmen for the Chilean Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) in exile in Europe announced that MIR leader Edgardo Enríquez was arrested in Buenos Aires on April 10 along with a Brazilian woman, Regina Marcondes. Enríquez is the brother of Miguel Enríquez, ex-general secretary of the MIR, who was gunned down by Pinochet's police in October 1974. Presently listed as "missing," he is in danger of being returned to Chile where he will face torture and certain death. Socialist and labor militants must demand that Edgardo Enríquez be freed now!

British citizen Richard Whitecross

and his Argentine wife, Cristina, released on April 8 after almost five months' imprisonment in Buenos Aires, have provided (in a letter to the *London Guardian*, May 1) one of the first eyewitness accounts to come out of Argentina since the coup. The Whitecrosses have confirmed that over 8,000 political prisoners in Argentina are in grave danger from the "military government committed to the 'extermination' of its enemies."

The Whitecrosses were arrested last November along with ten Chilean exiles and one Argentine on suspicion of being members of a "Chilean Revolutionary Coordinating Committee," of transporting guns and money for Chilean resistance groups, of spiriting "subversives" across the Andes and of conducting a "famous, secret" [sic!] school for guerrillas.

Immediately upon hearing of their arrest, the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee called a demonstration in front of the Argentine Mission to the United Nations last December 5. Demanding the prisoners' release and no extradition to Chile, the PDC delivered a statement to the Mission which said in part that "to turn them over to the murderous Pinochet is to pronounce their death sentence."

After intensive pressure from the British government and media, telegram campaigns and other actions, the Whitecrosses were released. However,

the fate of the other 11 remains uncertain. The Chileans are:

1. Gabriel Salinas Alvarez, professor
2. Guillermina Alicia Gavilán de Pizarro, former professor of economics at the University of Chile in Santiago
3. Roberto Pizarro Hofer, husband of Guillermina Gavilán and former dean of the Faculty of Economics at the University of Chile
4. Sergio Muñoz Martínez, former professor of political science at the University of Chile
5. Juan José Bustos Ramírez, former professor at the same university and lawyer
6. Ximena Zavala San Martín, student of sociology
7. Sergio Letelier Sotomayor, economist
8. Catalina Palma Herrera, student of sociology
9. Ernesto Bernardo Rejovitzky, civil engineer, adopted Argentine nationality, former professor at the University of Chile
10. Luis Bravo Moreno, mechanic

The eleventh person arrested with the group was an Argentine, Rafael Mario Toer.

One of the Chileans, Gabriel Salinas Alvarez, who is known in Europe as a Chilean folk singer, is in particular peril since he needs special medical attention. Blind for ten years, his eyesight was

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Police Scab-Herding Breaks Strike at Victor

ILWU Local 6 Under the Gun

OAKLAND—Massive scab-herding by Bay Area cops threatens to wipe out long-held union gains in Bay Area Warehouse Local 6 of the International Longshore and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). In quick succession, police have broken the Clinical Specialties strike in San Francisco and the Victor office workers strike in Berkeley. The result of the Victor defeat is that the workers have been saddled with the first open-shop contract in the history of the local. Now, a third Local 6 strike—at Automatic Plastic Molding—is also being attacked by Berkeley cops.

While the Bay Area labor movement has been subject to police attack over the years—including vicious assaults at Standard Oil in 1969 and Pittsburgh-Des Moines Steel in 1970—there has been a sharp increase recently in the tempo of such attacks. Fearful of the power of the S.F. labor movement, as late as 1974 former mayor Alioto felt compelled to assure city workers that "we don't use police as strikebreakers here." Until the KNC strike in January 1975, ILWU pickets in the Bay Area reportedly had not been subject to police attack since the early 1950's.

The response of the Local 6 leadership under Curtis McClain to the police attacks has been to stick its head in the



Berkeley cops escorting scabs at Victor strike last month.

WV Photo

sand. While maintaining only minimally enlarged picket lines, they have kept the bulk of the membership in the dark about the scab-herding. The defeat of the Victor and Clinical Specialties strikes demonstrates that this attempt to conciliate the employers by preventing a militant membership response has proven futile.

The ILWU bureaucrats were given considerable ammunition in their maneuvers to divert the ranks from the real solution—mass picket lines defended against cop attacks—by the Communist

Party's *People's World*, which called for the passage of a Berkeley "anti-strikebreaking ordinance" to fend off the police. Such impotent appeals to the capitalist state to disarm itself are a gross capitulation that will only embolden the bourgeoisie.

The Local 6 leadership is moving rapidly to circumvent any organized opposition to its policies of defeat by simply cancelling union meetings! According to the May 2 "Warehouse

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Funds Urgently Needed for Muñoz Campaign!

The Committee to Save Mario Muñoz urgently needs financial support to carry forward the campaign that can save the life of this exemplary Chilean working-class leader, now imperiled because he devoted his life to the cause of the oppressed.

From the age of 14, Mario Muñoz was a miner. As a revolutionary trade-union militant, he struggled to organize the contract miners against their brutal exploitation by the mining companies. Driven from his country by the murder-

ous Pinochet junta, he is now being hunted down by Videla's regime in Argentina.

Unlike the prominent intellectuals or former government ministers who become targets of right-wing repression, Muñoz is widely respected by his class brothers but is not well known outside Chile. International solidarity to save the life of Mario Muñoz can be built only through the systematic mobilization of mass protest and pressure.

In a matter of weeks the Committee to

Save Mario Muñoz has amassed an impressive list of endorsements representing broad international support from those concerned for human rights under the South American military dictatorships. Allies of the workers movement and prominent individuals from all over the world have come forward to express their solidarity with the campaign for the safety and freedom of this valiant workers' leader and his family. This widespread support flows from the recognition that Muñoz, who even in

the difficult and dangerous years of exile remained devoted to the cause of the Chilean masses, is a symbol of the thousands of South American political refugees who sought asylum in Argentina and are now threatened with deportation, imprisonment, torture and assassination as Videla follows in Pinochet's footsteps.

Unlike the juntas and their CIA backers, the partisans of the little-known refugees do not have unlimited budgets. The Committee to Save Mario Muñoz has already spent thousands of dollars to publicize and rally international support for the campaign to save Mario Muñoz. Literally thousands of telephone calls, letters, leaflets, press packets and individual visits have been made to UN and government officials, to congressional and parliamentary representatives, to trade unions and prominent individuals of the labor movements of various countries, to left and civil-liberties groups, to distinguished journalists, scholars, artists and lawyers who can help publicize this case. Under the direction of the Partisan Defense Committee and the European-based Committee to Defend Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile, literature in four languages about the Mario Muñoz campaign has been distributed, leaflets and petitions circulated and demonstrations organized.

If we can save the life of Mario Muñoz it will be a victory not only for him and his family but for the thousands of victims of right-wing repression in South America. It will be a defeat of Pinochet and Videla, who seek the death of this defender of the working people. If we can save this one class-struggle fighter it will mean hope for thousands more.

But the possibility that Mario Muñoz will live to lead again depends on the continuing campaign to mount a forceful international outcry to stay the hand of the Argentine junta's assassins and to permit Muñoz and his family to find asylum elsewhere. The armed forces of two countries have orders to shoot Mario Muñoz on sight. Time is short and funds are urgently needed. Building this campaign to a victorious outcome may depend on your financial support. Please make checks and money orders payable to the Partisan Defense Committee (earmarked Committee to Save Mario Muñoz), Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

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. Among the endorsers of the international campaign are:

AUSTRALIA

Australasian Meat Industries Employees Union
Laurie Brereton, Legislative Assembly, New South Wales
A. E. Bull, Sec'y, Waterside Workers Federation of Australia*, Melbourne branch
Hon. Dr. Jim Cairns, House of Representatives, Australian Labor Party (ALP)*
Hon. Dr. Moss Cass, House of Representatives, ALP*
Senator Ruth Coleman, ALP*
Federated Engine Drivers and Fireman's Association of Australia, Victoria and New South Wales branches
Senator Arthur Gietzelt, ALP*
Frank Hardy, novelist
Bob Hawke, Federal President, ALP*, Pres. ACTU*
Ted Innes, House of Representatives, ALP*
Seamen's Union of Australia
Ship Painters and Dockers Union, Victoria
Socialist Workers Party
Transport Workers Union of Australia, New South Wales branch
Union of Postal Clerks and Telegraphists
Waterside Workers Federation of Australia

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Comite Pro Defensa de los Derechos Humanos en la Republica Dominicana, New York

Committee Against Friedman/Harberger Collaboration With The Chilean Junta, Chicago
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Independent Caucus, American Federation of Teachers (AFT)*, New Jersey State Colleges*
International Socialists, Chicago local
International Student Defense Committee, U. of Chicago*
International Workers Party
Paul Jacobs, ex-editor, *Ramparts**
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Dale Johnson, Prof. of Sociology, Rutgers U.*
Sanford Katz, Atty.
Florynce Kennedy, Atty.
Ronald Kent, Field Rep., Wisconsin State Employees Union, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME)*
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Pat Knight, Pres., Social Service Employees Union (SSEU)*, Local 371
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Gertrude Mayes, San Quentin Six Defense Committee
Dr. Kim McQuaid
Memorial Union Labor Organizations
Stewards Council, Madison, Wi.
Michael Meeropol
Militant-Solidarity Caucus, National Maritime Union*
Militant Solidarity Caucus, Local 906, UAW*
John Mitchell, International Rep., Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcherworkers*
Ian Mueller, Dir. of Grad. Studies in Philo., U. of Chicago*
Mark Naison, Mid-Atlantic Radical Historians Society*
National Jury Project
National Lawyers Guild, Chicago chapter
National Lawyers Guild, Massachusetts chapter
National Lawyers Guild, Yale U.*
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New American Movement, U. of Chicago*
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Howard Zinn
Marvin Zonis, Prof., U. of Chicago*
Eddison J. M. Zvobgo, ZANU*

*Organization listed for identification purposes only

Partial listing

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 _____

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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.

Dirigente obrero chileno amenazado de muerte por junta militar argentina

¡Salvar la vida de Mario Muñoz!

El golpe de estado en Argentina, realizado por las fuerzas armadas, ha presentado al mundo una imagen pacífica de respeto de los derechos humanos. Por el contrario, la realidad es brutalmente diferente. En forma silenciosa la junta militar argentina ha desatado una represión sangrienta a todos los revolucionarios, sindicatos y organizaciones populares. Mientras tanto siguen actuando impunemente las

organizaciones de derecha, así también la criminal Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (AAA), que ha redoblado sus atentados y asesinatos.

Esta es la cruel verdad que el mundo entero debe conocer: allanamientos, torturas, vejaciones, encarcelamientos masivos. Las vidas de miles de argentinos corren serio peligro. Asimismo, otros combatientes de otras nacionalidades que ahí se encuentran, en particu-

lar los refugiados políticos chilenos, son víctimas de esta persecución, siendo entregados a la junta militar chilena o fusilados en el acto sin que medie ningún tipo de procedimiento legal.

Entre los condenados a muerte se encuentra Mario Muñoz Salas, dirigente obrero revolucionario chileno. El brutal ensañamiento del cual es víctima Mario Muñoz debe ser conocido en el mundo entero. Perseguido y condenado a muerte por la junta militar chilena, pesa sobre él hoy día el mismo cargo por parte del reciente gobierno argentino, que dice respetar los convenios internacionales de asilo y los derechos humanos.

A solo 48 horas de las declaraciones demagógicas de la junta argentina, una patrulla militar de gendarmería nacional, compuesta de 30 efectivos armados de guerra, allanaron su casa a las tres de la madrugada (el 25 de marzo). Por error se dirigieron a la casa vecina. En ésta, en forma violenta derribaron las puertas, golpeando brutalmente a quienes se encontraban en su interior. Cuando descubrieron su equivocación se dirigieron sin dilaciones a la casa de Mario Muñoz, donde penetraron destruyendo su interior, y a golpes sacaron a la calle a su compañera Olga Meneses Ibaseta, a sus cinco hijos y un matrimonio de familiares que también estaba presente. Todos fueron llevados a la vía pública, procediendo los gendarmes de inmediato a interrogar a las mujeres y a los niños por el paradero de su padre, mientras otros militares golpeaban sin piedad al otro miembro de la familia. Cumplido el interrogatorio en contra de los niños, los cuales fueron maltratados y golpeados salvajemente, lo cual produjo una reacción de todos los vecinos frente a la terrible escena de llantos y gritos. Los militares intentaron arrebatar de los brazos de su madre al más pequeño de los niños, un bebé de dos meses (nacido en Argentina), para utilizarlo de rehén. Frente a la oposición valerosa, firme y decidida de la madre que replicó que, aún llevándose a todos sus hijos, de su boca no saldría ni una sola palabra que comprometiera la vida de su compañero, y la indignación de todos los presentes, la patrulla debió retirarse. No sin antes comunicar a la compañera del perseguido que éste era un peligroso extremista en Chile y también en Argentina; que la orden que tenían era fusilarlo en el acto y en el lugar donde fuera encontrado. Cumplida esta misión, dejaron una custodia de civil en la casa vecina.

La persecución de Mario Muñoz continúa en toda la provincia de San Juan, la cual se encuentra acordonada. Los transportes interprovinciales son detenidos y allanados continuamente en su búsqueda.

Salvar su vida es un deber: Mario Muñoz Salas de 36 años, obrero minero. Ya a los 14 años su padre lo llevó a trabajar a la mina junto con él; desde muy joven estuvo ligado a las luchas de sus hermanos de clase contra los monopolios yankis de los minerales del norte chileno. Fundador y formador del

Sindicato Interprovincial de Obreros "Pirquineros" de Aconcagua, Valparaíso y Santiago. Luchador incansable, conocido y respetado por todos los obreros chilenos, ya fue en ese entonces perseguido por los gobiernos chilenos a servicio de los explotadores. El reconocimiento de sus hermanos de clase durante el gobierno de Salvador Allende lo elevó a dirigente nacional de los Consejos Regionales Mineros. Dirigió sin tregua la formación de los Cordones Industriales de obreros, mineros y campesinos de Aconcagua y Valparaíso frente a la movilización fascista. Fue dirigente del Comité Regional de Aconcagua norte del Partido Socialista de Chile, hasta poco antes del golpe sangriento de Pinochet. Poco antes del golpe tuvo una entrevista con el presidente Allende, en calidad de dirigente nacional de los Consejos Regionales Mineros, asegurándole la defensa incondicional del gobierno, por parte de los mineros, en caso de golpe. Pero preguntándole asimismo hasta cuando iba a continuar él descargando sobre las espaldas de los trabajadores todo el peso de la crisis económica por la que atrevesaba el país.

En su exilio argentino ha sido el único organizador de los cientos de miles de obreros y campesinos chilenos, que cruzaron los Andes a pié, huyendo del horror y la traición. Por este delito la junta militar argentina lo condena a muerte.

Para él y todos los demás organizadores revolucionarios existen hoy en el interior de Argentina "estadios nacionales" para cada provincia; la tortura y la masacre son en gran escala, hoy los presos deben sobrepasar con holgura los 100.000. Los refugios de las Naciones Unidas son allanados tres veces por semana.

Mario Muñoz y su familia han buscado la protección de la ONU, pero este organismo no ha podido hacerse responsable por su vida y se encuentra en calidad de refugiado transitorio, es decir que si hay oposición del gobierno al refugio, éste no sería válido. La ONU tampoco se hace cargo de los propios familiares perseguidos y les exigen documentos legales que jamás les serán entregados por los gobiernos argentino y chileno.

Solamente la solidaridad obrera internacional puede salvar la vida de Mario Muñoz Salas y su familia. Hay que lograr el respeto de los derechos humanos por parte del gobierno argentino. ¡No es posible perder un minuto más para salvar la vida de Mario Muñoz! Es tarea urgente de los partidos y las organizaciones de la clase obrera de llevar adelante una poderosa campaña internacional de presión sobre la junta militar argentina y las Naciones Unidas, que asegure el respeto a la libertad y a la vida de este dirigente ejemplar del proletariado chileno y de su familia.

EL COMITE DE DEFENSA DE LOS PRISIONEROS OBREROS Y MARINOS EN CHILE



El Mercurio

Marcha del sindicato de "pirquineros" (obreros de la minería mediana), en Valparaíso el 22 de marzo de 1971 en favor de la nacionalización de las minas de cobre. Mario Muñoz encabezó la manifestación.

Mario Muñoz: Minero, dirigente obrero, exilado perseguido

Por el Comité de Defensa de los Prisioneros Obreros y Marineros en Chile

Mario Muñoz Salas, nació el 8 de junio de 1939. Comienza a trabajar en las minas a los 14 años. Ya en ese entonces los obreros "pirquineros" eran explotados por los "latifundistas" mineros del país, con la complicidad de jueces, abogados, parlamentarios y presidentes de la república. La intervención del imperialismo yanqui era directa, en las agencias de compra de minerales, para arrancar a los pirquineros el fruto de años de trabajo. Mario Muñoz es de los primeros en rebelarse, empujando la organización y consolidación de sindicatos que defiendan los derechos obreros. Esta no es tarea fácil porque el 90 por ciento de los pirquineros eran analfabetos, azotados también por la silicosis, mueren por miles en la miseria mas atroz.

Es así que en 1968 se constituye el Sindicato Interprovincial de Obreros "Pirquineros" de las Provincias de Valparaíso, Aconcagua y Santiago. Su fundador y dirigente es Mario Muñoz. Este sindicato se plantea un cambio cualitativo de las luchas tradicionales fundamentalmente reivindicativas o economicistas, para darle proyecciones políticas. El programa contemplaba una

profunda reforma del Código de Minería que terminara con la propiedad privada de las minas y éstas pasaran a propiedad exclusiva del estado.

Desde años atrás ya Mario Muñoz pertenecía al Partido Comunista (PC) de Chile y en 1968 pasa a ser dirigente regional. Pese a la oposición de su partido dirige la toma de minas, en principio de las que no eran trabajadas por sus propietarios. La primera mina en poder de los trabajadores fue la llamada "Los Maquis de Pedernales" que pasó a llamarse "La Rebelión". A ésta le sucedieron muchas otras. Cuando le tocó el turno a una mina de propiedad extranjera la toma fue reprimida, pero las tropas enviadas debieron retirarse ante la firmeza minera y el consecuente apoyo campesino. En esas provincias, bajo la dirección de Muñoz se dió una verdadera alianza obrero-campesina, pues también los mineros apoyaban las tomas de fundos (grandes estancias) que realizaban los campesinos del lugar.

A través de estas movilizaciones del sindicato, que fueron muy conocidas, su dirigente participó en una entrevista del

continúa en la página 7

El fin del régimen peronista en la Argentina

por la Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria (OTR) de Chile

El golpe de estado en Argentina, con la toma del gobierno por una junta compuesta de las tres armas, es el trágico y lógico desenlace de la crisis burguesa existente en ese país, que se ha ido acentuando en forma creciente con la total incapacidad de resolverla por parte del gobierno peronista. Es importante destacar que el golpe se comenzó el martes 23 y no el miércoles 24 como ha trascendido oficialmente.

La señora presidente pretendió desconocer las tensiones sociales resultantes del escalabro económico, abusando del prestigio demagógico que había alcanzado el justicialismo a través de su líder máximo el general Perón. Asimismo el control de la clase obrera que el peronismo había logrado en base a una verdadera mafia burocrática en la principal central sindical argentina, la CGT, ya no era tal. El proletariado argentino buscaba romper la dependencia con estos dirigentes rufianes, representantes de la burguesía; la prueba más evidente la constituyó el reciente paro general anterior al golpe militar.

Como la burguesía se vio incapacitada de dirigir la planificación económica y social, fue retirando todo su apoyo al gobierno de la viuda de Perón. Por supuesto a la clase obrera no pueden engañarla con los argumentos morales burgueses de dilapidación de fondos públicos de la presidente y su amigo López Rega. Las verdaderas razones por las cuales la burguesía restó su sostén al gobierno, son de orden político, es decir, la crisis económica galopante y el ascenso de la lucha obrera.

Cuando la burguesía no puede detentar el gobierno, recurre al aparato del estado, por supuesto a las fuerzas armadas como ejecutoras de éste. El momento elegido para quebrar la institucionalidad democrática fue dramáticamente correcto de su parte; es así que no existió ninguna oposición de fuerza. La clase obrera no cuenta con partidos de masas capaces de presentar alguna resistencia de clase considerable (el Partido Comunista, por ejemplo, en su política contrarrevolucionaria de colaboración de clases se ha entregado frente al peronismo). En Chile una parte importante del proletariado estaba organizada en los dos partidos obreros de masas, Partido Socialista (PS) y Partido Comunista (PC), que pese a su estrategia reformista fueron casi destruidos por Pinochet (principalmente el PS). Los guerrilleros del Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores/Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (PRT/ERP) y Montoneros no estaban en condiciones políticas ni físicas necesarias; su guerra con el ejército de la burguesía está irremisiblemente perdida desde el inicio, por muy heroicos que puedan ser sus militantes.

Las FF.AA. argentinas cuentan con una larga experiencia de golpes de estado y no estaban dispuestas a presentar una imagen internacional desfavorable como es el caso del vecino país Chile. Existen importantes intereses económicos en juego que tienen que ver con las inversiones extranjeras que no pueden ser echados por la borda en ningún caso. Hay incluso muy buenas

relaciones y proyectos económicos con la URSS. Por las anteriores razones los sectores dominantes de la FF.AA. argentinas se opusieron al intento de golpe protagonizado por la aviación.

De esta forma el golpe argentino se presenta como casi "pacífico" o sin derramamiento de sangre. El llamado de huelga general de la CGT solo tiene el objetivo de maniobrar para poder negociar las posiciones que la burocracia ha conquistado. Pero éstas son solo las apariencias; por detrás se oculta una represión silenciosa, no por eso menos sangrienta que la que ha caracterizado otros golpes similares en el continente, evidentemente Chile. Esta represión se ensaña fundamentalmente sobre la clase obrera argentina y también de la misma forma sobre sus hermanos de clase de otras partes de América Latina que han debido emigrar a Argentina, ya sea por razones políticas o económicas, aceptando que sea posible hablar de política o de economía pura. En particular de Chile han pasado a través de la cordillera cientos de miles de obreros y campesinos y ya ha comenzado a descargarse sobre ellos una persecución brutal. De común acuerdo los representantes del capital abrirán sus fronteras para entenderse en el idioma de la muerte y la destrucción del proletariado. Si antes de marzo y la Perón entregaba cientos de chilenos a la burguesía chilena, hoy este comercio humano se acentuará fatalmente.

El populismo demagógico del peronismo ha quedado desenmascarado; las ilusiones que había levantado en las masas trabajadoras argentinas posiblemente han sufrido un golpe mortal. Pese al corto lapso de gobierno peronista, éste ha sido suficiente para demostrar que la burguesía, aún sus partidos con apoyo obrero, solo basa su sistema en la explotación del proletariado y las capas más bajas de la sociedad, que no existe la burguesía nacional "antiimperialista", progresista. El capitalismo es un sistema de dominación mundial basado en la explotación del hombre por el hombre. El antiimperialismo, el progreso, la liberación de la humanidad, solo pueden ser concebidos con la destrucción violenta del sistema capitalista, basado en la propiedad privada, y la expropiación de la burguesía como clase, edificando las bases de la futura sociedad socialista.

El Frente Justicialista argentino (Frejuli) es un partido populista burgués, que fué levantado por la propia burguesía para dominar al movimiento obrero en ascenso en la década del 40. Es así que surge la CGT actual como una organización sindical creada y sustentada por la burguesía para destruir la combatividad proletaria. Cuando el general Perón se demostró incapaz de cumplir su cometido de clase, fue sacado con violencia de su cargo y obligado a tomar unas vacaciones en España. Pero los gobiernos militares que se sucedieron a la caída de Perón tampoco pudieron traer la tranquilidad social. De esta forma nuevamente la burguesía debe recurrir al exilado ibérico y ofrecerle el control del gobierno.

Las ilusiones que el peronismo conservaba en la clase trabajadora le

permitieron un triunfo electoral abrumador. El apoyo crítico al gobierno peronista por los llamados "marxistas", como el Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST), contribuyó objetivamente al desarrollo de la derrota obrera consecuente al golpe militar.

Es interesante observar las posiciones que frente al peronismo populista han adoptado las distintas organizaciones de izquierda. Por un lado tenemos los grupos guerrilleros pequeño-burgueses PRT/ERP y Montoneros, cuya estrategia no difiere y es aquella de la "liberación nacional". Juegan el rol de cara izquierda del estalinismo, encabezados por Fidel Castro. Para ellos la contradicción principal está dada entre el imperio y la nación y no entre la burguesía y el proletariado; por lo tanto la revolución es en dos etapas: la primera democrático-burguesa, en alianza con la burguesía "progresista" por supuesto, y la segunda nunca se realizará, alcanzando esta estrategia en el mejor de los casos la constitución de regímenes burocráticos antiobrero, como el estado obrero deformado de Cuba.

Es así como el castrismo/mandelismo ha llevado a la muerte a miles de jóvenes valerosos que creyeron en su estrategia traidora. Los otros grupos que acompañan al ERP en la Junta Coordinadora Revolucionaria han sido prácticamente destruidos en sus países; es el caso del Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN) boliviano, del Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (MLN)—Tupamaros—del Uruguay, y del Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR) chileno, que no cuentan ya con casi ninguna incidencia real en sus lugares de origen. Los Montoneros entregaron las armas cuando Perón tomó el poder, y luego se vieron obligados a empuñarlas frente a la represión de sus propios padrinos. El PRT/ERP por otra parte no tiene nada que ver con el trotskismo auténtico y lleva su propia guerra con el ejército de la burguesía a espaldas de la clase obrera, que en la mayoría de las veces recibe las repercusiones de las operaciones desesperadas de estos modernos "Robin Hood".

Están presentes asimismo los representantes del Secretariado Unificado (SU) de la autollamada Cuarta Internacional, una federación sin principios de foquistas (mayoría) que construyeron el PRT/ERP castrista, y reformistas (minoría) del PST de Moreno/Coral. El PST, consecuente con su política de colaboración de clases, la misma desplegada por su hermano mayor el Socialist Workers Party (SWP) de los EE.UU. (en el movimiento contra la guerra de Viet Nam, por ejemplo), dió su apoyo al gobierno burgués del peronismo al que caracterizaba como: "el partido peronista... desde 1946 fue la organización y la ideología de la clase trabajadora" (*Revista de América*, marzo de 1976).

Y por otro lado, Política Obrera, adjunta al Comité de Organización por la Reconstrucción de la Cuarta Internacional, liderado por la Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) francesa, ha abandonado los principios básicos del Programa de Transición al propugnar para América Latina la



D. Goldberg/Sygma

El general Rafael Videla

creación de un frente único antiimperialista, para empujar a la burguesía a cumplir el programa de liberación nacional, es decir, la creación de un Kuomintang latinoamericano.

Es así como la implantación en Argentina de esta junta militar burguesa bonapartista es el resultado de la crisis de la burguesía que, incapaz de frenar el avance obrero, de disminuir las tensiones económico-sociales a través de los métodos democráticos tradicionales recurre a su instrumento de explotación y opresión de clases: el estado. De este modo la institución armada toma su verdadero papel de guardián de los intereses capitalistas, no de "defensa de la patria" y se eleva transitoriamente por encima de las clases.

Se cierra otro capítulo de traiciones e ilusiones reformistas, de colaboración de clases en América Latina, que se suma a las lecciones del frente popular en Chile, donde la solución burguesa a la crisis, la "Alianza Para el Progreso" de Kennedy, fracasó en el gobierno demócrata-cristiano de Frei. El estalinismo contrarrevolucionario construyó la Unidad Popular con la burguesía—Partido Radical (PR), Partido Social Demócrata (PSD), API; los partidos obreros de masas PS y PC, siendo el MIR su apéndice de izquierda, llevaron a la derrota sangrienta del proletariado y a la destrucción de sus organizaciones de clase.

Vivimos la crisis del capitalismo, su agonía, pero solo el proletariado conducido por un verdadero partido trotskista, armado del programa revolucionario, puede darle muerte. Este debe ser un partido de oposición irreconciliable a la burguesía y a sus representantes frente-populistas. Los obstáculos para construir la dirección obrera revolucionaria en Argentina hoy día, son principalmente aquellos tránsfugas del trotskismo que van a intentar levantar el cadáver putrefacto del peronismo. Estos son los centristas y reformistas renegados del Programa de Transición y liquidadores de la Cuarta Internacional, el pablismo del SU y el Comité de Organización de la OCI. La burguesía y su sistema de opresión no serán derrotados por los frentes antiimperialistas ni antifascistas, o cualquier otro nombre rimbombante que puedan utilizar los traidores para encubrir su claudicación al programa burgués.

La crisis de la humanidad es la crisis de la dirección obrera revolucionaria y ésta solo puede ser superada por el renacimiento de la Cuarta Internacional. La explotación no reconoce fronteras—solo bajo una dirección centralizada a nivel mundial el socialismo sustituirá a la barbarie capitalista.

ORGANIZACION TROTSKISTA
REVOLUCIONARIA (OTR) DE
CHILE

15 de abril de 1976

Golpe...

viene de la página 8

también demostraron la plena impotencia de los guerrilleros frente a toda acción seria de las FF.AA....

Aún la más espectacular acción guerrillera hasta este momento, el ataque al arsenal de Quilmes a unos 15 kilómetros al sur de Buenos Aires, el pasado 24 de diciembre, reveló la bancarrota del guerrillerismo. Según se ha informado, la operación se centró en un ataque masivo por más de 100 comandos en búsqueda de armas y explosivos. Los detalles del evento todavía no están claros a raíz de las evidentes distorsiones propagandistas por parte de las FF.AA.; de cualquier modo se puede deducir que una combinación de errores militares y armamento inadecuado forzaron a los guerrilleros a retirarse. Aunque el arsenal de Quilmes se ubica en un barrio pobre, de donde se podría esperar simpatías para las fuerzas antigubernamentales, no hubo ninguna respuesta popular. Las tropas desencadenaron un fuego devastador sobre el barrio, matando a más de cien personas (y tal vez muchos más de los que fueron reportados por la prensa)....

¡Por un partido trotskista en la Argentina!

...Durante el segundo régimen peronista—desde mayo de 1973 hasta marzo de 1976—el Partido Comunista pro-Moscú (PCA) siguió al demagogo capitalista que en otro entonces habían denunciado como "Peronazi". En las elecciones de septiembre de 1975 el PCA llamó sin crítica a votar por el general Perón. Pese a su oposición formal al régimen, el PRT/ERP siempre distinguió entre funcionarios peronistas y las FF.AA., llamando por un frente popular contra los gorilas. Castro mismo alabó con entusiasmo cada frase hipó-

crita "antiimperialista" de Perón.

Al contrario de estas fuerzas estalinistas de colaboración de clases, la necesidad urgente de los trabajadores argentinos era—y sigue siendo—la formación de un partido trotskista capaz de romper a la clase obrera de sus malos dirigentes populistas y capaz de dirigirla en el camino de la independencia de clase. Trágicamente, dos décadas de traiciones pablistas han tomado su cuenta. La mayor organización argentina que se reclama del trotskismo, el PST, adoptó una política de "apoyo crítico" de hecho al régimen peronista. (Esta fue una repetición de la política de su "teórico" principal, Nahuel Moreno, frente al peronismo durante los años 50.) Jurando su apoyo a la "institucionalización" (es decir, la ley y el orden burgués) y a la "continuidad" del gobierno de Isabel Perón, el PST social demócrata igualó a los guerrilleros de izquierda y los terroristas anticomunistas de la AAA.

Un partido trotskista en la Argentina hubiera advertido a la clase obrera contra el peligro mortal que representa el bonapartismo peronista. Una corriente política *burguesa*, esta variedad del populismo nacionalista no se basa en el movimiento obrero, como lo sugieren el PRT en la teoría y el PST en la práctica. Al contrario de los reformistas laborales procapitalistas (social demócratas y estalinistas), los peronistas eran capaces de aplastar al movimiento sindical sin destruir su propia existencia. En realidad, ya se encontraban en el proceso de liquidar físicamente a todos los dirigentes sindicales independientes cuando los milicos emprendieron a llevar hasta el fin sus purgas terroristas.

...Un partido trotskista hubiera destacado al hecho de la formación de alianzas frentepopulistas con los capitalistas "progresistas" (como la Unidad Popular de Allende que condujo al sangriento golpe chileno) no es una

respuesta a la junta militar, como tampoco es seguir detrás de los dirigentes engañadores peronistas. En alianza estrecha con los marxistas revolucionarios en países vecinos (Chile, Bolivia, Uruguay), y defendiendo resueltamente al movimiento obrero y a todas las organizaciones y militantes de izquierda contra la represión gorila, la tarea debe ser la construcción del partido obrero revolucionario independiente, como parte de la lucha por el renacimiento de la Cuarta Internacional, para preparar la revolución obrera que aplastará a la junta asesina. ■

Exilado perseguido...

viene de la página 5

canal 4 de televisión. Esto motivó la ira del entonces ministro de minería que llamó a Muñoz buscando amedrentarlo, amenazándolo con el empleo de la fuerza pública si continuaba esa actividad. Este respondió que sería la primera masacre de "pacos" (policía chilena) que se produciría si el ministro llevaba a cabo su amenaza.

Ante la negativa del PC a apoyar su política sindical Muñoz renunció a éste. Rompió el carnet del partido delante de una concentración minera y todos los presentes siguieron su ejemplo.

La toma del gobierno por parte de la Unidad Popular (UP) de Allende en septiembre de 1970 no hizo cesar a los pirquineros en su accionar revolucionario. Muñoz desde tribunas públicas obligó a los dirigentes del frente popular a no oponerse a la toma de las minas. En 1971 Muñoz ingresó al Partido Socialista (PS) de Chile. Esto lo llevó de inmediato a dirigir una oposición de izquierda en dicho partido contra Allende y sus personeros en los altos cargos.

Una marcha de pirquineros de Cabildo a Valparaíso se realizó, en marzo del mismo año, a la cual se opuso el PC cerrando el local del sindicato del Cemento Melón, en la ciudad de Calera, donde la marcha debía alimentarse y reposar. Las consignas de esta marcha que encabezaba Muñoz eran expropiación sin pago de los yacimientos mineros y defensa armada del gobierno contra el posible ataque imperialista. La manifestación obrera se cerró con un discurso desde la Intendencia de Valparaíso. Allí Mario Muñoz denunció la conciliación de clases señalando al propio intendente, de Partido Radical (PR), que se encontraba a su lado, como representante de la burguesía.

Posteriormente la UP materializó su oposición a las tomas. El primer enfrentamiento importante se produjo con la ocupación por parte de los pirquineros de la planta Bella Vista, cuyos propietarios eran del PR, lo mismo que el ministro de minería. El Sr. Cantuarias, que ese era su nombre, trató de tramitar a los mineros. Muñoz tomó la palabra para denunciar los negociados del gobierno, llamando a Cantuarias ladrón al servicio de los patrones. Por supuesto esta reunión tuvo un final violento.

Frente a la oposición decidida y firme de los pirquineros y su dirigente, los partidos de la UP levantaron un seminario de mineros, a realizarse en la universidad Federico Santa María de Valparaíso, buscando a través de una campaña de desprestigio socavar el ascendiente de Muñoz sobre el proletariado chileno. De los 152 delegados que asistieron a ese seminario 25 eran del sindicato de pirquineros. También se invitó a los principales dirigentes de las Central Unica de Trabajadores (CUT),

del PC y del PS, pero ni éstos ni la presencia del propio Allende pudieron acallar la voz de Mario Muñoz. Las resoluciones aprobadas en este seminario, que quedaron en manos de dirigentes de la UP, jamás fueron publicadas.

En este clima tenso el gobierno de S. Allende busca crear los Consejos Regionales Mineros de Chile como un organismo de asfixia burocrática de la clase obrera, a fines de 1972. El primer congreso se realizó en Copiapó, provincia de Atacama. Cuatro días antes que se celebrara este evento, ya Muñoz al frente de los mineros lo inauguraba con la ocupación de una mina en el Salado, propiedad del vice-presidente de la Empresa Nacional de Minería (ENAMI), Eduardo Matta. Nuevamente el discurso de Muñoz saludando la ocupación de la mina fue ovacionado por los obreros, y en votación unánime de los delegados fue nombrado presidente de los Consejos Regionales Mineros.

Esta nueva victoria del proletariado minero desata sobre Muñoz una vez más una campaña de calumnias (malversación de fondos, pertenecientes al sindicato, etc.) y/o la aplicación de medidas económicas (no cancelamiento de minerales, por ejemplo) tendientes a socavar el apoyo que le prestan los distintos sectores mineros. La reacción obrera no se hace esperar y los trabajadores de la cooperativa Bronco de Petorca deciden retener en la mina Pedro de Valdivia al jefe del Departamento de Minería y lo hacen trabajar en el carro (carro extractor de materiales). Frente a la negativa del gobierno a otorgar los títulos de la mina, Muñoz al frente de los pirquineros marcha hacia Santiago y toman el edificio central de ENAMI y el Ministerio de Minería. Por supuesto que lo que no se había conseguido en 9 meses, se obtuvo antes de una hora.

Poco antes del golpe se realizó una concentración minera en el edificio de los trabajadores UNCTAD, en el centro de la capital, en el cual Muñoz se entrevistó con Allende. Además de asegurarle el apoyo minero incondicional para la defensa del gobierno ante la proximidad del golpe reaccionario, le preguntó hasta cuando iba él (Allende) a continuar traicionando los intereses de los obreros en abierta conciliación con la burguesía. Algunos partidos de la UP, principalmente el PC, intentaron impedir la oratoria de Muñoz en esa concentración con matones al servicio de su política traidora. Los mineros defendieron con fuerza a la democracia obrera y a su dirigente, marchando posteriormente por el centro de Santiago, gritando a "Romper con la Burguesía" y "Alto al Golpe Fascista" Como consecuencia y reclamando la libertad de obreros y campesinos (del Pangal, por ejemplo) presos por el gobierno de la UP, Muñoz rompió con el socialpatriotismo del PS.

Debido a la violenta persecución en su contra, para fusilarlo en el acto, en ocasión del golpe de estado de Pinochet Muñoz debió atrevesar la cordillera de los Andes para refugiarse en Argentina. Uno de sus hermanos fue asesinado a golpes por las fuerzas de la reacción.

Ya en Argentina se dedicó a organizar a los miles de obreros y campesinos chilenos, que también fueron obligados a dejar el país. El gobierno peronista dictó un decreto para expulsarlo de Argentina. En consecuencia debió permanecer en la clandestinidad hasta el nacimiento de un nuevo hijo que le abrió las posibilidades de acogerse a la ley de inmigración. También en este aspecto fue tramitado burocráticamente, hasta la llegada del golpe argentino. A pocas horas de asumir sus funciones los militares buscan a Mario Muñoz por cielo y tierra para fusilarlo. No se detienen ante nada; persiguen a toda su familia y se ensañan con su compañera y sus niños. La ONU no se responsabiliza por su vida y ésta pende de un hilo. Solo la solidaridad obrera internacional puede salvarlo. ■

COMITÉ PARA SALVAR LA VIDA DE MARIO MUÑOZ

Mario Muñoz Salas, dirigente y fundador del Sindicato Interprovincial de Obreros "Pirquineros" de Aconcagua, Valparaíso y Santiago, delegado nacional de los Consejos Regionales Mineros, ha sido durante toda su vida un luchador incansable por la defensa de los intereses de los obreros chilenos. Debió dejar Chile condenado a muerte por la junta militar sangrienta de Pinochet que ya había asesinado a golpes a uno de sus hermanos. Ahora la junta argentina también ha condenado a Mario Muñoz a la pena capital. Con tal ferocidad es buscado que las nuevas autoridades no han tenido escrúpulos en allanar su casa a las tres de la madrugada el 25 de marzo, golpear a su compañera y a sus cinco hijos, incluso en su desesperación carnicera intentar llevarse de rehén al bebe de dos meses.

* * * * *

¡La vida de Mario Muñoz tiene que ser salvada! Los abajo firmantes exigimos el respeto de la vida de Mario Muñoz, que la ONU garantice el derecho de asilo y asegure su salida sana y salvo del país, asimismo que la junta argentina respete los acuerdos internacionales de derechos humanos.

¡No tocar a Mario Muñoz!

¡Libertad para todas las víctimas de la represión derechista en Argentina y Chile!

¡La ONU debe tomar la responsabilidad por su salida de Argentina!

* * * * *

Este apelo fue emitido en Europa por el Comité de Salvar la Vida de Mario Muñoz, iniciado por el Comité de Defensa de los Prisioneros Obreros y Marineros en Chile y el Partisan Defense Committee. Entre los que han endosado la campaña internacional son:

Eqbal Ahmad
Argentinian Support Movement, Londres
Daniel Berrigan
Laurie Brereton, Asamblea Legislativa, New South Wales, Australia*
Andrew Brewin, miembro de parlamento, New Democratic Party* (NDP), Canadá
Ed Broadbent, Leader, NDP*
Hon. Dr. Jim Cairns, Cámara de Representantes, Australian Labor Party* (ALP)
Canadian Labor Congress
Carmen Castillo, MIR* de Chile
Comité Pro Defensa de los Derechos Humanos en la República Dominicana, New York
Committee Against Friedman Harberger
Collaboration with the Chilean Junta
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Mario Felmer, Juventud Socialista chilena*
Eugene Genovese, prof. de historia, Rochester University
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Nat Hentoff
Ted Innes, Cámara de Representantes, ALP*
Pat Knight, pres., SSEU Local 371* (verbal)
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Gordon Viehert, sec. prov., Ontario NDP*, Canadá
Luis Vitale, Partido Socialista Revolucionario* de Chile
Richard y Cristina Whitecross
Howard Zinn

*Organización citada solamente por razones de identificación

Se ruega a quienes desean endosar la campaña para salvar la vida de Mario Muñoz, o hacer una contribución financiera a ella, de comunicarse con el Partisan Defense Committee, Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, EE.UU.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Golpe militar en la Argentina

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30 DE MARZO—Cuando los tanques estratégicamente emplazados comenzaron a aproximarse a la Casa Rosada y las tropas asumieron las posiciones designadas en el centro de Buenos Aires, llegó dentro de pocos minutos el fin del gobierno de Isabel Perón. No se disparó ni un solo tiro, y la única sorprendida por el golpe parece ser la misma presidente. Alrededor de la medianoche un helicóptero, en vez de llevar a la presidente a su casa como debió de hacer, la depositó en el sector militar del aeropuerto metropolitano. Ahí ella fue detenida a punto de fusil y pronto trasladada a una residencia oficial aislada en la provincia andina de Neuquén.

El golpe de estado del 23 de marzo fue sin duda una de las "conspiraciones" más precisamente ejecutadas y públicamente preparadas de toda la historia. "Mas alemán que argentina" era el juicio aprobador de un estanciero bonarense. Al contrario, el verdadero significado del hecho de que el comandante del ejército, el teniente general Jorge Videla, podía preparar sus planes tan abiertamente—no ocultando ni la fecha prevista—no se ubica en las características nacionales, sino en el aislamiento y la impotencia total del gobierno peronista.

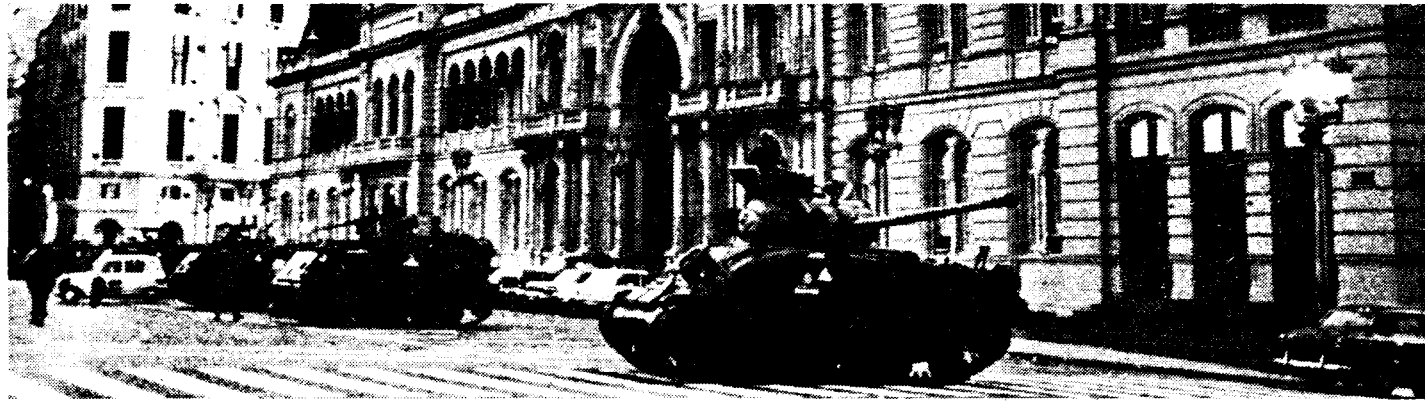
El golpe sin derrame de sangre reveló la parálisis política del movimiento laboral más poderoso de todo el continente sudamericano, arrastrado ante los gorilas por causa de los pérfidos líderes populistas-burgueses peronistas de los sindicatos. Desde hace muchos años los falsos revolucionarios—del Partido Comunista bregneviano y el PRT/ERP castrista hasta los pretendidos trotskistas—han capitulado frente a los populistas burgueses, de modo que la clase obrera argentina no vislumbraba una alternativa revolucionaria. No se ha reportado ninguna resistencia al golpe.

El que este putsch reaccionario parece anticlimático no disminuye el peligro que representa. El nuevo régimen se esfuerza de darse una imagen reconciliadora. El discurso a la nación pronunciado por Videla habla de un "proceso curativo", mientras que las agencias de noticias publican fotos de los soldados dando de comer a las palomas en la Plaza de Mayo. Pero detrás de esta imagen "moderada" de la junta militar—compuesta por Videla, el jefe de la marina (el vice-almirante Emilio Massera), y el comandante de la fuerza aérea (el teniente general Orlando Agosti)—se esconden los numerosos "duros", quienes exigen una carnicería espantosa.

No obstante la palabrería cínica de reconciliación nacional, es evidente que los generales han tomado el poder para aplastar al movimiento obrero. El programa de Videla para los obreros argentinos será lo mismo que el remedio de Pinochet para Chile. En la medida en que esta "moderación" rígidamente aplicada sea incapaz de romper la espina del movimiento obrero—que tendrá que pagar el precio de la bancarrota del capitalismo argentino—los gorilas se preparan para ahogar a los barrios obreros en ríos de sangre....

Restablecer los "valores esenciales"

La junta desató su "reorganización nacional" en las primeras horas de miércoles, jurando que su "objetivo fundamental será restablecer los valores



Tanques y transportes militares guardan el palacio presidencial el día del golpe.

Gente

esenciales que guían al estado." Los antiguos administradores civiles serán reemplazados por oficiales militares en todas las instituciones importantes, y el aparato estatal será purgado de arriba a abajo. Una serie de comunicados bruscos disolvieron al congreso, a las asambleas provinciales y los consejos municipales; expulsaron a las autoridades judiciales, y suspendieron toda actividad política. Además, fueron proscritos seis partidos de izquierda, entre ellos los autodenominados trotskistas del Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) y Política Obrera. (Grupos guerrilleros como el PRT/ERP ya fueron proscritos bajo el régimen anterior.)

Otros decretos cerraron las universidades, introdujeron la pena de muerte por ataques contra instalaciones militares y sentencias de muerte o de encarcelamiento perpetuo por actos de sabotaje y ataques contra la policía o militares. También cerraron las fronteras y prohibieron huelgas o cualquier otra actividad que impidiera la producción. Los militares se apoderaron de todas las empresas del estado e impusieron la censura sobre la prensa. Aunque la junta no ha publicado las cifras, se calcula que unos 2.000 dirigentes peronistas y sindicales, comunistas y "subversivos sospechosos" han sido detenidos (*Economist*, 27 de marzo).

Incluso se ha observado el traslado de presos a dos barcos de transporte militar estacionados en el puerto de Buenos Aires. Se puede proyectar la profundización de esta represión para incluir una amplia capa de militantes sindicales y de izquierda de todos los partidos. Especialmente perjudicados son las decenas de miles de refugiados políticos de los países vecinos, para los cuales ya no existen otro sitio de refugio o fronteras para cruzar. Es tarea urgente del movimiento obrero internacional protestar la arrebatadora represión y exigir la libertad para todos los presos de guerra de clases en la Argentina.

Inmediatamente después del anuncio del golpe, un interventor militar se apoderó de la Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT); todos los sindicatos fueron intervenidos y sus cuentas bancarias confiscadas. La sede del más poderoso sindicato del país, la Unión de Obreros Metalúrgicos (UOM), actualmente está ocupada por tropas armadas de guerra. Efectivamente, se decapitó al movimiento obrero argentino con una sola bofetada. El jefe de la CGT, Casildo Herreras, no estaba presente en el país al momento del golpe....

La cobarde dirección sindical, que solo tres días antes había fanfarroneado que todo intento de golpe sería impedido por una huelga general, se deshizo como un castillo de naipes. Atrapados entre sus bases—quienes rechazaron el congelamiento de salarios frente a una tasa anual de inflación de 424 por ciento que literalmente devastaba a sus

sueños—y el gobierno peronista que fortificaba sus poderes burocráticos, la única "contribución" de los jefes sindicales era la desmovilización de la clase obrera. Aunque durante las últimas semanas habían sido cerradas por huelgas varias fábricas en Córdoba y en la zona de gran Buenos Aires, las luchas huelguísticas quedaban localmente aisladas....

Así que, en nombre de prevenir a un golpe militar, la burocracia sindical peronista puso el tapete rojo a fin que los generales pudieran caminar sin oposición alguna hacia la toma del poder. En 1955 el general Juan Perón aconsejó a sus partidarios a que no se movilizaran contra el peligro de un golpe militar. Ahora, una vez más, al predicar sermones de confianza en la benevolencia de los políticos populistas "amigos del trabajador", el peronismo ató a las manos de la clase obrera y así cavó el paso al golpe.

Fracaso del peronismo sin Perón

Durante los años 40, la burguesía argentina trató de utilizar el carismático Perón para desviar la amenaza de un despliegue obrero al canalizarlo hacia los sindicatos creados por el estado y controlados por el ministerio del trabajo. Sin embargo, a medida que procedió la organización de los obreros antes no sindicalizados, aún los sindicatos peronistas se pusieron reacios. Con las reservas de divisas extranjeras agotadas y enfrentado por el boicot de los capitalistas criollos, a principios de los años 50 el bonapartista Perón atacó a los sindicatos, aplastando varias huelgas importantes. En 1955 la clase obrera ya estaba suficientemente desmoralizada para que los generales echaran a Perón en una malnombrada "revolución libertadora". Durante los próximos 18 años el movimiento sindical argentino se vió sometido a una represión periódicamente severa, repetida intervención gubernamental y la semilegalidad. Los sueldos reales cayeron más del 40 por ciento.

Mas durante los años 60 apareció una nueva generación de obreros, listos a luchar contra los dictadores militares y sus títeres civiles. Mientras la dirección peronista buscaba maniobrar entre las distintas fracciones militares, surgieron huelgas militantes entre los obreros azucareros de Tucumán. Luego estalló una huelga general con características de rebelión popular durante tres días en el centro industrial interior de Córdoba, en mayo de 1969. Del poderoso *cordobazo* en adelante, una situación prerrevolucionaria había existido en la Argentina.

Después de varias olas de actividad guerrillera y las mucho más importantes huelgas de masas, que tomaban proporciones semiinsurreccionales a nivel local, el alto mando de las fuerzas armadas decidió apelar otra vez al "viejo", esperando que él podría una vez más descarrilar al movimiento

obrero. Perón volvió de su exilio español firmemente comprometido a extirpar la "enfermedad marxista" de los sindicatos y a purgar a los izquierdistas del movimiento justicialista heterogéneo. Logró echar a varios gobernadores provinciales liberales y forzó un congelamiento de sueldos, pero murió antes de haber cumplido toda su tarea. Isabel Perón, su esposa y vicepresidente, se demostró ser insuficiente para la tarea y el movimiento peronista empezó a deshacerse en las costuras.

El régimen de la antigua bailadora de cabaret, cuya entrada al poder fue su matrimonio, se mantenía en el poder mediante la imposición de un virtual estado de sitio. La única manera en que podía mantener la unidad del Frente Justicialista de Liberación (Frejuli) era a través de un terror difuso desatado por la llamada Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (AAA), un disfraz para las escuadras de muerte compuestas de gangsters peronistas y la policía secreta vestida de civil. Las tenebrosas operaciones "noche y niebla" de las AAA fueron dirigidas por el secretario personal de la presidente, José López Rega, el ministro del bienestar social y uno de los dirigentes de una pequeña ala fascista del movimiento peronista....

Con el pillaje extraordinario de los cofres gubernamentales, la imprenta de la tesorería estatal tenía que trabajar horas extras; junto con el sabotaje intencional de los altos capitalistas, el régimen peronista logró enterrar a la economía argentina. Aunque los generales lanzaron amenazas periódicamente y llamaron por una vuelta al orden, evidentemente no obstaculizaron los pasos tambuleantes del espectáculo "Isabelita". El propósito evidente era derribar el mito del peronismo como "gran benefactor" de la clase obrera. La divisa implícita era: "que el peronismo se ahogue en sus propias contradicciones." La eliminación ignominiosa de la presidente, trasladada secretamente durante la noche, y la amenaza de juzgarla por malversación de fondos, son parte integrante de la misma operación. Y, de veras, el peronismo ya se ha desacreditado, a tal punto que hoy día se ha hecho añicos, quizás irremediablemente.

La bancarrota del guerrillerismo

Mientras muchos antiguos peronistas de base y militantes sindicales seguramente están desilusionados con los falsos líderes que les trajeron a este desastre, les hace falta la vanguardia marxista revolucionaria capaz de trazar las lecciones de la experiencia peronista. En los últimos años, los más conocidos entre aquellos que se reclaman de ser una dirección revolucionaria han sido los varios grupos guerrilleros, desde los peronistas de izquierda (los Montoneros) hasta grupos autodenominados trotskistas. Los meses antes del golpe

continúa en la página 7

UPS...

(continued from page 12)

poses a class-struggle program to the class collaborationism of the union bureaucracy. UPSurge is an unprincipled catch-all whose membership tends to vary depending on the support it receives from lower-level union officials. At Louisville, Kentucky, for instance, where all seven stewards belong to UPSurge, 128 of 130 UPS workers also claim UPSurge membership!

UPSurge adopted its bargaining proposals at a convention in Indianapolis last January. These demands rarely go beyond what the IBT officials themselves are asking. In fact, the stated UPSurge contract demands now omit anything on either wages or cost-of-living (c-o-l) protection! Apparently the group accepts the sell-out negotiated in freight and simply wants to extend it to United Parcel. Most of the other paper demands of UPSurge, such as opposition to forced overtime and supervisors working, are no different from what is raised by the bureaucracy. Only on a few issues, such as the right to strike over grievances, does UPSurge raise any differences.

The bureaucrats call for a halt in hiring part-timers and the phasing out of this category as presently employed part-timers leave. UPSurge agrees with this, adding only that part-timers should be immediately upgraded to the same pay and benefit scale as full-time employees, and that on transferring to full-time positions they should retain half their seniority. The glaring defect in this scheme is that full-time positions would be opened up only as fast as part-timers vacate their current jobs. Thus ending the massive use of part-timers (a legitimate goal in itself) is premised on perpetuating the notoriously rotten working conditions that generate the heavy turnover at UPS! The only genuine solution, which UPSurge ignores, is to provide jobs at full pay and decent conditions for all UPS workers. This requires a shorter workweek at no loss in pay (make the workweek for all employees 30 hours, with a full 40 hours' pay).

In the period before the current strike, UPSurge, besides setting up a "Fighting Fund" (which among other things would bring court suits against both the company and the union), mainly occupied itself with blustering at the Teamster leadership. The April 28 issue of *UPSurge* calls on workers to "organize their own strike committees" which "must stay in touch with Strike Headquarters in the Cleveland *UPSurge* office." Despite such flights of fancy, in which it envisions the Teamster ranks deserting the IBT leaders en masse and following it instead, most of UPSurge's adventurism thus far exists only on paper. In practice it has generally accommodated itself to the bureaucracy.

UPSurge supporters submitted a series of four motions at strike vote meetings throughout the Midwest. These motions, supportable in themselves, called for elected strike committees, membership ratification of any proposed contract at the union hall (no mail ballot), two union meetings per week during the strike and a recommendation to the International that it instruct all Teamsters to refuse to handle scab goods. UPSurge subsequently ballyhooed the fact that, despite the opposition of union officials, it got these motions passed in a number of locals. The reality is somewhat less rosy.

In Cleveland, for example, UPSurge claimed that it forced Local 407 officials to permit the election of a strike committee of eight, on which it placed six supporters. However, this "strike committee" has no real power except that its members are given token positions of leadership, such as captain-picket lines. A UPS striker told *WT*

that at a subsequent union meeting May 2, Local president John Tansky successfully ruled out of order UPSurge members who attempted to put forward motions for hot-cargoing scab goods and for opposition to a mail ballot. Tansky even drew applause when he asserted that the Local would follow strike guidelines set by the International and when he bellowed, "I will run the strike." Needless to add, the opinions of the impotent "strike committee" were not solicited on this issue.

An elected strike committee is an essential element of a militant, democratically led strike. However, unless such a committee is given clearly defined tasks and is grounded in a class-struggle program, it can easily be undercut by the labor bureaucracy. It is precisely because UPSurge has no fundamental differences with the IBT leadership that the membership is unwilling to follow it. After all, given two groups with the same program, it makes a lot more sense to follow the one which has an established organization and power behind it—i.e., the bureaucracy!

Not only its call for elected strike committees, but other UPSurge demands are undercut by its own opportunism. Taking the union to court—the cornerstone of the strategy of both TDC and UPSurge—has played into the hands of the IBT tops. Thus Fitzsimmons justified postponing for three weeks the mail ballot on the freight contract—thereby dissipating whatever remained of organized opposition to this sellout—on the grounds that TDC had a court suit against the union which, if successful, would alter the ratification procedure. In UPS, Teamster bureaucrats claimed that a mail ballot was necessary because it was the procedure least likely to be challenged legally. This of course is a demagogic argument. However, it is true that the undemocratic mail ballot in the freight division, which is supervised by the U.S. Department of Labor, was instituted as a response to legal action brought against the union by Teamster dissidents. The mail ballot has proven to be a brake on the membership and serves as another concrete demonstration that dragging the government into union affairs only strengthens the hands of the companies and the union bureaucracy.

Class-Struggle Alternative

A picket leader and UPSurge supporter in Cleveland remarked Sunday: "The minute they bring politics into this [UPSurge], I'm out." Rather than attempting to win such potential militants to the understanding that a correct conception of class politics is crucial to winning struggles against the bosses, UPSurge and TDC have continually capitulated to the most backward attitudes of the working class. This proved disastrous during the Detroit Teamsters wildcat, which collapsed because union members—badly misled by TDC on the role of the state—were unprepared to deal with a court injunction.

Rather than simply raising a few economist demands that accept the exploitative framework of capitalism, as UPSurge does, a class-struggle leadership in the Teamsters would raise a program that genuinely addresses the needs of UPS workers. Such a program would include demands for full cost-of-living protection, a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, an end to racial and sexual discrimination, and the unlimited right to strike.

A struggle for such demands would not likely succeed unless it were linked up with the freight division of the IBT, which occupies a far more strategic position in the economy. UPSurge, while abstractly calling for "solidarity," neglected to call for such a joint strike of freight and UPS when the master freight agreement expired. Militants in UPS should demand now that the sellout in freight be reversed and a joint struggle of all trucking employees be waged against the companies. ■

ILWU Local 6...

(continued from page 3)

Militant," a newsletter published by the Militant Caucus of Local 6, McClain and Co. unilaterally killed an Oakland membership vote to invite all ILWU and Teamster warehouse stewards to this month's Oakland Stewards Council. They then suspended all Oakland meetings until further notice by putting the membership "on call." Over the past several years, Oakland has been the major center of resistance to the weak-kneed policies of the Local 6 machine.

Both warehousemen and longshoremen in the ILWU find themselves in increasingly desperate situations. The Distributors Association, which represents many of the employers whose contracts with 25,000 ILWU and Teamster warehousemen expire June 1, has given the union leadership a set of demands which approach open union busting. They have stated that the union can expect no wage increase and that demands for voluntary overtime and promotion by seniority are strike issues. Meanwhile, the Pacific Maritime Association has announced further reductions in pay guarantee payments and widespread deregistrations of longshoremen beginning July 1.

The ILWU was long recognized as the kingpin and most militant sector of Bay Area labor. The weakened position of the union is the direct result of years of collaboration between union president Harry Bridges and the Democratic Party political bosses of San Francisco. Ever since the 1960 Mechanization and Modernization contract signed by Bridges and ILWU secretary-treasurer Lou Goldblatt, which gave the maritime owners the green light to slash longshore jobs in half, the bourgeoisie has felt confident that in exchange for the prestige of positions in the city government, Bridges & Co. would toe the line.

The marriage between Bridges—the darling of the Communist Party—and the Democrats was revealed in all its obscenity during the racist Operation Zebra police dragnet in the spring of 1974. While Mayor Joseph Alioto tried to split the resurgent city labor movement by fomenting race war, Bridges issued special bulletins of the union newspaper urging labor and minorities to vote for Alioto for governor.

Today, a prime reason for the strangulation of the San Francisco city workers strike has been the almost complete lack of support from the ILWU. ILWU president and S.F. port commissioner Bridges has refused to take the smallest step to aid the craft

workers—although everyone is well aware that closing of the port by the ILWU could easily trigger the militant response from labor necessary to bring the city government to its knees.

This long collaboration with capitalist politicians, however, has only served to weaken the ILWU. The increasingly open use of police against the union are the fruits of this opportunist policy.

The Way Forward

A fighting alliance forged between members of the ILWU and Teamsters could reverse the recent wave of defeats. Both the Victor strike and a strike against Nestlé's provide examples of the potential strength of such an alliance.

Local 6 is currently striking Nestlé's in Salinas, California. Rank-and-file union militants at Woolworths, Safeway and Thrifty have taken action to hot cargo scab goods. These actions were spurred by acts of solidarity of Teamsters and Machinists, who for nearly two weeks honored Local 6 picket lines at Nestlé's plants where no ILWU members are employed! Moreover, at the Victor strike, Teamster drivers honored the lines and provided continuous information on the whereabouts of scab Victor products.

But the ILWU leadership has consciously squandered the potential strength of this alliance. The ILWU International refused to take steps to picket Victor outlets under Teamster jurisdiction in San Francisco and Sacramento. Now Bridges is hatcheting the Nestlé's strikers. While Teamsters and Machinists courageously honored the ILWU lines, he had ILWU longshoremen loading a container of Nestlé's products bound for Hawaii!

For there to be a successful outcome to the upcoming contract struggle of warehousemen, a strike leadership independent of Bridges, Fitzsimmons and their henchmen must be constructed. The Militant Caucus of Local 6 correctly calls for the immediate election of strike committees in every warehouse and urges the membership to fight to force the leadership to hold the cancelled union meetings. "Warehouse Militant" also urges Local 6 warehousemen to issue an appeal to longshoremen to stop Nestlé's scab cargo. It points out that such solidarity now could lay the basis for joint longshore/warehouse/Teamster strike actions for jobs, pay and improved work conditions. Such actions, if conducted by a militant leadership which relies on the independent mobilization of the labor movement and places no confidence in the capitalist state or its police, can be victorious. ■

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Fake-Lefts Cover for Sadlowski in Steel Local Elections

S.F....

(continued from page 12)

CHICAGO—As jockeying gets under way for next February's presidential elections in the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), recently concluded local union elections show growing dissatisfaction among the ranks with the sellout regime of USWA head I. W. Abel. Closely identified with the union-management productivity committees (which have intensified speed-up and slashed jobs) and the hated no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), pro-Abel slates were soundly defeated in a number of Steelworkers locals.

The major beneficiary of the voting appears to be bureaucratic reformer Edward Sadlowski, head of the USWA's pivotal Chicago-Gary District 31. Although this opportunist in no way represents a fundamental challenge to Abel's pro-capitalist policies, the failure of would-be leftists in the union to break with Sadlowski in the elections was a major factor in lending him credibility.

At U.S. Steel's Gary Works Local 1014, a middle-of-the-road ticket defeated both pro-Abel and pro-Sadlowski slates. However, only four of 13 grievors were returned to office, most of the defeated incumbents being Abel supporters. Since grievors represent the workers on shop-floor issues, the voting for these posts was an indication of the unpopularity of Abel's program for "labor peace" and "increased productivity."

We earlier reported (*WV* No. 105, 16 April) the clean sweep by the Rank and File Slate (RFS) headed by Jim Balanoff at Local 1010, Inland Steel, in East Chicago. This slate, part of the National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee (NSWRFC) which is backed by the Communist Party's *Daily World*, was endorsed by Sadlowski.

Now, in Sadlowski's home plant—Local 65, U.S. Steel's Southworks in Chicago—a Sadlowski candidate, John Chico, has defeated the pro-Abel Mirocha administration. During the campaign, the legitimacy of the election board was disputed. At a local meeting a vote on nominees for the board was close and a division of the house was called for. However, rather than see his opponents have supporters on the board, Mirocha simply declared his slate ratified.

Chico thereupon went to federal court to win an injunction to postpone the election, but the night before the vote a compromise was reached. The USWA International's legal staff (representing Mirocha) and former Chicago alderman Leon Despres (representing Chico) agreed to add nine Chico supporters to the election board. USWA International staff representative John Carey (who is concurrently head of the Chicago Board of Education) was made chairman of the election board and the Labor Department was brought in to count the ballots. Like his mentor Sadlowski, who won office by appealing to Washington to overturn an earlier election, Chico relies on the anti-labor laws of the bosses' government to get elected.

Meanwhile, in Lorain, Ohio, the incumbents were victorious in a three-way contest at Local 1104 (U.S. Steel). The main focus of the campaign was a local productivity committee, with both of the major bureaucratic factions accusing the other of supporting its establishment. Lorain workers told *WV* salesmen that the arguments got so heated that threats of court suits for slander were freely thrown about. The

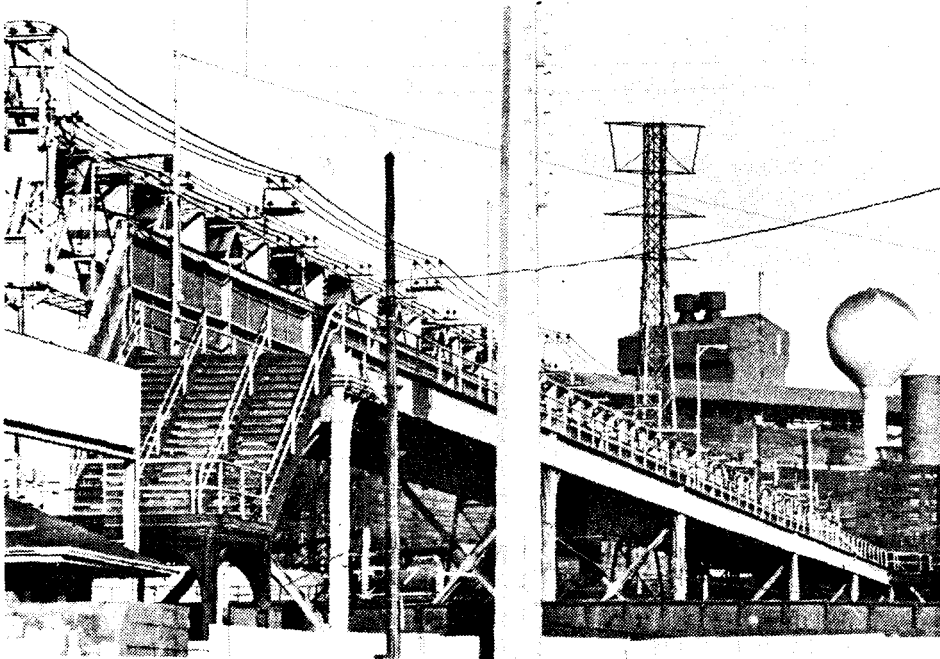
right-wing bureaucratic opposition headed by George Pashkevich was badly routed and finished barely ahead of the reformist Rank and File Committee (RFC). The RFC slate, headed by NSWRFC chairman George Edwards, could not, however, denounce on principle the practice of bringing the capitalist courts into union affairs, as it has itself advocated government intervention to challenge union seniority and election procedures.

For a Class-Struggle Opposition

The clear need of steel workers—who are suffering from unemployment, speed-up, abominable safety conditions in the plants and inflation—is for a militant opposition to the class-

Mine Workers' Arnold Miller, Sadlowski is a liberal who combines empty rhetoric about union democracy and "honesty" with a program of Labor Department intervention in the unions. On all the fundamental issues facing steel workers—such as the right to strike, layoffs, speed-up, racial discrimination, union independence from the bosses' state and parties—he has provided no alternative to Abel.

Sadlowski represents the first important challenge to a major trade-union regime since Miller ousted Tony Boyle in the Mine Workers. At that time the SL stood virtually alone against a myriad of fake-socialists who fell over each other grovelling before Miller and the now-defunct Miners For Democra-



U.S. Steel's Southworks plant in Chicago.

WV Photo

collaborationist policies of both the encrusted Abel bureaucracy and the slicker-talking Sadlowski "reformers." At Local 65 there are three groupings that have pretensions of being to the left of both Abel and Sadlowski. One, the Rank and File Voice (part of the NSWRFC), won a grievor's post in the local elections and openly endorsed Sadlowski's man Chico. Another, Breakout (backed by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party), also won a grievor's post and tacitly backed Chico by concentrating its fire exclusively against Mirocha. The third, the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus (RSC), supported by the Revolutionary Socialist League, finished a distant third in the campaign for local president.

In our earlier article on the USWA local elections, *WV* advocated highly critical support to the RSC candidates at Southworks. However, by the time of the voting Chico's suit altered the situation. The RSC simply ducked the issue of how to combat both Mirocha's attempt to steal the election and Chico's treacherous appeal to the bosses' courts. Yet this issue was then at the heart of the campaign and even attracted attention in the daily papers. By its failure to take a stand against government intervention into the union, the RSC forfeited any claim on the votes of militants in this election.

In the bureaucratic politicking in the Steelworkers, Sadlowski will capitalize on the recent votes, and Abel's prospects of placing himself or a handpicked successor in the International presidency have suffered a setback. Like the

cy. Since taking office, the Miller regime has proceeded to ram a sellout contract down the throat of rebellious miners and to smash a mammoth wildcat for the right to strike over local grievances. Put Sadlowski in Abel's seat and there will be a repeat performance of the Miller "reform" hoax.

While some ostensibly socialist organizations are hedging on whether to give open support to the bankrupt Sadlowski, several supported slates in the local USWA elections that were in a bloc with the up-and-coming liberal bureaucrat. Without the support of fake-leftists like Balanoff's RFS, Breakout, Rank and File Voice, etc., Sadlowski's campaign would be seriously weakened. These opportunists must be held responsible for channeling the legitimate anger of steel workers back into the folds of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. What is necessary instead is the building of an opposition that will provide a class-struggle answer to all the labor fakers. ■

FORUM

Cuba in Africa: Vanguard of Revolution or Rearguard of Detente?

Speaker: CHARLES O'BRIEN
Editor, *Young Spartacus*
SL Central Committee

Time: Thursday, May 6, 7:30 p.m.

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NEW YORK

Moscone Tries to Buffalo the Public

The bourgeoisie's propaganda mills were running full blast this week, blaming the strikers for everything from

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WORKERS VANGUARD



Pickets block buses at East Bay Terminal.

WV Photo

a water shortage to the escape of four buffalo through a hole in the fence at Golden Gate Park zoo. On Tuesday, Mayor George Moscone, touted by union brass last November as a sterling "friend of labor," told reporters: "We hear rumors of a threatened escalation of the strike that would jeopardize our facilities. I have every assurance that we can keep our systems operating. Police personnel are on the ready if there is any attempt at sabotage."

The very next day, city officials charged that the sudden break of a 30-inch water main in Golden Gate Park was the result of union "vandalism." The press, which normally knows nothing and cares less about the plight of working people, suddenly oozed with concern over a water crisis stemming from the shutdown of the Hetch Hetchy water system in the Sierras and unrepaired breaks in the city system. The mayor rushed private contractors to repair the park main, but the workers refused to scab when city craftsmen threw up a picket line at the site. Undeterred, Moscone brought in non-union scabs from San Jose who fixed the break while 100 strikers, cordoned off by the city cops, stood by and jeered.

For the next few days, police patrolled the park with menacing dogs "to prevent sabotage." The cowboy cops also rounded up the four escaped buffalo. Meanwhile the mayor hypocritically warned that by cutting off chlorine deliveries to sewage treatment plants the strikers would lose "any favor they may still have with the public."

While fanning anti-strike fever among the petty bourgeoisie to a white-hot pitch, the local rulers have also attempted to intimidate the Muni drivers of Transit Workers Union (TWU) Local 250A, whose class-loyal support to the craft strike has sustained it by keeping city buses and trolleys idled for over a month, while other city workers crossed picket lines. On April 29, the S.F. Chamber of Commerce publicly commented that perhaps the city could manage without the Muni transit system! Muni officials took the cue and began implementing a computerized car-pool system for city-bound commuters. With the TWU contract coming up in July, Moscone's announced budget for the next fiscal year contains not one penny for Muni wage increases.

After repeated affirmations of membership support for the craft strike and demands that the CLC implement its April 6 general strike threat, TWU local president Larry Martin has done nothing but probe for back-to-work sentiment. He has avoided the angry ranks for over a week now by refusing to hold another general membership meeting. Meanwhile, the yellow Hearst press provides massive publicity to a backstabbing back-to-work petition circulated by only four Muni drivers. Today Martin suggested that Muni drivers would return if Evankovich succeeded in his swindle to take the Laborers back.

"My men will make a reasonable decision," said the TWU leader.

Shut Down S.F.!

The monumental incompetence and cowardice of the union bureaucrats has earned them the well-justified disgust of the ranks. But in the absence of a militant leadership and a winning strike strategy, this disgust could turn to demoralization. The frustration of the beleaguered strikers might well be expressed in isolated acts of sabotage. Such desperate measures, while understandable, are a futile attempt to substitute for the mobilization of the city labor movement to defend the strike. The strikers' militancy must not be dissipated in empty and possibly counterproductive gestures.

Instead, militants must fight to mobilize mass support and elect strike committees in workplaces across the city. Such committees could revive the strike momentum by putting back the picket lines which the labor fakers have dismantled. Delegations of strikers must appeal directly to their brothers and sisters in other unions not simply to respect the lines, but to join the strike and take part in mass picketing to keep out scabs at major factories, hospitals, transportation and communications centers and key municipal buildings. The barriers to mobilizing support from the lower-paid sectors of city labor can be broken down by unilaterally ripping up the bureaucrats' sellout contracts and demanding new agreements with a big pay boost, 100 percent cost-of-living escalators and a shorter workweek at full pay, to provide jobs for the unemployed.

The Board of Supervisors has spent years preparing for this union-busting campaign by mobilizing middle-class sentiment against city workers on the basis of disgruntlement with high taxes. It is the city rulers, of course, who are responsible for passing the costs of city services onto the backs of the working people and small homeowners. Meanwhile, CLC head John Crowley and the rest of the union bureaucracy have played into the supervisors' hands by defending the wages of better-paid craftsmen (and now failing to do even that much) while refusing to militantly oppose tax increases or to fight for free city services. The unions must call for free hospital, transportation and other basic services; instead of runaway tax increases they should propose expropriation of the bloodsucking banks.

San Francisco labor is a sleeping giant that has flexed its powerful muscles more than once in the past. The traditions of active labor solidarity have not been destroyed and are waiting to be reawakened. The strike can win if it is spread, placed firmly under the democratic control of the rank and file, and based on class-struggle demands.

Stop wage cuts! Re-open all city workers contracts!

Elect strike committees! For mass picketing!

Shut down S.F. to smash the anti-labor propositions!

Chilean Exiles...

(continued from page 3)

partially restored through a complicated operation. The hardships he is now enduring could lead to the total loss of his eyesight.

In their letter, the Whitecrosses estimated that of the 8,000 political prisoners of various nationalities being held in Argentina, over 4,000 have been arrested since the March 24 coup. Another 2,000 prisoners, they say, have been in jail for periods ranging from four to 14 months without trial, on suspicion of subversive activities. Under Argentine law, such prisoners had the right to leave the country after three months. Even before the coup, however, the armed forces had effectively curtailed this right and have now suspended it altogether.

The Whitecrosses asserted that in addition to these prisoners, there are another 2,000—some of them incarcerated since 1973—waiting either to be tried or for their sentences to be confirmed.

"Our own political experiences," they write, "suggest that the conditions in which political prisoners are held in Argentina, bad enough under Isabel Perón, have deteriorated in recent weeks: prisoners and their families are subjected to increased intimidation and

harassment, and torture of the newly-arrested continues on at least the same scale as before. The death squad has been credited with carrying out 136 assassinations in the first three weeks of President Videla's government."

Campaign to Save Victims of Right-Wing Repression

The Committee to Save Mario Muñoz is presently organizing public meetings, rallies, press conferences, telegram campaigns and other forms of protest to focus international attention on the plight of Muñoz and the thousands of other leftists victimized by the Argentine junta, but this work cannot be carried forward without urgently needed funds. *Workers Vanguard* urges its readers to send checks and money orders without delay made payable to the Partisan Defense Committee and earmarked Committee to Save Mario Muñoz to: PDC, Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013.

It is the immediate duty of all socialists and militants and those concerned with democratic rights to build a massive campaign of protest and pressure to demand the freedom of all the victims of the junta's right-wing repression in Chile and Argentina. Stop the Manhunt—Hands Off Mario Muñoz! Free All Victims of Right-Wing Repression in Argentina and Chile!

Vicious Cop Brutality in Santa Barbara Strike



Santa Barbara News-Press

Police beat strike supporters at May 1 picket.

SANTA BARBARA, California—Since late January, a strike of 70 predominantly Chicano workers of Browning Ferris Industries (BFI) here has been met with brutal police repression, company cop scabherding and the refusal of management to negotiate. The strikers are fighting for union representation, rehiring of a fired shop steward, sick pay benefits and increases in wages and vacation pay from the company, the largest publicly-held solid waste disposal contractor in the U.S.

During the first three months of the struggle, 30 workers were arrested on the lines and hit with such charges as battery, obstructing traffic and disturbing the peace. On May 1 a 300-strong picket line of strike supporters from radical groups and local unions was given the same treatment.

When the militant picketers attempted to stop scab garbage trucks, they were savagely dispersed by a busload of city and county police. Many were clubbed to the ground, placed

under arrest and hauled off to General Hospital for treatment. Others were chased for blocks as motorcycle police raced down the sidewalks to head them off and continue the bloody assault. In all some 35 demonstrators were arrested.

Later in the day, following a May Day rally highlighted by rock bands and poetry readings rather than efforts to organize concrete support for the strike, protestors marched on the police station to protest the morning's vicious attack. While some in the crowd pleaded "No more arrests," supporters of the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in AFSCME Local 2070, chanted, "Free the BFI 35!"

With other Santa Barbara unions facing contract fights over the next few months, the urgent need is to broaden labor support from paper resolutions and financial aid to militant mass picketing, mobilizing the entire local union movement to shut down the scab operation. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Union Tops Cripple S.F. City Workers Strike

SAN FRANCISCO, May 4—With the strike of 1,900 S.F. municipal skilled tradesmen dragging into its fifth week, the union bureaucrats are increasingly desperate to negotiate face-saving terms of surrender. Despite earlier bluffing, the Central Labor Council (CLC) obstinately refuses to escalate the struggle into the necessary general strike which alone could defeat the budget-slashing supervisors and mayor by throwing all San Francisco labor into the battle. But while CLC leaders try their best to work out a "compromise" which would slightly disguise the massive pay cuts, it is only the rigid, no-compromise position of the Board of Supervisors that has so far prevented such a sellout.

The city crafts strike, supported by 2,000 municipal transit (Muni) workers, is a crucial test of wills with nationwide implications. Yet a militant union leadership has not emerged to mobilize the ranks around a program for victory: re-open all city workers' contracts, organize elected strike committees and

launch a general strike to defend the craft unions and smash the anti-labor charter amendments. With the CLC leaders preparing to knife the craftsmen in the back, the threat of a crushing defeat hangs over the unions like a sharpened dagger pointed at the heart of Bay Area labor.

Last Thursday, reports of a "peace plan" caused a flurry of rumors broadcasting the imminent end of the walk-out. Under the proposal, strike issues would be turned over to a joint "study committee" of five city representatives and five labor representatives. City rulers would still be assured of the final say by the shameless device of referring all unresolved issues to the Board of Supervisors' legislative and personnel committee. This consists of three supervisors, including arch-racist union-buster John Barbagelata, author of the notorious Proposition B which sparked the strike. But even this treacherous scheme floundered on the supervisors' demand for total capitulation.

continued on page 10



City workers picket City Hall, April 14.

WV Photo

Reopen the Sellout Teamster Freight Contract!

UPS On Strike in Midwest

CLEVELAND—On May 1, 14,000 workers in over 50 locals belonging to the Central States Conference of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) went on strike against the United Parcel Service (UPS).

UPS is the largest and most profitable company in the trucking industry, a position it has achieved in good part through a massive intensification of labor, speed-up and forced overtime. While wages of UPS drivers are similar to those of drivers in the Teamsters freight division, working conditions are notoriously inferior. Company discipline is almost military; in fact, one of the demands of UPS workers is simply for the right to wear one's hair, mustache or beard as he sees fit!

Most United Parcel Service drivers are fairly young—partly because the company is expanding but also because UPS will not hire older drivers, since they cannot stand the killing work pace. The workforce at UPS is overwhelmingly white and male. Although a number of women are hired, most are fired before they complete the 30-day

probation period.

The major component in the company's exploitation of labor is the widespread use of part-timers. At the Cleveland UPS hub, for example, all the inside workers are part-timers. Part-timers do all loading and sorting, and are paid considerably below the scale that full-time drivers receive. The company uses the excuse that part-timers work only a few hours a day to speed up the work pace to a grueling level. It is not surprising that there has always been a rapid turnover at UPS, even during times of heightened unemployment. The transient character of this workforce makes it relatively less conscious about union affairs and therefore easier to take advantage of.

Part-time workers pay dues but are not eligible for health and welfare benefits. Hence, they do not drain union welfare funds. This situation is not unpleasing to the parasitic Teamsters bureaucracy, which has done nothing to interfere with the introduction of part-time workers on a massive scale.

Although UPS workers in many

instances are members of the same Teamster locals as general freight and local cartage drivers, the IBT tops have been careful to isolate them from the rest of the warehouse and trucking membership. UPS employees have separate contract expiration dates and are excluded from the master freight agreement. Not only does this weaken the position of UPS workers, but it threatens all Teamster drivers and warehousemen. United Parcel Service is a pioneer for the introduction of new methods of exploitation that will be applied later in the freight division. UPS workers must be included under the master freight agreement!

The segmentation in bargaining for UPS does not stop here. The current strike embraces only the employees in the Midwest, and then even not all of them. Teamster Locals 705 and 710, in Illinois and Indiana respectively, have agreed to extend their contracts for a month. Louis Peick, head of Local 705 in the pivotal city of Chicago, catered to the trucking bosses in the same fashion during the recent freight strike. Peick

once enjoyed a reputation as being somewhat independent of the Fitzsimmons leadership, but with his promotion this year to International vice president, he has given up any pretense of militancy. The failure to link the UPS contract to freight as well as the unwillingness to launch a solid nationwide (or even regional!) UPS strike make it considerably easier for the Parcel Service to introduce scab operations, using non-union drivers and UPS workers outside the Midwest to haul and process parcels.

UPSurge

The only organized opposition to the Teamster bureaucracy among UPS workers is UPSurge, which is allied with and whose policies are similar to Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC). Like TDC, UPSurge makes no pretense of challenging the capitalist system and continually stresses that the politics of its members are irrelevant. Rather than conceiving of itself as an alternative leadership which counter-

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