

Mario Muñoz Campaign Calls Demonstration in NYC

The international campaign to save Chilean revolutionary labor leader Mario Muñoz from death at the hands of the murderous Argentine junta continues to receive broad support from socialists, trade unionists and others concerned for the defense of human rights in Latin America.

Telegrams have been received from the United Nations High Commissioner of Refugees in response to numerous requests for UN action to ensure safe conduct out of Argentina for Muñoz and his family. One such telegram, sent on May 29, in reply to a letter from Andrew Bewin, a New Democratic Party member of parliament in Canada, states:

"Ref your letter 12 May concerning Mario Muñoz. Would like to assure you United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees following this case closely together with his regional representative in Buenos Aires who has intervened highest level Argentinian authorities."

Press coverage of the Muñoz case has also increased. While the bourgeois press generally greeted the Videla coup, and subsequently has downplayed reports of the escalating rightist repres-

sion, last week the 4 June issue of the *Toronto Star* carried an article by Harvey Levenstein, associate professor of history at McMaster University, describing Muñoz' plight. In Vienna, Austria, the 5 June *Arbeiterzeitung* also carried an article on Muñoz.

Among the many new endorsements received by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz during the past two weeks are those of Pedro Pascal Allende, nephew of the slain Chilean president Salvador Allende, a member of the Socialist Party of Chile* and former national director of housing under the Popular Unity government; Alfred Ströer, vice president of the European Federation of Free Trade Unions* and general secretary of the Austrian Union Federation*; North London Teachers Association, National Union of Teachers* (England); Alfred Kastler, physicist; Jane Fonda, actress; Rudi Dutschke, former German SDS leader; Peter Yarrow, singer; Paul Targot, Communist Party* senator (France); Christian Pierre, first secretary, Paris Federation of the Socialist Party; factory council at Carlo Erba

North London Teachers Defend Muñoz

The following resolution was passed by a June 7 meeting of North London (England) delegates of the National Union of Teachers (NUT).

Whereas, Mario Muñoz is a leader of a Chilean copper miners' union, and his persecution and denial of basic democratic rights by the Argentinian government represents an attack on all trade unionists;

We, therefore, move, that the NLTA [North London Teachers Association] endorse the campaign to save Mario Muñoz in accordance with the following slogans:

Hands Off Mario Muñoz!

Chilean Working Class Leader Must Not Die!

Free All Victims of Right-Wing Repression in Chile and Argentina!

Stop the Manhunt!

And that this body calls upon the National Union of Teachers and the Trades Union Congress to support this case and for the Labour Government to do the following:

1. To demand of the relevant United Nations subcommittee to extend its protection to this man and his wife and children;
2. To make a formal and explicit offer of asylum in Britain;
3. To make these points clear to the Argentinian government.

North London Teachers Association

SpA, Milano (Italy); and Joe Alvarez, International representative, Northern Region 6, United Auto Workers*.

The Committee to Save Mario Muñoz reports that arrangements are currently being made for delegations to visit Argentine consulates in New York and elsewhere on behalf of Muñoz. In conjunction with these delegations, demonstrations will be held outside the consulates protesting the victimization of Muñoz and other leftist and labor militants in Argentina; following the visits, press conferences will be held to

further publicize the campaign.

Financially, the campaign has received generous support from endorsers and other concerned individuals. To date, the Committee reports receipt of donations totalling \$7,503. However, the tremendous costs of mounting an international campaign of protest and pressure require even more. *WV* urgently requests its readers to support the campaign to save Mario Muñoz, by endorsements, seeking support from others and through financial contributions. ■

*Organizations listed for identification purposes only.

Irwin Silber Fans the Flames of Eclecticism at Guardian Gala

"Third Worldists" and Peking Loyalists: The Rift Widens

NEW YORK CITY, June 5—"Anybody who suggested that we reprint the Chinese position on the Cuban troops in Angola certainly would not have been doing China a favor."

Speaking here last night at a well-attended forum on "The International Line of the U.S. Left," *Guardian* executive editor Irwin Silber in these words demonstrated the kind of slimy agility required by the soft Stalinists whose niche as "friends" of all "pro-

gressives" has become rather uncomfortable lately.

Although promoted for weeks with fanfare as the opening of a "discussion" on Maoist foreign policy, the *Guardian* forum above all avoided any analysis of the admitted "colossal errors" resulting from the Chinese alliance with U.S. imperialism against their bureaucratic rivals monopolizing power in the Russian degenerated workers state. Rather, playing the old New Left "united front against U.S. imperialism" tune, the *Guardian* now more than ever is attempting to be the mouthpiece for all the vicarious "Third World" nationalists, sub-Menshevik "movement" leftovers and "Marxist-Leninist" refugees disaffected with China's foreign policy and alienated from the hard-line "party building" Maoist sects.

"Détente of a New Type"?

"What brought you here in the first place," Silber croaked, "was the struggle against U.S. imperialism, and it is unity in the struggle against U.S. imperialism that is the only thing that can bring us together again." Seeking to reconcile the appetites of the *Guardian* constituency of petty-bourgeois radical hand-clappers with the betrayals of the Chinese bureaucracy in its promiscuous courtship of U.S. imperialism, Silber preached "self-determination" for all "friends of China." Again and again returning to the theme that "our movement must develop its own revolutionary line," Silber insisted that the "world revolutionary movement" has

"no single center today," no "established church" and no "papal infallibility."

In order to distance the *Guardian* from the stench of Peking's betrayals without leaving the trough of Maoism Silber cynically invokes the national-centeredness inherent in Maoism as a Stalinist ideology justifying "socialism in one country." The so-called "proletarian internationalism" touted by the *Guardian* is nothing more than a cynical "détente" with the back-stabbing bureaucrats in Peking and a declaration of independence to cheer the struggles of its choice.

So sham is the "internationalism" of the *Guardian* that Silber slithered through his entire prepared talk without once directly confronting Chinese foreign policy. Lapsing into the aesopian anonymity often employed by *Peking Review*, Silber at one point in his panegyrics for the petty-bourgeois nationalist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) noted that all "socialist" governments supported the MPLA, "with one notable exception." Silber refrained from noting this "notable" enemy of the MPLA: "People's" China.

In addition to this shadow boxing, "critical Maoist" Silber repeatedly used the "literal Maoists," especially the shameless October League (OL) but also the pariah Revolutionary Communist Party, as punching bags for polemical jabs at the Peking line. For example, Silber pounced on the OL, the former bedfellow-traveller of the *Guardian*, for allegedly "pulling out of



Irwin Silber

WV Photo

thin air" the contention that before the introduction of Cuban troops in Angola, the FNLA and UNITA together commanded the support of the majority of the population. But, like all its "analyses" of Angola, the OL merely pulled this right out of the pages of *Peking Review*.

U-Turns Allowed on the "Capitalist Road"

Only during the bureaucratically orchestrated discussion period did Silber even pretend to address the substantial issues of Chinese foreign policy. Two speakers expressing the viewpoint of the OL attacked the *Guardian* for anti-Maoism by refusing to brand the Soviet Union as "capitalist" and the "main enemy."

Indeed, the criminal allegation that the USSR represents "social-

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Karen Allen

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Anne Kelley

EDITORIAL BOARD: Liz Gordon (Chairman), Chris Knox (Labor), James Robertson (Advisory), Charles Burroughs (Editorial Staff), Joseph Seymour (Midwest), George Foster (West Coast)

Published weekly, except bi-weekly in August and December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone: 966-6841 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001. Domestic subscriptions: \$5.00 per year. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Rubber Strike...

(continued from page 12)

divisions are free to do as they will (i.e., to stab each other in the back)!

At midnight on May 15, as *WV* reporters were talking with General Tire workers here, a union bureaucrat told the workers to respect a picket line if strikers from other plants appeared. (He added that since such picketing would constitute an illegal "secondary boycott," the company would "take care of it.") But the pickets failed to show. Four days later, five URW strikers from other Akron plants picketed the noon shift change at the scab plant, but General workers reported as usual. Crossing a picket line is an attack on all workers and must not be permitted! Militant rubber strikers must defy Bommarito and shut down General Tire with mass picketing!

The General Tire situation may well repeat itself as other URW tire companies which are presently working, such as Armstrong and Kelly-Springfield (a Goodyear subsidiary), have contracts which expire during the next few weeks. The URW must call out *all* its tire plants now!

Bommarito Against Strike Benefits

As if toleration of extensive scabbing were not enough of a defeatist policy, Bommarito has aggressively deprived the Big Four workers of any strike benefits. A financially weak union, the URW's strike fund of \$5.5 million was exhausted within three weeks. An additional \$1.35 million transferred from other union funds was quickly used up, and the strikers are now without any benefits.

The International Executive Board had called a special convention on May 27 in Chicago, a safe distance from the strike center, with the announced purpose of voting a dues supplement to replenish the fund. Incredibly, even if approved, this money was not slated for use in the current strike. But as it turned out the executive board advised against a dues increase and this was endorsed by the convention. Only the Canadian delegates, probably reflecting a higher level of union consciousness, spoke for more money for the strike fund.

The dues supplement to beef up the strike fund had been planned several months ago, with the support of the Bommarito regime. However, in the meantime there was apparent resistance from some of the smaller non-tire locals, where wages are generally less than in the Big Four. The parochial backwardness of these locals fed into the International's defeatist attitude toward the current strike, and the dues supplement was nixed.

Not only did the Bommarito bureaucracy do a turnabout on the dues supplement, it openly rejected a UAW offer for an interest-free loan to renew the strike benefits. The UAW should grant the money outright to the rubber strikers, particularly since its secretary-treasurer, Emil Mazey, claims the auto union is in the "best financial position in its history" (*Akron Beacon Journal*, 27 May).

Bommarito is trying to peddle his anti-strike-benefit policy with a lot of pseudo-militant rhetoric: strikes are not won by money but by heart, he sputters. The resolution on the strike adopted at the special URW convention states: "That strike benefits or lack thereof shall never be a decisive factor in a URW strike." No rubber worker should be taken in by this double-talk. Bommarito figures that by increasing the financial strain on the strikers he can soften them up for a bad contract.

Shut Down Auto!

In contrast to the three-day Teamster walkout this April, the seven-week-old

national rubber strike is not treated as important news by the bourgeois media (or even by much of the left press). This is because the rubber strike can affect the U.S. economy *only* by curtailing auto production, and this is *not* happening.

The auto companies had built up large tire stocks anticipating the strike. These are daily replenished by non-union tire companies like Michelin, non-union plants of the Big Four like Firestone's southern operations, non-striking URW companies like General Tire and extensive scabbing in the struck plants themselves. Bommarito's attrition strategy, dangerous from the outset, threatens disaster for the union. A victory for the hard-pressed rubber workers requires a solidarity strike by the UAW. In addition, Teamster drivers and warehousemen must refuse to handle tires.

The obvious and overwhelming need for joint action between the rubber and auto unions is not limited to the current strike. Tire production, the heart of the URW, is a component part of the auto industry. An isolated tire strike can never have serious economic leverage. URW tire and UAW auto contracts should have a common deadline and coordinated negotiations.

Smash scabbing through mass picketing! Call out all URW tire plants now!

For a solidarity strike in auto! Teamsters: Hot-cargo tires! ■

Guardian Gala...

(continued from page 3)

imperialism" is the main justification used by Peking to cover its treacherous alliance with U.S. imperialism. To take just one example: Peking nominally calls for a "national-democratic" (as opposed to a socialist) revolution in Iran to achieve the "first stage" of "national independence"; yet China supports the butcher Shah precisely because this reactionary autocrat... "defends national independence" from the threat of "Soviet social-imperialism"!

In "reply" Silber pointed out that the "thesis" of capitalist restoration in the USSR leads to the reactionary conclusion that the "main blow" should be struck not at U.S. imperialism but at the USSR. But Silber "forgot" to add that this "thesis" forms the sole rationale advanced by the Chinese to explain their foreign policy!

Unwilling to openly confront the Chinese line, Silber hemmed and hawed that there were no "trick answers" to "sum up" this "most controversial question," this "very profound and serious question" of the "class character of the Soviet Union." Pleading agnosticism Silber concluded by declaring that although the USSR has gone "down the road to capitalism" the "process" of restoration has not been completed.

Specter of Trotskyism Haunts Maoists

Speaking from the floor, a Spartacist League spokesman nailed Silber for his evasions covering up the counterrevolutionary role of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. The SL speaker challenged Silber:

"Why is the *Guardian* only embarrassed by China's betrayal in Angola, when, at the time of the 1973 coup in Chile, China closed the doors of its Santiago Embassy to militants seeking asylum? Since then, why has China given financial and military aid to the junta? China, no less than the Moscow Stalinists, supported Allende's so-called 'peaceful road to socialism,' just as Mao engineered the 'peaceful road' to blood-bath in Indonesia in 1965.

"Why has the *Guardian* remained silent about Mao's support to the bloody Ethiopian junta as it marches in genocidal war against the Eritrean people struggling for self-

determination? Why has the *Guardian* remained silent about Mao's support to the butcher Shah of Iran? At the very moment the Shah was exterminating the guerrillas in Oman China called for Iran 'to strengthen its defenses in view of the prevailing situation in the region,' and that's a quote from *Hsinhua*.

"Why has the *Guardian* supported the Portuguese Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), which has opposed proletarian revolution in Portugal and has advocated an alliance with German imperialism against the USSR? Could it be that examination of these questions would require a Trotskyist critique of Stalinist betrayals as has been put forward only by the Spartacist League in this country!"

Unable to answer the charges of the SL speaker, Silber attempted to brazen it out: "In that litany of things that you ran down—and I don't recall all of them [!]—there are a number of points that are true, there are a number that are half true, there are a number that are completely untrue." What untruths? Declares Silber, "One that's untrue, incidentally, is the charge that the *Guardian* supports the PCP-ML."

Permit us to recall that the *Guardian* (1 October 1975) uncritically reported the PCP-ML statements mentioned by the SL speaker, while adding that "this newspaper has many reservations" about the rival Maoist Movement for the Reorganization of the Party of the Proletariat. In fact, the *Guardian* (11 June 1975) itself hailed the *generalissimo* of the MFA as "dedicated revolutionaries" allegedly "leading the country in the direction of revolutionary social change"!

'Fig Leaf Falls

Silber dropped his fig leaf, however, when he attempted to deny the treachery of the Chinese in Chile at the time of the coup: "You have no evidence to show that the Chinese Embassy in Santiago closed its doors to Chilean refugees." Let Silber attempt to deny this account of leading Chilean Maoist spokesman Robinson Rojas' encounter with the Chinese embassy published in an Argentine newspaper only days after the coup:

"A few days after the overthrow of Salvador Allende, and when the Monedá [the presidential palace in Santiago] was still smoldering, the journalist Robinson Rojas, a Chilean who had been an editor of the New China News Agency (*Hsinhua*) in Peking and later correspondent in Santiago, arrived at the gate of the People's China embassy on Pedro de Valdivia Avenue and attempted to enter with the intention of asking for asylum. The Chinese officials, who knew him personally, rejected him, leaving him on the street. The *carabineros* [national police] on guard only watched. Rojas had to look for other asylum, as did other Chileans of the Unidad Popular who at first appealed to the Peking embassy."

—*La Opinion*, 21 November 1973

In fact, Silber himself all but admitted that the Chinese Embassy did not shelter hounded militants in this life-and-death situation. Countered Silber: "The Chinese have said on any number of occasions that indeed they used the automobiles in the Chinese embassy to transport refugees in Santiago on the day of the coup to a variety of embassies in the city, that they gave refuge in that fashion." Some refuge! Of the "variety of embassies" in Santiago only the American and the Chinese were not surrounded by government troops waiting to snare militants (see the Spartacus Youth League pamphlet, *China's Alliance With U.S. Imperialism*).

For Communist Unity Against Imperialism!

It was the internationalist perspective raised by the SL speaker which finally provoked Silber to openly defend betrayals by the Stalinist bureaucracies in the name of "building socialism in one country":

"But the real question involved is not so much who did what, who did this, who did that, but, as you say, a generalization from it. We support—let's make it

clear very firmly—the fact that socialism must be built in the present world along national lines. And we have to recognize, in supporting that, that the foreign policy of a socialist country may not at all times be exactly the same as the international line of a revolutionary movement."

The *Guardian* may "respectfully differ" with the "colossal errors" in foreign policy committed by the bureaucratic elite ruling over the masses in China, but these seasoned Stalinists support "building socialism in one country" which forms the basis for counterrevolutionary "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

Only Trotskyism upholds the call for international communist unity against imperialism and the unconditional defense of all the bureaucratically deformed and degenerated workers states. Genuine proletarian internationalism requires an intransigent struggle for the political revolution to sweep away the parasitic ruling bureaucracies from Havana to Hanoi and to establish proletarian democracy expressed through soviets and replace the narrowly nationalistic policies of the competing Stalinists by the world-revolutionary program of the international working class. ■

Moonies...

(continued from page 7)

fascism are not only anti-Communism but also white racism and national chauvinism. Thus despite an operation strikingly reminiscent of the Young Life movement of ultra-reactionary industrialist H.L. Hunt in the late 1950's, Moon's mass appeal in the U.S. is limited primarily to cult-crazed dropouts.

The temporary flurry stirred up by the "moonies" has prompted some liberals to seek to contest the Unification Church's status as a religion and bring in the Justice Department, IRS and immigration authorities to suppress it. As Marxist atheists, we leave it to the competing brands of religious obscurantism to debate one another's doctrinal credentials. We vigorously oppose tax exemptions and all other forms of backhanded government support to any church. The bourgeoisie's chauvinist laws—such as the vicious witchhunting statutes requiring registration of "agents of a foreign power"—are a far more serious danger to democratic rights than are the "moonies." While misguided liberals cry for the government to apply these laws against Moon, left militants and immigrant workers understand that the weapons of bourgeois state repression can never be invoked to "serve the people."

Moon's paeans of praise for imperialism's holy war against Communism in Vietnam, and his prating about peace and justice in the service of the concentration-camp regime of Korea's dictator Park, are certainly nauseating and dangerous. But the respectable, "established" religions—from imperialist warmongers such as Cardinal Spellman in the U.S. to the Emperor-worshipping Shintoists in Japan—are far more influential props of reaction. The "moonies" are essentially a passing craze. Nativist American fascist movements are infinitely more dangerous potential rallying points for the forces of darkness which Moon's movement aspires to organize than is this self-proclaimed new "messiah." ■

SPARTACIST édition française
pour toute commande s'adresser à:

Bruno Porquier Spartacist Publishing Co.
B.P. 57 Box 1377 GPO,
95120 Ermont New York, N.Y. 10001
FRANCE USA

3,00 F. \$.75 US/Canada

WORKERS VANGUARD