

Smash White Supremacy! For Proletarian Revolution!

Anti-Apartheid Revolt Rages on in South Africa

SEPTEMBER 20 - When police fired into a crowd of protesting black secondary school students in the township of Soweto at 10 minutes after sunrise on June 16 they set off the broadest plebeian upsurge in the history of South Africa. Rather than dying down or collapsing in the face of murderous repression, the anti-apartheid revolt has continued to boil. Despite an official death toll nearing 400 (of which only *three* are whites!), new demonstrations break out in Durban and smaller industrial towns, and massive "stay-at-home" strikes repeatedly shake Johannesburg industry and commerce for several days at a time.

In the last three weeks, the protest
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Thousands of youths marched last week in Cape Town protesting apartheid and mass jailings.

Le Figaro

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*i*Pinochet Asesino!

Orlando Letelier Murdered

The Partisan Defense Committee has sent the following telegram to the wife of Orlando Letelier:

Compañera Letelier,

The savage assassination of your husband is a crime against the international working class. His death will be mourned by all those who worked in defense of the victims of junta repression. The bomb that ended his life will not stop the cause that Orlando Letelier courageously served. His memory will be avenged when the working class rises up in the name of all its martyrs to smash bloody junta rule once and for all.

Partisan Defense Committee

Orlando Letelier, the former Chilean minister of foreign affairs and ambassador to the U.S. under the government of Salvador Allende, was assassinated in Washington, D.C. on the morning of September 21. The bomb that blew apart his automobile near the Chilean embassy also took the life of passenger Ronnie Karpen Moffitt and seriously injured her husband. Both worked with Letelier as researchers at the Institute of Policy Studies.

Chilean exiles in the U.S. know well that the junta's infamous secret police, the DINA, operates with impunity out of the embassy. Pinochet's murder squads already assassinated the anti-junta general Carlos Prats in Buenos Aires in 1974. In Rome they shot Bernardo Leighton, a leader of the Christian Democratic Party, in the face. To these unspeakable atrocities are added the more than 30,000 leftists and workers murdered in cold blood by the U.S.-backed junta.

The 44-year-old Socialist lawyer was well known to those who worked with him in defense of the victims of Pinochet's terror. He was also well known to the junta, which jailed him for a year after the bloody coup of 11 September 1973. Only ten days ago Letelier was a featured speaker at a rally at Madison Square Garden marking the third anniversary of the coup. He was an influential opponent of the junta in the citadel of imperialism. Last Wednesday Pinochet revoked Letelier's Chilean citizenship for his untiring efforts in opposition to U.S. financial aid to the junta.

Those who worked in the campaign to save Mario Muñoz knew Orlando Letelier. At a time when the Chilean miners leader was little known outside his homeland and many Stalinists and liberals were reluctant to defend him from the Argentine junta, Letelier sent a letter detailing Muñoz' activities in defense of the working class and pledging the support of the Socialist Party for efforts to save him.

Letelier must have known that he was a marked man, yet he continued to speak out against Pinochet's barbarous torture regime. His courageous fight against junta terror should inspire new generations of militants to take up the struggle waged by this martyr of the workers movement.

Working-class militants throughout the world will bitterly denounce this outrage! We demand that the assassins of Orlando Letelier be arrested and prosecuted, but we express our utter lack of confidence in the U.S. bourgeoisie to do so! We denounce as well the complicity of the American government in this vile assassination. How is it possible that Pinochet's hit men are able to carry out their murderous work in the streets of Washington with impunity? The answer is all too obvious.

The world working class must raise a mighty cry of protest against the brutal murder of Orlando Letelier. Not a penny of aid to the Junta! Hot cargo Chilean goods! The assassination of Orlando Letelier will be avenged through proletarian revolution to smash the blood-soaked Pinochet dictatorship!



Jerrold Schecter

Vorster and Kissinger at Zurich summit.



Camerapix

Kissinger with Tanzanian president Nyerere.

Imperialist Scheme for Pax South Africana

Kissinger Offers Billions to Shore Up Vorster

SEPTEMBER 20—On Friday, Henry Kissinger brought his famed shuttle diplomacy to Pretoria. Ostensibly intended to "avert race war in southern Africa," the U.S. Secretary of State's real mission was to counter the influence of Russian arms in the region by negotiating compromise deals to defuse guerrilla war in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Southwest Africa (Namibia).

Behind this tactical move was the U.S.' strategic objective of shoring up the anti-communist bastion of South Africa. This places Kissinger on common ground with South African prime minister Balthazar Johannes Vorster, who hopes to defend his white supremacist *laager* by making concessions on peripheral issues to the surrounding black African states. Both were well aware that Kissinger's visit was a coup for Pretoria, partially lifting its diplomatic isolation.

Vorster and Kissinger are agreed that in the not-so-long run white rule is militarily non-viable both in Rhodesia and Southwest Africa. In the former blacks outnumber whites by 25 to 1. In contrast, the ratio of non-whites to whites in South Africa is only 5 to 1, with the country's white masters possessing a formidable military machine and rigid police-state measures to control the oppressed majority.

From "Operation Tarbaby" to Majority Rule

In 1969, during Nixon's first term, Kissinger's office authored a major U.S. policy paper (National Security Study Memorandum 39) on southern Africa embodying a pronounced "tilt" toward outright support of the white supremacist regimes (known as "Operation Tarbaby"). The premises for this policy were:

"The whites are here to stay and the only way that constructive change can come about is through them. There is no hope for the blacks to gain the political rights they seek through violence, which will only lead to chaos and increased opportunities for the communists."

—quoted in *The Kissinger Study of Southern Africa*, 1976

However, after the fall of the Caetano dictatorship in Lisbon in April 1974 and the Portuguese withdrawal from its former African colonies, the imperialist fiasco in Angola and the resurgence of guerrilla warfare in Rhodesia, the State Department has now extensively rewritten its script.

Following an earlier meeting with

Vorster in southern Germany, Kissinger made a policy speech in mid-August calling on the white population of Rhodesia to "recognize the inevitable" and accept "a government based on majority rule and minority rights." He also called for "a firm date for self-determination for Namibia" (*New York Times*, 14 August).

Expected to resign after the November elections no matter who wins, imperialist dove/hawk Kissinger is now a lame duck. He is reportedly eager to leave office with a diplomatic "last hurrah," and to that end he and his underlings are hop-skipping across southern Africa promising lucrative rewards to all parties if they cooperate.

To the phony Marxists of Frelimo, "rich uncle" Kissinger has offered \$12.5 million in aid (to offset loss in revenues due to closing the Rhodesian frontier), much to the consternation of right-wing U.S. Congressmen. Similar sums are in the offing for Zambia and Tanzania, who are eager to exploit new economic prospects opened by recent completion of the 1,000-mile Tan-Zam railroad. (Last year, Vorster was able to drag Zambian leader Kaunda into fruitless negotiations with the die-hard white-supremacist Rhodesian government—even clamping down on Zimbabwe guerrillas operating from Zambia—on the promise of a few million South African rands in return for "détente.")

Securing the cooperation of the intransigent white settler regime in Salisbury is a somewhat more expensive proposition, if not altogether impossible. At meetings with Vorster in Zürich, Switzerland, earlier this month, Kissinger worked out a proposed bribe under which the U.S., South Africa and Britain would commit themselves to spending as much as \$2 billion or more to buy the acquiescence of Rhodesia's white rulers over the next few years. The money would be used to establish a floor price for the sale of farmland and financial assistance to those seeking to emigrate. In return, the colonists would accept "majority rule" in approximately two years.

In Southwest Africa, a former German colony administered by South Africa since World War I, Vorster has already essentially agreed to Kissinger's proposal for negotiated independence. At Windhoek, capital of the territory, an ethnic-based constitutional convention announced on August 18 that a multi-racial provisional government

would be established prior to independence by the end of 1978. However, while there was subsequent mention of elections, they would be held in the presence of the South African army (with the offer of UN observers as a fig leaf). And the only significant Namibian nationalist group, the South-West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), was excluded from the talks. Now Vorster has reportedly agreed to include SWAPO ("all interested parties") in future negotiations.

The quid pro quo for these "concessions" by Pretoria is supposed to be international acceptance of the legitimacy of the apartheid regime. "During his talks in southern Africa next week, Mr. Kissinger will try to set up an international conference on Namibia to avoid pressures in the Security Council for economic sanctions against South Africa," wrote the *New York Times* (12 September). If sanctions are proposed anyway, Vorster wants a united veto by the Western powers.

Additionally, there is to be no interference in or pressure on South African "internal affairs." This was signalled by Vorster's bristling reply to Kissinger's abstract criticism of apartheid ("South Africa's internal structure is explosive and incompatible with any concept of human dignity") in late August. Of course, the U.S. has no intention of doing anything about this, and has issued similar windy statements in the past. But Vorster used the opportunity to underscore his broker's fee: a continued free hand in the brutal subjugation of South Africa's non-white masses.

Moreover, despite the talk of "majority rule," the compromise solutions being proffered by Kissinger are far from the smashing of white supremacy and instituting full bourgeois democracy. Even if there are no property or education qualifications on the vote, reference to "minority guarantees" are clearly meant to secure privileged status for whites who remain in Rhodesia. In Southwest Africa, inclusion of SWAPO in a council made up of appointed tribal elders, or even an elected parliament, will not eliminate the traditional regime of white *baaskap* (overlordship) in key mining centers which are the sum total of the Namibian economy.

Marxists must denounce the fraud represented by schemes for "elections" under the bayonets of the South African

and Rhodesian armies, as well as "gradual independence," special status for whites and property owners, etc. We demand immediate independence for Namibia/Southwest Africa, a democratic constituent assembly in Zimbabwe/Rhodesia, and immediate withdrawal of South African troops from Southwest Africa.

We also point out that emancipation of the black masses from colonial oppression and white supremacy will not come about through Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy. The Rhodesian farmers and businessmen enjoy one of the highest standards of living in the world, which they could never duplicate elsewhere. It is unlikely that a couple of billion dollars will buy them off. The liberation of Rhodesia will not come about through "détente" with apartheid but through a bitter and bloody struggle to smash white supremacy.

The vacillating black nationalists will not lead such a struggle to victory for the oppressed. Nkomo, the most abjectly capitulationist of the Zimbabwe black leaders, has indicated agreement to "gradual" independence with a "qualified" voting roll, and the leaders of the "front-line" African states—Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia, Angola—have at least tacitly endorsed the Kissinger deal. (Kaunda said of the peripatetic imperialist wheeler-dealer, "We have told him what our position is, his heart is in the right place, and we

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Karen Allen

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Anne Kelley

EDITORIAL BOARD: Charles Burroughs, George Foster, Liz Gordon, Chris Knox, James Robertson, Joseph Seymour

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Will They or Won't They?

USec on the Brink

For the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

As the "United" Secretariat (USec) begins preparations for its Eleventh World Congress, the hostilities between its components are increasingly bitter and the smoke in the back rooms increasingly thick. Proposals to reunify split national sections persist at the same time that new splits testify to the inability of the counterposed tendencies to peacefully coexist in the same country. Bizarre organizational provocations alternate with rotten compromises while multi-sided nationally-limited factional polarizations proliferate within particular sections. Conflicting opportunist appetites toward mutually exclusive "regroupments" with forces outside the USec continue to pull this international rotten bloc apart.

The USec's Tenth World Congress (February 1974) had resulted in a stalemate between two main blocs of roughly equal size. The centrist defending leadership was composed centrally of the Europeans (Ernest Mandel, Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan) who had been Michel Pablo's seconds in the 1950-53 split which organizationally destroyed the Fourth International. The reformist minority was based on the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST). Numerous national sections had already split between supporters of the main power blocs and the outcome of the Tenth Congress was an organizational deal aimed at preserving the USec's scotch-tape "unity."

The pre-revolutionary situation in Portugal beginning in May 1974 confronted the fragile USec bloc with a flat contradiction of political appetites. The European-based International Majority Tendency (IMT) shamelessly tailed after the "progressive" military and the Stalinists while the SWP-dominated Leninist-Trotskyist Faction (LTF) embraced the CIA-funded Socialists of Mario Soares as the wave of the future. If strong USec groups adhering to the lines of their international brain trusters had existed in Portugal in the summer of 1975, they would literally have found themselves on opposite sides of the barricades.

Both sides apparently realized that even their limitless penchant for organizational horse trading could not guarantee the USec more than a very limited life expectancy, while a clear power struggle would undermine the stability of the respective blocs. This fundamentally sensible assessment was followed by a series of maneuvers which included byzantine machinations over finances and factional representation. Following the Tenth Congress the IMT launched a semi-factional public paper, *Inprecor*, to counter the SWP's publication of its and its co-thinkers' factional documents in *Intercontinental Press*.

More important, both sides apparently resolved that diplomatic considerations should not impede the attempted expansion of their blocs through rapprochements with forces outside the USec. The SWP flaunted its growing affinity for the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) while IMT luminary Mandel proclaimed willingness to renounce "labels" (such as "Fourth International") if ever they should get in the way.

That a split is an accomplished fact in all but name was demonstrated at last month's SWP national convention, as

the byplay of mutual provocation reached ludicrous proportions. Again this year the SWP had smugly disregarded the facade of USec "democratic centralism" by inviting the OCI (and, this year, also Lutte Ouvrière) to attend. The leadership of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) reacted to this affront by announcing a boycott of the convention and threatening dire consequences for any LCR member who attended in defiance of the boycott. Apparently intimidated, the LCR members at the SWP convention did not attend the sessions. Uninitiated observers must have been quite flabbergasted at the spectacle of French comrades who had journeyed all the way to Oberlin, Ohio, presumably for the sole purpose of playing frisbee and sunbathing on the lawn outside!

The timing and pretexts of an open break, however, are anyone's guess and depend in good measure upon the imminence of prospective realignments with extra-USec forces. Ultimately the allure of new marriages of convenience will become irresistible, but there are advantages to postponing a formal separation. The components which constitute the main power blocs are themselves markedly unstable and hostility to a common antagonist has played no small part in keeping them stuck together.

An important indicator of the lack of unity in the IMT is the proliferation of factionalism within important sections. There were no less than five tendencies within the British IMG at the time of its congress last May. At present, shortly after the opening of a discussion period preparatory to the upcoming LCR congress, there are three declared tendencies, while the "majority" (which has not yet formed a tendency) is itself split into three major groupings.

The LTF has gone beyond disunity, with the Argentine PST carrying out an all-sided campaign to isolate its former ally, the SWP. In the Mexican section last year, the forces backed by the PST carried out a spectacular Stalin-style purge of the SWP supporters in order to pursue unhindered its policy of sucking up to the Stalinist Communist Party. The pro-PST group thereupon entered into a popular-frontist formation whose political basis included an explicit affirmation of "peaceful coexistence." In line with the political rapprochement of the PST with the IMT over Portugal and Angola, a fusion between the PST and IMT groups in Mexico has been announced in *Inprecor*.

There is also some dickering about a fusion between the corresponding organizations in Portugal, although the pro-PST PRT (whose slogan was a Soares government) is the most right-wing of the three USec groups there, while the highly unstable pro-IMT LCI occasionally takes positions somewhat to the left of its international backers. After the debacle of its ill-prepared attempt to run its own candidate in the June 1976 presidential elections, the LCI gave critical support to the Stalinists but on the day before the elections announced it was not supporting any candidate. Characteristic of the political confusion reigning in USec majorityite sections, three separate lines on the Portuguese elections emerged within the IMT's star section, the French LCR, but the Portuguese group's final position corresponded to none of them.

The vicarious petty-bourgeois guerrillism of the Europeans, which first drove the ultra-respectable SWP into opposition, has been largely supplanted

From Pablo with Love

"Sous Le Drapeau du Socialisme"
Revue de la Tendance Marxiste
Révolutionnaire Internationale
Paris, February 11, 1976

Dear Comrade Ernest [Mandel],

We are confirming in writing for your convenience the main points we discussed in Brussels.

Proceeding from our evaluation of the present conjuncture in Europe, we stressed the need to build united revolutionary Marxist organizations in time that have a serious mass base and are armed with a transitional program that is correct also in relation to the traditional Socialist and Communist mass organizations. This task is particularly urgent in countries such as Portugal, Spain, Italy, France and Greece. We stressed our assessment—which we believe you share—of the European situation, where for the first time in a long while, real possibilities are shaping up for revolutionary openings that could lead to the victory of the socialist revolution. We mentioned the case of France, where there is at present the PSU on one hand and on the other the LCR, which approached the PSU with a request to open discussions with a view to possible unification, a perspective we support.

However, we see this eventual unification in the framework of a new organization that would not at the outset be part of any international formation, but would admit tendencies supporting the idea of joining one or another international organization at the proper time. This point, it seems to us, is essential to really clearing the way for both discussions about unification, and unification itself. Looking at it realistically, we cannot in the short run succeed in building an organization that would be revolutionary Marxist in its entire program. Rather, what is possible are organizations rapidly evolving toward such a program, especially in the context of an objective situation favorable to such an evolution.

We believe that the conditions of long-term crisis of European capitalism in particular favor such a perspective. Therefore, we insisted that questions of principle of an organizational character that would obstruct the discussion and unification should not be raised, if our common goal remains creating in time substantial united organizations of the type to which we refer.

If we take the revolutionary perspectives in Europe seriously as well as the Portuguese experience, which was disastrous from the point of view of the state of preparation of the revolutionary left, we must lose no time in seizing the opportunities for such a regroupment in various European countries, beginning with France.

We also stressed our more general interest in the development of the Fourth International, from which we were so rashly expelled in 1965, and on the way the crisis within its ranks is evolving.

We emphasized that on important questions of assessing situations and of tactics, we feel ourselves to be closer to the tendency known as "European" but that we have no intention whatsoever of exploiting your internal differences, hoping rather that the Fourth International as a whole will come to correct positions. We repeat: our approach at this stage is conditioned by the urgency of the objective situation in Europe.

We have also stated that we are prepared as an international tendency—over and above more exhaustive and deepgoing discussions about forming revolutionary Marxist tendencies with a serious mass base everywhere—to consider all forms of practical collaboration among forces that are converging ideologically, without raising any prior conditions of "principle."

We hope that the contact begun in Brussels will be continued, even if for the time being it is only at the level of joint practical work as in the campaign we are conducting through the Russell Foundation Committee for the freedom of Portuguese prisoners, support to Angola and Mozambique, etc. . . .

With fraternal greetings,
Michel Pablo

by another hoped-for short-cut to the "big time": centrist umbrella-groups of the so-called "broad vanguard" in which the IMT can practice the old Pabloist strategy of "entrism sui generis." The political basis of such "regroupments" is the shared centrist appetite to function as the tail of the popular fronts of the future.

In the 1930's, with the intensification of the level of class struggle and Stalin's abandonment of "third period" ultra-leftism in favor of popular frontism, many self-proclaimed partisans of Trotsky also moved to the right. Their capitulations took many forms—from the French Trotskyists' temporary use of the slogan "for a fighting popular front" to the Vietnamese Trotskyists' long-term bloc with the Stalinists, which included publication of a joint newspaper. The most infamous example, however, was the fusion of Nin's Communist Left with Maurin's Workers and Peasants Bloc to form the POUM. Trotsky's sharp denunciations of this centrist regroupment were definitively confirmed when the POUM entered the bourgeois popular-front government of Catalonia in 1936.

In the recent period, sharp outbursts of working-class militancy have again given rise to renewed attempts by the bourgeois and the Stalinists to contain the workers by new popular fronts: the Allende government in Chile, the succession of Portuguese military governments following April 1974, the French Union of the Left, the Italian Stalinists' "historic compromise." The question of popular frontism has again become, as Trotsky put it some 40 years ago, the dividing line between bolshevism and menshevism.

The logic of the class struggle is relentless. The USec's 1970 refusal to characterize the Allende coalition as bourgeois signalled the appetite for participation in popular-front formations (and lies behind its continuing inability to draw a balance sheet on Chile). In the summer of 1975 the inauguration of the Portuguese FUR, with the stamp of approval of the MFA, offered the USec an opportunity to get in on the act. Welcoming this class-collaborationist bloc between the "far-left" groups and the left wing of the bourgeois officer corps, the IMT's LCI

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Stop Government Attacks on Freedom of the Press!

On September 15 Daniel Schorr, the CBS news correspondent who leaked the suppressed report of the House Select Committee on Intelligence (the Pike Committee) to the *Village Voice*, faced down the House Ethics Committee, which is investigating the leak, and walked away scot-free. For refusing to say from whom he got the report, Schorr has now been enshrined in the hearts of liberals as a paragon of journalistic independence and the foremost champion of freedom of the press.

While Schorr's refusal to reveal his source is entirely commendable, it must be pointed out that the House Ethics Committee had no desire to make a popular martyr out of him. Its aim was rather to create a climate of apprehension among journalists as part of a broader effort to call a halt to post-Watergate exposures of covert "dirty tricks" by government spy agencies.

Furthermore, Schorr has made it clear that as a patriot he released the material only because he knew it was already "sanitized" by the CIA and the Pike Committee. He said he would never consider releasing material with the names of CIA agents. Even Henry Kissinger said to Schorr, "I think you

"understanding" with the CIA. Subscribing to the liberal view that the solution to CIA "excesses" was Congressional "oversight" (a strangely appropriate term, fitting for inquiries which ignore more than they reveal), the committee was anxious to demonstrate Congress' dedication to "national security." But the intelligence agency found the House counterpart to the Church Committee the Pike Committee—more troublesome.

When the CIA station chief in Athens was assassinated last December, the administration seized the opportunity to turn public opinion against the Congressional investigators. Using time-honored smear tactics, CIA director Colby blamed those who revealed agency secrets for the death, and President Ford asserted that inquiries into CIA methods were unpatriotic. A month later Representative John Young put forward a motion to suppress the final report of the Pike Committee, and by a vote of 246 to 124 the House ordered its own report locked away in a safe.

The publication of the "Pike Papers" in the *Village Voice* only a month after the patriotic Congressmen had voted to



Four newsmen jailed for two weeks in Fresno for refusing to reveal source of grand jury leak were released September 17. UPI

that some washed over to the case of two editors and two reporters for the *Fresno Bee* who were thrown in jail earlier this month. They were imprisoned on coercive "contempt of court" charges for refusing to reveal their sources for a series of articles in 1975 based on grand jury testimony concerning a Fresno city official accused of taking bribes. Although they could have been held indefinitely until they talked, the four were released last Thursday following a public outcry.

But the contempt charges have not been dropped, and the very attempt to force the newsmen to testify was an attack on freedom of the press which must be sharply denounced. For one thing, the *Fresno Bee* is part of a large newspaper complex with a circulation over 300,000, a staff of 1,700 and powerful friends; by launching a similar attack against a left press, the government could hope to suppress it altogether.

Parenthetically, with all the talk about a "national ethical standard" of journalistic integrity, it should be recalled that such behavior is not nearly so universal as the sanctimonious Jack Andersons assert. Not only does the "responsible" bourgeois monopoly press regularly suppress vital news (CBS refused to publicize the Pike Committee report, for example, and the *New York Times* refused to publish reports of the impending Bay of Pigs invasion), but the CIA has admitted to having scores of paid journalist informers, and other newspapermen have willingly turned over names to the government.

For every *Fresno Bee* there is a WTIC television station, which was only too happy to offer the courts its film clips of antiwar demonstrations at the University of Connecticut in the late 1960's for use in prosecuting protesters. (On the basis of this evidence, one professor was enjoined from "raising his middle finger to any University building" or "speaking untruths.") Far from facing a term in jail, the broadcast journalist responsible, one Larrye DeBear, subsequently landed a plush job with the state governor's office.

The recent government attempts to gag the press must be stopped in their tracks. The labor movement must militantly oppose government attempts to suppress information and to intimidate or prosecute news sources. The working class has a right and need to know what murderous plans the CIA has in store. And not just the sanitized disclosures that Daniel Schorr is willing to release, but the full story. Drop the charges against the Fresno Four! Stop the attempts to gag the press! Smash the CIA/FBI through proletarian revolution! ■

"The problem with the CIA is that once you accept the kinds of things they do, it's hard to argue that they shouldn't disguise it better."

—F.A.O. Schwarz, chief counsel of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence

got a bum rap" (*New York Times*, 4 September).

So while the liberals are busy congratulating themselves on Schorr's "victory," it may go almost unnoticed that the House Ethics Committee has in fact done what it set out to do—intimidate the press and erode the first amendment. If Congress is to be made privy to some of the CIA's skullduggery, then (since Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives all accept the primacy of "national security") a way must be found to prevent nosy Congressmen and muckraking journalists from blowing the cover off covert operations. That is why the "Ethics" Committee (which has done nothing about widespread Congressional corruption) seized upon the Schorr case, spent \$150,000 on a phony investigation and brought in the TV cameras. ominous is the fact that the CIA has accomplished what it set out to do: it emerged from the Congressional investigations with its prerogatives essentially unchallenged and its covert operations intact, if not strengthened. What started out to be an inquiry into FBI and CIA "excesses" has been turned into an investigation of the investigators.

"Those guys really knew what they were doing," said one member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (the Church Committee). "They had a whole office set up to deal with us, and I sometimes had the feeling that they ran operations against us like they run them against foreign governments."

The Church Committee, for its part, was more than willing to reach an

suppress them coincided with a burgeoning "security backlash." Many liberals were beginning to worry that the investigations, originally ordered in the hope of closing the mammoth "credibility gap" following the Watergate debacle, might be getting out of hand and could even damage the imperialist war machine. As Schorr observed: "I got hit by a swinging pendulum."

In the ensuing wave of support for Schorr in the liberal press, it is fortunate



Daniel Schorr before the House Ethics Committee September 15. George Tames/New York Times

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

- ANN ARBOR(313) 769-6376
c/o SYL, Room 4316
Michigan Union, U. of Michigan
Ann Arbor, MI 48109
- BERKELEY/
OAKLAND(415) 835-1535
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623
- BOSTON(617) 492-3928
Box 188
M.I.T. Station
Cambridge, MA 02139
- CHICAGO(312) 427-0003
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Box 26474
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Box 26282, Edendale Station
Los Angeles, CA 90026
- MADISON
c/o SYL, Box 3334
Madison, WI 53704
- NEW YORK(212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, NY 10001
- PHILADELPHIA
BOX 25601
Philadelphia, PA 19144
- SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034
Chula Vista, CA 92012
- SAN FRANCISCO(415) 564-2845
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

- TORONTO(416) 366-4107
Box 222, Station B
Toronto, Ontario
- VANCOUVER(604) 291-8993
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C.

Brazilian Leftists Still in Prison in Argentina

Free Paranagua and Pilla!

Brazilian sociologist and surrealist filmmaker Paulo Antonio de Paranagua and his companion Maria Regina Pilla, arrested 16 months ago in Buenos Aires as supposed "international plotters," are still being held by the Argentine junta although no charges have ever been filed against them. Their lives are in particular danger with the establishment of the death penalty by the military government in July.

According to the Association des Amis de P. Paranagua et M.R. Pilla, the defense group which is handling their case in Europe, the French government has granted the right of asylum to both, but Videla's regime refuses to release them. The Association has taken out several advertisements, most recently in *Le Monde* (7 June 1976), calling on the French government to intervene to force Argentine authorities to permit the couple to make use of their constitutional right to leave the country.

The arrest of Paranagua and Pilla was announced with great fanfare by the Argentine federal police on 22 May 1975. Rounded up together with them in this "spectacular" coup were ten others. They are: Flavio Koutzii (a Brazilian), Manuel Rallis, Carlos A. Alvarez, Julio Ramos, Ingrid Rorff, Susana Lobosco, Norma Espindola, Julia N. Veniaglo, Maria G. Mendez and Raul Rodriguez. It was reported by the defense committee that Rallis, Ramos, Rodriguez and Rorff have been freed.

A recently released political prisoner who knew Paranagua and Pilla in jail



Maria Regina Pilla

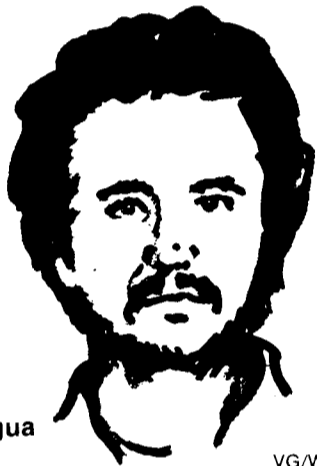
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reports that they have been brutally tortured. They were held incommunicado for the first two weeks after their arrest. Their long, harsh imprisonment is one more example of the arbitrary rightist terror which characterized the Peronist regime and has now been qualitatively escalated by the Videla junta, which promises to "finish off the job." Today Argentine leftist militants, trade-union leaders, Chilean and other political refugees are arrested at will or gunned down by the anti-communist "AAA" death squads.

The police originally accused Paranagua, Pilla and the others of responsibility for the kidnapping and death of Oberdan Sallustro, general manager of the Fiat Concord auto plant in Córdoba, the scene of many militant strikes. Sallustro was picked up by ERP (People's Revolutionary Army) guer-

rillas wearing police uniforms in March 1972. When announcing the arrests in 1975 the police claimed that the dozen militants were members of a "subversive group directed from Paris by the Fourth International." The ERP is led by the Revolutionary Workers Party. At the time it was the Argentine section of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat" (USeC).

The same story was picked up by the CIA/FBI, one of whose pipelines into Congress, reactionary Democrat Larry McDonald, inserted an item on the case into the *Congressional Record*. In this diatribe McDonald claims that Paranagua is "Saul" who gave the report on Argentina for the Mandelite international majority of the USeC's Tenth World Congress in 1974. (The same Birchite Congressman from Georgia



Paulo Paranagua

VG/WW

recently placed a red-baiting attack on the Mario Muñoz campaign in the *Record* as well.)

However, as was pointed out in the 30 May 1975 *Rouge*, the Argentine authorities had already tried and sentenced several others for the Sallustro kidnapping! The accusation was subsequently dropped and no other charges have been raised against the twelve, as was confirmed by a judicial decision on 4 December 1975.

The defense effort in Europe has been carried on primarily by the surrealist movement in France. The *Quinzaine Littéraire* (1-15 July 1975) described Paranagua as the primary mover of the surrealist movement in the city of São Paulo and the organizer of the first surrealist exhibition in Brazil. He participated actively in the Paris movement and "produced notably a 16 mm. short film entitled *Nadja*, people with strange objects, with a Freudian symbolic function: calyxes, 'fetish-knives,' movements of insects in sand, etc. Profoundly influenced by Buñuel's films, he wrote in 1966 a 'Manifesto for a Violent Cinema,' published by the review of the Surrealist Movement in São Paulo, *A Phala*."

A petition for the release of Paranagua and Pilla published last year in Europe included the signatures, among others, of Simone de Beauvoir, Henri Cartier-Bresson, Alain Krivine, Jean-Paul Sartre, Laurent Schwartz and more than 50 others. In the U.S., a small group in San Francisco, the Bay Area Group for the Defense of Paranagua and Pilla, has now been formed to publicize the case. (For further information, contact the Committee at P.O. Box 26481, San Francisco, CA 94126.) The Partisan Defense Committee joins in demanding the release of Paranagua, Pilla, Koutzii, Alvarez, Lobosco, Espindola, Veniaglo and Mendez. Down with the rightist repression in Argentina! For the immediate release of all class-war prisoners! ■

S.F. Supervisors Throw Union Leader Off Airports Commission

SAN FRANCISCO, September 17—In the anti-union atmosphere following the defeated S.F. city workers strike, so-called "friend of labor" Mayor Moscone has found it expedient to seek the removal of Plumbers Union leader Joe Mazzola from the Airports Commission. This is ironic since Mazzola was originally appointed to the commission in 1970 by another "friend of labor" Democrat, mayor Joe Alioto.

As usual Mazzola had returned the favor by staunchly supporting Alioto's hand-picked candidate, Moscone, for mayor in 1975. But to Mazzola's bewilderment, class ties come before personal ties and the "pro-labor" mayor is now seeking his removal on grounds of "official misconduct" and "conflict of interest"—i.e., for having led, however miserably, a strike against the city government last spring!

Since the S.F. city charter specifies that a city official can only be removed by the Board of Supervisors, Mazzola is now standing trial before the very same anti-labor board with which he had to negotiate last spring! And with the entire proceedings being broadcast on local TV, they have taken on the character of a trial of the entire Bay Area labor movement (unfortunately represented by the likes of Mazzola).

Assistant city attorney George Agnost charged that Mazzola had committed official misconduct because "he led a strike that was per se illegal." If found guilty—a probable conclusion in this kangaroo court—Mazzola will be removed from his commissionership and will be barred from holding another city post again.

The opening sessions of the trial reveal quite clearly that the bourgeoisie—as represented by the mayor's attorneys and the Board of Supervisors—want Mazzola removed simply because he led a strike. Part of the massive "evidence" introduced by assistant city attorney Rene Chouteau consisted of payroll records "proving" that the plumbers were not on the job during the period in question, along with subpoenaed newsreels depicting the strike. In an effort to avoid showing the inflammatory anti-labor newsreels, Mazzola's lawyer Marvin Lewis, who once was an S.F. supervisor himself, offered to stipulate that Mazzola did indeed lead the strike and that the strike caused "serious damage" to the city! But the mayor's office insisted on showing the newsreels anyway, despite even the protests of some supervisors who wanted to expedite the "trial."

At one point attorney Lewis shouted out, "Labor is on trial here!" But in the next breath he tried to demonstrate Mazzola's loyalty to the bourgeoisie by noting, "It was *only* because you had Joe Mazzola on that commission that that airport stayed open!" Extending his argument, Lewis noted that if Mazzola was removed, then logically the Board should also remove the ILWU's Bill Chester from the Airports Commission, Harry Bridges from the Port Commission and the Machinists' Stan Jensen from the Redevelopment Agency.

When Lewis brought Harry Bridges to the stand to defend Mazzola, the ILWU chief went into a lengthy explanation of how all the labor "leaders" had

tried to *avoid* a strike by making the "unprecedented" offer of turning negotiations over to an arbitrator who would be allowed to institute the **disputed** wage cut if he so ruled! Bridges went on to explain that during the strike, the overriding concern of the labor leaders was to "end the strike"! A more open admission of class collaboration could not be found.

Needless to say, all militant unionists must denounce such star-chamber proceedings against a labor leader for the "crime" of having led a strike. Likewise, Bay Area labor must demand that the \$4,000 fines levied recently against each of the unions as a result of the strike be dropped, along with the five-day jail terms hanging over various union leaders. But we must also point out that these are only the fruits of a lifetime of class collaboration practiced by labor misleaders such as Joe Mazzola, who rose to power in the Plumbers Union in the 1940's by "guaranteeing to rid the union of Communists" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 16 September).

The defense testimony for Mazzola during this trial openly admitted that the Plumbers Union leader and the rest of the Central Labor Council (CLC) officialdom were working not for the victory of the municipal craft workers' strike but for its *defeat*. There is a conflict of class interests here, but it was the bourgeoisie that won out last spring, with the help of Mazzola and his ilk. Emboldened by the defeat of the strike, the CLC's fickle "friends" in office are screaming for even more blood today.

The union ranks must force a clean break with this legacy of bellycrawling class collaboration. They must demand that all union officials resign from their appointed government posts. A militant membership must oust the labor traitors and replace them by a class-struggle leadership that breaks with all capitalist politicians and builds a workers party, to fight for a workers government. ■

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Defend Greek Militants! Drop the Charges!

Karamanlis Regime Prosecutes 14 for May 25 Protest Against Anti-Labor Law

The upcoming trial of 14 leftist militants in Greece at the end of September must be protested by socialists, trade unionists and defenders of democratic liberties throughout the world. The accused, almost all supporters of Maoist and ostensibly Trotskyist organizations, are facing frame-up charges by the reactionary Karamanlis government, which accuses them of "moral responsibility" for the massive strikes and anti-government demonstrations which occurred in Athens and elsewhere in Greece last May 25.

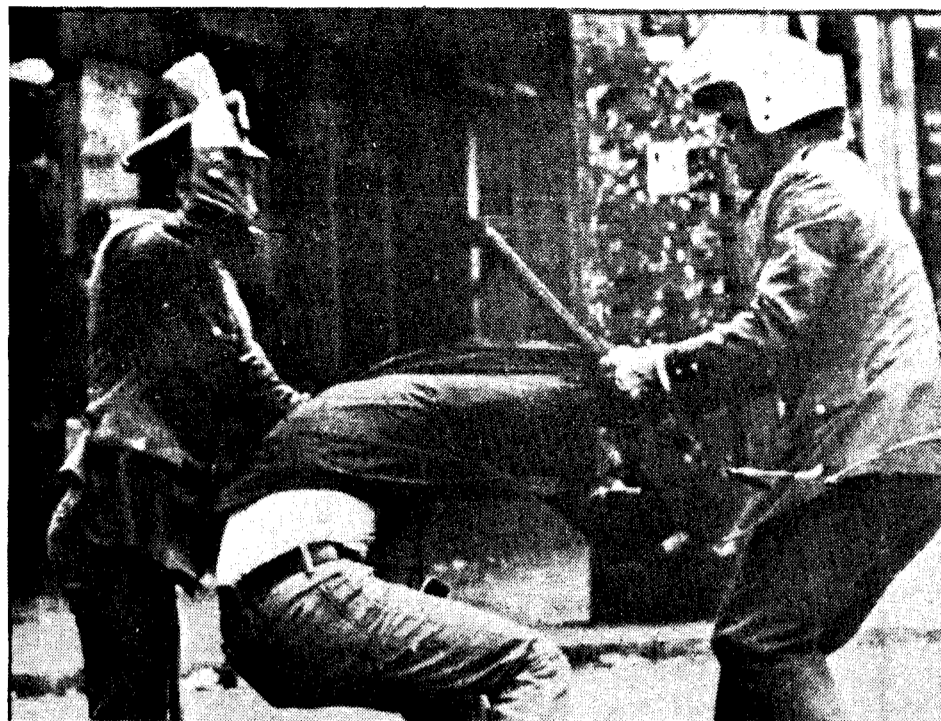
Elsewhere on this page we reprint an appeal received from the "Committee Against the Prosecution of Organizations and Militants for the Events of May 25." The Committee is composed of the ostensibly Trotskyist KEM (Communist Front), the Maoist KO "Machitis" ("Militant"), the OKDE (Greek section of the United Secretariat) and the OPA (Group for a Proletarian Left). In addition, several other left organizations in Greece, including the Ergatiki Protoporia (Workers Vanguard) group, have sponsored rallies and meetings in defense of the victims of this outrageous police frame-up.

The May 25 events were touched off

by the passage of Bill 330/76, a vicious anti-labor act which, in effect, outlawed all strikes not authorized by the government-controlled GSEE (General Confederation of Labor of Greece). This law is part of the systematic attack which the Karamanlis regime has waged against the Greek working class since coming to power, with the blessings of the general staff of the Greek armed forces and of U.S. imperialism, in July 1974. In the few months since 330/76 has been on the books, it has provoked numerous 24- to 48-hour protest strikes and has served as an excuse for the firing of many militant workers.

The government's charge of "moral responsibility" flows from its attempt to depict the May 25 events as the work of a handful of provocateurs, a view which is shared by the Greek Communist Party. In contrast, we wrote at the time, "whether or not provocateurs were present, the demonstration became a massive expression of militant opposition to this latest outrage [the anti-strike bill] of the Karamanlis government" ("Workers Battle Cop Attackers in the Streets of Athens," *WV* No. 112, 4 June 1976).

Efforts to rally support for the



Ergatiki Pali

Striker is arrested during May 25 riots in Athens.

imprisoned militants have been met with massive brutality on the part of the government. One militant caught distributing the leaflets of the defense committee was reportedly sentenced to 16 months' imprisonment. Defense rallies have been harassed by the police, and Committee members arrested and tortured.

On July 28, at an outdoor rally in Omonoia Square in Athens, the police attempted to arrest a Committee member, as they had done on two previous days. But on this occasion, some 150 workers and students encircled the cops and helped the Committee member to escape. Upon nabbing a second Committee supporter, the police decided not to take chances—this time they locked him up in a nearby store and called in 15 reinforcements to help with the arrest, but they were still unable to take him in. In response to appeals by the Committee, some 300 passers-by surrounded the store, chanting: "Down with Karaman-

lis terrorism!" and "Hands off the militants!" Only when 50 additional club-wielding cops arrived on the scene was the meeting finally broken up and the Committee member taken to the police station, where he was subjected to brutal mistreatment and charged with "abusing the authorities" (*Ergatiki Pali*, 31 July).

The prosecution of these 14 militants on trumped-up charges of "moral responsibility" poses a grave threat to left and labor militants, who are the government's primary target, and to democratic rights for all. A broad-based defense campaign must therefore be waged to *drop* the charges against the militants and to *abolish* the police-state laws on which they are based!

—Hands Off the Left Militants!
—Down with Anti-Labor Laws!
—Down with Karamanlis—For a Workers and Peasants Government in Greece!



Ergatiki Pali

Riot police with armored car at barricade set up by striking workers in Athens May 25.

COMMUNIQUÉ

from the Committee Against the Prosecution of Organizations and Militants for the Events of May 25

Comrades,

On September 29 the trial of 14 revolutionary militants will take place in Athens. They have been accused, as members of the following organizations, of being "responsible on a moral level" for the bloody demonstrations of May 25, 1976. They are: Filini and Frangakis of the EKKE (Revolutionary Communist Movement of Greece); Sideris, Chrisopathis, and Kaliabetsou of ELEK (Leninist Revolutionary Movement of Greece); Feloukas, Fotiadis, Tavanis, Vrontos, and Katintaros of K.O. "Machitis" (Communist Organization "Militant"); Felekis and Ambavi of OKDE (Organization of Internationalist Communists of Greece, Greek section of the IVth International); Karabelias of OPA (Group for a Proletarian Left); and Kachrimanis, an individual militant.

The general strike of May 24-25, 1976, with the massive struggle of the workers against the terrorist attack of the bourgeois government on May 25, represents the first generalized political answer of the workers movement to the development of the anti-worker policy of the government.

It is for that reason that this trial aims to be an exemplary condemnation of the organizations who showed with their activity and positions their capability to express the mood of the workers vanguard and establish links with it.

At the same time, the reformist organizations help the government to strike at the workers movement, accusing the workers who fought on May 25 of being "provocateurs", and refusing to undertake any kind of mobilization against the anti-strike law 330/76, against the fascist modification of the Civil Code, and generally against the institutionalization of the repression which the government of Karamanlis initiated.

From the beginning of the police interrogation, we have formed a "Committee Against the Prosecution of Organizations and Militants for the Events of May 25", which consists at this moment of the organizations KEM (Communist Front), K.O. "Machitis", OKDE, and OPA. This committee aims at the collapse of the accusation of "moral responsibility" through a mobilization which will assume the defense of the street fights of May 25, so that an exemplary blow to the vanguard will become impossible.

We believe that the international solidarity of the revolutionary

organizations and of the workers movement in Western Europe and North America can play a decisive role in this struggle. Experience has shown us that internationalist solidarity has become an important element in the development of the relationship of forces between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in each country.

We think that, aside from publishing in your press information on the government attack against revolutionary organizations and the workers vanguard in Greece, your presence would be helpful, either in the symbolic but important form of a solidarity message, or, if possible, with representatives to the meetings which we shall organize during the days of the trial, and also with witnesses to the trial, who could, of course, be either leader members of revolutionary organizations, or independent individuals. Any protests from individuals, unions, etc. are also desirable.

Finally, we wish to stress our need for financial solidarity, which has for us an unusually important meaning at this moment. We have started a campaign from the beginning of the prosecution in the middle of the summer, in a climate of continual sabotage of this campaign by the reformists, and now, two months later, we find ourselves relatively exhausted financially. At the same time, we must prepare for the trial and initiate the decisive phase of this campaign.

We therefore request that you circulate this appeal among all organizations and individuals you feel might be interested in lending their support. We await a rapid answer with your opinion on these proposals.

Revolutionary Greetings,

Committee Against the Prosecution of Organizations and Militants for the Events of May 25

Solidarity messages and checks should be addressed to:

Giannis Felekis
Ergatiki Pali
Themistocleous St. 38
Athens, Greece
With mention: "For the Committee"

Despite Quiet School Opening

Racist Attacks Continue in Boston

BOSTON, September 14—Boston's liberal politicians and news media bowed to each other's applause after a relatively placid school opening last week. The *Boston Globe* (11 September) proclaimed "a good start" as attendance figures climbed from 59 percent to 74 percent by the second day of classes. School superintendent Marion Fahey professed herself "thrilled," claiming that dissipation of the white boycott meant that Boston, in line with experience in other school systems, would return to normal during the third year of court-ordered busing. Earlier, double-talking Mayor Kevin White opined that "the test of desegregation is for the most part behind us," and the timid black liberals of the *Bay State Banner* (2 September) editorialized that "'76 was the bicentennial summer" because of the absence of major racial violence, and "the best is yet to come."

But partisans of genuine racial equality in Boston and elsewhere are far from cheering. Violent opposition to school desegregation has not disappeared and has waned mainly because the authorities have backed off from rigid enforcement. The U.S. Congress' General Accounting Office (GAO) recently reported that 46 out of 58 Boston schools visited by its investigators this spring deviated by more than 25 percent from court guidelines on racial balance. In addition, federal district judge Arthur Garrity has exempted racist leader Pixie Palladino's East Boston turf from the busing program for yet another year.

Moreover, as long as busing is confined to decaying inner-city schools, genuine educational gains for blacks will be, at best, minimal. "White flight" to segregated suburbs is the answer of upwardly mobile racists to integration of city schools. Extension of busing to these bastions of white, petty-bourgeois privilege, nationalization of private/parochial schools and equal federal funding of all public schools remain vital democratic demands in the struggle against racial oppression and the abysmal "education" provided for poor and working people.

"Ethnic Purity" in Boston

Despite liberal compromising on the busing plan, Boston remains a powder keg threatening to explode at any moment in a new wave of terror attacks on black people. On September 7, a 150-car anti-busing motorcade wound through the streets of South Boston. At Andrew Square, the racists encountered an empty MBTA bus with a black driver. A barrage of bricks, rocks and bottles damaged the vehicle so badly that it had to be abandoned, and the driver and a policeman who came to his aid were hospitalized with injuries inflicted by the screaming mob.

Although the racist mobilization has not scuttled the (watered-down) busing plan, it has succeeded in significantly increasing residential segregation in Boston through violent assaults on black and Latin families living in predominantly white neighborhoods. In 1973, 55 Puerto Rican families were stoned and firebombed out of the D Street housing project in South Boston. During the height of lynch mob frenzy in the fall of 1974, the remaining non-whites were evacuated from other public housing projects in the Irish enclaves of "Southie" and Charlestown. The same pattern was repeated in East Boston during the past year. After prolonged and determined resistance to white gang



Don Preston/Boston

Black driver's bus demolished by racist attack in South Boston.

attacks, black families in the Sumner and Maverick Streets project were forced this spring to request transfer out of East Boston.

Attempts to organize self-defense with the aid of East Boston People Against Racism (EBPAR), a group backed by Youth Against War and Fascism, were broken by repeated arrests of the beleaguered black tenants and their supporters. With consummate hypocrisy, the Boston Housing Authority, police and courts claim they can do nothing about the hood-wearing terror gang that has adopted the name "KKK Junior." These sadistic thugs and their uniformed protectors have demonstrated the real meaning of the neighborhood "ethnic purity" praised by Democratic presidential candidate Jimmy Carter and the "ethnic heritage" dear to the heart of President Ford.

In recent months, the main focus of racist violence has moved from the schools to the streets of racially shifting areas, particularly Dorchester. Numerous black families have been driven out of borderline areas; as in East Boston, the police have reacted sharply not to the attacks, but against any efforts at organized defense by the victims.

Speaking at a March 26 rally called by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) at Boston University, Mrs. Elaine Daley recounted attacks against her family which began as soon as they moved into a Hyde Park home. Bricks, bottles and bats were hurled through the windows, and Mrs. Daley was seriously wounded in one of these assaults. Police refused to lift a finger, however, unless she got rid of members of Progressive Labor's Committee Against Racism (CAR) who were protecting the home. The very night that CAR left, the house was firebombed. Attacks have continued, and the Daley home is now guarded by a defense committee which includes members of the Dorchester Heights-based Racial Unity Now.

Class Axis Necessary

The Spartacist League (SL) has, from the very beginning of the current racist mobilization in Boston, campaigned for a labor/black defense, pointing out that neither police, national guard nor federal troops will protect the rights of oppressed minorities. We have also cautioned that only defense efforts solidly based on the mass organizations of the working class and in the black community can effectively crush the racist mobilization. Unfortunately, none of the ongoing defense efforts, many of them initiated by New Left-inspired community and tenants' organizations, have this character.

Such small, community-based groups are usually isolated, without real

authority among either white or black working people. Groups like EBAR and Racial Unity Now (with its ludicrous acronym, RUN) have been repeatedly subjected to red-baiting, mass racist assaults and arrests without having the organized power to effectively counter these attacks. RUN meetings have been broken up by anti-busing ROAR vigilantes under the very eyes of plainclothes cops. ROAR-connected city officials brand black families who fight back as "troublemakers."

At worst, some of the community defense groups have functioned as nothing more than police auxiliaries. In the aftermath of the notorious beating of black lawyer Theodore Landmark at city hall, Harvard Business School graduate Stephen Burrell formed the "Community for Human Rights," a black citizens patrol operating out of the Roxbury Multi-Service Center. Backed by Roxbury businessmen, its purpose is not only to deter racist attacks but to "combat street violence" ... in collaboration with the racist cops, themselves perpetrators of much of the "street violence" suffered by ghetto residents!

Recent incidents of racist violence have centered on the Geneva Avenue area in Dorchester. On August 22 the home of a black family on Topliff Street was stoned; the following day a black man was stabbed and black motorists were stoned in the same area. In response, a group of white liberals formed the Geneva Avenue Citizens Group, attempting to set up community patrols equipped with Citizen Band radios for liaison with the police.

At an August 25 meeting, Brian Harrison, the group's leader, explained that the cops have refused to adequately protect black homes under attack. However, he then boasted that the racist-infested city council endorsed the idea of a CB patrol in the area, and that the local police had urged him to go ahead with the project! The meeting was attended by a contingent from ROAR and the paramilitary South Boston Marshals, whose specialty is breaking up RUN and EBPAR meetings. However, in this case their leader merely spoke during the floor discussion, contemptuously pointing out that the few assembled liberals didn't even have enough money to purchase an adequate supply of the radios which the Marshals themselves use to coordinate their night-riding sprees and jam police communications during skirmishes.

Why, indeed, should the Marshals fear the activities of liberal groups (even independent, anti-racist groups like EBPAR and RUN) which call for "community-based defense" in predominantly white neighborhoods? It is precisely in this arena that the racists

have their strength. A long history of rigid segregation and ethnic clannishness has made "community" synonymous with race and ethnic group. In the absence of a powerful class-conscious working-class movement, poor and middle-class whites who live in racially shifting areas are ripe for the racist demagoguery of ROAR-style "community leaders."

For Labor/Black Defense!

As the result of unscrupulous bourgeois politicians, red-lining bankers and block-busting real estate sharks, integration is as racially inflamed a subject as school busing. The white homeowners, small businessmen and lawyers who dominate political and social life in communities like Dorchester see black neighbors as "lower property values." In turn, the tenants' organizations are based on an inherently unstable population group and lack any real social power to overcome the landlords. Consequently they are even less able to cut through hardened racist attitudes or win much support for their vaguely leftist programs.

Integrated trade unions are key to building effective anti-racist defense groups with support outside the beleaguered ghettos. Daily cooperation at the workplace between black and white workers tends to break down backward social attitudes. Common experience of social production and membership in unions uniting the workers against the bosses lay a basis for class unity that alone is capable of undercutting the racist prejudices bred in the neighborhoods.

For two years the SL has propagandized about the need for labor/black defense against the racist anti-busing offensive, in Boston and elsewhere. Actively participating in pro-busing demonstrations, the SL/SYL has combatted dangerous illusions in the benevolence of the bourgeoisie's cops and troops spread by the reformists. We have also called on such unions as the Amalgamated Meatcutters, United Electrical Workers and the Boston Teachers Union—all directly hit by racist attacks and the busing controversy—as well as black groups like the NAACP to take the lead in mobilizing a labor/black defense. But the response of the bureaucrats and black liberals has been uniformly negative.

This does not mean that integrated working-class defense is impossible. In the spring of 1975, Local 6 of the United Auto Workers at the International Harvester plant in Melrose Park, Illinois, successfully carried out just such a labor-based anti-racist defense. A Civil Rights Defense Committee, proposed by members of the Labor Struggle Caucus (a class-struggle opposition in the Local), was established by the union to protect the home of a black member which had been repeatedly firebombed and stoned by racist night-riders. The defense committee maintained a nightly guard for months, preventing further attacks. The integrated defense was effective precisely because the racists saw behind the guards the organized strength of the UAW.

The example of UAW Local 6 is immediately relevant to recent Nazi/Klan-led riots in Chicago's Marquette Park, to the continuing racist attacks in Boston and to the whole struggle against black oppression. Only by mobilizing the power of the labor movement and black community organizations can the racist mobilization be crushed. ■

Frank Lovell Reveals Trade-Union Policy:

SWP Gives "Uncritical Support" to Washington Post Scab

A recent (June 1976) internal bulletin of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) contains a contribution by Frank Lovell on union elections. With its recent "turn to the masses," the SWP leadership is no doubt concerned to clarify uncertainties in the party on the novel and unaccustomed matter of trade-union work. The choice of Lovell to lay down the party line is a natural one: he is a long-time trade-union activist who now writes "The National Picket Line," a regular column in the *Militant*.

Lovell's contribution is a how-to approach for burrowing into the lower levels of the trade-union bureaucracy. The first rule is not to antagonize the higher-ups. "There is nothing to be gained from complaining about what the union officials ought to do and fail to do," he advises sagely.

Socialist politics have no place in union election campaigns, according to Lovell. "When we run for public office we explain how society must be changed by the working class, and we try to speak before union audiences to present our message of socialism." However, this is "not appropriate in union elections. In these elections union members are mostly interested in choosing honest officials who will represent them against the employers."

Indeed, for the SWP, demands such as a workers government are entirely alien to their union work. In fact, according to Lovell, workers who listen to SWP speakers "are not asked to put their union on record for the socialist candidate." In other words, the SWP is content to allow the pro-capitalist bureaucrats to continue tying the unions to phony "friend-of-labor" Democratic Party politicians. Hence, their paper position in support of a labor party and class independence amounts to so much bunk.

Lovell's article also contains a polemic. Significantly, he has no criticism to make of the Communist Party (CP), the largest tendency on the American left. In actuality there are no fundamental differences between the reformist trade-

from the class nature of the state to transfer of power to the workers" (his emphasis). Since the Spartacist League (SL) is unique on the American left for withholding support from Miller and Sadlowski and in calling for the formation of caucuses in the unions based on the full Transitional Program, it is clear that Lovell is referring specifically to the SL.

As is characteristic of reformists, Lovell tries to build a case that while his party addresses issues of genuine concern to workers, its left opponents busy themselves with bellowing revolutionary-sounding proclamations "that often ignore the very issues that interest them [the workers] at this juncture."

This is pure hogwash. Lovell is well aware that his revolutionary opponents

advocated disciplinary action against scabs. Having been put into office by scabs, Grubisich subsequently crossed the picket lines himself.

Lovell is kind enough to enclose the platform of Grubisich's "Unity/Reform" slate in an appendix. It certainly meets Lovell's criterion of ignoring general political and social questions. There is hardly anything in the platform that goes beyond parochial trade unionism—nothing about a labor party, a sliding scale of hours and wages, etc.

What does, in fact, this slate have to say for itself? The group modestly introduces itself by noting: "Post members on this slate respected picket lines at that newspaper for nearly five months or worked to persuade the unit to go out during the strike." In other words, some Post members of the slate crossed picket



Militant forum last February on Post strike: left, Tom Grubisich of the Guild; right, James Dugan, president of press operators Local 6.

do not fail to intervene around even seemingly minor questions that affect the interests of the working class. What distinguishes the policies of reformists from revolutionaries is not that the former advocate intervening in particular struggles for limited demands, while the latter abstain. What is at issue is the program on which they base their intervention.

The SL holds up as exemplary work, for example, the action of the Labor Struggle Caucus of UAW Local 6 in initiating a union defense guard to protect a black union brother whose home in a predominantly white section in Chicago was being attacked by racist hooligans. In contrast, the SWP supported resolutions in the unions calling on federal troops to disband racist opponents of busing, treacherously placing the defense of blacks in the hands of the racist capitalist state!

The SWP's Model Union Campaign

Lest anyone still be unclear as to his meaning, Lovell provides his readers with a "model" union electoral campaign. This was the campaign by a slate headed up by Tom Grubisich for the recent Newspaper Guild convention. During the protracted pressmen's strike at the *Washington Post*, Grubisich advocated leniency toward Guild members who were scabbing. While the strike was going on he was narrowly elected president of the Washington-Baltimore Local 35 over the incumbent Warren Howard, who at the time

lines after five months, while others didn't even wait that long to scab!

The campaign flyer also explains the group's program for "unity" and for "reform." "Unity," to the Grubisich gang, means unity with scabs. The slate opposed challenging the International's decision not to allow charges to be brought against the *Post* scabs. To take such action, it seems, would be to "reopen hostilities" and thus destroy "unity"!

As for "reform," Grubisich & Co. wailed that the Local 35 leadership had acted in a coercive and bureaucratic fashion. Now, to be sure, the Local 35 bureaucrats do customarily carry out their policies in an undemocratic fashion. But what angered the Unity/Reform

continued on page 11

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Frank Lovell

Militant

union policies of the CP and those of the SWP. Lovell's quarrel is with the "ultraleft."

Lovell never identifies whom he means by "ultraleft," and from the vantage point of the social-democratic SWP, anyone to the left of the CP is "ultraleft." But Lovell blasts his "ultralefts" in particular for not supporting such trade-union bureaucrats on the make as Ed Sadlowski and Arnold Miller. For the "ultralefts," "the important thing is the program. And they mean the full program. The ultralefts are satisfied with nothing less than a statement that takes up all questions

Anti-Apartheid Struggles...

(continued from page 1)

movement spread beyond the sprawling black labor compounds of the Witwatersrand around Johannesburg to "coloured" (mulatto) workers and youth in the Cape Town area. The progressive extension of the militant outbreaks to all sectors of the non-white population confirms the character of the revolt as an anti-tribal movement against white supremacy. And with several powerful general strikes in succession it is no longer possible for the government to pretend that the uprising is merely the work of hooligan youths.

Once they discovered they could not break the back of the protests simply by rounding up a few "ringleaders" and slapping several hundred suspects in jail as a warning, the South African authorities sought to turn the non-white masses against each other by sparking tribal clashes and inter-communal rivalries, hoping for something on the order of the 1949 Durban riots between blacks and Indians. During the three-day general strike at the end of August, police and employers incited migrant Zulu workers to form gangs of thugs (*impis*) to beat up strike pickets. But despite a number of deaths, the police provocation was unsuccessful in breaking the strike.

That strike involved at least 50 percent of the 250,000 black workers who daily commute to Johannesburg jobs. Despite police attacks, the strikers held firm, choking off the labor supply in South Africa's industrial nerve center. In another action last week, more than 70 percent of the workers reportedly stayed at home.

In late August leaflets of the banned African National Congress (ANC) were distributed around Johannesburg calling for the strike; in the latest case, leaflets of the Students Representative Council in Soweto called on workers to stay at home in protest against the hundreds slaughtered and the thousands arrested since mid-June. This does not indicate coherent leadership, however, as the stay-at-home strike is a traditional form of protest and also swept the country after the 1960 Sharpeville massacre.

In 1960, the Nationalist Party regime quickly suppressed the protest movement in the urban areas by tens of thousands of detentions. Now once again the iron fist of the police is being felt throughout the huge black ghettos, with more than 850 being held under "preventive detention" in the last three months. Expressing the views of the hard-line Afrikaner politicians, "Justice" Minister James Kruger dismissed the present "disorders" as "mere child's play," and announced: "The black man knows his place, and if not, I'll teach him his place" (UPI dispatch, 15 September).

"We Won't Join White Laager"

While leaflets in late August called for a nationwide "stay-at-home," it was effectively limited to the Johannesburg area. The same was true at the beginning of last week's strike, but on the third day 100,000 coloured workers in Cape Town went on strike, with absenteeism in certain industries running as high as 80 and 90 percent. Since September 2, the Cape has been shaken by repeated violent protests, many led by coloured students who support the South African Students Organization (SASO) and identify with the "black consciousness movement."

This was an ominous development for the ruling class, many of whose more "enlightened" members had sought to use the coloured population as a buffer between whites and the black masses. Although they live in segregated areas, the coloureds are not subject to the infamous pass laws that govern the daily

movements of blacks. Hence demonstrations and clashes with police took place not only in the garrisoned townships but also in the very heart of Cape Town. For days the fashionable shopping streets of the city were filled with tear gas.

Nearly half of the country's 2.3 million coloureds live within 50 miles of Cape Town, far outnumbering blacks in the area. Descendants of Boer settlers and the aboriginal Hottentots and Bushmen, the majority speak Afrikaans. Well aware of the potential power of the coloureds, who dominate construction and many skilled and semi-skilled categories in the Cape's economy, the government announced a series of concessions on September 10. Segregated public facilities will be eliminated; coloured and Asians (mostly Indians) can set up businesses in previously restricted localities; obstacles to coloureds serving as union officials (some 200,000 are members of officially recognized unions) will be ended.

But as to the real thrust of the coloureds' struggle—universal suffrage, abolition of the industrial color bar, equal pay for equal work, decent housing to replace the shanties—Pretoria adamantly defends apartheid. In a speech on September 13, Prime Minister Johannes Vorster refused any demands for coloured representation in parliament. "I am not prepared to share power over myself and my people with any other people however well-intentioned they might be." A couple of days later the non-white workers in Cape Town responded to the paltry concessions with a massive stay-at-home. Even the liberal leaders of the coloureds have been forced to adapt to the present combative mood. In response to talk of a "Coloured New Deal," Norman Middleton, vice-chairman of the coloured-based Labour Party, defiantly announced: "We won't

join the White *laager* [camp]" (*Star* [Johannesburg], 11 September).

Smash Apartheid!

The architects of "separate development" (apartheid) have succeeded in laying the basis for a mighty alliance between coloured and black workers. A few relative privileges do not offset the intense racial oppression which Indians and coloureds experience in common with blacks. The Cape Coloureds were disenfranchised in 1956; tens of thousands were removed from their homes as racial boundaries were drawn more sharply in the cities. Families have been split up because darker children were classified as "Bantu" and the extremely light-skinned as white. Within the last year an infamous Coloured Cadets Act has forced youth between 18 and 24 to serve in compulsory labor camps to provide a "trained and disciplined" workforce to replace blacks who are being removed en masse from the western Cape Province.

Deepening of the black rebellion despite the most savage repression and the manifest solidarity of the coloured population opens the possibility of striking major blows at the apartheid system. The specific demands of the workers—abolition of the industrial color bar and discriminatory wage rates, the right to organize trade unions, a

decent standard of living, elimination of the contract labor system—must be linked to more general democratic demands, including an end to the pass laws, abolition of all forms of public and residential segregation, free and equal public education, release of anti-apartheid political prisoners, an end to all police-state laws and a constituent assembly elected on universal suffrage.

The anti-apartheid revolt in South Africa is in grievous need of revolutionary leadership. It has demonstrated great solidarity and daring evidenced by the inability of the police to capture the 19-year-old Soweto student leader Tsietshi Mashinini despite a ten-week manhunt. However, to the extent that the most militant elements have a coherent political outlook it is the vague



AP

"black consciousness" rhetoric. Thus Mashinini, the head of the Students Representative Council in Soweto and a leader of the SASO-linked high school movement, told British television news reporters in a clandestine interview that black nationalists in South Africa "want the tables to be turned so that the white man can get a taste of his own medicine and feel what it is like to be oppressed."

Smash Apartheid—For a Workers Revolution in South Africa

Speaker: ED JARVIS

Tuesday, October 5 at 7:30 p.m.
Ida Noyes Library
University of Chicago

Thursday, September 30 at 12 noon
Chicago Circle Center
room to be posted

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This diffuse anti-white anger is not capable of showing the oppressed non-white masses the road to victory against a powerful state and technologically advanced entrenched *Herrenvolk* (master race). Lacking a perspective of mobilizing the powerful South African working class, "black consciousness" will only oscillate between desperate outbreaks of undirected fury and blocs with oppositional white parties and the black petty bourgeoisie represented in Urban Bantu Councils.

Major sections of the bourgeoisie, both English-speaking and Afrikaner, are attempting to lay a basis for channeling the militancy of the non-white masses into a political framework guaranteeing the continuation of class exploitation and "reformed" white supremacy. The leadership of the major white opposition United Party (U.P.) has launched a "Save South Africa" campaign. It calls for a new government composed of the U.P., the Progressive Reform Party of gold magnate Harry Oppenheimer and disaffected moderate members of the Nationalist Party (*Observer* [London], 29 August).

This white coalition government would then convene a National Convention to draw up a new, multi-racial constitution. Embodied in the proposal for such a convention (a demand supported by the white opposition parties, the coloured Labour Party, the Indian Council, the majority of the Bantustan chief ministers and the Stalinist-backed ANC) is the concept of a federated relationship among the different sections of the population in which each group's political representatives would presumably exercise some form of administrative veto.

Such proposals, while quite radical in the South African context, are fundamentally counterposed to even bourgeois democracy. Rather than "one man, one vote," this is an attempt to institutionalize white minority rule by coopting the petty-bourgeois leaderships of the racially oppressed masses. Militant youth in SASO are violently opposed to such a perspective of reforming the present racist system. Yet they have no alternative but a continuation of spontaneous revolts in which the oppressed masses repeatedly lose and eventually succumb to demoralization. Guerrilla war will not bring down the apartheid juggernaut.

A Trotskyist party in South Africa would struggle for the broadest democratic rights while mobilizing the five-million-strong proletariat and its allies among the non-white population to overthrow the apartheid structure, creating the conditions for a black-centered workers and peasants government. Only proletarian revolution can overcome tribalism and communal divisions by expropriating not only the pig-headed Afrikaner bourgeoisie but also the "enlightened" financiers and mining tycoons who stand at the heart of South African capitalism. ■

Kissinger...

(continued from page 2)

must leave it to him." As Kissinger left, the Zambian leader dabbed his eyes, saying, "God help your mission.")

Unable to break with imperialism, all the bourgeois African states—from the Angolan and Mozambique "people's republics" to glorified bantustans like Malawi—are incapable of liberating the workers and peasants. The key to emancipation for the oppressed non-white masses is the construction of a Trotskyist party, based on the powerful black proletariat of South Africa, to lead a struggle of permanent revolution, sweeping away the institutions of white supremacy and colonialism and installing a revolutionary workers and peasants government which alone is capable of providing democracy for the oppressed. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Usec...

(continued from page 3)

went so far as to endorse the FUR's program of political confidence in the bourgeois MFA (capitalist "austerity," military control of the organs of "people's power," etc).

At the time of the Italian elections last June, Livio Maitan's Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (GCR) managed by the skin of its teeth to get into the Democrazia Proletaria (DP) slate. The French ICR waged a vigorously uncritical campaign for the DP slate, holding it up as a model of the appropriate way to "go beyond sectarian traditions" (Rouge, 19 June). The IMT, which maintains cozy relations with the "critical Maoist" Lotta Continua and lauds it in much the same manner that it used to suck up to the Chilean MIR, has followed Maitan in his adoption of the centrists' slogan of a "government of the left" — a formulation deliberately left open to eventual bourgeois participation and Alain Krivine did not rule out participation in such a government in a prominent interview (Politique Hebdo, 10 June).

The GCR is aiming higher than an electoral bloc, and longs to turn the DP conglomeration into a new "revolutionary" organization. The GCR has called for the continuation of DP as an ongoing formation in which to debate "the fundamental matrix of problems of a revolutionary strategy in developed capitalist countries" (Bandiera Rossa, 5 July).

For 25 years, Maitan has been the vanguard of Pabloist capitulation, but Alain Krivine and his ICR are not far behind. The ICR's December 1974 congress set forth a perspective of a fusion with the left-social-democratic Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU) to form a "common revolutionary organization based... on a practice which sets aside any sectarian spirit" (Rouge, 27 December 1974). A more recent display of the same "spirit" was Mandel's offer to abandon any reference to Trotskyism "in 24 hours" to placate queasy left-reformists.

The ICR leadership has now made its main practical perspective the formation of joint electoral lists with the PSU for the 1977 local elections, prefiguring legislative elections in 1978. Recent polls indicate that if a general election were held today, the Union of the Left would obtain a majority. Accordingly, the ICR-PSU pact is based on voting for the Union of the Left at least on the

second round. When a local by-election was scheduled in Avignon for September 12, "the ICR took the initiative of discussing with the PSU the possibilities of presenting a common candidate." An electoral bloc today, a common organization tomorrow, hopes the ICR, which termed the Avignon agreement a "test" which "takes on national importance" (Rouge, 31 August).

It is poetic justice that the Usec revisionists who for years have howled that the charge of "Pabloism" was a meaningless label (after all, they and Pablo himself parted company in 1965) now find themselves negotiating with Pablo. *eminence grise* of the PSU left wing and personification of the strata with which the Usec is trying to regroup, Mandel's pooh-poohing of "labels" recapitulates Pablo's abandonment of those "labels" some four years ago and coincides with sentiment of some elements within the ICR that references to Leninism are too "authoritarian" or "sectarian"!

A letter from Pablo to Mandel on February 11 referred to a meeting at which the two "shared" an "assessment of the European situation." Pablo noted that "the ICR... approached the PSU with a request to open discussion with a view to possible unification, a perspective we support." But he cautioned:

"However, we see this eventual unification in the framework of a new organization that would not at the outset be part of any international formation, but would admit tendencies supporting the idea of joining one or another international organization at the proper time."

A few months later Mandel obligingly proclaimed his willingness to drop the "label" of "Fourth International."

There is no Trotskyist pole in the Usec. The SWP's polemics against the IMT's popular frontism and capitulation to Stalinism are simply an "orthodox" cover for opposition from the right, in the direction of liberalism, as shown by its defense of the "right of free speech" for fascists and its calls for using the imperialist American army to "protect the rights" of U.S. blacks (would the ICR call on the French army to protect Algerians in Marseilles?). In the bewildering array of eclectic opposition groups in the Usec none offers a political opposition to the capitulationist and maneuverist methods which have thus far kept the Usec pasted together. Only a consistent struggle to defeat Pabloist revisionism can generate a programmatically centered, authentically Trotskyist alternative. ■

Birchite Congressman Witchhunts Muñoz Campaign

Despite the liberals' talk of a post-Watergate decline in government witch-hunting, there has been a marked recrudescence of McCarthyite "exposés" of left organizations in the pages of the *Congressional Record* of late. Last month the successful campaign to save Chilean miners leader Mario Muñoz was singled out as a target in this insidious smear campaign.

Under the title, "U.S. Support Groups for Argentine Terrorists," Congressman Lawrence McDonald inserted a slanderous article red-baiting the Muñoz campaign into the 3 August *Record*. Using the method of the Big Lie, the article indiscriminately labels Latin American political refugees in Argentina "Cuban trained terrorist[s]" and picks out a curious list of "well-known violence-oriented" individuals associated with the campaign in order to tar the co-sponsors, the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) and the Europe-based Committee to Defend Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile, as terrorist support organizations.

Using a standard McCarthy technique, the Congressman then reproduces the entire "very interesting and revealing" two-and-a-half-page list of individuals and organizations that endorsed the campaign to save Muñoz. During the 1950's such lists were used by local anti-communist zealots to label

any of McDonald's wild charges.

Who is this professional red-baiter? Lawrence Patton McDonald was elected in 1974 to the U.S. House of Representatives from Georgia's Seventh District, a largely white, rural area known locally as "Lockheed Country." The *Congressional Quarterly* (4 January 1975) describes him as "stand[ing] virtually alone as an extreme conservative" among first-term Democrats in the House.

McDonald proudly boasts that he is the youngest member of the National Committee of the John Birch Society, and a look at his voluminous contributions to the *Congressional Record* reveals his mission as a demagogic witchhunting fanatic. Since Congressmen cannot be sued for slander or libel, McDonald is free to print anything he wants in the *Record*, and he does so at great length.

In one recent two-month period, entries under his name include attacks on the PDC, SWP, October League, National Lawyers Guild, Bay Area Research Collective, George Jackson Brigade, Prairie Fire, U.S.-Cuba Health Exchange, *Counterspy* magazine (one of his special bugbears), the July 4th Coalition and the People's Bicentennial Commission (two other favorites), the Communist Party, Non-Intervention in Chile, the Venceremos Brigade and



Statement by congressman McDonald published in August 3 Congressional Record.

Free All Victims of Apartheid Injustice!

During the past three months of black and "coloured" uprisings in South Africa, thousands of anti-apartheid militants have been arrested, and 850 detained indefinitely with no legal rights whatsoever. These recent victims of racist, police-state terror, overseen by the internationally notorious Bureau of Security Services (BOSS), join tens of thousands of other class-war prisoners in a country with the highest per capita arrest rate in the world. Under the Internal Security Act many of these prisoners may legally be held until their deaths. Down with apartheid! Free all victims of apartheid injustice—Hot cargo goods to and from South Africa!

The Partisan Defense Committee has sent the following telegram. WV urges its readers to send similar telegrams of protest.

South Africa Permanent Mission to UN

300 E. 42nd St.

New York, N.Y. 10017

South Africa Embassy 3051 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20008

We vigorously protest the arrest and preventive detention of the members of the South African Students Organization, the South African Students Movement, the Black Peoples Convention, and hundreds of other anti-apartheid militants, as well as the journalists arrested for attempting to reveal the scope of the South African regime's brutal repression of the black and colored demonstrators. We demand their immediate release!

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 633 Canal St. Sta.
New York, N.Y. 10013

liberals and left-wingers as members or endorsers of "Communist front organizations" "cited in the *Congressional Record*." Using such purported official validation and guilt-by-association innuendo, often supplemented by hearings of the infamous House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), thousands were thrown out of their jobs and otherwise persecuted.

The Muñoz campaign is far from being the first target of McDonald's attacks. Last year, for instance, he inserted a lengthy "report" on the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which he characterized as part of the "terrorist Fourth International." The report focused on the Internationalist Tendency (IT), the supporters of Ernest Mandel's International Majority Tendency of the United Secretariat within the SWP, and quoted "secret" SWP documents (presumably obtained from the numerous FBI and right-wing informants/provocateurs planted in the party) which, of course, failed to substantiate

other groups variously labeled as "subversive," "terroristic," "communist" and "revolutionary."

In diatribes against the Lawyers Guild and the People's Bicentennial, McDonald complains that "It is to be deeply regretted that we in the House no longer have an Internal Security Committee [the renamed HUAC] to investigate subversives and extremist organizations" (CR, 5 May 1976). In its absence, the Georgia Congressman has set himself up as a one-man HUAC operating on the Birchites' paranoid conspiracy theories that everyone to the left of their leader, retired candy manufacturer Richard Welch, is either a "commie," a "com-symp" or "dupe."

When not busy compiling or reprinting lists of sponsors for one or another demonstration, McDonald's principal hobby horse is decrying Mexico's alleged "slide into communism." For those who may not have noticed, he

warns that a "Cactus Curtain" is about to descend south of the Rio Grande because the Mexican government is accepting refugees from right-wing military dictatorships in South America. Among the legislative "achievements" of this self-appointed guardian of true-blue "Americanism" are proposed resolutions to put more restrictions into the 1965 Voting Rights Act and to enlist Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees in the U.S. armed forces.

For McDonald, "Americanism" means an adherence to the belief that free men secure their "unalienable rights" from a Supreme Being and not government," and therefore democratic rights should not apply to godless communists. In his mission to cleanse America of "subversion" he goes to incredible lengths, his latest gambit being the suggestion that the "Legionnaire's Disease" in Philadelphia was "a terrorist act," possibly a fiendish plot by Soviet or Chinese agents.

Despite the "lunatic fringe" quality of his diatribes, McDonald is a dangerous person. His information, though generally inaccurate and distorted, reveals a considerable range and depth of material. What are his sources? Besides the FBI and CIA, *Counterspy* (Spring 1976) details the career of one of his aides, S. Louise Rees, as informant and agent provocateur in several left groups. She and her husband put out the right-wing newsletter *Information Digest*, which compiles published information as well as reports from spies in various organizations. According to *Counterspy*, this newsletter has been used by various intelligence agencies and the New York State Police as a source for "investigations" and harassment of left groups.

While today McDonald may appear to be nothing but an isolated far-right extremist in Congress, he draws on the support of a host of reactionary forces, from the Birch Society to government spy and police agencies. It is reactionaries of his ilk who spearheaded preparations for the bloody Chilean coup with the benevolent approval of urbane "statesmen" such as Henry Kissinger. Exposure of the pernicious activities of such rabid witchhunters, and their ties to more "respectable" officials, can alert the workers movement to the mortal danger they represent. ■

Washington Post

(continued from page 8)

slate was the fact that the Washington-Baltimore Guild local leadership had demanded that its *Washington Post* unit respect the picket lines of striking craft workers. The scab majority at the *Post* unit consistently failed to do this. Grubisich's "reform" of the Guild constitution would permit units to ignore instructions from their locals to honor picket lines. Such "reforms" all trade unionists could do without.

Now, one would think it bad enough that a would-be socialist group would even offer the most qualified kind of support for a scab candidate like Grubisich. But this is not sufficient for Lovell and the SWP. Lovell hastens to assure us that "Neither do we propose in this case to give 'critical' support and issue our own statement to distinguish ourselves from them. On the contrary we join this ticket and give full support to it!" Full-blown opportunism, not half-hearted conciliationism for these reformists!

So much for the SWP's model of "practical" trade unionism. Their utterly shameless defense of scabbing should make it crystal clear that the SWP's "turn to the masses" will result in no fundamental change in its class-collaborationist policies. The SWP has long since abdicated the defense of the Transitional Program. Today it is only the Spartacist League that carries on the historic struggle to implant the program of revolutionary Trotskyism in the American working class. ■

Ford Strike...

(continued from page 12)

strike. The Woodcock bureaucracy, which shackles auto workers to capitalist politicians such as open-shop, "ethnic-purity" peanut boss Carter, must be ousted through a struggle for a workers party, based on the trade unions, to fight for a workers government.

"Oppositionists" Seek to Pressure Woodcock

UAW skilled workers, in particular, have been mistrustful of the gang of sellout artists in Solidarity House for some time. In 1973, tradesmen at Local

Strike Ford Canada Now!

TORONTO—Auto workers at Ford Canada plants are still on the job, working without a contract under orders from the Canadian wing of the UAW bureaucracy, while U.S. Ford workers strike. Workers at the Oakville assembly plant near Toronto told *WV* salesmen that there is tremendous disgruntlement in the union ranks, reflected in an overwhelming pro-strike vote last week and almost weekly walkouts by workers refusing overtime. But despite this militancy and the bitter resentment at wage controls imposed by the Trudeau government in Ottawa, Canadian UAW bureaucrats have clamped the lid on strike action.

On September 13 Canadian UAW director Dennis McDermott issued a leaflet directed at Ford workers at Windsor, Oakville and St. Thomas plants announcing that no strike deadline will be set until after the U.S. strike is settled! The bureaucracy's rationale is that there's no point in striking now, since shipments of parts from the U.S. to Canadian assembly plants will dry up in a few days anyway, and workers might as well get unemployment benefits by being laid off instead.

However, according to Oakville workers, a big shipment of engines was just received this week from California and large-scale layoffs have yet to materialize. McDermott's "smart" tactics are in fact extremely dangerous. There is no guarantee whatever that Ford Canada will accept the results of a U.S. settlement, nor (despite UAW leaders' claims to the contrary) is there any reason to believe that the self-serving Woodcock bureaucracy would extend the U.S. strike a single day to benefit the (non-striking) Ford Canada workers.

The no-strike strategy is a deliberate attempt to set up the Canadian UAW membership to face Trudeau's wage control board alone, without the added strength of their U.S. union brothers and sisters backing them up. This also means that wage parity with American auto workers—a vital achievement, won after a lengthy struggle in 1967—is in grave danger.

Militants must demand that UAW members on both sides of the border be mobilized for a militant international industry-wide auto strike, which should also be the spark for a cross-Canada general strike to smash Trudeau's wage controls!

600 (River Rouge) voted down the contract under constitutional provisions giving them a veto right, only to have Woodcock declare the pact in force anyway. Attempting to capitalize on the legitimate anger of skilled tradesmen is the reformist Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC), led by Pete Kelly and Al Gardner.

The ISTC held a rally at Ford world headquarters, site of the contract negotiations, on the day of the strike deadline. Rather than using the occasion to demonstrate unity of skilled and production workers around class-struggle demands, the organizers only sought to pressure the bureaucracy. "We're not demonstrating against our leadership," Gardner told *WV*. The demands were both particularist and limited: wage parity with the building trades (defined as \$10 per hour), a cost-of-living allowance (COLA) for retirees, a 30-hour week, union control of subcontracting and a "true" COLA formula. Gardner later spelled out his reformist, step-at-a-time version of the shorter workweek: "We've got to get down to a four-day week. If it takes three years, fine."

The Coalition for a Good Contract (CGC), which is uncritically endorsed in the pages of the *International Socialists' Workers' Power*, supported the ISTC demonstration and also refused to directly criticize the UAW bureaucracy. Likewise the CGC failed to call for an industry-wide strike, saying only that Chrysler and GM workers should join the rally. In fact, the CGC and ISTC demands were so minimalist they allowed the Communist Party-backed Auto Workers Action Caucus (AWAC) to appear more militant by comparison. AWAC is calling for "30 for 40," a shop steward for every 35 workers, an end to racist practices and no national settlement until all local disputes are resolved. But the reformist CP's abiding concern not to anger the bureaucracy was evident in an astounding *Daily World* (15 September) headline describing the strike as a "lockout." The intent to cover for Woodcock, who didn't want a strike, was obvious.

The previous week had seen a demonstration at the bargaining site by yet another reformist pressure grouping, the Auto Workers United to Fight in '76 (AWUF), which is backed by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party. The demonstration was on a program of six demands which Woodcock himself could easily adopt. While calling for "extending" the right to strike and "improving" COLA, the AWUF said nothing about job security and the need for an industry-wide walkout to bring the full force of the UAW to bear.

Elect Strike Committees! Shut Down All Auto!

The presence of considerable militant sentiment among the UAW ranks was shown by the turnout of several hundred angry skilled tradesmen September 16 at an ISTC meeting on the strike. Rather than discussing a strategy for victory, however, Gardner and Kelly treated the audience to a barrage of empty rhetoric, announcing plans to take a delegation to Solidarity House to demand... "truthful disclosures" and "the beginnings of a shorter workweek."

Many of the workers present wanted to take on the defeatist Woodcock bureaucracy, but they were sidetracked by the shifty ISTC leaders. Workers shouted out, "Shut down all the auto plants!" Amendments were raised to mobilize skilled workers to accompany the delegation to UAW headquarters, and for a one-day shutdown of the entire industry. But although these and other proposals were well-received, they were bureaucratically ignored by the chair. Even the fury over the porous picket lines and continued operation of Dearborn Engineering was deflected, as Gardner replied that some of the maintenance workers entering the plants were there "for a purpose."



WV Photo

Coalition for a "Good Contract" called for 32-for-40 at skilled trades demonstration at Ford headquarters September 14.

Reformist outfits such as the ISTC have no perspective beyond the tactic of gently pressuring Woodcock into greater militancy. In order to accomplish this they are prepared to drop all criticism of "our leadership" in Solidarity House. The *International Socialists* (I.S.) and CP-backed elements who in turn tail the ISTC uncritically, tailoring their programs to suit the Gardners and Kellys, thus also play into the hands of the Woodcock regime. But victory for auto workers requires a complete break with Woodcock and the formation of a class-struggle leadership and program.

The first point in such a program is shutting down all of Ford and all of auto (and agricultural implements) throughout the U.S. and Canada, not just for one day or one week but until auto workers win! No more porous picket lines or secret "contacts" with the companies to make sell-out deals while the membership remains in the dark! For elected strike committees to open up the bargaining through daily reports to the membership, to enforce solid picket lines through mass picketing whenever necessary, and to spread the strike through linking up with militants from the other companies and Canada!

Such strike committees could hammer out and present a program of demands representing the real needs of auto workers, including a shorter workweek with no loss in pay—"30 for 40" or better—and combating speed-up through turning back and freezing line speed in the contract! For unlimited local right to strike without International authorization and a steward for every foreman!

Militants must also demand full SUB benefits for every worker from the date of hire and for the full duration of all layoffs and prepare to struggle against all future layoffs through militant plant seizures. Both skilled trades and production workers need a big pay boost and full cost-of-living protection, and in order to break down the discrimination which has kept the skilled trades overwhelmingly white, militants must call for an end to discrimination through union control of hiring and upgrading and union-controlled training programs.

The core of the Woodcock bureaucracy's opposition to a class-struggle program is its commitment to capitalism, as expressed most clearly through its ties with the Democratic Party. Despite the obvious fact that these ties have a direct and immediate conservatizing effect on trade-union struggles, the reformists cringe before Woodcock through their opposition to raising any "political" demands. Yet class-conscious workers must be the first to point out this relationship, and demand the severance of these ties: Out with the class-collaborationist bureaucracy! Expropriate the auto barons! For a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Shut Down All Auto!

Woodcock-Approved Scabbing Weakens Ford Strike

Ford Ranks Must Elect Strike Committees!

DETROIT, September 19 In the first week of the nationwide auto walkout, strikers faced not only the hard-line bargaining stance and unprecedented "take-away" demands of Ford Motor Company, but also backstabbing treachery from the Woodcock leadership of the United Auto Workers (UAW). From the first day of the strike hundreds of cars have streamed past picket lines at Ford's giant River Rouge complex in Dearborn, their drivers bearing official union passes allowing them to work at so-called "essential" jobs during the strike. Hundreds more are being allowed to enter the struck plants by displaying their salaried personnel badges.

Similarly, in Canada some 34,000 Ford workers have been ordered by UAW tops to remain on the job. "We're all brothers," a Ford worker told a television reporter across the river in Windsor, Ontario, "and we should all be called out together." But Solidarity House says no, making a mockery of its pledge to uphold wage parity. And while official negotiations have lagged, local agreements are being signed as rapidly as possible in order to build up pressure for a return to work. Most importantly, more than half a million UAW members at General Motors, Chrysler and American Motors have not been called out due to Woodcock's defeatist "one-at-a-time" strategy.

Solidarity House has done its best to defuse militancy and disorient the ranks, while demanding next to nothing from the companies. This has led major liberal newspapers to attack the strike as "unnecessary" (*New York Times*) or merely "baffling" (*Detroit Free Press*), and blame the negotiators for not trying very hard to "divert it" (since Big Four profits were admittedly at record levels, and a "moderate" settlement could have been easily attained). But there is nothing baffling about it: the companies evidently feel a strike is necessary in order to let auto workers blow off steam, and Woodcock is obligingly supplying a little bluster.

Militants Demand: Shut Down Engineering Center!

Despite reported widespread apathy about the strike (deliberately encouraged by the union leadership), there is plenty of anger among the UAW ranks, directed both against the companies and Woodcock. Particularly infuriating to union militants is the International's order to keep Ford's Dearborn Engineering Center open during the strike. A few hours before the strike deadline last Tuesday, UAW officials instructed all members of Local 245 to

remain at work, on the grounds that "essential" emission control work had to be completed.

One Local 245 committeeman, Walter Tomczak, was quoted on the eve of the strike as saying that his members "don't want to be branded as scabs." Tomczak told *WV* that a picket line would definitely be honored by the membership, but that officials had threatened to withhold strike benefits if the workers went out. Pickets at historic Gate 4 at River Rouge—the overpass where the Reuther brothers were beaten by company goons—said, "A strike is a strike, and that goes for Local 245 as well."

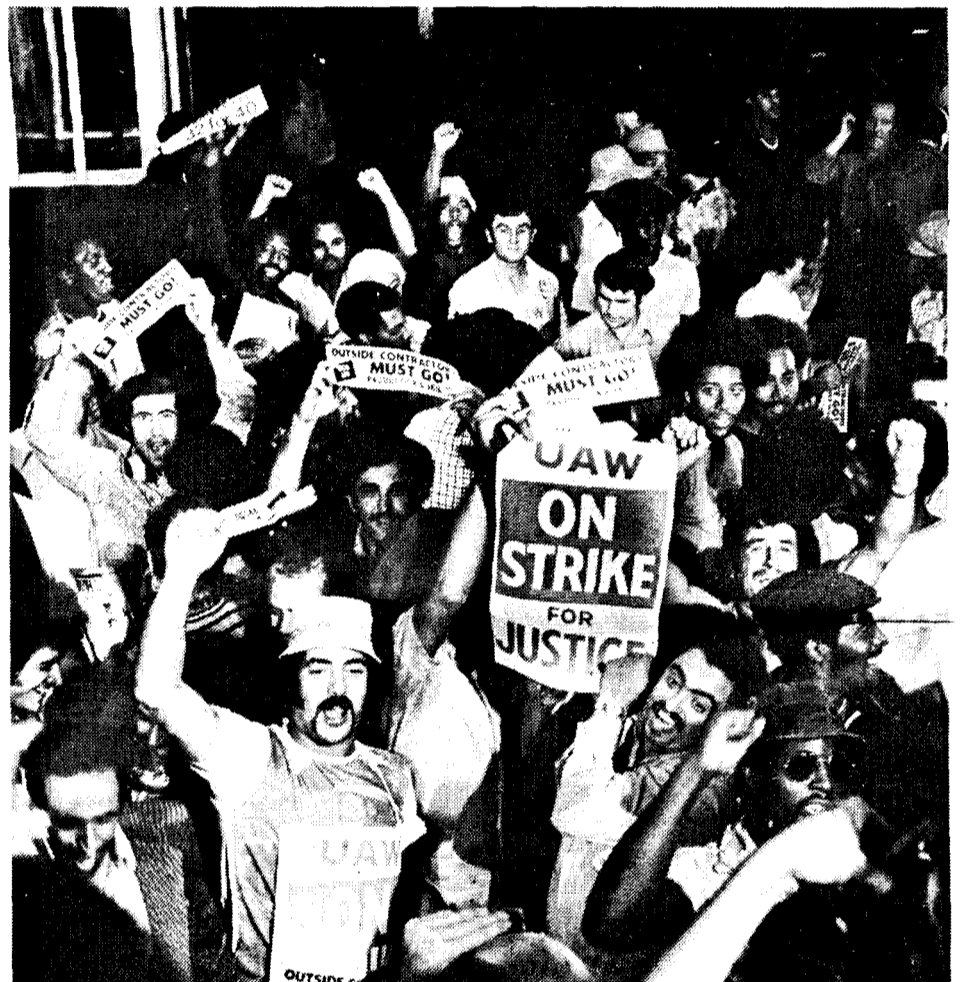
Strikers at the numerous gates of the Rouge facility have been incensed at the official union policy of allowing hundreds to cross the lines. At one gate they began tearing up official passes, and fighting resulted in minor injuries to one picket. Local bureaucrats, however, have been vigorously enforcing the International's rules. Some of these bureaucrats ironically wearing jackets inscribed with "UAW Flying Squad," reminiscent of the militant pickets who combatted strikebreaking in the 1941 strike that unionized Ford—informed a *WV* reporter that the people going in had the "right to work." "Their [the bureaucrats'] concern is to get people in the gate," said one disgruntled picket.

"Lock the Place Up Tight!"

A union committeeman reported that workers behind the lines are being pushed to the limit by management. When one worker protested about harassment, the foreman told him, "You haven't got any union representation, you're on strike." One striking skilled tradesman complained, "You just can't have people crossing the picket lines and call it a serious strike." The only way to win, he said, "is to actually lock the place up tight."

The excuses for the officially approved scabbing are as full of holes as the picket lines. Local officials say that the union members are crossing the picket lines only for such purposes as banking blast furnaces and coke ovens and shutting down power plants. But equipment requiring such elaborate procedures should have been shut down *before* the strike deadline! This would have served notice of the union's determination and prodded company negotiators.

The leaky picket lines represent a serious weakness of the strike. One union committeeman told *WV* that the union doesn't even know what the strikebreaking workers are doing inside, and another official said that two of the four coke ovens at Rouge were being kept in operation. The fact that so far there has been no attempt to actually produce cars during the strike is due to



WV Photo

Autoworkers at Ford's Rouge walking out at midnight September 14.

the historic strength of the UAW, and to the fact that Henry Ford II and the other auto bosses have someone looking out for their interests: the Woodcock bureaucracy of the UAW.

Militants must demand that picket lines be made effective. No one must be allowed into any struck plant, and all Ford facilities must be closed down at once! A militant strike committee must be elected by the membership to dump Woodcock's sell-out policies and implement an immediate industry-wide shutdown of all auto and agricultural implement companies throughout North America!

Takeaway of Giveaway?

Official negotiations were broken off six hours before the strike began, but unofficial "contacts" between Ford and UAW officials have been reported as "fruitful." The closed-door wheeling and dealing was said to be centered on Woodcock's request for a "time-bank" plan for one day off per month in return for perfect attendance. Although touted in the press as a shorter workweek demand to make more jobs, UAW officials are quick to point out that their thoroughly "practical" proposal will not cut into Ford's skyrocketing profits or lower productivity. "What it all boils down to is that they'll be making a hell of a lot more cars with only a five

percent increase in hours worked between 1976 and 1990," said one UAW official (*Detroit Free Press*, 19 September).

The official union position is so minimal that it doesn't even address the question of overtime, still largely compulsory. What is needed is a militant struggle by all auto workers to shorten the workweek at no loss in pay (30 hours' work at 40 hours' pay) and impose stringent restrictions on overtime. But the Woodcock bureaucracy is implacably opposed to expanding the fight beyond what is acceptable to the companies.

The UAW misleaders' defense of capitalist interests logically extends to the political sphere as well, as seen during campaign appearances in Michigan last week by the tweedledum/tweedledee candidates of big business. Speaking at the state AFL-CIO convention, which was addressed by Democrat Jimmy Carter, Woodcock said he hoped both Carter and Ford would remain neutral on the Ford strike. "It's not their business," said the UAW leader, adding that he would not welcome a visit to the picket lines by Carter. Woodcock simply wants to save Carter—who is also endorsed by Henry Ford II!—from the embarrassment of taking sides in the

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