

## Defy the Court Injunction—Smash Proposition B Wage Cuts!

# Bust the Union Busters! For an S.F. General Strike!

### Stop the Scabs—Defend the Picket Lines

SAN FRANCISCO, April 13 The courts yesterday joined the S.F. board of supervisors in escalating a determined union-busting offensive against the city unions. Superior Court Judge John E. Benson declared the municipal craft workers' strike illegal and handed down a sweeping injunction against "striking, inducing others to strike, picketing city facilities in support of the strike or hindering, delaying or interfering with work by other city employees."

This draconian ultimatum is not meaningless bluster; it is a gun held at the head of the workers movement. Notice has now been served on the temporizing city union bureaucrats that, unless their April 6 vote to prepare a general strike is actually carried out, the strike by 1,900 skilled tradesmen will go down in abysmal defeat. But the cynical labor brass continue to bumble along, muttering occasional empty threats, oblivious to the looming dangers.

This confrontation is a crucial test of strength for the Bay Area labor movement, with ramifications that will spread across the country. If the arrogant wage-slashing assault by city officials on craftsmen succeeds in the traditionally most militant "union town" of the U.S., the capitalist class will be immeasurably emboldened in its attempts to break the back of the labor movement in the public sector and place the costs of the capitalist depression

squarely on the workers.

Already the board of supervisors has prepared a successor to Proposition B, the anti-labor city charter amendment it got passed in last November's elections which erases a 30-year-old charter provision pegging municipal craft workers' pay to the prevailing rate in private industry. A new amendment, to be put on the ballot in June, will ban *all* strikes by city workers.

Judge Benson minced no words in spelling out what the ruling class has in mind: "The right to strike by public employees has been defined time and again by the courts of this state. The rule is that public employees do not have the right to strike against their employer" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 13 April).

In addition, it is widely rumored that the no-strike clauses contained in the recent batch of contracts signed by the non-craft union bureaucrats include notorious "yellow dog" agreements, obligating workers to cross the picket lines of other unions.

Defense of the most elemental trade-union right—the right to strike—is at the heart of the current struggle in San Francisco!

### No Answer to Scabbing

The court injunction is the bourgeoisie's response to the demonstrated weakness and incapacity of the S.F. Central Labor Council (CLC) to lead the strike to victory. In the week since the CLC issued its statement that it would "back" a general strike, the labor

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Striking city workers picket City Hall.

WV Photo

## Appeal of the Committee for the Defense of Imprisoned Chilean Workers, Soldiers and Sailors:

# FOR INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY TO SAVE THE LIFE OF MARIO MUÑOZ!

The coup d'état carried out by the armed forces in Argentina has presented to the world an image of moderation and respect for human rights, but the reality is brutally different. Silently the Argentine junta has unleashed a bloody repression against all revolutionaries, trade unions and people's organizations. Meanwhile rightist organizations continue to operate with impunity, including the criminal Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA), which has redoubled its attacks and assassinations.

This is the tragic truth that the entire world must know: raids, tortures, abuses, mass arrests. The lives of thousands of Argentines are in serious danger. Militants of other nationalities who happen to be there, in particular Chilean political refugees, are likewise victims of this persecution, being turned over to the Chilean military junta or shot on the spot without legal proceedings of any sort.

Among those condemned to death is Mario Muñoz Salas, Chilean revolutionary working-class leader. The brutal persecution of which

Mario Muñoz is the victim must be internationally publicized. Pursued and condemned to death by the Chilean junta, he is today threatened with the same fate at the hands of the new Argentine government, which claims to respect international conventions regarding asylum and human rights.

Only 48 hours after the demagogic declarations of the Argentine junta, a military patrol of national police, composed of 30 men in battle gear, raided his house at 3 a.m. (March 25). By mistake they first invaded the house next door, violently breaking down the doors and brutally beating those they found inside. Upon discovering their error they proceeded immediately to the house of Mario Muñoz. They entered, smashed up the interior and dragged out of the house his compañera, Olga Meneses Ibaseta, their five children and a couple of relatives who were present, beating them all the while.

All were taken into the street where the troops immediately began

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# Letters

## USec Majority: All the Way with the MPLA?

Montreal, Quebec

1 March 1976

The Editor,  
*Workers Vanguard*

Comrades,

I have had a subscription to *Workers Vanguard* for a couple of years now, and while I find it to be a professional and informative publication, I would like to make a criticism which has been on my mind for some time.

In every issue for the past two years, *WV* has used the term "fake-Trotskyist" to describe the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, led by Ernest Mandel. Until last night, I didn't know the historical reason for this insult. While you might have serious and legitimate political differences with the USec, I don't believe it is correct to denounce comrades who are serious Marxist revolutionaries by calling them fakes, even though you believe they have committed political errors. Last night I had a discussion with some comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada from Toronto, when I learned that supporters of the Revolutionary Tendency, the predecessor of the Spartacist League, were expelled from the Socialist Work-

ers Party in the early 1960's over political differences on the nature of the Cuban state.

I agree with the Spartacist League on this question—that the Castroist régime has been a deformed workers state from its inception—and that the stalling of debate within the SWP through bureaucratic expulsions is contrary to all principles of democratic centralism. Yet your weekly denunciation of the USec and all groups affiliated to it as "fake-Trotskyist" smacks of sectarianism itself.

I say this mainly because of your consistent denunciation of organizations affiliated to the Fourth International, such as the SWP (of the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction) and Canada's Revolutionary Marxist Group (of the International Majority Tendency) on almost all political questions. For instance, the RMG, like the Spartacist League, has the correct analysis on the Angolan situation, calling for military victory to the MPLA, but withholding political support, as all three liberation movements are petty-bourgeois in programme. And yet you insist that the RMG really gives political support to the MPLA, despite statements to the contrary in its press. In this way the Spartacist League attempts to create an artificial difference between itself and all other Trotskyist organizations, on all

questions. The method used is clear: question the honesty of other Marxist groups. Regardless of what they say in their press, you *really* know what they think.

This kind of behavior is unworthy of revolutionary Marxists. I don't agree with Ernest Mandel on everything, but I don't call him a "fake"—I think he's a sincere comrade. I hope you won't consider me a "fake-Trotskyist" as well for my criticism.

Fraternally,

Richard-P. Wagman

*WV replies:* Our use of the term "fake-Trotskyist" to describe the various factions that compose the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) is not, as the writer believes, a gratuitous insult but rather a political characterization of central importance. The USec's claim to represent the organizational and political continuity of the Fourth International founded by Trotsky is manifestly false. The very existence in Canada and other countries of politically disparate, competing organizations affiliated to the same "Fourth International" is sufficient evidence to demonstrate the USec's radical departure from the Leninist-Trotskyist norms of international democratic centralism.

Programmatically, both USec factions adapt themselves to non-proletarian strata in their quest for organizational growth and popularity. The reformist minority pursues political ploys with sections of the bourgeoisie (the liberal wing of the Democratic Party in the U.S. and the Peronist movement in Argentina). The right-centrist Mandelite majority orients to tailing after various popular fronts as well as petty-bourgeois nationalist and Stalinist forces. Its sections have given political support ("with criticisms") to the Union of the Left in France, the Popular Unity government in Chile, the Armed Forces Movement in Portugal and the Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front in Bolivia, heaping betrayal upon betrayal and tying the workers to forces committed to the maintenance of bourgeois rule.

The support of the USec majority led by Ernest Mandel to the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) is another case in point. A scrutiny of the newspaper of the Canadian Mandelites, the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), reveals a rather different picture of its position than the writer portrays. The January issue of the RMG's *Old Mole* writes:

"Our support for the MPLA is not conditional upon the character of its leadership until the war is over and the

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# Editorial Notes

## Purging and Hemorrhaging in the I.S.

SAN FRANCISCO—"Some of the comrades will call this a purge..." the leadership of the International Socialists (I.S.) wrote in a recent internal document. Indeed it is difficult to know what else to call the wave of expulsions and resignations which hit the West Coast I.S. in the wake of a "house-cleaning" national tour by I.S. national secretary Glenn Wolfe in January.

One former I.S. member estimates that through expulsions, resignations and the withdrawal of membership applications the organization has lost about 20 people. The largest single chunk is a Los Angeles grouping which had characterized as "a liberal, not a socialist" one of the organization's recent prize "worker-recruits" who was put on the local executive committee. When "Comrade Pepper" arrived he and the L.A. leadership began preparations to throw out the dissidents, who beat them to the draw by quitting. They charge the I.S. leadership with depoliticizing the organization and with cliquism.

In conjunction with the same national tour, in the Bay Area the process began when the I.S. local executive committee demanded the expulsion of long-time I.S. member Barry Gordon, following which those who had sought to prevent Gordon's ouster also found themselves outside the organization. Gordon and his coterie are mainly cynics who had no differences with the I.S.'s brand of left-social-democratic opportunism but resisted the group's drastic "turn" from soft New Leftish accommodationism to bureaucratic "Bolshevization" and the "worker membership" drive which was touted as the means to instant success modeled on the pattern of the more leftist, workerist British I.S. organization.

The wave of expulsions and resignations flows directly out of the dismal failure of this opportunist get-rich-quick scheme. No doubt legitimately perplexing to the I.S. honchos—who have always believed that organizational success is directly proportional to the rate of selling out one's paper socialist "program"—the group's recent orgy of opportunist betrayals has reaped only disaster.

The ill-conceived "Red Tide," once heralded as the route to a youth organization through sucking in young activists on a non-political basis, has apparently folded everywhere except Detroit. The "worker membership" campaign (for the purpose of which the group virtually liquidated any political standards of recruitment) yielded nothing approaching the grandiose predictions, and many of those who were

recruited quickly left upon discovering the Potemkin village character of I.S.'s pretensions to widespread influence. The weekly *Workers' Power* succeeds only in being twice as boring as it was as a bi-weekly.

The I.S. had staked most of its hopes on an openly opportunist trade-union formation, Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC). So long as *Workers' Power* could parade as press agent for the TDC operation, I.S.'s workerist orientation could manage to look feasible. But even that fig-leaf isn't holding up so well. Fitzsimmons' initial bargaining demand were for 50¢ an hour more than the TDC "program"! Despite TDC's explicit refusal to counterpose itself to Fitzsimmons, the front group's members have become fractious; in one recent incident Bay Area TDC members actually prevented *Workers' Power* from being sold at a TDC rally.

Typically, the I.S. leadership has reacted to the ensuing demoralization by scapegoating. After all, the leadership reasons, the problem cannot be the group's politics, and it certainly cannot be the leadership... so it must be the members. Thus, "Bolshevization" means driving out not only some of the I.S.'s old crew of confirmed cynics and dilettantes but also getting rid of the critics, seeking to replace them with politically raw recruits. The technique recalls Bertolt Brecht's sarcastic suggestion to the East German Stalinist regime (faced at the time with a workers' revolt) that since the people had lost the confidence of the government, the obvious answer was to "dissolve the people and elect a new one."

The I.S. choice of a label for its campaign is itself symptomatic: in 1924 Stalin and Zinoviev launched a "Bolshevization" drive to cover a bureaucratic purge in the Communist International parties. As Trotsky pointed out, "purging of the party of alien elements and habits, of social democratic functionaries clinging to their posts, of freemasons, pacifist-democrats, idealistic muddleheads" ("The Third International After Lenin") was a task performed by Lenin's Comintern from the very first day of its existence. But Stalin-Zinoviev's cynical appeal to the authority of the Bolshevik party was an attempt to ferret out and expel potential oppositionists and bludgeon the rest into cowed submission. A fitting precedent for Geier-Wolfe's hatchet job.

The now homeless dissidents are howling long and loud in Bay Area radical circles about I.S. bureaucracy and cliquism, but the local organizer flatly refused to talk with a *WV* reporter who sought an interview to get the leadership's version. Documents supplied by the ex-members, however, more than adequately tell the story, as I.S. leaders openly justify the method of

political expulsion:

"...involvement in a faction or developing faction is not in itself grounds for expulsion from the IS unless the politics put forward by such a group is incompatible with those of the IS...."

"We are not a monolithic organization and encourage debate on a broad range of issues. But let's not confuse this with the rights of the majority to define our membership according to our political principles."

The aggrieved complaints of the long-time I.S. supporters, however, ring somewhat hollow; many of the recently severed I.S. members happily participated in the explicitly political purge of the group's former leftist faction which became the Revolutionary Socialist League.

The same document by the I.S. leadership attempts to sugar-coat the purge pill with the disingenuous remark that "we are a voluntary organization.... When a member is expelled from the IS, she or he does not go to jail or even have to leave politics." A revolutionary party is, of course, a voluntary organization, but this hardly justifies a leadership's arbitrary "de-volunteering" of dissidents! The argument amounts to saying that the I.S. is not democratic, but so what; after all, when the bureaucracy "gets" you, you don't wind up in a forced labor camp, do you?

For serious revolutionists, expulsion from the party is not a laughing matter, for it means divorce from the shaping of the party program and from the struggle to root that program in the working class. Likewise, for a serious revolutionary organization, internal party democracy is not a matter of indifference, but the only means of reaching a correct political line and educating a conscious and committed body of cadre capable of carrying forward the line in a disciplined manner.

The I.S., however, is not a revolutionary party and its program—if it ever attains a following—can only help to disorient the proletariat. Perhaps a few of the recent hatch of terminated I.S. members will profit by the end of their relationship with the I.S. and begin the process of struggle that could transform them into revolutionists. But revulsion against the cynical opportunism and cliquish bureaucracy of the I.S. is only the beginning of wisdom.

Most of the recently exited I.S. members are headed toward open reconciliation with the bourgeoisie via the way-station of the implicitly anti-communist Bay Area "independent radical" milieu of assorted ex-members and semi-supporters. We can only hope that a few of the others will re-examine the fundamental underpinnings of I.S. politics—Stalinophobia "third campism," faddish opportunism, patronizing petty-bourgeois workerism. But they should be forewarned that it is a hard road up from left reformism to Marxism.



# S.F. General Strike...

(continued from page 1)

tops have suffered defeat after defeat in their half-hearted efforts to spread the strike beyond its narrow base of skilled tradesmen.

From the beginning, three quarters of the SEIU members employed at city hospitals have scabbed. Attempts last week to shut down city hall, San Francisco International Airport and Candlestick ballpark were failures. Then yesterday pickets at all the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) stations in S.F. failed to halt a single train.

With the single exception of the Muni workers, no city union has given the craft workers any real support. And the leaders of several unions have eagerly rushed forward to disclaim their intention of launching a general strike. Harry Bridges, ILWU president and fossilized left-over from the 1934 San Francisco general strike, wheezes that the time is not yet ripe for such action.

In every way the labor fakery has shown that their threat of a general strike is a bluff. In fact, the only concrete step taken by the CLC leaders in last week's "bargaining" was to ask for assistance from U.S. secretary of labor Usery, a fine way to prepare a general strike! But Quentin Kopp, head of the board of supervisors, continued to stick to his hard line and haughtily told the federal government it would be "ill advised" to intervene.

The defeatism of the union bureaucrats surfaced at a strategy session of senior city labor leaders yesterday. Disgruntled participants who walked away from the summit meeting reported an atmosphere of confusion and bitter mutual reprimand. The labor tops repeatedly said they couldn't understand why there was so much scabbing and blamed the membership. The head of the SEIU said he was sorry, but there was nothing he could do.

The disorientation was so great that many of the union leaders literally did not know where their picket lines were. The symphony and ballet musicians reportedly are staying out, but have complained that there are often no picket lines for them to respect! Although the bureaucrats were appalled at the treatment being meted out to them by city hall, no one suggested reopening all the contracts and taking out all city workers in solidarity with the craftsmen. Their hope was that the federal government would step in and give them a graceful way out.

## Mobilizing the Petty Bourgeoisie

Meanwhile, the Democratic Party majority of the board of supervisors has been whipping up anti-strike sentiment

in a way that could never happen if the union leadership was seriously attempting to build a general strike. Backers of even more draconian anti-labor legislation are picketing CLC offices to the cheers of the Hearst yellow press. In one highly publicized incident, a group of stockbrokers and their secretaries rented a large truck and used it to pick up uncollected garbage on Mission Street. The truck had a banner reading, "Trash the Strike Lines." Such frenzied petty-bourgeois elements would be swept away in a moment by a class-conscious union movement which vigorously defended its picket lines.

Smelling victory, the board has pressed its attack. The latest city offer was an insulting proposal to spread the impact of the wage cut for city craftsmen over three years! Earlier, the supervisors had magnanimously offered to resubmit Proposition B and the massive craft pay cuts to another vote this June.

While this proposal was rejected by the labor chiefs, their whole policy is to try to live with the anti-labor amendments and somehow avoid the pay cuts. Even today CLC head John Crowley claimed that "people did not know what they were voting for" when they approved Proposition B in November. In contrast, a militant, class-struggle leadership of the labor movement would not cringe before this rigged "voters' mandate." Strike action must be taken to remove all the anti-labor amendments from the books!

## Strike in the Balance

The San Francisco city workers strike now hangs in the balance. The injunction gives the city a free hand to "legally" mobilize the cops to arrest strike leaders and picketers. The puny picket lines currently being haphazardly maintained will be no match for this escalation of bourgeois state violence. The strike must be broadened now into a general strike!

The labor misleaders bear full responsibility for fostering the illusion that cops will not be used against the strike. They allowed the Police Officers' Association to affiliate with the SEIU. Now they face the prospect that their "fellow unionists" will begin breaking picket lines, as they have promised to do. The cops—hired guns of the capitalist class—must be expelled from the labor movement, and preparations begun now to defend mass picket lines!

The question of the general strike is posed point-blank for all of San Francisco labor. Militant unionists must demand that a mass meeting of all S.F. labor be called immediately to lay concrete plans to implement a general strike! Such a strike must demand:

—No pay cuts! Abolish Proposition B! Victory to the craft workers strike!

—Re-open all city workers' contracts—For a big pay hike with full cost-of-living protection! For a shorter workweek with no loss in pay!

—For the right to strike—Abolish all the anti-labor charter amendments!

There is no time to be lost. Delay at this point will lead to a collapse of the craft unions' strike and a stinging defeat for all. Now is the time for the working class to draw the line! ■



Idle trolley buses fill Muni yard.

WV Photo

# Muni Drivers Mass Meeting Calls for General Strike

SAN FRANCISCO, April 9—Close to 1,000 drivers of the Municipal Railway (Muni) which runs the S.F. buses, streetcars and cablecars packed the Transport Workers Union (TWU) hall Wednesday, enthusiastically supporting the call for a general strike to shut down San Francisco and smash the wage-slashing plans of the city board of supervisors. The crowd interrupted speeches at least three dozen times, with applause and cheering every time there was a mention of militant union action.

The meeting opened with a lengthy speech from TWU Local 250A president Larry Martin, who took the better part of an hour trying to feel out any anti-strike sentiment. He reported that in the Central Labor Council there has been some opposition to the Teamsters' entering the strike, but the TWU had insisted on Teamster participation, to shut down the whole city and get the strike over with.

Martin made out that the Transport Workers were behind the call for a general strike. But throughout the speech he tried to appear militant while simultaneously playing on resentment growing out of the fact that, so far, Muni drivers have been the only group of workers to solidly back the striking craftsmen. The TWU chiefs are talking general strike not in order to smash the city officials' union-busting offensive, but to get themselves off the hook.

Martin downplayed the need for militant mass action to spread the strike, at one point alleging that Muni drivers had no choice but to stay out since virtually all the rolling stock was non-operational anyway, and no one was on duty to repair them. The next speaker, TWU International secretary-treasurer Roosevelt Watts, related the union's "heroic" stand in the Labor Council. Martin, he said, had issued an ultimatum: either give him some concrete plans to shut down the city, or he would recommend to his members that they vote to return to work!

One leaflet distributed at the meeting complained that members of Local 250A were losing \$1 million a week in wages, repeated city council propaganda about high wages for tradesmen and concluded, "I say we aren't rich enough to fight their battles for them." In contrast, most of the Muni drivers at the meeting were well aware that if city rulers can hield the craft unions now it will bring down the same union-husting attacks on the TWU when the transit

contract comes up in August.

The executive board presented two recommendations for a vote at the Wednesday meeting: one, that Muni drivers will respect the picket lines, and two, that Muni supports the call for a general strike. Both were passed unanimously by a thunderous voice vote. But the exec failed to provide any concrete direction to organize a general strike, or even to combat the widespread scabbing which is sapping the spirit of the strikers.

Outside the meeting various "opposition" groups passed out leaflets calling for action, but inside the hall the "militancy" of these groups was reduced to applauding the union chiefs' appeals for "strength" and "unity." One leaflet, which was highlighted in the 16 April *Militant* (newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party) that appeared today, contained a two-point proposal which incredibly failed to mention a general strike. Instead it only called for a "strike support committee" and asked that "all facilities of our union be placed at the disposal of this committee which is instructed to enlist the active participation of all our members..."

From the beginning of its phony "turn to the working class" in recent months, the reformist SWP has sought above all to demonstrate its loyalty to the union bureaucracy. The most obscene example was its bitter denunciation, of "disrupters" at last year's April 26 Washington, D.C., jobs rally, and an accompanying offer to pimp for the labor fakery as professional crowd controllers. Now, when the union tops are forced into a show of fake militancy by the intransigence of management, the "responsible" (to the bosses) SWP tries to duck the question of a general strike, thus coming out to the right of the mainline union brass! ■

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

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

Wednesday, April 21 at 7:30 p.m.  
U.M.W. E. Common Place  
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## TDC Sets Up a Defeat

# Detroit Teamster Wildcat: An Autopsy

DETROIT, April 9—The Detroit Teamsters wildcat ended ignominiously on Tuesday, April 6, after a brief three-day existence. Thrust into a position of leadership after a tumultuous union meeting when the union bureaucracy temporarily abdicated, a confused and unprepared Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC) capitulated to the Teamsters leadership within 24 hours. On Monday TDC placed itself at the head of a mass meeting of 3,000 members of International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) Local 299, denounced the contract negotiated by IBT International president Frank Fitzsimmons, reasserted a policy of "no contract, no work" and overwhelmingly passed a vote to strike. On Tuesday a beaten TDC, after negotiations with union officials, called off the picketing in return for promises from the IBT leadership to defend wildcaters against company victimization.

Detroit Teamsters returned to work under the same contract terms they had been offered before the wildcat. Yet, amazingly, the TDC—as is the trademark of opportunists everywhere—labeled the defeat a "victory." TDC leader Gene Fleszar declared triumphantly, "We made a breakthrough; the union actually talked to us" (*Detroit Free Press*, 7 April). This "triumph" was shared with the same bureaucrats they had hooted down the day before, as TDC leaders posed for pictures with union officials shortly after the hack-to-work deal was worked out on Tuesday. It will take more than such public relations gimmicks to convince the thousands of rank-and-file Teamsters who risked their jobs by following the TDC into the wildcat that it was worthwhile, however.

### Wildcat

When Fitzsimmons announced a new master freight agreement and called off the nationwide Teamsters strike on April 3, Detroit drivers didn't buy it. The next day several large trucking terminals around the city remained shut down by picketing. Outside Local 299 offices almost 300 Teamsters rallied against Fitzsimmons' pact. At this point it appeared that a major truck drivers' wildcat could take root.

The bourgeoisie, at least, understood the potential seriousness of such a situation. Since Detroit is center of the auto industry, a prolonged strike could have forced the car manufacturers to shut down from lack of parts. In fact, Chrysler, which is heavily concentrated in Detroit, was forced to send second-shift workers home at several plants after only half a day on Monday.

Furthermore, with active TDC chapters in Cleveland and Pittsburgh, a strike allowed to stabilize could easily spread to other areas of the Midwest. Well aware of this, the Motor Carriers Employers Association, the largest

employers' group in Michigan, made plans to secure a federal court order enjoining TDC and 22 wildcat leaders from striking. At the same time, individual companies began to announce the firings of union militants.

Early Monday morning the word came from Local 299 that a membership meeting was to be held that afternoon at Detroit's Cobo Hall. Despite the short notice, 3,000 union members showed up by 2 p.m., the majority of them considerably early and ready for action. Local 299 president Dave Johnson (who had earlier described the contract as "real, real good") and IBT vice-president Robert Holmes were both hooted down when they attempted to read the contract terms. The bureaucrats peremptorily adjourned the meeting and walked out, shutting off the sound system.

TDC spokesmen quickly ascended the stage in an attempt to hold a meeting. Hardly a Teamster had left the room. All were awaiting an effective leadership that would organize a successful continuation of the strike. The first order of business was a strike vote. When TDC leader Camarata called the vote there was a roar of approval as only a handful dissented. Little else was accomplished, however, and the meet-

ing had carried word of the impending injunction against the wildcat, no effort was made to prepare the strikers for this eventuality. Finally, although there was general sentiment against the mail ballot ratification procedure, the absence of cost-of-living protection in the first year of the contract, the existing grievance procedure and company attacks on union conditions, the meeting broke up without formulating any demands.

Monday night, after the injunctions had been announced, the TDC held two meetings on short notice. At the West Side meeting, over 150 Teamsters gathered to hear TDCer Gene Fleszar denounce the federal restraining order as a meaningless piece of paper. He ended the meeting within fifteen minutes, exhorting the strikers to continue picketing. On the East Side, the meeting was delayed almost two hours, and by the time it began most of the 50-60 militants who showed up had drifted away. The seriousness of the situation had begun to sink in, and convinced that little could be done, TDC leader Camarata saw no choice but to end the strike.

On Tuesday morning, April 6, many Teamsters who had gotten word of the company victimizations of militants and

had been fired. This of course was a staged affair carried out to make the union officials look good.

### Why TDC Failed

Teamsters for a Decent Contract, an amalgam of would-be socialists, opportunists and simple trade-union militants, was founded just last August. In the absence of any other viable opposition in the union, and feeding off the considerable dissatisfaction with Fitzsimmons and his sellout 1973 contract, it grew rapidly. By the approach of the 1976 contract, it had become a pole of attraction to a layer of Teamster militants. However, the TDC leadership consciously disavowed any intention of being an opposition to the Teamster bureaucracy. Insisting that its activities were designed simply to prod IBT leaders into fighting for a little more, it refused to raise a program counterposed to these labor fakers. It refused to call for defense of the Farmworkers against Teamster raids, it advocated taking the union leaders to court and it said nothing about racial or sexual discrimination, the need for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay or breaking with the capitalist political parties.

TDC leaders belittled the idea that these and other crucial elements of a class-struggle program had anything to do with winning a "decent contract." However, it was precisely their inability to present a sharp programmatic challenge to the bureaucracy that foreshadowed the TDC's capitulation in the wildcat. It was not by accident that Detroit drivers were unprepared for the government injunction. Rather than explaining that such anti-labor acts can only be smashed by mass labor action, the TDC had adopted an implicit willingness to treat the capitalist state as a potential ally in the class struggle. First, it had utilized the courts against Teamster officials. Then, when a Taft-Hartley injunction had threatened the nationwide strike, TDC advocated that Teamsters send wires to Gerald Ford entreating him "not to become a strikebreaking president." The confusion generated by this illusion-mongering in the state proved fatal in the Detroit strike. Truck drivers still recall the impact of the intervention of the Ohio National Guard during a wildcat in 1970. They were not about to lightly follow a group that had made no serious preparation to deal with an injunction.

Perhaps most important of all was TDC's refusal to see itself as an alternative leadership to the bureaucracy, a corollary to its failure to raise a qualitatively distinct program. Thus when union officials walked out and leadership did fall into the hands of TDC, it was totally unprepared to exercise it. By the time it began to think



John Collier/Detroit Free Press

Detroit Local 299 Teamsters hooted as local officials read contract settlement at meeting April 5.



Bob Scott/Detroit Free Press

TDC leaders Peter Camarata (left) and Gene Fleszar joyously embrace after Teamster bureaucrats agreed to talk to them in return for calling off wildcat at meeting April 6.

ing broke up after half an hour of complete confusion, with individual militants exhorting the strikers to continue picketing.

At this point de facto strike leadership lay with the TDC; however, it had already made several serious mistakes. By failing to elect a strike committee, there was no way for the "leadership" to communicate with and mobilize the rank and file; union members were forced to depend on the grapevine and bourgeois media for information. Second, although the *Free Press* that

the injunction returned to work. TDC had neither the inclination nor the organizational means to dissuade them. A hastily called union meeting attended by 300 Teamsters was held, at which union bureaucrats Johnson and Holmes worked out a deal with the TDC. The dissidents would agree to return to work under the old contract terms, and the union would promise to defend them against company reprisals. Later an official walkout was called at the Earl C. Smith Motor Freight Co. to win Camarata back his job, from which he



of constructing some kind of strike committee, the wildcat had mostly dissipated.

Arguing over whether it was a mistake for TDC to agree to call off the strike on Tuesday is probably fruitless. It is true that it is sometimes wiser to retreat rather than to suffer a crushing defeat and no doubt TDC will soon justify its actions (as reformists and union bureaucrats characteristically do) by citing "the unfavorable relationship of forces." However, an important component of the relationship of forces is the character of the *leadership*, and by Tuesday the TDC's rudderless vacillation had led it into a blind alley. TDC leaders were saved from an utter disaster only by the providential intervention of the Teamster bureaucracy (for its own reasons). The blunt fact is that within 24 hours of calling a strike TDC had definitively retreated in disarray, without even launching a struggle. If the retreat was then necessary, how is it that this fact was not foreseen only a day earlier!

Only more firmly underscoring the incapacity of the TDC is its insistence that it won a victory. The gloating by these opportunists that they have finally achieved "recognition" from the Teamsters leadership may well prefigure their absorption into the anti-communist Teamster bureaucracy. TDC leader Gene Fleszar emphasized to reporters that "We are not radicals. The only problem we've had is a lot of political groups trying to use us to their own advantage" (*Detroit Free Press*, 7 April). While TDC's credentials may have increased with Teamster bureaucrats like Johnson and Holmes, they have certainly faded with whatever rank-and-file union members had looked to TDC for militant leadership in a struggle against the companies.

The farce in Detroit marks an important moment in the history of TDC. The Spartacist League had earlier mercilessly criticized the class-collaborationism of the TDC, in an effort to explain to Teamster militants that such a program would ultimately end in disaster. The Detroit events—the first time that the TDC was confronted with the opportunity to lead a major struggle—confirm this analysis. They are a stark demonstration of the

fundamental incapacity of simple trade-union reformists to provide militant leadership to the American proletariat, and serve equally as a condemnation of "leftists" like the International Socialists (I.S.), who have enthused over TDC's every move (see "I.S. Latest: Teamsters for an Indecent Contract," *WV* No. 92, 16 January 1976). Only by constructing a class-struggle caucus in the Teamsters union, counterposed to both the gangsterism of the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy and the pusillanimous reformism of the TDC, can a successful struggle be launched against the capitalist bosses. ■

## Mario Muñoz...

(continued from page 1)

interrogating the women and children as to the whereabouts of their father, while the other relative was mercilessly beaten. During the interrogation of the children they were mistreated and savagely beaten, which produced a reaction from all the neighbors who witnessed the terrible scene of weeping and screaming. The troops then tried to snatch the smallest child, a two-month-old baby (born in Argentina) from the arms of its mother, to use it as a hostage. She replied that even if all her children were taken from her, she would not utter a single word that might endanger her *compañero's* life. Faced with the mother's courage and firm determination and the anger of all those present, the patrol was forced to retreat; but not without first informing Muñoz' *compañera* that he was a dangerous extremist in Chile as well as Argentina, and that their orders were to shoot him on sight. Having completed this mission, they left a civilian guard in the neighboring house.

The province of San Juan has been sealed off as the hounding of Mario Muñoz continues. Interprovincial transport is being stopped and searched to look for him.

Mario Muñoz Salas, 36 years old, a mine worker: his life must be saved! By the age of 14 he was already working alongside his father in the mine; during his youth he was already involved in the struggles of his class brothers against the Yankee mining monopolies of northern Chile. Founder and leader of the Aconcagua Union of Workers and Miners; a tireless fighter, known and respected by all Chilean workers, at that time he was already being persecuted by

## 125 Demonstrate in Oakland

# Jail the Killers of Tyrone Guyton!



WV Photo

SAN FRANCISCO—Nearly 125 demonstrators gathered at the California state building April 7 demanding that state attorney general Younger appoint a special prosecutor to try the Emeryville policemen responsible for the murder of Tyrone Guyton. Guyton, a 14-year-old black youth, was shot in the back in November 1973 on the pretext of being a car thief. Despite the lack of evidence to substantiate this charge—or that he was "armed," as the racist cops claim—his killers continue to walk the streets as free men.

The demonstration, which was called by the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton, included officials from H.W.U. Locals 6 and 10, numerous left groups, community residents and oppositional union groupings as well as family and friends of the slain youth. Sheila Delaney speaking for the Partisan Defense Committee pointed to the broad range of organizations working with the Guyton Committee and called for continuing mass protests against the murder.

Judy Morris of the Spartacist League spoke on the need for greater labor support, drawing the connection between the struggle to indict the cop murderers and the current San Francisco city workers' strike. Morris stated that the only way to fight the growing capitalist offensive against the labor movement and oppressed minorities was the formation of a workers party to fight for a workers government.

Mrs. Mattie Shepherd, Tyrone Guyton's mother, ended the demonstration by condemning the racist character of the police and thanking those who had given continued support to her struggle for justice.

### SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

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Michigan Union, U. of Michigan  
Ann Arbor, MI 48109

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Box 23372  
Oakland, CA 94623

BOSTON (617) 492-3928  
Box 188 (617) 436-1497  
M.I.T. Station  
Cambridge, MA 02139

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Box 6441, Main P.O.  
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND (216) 371-3643  
Box 6765  
Cleveland, OH 44101

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Detroit, MI 48232

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Houston, TX 77032

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Los Angeles, CA 90026

MAISON (608) 257-4212  
c/o SYL, Box 3334  
Madison, WI 53704

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New York, NY 10001

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Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO (415) 564-2845  
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San Francisco, CA 94101

### TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

TORONTO (416) 366-4107  
Box 222, Station B  
Toronto, Ontario

VANCOUVER (604) 299-5306  
Box 26, Station A  
Vancouver, B.C.

### Hands off Mario Muñoz! Chilean Working-Class Leader Must Not Die!

Thursday, April 22  
from 5 to 6 p.m.  
Argentine Consulate General  
12 West 56th Street  
NEW YORK

Sponsor:  
Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

For more information call:  
Partisan Defense Committee  
212-925-2426

Free all class-war prisoners in  
Argentina and Chile!  
Stop the Manhunt!

### Cuba: 16 Years of Stalinist Rule

Speaker:  
MARK LAUGHTON  
Spartacist League

Thursday, April 15 at 7:30 p.m.  
General Assembly  
Basement, Michigan Union  
University of Michigan  
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN

the Chilean government in the service of the exploiters. Recognition from his class brothers made him a national leader of the Regional Miners Councils during the government of Salvador Allende. Without faltering, he took the lead in forming the *cordones industriales* [local councils] of workers, miners and peasants of Aconcagua and Valparaiso against the fascist mobilization. Until shortly before Pinochet's bloody coup he was head of the North Aconcagua Regional Committee of the Socialist Party of Chile. At a meeting with President Allende shortly before the coup, in his capacity as a national leader of the miners councils he promised the miners' unconditional defense of the government in case of an attempted coup. At the same time, Muñoz asked Allende how long he would continue to place on the workers' backs the entire burden of the economic crisis which the country was experiencing.

In his Argentine exile he has been the only one to organize the hundreds of thousands of Chilean workers and peasants who crossed the Andes by foot, fleeing the horror and betrayal. For this crime the Argentine military junta has condemned him to death.

For him and all other revolutionary organizers, "national stadiums" have been set up for each province in Argentina. Torture and massacres are widespread and the current number of prisoners easily exceeds 100,000. UN

refugee camps are ransacked three times a week.

Mario Muñoz and his family had sought UN protection, but that organization could not take responsibility for his life; he is now a temporary refugee, i.e., if the government opposes asylum it then becomes invalid. Nor would the UN take responsibility even for the persecuted family members, instead demanding legal documents from them which would never be provided by the Argentine and Chilean governments.

Only international working-class solidarity can save the lives of Mario Muñoz and his family. The Argentine government must be forced to respect human rights. Not a minute must be lost in saving the life of Mario Muñoz! It is an urgent task for the parties and organizations of the working class to mount a powerful international campaign of pressure on the Argentine military junta and the United Nations, to ensure respect for the freedom and lives of this exemplary leader of the Chilean proletariat and his family.

—COMMITTEE FOR THE  
DEFENSE OF IMPRISONED  
CHILEAN WORKERS, SOLDIERS AND SAILORS

\* [recalling the infamous detention center in Santiago where thousands were held and shot or tortured to death following the 11 September 1973 Chilean coup]



## Six Dead, Hundreds Arrested in Israel

# Zionist Cops Murder Arab Strikers

### For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

APRIL 12—The March 30 general strike in the Galilee, initiated by the Communist Party of Israel (Rakah) to protest Zionist plans for the confiscation of 5,000 acres of Arab land for new Jewish settlements, was viciously repressed. Newspaper headlines around the world announced that six Arabs had been killed, while 50 others were seriously injured and 300 arrested.

One of those murdered was a 15-year-old boy, shot dead near Kfar Kana. For no other reason than malicious terrorizing, the home of Zayad Tewfik, the Rakah mayor of Nazareth, was ransacked by Israeli troops. (Nazareth is the largest Arab town in Israel.)

To the north, in the town of Sakhnin, three men were murdered. Some 10,000 mourners from 36 villages and towns attended their funeral the following day. With raised fists they chanted, "With spirit and blood, we shall free Galilee!" After ten years of supposed civilian administration, military occupation has now returned to Galilee. The whole world is reminded that Arab Galilee (part of Israel since its birth), just as the Arab West Bank (which was conquered in the 1967 "Six Day War"), is "occupied territory."

### Israeli Settlements on the West Bank

A major cause of the protest in Galilee was Zionist confiscation of Arab land (see "Blow-up in the Near East," *WV* No. 102, 26 March 1976). In the West Bank this often takes the form of "spontaneous" settlements established by ultra-Orthodox Jews. With consummate hypocrisy—believed by no one—Israel formally disclaims annexationist appetites toward the West Bank and makes token protests about the settlements. However, once a settlement is established, the Israeli government is quite obliging with material and military aid.

The only real difference within the government is whether to absorb the entire West Bank—the position of the National Religious Party (NRP) and defense minister Peres—or simply to annex a strategic strip along the bank of the Jordan River (the 1967 Allon Plan, named after the current foreign minister). The self-proclaimed "left-wing" Zionists of Mapam, who on paper oppose all annexation, threaten to leave the government if the settlements are not removed. The ultra-Orthodox NRP, in turn, threatens to leave the government if the settlements are not fully supported. As usual, the main government party, Mapai, to which both Peres and Allon belong, gives in to the NRP, while the Mapam, also as usual, capitulates to the Mapai. Thus the fragile coalition government survives and the settlements multiply. Already there are a total of 55, with 8,000 inhabitants.

One of the earliest was Kiryat Arba near Hebron. In 1968 a rabbi rented rooms in the area, ostensibly for Passover services. But the rabbi and his followers remained after Passover, defying expulsion orders. After a phony "confrontation" with the Zionist government, they were "temporarily" housed in an army camp and then provided with building materials. Now Kiryat Arba is an established communi-



Israeli soldiers beat Arab youth in the streets of Nazareth.

AP

ty which numbers 1,500 on the outskirts of Hebron.

Kiryat Arba settlers periodically go into the neighboring Arab town and terrorize its inhabitants, often with weapons supplied by the Israeli army and attack dogs. (To be attacked by dogs is a special humiliation for Muslims.) Consequently, Arab protests have been particularly bitter in Hebron. A recent account by the *Jerusalem Post* (23 March) highlights the collaboration between settlers and the Israeli army:

"Kiryat Arba settlers went into Hebron, chased Arab stone throwers through alleys, beat them up and handed 50 over to the military government. Army and police commanders had put the settlers in charge of quarters and commanders gave them 3,000 bullets which they still had."

The same issue of the *Jerusalem Post* also reported that Kiryat Arba leader rabbi Moshe Levinger went on television to tell the settlers to "shoot to hit" if they were attacked by Arabs while patrolling Hebron.

Ironically, Hebron's mayor, Sheikh Mohammed Ali Jaabari, is often praised by the Zionists for his subservience to the Israeli military administration. The escalation of Israeli repression took place on the eve of elections for West Bank mayors and town councils on April 12. Even though Arabs are prohibited from forming political organizations or disseminating propaganda which can be given a pro-Communist or pro-nationalist interpretation, many candidates are identified with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) or Rakah. Israeli authorities awarded Sheikh Jaabari for his collaboration by deporting his only opponent, Dr. Ahmad Hamza, who is associated with pro-PLO and pro-Rakah intellectuals. Yet despite the Zionist terror, partially intended to manipulate the elections, many favorites of the military governors are expected to lose to left-wing candidates.

### 1929 Riots and 1936 General Strike

The recent rebellion in the West Bank is far from the first time that Arabs and

Jews have clashed in this area. The ultra-Orthodox community at Kiryat Arba is motivated in large part by a desire for revenge for the brutal massacre of Jews during 1929 communal riots in Hebron. The fact that the current wave of struggles was set off by a dispute over the Aqsa mosque (which is also Temple Mount, and simultaneously considered a holy place by both Muslims and Jews), reinforces the importance of the 1929 riots in Palestine as an emotional factor in the present clashes.

The 1929 riots began with a conflict



R. Shamuel/Syama

Nazareth mayor Zayad Tewfik

between Orthodox Jews and the British colonial administration over the "Wailing Wall," a Jewish religious monument allegedly built with stones from the Temple of Solomon and located at the base of the Temple Mount in the predominantly Arab "Old City" of Jerusalem. (The worshippers put up a screen to separate males and females, and the British commissioner, unfamiliar with Jewish custom, ordered troops to remove it.) The Muslim religious leader of Jerusalem, the notorious grand mufti al-Haj Amin al-Husseini, got wind of this tiff and proposed to the receptive British district commissioner that the area in front of the Wailing Wall be made into an open thoroughfare. The extreme right-wing Zionist group Betar then held a provocative march to the wall, where it raised the Zionist flag. The grand mufti, in turn, inflamed the

Muslim community by accusing the Zionists of wanting to seize the entire Temple Mount and circulating pictures with the Zionist flag raised over the Aqsa mosque.

Tension increased between the Muslim and Jewish communities in Jerusalem, and on 23 August 1929 Muslims poured down from Aqsa mosque, attacking Jewish quarters. The communal violence spread throughout Palestine, leaving 133 Jews and 119 Arabs murdered. The most brutal massacre occurred in Hebron:

"There was a Jewish population of over 700 people, an ancient community centered on a Talmudical college. Armed bands intent on slaughter reached Hebron on the 24th [of August]. The police were Arab and they stood passively by while their fellow Moslems moved into town. There was an inn in town where some Jews had fled for their safety. The Arabs killed and dismembered 23 of them with daggers and axes in an upper room so that according to a witness, blood ran down the stairs and soaked through the ceiling and splashed onto the floor beneath.... In all the Moslems killed 60 Jews including children and wounded as many."

—Christopher Sykes, *Crossroads to Israel*, 1973

Behind the 1929 riots was not simply inflamed religious fanaticism, but genuine grievances of the Arab peasantry, or *fellahin*. Land purchases by the Jewish National Fund dispossessed them and drove the landless Arabs into the cities, where they joined the ranks of the unemployed. The Shaw Commission, conducting an investigation of the causes of the 1929 riots, concluded that, "there is no alternative land to which persons evicted can remove. In consequence a landless and discontented class is being created.... Palestine cannot support a larger agricultural population than it at present carries unless methods of farming undergo radical change" (cited in Abu Lughod, *The Transformation of Palestine*, 1971).

Of course, in order for the "methods of farming to undergo radical change," feudalistic Palestinian Arab landlords like the Husseins would have to be swept away through an agrarian revolu-



tion which would directly challenge British colonialism and capitalist property relations.

In 1929 the social discontent of the *tellahin* was manipulated by their direct oppressors, the Palestinian landlords who, like the grand mufti, were often religious leaders as well—and distorted into pogroms and communal violence.

But the six-month-long 1936 general strike and subsequent rebellions and guerrilla warfare which lasted until the fall of 1938, while led by feudal families like the Husseins, were genuinely anti-imperialist in character and akin to the recent demonstrations and strikes in the West Bank and Galilee. The 1936 strike was launched around three demands: 1) self-government, 2) prohibition of Arab land sales to Jews and 3) immediate cessation of Jewish immigration until the absorptive capacity of the country could be determined and immigration policies established. Since Jews were a minority in mandate Palestine, the Zionists always opposed any step away from British colonial administration toward self-government and independence.

#### U.S. "Tilts," Israel Isolated

The stage for the current wave of Arab protests in Israel and the occupied territories was set by the 1947-48 partition of Palestine. In a 27 November 1947 United Nations resolution, the British mandate territory of Palestine (the result of an earlier imperialist partition of the remains of the Ottoman empire, carried out by the UN's forerunner, the League of Nations) was carved into Jewish and Arab sections. Even though the 600,000 Jewish inhabitants constituted only one third of the population and owned only 6 percent of the land, they received 55 percent of the territory, including the best agricultural districts.

They were also left with a large Arab minority of 400,000. Arab Palestine had been located mainly in the Galilee and the West Bank, the same areas in which mass anti-Zionist demonstrations and strikes have recently taken place. A myth assiduously propagated by Israeli apologists holds that these Arabs have equal rights with Jews. Yet the Arab territory annexed by Israel in 1948 was ruled under a military administration until 1966.

Now once again the "Palestinian Question" has been raised in the United Nations for another impotent debate—this time in the "central committee" of that august den of thieves, the Security Council. This time the "debate" centers around Zionist repression in the Israeli-occupied West Bank. In the past, the Israeli delegate has traditionally relied on the United States to run interference for Israel against the "Third World" majority. In recent years, however, U.S. support for Israel has been far from automatic and unconditional.

The last Security Council debate on the Near East was boycotted by Israel because the PLO had been invited. Israel claimed it could not sit at the same table with the PLO because the latter calls for a "democratic, secular Palestine." This would entail the destruction of Israel, although denying the national rights of the Hebrew people; the Israeli state is neither democratic nor secular, and was created through the dispersal of the Palestinian people. This time, though, the Israeli delegates are present with the PLO.

In the Security Council debate on the West Bank the U.S. envoy condemned Israeli settlements in the occupied territories: "Indeed, the presence of these settlements is seen by my Government as an obstacle to the success of the negotiations for a just and final peace between Israel and its neighbors." Meanwhile, U.S. television networks have for once given generally accurate coverage of the behavior of the Israeli army during the Galilee general strike, coverage which was therefore highly unfavorable to Israel. Both the diplomats and the capitalist media are preparing U.S. public opinion for demanding concessions from Israel on the West Bank.

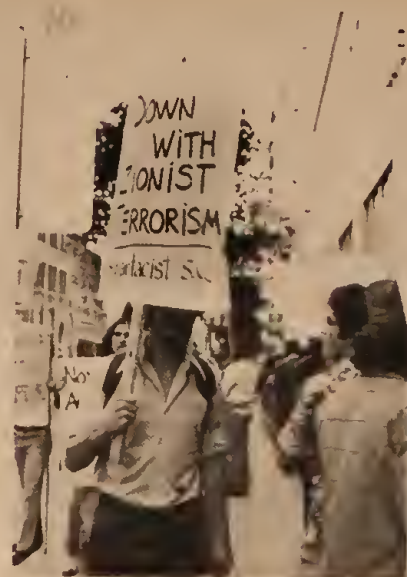
It is an important historical fact that the U.S. bourgeoisie did not unconditionally support the outcome of the 1967 war, nor is it now satisfied with the spoils of the Israeli victory: Zionist occupation of the Sinai, Golan Heights and the West Bank. While the United States is the principal patron of Israel, American imperialism is primarily interested in securing safe, cheap and preferably exclusive access to raw materials in general, and Near East oil in particular. The U.S. wants politically stable, pro-imperialist capitalist regimes in the Near East. It cares less whether that political stability is based on Koran-thumping sheiks or radical-sounding Arab nationalist colonels.

The political stability of all the reactionary Arab regimes is interdependent with the survival of a state of cold war with Israel and therefore with the survival of the Zionist state—in order to deflect the discontent of the impoverished Arab masses into a *jihad* (holy war) against Zionism. Likewise, in order to maintain a state of siege mentality, treating any fundamental political opposition as treason, Israeli rulers are dependent upon the reactionary Arab regimes and their occasional threats to "drive the Jews into the sea."

By discrediting several Arab regimes and bringing more than one million embittered Palestinian Arabs under Israeli military administration, the Six Day War directly threatened this fragile political stability. For example, the large influx of Palestinian refugees following the 1967 war led to major civil wars in Jordan (1970-71) and currently in Lebanon. American policy toward

*continued on page 11*

## Demos Defend Arab Rebellion in Israel, West Bank



San Francisco



Chicago

In the United States at least two demonstrations were held recently in solidarity with the March 30 general strike by Arabs in Israel and the wave of militant protests by Palestinian youth in the West Bank against Zionist terror.

On the day of the strike some 275-300 protesters rallied outside the Israeli consulate in San Francisco. Called by the Organization of Arab Students (OAS) and drawing support from the Arab community of the Bay Area, the spirited demonstration chanted "Hands Off Palestinian Youth" and "Israel Out of the Occupied Territories." The OAS also raised several nationalist slogans. Although representatives of several radical groups were present, the Spartacist League was the only one to carry its own signs, denouncing the Zionist terror and putting forward a perspective of united class struggle, for a socialist federation of the Near East. Meanwhile, across the street, a pathetic handful of Jewish Defense League members lurked in front of the consulate with an Israeli flag.

In Chicago on April 8, some 25 militants threw up a picket line outside the El Al Airlines office, demanding "West Bank and Gaza—Israeli troops out." The militant chanting caused many of the downtown rush-hour passers-by to stop and listen to the demonstrators call for "Return stolen Arab land, support Palestinian protests," "Down with the Zionists, down with the sheiks—For workers revolution in the Near East," "Damascus to Jerusalem—For workers revolution" and other class-struggle slogans.

The demonstration was initiated by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL), which sent appeals to more than 30 ostensibly socialist and anti-Zionist organizations in the Chicago area, including Youth Against War and Fascism, the Iranian Students Association and Revolutionary Socialist League. Yet not even these coattail-hangers-on of a nationalist "Arab Revolution" bothered to demonstrate solidarity with the Palestinian protesters in Israel and the West Bank. In addition to the SL/SYL contingent, the picket was attended by militants of the Labor Struggle Caucus of UAW Local 6 and representatives of the Partisan Defense Committee, whose signs demanded "Free the victims of Zionist repression" and "For an end to the emergency regulations."



Map of Israel: shaded areas were occupied during 1967 war.



# Boston...

(continued from page 12)

with the encouragement of unscrupulous politicians.

The local bourgeoisie was so jolted by this highly publicized outrage that the mayor, governor, daily press, Chamber of Commerce and even "moderate" anti-busing office holders condemned the assault. The Massachusetts House voted unanimously to denounce "this senseless heating and express its growing impatience with the existing chaos and violent temper of the City of Boston." Yet the lynch mob spectre raised its brutish head even amidst the pious moralisms and bourgeois respectability of the legislative chambers.

Francis X. Coppinger, a West Roxbury representative and one of two lawmakers to abstain on the motion, whined that there was never "any sense of outrage" over white victims of racial violence. (The lie was put to Coppinger's shameless hypocrisy by the fleet of police patrol cars which immediately surrounded the predominantly black Mission Hill housing complex after enraged youths from the project took to the streets and stoned white motorists' cars the night after the attack on Landmark.) In response to a black legislator's warning that the "demagoguery" of racist politicians could spark a "blood bath" Coppinger threatened that "thousands of white persons might be waiting for such a thing" (*Boston Herald American*, 7 April). Other legislators amended out any specific condemnation of the mayor, police and press who idly watched and did nothing

while the heating took place.

The stench of a pogrom that hangs so heavily over the city has now forced even the most conservative black leaders to begin talking about self-defense. Reverend Rale Taylor of the Black Ecumenical Council told a noontime City Hall rally called by black politicians and churchmen, "War is being declared against black folks in Boston... the question we must now ask is: is it time we armed ourselves and started to protect our own rights?" (*Boston Herald American*, 7 April). Other speakers demanded the resignation of White, whose successor, ironically, would be Louise Day Hicks, ROAR leader and gracious host to the mob that nearly killed Landmark.

Even the "respectable" mainstream of the anti-busing movement seems unimpressed by the momentary public censure. South Boston Home and School Association president James M. Kelly told a press conference at the South Boston Information Center that, while the attack was "unfortunate and ugly," he would nonetheless lend "legal and moral support" to the hooligans involved! As if taking a page from the anti-busing diatribes of the fake-leftist "Revolutionary Communist" Party, Kelley sermonized that "Because of forced busing, whites hate blacks and blacks hate whites" (*Boston Globe*, 8 April).

Meanwhile, the Charlestown Marshals have promised to "defend" their lily-white neighborhood against alleged threats of retaliation. The South Boston Marshals, who recently gained attention by beating up people who didn't applaud George Wallace at a campaign rally, announced the formation of a 25-

car, 100-man "safety patrol force" to cruise South Boston at night, guard against "outside agitation" and drive "outsiders" with pro-busing literature away from local stores. This "safety patrol force" is the same vigilante gang responsible for repeated attacks on black people and anti-racist militants throughout the city.

The callous indifference of the cops to the attack on Landmark, in contrast to their immediate siege of Mission Hill, once again demonstrates the bankruptcy of reliance on the racist enforcers of bourgeois "law and order" to protect black people. While Marxists favor



Theodore Landmark after being hit in the face with flag pole.

prosecution of the cowardly punks guilty of these attacks, we point out that the capitalist state is the ultimate defender of a system which is built on racial oppression. The black liberal politicians and "community leaders" and their fake-socialist hangers-on, who

tell oppressed minorities that a few more cops or the intervention of the imperialist army will protect them, leave black people isolated and defenseless in the face of mob violence. Even more criminally culpable are the treacherous labor bureaucrats who, when they are not actively aiding the reactionary forces, are hiding under their heds for fear of taking a stand that would not sit well with their friends in city hall.

In response to the attack on Landmark, the Boston local of the Spartacist League issued a public statement on April 8, which read in part:

"Black people and all who stand for black equality must not place the slightest confidence in the capitalist officials and their armed forces upholding racist 'law and order' the cops and the federal troops. On the contrary, we must only rely on our own independent strength and our own organizations to defend desegregation and to defeat the racist offensive.

"We say that the democratic rights and lives of black people can be ensured only through the formation of a mass organized defense by the organizations of the working people and the black community."

From the beginning of the reactionary anti-busing mobilization in Boston in September 1974 the Spartacist League was the first and most insistent proponent of black/labor defense against racist terror, while reformist groups such as the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party begged for federal troops. The brutal assault against Landmark raises again, in the most vivid manner, the urgent need for organized defense guards to implement school integration and put down the dangerous racist vigilantes. As the March 8 Boston SL statement underlined: "The time to act is now!" ■

# U.S. Harbors Ustashi Death Camp Butcher

Andrija Artuković is alive and well and living in Orange County in southern California, under the protection of the U.S. State Department, the local cops, anti-communist emigré groups and the Catholic Church. This fact should outrage all enemies of Nazi terror, who have good cause to remember Artuković—founder of the Croatian Ustashi's cut-throat Gestapo secret police who ran the death camps in Yugoslavia during World War II. His dreaded stormtroopers and flesh-burning concentration camps earned him the epithet "the butcher of the Balkans."

From 1941 to 1944, Ustashi fascists ran Croatia as a puppet state for Hitler and Mussolini; among others, they operated the infamous camp at Jasenovac, just south of the Croatian capital of Zagreb. Today there is a memorial park at the place where during the war tens of thousands of Yugoslavs were slaughtered and the bodies dumped in the nearby Sava River. The government of Yugoslavia estimates the total number of those who died at the hands of the Ustashi at 800,000—mainly Serbs and Jews, but also thousands of gypsies and a considerable number of Croats.

The Ustashi were formed in 1929 with the dissolution of the right-wing nationalist Croatian States Rights Party. Its leader Ante Pavelić went to fascist Italy. Later he would make a deal with Mussolini to "give" Dalmatia to *Il Duce* in exchange for his own triumphant return to head up the Ustashi puppet government for the Axis. In 1941 Pavelić issued a decree "on the protection of Aryan blood and the honor of Croatian people," quickly followed by another on the "protection of national and Aryan culture" (Vladimir Dedijer, et al., *History of Yugoslavia*, 1974). Artuković as minister of the interior issued the notorious order hanning "Serbs, Jews, Gypsies, and dogs" from



Andrija Artuković

entering parks, restaurants and public transportation in Zagreb.

The Ustashi in murderous collaboration with the Nazis represented a nationalism that had found its reactionary extreme in the creation of Croatian versions of Auschwitz and Treblinka. Knowing what their fate would be if they remained after Hitler's defeat, the Ustashi fled before the advancing Yugoslav and Soviet troops. Many took refuge in Franco's Spain. But the butcher of the Balkans came to America via Switzerland on an illegal passport in 1948.

## U.S. Government Protects Mass Murderer

According to a recent article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (4 April), Artuković is wanted by the Yugoslav government, which in 1951 requested his extradition on "a warrant charging

1,293 documented counts of 'murder and participation in murder.' In 1952 the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) ordered him deported as an "illegal alien." But Artuković was no ordinary "illegal alien"—not some farm worker in Texas or California, some Haitian worker in New York City or "red agitator." Artuković, after all, is a Nazi war criminal. For him the State Department intervened and stayed his deportation.

In 1959 the U.S. Immigration commissioner rejected extradition to Yugoslavia on the grounds that the request was "political in nature." The U.S. government, ever solicitous for the fate of right-wing elites, was determined to protect Artuković from "red terror" in Yugoslavia. For Peter Radielović of the right-wing emigré Croatian Information Service, the attempt to extradite his friend is nothing other than the "pressure of Communist propaganda." He argues that Artuković is a "symbol for independence" to Croats. The Catholic Church, too, has supported the butcher of the Balkans, hailing the ruling to reject extradition. *The Tidings*, official newspaper of the Los Angeles archdiocese ran a triumphant headline, "Tito Can't Have Artuković," and characterized the Nazi war criminal as "this leading Catholic layman and member of the Knights of Columbus."

The official protection of this mass murderer goes on, as local cops of Seal Beach, California, maintain a shield known as the "Artuković Liaison Detail." A detective is assigned to keep watch on his daily routine to make certain that none of his more volatile enemies can get to him. One of those is the Jewish Defense League (JDL), itself a right-wing Zionist terrorist operation, which has made Artuković its Number One target.

The Ustashi have maintained their counterrevolutionary terrorist activities

since World War II. Tito's government has made a policy of playing down the role of their atrocities in the interest of "not stirring up old resentments." But when the Ustashi hijacked a Swedish airliner in September 1972, forcing the release of six of its gang imprisoned for terror attacks on Yugoslav diplomats, the Yugoslav government began to hit back. It was Tito himself who raised the question on everyone's mind: the probability of U.S./CIA financing of these Croatian black-shirts. But he refused to say it: "Today is not yet the proper time.... But the day when we have become fed up with all this, we will have to say who supplies the money" (*New York Times*, 1 October 1972).

The time to be "fed up with all this" has long since passed. U.S. aid and comfort to fascist terror must be ruthlessly exposed and fought. CIA backing for the fascist and iron-cross emigré groups keeps them going, just as U.S. government intervention in behalf of Artuković keeps him safe in California with no visible means of financial support.

In the midst of the bourgeoisie's hue and cry over "illegal aliens," Andrija Artuković remains the beneficiary of Washington's boundless anti-communism. To the Artukovičs, the General Kys and counterrevolutionary terrorists everywhere who can be "useful" in fighting communism, the imperialists extend their open arms. The napalmers of Vietnam understand that their fate is interlaced with that of the diggers of mass graves at Jasenovac. Their fate can be justly decided only by the tribunals of the victorious proletarian revolution. In the meantime, Artuković should be handed over to the surviving relatives of the children he poisoned with caustic soda added to their food in the Ustashi's death camps.

Extradite Artuković to Yugoslavia!

WORKERS VANGUARD



# Varga Affair Inquiry Opens

The first official meeting of the Commission of Inquiry into the Varga affair took place in Paris on March 27 at the headquarters of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR). The Commission, formed at the initiative of Lutte Ouvrière (LO), includes the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the British Workers Socialist League (WSL), in addition to LO and the LCR. The Italian Bolshevik-Leninist Group (GBL) has also announced its support for the Commission.

The formation of a principled Commission of Inquiry represents a vindication of the fight waged for over a year and a half by the iSt for an impartial, authoritative Commission based on the principles which governed the deliberations of the Dewey Commission, which was formed to investigate the slanderous charges made against Trotsky at the Moscow Trials.

The need for a Commission arose from the irresponsible fashion in which the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) leveled charges against Michel Varga—for over ten years a leading member of the OCI and now a leader of the International League Reconstructing the Fourth International (LIRQI)—of being simultaneously an "agent paid by the CIA" and a "GPU provocateur." Despite the OCI's criminally light-minded procedure, the partial documentation on Varga's political past which it supplied to back up its accusations did contain sufficient circumstantial evidence to require a serious, impartial investigation.

From the time that the OCI first raised its charges, in early 1974, the iSt has fought for the formation of a tribunal of the workers movement, counterposing our call for an authoritative body to the LIRQI's blatant efforts to create a captive "Commission" as a factional club against the OCI, with a composition that would guarantee in advance a "verdict" favorable to Varga. We refused to lend our authority to the LIRQI's game. The iSt statement of 3 November 1975 denounced the Varga-ites' projection of a "Commission":

"which proclaims Varga's innocence as the 'basis' for its deliberations and in which the accused sits in judgement of himself through the inclusion of his political friends among the judges.... We are equally against frame-ups and whitewashes."

—*Workers Vanguard*, 14 November 1975

After the iSt had spent ten months in preliminary meetings arguing against both the LIRQI and the centrist vacillations of LO and the LCR—both of whom were prepared to participate in a commission on the LIRQI's terms—the Varga-ites' maneuver finally exploded in their faces in November 1975 when LO and the LCR, for "tactical" reasons of "expediency," refused to go along. Shortly thereafter, the LIRQI formed its own "Commission"—composed virtually exclusively of its own national sections! Any "results" of the LIRQI "Commission" must be viewed in the light of its purely partisan character as the camouflaged mouthpiece of Varga and his own tendency.

Lutte Ouvrière, in a letter dated 17 November 1975, proposed creating an authentic and impartial Commission of Inquiry. In its 11 December 1975 reply, the iSt indicated its acceptance of the LO proposal while noting its weaknesses and loopholes—in particular, LO's continued failure to disclaim in principle the possibility of participating

## Founding Text for the Commission of Inquiry

Some time ago, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) put forth certain accusations, asserting that Balasz Nagy, known as Michel Varga, was an "agent paid by the CIA" and "a GPU provocateur." The leaders of the LIRQI, the organization of which Michel Varga is a member, have called for a "workers commission of inquiry" to take a position on "the campaign of unfounded accusations launched by the OCI leadership" as well as on "the extension of these accusations to the International League [LIRQI] as such, going as far as repeated physical attacks upon militants of the OCI-LIRQI faction [the French LIRQI group], in particular during the joint demonstrations against Francoism and the leafletting outside the meeting to free Soviet mathematician Leonid Plyushch."

We consider that such accusations against a militant or an organization are sufficiently serious that it is incumbent upon the entire revolutionary movement to determine whether or not they are justified. That is why we have decided to constitute ourselves as a Commission of Inquiry for the purpose of inviting the OCI leadership to present all evidence it claims to possess, and in order to request all those who could furnish evidence concerning this matter to come and testify.

The Commission's goal is a scrupulous verification of the facts and documents, which it will make public. In order for this verification to take place with the greatest possible authority, it invites all organizations claiming adherence to the revolutionary workers movement to participate actively in its deliberations.

—signed by representatives of:

Lutte Ouvrière  
Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire  
Socialist Workers Party  
international Spartacist tendency  
Workers Socialist League

on a Commission of which the LIRQI would be a member.

The American SWP, which had avoided any involvement in the previous efforts by LO and the iSt to create a principled commission of inquiry, suddenly "discovered" its necessity and on 20 December 1975 sent LO a letter accepting the LO proposal "without entering into the history of attempts to organize such a Commission."

The LIRQI—which has now rebaptized itself the "Fourth International (Reconstructed)"—was so infuriated at the formation of an authentic Commission of Inquiry that it accused the LCR, LO, SWP, WSL and the Bolshevik-Leninist Group of Italy of capitulating to the iSt position:

"All these organizations made a shameless about-face, rallying to the thesis of the anti-Trotskyist group, the Spartacist League, which holds that we [the Varga-ites] should be excluded from the commission 'since one cannot be both the judge and the accused.'"

—"Statement by the International Secretariat of the Fourth International," 10 March 1976, in *Quatrième Internationale*, 15 February-1 March 1976 (sic)

Yet even at the preliminary meeting of this Commission, the iSt representative had to fight against the desire of LO, the LCR and the SWP to keep the Commission's proceedings and relations with the main interested parties (the OCI and the LIRQI) "informal," thereby undercutting the body's authority and vitiating much of its purpose. While most of the Commission members were indifferent as to whether or not it should keep a formal record of its proceedings, the SWP representative openly opposed taking minutes. His reasons: the Commission was not writing for history (for who then?) and he did not want to see anyone try to use minutes "in ten years" in order to prove "who was right and

who was wrong"! The iSt's attempts to strengthen the Commission's basic statement (reprinted in this issue of *WW*) were also rejected.

Nevertheless, the creation of an impartial and potentially authoritative Commission is an important step forward in the struggle to reach a just resolution of the "Varga affair." The international Spartacist tendency has placed at the Commission's disposal the materials in its possession (furnished to it by the OCI) relating to the Varga affair. Basing itself on the principles which governed the Dewey Commission's deliberations, the iSt is participating actively in the Commission commensurate with the iSt's weight and resources relative to the other participants. The iSt's political struggle for a real Commission of Inquiry—a struggle vindicated by the centrists' eventual back-handed recognition of our principled insistence on rejecting the Varga-ites' cynical attempts to pervert the purpose of such a body—has constituted a crucial contribution to this task. ■

## DOCUMENTS ON THE VARGA AFFAIR

### SPARTACIST, édition française

Vo. 8. Pour une Commission d'Enquête  
échange de lettres entre la SL-US et la LIRQI

Vo. 11: Une Commission d'Enquête est constituée  
échange de lettres entre la ISI, LO, la LIRQI et le GBL  
Déclaration à la Commission d'Enquête

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USA

## MPLA Letter...

(continued from page 2)

new republic is out of military danger from imperialist forces."

The RMG's undifferentiated "support" to the MPLA obscures the crucial distinction between military defense against imperialist-led attack and political support to the petty-bourgeois nationalists. Moreover, this is not simply a knee-jerk reaction to the South African offensive. Already early last fall the RMG announced that "revolutionaries must extend their critical support to the MPLA" against the rival nationalists of the FNLA (*Old Mole*, September 1975). The corollary is its position that revolutionary Marxists should work as an organic left wing within the MPLA:

"In Angola today, virtually all of the radical urban elements, including the workers and the anti-imperialist youth, have joined the MPLA. Consequently, the possibility for the emergence of a revolutionary Marxist current rests on a political recomposition of forces within the MPLA and regroupment of an anti-capitalist tendency."

—*ibid.*

Like its Usec mentors, who call for "all power to the MPLA," the RMG cannot conceive of swimming against the stream and fighting for an independent proletarian organization outside of and in political opposition to the MPLA. The RMG simply decides its policies on the basis of the masses' illusions; as long as the masses follow the hanner of the MPLA so will the Mandelites, albeit as "left critics."

The writer may be confusing the RMG's position with that of the Quebec-based Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR), whose slogan of "Military Victory to the MPLA" represents a left wobble within the Usec majority. Nevertheless, the GMR is only a slightly more critical supporter of the MPLA, as indicated in the 25 February issue of its newspaper, *Combat Socialiste*: "In the liberated zones, the victory of the MPLA is expressed in the form of a veritable mobilization of the masses of a character which is clearly anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist."

The multiplicity of widely different political positions within the Usec rotten bloc is matched by its public factionalizing and organizational splintering, combined in this case with the anti-Leninist, Bundist practice of separate sections for Quebec and English-speaking Canada. The RMG and GMR, along with the minority-loyal League for Socialist Action and Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, make no less than four separate organizations, with three different political lines, speaking for the United Secretariat to the Canadian working class.

The writer states that he agrees with the Spartacist League's analysis of the Cuban Revolution. It is important to understand that the Cuban question has played an important role among those who claim to uphold the hanner of Trotskyism. The Socialist Workers Party's shameless cheerleading, not for the social gains of the revolution but for its Castroite leadership, encapsulated the rapid political degeneration of the SWP and its convergence with the Pabloist International Secretariat led by Ernest Mandel in 1961-63. Central to our struggle over the Cuban question was our insistence on the primary role of the independent organization and programmatic intransigence of the proletarian vanguard. The Pabloists, in contrast, rely on an objectivist conception that non-proletarian formations (such as Castro's guerrillas or the MPLA) will be pushed to the left and "outline a revolutionary orientation" under pressure from the masses. Such an orientation is a fundamental denial of Trotsky's life-long struggle to build an international party of the socialist revolution to carry forward the gains of the October Revolution.



# Steelworkers...

(continued from page 12)

Following his election is naturally not mentioned in this material.

Sadlowski, like Hubert Humphrey in the Democratic Party, poses as the poor man's non-candidate candidate for president of the Steelworkers in International elections scheduled for next year. For now, he is supporting several slates in the local elections and building for a special USWA convention around the single issue of rolling back union dues. Other major questions such as the ENA and, of course, government intervention are totally ignored.

## Bosses' Government Out of the Unions!

Government intervention, which was highlighted with the Consent Decree, remains a key issue in the Steelworkers. The Communist Party (CP) is complaining, apparently with good reason, of widespread FBI/CIA interference in the local election campaigns for the purpose of witchhunting left-wing opponents of the Abel leadership. An article in the CP's *Daily World* (1 April) details several forms of police smears of oppositionists and speculates that Paul Feldman, a right-wing social democrat working as a "top-level publicist" in USWA headquarters in Pittsburgh, is coordinating an anti-communist red-scare in the union.

Several reports indicate that the FBI is indeed surreptitiously circulating "background reports" on candidates, information from which is being used by anti-communist opportunists to intimidate oppositionists and scare off their supporters. There is no doubt that red-baiting is playing a role in the USWA local elections. Last fall, Frank Mirocha, president of U.S. Steel Southworks Local 65 ran a front-page editorial in the local union paper (*65 News*, October 1975) railing against "Communism: A Legacy of Terror."

Government intervention takes other forms as well. A recent U.S. Court of Appeals ruling, stemming from a suit filed originally in Terre Haute, Indiana, against USWA Local 3489, orders the union to eliminate its undemocratic meeting-attendance requirement for candidates for union office. The constitutional requirement, which mandates attendance of at least one half of all union meetings in the three years prior to the election on the part of all candidates, makes most members formally ineligible to run. The requirement must be thrown out by steel workers. But, like police-agency interference in the elections, government dictation to the union, initiated under anti-labor laws (in this case, Robert Kennedy's Landrum-Griffin Act), can only serve to hamstring the ability of the ranks to take control of their own class organizations with a fighting, class-struggle program.

While rightly complaining about FBI harassment, in this case the reformist Communist Party supports government intervention. An article in the *Daily World* (24 March) backed efforts by the National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee (NSWRFC), which "plans to contest" any violation of the court order. Challenging this undemocratic rule within the union is an important task for militant oppositionists, but the NSWRFC's internal union tactics are geared not to mobilizing the ranks but to preparing a case for the courts. In the Lorain, Ohio, U.S. Steel Local 1104, NSWRFC head George Edwards is heading a slate including some candidates who do not meet the attendance requirement and is already openly preparing to go to the Labor Department if challenged.

Most of the oppositionists being attacked as "Communists" in futile efforts by the FBI and USWA bureaucracy are actually quite far from raising

the class-struggle program which corresponds to the revolutionary interests of the working class. Endorsement by the *Daily World* of the NSWRFC is about the only conceivable basis for red-baiting the pro-Sadlowski organization, which is much more interested in putting a Democrat in the White House and a liberal in USWA headquarters than in winning steel workers to a proletarian internationalist program.

## East Chicago

At Inland Steel Local 1010 in East Chicago, one of the NSWRFC's biggest bases and the largest local in the union (with 18,000 members), results already in show a clean sweep for the Rank and File Slate (RFS), which got all but one



Ed Sadlowski

of its candidates elected. The slate was headed by Jim Ballanoff, who has come close to winning in two previous elections. District director Sadlowski had endorsed the Ballanoff slate.

The basis for the RFS victory was largely the behavior of the incumbent, "Babe" Lopez, an Abel supporter who has been utterly discredited by charges of corruption in his administration. Lopez called Ballanoff a "Communist," and failed to disassociate himself from the U.S. Labor Party/National Caucus of Labor Committees, the frenzied crazies of Lynn Marcus & Co., who accused Ballanoff of being a "Nazi" and a "CIA agent"! Lopez turned to the Marcuse mud-slingers because of their earlier anti-communist "mop-up" campaign against the CP.

For genuine union militants, rather than McCarthyite witchhunters, the criterion for voting in the elections is program, and on that score Ballanoff's campaign was thoroughly reformist. His "Twelve Point Program" promised Christmas activities and an improved sports program, but said nothing about fighting the ENA no-strike deal, providing jobs for all through shortening the workweek with no loss in pay or combatting company/union "productivity" schemes. He was even reported as accusing Lopez of raising issues that go beyond the bounds of local concern! While opposing government anti-communist witchhunting against himself, he does not defend the union against government snooping and prosecution in the guise of fighting corruption. For the Rank and File Slate, opposition to government intervention is a sometime thing.

## Lorain

The NSWRFC has no real program for steel workers, since the demands it puts forward vary widely from local to local, as passing opportunity or personal whim of the leaders dictates. George Edwards' Rank and File Committee (RFC) in the Lorain local is only a little better than its East Chicago counterpart. Its program does mention the right to strike as well as an end to discrimination (which, for Edwards, means going

to court to enforce the Consent Decree). It also calls for the right to membership contract ratification (which doesn't exist in the USWA) and an end to "productivity" speed-up. Edwards' RFC is just as reformist as Ballanoff's RFS, however, since neither addresses the hard class issues which wed the bureaucracy of I.W. Abel to the capitalists and their government. The RFC of Lorain, which backed Democrat George McGovern for U.S. president in 1972, makes no mention of the need for a workers party and a workers government. Nor does the Edwards group mention the need for expropriation of the giant corporations or a planned economy. These are the fundamental issues which a class-struggle opposition group, serious about exposing the capitalists' electoral shell game and attacking exploitation at its root, would address.

A leaflet circulated in the Lorain plant by a group of militants opposes the undemocratic attendance rule for candidates but denounces the NSWRFC strategy of using the Labor



George Edwards

Department and the courts to intervene in the union. Entitled "Will the Courts Rerun Our April 20th Election?" it calls for support to the RFC motion in the union to do away with the attendance requirement, but denounces "those who lack confidence in the rank and file and are quick to run to the Labor Department and the federal courts to redress their union grievances." On this basis, these militants denounce the Edwards slate as "no alternative to the Bartos [incumbent]—Pashkevich [challenger] contest."

## Gary

Sadlowski has endorsed the "United Slate" at U.S. Steel's Gary Works, Local 1014, which is a coalition of the Independent Black Labor Movement (a broad black caucus) and the Rank and File Committee, an NSWRFC affiliate. Despite the inclusion of many supportable reforms in its program, the United Slate lacks any semblance of a real class-struggle program. The group is silent on the Consent Decree, and has no answer to layoffs! The slate also fails to deal with Abel's nationalist protectionism.

## Chicago

At Southworks Local 65 in Chicago there is a plethora of choices offered to the membership, from Mirocha's hard-line anti-communism to the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus (RSC), a small group which calls for a national strike to smash the ENA, a sliding scale of wages and hours, a labor party and a workers government. Sadlowski's choice is financial secretary John Chico, who joins the district director in opposing the dues increase mandated by the last convention.

Chico sees everything in terms of dues. "From the dues we pay we expect our union to protect us," he states, without mentioning how. In another leaflet, Chico calls the dues increase unnecessary "because our union has about 80 million dollars in its strike fund with no strike allowed under ENA"! This is a clear expression of the

indifference of Sadlowski & Co. to the right to strike: given the ENA, they would give it up, and rob the strike fund to pay other expenses! Interestingly, Mirocha also opposes the dues increase, making for no choice whatsoever between the pro-Abel and pro-Sadlowski slates.

The NSWRFC candidates, in typical opportunist fashion, are running partly with Chico and partly independently of him. Joe Kransdorf, an NSWRFC candidate for grievor with Chico's endorsement, has a narrow parochialist program; Roberta Woods, running for trustee independently of Chico, calls for opposing ENA, for "30 for 40" and restructuring the International executive board to include minority representation. The NSWRFC's Local 65 *Rank and File Voice*, furthermore, carries a program including "end all accommodation to company discrimination" which the NSWRFC candidates omit from their own material!

"Breakup," a small group in Local 65 politically endorsed by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), has no program other than a meaningless call to economist militancy: "fight back." The Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus, however, should receive the votes of class-struggle militants since it is campaigning on the basis of several critical demands. In addition to the points mentioned previously, it calls for abolition of the "red clause" from the union constitution and for "revolutionary leadership" of the union.

The RSC, although it supported the labor-black defense effort mounted by militants in Auto Workers Local 6 last year against racist fire-bombing attacks on the home of a black union member outside Chicago, seriously lacks a program to combat racial and sexual oppression. While paying lip service to opposing racism in its newsletter "Revolutionary Steelworker," its four-point electoral program fails to address the notorious oppression of minorities in the steel industry.

The RSC is likewise silent on the controversial issue of busing to achieve integration, a glaring deficiency given the approaching polarization of Chicago around a proposed desegregation plan. Even more frank is the RSC's uncritical supporter, the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), which scandalously opposes busing, thereby lining up with the racists. By omitting demands that give revolutionary direction to the aspirations for racial equality of the oppressed minorities, the RSC shows itself to be incapable of uniting the U.S. working class in a victorious struggle for power. ■

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## Defend 35 Arrested at Hostos College

# CUNY Shut-Downs Spark Campus Occupations

APRIL 13 Last night New York City cops invaded Hostos Community College to arrest the students who for the last three weeks have occupied this south Bronx campus of the City University of New York (CUNY). Only hours earlier the police had descended on another CUNY campus, Lehman College, which has also been occupied by students protesting the devastating cutbacks and shutdowns ordered by the Board of Higher Education (BHE) on April 5.

The Board's action sparked a week of

have provoked a wave of large but often disorganized student actions, most notably the March 16 demonstration of 10,000 at the state capitol in Albany. But the occupation of Hostos, which serves the large NYC Puerto Rican community and is one of only two bi-lingual colleges in the entire country, had become the focal point of the campus militancy because the diffuse student outrage had been given a certain degree of tactical direction by the social-democratic Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and its student affiliate, the Puerto Rican

PSP FUSP steering committee send representatives to other CUNY campuses to build city-wide support for the occupation. But even though the steering committee requested the SYL to send supporters to Hostos on the night the cops arrived, the PSP FUSP, in an act of consummate sectarianism, demanded that the SYLers leave before the police arrived. "We have our own people that we want to get arrested," was the justification offered.

The arrest of 35 demonstrators at Hostos was carried out without injuries, as the police, fearful of a riot in the volatile south Bronx, were careful to avoid obvious atrocities. But at the BHE demonstration the week before, the cops went on a rampage, indiscriminately clubbing demonstrating students. This display of wanton police brutality should serve to underline the role of the racist enforcers of bourgeois "law and order."

During the cutbacks controversy, the capitalist media raised a hue and cry to save the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, which was originally targeted for closure under the Kibbee Plan. The liberal *New York Times* (8 March) trumpeted the virtues of this cop-training institution, alleging that it had saved the city from the "unquenched fires" which had swept Newark and Watts during the 1960's.

Not surprisingly, the BHE exempted John Jay from the closures, instead stripping it of the liberal arts programs which had attracted minority students. Alone among the radical groups active on CUNY campuses, the SYL had demanded all cops and cop training off campus! Instead, the SYL demanded that the facilities of John Jay be used not to train the strikebreaking, trigger-happy, racist cops, but rather to provide education for the poor and working-class population of New York City.

Drop all charges against the 35 arrested at Hostos!

No cuts—No closures—No cops! ■

## Arab Strikers...

(continued from page 7)

the occupied territories continues to be based on the 1967 Security Council Resolution 242, reaffirmed by the (U.S. secretary of state) Rogers Plan of 1970, which calls for Israel to give up most, if not all, of the occupied territories in exchange for Arab political recognition and a peace treaty.

Since the U.S. cannot simply force an immediate and unilateral Zionist withdrawal from the occupied territories without creating a major political crisis in Israel, Rogers' successor Henry Kissinger engages in what has become known as the "step by step approach," in which a "piece of land" is exchanged for a "piece of peace." Now, especially in the aftermath of major Palestinian Arab strikes and demonstrations, U.S. diplomatic interest has shifted to the West Bank.

### Smash Zionist Terror!

Israel is increasingly isolated, but this has had a contradictory impact on Israeli workers. On the one hand, there is a genuine sense of demoralization; for the first time since the 1948 war, many Israelis now question whether the Zionist state can survive. Further, the working population is being subjected to economic pounding from every side: military appropriations continue to rise; in early March the government announced a 25 percent rise in bus fares and the price of many basic foods; taxes have been increased, and the Israeli pound was devalued again.

Economic struggles on the part of the Israeli working class have become frequent. Last month there was a major walkout of civil servants, for instance. Nonetheless, a growing sense of isolation combined with economic discontent will not automatically lead Israeli workers to challenge their Zionist rulers. In the absence of a revolutionary leadership the growing political isolation simply reinforces a besieged fortress mentality, of which the Kiryat Arba settlers are only the most pathological and extreme expression.

Israel has no future in the Near East. As a weak ally of U.S. imperialism it will be sacrificed if Israel's survival gets in the way of larger American capitalist interests. The U.S. is already busy arming both sides for the next Arab-Israeli war, which may rapidly escalate into a nuclear or even global confrontation.

The Israeli working class has a future only if it places at its head a revolutionary party which champions not only its economic and social grievances, which are many, but also links the economic struggles to the heroic Arab demonstrations and strikes in Galilee and on the West Bank. Such a Marxist party would champion the right to self-determination for the Palestinians, while not denying the national rights of the Hebrew people.

However, if the Israeli working class is to have a future it cannot exercise its national rights at the expense of the Palestinians; it cannot express them through the Zionist state of Israel, even such a Zionist state as would conform to the Rakah, Mapam/PLO dream and accept a Palestinian mini-state in the West Bank and Gaza strip. The right to self-determination for Palestinians and Hebrews can only be democratically resolved within the framework of a bi-national proletarian dictatorship on both sides of the Jordan River, as part of a socialist federation of the Near East ■



Young Worker

Hostos Community College students answered city decision to close the campus by occupying administration offices.

student actions against the decision to eliminate five different campuses through closure or merger. Previous Board decisions had already eliminated open admissions and numerous special programs which had enabled thousands of minority youth to attend the City University. On the day of the BHE vote there was a militant student protest in front of Board headquarters, as well as an unprecedented sit-down in the middle of FDR Drive by black students from Medgar Evers College. The following day squadrons of cops were deployed at strategic points on campuses throughout the CUNY system.

The BHE's cutback/shutdown plans

Socialist University Federation (FUSP).

On the one hand, the PSP FUSP steering committee established a division of labor, set up a day care center, organized daily programs of political activities and provided effective security precautions. On the other hand, the leadership took no steps to organize support for the Hostos occupation on other CUNY campuses, not to mention seeking support from the labor movement.

During the last two weeks of the sit-in, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) on several occasions approached the Hostos leadership proposing that the

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## Flag-Wielding Racist Assault in Boston

BOSTON—A virtual lynch mob set upon locally prominent black lawyer Theodore Landsmark in City Hall Plaza last Monday, kicking and pummeling him to the ground in a vicious racist assault. Screaming racial epithets and "Kill him," the savage pack of white youths, who had boycotted classes at Charlestown and South Boston high schools, swarmed over Landsmark, beating him and ramming the steel shaft of an American flag into his face. Meanwhile police and reporters stood by watching and a battalion of cameramen filmed the assault. Not a single one of the racist thugs was arrested at the time. This brazen attack took place under the very eyes of liberal mayor Kevin White, looking down from his office window. Immediately afterwards, White did his characteristic disappearing act and left the building.

This atrocity was the bloody denouement of an anti-busing demonstration April 5. Several hundred white youths, among them Landsmark's assailants, had been welcomed into City Council chambers by council president



Left, anti-busing racists recite pledge of allegiance in Boston city council meeting. Right, later outside meeting youths attacked black lawyer with flag.



Herald American photos

Louise Day Hicks. The students read a list of demands, including an end to court-ordered busing and the resignation of School Superintendent Marion Fahey. This bunch of racist hoods were served tea and cookies and recited the pledge of allegiance to the same flag which was later wielded like a spear against their defenseless victim! The flag itself was picked up that morning at the South Boston Information Center, where it had been a trophy stolen from

English High School when adult goons from ROAR broke up a pro-busing meeting of the Citywide Coordinating Council in February.

Landsmark, left with a broken nose, bruises over his entire body and requiring eight stitches in his gashed face, is not the usual ghetto victim of the lynch mob terror that has stalked Boston over the last 18 months. Formerly a board member of the Government Land Bank, he is now executive director of the

Contractors Association of Boston. At the time of the attack, he was on his way to a meeting with city officials to discuss minority hiring on city construction jobs. The violence against this prominent establishment figure (once a member of the same law firm as Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis) graphically demonstrates that no black person is safe as long as racist paramilitary groups roam the streets

*continued on page 8*

## For a Class-Struggle Opposition to Abel and Sadlowski

## Local Elections in Steelworkers Union

APRIL 12—In this year of big contract struggles in trucking, rubber, auto and other industries, little is being heard from steel. Yet the worldwide capitalist depression which belatedly hit this key sector of heavy industry last year has created conditions for half a million steel workers that are at least as bad as those facing the rest of the U.S. proletariat. It is such issues which must be answered by candidates for local office in the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) who are running in the current round of local elections.

• With production languishing below 80 percent of capacity, over 100,000 steel workers are still on layoff, despite government ballyhoo about the economic "upturn."

• The cost-of-living formula in the 1974 contract, one cent raise per 0.3 increase in the Consumer Price Index, does not keep up with inflation.

• With safety conditions in the steel plants uniformly abominable grievances continue to pile up and numerous locals have threatened to strike.

USWA president I.W. ("No-Strike") Abel, however, does nothing to eliminate these conditions. In fact, he agrees with the companies that the "answer" is speed-up, eliminating strikes and protectionism. Abel's notorious "Experimental Negotiating Agreement" (ENA), signed without consulting the membership in 1973, bans contract strikes until 1980, while his class-collaborationist company/union "productivity" com-



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

WV Photo

mittees cut jobs. As to the pervasive discrimination against blacks and other minorities in steel, the bureaucracy's response was simply to acquiesce in the pattern-setting company government "Consent Decree," which robs the union treasury to pay for management discrimination, accepts government intervention overturning the contract and fails to provide any but the most tokenistic remedy to the victims.

Meanwhile, Ed Sadlowski, the liberal reformer who was elected head of

Chicago-Gary District 31 of the USWA last year running against an Abel flunkie in Labor Department-supervised voting—has since organized "Steel Workers Fight Back." This phantom organization is currently running a soft-sell "union reform" campaign complete with fundraising mailings to well-heeled liberals. Sadlowski's utter lack of any program for combatting the layoffs which swept District 31 (and other steel centers)

*continued on page 10*