

Smash Apartheid—For Workers Revolution

Avenge Soweto!

JUNE 20—The cold-blooded slaughter of school children in Soweto has caused the smoldering discontent of South Africa's urban black masses to flare into open rebellion. For a few days this week the "African townships" on the Witwatersrand, the mining and industrial heartland surrounding Johannesburg, saw thousands-strong crowds of workers and youth hurl themselves against the symbols of oppression with torches, knives, stones and bare hands. This plebeian revolt illuminates the seething unrest of the subjugated non-white population of the apartheid police state.

Only hours after issuing orders to "maintain law and order at all costs," South African prime minister Balthazar Vorster embarked for West Germany where he will confer with U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger. Their hands stained with the blood of Indochinese, black Americans, Angolans and South Africans, these two statesmen of imperialist butchery and white supremacist barbarism will no doubt find a great deal in common. Both have an interest in ballyhooing the sham "independence" of the Transkei, so-called "tribal homeland" for South Africa's Xhosa people, planned for October and also in pressuring Rhodesia's tottering white regime to step aside in order to postpone the day of reckoning with white supremacy in South Africa itself.

While the official body count of slain blacks in the Witwatersrand climbs over 109 dead and 1,100 wounded (the actual figures are far higher), Kissinger will have to strain even harder to overcome the pariah image of the Pretoria regime. As indicated by his junket to Santiago last month, the top foreign policy maker's expressions of concern for human rights are nothing but balm for bourgeois consciences, rhetorical perfume sprinkled over the moldering corpses heaped up by American imperialism's staunchest allies.

In the wake of its defeats in Indochina and Angola, the U.S. ruling class is anxious to shore up its diplomatic and military alliances. Rehabilitating the South African and Chilean police states in the eyes of world opinion and bolstering their economies is one step in Kissinger's maneuvering to re-establish a secure global "balance of power" with the Soviet Union.

The Kissinger/Vorster talks are also geared toward protecting Gerald Ford's vulnerable right flank from Ronald Reagan, who recently indicated that, as president, he might send U.S. troops to bail out the Rhodesian government. Such a notable right-wing Republican as Milton Friedman, former Nixon economic adviser and architect of mass



South African students protesting minority rule were brutally attacked by police in Soweto last week. UPI

starvation in Chile, has joined Reagan in criticizing Kissinger's recent trip through black Africa and has even opposed majority rule in Rhodesia. But the feeble protests of liberal politicians and black leaders against the whitewash of the Pinochet and Vorster dictatorships can do little to impede these cynical *Realpolitik* maneuvers. The trail of blood left by the bourgeoisie from Soweto to Santiago will be avenged only by the international working class, which alone can bring the dawn of liberation from racial and class enslavement, through proletarian revolution to smash apartheid.

Slaughter in Soweto

On June 16, 10,000 black students surged through the streets of Soweto. The huge township reverberated that morning to the strains of "Nkosi Sikeleli Afrika" ("God Bless Africa"), the black "national anthem." Protestors carried banners denouncing the compulsory use of Afrikaans in their schools. "Afrikaans is a stench" read one placard, expressing the deep revulsion of the African masses for the Dutch dialect spoken by arrogant descendants of the slaveholding Boer settlers.

As the crowd converged on Phefeni Junior Secondary School, ten police cars blocked their path. Thirty police, blacks armed with batons and whites armed with revolvers and submachine guns, emerged from the vehicles. Angry students taunted these hated lackeys of the *Herrenvolk* oppressors. A white policeman hurled a teargas shell. The youths responded with stones and jeers.

The police aimed their weapons and fired without warning. One teenage student fell dead with a slug in his chest. Another, a boy about seven years old, was hit and died on the way to the hospital. As the youths fled this savage onslaught, others were gunned down. A third youth and an elderly bystander died of their wounds.

The police pumped a deadly fusillade of over 300 rounds into the unarmed crowd. The killings were a deliberate act of political terror. Although the government quickly spun a tale of endangered police defending themselves with a carefully controlled show of force, a senior police official on the spot answered a British reporter's query whether warning shots were even fired: "No, we fired into the crowd. It's no good firing over their heads" (*Times* [London], 17 June).

The Rebellion Spreads

The plebeian masses crowded into the urban townships around Johannesburg responded to the police atrocities with an elemental outburst of pent-up fury. Two vehicles from the paternalist Bantu Administration Board were overturned, and two white officials killed. A banner reading "Beware Afrikaans, the most dangerous drug for our culture" was draped over one of the bodies. The Board's headquarters were burned to the ground. Vicious police dogs were hacked up and set on fire.

As township after township ignited, government buildings and other institutions of white supremacy were attacked. In Kagiso, a government beer hall,



Student carries body of companion killed by police in Soweto last week. AP

symbol of the prohibition of African home-brew liquor, was put to the torch. In Alexandra, a grim ghetto surrounded by posh white suburbs, a clinic, schools and white-owned shops were gutted by flames. In Kathle-Hong, a post office was stormed. And in every township, scatter-shot police attacks raised the death count higher, surpassing even the 84 killed by police during and immediately after the orgy of blood-letting at Sharpeville township in 1960.

Black college students also erupted. Administrative headquarters and a

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Stop the Scabbing—Spread the Strike! Victory to Mass. State Workers Strike!

BOSTON, June 22—"Illegal" picket lines went up at dawn yesterday, commencing the first statewide public workers strike in Massachusetts history. Massachusetts state employees are picketing a variety of state agencies, offices and institutions, including welfare offices, unemployment offices, prisons, the State House in Boston, hospitals, mental health care centers, public beaches and the Registry of Motor Vehicles. Traffic was initially jammed by raised bridges, which were later lowered by striking bridgetenders under court orders. However, the sewage plant at Deer Island was shut down today, which will have a major impact in increasing the scope of the strike.

Governor Michael Dukakis asserted that he would not bargain with the unions until the illegal strike is terminated (under a 1973 law state employees have the right to bargain collectively, but not to strike!). Suffolk County Superior Court judge Thomas B. Morse, Jr. has already granted a temporary restraining order against the strike. And the governor also stated over TV and radio Sunday that "any state employee who walks off the job tomorrow morning will be subject to loss of pay and disciplinary action up to and including permanent dismissal," a threat that was echoed by numerous supervisors, who reportedly called up individual employees and informed them that they would be fired if they did not report to work Monday. In its latest move, the state announced today fines of \$250,000 a day on the unions and two days pay for each day missed by strikers.

Meanwhile, swarms of cops, including state troopers, Boston's hated Tactical Police Force and its Mobile Operations Patrol, were deployed to escort scabs. Plans have been announced for putting 200 cops on overtime in Boston alone, and all leaves have been cancelled for Metropolitan and state troopers. Dukakis' press secretary Mary Fifield ominously stated two nights ago that the administration does not plan to call out the National Guard "at this point in time." Already four pickets have been brutalized and two arrested, at the Grove Hall welfare office, and two more were arrested at Danvers State Hospital. A picketer at Medfield State Hospital was injured by a bus crashing through the picket line. Wherever picketers have attempted to

physically repel scabs, cop reinforcements were immediately rushed to the scene.

The strike takes place in the context of a massive two-year austerity binge imposed by the liberal Democratic governor. Since 1974 massive cuts have taken place in all social programs; welfare grants have been slashed across the board by 20 percent; 18,000 allegedly "employable" unemployed have been kicked off the welfare rolls in the midst of double-digit unemployment; tuition at state colleges and universities has been almost doubled; medical services have been eliminated for 100,000 working people, and wages for all state workers have been frozen. Since 1969, the year of the last general wage increase granted state workers, the average wage of Massachusetts public employees has dropped to 38th in the country, according to union sources. The after-tax take-home pay of bottom-level clerks is approximately \$85 a week. To add insult to injury, the Massachusetts legislature last week expressed its utter contempt for the working people of the state by voting itself in the best Marie Antoinette style a wage increase ranging from 20 to 40 percent.

A slight improvement in the battered Massachusetts economy, combined with the results of past austerity measures, has visibly softened the fiscal crisis in the state. Dukakis' belt-tightening rhetoric has lost much of its impact and public workers are going on the offensive, anxious to make up for past defeats. The key monetary demand of the workers is for a \$3,600 wage increase over two years. The state's offer of \$2,100—conditional on the abolition of civil service step increases and acceptance of management rights and productivity clauses, and a reduction in leave time—is distributed over three years in such a fashion that the 1976 wage increase would be a munificent ten cents an hour!

The strike is being conducted by the Massachusetts Alliance, a coalition of unions, mainly AFSCME and Service Employees International Union (SEIU). In elections last fall the Alliance won the right to negotiate for seven out of ten traditional bargaining units of state employees, representing about 50,000 out of 65,000 Massachusetts public employees. While joint bargaining represents a potential step forward from traditional inter-union backstabbing, the Alliance is simply a bureaucratic lash-up.

It includes some employees, such as prison guards, who like cops are elements of the repressive bourgeois state apparatus and must be kept out of the workers movement. On the other hand, the Alliance excludes some unionized state workers whose scabbing has hurt the strike. Many maintenance workers, including janitors, have been working, thus making it much harder to shut down state facilities. And nurses have also been reporting to work—one reason that the strike has been weak at state hospitals. The strike should be expanded to all public workers, including also county and municipal employees—particularly Boston's 10,000 city workers who had their cost-of-living increase deferred for a year last February.

The Alliance leadership, composed of union bureaucrats, has made almost no serious strike preparations. At the Saturday mass meeting at Common-

SL Answers Palestinian Nationalist Not Jew Against Arab, But Class Against Class!

In the most recent issue of the New Left/academic journal *Socialist Revolution* (April-June 1976) the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League comes under attack for its position on the Arab-Israeli conflict. Palestinian nationalist Fuad Faris, responding to a previous article in *Socialist Revolution* by "libertarian socialist" Noam Chomsky, singles out the SL/SYL position as the most "extreme attitude" within the American left placing "Arab and Israeli national rights in Palestine on an equal footing."

In his article entitled "To the American Left: A Few Remarks on the Palestine Problem and the Middle East" Faris prefaces his polemic against Chomsky with a denunciation of the SL/SYL position on the Near East. Demagogically insinuating "Eurocentrism" and Yankee arrogance, Faris indignantly cites "the slogan 'Not Jew Against Arab, But Class Against Class' (headline on the first page of the *Young Spartacus*, November-December 1973)" and then fumes about the allegedly "ridiculous" and "maximalist" slogan raised in *Workers Vanguard* (12 September 1975), "For the right to self-determination for the Palestinian and Hebrew nations—For a binational workers state as a part of a socialist federation of the Near East!"

Socialist Revolution seems to agree with Faris. In their introduction to his article the editors declare:

"His [Faris] response is directed not only at Chomsky but at other American socialists who, while condemning Zionism, maintain a stance of criticizing both sides equally. These socialists often argue that the Palestinian movement is 'bourgeois' in character, citing its cooperation with Arab states and its 'national' rather than socialist goals. They contrast the struggle between Israeli and Palestinian with a struggle of class against class. When this struggle takes place, they will take sides. But in the meantime, they maintain a position of criticizing both sides and supporting neither."

But neither the SL/SYL nor Chomsky criticizes "both sides equally." The bulk of Chomsky's earlier article, "Israel and the Palestinians" (*Socialist Revolution*, June 1975), is devoted to exposing and condemning the brutal national oppression and repression which the Palestinian Arabs have suffered over the last three decades at the hands of the Zionists. But Chomsky seeks to deal with a political reality which Arab nationalist apologists must deny: the Hebrew-speaking people of Israel also have national rights; to refuse to take account of these rights only perpetuates the deadly cycle of reactionary national wars in the Near East. Chomsky writes:

"ONE LAND—TWO NATIONS: that is the essence of the problem of Israel and the Palestinians.... It is a simple and pointless exercise to construct an argument to demonstrate the legitimacy of the claims of either side and the insignificance of the demands of its opponent. Each argument is convincing in its own terms. Each claim is, in a sense, absolute: a plea for national survival. Those who urge the demands of one or the other partner in this deadly dance, deaf to conflicting pleas, merely help pave the way to eventual catastrophe."

Indeed, given the counterposed national claims to the same territory by the Palestinian Arabs and the Hebrew-speaking people, the right of self-determination for either people can be exercised under capitalism only through denying that same democratic right for the other.

But Chomsky—lacking a revo-

lutionary proletarian perspective—searches in vain for some equitable resolution of this "conflict of claims to the same territory" within the framework of capitalism and imperialist domination. Reluctantly he opts for a "two-state solution"—yet another partition of Palestine and massive population transfers to establish separate Palestinian Arab and Hebrew states—recognizing that "both states, one must expect, will be based on the principle of denial of rights to citizens of the wrong category." Chomsky pessimistically concludes, "A solution imposed by imperial force is hardly to be welcomed, but it is not easy to conjure up a preferable and feasible alternative." At best, according to Chomsky, such a Cyprus "solution" may develop "towards a binational arrangement of the sort that was advocated by much of the Zionist movement until the Second World War."

In response Fuad Faris—unlike the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the "anti-imperialist" sheiks and generals ruling from Baghdad to Cairo—nominally concedes that the Hebrew-speaking people in Israel constitute a nation. But in the very next breath Faris denies that the right of national self-determination is applicable to the Hebrews. Disingenuously arguing that the Hebrews and Palestinian Arabs are *not* "claiming the same land to the exclusion of the other," Faris goes on to assert:

"It is wrong to bestow equal rights for self-determination on the Palestinian people and the Israeli people. Nobody has stifled the national life of the Israeli people for it to demand this right. Nobody has usurped this right from the Israeli people for it to be restored."

To be sure, in relation to the dispersed Palestinian Arabs, the Hebrews of Israel constitute an oppressor nation (although Palestinian nationalists such as Faris "forget" that in 1948 the Palestinian Arab nation was dismembered also by Transjordan and Egypt). But Leninists do not "bestow" democratic rights unequally, denying national rights as punishment for peoples that were compacted into nations through the oppression of other peoples and national minorities. The modern Turkish nation, to take only one example, was consolidated through the genocide and oppression of several million Armenians and Greeks in Anatolia, yet only the most virulent revanchist would deny the Turkish people their national rights.

In contrast to Faris, who declares that "this principle [self-determination] is *not* about 'the right to national self-determination of all nations,' oppressed or not," Lenin insisted that socialist internationalists, unlike nationalists, stand for the *equality of nations*: "We demand unconditional equality for all nations in the state and the unconditional protection of the rights of every national minority" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 116).

It is demagoguery and slander to equate recognition of the national rights of both the Hebrews and the Palestinians with indifference to the struggle of the oppressed nation against national oppression. Far from "criticizing both sides and supporting neither" the SL/SYL has demanded: Israel out of the occupied territories, repatriation with full democratic rights for the Palestinians, full trade-union rights for all Palestinian Arab workers, and for

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Rapacious Nationalists on All Sides

Blood Feud in Lebanon



JUNE 22—On June 10 the Arab League states, meeting in Cairo, decided to send a "token" "peace-keeping" force to war-ravaged Lebanon. Accordingly, 1,000 soldiers yesterday took up positions around Beirut airport. The context for these "peace-keepers" is the invasion of Lebanon by 30,000 Syrian and pro-Syrian troops.

Although their mission is restricted to facilitating the evacuation of foreign nationals and Lebanese fat-cats by opening Beirut airport, the Arab League expedition is simply a cover for the full-scale Syrian invasion. The troops, divided equally between Libyans and Syrians, were mustered in Damascus and sent into Lebanon through the Syrian-occupied Bekaa valley. The sordid war in Lebanon continues to claim 50 to 60 lives daily in Beirut alone.

Once the mercantile crossroads of the Near East, whose renowned cedars had provided beams for ships that turned the Mediterranean into a Phoenician lake, Lebanon was virtually cut off from the outside world as the Syrian invasion closed down Beirut airport and the important southern port of Saida. The American nationals—exhorted to leave by the U.S. government after its ambassador and economic counselor were killed—could depart only in a British-organized convoy which shot its way through the Beirut-Damascus road or by a Navy landing craft which left Beirut bound for Athens on Sunday.

Hoping to project the image of running the country while running for office, Gerald Ford cancelled a campaign trip to Iowa to remain in the White House during the uneventful evacuation. Hence in Beirut the evacuation was baptized "Operation Iowa primary."

Spoils of October

The Syrians' pretensions to be the champions of the so-called "Arab Revolution" lie buried in the rubble of burned-out Beirut neighborhoods and shelled Muslim and Christian villages in the Bekaa valley. Their claims to be struggling against Zionism and imperialism and for the national rights of the Palestinians were graphically exposed as Syrian pilots in Russian-made MIGs and Syrian-backed Lebanese pilots in British-made Hunter fighter-bombers strafed and bombed Palestinian refugee camps.

Hoping to find in military adventures against Israel a "solution" to the imperialist balkanization and exploitation of the Arab East, the "radical" apologists for the bonapartist Arab rulers in October 1973 rushed to hail the Egyptian and Syrian armies as fighters for the "Arab Revolution." What were the spoils of the 1973 conflict? President Nixon was triumphantly escorted through the streets of Cairo as Anwar Sadat courted financial investment and

military aid from the Western imperialist powers.

The Soviet Union, having once again watched billions of rubles worth of military aid squandered in the Sinai desert, was subjected to a campaign of vilification as Sadat ripped up the Soviet-Egyptian "friendship" treaty, threw out the remaining Russian military advisers and barred the USSR's navy from the important port of Alexandria. As a reward for the renewed shedding of Arab workers' and peasants' blood in the holy war against Israel, the Gulf sheikdoms cut Syria and Egypt into the drippings from the table of the imperialist oil cartels.

Although they had at best fought the Israeli army to a draw, Egypt and Syria emerged from the war with their prestige enhanced as "confrontation states." But their "confrontation," albeit conducted in the name of championing the national rights of the Palestinians, did absolutely nothing to advance Palestinian self-determination. At Rabat the Arab League of sheiks, kings and military juntas crowned the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) the "sole representative" of the stateless Palestinian refugees. That this lip service to Palestinian nationalism from the competing nationalists of the rival Arab states means nothing is demonstrated by the Syrian intervention into Lebanon to prop up the privileged Maronites against the Palestinians and Lebanese Muslims.

The PLO had already been split by the "rejection front" led by Dr. George Habash and his Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), notorious for its airplane hijackings and other senseless acts of indiscriminate terrorism. The PFLP, driven out of Jordan after the Black September massacre of 1970, has taken refuge in Baghdad and has become the mouthpiece for the policies of the Iraqi Ba'athists.

The fanatical Muslim Libyan colonels have also joined the "rejection front" which rejects negotiation or compromise with Israel. For Iraq and Libya, verbal intransigence towards Israel is cheap as they are not "confrontation states"—i.e., states which actually border Israel and have been involved in the major military confrontations. The military commitment of Iraq and Libya to the Palestinian cause is certainly dubious. During Black September, Iraq refused to use its 10,000 troops stationed in Jordan to defend the Palestinians who were being massacred by the Jordanian army.

Syria: Agent of "Arab Revolution" or Counterrevolution?

Both Syria and the "rejection front" loudly denounced as a sellout last year's Egyptian-Israeli Sinai Agreement whereby in exchange for the return of its oil

wells and some strategic passes Egypt agreed to an extension of UN "peace-keeping" forces in the Sinai. Yet without regaining an inch of the Golan Heights, Syria agreed to a six-month extension of the UN presence there in order to free up its own troops for Lebanon.

Following the Sinai Pact, both Syria and the Iraq-backed PFLP put themselves forward as the foremost champions of the Palestinians. The main faction in the PLO, Yasir Arafat's Fatah, had come to look towards the Damascus Ba'athists as protectors. The state of "cold war" which exists between the competing Iraqi and Syrian Ba'athists found its reflection in the Palestinian refugee camps, especially in Lebanon. Prior to the present civil war there was a mini-civil war in the refugee camps between the PFLP and the Syrian-backed Palestinian guerrilla group, As Saiqa.

At the beginning of the present civil war, the PLO and the so-called Muslim "left" led by Druze patriarch Kamal Jumblatt looked to Syria for support, even hoping for a Syrian military intervention. Now Syria, the self-proclaimed most intransigent of the "confrontation" states, is bombing Palestinian refugee camps and Jumblatt's Druze stronghold around Alieh! So the PLO and Jumblatt are now calling for the removal of the Syrian troops and their replacement by the Arab League's "peace-keeping" forces. But those forces now serve only as a cover for the Syrian invasion. The answer to the PLO's call for Arab League forces was 500 additional Syrian troops.

Kremlin Embarrassed

Syria has suffered temporary diplomatic isolation as a result of its military occupation of Lebanon, which is also costing a million dollars a day. Kuwait and Saudi Arabia have cut off oil royalties to the Damascus regime and Iraq has cut off its supply of crude for the Syrian refinery at Homs and is no longer using Syrian pipelines, depriving Damascus of transit fees.

Further, Syria acutely embarrassed its Soviet military benefactors by conducting a massive invasion of Lebanon the very day Kosygin arrived in Damascus for a state visit. Upon Kosygin's return to Moscow, the Russian Stalinist regime stated:

"The Syrian Arab Republic, on its part, time and again made statements saying that the mission of the troops it introduced into Lebanon is to help stop the bloodshed. Nevertheless, notice should be called to the fact that bloodshed continues in Lebanon today and blood flows in even greater streams."

—Daily World, 11 June

However in Syria Kosygin assured his hosts that "the Soviet Union is committed, as before, to strengthening Syria's

defense potential" (Daily World, 16 June). And Syria, in turn, is using this Russian-supplied "defense potential" to crush the Palestinians in Lebanon as U.S. imperialism and the Zionist state of Israel look on approvingly. In addition it has massed 6,000 troops, also armed with Russian weapons, along its Iraqi border to counter troop movements and threats from the Russian-armed Iraqis, who have for years threatened war over control of the waters of the Euphrates. Thus the USSR, spurned by Egypt, now finds its two remaining military clients in the Near East poised for war against one another.

Not "Arab Revolution" but Workers Revolution

The Syrian invasion has created a dilemma for the revisionists and reformists who claimed that the Syrian-Egyptian armies in October 1973 were the carriers of an ever-unfolding "Arab Revolution." Now of course they are busily denouncing the Syrian army as the worst traitors to that mythical "process." And, predictably, these apologists for bourgeois nationalism throw their support behind a different set of presumed "progressives":

"Regardless of any miserable maneuvers carried out by Jumblatt or other misleaders it is necessary to back the demand of the Lebanese and Palestinian people that the Syrian troops get out now and that Israel and the imperialists stay out."

—Intercontinental Press, 14 June

In the guise of merely calling for the removal of Syrian troops, what *Intercontinental Press* is doing here is to give back-handed support to scab-nationalists like Jumblatt. Among Jumblatt's "miserable maneuvers" is his call for French imperialist troops to return to their former colonies—a call which has now been echoed by Egypt. In fact, if Jumblatt's program were to be realized and France intervened, revolutionists would find themselves militarily supporting the forces resisting the presence of the French and their Arab quislings.

In the present fluid conflict, and particularly given the rapidly shifting allegiances, none of these nationalist and communalist formations are fighting a just struggle that would merit military support from the class-conscious proletariat. No support can be given to those who invite French imperialist intervention. No support can be given to the Maronites and their Syrian backers, struggling to preserve the privileged position of the Maronites within Lebanon's religious-based, mediocrally hierarchical social order. All sides are squalid in this conflict of competing nationalist and religious groupings.

Because of the interpenetration of national and religious minorities in the

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Life in Videla's Jails

Interview with Richard and Cristina Whitecross

Editor's Note: The print below excerpts from an interview with Richard and Cristina Whitecross, two British citizens recently released from Argentine prisons where they were held for four and a half months without charge, first by the Perón government and then by the Videla junta. In the context of the international campaign to save Mario Muñoz, the Whitecrosses stress the perilous situation of Chilean refugees in Argentina and make particular reference to the plight of the ten Chileans and one Argentine arrested along with them in late November 1975. At the time of those arrests, the Partisan Defense Committee sent urgent protests to the Perón government, demanding release of the 13 frame-up victims, and organized a December 5 demonstration outside the Argentine mission to the United Nations.

WV: What was the situation of foreign refugees in Argentina when you were there?

Cristina: What we knew about foreign refugees was mainly concerning Chilean refugees. It was difficult for them to get jobs; it was hard for them to find a place to live in. Those of them who were staying in the United Nations refugee places were also having a very hard time. Several months before we were arrested there were children who were seriously ill they couldn't get a doctor. They didn't seem to get help from anybody, and this is what led some of them to take over the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, and some of them left the country. The situation naturally worsened for those who stayed after that. In general, some Argentines were reluctant to help; others were willing to help but knew that they could be in trouble if they did.

After the coup apparently things got much worse, because all of the United Nations places were raided several times. Then nobody was allowed to register as a refugee after that. As far as I know, the problem now is that if you are not registered you cannot get help from the United Nations; at the same time you can't register.

Richard: We've mentioned the Chilean refugees, but certainly in jail one saw the numerous Paraguayan, Bolivian and Uruguayan refugees, too.

WV: What about the United Nations "camps"?

Cristina: They're hoozes, old houses where normally you would get, say, ten people to live in each but [now] you would get up to 40 or 50. The one that we knew only had one bathroom and there were about 30 people living in it. It was extremely difficult.

Richard: And although they're United Nations refugees presumably because the United Nations provides them money to pay the rent or originally took out the lease, there's no sort of sanctuary there for refugees. They were raided before the coup, they were raided the very night of the coup.

WV: Let me ask you something about your own arrest. First, what did they charge you with, if anything?

Richard: Well, they didn't tell us; they published something in the newspapers about four or five days after our arrest. Apart from Cristina and myself there

was a Chilean who was in our flat and they arrested seven or eight other Chileans at about the same time. We were lumped together and accused of being members of a cell that was bringing money from Europe down into Chile and receiving information back from Chile. The fact that we didn't know anybody beyond the one person who was staying with us and two other people who happened to live in the same area didn't interest the police at all.

Cristina: Actually, according to one of the policemen who said to me the second time I was questioned, they were not really interested in the case at all; this was simply a favor being done for the DINA, the Chilean secret police, making it extremely clear that they were working together.

Richard: There's other evidence of this, too, in that one of the people who was arrested and whom we met in jail, his address book was taken and people he knew in Chile had their houses raided immediately after. The person who was in our flat when we were arrested was interrogated by a policeman using his Chilean political record, police documents brought from Chile, and there were questions asked specifically about somebody the Chilean police presumably suspected of being a double agent within the Chilean embassy.

WV: Can you describe conditions in the Argentine prisons? I understand that although you yourselves were not tortured that you had evidence of others being tortured.

Cristina: I think that 80 or 85 percent of the people were tortured, brutally tortured. We were simply lucky. When you are taken to police headquarters most people are tortured there and you can certainly hear the cries and shouts all night. Conditions in that big jail [Villa Devoto] were deteriorating; especially after the coup things were getting much worse. The food was very bad, doctors were not very helpful and there were too many people in each cell. They don't let you read, they don't let you do anything. One tries to do all these things all the same, but you know that you can be in trouble. In my ward we were punished four and a half months when I was there. That meant that we had no visits and for two and a half months no recreation periods either. Anything was an excuse to punish.

Richard: And no food parcels or anything of that type from outside, no hooks.

WV: How about those arrested with you, do you have any recent news?

Richard: The only news we have of people in general in Argentina is that only one appears to have been released of the 5,000 or so who were in jail when we were released. A further 5,000 have been arrested and we've only heard of one other person being released.

Cristina: This is Dr. Bustos, a Chilean who is now in Germany. He was the person who was in our flat. All the other people arrested together with us are still there. Some have applied for visas to enter this country; others to other countries. But so far they're still there.

Richard: They're all held in the same way that we were, which is to say, held without charge. Although the accusa-

tion was thrown down, even the police didn't take it sufficiently seriously to take action on it. Our fear during the time we were in jail up to the moment we were released was that they might well invent a charge against us. And this has been happening of late. Basically, under the terms of our arrest—which equally applied to half the political prisoners when we were first arrested, the four or five thousand who were there then—you could only be held for three months and automatically you had to be released and given a chance to leave the country.

This was made more and more difficult because, to begin with, you had to go to a non-neighboring country, so that you went as far as Colombia, and

blind if he's not gotten out of prison.

Richard: Yes, that's true.

Cristina: Not just Gabriel Salinas, but also Mario Toer who was arrested with us, who got an infection while he was in jail.

Richard: As a result of having his eyes bandaged Toer developed conjunctivitis which was incorrectly diagnosed or incorrectly treated, and as a result of that a scar formed on his cornea which led to his needing weekly injections into the eye, a treatment just to regain some of the vision in his left eye. It's felt that he will need to have a cornea graft when he can get out of the country. In the case of Gabriel, I shared a cell with him for about half the time I was in jail. He lost his eyesight when he was about seven in a fireworks accident and regained it 11 years later through the insertion of an artificial cornea. He explained this to the people in the police headquarters when we were first arrested. We had our eyes bandaged and the police had paid no attention to the fact that his eyes were especially sensitive. He said before they bandaged his eyes that if he had bad eyesight when he went into prison, then he wouldn't have any eyesight at all when he left it. This is a danger for him if he doesn't receive the very specialized treatment that in fact he was going through Argentina on his way to Barcelona to receive, at the clinic where they had performed the original operation. He was due to be there six months



Villa Devoto prison in Buenos Aires, 25 May 1973: 40,000 people stormed the Argentine capital's main prison to force release of all political prisoners.

that was okay. Afterwards the military obliged you to go to somewhere other than in continental America, which meant that people who had families outside now had to borrow money and think of getting an air fare to Europe. And then, about three weeks before the coup took place, the military just simply didn't even bother to modify the constitution; they just held up the release orders and said that they would have to be reviewed one by one by a defense counsel presided over by Videla before he became the leader of the junta.

Cristina: In any case, after the coup this article of the constitution that allows you to leave after 60 working days was suspended. That was in the case of people like us where no charges were ever brought against us.

WV: What is the medical care, if any, of people in prison? In particular, I understand that one of the people arrested at this time, Gabriel Salinas, has serious eye problems and may go

ago to receive the operation again because of hemorrhaging and gradual loss of vision in his one eye.

WV: Is there prisoner self-help and cooperation and aid?

Richard: Oh, yes. There was a coordinating committee on both floors where I was. Everything was decided democratically between the people on the floor, such as the decision as to whether to reject the food if it got particularly bad, the decision on what action to take if the search party was particularly violent, decisions on how to spend what little money came through. Various procedures had been arrived at through discussion by everybody, procedures for circulating the one newspaper we were allowed each day. Towards the end of the four and a half months I was there, two or three or four books arrived on our floor—other floors had rather more—the circulation of those books was again entirely organized. The decision as to behavior when there were

problems of discipline, especially in relationship to the guards and so forth: there would be somebody deputed to make protests at official levels, as far as one could see officials. I think I'll never see again so much solidarity between groups of people from all walks of life and of different interests.

WV: The Communist Party is supporting the coup, although the government has been rather ungrateful for this support. Were there Communist Party people in jail also?

Cristina: Yes, in general the Communist Party girls were in a separate ward because they chose to do it like that. We were on friendly terms with them, but they didn't really participate that much in our activities, especially with all the other groups that are illegal now. In general I think that they were highly suspicious of people who may have had something to do with the guerrillas, or with Trotskyist groups or with anybody else for that matter. But they were not unfriendly and some things were done together with them; not extremely much politically.

WV: Some people who are sympathetic to the cause of political prisoners feel that really our protests can't do much good, these governments don't care about picket lines and resolutions and lists of endorsers, and so on, and therefore one should concentrate on other things that are more effective in one's own country. Was it your experience that protests abroad had an effect on the Argentine government?

Cristina: I think it certainly does. I think that only international pressure can get these people released, and I think that in our case that certainly helped a lot. In the case of Dr. Bustos that's what got him out, and in the case of all the others who were left behind, I think that they all want as much done abroad as possible, because the Argentine junta among other things is extremely interested in having this image of their being nice chaps and not like Pinochet at all. They get extremely worried when things are done abroad and I think that it is important to do all these things in any of the European countries or anywhere else for that matter.

Richard: I entirely agree, and I think that the Chileans have found their hands tied and I hope it won't be long until the Argentine junta feels the weight of international disgust at the way in which people are being killed and repressed in Argentina. There was a sigh of relief, internationally when the coup took place in that the assumption was made, surely these people at least would organize things better. Well, they have organized things better from their point of view: it's just that they are continuing the repression they had begun under Mrs. Perón and through Mrs. Perón, and they're organizing it on a much more efficient scale. They're carrying it out on a wider level and there's no way of stopping it other than all the internal resistance that is going on and through international pressure. I think that both are tremendously important.

WV: Do you have anything else that you would like to say?

Cristina: We would like to save also Sergio Muñoz, Tito Pizarro and Alicia Pizarro, Gabriel Salinas, Ximena Savala, Caterina Palma and all the others left behind. ■

For a Citywide Strike Against Budget Cuts

Mass Layoffs, Closures Threaten NYC Hospitals

JUNE 20—New York City hospital workers and the poor and working-class population face an imminent prospect of layoffs and the closing of major health-care units. The Health and Hospitals Corporation (HHC), which manages the city's 18 municipally owned hospitals, has earmarked four hospitals for extinction, in line with the massive NYC budget-cutting program. Three of these facilities—Sydenham Hospital in Harlem, Gouverneur Hospital on the Lower East Side and the Belvis Neighborhood Family Care Center in the South Bronx—provide services primarily to ghetto residents.

The layoffs entailed by the closing of these hospitals total 1,450. However, even more extensive cutbacks are envisioned by the HHC: another 1,700 employees are to be laid off from the remaining city hospitals. And this is in addition to the 5,000 city hospital employees who have already been laid off since last June 30, when NYC's massive austerity program was imposed. If the projected layoffs are carried out, almost one fifth of the entire labor force of the city hospitals will have been laid off in one year! Such drastic cutbacks in personnel are having a major impact on health services offered by municipal hospitals, which provide 90 percent of emergency care and 52 percent of out-patient care service in New York City.

Municipal hospital workers are represented by Local 420, which belongs to District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). D.C. 37 chief Victor Gotbaum initially threatened a strike against any hospital layoffs, blustering that he was personally prepared to go to jail for leading such an action, which is illegal under the state's Taylor Law. However, Gotbaum called off the strike scheduled for June 7 when it was announced that a "fact-finding" panel headed by prominent black Democrat Basil Patterson was being set up.

The Patterson report, issued June 17, attempts to provide the basis for a "compromise" solution. It calls for maintaining in-patient services at Sydenham, while eliminating the pediatric and obstetric units there and closing down the other three hospitals (possibly retaining nursing services at Gouverneur). Layoffs of workers whose jobs depend on the operation of these institutions are to be reduced from 1,450 to 852. The report recommends that the other 1,700 layoffs be delayed one month, when they "may become necessary" if no alternative means of financing is found.

The Patterson report makes it clear that the union accepts the necessity to cut back the share of city funds allocated for hospital and health services: "The Union does not raise any issue over whether the Corporation or the City should make the indicated budgetary savings." Failing to challenge the city's austerity program, Gotbaum's only answer is to call for such highly improbable solutions as increasing state and Blue Cross subsidies.

Another Gotbaum stratagem is to siphon off city funds presently allocated to privately operated hospitals. Thus the report noted that "the alternative of seeking budgetary savings from the affiliation contracts with voluntary hospitals was urged by the Union." Such a "solution" would only shift the burden of layoffs from employees of city

hospitals to those in the voluntary hospitals.

Of course, from the standpoint of AFSCME hureaucrat Gotbaum this is not "his" problem: after all, workers in private hospitals are organized in other unions, primarily Local 1199! It is entirely in character for this slick labor laker, who last year advocated "saving" D.C. 37 members' jobs from MAC cutbacks by throwing minority workers on federal training programs off the payroll instead, and who refused to lift a finger against the firing of thousands of "provisional" city workers, even where they were AFSCME members.

Local 1199, which itself has recently experienced layoffs, faces the expiration of its contract at the end of June. Instead of stabbing Local 1199 in the back Gotbaum-style, a militant leadership in AFSCME would call for a joint citywide hospital strike which would demand a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to create more jobs!

Given its acceptance of budget cutbacks, however, the Gotbaum leadership will undoubtedly cling to the wretched recommendations of the

abstract, even Gotbaum ostensibly stands behind just these principles. Significantly, none of the Coalition speakers criticized the union leadership, nor did the Coalition directly call for implementation of a strike against the cutbacks.

Pressure groups like the Citywide Coalition are no answer for hospital workers and the masses of city residents deprived of decent health care. The attacks on NYC's working people and poor can only be reversed by building class-struggle oppositions within the unions, committed to waging a fight to the finish against budget-slashing "austerity" policies dictated by Big MAC and the Emergency Financial Control Board, and to putting an end to the union misleaders' treacherous collaboration with their capitalist politician "friends" in Washington, Albany and City Hall.

In addition to the struggles of hospital workers, contracts covering firefighters, sanitationmen and D.C. 37 city administration employees expire June 30. Only a class-struggle labor leadership determined to launch militant strikes



NYC hospital workers demonstrating against threatened hospital closures last summer. WV Photo

Patterson report. Already Gotbaum is claiming a partial victory, asserting that otherwise Gouverneur and Sydenham would have been shut down entirely. Even this "compromise" is not assured, however. The Patterson report has no official status. Although both the union and the city are supposed to be "studying" its recommendations, a fresh batch of 1,750 "pink slips" (layoff notices) was reportedly sent out June 17 and 18.

In the absence of decisive union leadership, a Citywide Coalition to Save the Municipal Hospitals has been set up. The Coalition—a loose conglomeration of community groups, would-be radicals and some hospital workers—held a demonstration June 16 which drew 250 people, including delegations of workers from several hospitals. The union chiefs did not build for the demonstration, but recognizing that the Coalition serves as a useful vehicle for letting an angry membership blow off steam, they did not discourage attendance at the rally and even sent one official, Clyde Goins, to address it.

A leaflet by the Citywide Coalition called for "No cutbacks, no layoffs, no closings and no compromises." Talk is cheap; the question is how to stop the city bosses' attack. And for this the Coalition has no program. In the

against the city wage freeze, the layoffs and cutbacks in health care, the city university system and other services can prevent the second year of New York's capitalist-engineered "fiscal crisis" from becoming another round of bitter defeats for NYC's working masses. ■

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Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

The Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile and the Partisan Defense Committee are co-sponsoring a Committee to Save Mario Muñoz. Among the endorsers of the international campaign are:

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Muñoz Delegation Barred From Argentine Mission to UN

Videla's Ambassador Can't Hide Junta Terror

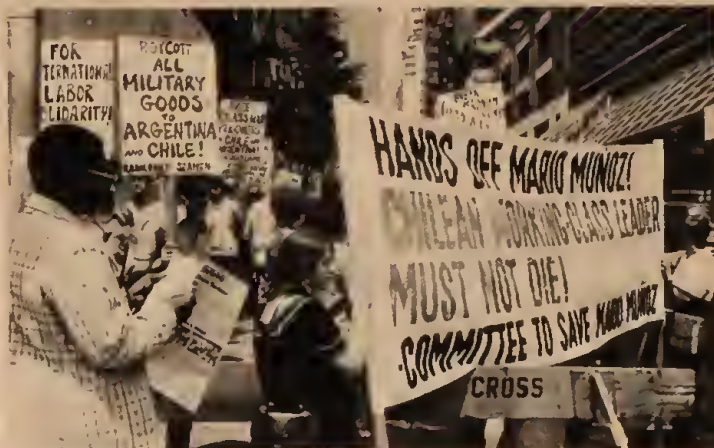
During the last week, reports of mass kidnappings, torture and wholesale assassinations have begun to pour out of Argentina. This has partially lifted the mask of respectability from the bloody junta and shocked world bourgeois opinion, which had been largely favorable to the generals who took power in Buenos Aires March 23. But the news reports also indicate that time is running out for effective protest to save the lives of endangered leftists, trade unionists and refugees from other South American military dictatorships.

The Committee to Save Mario Muñoz has campaigned tirelessly for the last two months to build support for the 36-year-old Chilean miners leader being hunted down by the Argentine junta. Through its efforts, endorsements for the Muñoz campaign have been gathered from a broad range of labor and socialist organizations and numerous individuals concerned to defend democratic rights. Except for Chilean MIR leader Edgardo Enriquez, arrested on April 10 and secretly turned over to Pinochet two weeks later, more than any other single individual Mario Muñoz Salas has become the focus of international protest against the rightist terror threatening political refugees in Argentina. Recent events underscore the need to redouble efforts to save this

revolutionary workers leader!

Even prominent bourgeois politicians are now falling prey to the escalating right-wing terror. Found murdered recently were former Uruguayan senator Zelmario Michelini and the former president of Uruguay's Chamber of Deputies, Hector Gutierrez Ruiz, as well as the ex-president of Bolivia, Juan José Torres. Among the particular targets of the reactionary murder squads—the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA) and Libertadores de América—have been Chilean refugees, from the most prominent (General Carlos Pratts, who was assassinated last year by the AAA) to thousands of unknown workers forced to flee from Pinochet's death camps.

Following the theft of documents revealing addresses of some 8,000 UN-recognized refugees last week, and the subsequent kidnapping and torture of two dozen Chileans from a refugee hotel in the capital (only half a block from a police station), the UN High Commission for Refugees has announced emergency efforts to bring refugees out of the country. In the U.S., even the Tolstoy Foundation, an admitted conduit for State Department funds which helped relocate the pimps and torturers of Thieu's puppet Saigon regime, found it expedient to go on record expressing



WV Photo
Demonstration outside Argentine mission to UN in New York last Friday protesting Videla regime's manhunt for Chilean militant Mario Muñoz.

concern for the fate of thousands of refugees trapped in Argentina.

Delegation Locked Out

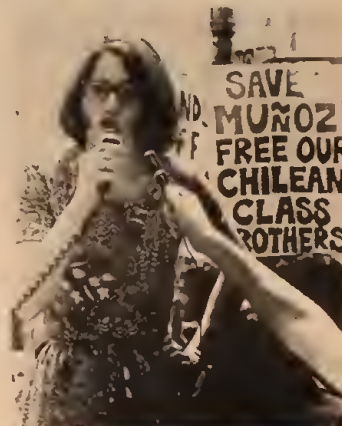
On Friday, June 19, the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz sponsored a demonstration opposite the Argentine mission to the United Nations in New York City, while a Committee delegation sought to meet with the Argentine ambassador to protest the manhunt and demand that Muñoz and his family be allowed to leave the country unhindered. However, after earlier assuring the Committee that an official would meet the delegation on Friday, the mission suddenly found itself unavailable to meet at any time on the agreed-upon day.

Moreover, when the delegation arrived they were even refused entrance to the front door of the building at 1 United Nations Plaza, where Videla's representatives sat behind locked doors on the 25th floor. After much negotiation with the guard, Daniel Berrigan, a member of the Committee delegation, remarked, "This must be a powerful statement to cause so much fear of it." Finally the declaration of protest was reluctantly conveyed upstairs by the guard, and Valerie West of the delegation addressed the picket line across the street.

Over 70 supporters of the Muñoz campaign marched opposite the Argentine mission and UN headquarters, their chants echoing off the glittering, silent glass walls behind which lurked the representatives of the blood-drenched junta. The protesters marched for close to an hour, chanting "Hands off Mario Muñoz—Working-class leader must not die!" and "Down with the junta—workers to power!" Among the participants were representatives of the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), U.S.-based co-sponsor of the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz; the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League; the Revolutionary Socialist League; Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee; International Workers Party; and a contingent from Communist Cadre.

Press Conference

Following the demonstration, a press conference was held at the Plaza Hotel. Speaking for the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz, Gracinha Soares gave a history of the persecution of this Chilean unionist threatened with death



WV Photo
PDC staff counsel Valerie West speaking to Muñoz demonstration at UN after delegation barred from Argentine mission to UN.

by military dictators on both sides of the Andes. Valerie West, staff counsel for the Partisan Defense Committee, spoke of the PDC's efforts on behalf of Muñoz and other threatened militants in Latin America. (The PDC is an anti-sectarian, class-struggle defense organization, whose work is in the tradition of the International Labor Defense during the 1920's and in accordance with the political aims of the Spartacist League.)

As West pointed out, this is the second time in recent months that the PDC had gone to the Argentine mission to the UN to denounce right-wing repression. In December of last year it held a demonstration protesting the arrest of 13 persons accused of supplying money and guns to resistance groups in Chile. Then, too, the mission refused to receive a delegation at first, although an official finally agreed to accept a statement while remarking that there was nothing to worry about, since the Argentine judicial system was "quite a good one." Nevertheless, today only three of the 13 have been released, all of them because of international protests on their behalf (see interview with Richard and Cristina Whitecross in this issue of *WV*).

At first the junta's public relations experts were relatively successful in obscuring the reality of massive repression against labor and the left, West explained, but today they are no longer able to hide the river of blood behind

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Otto Pikaza, Assoc. Prof. Latin Amer. Studies, U. of Ill.
Portage County Campaign for a Democratic Foreign Policy
Postal Action Committee
Adam Przeworski, Assoc. Prof. Pol. Sci., U. of Chicago
Joanne Fox Przeworski, Chicago Commission to Investigate Status of Human Rights in Chile, 1974
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Rank and File Coalition, Local 6, UAW
Justin Ravitz, Judge, Records Court, Detroit
Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist)
Revolutionary Marxist Committee
Revolutionary Marxist Organizing Committee
Revolutionary Socialist League
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*Organization listed for identification purposes only (partial listing)

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Send urgently needed contributions for the defense campaign to save Mario Muñoz to:
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Make checks payable to "Partisan Defense Committee," earmark for "Muñoz Campaign"

Soweto...

(continued from page 1)

church at the University of Zululand in Natal were razed to the ground. The University of the North at Turfloop was closed after students set fire to the recreation hall and the language laboratory. These universities have been centers of resistance to the apartheid regime and of solidarity with nationalist struggles in Angola and Mozambique. Nine members of the South African

Students Organization (SASO) have been defendants in a months-long trial under the notorious Terrorism Act as the result of a pro-Frelimo rally held at the University of the North in September 1974. In recent months the black universities have been continually swept by dragnet raids to break the back of the militant "black consciousness movement."

Two hundred students from the white Witwatersrand University marching through the streets of Johannesburg to protest the murderous government repression were joined by hundreds of

black and white bystanders. As they chanted "Power to Soweto" and raised clenched fists, policemen, reinforced by white railway workers and motorcycle gangs, viciously set upon them and dispersed the march. In Durban, black students attempting to march on the City Hall were also turned back by club-swinging police.

Soweto—Symbol of Oppression

The dispute which sparked the Soweto massacre on Wednesday is indicative of the all-pervasive oppression of non-whites in South Africa. In line with the Afrikaner-based Nationalist Party's program of forcibly reintroducing tribal divisions and cultural backwardness, instruction in one of seven tribal "mother tongues" became the norm in "Bantu" primary schools beginning in the mid-1950's. For the small minority of blacks able to attend secondary schools, English, the language of industry and commerce (and hence a necessity for economic advancement), was the rule until recently.

In 1974, however, authorities in the Transvaal, the province in which Soweto is located, introduced Afrikaans as a second co-equal instructional language in the secondary schools. For the black students, this reinforced the enormous burden of acquiring academic skills and was seen as a callous act of cultural subjugation, forcing them to learn the language of the hated ruling party. A month ago, a boycott started at Phefeni Junior Secondary School and soon spread to seven other schools, leading up to the mass anti-Afrikaans march on June 16.

The language dispute is but one of the innumerable excrecences of the apartheid system. Soweto contains a population of over 1,000,000 black people in 35 square miles. Of its 102,000 tightly crammed bungalows, perhaps half have cold running water, less than a quarter have electricity and only 15 percent have inside bathrooms. The average family income is \$46 a month. Because blacks are regarded as migrants anywhere in South Africa except for the meager 13 percent of the land designated as "tribal homelands," the residents of Soweto cannot own land or the houses in which they live.

To the white oppressors, Soweto exists in a virtual fourth dimension of rigid segregation. It contains more than 5 percent of the entire black population of the country, yet from Johannesburg, ten miles away, no signposts even indicate its existence. A thick pall of smoke from coal and wood stoves envelops the town, making it nearly invisible from even the highest buildings in Johannesburg.

Africans living in the townships are locked in by a maze of police-state laws. Only those who were born in the township and have lived there continuously, or have worked in the area continuously for 15 years, or have worked for the same employer for ten years, have a right to remain there. For the 4 million Xhosas (of whom 1.3 million live outside their so-called "homeland" and 83,000 in the Johannesburg area), even this tenuous right is threatened. The Vorster government is pushing a bill through Parliament which would strip all Xhosas of their remaining "citizenship rights" when the Transkei becomes independent in October.

Blacks' employment, education, travel, family relations, etc. are tightly controlled by the pass books which each must carry. These voluminous document files restrict their daily movements and are minutely scrutinized by white officials. Failure to produce the book at any time can lead to imprisonment, forced labor in private farms or deportation to a "bantustan," and some half a million blacks are arrested every year for "pass offenses."

As the government plunges ahead with its so-called "separate development" scheme, tens of thousands of black workers are being thrown out of

jobs, supposedly to find employment in "border industries" to be created on the fringes of the bantustans. Townships like Alexandra, situated uncomfortably close to affluent white areas, are being forcibly resettled according to the master plan. The rebellion in the townships is thus played out against a backdrop of mounting black discontent with the conditions of government repression and economic insecurity. And all this while independent black regimes have come to power in the neighboring former Portuguese colonies (Angola and Mozambique), rekindling the just aspirations of South African blacks to rule the country.

Black Labor: Achilles Heel of Apartheid

But Soweto is more than a symbol of the agonizing squalor and discrimination that are the lot of non-whites. It also represents the Achilles heel of apartheid—the ever-growing demand for black labor to work the factories and mines of the white capitalists. Not even Vorster believes that all 18 million blacks will eventually settle in the "bantustans." "Separate development" is designed to minimize the black population in the economically strategic centers of South Africa. The only blacks allowed in "white South Africa" are those who produce profits for their masters.

The township explosions that rocked the Witwatersrand follow close upon a period of labor unrest and escalating militancy among urban blacks. Under the impact of the world capitalist depression, black workers, joined in Natal province by their Indian class brothers, smashed through the near-solid wall of repression that descended upon the country following Sharpeville. A wave of strikes in January and February of 1973 involved 60,000 workers (compared to a mere 6,376 workers who took part in recorded strikes throughout 1971-72). The Durban area was nearly paralyzed by the walkout of manufacturing, construction and government workers. These strikes spurred a surge of organization of Africans into trade unions (still only 60,000 out of the 5-million-strong black proletariat of South Africa). Although these unions are not recognized either by the government or the employers, black workers fought to be represented by their own organizations, not by corporatist management/worker committees.

The Pretoria regime met this strike wave with a two-pronged approach. The gold miners, a majority of whom are migrants from neighboring African countries, were frequently subjected to the traditional methods—the revolver and the baton. Thirty-seven of them were murdered by police in 1974. But in the Johannesburg and Durban areas, the government trod somewhat more carefully. Police charges were temporarily supplanted by limited concessions—wage increases and factory "liaison committees" to handle grievances.

In recent months a new rash of strikes has broken out—shipyard workers in Durban, factory workers in Germiston—despite a clear return by the government to hard-line tactics. The Black Metal and Allied Workers Union in Durban has enlisted the support of the British Trades Union Congress in pressing its demands for recognition by the South African subsidiary of Leyland Motors. In Johannesburg this March, a demonstration against the political trial of seven anti-apartheid activists was bolstered by over 1,500 black workers, about to leave for home at the railroad station, who turned it into a militant confrontation with local police.

By rigidly restricting township residence to blacks employed in the white-owned economy (of course at the lowest levels), the "master race" theorists have ensured that any serious unrest in the townships will almost inevitably take on a proletarian charac-

300 Demonstrate in NYC Against Soweto Massacre



WV Photo

JUNE 19—Protesting the vicious police massacre unleashed by the Vorster regime to crush the rebellion of oppressed blacks in Soweto and other African "townships" near Johannesburg, about 350 people marched today on the South African mission to the United Nations in New York. The protest, called on one day's notice by the Pan African Students Association of the Americas (PASOA), began at Times Square and demonstrators marched chanting through the streets toward the UN until police forced them onto the sidewalks.

Meanwhile, yesterday two unidentified black men walked into the South African Airways office in broad daylight, smashing the plate glass windows and busting up office equipment inside while snapping pictures of the action. Police, however, say they cannot determine whether this incident was related to the Soweto massacre!

Participants in today's demonstration included Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL), a representative of the Pan African Congress, the May 1st Anti-Apartheid Day Committee (a YAWF-dominated bloc), SASO 9 Defense Committee, Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), Communist Cadre and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Glaringly absent were any of the Maoist groups. Following Peking's bloc with white-supremacist South Africa and U.S. imperialism against the MPLA in Angola, the Mao Stalinists evidently found it inconvenient to show up at a demonstration denouncing their ally's murderous onslaught against the black masses of South Africa.

Unfortunately, sectarian practices continue to characterize the activities of PASOA. Thus the SL/SYL contingent of approximately 60 people, one of the largest at the march, was denied a speaker at the rally even though, for example, the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), having mobilized only a handful of NSCAR/SWP supporters, was given speaking time.

Nevertheless, the militant SL/SYL contingent set much of the angry tone for the demonstration. The Spartacist banner, "Smash Apartheid Through Workers Revolution," and placards proclaiming "Sharpeville, Soweto—Avenge the Martyred Militants" contrasted sharply to YAWF's insipid "Down with Apartheid, Stop the Killing Now" or the SWP's mealy-mouthed liberal "End the Murders in South Africa" slogans. Several times during the march the crowd picked up the SL chant "Down with Apartheid, Workers to Power," until YAWF marshals instructed their ranks to chant instead "Down with Apartheid, Stop the Genocide."

Other Spartacist placards called for "Smash the Racist Regimes in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia," "For the Right of Trade Union Organization," "Smash the Racist Bantustan Schemes," "Smash Vorster's Police State Regime" and "For the Rebirth of the Fourth International." Signs carried by representatives of the Partisan Defense Committee demanded "Free SASO, NUSAS, ANC Victims of Apartheid," referring to members of the South African Students Organization, National Union of South African Students and African National Congress currently on trial under Vorster's catch-all Terrorism Act. Another PDC sign called for freeing South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) militants sentenced to death by the white supremacist courts. ■

ter. As the Witwatersrand townships rebelled, the press carried accounts of the organization of "stay at home strikes," essentially mass strikes in which factory and mine workers clustered together in compact areas distant from their work places can shut off the flow of labor to many capitalists in a single stroke. However, the "township" system gives the government an enormous military advantage.

Ruling Class Divisions

While all sections of the white ruling class benefit from the super-exploitation and militarization of black labor, there are certain divisions on how best to protect white privileges and bourgeois rule. The largely English-speaking United Party (UP), representing major private capitalist interests, opposes the more egregious aspects of "separate development," as on the question of Xhosa citizenship, and the more blatantly repressive government measures such as the preventive detention Promotion of State Security Bill. But at every crucial stage—in 1909-10, when the terms of Anglo-Afrikaner unification were being decided; in 1936, when the Cape Africans were removed from the common voters' role—the English-speaking bourgeoisie collaborated in building the structure of white supremacy.

Facing the recent resurgence of black militancy, the UP has become an increasingly tame opposition. Its most liberal wing split last year, merged with the Progressive Party and formed the Progressive Reform Party (PRP). This small party opposes apartheid and claims to champion racial equality. However, the PRP does not even support the most elementary principle of bourgeois democracy—universal suffrage. Rather, it favors electoral rights based on educational achievement, a disguised form of white supremacy. Moreover, the party's association with gold baron Harry Oppenheimer, a prime beneficiary of the colonialist contract mine labor system, indicates that the PRP's apparent liberalism is largely for foreign consumption, grist for the propaganda mills that encourage investment in South Africa because capitalist development will supposedly ease racial segregation. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

Both the UP and PRP oppose the exclusion of blacks from skilled and semi-skilled job categories because it creates labor shortages and maintains artificially high wage levels for white workers (in the Cape Province many "coloured" or mulatto workers hold semi-skilled jobs intermediate between blacks and whites). The Nationalist Party, in power since 1948, staunchly defends the industrial color bar. It tries to overcome skilled labor shortages by encouraging white immigration, holding out the lure of immediate access to the privileges of the labor aristocracy.

These privileges are no small incentive. White workers' wages in manufacturing average five times those

of blacks; in mining the reported wage gap is 19 to 1. Actually, it is much higher 20 to 1 overall—and wider today than 40 years ago. With the rabid support of the labor aristocracy and their strategic control of the state apparatus, including the well-armed military, the Nationalists will defend white *Baasskap* (overlordship) at all costs, dragging the UP in their wake.

In 1953 Hendrik Verwoerd, Vorster's predecessor, wrote of the black man: "There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labor.... Until now he has been... misled... by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze" (quoted in Franz Lee, *Anatomy of Apartheid*, 1966). To this day, such is the guiding philosophy of the regime.

For Workers Revolution Through Smashing Apartheid!

Afrikaner Nationalist Party policy—the apartheid system—is designed above all to suppress black insurrection. As capitalists, the South African ruling class seeks to maximize its profits through the exploitation of labor. But as nationalists of an oppressor minority, it is committed to preventing the black population from attaining even rudimentary bases for political power. Thus a white labor aristocracy is artificially maintained at the expense of short-term profitability.

Rigid racial separation is an essential element in the deployment of overwhelming military force against the black masses. The consolidation of Nationalist rule since 1948 has required extensive police state terror measures (under the legal cover of the Suppression of Communism Act and the Terrorism Act), not only toward blacks but also against those whites advocating a multi-racial society. This repression was directed in particular against the workers movement, a policy exemplified by the suppression during the 1950's of South Africa's very few integrated trade unions, most notably a union of black and Boer women garment workers headed by Communist Party leader Solly Sachs.

The system of superexploiting black workers as migrant (and quite often contract) laborers must be destroyed. The key immediate demands of the black workers movement should be abolition of the color bar for all jobs, establishment of multi-racial trade unions, abolition of the pass system and of the compulsory labor contract system. These demands will tend to break down the labor-aristocratic caste status of the white workers.

The concentration and super-exploitation of the black proletariat means that any extension of democratic rights points directly toward workers revolution. This accounts for the bitter-end commitment to massive military terror on the part of the white ruling class. However, the strategic economic position of black workers enables them to force concessions even from hardline Afrikaner reactionaries. The 1973-74 strike wave resulted in the Vorster regime tolerating and even (to a limited degree) bargaining formally with illegal black unions. This important development gives the lie to petty-bourgeois nationalists who deny the power of the proletariat, instead hailing impotent guerrillaism.

The South African revolution is more than a simple class question. It is through smashing apartheid that the road will be opened to a black-centered workers and peasants government. A Trotskyist leadership must be forged that can channel the militant plebeian currents in the African "townships" into a class-conscious and disciplined workers movement (whether legal or illegal, open or clandestine), and link the struggles of the black working class for economic gains and elementary democratic rights to the fight for proletarian power. ■

Palestinian Nationalist...

(continued from page 2)

the independence of trade unions from the state. To forge proletarian solidarity to uproot both Zionism and the bourgeois Arab nationalism promoted by the reactionary sultans and colonels, the Israeli Hebrew working class above all must recognize that its own class interests require that it wage an uncompromising struggle against the brutal national oppression imposed upon the Palestinians.

Although he criticizes the petty-bourgeois nationalist PLO leadership, Faris is led to give backhanded support to the reactionary Arab nationalists: "the Middle East conflict at the level of Israel-Palestine is above all a conflict between Zionism, embodied in the state of Israel, and the Palestine movement for national liberation" and *not* "essentially between national bourgeoisies that have enthralled the interests of their masses to their own." We deny Faris' assertion that the principal force on the Arab side is the "Palestinian movement for national liberation." The real military threat to Israel does not come from the Palestinian guerrillas, but from the Arab bourgeois states—primarily Egypt and Syria—whose motives have nothing to do with Palestinian national liberation. After Black September, after the Syrian action in Lebanon, Faris can scarcely expect his readers to believe that the wars of 1967 and 1973 were fought to achieve the national rights of the Palestinians.

Faris repudiates the class war and thereby rejects the only real road forward for the oppressed working masses of the Near East. Only the revolutionary transformation of property relations and the establishment of a binational proletarian dictatorship in a socialist federation of the Near East can provide the framework for the eradication of national oppression and the just resolution of the competing national claims of the Hebrew and Arab peoples. ■

Lebanon...

(continued from page 3)

Near East, none of which has the decisive social weight to consolidate a modern nation-state, the conflict of competing national antagonisms, exploited and exacerbated by imperialism, can be resolved only under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat. The democratic and national rights of the peoples of the Near East can be won and safeguarded not by a supposedly classless (hence non-existent) "Arab Revolution" but by a socialist revolution led by the proletariat, the only class which can rise above the historically accumulated religious and national hatreds and rally to its banner all the oppressed and exploited masses for whom capitalism means only the continuation of national degradation and fratricidal wars. ■

Spartacus Youth League Pamphlet

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State Workers ...

(continued from page 2)

wealth Auditorium in Boston, where the state's insulting contract offer was rejected, no discussion was allowed from the floor, the ranks were told precisely nothing about what actions the leadership planned to take or even what the union's current bargaining proposal was! This insult to the membership in the guise of a mass meeting lasted a grand total of 20 minutes.

There is no strike fund whatsoever, and bail money for the picketers arrested at Grove Hall Monday has had to be raised by passing the hat among strikers, without any assistance from the union. At Fernald State School for the Mentally Retarded, where a 150-200 strong picket line was formed despite low union membership, the picketers, many of whom were not even union members, received little guidance from the few union representatives present and were compelled to make their own picket signs. Militancy also varies tremendously from one location to the next. Whereas at some locations such as the Grove Hall Welfare Office, picketers militantly battled scabs and cops, at others secretaries were allowed to picket during their lunch hours and then return to work!

Scabbing—by almost 30 percent of the unionized workforce—must be halted or the strike will be destroyed. Mass picket lines must be set up and defended, to stop scabbing and police strikebreaking. Although obviously the unions must make provisions for certain items like emergency medical care, widespread scabbing by nurses and performance of duties by bridgetenders under the guise of carrying out "vital functions" must cease. Union officials are calling for federal mediation of the strike, no doubt as an excuse to pare down the bargaining demands. Strikers must instead insist on a substantial pay boost, full cost-of-living escalator clause, an iron-clad no-layoff clause in a one-year contract, an end to all restrictions on the unions' right to strike, and no victimizations or fines. This can only be carried out through democratically elected strike committees, which will vigilantly guard against betrayals by the labor bureaucrats. ■

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Junta Terror...

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locked doors. She noted several other victims of the rightist terror, among them Enriquez, PRT/ERP guerrilla leader Mario Roberto Santucho (reported captured in early June, although not yet confirmed), film director Raimundo Glaser, labor lawyer Roberto Singaglia and physician Lierof Manuel, a refugee from Uruguay.

Describing the brazen kidnapping of 25 persons from a UN refugee hotel on June 10, West remarked:

"The gunmen who broke in and kidnapped them, drove the Ford Falcons that are known as the official car of the federal police and the unofficial car of the unofficial police, the death squads..., which have run their murderous night and fog operations with official sanction, often using official police identification."

The terrorization of refugees, she noted, is no longer dismissed as a figment of the

sent Videla a telegram expressing concern for the fate of Muñoz. The Friday demonstration was given several minutes coverage on WBAI radio.

In Canada, the campaign has received the endorsement of the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC); David Archer, president of the Ontario Federation of Labour; and, importantly, from the Sudbury District Labour Council—miners in Canada supporting Chilean miners. The New Democratic Party (NDP), which is linked to the CLC, and NDP leaders have backed the campaign at both national and local levels. The most recent expression of NDP support was a telegram sent from its Ontario convention to General Videla demanding that Muñoz be granted safe conduct out of Argentina.

In Australia, the Muñoz defense effort has been endorsed by several important unions, including the Seamen's Union, the Waterside Workers Federation, the Union of Postal Clerks and Telegraphists, and branches of the Transport Workers and Ship Painters and Dockers Union. In Britain, the campaign is supported by the Miners International Federation and the North London aggregate of the National Union of Teachers. The Muñoz defense has also been endorsed by British Labour Party and Australian Labor Party members of parliament, while in Europe prominent Socialist and Communist Party legislators are among the endorsers.

West announced further plans of the Committee, which projects two important delegations in the next weeks: one to Geneva to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and a second to Washington, D.C., to register a protest with the Argentine ambassador.

Fr. Daniel Berrigan was the third speaker at the press conference, vividly expressing the hellish situation of the refugees and the urgency of the campaign to save Mario Muñoz. The refugees, he said, "go not from one torture chamber or regime into freedom, but find themselves in another cell of the same nightmare. So the passage from Chile to Argentina has been shown to be a passage into nowhere."

Charles Brover, co-chairman of the Partisan Defense Committee, concluded the press conference with a statement of determination to push on and achieve success in saving the life of Muñoz and focusing world attention on the tragedy unfolding in Argentina: "This is a skirmish in the larger battle for coverage of this case and that of Argentine refugees in general," he said. "There's an obvious conspiracy not to cover what's happening in Argentina.... That's the reason we were refused entrance by the ambassador, because he knows that if we can get in to make our points, we have more chance to get our case known, to expose the plight of the refugees, and that means the more they will stand exposed.... This battle is by no means over."■

Teamster Convention...

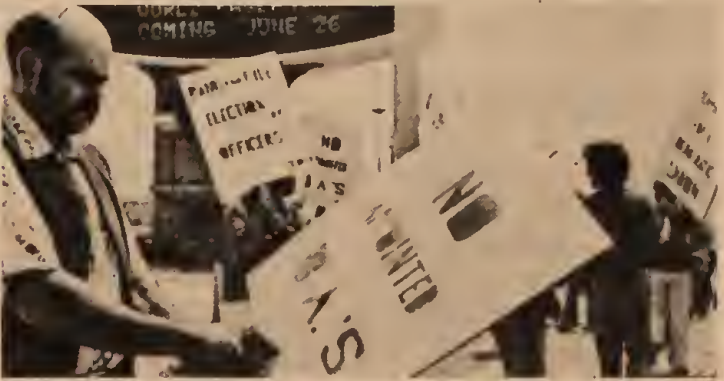
(continued from page 12)

last six years, Teamster sweetheart contracts were used by employers to try to break the United Farm Workers.) At the convention, he blatantly attempted to cover up Teamster collaboration with the growers by falsely asserting to reporters: "When we met Chavez head to head in elections, we won the overwhelming majority of those elections." In fact, the UFW won most of the contested elections.

Teamster president Fitzsimmons has

than Arthur Fox), set up a small picket line outside the convention on the first day and did manage to scrape up a few delegates, mainly from Detroit. TDU leader Pete Camarata was the victim of a goon attack outside a convention party held June 19. Although one suspect was caught, Camarata reportedly refused to press charges because police "tore up the report and said we would be wasting our time." This is not surprising, since the Las Vegas entertainment industry is heavily bankrolled by Teamster funds (to the tune of \$130 million) and the city is unwilling to antagonize its investors.

TDU had initially planned to focus its convention fight around a series of union reforms, including direct mem-



TDU leader Pete Camarata outside Teamster convention in Las Vegas last week.

been the only strong supporter of Nixon and Ford in organized labor, and the Ford administration has so far handled the union with kid gloves. In fact, W.J. Usery, Jr., U.S. Labor Secretary and nominal head of the Labor Department investigation, was a guest speaker at the convention where he hailed the Teamster leaders as outstanding representatives of their members. This predictably led to an uproar among Democratic leaders in Congress, and the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee announced its intention to investigate the Ford Administration's investigation into the union. Meanwhile, the IBT convention refused to endorse a presidential candidate for the 1976 elections, no doubt waiting to see if Ford's outlook would improve.



IBT president Frank Fitzsimmons.

Revolutionaries are unequivocally opposed to government investigations into union affairs, whether carried out under the guise of eliminating corruption or whatever. The roots of corruption lie in the collaboration of union leaders with the bourgeoisie and cannot be eliminated by the capitalist state, the executive committee of the ruling class. The Teamsters union is no exception. The Fitzsimmons clique consolidated its grip thanks to the Kennedy crusade against Jimmy Hoffa, who in turn had gained power in the late 1950's after the McClellan committee prosecution of former president Dave Beck. Government investigations do not lead to cleaning up the unions but only to greater government limitations over them; the notorious Taft-Hartley law, for instance, was motivated by fighting corruption and communism alike.

Despite all the fanfare created by PROD's lengthy published exposé of Teamster corruption, the group—largely a creature of lawyer Arthur Fox—was essentially excluded from the convention because it had no base among the rank and file. PROD was eventually given a token 60 seconds to present its case at the convention. However, the union proceedings were essentially irrelevant to PROD. Fox had predicted beforehand that his amendments would be turned down, and then he would go to the courts and federal agencies to decide the issues (New York Times, 28 May).

Teamsters for a Democratic Union (whose favorite attorney is none other

bership election of the president, right to recall all union officers, election of all business agents and the right to separately ratify local contract supplements. However, its actual intervention was confined to limiting the salaries of union officials. Camarata put forward a proposal to limit the president's income to a mere \$100,000! Despite the pathetically timid nature of this ("anti-bureaucratic"?!) resolution, it was roundly defeated by the assembled bureaucrats, most of whom owe their livelihood to Fitzsimmons or one of his cohorts.

PROD and TDU are equally incapable of counterposing a class-struggle program to the class collaboration of the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy. It is not accidental that at the convention they ignored fundamental issues like raiding the Farm Workers, the need for a workers party, the fight for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay, or even the current Teamster strikes of warehousemen in northern California and of employees of Associated Trucking, concentrating instead on "union reform" issues. Despite all their chatter about "reforming" the union, the strategy of both groups is based on bringing the bosses' courts into the labor movement, which is the very antithesis of workers democracy. With their fundamental lack of confidence in the rank and file, these snivelling reformists are reduced to being cheerleaders for a government investigation of the union.■

ONTARIO NDP TELEGRAM TO GENERAL VIDELA

Ontario New Democratic Party convention protests persecution of Chilean union leader Mario Muñoz Salas. Urge you call off manhunt, prevent extradition to Chile and grant him and his family permission to leave Argentina unharmed.

—approved at ONDP convention, Kingston, Ontario, 11-12 June 1976

imagination of "extremists." "The Videla junta says that none of this is going on," West added.

"But whatever they claim, they no doubt understand that they cannot for too much longer hide their torture centers as office buildings. They will soon no longer attempt to hide their electric cattle prods, rubber hoses and machine guns under their business suits and respectable epaulettes. Time for effective pressure may be running out."

Labor and Left Support

The PDC spokesman noted that, "It is often not easy to gather support for a man who has spent all his life organizing miners in northern Chile, an impoverished district." But this has also led to important international labor support for Muñoz precisely because he is a workers leader. In the U.S., the United Auto Workers (UAW) assistant director of international affairs informed the Committee that "our union has taken his case as part of a general protest to the Argentine authorities," and last week UAW president Leonard Woodcock

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Rubber Strikers March in Akron

AKRON—An estimated 2,000 members and supporters of the striking United Rubber Workers (URW) union marched and rallied here in the industry's center June 18. This demonstration of continued support for the nine-week-old strike is a tribute to the militancy of the rank and file in the face of the absence of strike benefits, the hard-line stance of the Big Four rubber companies and the treachery of the URW leadership.

The strategy of URW president Peter Bommarito has proven totally ineffective. Scabbing continues within a few hocks of the International's headquarters, as Bommarito refuses to initiate mass picketing at struck plants.

The strike should have provided a springboard to organized non-union rubber plants. Instead, large numbers of URW members at General Tire, Kelly-Springfield, Dunlop and Mohawk continue to work on a day-to-day basis without a contract. In all, 40 percent of the nation's tire-making capacity remains in operation.

Auto makers, who built up large inventories before the strike, are confident of continued tire supplies through model changeover in the late summer, and Bommarito has refused to call on auto workers to launch a sympathy strike. Tires continue to be shipped to dealers as Bommarito's consumer boycott has proven impotent in cutting off supplies. Dealers even continue to advertise tire sales.

One union official asserted that this was the first mass labor march in Akron since the 1930's. However, in the face of the URW leadership's sellout policies such a comparison with the 1930's, when militant tactics like the sit-in were initiated, is deliberate cynicism. Rubber workers are more than willing to fight. When Bommarito mentioned the possibility of occupying factories, the crowd applauded thunderously and cries were heard urging a march on General Tire (whose plant in Akron continues to work without a contract).

Bommarito boasted to *Workers Vanguard*, "I could stir it up." He quickly added, however, that he wouldn't do so for fear of playing into the hands of "communistic elements," and made reference to the disruption of Huhert Humphrey's speech by angry workers at the AFL-CIO jobs rally in April 1975.

The conventional anti-communism of the American labor bureaucracy will not shield it from being justly despised by the working class for its class collaboration with the bourgeoisie and its political agents like Humphrey. It is precisely such pro-capitalist "leaders" as Meany, Woodcock and Bommarito, who are the principal obstacles to victory in labor struggles such as the present drawn-out rubber strike. ■

Blow-Up in the Near East

Speaker: Joseph Drummond

Time: Fri. June 25, 7-30 pm
Buchanan YMCA
Geary, Buchanan Sts

SAN FRANCISCO

ILWU Militants...

(continued from page 12)

down docks and truck lines if necessary to defend the strike.

Boycott of Struck Products Voted by Longshoremen

The basis for solidarity actions is already clearly present among the ranks. Sacramento ILWU warehouse Local 17 joined the strike last week, after having been bureaucratically separated from Local 6 in the negotiations, with Sacramento longshore Local 18 honoring Local 17's picket lines. More significant was the approval given by the membership of San Francisco longshore Local 10 to a motion coming from the executive board, initiated by "Longshore Militant" supporter Stan Gow, calling for "hot-cargo" boycotts of struck products by longshoremen and support for warehouse picket lines. This approval still awaits action by Local 6 and Local 10 leaders before it can be implemented, however.

But while the employers have gone on the rampage, class struggle is the furthest thing from the minds of the Teamster and ILWU leaders. Instead of tapping the power of labor through solidarity actions, ILWU bureaucrats seek out Democratic "friends of labor" such as S.F. mayor George Moscone and push even harder the illusion that the state and its cops can somehow be "won over" to the side of the workers. A Local 6 bulletin following the attack at Automatic Plastic Molding referred to "your local cops" as having arrested the strikers!

That such class-collaborationist ploys will come to no avail was demonstrated by the results of a union delegation to the Berkeley city council. Following the Automatic Plastic arrests by Berkeley police, ILWU members led by Local 6 president McClain marched the same day to a Berkeley city council meeting to protest. However, Local 6 business agent Evelyn Johnson couched the "protest" in the form of a demand that the city council "take their responsibility in hand." The union spokesman called the police attack "a shame." The delegation failed even to demand that the charges against the arrested picketers be dropped!

Supporters of reformist Communist Party views of course quickly joined in the groveling before the city council. *People's World* reporter and Berkeley City Human Relations Commission member Mark Allen demanded a strong statement "outlawing scabbing." Not to be outdone, Local 6 chief steward and board of trustees member Joe Lindsay complained that the brutal force used by the police had been "excessive," and indignantly noted that he had voted for some of the present city council members in previous elections! On the right side of the class line, however, was an ILWU striker and supporter of the Militant Caucus in Local 6, who denounced the scabbing as "an attack on the union," and, without raising any illusions in the council or its cops, demanded that the council "get your police away from us!"

Berkeley City Council Presents Liberal Facade

Presenting a facade of embarrassment—as if the actions of its police were previously unknown to it—the council daubed on some cosmetic formulas to try to cover the gaping holes in its liberal image. One was an emergency ordinance stating that pickets "shall have the right to prevent access to a plant unless a company gets an injunction stating otherwise." As if the loophole in this measure wasn't massive enough—employers can always obtain such injunctions—the city manager noted under questioning that it was meaningless anyway since state law prevents precisely this right!

Another resolution ordered police to release arrested picketers on their own recognizance or issue citations, instead of imposing high-bail charges. But even this bit of make-up was exposed by a clause calling simply for a written explanation in the (likely) event that the cops decline to let arrested strikers go! A third resolution called for an anti-scabbing ordinance to be brought in by the city manager, "for study."

Naturally the Communist Party hailed this liberal bunk as a "victory," continuing to parade illusions in the proposed anti-scabbing ordinance. But militant workers can afford no such illusions. The San Francisco anti-scabbing ordinance did not help the city workers one whit in their recent strike (in which there was massive picket-line crossing), nor did "friend of labor" Moscone use it in the strike at Clinical Specialties.

Furthermore, the avowed policy of ILWU Local 6 leaders, supported in the pages of the *People's World* and upheld on the picket lines by "militants" like Joe Lindsay, is to let "supervisors," "office workers" and members of other unions through the picket lines! With such policies by union leaders and CP hacks, employers have little to fear from a liberal "anti-scabbing" ordinance.

Separate deals with independent houses continue to undermine the strike. Pabco Fiberboard workers have been ordered back to work this week by Local 6 leaders on the basis of a separate rotten proposal the leadership is pushing despite lack of membership approval of the terms. In Pabco's case, workers are being sent back with no protection against layoffs despite the employer's announced intention to move to Denver soon! The negotiators dropped the workers' original demands for one year's Supplementary Unemployment Benefits or a one-year guarantee against layoffs; instead, they agreed to one week's severance pay for each year at work!

The Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in Local 6, has pointed the way toward countering the employer offensive:

"To centralize and coordinate the strike the membership must organize a joint ILWU-IBT strike committee with delegates elected from every house. Members of the strike committee must be recallable at any time if they fail to carry out membership decisions. The strike committee must establish effective mass flying squads to defend the union against police attacks and smash injunctions.... The joint strength of the ILWU and IBT up and down the Coast, in warehouse, on the docks and on the road can smash the employer offensive."

— "Warehouse Militant," 18 June

Local 10 membership approval of the "hot-cargoing" motion brings solidarity closer, but detailed motions for implementing this policy made by "Longshore Militant" supporters were tabled to the executive board. Cooperation for this militant policy is needed from the Local 6 leadership to identify struck cargo, for instance, and extracting this cooperation is now left up to the Local 10 leadership—not a very good prospect for success. The Local 6 leadership failed to send a delegation to the longshoremen's meeting. The Local 10 members, however, were also prepared to boycott all goods from South Africa in protest of the recent Soweto massacres and passed another motion put forward by "Longshore Militant" to that effect.

Stalinist Hacks Sabotage Strike

Meanwhile, as the leadership stalls on solidarity, outrageous charges have been brought against Stan Gow by Joe Lindsay of Local 6 and his co-thinker in Local 10, Bill Proctor. According to recent issues of "Longshore Militant" and "Warehouse Militant," Gow, who was subsequently arrested for defending the picket line at Automatic Plastic Molding, was charged with "inciteful" and "provocative" behavior on the picket

line at Golden Grain a few days earlier. It was Lindsay who demanded that supervisors and office workers be let through that line! He even arranged a deal with the company to give official union sanction to this, while Gow vigorously opposed such a sellout policy! This is the "provocative" behavior charged by Lindsay and Proctor.

Thus the numerous supporters of Communist Party views in the Local 6 leadership are not satisfied with letting scabs through the lines and raising illusions in the very bourgeois politicians who are sending their cops to break the strike. In addition they feel obliged to attack the best strike militants—victims of the police—within the union! Little wonder, since the victory of a class-struggle program in the union will mean the rapid demise of these bureaucratic Stalinist hacks!

Longshoremen are rapidly approaching their own crisis and must decide to take action for defense. The employers plan massive layoff-deregistrations of full union members following July 1. In addition, a jurisdictional battle looms over the handling of cargo from "roll on, roll off" (RORO) ships (carrying truck trailers ready to be driven off the ship). At the end of May, longshoremen briefly shut down work, claiming their contractual right to handle this cargo, and the employers retaliated (as they are entitled to do under the rotten terms of Bridges' last contract) by lifting the Pay Guarantee for the entire port. The issue was temporarily shelved, but will come up again later this month.

The brutal police attacks on strike pickets, the reappearance of live-in scab forces, the coordinated employer-police offensive against the warehouse strike are simply an escalation to normal levels of anti-union viciousness by capitalists. The signal that such an attack was coming was provided by the disastrous Boron strike in Southern California at the end of 1974, in which violent company scab-herding and refusal to extend the strike or "hot-cargo" the struck borax on Los Angeles docks by Harry Bridges & Co. led to the destruction of an isolated ILWU local.

Supporters of the Militant Caucus drew the lessons of this ominous warning at the time, and a similar union-busting attack was halted at a Local 6 shop, KNC Glass in Oakland, through militant strike support and "hot-cargoing." Now the entire labor movement in Bay Area warehouses faces the threat of Boron, while longshoremen continue to be weakened by job losses. Only a militant, class-struggle policy and program can turn defeat into victory. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

55 Arrested in Cop Rampage

Drop Charges Against ILWU Strikers!

OAKLAND, June 21—Bay Area employers have mobilized for war on the unions, and over 10,000 northern California warehouse strikers of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) are the current main target. Over 50 strikers have been arrested thus far in massive, brutal police assaults on picket lines. Those arrested include ILWU warehouse Local 6 president Curtis McClain and Teamsters Local 853 secretary-treasurer Al Costa. In one incident, cops mobilized from every Peninsula city as well as the State Highway Patrol to drag away ILWU pickets from the driveway of the Folger's Coffee Company warehouse in South San Francisco. Twenty-eight were arrested.

Last week as *WV* was going to press, Berkeley cops attacked an ILWU picket

line of 75 to 100 at Automatic Plastic Molding virtually without warning. The pickets were attempting to stop a special scab force from leaving the plant at shift change. Members of other unions, including ILWU longshore Local 10 and Teamster Local 853, had responded to a Local 6 mobilization for the occasion. They were met by police billy clubs and 11 strikers (we erroneously reported 12) were arrested, some of them charged with felony assault on a police officer as well as resisting arrest and failure to disperse. Local 10 executive board member Stan Gow was charged with assault on an officer for his actions in defense of the picket line. The trumped-up charges with high bail required the union to post thousands of dollars to release the strikers.

Also last week 40 state Highway Patrol and local police in Hayward smashed through a line of 50 pickets



WV Photo

Golden Grain plant manager crashing through ILWU picket line at 20 mph in his Cadillac, almost running down a striker.

from Teamster Local 853, including some from ILWU Local 6, in order to protect scab trucks from Di Salvo Truck Lines entering Northern California Warehouse. Several pickets sat down, and five IBT members were arrested, including the secretary-treasurer and a business agent. The Bay Area labor movement must mobilize at once to demand the dropping of all charges against warehouse strikers. Keep the cops away from the picket lines!

It is clear that the union must mobilize for mass defense of the picket lines against cops and scabs. Since last week's arrests at Automatic Plastic Molding, the company did a face-lifting by firing all scabs hired since the strike began. However, it is retaining scabs

previously employed, now protected by private security guards, and is insisting on the firing of 12 pro-union employees as a condition of settlement. Other companies are laying plans for a long siege—at Ashland Chemical in Oakland, the company has reportedly brought in cots, food and washing machines for the scabs.

Such union-busting tactics, which are spreading among northern California warehouse employers, are bound to continue unless the warehouse, longshore and Teamster locals pull together not merely to defend the picket lines, but to strike back through a militant labor boycott of all struck products, shutting

continued on page 11

Red-Baiting Fever at Teamster Convention

JUNE 20—The recently concluded Teamsters (IBT) convention in Las Vegas was an orgy of self-acclaim by the incumbent regime of arrogant, venal "I've got mine Jack" pro-capitalist labor fakers. IBT president Fitzsimmons, along with the rest of the union's International officers, was re-elected to another five-year term of office. The convention also pushed through a 25 percent salary increase for over 60 top union officers, to be financed by a membership dues increase. Fitzsimmons, who also has an unlimited expense account and the use of a union-owned Lear jet, had his annual remuneration increased from \$125,000 to \$156,250. Even before this modest "raise," Fitzsimmons was the world's highest paid trade-union president.

Only a handful of those present were willing to oppose the IBT chief, who received several thunderous ovations from the delegates, most of whom are themselves high-paid union officers. Fitzsimmons early set the virulently red-baiting tone of the convention when he blasted his detractors—chiefly Arthur Fox's one-man "professional drivers" organization PROD and Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), the recent-

ly rebaptized Teamsters for a Decent Contract: "For those who say it is time we reform this union, who say it is time for the officers to stop selling out the members, I say to them—go to hell." Fitzsimmons later went on to blast PROD as "communistic."

The most immediate issue confronting Fitzsimmons & Co. was the current government investigations into the union. Fitzsimmons and other IBT officials have been subpoenaed by a joint investigative force of the Labor and Justice Departments, which is looking into alleged financial abuses in the union's Central States pension fund.

The bosses and their state are, of course, supremely uninterested in fighting union corruption—on the contrary, they avidly attempt to buy off labor leaders with various "plums," financial and otherwise—or returning control of the unions to the membership. But the roster of Teamster bigwigs who ran the convention was hardly designed to inspire working-class opposition to government meddling in union affairs. In fact, it read like a rogue's gallery of labor racketeers.

William Presser of Cleveland, re-

lected as vice president, has been jailed twice for obstruction of justice and contempt of Congress and pleaded guilty in 1971 to accepting money from employers. Other incumbents returned to office were Salvatore Provenzano (brother of Anthony, James Hoffa's jailmate who is being questioned in connection with the ex-president's disappearance), indicted in 1972 on charges of conspiracy to counterfeit currency and food and postage stamps; and Roy Williams, IBT vice president and head of the Central States Conference, who is awaiting trial on charges of making false entries on reports filed with the government.

According to information provided by lawyer Arthur Fox, all of the above were paid over \$80,000 for their services by the Teamsters in 1974. The record, however, apparently belongs to Jackie Presser, William's son, who in that year garnered \$176,571 as an IBT International organizer, recording secretary of the Ohio Joint Conference, vice president of Joint Council 41 and secretary-treasurer of Local 507—and who is also on the payroll of the bakers and bartenders unions (*Detroit Free Press*, 15 June). Payment for several union

positions is a common way to inflate salaries of Teamster bureaucrats.

Despite earlier speculation of rifts within the bureaucracy, opposition to Fitzsimmons at the convention was virtually nil. Although a hypocritical motion expressing "deepest sorrow and regret" over the disappearance of Hoffa was passed, his name was virtually taboo and his popularity within the bureaucracy has clearly eroded. Symptomatic of this was the case of Harold Gibbons, executive assistant to Hoffa when the latter was president. Gibbons has long been considered a liberal intellectual and was one of the labor bureaucrats most sought after by reformist opponents of the Vietnam war to address antiwar rallies.

When Fitzsimmons came to power, Gibbons' star began to wane and he was removed as head of the Central States Conference. His re-election this week as an IBT vice president therefore came as a surprise to many. However, Gibbons has apparently made his peace with the reactionary Fitzsimmons gang. His current assignment is as head of the Teamsters' negotiations with Cesar Chavez over agricultural labor. (For the

continued on page 10