

At Democratic Convention

Liberals, Black Democrats Rally 'Round Racism

Labor Fakers Ride Second Class on Carter Bandwagon

JULY 16—In the throes of a worldwide capitalist depression, liberalism in the United States has given up on its usual pork-barrel panaceas and taken to faith-healing. It was not surprising, therefore, that when the Democratic Party held its convention in Madison Square Garden this week it looked for all the world like a religious revival meeting. Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr., thundered from the platform, "if you don't have a forgiving heart, get down on your knees" (the delegates, one and all, stayed on their feet), and candidate "smiling Jimmy" Carter sermonized about how "it's a time for healing. We want to have faith again...."

Down on the floor, hordes of the faithful embraced each other in a sickening display of greedy "reconciliation" and cynical personal ambition. Old civil rights activists hugged notorious racists. Labor bureaucrats glad-handed right-to-work politicians. Erstwhile pacifist lambs lay down with militarist lions, community controllers with big-government bureaucrats, feminists with right-to-lifers, liberal reformers with entrenched machine bosses.

On the surface it was simple enough to understand. After eight years in the wilderness, the Democratic wolf pack smells victory in November and just wants to win. But there was another side to the revivalist love-in at the Garden. After a series of convention walkouts and expulsions of civil rights delegations (1964), Southern "regulars" (1968) and machine blocs (1972), this year even quantitative differences between the various wings and "constituencies" were hard to discern. In contrast to the 11 hours of tumultuous platform debate in 1972, this time a liberal move to allow the most minimal discussion on the platform was overwhelmingly voted down in a matter of minutes.

At the 1968 convention, Chicago Mayor Daley launched a vicious police assault on youth protesting the Democrats' Vietnam war policies outside the convention hall. This week the venerable machine politician presented the report of "progressive" big city mayors on national urban policy. While arch-



WV Photo

Gladhanding, backslapping and porkbarreling at Madison Square Garden as Democrats nominate peanut boss.

racist Alabama governor George Wallace introduced the platform plank on "government reform," Hubert Humphrey touted the Carter/Mondale ticket as "the final reunification of North and South."

The Democratic Party has faithfully carried out its role as the party of liberal reformism, from William Jennings Bryan's populism to Jimmy Carter's populism. But today even pallid liberalism seems like pie-in-the-sky. For blacks—"benign" neglect plus a few token jobs as decorative faces in the Carter administration. For labor—the "work ethic" and wage controls. So there was little talk of program and a lot of baloney about god and faith.

After all, if a "New South" peanut boss can become imperial chief with the sole program of "my name is Jimmy Carter and I'm running for president,"

the Democrats ought to be able to make it with the line, "for America's third century, why not our best?" It was a non-idea whose time had come, the delegates opined. Besides, faith is cheap—even the poor can afford it. In the ghettos and on the unemployment lines, faith could be distributed by a president who, in Carter's words, "feels your pain and shares your dreams and takes his strength and courage from you."

The Great White Hope of the Bourgeoisie

As Dixiecrats and civil rights advocates swayed to the strains of "We shall overcome," the scent of power wafted over the Garden. In return, the bourgeoisie whom they serve hopes for a reimposition of social stability and the politics of consensus. Two successive Republican administrations have failed to achieve this goal.

Following the dispersal of the civil rights movement of the 1960's, Richard Nixon, the seamy spokesman of "Middle America" reaction, tried to crush radical disorder with a combination of tough-guy "law and order" and deals with the Stalinist bureaucracies in Hanoi, Peking and Moscow. But the strike wave of 1969-70 threw a wrench in the works, the Paris "peace accords" could not shore up the rotten Saigon

puppet regime and the economic undermining of U.S. imperialist hegemony proceeded apace.

Watergate and the continuing cycle of government scandals brought down the second Nixon administration and destroyed the credibility of the "executive committee" of the U.S. ruling class. A bland non-entity, Gerald Ford, staggered into the political vacuum with nothing but clean hands and an empty head, only to confront the deepest economic crisis in four decades, the historic victory of the Indochinese masses and a stinging setback in Angola.

After Ford's numerous fumbles, political pundits as diverse as the *New York Times'* James Reston and the editors of *Business Week* are fatuously hailing a resurrection of the New Deal coalition of labor, blacks, liberals and the "solid South," praying that stability can return if only the Republicans take the rap and the wobbly economic upturn holds. Hoping to demonstrate that they are the "viable alternative" for '76, the various currents all chimed in to show that the Democrats are still the most resilient forces of social containment.

The point was graphically driven home as one self-appointed "representative" of the oppressed after another

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Pilots, Controllers Strike for Safety

Dispute Over Bilingual Air Traffic Control Rocks Canada.....7

Argentine Junta Tightens Bloody Grip

JULY 20 —As *WV* goes to press, newspapers report that the wave of hunger strikes by Chilean refugees demanding asylum elsewhere is escalating in Argentina. Even as the Chileans were thus dramatically protesting their persecution, the United Nations Nations High Commission for Refugees reported the kidnapping of 30 Uruguayan exiles from their homes and off the street. Among the kidnap victims was Margarita Michelini, daughter of Uruguayan senator Zelmar Michelini, whose body was found several weeks ago along with that of Hector Gutiérrez

back to the hotel where hundreds of refugees were reportedly striking under medical surveillance. On Monday 19 Chilean exiles were expelled from the Frontero Hotel on orders from Rev. Lino Dubeck, president of the Argentine Coordinating Committee, who condemned their strike as "politically inspired."

The junta clearly wants political exiles, whom it regards as "foreign extremists" menacing national security, out of the country or dead. In Argentina at present, the life of every refugee from

dissolution of congress; the imposition of martial law and the death penalty; intervention of the trade unions and outlawing the right to strike; the military occupation of factories and arbitrary arrest of workers; abuse of political refugees, and the free rein given para-police terrorists.

The junta refused official comment on the appeal, but unofficial sources disingenuously claimed to be astounded at how "ill-informed" such statesmen could be. But it is no longer sufficient for Videla to shrug his shoulders, deny responsibility for the atrocities and blame everything on "a campaign, planned abroad, to damage the government's reputation." Already some of the junta's most influential imperialist mentors are expressing annoyance that Videla has let "extra-official" repression get out of hand. A high-priced business insiders' newsletter in Britain reports:

"The United States embassy is so disillusioned with Videla's performance that its diplomats are predicting a takeover by the hardliners within two or three months. While these internal squabbles continue, the initiative is undoubtedly in the hands of the hardliners, and it will be virtually impossible to present any other face to the world."

—*Latin America*, 4 June

While the U.S. embassy and Argentine "moderates" might prefer a somewhat less obtrusive death toll, their overriding concern is to implement a "controlled" bloodletting, in which the state exercises a monopoly of violence and sees to it that the targets for arrest, torture and assassination will be trade unionists or leftists, rather than priests, liberal lawyers, artists, journalists and even bourgeois politicians (such as former Uruguayan parliamentary leader Zelmar Michelini, a friend of Edward Kennedy).

But the "hardliners" in the Argentine repressive apparatus are interested in other matters, namely revenge against the guerrillas whose occasionally spectacular actions in recent years had been a source of humiliation, and a massive witchhunt to ferret out "soft-headed liberals," freemasons and other "agents of international communism." In May, six high-ranking army officers and 24 police officers were reportedly arrested as guerrilla infiltrators.

This did not stop the guerrillas, however. Only scant days after federal police chief Cesario Cardozo was blown up in bed when a bomb exploded under his mattress (making him the second holder of that post to be killed by the guerrillas in two years), a bomb placed in the dining room of the intelligence department of the federal police killed 18, mostly police officials. The *New York Times* (3 July) reported that following the explosion, "the former chief of police intelligence, Washington Ovides, fell from the fifth floor of the police hospital to his death after navy intelligence discovered that he had been providing information to the revolutionaries."

In the next few days at least 20 bullet-riddled bodies were found in Buenos Aires, including three Irish Roman Catholic priests and two seminarians killed in a parish residence, apparently in reprisal. Cardozo's successor, General Arturo Corbetta, was considered a "liberal" as he attempted to carry out Videla's line that murder and repression should be "official, public and centralized." His ouster after only

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At UNHCR Headquarters in Geneva

Muñoz Delegation Meets with UN Refugees Commissioner

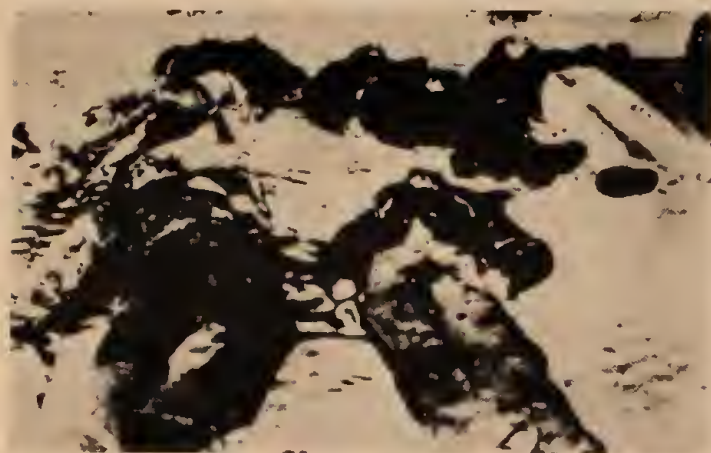
GENEVA, July 16 —An international delegation organized by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz met today with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan of Pakistan. The delegation demanded UN action on behalf of Muñoz, a Chilean miners' leader forced to flee Pinochet's terror in Chile only to now find himself again in desperate peril from the Argentine military junta. The audience with the High Commissioner was obtained as the result of the international attention focused on the campaign to save Muñoz, which has received the support of hundreds of prominent individuals, legislators, left and labor leaders in a dozen countries.

Comprising the delegation were Albrecht Konecny, chairman of the Young Generation of the Socialist Party of Austria, also conveying the support of the Austrian Railroad Workers Union and the International Federation of Transport Workers; Guy Aurenche, representing the International Association of Catholic Jurists; Jacques Vittori, representative of the Brussels-based World Confederation of Labor; Christian Grobet, a member of the Swiss parliament and representative of the Swiss Progressive Jurists' Association; Joe Heflin of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in France; and Bill Logan, Australian spokesman for the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz. Also present were representatives of the Muñoz Committee from Austria, France, Germany and the U.S. and two of Muñoz' Chilean comrades. Other trade unions and civil liberties organizations unable to directly participate in the delegation sent telegrams and messages of solidarity urging UN action on Muñoz' behalf.

The High Commissioner and other UN officials (including Georges Koulischer, head of the UN's Latin American Section) heard Bill Logan demand that "the United Nations must take responsibility for the life of this Chilean working-class leader who today symbolizes the working masses persecuted by the juntas of South America." Albrecht Konecny stressed the need for prompt action: "Time is what Mario Muñoz has the least of."

Citing the July 2 arrest of Muñoz in Mendoza and last month's mass kidnapping of Chileans from UN refugee sites, following the theft by police or para-police terrorists of lists showing the names and addresses of more than 8,000 refugees, the delegation sought concrete commitments from the High Commissioner concerning Muñoz' safe departure from Argentina and the securing of visas. The murderous activities of the rightist death squads and the inability of the UN to protect refugees under its mandate heightens the urgency of bringing international pressure to bear on behalf of Muñoz.

The UN officials promised to undertake efforts on Muñoz' behalf. But each day that Muñoz remains in Argentina, his life is placed in increased peril as the blows of rightist repression rain down on proletarian militants and even liberal bourgeois opponents of the reactionary Videla junta. Only continued international protest and pressure in solidarity with Muñoz and all the victims of rightist terror will save the lives of this Chilean workers' leader and his family.



Massacre victims.

Economist

Ruiz, former president of the Uruguayan Chamber of Deputies.

The gigantic crack in the Argentine military junta's public relations façade of civic law and order has widened to the point that important sectors of the bourgeoisie around the world are beginning to get alarmed. Even the Chilean generals, pressured by Kissinger's hypocritical linking of economic assistance to the issue of political prisoners, are now whining about being picked on when their Argentine counterparts are currently killing ten times as many, if not more. The International Federation of Human Rights in Geneva recently stated that the Argentine situation is as bad as Chile "and worsening almost daily." Yet this image is precisely what the Videla junta wanted to avoid with its "democratic" posturing and rhetoric of "moderation."

Actions do speak louder than words, however. On June 10 the Argentine government assured the United Nations High Commission on Refugees that there was no "specific danger" to Latin American political exiles in Argentina. On June 11, 24 Chilean and Uruguayan refugees were kidnapped from two UN hotels in Buenos Aires, beaten up, tortured with electric shocks and released with warnings to leave the country within 48 hours.

The fact that the refugees were released at all is due to the international cry of outrage that met the action. The majority of the political refugees in Argentina are literally trapped there, as the most basic rights of asylum are trampled on by the military. Most refugees would gladly abandon their hellish existence in Argentina to leave the country within 48 hours if they had a place to go.

Refugee hunger strikes began in the first week of July. On July 13 three refugees sent to pick up medicine at a UN office were kidnapped on their way

anti-communist South American military dictatorships is in danger. Symbolic of these victims of junta repression is Mario Muñoz, the Chilean miners leader who has been sought by Argentine authorities since the night of the coup (March 23), when his house was broken into by federal police in battle gear announcing they had orders to shoot him on sight.

On July 2 Muñoz was arrested by police in the interior city of Mendoza, along with 12 other residents of a UN refuge. At the Fifth Precinct, where the prisoners were first taken, the interrogating officer announced Muñoz was to be deported to Chile, where he would be subjected to imprisonment, torture and death at the hands of the Pinochet junta. Subsequently, at the prefecture of the Bureau of Investigation, the regional police commander intervened to countermand this decision. The eventual release of Muñoz and his comrades was undoubtedly the result of protest by the prisoners' *compañeros*, who remained outside the station, and above all the international protest against the persecution of Muñoz. But the danger of re-arrest or kidnapping and execution by the AAA is ever-present.

Social Democrats and Capitalists Protest

The junta was chagrined by an "Open Appeal to the Argentine Military Junta," prominently published in the 20-21 June *Le Monde*. Signed by social-democratic luminaries François Mitterand (France), Olof Palme (Sweden), Anker Joergensen (Denmark), Bruno Kreisky (Austria), Mário Soares (Portugal), Ron Hayward (Britain) and Francesco de Martino (Italy), the appeal called on the junta to institute bourgeois democratic norms in Argentina. It condemned the suspension of elections and political parties and the

Democratic Convention...

(continued from page 1)

mounted the podium. Of the 19 speakers sharing the limelight during the platform presentation, seven were women, two black, one a Chicano, one a Puerto Rican and one a union president. Black Congresswoman Barbara Jordan from Texas was the most brazen in equating the self-aggrandizement of a handful of bourgeois politicians with the needs and aspirations of the masses. Her presence as keynoter, she intoned, proved that "the American Dream need not forever be deferred."

The Caucus of Black Democrats distinguished itself principally by the single-minded pursuit of commitments to appointments in a Carter administration. After a meeting on Monday between 30 black Democrats and Carter, Michigan Congressman Charles Diggs told the press:

"He wants to be known as the President who made substantial steps toward a colorless society. Under that concept, blacks could end up in any position in his administration."

But even at the level of patronage, the black caucus was clearly doing little more than fighting a holding action during a period of sharp rightward motion in bourgeois politics. The proportion of black delegates was down to 11 percent from the 15 percent quota established by the McGovernites in 1972. The caucus presented as a great victory the fact that Carter pulled back on his plan to replace New York lawyer Basil Paterson with black Georgia state legislator Ben Brown as vice chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

Carter's forces publicly punctured various trial balloons for a black vice-presidential candidacy with the most transparent excuses—Los Angeles mayor or Thomas Bradley because the running mate had to have Washington experience; Barbara Jordan because the second slot could not be filled by another Southerner and, most incredibly, because she suffers from gout. By Thursday, the caucus was reduced to rubberstamping Carter's choice of Minnesota senator Walter Mondale "with enthusiasm" and making a pro forma nomination of phony "radical" Congressman Ron Dellums "for the purpose of his articulation of his views before the convention."

In exchange for clamping down on dissent, the black Democrats got exactly nothing on the platform, which is committed to purging the welfare rolls and encouraging alternatives to school busing programs, thus openly capitulating to right-wing mobilizations against blacks.

The National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) also marched in step. The highly publicized "Carter compro-

mise" on convention rules mandating the party to "promote" rather than "require" 50 percent female delegate representation was introduced without opposition. In a platform compromise, the NWPC won a tepid statement that "it is undesirable to attempt to amend the U.S. Constitution to overturn the Supreme Court decision" on abortion. So lukewarm was Carter's support for even these minimal commitments that by Thursday the women's caucus felt it necessary to pass a motion "to seek to monitor and implement the items negotiated with the presidential candidate."

Labor Fakers Chime In

Delegates associated with the nine-union Labor Coalition Caucus fell over themselves at every turn to demonstrate their loyalty to Carter, former governor of a notorious open-shop state. William Lucy, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and head of the fake-militant Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, described the platform to a *WV* reporter as "a balanced platform in terms of the issues that the country is faced with." Asked how he could support a man who employs non-union labor at subsistence wages in his own family business, Lucy answered:

"Let me suggest to you that most of the employers throughout this country employ non-union labor.... There are numbers of states that have great labor relations acts wherein the conditions under which those workers work and live are certainly worse in many cases than those states where 'right-to-work' exists."

United Auto Workers president Leonard Woodcock hailed the Carter/Mondale slate as "an excellent ticket." Dorothy Haener of the UAW Women's Commission, a member of the Democratic Platform Committee, was asked by *WV* if she believed that Carter and the big business Democratic Party would carry out even the minimal reforms promised in the platform. She responded in the spirit of the convention: "I think what this country needs desperately is faith in someone."

The Labor Coalition Caucus, composed of the CWA, UMW, UAW and certain other unconditional pro-Democratic union misleaders, is attempting to circumvent the aging Meany crew at the top of the AFL-CIO and ingratiate itself with the Democratic Party bigwigs. Both the Coalition strategy of backing multiple candidates and Woodcock's early support to Carter were based on the overweening desire to ride a winning horse to the convention and get in on the ground floor with a new party alignment. But the "success" of this ploy will win nothing for the union rank and file, and next to nothing even for the venal bureaucrats.

On the platform, the Carter forces gave a tepid endorsement to the Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill (with the all-important proviso of wage controls), and announced the objective of 3 percent adult unemployment...after four years!

"New Deal"?—Raw Deal

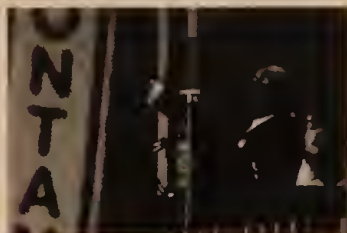
Inevitably, a host of ambitious and cynical fake-"radical" and self-appointed "community" spokesmen were on hand for the old shell game of trying to provide the Democrats with a "progressive" façade. The left-liberal, minority-group and female elements that dominated the 1972 convention are accommodating themselves (to the extent their dwindling bases of support within the party permit) to the general shift to the right and hoping to ride the crest of a Democratic victory in November.

California Congressman Ron Dellums complemented the various flavors of Democratic hucksterism with his brand of radical chie about "redirecting the priorities of America." Earlier,



WV Photos

Above right: Carter accepts nomination. Right: AFSCME bureaucrat Gotbaum. Below: Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.



Dellums told a *WV* reporter that, while he would of course vote for Carter over Ford, "The question for me is how enthusiastic can one be in support of his candidacy." New Left retread Tom Hayden was pretty enthusiastic as he opined in the *New York Times* (12 July) that today's Democrats are "more likely to be concerned with human values and the quality of life than the accumulation of power, possession and profit."

Only slightly less ludicrous is the attempt to revamp the Carter program of union-busting and respectable racism as "similar to Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal" in the words of *Business Week* (12 July). What characterized the New Deal of FDR was not, as liberal mythologists would have it, that it "got us back on our feet"—indeed, not FDR's phony schemes but the second imperialist World War provided the (temporary) basis for lifting the U.S. out of the depression. It was the proven ability of the labor bureaucracy to bind the ranks of labor hand and foot to the administration which produced the great "consensus" which today's liberals so fondly recall.

It is in the Democratic Party that the labor bureaucrats, Stalinists, social democrats and reformers of all stripes have constructed a house of betrayal on the foundation of support for the liberal bourgeoisie. During World War II the Communist Party painted the Democrats in the colors of anti-fascism. When Truman launched the "cold war" the "progressives" held on in the obscure corners of reform Democratic clubs, while the CIO tops lined up with the Pentagon. Now the dregs of the civil rights and antiwar movement have trudged back to the same party of liberal imperialism.

But unlike the Rooseveltian CIO leaders of the 1930's, who had powerful levers of control over millions of unionists, the dismal failure of the AFL-CIO leadership to mobilize their ranks behind Jackson or Humphrey demonstrates that today's ossified union bureaucracy stands at a great distance from the disaffected membership. It can no longer be relied upon to deliver the working masses up to the tender mercies



of the capitalist party of its choice. The blacks are a seething mass of discontent, while the post-Vietnam generation of students is largely apathetic but by no means reconciled to the "American dream."

Nevertheless, the workers will not be won from their traditional misleaders and the Carterized Democratic Party by reformist electoralist schemes such as the Socialist Workers Party's "Bill of Rights for Working People" or the Communist Party's '76 "campaign with clout." It will take the fire of the class struggle to break labor from the smoke-filled back rooms of Democratic Party politics. A revolutionary workers party will not only utilize the medium of bourgeois elections but endeavor to unite the exploited and oppressed in militant battles for the destruction of capitalism and opening the road to a socialist society. ■

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Defend the ÖBL!

Austrian Trotskyists Convicted Under Press Censorship Law

On July 8, an article in the February issue of the *Bulletin* of the Österreichische Bolschewiki-Leninisten (ÖBL—Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists) was declared offensive to the bourgeoisie's "common sense of justice" by an Austrian court. For this "crime," the unsold copies of the *Bulletin* were ordered seized and ÖBL editor Barbara Dorner was convicted under an all-purpose press censorship law. The conviction is being appealed.

The article which so offended the Socialist Party (SPÖ) government of Chancellor Bruno Kreisky concerned a terrorist attack on a meeting of the Oil Producing and Exporting Countries (OPEC) by a group called the Arm of the Arab Revolution. Concerned to protect Vienna's image as a *gemütlich* backwater of social peace and genteel center for international trade and diplomacy, Austrian rulers were horrified when the pro-Palestinian commandos kidnapped a number of prominent

OPEC oil ministers.

Countering the hysterical uproar in the bourgeois press, the *Bulletin der Bolschewiki-Leninisten* called on the left and labor movement to defend the Arab nationalist commandos against persecution by the capitalist state, while criticizing the impotent strategy of the terrorists:

"Trotskyists consider the concept of petty-bourgeois individual terrorism to be completely misguided.... [However,] the defense of persecuted proletarian and anti-imperialist fighters is an essential component of the traditions of the workers movement and absolutely necessary in creating a united battle line against the bourgeoisie."

For defending militants whose "crime" was "making hostages of a handful of monopolists whose hands are dripping with the blood of countless workers and peasants" the ÖBL was declared guilty of violating Paragraph 282 of the Penal Code. This section outlaws not only "inciting to actions punishable by law"

but also "approving of an act punishable by imprisonment of over one year in a fashion such as to offend the common sense of justice or to incite to committing such an act."

The ÖBL trial is the first time a new (1975) statute aimed at expanding government powers of harassing the press has been implemented, but it will certainly not be the last. Cases are pending against other left groups, including the Maoist MLS. The ÖBL waged a vigorous political defense against the reactionary press censorship regulations and denounced the ominous implications of the catch-all category of an undefined (and non-existent) "common sense of justice." Recognizing the threat to the entire left represented by this thought-control legislation, supporters of the GRM (Revolutionary Marxist Group) and the IKL (International Communist League) attended the trial as a demonstration of solidarity with the ÖBL. The Maoists failed to

appear.

Throughout the trial, both judge and prosecutor sought to deny that political censorship was involved. Arriving in court on the original trial date, the ÖBL comrades were informed that the entire time allotted for the simple "administrative" procedure was 15 minutes! Even after protests by the lawyer and defendants, the July 8 trial was rammed through in under an hour. The judge refused to let Comrade Dorner defend the *Bulletin* article politically, restricting testimony to the "technical" question of the legal responsibility of the editor under Paragraph 30 of the Penal Code. Only in their concluding statements were the ÖBL comrades permitted to denounce the political repression of the left represented by these censorship laws.

The presentations by Comrades Dorner and Weissenböck and by their lawyer did, however, force the judge to

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Statement to Court by ÖBL Bulletin Editor Barbara Dorner

"There Is No 'Common Sense of Justice' in Class Society"

First I want to protest against the fact that I was not permitted to defend myself as I had planned. I believe that in such a trial it is necessary to deal with the article politically and to relate my defense to its content.

As I already stated in a deposition, I completely and fully support the article under prosecution. Moreover, I maintain that it is not illegal; therefore I deny any responsibility under Paragraph 282, and consequently also under Paragraph 30. I would now like to explain why we hold that the content of the article is not illegal.

This trial is no normal criminal proceeding but a political trial. The object of prosecution is a political statement of opinion. Therefore it is necessary to respond to the prosecution politically and place the article in context with our general position toward individual terror and the defense of comrades....

For Trotskyists, the society in which we live is characterized by irreconcilable contradictions between two classes. It is based on violent oppression and exploitation of the working class by the bourgeoisie, which maintains this oppression through the bourgeois state apparatus, its army and police. This is the root of all poverty and all forms of oppression, such as national and race oppression. Our side in this struggle is that of the working class and all the oppressed and exploited against the rule of the exploiters and oppressors. We fight for the elimination of a privileged minority's control over the majority and for the liberation of all mankind.

However, we have always viewed the armed struggle of small isolated groups or individuals as senseless and completely mistaken means of achieving this goal. Terrorism is not capable of leading the masses on the path to revolution and making them conscious of their historical interests and goals. We fight for the overthrow of bourgeois rule and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., all-sided workers democracy, the rule of the immense majority defending itself against the attacks of reactionary minorities.... Through untiring explanation, agitation and propaganda we must bring revolutionary consciousness to the masses; we must root ourselves in the working class. Only in this manner can we prepare and bring nearer the elimination of the rule of the exploiters, which will also mean the end of individual terror since the basis for it will disappear. This cannot be the job of a few who take up arms, but only that of the oppressed masses themselves under the leadership of a revolutionary party.

Senseless acts of desperation, isolated from the working masses, will never be able to win the masses to this path. Individual terror is petty-bourgeois desperation which has lost confidence in the working class. Therefore, we must criticize the mistaken suicidal strategy of terrorism in the sharpest manner, and win to the revolutionary party comrades who in this way struggle against imperialism....

Allow me to clarify this with a famous example from Austrian history: the case of Friedrich Adler, who in October 1916 shot the hated prime minister Stürgkh. His act was a demonstration against the war. It grew out of the desperation of an honest social democrat in the face of war machinations, [a man] who had lost all trust in his party because of its treacherous support of

the war policy. He consciously placed his life in danger in a last attempt to fight for peace. At the time he was condemned to death for murder.

Who today still dares to claim that Friedrich Adler—whom the entire social democracy followed after the war, and whom the monarchy was forced to amnesty—was a murderer? Who would dare to bring the social democracy, today the governing party, to trial because it defended him?

But what Adler did was no different than the Arm of the Arab Revolution, for whose defense we have been brought to trial here. The kidnapping of the OPEC monopolists was also a desperate reaction to the tyranny of imperialism, to poverty, terror and oppression. They are no more "blackmailing kidnappers" than Adler was a murderer....

Although it is necessary to combat their false strategy, nevertheless it is our duty to defend and protect these comrades against all attacks by the common enemy, against persecution by the bourgeois state and its courts.... Only our revolutionary solidarity truly gives us the right to a sharp political criticism. We must build a common front against the common enemy.

But not all actions carried out in the name of the anti-imperialist movement are defensible. Neither the shootout at Lod Airport, where ordinary airline passengers were indiscriminately murdered without purpose, nor the kidnapping of the Olympic athletes in Munich can be defended from a class viewpoint. They were indiscriminately directed against people who were not representatives of bourgeois rule. In contrast, those actions which are clearly directed against imperialism must be unconditionally defended. The kidnapping of representatives of the brutal oppressor regimes of the OPEC countries, such as Iran or Saudi Arabia, is precisely such an act.

Unconditionally: that means with all measures that we consider correct and that are at our disposal. Our method of struggle is not individual terror but the mobilization of the working class.... For example, our article is part of such a defense.

This article expressed both our criticism of the OPEC attack and our solidarity with the authors as anti-imperialist fighters. Whose "sense of justice" is offended because we defend these fighters against the common enemy? There is no "common sense of justice" in a society of class oppression. Only the bourgeoisie can be offended by the fact that we defend our fellow combatants against its attacks. The sense of justice of the working class is offended far more by the crimes of the OPEC monopolists, by the bloody Shah regime in Iran which is celebrated in the bourgeois newspapers as a friend of Austria.

I would like to add a further example, the case of Grynspan. Herschel Grynspan, a young Jew, who in protest against the persecution of Jews in Hitler Germany, shot the Secretary of the [German] legation in Paris. Is it shocking to defend him? Or isn't it far more shocking that he was jailed as a murderer and handed over to the Nazis?

What happens to freedom fighters in Iran, probably the most prominent OPEC state, is probably widely known. But Grynspan's imprisonment was in so-called "democratic" France, and the latest example was provided by the Federal Republic of Germany: Holger Meins and Ulrike Meinhof were driven to their deaths by the conditions of imprisonment.

Permit me to make a closing remark in this trial. The object of prosecution is a political opinion which we hold. The state's attorney, in his indictment, treats the utterance of a revolutionary position as a crime. What is placed in question here are the most elementary bourgeois-democratic liberties: freedom of the press and freedom of opinion. We lay claim to these rights which are supposed to be guaranteed by the bourgeois constitution. If we are found guilty here because of this, it only shows that bourgeois democracy once again is forced to break the rules of the game which it has itself established. This proves once again that bourgeois democracy represents not the interests of the working class and the majority of the population, but those of a minority, the bourgeoisie.

International Furor Over Anti-Red Law

West Germany Purges Teachers, Government Workers

In early July a 15,000-strong demonstration was held in Bonn against the sharpening restrictions on civil liberties in West Germany, in particular the "anti-radical decree" which has imposed political restrictions for government employment even more stringent than the loyalty investigations at the height of the McCarthy period in the U.S. Only a few days earlier, on June 25, the Bundestag (lower house of parliament) passed a so-called "anti-terrorist law" which permits the government to inspect correspondence between lawyers and defendants, excludes lawyers convicted of "conspiracy" from representing defendants and provides for the disbarment of lawyers found guilty of "serious violations of duty."

Although the new law is still before the upper house (where it is being stiffened, possibly to include surveillance of all communication between lawyers and defendants), on July 16 Klaus Croissant, defense lawyer for the Red Army Fraction (RAF, referred to in the bourgeois press as the "Baader-Meinhof Gang") was arrested on charges of making propaganda for the RAF. Taken together these moves spell an escalating witchhunt atmosphere in the federal republic and a growing threat of state repression against all left and working-class organizations.

The "anti-radical decree" (*Radikalerlass*), also known as the *Berufsverbot* ("professional prohibition"), was initially the product of an agreement among interior ministers of the ten *Länder* (federal states) of West Germany in 1972. Since then it has been used primarily to screen out members of the legal pro-Moscow German Communist Party (DKP). The law covers 3.5 million workers in government jobs, including garbage men, railway workers, gravediggers and teachers as well as government officials and judges. Since its inception some 500,000 West German citizens have been investigated by the "Office for the Protection of the Constitution," with 428 "exposed" radicals according to *Der Spiegel* (28 June 1976).

"Gross Deviations and Grotesque Abuses"

During recent months the case of Silvia Gingold, a teacher and member of the DKP, has stirred a storm of domestic and international protest, promising to become a West German Angela Davis affair. Gingold was dismissed from her job in Hesse last year after three years of teaching. She and her parents had earlier been denied West German citizenship for eight years for being Communist Party members. Her case has been popularized in the bourgeois press partly because Gingold is Jewish as well, thus focusing attention on the presence of many former Nazis in high government positions.

French protests were also generated since Gingold's father escaped to France in 1933 where he was active in resistance activities and later received official honors for "devotion to the democratic order." François Mitterrand, leader of the French Socialist Party, cited her case in forming a "Committee Against Civic and Professional Repression in West Germany." The Social Democratic education minister for Hesse in



Demonstration in West Berlin last May protesting prison death of Ulrike Meinhof.

defending the dismissal of Gingold admitted in a TV interview that she had not violated the constitution by any act or been negligent as a teacher. Nevertheless, he stated,

"We reproach Silvia Gingold, if I can put it like this, for lacking a condition for appointment as a civil servant, namely readiness at all times—and not only in school but in every imaginable situation—to actively defend the constitution."

The Social Democratic Party (SPD), which has ruled West Germany in coalition with the small bourgeois liberal Free Democratic Party (FDP) since 1969, approved the *Berufsverbot* when first issued four years ago. The federal chancellor at the time, SPD leader Willy Brandt, reacted to objections from the party's youth group saying,

"Young Socialists or whoever, nobody is going to corner my party into being the vehicle by which Communists may become officials and judges in this country."

—*New York Times*, 22 August 1973

Today, in the face of growing public protest and himself no longer hounded with the responsibilities of office, Brandt can play the role of conciliator, moaning that "I erred at the time.... There have been gross deviations and grotesque abuses" (*Time*, 5 July 1976). But while "soft cop" Willy commiserates with the civil libertarians, the SPD-FDP coalition continues to pass repressive legislation. With national elections due October 3, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt is determined to steal the thunder from the Christian Democrats (CDU) who are campaigning on the slogan, "Freedom or Socialism."

Omnibus "Anti-Terrorism" Laws

The recent "anti-red" laws are the outgrowth of a mounting scare campaign unleashed against the left in connection with the RAF trials, after Berlin's chief justice Günter von Denk-

mann was killed last year by unknown assailants. At that time an ultra-McCarthyite law, Paragraph 88A, was passed making it illegal to call for forcible overthrow of the state. In fact, the terms of the law were so broad as to include any call for the dictatorship of the proletariat or even the overthrow of capitalism. The law also severely restricted the right of confidentiality between lawyers and defendants, rights which were further assaulted in the June 25 law.

The new laws provide for imprisonment of terrorists for up to ten years, arrest of those merely suspected of terrorism and holding them in preventive detention indefinitely, even if no conspiracy or intent to flee can be proven. The founding of a terrorist organization is illegal, and henceforth failure to provide information about the founding of a terrorist organization is punishable by five years in jail!

Although the pro-Moscow DKP is protesting the "anti-radical decree," of which it has been the main target, it is noticeably reticent toward the "terrorist laws." Indeed, the DKP and its cothinkers in East Berlin condemn the terrorists as "objectively pro-capitalist" in order to prove their own respectability.

As Helmut Schmidt put it at the special SPD party congress on June 19-20, the kick-off rally for the election campaign. West German industrialists know that political stability is key during the current economic downturn, and they "can't change horses in mid-stream." Certainly, the social-democratic horse has faithfully carried its capitalist rider thus far. The SPD not only has poured millions of marks into the coffers of Mario Soares' Portuguese Socialists (acting, in this case, as conduit for CIA funds), bitterly denounced strikes, promoted class collaboration through its much touted *Mitbestimmung* ("co-determination") schemes (whereby the unions get token seats on

company boards of directors while the management still makes all the decisions) and promotes itself as the main bulwark against Communism in West Europe today.

Brandt was bounced out of government in 1974, ostensibly over the scandal that one of his top aids was discovered to be an East German spy but in reality to permit hardline finance minister Schmidt to don a more right-wing face for the party. Now cast in the role of elder statesman, at the convention Brandt attacked the CDU's "Freedom or Socialism" slogan by noting that lessons in liberty sound rather incongruous coming from people "who ran after an altogether different flag than that of freedom" while the Social Democrats were in concentration camps. Chancellor Schmidt would have had a hard time with that speech, since he himself was one of those "running after a different flag." During the Nazi period he was a member of the Hitler Youth and only joined the SPD after the Allies occupied Germany.

But not only the German Social Democrats are responsible for the increasingly repressive anti-communist legislation in the federal republic (BRD). All of these laws are nothing but logical extensions of the basic reactionary legislation setting up the West German state as an intended bastion of conservatism and capitalist strength against the USSR. Thus the American-led Western occupation powers imposed an artificial federal structure on the BRD—contrary to economic realities and either German or European traditions—in order to isolate working-class strength.

The BRD *Grundgesetz* (constitution), written under American supervision and approved by U.S. occupation authorities, is an explicit statement of how far the American bourgeoisie would go in restricting democratic

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WV Photo

Unionists Demand Accounting from CP, PL Over S.F. Strike

SAN FRANCISCO—The S.F. city craft workers strike ended just under two months ago in grim defeat. After a 39-day strike, the municipal skilled tradesmen returned to work in late May without settling a single major issue in their favor. The face-saving "fact-finding" committee predictably came to naught, and after receiving 3,000 pages of documentation the union-busting Board of Supervisors went ahead to reaffirm massive (\$2,000 to \$4,000) pay cuts. Meanwhile, the unions and their leaders were found guilty of contempt of court, and a series of anti-labor city charter amendments were approved by the voters.

For the bosses, the demise of the strike has been the occasion for jubilant celebration. "The strike settlement," crowed one capitalist politico, "did not cost us even a single dime." Across the country, the bourgeois press hailed the crushing defeat of the city craftsmen. The *Washington Post*, which itself successfully smashed the pressmen's union, spread the word about "How San Francisco Beat Labor." For the ruling class, the S.F. city workers strike was a trial run, a test of how far it could go.

The treacherous and incompetent labor bureaucracy is not blind to the

defeat, nor to the fact that this has whetted the capitalists' appetites to "get tough" with the unions. But for these cowardly, pro-capitalist misleaders, the lessons of the San Francisco strike are retreat and surrender. New York municipal union leaders Gotbaum and Shanker, who accepted a rigid wage freeze and sizable cuts in benefits without a whimper, are their models.

Certainly the self-defeating manner in which the strike was led is devastating testimony to the inability of the labor fakers even to defend existing union conditions. Clearly they are incapable of defeating the bosses' attempts to push the costs of the capitalist depression onto the backs of working people. But the strike served also as a test of the capacity of self-proclaimed revolutionary organizations which claim to represent an answer to the sellouts of the current labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. And since, with the exception of the Spartacist League (SL), all of these groups capitulated in one fashion or another to the union bureaucracy, it is not surprising to find trade-union supporters of various fake-revolutionary tendencies now raising questions and expressing dissatisfaction

with those organizations' behavior during the strike.

"Lessons from the Frisco City Strike"

A lengthy 1,500-word letter published in the 19 June *People's World*, West Coast weekly paper of the reformist Communist Party (CP), is entitled "Lessons from the Frisco City Strike" and signed by "Concerned Frisco City Workers." Describing the supervisors' success in isolating the craft workers, the writers state:

"After Proposition B passed last November, the city workers' unions agreed to set up a city workers' council, which would coordinate collective bargaining with the city. This council never was organized. The leadership of those unions who refused to cooperate in organizing a council of city workers must bear responsibility for destroying the unity of all city workers."

Noting that instead of carrying through its pledge to call a general strike, the bureaucrats actually de-escalated the action, the letter draws the conclusion which was obvious to everyone: "It appears to us that the leadership of the labor movement did not attempt to organize the workers for a general strike." This is, in fact, precisely why so

many strikers were demoralized. As the writers document, there was not effective organization even of the striking craft unions. Although periodically anguishing over the massive scabbing, the overriding concern of the bureaucrats was to prevent an outburst of militancy that could get out of hand. That is why they did everything possible to keep the membership in the dark and sabotaged every effort to expand the strike and bring victory.

The "concerned workers" letter is accompanied by an introduction from the editors:

"The San Francisco city strike is now over. Many progressive Bay Area trade unionists refrained from public criticism of the conduct of the strike while it was going on in the interest of unity. The following commentary is a contribution from a group of such trade unionists. It does not necessarily reflect the views of *The People's World*, but we hope it will start a fruitful discussion of the critical points involved."

No one will dispute the fact that *People's World* refrained from public criticism of the conduct of the strike. In the interest of unity? Yes—unity with the Crowleys, Mazzolas, Glens and Evankoviches, the union leaders who fear the militancy of their own ranks more than a sellout to the bosses.

Although ostensibly inviting a "fruitful discussion," the introduction also serves as a disclaimer. It seeks to distance *PW* from even the mild criticisms of the Central Labor Council (CLC) leaders raised by the "concerned workers," and it seeks to ward off criticism of the CP's uncritical support for the CLC tops with the ikon of "unity."

However, the Communist Party, which has real roots in the Bay Area labor bureaucracy not only "refrained from criticizing"; at every opportunity it blocked with the union misleaders to derail expressions of class solidarity with the city strikers. Thus it voted with the right wing of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 to defeat a motion submitted by warehouse militant Bob Mandel calling for support of the city workers strike, including strike action by Local 6. Similarly, in ILWU Local 10, CP supporters actively aided the bureaucracy in diverting and suppressing a motion calling for the longshore local to support city workers picket lines, for organizing a mass demonstration of San Francisco labor and for taking Local 10 out in support of the strikers.

Passivity and Class Collaboration

There is more to the CP's passivity than simple lethargy or even fear of alienating the CLC leaders. At bottom, the Stalinists, like the union tops, capitulated to the strong anti-labor propaganda barrage in the bourgeois media. The proof: the 10 July *PW* ran a letter by another city worker, one Eugene Spake, castigating S.F. municipal craft workers as a bunch of greedy overpaid labor aristocrats. The writer dismissed the "concerned workers" as those who "support any strike of any workers at any time."

Spake considers Proposition B (an

S.F. Longshoremen Vote to Strike Against Deregistrations

SAN FRANCISCO, July 18—In response to an escalating drive by West Coast maritime employers to slash the longshore workforce, Thursday night the membership of ILWU Local 10 voted overwhelmingly to strike against any layoffs. The vote was provoked by the initiation of deregistration procedures against two longshoremen by the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) under Section 8.35 of the contract. This clause provides that any longshoreman holding a second job outside the industry may be "deregistered" (in plain English, fired).

As work on the docks has declined drastically under the impact of automation, many longshoremen with families have been forced to look for second jobs. A deregistration move is nothing but a blatant attempt to penalize the workers for the lack of jobs at a time when employer profits are at near-record levels due to the enormous rise in productivity brought on by containerization.

Bay Area longshoremen were particularly outraged because the deregistration procedures were begun almost simultaneously with the announcement by management spokesmen that back payments owed to thousands of ILWU dockers under the so-called Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP) would be cut drastically. The PGP was supposed to make up for the loss of work due to automation by ensuring all "A" men wages for 36 hours per week. "B" men were "guaranteed" a miserly 18 hours weekly.

However, for much of the last year, the PGP has been cut, sometimes by as much as 40 percent in a given week. Now, despite promises from S.F. port commissioner and ILWU president Harry Bridges that the "shortfall" in the weekly PGP would be "made whole," the PMA has announced that it intends to reimburse longshoremen roughly at the rate of 15 cents on the dollar. For some dock workers this will mean a loss of up to \$900, nearly a full month's pay.

Moreover, the PGP shortfall will hit hardest at precisely those longshoremen whose jobs have been most eroded by containerization. This perpetuates the situation whereby underemployed workers will seek second jobs, in effect setting them up for firing. The danger to the union is heightened still more by the fact that the token back payments being doled out are coming from funds intended to be used for next year's PGP.

The vote to strike against all deregistrations under Section 8.35, on a motion put forward by supporters of "Longshore Militant" (a class-struggle opposition newsletter in the Local), represents a sharp slap at the present leadership of Local 10. While a substantial part of the Local leadership consists of "anti-Bridges" forces, they pursue the same policies of compromising conciliation with the employers for which Bridges is notorious.

Throughout the recent strike by ILWU and Teamster warehousemen in northern California, the Local 10 leaders never took a single concrete step to stop scab cargo being shipped under

police escort. The latest issue of "Longshore Militant" (15 July) points out that the Local officers have resisted any attempt to launch a fight for jobs by the union.

In fact, in response to the latest PMA attacks, the Local 10 tops launched a drive...against their own members! They offered to police enforcement of the PGP for the employers and to approve all cuts in boards, gangs, job categories and jobs, if the employers will in turn discipline "chiselers" who supposedly are taking more than their fair share of the work. In the words of the "Longshore Militant,"

"Spreading the illusion that it is 'chiselers' rather than automation that is costing us jobs plays directly into PMA's strategy of setting us fighting each other over a decreasing number of jobs and over the phony PGP."

Thursday's strike vote is an important act of working-class solidarity, but the only way out for longshoremen is to move onto the offensive. A strike against layoffs must be extended into a strike for jobs for all longshoremen through a shorter workshift at no loss in pay. The phony PGP, pushed by pro- and anti-Bridges forces alike as well as by the reformists of the Communist Party, has been exposed for the fraud that it is. Longshoremen must cast aside their present class-collaborationist misleadership and, preparing now to implement the resolution to strike against layoffs by electing strike committees, militantly take up the battle for jobs. ■

amendment to the city charter which ended the pegging of municipal craft workers pay scales to prevailing rates in private industry, thus opening the way for the drastic wage cuts decreed last spring) as "an equalizing progressive move"! This letter is an unashamed apology for the widespread scabbing by city workers, yet while *PW* felt compelled to publish a disclaimer on mildly voiced criticisms by the "concerned workers" it publishes this anti-labor garbage without comment.

Although the authors of "Lessons of the Frisco City Strike" do raise many accurate criticisms of the labor fakers' sabotage of the strike, including pointing to the necessity of strike committees, the criticisms are blunted and the conclusions go awry because they fail to transcend the class-collaborationist framework of Stalinism. Thus the letter labels CLC head Jack Crowley's general strike call a "highly irresponsible act" instead of demanding real preparations to mobilize S.F. labor.

The writers advocate alleviating the fiscal crunch in the cities by paring the military budget. But the billions of dollars poured into the capitalist war machine are based on hard-headed

workers strike was not identical to that of the CP, which acted as out-and-out running dogs of the S.F. labor bureaucracy. PL supporters in the municipal unions were often militant and courageous, playing a key role in organizing some mass pickets, such as the one at city hall. But "militancy" is not a program, and it was soon evident that PL and its trade-union supporters hadn't the faintest idea of what to do strategically. This led to organizational paralysis.

In a letter printed in *Challenge* (3 June), a PL supporter makes the point that even in terms of its own standards of frantic reformism, Progressive Labor was ineffectual:

"Finally, all the Communists and militants in San Francisco could have been mobilized to support the strike. They could have organized the neighborhoods to pick up the trash and dump it at the supervisors' houses. Money could have been collected for MUNI [city transport] drivers who were supporting the lines. They could have gone to the picket lines and struggled with the strikers around racism and the need for rank-and-file leadership. It seems the Party is not mobilized for concentrated actions of this sort."

The S.F. city workers strike failed



Cops were used to protect scabbing office workers at S.F. city hall during city workers strike. WV Photo

calculations of what U.S. imperialism feels is necessary to police its global interests. The CP's appeal to the liberals to reform American capitalism is a utopian pipedream.

Hand-in-hand with illusions about the reformability of U.S. imperialism go illusions about the labor bureaucracy. "Lessons of the Frisco City Strike" ends with a call to:

"develop a rank-and-file movement in each union local to restore democracy and membership control to our unions. We need to elect leaders who are responsible to the needs of its members."

It is certainly true that the leaders of American unions in the main are inept, corrupt, autocratic and isolated from their members. But this is a consequence of the program of the bureaucracy—a program it shares with the CP—of subordinating labor to the "lesser evil," "friends of labor" capitalist politicians of the Democratic Party. The bureaucrats and Stalinists don't pursue the class struggle because they are committed to class collaboration.

Episodically, as in 1976, the CPUSA finds itself compelled to put up a flimsy front of opposition to the bourgeoisie. Racist, anti-Soviet, open-shop peanut boss Jimmy Carter is not much more of a "lesser evil" than Ronald Reagan or Gerald Ford. But while the CP is currently churning up some hullabaloo about Gus Hall's "independent" presidential campaign, in the trade unions where it counts will CP supporters fight to get their unions and fellow workers to support Hall over Carter? We think not!

The Bankruptcy of "Militancy"

The role of the Progressive Labor Party (PL) in the San Francisco city

because it was restricted to a narrow layer of craft workers rather than being broadened into a general strike with demands addressed to the needs of all city workers, including reopening all city worker contracts and abolishing the anti-labor city charter amendments. Rather than concentrating on soup-kitchen social workerism or dissipating themselves in impotent schemes like dumping trash at the houses of supervisors, militants in the labor movement would have struggled politically against the bureaucracy to win the union membership to a perspective of powerful, united class struggle.

For example, members of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of Communications Workers Local 9415 brought a city worker to their union meeting to discuss the strike. Yet unlike MAC, the PLP Phone Club in the local did absolutely nothing. Throughout the strike it issued no leaflets explaining the issues to phone workers, nor did it attempt to speak at this critical union meeting urging support to the strike. PL's passivity and confusion during the strike was so incredible that at one strike support rally initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), the PL speaker confined himself to attacking "racist textbooks" and failed to address the issues of the strike at all!

Uncomfortable with PL's inability to sharply differentiate itself from the bureaucracy, but unable to find a programmatic basis for such a differentiation, the letter to *Challenge* states: "Union leaders are the enemy, just as much as the boss." And, "Communists in PLP cannot lead if we don't split with

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Pilots, Controllers Strike for Safety

Dispute Over Bilingual Air Traffic Control Rocks Canada

TORONTO, 15 July—The unlikely issue of air traffic control recently touched off a major political crisis in Canada, highlighting the deep cleavage of the country along national lines. The pilots' walkout in defiance of a government injunction was opposed by the bulk of the French-speaking pilots of Quebec, who continued to work during the work stoppage. Moreover, the Quebec section of the governing Liberal Party sharply denounced the June 28 settlement, accusing Prime Minister Pierre-Elliott Trudeau and Transport Minister Otto Lang of caving in to English-language chauvinism. In its eagerness to demonstrate sympathy for the oppressed French-speaking minority, virtually the entire Canadian left has refused to recognize the very real safety issue posed by the dispute over bilingual air traffic control.

For two years the introduction of bilingual air traffic control in Quebec

an's resignation—precipitated by charges that he was partial to the position of the aviation unions—the ministry of transport broke its agreement with CATCA for an independent commission, stating it would undertake its own inquiry.

Faced with the ministry's evident intent to push through bilingual air traffic control, CATCA threatened to strike. The Trudeau regime replied with a court injunction. On June 20 the controllers struck but were ordered back to work. The pilots then refused to fly, charging that in a high-stress occupation where instant and accurate communication is a matter of life and death, agitated air controllers made for unsafe conditions. A number of international airlines—notably KLM (Netherlands), British Airways and SAS (Scandinavia)—boycotted Canadian air space in solidarity.

The June 28 settlement contains three



French air controller

has been a point of contention between the Trudeau government and the predominantly English-Canadian air controllers and pilots unions, the Canadian Air Traffic Controllers Association (CATCA) and the Canadian Airline Pilots Association (CALPA). In 1974 bilingual air traffic control was introduced under "visual flight rules" at seven small Quebec airports. It was heralded by the Ministry of Transport as the application of the 1969 Official Languages Act—which committed the government to bilingualism—to the field of aviation. However, the proposed extension of bilingual air traffic control to Quebec's international airports has been strenuously opposed by the aviation unions.

The last contract between CATCA and the federal ministry of transport appointed former CALPA lawyer John Keenan as a one-man commission of inquiry into the effects of bilingual air control on air safety under "instrument flight rule" conditions. Following Keen-

main elements. The aviation unions must approve one member of the new three-man commission set up to assess the safety issue; any recommendation by this commission must be unanimous; and the parliamentary vote on the question will be "free" (i.e., Liberal Party MPs will be able to vote against the Trudeau policy of favoring bilingual air traffic control). The settlement was a qualified victory for the aviation unions.

"The Language of the Air"

The Quebec nationalists clamoring for bilingual air traffic control have charged that air safety is a bogus issue concealing a covert attack by English-Canadian diehards against the government's policy of bilingualism. This position was summed up by Roger Demers, spokesman for Gens de l'Air, a breakaway group of Quebec air controllers and pilots:

"The government has been blackmailed by English-speaking pilots and control-

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Chicago Unemployment Office Workers Strike, 281 Fired

CHICAGO, July 17—A strike by employees of the Illinois Bureau of Employment Security (IBES) here, begun ten days ago in response to the layoff of 123 workers, has been subjected to repression and remains dangerously isolated. On the first day of the strike, Chicago's "finest" strike-breaking cops arrested five union members and have since continued to escort hordes of scabs past enraged picketers. Yesterday the IBES made good on previous threats to victimize strikers by firing an additional 281 employees.

Concentrated in the lowest clerical and paraprofessional pay grades, 62 percent of those hit by the June 30 layoffs were black and 73 percent women workers. Seniority status was blatantly violated. The IBES pleaded insufficient federal funding in justifying the cutback, which came on the heels of a concerted campaign of speed-up and forced overtime. One Bureau official

unions. But the Local leadership—despite generous doses of militant rhetoric, including a pre-strike statement by AFSCME field representative Houston Stevens that the strike would have to be spread to other city workers in order to be successful—has yet to lift a finger to mobilize other unions, let alone its own ranks. The bureaucrats' promise that picketing would continue "until a settlement is reached that is acceptable to the membership" (Local 1006 "Strike Facts #2," 12 July) is contradicted by reports that the lines would be pulled down if the state agreed to "meaningful" bargaining (*Chicago Tribune*, 14 July).

Particularly since only 1,500 of the 3,900 IBES workers statewide are in the union, a representative strike committee, directly elected by all the workers, would clearly have been decisive in effectively closing down Bureau operations as well as laying the basis for winning the unorganized workers and

"back in the HANDS OF ITS MEMBERS, with militant rank-and-filers and communists [two PL supporters sit on the seven-man executive board, one of them being chief steward of the Local] in the lead." PL's rapturous satisfaction with the present bureaucrats may explain its own failure to call for an elected strike committee—or even a strike!—in a 24 June *Challenge* article dealing with the impending layoffs. One can only wonder what this "communist" carousel of betrayal will offer Local 1006 members when the current saboteurs come up for re-election.

Despite perennial careening from WAM-style business unionism to its alter-ego of sectarian "red" unionism and back, PL's trade-union work has remained consistently opportunist, paving the road to office for aspiring ("militant rank-and-file") bureaucrats. The cynical game played by PL and other "radicals" in Local 1006 has already led many IBES workers into apathy and demoralization, posing a serious defeat for the union. To turn this strike around and crush the state's union-busting drive, militant workers must break with RFC/PL reformism and forge a class-struggle leadership based on an anti-capitalist program. ■



WV Photo

AFSCME pickets outside Chicago unemployment office last week.

flippantly remarked that the layoff victims were selected by "intuition." The state's racially and sexually discriminatory "intuition" passed over more than 200 probationary employees, among whom (according to union militants) there are many political appointees protected by Mayor Daley's patronage machine.

The demand for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay is particularly crucial in this strike, not only to fight the layoffs and speed-up but also to pose the need for unity between employed workers and the jobless in a struggle for jobs for all. While the union (AFSCME Local 1006) is demanding a seven-hour day—in addition to no layoffs, a \$200-per-month across-the-board wage increase (many of the workers have gone two years without a raise), an end to discriminatory hiring and promotion practices, and recognition of Local 1006 as collective bargaining agent for all Department of Labor employees—union officials hinted early on that they were most concerned with rejuggling the blatantly discriminatory layoffs. Not surprisingly, the AFSCME bureaucrats have done nothing to mobilize a strike which could win these demands.

The layoffs and firings represent a serious union-busting attack which must be smashed by solidly shutting down the struck Chicago-area IBES offices, along with concerted efforts to spread the strike statewide and prepare strike action by all Illinois state workers

establishing a union shop. But according to one steward, Local 1006 president Tom Byrnes has instead done what he can to strangle the existing, highly inadequate 28-man strike committee, which is based primarily on the stewards. The passivity engendered by this bureaucratic misleadership was evidenced by a union meeting last Tuesday which, although voting overwhelmingly to continue the strike, turned out only 153 of the more than 1,000 Chicago-area Local 1006 members.

This is the second time in as many years that the unemployment office workers have had their expectations shattered by militant-talking sellouts. In both cases, the "revolutionary communist" Progressive Labor Party (PL) served up the betrayals on a silver platter to the union ranks. The Rank-and-File Caucus (RFC) slate that preceded Byrnes in office was presented as a "leadership committed to continuing the fight against management on many fronts" (*Challenge*, 9 January 1975), only to be denounced several months later for quashing a strike against threatened layoffs.

With its erstwhile "committed leadership" down the tubes, PL hailed the election of the present misleaders as "the culmination of a fight to rid the Local of a leadership that has, since last April, sabotaged every defensive action proposed and taken by the membership." *Challenge* (4 December 1975) boasted proudly that the union was now

West Germany Purges Teachers...

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liberties in the imperialist epoch. It is unique in West Europe in containing an equivalent of the U.S. Bill of Rights. However, the German version declares that individuals have certain inalienable rights...which can only be revoked if laws are enacted against them! Further, anyone who uses his "freedom of speech" to campaign against the "free democratic order" will find it revoked. Teachers are specifically prohibited from teaching anything that "justifies disloyalty to the constitution."

International Protest

In the storm of international protest now raging around the "anti-radical decree" and the terrorist scare in West Germany, probably the unkindest cut of all was delivered by Mitterrand. The French Socialists (PS), smarting with indignation over Chancellor Schmidt's assertions that only the SPD knows how to deal with the Communists and prevent chaos, have gleefully seized on the issue to embarrass Schmidt, pose as true defenders of freedom and democracy and make a gesture of sympathy toward the French Communist Party (PCF).

In reality, it is national chauvinism rather than concern for democratic rights that motivates Mitterrand (who, incidentally, only joined the Socialists in 1970 and was minister of justice during the Algerian independence struggle in the 1950's). Even before the latest protests brought the issue of Germany's repressive laws to the fore, French and German government officials had been trading insults, followed close behind by the PCF and PS.

It is certainly no accident that the PCF newspaper *L'Humanité* launched a front-page attack on Schmidt as a "disdainful sovereign," "insolently trying to be the gendarme of Europe," only two days after French prime minister Jacques Chirac (head of the Gaullist UDR) complained that "Schmidt has for some while displayed a tendency to pass judgement on the internal affairs of a certain number of countries. I don't think this is proper" (*New York Times*, 8 May). But while the PCF wraps itself in the tricolor and the SPD champions the Atlantic Alliance, French and West German reformist workers parties are united in their main goal: to subordinate the interests of the international working class to their respective national bourgeoisies.

Militant agitation against the new laws of capitalist reaction is a crucial task for a revolutionary vanguard in West Germany. The Trotskyistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD—Trotskyist League of Germany), section of the international Spartacist tendency, has actively protested both "anti-radical" and "anti-terrorist" witchhunt laws, stressing that the task is not to reform the capitalist state (as Maoists maintain), but to "fight for a common defense front of all components of the workers movement against the attacks of the bourgeoisie" (*Kommunistische Korrespondenz*, April 1976).

The TLD calls for the abolition of all the reactionary, anti-communist laws (KPD ban, emergency laws, "anti-radical decree," "anti-terrorist law," etc.). In addition it demands that paramilitary repressive police ("border" police, mobile tactical squads) be disbanded and calls for the formation of united workers militias. Only by fighting for proletarian revolution can the workers defend and extend their democratic rights—Forward to a workers government and a socialist united states of Europe! ■

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Racist Mob Attacks Anti-Nazi Marchers in Chicago

CHICAGO, July 18—A bloodthirsty horde of over 1,000 racists assaulted a racially mixed open-housing march as it entered the Nazi Party's Marquette Park "turf" Saturday afternoon. The racists had apparently prepared well for the brutal assault, with stockpiles of missiles accumulated in alleyways. From the moment marchers crossed the railroad tracks which separate the black area from the white, they were pelted with bricks and bottles by the racist punks, who cheered each time they struck their target.

Proceeding along the several blocks to the park, the marchers were subjected to a hail of jagged glass and concrete accompanied by screams of "white power!" and "nigger, go home!" And as they approached the rally site itself, they were met by a mob of 10,000 racists. The ensuing mob terror resulted in the hospitalization of 32 marchers and cops.

The march was the culmination of a month-long effort by the liberal religious/pacifist Martin Luther King, Jr. Movement to obtain a police permit for a march through the racist stronghold. Apparently relying on the Chicago cops for protection, the 100 or so protesters—among them supporters of the Revolutionary Socialist League, International Socialists, National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), Youth Against War and Fascism, and New American Movement—found themselves confronted by a lynch mob which vastly outnumbered protesters and cops combined.

The confidence which some of Saturday's marchers place in the cops was illustrated by the naive and foolhardy attempt of four or five NSCAR

supporters to organize a peaceful picket line directly in front of the rock throwers. They were immediately forced back into the mainstream of the march by a hail of missiles.

Although 63 arrests were made, the hundreds of cops (police officials claim 400 cops were on the scene as soon as the violence started, though marchers estimated half that many), at no point provided adequate protection for the marchers. In fact, two blacks who defended themselves from the assailants were also arrested. The labor movement must demand that all charges against the marchers be dropped immediately!

In the last three months as racial violence has been escalating in Chicago, Daley's racists-in-blue have shown time and again that their target is not the white hoodlums, but the black protesters. While the Communist Party (CP), Communist Labor Party, Socialist Workers Party and other reformists have called on Mayor Daley to protect black people, the Spartacist League has ceaselessly warned that such illusory "protection" was a dangerous set-up.

Only the formation of labor/black defense guards based on the large and well-integrated trade-union movement here can adequately protect the black masses from racist terror and enforce open housing in the southwest Marquette Park area, as elsewhere. The attempted substitution of a handful of blacks and leftists for the necessary organized, massive, labor-centered response, while demonstrating personal courage, is less than futile—it is self-defeating. In overpowering the small demonstration, "police protection" and all, the racist hoods have scored a victory in their reactionary campaign of mob terror against black people in Chicago.

Last month, the Labor Struggle Caucus of UAW Local 6 (International Harvester) in Melrose Park introduced a motion calling for a labor-sponsored mass mobilization against the race terror. This motion was defeated by a CP-inspired plea for Mayor Daley to protect the black community. Yesterday's brutal assault is a good illustration of the dangerous consequences of relying on the guardians of bourgeois "law and order" for protection. The Chicago labor movement must be mobilized to enforce open housing rights for minorities and teach the racist punks a lesson about democratic rights! ■

Statement to Court by ÖBL Spokesman Kurt Weissenböck

"I Demand Comrade Dorner Be Declared Innocent!"

We are accused of offending "the common sense of justice" by defending anti-imperialist fighters.

"The common sense of justice" is such a broad, indeterminate, malleable conception that it is necessary to clarify it with two small quotations.

"Arrests, torture and murder are on the agenda in Iran. Even the international human-rights organization Amnesty International in the 1975 annual report of its central office lists the number of political prisoners in Iran, one of the most criminal regimes in the world, at 50,000 to 100,000."

—Iran Report Extra, February 1976

As the court is no doubt aware, Iranian interior minister Amouzegar was one of the most prominent kidnapped OPEC ministers.

"Reports on tortures of various types were published. The methods described concerned lashes with a metal whip heated white-hot with electrical current, burning with cigarettes and the insertion of broken bottles into anal passages of the victims. Physical injury of close relatives was also reported (rape of a wife in the presence of her husband and whipping a child in the presence of the mother)."

—Iran Report, December 1975

Amouzegar... bears direct or indirect responsibility for all these deeds....

A barricade has only two sides, and those who do not stand on the side of the oppressed masses stand on the side of the oppressors.

The side of the oppressors is the side of Amouzegar, and of the Indonesian terror regime [another OPEC nation]. According to Amnesty International, Indonesia is the country with the most political prisoners, a country where for the last decade tens of thousands have languished in concentration camps. It is also the side of Saudi Arabia, a country where chopping off heads and hands is part of the normal judicial methods. This is also the side of the Austrian bourgeoisie!

There is no "common sense of justice": there is a sense of justice of the ruling class and a sense of justice of the working class. The broken windows of Iberia Airlines offended the sense of justice of the bourgeoisie. In contrast, the terror of the Franco regime in Spain injured the sense of justice of the working class. That the war criminal Nixon has not been put on trial offends the sense of justice of the working class. The list is endless.

These men should be put on trial, but before the court of a workers government. Bourgeois courts are not offended by their kind of terror. Quite the contrary!...

Attacks such as were carried out by the Arm of the Arab Revolution group are the reply of a handful of desperate people to massive White terror. Such acts of desperation of misled people will continue to occur as long as bourgeois terror is not smashed by the seizure of power by the working class.

I therefore demand that Comrade Dorner be declared innocent!

OBL...

(continued from page 4)

clearly state that she held the ÖBL guilty of Paragraph 282, even though she refused to allow testimony on this question. "Freedom of expression," the judge declared airily, "means that one can express his opinion freely." She went on: "But there are limits." These limits, she said, are where an insult is made or the common sense of justice is offended. The accused and co-defendant are wrong, said the judge: there is no such thing as a sense of justice divided into that of the bourgeoisie and that of the working class, but rather a single sense of justice, the sense of justice of mankind—ethics.

It is not surprising that the Austrian authorities systematically sought to obscure the political basis of the trial, for Paragraph 282 (the censorship law) is derived from an earlier law of the first Austrian republic which was extensively used under the clerical-fascist regime of Schussnig during the 1930's. In 1936 an Austrian Trotskyist, Friedrich Neischer, was convicted under this law for articles appearing in the clandestine newspaper *Der Bolschewik*.

The state's main interest in the 1936 trial was to convict Neischer of high treason, for which the punishment was life imprisonment. The original judges

disagreed, but did take objection to every conceivable type of revolutionary propaganda. Their verdict cites with wide-eyed incredulity such "offensive" and "shocking" statements in *Der Bolschewik* as:

"the brown[Nazi]-infested judiciary and police are lusting to pounce upon the proletarian revolutionaries; all capitalist countries are robbers and mortal enemies of the workers, and therefore the universal slogan: the enemy is at home; the Communists and Social Democrats had better recognize that all their deferential petitions to the government, their bowing and scraping and begging for democratic rights, only demonstrate to the class enemy the impotence of the workers; the bourgeoisie won't be assuaged, it is necessary to go for the jugular; democratic rights can only be won back through revolutionary struggle."

Revilung such "crass" expressions as "going for the jugular," "life-and-death class struggle" and slogans such as, "Down with Austria! We shall organize the defeat of our country! Dictatorship of the proletariat!" the court held that the press law was violated because "revolution is affirmed as a positive goal." Later, the appeals court also found Neischer guilty of high treason.

With this unsavory legal precedent the present authorities prefer to mask their censorship in a purely "technical" garb, refusing to allow the defendants to justify and explain their views which are under prosecution. That Kreisky Socialists must rely on precedents derived from the clerical-fascist regime is a telling indictment of the reactionary anti-working-class character of social democracy's smug "welfare state" capitalism. We call on all socialists and defenders of democratic liberties to denounce the conviction of Comrade Dorner and demand that the charges against her and the ÖBL be immediately dropped! ■

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Hospital Strike...

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be an attack on the public. By refusing to build mass, effective picket lines that would shut down the hospitals and quickly bring the employers to their knees, Davis and his sidekick Moe Foner consciously sabotaged the strike, exposing weakened picket lines to repeated police attacks.

One of the disputed issues that held up the agreement to arbitrate was the question of amnesty. The union initially called for a guarantee that none of the strikers would be victimized by the hospitals. This demand was simply thrown away. Under the settlement, the hospitals reserved the right to discipline any arrested strikers "convicted of crimes." By refusing to defend the victims of police assaults, Davis is not only abandoning individual militants,



Local 1199 president Leon Davis addressing rally outside Madison Square Garden last week.

but is clearly establishing a precedent that will no doubt inhibit picket line militancy in the future.

Ironically, the union's key "demand" of binding arbitration is precisely what hospital workers fought for years to avoid. Until 1974, when the National Labor Relations Act was revised to legalize strikes by hospital workers, arbitration was compulsory. Thus, the eight-day 1199 strike in 1973 was illegal. In 1974 the new federal law ending compulsory arbitration was hailed by Davis & Co. as a great victory. This year, however, Davis voluntarily embraces the arbitration procedure!

The most disgusting capitulation on the left to this sellout came from the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the new cheerleaders for the "progressive" wing of the trade-union bureaucracy. Last week they merely termed arbitration "risky." This week, in the 23 July *Militant*, the SWP embraced the bureaucracy's line lock, stock and barrel, asserting that by agreeing to binding arbitration, the employers will be "giving in on these key demands" of the union!

But the 1199 strike was not a victory—it was a defeat. In the last analysis, this defeat is attributable to the union leadership. The Davis bureaucracy—like its counterparts in NYC's municipal labor unions—is fundamentally unwilling to challenge the city/state fiscal austerity program, which is designed for the benefit of the bankers and capitalists.

The 1199 strike did not directly confront such wage-freezing bodies as the Emergency Financial Control Board. This fact helps explain part of the reason why Davis can appear more "militant" than leaders of the transit workers, teachers, municipal hospital workers, etc. However, the NYC fiscal crisis did have a direct impact on the 1199 strike. The stubbornness of the so-called "private" voluntary hospitals arose precisely from the fact that state Medicaid subsidies have been frozen. (And by state law, this means that Blue

Cross rates cannot go up either.)

A victory for 1199 would have entailed linking up with the city labor movement to smash the capitalist austerity program. The voluntary hospitals should be taken over by the city and free medical care provided to all. A joint strike of 1199 and AFSCME, representing municipal hospital workers, should have been waged to secure more jobs, through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, and a substantial wage increase for union members. Rather than closing down facilities, as city rulers project, new hospitals and clinics must be constructed to provide quality health services.

But even when Davis called out 5,000 District 1199 workers who are employed at municipal hospitals, he made no attempt to appeal for solidarity from AFSCME-represented city hospital workers. Like Gotbaum, Shanker and Guinan, Davis/Foner fundamentally accept the confines of the fiscal straitjacket imposed on NYC by the financial czars and corporate bosses. 1199 members will take no real steps forward until these pro-capitalist "progressive" labor fakers are replaced by a genuine class-struggle leadership. ■

Air Traffic Control...

(continued from page 7)

lers guided by pure racism. Since they have traditional weight in numbers it was easy for them to sow confusion about our demands by conjuring up the fake problem of air safety. All over the world, except in Quebec, the language of the country is the prime language in air communications. What we want is nothing more than this fundamental right.

Globe and Mail [Toronto], 30 June

Nationalist parochialism to the contrary, throughout the world the "language of air communications"—which is not a language at all, but rather a technical lexicon of a few hundred words—is based on English. The use of a uniform terminology is imposed by the requirements of the internationally integrated, technically sophisticated aviation industry. That the lingua franca of commercial aviation is English is due to the historic dominance of the U.S. in international commercial aviation.

The Montreal-based International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), the internationally recognized body for setting civil aviation standards, has established a uniform vocabulary based on English for air traffic control. This specialized jargon is the standard medium for all official communications between pilot and airport of all signatory countries. Thus the predominance of English in Quebec air space has nothing to do with English-Canadian chauvinism.

The strongest proof that CATCA/CALPA struck over a real safety issue is the support that their stand against bilingualism in the air has received from the international pilots' union. At its convention last April, the International Federation of Airline Pilots' Associations passed a resolution, introduced by the Swiss pilots' group, which expressed "shock and dismay" at the Canadian government for "creating a non-standard, bilingual air traffic control system...that represents an ominous step backward in air safety" (*Globe and Mail*, 8 July). The pilots of Switzerland (a country whose three native languages do not include English) can hardly be charged with English-Canadian chauvinism.

Some countries, such as France and Spain, do allow for air traffic control in the native language—as well as in the international language of aviation, English. But other major non-English-speaking nations—the Scandinavian countries, West Germany, Austria,

Holland, Switzerland, Israel—have established English as the sole language of air traffic control. The Canadian air traffic controllers' position was summed up by CALPA president Kenneth Malley: "Why go for a second class air safety situation when we already have a first class safety situation using the language of the air—English?" (*Toronto Sun*, 27 June).

A widely reported incident highlighting the importance of language in air safety was a collision between an Iberia jet and a Spantax charter flight near Nantes, France, on 5 March 1973, during a strike by French air controllers. The French government attempted to break the strike by the use of army air controllers. According to the findings of a subsequent investigating commission, a contributing factor was that one of the seahs "used a term of international phraseology wrongly" (*Aviation Week*, 31 March 1975).

Thus the safety question and the need for a single, standard lexicon of air traffic control are not bogus issues. The CALPA and CATCA strikes for air safety are supportable by class-struggle unionists.

The philistine nationalism of Gens de l'Air led Quebec pilots to scab on the CATCA/CALPA strike. There are three major issues to be defended in that strike: safety and the importance of international communications; the right to bargain over safety conditions; and the defense of trade unionism over provincial/national parochialism. On all these issues the Quebec nationalists sided with the strikebreaking Trudeau government and objectively strengthened the capitalists against the union movement.

For Language Rights for the Québécois!

The air traffic control dispute takes place in the context of the inflamed national antagonisms between English-speaking Canadians and the nationally oppressed Québécois. The Trudeau government's policy is liberal reform. Some of its measures are simply tokenism: similar to the required labeling of all food products in both English and French. But others have provoked bitter opposition.

The 1969 "Official Languages Act" specifies that education and government services must be provided in both English and French where required. This supportable democratic reform is the target of opposition from many quarters. The measure is viewed as a nuisance by many—for example, civil servants who now find themselves obliged to go back to school and learn French as a precondition for promotion. Arrogant English-Canadian chauvinists have vowed to reverse the government's commitment to bilingualism. Extreme Quebec nationalists have been equally vociferous in opposing language rights for minorities within the province, counterposing the exclusive use of French in Quebec (see "Language Controversy in Quebec," *W/V* No. 50, 2 August 1974).

There can be no doubt that the air traffic control dispute has intersected rampant insensitivity to the oppression of the Québécois and outright English-Canadian chauvinism. The bureaucracies of the aviation unions have been far from guiltless in this regard. For example, CATCA president Jim Livingston refused to sign the last contract with the Quebec Association because it was in French, an act of insufferable national arrogance.

Revolutionists must uncompromisingly combat any manifestation of anti-Québécois chauvinism associated with the stand of the aviation unions, counterposing cross-Canada workers' unity on the basis of a resolute struggle for the rights of the most oppressed. The unity of the Canadian workers movement requires support for the principle of bilingualism. Concretely this means that the Québécois must be able to work, receive an education and deal

with government bodies in their native language.

But the argument that unilingual air traffic control discriminates against the Québécois in the aviation industry is phony. A Québécois pilot landing in Brazil, just as an Iranian pilot landing in France or a German pilot landing in Sweden, must be able to communicate in standard terminology with the airport, as well as comprehend the instructions being issued to other aircraft in the vicinity.

Consequently, Marxists support a single international lexicon of air traffic control. The addition of a second language is an element of confusion with potentially fatal consequences. Requiring air controllers to use the standard English air communication terminology is no more inherently discriminatory than requiring programmers working on a Fortran computer system to master the Fortran "language." Insofar as the use of English gives English-Canadians a natural edge for aviation jobs, Leninists must demand that the government provide special assistance for French Canadians to enable them to become pilots and controllers.

Leninism vs. Nationalism on the Language Question

Lenin insisted that Marxists recognize "no privileges for any one nation or any one language." He advocated equality of languages in multi-national states, recognizing that only on the basis of the struggle for equality of nations could proletarian unity be forged. The issue of language rights is particularly important in the case of Quebec, since it is the French language more than any other single factor which distinguishes the Québécois as a nation.

Lenin insisted that support to the national rights of a people is meaningless without the recognition in principle of the right to self-determination—i.e., the right to secede and form an independent nation-state. The Quebec nationalists' demand for French unilingualism in Quebec demonstrates their willingness to sacrifice the fight against oppression of French-speakers throughout Canada in exchange for the "right" to impose French in one province. This position has profoundly reactionary consequences, in effect linguistically ghettoizing Quebec and depriving French speakers in the province of any access to English, the dominant language of the North American political economy.

Lenin recognized that the development of the means of production drives toward the assimilation of nationalities:

"Developing capitalism knows two historical tendencies in the national question. The first is the awakening of national life and national movements, the struggle against all national oppression, and the creation of national states. The second is the development and growing frequency of international intercourse in every form, the breakdown of national barriers, the creation of the international unity of capital, of economic life in general, of politics, of science, etc.... The latter characterises a mature capitalism that is moving towards its transformation into socialist society."

V.I. Lenin, *Critical Remarks on the National Question*, 1913

The tendency toward internationalization is most pronounced in industries, such as air travel, which embody the most advanced development of technology under capitalism. International conventions and the standardization of equipment and procedures are a fact of life for the aviation industry. The bilingual policy which is suitable for the labeling of pickle jars is inapplicable to international air travel. The use of English as the lingua franca of air traffic control prefigures the development of a common world language under socialism. It foreshadows the immense leap in international technological development which will take place when the productive forces are freed from the shackles of private ownership and the nation-state by world proletarian revolution. ■

S.F. Strike Accounting...

(continued from page 7)

these traitors." Picking up on the theme a bit later in the letter, he adds: "No unity of action with the union hacks!"

This sectarian adventurism is the flip side of PL's economist reformism. While the labor bureaucracy is a transmission belt for bourgeois ideology and acts as the agent of the class enemy, it cannot be simply equated to the bourgeoisie. A political break from the labor fakers is indeed necessary, but deserting the unions ("no unity of action") in order to circumvent the rotten leadership is a dead-end policy.

That is just what PL did during the S.F. city workers strike. At the crucial Transport Workers Union (TWU) drivers meeting which gave city unions a 72-hour deadline to organize a general strike, PL supporters in MUNI leafleted the meeting and then disappeared! The TWU Local 250A bureaucracy can't be defeated by kowtowing to it, but neither will it be ousted by ignoring the labor fakers.

Not Phony "Self-Criticism," But a Revolutionary Program

While the letter writer is unable to escape from the vicious circle of reformism and sectarianism, the editors of *Challenge* can do little to enlighten him. Their comment glibly concedes that PL's work in the strike had weaknesses, "such as the failure to recognize the sell-out union leaders as obstacles that have to be destroyed [!!!] and to prepare to organize the strike independent of them." The editors also "agree with the criticism of our failure to mobilize mass strike support."

PL's trade-union work has constantly oscillated between a policy of "left-center coalitions," in which the "left" (PL) capitulates to the "center" (would-be labor fakers on the make), and a policy of out-and-out sectarian adventurism. This time the main thrust of the author's criticism is directed against right opportunism. But such phony "criticism/self-criticism" episodes have occurred countless times in the past without making a dent in PL's fundamental politics.

That PL is evidently incapable of learning anything is proven by the editors' assessment of the strike. *Challenge* disagrees with the writer's estimate that the strike ended in defeat, sermonizing that while the "reform demands, essentially, were lost," the workers got stronger politically! This is hogwash. Inability to recognize the very fact of the rout indicates a bottomless capacity for wishful thinking and self-delusion, rivaled only by the CP, which declared the strike settlement a victory. Revolutionaries must not shrink from saying what is, even if the truth is unpleasant.

A careful examination of the events of the San Francisco strike reveals near-total incapacity of the CP and PL to either understand or act upon basic facts in the class struggle. In contrast, the Spartacist League and its supporters in the trade unions conducted systematic, energetic and all-sided propaganda and agitation during the strike—explaining the issues, calling for broadening and deepening the mobilization into a general strike, warning of the union bureaucrats' treachery and calling for democratically elected strike committees to lead the struggle.

Class-struggle militants in several unions attempted to bring delegations of city workers to meetings of their unions to explain the issues of the strike and bring their unions out in solidarity with the striking city workers. Several public forums were sponsored by the SL, while its youth section, the SYL, was active on campuses building support for the strike among students. This was a crucial activity, since in the event of a general strike the campuses would be (and historically have been) a natural reservoir of scab labor. SLers and SYLers also marched on the picket lines.

We do not, of course, expect either PL or the CP to draw revolutionary conclusions from the events of the April-May San Francisco city craft workers strike. We do, however, hope that after careful study some of their disillusioned supporters will see the validity of our conclusions, turn their backs on Stalinist reformism and join with us in fighting to build a Trotskyist party that can truly show the way to break from class collaboration and clear the road to workers revolution. ■

Argentina...

(continued from page 2)

two weeks in office by "old guard" police officials indicated another defeat for "civilized" reactionary Videla in his battle against the "hardliners."

Austerity and Denationalizations

Aside from the more direct austerity measures that are impoverishing the Argentine masses in order to restore the profitability of the economy, the junta is moving rapidly to resolve long-standing disputes with U.S. and European corporations whose subsidiaries were nationalized by the Peronist regime.

Meanwhile, intersecting the program of the *gorilas* and the activities of the paramilitary terror squads is a thriving fascist movement that is inundating the country with pro-Nazi propaganda. Thus the reactionary offensive extends to all domains simultaneously. As the present regime abandons the anti-imperialist pretenses and nationalist half measures of its predecessor, it attempts to systematize the repression. The death penalty has not only been reinstated, but it must now be carried out within 48 hours, with no appeal. And, taking Brazilian laws as a model, the junta is now considering a special court with jurisdiction over actions during the Peronist interlude which although not actually illegal are considered "irregular" by the military.

Unfortunately for Stalinist class collaborators who are perpetually on the prowl for an "anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie or "constitutionalist" officers—in this case most prominently the Argentine Communist Party which actually greeted the coup by saluting the junta's "respect for representative democracy"—within the political spectrum of Argentina's armed forces the most "progressive" officers happen to be none other than Videla & Co. And the inimitable "hardliner" General Benjamin Menendez, commander of the third army corps in Córdoba and believed to head the Comando Libertadores de América (a paramilitary death squad modeled on the AAA), stated the power relationship between "moderates" and "hawks" quite succinctly: "While Videla governs, I kill" (*Latin America*, 18 June).

As the shamefaced Stalinists try to hide their treachery, Trotskyists must take the lead in mounting an international campaign of working-class protest against the savage butchery of the Argentine junta. Stop the rightist terror—Free all class-war prisoners in Argentina! Break with Peronism, guerrillism and Stalinism—For a Trotskyist party in Argentina! Smash the bloody junta through workers revolution! ■

Washington Post

(continued from page 12)

number of union jobs in the trade, combined with the *Post*-instigated blacklist, has made the plight of the strikers increasingly desperate. Union sources indicate that one *Post* pressman has committed suicide and two others made attempts on their lives.

From the beginning, management has used the damage to the presses as the basis for a massive anti-union propaganda campaign. The *Post* systematically exaggerated the extent of the damage. Originally it claimed \$2 million, then lowered it to \$269,225. However, as Local 6 has pointed out, the bill for replacement of press parts amounted to only \$13,000!

On Thursday, a newly formed Local 6 Legal Defense Committee held a press conference to denounce the grand jury investigation, which subpoenaed more than 80 pressmen as part of a fishing expedition to victimize strike militants and a conspiracy to destroy printing trades unionism at the *Post*. In a press statement, Defense Committee chairman John Hanrahan, a *Post* editor who is honoring the pressmen's picket lines, was quoted as saying:

"Earl Silbert didn't find that conspiracy because it didn't exist... The millions of dollars of pressroom damage which the *Post* trumpeted in the crucial early weeks of the strike was a propaganda strawman designed to hide its anti-union tactics and win public sympathy by painting pressmen as a pack of violent thugs."

An indication that Graham's anti-union crusade extends to militants of *all* the unions representing her employees was the 16 July *Washington Post* account of the defense committee press conference. The article referred to Hanrahan, who was defeated by scab leader Don Baker, in this year's election for chairman of the Newspaper Guild unit at the *Post*, as "formerly a *Post* state editor" (our emphasis).

All union militants must come to the defense of the embattled pressmen. Marxists do not, of course, advocate individual sabotage as a class-struggle strategy. Rather than temporarily damaging a few presses, class-struggle unionists would call for militant mass picket lines and occupying the plant in order to shut down production. (In this context, as in the famous Flint UAW action in 1936, the threat of extensive damage to capital equipment has been



Susan T. McElhinney/Newsweek

Damaged presses at Washington Post last October.

an effective weapon in defending a sit-down strike against police assault.) At the *Post* it was the failure of the union leaderships, including that of Local 6, to implement such militant policies that was responsible for the defeat of the strike.

But the federal indictments are a vicious persecution of desperate workers with their backs to the wall who attempted to wage a militant defense of their threatened jobs. All unionists must vigorously defend the victimized militants who are being prosecuted in the bosses' courts for attacking capital! There must be no quarter given in this battle; those who remain silent are guilty of aiding and abetting *Post* scabberding. Any prosecution of the pressmen, including on "lesser" or "more reasonable" charges, must be sharply opposed!

The Local 6 Legal Defense Committee has begun a national campaign to raise funds for the victimized militants. However, in the past the pressmen's union has received little more than backstabbing from the rest of organized labor. Local 6 workers told *WV* that even the IGPCU International has given the Local very little support and that it is not backing the Local's legal suits against the blacklisting, as well as hinting that the picket lines must come down. This despicable sabotage of labor solidarity by the sellout union bureaucracy must be halted and a broad mobilization of labor initiated to defend the pressmen.

Drop all charges against the *Post* pressmen! Smash the lockout—Full reinstatement of Local 6 pressmen and all other victimized militants! ■

Drop the Charges! For A Class-Struggle Labor Defense of Endangered Post Strikers!

On July 19 the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) sent the following telegram protesting the grand jury indictment of seven *Washington Post* pressmen on frame-up charges stemming from alleged sabotage of *Post* presses at the beginning of the bitter, nine-month-old strike:

Local 6 Legal Defense Committee

1300 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Room 101

Washington, D.C. 20006

The Partisan Defense Committee stands in full solidarity with IGPCU Local 6 against the vicious union-busting conspiracy of the *Washington Post* and U.S. Attorney Earl Silbert. The felony indictments of pressmen not only threaten the continued existence of Local 6 but also constitute a provocation directed at the entire labor movement. We demand that all charges against the pressmen be dropped immediately! We further demand an end to the *Post* lockout of Local 6 and call for the full reinstatement with back pay of the striking pressmen and their supporters.

Partisan Defense Committee

The PDC urges readers of *WV* to send donations and messages of support to the Local 6 Legal Defense Committee at the above address.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Binding Arbitration Equals Defeat

1199 Tops Call Off Militant NYC Hospital Strike

JULY 17—The strike of 40,000 hospital workers ended today when management accepted the demand of District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees for binding arbitration. The agreement came about through the intermediary of Democratic governor Hugh Carey, who had threatened to cut off state subsidies unless the hospitals accepted the arbitration procedure.

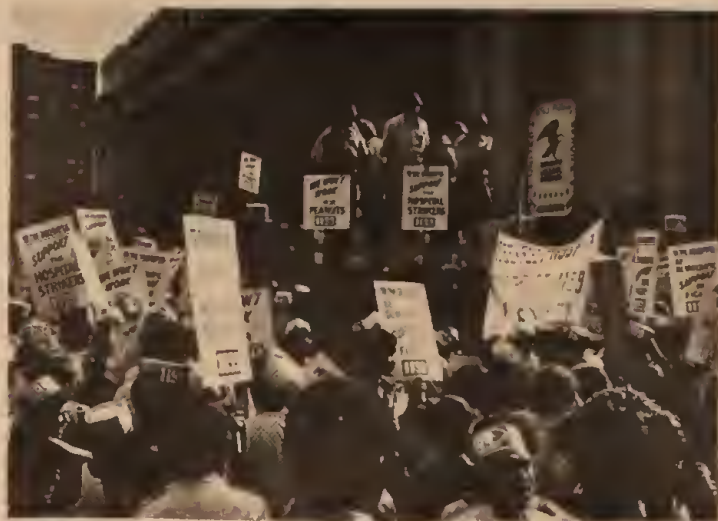
While the 1199 leadership claims a victory, the settlement guarantees that hospital workers will receive at most a minimal wage increase, and probably nothing else. A federal mediation team had earlier recommended a 6 percent cost-of-living pay hike. Since union and management agreed that the arbitrator would consider the recommendations not only of this federal fact-finding panel, but also the "financial plight" of the hospitals, even the paltry 6 percent figure will undoubtedly be slashed.

Moreover, the hospitals are still claiming that they have absolutely no money for a wage increase. William Abelow, chief negotiator for the League of Voluntary Hospitals, the employers' organization, threatened that any arbi-

tration award which created new costs would "raise the prospect of layoffs and cutbacks in services" (*New York Post*, 17 July). Since the new contract does nothing to increase job security for hospital workers, this is a distinct possibility.

The 11-day hospital strike was the most bitterly fought strike in NYC in quite a while. Over 130 picketers were arrested in the course of the strike. Numbers of hospital workers were beaten by cops and charges of police brutality, protesting assaults on arrested picketers inside police stations, have been filed.

There was considerable bitterness within the 1199 ranks over how the strike was conducted. Formally, the union appealed to nurses and doctors not to cross picket lines. In practice nothing was done to prevent them from scabbing. Even more galling, specially recruited scabs, the so-called "volunteers," were frequently let through the lines by the union bureaucracy. At one major hospital, Mount Sinai, the chairman of the strike committee resigned in the midst of the strike, citing



District 1199 strikers rallied outside Democratic convention. WV Photo

refusal of the union leaders to back up an earlier membership decision to keep out the "volunteers" and protesting the bureaucrats' arrogant ripping up of petitions demanding that this policy be implemented.

Throughout the strike the union was subjected to the usual capitalist propaganda accusing it of callous disregard for the health of patients. The liberal mouthpiece of U.S. finance capital, the

New York Times (8 July), haughtily denounced the 1199 action as a "strike against the sick." (It is, of course, Wall Street and their flunkies such as New York mayor Beame who have been dictating cutbacks in medical service and closings of city hospitals over the recent period!) But 1199 president Leon Davis in fact accepted the bosses' proposition that a militant strike would

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Vindictive Federal Prosecution Threatens Printing Trades

Seven Washington Post Pressmen Face 160 Years in Prison

JULY 19—A vicious witchhunting attack has been initiated against striking *Washington Post* pressmen belonging to Local 6 of the International Printing and Graphic Communications Union (IPGCU). After a nine-month investigation by the office of U.S. attorney Earl Silbert into the widely publicized "destruction" of *Post* presses when the strike began October 1, on Wednesday a federal grand jury handed down felony indictments charging seven pressmen with offenses ranging from rioting, inciting to riot and destruction of property to grand larceny. Four of the seven were also charged with assaulting a foreman. Several of the charges carry a maximum sentence of ten years and between the seven victims of this union-busting frame-up they face a total of at least 160 years in prison! According to Silbert, additional indictments are expected this week.

The criminal prosecution is the latest of several vicious blows suffered by the

Post pressmen. The Washington daily's liberal publisher Kathryn Graham made it very clear early in the strike that management was out to break the pressmen's union. In a July 15 press statement, IPGCU Local 6 president Everett Forseman said that the *Post* had "planned for several years to replace us." They first "brought in a union-busting management team and then proceeded to violate our contract time and time again, trained scabs to take over our jobs and mounted a campaign to strip us of our dignity and take away our livelihood."

Graham never even pretended to bargain seriously with Local 6, the *Post*'s "final offer" would have, among other things, reduced a quarter of the pressmen to part-time status and simply eliminated strong union safeguards against arbitrary changing of shop-floor practices by management. When the union rejected this offer in December, *Post* spokesmen announced that the

strikers were being permanently replaced by scabs. In February the other *Post* draft unions, which had heretofore respected the picket lines, returned to work, crossing the pressmen's lines and abandoning their fellow workers in the face of the company lockout.

In the press release, Forseman stated, "The *Post* hired a fancy public relations firm, ordered 60 scabs from a newspaper scab school in Oklahoma, engineered a nationwide blacklist against Local 6 members and began using the legal system and media to finish the job it started." The blacklist has been highly effective, depriving the *Post* pressmen of virtually all job opportunities.

Over the past ten years, the newspaper barons have waged a relentless struggle against union pressmen. In fact, a third of the striking *Post* pressmen had been ousted from previous jobs by publishers who brought in non-union labor. The rapidly shrinking

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Striking pressmen picketing last October. Daily World