

## Racists Shoot Down Hundreds

# Anti-Apartheid Struggles Sweep South Africa

AUGUST 14 The determination of South Africa's black masses to destroy the apartheid system root and branch is evident in the wave of plebeian rebellions that continues to convulse African townships from Johannesburg to Cape Town. In the face of overwhelming military force and armed with nothing more than sticks and stones, African youths have struck out with increasing boldness and organization. The white supremacist regime in Pretoria has responded with a few window-dressing concessions and sharpened repression, including the arrest yesterday of Winnie Mandela, wife of long-imprisoned African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela.

The revolt, which began June 16 in the huge Soweto township outside Johannesburg, spread for the first time this week to the southwestern Cape Province. Since Wednesday at least 29 black protesters have been slaughtered by racist stormtroopers in the African areas of Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu outside Cape Town.

Like Soweto, the rebels at Cape Town organized a school boycott to demand

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Demonstrators near Cape Town are attacked by South African police dogs August 12.

AP

## Rhodesian Terror Raid on Mozambique/8



Hubert Schatzl

Muñoz greeted at airport by Austrian representative of Committee to Save Mario Muñoz

## International Defense Campaign Victorious

# Mario Muñoz Arrives in Vienna!

VIENNA, August 10—After spending more than 130 days in hiding from the Argentine police, Mario Muñoz arrived at Schwechat airport in Vienna, Austria Wednesday night. As the persecuted Chilean miners' leader emerged from customs he was surrounded by a crowd which had come to greet him. Among them were fellow Chilean refugees, Muñoz' fellow militants in struggle, who embraced their comrade. Ever since the junta's manhunt began on March 29, they had lived in fear that they would never see Muñoz alive again.

A worldwide campaign had been built to save Muñoz from the blood-drenched Argentine military dictatorship, which had alternately threatened to shoot him on sight or deport him to Chile, where he would face certain imprisonment, torture and possible death at the hands of Pinochet's butchers. The campaign of militant labor solidarity—co-sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee

(PDC) in the U.S. and the Europe-based Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile—had obtained an Austrian visa and aid from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), enabling Muñoz to leave Argentina under UN auspices.

On hand at the airport to meet Muñoz was a delegation organized by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz. His comrades elung to him for several minutes in an emotional reunion. Then a welcoming speech was made by Albrecht Konecny, chairman of the Young Generation of the Austrian Socialist Party. Muñoz expressed gratitude that the Austrian government had agreed to receive him and thanked all those whose solidarity with the campaign had saved his life.

Two days later, on March 7, the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz held a press conference at the Cafe Landtmann

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Fleeta Drumgo

David Johnson

Guardian Bureau

Hugo Pinell

Johnny Larry Spain

Luis Talamantez

Willie Tate

## Trial Ends, Persecution Continues

# Free the San Quentin Six!

### Three Acquitted in \$2 Million Racist Show Trial

After the longest and most expensive show trial in California's history, the verdict on the San Quentin Six is in—three acquitted, three found guilty of assault and murder. These men, brought into court every day for 16 months leashed like animals, were chained to chairs bolted to the floor, behind a bullet-proof screen. They were accused of resisting prison guards—guards who shot down and murdered George Jackson on 21 August 1971.

The murderous guards, of course, are free. The six prisoners were kept in solitary confinement for *four years* before the trial even began, in an attempt to break their spirit. It is for their refusal to submit to the inhuman degradation of prison life that they were singled out for persecution.

The reinstitution of the death penalty, recent Supreme Court decisions to refuse prisoners the right to counsel or to cross-examine witnesses against them, and the railroading of the San

Quentin Six are part of the bourgeois state's increasingly open and violent repression of all who would resist it. The San Quentin Six trial is one bitter episode in an escalation of state terror by true criminals—the Fords and Kissingers (and Carters)—to maintain the bourgeoisie's state power.

The jury returned its verdict on August 12. Three of the six, Fleeta Drumgo, Luis Talamantez and Willie Tate, were acquitted of all charges. Hugo Pinell and David Johnson were convicted of assault against prison guards (which carries a possible sentence of life imprisonment) and Johnny L. Spain was convicted of two first-degree murders and conspiracy to escape from San Quentin prison by force.

### Racist Frame-up

The prosecution charges stemmed from the events of 21 August 1971 at San Quentin, when George Jackson, well-known Black Panther, was shot down by prison guards in what the prosecution characterized as an "escape

attempt" only two days before he was scheduled to appear in court (on other charges stemming from the shooting of a prison guard, the "Soledad Brothers" case—defendants in that case were all later acquitted). Three prison guards and two inmate "trustees" died in the melee touched off by the state's death pnt against Jackson, who had served 11 years of an indeterminate "one-year-to-life" sentence for a \$71 gas station robbery.

The San Quentin Six were *all* charged with conspiracy and murder by the prosecution—which admitted that it could not prove which of the defendants had allegedly committed which murders. What the six did have in common, and what was the real basis for the prosecution's singling them out, however, is their long history of resistance to the pervasive official harassment and terror of the prison system. Drumgo and Spain participated in political discussions organized by Jackson; Johnson and Tate made written statements denouncing the murder of a prisoner by San Quentin guards; others had been through previous frame-ups and were

acquitted of charges of assaulting or murdering prison guards.

They were all hated by prison authorities for refusing to submit to the inhuman degradations of prison life. Protests, food riots and work stoppages have been directed against many aspects of the barbaric conditions of life at San Quentin, and the San Quentin Six (and delendants in other related cases) have been active in these struggles.

Thus the state singled out these men for persecution. Although it managed to win three convictions, the state's lengthy trial, which cost over \$2 million, left many questions unanswered in the minds of the jury, which was out for 24 days. Members of the jury admitted to reporters that there were "puzzles" and "a number of unanswered questions" remaining, and one juror commented, "I still don't think I know what were the circumstances of George Jackson's death." Johnny Spain's murder convictions rest solely on a report that he had had a pistol on the day of Jackson's death and that two of the guards had died of gunshot wounds (additionally, one juror commented that .38-caliber bullets had been reported found in a bar of soap in his cell).

### The Trial: State Intimidation, Cover-up and Conspiracy

Although the state had *four years* to prepare its case (the trial did not begin until 1975), during which the defendants were in solitary confinement, the prosecution case was flimsy and self-contradictory, resting on the vague catch-all "conspiracy" theory.

The defense was denied access to government files. Defense witnesses, mostly black prisoners, were fearful of beatings by guards when they returned to their cells after testifying. The five defendants still in prison (Willie Tate was released on bail in 1975) appeared in court shackled. Trial spectators were searched and photographed every time they entered the courtroom. The official autopsy on Jackson was drastically revised a month after its release, and last November a state ballistics expert, David Burd, changed his four-year-old story on how bullets traveled through Jackson's body.

The openly hostile judge, Henry Broderick, consistently sustained prosecution objections, while obstructing defense evidence. Dramatic testimony by ex-agent provocateur Louis Tackwood in April on government plans to assassinate Jackson was only partially heard by the jury, on Judge Broderick's orders, while an affidavit filed by Frank J. Cox, Marin County's Chief Public Defender, in June 1975, asserting there was a conspiracy to kill Jackson, was ordered sealed by the judge.

While the trial is over, the persecution of the San Quentin Six will continue.

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## Letter

6 August 1976

Comrades,

Re your (most welcome) review of Baraka's recent 'play' *S.I.* which states that Brecht's *GALILEO* is 'an allegorical treatment of the Moscow Trials', here is Eric Bentley replying to Isaac Deutscher (whose interpretation of *GALILEO* is significantly similar to your own):

'Brecht may have been troubled by inner doubts, but on the whole he must

be said to have given his approval to the Moscow trials, much in the spirit of his close friend Fenechtwanger, whose ardently Stalinist book *MOSCOW 1937* is mentioned by Mr. Deutscher... that Brecht, in that period, would knowingly have depicted Stalin simply as the enemy is improbable in the extreme.'

The full article, which persuasively suggests that the real theme of *GALILEO* is the issue of scientific responsibility, can be found in Bentley's *THEATRE OF WAR*.

Comradely,  
N.P.

*WV replies:* It is undoubtedly correct that a major concern of Brecht's play *Galileo Galilei* is the question of freedom of scientific inquiry and the social responsibility of the scientist. Nevertheless, the political Brecht was no doubt aware, as he wrote this play at the height of the Moscow Trials in 1937-38, of the burning moral political issues involved. Deutscher's interpretation of the play was that it expressed the problem of old Bolsheviks facing new Stalinist terror on a grand scale:

"He [Brecht] surrendered to it with a load of doubt on his mind, as the capitulators in Russia had done, and he expressed artistically his and their predicament in *Galileo Galilei*. It was through the prism of the Bolshevik experience that he saw Galileo going

down on his knees before the Inquisition and doing this from an 'historic necessity' because of the people's spiritual and political immaturity."

Isaac Deutscher, *The Prophet Outcast*

Eric Bentley's interpretation of the play's "real theme" as scientific responsibility by no means precludes other levels of meaning. The original play gives an historical justification for false confession given under political duress. It is revealing in this regard that when Brecht re-wrote sections of the play in the U.S. during the McCarthy witch-hunt and at the time of the Stalinist show trials in Eastern Europe, a denunciation of false confession was included.

The implication of the Bentley quote is that it is inconceivable that a Stalinist, such as Brecht, would have allowed his qualms about the Moscow Trials to find expression in his dramatic art. This is simply blind Stalinophobia. Yet despite his qualms, Brecht himself never broke with Stalinism and remained a defender of the Stalinist regimes in Russia and Eastern Europe until his death. Our mention of *Galileo* is certainly no defense of Brecht's political integrity, but rather a recognition that the show-trial atrocities of Stalinism had their effect—even within the ranks of fellow travelers and CPers who were unable, for various reasons, to make a clean break to revolutionary politics.

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## Bureaucrats Sell Out AFSCME Hospital Strike

NEW YORK—With the agreement of hospital workers leaders Victor Gotbaum and Lillian Roberts to give up over \$10 million in the union's 1976 (and possibly '77) COLA (cost of living adjustment) increases, the four-day-old strike of AFSCME Local 420 ended abruptly here August 8. In exchange for the COLA, the deal—which union leaders tried to label a "victory"—called for the city to rescind the 992 layoffs which sparked the strike when announced earlier this month.

A week before the strike Gotbaum's paper, the *Public Employee Press*, hailed an interim agreement to save the COLA as a "remarkable achievement" on the part of the leadership. Now they toss this vitally necessary increase out the window!

Almost before the bureaucrats' "victory" settlement had hit the press, the city was announcing a new wave of over 3,000 more layoffs projected for the end of the year. Behind the enormous contempt the city's announcement revealed toward the blustering do-nothing labor bureaucrats was the sure knowledge that further protests from them would be feeble.

Indeed, throughout the strike, the first in Local 420's history, Gotbaum was clearly more afraid of the consequences of winning than of losing. Thus the settlement came at a time when labor support to striking Local 420 was growing. Ambulance drivers Local 2507 was refusing to cross 420's lines, and a militant membership meeting of hospital clerks Local 1549 had threatened a sympathy strike which would have quickly spread to the other associated hospital workers' locals. The mood at many of the struck hospitals was militant; with workers arrested for trying to keep out scabs at many locations, despite the leadership's warnings to cool down the lines.

The first "official" city strike against layoffs (sanitationmen briefly wildcat- ted against the first wave of cuts in 1975), the city hospital workers strike had vast political potential. There is a felt need here for labor action to link the struggles of city workers, students, and the poor and minority populations against the Draconian cuts. At Harlem Hospital, for example, about two hundred workers roundly cheered the approach of a contingent of City College students who marched from the campus to join the lines.

Initiated by the Spartacus Youth League, the CCNY Ad Hoc Committee to Support the Hospital Strike was well received as it marched through Harlem chanting "Victory to the Hospital Strike. Workers and Students Must Unite!" At the lines strikers cheered when SYL spokesman Brian Mendis linked the students' struggle against cutbacks to that of the hospital workers, pointing to the SYL's call on the campuses for a citywide general strike against cutbacks. Also joining the march were seamen from the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union.

From the strike's beginning the city gambled on taking a hard line to force the Local into early settlement. It was not much of a risk, for above all Gotbaum shares with the city's ruling Democratic Party the fear of any strike escalation which could lead to a situation like the recent San Francisco near general strike. The city's policy was aimed at quickly convincing the ranks that the situation was hopeless with the union caught between the city's hard line and a leadership that will not fight. This the members well know. From Gotbaum's initial acceptance of 3,000



Spartacus Youth League spokesman addressing Local 420 pickets at Harlem Hospital August 5.

layoffs without a fight last year to his delaying the present strike until August in order to ensure "labor peace" during the Democratic Convention.

Thus, as the bourgeois press blamed strikers for the alleged rising toll of hospital deaths due to patient neglect, the city took the offensive, refusing at first to negotiate, while issuing immediate injunctions forbidding sanitationmen and other city workers to respect the hospital lines. Leaning on the Taylor Law (which forbids strikes of public employees), it threatened to arrest the leadership and slapped heavy fines on the union treasury. Then in the midst of the strike, Governor Hugh Carey provocatively announced that the state was cutting back Medicaid reimbursements to the city, necessitating several thousand additional layoffs by year's end.

By the weekend the city began to negotiate, offering to rescind the 992 layoffs in exchange for the union's COLA increase. The payroll, it said, could be maintained through the "discovery" of a spare \$5 million mislaid until now in the city's coffers—a statement whose boundless cynicism was matched only by the union's claim that the deal was a "victory." With a noticeable lack of enthusiasm, an August 8 membership meeting ratified the deal with no organized opposition from the floor.

Many of the opposition groups inside the union seemed taken aback and disoriented by Gotbaum's decision to call the strike. A leaflet from the DC 37 Rank-and-File Committee (supported by Workers Viewpoint) explained, "The 4-day strike showed us that despite [emphasis in original] the MIS- leadership of Gotbaum, Roberts and Butler, we can fight and fight to win... It is our *militancy* and *working class solidarity* that forced our union MIS- leaders to call the strike." But the ranks' desire to fight did not suffice to save the strike from bitter defeat. Mass pressure cannot force the leadership to the left beyond momentary posturing. The struggle against the labor bureaucracy must be waged politically and cannot be sidestepped. The Rank-and-File group's simple appeal to the ranks' militancy in calling for wildcat action is no substitute for this fight and in general will bring, not victory, but treacherous defeat.

While the Rank-and-File Committee at least called for a no vote on the

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## Scab Runs Down ILWU Militant

OAKLAND, CA., August 18—A member of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) was killed on the picket line in Tracy by a scab truckdriver at 4 a.m. on August 6. The picket, Norman Ray Lewis, was a member of Warehouse Local 6 and was picketing the Handyman Corporation warehouse, which was struck on August 4 by the 23 recently unionized workers who are struggling for their first contract.

The labor fakers' abdication of their most elementary responsibility to defend the unions from the bosses' escalating anti-labor offensive in the Bay Area has emboldened the capitalists and created the atmosphere in which scabs dare murder strikers.

According to Chief Steward Jim Halog at the scene, the driver of the 27-foot truck, who was said to be a company supervisor, deliberately drove through the picket line: "The truck hit Norman. When he moved away, the truck moved closer, hitting him again, knocked him down and then ran over him" (*The Dispatcher*, 6 August). Norman Ray Lewis was in his 30's, married, and had five children; early reports indicated he died of head injuries. The truck driver was reported to be Leslie Raymond Laeger of Richardson, Texas (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 7 August).

This atrocity should have provoked a massive response from the Bay Area labor movement and the ILWU in particular, to demand the prosecution of the truck driver and to come to the defense of the Handyman strike. Indeed the 1934 San Francisco general strike was sparked by the police murder of two workers. But the class-collaborationist labor bureaucracy is more afraid of mobilizing its own ranks than anything else—as was demonstrated by the absolute refusal of the Central Labor Council to implement its own call for a general strike last April to defend the beleaguered S.F. city workers strike.

Thus, the ILWU leadership has kept a tight lid on information about the murder: the only official union notice was a small box in the August 6 issue of *The Dispatcher*, which merely advises the membership to "not purchase any Handyman products until further notice." The union paper also says, "Watch *Dispatcher* and local bulletins for details," but another box announces the cancellation of the next issue until September 10!

A recent leaflet put out by *Longshore Militant*, a class-struggle opposition in Longshore Local 10, gives a detailed picture of the bureaucracy's opposition to class solidarity. According to the leaflet, LM supporter Stan Gow presented a motion at the Local 10 executive board meeting of August 12. The motion called for a "stop-work action to build a mass labor rally" to defend the Handyman strike. The motion also demanded the immediate recognition of the union, immediate jailing of the accused murderer and that "the company provide lifelong payments to widow and family equal to each month's wage."

This motion was inexcusably voted down by the executive board, including local leaders such as Cleophus Williams, and no substitute motion was presented! This criminal action is the clearest indication that the new local leadership is no different from the old leadership and is committed only to betrayal. Defend the Handyman strikers! Join the picket line! Organize stop-work action! Prosecute the murderer of Norman Ray Lewis!



# Miller Stands with Federal Judges Against the Union

## UMW Bureaucracy Sabotages Miners' Wildcat

CHARLESTON, W. Va., August 14

The month-old strike by wildcatting United Mine Workers (UMW) members is going down in defeat. The wildcat is being abandoned as workers return to their jobs in Kentucky, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Alabama and Illinois, as well as in West Virginia where the strike began in mid-July.

Hayes Holstein, president of UMW Local 1759, the local that sparked the strike over a job-posting grievance, told IFT that he expects full production to resume by Monday. Scattered picket lines remain at some of the pits. These have been honored, but their number diminishes each day.

The original strike against the Cedar Coal Company was rapidly transformed into a generalized protest against court interference in union-management disputes. The strike raised a mighty protest against such government intervention, but nevertheless failed to achieve its goals. This is due to the treachery of the Arnold Miller bureaucracy and local union officials.

The strike reached a critical point last week. Miller was in Charleston August 8 and called a rally at which he intended to urge the miners back to work. Although 1,000 strikers showed up at Cedar Grove, West Virginia, Miller did not. He later claimed that death threats and a picket line prevented him from attending. These charges, which are unsubstantiated, only demonstrate the strike-breaking Miller's unpopularity with the rank and file.

In Miller's absence a strike rally was held and a unanimous vote was taken to continue the strike. At this juncture the strike appeared to be out of the control of even local bureaucrats. Local officials present were noticeably reticent, no doubt feeling the pressure of Miller on one side and the ranks on the other.

Hayes Holstein at first declined to speak when called upon and finally mumbled a few words having little to do with the strike. He indicated that he would assume a low profile for the remainder of the strike and would not issue further public statements until the end of the strike "when I can tell people that it's time to go back to work" (*Charleston Gazette*, 9 August).

Another local president started to bluster to the press that he had come a long way and had some important comments to make. As nattily dressed reporters fumbled for their tape recorders and cameras, militant miners shouted at the president that if he had something to say he should have said it during the rally.

### Militant Unionism and Strike Committees

The crucial need at this point was to elect a broadly based strike committee to coordinate, direct and spread the strike. A small step was taken in that direction when an ad hoc steering committee was formed with miners from UMW districts. One of these miners told IFT that the group was merely receiving information at that point and intended to legitimize the steering committee the following day through elections at district strike meetings.

It was intended that this committee be responsible for press releases, etc., and would itself take the strike demands to the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) if Miller refused. The strikers demanded a meeting with the BCOA to produce a written guarantee against using the courts against the union. They also insisted that all fines, jailings and injunctions be dropped and that no company reprisals result from the strike.

The committee was not dominated by UMW local officials. Holstein, for example, had been seen as the strike spokesman previously, but was not nominated. The hesitation of militants to put local bureaucrats on the committee was not surprising. The ranks were justly skeptical of the officials' reliability in leading a strike actively opposed by the union tops, and the officials were none too eager to make such a break either. As it turned out, the steering committee never really got off the ground.

A broadly based strike committee, democratically representing the large eight-state area of the strike, could have effectively asserted its legitimacy and neutralized vacillating officials. An official strike vote would have counteracted UMW bureaucrats like Leroy Patterson, an International Executive Board (IEB) member from western

this anti-strike outfit called for a meeting in Danville, West Virginia on August 8. Strikers drove to Danville to see just who was responsible for the leaflet and (according to one miner) to "whup their damn heads." No anti-strikers appeared, but one worker claimed to have learned about the meeting from his local president.

A militant strike committee would also have sought to extend the struggle to other industries. The Chesapeake and Ohio and the Norfolk and Western railroads have each laid off hundreds of workers due to lack of cargo. The railroad unions should have shut down these lines entirely in sympathy with the miners. This action would have stopped the flow of stockpiled coal out of the fields.

Similarly, appeals should have been directed toward the steel plants. Some steelworkers, in fact, were anxious to demonstrate inter-union solidarity. Militants in United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 1014 in Gary, Indiana issued a leaflet entitled "No Government Intervention against the Unions! Hands Off the UMW!"

These militants call for an industry-wide sympathy strike in steel. Their leaflet concluded by stating, "required is an opposition committed to a program of class struggle, committed to unconditional opposition to government inter-

Earlier in the strike a Miller supporter had stated that the union president really sympathized with the strike but couldn't state it openly for legal reasons. Having already rejected even this fig leaf as a lie, Miller announced "If your goals are to fire the federal judges, and destroy the union, I'm not behind it. I don't back any unrealistic demands" (*Associated Press*, 11 August).

Miller knew perfectly well that the miners were not out to destroy the union. It is Miller and his pro-capitalist cronies that are dangerous to the union. To underscore his contempt for the ranks Miller and the IEB eventually walked out of the meeting.

That same day 10,000 miners in Alabama joined the strike but workers were reported returning to the job in Ohio, west Kentucky, Illinois and Tennessee. On Wednesday Local 1759 voted 75-25 to return to work. Simultaneously the overwhelming majority of local presidents in District 17 voted to return to work. The local bureaucrats could tell which way the wind was blowing by then and gave Miller a standing ovation at a meeting in Charleston (*Charleston Gazette*, 12 August). Miller promised to seek a limited right to strike in the next contract so that the strike issue can be decided by "... 51 percent of the membership, not by 2 or 3" (*Charleston Gazette*, 12 August).

And now that the miners are returning to the pits, Miller promises to seek a meeting with the BCOA—a promise he has been making for a long time. Even the original job-posting grievance at Cedar Coal remains unresolved. Finally, 213 strikers from Local 1759 must still appear in court on August 17 on contempt of court charges. In short, the miners achieved not one of their demands. And Miller's promises to the contrary, they are not likely to win them now. For it is precisely by mobilizing the membership in strike action, not in toothless negotiations with the companies and union-baiting courts, that the UMW can make gains.

### Miller Comes Home to Roost

In 1972 Miller was elected UMW president on a platform of "democratic" rhetoric and by appealing to the courts and the Labor Department to supervise his election. Miller's appeals to the capitalist courts against the union underscored his reliability to the bourgeoisie. He was hailed by the bourgeois media as a suitable replacement for the corrupt and discredited regime of Tony Boyle. Unlike every other major tendency on the American left, the Spartacist League refused to support Miller however critically. The SL insisted Miller was merely another "democratic" pro-capitalist labor faker.

Having been betrayed repeatedly over the past four years, militant miners are still looking for an effective leadership. (The available candidates are not very attractive.) UMW vice president Mike Trhovich, whom Miller suspended (though this suspension was not upheld by the IEB) and whom Miller denounced as a liar and "divisive" (Interview: *Charleston Gazette*, 22 June), proved his usefulness by joining the



UMW District 17 officials applaud back-to-work motion passed at Charleston meeting August 11.

Kentucky. "I don't know why the miners in West Virginia are down and I can't seem to find out" (*Sunday Gazette Mail*, 8 August). Patterson told 1,500 strikers in Kentucky August 7. Particularly in outlying districts a recognized strike leadership was needed to counteract the bureaucrats' deliberate misrepresentation of the issues of the strike.

### Strikers Go After Scabs...

As a matter of fact, the miners were very resourceful in assigning pickets and organizing numerous rallies. They were eager and prepared to deal with the "Right to Work" forces who began to surface late in the strike. These Right to Workers distributed a leaflet stating that the strike was instigated by a handful of radicals. Calling on miners to be "men first and union men second"

vention, and fully committed to the principle of working-class solidarity which today demands concerted and decisive action by the USWA on behalf of the striking miners."

### ...Bureaucrats Confront Strikers

Lacking an organized leadership consciously prepared to spread the strike and to counter the bureaucracy's treachery, the wildcat was hattered down. The UMW's IEB met in Washington on August 9 and threatened to place Local 1759 under an administrator if the strike there didn't end. The Board also threatened expulsions for disobedience. On Tuesday, August 10 Miller and the IEB met an estimated 500 angry miners in Charleston and attempted to get them back to work.



anti-strike chorus along with the rest of the IEB.

With Miller & Co. discredited in the eyes of the most militant miners, new "honest" leaders can be expected to appear. At a strike rally in Charleston, one Eugene Conn from Tornado, West Virginia announced his candidacy for UMW president. Conn was not well received by the strikers, who correctly saw him as a careerist. "He couldn't get elected as dog catcher," WV was told.

At about the same time a group called District 17 and 29 Miners to Stop the Injunctions made an appearance and led pickets in front of District 17 headquarters. Unfortunately this group had nothing to offer beyond the demands already posed by the strikers. Spokesmen for the group denied being allied with the Right to Strike Committee (RSC) though the perspectives of the two groups are restricted to similar-sounding economist reforms.

The Right to Strike Committee, whose actions are generally endorsed by the so-called Revolutionary Communist Party, has taken a dive in this struggle. The Committee is currently unpopular among the ranks because of its history of maneuvering during the 1975 wildcat. Bruce Miller, an RSC spokesman who is under a one-year bureaucratic suspension from the union, stated explicitly that the RSC was not playing a leading role in the wildcat. The RSC thus made it easier for the traitorous UMW officials to do their dirty work.

#### For A Class-Struggle Program

American coal miners have a long history of combativity. They do not shrink from taking on the bosses and, as the recent strike demonstrates, the state. Simple trade-union militancy, however, cannot stand up to the pressure of sustained bourgeois propaganda, not to mention state power. The mountains and hollows of Appalachia are isolated, and hostility toward outsiders can be directed at socialists as well as judges.

Reactionaries and Klansmen led the "dirty book" campaign in 1975. At the Cedar Grove rally on August 8 a preacher was asked to close the meeting with a prayer. He called on the miners to repent for their sins, beware of communists and unite behind Arnold Miller.

It is essential that the tradition of struggle and enormous social power of the miners be directed politically against all the backwardness fostered by the politicians, the courts, the bible-beaters and the kept servants of the bourgeoisie—the labor bureaucrats. The current wildcat is ending. But there will be more strikes as the coal operators and capitalist government step up their determined assaults to break the back of the UMW.

Yesterday's darling of the left, Arnold Miller, has once again and in the clearest way shown himself to be the coal bosses' top strikebreaker. Just as we warned against the reformist Miller in 1972, so we warn against today's "honest trade union militants"—such as the leaders of the District 17 and 29 Miners to Stop the Injunctions—who are the candidates for strikebreaking bureaucrats tomorrow. ■

# Imperialist Moralism and Madman Amin

The bourgeois press of late has been filled with vivid and graphic accounts of the atrocities of Idi Amin, the dictatorial boss of Uganda. Story after story is churned out documenting Amin's megalomaniacal cruelty which has increased in direct proportion to the instability of his regime.

Following the successful Israeli raid on Entebbe airport Amin's dictatorship has visibly begun to totter. Attempts to avert the crisis by hurling threats of war against neighboring Kenya have failed. While the recent attack on the presidential palaces launched by mutinous Ugandan troops was crushed, Amin's support within the military continues to drain away. If recent reports are accurate roughly one-fourth of the Ugandan military is under detention along with almost all of the country's top military commanders.

In a desperate bid to retain power Amin has escalated his campaign of terror and intimidation, a staggering accomplishment, considering that his chief claim to fame has always been his seemingly limitless capacity to engage in capricious and wanton acts of the most cruel nature.

On August 3 and 4 Amin sent his troops onto the Makerere University campus in Kampala where more than 1500 students were rounded up. Thirty were summarily shot near the campus, another 80 killed in prison, and a house-to-house manhunt was unleashed against those students who had managed to escape to the countryside.

The reason for this grim bloodbath was that some Makerere students had called for Amin's ouster and had offended his son Taban, also a student at the university. Students had the temerity to suggest that Taban, whom they regarded as a spy and who has only a gradeschool education, was not qualified to be a college student. Makerere University had awarded Amin an honorary degree in 1972...after he had ordered the execution of the university chancellor!

Makerere students were not the only ones to feel the lash of Amin's post-Entebbe rage. The entire air traffic control staff at Entebbe was executed along with 245 Kenyan nationals—a retaliation for Kenyan collaboration in the raid. The one hostage left behind following the Israeli commando raid was dragged from her hospital bed and murdered by Amin's goons.

Following Entebbe Amin ranted that "the Israelis would not have been successful at Entebbe except for the fact that their nuclear hand grenades[!] had put Amin's valiant soldiers to sleep." Such "dirty tricks" did not surprise him,

he added, "because it was the Israelis who murdered Jesus Christ." (quoted in *Newsweek*, 9 August).

The slaughter of Ugandan students at Makerere, the Entebbe air controllers and the 245 Kenyan nationals has received scant attention in the bourgeois press in comparison to Amin's murder of the ill skyjack hostage or his humiliation of the two British military officers who went to Uganda to appeal for a pardon for a hapless British author who had referred to Amin as a "village tyrant" while in Uganda. The fact that



Idi Amin

Argus Africa/Photo Trends

the British bourgeoisie was horrified that two of "her majesty's" officers had to go down on their knees before this deranged tyrant reflected above all wounded British colonial arrogance. The thousands of Uganda residents who have simply disappeared because they managed to offend Amin's mercurial sensibilities are of minor concern for these imperialist moralists.

For the moment Amin has muffled his war-mongering rhetoric against Kenya as substantial sections of the Ugandan military have balked and Kenya's economic blockade cut off Uganda's supply of fuel for its tanks and military vehicles. The blockade has thrown Uganda into an economic crisis. Amin, in his turn, has imposed a blockade on already impoverished Rwanda.

Now Amin is demanding that the entire western third of Kenya be "returned" to Uganda. Amin, who only last month bellowed that Israel had violated "Ugandan sovereignty," pushes annexationist claims based on borders

established by the imperialists in 1894! (In fact, western Kenya originally was included in the Ugandan "protectorate," but in 1902 was transferred to British East Africa, now called Kenya). The "national sovereignty" of Uganda, like that of many African states, is simply a direct legacy of colonial boundaries.

Faced with the opposition of most of his officer corps and the flight not only of much of Uganda's small petty bourgeois elite but also of large sections of the country's urban population (Kampala, Uganda's capital, is down to a population of 40,000 from the original 100,000) the days of Idi Amin are clearly numbered. The clamor in the imperialist bourgeois press against Amin is a clear appeal to "patriotic forces" in the Ugandan military to stage yet another coup.

But if Amin's days indeed are numbered and his regime is revolting and barbaric, even more revolting is the sanctimonious hypocrisy of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The bourgeois pundits shake their heads and wag their fingers at "The Dictator Idi Amin." But where Amin has butchered thousands the moralists of London, Paris and Washington have murdered millions of Asian and African workers and peasants.

Idi Amin is simply an extreme and unsavory example of the neo-colonial satraps trained by the imperialists to police their domains and keep Africa safe for capitalism.

For five years the imperialists managed to coexist with their Frankenstein monster. Now Amin has become a liability and a source of irritation and embarrassment to his capitalist masters. They would much prefer to deal with the more respectable and less capricious petty-bourgeois nationalist despotisms that hold sway over much of Africa.

Imperialism's only use for Amin now is to shamefacedly justify its past colonial practices by holding Amin up as the horrible example of what happens when the colonial slaves are "permitted to run their own affairs."

It is not the slaughter of thousands of Ugandans that those who terror homed the Vietnamese find reprehensible. Mobutu, their man in Zaire, has far surpassed Amin in this field. Amin's days are numbered because he is too flamboyant, capricious and ignorant of his place in the imperialist scheme of things having the temerity to humiliate and terrorize a few white Europeans in addition to thousands of his own subjects. Neo-colonialist exploitation of Uganda's resources and markets requires a more stable regime.

Certainly the African proletariat must sweep Idi Amin and all the other petty bourgeois nationalist servants of imperialism into the dust bin of history. But even more importantly the workers of the imperialist countries must relentlessly struggle to put an end to capitalist rule, destroying the decayed social order of which the Idi Amins are simply the pathological excrescence. ■

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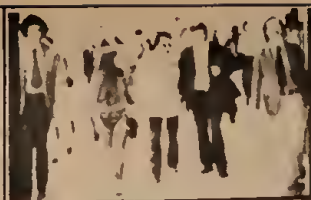
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## PDC STATEMENT



# Mario Muñoz Is Safe!

## Free All Victims of Right-Wing Repression in Argentina

On August 4, Mario Muñoz Salas, the Chilean miners' leader who had been the victim of a four-month police manhunt in Argentina, arrived safely in Vienna, Austria. The saving of this valiant, class-struggle unionist from the murderous Videla junta is a victory for the international working class and a beacon of hope for the tens of thousands of refugees from right-wing terror still trapped in Argentina.

At the Vienna airport, Muñoz was met by a delegation including representatives of the Committee To Save Mario

generously contributed their time, energy, thoughtful advice and financial support to saving the life of this exemplary workers' leader.

The international campaign to save the life of Mario Muñoz was instrumental in winning his safe conduct from Argentina under United Nations' auspices and agreement by the Austrian government to receive this persecuted Chilean union leader and his family. This victory is testimony to the effectiveness of international protest in the spirit of working-class solidarity, the same

endangered political refugees in Argentina, appeared in *Le Monde*, the *New York Times*, the *New York Review of Books*, the *Toronto Globe and Mail* and *Star*, the *Australian Tribune*, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, and many labor and socialist publications. Over \$20,000 was collected, \$10,000 in the last two weeks of the campaign when it became known that the Austrian government was willing to receive Muñoz and his family. An international delegation organized by the Committee To Save Mario Muñoz met with the United Nations High Commissioner For Refugees, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, in Geneva on 16 July 1976. Comprising the delegation were representatives of the Young Generation of Socialists of Austria, the International Association of Catholic Jurists, the World Confederation of Labor, the Swiss Progressive Jurists Association, the Society of Friends of France, the Committee to Defend Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile, and the Committee To Save Mario Muñoz. The High Commissioner pledged the cooperation of the UN in ensuring Muñoz safe conduct out of Argentina.

Even before the Videla coup the PDC mobilized against the escalating right-wing repression in Argentina. On 5 December 1975 the PDC called a demonstration in front of the Argentine mission to the UN to protest the arrest of 13 accused of gun-running for the Chilean resistance, including ten Chilean refugees and Richard and Cristina Whitecross. Only the Whitecrosses have been released and the PDC will continue its efforts on behalf of the other 11 until they are also free.

Only 48 hours after the Videla junta took power making the mendacious claim to respect democratic liberties, the Argentine police were hunting down Mario Muñoz with orders to shoot him on sight. On March 25 they raided his home, beat his family and threatened to take his two-month-old child as hostage. Muñoz, a miner from the age of 14, was a widely respected workers' leader in Chile. After the bloody Pinochet coup in September 1973, Muñoz and his family were forced to flee across the Andes to seek refuge in Argentina along with thousands of Chilean workers and peasants. Muñoz continued to aid his class brothers during the difficult years of exile. The brutal police raid of March 25 not only meant Muñoz was a hunted man in two countries. It also showed that Videla would follow in the footsteps of Pinochet. The attack on the family of Mario Muñoz was the opening shot in the savage repression that was to pour down upon the Argentine labor movement and the thousands of political refugees who had fled the reactionary terror of neighboring countries only to see the dark shadow of that terror stalk them into their insecure refuge.

The democratic facade of the "bloodless," "gentlemen's" general's coup was at first accepted and perpetuated by such respected journals as the *New York Times*. Initially, many people approached by the Committee To Save Mario Muñoz were unaware of, or denied the extent of, the terror in Argentina. But the danger to refugees in Argentina was again demonstrated by the April 10 arrest and April 27 extradition to Chile of MIR leader Edgardo Enriquez. The PDC took part in the international protest against this naked violation of the conventions regarding asylum by the Videla junta. Later, liberal opponent of the Uruguayan dictatorship, Zelmor Michelini and Hector Gutierrez Ruiz were kidnapped and murdered by AAA gangsters in collaboration with the Argentine authorities. On July 2 Mario Muñoz along with 12 other Chilean refugees were violently taken from their UN-assigned place of refuge and beaten and tortured by Argentine police. Muñoz was threatened with deportation back to Chile but on the following day all were released. Only the support mobilized by the campaign to save Muñoz prevented his deportation and murder by the Chilean secret police.

As the reality of the junta's vicious and all-sided suppression of human rights became too blatant to disguise behind democratic rhetoric and as the mounds of corpses, victims of police and AAA assassinations could no longer be hidden, the campaign to save Mario Muñoz intersected the international revolution with Videla's terror, a revolution compounded by the witnessing of the aftermath of the murderous Pinochet coup. The campaign to save Muñoz, even with its modest resources,



Hubert Schaalz

Muñoz addressing Vienna press conference.

Muñoz and the Committee's European co-sponsor, the Committee to Defend Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile; the international Spartacist tendency and its sympathizing section, the Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists; Albrecht Konecny, chairman of the Young Generation of Socialists of Austria; and representatives of the Austrian press. Upon arrival, Muñoz thanked the Austrian government for having granted him a visa and expressed appreciation to all those who had rallied to his defense. He expressed concern for the fate of his compañera and their children who have not yet been able to leave Argentina and for all the victims of right-wing repression still trapped in Argentina.

Only when Mario Muñoz is reunited with his family will the work of the Committee To Save Mario Muñoz be completed. But on behalf of the Committee, its U.S. co-sponsor, the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), would like to express its deepest gratitude to the individuals and organizations who have

solidarity to which Muñoz dedicated his life. A defense campaign can often be built on already acquired international reputations for prominent intellectuals and artists who fall victim to reactionary terror. But workers' leaders and militants like Mario Muñoz, though widely respected in their own countries, are not widely known abroad and are often overlooked. Defense campaigns on their behalf can only be built through mass protest and publicity which focuses on the labor movement, on an anti-sectarian basis, and also enlists the broadest support of all those concerned for human rights.

The Committee To Save Mario Muñoz was able to enlist the support of hundreds of labor and socialist organizations, leaders of workers' organizations, civil liberties and defense organizations and prominent individuals on four continents. Countless resolutions were passed, letters written, inquiries made, and telegrams sent on Muñoz' behalf. Articles and letters regarding the plight of Muñoz, along with other

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## and Chile!

## A Beacon of Hope for All Endangered Latin American Refugees

*Speaker:* REUBEN SHIFFMAN  
Co-Chairman of the PDC

On August 4, Chilean miners leader, Mario Muñoz Salas, victim of a 4-month police manhunt in Argentina, arrived in Vienna, Austria. The saving of this valiant class-struggle unionist from the butchers of the Videla junta is a victory for the international working class and a beacon of hope for the tens of thousands of refugees from right-wing terror still trapped in Argentina.

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) was co-sponsor of the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz along with the European-based Committee to Defend Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile. The PDC is a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. The PDC stands in defense of the whole of the working people without sectarian or factional regard in the tradition of the International Labor Defense under the leadership of its founder and first secretary, James P. Cannon (1925-28)

SPONSORED BY THE PDC



# Rhodesian Terror Raid on Mozambique

AUGUST 16—Rhodesia's terror raid into Mozambique early this week was an act of desperation by the doomed racist regime. With its back to the wall, the government of Ian Smith has flung down the gauntlet and is digging in to defend the ramparts of white supremacy.

Champagne corks popped in Salisbury as "fuhlanit" racists celebrated the destruction of a black Rhodesian camp 25 miles over the Mozambique border, labeling it "Rhodesia's Entebbe." A closer parallel than the commando raid which freed 106 hostages held by Palestinian gunmen in Uganda is the brutal massacres which Israeli forces regularly perpetrate in Palestinian refugee camps.

While Salisbury gloated over its great "victory" and claimed to have killed 300 black "terrorists" and 40 Mozambique soldiers and civilians, Maputo Radio announced that at least 618 "completely defenseless" black "refugees," men, women and children, were cut down by the armored car assault on the village of Nhagomia. The fact that the racist forces suffered not a single casualty in the foray suggests that they did not win a battle so much as stage an ambush, carrying out a cold-blooded act of mass murder.

On June 26, the Mozambique village of Mapai was razed to the ground in an



Bodies of guerrillas killed by Rhodesian troops.

Darquennes/Sygma

attack that left 16 civilians dead. The raid was carried out by armored cars backed up by jets and helicopters and, as at Nhagomia, spearheaded by black Rhodesians disguised as Frelimo soldiers.

In recent weeks, the Smith government has shown absolute intransigence, attempting to smash the seven-month-long guerrilla offensive and cow the neighboring countries into cutting off all aid to the nationalist forces.

In early July, Smith announced that he had no intention of holding further talks with the moderate wing of the African National Congress (ANC) led by Joshua Nkomo. He also rejected reforms proposed by a government commission that would permit Africans to buy farmland in white areas and would eliminate separate voting rolls. Besides the murder raids in Mozambique, Rhodesian soldiers crossed into

*continued on page 11*

## South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

release of imprisoned militants and to protest the rampant inequalities of "Bantu education," the system of retribalization and ersatz education designed to prevent blacks from ever attaining the technical and cultural skills to advance economically and politically. The first police attacks occurred as students marched from school to school spreading the walkout through the three townships.

The youths answered these assaults by burning government buildings and organizing "stay at home" strikes to cut off the city's supply of black labor. Ruptures of anger spilled over as cars and trucks driven by whites along a highway bordering Langa were repeatedly stoned. In one clash police opened fire with automatic rifles on a crowd of a thousand demonstrators, leaving four dead and dozens seriously wounded.

The revolt has begun to spread to Cape Town's 600,000 "coloureds" (mulattoes), who live in wretched shanty towns hemmed in between the African townships and all-white areas. Police broke up a march of coloured students at the University of the Western Cape who demanded an end to racially segregated education and the release of Ben Palmer Louw, a leader in the South African Students Organization (SASO). Seventy-six protesters were arrested following the fire bombing of campus buildings.

Fearful of a powerful alliance among the blacks and other non-white groups, prime minister Balthazar Vorster announced on August 9 that representatives of the 2.9 million coloureds and Indians would be invited into the cabinet in an advisory capacity. Vorster had rejected the same proposal from a government commission only a few weeks earlier.

### Soweto Once Again

The struggle in Soweto, the prison-like township which serves as a vast labor compound (population is estimated at a million) for the mines and industries of the Witwatersrand has continued almost without stop since June when 174 blacks were butchered by government forces. On August 4 a 20,000-strong demonstration made repeated attempts to march on police headquarters in Johannesburg, nine miles away, to protest the indefinite detention of scores of black youths.

The angry crowd massed outside Soweto's Orlando Stadium and began the march behind banners and signs denouncing the repression. One large banner read: "There will be unrest in schools till detained black students are released." Three times they were dispersed and then regrouped, smashing through one police line and surging forward with raised placards and clenched fists. They were finally stopped by a burst of gunfire from heavily armed riot squads reinforced with a fleet of "Hippo" armored cars.

The number of anti-apartheid fighters held incommunicado under the Draconian preventive detention laws has swelled since mid-July. Exactly a month after the first outburst in Soweto, large contingents of police swept through the township, making arrests and staging a show of force. Other units were placed on standby alert at 20 Witwatersrand townships that had been wracked by anti-government protests sparked by the imposition of Afrikaans, language of the hated Boers as the instructional language in secondary schools.

The power play backfired within a few days when the reopening of schools, a government "concession" to sugarcoat the repression, provided a focal point for new demonstrations and boycotts. In the Withank area, a coal mining center, students from six schools converged in a mass march, shouting anti-apartheid slogans and attacking

## S.F. Demo Protests South Africa Massacres

SAN FRANCISCO—In response to the brutal repression and slaughter of black militants in South Africa, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League initiated a demonstration here on Friday August 13 in front of the South African consulate, demanding "Avenge Soweto, Smash Apartheid!" Militants participating included representatives from the Namibian Action Group and Workers and Oppressed Unite, Spartacist banners reading "Smash Apartheid Through Workers Revolution," "Sharpeville, Soweto—Avenge the Martyred Militants," "For a Trotskyist Party in South Africa" and "For a Socialist Federation of Southern Africa," attracted considerable attention and congratulations from passers-by, many of whom stayed to hear the rally speakers.

SL speaker Donald Pompili addressed the demonstrators, outlining the background of the Soweto uprising. He expressed outrage at the massacre and solidarized with the struggle against apartheid. He explained the strategic importance of the powerful black proletariat in South Africa, which will be "the gravediggers of apartheid." Pompili demanded abolition of the color ban in all industries, multi-racial trade unions, destruction of Bantustan relocation schemes and the abolition of all anti-labor and anti-communist legislation, concluding that the battles against apartheid and for workers revolution are inextricably bound together and can only be won by a Trotskyist party fighting for proletarian revolution.

Upon being informed of a simultaneous ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) demonstration against Kenneth

Towsey, secretary of the Rhodesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Spartacist-initiated demonstration joined the ZANU forces, where it was greeted with chants of "Long Live Solidarity!" ZANU spokesman Taka Wila pointed out that Towsey was in the U.S. to recruit mercenaries and capital needed to prop up the increasingly isolated Ian Smith regime of Rhodesia. The joint demonstration chanted "Down with Ian Smith" and "Down with Racist Pretoria, Workers to Power!" as police escorted representatives of the U.S. bourgeoisie past the picket lines into the Hyatt Regency Hotel.

Following the picketing, a ZANU spokesman and Pompili addressed the demonstrators. A spokesman from an oppositional grouping within the longshoremen's union, Stan Gow, told the crowd that his union had a motion on the books calling for a boycott of South African goods. Gow's group, which publishes the *Longshore Militant*, has called for a total military boycott of South Africa, an effective and sharply directed means to hurt the repressive state apparatus. While a temporary boycott in the wake of an outrage like Soweto would be an effective protest measure if carried out, a permanent and total boycott such as advocated by the reformists and liberals is merely a gesture of moral protest which may even harm those it seeks to support.

The Spartacist League held a forum the following night on South Africa which attracted over 75 people to hear an analysis of the racist, capitalist South African state and the strategy to overthrow it through proletarian revolution. ■



WV Photo



symbols of racist rule. Offices of the Highveld Bantu Administration Board, the agency which supervises the townships around Witbank, were attacked. Several buildings were put to the torch at Khutsong, a township near Carletonville, scene of the infamous massacre of striking gold miners in September 1973.

Despite arrests, savage baton assaults and killings, the upsurge in the townships shows an increasing level of organization and combativity, especially among black youths. Roadblocks and pickets at Soweto railroad stations calling for a "stay at home" general strike were responsible for massive absenteeism (60 percent according to the *Star*, Johannesburg, 7 August) in area factories and offices last week. Small groups organized roadblocks, positioning abandoned cars across the main bus routes to Johannesburg. One public bus was commandeered by a band of youths and used to set up a street barricade. Stonings and tire slashings forced the bus company to interrupt transportation to the city. Students showed their contempt for the government's concession on school reopening by shutting them down through a successful week-long boycott.

The coterie of quislings who officially "represent" the black masses have not escaped unscathed. Alongside the 100,000 ramshackle government bungalows crammed side by side in Soweto are a few substantial houses with lawns, television acrials and carports. These homes of black merchants, professionals and officials of the advisory Urban Bantu Council were targets of attack last week. The home of hat-in-hand mayor T. J. Makhaya was hit by stones and gasoline bombs and had to be placed under police protection.

In the so-called "tribal homeland" of Bophuthatswana, the building housing the puppet black parliament was burnt

done by blacks themselves" (*New York Times*, 9 August).

## Crisis of Apartheid

It is evident that the fighting spirits of the black youth were buoyed by their victory last month on the question of Afrikaans instruction in schools just as their anger was fueled by the arrest and murder of their comrades. What emerges with equal clarity is the generalized character of the rebellion, directed at the very structure of apartheid: the police, the Bantu administration boards, the discriminatory school system, the hated pass books, the quislings and traitors.

The racist pipedream of "separate development" of blacks on the Bantustans is no more than a rationalization for the military garrisoning of urban black workers into segregated and tightly controlled townships and the relegation of mine and agricultural laborers to the status of interchangeable, migrant workers. As a means of

productive scrubland, totally surrounded by and economically dependent on "white South Africa."

Lately, spokesmen for white capitalist interests, including supporters of the Nationalist Party, have protested the economic irrationality of the color bar which leaves South African industry starved for skilled labor, while black workers suffer increased unemployment. Bourgeois spokesmen are also fearful that any flight of foreign capital like that which followed the 1960 Sharpeville massacre will deal a body blow to the economy which is already shaken by plunging gold prices. They have called for greater concessions to urban non-whites as an alternative to the massive repression traditionally employed to quell black resistance.

In mid-July the journal of the Afrikaans chamber of commerce, *Volkshandel*, pleaded with Pretoria to abandon its treatment of the majority of the black population, which lives and works outside the Bantustans, as "temporary sojourners." It argued that



Police patrol in Soweto

Goetzer/Sygma



LD/WV

Black rebellions have swept South Africa from the industrial and mining centers of Pretoria and Johannesburg to the ports of Durban and Cape Town. The offer of phony independence to the Transkei Bantustan has done nothing to pacify black workers and youth. Frenzied racists in Rhodesia launched a terror raid into Mozambique this weekend (indicated by arrow), hoping to deflect the escalating guerrilla offensive.

to the ground. Of the chief ministers of the nine "homelands" set up under the apartheid scheme, only Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope and the despotic Kaiser Mantszima of the Transkei have endorsed Pretoria's Bantustan "independence" fraud. Thus their administrations are particularly hated by black militants.

The government's hopes of using a layer of collaborationist tribal chiefs and urban petty bourgeois to stifle the upheaval were underscored in an interview with Minister of "Justice" James Kruger. The head stormtrooper assured reporters: "The Government will not turn a deaf ear to black grievances." His only specific proposal was: "I hope the stage will be reached fairly soon when all the policing of black townships will be

pacifying the black population, the Bantustan scheme is taken seriously only by the self-deluded architects of *Herrenvolk*ism and a handful of ultra-reactionary tribal chiefs.

While the white overlords continue to enjoy lives of affluence, they daily read the writing on the wall: apartheid is doomed. Black youths and workers are ready to lay down their lives to fight the system. From 1973 to 1975 the five-million-strong black proletariat struck again and again against starvation wages and the industrial color bar and for the right to organize trade unions. Even conservative tribal leaders like chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu have been compelled to denounce the phony offer of "independence" for the Bantustans, dispersed pockets of non-

"Development and urbanization go hand in hand" and called for "more skilled and responsible jobs for our black and brown partners in the economy to keep its wheels turning" (quoted in the *Guardian*, London, 15 July).

Of course what these "moderate" racists have in mind is the development of a stable, contented black petty bourgeoisie as a bulwark against the aspirations of the plebeian masses. That they want to alter certain glaringly oppressive and economically costly facets of white supremacist rule is testimony to the growing recognition by a section of the bourgeoisie that the ideology of apartheid is a fetter upon their ambition to be a major imperialist power. Their desire for a legal trade-union system only reflects the broad awareness of the economic inefficiency and irrationality of the present system and underlines the manifest crisis of the apartheid system.

Sections of the white trade-union movement, which has long collaborated, with few exceptions, in building and defending the structure of white supremacy, have made overtures to the unrecognized black unions. Fearful that black workers will be used to hammer down their privileges, many white unions have made concessions on job reservation agreements, demanding that the "rate for the job" be paid to Africans.

## Destroy Apartheid! Open the Road to Workers Revolution!

The key task in South Africa today is the forging of a revolutionary leadership that can link the immediate democratic demands of the black masses and other racially oppressed groups to the struggle for a workers and peasants government centered on the black proletariat. The black workers must reassert their leadership in the struggle against police-state rule. They must employ their strategic position at the heart of the economy to back the youths' demands for free and equal public education and

release of political prisoners with determined strike action.

The demands which were at the center of the mighty 1973-75 strike wave—abolition of the color bar for all jobs, trade-union rights for Africans and a decent standard of living—must be brought forward to break down the labor aristocratic status of the white workers. The non-white workers must demand equality with the whites at the highest levels of pay and working conditions.

The militant youth in the townships, some of whose leaders are members of SASO or its secondary school affiliate, South African Students Movement, have shown extraordinary courage in the face of police bullets and batons. They have yet to develop a coherent strategy to smash apartheid rule. Their attempts to organize "stay at home" strikes indicate an understanding of the critical position of black labor. But reports of confrontations between groups of youths and workers at roadblocks and waning support for the strike movement demonstrate a failure to articulate the class demands of the workers and to weld them to the specifically democratic and national aspects of the black struggle in South Africa.

Even in the face of the developed state of the South African economy and the size and overwhelming social weight of the black proletariat, the South African Communist Party (SACP) clings to its reformist credo of a "national democratic" (i.e., bourgeois) stage of the revolution prior to the workers' seizure of power. The Stalinists hail the ANC as leader of "the national liberation movement."

Just as the SACP would subordinate the workers movement to the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the ANC, so the ANC in turn subordinates the action of the proletariat to the organization of declassed and dispersed guerrilla armies. In an underground newsletter, *Amandla-Matla* (Power), distributed in early March, the ANC writes:

"That youth, organized, must now be activated and taken out into the streets in demand of their day-to-day needs like higher wages, an end to victimization, subsidised bus fares, free, compulsory and proper education, integrated sport at all levels, etc. Small-scale actions (whether they are in downing of tools, picketing, demonstrations, protest meetings, go-slows, work-to-rule, sit-down strikes, boycotts, stays-at-home, defiance, etc.) are important and lead to higher revolutionary activities (sabotage, guerrilla action and the seizure of power)."

quoted in *Sechaba*, Third Quarter 1976

With its huge black working class, South Africa will play the key role in carrying the socialist revolution throughout sub-Saharan Africa, simultaneously wiping out every vestige of imperialism and white supremacy, toppling the venal and repressive military dictatorships which reign over much of the continent and eliminating the left-talking bourgeois nationalist regimes (Tanzania, Guinea, Angola, Mozambique) which veil their capitalist exploitation with the rhetoric of "anti-imperialism" and "people's power."

The resolution of the crisis of leadership of the South African proletariat is thus a task of world importance. Liberation of the exploited and racially oppressed working masses requires the forging of a Trotskyist party, armed with the program of permanent revolution and built through political struggle against the Stalinists and petty-bourgeois nationalists. Only such a party can unlock the awesome power of the black proletarians and lead to a workers and peasants government in South Africa. ■

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# Steelworkers ...

(continued from page 12)

Such would be the role of Sadlowski as head of the USWA.

## Tailing Sadlowski

Backing Sadlowski are virtually all the "rank-and-file" oppositional groupings in the USWA. Largest and most influential among them is the National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee (NSRFC), which is supported by the Communist Party (CP). The NSFRC has several delegates to the convention and its members and close supporters won important positions in local union elections this spring.

While the NSFRC attempts to retain a fig leaf of independence by maintaining such paper positions as opposition to ENA, it is firmly tied to Sadlowski's coattails. Both it and the CP-endorsed trade-union publication *Labor Today* are virtually uncritical of Sadlowski. And during a recent nationwide leafletting campaign at plant gates, NSFRC members joined members of Sadlowski's Steelworkers Fightback in distributing not only petitions for membership ratification, but literature boosting Sadlowski as well.

One of the major ostensible concerns of the NSFRC is racial and sexual oppression. This is a key question in the USWA, given the union's notorious toleration of discriminatory practices. Militants must steadfastly defend the rights of minorities and women by fighting for a plantwide seniority system and a union hiring hall to administer hiring and upgrading.

Rather than waging such a struggle within the union, NSFRC has relied on government remedies. NSFRC members were party to the lawsuit which led to the Consent Decree, a plan which provides only token benefits to minorities while maintaining the discriminatory departmental seniority system. While the Consent Decree has done little for blacks, it has wreaked havoc within the union by giving the government free rein to tamper with the union's seniority system and pitting black workers against white workers.

The NSFRC has recently demanded that the Consent Decree be extended to provide "retroactive seniority to victims of 'last hired, first fired' discrimination" (NSRFC Report, August 1976). This means that white workers with greater seniority will be laid off in preference to lower seniority blacks, a program which in fact represents the logical conclusion of government "affirmative action" plans. Thus the NSFRC holds white workers, rather than the bosses, responsible for discrimination against blacks—and seeks to make them pay for it. Justice for minority workers will not be attained through court-ordered plans that operate at the expense of white workers, but only as part of a joint struggle of all workers directed at the capitalist system.

Although the CP, which is currently ballyhooing its "independent communist" electoral campaign, is a strong supporter of the NSFRC, members of the latter regularly campaign for Democratic Party candidates. In Chicago they supported Mayor Daley's liberal opponent Bill Singer, who only a year later acted as Illinois governor Walker's hatchet man in trying to defeat the Chicago teachers strike. In Gary, Indiana NSFRC members campaign for William Todd, an NAACP leader and vice president of Local 1014 (who had voted for ENA the previous year at the union's Wage Policy Conference), who was running for city council as an independent Democrat. Supporting local Democrats is a common practice for the NSFRC in the steel communities of South Chicago, East Chicago (Indiana) and Lorain, Ohio. And needless to say, the NSFRC has refused to consider supporting CP presidential candidate Gus Hall against Carter and the Repub-

licans. Such a decision would compromise its ability to maneuver with bureaucrats like Sadlowski.

In its fundamentals, the NSFRC shares Sadlowski's program of support to the Democrats, reliance on the capitalist government, and court cases against the union. When it counts, the NSFRC regularly drops the more controversial aspects of its paper program (such as opposition to racism) so as not to embarrass its bigtime allies. At the 1974 convention the NSFRC liquidated its entire program into a single-issue opposition to the dues increase, a sub-reformist issue. This year it can be expected to drop most of its demands in order to support Sadlowski's floor maneuvers.

Backing for Sadlowski is also found in the pages of *Revolution*, newspaper of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). It reports favorably that the Breakout Caucus at Local 65 (South Chicago) supported some "Sادلowski men" for local office. Of course, "He is regarded with suspicion by many workers because of his failure to take any forthright public stand on the ENA or other critical issues. Nonetheless, he enjoys considerable support..." This is the infamous Maoist "mass line," forget program, support popularity—the methodology of classic opportunism. The RCP covers itself by stating that it is "...not giving out blank checks to anyone, Abel or Sadlowski." Not, at least, until next February.

The "Rank and File Program" of the Breakout Caucus, published in *The Steel Worker*, is essentially no different from that of the NSFRC. *Revolution* tries to justify the policies of Breakout by arguing that the CP "see the elections as an end in themselves," while it sees elections as only part of the struggle. Nonetheless, "The idea was that the workers could not just stand by and let [the pro-Abel] Mirocha get elected again." And so Breakout joined the local branch of the NSFRC in supporting Sadlowski candidate John Chico.

The labor fakery—Abel and Sadlowski alike—and their fake-left hangers-on are the primary obstacle to the waging of a militant struggle against the steel companies. They must be relentlessly exposed for their subservience to the bourgeoisie which binds them hand and foot to a policy of retreat and sellout. The Abels and Sadlowskis must be dumped and a new class-struggle leadership forged around the principle of independence from the capitalists and their government.

A class-struggle USWA would fight for the real interests of the steelworkers: jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay; no government interference in the labor movement against all anti-labor legislation; for the right to strike abolish the ENA; against all forms of racial and sexual discrimination for union control of hiring and upgrading; for international labor solidarity against protectionism and American chauvinist policies; against the capitalist Democrats and Republicans for a workers party to fight for a workers government and an end to the capitalist system of exploitation. ■

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# Muñoz ...

(continued from page 1)

in downtown Vienna. Present were representatives and correspondents of *Le Monde*, the Vienna *Kurier*, Austrian Press Agency, *Workers Vanguard*, CISNU (an Iranian student group), *Rot Front* (of the Austrian GRM), *Permanente Revolution* (of the IKL), and *Rearme*, a Chilean exile publication. Muñoz began by thanking the hundreds of left and labor militants and prominent individuals whose support for the campaign had brought him to Vienna to tell the true story of the vicious reactionary terror regime in Argentina.

In his presentation Muñoz spoke of the bloody repression which still endangers tens of thousands of Chilean political refugees trapped in Argentina. "It is necessary to develop an even bigger campaign to save the workers leaders," he said, stressing the need for international protest and pressure on behalf of those threatened and victimized by junta terror.

Tracing his own history, Muñoz described his perilous escape from Chile following the September 1973 coup. "My exit to Argentina was decided by a plenary meeting of miners' leaders because my name was being announced

Mendoza, the 3,000 Chilean refugees officially under UN responsibility receive only lodging and one meal a day. They have no medical care or medicines. With the constant raids on refugee sites by the military and para-police anti-communist death squads, he said, the UN is unable to protect Chilean political refugees in Argentina.

The abysmal reality of the "protection" afforded refugees from rightist terror was illustrated by Muñoz' own arrest by Mendoza police on July 2, along with a dozen other men from a Catholic refuge in the city:

"They arrested us at 5 p.m. and took us to be interrogated and tortured. Of the 13 who were arrested, I was singled out within five minutes as the one to be interrogated. . . . I refused to answer anything and so was told that, since you won't tell us, we'll tell you who you are. Everything that I had stated at the refugee center to the Mendoza committee [administering the refugee sites] and the lawyer appeared in the police commissioner's files. The interrogator quoted verbatim from my deposition to the UN committee in Mendoza."

The Muñoz campaign took the lead in mobilizing vocal protest against the rightist repression in Argentina. With slender resources, the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz had to publicize not only the plight of Muñoz but also the reality of the situation in Videla's Argentina, while the bourgeois press—abetted by liberals and Stalinists—



Mario Muñoz Salas being greeted at the Vienna airport.

Hubert Schatzl

on television and the radio. "They sent airplanes to bomb the mining camps, even killing the miners' pets," he reported. "When I crossed the cordillera of the Andes into Argentina, I saw a camp of the miners' cooperative 'Maquis de Pedernales' which had been completely destroyed by bombs." It took six days on foot to cross through the snow-bound mountain passes until Muñoz was able to reach the first refugee site in Argentina.

Turning to the misery of the Chilean masses under the terror of the Pinochet junta, Muñoz pointed out that the unemployment rate (officially listed at an already catastrophic 20 percent) would be shown to be twice as high by an accurate count which included the well over 100,000 refugees most of them concentrated in the western Argentina border provinces, where Muñoz settled among other workers and peasants who had fled Chile after the Pinochet coup.

"Since 1973 Chile has experienced one of the greatest catastrophes that has ever befallen our country. I say this because the country's economy is practically destroyed and it has lost an entire generation. Thousands and thousands of girls between 12 and 14 years of age are forced into prostitution in the streets of Santiago, Valparaiso, Concepción and Antofagasta as their only means of livelihood. Hundreds of thousands of families have been destroyed."

On the other side of the border, Muñoz pointed out, things were little better. In the Argentine province of

sought to whitewash the reactionary terror regime. With the exception of MIR leader Edgardo Enriquez (turned over to Pinochet in April) no other Chilean leftist in Argentina received so much publicity. The UN office in Buenos Aires told Muñoz it had been swamped with telegrams pleading for aid in obtaining safe conduct for him out of Argentina.

The campaign drew attention to the desperate situation facing Argentine leftists and trade unionists as well as Chilean and other refugees. The Muñoz campaign significantly contributed to building the international pressure which led to the UNHCR's announcement Friday that several countries had agreed to accept a total of nearly 2,000 Latin American refugees from Argentina.

On the same day as Muñoz' press conference, the Austrian government announced a quota of 250 visas for refugees from Argentina. The Chilean miners' leader was the first such refugee to be accepted. The *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (7 August), organ of the ruling Socialist Party (SPÖ), began its page 2 story by emphasizing this aspect:

"Austria is currently participating in an international campaign to save the roughly 8,000 refugees from other Latin American countries living in Argentina where they are threatened by the right-wing death squads. In addition to Austria, Canada, France, England, Switzerland and Norway have declared their willingness to accept refugees since



Argentina is already well on its way to becoming a second Chile. The first victory was the success of a worldwide trade-union campaign in obtaining safe conduct from Argentina to Austria for former Chilean miners leader Mario Muñoz.

The same point was made in a shorter Austrian Press Agency dispatch in Vienna's leading bourgeois paper, *Die Presse* (7 August). On Saturday night the news program on Italy's national television carried an announcement about Muñoz' arrival in Vienna.

The *Arbeiter-Zeitung* felt it necessary to attack Muñoz for breaking with Allende's popular front, going so far as to state that the repression he subsequently suffered was "his own fault." But Muñoz had offered the military support of the miners to defend the Allende regime against a right-wing coup. He warned that it was Allende, through conciliating reaction and collaborating with the bourgeoisie, who was paving the road to the coup.

Today, the *Kurier* (10 August), a leading Vienna bourgeois paper, published a feature article on Muñoz on page 3. The article stressed the importance of the international campaign in saving Muñoz:

"Mario Muñoz went underground for more than three months. But the New York-based Partisan Defense Committee took up this spectacular case and mounted a campaign throughout the western world to save Mario Muñoz...."

The *Kurier* article noted the intervention of top Austrian trade-union and Socialist Party leaders on Muñoz' behalf.

The vicious manhunt for Muñoz spanned two countries. The campaign to save this Chilean workers' leader spanned five continents; it has dramatized the desperate peril facing leftists and labor leaders throughout Latin America. The broad-based defense effort demonstrates the power of international working-class solidarity, illuminating the continuing need for anti-sectarian, class-struggle defense efforts on behalf of all victims of reactionary terror. This important victory offers renewed hope for all the class brothers and sisters of Mario Muñoz persecuted by the vindictive junta butchers for their struggles against reactionary dictatorship in Latin America and throughout the world. ■

## Rhodesia

(continued from page 8)

Botswana three times last week and questioned villagers at gunpoint.

### Frenzied Racists Under Siege

The minority regime's frenzy stems directly from its deteriorating military and economic position. Rhodesia is encircled by black-ruled countries, and the guerrillas have struck at will on all fronts. The economy is grinding down following the closure of the Zambian and Mozambique borders to Rhodesian goods and constant sabotage of the vital Rutenga rail link with South Africa. The country's white settlers live in a

state of permanent siege. After a recent visit, the editor of the *Johannesburg Star* (7 August) described his impressions:

"Forts have sprung up in the countryside. Small towns now look like garrisons. Camouflaged military vehicles, which are not that numerous in so small a country, often outnumber private vehicles.... You cannot stand on a street corner in central Salisbury for two minutes without noticing signs of the Security Forces. You may even see a young man going to his office to work—routinely except for the uniform and gun."

Salisbury's military forces are stretched increasingly thin. Its regular army of 4,700 men (half of them black) is backed up by 16,400 "territorial forces" (reservists) who have been put on continuous call-up since May 1 and another 27,000 police and police reservists. The military has taken to re-examining men previously rejected as medically unfit, has lowered the call-up age to 16 and is recruiting mercenaries in Europe and North America.

Already outnumbered 20 to 1, whites are beginning to flee this fortress society in significant numbers. Despite a trickle of immigration, the country experienced a net loss of 2,280—or nearly one percent of the white population—in the first six months of the year. The government's response was to drastically slash the amount of currency that emigrating families can take with them.

### Escalating Struggle

While the army and police rely heavily on well-paid black volunteers for their counter-insurgency operations, the black masses have demonstrated increasing support for the guerrillas, calling down savage repression reminiscent of tactics employed during the imperialist rape of Indochina. Rural Africans are herded into barbed-wire-enclosed "protected villages" which recall the "strategic hamlet" program in Vietnam. Late last month, 56 black farmworkers were sentenced to ten years in jail for "failing to report terrorists." Dozens of peasants have been shot for curfew violations.

Torn apart by political differences, tribal and personal rivalries, the political leadership of the ANC (both Nkomo's ZAPU wing and the "militant" ZANU wing led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa) retreated into the background after the "frontline states" (Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique and Tanzania) threw their support behind a joint military High Command formed last November. The guerrilla offensive has grown steadily since January, spurring Salisbury's murderous reprisal raids.

Henry Kissinger's appeals for a "peaceful settlement" and some form of majority rule within two years have fallen on deaf ears in Salisbury. The spokesman for imperialist genocide, like the representatives of the apartheid

regime in Pretoria, is banking on a deal with the most moderate of the petty-bourgeois black nationalists in order to better defend white supremacy from the more secure redoubts of South Africa. Smith, however, is relying on well-equipped and highly trained armed forces, including a fleet of 46 jet strike aircraft and an estimated 40 helicopters.

The racial arrogance and colonial outpost mentality of the Salisbury regime precludes a peaceful transition to black rule. Furthermore, Smith refuses to believe that South Africa will permit the military victory of the guerrillas. In response to Kissinger's June meeting with South African prime minister Balthazar Vorster, Smith defiantly crowed:

"There is an understanding between South Africa and ourselves that we are fighting for the same thing in Southern Africa, the preservation of Western democracy, which the white man has brought to this part of the world. Accordingly, I don't think Dr. Kissinger, if this was his intent, would succeed in convincing South Africa that Rhodesia would be pressurized into giving way, giving way to the Russian advance."

—*New York Times*, 29 June

Smith may well be deluded. Vorster knows that a major South African intervention into Rhodesia would only deepen the extreme crisis of South African society.

In the sharpening battles in Rhodesia, revolutionaries stand in solidarity with the military struggle to smash racist rule. Should Smith's brazen provocations lead to war with the surrounding black-ruled countries, Marxists would call for the defeat of Rhodesia. Although we place no political confidence in the pseudo-socialist Frelimo regime in Maputo, in Zambia's discredited Kenneth Kaunda or in the nationalist guerrillas, we recognize that Smith's settler colony stands in essentially the same relation to the black 'Rhodesian masses and the black-ruled states today as it did prior to the 1965 Unilateral Declaration of Independence, i.e., as an extension of British imperialism.

In calling for military victory to the ZANU/ZAPU guerrillas, we point out that the burning social and economic problems of the downtrodden black masses will not be resolved through that victory but only through the creation of a black workers and peasants government to expropriate the mines and plantations and link the Rhodesian proletariat to their class brothers and sisters in South Africa. ■

## Hospital Strike...

(continued from page 3)

settlement, the Communist Labor Party (CLP), like the bureaucrats, called it "a real victory." Workers can predict what having the CLP in union leadership would mean if, for it, a "victory" is a deal in which the COLA increase is traded off for a few hundred jobs while thousands are axed later!

In Mao's Little Red Book defeats may miraculously turn into their opposites, but in real life struggles of the working class, defeats will remain exactly that and will continue as long as the class-betraying labor bureaucracy remains in power in the unions. There are no shortcuts. Hospital workers must struggle to oust the labor bureaucracy in favor of a class-struggle leadership.

At the present time there is an urgent need for city labor unions to take the lead in linking the struggle of workers, students, and the city's poor in a citywide strike against layoffs. This cannot happen while the union leaderships are politically tied to the Democratic Party, which across the country not only supports a program of cut-backs but is actively carrying them out! Labor must break with the Democratic Party to build a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government. ■

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# WORKERS VANGUARD

## USWA Convention Opens in Las Vegas

# Dump Abel, Sadlowski, ENA! For A Class-Struggle Steelworkers Union!

The 18th Constitutional Convention of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) convenes August 30 in Las Vegas. The USWA is unique among major unions in that there exists within it a major opposition to the incumbent bureaucracy.

The challenge by Edward Sadlowski has so unnerved the machine of I. W. Abel that a rift has developed over who will succeed the outgoing international president. Two separate slates claiming loyalty to Abel, one headed up by Lloyd McBride, St. Louis district director, the other by vice president John Johns, have been formed for the elections of international union officers scheduled for next February.

In pre-convention jockeying one Abel loyalist, Joseph Kender, director of Cleveland-based District 28, has called on union staff representatives to get locals to pass resolutions postponing USWA elections to the fall of 1977. This would enable Abel to stay in office until after the contracts in basic steel are negotiated next summer. District 31 head Sadlowski, whose Steelworkers Fightback Committee has been busy distributing petitions nationwide calling for membership ratification of contracts, responded characteristically by threatening government intervention against any attempts to tinker with union elections.

The schisms within the USWA leadership provide an excellent opportunity for militants to counterpose a class-struggle program to the pro-capitalist policies of the Abel gang and the reformist Sadlowski. However, little in this direction can be expected at the convention. Almost all the existing "rank-and-file" oppositional groupings have made it clear that they will subordinate themselves to Sadlowski and his program of reliance on the courts and the Democratic Party.

### Abel

Unemployment in the metal industries has ranged from 10 to 20 percent for most of the last 15 months, with layoff rates running higher at many

plants. In May total employment in steel was 459,000, down significantly from a five-year high of 512,000 in 1974. The increased level of unemployment has already begun to eat into the industry's Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) plan: at Bethlehem, for example, SUB benefits have already been cut to less than two-thirds of the regular weekly payments.

Although there has been a modest upturn in the steel industry this year this has not led to significant callbacks and new hiring. Under Abel's "productivity hargaining," thousands of workers are being forced out of the industry permanently. Through May 1976 U.S. steel-makers had shipped 6 percent more finished steel than last year with 7.2 percent fewer workers! Meanwhile, U.S. Steel, the nation's largest steel producer, has just announced its second major price increase in three months. While the companies claim greater profits, steelworkers are saddled with layoffs, speed-up, overwork and increased safety violations.

Key to maintenance of this situation is Abel's notorious Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), under which the union gave up the right to call nationwide strikes until 1980 in exchange for extremely minimal wage increases. Abel regards the ENA as his most important achievement.

However, the discontent among steelworkers with the results of ENA is widespread. Abel has no real achievements to show for this policy and he has been reduced to arguing cynically that a no-strike policy cuts down on steel imports. And both of the pro-Abel tickets are stressing the "experimental" character of ENA!

Having renounced a strategy of striking against layoffs, Abel's only program for jobs is to steal them from foreign steelworkers. To this end the USWA was instrumental this spring in supporting the Ford administration's enactment of three-year quotas on imports of European specialty steel, while the Japanese agreed to voluntary restrictions. The ultimate result of this



Ed Sadlowski



I. W. Abel

trade rivalry will not be more jobs for steelworkers but worse conditions for all workers—as unions in all countries sacrifice to make their respective steel industries "more competitive"—and the prospect of a third world war waged to resolve the competing market claims of various capitalist states.

Not the least of the results of Abel's fundamentally chauvinist viewpoint has been the willingness to sell out the Canadian section of the USWA. At the 1974 union convention, Canadian delegations had demanded removal of the red clause as a concession to their membership, which is increasingly restive under the domination of the conservative U.S. International. Abel apparently agreed to modify the existing red clause and his Constitution Committee submitted a resolution which would delete specific references to the Communist Party from the union's sweeping anti-communist membership clause. However, the International made no effort to get delegates to support its official position and the proposal was voted down with the assistance of large numbers of the International's staff representatives. This act of treachery outraged the Canadian delegations.

### Sادلowski

Challenger Sadlowski likes to harp about returning the union to membership control, but his enormous contempt for the rank and file is revealed by his use of the capitalist government against his bureaucratic opponents. Sadlowski's election as head of the pivotal Chicago-area District 31 was spearheaded by the Department of Labor. Rather than fighting within the union he has threatened to use Landrum-Griffin if Abel extends his term. And when his supporters were recently assaulted in Houston (see *WV* No. 121) he appealed to the Ku Klux Klan-infested Houston cops to protect his backers, demanding that they police the plants.

Sادلowski has not even openly opposed the ENA, and he is careful to

assert that it is "legal." His intimate ties with the courts and government officials make it clear that he would enforce the highly unpopular ENA—which does not expire until 1980. In this he is not different from Arnold Miller of the Mine Workers, who similarly enforced Boyle's sellout contract after he replaced Boyle as union president.

Sادلowski's support to membership ratification is similarly suspect. Steelworkers have never had the right to vote on their contracts. While this demand is certainly supportable, in the hands of a bureaucratic leadership it means little. The Teamsters, for example, have membership ratification. In practice, this means that contracts are approved without discussion in undemocratic mail referendums supervised by the Labor Department!

Sادلowski has certainly given no indication that he would act any differently from the heavy-handed Abel if he ran the USWA. As director of District 31 Sadlowski has done nothing to combat layoffs and contract violations by the companies. Although his speeches are filled with a lot of cheap sniping at Abel's "tuxedo unionism," on the most important issues facing the union—productivity bargaining, unemployment, protectionism, racial and sexual discrimination, let alone the ENA—Sادلowski has said little that distinguishes him from Abel. And like Abel, Sadlowski is committed to supporting capitalist politicians, most recently Governor Daniel Walker in the Illinois Democratic primary.

Sادلowski bills himself as the "Arnold Miller of the Steelworkers." This is accurate. And one need only glimpse Miller today to see how unfortunate Sadlowski's election would be for steelworkers. The two massive wildcats by miners within one year testify to the distance that separates Miller from the rank and file of his union. Miller, who ran as a "reformer" and supporter of "democracy," now calls for strict obedience to anti-labor courts, for crossing-picket lines and expelling dissidents.

*continued on page 10*