



Der Spiegel



AP

Egyptian riot police killed demonstrating workers and students in the streets of Cairo last week after president Sadat announced drastic price increases for essential goods.

Working Masses Rebel Against Burden of Militarism

Egypt Explodes

JANUARY 24—Two days of stormy street battles convulsed Egypt last week. Smoke spiraled above Cairo and Alexandria as police stations, government mansions, sleek limousines, swank shops and nightclubs were sacked and burned. Deaf to the threadbare demagoguery of "national unity," workers, students and the slum poor hurled themselves at their oppressors. The military regime was shaken to its foundations.

President Anwar Sadat had piously exhorted the impoverished toilers of the Nile Valley to "struggle, resolution and sacrifice," but drastic price hikes on basic staples (cooking fuel, tea, bread, rice, sugar) goaded them beyond endurance. While oil-rich sheiks slithered from cabaret to brothel, millionaire speculators evaded all taxes and military martinets shrieked for a bigger war budget, Sadat attempted to slash the rations of workers and peasants.

The imperialist usurers of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank had demanded currency devaluation and an end to government subsidies of consumer goods as the price for further loans. But this "made in USA" scheme to "assist" Egypt by starving its people quickly backfired. Cairo, the Calcutta of the Near East, where one million out of its eight million inhabitants live in the vast city cemetery, exploded in revolt.

The workers of the Helwan iron and steel complex, ten miles south of the city, touched off the rebellion with a walkout early Tuesday. A UPI dispatch (19 January) reported:

"Workers congregated at points where they normally commute to work and surged through the streets shaking fists and chanting antigovernment slogans."

"One group, systematically smashing shop windows and neon signs, chanted rhyming slogans such as: 'With life and blood we shall bring about the downfall of [premier] Mamdouh Salem'."

Others shouted "Down with Sadat" and
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Teresa Zabala/New York Times

Carter, second from right, with Democratic bigwigs, from left: Humphrey, Mondale, Robert Byrd, James Wright, Al Ullman and Tip O'Neill.

Liberals Claim Betrayal

Carter's Team: Jim Crow, Dr. Strangelove, Daddy Warbucks

Jimmy Carter, the new no. 1 imperialist in all the world, held a \$3 million "People's Inauguration" last Thursday, complete with parade floats, fireworks, a giant peanut balloon, prayer services, the biggest square dance ever and plenty of that "down home" rhetoric that won him the primaries (but whose hollowness was so sinister that he almost lost the election to the despised Gerald Ford).

The Carter "transition team" had mailed out inaugural invitations to 300,000 people, but these gold brick "invites" entitled the holders to nothing at all at the "People's Inauguration." It took \$25 a head (plus another \$25 for a parade seat) to hear the Southern fundamentalist, ethnic purist, ex-naval officer, peanut millionaire and technocrat sermonize on the "renewed search for humility."

Palmed off as the fresh breeze of "the People" blowing out the stale smoke-filled back rooms of Nixon's Washington, Carter now faces the foul winds of criticism coming from the black liberals and trade-union hacks who got out the vote that elected him. They are complaining that his economic policies and cabinet appointments make it more difficult to present the Democratic Party, one of the two traditional parties of American capitalism, as the party of the common man.

There is a false ring to the labor hureaucrats who now bemoan Carter's economic proposals designed to grease the wheels of capital at the expense of the working class, and the black misleaders who assail his appointment of the racist Griffin Bell as attorney general. Today the

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Should Revolutionists "Walk with Sadlowski"?

January 6, 1977

To The Editor:

In a prominent article on the Fight Back campaign headed by Ed Sadlowski in the Steelworkers Union (WV [No. 138] December 24, 1976) you attempt to take on the position of the Socialist Workers Party. You write:

"The 10 December *Militant* ... contains a special six-page insert on the campaign which is totally uncritical of Sadlowski. The *Militant* prints a tough statement by Sadlowski in opposition to the ENA ... but the article fails to mention, however, ... that Sadlowski has pledged to enforce this rotten agreement ... until 1980." (3 yrs.)

There were, in this supplement, extensive quotes from Sadlowski, and, in addition, there appeared an interview with Ed Heisler, SWP National Committee member, giving the position of the SWP. While it remains true that the quotes from Sadlowski aren't critical of the Fight Back slate, and don't highlight the negative aspects of the slate, it's totally false that the statement of the SWP (the Heisler interview) "is totally uncritical of Sadlowski."

Further on, in your article, you go on to concretize just how "totally uncritical" the supplement was, stating:

"On the issue of political action, where Sadlowski's support of the Democratic Party stands in sharp contrast to the SWP's formal position of no support to capitalist politicians, the *Militant* maintains total silence."

In fact, the Heisler interview was not only not "totally uncritical," but rather, quite clearly, critical of Sadlowski. In fact, precisely on the crucial question of the necessity for political independence from the capitalist class, and the necessary opposition to the Democratic Party that flows from that need, where you accuse the *Militant* of "total silence," Heisler states:

"Sادلowski makes an important mistake. He said he was voting for Carter ... And he supported former Sen. Fred Harris back during the Democratic primaries. 'I think that any support to either the Democrats or the Republicans is a dead end for labor. It stands in contradiction to many of the principles Sadlowski speaks for.'"

Further,

"We need a party that's run by workers, accountable only to workers, and that fights for the needs of all working people."

Enough?!

I personally welcomed the SWP statement and aided its distribution. I also welcomed the quotes from Sadlowski, though I believe a more rounded set of quotes could've been drawn.

The purpose of the quotes and the supplement is to make our case for critical support. In looking through the quotes and observing the campaign, I believe there to be many issues on which proletarian revolutionists should walk with Sadlowski against the conservative Abel bureaucracy in the same manner that we walked with John L. Lewis against the conservative AFL bureaucracy in organizing the CIO. At the same time, as with Lewis, I see many fundamental questions where

revolutionists must draw the line, do battle with, and finally expose the weaknesses of Sadlowski.

The key question, however, is not whether or not to "walk with him" where we agree, but rather how we should do this. The SWP has concluded that there is sufficient political agreement to extend critical support to the Fight Back slate. The purpose of critical support is to work with the caucus to elect Sadlowski, while, at the same time, exposing his weaknesses to the ranks of the caucus, and winning the best militants to a full class-struggle program, and to the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party. And thereby, to lay the basis for developing a class-struggle caucus in the union, and a class-struggle leadership of the workers movement.

For the Spartacist League, however, to extend critical support to anyone running for union office that doesn't agree with the entire transitional program for socialist revolution is to break a class principle. And so, the SL is cut off from working with a whole layer of young militants that are waging a battle to transform their union into a militant, democratic, fighting organization.

If the SWP were a mass organization, I would see this critical support as fundamentally incorrect. But, the whole purpose of extending this "support" is to break out of the present isolation revolutionary workers face in 1977, and to encourage the first steps of the working class, in this period, toward struggle, and to help guide those steps in a revolutionary direction. This campaign represents a grand and not-at-all-unimportant opening. To refuse this opportunity is a mistake.

The fight to construct a mass revolutionary workers party is a process. The test of the truly revolutionary perspective is the ability to creatively apply principles, which are defended with granite hardness, in a thoroughly flexible manner on the level of tactics.

R.C.
Milwaukee

WV replies:

Comrade R.C. is correct on one point—in the 10 December *Militant*'s six-page steel supplement we overlooked the single, mild criticism of United Steelworkers presidential challenger Ed Sadlowski, where SWP spokesman Ed Heisler takes issue with Sadlowski's support for Democratic Party candidates. Perhaps, however, R.C. should have waited before he wrote his letter. A more recent six-page supplement on the USWA elections was published in the 21 January *Militant*. R.C. can satisfy himself that this supplement is totally uncritical of Sadlowski. In particular, it is worth noting that in his article in this supplement Heisler not only fails to mention Sadlowski's support to Democrats, but has the gall to criticize Abel for raising money for capitalist politicians!

Far from "exposing his [Sادلowski's] weaknesses to the ranks of the caucus, and winning the best militants to a full class-struggle program," the SWP intervention into the Steelworkers elections has consistently sought to polish up and distort Sadlowski's real program. His opposition to nationalization of industry and workers control, his willingness to enforce Abel's no-strike ENA agreement, his outrageous proposal to cut the basic steel workforce from over 400,000 to 100,000—all are either totally ignored or buried in the *Militant*. Instead, the *Militant* reports to its readers in good faith Sadlowski's statements that he is a follower of Debs, as well as presenting without comment Sadlowski's pseudo-left rhetoric: "The workers and the bosses have nothing in common," Sadlowski declares. "It's a class question" (*Militant*, 21 January).

The occasional (very occasional, indeed!) criticisms of Sadlowski that appear in the *Militant* are designed to provide a cover for the SWP's gross illusion-mongering in this "rebel" bureaucrat. Moreover, these "criticisms" are as bland as could be imagined. Heisler says Sadlowski makes a "mistake" in supporting the Democratic Party, implying that he can be won to revolutionary politics. And even these gentle chidings



Ed Sadlowski

are paper criticisms that are not carried into the union. SWP supporters in the USWA do not fight in the union for their ostensible position against capitalist politicians: to do so would embarrass Sadlowski. Far from desiring to produce political clarification through revolutionary criticism, the SWP craves to ingratiate itself with the Sadlowski bureaucrats. Long absent from the industrial working class, it wants to establish a niche for itself as the "best builders" and advisers for a slicker, updated model of a liberal labor bureaucrat.

Although the SWP's support to Sadlowski is essentially uncritical, the considerations R.C. raises with respect to critical support merit a response. Essentially he argues that it is permissible for a small left organization to give critical political support to one wing of the trade-union bureaucracy.

For Marxists, however, it is not considerations of size but of program that are crucial. (If anything, a small revolutionary organization—having little social weight and organizational muscle, and with only its program to stand behind—should be even more cautious about engaging in tactical maneuvers like critical support.) Leninists are in principle prepared to consider critical support to a candidate running in an election within the labor movement (e.g., for union office) only if on issues fundamental to the campaign he breaks programmatically from the class collaborationism shared by all wings of the bureaucracy. Should such a candidate later refuse to carry out the class-struggle course he promised, the communist pole which extended him critical support is in a position to demand the implementation of the programmatic points he has betrayed and thus win over his base of militant workers.

In the absence of a programmatic break from class collaborationism, however, "critical support" only serves as an excuse to tail popular bureaucrats. This is demonstrated in the case of Arnold Miller of the Mine Workers (UMW), whom the SWP also opportunistically supported. Once in office, Miller enforced Boyle's sellout contract, broke wildcat strikes and purged militants from the union. However, Miller did not betray his program. He only carried his policy of relying on the government to the logical conclusion of collaborating with the strike-breaking courts.

Since the Miller campaign and the soon-disbanded Miners for Democracy had never fought for any class-struggle policies in the UMW, the subsequent disillusionment with him largely resulted in a search for alternative "leaders" within the bureaucracy—including, interestingly enough, renewed support in the ranks for elements associated with the notoriously corrupt and discredited Tony Boyle! This was confirmed at the last UMW convention, with the massive outbreak of red-baiting and the emergence of LeRoy Patterson, a Boyle supporter, as an apparently viable candidate for UMW president. Ostensible leftists in the UMW who "critically" supported Miller did not gain authority with advanced workers in the union; they only succeeded in tarring themselves with Miller's class collaborationism.

Sادلowski, like Miller, promises higher wages, safer working conditions, more rank-and-file participation, etc., and denounces the obvious betrayals of the Abel administration. But this is no different from what any out-bureaucrat challenging an incumbent ever does. In fact, it is exactly what Abel promised when he ran as an "insurgent" against MacDonald's "tuxedo unionism" in 1965—and the SWP supported Abel in that election, too.

Despite his populist rhetoric, it is evident that Sadlowski's actual program is not fundamentally different from Abel's. On all the key issues—such as

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the
Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Karen Allen

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Anne Kelley

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

Published weekly, except bi-weekly in August and December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone 966-6841 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business). Address all correspondence to Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001. Domestic subscriptions, \$5.00 per year. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

trade-union independence from the state, workers control, expropriation of the capitalists, struggle for a workers party—Sadlowski's positions are *counterposed* to a class-struggle course. He calls for court and labor department intervention in the union, has agreed to enforce the ENA until 1980, supports Democratic Party politicians, refuses to call for strikes against layoffs, opposes nationalization of steel, etc. Since Sadlowski's campaign does not break with the bureaucracy's class collaboration, even on a single important issue, since it in no sense intersects class-struggle politics, the SL refuses to give him critical support.

R.C. asserts that the SL will not support anyone who "doesn't agree with the entire transitional program" (which, in effect, rules out critical support under any circumstances). This is not true, and we suggest that R.C. consult "Trade Union Tactics and the Transitional Program," in *WV* No. 21, 25 May 1973, for a statement of our long-standing policy on critical support in union elections. The SL will, and has, extended critical support in union elections to elements which campaign on a program which breaks from reformism on key issues, but which may be incomplete, confused or even incorrect on other issues.

In the Steelworkers, the attitude ostensibly left caucuses take toward Sadlowski is an important criterion in considering critical support. In the elections for USWA Local 65 in Chicago last spring, for example, the SL initially gave critical support—

despite differences on several issues—to the Revolutionary Steelworkers Caucus, which opposed Sadlowski from the left. However, when this grouping (politically supported by the Revolutionary Socialist League) failed to take a position on the local Sadlowski candidate's suit against the union, which had become a major issue in the campaign and expressed the essence of Sadlowski's class collaborationism, the SL withdrew its critical support (see *WV* No. 108, 7 May 1976).

Class-struggle militants in steel would certainly be willing to unite with the Sadlowski forces around concrete democratic or economic struggles against the companies and incumbent Abel bureaucracy. This has not been possible, however, because the Sadlowski forces do not engage in such struggles. Sadlowski's oppositional activities have been limited to pure electoralism combined with appeals for government intervention. His District 31, the most important in the industry, has engaged in no militant actions against the companies, and is run just as bureaucratically as districts headed by Abel flunkies.

As to principled common actions, it is the Sadlowski forces which have shown themselves to be sectarian. In early January, Sadlowski supporters were arrested for leafletting U.S. Steel's Gary Works. A protest meeting called by the Sadlowski supporters *rejected* a united defense around the right of all unionists to leaflet the work site and *excluded* militant steel workers who refused to support Sadlowski's candidacy. (See "U.S. Steel Orders Union Leafletters Arrested in Gary," *WV* No. 141, 21 January.)

Finally, R.C. is mistaken when he assumes that the SWP's support for Sadlowski is consistent with Trotskyist trade-union work in the 1930's. It is true that the SL does not uncritically accept all of the SWP's earlier trade union work, and *WV* has criticized the SWP's proneness to bloc politically with one or another wing of the bureaucracy. However, this in no way vitiates our claim to the SWP's earlier revolutionary traditions.

In particular, the analogy claimed by R.C. to the question of Lewis vs. Greene in the 1930's is a false one. The SWP was entirely correct to bloc with Lewis on the issue of industrial unionism. But this limited bloc on a particular issue in no way constituted generalized political support, however critical, to the Lewis wing of the bureaucracy.

In fact precisely in the Steelworkers union, which was run by Lewis through his assistant Phillip Murray, SWP supporters waged a principled struggle against Lewis' bureaucratism, his reliance on bourgeois politicians which led to the defeat in Little Steel, his failure to lead a struggle against racism, etc. And certainly the earlier SWP did not compare Lewis to Debs, or pretend that Lewis had the class interests of the proletariat at heart, as the SWP does today with Sadlowski!

The SWP has long since undergone a fundamental degeneration and its place as defender of revolutionary Trotskyism before the working masses has been taken by the Spartacist League.

Trotskyist Faction Expelled by Spartacusbund

Dutifully following the instructions of its new-found guru, comrade Roberto of the Italian Lega Comunista (formerly the Revolutionary Marxist Faction—FMR), the German Spartacusbund bureaucratically expelled the Trotskyist Faction at its Sixth National Conference in early January. But although the chaphic Spartacusbund leadership hoped by this arbitrary action to stem the group's galloping disintegration, it succeeded neither in consolidating a coherent political line nor in imposing rigid order on a squabbling membership (a substantial portion of which voted against the expulsion).

The lashup between the Spartacusbund and the FMR took place in the context of a rightward shift by the "United" Secretariat (USec) that accompanied the current wave of popular frontism, beginning with the Allende Popular Unity (UP) coalition in Chile. As the USec factional struggle heated up, a number of small groups werespun off which saw an opening to the left where they could pose as "orthodox" without definitively breaking with that family of ex-Trotskyists that passes itself off as "the Fourth International." In the period preceding their current marriage of convenience, both the Spartacusbund (whose origins date from a 1969 split in the German USec group) and the FMR (which had provoked its expulsion from the Italian USec in early 1975) consciously and explicitly rejected the authentically Trotskyist positions upheld by the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) in favor of militant-sounding left-Pabloism.

The Spartacusbund, after foundering in national isolation and having lost half its membership in the past year, sought refuge in instant internationalism to compensate for its own political indecision and endless confusion. In March 1976, representatives of the Spartacusbund Central Committee committed the organization to a left-of-the-USec rotten bloc, Roberto's "Necessary International Initiative" (NII), without full discussion in the CC or any discussion at all among the membership.

The NII document declared the need

to "reconstruct" not only the Fourth International, but also the Trotskyist program, both of which supposedly were destroyed during World War II. The discussion necessary for this fundamental "reconstruction" was scheduled to be the main point on the agenda of the January Spartacusbund conference. But as the organization tottered, a principled left opposition to its policies emerged to form the Trotskyist Faction (TF) and the remainder of the group split into three more competing tendencies. The Spartacusbund therefore cancelled the "programmatic discussion" in favor of a discussion of tactics.

Protesting against this bureaucratic suppression, the TF presented a motion to the conference noting that:

"The clarification of principled questions is a precondition for discussion of tactics... as well as for politics in general.... An organization which cannot clarify such principled questions and therefore must resort to bureaucratic measures, such as forbidding discussion at this national conference on the Trotskyist Faction's document on the crisis of the Fourth International, has no political future and can only stagger further down the path of political degeneration."

Rejecting the Spartacusbund's haphazard and opportunist attitude toward international regroupment, the TF stressed the urgent need for discussions leading to principled programmatic agreement (which does not exist among the heterogeneous groups of the NII), that it would be irresponsible to delay such discussions, and that the TF would continue these efforts.

At this point, Roberto moved behind the scenes to "orient" the conference. His interpreter—a former member of the Spartacusbund—presented a motion demanding that the comrades of the Trotskyist Faction recant their political views and "recognize completely the authority of the past and future leadership of the Spartacusbund" on pain of expulsion. When the TF comrades refused to capitulate to this Stalinist demand they were summarily expelled. However, in addition to the TF delegate, seven other delegates could not stomach this procedure, five voting

against expulsion and two abstaining (against 17 in favor).

An Unnecessary Initiative

The political chaos within the Spartacusbund is matched only by the jungle of confusion which exists among the groupings of the NII. As the TF pointed out in its basic document,

"What truly unites the NII... is: 1) Rejection of the Transitional Program as the program of the imperialist epoch; 2) A defeatist position on the 1952-54 split in the Fourth International; 3) Support for petty bourgeois nationalists (for example in Angola..., Lebanon, Palestine); 4) Electoral support to workers parties in popular fronts (Chile in 1970, France in 1973-74, Pato in Portugal [1976], the 'historic compromise' in Italy)."

—"For an International Regroupment on the Basis of the Program of the Fourth International," *Spartacus*, December 1976

The TF explained that the Spartacusbund's essential capitulation to the positions of Roberto took place over the line to take toward the USec and the history of the Fourth International. In August 1975 the Spartacusbund took a verbal left turn at its fifth conference, claiming to break with its own self-admitted centrism, advocating an aggressive regroupment policy internationally and calling for politically smashing the USec.

But in March 1976 the Spartacusbund with no second thoughts adopted Roberto's position that the United Secretariat is "centrist sui generis" (a meaningless term invented to cover his refusal to take sides in the 1951-54 split in the Fourth International or to admit that Pablo's liquidationism had destroyed the FI); i.e., that the USec can and should be reformed, if not from within then by a "pressure group" one step (but only one) to its left. The report of the November 1976 meeting of the joint commission of the NII makes it clear that Roberto still weeps tears for the late "Third Tendency" of the USec (whose spokesman he was at the "Tenth World Congress" in 1974). In the words of the British International-Communist League (I-CL), he wants to "relate

ideologically" (i.e., swim in the same swamp) with the "mainstream" of ostensible Trotskyism, represented for the NII by the USec.

While Roberto would like to pose as a "left conscience" of the United Secretariat—an unlikely role indeed, considering that his own proclivities for unprincipled organizational maneuvering are no less than those of his former *caudillo*, Livio Maitan—the NII position on the Transitional Program stands to the right of the USec majority. Both accept the validity only of the "method" of the founding document of the Fourth International, in order to surreptitiously abandon its central conclusions. Roberto goes on to dot the i's and cross the t's by stating that the "destroyed" program must be "reconstructed" from the ground up.

The participants in the NII bloc are, however, unable to agree on when and how the Fourth International was destroyed and by whom. The FMR originally declared that although the FI had been "reorganized" after World War II, Pablo and his followers "destroyed the Trotskyist movement with Stalinist methods" at some later time. Now, however, catering to the Spartacusbund, the NII claims that the Fourth International was destroyed during World War II. The I-CL, on the other hand, still agrees with Roberto's earlier analysis (while remaining otherwise quite hostile to him), stating that the FI was not in need of "regeneration" until 1948 (*Workers Action*, 11 November 1976).

"Serious Disagreements"

In contrast to Roberto and the NII document, the I-CL denies the central responsibility of the Pablo faction in the destruction of Trotsky's International, rejecting the very concept of Pabloism as "meaningless and misleading." The reason is not hard to find: for the I-CL, the USec is not Pabloist but rather "the mainstream that had emerged from the communist tendency personified by Leon Trotsky." In the I-CL's contradictory resolution announcing its adher-

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Killer Bees and Nudes

Hoopla Over Murdoch Press Grab in NYC

The cover of the 17 January issue of *Time* magazine was a cartoon of Rupert Murdoch as King Kong balancing on the twin towers of New York's World Trade Center with NYC newspapers grasped in his hairy paws; a shrieking headline read "EXTRA!!! Aussie Press Lord Terrifies Gotham." But the fake-sensationalist cover was only half in jest.

Coming on the heels of Murdoch's purchase earlier this month of the city's only remaining afternoon daily, the *New York Post*, the sudden acquisition by the Australian newspaper magnate of the New York Magazine Company—whose holdings include *New York* magazine, *New West* and the *Village Voice*—touched off a wave of chauvinist hysteria about the "foreign invader." After years of unsuccessfully trying to break into the American scene, Murdoch's recent acquisitions meant the decisive expansion of his Australian and British publishing empire into the United States.

Reaction to the takeover centered around the attempt of *New York* editor and part-owner Clay Felker to block the sale and a one-day walkout by the magazine's editorial staff January 6 in Felker's support. While Murdoch's vicious anti-working-class policies have sparked bitter strikes and protests by his

employees in the past, the *New York* walkout was not over politics; it was a statement of the staff's revulsion at the prospects of changing over from a style once described by ex-staff writer Jimmy Breslin as "boutique journalism" to Murdoch's standard fare of soft-core sex-and-crime sensationalism.

The staff walked out because "we didn't want Murdoch to meet with Clay believing he had Clay in the palm of his King Kong hand," explained staff writer Aaron Latham to the *New York Times*. The *Times* loftily pointed out the absurdity of *New York* being worried about turning into a scandal sheet. The slick East Side swingers' mag was already turning out such pulp as "What Your Bed Sheets Tell About You" and "I Am a Fugitive from the Body Maulers." So what was all the fuss about running Murdoch specials like "Life After Death—10 Amazing Reports" (*National Star*) or the *San Antonio News*' "Army to Poison 350 Puppies," and, of course, "Killer Bees Head North"?

Classy Trash vs. Trash Trash

It was purely a matter of style. "*New York* is not above publishing trash itself, but classy trash as opposed to Murdoch's trash trash," explained staff writer Richard Reeves in *Time* magazine. But even Reeves understood the difficulties of rallying the public around the cause of a higher grade of pulp. So he came up with a better issue for mass consumption and went on TV ruminating about the dangers of having foreigners controlling American newsprint. This also bothered the staff who wrote such chauvinist graffiti on *New York*'s bathroom walls as "Send this Wallaby back, Jack."

New York was a particularly unlikely candidate for leading opposition to Murdoch's press grab. Normally profoundly apolitical, when the magazine occasionally did take a stab at politics, it was rabidly anti-working-class. During the city's default crisis an article—"Forty-four Proposals to Save Our City" (*New York*, 22 March 1976)—came out for axing the city workers' seniority system and lengthening the working day! As a struggle between Murdoch's killer bees and Felker's jet-set drivels, the matter was nothing more than an old-fashioned media war complete with all the traditional skull-duggery and maneuvering.

For a while there was talk of a strike at the *Village Voice*. Although it too was published and partly owned by Felker, and tied to the same left-lib New York socialites, the *Voice* had recently been involved in a number of political controversies. Ex-CBS reporter Dan Schorr chose to leak the report of the Pike Committee investigation of the CIA to the *Voice*, and the paper has sporadically done some fairly serious muckraking around the role of NYC banks in provoking the city's default crisis. An attempt to silence the *Voice*



Sampling of the Murdoch press empire



Rupert Murdoch

through a financial takeover by banks or others interested in stopping these exposés would have been of concern to the working class.

But aside from taking the precaution of going down to the District 65 headquarters and filling out union cards, the *Voice* staff decided to do nothing. The paper's rival, the counter-culture *Soho Weekly News*, wryly remarked that after two years' of Felker's editorship, during which he systematically fired controversial columnists and threw out long-time dedicated staff workers to bring in his own people, the *Voice* writers decided things would probably not get much worse under Murdoch.

Indeed the casting of Felker as some kind of honest journalist brutalized by the expansionist drive of capital was even more far-fetched than the concept of *New York* magazine leading a fight against pulp journalism. One of the city's more tawdry money-grubbing characters, Felker's greatest joy was apparently being seen around town with the beautiful people.

It seems he had originally invited Murdoch to buy out some of the magazine's board of directors who were on his back. Felker had apparently been in trouble with the board for some time because of the magazine's slipping profits, at least partly attributed to his lavish promotional spending for the launching of *New West*, his \$300,000 personal debt to the magazine as well as its forced financing of his New York townhouses, Hamptons country homes, chauffeured limousines, entertainment tabs at Maxwell's Plum and so forth.

After Murdoch would not stop at buying off a few recalcitrant board members but seemed intent on grabbing control of the magazine, Felker went

running to his friend Felix Rohatyn, wealthy financier and board chairman of Big MAC, probably one of the most despised people in New York City. Rohatyn in turn lined up the notorious union-buster, *Washington Post* owner Katherine Graham, to try to outbid Murdoch. Graham tried, but she failed.

Felker finally sold out his struggle against the descent of the killer bees for a cool million and a half and the promise of three years' salary at \$120,000 yearly. When the staff which had walked out in his support refused to settle, Felker rewarded their loyalty by digging up the galleys they had hidden away and working with Murdoch all night to put out the January 17 scab edition!

Workers Against Press Barons

While the media war at *New York* magazine was a matter of indifference to the working class, when the printers and journalists at Murdoch's Sydney newspapers protested in 1975 against the press magnate's vicious anti-labor lies and suppression of information, revolutionaries stood with them. Murdoch was waging an all-out campaign to topple the Australian Labor Party (ALP) government of Gough Whitlam. He filled the paper with such a barrage of lies and slanders against the ALP leader and the labor movement that the *News Limited* staff staged angry anti-Murdoch protests. In one dramatic action, an outraged crowd broke into the building and burned large bundles of the lying newspapers.

At demonstrations held in support of the press workers and journalists, the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ) demanded expropriation of the media barons by a workers government. However, our comrades opposed the demand raised by some fake-leftists for nationalization of Murdoch's press empire by the present government. Communists oppose schemes to hand control of the news media, no matter how highly monopolized and anti-labor, to the capitalist state, for this only increases the threat of censorship, endangering freedom of the press. The false information spread by the big business press must be fought by building the working-class press.

Likewise we stood with the workers and journalists of *France Soir* who walked out last summer in protest against the takeover of the Paris daily by right-wing newspaper syndicate head and Nazi collaborator Robert Hersant. While in the United States and Britain, newspapers are generally direct mouthpieces for their owners, in France writers and editors have generally had a measure of journalistic autonomy, stemming from the development of the post-war French press out of the

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Clay Felker

British Union Tops Knife Anti-Apartheid Protest

LONDON, January 24—The week of international labour protest against repression of black unions in South Africa fizzled into a few isolated actions. Although the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) had originally called for a campaign including large-scale rallies, educational activities and a labour boycott of South African goods and transport for the week beginning January 17, it was clear from the outset that it had no intention of building this campaign into an effective demonstration of working-class solidarity. The fact that the social-democratic ICFTU leaders could announce that they were "very pleased" with the impact of this impotent campaign reveals the utterly token quality of their protest.

Only very limited sections of the international working class took any active part. Dockers in Canada, Australia, the Netherlands and Belgium refused to work South African goods and shipping. In France, the Force Ouvrière postal workers union boycotted communications with South Africa, but this involved only approximately one third of unionized French postal workers; the other trade-union groups, including the Communist Party-led CGT, refused to take part. The reactionary leadership of the American AFL-CIO flatly refused to participate in the campaign, and essentially no action took place in West Germany, where the trade-union bureaucrats hid behind the threat of fines to excuse their inactivity. In many places the bureaucrats preferred to substitute high decibel (but low risk) "education" campaigns for industrial action.

In Britain, where there is widespread hostility to the apartheid regime in Labour circles, the threat of a postal workers boycott (which never materialized) triggered a major political controversy. But aside from this, the British trade-union leaders, like their counterparts in other countries, were long on rhetoric and short on action.

Trades Union Congress (TUC) leader Jack Jones told his own members in the Transport and General Workers Union, which covers dockers and other vital transport workers, only to "impede and hinder" trade with South Africa. This meant that workers were to "demonstrate their feelings" by refusing to handle certain goods and by slowing shipments but *not* by total boycott. It is not surprising, given Jones' record as the foremost advocate of the "social contract"—a scheme to shore up British capitalism by slashing the living standards of British workers—that workers in his union ignored the call; work continued on South African aircraft at London's Heathrow airport and on South African shipping at Southampton. The TUC leaflet for the occasion argued that "British business...stands to lose if matters are not put right and quickly!"

The Union of Post Office Workers (UPOW) executive had voted unanimously to boycott all telephone calls, mail and telegrams to South Africa, but before the plan could be implemented a court ruling declared such action illegal. The Post Office Act of 1953 makes it an offense to interfere with the passage of mail or incite others to do so. The injunction was sought by the ultra-rightist National Association for Freedom, a collection of retired Colonel Blimps and anti-trade-union reactionaries who recently campaigned to prevent a postal ban on a mail-order company at

which there was a continuing union-recognition strike.

Although a high-court judge at first refused to grant an injunction, the Appeal Court, in an unprecedented Saturday sitting, overturned his ruling. The main intention of the "lord justices" was clear. Lord Benning announced: "Is the Attorney General to be the final arbiter of whether the law should be enforced or not? That is a matter of great constitutional principle." He hastened to add that trade unions must have "no privileged position." His colleague Lord Lawton made the point even clearer: "...for seven days very great harm indeed will be done to the business world of this country who have business dealings in South Africa."

The UPOW general secretary, Tom Jackson, a fervent supporter of the social contract, immediately called off the boycott, lamely remarking that "Britain's part in the [international boycott] action will be limited." And Arthur Latham, a leading MP [Member of Parliament] of the Tribune group of "Labour lefts," could only urge Attorney General Silkin to stand firm in the exercise of his "discretion for which he can be answerable to Parliament and not to the courts." But behind all the tumult about the rights of the attorney general, the "sovereignty" of Parliament and the role of the "lower lords" stand far more important issues. What was under attack was the principle of the autonomy and independence of the trade unions and the basic right to strike. Not surprisingly, neither these issues nor that of industrial action and solidarity figured in the thinking of the various Labour MPs and trade-union bureaucrats.

The British ostensibly Trotskyist groups have all reacted with their typical confusion and capitulation to social democracy. The International Marxist Group, the Workers Socialist League and the International Communist League all support the call for a complete open-ended boycott of South Africa. Like the reformists they fall back on calls for the "democratic" imperialists to pressure their weaker and crasser allies in the guise of demanding that the Labour government implement the boycott. The WSL even declares that "the Labour government shouldn't be 'negotiating' with the racists; it should be arming the freedom fighters." In other words, an imperialist government ought to become the champion of the oppressed. To be consistent, groups like the WSL, which view the IRA as the vanguard of the struggle for Irish independence, should also demand that the Labour government send aid to the IRA! ■

FORUM— Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International

Speaker: James Robertson
Central Committee,
Spartacist League/U.S.

Date: Sat., 29 January 1977
Time: 7:30 p.m.

Place: Barnard College
Lahman Auditorium,
Altschul Hall

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NEW YORK



Apartheid repression in South Africa.

African National Congress

Longshore-Warehouse Militant Leaflet:

Implement Labor Boycott of South Africa!

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) has called for a worldwide week of trade union action to protest the vicious apartheid regime in South Africa, beginning today, Jan. 17. The specific purpose of this international action is to focus opposition against the banning or arresting of 24 black and white trade unionists for their activities in organizing black workers into trade unions. The [South African] government is determined to smash all attempts to expand black trade union organizations. It fears the power of the black working class which has engaged in a series of courageous spontaneous general strikes to defend black and "coloured" youth fighting apartheid. The murderous regime is acting with particular vengeance against these 24 activists—most of whom are white—because these initial acts of interracial class solidarity challenge the very purpose of the racist apartheid system. To defend these courageous unionists, the ICFTU is calling on all labor organizations "to take the strongest possible measures" and specifically for "the grounding of South African aircraft and ships, as well as a boycott on the unloading and loading of goods destined for or coming from South Africa." This call for industrial action has been supported by the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), the World Confederation of Labor, and the Organization of African Trade Union Unity. In Britain, the Postal Workers Union has declared a stoppage against all telephone calls, telegrams and mail to South Africa despite threatened parliamentary reprisals for interfering with the mails. While the call does not include the freeing of all victims of the racist regime the ILWU must actively join the boycott. The Nedlloyd Kimberley, which regularly carries cargo to and from South Africa, is scheduled to arrive in S.F. today to discharge its load. It will then proceed to ports in the Northwest, returning to San Francisco Jan. 29-31 to onload cargo for South Africa and proceed on to San Pedro. Local 10 must take the lead in

refusing to handle any South African cargo already on the ship or dockside and together with Local 34 must refuse to receive any new shipments headed for the docks. To make the boycott really effective, Local 10 must fight to extend the action coastwide for the full three-week duration of the ship's stay on the West Coast. The entire strength of the ILWU including warehouse and Hawaiian sugar and pineapple locals must be mobilized in solidarity actions to prevent the employers victimizing any single port for this boycott through loss of the Pay Guarantee, the grieved ship lockout procedures, etc.

International Sabotages Effective Action

So far no official statement has been made nor has any action been taken to sanction or organize the boycott. Unofficially, Bridges' spokesman Tom Lupher stated repeatedly at last Thursday's Local 10 Executive Board that the International would back the action and that the Regional Directors would be responsible for implementation. Yet, when Gow and Keyrol of *Longshore Militant* moved at the Executive Board to implement the boycott locally and coastwide, Williams, Lupher, Dulaney and Co. voted overwhelmingly to table it. The official Local 10 Southern Africa Liberation Support Committee headed by Leo Robinson had prepared no recommendation on the week's proposed actions. Thus the membership has no support from the leadership for the action.

The failure of the local and International officers to prepare the union to boycott is no surprise. They are no more willing to act to defend victimized South African class brothers than they are to mobilize the ILWU to defend itself against the current employer attacks. Ever since Local 10 voted last June to boycott South African and Rhodesian cargo, the officials have been passing the buck. In a display of gross cowardice and political opportunism, on the very eve of the August 24 South African

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Who Killed Ben Barka?

More than a decade ago, many of the agencies which worked hand-in-glove in the recent arrest of Abu Daoud were implicated in another explosive affair: the kidnapping/murder of Moroccan leftist Mehdi Ben Barka. The Ben Barka affair was front-page news for months in France; President de Gaulle fumed that some people evidently thought they could "take me for a fool" and publicly charged Moroccan authorities with responsibility for the crime. Nevertheless, the French secret agents involved were handed light sentences, the gangsters "disappeared" and the Moroccan assassins went free.

Mehdi Ben Barka was at one time tutor to Crown Prince Hassan (now king) and shortly after Morocco's negotiated independence in 1956 he was elected president of the national consultative assembly. Under the impact of the Algerian independence war he moved to the left, and together with the left wing of the traditional nationalist party Istiqlal founded the National Union of People's Forces (UNFP) in 1957.



Mehdi Ben Barka

Time

Ben Barka followed the political path of Algerian leader Ben Bella. At the fourth Afro-Asian conference the UNFP was placed in charge of overseeing the organization of the Tricontinental conference, due to be held in Havana in January 1966. Ben Barka chaired the international preparatory committee for the Tricontinental in September 1965. This meant that Ben Barka now had two bitter enemies: the Alaouite monarchy in Rabat and the CIA.

Forced into exile in 1963 because of alleged participation in a plot to overthrow the king, the UNFP leader took up residence in Switzerland. In the same year he was condemned to death in absentia for denouncing the Moroccan side in the border war with Algeria; in March 1964 a second death sentence was added based on the so-called "July conspiracy." Ben Barka was a marked man.

On 29 October 1965 Mehdi Ben Barka was lured to France with promises of meeting a famous film director interested in shooting a documentary on the "Third World." But just as he is about to enter the Paris restaurant where the meeting is supposed to take place, he is accosted by two French policemen. Thinking he has nothing to hide since his papers are in order, Ben

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Daoud Release Provokes Hypocritical Outcry

The arrest and rapid release in France earlier this month of Abu Daoud, a leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) who is closely associated with the Black September terrorist group, set off a storm of imperialist and Zionist hypocrisy. The West German *Bild Zeitung* editorialized: "France lies weak, cowardly and humbled on its knees." The Jerusalem *Ma'ariv* delivered a semi-official verdict: "With cowardice, meanness of spirit and cynicism, the government of France has raised the white flag to the oil suppliers and Mirage purchasers." And in Washington president-elect Carter said he was "deeply disturbed."

This self-righteous indignation from the imperialists was pure grandstanding. Carter made a "particularly cordial" 45-minute telephone call to French president Giscard d'Estaing only two days after Daoud's release, in which the subject was never raised. The West German government was obviously less than enthusiastic about trying the PLO leader in Munich, and even the Israeli regime was not so disappointed. The Zionist rulers in Jerusalem were, of course, more than pleased at the arrest of Daoud—they were behind the whole operation—for the opportunity it gave to tarnish the growing international respectability of the PLO. But to Israel the release was as good as a trial in one respect: it embarrassed France, which has been in the forefront of European governments advocating recognition of the PLO.

Who Killed the Bookseller?

Abu Daoud was part of an official PLO delegation attending the funeral of a slain former PLO representative in France, Mohammed Saleh. Saleh, a well-known activist in the Palestinian exile community of Paris, was cut down by gunfire as he was closing his Left Bank bookstore on the evening of January 3. The American news media have been circulating speculations that he was assassinated because of internecine fighting within the PLO: Saleh allegedly supported the Rejection Front which opposes plans for a Palestinian West Bank/Gaza Strip "mini-state" as a sellout.

More probable is the hypothesis that Saleh was killed at the instigation of the legally sanctioned terror squads of Israel and France: the Mossad (Hebrew acronym for Central Institute for Intelligence and Security) and the French internal secret police, the Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire (DST). Ever since the Algerian war, when the DST and SDECE (the French "external" espionage service) received massive information from the Mossad, French spy agencies have worked closely with their Israeli counterparts. Certainly the fact that four PLO representatives have now been assassinated on French soil cannot be explained without at least a measure of toleration by local authorities.

Just how the arrest of Daoud came about is the subject of speculation, since the cabinet and President Giscard clearly were not informed in advance. (In fact, Daoud was reportedly detained by DST agents who trailed him from the French foreign ministry, where he had been part of an official PLO delegation that received condolences and promises of a thorough investigation into Saleh's murder from the official in charge of Near Eastern affairs!) One possibility is that the operation was authorized by interior minister Michel Poniatowski,

known for his pro-Israeli sympathies and his penchant for scheming. *Le Monde* considered it more likely, however, that the DST acted on its own, without prior authorization.

At whatever level of the police hierarchy the operation was plotted, it is clear that the undertaking was an elaborate one carried out in the knowledge that it would embarrass Giscard's pro-Arab foreign policy. According to the 11 January *New York Times* the arrest of Daoud took place either minutes before or at the exact moment that an official Israeli extradition request was received by Interpol and telexed to French police headquarters. It also appears that French police officials, tipped off by the Mossad about Daoud's trip, had contacted the West



Lichon/Gamma/Liaison

Abu Daoud in Algiers



A. Nogues/Sygma

Funeral of Mahmoud Saleh, former PLO representative assassinated in Paris.

German ministry of justice to obtain an international arrest warrant even before the PLO official had arrived in France.

Like the American FBI/CIA, the DST/SDECE and Mossad are bonapartist institutions which make their own laws and execute their own brand of "justice" (including covert "dirty tricks" and gangland-style executions) with impunity. Relatively immune to regulation by other branches of government, which wish to keep a respectable distance from the more sordid activities of these official hit-men, they are nevertheless an integral component of bourgeois democracy. The capitalist secret police are as racist as they are reactionary. Just as in the U.S. black organizations are a preferred target for the FBI's mafioso justice, so in France the DST/SDECE—with the aid of their Zionist colleagues and often in cahoots with fascist gangs—treat the large Arab immigrant community like scum, often assassinating nationalist militants (see adjacent article on the Ben Barka affair).

DST agents in particular wanted to get Daoud as revenge for their humiliating defeat in a June 1975 shoot-out with supposed international terrorist mastermind "Carlos" (the Venezuelan Ilych Ramirez Sanchez). In that fiasco two DST agents and a Lebanese informer were killed while "Carlos" escaped. Since then he is alleged to have taken part in several Palestinian commando operations, including the kidnapping of eleven oil ministers from the December 1975 OPEC conference in Vienna. In addition, the DST and Mossad wanted Daoud arrested in order to distract

attention from the cold-blooded murder of Saleh.

Today's Terrorists, Tomorrow's Cabinet Ministers

French authorities were embarrassed into at least going through the formalities of a judicial hearing on the Daoud case partly because they had been pushing for the Common Market countries to adopt a harsh convention denying political asylum to, and allowing rapid extradition of, alleged terrorists. The agreement was approved by European foreign ministers in early November and Daoud would have been its first victim arrested in France. France had also signed a special treaty with Israel in 1975 governing the extradition of terrorists.

However, four days after Daoud's detention a special administrative court ruled that Israel had no claim for extradition, since the kidnapping at the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich (which Daoud is accused of planning) was outside Israeli jurisdiction. The international arrest warrant was ruled invalid since a formal West German extradition request had not arrived. So twenty minutes after the hearing began, Daoud was packed off to Orly and placed aboard a waiting airliner bound for Algeria.

No doubt, as the Zionists claim, the French government's haste to rid itself of Daoud is linked to its assiduous courtship of the Arab regimes, both as a purchaser of oil and a seller of arms. The PLO official was arrested in the middle of a five-day visit to Egypt by the French

defense minister, a visit intended to lay the foundation for setting up an Arab arms industry by combining revenues from the oil sheikdoms with French technology. The day after Daoud's release, near agreement was announced on a \$1.6 billion arms deal in which Egypt would manufacture 200 Mirage F-1 fighter-bombers under French license.

In addition, the PLO has acquired growing international respectability to the point of having official semi-governmental status in such bodies as the United Nations. The French government is on record favoring an independent Palestinian state and independent Palestinian representation at an eventual Near East peace conference in Geneva. In Paris the PLO already has near diplomatic status. Unlike the Americans, who are forever trying to "make the world safe for democracy" (through such instruments as reactionary dictatorships in South Vietnam, South Korea, Taiwan, etc.), de Gaulle and his successors have prided themselves on being realists.

Having lost two colonial wars in succession (first Indochina, then Algeria), French rulers have learned that today's terrorists may be tomorrow's cabinet ministers, ambassadors and trade representatives. With the trappings of state power comes an amnesty of the acts committed in conquering that power, making the successful overthrow of governments one of two crimes that can never be prosecuted (the other being suicide). As a French foreign ministry official told *Time* magazine (24 January): "The Arabs are the future, and we're honest enough to admit it. We realize Abu Daoud will probably come back to Paris one day as a Palestinian government Cabinet minister."

The PLO is in the process of acquiring the attributes of state power and the Giscard government is treating it accordingly. Abu Daoud was on a semi-diplomatic mission, with the corresponding privileges that implies. Certainly an Algerian minister visiting France today would not be arrested for having shot French colonels during the Algerian war of independence, nor would any other government demand or expect that. (On the other hand, it is because the Irish Republican Army bomb throwers of today are so very far from ever becoming cabinet ministers anywhere that they receive universally brutal treatment from courts and police.)

Zionist Hypocrisy

To the growing international recognition of the PLO, Israel has responded with boundless pious fraud. The Palestinian Liberation Organization is not only becoming a government in exile, but the people it represents was forced into exile by Zionist terror (previously supported by France, including with guns and Mirage jet fighters). Israel was born in the tradition of the Irgun, the right-wing terrorist organization whose most notorious (but by no means exceptional) act was the massacre of 147 unarmed civilians, mainly women and children, at the Arab village of Deir Yassin.

These traditions have been passed on to the Mossad, which has not been reticent about utilizing the organized mass terror of state power to continue the Irgun's vicious and merciless persecution of the Palestinians. The Zionist pharisees remind us of Munich and the eleven Israeli athletes who died there in order to divert attention from Israel's implacable refusal to release Palestinian political prisoners in Zionist jails and the stupidly provocative tactics of the

Bavarian police. The revenge which Israel's bloodthirsty rulers exact for Munich should not be forgotten either. Three days after the Munich events Israeli bombing raids left 126 casualties in Lebanon and 200 in Syria. On 16 September 1972 Israel again raided Lebanon, this time destroying a water filtering plant serving 70 villages, one hospital and two schools, killing 23 civilians in the process.

There are innumerable Zionist terrorist atrocities which could be recounted, with Palestinian refugee camps subjected to murderous air raids almost every time Israel has a bad day in the UN. One appropriate example, since Israeli authorities wax indignant about airplane hijackings: in February 1973 Israeli Phantom jets shot down a Libyan commercial jetliner that had strayed over Israel-occupied Sinai, killing 106 passengers. Yet the officers responsible for that unspeakable atrocity would not be arrested when on an Israeli mission to Europe. And what if the right-wing opposition bloc should win the upcoming Israeli parliamentary elections, and Menachem Begin becomes the next prime minister? Begin was the leader of the Irgun, and thus responsible for the Deir Yassin massacre. We shall see if Begin is arrested for this vicious crime when he next visits the U.S. or West Germany.

Black September

The "Black September" terrorist group was born from the bloody defeats inflicted upon the Palestinian commando groups in 1971 by Jordan's King Hussein. These commando groups threatened the stability of the feudal Hashemite dynasty, which rested on the Bedouin desert tribes although a majori-

ty of its subjects were Palestinians displaced by Israel. Throughout 1971 Hussein sought to expel the commandos, forcing a major battle in July when concerted air and land strikes caused 1,300 casualties among the guerrilla forces. The leader of the resistance to this onslaught, Abu Ali Iyad, was taken prisoner and his corpse was later dragged from village to village behind a Jordanian tank. It is believed that he was personally tortured and killed by the then Jordanian prime minister, Wasfi Tal.

Following this bloody defeat, the largest commando group, Fatah, held a congress in Damascus during August and September. The congress saw a split into two wings: the "moderates" led by Yasir Arafat and a militant group led by the young commandos who had just gone through the bloody battles and demanded retribution. As the congress closed, Hussein opened another offensive against the Palestinians in Jordan. This time the army did not seek to isolate the commandos but instead indiscriminately attacked villages and refugee camps, killing thousands of civilians.

Black September took its name from this infamous massacre. Its first action was the assassination of the unspeakable Wasfi Tal in November 1971 when he walked through the lush foyer of Cairo's Sheraton Hotel coming from a meeting of the Arab League. Initially Black September did not engage in that indiscriminate terror which draws a national rather than a class line. In December 1971 its supporters shot and slightly wounded the Jordanian ambassador in London. In February 1972 Black September blew up a gas plant in Holland owned by a company said to have close ties with Israel, and on the same day shot five Jordanian secret agents for spying on Palestinian workers in West Germany.

But in May 1972 Black September shifted its tactics and began to attack innocent victims—"guilty" only of being Israelis or Jews—with the kidnapping of a Sabena airliner. Then came the Munich attack, in which Black September commandos seized 11 Israeli athletes as hostages. Two athletes were killed by the commandos in the course of capturing the Israeli compound on the Olympic grounds; the others, plus five commandos, were killed after the kidnappers had been lured into a police ambush at Munich airport.

Black September was not an organization so much as a series of terrorist operations undertaken in that name, mainly by commandos associated with Fatah. However, Fatah and its "moderate" leadership headed by Yasir Arafat are closely associated not only with the Ba'athist colonels in Damascus and Baghdad but also with the feudal monarchies in Amman and Riyadh. Consequently Fatah would never take direct responsibility for killing a Jordanian prime minister leaving a meeting of the Arab League. Clearly, however, after the September 1971 massacre in Jordan, Arafat's policy of peaceful coexistence with the reactionary Arab regimes was so discredited that he

lost control of a section of his own movement.

The relationship between Black September and Fatah was wrapped in relative obscurity until a group of 16 commandos under the leadership of Abu Daoud was captured in Amman in February 1973. They intended to kidnap Jordanian cabinet ministers in order to dramatize the continued vitality of the commando movement after the massacres of 1971. Daoud had been a member of Fatah's leading body since 1970. While in prison he gave an elaborate confession which explicitly linked Fatah and Black September.

Shortly after the capture of Daoud's commando group two operations were carried out to win their release. In March 1973 Black September fighters unsuccessfully laid siege to the Saudi Arabian embassy in the Sudan, during which the U.S. ambassador, his deputy and the Belgian chargé d'affaires were killed. And on the first anniversary of Munich, Black Septemberists attacked the Saudi embassy in Paris, this time seizing five hostages and commandeering a plane to Kuwait. But Daoud was only released as part of the Syrian-Egyptian-Jordanian reconciliation in which Hussein freed all Palestinian commandos imprisoned in Jordan.

Abu Daoud's actual relationship to Black September and to the Munich attack is likewise clothed in ambiguity. In his Amman confessions, while admitting prior knowledge of the operation, Abu Daoud claimed he had only turned over his Iraqi passport to another commando, and that he was in Libya during the Munich events. An extremely hostile account, *Black September* by Christopher Dobson, claims that West German police "are certain" that Abu Daoud was in Munich at the time. However, recent news accounts report that West German legal experts "questioned whether the evidence against Abu Daoud was sufficient to make an extradition request stand up and, at a trial, to obtain a conviction" (*Time*, 24 January). Daoud again denied participation in the Munich events upon arrival in Algiers, but exactly what is his personal responsibility for this indefensible act of indiscriminate terrorism may never be known.

At the time of the Munich massacre the professional cheerleaders for "Third World" nationalism were vociferous in their defense of the senseless kidnapping of the Israeli athletes. Most nauseating in this regard was the reaction of the French Ligue Communiste, the leading section of the European majority of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat" (USec). The Ligue's initial reaction was to disclaim responsibility for Black September and criticize the action as "politically ineffective," while saying that "thousands of disinherited Palestinians... correctly understand this action as an act of war against Zionism and imperialism" (*Rouge*, 9 September 1972).

But this was not enough for the USec armchair commandos. A Ligue political bureau resolution "rectified" this statement, saying: "the action of Black September must be unconditionally supported... It is an act of legitimate violence of a people to whom international reaction and the treason of the Arab bourgeoisies have left no choice as to terrain or weapons."

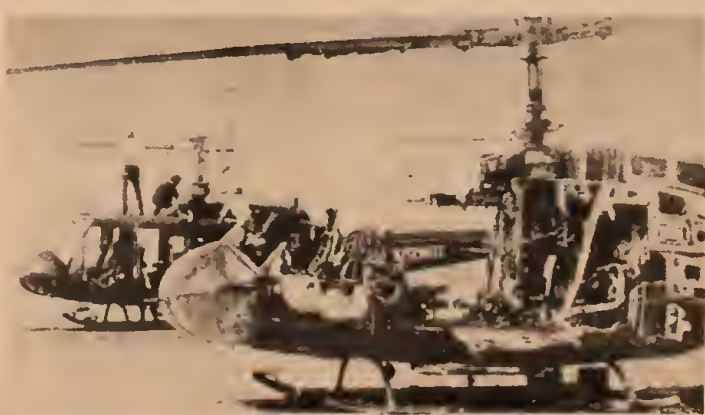
In sharp contrast, the Spartacist League condemned the Munich attack, while also denouncing the bloody Israeli reprisals which followed and the Zionist expulsion of the Palestinian Arab people from their homeland which gave rise to the commandos' terrorism:

"The indefensible petty-bourgeois terrorist frenzy manifested at Munich grows out of the evident Israeli consolidation of the victories carved out of the living body of the Arab peoples. Respectable world bourgeois public opinion—such as that emanating from the current butcher of Vietnam, Nixon—against the Arab terrorist violence only obscures the fundamental

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Life
Palestinian terrorist guarding Israeli captives in Munich in 1972.



AP
Helicopters blown up during provocative assault by West German military against Palestinian Black September terrorists.

SPARTACIST édition française
pour toute commande s'adresser à:
Pascal Alessandri Spartacist Publishing Co.
B.P. 336 Box 1377, GPO
75011 Paris New York, N.Y. 10001
FRANCE USA
3,00 F.F. \$.75 US/Canada

Carter...

(continued from page 1)

NAACP says it "keenly resents" the appointment of this evil genius of Southern segregationism; today the AFL-CIO pieceards whimper that Carter's economic programs are a "wage subsidy for already tax-pampered corporations." But where were they yesterday?

Those who today wail most plaintively about Carter's "broken promises" are precisely those responsible for putting him in office. They are the ones who hustled votes for Carter, lying about his anti-union record, excusing his "ethnic purity" remarks as mere slips and selling his empty platitudes as programs for social reforms. It is reported that the AFL-CIO's COPE spent \$10 million on phone calls alone, with 120,000 volunteers manning the switchboards and ringing doorbells to elect this pro-business, anti-busing capitalist politician. Yet now that he is elected, they complain that he is acting like a racist, anti-union president!

"So what else is new?" one is prompted to ask. Beyond the all-sided cynicism characteristic of bourgeois politics generally, there is a reactionary social climate in the U.S. today. At the Senate confirmation hearings on Griffin Bell both aspects were brought out in a revealing exchange between Edward Kennedy and the NAACP's Clarence Mitchell. Mitchell denounced Bell as a segregationist. Kennedy looked at him knowingly and asked Mitchell to please explain why, if Bell's appointment would be so bad for black people, there were not mass demonstrations against it? On the one hand, the "good Senator from Massachusetts" was asking the NAACP how it expected him to "deliver" when it had itself failed to "deliver" the necessary public pressure. But his question, and Mitchell's lack of a good answer, also revealed the sharp change of social climate since the middle and late 1960's, when the outcry against a Griffin Bell would have been enough to prevent his confirmation.

Born-Again Economy?

Carter's propensity for talking out of both sides of his mouth allowed the union bureaucrats and black reformists to advertise him to their ranks as the "lesser evil." While Carter reassured his corporate backers that his first concern was the "business community" and achieving a balanced federal budget, his ambiguous statements in favor of full employment (by 1980) were acclaimed as a pledge for massive public works like the WPA. But Carter had no intention of introducing such programs.

Carter quickly discarded his New Deal talk as soon as he was elected, lest anyone take it seriously. One Midwest businessman was quoted as saying, "We thought we were in for another FDR blitz, a fast cure. But we can live with this guy." Carter's new economic program now anticipates a drop in unemployment of less than one percent this year, delays introduction of even a minuscule job training plan and scuttles the proposed \$5-7 billion cuts in defense spending. His policy essentially amounts to a one-shot tax rebate—designed to buy instant popularity on the cheap—and a cut in corporate payroll taxes.

So Carter's proposals turn out to be virtually identical to Ford's conservative policies of maintaining high unemployment for the supposed purpose of holding down inflation. Even Alan Greenspan, Nixon's hapless fiscal advisor, described them as nothing more than the Ford plan "in the short run" (*Wall Street Journal*, 19 January). It is, in fact, Nixonomics with a drawl.

Promises and Betrayals

By now it is an all too obvious fact that—"People's Inauguration" or no—

the Carter administration looks a lot like a Ford administration, not so much a "lesser" as the same evil. So the labor misleaders and black liberals yell "betrayal!" Certainly, those who have sowed the seeds of illusion must reap the whirlwind of betrayal, but it is not Carter who is 'the betrayer. He is carrying out his appointed job as the helmsman of the capitalist ship of state. It is his bootlickers who have sold out the interests of the workers and blacks, betraying the exploited and oppressed they purport to represent.

The current hullabaloo over Carter's "team" is reminiscent of the controversy surrounding Eisenhower's cabinet appointments. The *Wall Street Journal* editorialized at the time that it was unwise to have such an obvious gallery of Big Business. Carter's more far-sighted liberal friends are giving him a



Zbigniew Brzezinski

similar message. And, of course, there are those who feel slighted that Carter gave three cabinet seats to members of the board of directors of IBM. Conservative pundit William Safire bitterly complained: "Never in American politics has one corporation so thoroughly dominated the top levels of any administration" (*New York Times*, 17 January). But this is just sour grapes from a former member of the Nixon/ITT team.

It must be understood, however, that virtually all of the criticisms of Carter's appointments and policies are true. After all his campaign bluster about the sinister Washington politicians, he has assembled a most ominous roster of corporate technocrats, Vietnam-era policymakers and trusted cronies from the white Christian clubs and prestigious law firms of the deep South. It is a selection worthy of the all too familiar images of American capitalism: Jim Crow, Dr. Strangelove and Daddy Warbucks.

The IBM Gang

The liberals have feigned surprise over the decidedly "hawkish" tilt of Carter's appointees in foreign affairs and "defense" positions. But this year's Democratic standard-bearer was long a hardliner on Vietnam. At the 1972 governors conference, at a time when the Democratic politicians had overwhelmingly gone over to a defeatist position, Carter sponsored a resolution to not make Vietnam a campaign issue against Nixon.

For secretary of state Carter chose Cyrus Vance, of the IBM board of directors, past general counsel for the Department of Defense, secretary of the army and deputy secretary of defense. He is generally given the "credit" for overseeing the 1965 Marine invasion of Santo Domingo, and like Carter he supported Nixon on Vietnam long after this was no longer popular in many bourgeois circles.

Harold Brown, Carter's nominee for secretary of defense, as air force secretary during the Vietnam war consistently opposed constraints on bombing raids against North Vietnamese population centers. Trained as a physicist

working with Edward Teller—the real-life model for Dr. Strangelove and "father of the H-bomb"—he joined the Pentagon at age 23. Brown, too, is a director of IBM.

Kissinger, whose political career was built by his powerful patron Nelson Rockefeller, is being succeeded by Zbigniew Brzezinski, the intellectual mouthpiece of David Rockefeller. Columbia University's most notorious Kremlinologist, Brzezinski is best remembered by antiwar activists as part of the government's notorious "truth squad" that toured college campuses to argue for continuing the butchery in Vietnam. In a February 1968 interview in *U.S. News and World Report* he proclaimed, "we're willing to continue for 30 years in Southeast Asia."

And for all-round token, Carter selected Patricia Harris, a black woman who claims to be so poor she couldn't afford to buy a house in Washington, D.C., several years ago. Of course, this new head of housing and urban development is also a member of IBM's board.

Carter's gang has received kid glove treatment by the overwhelmingly Democratic Congress in this "new era of good feeling between the executive and Capitol Hill"—with the notable exception of Theodore Sorensen, one of Kennedy's white knights of Camelot whom Carter had proposed for head of the CIA. Despite his demonstrated willingness to support the assassination teams of U.S. imperialism under JFK, Sorensen made the fatal error of siding with Daniel Ellsberg on releasing the Pentagon Papers—for which the "intelligence community" will never forgive him.

Griffin Bell: Symbol of "Ethnic Purity"

Most controversial of all Carter's early decisions has been his proposal of Griffin Bell for attorney general with the comment that Bell's civil rights record was "superb." The problem is that Bell's record is that of an unregenerate racist and everybody knows it.

As chief of staff for Georgia governor Vandiver in the 1950's, Bell led the "massive resistance" to integration and authored a bill which would have closed any integrated school. His claim to be a "moderate" is based on the argument that there was a more extreme bill to close down the entire school district when even one school was integrated! When open defiance no longer seemed promising, Bell continued guerrilla warfare with his "voluntary schools" plan. Of course, he favors the death penalty and opposes busing.

By Bell's "moderate stance on civil rights" we are to understand that he did not block the entrances to public buildings axe handle in hand like Lester Maddox or run around in a white sheet. Bell is a bonafide segregationist and no other name will do. That is why as part of a three-judge panel he upheld the Georgia legislature's refusal to seat the duly elected SNCC leader Julian Bond in 1966. (Bell's "defense": it was Bond's opposition to the Vietnam war, not his race!) That is why he supported Nixon's nomination of G. Harrold Carswell for the Supreme Court "without reservation," although Carswell had proclaimed segregation as the "only correct way of life in these states."

That is also why he has been a member of "whites only" social clubs in Atlanta and Savannah. Bell has taken his temporary and reluctant resignation from them lightly, saying that he does so because "the Attorney General is a symbol of equality" (*New York Times*, 23 December). He added wryly that he would rejoin them soon enough: after all, "I won't be in Washington forever," said this "symbol of equality" who is really a symbol of "ethnic purity."

Then it turned out that Cyrus Vance had also seen his share of social clubs that exclude blacks, so Jimmy Carter offered his views on membership in such racist groups. "Almost every person in



Griffin Bell

Griffin Bell

the past has belonged to some kind of club that doesn't have both women or blacks or Christians or Catholics or Protestants," he said (*New York Times*, 23 December). Almost everyone? This bizarre statement—neither true nor relevant—is in any case a racist apology for the most blatant forms of white supremacy.

Carter's choice of Bell should be no more surprising than his choice of Vietnam hawks to run Defense and State. After all, the attorney general is the top cop. He decides when to enforce capitalist law and when to break it; he presides over the FBI—the armed thugs of bourgeois rule. Nixon's man John Mitchell, a thoroughgoing crook, was the right man for the job of chief judicial thug in charge of "zapping" those on the Watergate president's enemies list. Likewise, Bell is a racist crony whom Carter can trust to loyally carry out his dirty work in preserving and defending the racist capitalist system.

The fact that a Griffin Bell could be nominated as attorney general says a great deal about how far right the social climate has shifted in recent years. If Sorensen committed a supposedly unforgivable act by using classified information in his book on John Kennedy (what high government official writing his memoirs doesn't?), by the standards of bourgeois liberalism Bell's acts should be far more damning. Yet Sorensen got the axe and Bell's appointment is going through.

The Bell appointment gives a racist stamp to the Carter administration. But it is important to realize that his personal racism is more a reflection of

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the social reaction embodied in the Carter regime than of Bell's person. Carter knew that he could get away with the Bell nomination just as he got away with his remarks about "ethnic purity." And the ones to blame are the people who put the sinister Carter "team" in power: from hidebound conservative "labor statesmen" in the mold of George Meany to "progressives" like Leonard Woodcock or Ed Sadlowski; from the legalistic NAACP to burnt-out liberals like Julian Bond.

Break With the Democrats—For a Workers Party!

Only in the absence of a mass party of the working class can Carter's spurious populism preserve the image of the Democratic Party as the defender of the little man. And it is only by breaking with all wings of the bourgeoisie, their politicians and their agents in the workers movement; by uniting behind an independent, revolutionary workers party, that the working masses and oppressed minorities can rid themselves of the cop terror, massive unemployment and abysmal conditions that are their lot in this period of decaying capitalism. Unfortunately, however, much of the left has spent its time not in mobilizing against the class enemy but in parroting the liberals' laments against the Carter cabinet.

Thus the Communist Party U.S.A., after running a presidential campaign last fall against "no-win lesser evilism" and requiring that all those central committee members who had voted for McGovern in 1972 (guess why) would actually have to vote Communist this year, quickly dropped its "left" mask after the elections. Recalling the days of its "stop Goldwater" (i.e., vote LBJ) campaigns, the CP's *Daily World* has featured weeks of headlines denouncing Griffin Bell which carefully avoid mentioning the fundamental racism of U.S. "justice" and the Democratic Party.

Indignantly they complain that "others are qualified" to be attorney general, citing Patricia Harris and Barbara Jordan, "both black women with eminent qualifications to serve as attorney general" (*Daily World*, 21 December). Making explicit its demand for a "less evil" capitalist attorney general, the CP editorializes: "The people cannot afford to have an Attorney General with Bell's anti-union and racist record as head of the Department of Justice. The U.S. needs enforcement of the Constitution and laws, not a coverup for Big Business and the Administration" (*Daily World*, 6 January).

The CP's reformist illusions in capitalist justice are shared by the equally reformist Socialist Workers Party, echoing the outrage of Julian Bond and the NAACP. Willie Mae Reid, the SWP's vice-presidential candidate, asks: "Are Blacks and other minorities to expect evenhanded justice from someone who belonged to racist social clubs that exclude Blacks?" To which we can only respond: can oppressed minorities expect evenhanded treatment from a capitalist top cop who is *not* a member of such clubs? Obviously what the SWP wants to see is an attorney general who will answer its call for federal troops to Boston "to protect Blacks." Unfortunately for such social-democratic illusions, the armies, police forces, courts and attorney generals of the capitalist state are not in the business of combatting racial injustice.

Rather than preaching illusions in "democratic" and "evenhanded" bourgeois politicians, the task of Marxists is to expose the labor fakers and black misleaders who placed Jimmy Carter and his team of sinister technocrats in power. That is the first step in the unfolding of the proletarian revolution that will sweep away all the Jim Crows, Dr. Strangeloves and Daddy Warbucks of the capitalist class. ■

Ben Barka...

(continued from page 6)

Barka climbs into the waiting police car without a struggle.

The car takes him not to police headquarters but to a villa belonging to the small-time hood Boucheseiche in the Paris suburb of Fontenay-le-Vicomte. There he is held by several thugs from a private army obeying the orders of Gaullist deputy Lemarchand. With them is a certain Lopez, an agent of the Service de Documentation Extérieure et de Contre-Espionage (SDECE), France's equivalent to the CIA. That afternoon Lopez telephones the Moroccan interior minister General Mohammed Oufkir to say that "the guest has arrived."

The next day Oufkir arrives secretly by plane, accompanied by the chief of

Murdoch...

(continued from page 4)

resistance journals. In the *France Soir* affair, the writers saw their limited autonomy threatened (as well as both journalists' and printers' jobs) in the cause of creating a major national daily for the Gaullist right wing. While pointing out the utopian character of calls for journalists' control of the news media, for a "better boss" or similar dead ends, revolutionaries stood with the press industry workers and journalists against the reactionary press barons and the state.

Many of these same complex and hotly disputed issues were raised in



Time cover: Murdoch as King Kong

Portugal in 1975, both in the struggle of the Rádio Renascença workers and during the *República* affair (see "Fight MFA Suppression of Left Media in Portugal!" *WV* No. 83, 31 October 1975).

Trotskyists defend freedom of the press against censorship by the capitalist state within the context of bourgeois democracy, recognizing that any attempt to limit this freedom will invariably be turned against the labor and socialist press. As demonstrated by the events in Portugal—where Catholic bishops whipped up counterrevolutionary lynch mobs in defense of Rádio Renascença and the social democrats rallied the petty bourgeoisie against the workers' plant takeovers—the capitalists will seize the issue of freedom of the press as an excuse to attack the working class.

While we oppose attempts to censor the press, at the same time revolutionaries take sides with the printing industry workers against state repression and anti-communist mobilization. But the walkout at *New York* magazine in defense of its "classy trash" against the "trashy trash" of the invading Wallaby, both because of its overtly chauvinist character and its utter triviality, serves only as a negative example of the kind of journalistic struggle which is unportable. ■

Moroccan intelligence (Chtouki) and a Moroccan lieutenant Dlimi. There is a brief "political conversation" in which Ben Barka angrily confronts his kidnappers. Thereupon the captive is shot and buried on the villa grounds.

The whole affair was wrapped in mystery. Much of what subsequently became known came from the mouth of one of Lemarchand's "tools," Figon, who became nervous and "spilled the beans" to a journalist from *L'Express*. However, as police closed in on his apartment he committed suicide (or was shot).

As the investigation ordered by de Gaulle proceeded it became evident that the SDECE had been informed of the plot at least a month beforehand, including eventual plans to kill Ben Barka ("disappear him"). Lopez had informed his superiors of the success of the kidnapping within a day after it occurred. But the investigation remained largely blocked until after the presidential elections. It never discovered whether cabinet ministers were privy to the plot, nor the extent of the role played by French police and the SDECE.

Of those known to be involved in the kidnapping/murder, all received light sentences or got off free. One of the policemen who detained Ben Barka was sentenced to six years in prison, later commuted to three years; Lopez received eight years. Lemarchand was at first suspended from the bar for life, but reinstated three years later. Lopez' chief, the second-in-command at SDECE, was acquitted although he knew everything yet covered up the crime. Oufkir's aide Dlimi was also acquitted, and while the Moroccan interior minister and intelligence chief were found guilty of "illegal arrest," they were never sent to prison.

Ten years later some additional information from a confidential informant was published by *Time* magazine (29 December 1975). The *Time* account stresses the complicity of Israeli intelligence:

"Also involved in the case was Israel's CIA equivalent, known as Mossad. Although Morocco later supported Arab confrontation states in the Middle East wars, it had excellent relations with Israel after it became independent in 1956. For example, Morocco arranged, through the French, to have Mossad train its own fledgling secret service. Mossad's chief Moroccan contact was Oufkir. At one point after the Moroccans had decided to get rid of Ben Barka, Oufkir asked Mossad to obtain some poison for him. The agency declined, but later agreed to help tail Ben Barka, who was then living in Geneva."

The Cuban government alleged CIA participation, which seems likely although so far concrete proof has been lacking.

The Ben Barka affair is a classic cloak-and-dagger mystery murder, with plenty of evidence of crimes by numerous intelligence agencies and police forces. Reformists use it to buttress their general explanation of every defeat—from the 1965 massacre of a half million Communist workers and peasants in Indonesia to the 1973 coup that toppled the Allende regime in Chile—as the work of the CIA. The American spy agency is indeed involved in all sorts of murderous activities, but even the Ben Barka affair shows that the "Third World" bourgeoisies are quite capable of hatching their own counterrevolutionary plots and, despite their "non-aligned" rhetoric, remain intimately tied to the imperialists. ■

Trotskyist Faction...

(continued from page 3)

ence to the NII (September 1976), it pointedly brings up the "serious disagreements" between the I-CL and the Initiative "on the analysis of the crisis of the Fourth International, expressed in our amendments to the International Initiative."

These "serious disagreements" were further expressed by the positions of the various groups composing the NII toward the popular front, and in particular the question of voting for the workers parties of popular-front formations. This is a crucial question on which the Spartacist tendency has uniquely upheld Lenin and Trotsky's categorical opposition to class collaboration. Already in 1970 we warned against giving electoral support, no matter how "critical," to any of the parties of the bourgeois Chilean UP coalition, a position the iSt alone has upheld while the USec ex-Trotskyists were falling all over themselves to find excuses for voting for the Stalinist or social-democratic components of popular fronts (actual or in gestation) in France, Portugal, Italy and elsewhere.

In the June 1976 Italian parliamentary elections, the Spartacusbund reprinted without comment Roberto's call for a "red vote"—i.e., indiscriminately voting for the Communist Party and its "historic compromise" or for the centrists of the Democrazia Proletaria, which gave a left cover to the Stalinists. On the other hand, the arguments advanced by the I-CL, if acted upon, would require it to take the principled position of refusing to vote for either the CP or DP (including the Italian USec).

Similarly, in the Portuguese presidential elections a few days later, the Spartacusbund first supported the USec's ill-fated joint candidate and then, after she was withdrawn, followed Roberto's lead in calling for a vote to CP candidate Pato (even though the latter had explicitly stated his support for military domination of the state and had offered to join a popular front government). The I-CL, although it typically failed to draw any conclusions, argued separately against a vote for each of the candidates. Thus the confusion reigning within the NII was no less than that in the USec, where there were at least three different positions on the Portuguese presidential elections.

Program Comes First

But if there are "serious disagreements" within the NII on everything from Roberto's theoretical flourishes to burning questions facing the entire working class, none of the composite elements currently wants to break off their "meaningful relationship." Within the Spartacusbund the "New Course" tendency (loosely linked with the Austrian IKL and the I-CL in opposition to Roberto) explicitly refuses to break with the NII. And the I-CL, after insisting on the gravity of its disagreements with Roberto, was content to raise the possibility that these mere "analytical disagreements" might become "programmatic disagreements... rendering systematic collaboration impossible." "However," it went on, "that possibility is to be determined as the outcome of discussions and collaboration, not erected as a bloc to such discussions." In short, the I-CL decided to join up first and discuss later.

In principled opposition to all the groupings within the NII, the Trotskyist Faction of the Spartacusbund insisted that a principled regroupment policy required firm prior programmatic agreement as the basis for a genuine international democratic centralism. The TF declaration began its list of central points for an authentic Trotskyist orientation with: "The Transitional Program is the program of proletarian

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Trotskyist Faction...

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world revolution in our epoch." On the popular front it wrote: "The program and politics of such a coalition government are never anything but bourgeois through and through.... We explicitly reject every form of electoral support for parties or groups taking part in, or directly working toward, a 'popular front'."

The document reaffirmed the Leninist-Trotskyist understanding of the Stalinist and social-democratic parties as "in their essence simultaneously bourgeois and proletarian... or in Lenin's words, 'bourgeois workers parties'." This contrasts sharply to the Spartacusbund, which considers German social democracy as a bourgeois party (albeit one which the workers support). The I-CL declares outright in its founding document (December 1975) that it "characterises the Labour Party as a CAPITALIST party" (emphasis in original). This did not, however, prevent it from giving "critical" support to "Labour left" Tony Benn in the struggle for party leadership following Wilson's resignation as prime minister last year!

The Trotskyist Faction declared unambiguously that "our entire revolutionary strategy and tactics give the slogan of the workers government only one single concrete meaning, namely, as the popular term for the dictatorship of the proletariat." The Spartacusbund, on the other hand, calls for a CP SP "workers government" in Spain to set up a constituent assembly—i.e., to renounce soviet organs of working-class power and instead preserve or reconstitute the bourgeois state.

The programmatic declaration of the Trotskyist Faction goes on to reject the Spartacusbund's tailing after petty-bourgeois nationalist movements; to insist on democratic centralism as meaning "the most complete freedom of discussion internally, along with a complete unity of action externally"; to assert that an embryonic party organization in its early stages must be a "fighting propaganda group," whose role in mass struggles must necessarily be exemplary rather than pretending to lead the masses; and to reject the Spartacusbund's perversion of the Leninist tactic of a united front for common action into opportunist propaganda blocs.

The groups of the "Necessary International Initiative" justify their wildly divergent positions by pointing to the need for discussion. Yet, in contrast to the NII, this discussion must come *before* and not after forging organizational ties. (The only half-way honest defense for this "Initiative" is that their ties don't bind them to anything anyway!) The NII is nothing but an unprincipled conglomerate of study circles based on more or less primitive workerism, capitulation to the present level of consciousness of the masses, and theoretical dilettantism.

The comrades of the Trotskyist Faction have fought a principled struggle for revolutionary regroupment based on solid programmatic foundations, the key to the arduous process of reorganizing the Fourth International. Toward this end, the TF co-signed, together with the iSt and the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria of Chile, a leaflet distributed at the January 14 London meeting to defend SWP leaders Hansen and Novack against Healyite slanders, and held joint forums with the London Spartacist Group and the Trotskistische Liga Deutschlands, German section of the iSt. At the Berlin forum spokesmen for the IF and TLD announced that discussions were underway between their two groups. ■

Longshore Leaflet...

(continued from page 5)

general strike, Robinson moved to put off the boycott indefinitely by tabling it to the International for "action." Robinson's action prevented a membership vote on implementation and has allowed the International to prevent the boycott for the past 6 months despite the massacre of hundreds and hundreds of blacks. The International's sabotage comes despite its own vote in November in favor of the boycott and despite the decisively favorable response from locals in every division of the Union to a poll conducted by the International on whether to take boycott action. To ensure effective action, a strike committee elected from all boards, gangs, etc. must organize the boycott and send delegations up and down the coast to stop South African cargo.

By failing to lay the groundwork for

any but the most token action, the ex-"socialists" Bridges and Goldblatt place themselves side by side with the arch-reactionary head of the AFL-CIO, George Meany. Meany has refused outright to support the South African boycott. This vicious anti-communist labor faker accuses the ICFTU of "currying favor" with "certain repressive regimes" apparently because the boycott isn't directed at the Soviet Union as well! A faithful servant of U.S. business interests who have extensive investments in South Africa, Meany's stance is a repeat of the pro-imperialist stance he took during the 1973 Arab-Israeli war. Anxious for Zionist victory in a war between the Israeli and Arab bourgeoisies in which the workers on neither side had any interest, he and Gleason called for a reactionary boycott to prevent grain shipments to the Soviet Union which was supplying the Arab regimes. The founders of the Militant Caucus called then for the ILWU, ILA and all maritime workers to oppose Meany's reactionary pro-Israel scheme.

We also called on brother maritime workers in the USSR to oppose Russian aid to reactionary Arab states as we opposed aid to Israel and urged them to struggle against their false leaders for the institution of a working class soviet international policy of aid to the struggles of workers, not their bosses. Today, the ILWU, ILA and all AFL-CIO maritime unions should decisively repudiate Meany's reactionary position by solidly implementing the Jan. 17 South African boycott call.

The class collaborationist misleaders of the World Federation of Trade Unions and the various Communist Parties seem to be only nominally supporting the ICFTU call, de-emphasizing the industrial action aspect in favor of an open-ended economic boycott of all South African products. In the U.S., this week's *People's World* does not even mention the boycott call and none of the Communist Party sympathizers in either longshore or warehouse have done anything to mobilize the union. The CP's and WFTU are always eager to prevent working class struggle in order to preserve the illusory "detente" between the USSR and U.S. imperialism.

The ICFTU and WFTU demand for a total economic boycott of South Africa is primarily only a token "moral" position, which by avoiding specific industrial action by organized labor will not upset the ruling classes of the industrial world. However it is also a *dangerous* proposal. In the unlikely event that it should become effective, causing a serious cutback in South African foreign trade, the result would be widespread unemployment among the black workers and the resultant weakening of the capacity of the workers to struggle. With the exception of standing boycotts of all arms shipments to the racist regimes, boycotts should in general be limited to strikes, hot cargoing and other labor action organized to back up specific demands and concretely demonstrate international labor solidarity with the victims of apartheid terror. Furthermore, if the WFTU and ICFTU were really interested in aiding our black South African brothers they would initiate industrial action against companies with South African subsidiaries, demanding to force them to recognize black unions. Workers at the British Leyland auto works have already made such a demand.

South Africa is the most heavily industrialized country on the continent. From 1973 to 1975 a mass strike wave swept the country, uniting black and Indian workers for the first time. The government is determined to crush any acts of solidarity by white workers towards blacks since such acts open the possibility of class struggle across color lines which would not only smash apartheid but open the road towards a workers government. Establishment of a workers government through the expropriation of all major industry, mines and banks would mean the elimination of the major bastion of imperialism on the African continent. A workers government would have a profound influence on all African liberation movements which until now have been led by petty bourgeois nationalists. While they have struggled for national independence, their goal is black capitalism. A workers government in South Africa would inspire workers from Angola to Zambia to Mozambique to sweep aside their petty exploiters and establish working class rule throughout the continent.

As an important act of international working class solidarity, the ILWU and all labor must act decisively to defeat the hanning of the 24 trade unionists and to win freedom for all anti-apartheid fighters held in Vorster's jails. This week's boycott must be made 100% effective worldwide and a permanent boycott must be imposed against all military arms shipments to the racist regime. ■

Sentenced to Life At Hard Labor

PDC Demands, Free Gary Tyler!

Governor Edwin W. Edwards
State Capitol Building
Baton Rouge, LA 70804

Frustrated in its attempt to execute Gary Tyler on the electric chair, the Louisiana Supreme Court has now vindictively sentenced this innocent young black man to imprisonment for life at hard labor. Those who fought to save the life of Tyler against this racist frame-up will continue the struggle against the state's plan for his slow torture on the chain gangs of Louisiana. Stop the victimization of Gary Tyler! We demand his immediate and unconditional release! Drop all charges!

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 633, Canal Street Station
New York, N.Y. 10013

S.F. South Africa Demo...

(continued from page 12)

on its pretensions to uphold international labor solidarity. At a Local 10 executive board meeting last Thursday, board members Stan Gow and Howard Keylor (publishers of the oppositionist "Longshore Militant") moved to implement the boycott of South African cargo locally and to extend it coastwide, but this motion was tabled. After the SL-initiated demonstration on Tuesday, the Local 10 leadership felt constrained to put out a leaflet entitled "Work the Ships But Not the Cargo!" aimed at giving a militant face to its refusal to boycott the *Kimberley* as a protest action. Not only does this reduce the call for "hot cargoing" to mere tokenism, but it is evident that the bureaucrats intend to offload the South African cargo when the ship returns to S.F. later this month after visiting other West Coast ports.

Similarly last October, after South African black demonstrators had been slaughtered daily in Soweto by Vorster's stormtroopers, the ILWU Local 10 leadership backed down on implementation of its own resolution, passed in mid-July, for a "boycott of all cargo, dock or ship side, bound for or from South Africa or Rhodesia." On that occasion as well, the SL had organized a protest demonstration at Pier 27 where the *Kimberley* was arriving. Local 10 officials ordered the gang to work the ship even though the longshoremen were willing to boycott it.

ILWU president Harry Bridges and the rest of the International bureaucracy

claim they are 100 percent behind the international labor protest. However, they also say it is "up to each local" up and down the coast to decide whether to handle cargo on the *Kimberley*, thus sabotaging what could be an effective demonstration of union strength and working-class solidarity. Bridges and the rest of the hack bureaucrats can sign all the protest resolutions they want, but if they don't take their words off the paper and put them onto the picket lines it's just a lot of hot air.

The liberals and Stalinists are fond of calling for on-going economic and cultural boycotts of South Africa, Rhodesia, Spain, Chile and other reactionary regimes. The Spartacist League opposes such calls as empty moralistic gestures which, if successful, would tend to isolate the oppressed workers and drive down their living standards. But there are effective tactics of labor action that the dock unions and others could use to strike a blow against the white supremacist regime. For one thing, all military cargo to South Africa should be hot-cargoed: Not one gun, not one bullet must reach the enslavers and butchers of the black masses in southern Africa.

Also, workers at "multi-national" corporations in Europe and the U.S. can and should demand that companies with South African subsidiaries recognize unions supported by their non-white workers. And class-conscious workers must seek to turn token labor protests, like the January 17-24 campaign called by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, into powerful industrial actions in support of their South African class brothers and sisters. Once again, it is the Stalinist, social-democratic and business unionist misleaders who stand in the way. ■

Egypt ...

(continued from page 1)

denounced the price increases. Long marching columns from the factories, universities and slums converged in downtown Cairo.

Although the government rescinded the increases within four hours of the first demonstration, the strikes and protests spread to Alexandria and five other cities. As the struggle heightened, Sadat closed all schools and imposed the first curfew since the bloody uprising of Black Friday in January 1952 which led to the fall of the monarchy. Police charged with riot batons, then barraged the crowds with tear-gas canisters and finally opened fire point-blank.

For the first time in a quarter century, the Nasserite army was unleashed not against Israel but against Egyptian workers and poor. By the weekend, the official tally of the carnage was 79 dead and 566 wounded. Another 1,500 had been arrested, and the interior ministry launched a full-scale witchhunt against the left.



Anwar Sadat

Claudia Salhani/Sygma

The two days of bloody street fighting show that the impoverished masses are no longer willing to suffer for Egypt's military aggrandizement. The immediate impact of the price riots is to seriously weaken Egypt as a local military power, so that Sadat's role in the upcoming Near East "peace" negotiations in Geneva is likely to be a passive one.

After three decades on the front line of the Arab bourgeoisies' "holy war" against Israel, the Egyptian masses have begun to grasp the most elementary lesson of the class struggle—the main enemy is at home. It is not Israeli workers and farmers, themselves oppressed by the Zionist state, who have yoked Egyptian workers and peasants to a bloated war machine, 20 percent inflation, unemployment, land scarcity, malnutrition and endemic disease. Rather, it is the strutting colonels and "new pashas," inheritors of the bonapartist military regime built by Nasser, and their imperialist overlords.

The Nasser Myth

Many in the crowds carried Nasser's portrait and chanted his name like an incantation, a sign of the widespread illusion that Sadat has betrayed the

"progressive" and "anti-imperialist" program of his predecessor. But nothing could be further from the truth. The essence of Nasser's "Arab socialism" was despotic military rule, bolstered by "pan-Arab" demagoguery. While its land reform struck at the landed aristocracy (excepting some big landlords associated with the nationalist Wafd party), the purpose was to generate a "national" bourgeoisie through the state sector.

Nasser, like Sadat, attempted to deflect the grievances of the oppressed with military adventures while brutally repressing the workers movement. The parasitical military which eats up over a third of the country's resources each year and the mountainous foreign debt of \$14 billion are the legacy of this "Arab socialism." Sadat himself was so loyal to his mentor that he was once widely known as "Nasser's poodle," and many of the repulsive Cairene *nouveaux riches* are former members of the Free Officers who deposed King Farouk in July 1952.

Just as Nasser went begging to the Kremlin gates after being rebuffed by John Foster Dulles in the 1950's, Sadat crawled back to the U.S. when Soviet credit got tight and arms shipments fell off in the early 1970's. However, Egypt's new economic advisors, from David Rockefeller to Ford's treasury secretary William Simon, demanded not only a break with Moscow (creating shortages of spare parts for Soviet weaponry) but substantial dismantling of the state sector of the economy, lowering of an already abysmal level of existence and an "open door" to foreign capital.

In the past the country's rulers bartered the blood of the masses in return for military subsidies from the oil-rich Arab states. But with the U.S.-engineered Sinai pact of 1975, Arab "honor" no longer requires the oil sheiks to dole out financial infusions to Egypt. Last August, when Sadat requested \$12 billion in development funds from Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf states, the aid was pared down to \$2 billion. This winter the oil sheiks delivered another blow to the myth of Arab unity by joining the imperialists in demanding that Cairo enact an austerity program. Now Sadat is reduced to the humiliating position of begging alms, not to drive the Jews into the sea but merely to insulate his shaky regime from domestic turmoil.

A rising tide of class struggle has been apparent since the strike wave of 1972. Egypt's military successes in the 1973 war only postponed the inevitable class confrontations at home. In January 1975 thousands of workers surged through the streets and threw Sadat's victory back in his face. "Hero of the Crossing [into the Sinai]," they shouted, "where is our breakfast?" In March of that year, while Kissinger shuttled through the Near East, 48,000 textile

workers in the Nile delta town of Mahalla struck for a week to win a 30 percent pay hike. This September Cairo bus drivers staged a militant strike against discrimination in the award of bonuses.

Siar and Crescent or Hammer and Sickle

The government routinely explains these struggles with references to leftist "agitators," blaming the January 1975 upsurge on "Trotskyists." When the interior ministry issued shoot-to-kill orders this week, it added: "It has been noted that demonstrations have taken a serious turn in sabotaging installations, utilities and public and private property under the leadership of communists." Although charges centered on a group called the Egyptian Communist Workers Party, the crackdown that followed the revolt also netted members of the pro-Moscow Egyptian Communist Party.

The line of the Moscow Stalinists, expressed in a *Pravda* article on Saturday, is that the riots are the result of a shift from Soviet to American patronage. This is, of course, consistent with the Stalinists' long seamy history of capitulation to Nasserism, which it once hailed as the embodiment of the "non-capitalist road." The Egyptian CP was disbanded in 1965 (after years of repression), and its remnants were absorbed in Nasser's Arab Socialist Union (ASU) as the quid pro quo for the Soviet-Egyptian alliance.

Following Sadat's break with Moscow, the party was reorganized, not to fight for a government of the workers and peasants but to act as a pressure group in the diplomatic maneuvers of the Soviet Union. Its program was limited to Arab nationalism, and the public letter announcing its reorganization listed among the party's main tasks: "Struggle for an Arab unity possessing progressive national democratic content and based on democratic foundations" (quoted in *Daily World*, 13 December 1975).

Another *Daily World* article (20 February 1976), analyzing what it called the "polarization" of "class forces" within the ASU, hailed the "Nasserite Forum" group which wished "to maintain the progressive policies of the 1950's and 1960's. They want to keep the

character of the ASU as an 'alliance of people's forces'...." But the "Socialist Union," like the Ba'athist parties of Syria and Iraq, is neither an "alliance of people's forces" nor a political party. It is the political vehicle of bonapartism which hides rule by decree behind a "democratic" facade of rallies, referenda and stage-managed elections.

While the Stalinists capitulate to bourgeois nationalist demagoguery, Nasser clearly stated, "nationalism and communism are incompatible"—and arrested the Communists. If the workers' struggles are to break from the reactionary chauvinism of the Sadats and Nassers, paving the way for class unity with the working people of Israel against all the petty despotisms and murderous nationalisms of the Near East, a Trotskyist party must be built. Such a Trotskyist party must draw the lesson which both Stalinists and Arab nationalists seek to obscure: that the endless cycle of nationalist wars can be broken only by sweeping away all the sheiks, emirs, kings, colonels and generals through proletarian revolution and establishing a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

Daoud ...

(continued from page 7)

violence of the continued denial of the rights of the Palestinian Arab population victimized by the State of Israel. Moreover, the bourgeois outcry passes lightly over the vastly bloodier retaliation by the Israeli state...."

—*WV* No. 12, October 1972

We emphasized the important distinction between terrorism directed at the class enemy and random terror which is essentially racist in character:

"Individual terror directed against the class enemy, no matter how inevitably counterproductive and substitutionist, is still an act of class hatred against oppression, and its perpetrators must be defended against bourgeois repression. But while one can understand how the plight of the Palestinian people drives groups like the PFLP and Black September to desperate and frenzied acts, nonetheless indiscriminate mass terror such as Munich or Lydda is completely indefensible. The Irgun at Deir Yassin also claimed to fight in the name of the oppressed."

—*WV* No. 13, November 1972

While the seizing of innocent victims as hostages at Munich or in the hijacking of the Sabena airliner constitutes an indefensible act, this is in no way comparable in scope to the mass organized terror of the Zionist state, which wantonly and without cause shot a passenger airplane out of the sky and indiscriminately bombs Lebanese villages and Palestinian refugee camps. It is the Zionists' forcible dispossession of the Palestinian people which has spawned the suicidal desperation of groups like Black September.

The Zionist and U.S./German imperialist outcry against France is nothing but a hypocritical cover for their own terrorist actions. Nor will these butchers dispense justice to the victims of Munich. We are unalterably opposed to Daoud or any other Palestinian militant falling into the clutches of the Mossad gangsters, the DST thugs or the West German jails and courts which have framed, murdered and driven to their deaths members of the Red Army Faction (the so-called Baader-Meinhof gang).

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Faces 15 Years in Frame-Up Conviction

All Honor to Wendy Yoshimura!

OAKLAND, January 21—Wendy Yoshimura was convicted yesterday of illegal possession of explosives, bomb parts and an automatic rifle. The victim of nearly five years of hounding and persecution by a bourgeois seeking belated revenge against all who opposed its savage imperialist war in Vietnam, Yoshimura now faces the grim prospect of up to 15 years in prison.

From beginning to end Yoshimura's trial was a travesty of justice. Arrested in September 1975 in the company of Patricia Hearst and held on charges stemming from an alleged "conspiracy" to bomb an ROTC building at the Berkeley campus of the University of California, Yoshimura has been subjected to maximal legal persecution by the bourgeois state.

While Patty Hearst, prodigal daughter of wealthy capitalist Randolph Hearst, has been offered every courtesy and consideration money can buy, Yoshimura, the daughter of a Japanese-American gardener from Fresno, who was born while her parents were imprisoned in one of the U.S. concentration camps for Japanese-Americans during World War II, has received the kind of "justice" the capitalist class daily metes out to the working masses, especially minorities.

Wendy Yoshimura is being railroaded to jail despite the prosecution's inability to come up with a single piece of hard evidence linking her to any crime. Prosecuting attorney Jeffrey Horner instead sought to inflame the jury by portraying Yoshimura as a sinister and inscrutable conspirator bent on a war against "society."

Horner snowed the jury with the testimony of 59 witnesses, mostly cops, and a massive show of over 350

"exhibits." However, all these served to establish was that Yoshimura's fingerprints were found on some artists' supplies, a copy of *Selected Quotes of Mao* and several books on guerrilla warfare and weapons.

During his cross-examination of Yoshimura, Horner directed all his questions at the period after Yoshimura's companions were arrested—i.e., at a period that had nothing to do with the matters under prosecution.

Indicative of the mentality of this inquisitor was his contention that the following passages from a letter confiscated at the time of Yoshimura's arrest establish her criminality. "I am an adult, a woman who knows exactly what she is doing. My life is totally committed to the struggle for human justice" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 12 January).

Just to make sure that Yoshimura would serve some time and in order to continue the witchhunt, Horner demanded Yoshimura detail her activities during her flight. When she courageously refused to become an informer and betray those who had helped her, the judge charged her with five counts of contempt of court carrying a maximum 2-1/2 year sentence and ordered that all her testimony be struck from the record and disregarded by the jury.

It took the jury six days to arrive at its verdict, but not before at least one of the jurors was browbeaten into submission. According to the 21 January *San Francisco Chronicle*, Lucille Mitchell, a 61-year-old retired hospital housekeeper, changed her vote to guilty after other jurors "called me stupid, and I just wanted to get it over with."

In a breaking voice, Mitchell explained, "I didn't have no choice. I never did hold my head up when I went into



Wendy Yoshimura

the courtroom...if someone held out with me I could, but when everyone went against me, well...you can't hold off an army by yourself... I got tired. I couldn't hold out no more. I hated it. I couldn't look at the girl (Yoshimura)." According to the article Lucille Mitchell was not the only juror with a troubled conscience:

"The jurors did not look at Yoshimura as they confirmed the verdicts. One juror, a woman and the only black on the panel, looked as though she were going to cry."

"When the excused jurors filed out at 9:10, Yoshimura again looked at each of them closely, and again, not one of them met the sullen look of the small, thin woman they had found guilty of three felonies, one carrying a maximum 15-year sentence."

Yet even this pliable jury was unwilling to buy prosecutor Horner's charge of possession of explosives and destructive devices with intent to injure, terrify and intimidate and to destroy property.

This charge carries a possible maximum life sentence. The judge declared a mistrial on this count, allowing the prosecution the option of seeking retrial at some later date.

After the guilty verdict, Horner gloated: "This proves that the criminal justice system can work and can achieve justice." No doubt Horner and his ilk, along with their imperialist masters, the mass murderers of millions of workers and peasants in Vietnam and around the world, will sleep better tonight content with the knowledge that Yoshimura is being railroaded into prison.

For our part Wendy Yoshimura is not a criminal but deserves to be honored, not only for her militant opposition to U.S. imperialism's brutal colonial war in Vietnam, but also and especially for her courageous refusal to become an informer and betray those who helped her in her fight to evade the clutches of the bourgeoisie's cops.

Yoshimura's conviction proves the "criminal justice system" works, all right, but works for the bourgeoisie. It proves this system, resting as it does upon the cornerstones of racism, class bias and anti-communism, is rotten to the core. It cannot be reformed—it is an instrument of class oppression in the hands of the capitalists which must be smashed by the working class.

Wendy Yoshimura has been found guilty, but she has vowed to fight in every way to overturn this unjust verdict. It is critical that the workers movement mobilize to protest and expose the capitalist frame-up of this courageous militant.

All honor to Wendy Yoshimura—Free her now! Drop all charges against Yoshimura, Brandt, Bortin and Rubinstein!

S.F. Demo Against South African Transport

Week of International Labor Protest

SAN FRANCISCO—Responding to calls by international labor bodies for a week of protests against South African victimization of black unions, the Bay Area Spartacist League initiated a demonstration at Pier 27 here when South African cargo aboard the *Nedlloyd Kimberley* was due to be unloaded.

On the morning of January 18, 45 people, including representatives from the Liberation Support Movement, the Namibian Action Group, the Southern Africa Solidarity Coalition and the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) along with several trade-union militants demonstrated their solidarity with jailed black and white labor organizers in South Africa.

Demonstrators carried banners and chanted "No Dirty Deals, Make the Boycott Real!" and "Support the Labor

Boycott—Stop the Kimberley Now!" After marching for 30 minutes, they were told by an ILWU (International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union) representative at the pier that no South African cargo would be unloaded that day.

Nevertheless, in a blatant mockery of the calls for international industrial action against the apartheid regime and the decision of the Local 10 membership to support the week-long labor boycott, ILWU Local 34 president Jimmy Herman was on hand to instruct longshoremen to work *all other cargo* aboard the *Kimberley*, a ship which makes a regular run between South Africa and West Coast ports. To underscore this bureaucrat's refusal to lift a finger in defense of anti-apartheid prisoners languishing in Vorster's jails, when asked if he would join the protest demonstration, Herman replied, "There's no point in joining."

The ILWU leadership has been under pressure from the ranks to make good

continued on page 10



Demonstration on San Francisco pier called by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League in solidarity with January 17 International labor boycott of South African transport.