



Israeli armor burning after Sinal battle in October 1973.

Del/Gamma

## Rabin Out, Inflation Soars, Strikes Rage in Israel

# Crisis in the Zionist Bunker

## For Arab/Hebrew Workers Revolution!

APRIL 10—While Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin was ambassador to the Zionist state's chief imperialist benefactor, he was not above looking after his own. During his sojourn in Washington Rabin lined his pockets through the time-worn tactic used by American politicians of soliciting legal bribes through speaker's fees. It is reported that he made some \$90,000 in this fashion, a drop in the bucket compared to the millions the CIA lavished on King Hussein of Jordan, but enough to cause a minor scandal in Israel where Zionist leaders raised on the kibbutzim are supposed to live more spartan lives.

After returning to Israel, Rabin left some \$20,000 stashed in Washington, D.C., bank accounts in his wife's name, an illegal act under Israel's stringent currency laws. When confronted with this malfeasance Rabin lied, claiming that the amount involved was only \$2,000. (The practice of Israeli courts is that a sum that small would subject the malefactor only to a small fine, whereas for \$20,000 he may well have to go to jail.) However, the lid blew off Rabin's cover-up, and this was the straw that broke the back of his campaign for reelection as prime minister.

The Rabin resignation and general government crisis was only a culmination of the mounting social crisis in Israel. Inflation continues at near-South

American rates, provoking the greatest strike wave in the history of the Zionist state. Arab protest demonstrations continue on the West Bank. While a new candidate for the governing coalition was soon selected, he is in no better position than Rabin to deal with the severe social crisis.

Rabin was the candidate of the leading party of the Zionist establishment, the so-called "Labor Party." This is a clique-ridden bourgeois formation based on petty political barons and their personal fiefdoms in the highly satiated and corporatist Israeli capitalist economy. The "Labor Party" was formed in 1969 through the re-unification of two split-offs, Ben Gurion's Rafi Party and Achdut Ha'Avoda (Unity of Labor) with the traditional party of "labor-Zionism," the Mapai (Palestine Workers Party).

Even the fused "Labor Party" has never been able to garnish enough votes in the Knesset (Israeli parliament) to form a government. A Knesset majority relied on a coalition with the right-wing National Religious Party (NRP), based on the orthodox rabbis who impart talmudic clericalist sanctimony to the chauvinism and racialism of the Zionist state, and the "left-wing" Mapam (United Workers Party), who drape this reactionary client of U.S. imperialism with a threadbare red flag and May Day "socialist" rhetoric.

As has been previously reported in *WV*, the present parliamentary crisis was precipitated when the NRP Knesset members abstained on a no-confidence motion tendered by the even more fanatically orthodox "United Torah Front." The Torah Front accused the Rabin government of desecrating the sabbath when a ceremony for the newest and most advanced U.S. fighter planes to be added to the Israeli arsenal ran late into a Friday afternoon. Rabin expelled the NRP from the cabinet, and lacking a



Schezen/Gamma

Israeli troops patrol Nablus during November 1974 demonstrations by West Bank Palestinian Arabs.

majority in the Knesset, he then resigned, forcing the present elections.

### "Allon Plan" and the NRP

The bourgeois press explained Rabin's expulsion of the National Religious Party as a result of incompatible positions on the territories Israel occupied in the 1967 war (Golan Heights, West Bank and the Sinai peninsula). Rabin's formal position, the "Allon Plan" (named after the Israeli deputy prime minister and foreign minister Yigal Allon), is based on maintenance of "defensible borders," that is, continued Israeli military occupation of that land and of those borders which the Zionist chauvinists consider necessary to their military security.

Under this plan Israeli military forces would continue to occupy most of the Golan Heights, a substantial strip of the eastern Sinai peninsula and an armed ring around Samaria and Judea, the densely populated portions of the

Palestinian-Arab West Bank. Troops would also be stationed along the Jordan River, and the old city of East Jerusalem is considered annexed by the Zionists. Samaria, Judea and the densely Palestinian-populated Gaza Strip would be placed under Jordanian control to be policed by the hated "Black September" butcher of the Palestinian people, the Hashemite monarch King Hussein.

It is clear that the Israeli government would not proffer even this token restitution if it were not for tremendous international pressure. But, speaking for "labor-Zionists" Allon gives a rationale for the thief returning a fraction of the spoils: the desire to retain the exclusive "Jewish character" of Israel and not to add to its already existing Arab minority of 400,000. The NRP opposes the return of any occupied territory, especially in the West Bank, while supporting the Jewish

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**Imperialists Scream  
"Red Menace"**

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## Who Killed Cock Robin?

Over the past 14 years Congress has resisted demands that it conduct real inquiries in the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Malcolm X and Martin Luther King despite the fact that, according to recent public opinion polls, 69 percent of the population rejects the official version of the King assassination and 60 percent doubt the suspect findings of the Warren Commission on the Kennedy assassination.

Last September a reluctant Congress established the Select Committee on Assassinations. Apparently the Committee never intended to probe too deeply. Malcolm X's assassination was not even included in the investigation, and none of Congress's big-name "stars" took part. In fact, the more "prestigious" Senate left the inquiry entirely up to the House of Representatives, some junior members of which no doubt hoped to be provided with the same sort of springboard to stardom which Watergate had been for Howard Baker of Tennessee and others.

There was heavy resistance from the House leadership and even the assassinations committee chairman, Congress-

Connally were brought that many bullet fragments were removed from Connally (undercutting the government's single-bullet story). By and large the new "evidence" is no more substantial than previous stories that conflict with the Warren Commission report; they merely rehash the familiar speculations of Mark Lane (*Rush to Judgment*) and a host of other assassination-conspiracy buffs whose books, lecture tours and Hollywood movies have become a lucrative genre of American popular culture.

Another recent and evidently more sinister revelation deals with the connection between Oswald and George de Moerschildt, a wealthy oil financier and former French intelligence agent. De Moerschildt, who had testified to the Warren Commission that Oswald killed Kennedy, committed suicide on March 29, before he was due to testify to the House committee. Dutch journalist Willem Oltmans has now come forward with his story that de Moerschildt had told him that there was a conspiracy including the FBI, the CIA, Texas oil millionaire H.L. Hunt, Jack Ruby and several Cuban exiles to kill Kennedy.



Plethora of magazines and books produced about Kennedy's assassination.

plot if such could be demonstrated, and it seems inconceivable that the Warren Commission and J. Edgar Hoover would have passed up such an exquisite opportunity for witchhunting and propaganda if there were a shred of evidence to support this theory of Castro acting in his own self-defense.

Regarding the King assassination, the House committee, in the short time it has been in existence, has listed some 600 "unresolved questions." One of the most interesting of these is where and how James Earl Ray obtained the money he lived on between his escape from prison in April 1967 and his arrest in London in June 1968. During this period Ray is known to have visited Acapulco, Montreal, Chicago, New Orleans, Toronto, London, Lisbon and Brussels. He also bought a new car, expensive camera equipment and other items. The FBI estimates his total income for the period as \$664.34, which he earned as a dishwasher. There has been some speculation that Ray's money came from bank robberies, but the FBI has never succeeded in linking him with a single robbery or burglary of any sort during this time.

Other unanswered questions involve how Ray was able to engineer a prison escape, why Tennessee authorities did not insist on a full investigation of him and whether the FBI, which had King under close surveillance, knew of the assassination scheme before it was carried out. Even the Carter administration evidently doesn't buy the story that Ray acted alone, for Attorney General Bell has said he wanted to personally interview the prisoner. Sprague, meanwhile, reports that Ray has said that a mysterious "Raoul" aided him with "certain weapons and certain money" (*New York Times*, 12 April).

Finding the answers to these questions after so many years would be difficult even if there were a real determination to leave no stone unturned. Whatever FBI and/or CIA links there may have been to the slayings were likely never explicitly committed to paper and any circumstantial evidence has long since seen the inside of government shredders. Many potential witnesses died years ago—"mysteriously," as assassination freaks add reflexively—and the living witnesses are aware of the fate of Sam Giancana and John Roselli, who were murdered and had guilty knowledge of CIA-Mafia efforts to assassinate Castro.

So for the assassination buffs, it's back to the campus and talkshow circuits, to pouring over the 27 volumes of Warren Commission testimony, to screening the graphic Zapruder film of JFK's grey matter being sprayed around

Dealey Plaza, to filing Freedom of Information Act lawsuits.

To the extent that the assassination buffs have explicit politics, they are well within mainstream liberalism. Shocked by Watergate and the events of the 1960's which it culminated, bourgeois liberals pointed as one to "Black Friday" in Dallas as the date on which "America lost its innocence" and from which an ensuing torrent of violence, vituperation and despair could be dated. The supposedly cultured and cosmopolitan court (now revealed as sex-crazed) of Jack and Jackie's "Camelot" was replaced by the "vulgarity" of LBJ. The clean-cut "idealism" of the Peace Corps was superseded by the ever-more-radical Students for a Democratic Society, and the docile Martin Luther King by the Black Panthers and ghetto uprisings.

Of course, this myth has been undermined, in its turn, by the same recent scandals which gave impetus to the assassination probe in the first place. Between Kennedy's presiding over COINTELPRO repression and constant attempts to overthrow Castro and restore capitalism in Cuba, and his tumbles with the various "Fiddles," "Faddles" and Mafia gun molls, the image of Camelot has faded fast. From Camelot to Carter stretches an unbroken chain of imperialist dictatorship, oppression, terror, spying and slaughter.

But in the absence of a perceived revolutionary alternative to bourgeois politics, the conspiracy industry and the muckraking fad have succeeded only in feeding the widespread cynicism. The

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Wide World



SNCC

Martin Luther King (left) and Ralph Abernathy just before fatal shooting. Malcolm X (right).

man Henry González. Their hostility was directed at chief counsel Richard Sprague, accused of everything from highhandedness to over eagerness to expand the investigation. Only when he was dumped on March 30 was the House Select Committee grudgingly granted a new lease on life in the wake of a spate of highly publicized "leaks" of new "evidence."

The new "evidence" includes the testimony of a Dallas cocktail waitress who claims that Jack Ruby introduced her a few weeks before the JFK assassination to one "Lee Harvey Oswald of the CIA," and that she also just happened to be taking photographs of the famous "grassy knoll" when Kennedy was shot (photographs which were confiscated by two men claiming to be federal agents); and the testimony of a nurse at the Dallas hospital to which Kennedy and Texas governor John

and that de Moerschildt had been the middleman. Of particular significance is that Oswald, who is usually painted as a hopelessly embittered loser, should have had such intimate relations with an international wheeler-dealer like de Moerschildt.

How credible is this testimony? Oltmans also quotes de Moerschildt, who had made several suicide attempts in recent months, as telling him: "Let's face it. I only made up the story [about Lee Harvey Oswald] because everybody makes a million dollars off the Kennedy assassination, and I haven't made anything. So now it's my time."

Least plausible of all are the rumors suggesting that Castro "hit" Kennedy in retaliation for the infamous CIA attempts on his life or for CIA involvement in the Bay of Pigs fiasco. There is no bourgeois agency which would not be delighted to reveal such a Castroite

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WORKERS VANGUARD



Before

HSINHUA WEEKLY  
20 September 1976



After

RENMIN HUA BAO  
November 1976



## Pictures Do Lie

# How Maoists Were Turned into Shrubbery

Before

HSINHUA WEEKLY  
20 September 1976



After

RENMIN HUA BAO  
November 1976



党和国家领导人华国锋。×××。叶剑英。×××。宋庆龄。××。×××。李先念。陈锡联。纪登奎。  
汪东兴。吴德。许世友。韦国清。李德生。陈永贵。吴桂贤。苏振华。倪志福。赛福鼎在追悼大会上。

Joseph Stalin died in 1953 but the "Stalin School of Falsification" lives on, and not just in the Kremlin. The Maoist bureaucrats in Peking recently made blatant use of one of the well-worn Stalinist specialties for rewriting history: doctored photographs.

The November 1976 issue (distributed in February 1977) of *Renmin Hua Bao* (the Chinese edition of "China Pictorial") was devoted to pictures depicting the life and death of Mao Tse-tung. Naturally, nowhere do the likenesses of such "unpersons" as Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao appear. But in some of the photos there are obvious gaping holes where party leaders used to be. We have

selected two of the clearest examples of this disgusting distortion of history and supplied the original photos for comparison.

In the first, showing Mao and his entourage in Shensi province in 1947, his wife Chiang Ching (now in disgrace) has become invisible, as if vaporized in a sci-fi movie. In the second, taken at a mass memorial meeting for Mao in September 1976, the solid line of assembled Maoist dignitaries has become a broken line, with the "Gang of Four" miraculously transformed into shrubbery. But the new gang in power doesn't even shrink from admitting their falsification: in the accompanying Chinese caption the purge victims are shamelessly denoted by "X's."

This sinister practice was by no means invented by Mao's heirs. From Stalin's practice of ordering offending pages of the "Great Soviet Encyclopedia" cut out and returned to the publisher every time the "general line" changed or another old party leader was executed, to the Maoist reprinting of pages from the "Little Red Book" to remove references to Liu Shao-chi, the methods of the Stalinist bureaucrats are the same.

In its Orwellian manipulation of reality, as in its bureaucratic travesty of proletarian democracy, Stalinism renders invaluable service to the bourgeois red baiters' hypocritical outcry against "Communist totalitarianism." The Stalinists' cult of the personality requires systematic forgery and fraud, "newspeak" and "doublethink." Even the most loyal adherents of "socialism in one country" may overnight be transformed into shrubbery and "X's"—in photograph and in fact.

The authentic communist vanguard, however, is bound by Trotsky's admonition to "say what is." As Lenin put it, "the truth is revolutionary."



# GMR's "Workers Republic of Quebec":

# Nationalist Trap for Quebec Workers

—reprinted from *Spartacist Canada* No. 15, April 1977

The recent joint national tour by spokesmen for the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR) and League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSA/LSO) demonstrated the difficulties faced by the Canadian supporters of the revisionist "United" Secretariat (USec) as they seek to pave the road to fusion. Meetings in several cities featured sharp debates between the putative fusion partners: on the one hand, the centrist GMR and its English-Canadian cousin the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG), and on the other, the craven reformists of the LSA/LSO. Particularly sharp were debates on the LSA/LSO's bootlicking support for the New Democratic Party.

All three Canadian USec adherents are, however, proclaiming substantial agreement on the question of Quebec. The GMR, RMG and LSA/LSO all capitulate to Quebec nationalism, supporting independence and posing a separatist strategy for socialist revolution in Quebec. All cite this "agreement" as justification for a rotten-bloc fusion.

But in fact—as the speaking tour served to underline—the "agreement" is at best skin-deep, and the groups' differences on this question, as on many others, remain profound. Just as the LSA bows before social democracy in English Canada (a social democracy which is notoriously English-chauvinist!), so the LSO scrapes at the feet of reactionary clerical nationalism in Quebec. Thus LSO spokesman Suzanne Chabot spent almost all her speaking time justifying her group's position on the language question, arguing for the "consistently" national-chauvinist demand of a "unilingual French Quebec."

On the other hand, the GMR's thrust is to pose a "proletarian nationalist" alternative to the bourgeois nationalist Parti Québécois, by seeking to channel trade union militancy into an "anti-imperialist," "national liberation" struggle. Thus its spokesman Jean-Paul Pelletier discussed the massive Common Front strike struggles of 1972, analyzed the state of the Quebec workers movement today, and elaborated his organization's line for an independent "workers republic of Quebec."

It is this demand for a "workers republic of Quebec" which, more than anything else, summarizes the GMR's political perspective. While it has obviously shifted to the right in order to consider a fusion with the LSO, the GMR remains fraught with contradictions. It has many subjectively revolutionary impulses (certainly far more than the cretinous LSA/LSO), yet it remains a parochial *nationalist* organization whose political line is unable to show the way forward for the militant Quebec working class. The GMR's strategic perspective—"national liberation" à la Cuba as the road to revolution

in Quebec—can only divide the struggles of the North American proletariat along national lines, thus acting against the interests of both French- and English-speaking workers in the fight for socialism.

Struggles for democratic national and language rights have helped fuel the combativity of the Québécois proletariat, to the point where it is the most advanced on the continent. Revolutionaries uphold Quebec's right to self-determination in order, above all, to promote class unity by opposing all unjust national oppression. This is particularly important since Quebec workers can play a leading role in the North American revolution.

But the GMR's response to the enhanced militancy of the working class in Quebec is to *reject* any perspective of joint class struggle in favor of the utopian strategy of establishing a proletarian enclave on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Effacing the leading role of Québécois workers in several recent cross-Canada labor struggles—the fight against wage controls, as well as postal and rail strikes—the GMR calls for nationalist breakaways by Quebec unions from the American-dominated Internationals. Last year in its pamphlet "Pour la République des Travailleurs du Québec," the GMR announced:

"The liquidation of the more or less corrupt bureaucracies of the international unions cannot be achieved except by a break with the American centers and the taking in hand of these unions by the Quebec unions themselves. That is to say, the reorganization of trade unionism on an industrial basis inside a United Labor Federation of Quebec."

Thus the GMR abandons the need to fight against the ossified, pro-capitalist labor tops of the Internationals, and fosters illusions in the Quebec trade union bureaucrats by posing a relative immunity to bureaucratization for the nationalist unions. And by overestimating the strength of the international bureaucrats (who "cannot" be defeated "except" by breakaways), it denies the possibility of building a class-struggle opposition among the "backward" English-speaking workers. Accordingly, says the GMR's nationalist logic, the important ties between the combative working class of Quebec and its class brothers and sisters in the rest of North America must be *broken*.

## For United Class Struggle!

In a recent polemic against Canadian nationalist Cy Gonick's pleas for "Canadian unity," even the RMG is forced to recognize the iron necessity of a unified struggle by French- and English-speaking workers in North America:

"Gonick correctly says, 'Clearly this liberation of the dominated classes in Quebec is linked to that of the North American proletariat as a whole.'

"True enough. But his 'unity argument' reveals his lack of understanding that the connection goes both ways."

—Old Mole, 18 March

Of course real unity cannot be forged while great-nation, anti-Québécois chauvinism holds sway among English-speaking workers. Nevertheless the RMG is only too willing to follow the illusion-mongering of the GMR by posing a separatist road to power for the Quebec proletariat. Hence the argument:

"...the assertion that Quebec workers, the most militant and politically advanced in North America, should hold back their struggles against the national oppression of capital and wait for anglophone workers to catch up—this assertion reeks of national chauvinism and is thus a service to reactionaries."

—ibid.

But this demagogy only avoids the central question. While Cy Gonick and the Communist Party may yearn for the Quebec working class simply to forget about its national oppression and "unite" against "American domination," revolutionary internationalists certainly do not tell Quebec workers to "hold back their struggles." Rather, revolutionary workers parties must be forged to lead the struggles of *all* North American workers to state power. The question is *how* the North American socialist revolution can be achieved.

A separate "workers republic of Quebec" is conceivable under only two historical circumstances. One, the possible secession of Quebec from a North American soviet state to form an independent workers republic, is clearly not applicable today. The second, an isolated seizure of state power in one corner of North America, is only an *episodic possibility*. Unless the rest of the North American proletariat is able to follow rapidly and consolidate power throughout the continent, such an uprising is doomed to failure and the militant Québécois workers will be crushed.

Of course Quebec could secede from Canada to form an independent capitalist state, and a Québécois capitalist ruling class could consolidate its rule and develop its own relations with the imperialist world market. Under such circumstances, the proletarian revolution could *theoretically* begin within the framework of the Quebec nation-state. But even in this case the conquest of power in Quebec would either be the prelude to the struggle for proletarian power throughout North America, or it would be defeated.

The high degree of integration of the North American political economy and the overwhelming economic, political and military dominance of the United States mean that proletarian power will only be consolidated on a continent-wide basis. Thus any attempt at proletarian revolution in North America

which fails to achieve state power in the United States is ultimately doomed. A separate "Canadian socialist revolution," much less a "Quebec socialist revolution," is a utopian impossibility.

## Lessons of the Commune and the Catalan Federation

Two historical lessons on this subject are provided by the fate of the Paris Commune in 1871 and Trotsky's polemics against the Catalan Federation in Spain during the early 1930's. In 1871, the workers of Paris were provoked into a premature uprising, and established the Commune under militarily unfavorable circumstances, with insufficient prior revolutionary work among the workers and peasants outside Paris. Marx and Engels called for support to the Communards and for standing with them on the barricades. However they pointed out that power could not be consolidated in Paris alone, but had to be extended through the support of the toiling masses in the rest of France. In fact, the defeat of the Commune after only seventy-two days led to the decimation and demoralization of the flower of the French proletariat. It took an entire generation after the Commune for the Parisian workers to begin to reach a similar level of combativity and class-consciousness.

Writing on Spain in 1931, Leon Trotsky warned against the illusion, fostered by Joaquin Maurin's Catalan Federation, that the militant Catalan proletariat could come to power in the absence of a similar class uprising in the rest of Spain. Agreeing that "Catalonia is the vanguard," Trotsky admonished Maurin:

"... But if this vanguard will not march in step with the proletariat and later on with the peasantry of all of Spain, the Catalan movement will at best be concluded as a magnificent episode in

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## FORUM

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## Solidarity House Victimizes Oppositionists

# UAW Convention Must Defend Jordan Sims, Steve Smith

Chrysler Corporation and the United Auto Workers (UAW) bureaucracy recently struck blows against the union ranks by ridding themselves of "trouble-makers" in Local 961 (Eldon Avenue Gear and Axle) and Local 140 (Dodge Truck) in Detroit. Militants in the plants must sharply protest this company/union purge of dissidents and oppose their victimization at the UAW convention in Los Angeles next month.

Although the immediate history of Jordan Sims, just removed by Solidarity House from the Local 961 presidency, and Steve Smith, former steward at Dodge Truck, are different, there are striking similarities between the two

Sims was initially suspended from office by Leonard Woodcock but was allowed to appeal. An International executive board appeals committee predictably upheld the original decision. When on March 14 of this year the UAW's "Public Review Board," without allowing Sims a hearing, upheld the Solidarity House edict and demanded that he repay the total of \$4,196 to Local 961, Sims was finally removed as president and barred from seeking further office in the UAW.

### Watergate in Local 961?

Sims denies the charges and refuses to return the money. He explained to *WV*

that board meetings in 1974 and 1975, none of his pro-International adversaries ever brought charges against him in the Local. Any accusation against Sims should be turned over to the Local membership, who can determine if a Local trial is required.

Solidarity House intervened against Sims not for any financial irregularities but because he is an irritant to the UAW bureaucracy. Were it not for its ruthless suppression of dissent, the Woodcock/Fraser gang might be accused of excessive paranoia—Sims' politics do not in fact represent much more than a nuisance to Solidarity House. In 1973 Sims voted for the sellout contract with Chrysler, much to the embarrassment of his allies in the United National Caucus (UNC). Today, he supports Doug Fraser—the man who co-administered his Local during receivership and voted for his ouster—as the "lesser of three evils" to succeed Woodcock as International president!

Sims' role as co-chairman of the reformist UNC is likewise no danger to Woodcock/Fraser. The UNC barely exists today, despite years of attempting to patch together a lowest-common-denominator "unity." It has largely decomposed into its constituent elements: disgruntled skilled tradesmen, a few aspiring bureaucrats and scattered "radicals" supported by the International Socialists (I.S.). Neither the UNC nor the I.S. has even bothered to publicly defend Sims, the only relatively well-known black leader of the UNC.

### Down on the Ranks—Relying on the Courts

Sims sees his next step as a lawsuit against Local 961 and the International. He is also heartened by rumors that the Labor Department may audit Local 961's books. Sims told *WV*, "I would rather have someone come in here who's going to be truly objective and protect the rights of my members with no political motivation." Sims' warm invitation to the capitalist courts and Labor Department will not only most likely prove fruitless, but is also deeply unprincipled. By asking the bourgeois state to peruse the Local's financial records and decide, in place of the membership, what constitutes proper union procedure, Sims helps undermine the independence of the unions from government control.

When the *WV* reporter challenged Sims' dragging the union into the bosses' courts, counterposing mobilization of the ranks, Sims scornfully dismissed the membership: "Today, the average guy in the plant...concerns himself with one thing: how big a paycheck he can get in any one week and getting his ass out of there and baling with it, or putting it in the bank. I got guys out there who'd sell their mothers for two hours of overtime."

This cynicism speaks volumes as to why Sims' support has eroded and why he does not look to organizing the Local 961 members in his defense. It is also telling evidence for what the Spartacist League has always said—that, at bottom, those who turn to the capitalist courts and government agencies have a profound contempt for the ability and capacity of the working class.

It is true that the beleaguered auto

## Markley, Suares Convicted in Labor-Spy Frame-Up

On March 26 Alex Markley and Antonio Suares, organizers for the United Electrical Workers Union (UE), were convicted of illegal possession of destructive devices that the prosecution claimed were used to blow up scab trucks during a strike against the



*WV Photo*  
Alex Markley, left, speaking at Springfield rally in early March.

Worthington Compression Corporation in Holyoke, Massachusetts. Sentencing is scheduled for April 14.

The perpetrator of this outrageous frame-up is the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Bureau (ATF), which views itself a sort of minor-league FBI. The ATF, which in an era of budget cutbacks has doubled its budget since 1972, ensures continued funding for itself by entrapping "potential violators," particularly in the labor movement, and using them to set up others.

Of his 12-hour interrogation in the ATF office on the day of his arrest Markley says:

"They spoke with me about cooperating with them, how they wanted to hit me with \$100,000 bail and how I was facing 60 years in jail. Every time I asked to call a lawyer they said no, there's no need of it, we can work something out."

—quoted in *Real Paper*, 19 February 1977

But Markley and Suares refused to "work something out," i.e., to become labor spies for the government. Their principled refusal to cooperate ("I told them to have someone else do their dirty work for them," says Markley) leaves them facing long jail sentences.

In a related case, Sandi Polaski, the victimized leader of another UE local in Massachusetts (Cambion-Cambridge Thermionic Corporation), recently pleaded guilty to reduced charges of assault with a dangerous weapon receiving a six months' suspended sentence and one year's probation. But while she was able to escape a long jail term, the UE at Cambion was defeated in a recent NLRB representation election.

The labor movement must demand that all charges against these trade-union militants be dropped at once! In a period when government provocations against the labor movement are increasing, the need for a strong working-class defense of victimized activists is more urgent than ever. ■



*WV Photo*

Flanked by cops, company supervisors and union officials, black-robed judge orders arrest of Dodge Truck strikers, June, 1974.

cases. Both held elected local union office and have been fired by Chrysler for alleged involvement in unauthorized work stoppages. Both are critics of Woodcock & Co., and this attitude is the reason that the union tops were as anxious as the corporation to be rid of them. And in both cases, the victims' reformist politics led them to pursue anti-union lawsuits to fight their bureaucratic persecutors.

Sims was fired from the Eldon plant for alleged participation in a local job action in 1970. He was later elected Local president by a narrow margin in a 1973 Labor Department-supervised election. Almost immediately, however, he ran afoul of hostile Local executive board members who were based primarily on white skilled tradesmen. When Sims, who is black, suspended two local officers after months of internecine warfare, the International clamped receivership on Local 961 in late 1975 (see *WV* No. 83, 31 October 1975).

An audit of the Local's books was conducted for the period December 1973 to September 1975 and International secretary-treasurer Emil Mazey subsequently charged Sims with financial misconduct. However, Sims told *WV* that several previous audits had been conducted which revealed no irregularities. Mazey asserted that Sims accepted several thousand dollars in wage increases, vacation pay, sick pay and sick leave pay to which he was not entitled. The Local set the president's salary in February 1974 at \$300 per week with no mention of benefits; the International claims that therefore Sims is entitled to no benefits whatever, while he maintains that this wage increase did not cancel the benefits he was eligible for under past Local practice and according to later votes by the membership.

that the membership in Local 961—on two different occasions—approved granting the Local president the same benefits enjoyed by the Local's office workers, members of the Office and Professional Employees International Union (OPEIU). Furthermore, the financial secretary, Vernal Johnson, cleared this policy with Solidarity House and testified to that effect. But International spokesmen denied Johnson's statement. Sims told *WV* that he himself received approval for the Local financial arrangement from International vice-president Marc Stepp and Region I-A director Buddy Battle, but "those same people got amnesia now."

Sims states his willingness to answer all charges before the Local 961 membership and in fact called a special membership meeting in August 1975 to air the charges. According to Sims, this meeting reaffirmed the 1973 membership decision to peg the president's benefits to those of the Local office workers. Solidarity House discounted that meeting also. Clearly the International is rather selective about the evidence it accepts!

Financial misconduct by a union officer is a serious charge and there is some unclarity in this case over whether Sims was entitled to all the vacation and sick pay claimed, even if the OPEIU contract is used as a yardstick. But since Sims apparently made a number of attempts to clarify the situation, even the Public Review Board was forced to acknowledge that "it is not charged that he intentionally defrauded the Local Union."

What is clear is that Sims' bureaucratic opponents wanted to keep the Local 961 membership from deciding on these issues. Though Sims' finances were discussed at a number of Local execu-

*continued on page 9*



## Imperialists Scream "Red Menace"

# Cuba in Africa

### No U.S. Aid to Mobutu's Zaire!

APRIL 11 —The Western press covered the recent African junkets of Fidel Castro and Soviet president Nikolai Podgorny with a renewal of the shrill "red menace" drumbeating that had accompanied Cuba's military intervention a year ago against South Africa in the Angolan war. U.S. and British newspapers and magazines have featured ominous stories of proliferating so-called "Marxist" regimes, Soviet naval and air facilities, and Soviet/Cuban military forces in sub-Saharan Africa. *Time* (4 April) graphically depicted a tightening "Soviet belt" running from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean through Angola, Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique and Madagascar.

The shaky government of Zairean president Mobutu Sese Seko eagerly joined the hue and cry, charging that insurgent forces in Shaba province (formerly Katanga) had invaded from neighboring Angola and were spear-



headed by Cuban and Russian soldiers. On April 4 Mobutu broke diplomatic relations with Havana. While the Carter administration guardedly says that "no hard evidence" of a Cuban role has been presented, it nevertheless rushed \$2 million in military aid to the CIA's number-one man on the continent.

One particularly strident piece was carried in the London *Sunday Telegraph* (20 February) and reproduced as a full-page ad—paid for by a shadowy group of right-wing South African and international investors, known as the "Club of Ten"—in the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal* and other influential imperialist mouthpieces. The article, entitled "Moscow's Next Target in Africa," begins:

"Can the West learn from Angola's tragedy, or are we condemned to relive the experience? What the Russians learned from Angola is that war by proxy pays off. They will be strongly tempted to use the same technique in other places—and almost certainly in the assault on Rhodesia and South-West Africa."

"The Cubans are Moscow's all-purpose mercenaries..."

The author, Robert Moss, poses as a champion of democracy. However, last year he was exposed for authoring a book financed by the CIA (and distributed by the Chilean junta's embassies) which justifies Pinochet's bloody coup.

Such hallucinations of a revolutionary Soviet offensive in Africa aside, it

does not require deep political insight to recognize that Podgorny and Castro's leap-frogging missions (climaxed by a top-level meeting in Moscow) were part of a joint effort to use the political capital gained in the Angolan war to gain increased leverage in the region. The Soviet Union hopes to offset its diplomatic reversals in North Africa and the Near East by aing out U.S. and Chinese influence in southern, central and east Africa. While Castro drew bigger and more enthusiastic crowds, Podgorny returned with the trophies: Ethiopian endorsement of a "common anti-imperialist front" of temporarily pro-Soviet states in the Red Sea area (Somalia, Ethiopia and Southern Yemen), a friendship treaty with Mozambique (Moscow promulgated a similar treaty with Angola in mid-March) and a joint communiqué with Zambia.

The Stalinist *Daily World* (30 March) noted of the latter: "Podgorny's visit to Zambia, even more so than his visits to Tanzania and Mozambique, symbolized a real breakthrough, in the opinion of most African observers. Zambia's policy earlier had been considered pro-imperialism...." Only a year ago Zambia backed the South African-led forces in Angola, labeling the USSR and Cuba as "a marauding tiger with its deadly cubs." But following the breakdown of the Geneva talks on Rhodesia, chameleon-like Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda embraces Podgorny in order to force the Carter administration to take a harder line against Ian Smith's intransigent white-supremacist regime. It only takes this single calculated and self-serving gesture for Zambia to enter the Stalinists' blue-ribbon list of "non-capitalist" and "anti-imperialist" states!

#### "New Gurkhas"?

While much of the bourgeois press brands Castro's soldiers in Africa "Russian mercenaries," "helots" and "the new Gurkhas" (Daniel Moynihan's phrase), radical enthusiasts of the Cuban deformed workers state see a vindication of Havana's claims as "Third World" vanguard of "international proletarian solidarity." Noted left-wing Colombian author Gabriel García Márquez wrote a lengthy account of Cuba's military involvement in Angola for the Mexican magazine *Proceso*, from which extracts were published by the Cuban news agency Prensa Latina in January. This semi-official version highlights the hazardous undertaking of transporting the initial forces to Angola in aging turboprops and hastily drafted steamers; U.S. threats and attempts to scuttle the air- and sea-lift; and the militarily decisive character of the Cuban intervention.

Márquez cites "Che" Guevara's role in training and leading nationalist rebels in the ex-Belgian Congo (now Zaire) in 1965, early Cuban military aid to guerrillas in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, as well as to the governments of Cameroun, Sierra Leone and Sékou Touré's Guinea. He concludes that: "Cuba's act of solidarity with Angola was far from a casual or impulsive act, but rather the end result of a continuous policy toward Africa by the Cuban revolution" (*Washington Post*, 12 January).

Besides the romantic description of the daring airlift of 650 soldiers in early November 1975 as a kind of Cuban Operation Entebbe, Márquez' account is notable for its efforts to separate



Fidel Castro at rally in Tanzania.

Economist

"heroic little Cuba" from the lumbering Russian bear:

"Cuba was sure it could count on solidarity and material aid from the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, although it was also aware of the implications its action might hold for the policy of peaceful coexistence and international détente...."

"Far from what has so often been said, it was an independent and sovereign act of Cuba. Only after the decision was made, not before, was the Soviet Union informed."

Whatever the exact timing and details of the decision, it is ludicrous to assume that Cuba and the Soviet Union were not working in tightly interlocked coordination. Nor does Cuba's African policy run counter to the Soviet strategy of "peaceful coexistence" (which has never precluded economic and diplomatic competition or even military confrontations in secondary arenas).

Moscow's political ties with and military assistance to the nationalist MPLA were also of long standing, and the Soviet Union feared that if Luanda fell to the South African-led pincer attack, its efforts to carve out a diplomatic sphere of influence south of the Sahara would be jeopardized. While some 15,000 Cuban soldiers were transported to Angola, the Soviet Union opened vital aid spigots, pouring in the sophisticated tanks, rocket launchers and other heavy weapons without which Castro's forces could not have turned the tide.

Clearly Márquez' pro-Cuban fervor outruns his grasp of political realities. Last summer, in a series of glowing *Prensa Latina* articles on a trip to Cuba, reprinted in his Colombian radical weekly *Alternativa* (16-23 August), Márquez was quoted as saying bombastically, "The defeat of imperialism in Angola is the most powerful blow which

it has experienced in the West during its entire history." Having assigned an independent role to Cuba in international politics, he ascribes world-historical importance to the temporary setback suffered by the U.S. and South Africa in Angola. In reality, for U.S. imperialism southern Africa represents an area of distinctly secondary strategic importance compared to Europe and the Near East, or even Latin America and East Asia.

#### Soviet Diplomatic Maneuvers

In our article "Smash the Imperialist Power Play" (*WV* No. 85, 14 November 1975), written soon after the South African invasion, we stated that, "The correct policy for proletarian revolutionists at this time... is military support to the MPLA against the Washington-financed, South African-organized offensive." It was absolutely necessary to oppose this attempt to establish a puppet black regime, bound hand and foot to Pretoria, and to stand with the embattled MPLA, Cuban and Soviet forces against the imperialists. At the same time we warned: "The MPLA while presently aligned with Moscow could tomorrow become the favorite of Washington, and it is in any case no less hostile to the slightest expression of working-class independence."

The U.S. remains hopeful that it can yet persuade Agostinho Neto and his cohorts to pull a Sadat-style switch on the USSR and Cuba. Even while Moscow and Luanda proclaim their eternal friendship, Gulf Oil pumps out millions of dollars in profits from its Cabinda refinery. Such prominent U.S. black Democrats as Carter's UN ambassador Andrew Young and Congressman Charles Diggs, moreover, have



Podgorny in Mozambique on his recent trip to Africa.

UPI





**Nathaniel Mbumba, leader of the insurgent FLNC.**

cautiously lauded Cuba for bringing "stability and order" to Angola.

Ironically, Márquez' views complement those of the imperialist scaremongers in one important aspect. Although Castro apologists bridle at any suggestion that Cuban foreign policy is subordinated to the Soviet Union's, they join Moss and the right-wing propagandists who believe that Cuba is playing a revolutionary anti-capitalist role in Africa and that the Angolan pattern is likely to be repeated in Rhodesia and Southwest Africa (Namibia).

But Castro's criterion for distinguishing "revolutionary" regimes is manifestly the same as Podgorny's—diplomatic alliance with the Soviet bloc. In Somalia, the Cuban prime minister hailed tinpot military dictator Siad Barre as "one of the firmest and most brilliant revolutionaries in Africa." In Addis Ababa, Castro toasted Derg strongman Mengistu Haile Meriam (whose troops butcher leftist students carrying portraits of "Che" and continue Haile Selassie's dirty colonial war in Eritrea) and invited him to visit Cuba. While Idi Amin's reign of indiscriminate tribalism, religious and ethnic terror was a bit too embarrassing to include in either Podgorny's or Castro's itinerary, Uganda radio reported that Amin met with both Soviet and Cuban envoys on March 4 to thank them for "supporting his country."

As for a repetition of Cuba's direct and massive combat role during the Angolan war, Cuban spokesmen have persistently and repeatedly stressed the exceptional character of the Angolan conflict. The blatant intervention of apartheid South Africa into what had been a civil war among competing black nationalist forces provided sufficient international "legitimacy" for the Soviets and Cubans to set aside their normal conciliatory stance and wage a brief—and successful—military struggle against a minor imperialist power backed by the U.S. During a trip to Japan last spring Cuban deputy prime

minister Carlos Rafael Rodríguez assured the press:

"Cuba has no intention of launching a military intervention against other countries. It can be said, therefore, that Cuba may send its troops to other countries in case the same conditions exist as those in the case of the Cuha-Angola relations. But it is just inconceivable that the same conditions will exist again."

—New York Times, 21 May 1975

## Turmoil In Zaïre

In Mozambique Castro also repeated denials of any Cuban role in the fighting in Zaïre's Shaba province: "there is not a single Cuban soldier involved. We have nothing to do with it at all and we have not equipped or trained the forces that are fighting the ruling clique in Zaïre" (*Daily World*, 24 March).

The conflict remains a murky affair given a comic opera quality by conflicting press accounts and the antics of Mobutu. When Zaïre is appealing for U.S. aid, the "invaders" are reported advancing; shortly after aid is delivered, they are reported to be in full retreat; a few days later the rebels are again "advancing," and then comes another urgent plea for aid. Towns near the Angolan border are reported lost and recaptured without any evidence of fighting. Mobutu has personally ferried newsmen to the area in his private plane to demonstrate that the government still holds key towns, but none have witnessed any battles and they are quickly shuttled back to the capital, Kinshasa, where their reports are subjected to government censorship.

Initially diplomats in Brussels reported that 500 former secessionist Katangan gendarmes were peacefully resettling in the area (*New York Times*, 16 March), while Mobutu was claiming that "5,000 invaders" were battling his soliders along a "62-mile front." Zaïrean general Bumba revised the estimates up to 10,000 rebels and announced that "my soldiers have seen Russians, Cubans and Portuguese at the side of the former militiamen, and these mercenaries are fighting shirtless, without uniforms" (UPI dispatch, 2 April). Two days later Bumba was replaced as chief of staff.

Press reports universally agree that the "invaders" are remnants of Moïse Tshombé's secessionist Katangan forces who were driven into Angola around 1967; that they are received with open arms by their fellow Lunda tribesmen, who straddle the border; and that little concern or support for the war exists in the Zaïrean capital. One hapless Associated Press newsmen was expelled for sending off a dispatch which reported a government-sponsored rally in Kinshasa "marked by an almost complete



**Zaïrian troops**

Chauvel/Sygma

absence of cheering or other signs of spontaneous enthusiasm."

A counter-barrage of press releases has come from a Paris-based group calling itself the Congolese National Liberation Front (FLNC), which claims to be leading the insurgents in this amorphous conflict. An FLNC communiqué in early March maintained that it was not "an invasion by mercenaries in the pay of Angola," but "a national uprising by the Congolese people sustained and supported by fighters of the FLNC" (*Times* [London], 12 March).

This group is led by a General Nathanaël Mbumba, formerly a Katangan police chief. An account of the Shaba conflict carried in the 4 April issue of *Afrique-Asie* reports that the FLNC was founded in Angola as early as June 1968 by Mbumba at the head of former Katangan gendarmes who fled from imprisonment in Zaïre. The article makes much of the FLNC's self-description as "a revolutionary and progressive movement," while simultaneously admitting that the Katangans served for seven years as a mercenary force (called the "Black Arrows") for the Portuguese colonial army!

Having fought mainly against Holden Roberto's FNLA in northeastern Angola, this force (reportedly several thousand soldiers) simply transferred their allegiance to the MPLA as independence approached. (The marriage of convenience was also indicated by the FNLA's close ties to Mobutu, the nemesis of the Katangan gendarmes.) The FLNC is also allied with a group based in Brussels called the Movement for Action to Resurrect the Congo (MARC), which is backed by Belgian liberals and reportedly "disposed to cooperation with the West."

Several journalists have suggested a seemingly plausible explanation for the Shaba affair. Mobutu has unleashed the defeated FNLA forces to make harassing raids into northern Angola and allowed the puppet Cabinda secessionists to strike against that oil-rich enclave and even into the neighboring Soviet-aided Congo Republic. (Naturally, there is little mention of these provocations in the Western press.) Luanda may well have given the green light to its ex-Katangan allies to move into Shaba province in order to harass Mobutu in retaliation for his continued covert support to anti-MPLA forces.

Eager to discover some new "progressive" cause to cheer on, the radical New York *Guardian* has been building a case for tailing the FLNC, quoting its bombastic self-praise and arguing that it has assimilated revolutionary politics from the MPLA. Like the Stalinists, New Leftists seek to sharply distinguish

between "neo-colonialist" and "anti-imperialist" regimes in Africa. This impressionistic method has nothing to do with the class struggle, but simply represents a form of window-shopping among the different styles of rhetoric and diplomatic alliances preferred by the various nationalist movements. No basis exists for Marxists or the working class to take sides in the Zaïre conflict.

Mobutu has attempted to internationalize the situation by his solicitation of U.S. and Chinese aid and, this week, by a French airlift of 1,500 Moroccan troops to back the Zaïrean soldiers who seem to have no taste for the fighting. Revolutionaries do have a stake in opposing all imperialist efforts to dig in deeper in Africa by propping up disintegrating regimes like Mobutu's. Therefore, we denounce the imperialist war scare and demand, "No aid to Zaïre!"

## For Real Proletarian Internationalism!

The balance sheet of Cuba's policy in Africa is a rhetorically more militant version of Soviet efforts to win diplomatic allies and port-of-call rights for its ships. The blood shed in defense of Angola against imperialist aggression has become just another asset in the Kremlin's great power account ledger. Moscow and Havana can (at least for the moment) chalk up some new friends to replace those they have lost in the Near East. The Ethiopian junta has been jettisoned by the U.S. and desperately needs a deal with Somalia (which claims one of its provinces and could control Ethiopian access to the sea via the Territory of the Afars and Issas, due to become independent in June).

But just as Addis Ababa embraces the USSR and Cuba, Somalia is beginning to turn cold, harkening to the call of Islamic "unity"—spelled "o-i-l \$\$\$." Podgorny and Castro have Idi Amin's throne of blood by default, since Uganda is something of an international pariah at present. And Zambia's friendly relations with the USSR are likely to last about as long as it takes the U.S. or Britain to land an envoy in Lusaka with a better offer.

Genuine international proletarian solidarity does not consist in forming mutual admiration societies with left-talking nationalist demagogues. In fact, it demands the opposite: effective aid to the working masses oppressed and exploited by these petty tyrants, the building of revolutionary Trotskyist parties to smash the two-bit bonapartes (and their Stalinist allies), wrenching the ex-colonial countries free of imperialism's bloody talons through socialist revolution, not diplomatic deals. ■



Prensa Latina

**Castro, right, being greeted in Addis Ababa by Ethiopian strongman Mengistu last month.**



# Zionist Bunker

(continued from page 1)

clerical-fascist Gush Emunim (Bloc of the Faithful) settlement movement in Samaria and Judea. To retain the "Jewish character" of Eretz Yisrael, the NRP calls for forced population transfer of the Palestinian Arabs from the West Bank to Jordan.

Whatever their programmatic differences, there has been enough effective unity in action up to now between "Labor" and the NRP to preserve the coalition government. The minister of housing who is responsible for the government's settlement policy gave financial support to the "illegal" settlements and expropriated additional land to provide for their expansion.

## Imperialist Peace vs. Zionist Annexation

U.S. policy has always hewed close to the "Rogers Plan" named after Nixon's first secretary of state and embodied in UN resolutions 242 and 338. Under this plan Israel would relinquish most of the occupied territories for a peace treaty through which the surrounding Arab regimes would recognize Israel as defined essentially by the pre-June 1967 borders. The "Rogers Plan" like UN resolutions 242 and 338 is purposely ambiguous, calling for "secure" borders and not defining how much of the occupied territories Israel actually has to relinquish.

George W. Ball, who as U.S. under-secretary of state from 1961 to 1966 was a major architect of the imperialist rape of Vietnam (and who is presently a partner in the bond brokerage of Lehman Brothers charting the financial rape of New York City), argues in an article in the current issue of *Foreign Affairs* (April 1977) that Israel should be forced to relinquish all of the occupied territories and recognize a Palestinian statelet in the West Bank and Gaza. The quid pro quo would be a peace treaty and diplomatic recognition by the Arab states. However, he argues that to induce the Israeli leadership to accept this plan nothing less than a U.S. *diktat* will do. He writes:

"America's indispensable role is to provide the means of relieving the political leaders on both sides of the need to make politically unpalatable decisions by furnishing them the escape route of yielding reluctantly under relentless pressure of outside forces."

Considered as an abstract possibility, an American bourgeois government might force Israel to withdraw from the occupied territories, imposing the "Rogers Plan" by unilateral fiat. But no existing American bourgeois tendency which is a serious contender for governmental power favors such harshly anti-Zionist policy. An American *diktat* to withdraw from the occupied territories would produce such a profound crisis in Israel that it would risk destabilizing the entire Near East. In addition, the pro-Zionist lobby remains quite powerful, backed by popular sympathy toward Israel, in part reflecting racist attitudes toward the Arabs.

Carter is not committed to a new, different Israel-Arab policy. His erratic and totally contradictory recent statements on the subject reflect his double-talk electioneering style and the fact that Lester Maddox couldn't teach him the forms of international diplomacy.

Carter recently gave free rein to his penchant for talking out of both sides of his mouth. Zionist candidates for Israeli elections know that the real campaigning takes place in the U.S., not in Israel. So, of course, Rabin had to make the pilgrimage and carry his campaign to his old hunting grounds in the capital of U.S. imperialism. Carter greeted him by supporting the demand of the "Allon Plan" for "defensible borders."

This heartened Rabin and dispirited the Arab rulers. But two days later, as Rabin was departing, Carter held a press conference where he paid lip service to both the "Allon Plan" and the

were made fully manifest. The Yadlin trial revealed what the Hebrew masses always suspected, namely that in the promised land of Mosaic law and the "socialist" paradise of the social-democratic lepers, the Zionist government is saturated with the stench of graft and corruption.

Yadlin was the head of the Histadrut's sick fund, the Kupat Holim. The Histadrut is not only Israel's major trade-union federation, it also controls 25 percent of Israeli industry and most of its social services, including hospitals and clinics. Thus Yadlin controlled most of the country's health and medical services.

In August 1976, Rabin appointed Yadlin to be governor of the Bank of Israel, a position at least as powerful as the chairmanship of the Federal Reserve Board is in the United States. After his appointment was announced, Yadlin



Carol Gootler/Newsweek

Zionist demonstrators seize land from Arabs in occupied West Bank.

"Rogers Plan," calling the difference between "defensible" and "secure" borders "just semantics." Stating that "defense lines may or may not conform in the foreseeable future to these legal borders," and suggesting possible "extensions of Israeli defense capacity beyond the permanent and recognized borders," in the same press conference Carter also called for "substantial withdrawal" and only "minor adjustments in the 1967 borders."

Immediately afterwards, in the midst of and playing to the Palestine National Council meeting in Cairo, Carter ventured out in a demagogic fashion to be one with the people and made another contradictory statement before a Clinton, Massachusetts, town meeting. He stated that "There has to be a homeland provided for the Palestinian refugees who have suffered for so many many years." This sent spirits soaring among gullible PLO supporters, but the following day he made yet another "clarification," placing the "homeland" securely "in the framework of the nation of Jordan."

Retired secretary of state Kissinger chided Carter for not preserving the norms of hypocrisy, deception and obfuscation inherent in bourgeois diplomacy, and for being too blunt. However, Carter's "bluntness" consisted in crudeness, deception and deliberate ambiguity, not in any frank statement. For Carter everything is reduced to semantics, and even the Gush Emunim will support a "homeland" for Palestinians—as long as it is east of the Jordan and is inhabited by all the Palestinians currently living west of the Jordan! Carter's contradictory statements managed to simultaneously confuse his own State Department spokesman as well as undermining Rabin.

## Graft and Corruption in Eretz Yisrael

While there are real and ultimately incompatible policy differences between the Israeli "Labor Party" and the NRP, especially regarding the occupied territories, a more important reason behind the expulsion of the NRP probably was to hold elections before the scandals emerging from the trial of Asher Yadlin

was accused of accepting \$9,000 in bribes. The entire "Labor Party" ruling establishment was implicated.

In particular the minister of housing, Avraham Ofer, was accused of accepting bribes when he headed the Histadrut's construction company. On 3 January, Ofer committed suicide; and when Yadlin heard of Ofer's suicide, he suffered a heart attack. After several weeks in the hospital, Yadlin decided to sing. A little plea-bargaining brought a little honesty and Yadlin's testimony at his February 14 trial further implicated



Popperfoto

Rabin with Carter during his recent trip to Washington.

"Labor Party" leaders including Finance Minister Yehoshua Rabinowitz.

**"Democratic"-Zionism,  
"Socialistic"-Zionism,  
Stalinist-Zionism**

The main benefactor of the revelations of rampant corruption within the "Labor Party" has been the "Democratic Movement for Change" (DMC) led by the archeologist Yigael Yadin, the Jimmy Carter of Israel. While claiming to fight "big" government and "big" business (which in corporatist Israel are often the same), and to fight corrupt politicians, Yadin's "Movement for Change" is merely cheap populist demagoguery which masks positions and candidates who have often defected from the

right wing of the "Labor Party."

For example Neir Zorea who headed the Land Development Authority under Rabin and was responsible for the policy of the Judeasation in Galilee of expropriating Arab land, has defected to the DMC. Likewise the former head of the Israeli secret service Mossad, Assa Harel, has joined the DMC. The DMC under Zorea influence has taken a hard line on defending Zionist settlements in the occupied territories and has called for the denationalization of the Israeli state sector, more incentives to private enterprise and support to a vicious compulsory arbitration law that would effectively ban strikes.

Shimon Peres, Rabin's Defense Minister and arch rival within the "Labor Party," replaces Rabin as the "Labor" candidate for prime minister. Within the framework of the "Labor Party," Peres is considered a hawk and there is some speculation that Mapam may bolt its "Alignment" with "Labor." To save Mapam's pseudo-socialistic conscience Peres appointed Allon, who is considered a dove, to the important position of candidate for defense minister.

However, Mapam has little conscience left to save as it has remained in the Zionist government despite its grossly chauvinist and racist policies. Mapam claims to recognize the right of Palestinian self-determination but claims that this right can only be exercised within Hussein's Jordan, a position not fundamentally different from the "Allon Plan." Likewise the pro-Moscow Israeli Communist Party, which has grown substantially in the most recent period, calls for a mini-state solution to the Palestinian question and co-existence with a Zionist Israel. The DMC, Mapam and Rakah represent a continuum of "democratic" Zionism: all believe in the myth that the fundamental democratic questions which directly challenge the Zionist state can somehow be resolved without a social revolution.

The present political crisis within Israel takes place within the context of a profound social and economic crisis. Inflation is at an all time high. Prices increased 40 percent in 1974, 39 percent in 1975 and 37 percent in 1976. The average income tax rate, the highest in the world, is 46 percent. Disposable wages dropped 8 percent from April 1974 to the summer of 1975. Israel's external debt is \$1,859 per capita, again the highest in the world.

In the context of a sharp economic crisis and as a militarily besieged society, Israel's "ingathering" of world Jewry into the "promised land" is becoming a failure. Immigration fell by half in 1975 and emigration, which averaged 7,500 per year from 1968 to 1973, jumped to 12,000 in 1973 and 21,000 in 1974. In 1976 emigration exceeded immigration and fully 60 percent of the Jews permitted to leave the Soviet Union for Israel went instead to West Europe and North America.

The greatest strike wave in Israel's history is taking place now. In March alone there were strikes or slowdowns by Bank Leumi workers, customs officials, government hospital physicians, telephone operators, petroleum workers and drivers, and university lecturers. A dock slowdown paralyzed Israel's three main ports and protests on the West Bank, centering on opposition to new taxes and demanding freedom of Arab political prisoners, have continued unabated.

An Arab/Hebrew proletarian party must be forged which links the militant struggles of the West Bank Palestinians and Israeli workers against their common enemy, the racist, chauvinist Zionist state. Such a party must call for the total withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories; for smashing the reactionary Zionist and Hashemite states; for the right to self-determination for the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking people, which can only be realized through proletarian revolution and a Near East socialist federation. ■

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# UAW Convention...

(continued from page 5)

workers, hit by massive layoffs and betrayed at every turn by their "leaders," have been generally quiet for several years. But Sims, like every sellout union hack in the U.S., blames the membership for lack of interest when his own treachery and incompetence are at issue. The recent massive strikes at Fremont GM in California and Indianapolis Chrysler plants indicate the willingness of the rank and file to fight with the least



Jordan Sims

WV Photo

encouragement from their local leaders. UAW militants should demand that Solidarity House keep hands off Jordan Sims. Despite his running to involve the courts in internal union affairs and his bureaucratic view of the ranks as hopelessly indifferent, Sims is being attacked by high-echelon piecards for being an oppositionist, however pusillanimous and impotent. It remains the job of the ranks of the UAW to put their house in order and forge a real class-struggle leadership.

## Death Penalty for Leading a Wildcat?

Chrysler's June 1974 firing of Steve Smith was upheld March 22 by National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) judge Walter Maloney. Smith is alleged to have played a leading role in a 31 May 1974 work action at the Dodge Truck assembly plant in Warren, Michigan. He was also held responsible for a group protest against expected company discipline at the plant's labor relations

office three days later. Adding insult to injury, Chrysler also held Smith responsible for a five-day walkout protesting his firing, which began after he and three others were already dismissed on 10 June 1974.

The suit against Chrysler asked the NLRB to restore Smith's job and all back wages. Despite complete agreement by the NLRB counsel with Smith's charges, including that he could not be charged with actions that occurred after he was fired, the judge ruled in Chrysler's favor on virtually all counts.

Initially, Smith's suit also included charges against the UAW, claiming failure to process the grievance over his dismissal. (The grievance was dropped by the union in October 1974.) But the union bureaucracy was an eager co-defendant. Crassly fingering their own members, union bureaucrats provided names of past grievors and a list of militants which noted whether they were "leaders" or "followers," their work and discipline records, their participation in demonstrations, when they had picketed, etc. So zealous were union officials that Smith's lawyers nervously backed off and dropped the UAW from the suit.

The entire trial reeked of Chrysler's anti-communist campaign to get rid of Smith, who is a leading spokesman for a Local 140 opposition group, "Workers Unity," and of the related "Autoworkers United to Fight" (AWUF), both supported by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party.

Early in the trial the judge refused to admit as evidence a House Committee on Internal Security report on American Maoist groups which the company maintains was relevant to their case. The corporation appealed this decision, shamelessly citing the frame-up, hangman's case of *U.S. vs. Rosenbergs* (!) where the court held: "An American's devotion to another country's welfare cannot, of course, constitute proof that he has spied for that other country. But the jurors may reasonably infer that he is more likely to spy for it than other Americans not similarly devoted." Presumably Smith is supposed to be grateful that Chrysler did not demand the death penalty for the "crime" of leading a wildcat!

This case has all the markings of a McCarthyite witchhunt: the victimization of a working-class militant, enthusiastic cooperation of bootlicking union sellouts, and unbridled anti-communism. It also demonstrates what kind of "justice" can be expected from the capitalist courts and government agencies. Only a working-class mobilization can reverse this company/union/government victimization of a union militant.

It is not because of any sympathy for the politics of Jordan Sims or Steve Smith that the Spartacist League defends them. Sims, as his track record demonstrates, is not even a consistent reformist opponent to Solidarity House, much less a class-struggle leader. Steve Smith and his cohorts hold no future for the UAW ranks either: AWUF opposes the demand for a shorter workweek to make more jobs and opposes the minimal integration of American society through busing, while frequently using gangster thug attacks against real class-struggle oppositionists in the unions.

For Marxists the class line separating the working class and its organizations from the employers and their state is decisive. When workers defend their brothers and sisters from company/government victimization and bureaucratic backstabbing, they will have taken a big step necessary to transform the unions into class-struggle institutions fighting for the entire proletariat. It is for this reason that UAW members must demand that the upcoming UAW convention reinstate Jordan Sims and take all necessary steps, including strike action, to force Chrysler to reinstate Steve Smith. An injury to one is an injury to all! ■

# Cock Robin...

(continued from page 2)

various conspiracy theories all share the same technocratic, idealist and moralist illusion in the centrality of control over information. This is not to deny that there are capitalist conspiracies, but the capitalist state, like all others, is based on an armed body of men, not on security classifications.

Class-struggle militants recognize the importance of exposing capitalist atrocities through propaganda. For example, a central component of the defense work of the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee is exposure of the frame-up character of bourgeois justice. We would certainly like to know the real story of the murder of Kennedy. While we sent no condolences for the passing of this enemy of the working class, we are vitally interested in knowing who was behind his assassination, as well as forcing disclosure of the murderers of Malcolm X, Fred Hampton and other black militants, and exposing what is already known about the killers of Orlando Letelier and 30,000

Oglesby's *From Dallas to Watergate: The Yankee and Cowboy War* is an explicitly sub-reformist "civics class" call for virtue to triumph over the evil elites who have so recently subverted American democracy. While his concluding slogan is "neither yankee nor cowboy," for Oglesby the bourgeois factions are the only game in town (this is not only false, it is unfashionable; the "cowboy/yankee" conflict is a late 1960's concoction, the current version of which is the "trilateral commission" conspiracy). Moreover, this is simply a continuation of hackneyed liberal/populist/reformist attempts to single out a few bad capitalists (the "robber barons," "200 families," "military-industrial complex," etc.) in order to justify alliances with the "progressive," "peace-loving," "democratic" bourgeoisie.

This liberalism finds its reflection among the ostensibly Marxist organizations, despite its clear counterposition to a class analysis and the independence of the working class. Sam Marcy of Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism and the psychotic Lyndon LaRouche (aka Lynn Marcus)



From left: James Earl Ray, Lee Harvey Oswald and George de Mohren-schildt with wife.

Chilean workers and peasants, over a million Vietnamese, the Attica and Wounded Knee militants and numerous black youth gunned down by killer cops in the northern ghettos.

The full-blown rationalizations for the liberalism of the conspiracy mongers have appeared in recent books by aged New Leftists Carl Oglesby and Kirkpatrick Sale, who seek to locate the central axis of social and political struggle in ruling-class clique fights between "eastern establishmentarians" and "sunbelt" nouveaux riches. The conceptual fallacies of these liberal theories are countless. That the bourgeoisie base of the Democratic Party has for decades been an *alliance* of southern oligarchy and eastern financiers is well-established; the aerospace industry, the bulwark of the "sunbelt" economy, is dominated by northern capital; the melange of forces allegedly implicated in the Kennedy assassination—from Ivy League CIA spooks to Cuban exiles—obviously defies facile geographical classification; and "old country lawyer" Sam Ervin and the southern Congressmen on the House impeachment inquiry delivered key blows against Nixon.

Oglesby regards the JFK assassination as a "cowboy coup" (with Watergate a "yankee counter-coup"). While this is trivially consistent with Kennedy's and Johnson's geographical origins, it hardly accounts for the fact that the liberal "Great Society" program was enacted under Johnson, while Kennedy's major "contribution" to civil rights was the appointment of racist federal judges in the south.

of the Labor Committees are the equals of the John Birch Society when it comes to hysteria over ruling-class cliques and conspiracies, with Gerry Healy's American satellite (the Workers League) and its warnings of imminent fascism not far behind.

Certainly there are tactical differences and divisions of varying depths and duration within the capitalist class, and revolutionists must understand and exploit them. But the central axis of social struggle is between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

The objective conditions are rotten ripe for socialism. Not conspiracy theory muckraking, not "tactical alliances" with the "progressive" bourgeoisie, but the building of the international revolutionary Trotskyist leadership of the workers is required in order to sweep the exploiters and intriguers of capitalism away.

There remain plenty of skeletons in the closets of the bourgeoisie and its hired guns: the FBI/CIA, municipal "red squads," gusano terrorists, the Mafia and various native pro-fascist organizations. Who knows what would slither out from under the overturned rocks in a serious and thorough investigation? Ultimately, it is the triumph of the proletariat which will make such an investigation possible and uncover the many unsolved mysteries in the bloody record of international capitalism. As the Bolsheviks were able to finally unravel the countless plots and murders of the Okhrana only after taking state power, so will the working class of the U.S. uncover the real history of American imperialist terror following their establishment of a workers state. ■

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Spartacist League contingent at February pro-busing march in Los Angeles.

## Leftists Tail Liberals, Black Mayor Opposes School Integration

# Busing Under Attack in L.A. Elections

LOS ANGELES—Against a backdrop of racial polarization and an ongoing controversy over school integration and busing, municipal elections were held here on April 5. As was widely expected, Democrat Tom Bradley—who became L.A.'s first black mayor in 1973 with a law-and-order pitch backed by a 20-year career with the L.A. Police Department—easily won re-election, garnering almost 60 percent of the vote.

There were few real disputes among the major contenders for mayor: they all solidified with anti-busing forces. Bradley was against "massive, cross-town busing." His main opponent, Alan Robbins, received 28 percent of the vote

when its "allies" play out their bourgeois role. Manuel got only 917 votes. Typically, the Communist Party (CP) had nothing to say in public on the mayoral race, giving backhanded support to the Democrat Bradley.

In the school board elections, the SWP, CP and the Stalinist/reformist Communist Labor Party (CLP) each ran a candidate on similarly wretched programs of watered-down "practical" reforms; none warranted the votes of the working class. For example, the ex-Trotskyist SWP called for simply taxing the corporations, not expropriating them. So liberal were the three groups' campaigns that the 15,000 to 20,000 votes each gained went to Bradley in the mayoral race, leaving the only ostensible "socialist," Manuel, with less than 1,000 votes.

So Mayor Bradley will continue to run L.A. for the capitalists. He threatens striking bus drivers with National Guard scabs and boasts that he has maintained the largest police force in L.A. history, replete with aerial helicopter surveillance, SWAT squads like those that wiped out the SLA in a fiery pyre and an extensive political "intelligence" red squad. And the black liberal mayor will try to keep L.A. one of the nation's most strictly segregated cities.

Though Bradley won the election with the backing of the local AFL-CIO hacks (as well as L.A.'s leading oil and financial interests and the conservative *Los Angeles Times*), neither he nor the Democratic Party are "friends of labor" or of oppressed minorities. Workers must mobilize the unions to break the Democrats' stranglehold and build their own party, based on a class-struggle program to fight for a workers government. ■



Julian Wasser

Thomas Bradley

with a demagogic right-wing populist campaign peppered with racial appeals to middle-class whites. Robbins opposed busing, distributed "rape whistles" and called for a referendum on the secession of the largely white San Fernando valley!

Only one of the 12 candidates for mayor, Sam Manuel of the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), even nominally supported busing. But Manuel's angle was mainly a whining complaint to liberals and black community leaders who swallowed their pro-busing position to back Bradley. It is these forces which the SWP habitually cuddles up to, only to be left in the lurch

## Quebec Workers...

(continued from page 4)

the style of the Paris Commune. The peculiar position of Catalonia is driving in this direction. The national conflict may heat up the steam to such an extent that the Catalan explosion will occur long before the situation in Spain as a whole has matured for a second revolution.

"It would be the greatest historical misfortune if the Catalan proletariat, under the influence of the national ferment, permitted itself to be drawn into a decisive struggle before it has had the chance to consolidate itself with the proletariat of all of Spain."

*The Spanish Revolution,*  
pg 107

Quebec's strategic weight in North America today is much less than the weight of Paris in France in 1871 or of Catalonia in Spain in the 1930's. Only a blissfully ignorant nationalist dreamer could conceive of a successful proletarian revolution somewhere on the continent which did not smash capitalist rule in the United States.

The GMR's call for a "workers republic of Quebec" is not simple theoretical musing on the possibility of an episodic seizure of power in Quebec, followed immediately by an insurrection on the rest of the continent. It is a call for a *nationally-delimited* proletarian struggle. That is how it is seen by Québécois workers, and that is how it is meant by the GMR. Don't "wait" for those backward English, the GMR is saying, we're the most advanced, we can seize power on our own. And just to ensure that Québécois workers are not "held back" by the chauvinists in the international unions, the GMR calls for nationalist trade union breakaways.

### Toward North American Socialist Revolution!

In 1913 Stalin, then still a Bolshevik writing under Lenin's tutelage, wrote:

"We know whether the division of workers along national lines leads. The disintegration of a united workers' party, the division of trade unions along national lines, aggravation of national friction, national strike-breaking, complete demoralization within the ranks of Social-Democracy—such are the fruits of organizational federalism....

"The only cure for this is organization on international lines."

—"Marxism and the National Question"

The GMR's utopian-reactionary program for the Quebec working class stems from its profound adaptation to nationalist ideology (its very existence as a separate organization from the RMG is an example of this nationalism). Marx never called for a Paris Commune. Nor did the Bolsheviks raise the slogan "workers republic of Poland," or support national divisions in working class organizations. In fact they fought actively against both. Advocating the right to self-determination was seen by the Bolsheviks as serving the end

of multinational working-class unity. The GMR's capitulation to nationalist illusions leads it to advance the defeatist strategy of a "workers republic of Quebec," and to call for Quebec workers to break away from the mainstream of the North American workers movement.

Like the Bolsheviks, we recognize that proletarian unity can only be forged through all-sided struggle against all forms of social oppression, and for full and equal democratic rights, including national rights. Thus Trotskyists raise the call for Quebec's unconditional right to self-determination, up to and including secession, and have nothing but contempt for chauvinist cretins like the Communist Party, who strive to reinforce "Canadian unity." Furthermore, while not advocating independence today, the Trotskyist League recognizes that national antagonisms among working people in Canada have risen dramatically in recent years, particularly since the election of the Parti Québécois government last fall. This poses the possibility that in the near future a call for the *independence* of Quebec may be the only way to forge the necessary fighting class unity.

But the "workers republic of Quebec" is an entirely different question. Unlike the GMR and RMG, we are not out to tail whatever is popular, or to assuage liberal guilt-pangs stemming from two centuries of national oppression of the Québécois. Rather we seek to build a party which can lead a proletarian revolution on this continent.

The calls for separate organizations for Quebec workers and a "workers republic of Quebec" are *nationalist* demands which, if logically implemented, could only lead to the defeat of the militant Québécois proletariat. If, like the Communards, the Québécois proletariat takes to the barricades against overwhelming odds, authentic revolutionary internationalists will be there with them. But without a revolution in the heart of the North American continent, the Quebec working class cannot consolidate an independent state power. The defeat of an isolated Quebec workers commune would be a setback for the entire North American socialist revolution, a defeat for which left-nationalists like the GMR would be politically culpable. ■

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# Steel Settlement...

(continued from page 12)

"opposition" to the contract was fundamentally meaningless. Both in the campaign and in the ratification meeting in Washington, the Sadlowski forces—consistent with their legalistic cretinism—refused to call for the dumping of ENA now. Within the framework of ENA, if the union and companies cannot come to agreement, the contract is submitted to binding arbitration. But turning the fate of steel workers over to arbitrators, who are inevitably biased towards the corporations, is a step

where strikes are permitted. The CP caves in to Abel and accepts his sellout deal as a *fait accompli*.

While local issues are not unimportant, key issues of hours, wages and benefits are determined at the industry-wide level. The real power of the membership lies in uniting the USWA locals throughout the U.S. and Canada in solid, joint strike actions against the companies. It was precisely out of fear of this possibility that Abel instituted ENA, at the same time yielding the local right to strike as a concession. In fact, the renewal of the no-strike agreement through 1980 demonstrates the futility of waiting until ENA "expires" before calling for industry-wide strike action.



USWA chief Abel (right) and U.S. Steel chief negotiator start steel negotiations in February.

backwards. Fear of arbitration undoubtedly influenced many officials to vote for Abel's contract.

But Sadlowski is not the only one to capitulate to the ENA. The Stalinists and other reformists, who supported Sadlowski in the election, do likewise. An article in the 7 April *Daily World*, organ of the Communist Party (CP), hailed a decision by USWA Local 1011 opposing extension of the ENA to bargaining in 1980. As for this year, the *Daily World* pointed to the possibility of "forcing concessions" on a local level,

Unless a fight against ENA is organized, the bureaucracy will continue to extend it. Abel, McBride and their no-strike deal are not popular among basic steel workers, as the recent union elections and the ratification meeting in Washington proved. The key task for militants in the next period must be to mobilize steel workers to dump ENA and Abel's contract now through USWA-wide strike action. Only in such a fashion can the genuine interests of steel workers be consistently fought for. ■

# Court Frees Killer of ILWU Striker

STOCKTON, California—Ray Laeger, a scab truck driver and supervisor employed by the Handyman Corporation was found "not guilty" April 1 of the charge of vehicular manslaughter in the picket-line killing of striker Norman Ray Lewis last August 6.

Several witnesses on the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 picket line saw Laeger hit Lewis with the truck. As Lewis moved away, Laeger hit him again, knocked him down and ran him over. That the murderer was only charged with vehicular manslaughter is in itself a stunning indictment of the "justice" afforded the working class in the bourgeois courts. But that he was acquitted and now goes scot-free is an outrageous affront to all labor!

The careful screening of the jury for this trial greatly aided the cold-blooded killer-scab. Every prospective juror was asked if he would cross a picket line. Only one who said "no," he would not cross on principle, was seated on the jury.

The atmosphere surrounding the trial was heavily conditioned by the ongoing employer/government offensive against northern California labor. The none-too-aggressive prosecutor called only one eyewitness to the killing and the defense attorney got away with baiting a union witness as an "agitator" and "communist."

This courtroom defeat was facilitated by the weak-kneed passivity of the ILWU leadership. Lewis was murdered on the ILWU picket line in front of the Handyman warehouse in Tracy, where he and 22 fellow workers had begun a strike on August 4 for union recognition and their first contract. The cowardly reaction of the union tops to the killing was simply to advise their membership "not to purchase any Handyman products until further notice" (*Dispatcher*, 6 August 1976)!

Supporters of the class-struggle opposition group Militant Caucus in Local

6 and of the "Longshore Militant" in Local 10 raised motions for the union to immediately organize a militant response to smash Handyman's blood-thirsty strikebreaking and win the strike. They proposed a massive labor rally in Tracy and the hot-carguing of all Handyman products to force the company to its knees, make the government charge Laeger with murder and win a life pension for Lewis' widow and five children at the company's expense. These militants pointed out that if the ILWU did not lead the labor movement in such a militant response the life of every picket in the Bay Area and northern California would become fair game.

Rather than mobilize the real strength of the labor movement to defend its own membership, the ILWU bureaucracy has continued to opt for an impotent consumer boycott and established the Norman Ray Lewis Memorial Fund for the slain brother's widow and children through a special dues assessment.

Despite coverage in the pages of the union newspaper, union members report that "informational" pickets scheduled for weekends in front of Bay Area Handyman retail stores are usually small and more often fail to materialize. The labor skates cannot even implement their own no-win tactics. It is also commonly known that several Local 6 warehouses continue to handle scab Handyman merchandise, on explicit orders from the Local bureaucrats!

After over nine months of a bitter struggle, the Handyman strikers continue to hold out. On April 11, they once again voted down the company's insulting terms, which include an open shop. But it has been rumored inside the union that the bureaucrats are close to abandoning the strike. They may well use Laeger's acquittal as a new trump card to further demoralize the weary strikers and force them back to work. Shut down Handyman—Hot cargo all Handyman goods! ■

# NYC Demo Protests Balaguer Terror at Santo Domingo University



WV Photo

More than 150 demonstrators picketed the Dominican Republic consulate in Rockefeller Center March 25 to protest the occupation of the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo (UASD) by the police and army of the Balaguer dictatorship. The demonstration, called by the Committee in Solidarity with the UASD, drew participants from many organizations including the Comité para la Defensa de los Derechos Humanos en la República Dominicana, the Movimiento Popular Dominicano, Línea Roja, Youth Against War and Fascism, the October League and a contingent from the Spartacist League (St.) and Partisan Defense Committee (PDC).

Slogans shouted by the spirited demonstrators included demands, in both English and Spanish, for the immediate withdrawal of military and police forces from the UASD, freedom for students arrested during the Santo Domingo demonstrations and an end to government repression in the Dominican Republic. The SL contingent carried signs demanding an end to the Balaguerist terror and for a workers and peasants government; supporters of the PDC raised signs calling for freedom for all class-war prisoners in the Dominican Republic.

The army occupation of the UASD on March 11 followed weeks of student protests and clashes with the police in Santo Domingo. Thousands of university and secondary school students had taken to the streets in February to demand a "larger and just budget" for the UASD. Then, on March 7 the police took over the Duarte secondary school in Santo Domingo because it had become, in the words of the police chief, "a focus for disturbance of the public order" during protests against the firing of teachers and the suspension of examinations. The following day Duarte students who had joined with UASD students to demand the withdrawal of police from the high school were viciously attacked by riot cops assisted by an air force helicopter which lobbed tear gas grenades onto the campus for nearly an hour. Twenty-seven students were injured in the fighting and many more arrested (*Nacional de Ahora*, 7 March, and *El Sol*, 9 March).

The weeks of demonstrations culminated in the invasion of the UASD campus by troops armed with heavy caliber machine guns and backed up by armored cars at 3 a.m. on March 11. This is the fifth time that the military has occupied the campus since 1970 to suppress the student struggles against the Balaguer regime.

The St. joins with Dominican students and workers organizations in demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of police and soldiers from the UASD, the reinstatement of all fired professors and teachers and the release of all the victims of the right-wing repression in the Dominican Republic!



# WORKERS VANGUARD

## Put Sellout Steel Settlement to a Vote!

# Break Abel's ENA Through Strike Action!

**APRIL 11** Retiring United Steelworkers (USWA) president I.W. Abel last week browbeat local union presidents into approving a new contract for the basic steel industry. The settlement was voted April 9 in Washington by a margin of 193 to 99, but only after an earlier vote of 148-143 to reject was "reconsidered."

The sellout pact not only fails to make any substantive gains for steel workers; it fails to fulfill even the insulting campaign promises of the conservative Abel/McBride machine. Most outrageous, it extends the no-strike *Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA)* to cover the next round of contract negotiations in 1980! Extension of ENA demonstrates the utter contempt of the bureaucracy for the USWA membership, who do not have the right to ratify their contracts and are sold out years in advance! Reportedly, the "guaranteed" annual wage increases of 3 percent per year were "modified," so that in 1980 the parties have the option of diverting the miserly funds earmarked for wages to "other benefits."

The settlement is not substantially different from the 1974 package, also negotiated under the no-strike ENA. Wage increases amount to 80 cents over three years, to be implemented in six steps. This compares unfavorably with many wage settlements in last year's bargaining, in which the Teamsters got \$1.65 over three years, rubber workers \$1.35, electrical workers \$1.10. With the exception of some alterations in supplementary unemployment benefits (SUB), most other economic benefits remained unchanged.

The biggest farce is the absence of anything in the contract resembling "lifetime job security," which Abel and McBride have been ballyhooing the past few months. With capital spending still down and jobs eliminated through speed-up, substantial sections of the basic steel workforce remain on layoff. Unemployment is clearly a key issue. But Abel's "solution" to the lack of jobs was to extend the duration of SUB pay from one year to two years... for those workers with at least 20 years seniority! Only a minority of steel workers have this much seniority, and these are the last to be laid off, anyway. Furthermore, these higher seniority workers will not receive a second year of SUB benefits if they turn down other job assignments at their plant or at other locations of the company. Abel's "lifetime job security" is as phony as UAW president Woodcock's "voluntary overtime"... after 54 hours.

Attempting to cover his flank on the jobs issue, Abel reportedly launched into a harangue before the assembled union officials in which he denounced Carter and Congress for their failure to enact sufficiently stiff protectionist

legislation against foreign imports. Ironically, when the ENA was first introduced, Abel claimed that the elimination of strikes would discourage stockpiling of foreign-made steel and therefore preserve jobs for American steel workers.

In fact, however, the ENA has little to do with increased foreign steel imports, which basically stem from the relatively declining efficiency of the American steel industry and the reintensification of capitalist competition on a worldwide scale. This year steelmakers are projecting an increase of steel imports to 17.5 million tons, near the record high of 1971.

Both the chauvinist USWA bureaucracy and the steel magnates are strongly protectionist. For the steelmakers this makes sense: increased quotas against imports would enable them to maintain artificially high prices and reap monopoly profits. However, for steel workers, this is a deadend. While raising prices, this program of economic nationalism would not eliminate unemployment, whose roots lie in the archaic and unplanned system of production under capitalism. It would only tie the working masses more firmly to their respective ruling classes, in the latter's drive to achieve imperialist domination at the expense of their rivals.

The real thrust of Abel's program for jobs is shown by an orientation program newly instituted under the 1977 contract:

"The parties will establish a USWA/Steel Industry Employees Orientation Program to acquaint new employees with their roles in the USWA and the steel industry and their larger roles in the world economy. The union will contribute \$500,000 annually and the companies will match this annual contribution. New employees will be instructed in the development and growth of the union, the industries, the history of collective bargaining between the parties, the adverse impact of foreign steel imports and the role of productivity in advancing the best



U.S. Steel Fairless works.

interests of the parties and the employees."

—leaflet distributed by USWA Local 1014 (Gary)

This section lays bare the class collaborationism which is the essence of Abel's strategy: make the American steel industry more competitive by keeping out foreign imports and increasing productivity (i.e., accepting speed-up!). Abel and U.S. Steel hold hands in asserting that what's profitable for the steel companies is good for the steel worker.

A real program for jobs would focus on the demand for a sliding scale of hours, in which the existing work would be divided up among the workforce, with no cut in pay. The demand for a 32-hour workweek was, in fact, included

among those adopted by the union's Wage Policy Committee and the Basic Steel Industry Conference; it was included in the campaign propaganda of McBride as well as Sadlowski.

However, a real struggle around this demand would pose the need to expropriate the steel trusts and replace the capitalist system with a planned economy run by a workers government. The pro-capitalist USWA bureaucrats have no heart for such a battle. Hence, it is not surprising that the paper demands of the bargaining conference are nowhere to be found in the settlement. Gone too are other paper demands for stronger guarantees on health and safety, elimination of racially and sexually discriminatory practices, substantial improvement in cost-of-living, pension and insurance benefits, etc.

The strong opposition among even the top local bureaucrats indicates that the contract would be flatly rejected if submitted to the rank and file for a vote. The bureaucratically run USWA has never permitted membership ratification of contracts. Militants must demand that Abel/McBride's sellout deal be put to a vote!

Reportedly claiming credit for organizing opposition to the contract among local presidents is Ed Sadlowski. Sadlowski supporters were gloating that the initial vote to reject was a "symbolic victory" for the rank and file. Needless to say, however, this "symbolic victory" will do nothing for steel workers ground down by speed-up, inflation, unemployment and lung disease. Sadlowski's

continued on page 11



AFL-CIO News

From left, Lloyd McBride, U.S. Steel vice president J. Bruce Johnson and I.W. Abel at recent contract negotiations.