

"Human Rights" Crusade Fuels U.S. War Machine

In the three months since he took office, Jimmy Carter has pursued an "activist" foreign policy on an unambiguously anti-Soviet axis. Aging cold-war liberal Hubert Humphrey called for the U.S. bourgeoisie to "take the ideological offensive," but the born-again Baptist president needed no urging to launch his crusade for "a moral climate."

No sooner had the Carter clan moved into the White House than the new commander-in-chief of U.S. imperialism went on the "human rights" war-path, whipping up an anti-Communist outcry over victimization of dissidents in the USSR and Czechoslovakia. Blustering State Department warnings were followed by a well publicized "private" Carter letter to dissident physicist Andrei Sakharov and a cordial White House reception for exiled former political prisoner Vladimir Bukovsky.

In mid-March the U.S. president brought his "human rights" crusade to the United Nations. Trying out his back-slapping "ethnic politics" on the international scale by claiming to empathize with delegates from the "developing nations" ("I come from a part of the United States that is largely agrarian"), his speech centered on a call for the UN to "strengthen" its "human rights machinery." Yet only a couple of weeks earlier, Carter had summarily yanked an American representative to the UN Human Rights Commission who had apologized for the U.S. role in Chile.

The conspiracy of silence necessary to present the imperialist butchers of Indochina as crusaders for "morality among men" is truly breathtaking. After official admissions that the CIA repeatedly attempted to assassinate governmental leaders who ran afoul of U.S. interests (Castro, Lumumba, etc.) and that FBI informers triggered the murder of Black Panther Party leaders, for an American president to fulminate about violations of civil liberties in the Soviet Union requires that the "free but responsible" bourgeois press outdo itself in rigid self-censorship. Not since U.S. military "advisors" burned down Vietnamese villages "in order to save them" has there been such a wave of imperialist scorched earth hypocrisy.

But Carter's "human rights" campaign is more than just hypocrisy. It is two-faced moralism in the service of militarism. At the time of the Angolan war last year Ford was unable to whip up public support or even Congressional backing for large-scale aid to anti-Communist forces there, much less for direct U.S. intervention. This is what the Carter administration is out to change. Today the attempt to refurbish the moral authority of Yankee imperialism means a bigger war budget and "hanging tough" in arms control negotiations. Ultimately, however, as in the case of Woodrow Wilson and FDR, this



Imperialist chief Carter



U.S. imperialist bomber over Vietnam.

Felix Greene

"ideological offensive" presages imperialist war.

People in Glass Houses

Carter got himself elected by constantly talking out of both sides of his mouth, making vague "promises" to every constituency and leaving both allies and enemies in the dark as to what his policies would be. Nevertheless, we warned that, "Despite ritual obeisance to détente, Carter's foreign policy promises to be more openly anti-Communist than that of his predecessor" ("Businessman's Democrat is Next Imperialist Chief," *WV* No. 133, 12 November 1976). He wasted no time in confirming our prediction.

Carter's UN speech supposedly sent "signals" to Moscow about ending the deadlock on arms control, but the Kremlin could not miss the fact that nowhere did the U.S. president use the word "détente." In fact, he went out of his way to emphasize that, "American-Soviet relations will continue to be highly competitive...." In contrast he noted "parallel strategic interests" with Peking in Asia, and called up the "spirit of the Shanghai communiqué"—a standby from the days of the Nixon-Mao courtship.

The self-appointed champion of "freedom" called for the UN's Human Rights Division to be moved back to New York, "where its activities will be in

the forefront of our attention, and where the attention of the press corps can stimulate us to deal honestly with this sensitive issue" (*New York Times*, 18 March). This appeal captures the essence of Carter's foreign policy gambit. Behind the "moral" rhetoric was a naked attempt to reverse a General Assembly decision of a few years ago when the Soviet bloc and "non-aligned" majority managed to get this commission moved to Geneva where it was out from under the American thumb.

Carter haughtily asserted a U.S. "birthright" to act as supreme judge on "human rights," while "humbly" announcing the removal of "all restrictions to American travel abroad" and stating his intention to "liberalize completely travel opportunities" to the U.S. However, only three weeks later Russian trade unionists were barred from entering the country. And although Americans can now travel to Cuba, the trade embargo remains in effect.

Moreover, the press almost completely buried the fact that the U.S. has refused to ratify 15 of the 19 UN covenants on human rights, having endorsed only the most innocuous ones. This is no oversight, as there is powerful resistance in the Senate to affirming the right to a fair wage, to opposition to racial discrimination (because there is a review committee) or to acceptance of

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PDC TELEGRAM

Cyrus Vance,
Secretary of State
Department of State

The utter hypocrisy of your cold war "human rights" crusade was laid bare this week in two vicious acts of anti-communism: Three officials of the Soviet trade unions who were invited by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union to attend their convention, and most recently Tariq Ali, prominent spokesman for the International Marxist Group of Britain, were excluded from entry into the U.S.

The witchhunting McCarran-Walter Act, which denies entry to Communists and controversial leftists, is a frontal attack on the democratic rights of working people everywhere! We protest against these McCarthyite exclusions. Down with the reactionary McCarran-Walter Act! Soviet trade-union officials and Tariq Ali must immediately be granted permission to enter the U.S.

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

Cowardly Legalism Disarms J.P. Stevens Workers

On March 1 nearly 1,500 demonstrators supporting the unionization of J.P. Stevens marched outside the company's annual stockholders' meeting in New York City. The demonstration was the kick-off for a national campaign calling on consumers to boycott goods of this notorious union-busting textile manufacturer.

Among the many signs protesting firings, "brown lung" disease (byssinosis) and low pay at J.P. Stevens, was a Spartacist League (SL) banner declaring: "Consumer Boycott Not Enough, Organize the South! For Militant Labor Action, Don't Handle J.P. Stevens Goods!" This militant slogan stood out prominently from those carried by the labor bureaucrats, church groups and reformists and was picked up by the bourgeois press. The *New York Post* carried a picture of the SL banner and a television documentary of unionization efforts at J.P. Stevens shown on the CBS program "60 Minutes" also showed it prominently.

A few weeks later the Spartacist League received a letter (printed elsewhere on this page) from the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) bureaucracy. This letter combined cringing legalism ("We are not in the habit of encouraging anyone to break the law") with specious paternalism ("protecting the workers for whom the boycott was established"). Such "protection" from militant labor action, J.P. Stevens workers can do without—they already get plenty from the company.

Whose Laws?

Inside the NYC stockholders' meeting assembled protestors, including ACTWU bigwigs and liberals like Coretta King heeded J.P. Stevens "to be fair" and "to obey the law," finally threatening company officials with the consumers' wrath. Needless to say, this attempt to embarrass the giant textile firm into reforming its vicious anti-labor practices came to naught.

J.P. Stevens is far too practised at bashing unions to be moved by such puny moralistic protests. Since 1963 it has successfully fended off repeated unionizing efforts, arrogantly defying bourgeois law along the way. The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) has found the company guilty in 15 cases of illegally discharging or intimidating workers or refusing to negotiate in good faith.

It has paid \$1.3 million in back wages to these workers, and was forced to make a \$50,000 out-of-court settlement over the bugging of a union organizer's room. The company was also ordered by a federal judge to end racial discrimination in its hiring policies. But this is a small price to pay for J.P. Stevens, the second largest textile company in the world, with annual sales exceeding \$1.4 billion and assets of \$750 million.

In those rare instances where the union has actually managed to win bargaining rights by pursuing procedures mandated by the delay-riddled and pro-company federal labor laws, it has yet to negotiate a contract. In 1968 the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA) lost a representation election at the Statesboro, Georgia plant of J.P.

Stevens. The National Labor Relations Board found such extensive unfair labor practices that it ordered the company to bargain with the TWUA anyway. But the company would not bargain.

Three years later the union got the federal court of appeals to issue a decree ordering J.P. Stevens to bargain. Two years after this, in 1973, the NLRB asked the court for a contempt citation. The court ordered an investigation. In 1975 the court's investigator discovered... that J.P. Stevens was bargaining in bad faith. But meanwhile the company had shut down the Statesboro plant and shifted its production elsewhere! The TWUA also won a collective bargaining election at the company's Roanoke Rapids plant in 1974, but J.P. Stevens has refused to negotiate a contract.

Meanwhile workers at J.P. Stevens continue to receive hourly wages averaging \$3.20, compared to \$4.62 for factory workers throughout the U.S. Their pensions are worth less than \$4 a month for each year of service. And subjected to abysmal working conditions, they suffer from noxious diseases like "brown lung" which have wracked textile workers for decades.

Impotent Moralism and Bureaucratic Bluster

By its own admission, the TWUA's organizing drive had reached a dead end when it merged with the much larger Amalgamated Clothing Workers last June in an effort to acquire greater resources. The merger, however, involved no change in the bureaucrats' reformist strategy—only a change in tactics. As the ACTWU letter to the SL makes clear, any suggestions of militant tactics like hot-carguing are decidedly unwelcome. Now, instead of relying on favorable decisions from the NLRB, the bureaucrats are rounding up a host of liberals, church leaders and do-gooders to sponsor a consumer boycott of J.P. Stevens.

Such a consumer boycott, which is

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING AND TEXTILE WORKERS UNION

ACTWU

AFL-CIO, CLC

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March 30, 1977

Spartacists League
c/o The Spartacist
260 West Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Gentlemen:

We wish to inform you that the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union has never advocated "hot cargo" strategies, nor will it at any future date.

We are not in the habit of encouraging anyone to break the law as such an action is not only counter productive but cruelly unfair to the workers whose cause we espouse.

As a measure of protecting the workers for whom the boycott was established, we do now and will continue to repudiate such tactics as writing letters, carrying signs or speaking for "hot cargo."

We hope you will consider the moral implications of employing tactics that are destructive to the boycott and the Stevens workers. This is not a friendly act.

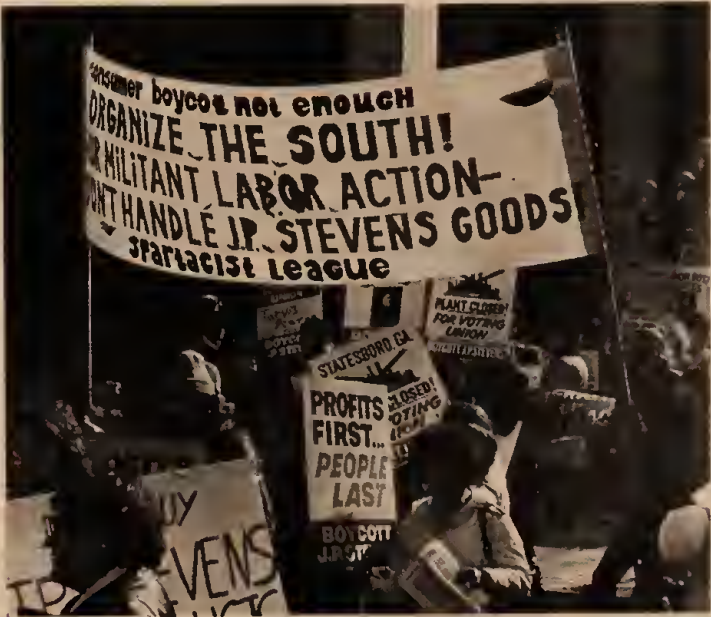
Sincerely,
Pam Wood
Pam Wood
Assistant Director
Union Label Department

PH:pc

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not even to be accompanied by strike action in the mills, is hardly likely to be effective. Only one third of Stevens' products (home furnishings) are retailed under the company's own labels. The overwhelming bulk of the rest are industrial textiles as well as unfinished fabrics destined to be worked up by the apparel industry. The diversity of the company's products, the low percentage of retail goods and the large size of the company all militate against the success of the boycott. Under far more favorable circumstances similar boycotts, such as the ones launched by the United Farm Workers, dragged on for years and years.

For the union bureaucrats the consumer boycott has the virtue of involving no serious struggle that might alienate them from their liberal allies,



March 1 J.P. Stevens protest in NYC.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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

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eager to reap cheap publicity by supporting a safe cause. At a March 28 meeting in New York held in support of the ACTWU boycott, the invocation was delivered by none other than Atlanta's mayor Maynard Jackson. Naturally, Jackson "solidarized" piously with the denunciations of J.P. Stevens' anti-unionism. Then the good mayor returned home and promptly fired 1,000 striking Atlanta sanitation workers!

AFL-CIO labor fakers, who have failed miserably in their own efforts to organize the South, are also in on the operation. At the June 1976 convention that created ACTWU, George Meany promised the full support of the federation to the organizing effort. Meany blustered that, "J.P. Stevens didn't just take on its employees or the textile workers or the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers...J.P. Stevens took on the entire labor movement" (*New York Times*, 4 June).

But aside from kicking in some funds to the boycott campaign, the AFL-CIO is doing little. Its real concern is a massive lobbying effort to do some



J.P. Stevens plant in Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina.

cosmetic surgery on the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA), supposedly to make it easier to win bargaining elections. As a matter of fact, the AFL-CIO has been engaged in futile efforts to persuade the capitalist parties to reform the labor laws ever since Taft-Hartley was passed in 1949. The present reform effort falls far short of the federation's stated goal of repealing the right-to-work statutes.

However, the AFL-CIO has already been twice rebuffed by Carter in attempts to get the federal minimum wage raised to a measly \$3.00 per hour and to legalize so-called "common situs" picketing on construction sites. Even the minor reforms of the NLRA it advocates are likely to run into stiff opposition from the millionaire open-shop peanut mogul Carter and a coalition of Dixiecrats and conservative Republicans in Congress.

Militant Labor Action Built the Unions

The unionization of the South will be achieved neither by an impotent consumer boycott nor by lobbying Congress. The way forward lies in a mass mobilization of the labor movement. To be sure, organizing the textile mills (which employ 20 percent of all industrial workers in the South) is no easy task. There is still a considerable reservoir of anti-union sentiment in the South, as demonstrated by the resounding defeats which every attempt to repeal "right-to-work" laws in southern states has suffered.

Behind the companies stand a reserve army of brutal cops and organized fascistic mobs like the Ku Klux Klan. But this only underscores the need to

utilize the might of the already unionized sectors of the American proletariat. If, in conjunction with a massive organizing drive and strikes in the mills, Teamsters and railroad workers were to refuse to transport scab goods and northern industrial workers refused to process non-union textiles, J.P. Stevens would be brought to its knees.

The ACTWU's opposition to hot-cargoing only reveals its own hypocrisy. Some 48 percent of Stevens' products are unfinished goods sold essentially to the apparel industry. The garment industry is the single greatest user of textile goods, the overwhelming bulk of which is non-union-made. Yet ACTWU is in its majority a union of garment workers. The ACTWU bureaucrats self-righteously call for consumers to boycott J.P. Stevens' products, while it cynically pledges that its own membership will continue to handle tons of non-union textiles every day!

The ACTWU letter is deliberately silent about the history of hot-cargoing in organizing drives. Labor bigwigs have periodically blustered about ambitious campaigns to unionize the South, but they have fallen flat. Of all the efforts, the only qualitatively successful one that has occurred since World War II was undertaken by the Teamsters. And this was achieved by hot-cargoing. By refusing to deliver freight to non-union southern carriers, unionized truck drivers forced the signing of union contracts in that anti-labor bastion.

Moreover, the refusal of the ACTWU bureaucrats to use militant hot-cargoing tactics is made doubly ludicrous by the fact that the garment unions fought for—and won—a special clause in the National Labor Relations Act that exempts the garment industry from the legal ban on hot-cargoing!

The ACTWU letter's submission to capitalist "legality" is characteristic of labor bureaucrats. It would indeed be preferable if the interests of the working masses could be fulfilled without confronting the bourgeois state. However, it is precisely in order to shackle and repress the workers movement that the capitalist state is maintained. The history of the American labor movement graphically demonstrates that every major step forward, in particular the organization of industrial unions, has been challenged not only by the companies, but by the courts, cops, National Guard, etc. The sit-in at Flint that laid the basis for the UAW, the San Francisco and Minneapolis general strikes, were all "illegal."

Even the ossified bureaucrats from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers can corroborate this. One of the key strikes leading up to the founding of the Amalgamated was a general strike of New York garment workers in 1912. When the NY supreme court issued a restraining order against picketing, the workers responded with a march of 20,000 through the garment district. The national officers of the United Garment Workers (UGW), to which the strikers belonged, ordered the ranks back to work and when this didn't work, Mayor Gaynor ordered the suppression of all picketing. The strike lasted for several more weeks. Disgust at the strikebreaking and cretinist legalism of the UGW bureaucracy in New York and in similar strikes in Chicago led directly to a breakaway from the UGW and the founding of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers under its new president, Sidney Hillman.

The letter's charge that those who raise the need for hot-cargoing J.P. Stevens textiles are "cruelly unfair" to southern workers is the sheerest of hypocrisy. It is not those who point out what is necessary to win who betray southern textile workers. The traitors are instead those who, like ACTWU's William DuChesi, flippantly assert that the union is prepared to boycott for "20 years, if necessary." These are cheap words from well-heeled bureaucrats, but the underpaid southern workers cannot afford to wait. ■



Garment workers demonstrating in New York last week.

Textile/Garment Unions Demonstrate for Chauvinist Import Curbs

The hidebound American labor bureaucracy, garment/textile bosses and capitalist politicians found a basis for unity April 13 when they joined together in an orgy of social patriotism to demand that President Carter lower quotas on apparel imports into the U.S. In a one-day nationwide work-stoppage called by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), over 500,000 workers demonstrated in more than 40 cities. A labor delegation, headed by George Meany, simultaneously met with Carter in the White House to press this chauvinist demand.

The present international agreement on textile and apparel imports, which allows foreign imports to the U.S. to increase by 6 percent annually, expires this year. Meany is urging Carter to take a hard line in current textile trade negotiations which began Monday in Geneva. Robert Strauss, Carter's chief trade negotiator, said the president was not going to be stampeded into any quick decisions. Carter had previously refused the AFL-CIO's request for quotas on shoes and televisions.

The labor bureaucracy has now launched a frantic protectionist campaign, saying that without strict limitations, imports will climb to 50 or 60 percent of the domestic apparel/textile market within the next decades. The "Committee to Preserve American Color Television," a coalition of five companies and twelve unions, has given up on "voluntary quotas" and petitioned the U.S. International Trade

Commission to impose higher excise taxes on Japanese-made televisions. The Commission recommended to Carter a raise from 5 to 25 percent.

The ILGWU/ACTWU walkout varied from several hours in some cities to a full day in others. Although thousands of garment and textile factories were idled by the strike, for once the employers were delighted with the action. Burlington Industries, a non-union textile empire, for example, bought newspaper ads earlier in the week captioned "Jobs in Textiles, Another Endangered Species."

Nowhere were the suicidal implications for the working class of such protectionist policies more apparent than in New York. Here, thousands of the city's garment workers, many of them Latin American or Chinese, jammed midtown Herald Square to cheer on the jingoism of featured speaker, Democratic senator Patrick Moynihan. Moynihan was the author of the policy of "benign neglect" for the U.S. minority populations under Nixon.

Union leaflets distributed at the rally explained that the average wages of clothing and textile workers are 32 cents an hour in Korea, 21 cents in India and 18 cents in Haiti. But instead of calling for international organizing and solidarity, union placards in Chinese and Spanish grotesquely demanded a trade policy which will mean the further impoverishment of the workers in those countries—especially Chinese workers in Taiwan and Hong Kong!

American workers will not gain by promoting increased unemployment abroad and further limiting the capacity of the international working class to struggle against U.S. imperialism. The road forward for the garment and textile workers lies in the fight to unionize the vast numbers of unorganized workers in the industry, particularly in the numerous "runaway shops" which have migrated south from New England and New York. In the South, also, a sizable capital-intensive textile industry, much of it based on synthetics, remains mostly unorganized.

The half-hearted AFL-CIO consumer boycott of J.P. Stevens must be turned into a powerful campaign to organize the South through militant labor action! Don't handle J.P. Stevens goods! ■

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British SWP, IMG Embrace Police as "Workers"

LONDON—The 110,000-member Police Federation in Britain announced in March that it wanted "more of the privileges of a trade union." Claiming they had been jobbed out of a £6-a-week pay increase given to public employees, the Federation began a boycott of new procedures set up to investigate complaints against the police. The Labour government's home secretary, Merlyn Rees, promptly invited them to join the TUC (Trades Union Congress) in a television interview.

The Communist Party of Great Britain rushed to give the cops "whole-hearted support," claiming the question was of "crucial importance" (*Morning Star*, 5 March). Following hard on their heels in saluting the latest "recruits to the struggle" were the reformist-syndicalists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP—formerly International Socialists). Beginning with the issue of 12 March, a number of articles in the *Socialist Worker* have excitedly speculated on the revolutionary potential of the hired thugs of the capitalist class.

The simple-minded economism and idiotic workerism of the British SWP led it to print in all seriousness the photographs and captions we reproduce here, along with assurances that the cops are simply "working class lads" who must see "as a result of their own struggles" that the police are used "in the main [!] to protect those with property." *Socialist Worker* argues that through joining the TUC and fighting for the right to strike police would have their "eyes opened." And if they could fight for higher wages they wouldn't need "the frustration to be released in other ways" (presumably meaning if they got more money they wouldn't go on bashing in heads and committing racist atrocities such as the police rampage in Notting Hill last August).

One wonders what the readership of *Socialist Worker* makes of this "turn" after reading issue after issue where police atrocities are stressed by the SWP in order to build up a flashy "anti-racist" image. Better working conditions and more wages for the police mean only that they will be more effective in carrying out their suppression of resistance to capitalism. Despite the image of the friendly London "bobby" touted by the tourist industry, British police are no different from their counterparts throughout the capitalist world.

The bourgeois *Economist* is rather more perceptive, noting that the police grievances go far beyond the wage claims the SWP has played up. The cops want "protection from wrongful dismissal" and more "independence" for Federation activities—a bonapartist demand for independence from outside control. And it is certainly not a coincidence that the chosen method of

battle is, as the *Economist* (12 March) puts it in an article entitled "Police—Not Just Money": "Showing a bit of muscle by refusing to co-operate in working the new complaints system that includes an independent review by non-police."

The pseudo-Trotskyists of the International Marxist Group (IMG), British section of the United Secretariat, certainly don't want to be kept out of this new arena of "class struggle." In a remarkable display of mental agility, they discovered an angle which amounts to putting out a welcome mat for the cops. It is, you see, a question of *tactics* (for the IMG there are almost never any principles). Recruiting cops into the existing unions is a tactic which will help attack not the unions, but the police, says *Red Weekly* (10 March)!

While not quite up to advocating that the Police Federation join the TUC *en bloc*, the IMG is pleased to have discovered the tactic of having individual cops join! Meanwhile they haven't murmured a word of criticism of the shameless enthusiasm for the police found in the pages of *Socialist Worker*. But of course the IMG currently claims that the SWP is a revolutionary organization and in no way an obstacle to the British revolution.

The IMG has so far refused to publicly justify its position in favour of recruitment of the racist capitalist thugs into workers organisations, despite challenges to do so during its reformist campaigns for the Greater London Council. However, IMG demagogue Tariq Ali assured London Spartacist Group members that the IMG did indeed want the cops in the unions. While exiting from a meeting in the heavily Asian Southall district of London on 14 April, Ali loftily announced, "The Spartacists and the bourgeoisie want to keep the police out of the unions." Indeed we do.

We expect that Tariq Ali will try to duck this issue during his upcoming tour in the United States, since the reformist American Socialist Workers Party ("fraternal supporter" of the unprincipled bloc making up the "United Secretariat") not so long ago attacked the Healyites on precisely this issue. When New York City cops went on strike in 1971, the Workers League insisted that cops were part of a general upsurge of all city labour, printing photos of "militant policemen" under the headline "New York Labor Begins Showdown." The American SWP, dusting off its Marxist books, discovered that those championing the cops were in fact "ending up on the same side of the fence as the most reactionary defenders of the status quo" and correctly pointed out that the cops "can be counted on to act as the most inveterate and ruthless opponents of any militant mass struggle" (*Intercontinental Press*, 8 February 1971). We shall see what they say about Tariq Ali!

Actually, the American SWP's real position on the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state has been to call upon these "ruthless opponents" to intervene to "protect" militant struggles, calling on federal troops to defend busing in Boston. The Spartacist League (SL/U.S.), in contrast, has maintained a consistent Marxist line. It pointed out in 1971, "In no sense are these bodies of armed men 'neutral' in the class struggle." And three years later the SL/U.S. demanded, "not the bosses' army, but



The British Socialist Worker (26 March) commented on above photo, "Call it incitement to disaffection if you like. But we want these people on our side."



labor/black defense" as the way to enforce school integration and protect black people from the racist mobilization in Boston.

Of course, many workers mistakenly believe that the bourgeoisie's professional thugs and blacklegs [scabs] are on their side, or at least neutral. To the British SWP, notorious for tailing after backward consciousness among the workers, this is sufficient. The American SWP caters to liberal illusions widespread in the black community that Federal (as opposed to state or local) government officials are their allies; and the IMG is such a political hodgepodge that it will capitulate to just about anything.

Neither the American and British SWPs nor the IMG, whose politics are determined by opportunist appetites, rather than Marxism, are able to distinguish the fundamental class line separating the police from the working class. We stand with Trotsky, who exposed the illusions of German Social Democrats that the Prussian police, originally recruited from among social-democratic workers, would stop Hitler: "The worker who becomes a policeman in the service of the capitalist state is a bourgeois cop, not a worker" ("What Next?" January 1932).

As the IMG tails the British SWP which tails the "lads in blue," we are proud to uphold the long working-class tradition of total opposition to police in the workers movement. ■

Chicago Red Squad: Fingermen for Iranian SAVAK

CHICAGO—The notorious Chicago "Red Squad" and the Iranian SAVAK, the Shah's deadly secret police, have linked bloody hands to spy on, harass and infiltrate the Iranian Student Association (ISA) for the past seven years, the *Chicago Sun-Times* recently revealed. This ominous police link-up directly endangers the lives of Iranian students protesting against the butcher Shah, who right now holds over 40,000 left-wing militants in prison, subjected to the most hideous tortures at the hands of his private gestapo.

Immediately threatened are four Iranian students, arrested here last November, who face deportation by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service—a move which could mean their joining other critics languishing in Iranian jails.

Last month the CBS television program "60 Minutes" documented that the SAVAK has dispatched assassination squads to the United States and Europe to liquidate certain opponents of the Shah's terror. The program interviewed Jules Khan Pira, a self-proclaimed "soldier of fortune," who said that the SAVAK hired and armed him to murder two people: an Iranian opposition leader in France and the publisher of the *Iranian Free Press* in Alexandria, Virginia.

The Iranian ambassador to the U.S. reportedly didn't deny the charges but cynically requested the program producer to recheck Pira's story to make sure it wasn't "another of those jokes" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 7 March). The producers did check—it was no joke. Recently, a leading foreign correspondent for the Paris daily *Le Monde* vouched for Pira's credibility. And the Shah himself has boasted that SAVAK operates freely in the U.S., "Checking up on anyone who becomes affiliated with circles, organizations hostile to my country..." (*New York Times*, 22 October 1976).

Defend the Threatened Iranian Students!

Last November police wantonly and brutally attacked a peaceful ISA demonstration at the French Consulate here protesting the frame-up of two ISA members in Paris charged with shooting a notorious SAVAK agent. The cops beat and arrested eight students on charges of criminal trespass. A woman who protested the arrests was kicked and clubbed and then charged with assault and battery. The trial of the nine is due to begin April 20.

Taken first to city jails, the victims were immediately set upon by the rapacious Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) who dragged them off in handcuffs to federal prison where they were questioned extensively and photographed as a group. While the interrogations were going on, INS officials broke into the students' apart-

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ments without warrants and ransacked them.

Deportation hearings were set for five of the nine, with the first hearings in front of the Immigration judge taking place March 9. They have no legal rights, are denied a public trial and cannot bring witnesses to testify in their behalf. Proceedings against one of the five have been dropped. However, cases against the others are still under way and one of the students is in imminent danger of deportation. The left and the labor movement must immediately rally to the defense of these victimized foreign students, demanding that all charges against the nine be dropped and that the deportation hearings be called off!

The lives of foreign students and workers are still in danger as long as Immigration agents can terrorize at will, breaking into homes and rounding up "undocumented" workers in sweatshops and factories where they labor for less than subsistence wages, afraid to protest their exploitation for fear of deportation. The fate of these students and workers must not rest in the hands of the bourgeois state which plots with SAVAK agents in secret. The Spartacist League demands full citizenship rights for all foreign workers and students! No deportations!

Down with the Red Squad/FBI/SAVAK!

Piles of official documents revealing the Red Squad's massive surveillance, including detailed reports on political discussions held by the ISA "in the Persian language" have been produced. Yet the police deny that the group was spied on. This outrageous assertion prompted U.S. district court judge Alfred Kirkland to lift a court-imposed secrecy order on information obtained from the files of the Chicago police spy unit (brought by the local Alliance to End Repression three years ago) to allow the ISA to present evidence refuting the cop denial. Of course, at the same time, Kirkland said he found "no malevolent intent or willful contempt" on the part of the first deputy police superintendent when he denied the ISA charges.

Over the last several months the Chicago papers have been full of liberal muckraking against "excesses" of cop-

continued on page 11

Chicago Judge Dismisses Charges Against Hanrahan

Conspirators Behind Murder of Hampton and Clark Let Off

CHICAGO, April 16—Former Illinois state's attorney and current Chicago mayoral candidate Edward Hanrahan was dismissed today from the \$47.7 million December 4th Committee/Black Panther Party civil rights damage suit. The suit grew out of the 4 December 1969 Chicago police raid on a Panther apartment that resulted in the murder of Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

Along with Hanrahan, 21 other defendants in the suit were also dis-



Wide World

Edward Hanrahan

missed. These included three of Hanrahan's assistants at the time of the raid and three key FBI agents involved in the planning of the raid. As the judge peremptorily threw out all conspiracy charges, only seven police officers who allegedly fired their weapons in the course of the raid were left to carry the brunt of the suit.

This ruling of U.S. district court judge Joseph Sam Perry is a slap in the face to all black people. Perry, in addition to ignoring mountains of evidence indicating a conspiracy to destroy the Panther Party involving the FBI and the Chicago police, made an unusual move in the middle of the trial to strap the plaintiffs in the suit with court costs up to this point. This could amount to \$300,000 to \$500,000.

Such a move should not be unexpected from the likes of Perry, who continuously throughout the trial referred to the plaintiffs—the Hampton/Clark families and the seven survivors of the raid—as the "defendants." He conducted the trial with blatant contempt for the plaintiffs and their lawyers, which included citing and jailing one of the lawyers, Jeffrey Haas, for accidentally knocking over a water pitcher in the courtroom.

Judge Perry delivered his verdict in a clearly vindictive spirit stating that, "The Court concludes as a matter of law that no case of a conspiracy or joint venture has been established as alleged in the amended complaint" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 16 April 1977). This runs counter to the well-publicized statements of Roy Mitchell, FBI/COINTELPRO agent and mastermind of the raid, as well as Hanrahan himself.

The pre-dawn raid was staged on the pretext of searching for "illegal arms"

contained within a Panther apartment. Mitchell in his report to his superiors dated 21 November 1969 (two weeks before the raid), listed 24 guns plus ammunition, gas masks and smoke bombs in the apartment but noted, "all these weapons were allegedly purchased on legal Illinois state gun registration cards" (*Chicago Defender*, 2 March 1976).

Mitchell then proceeded to urge local police to take action on the basis of "illegal guns" and personally supplied them with a floor plan of the apartment indicating the precise location of Hampton's bed. The day before the raid the Chicago FBI office sent a report to their Washington superiors lamenting that "no tangible results" had been obtained from their COINTELPRO surveillance activities. The report went on to say that information about illegal weapons had been forwarded to the local police and notes that the local police are "planning a positive course of action relative to this information."

Testimony from William O'Neil, an FBI agent-provocateur within the Black Panther Party at the time of the raid, further indicated that Chicago police connected with Hanrahan's office consciously rejected staging the raid the night before when the Panther occupants of the apartment would have been absent. They preferred the pre-dawn of December 4 to carry out the raid, not for the purpose of taking "illegal guns" but to assassinate Panther leader Fred Hampton.

Based on the floor plan provided them by the FBI the killer cops poured over 90 rounds of ammunition in the direction of Hampton's bedroom. The Panthers returned one shot while



Keep Strong

Fred Hampton

Hampton was hit and killed in his sleep. Hanrahan himself after repeated denials was forced to admit on the witness stand that his office had received information from the FBI that led to the raid. Squirming under the heat of exposure, Hanrahan at one point asserted that the initial police cover-up was "designed to inform the public and try to prevent what I thought might become a riot and to get the public to

believe the police, as I did, and do" (*Chicago Tribune*, 18 February 1977)!

But in the same breath he could not substantiate one iota of the police story. When questioned about his press conference statements following the raid that Hampton had fired a .45 at police officers, Hanrahan pleaded loss of memory as to who had informed him of this. But the racist Hanrahan, who was recently run off the Malcolm X College campus by angry black students chanting "Kill Hanrahan," was well protected in Judge Perry's courtroom. At one point Perry barred anti-Hanrahan demonstrators not only from the courtroom but also from the sidewalk in front of the Federal Court Building.

One of the highlights of the trial was the appearance of Elaine Brown, chairman of the Black Panther Party. In tune with the legalistic approach of the December 4th Committee she exclaimed, "The slogan of 'all power to the people' really represents the cornerstone of America. Following the tradition of America from Patrick Henry to Abraham Lincoln to Dr. Martin Luther King to Malcolm X, it represents what was written in the Declaration of Independence" (*Black Panther*, 12 March 1977). But despite this groveling before the bourgeois courts—which included at one point the sickening spectacle of the plaintiffs' attorneys standing to sing "Happy Birthday" to Judge Perry—the bourgeois legal system has once again reinforced the racist status quo.

The death of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark will not be avenged by the "Amerikkkanization" of "power to the people," but by victorious workers revolution that will smash the murderous police apparatus, doing away with the racist cops and courts of the bourgeoisie.

Jail the Killer Cops! Down with the FBI's Murder Inc.! ■

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PDC Poses Class-Struggle Anti-Sectarian Defense!

What's Wrong with the National Lawyers

BOSTON, April 18—The Northeastern regional conference of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) here last weekend, attended by about 200 lawyers, law students and "legal workers," reconfirmed this petty-bourgeois radical milieu's hostility to class-struggle politics.

The conference was pervaded by factional infighting between the NLG's two "superpowers"—the heterogeneous "independents" who follow the lead of the pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP) and the pro-Peking October League's (OL) "Anti-Imperialist Caucus." Their listless sparring did not prevent the competing Stalinists from cooperating to bureaucratically throttle the class-struggle defense policies represented by the Spartacist League (SL) and Partisan Defense Committee (PDC).

From the fulsome speeches hailing the reformist African National Congress (ANC) to the ritual "criticism/self-criticism" sermonette, the conference was an exercise in class-collaborationism and sectarianism. Despite the generally apolitical, lawyerly decorum, harassment and suppression were the order of the day for SL and PDC spokesmen, who were repeatedly not recognized or were subjected to discriminatory time limits and abusive interruptions during their floor interventions.

In three well-attended labor workshops, panelists related their experiences in suing the unions. Some of these "people's lawyers" expressed discomfort with the activities of their out-bureaucrat clients (such as the strike-breaking policies of the Mine Workers'

Arnold Miller), but maintained the "tactical" need to continue legal attacks against the unions in the name of democracy and oppressed minorities.

The labor workshops were politically confronted and polarized around the SL's and PDC's principled position against government interference in the unions. At the "Insurgent Labor Groups" workshop, the PDC presented its motion opposing the NLG's "tactical" stampede across the class line (see box), which will be taken to the Seattle convention this summer.

In the same workshop, a panelist who presented the case of National Maritime Union (NMU) out-bureaucratic oppositionist James Morrissey was stopped cold by the intervention of a supporter of a class-struggle opposition group in the union, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC). The NMUer explained how—despite the legal maneuvers of Morrissey and his "people's lawyers" to sue union bureaucrats directly so as to avoid naming the union—the suit had threatened his union's independence from the capitalist state. This nearly resulted moreover, in a third of the damages being paid right out of the union treasury (that is, out of the members' pockets). The M-SC supporter exposed the Stalinists' sleight of hand in writing the bureaucrats out of the workers' movement so as to pose as protectors of the unions' independence while actively pushing court suits against them.

The "Anti-Imperialist Caucus" meeting was a total debacle for the Maoists. Unable to answer the SL's Trotskyist attack on Maoist flip-flops from the "Gang of Four" to Teng Hsiao-ping, or

the PDC's exposure of their sectarian defense policies, OL speakers were reduced to rambling incoherence. An inquiry from an "independent" about why the "anti-imperialists" were supporting the anti-Soviet Pan African Congress rather than the competing African National Congress induced first an embarrassed silence, then a desperate unanswered plea for help from the audience, and finally an extended anecdote about kids spitting on an old Chinese man. "But what about the PAC?" demanded opponents in the audience. Finally a walkout was staged by about 30 "critical Maoists," including Jeff Segal of the *Guardian*.

But all the Stalinists and "independents" could agree to violate the norms of workers' democracy to suppress the views of the SL and PDC. When a PDC supporter protested a particularly egregious attempt to cut off an SL spokesman, NLG bigwig Craig Kaplan replied: "If you don't stop this I'm going to call off this meeting and blame it on the Spartacist League."

During the inevitable "self-criticism" talkathon Kaplan explicitly justified political suppression of "disrupters"—i.e. those whose politics differ from his. Voices of "moderation" were also heard, such as outgoing regional vice president Mardie Walker, who said the NLG was "overreacting to the sectarians" whom the leadership fears will "undermine the Guild." As the PDC's "Open Letter to the Membership of the Lawyers Guild" (reprinted below) makes clear, the NLG has much to fear: not "disruption" but the counterposition of the PDC's class-struggle anti-sectarian defense policy to the soft-core Stalinism of the NLG.

class-struggle defense, there is very little debate over principles in the Lawyers Guild.

Why the NLG Doesn't Draw the Class Line

Despite the heat of the current feuding in the National Lawyers Guild, there is fundamental agreement among the Stalinists and their "independent" cohorts on defense policy: they all preach class-collaboration and sectarianism. OL supporters tried to rope the NLG into supporting defense campaigns around its politics, while boycotting CP-led cases. The Communist Party does the same thing through the NAARPR, though with more finesse since it is in the driver's seat. As for the "independents," they are at best naive and politically unformed, but at this late date mainly burned out and gripped by anti-communist hostility to organization. The "independents" denounce the OL's sectarianism, but their self-proclaimed spokesmen, McGee and Bennis, have the same defense policy as the OL's Klonsky or the CP's Angela Davis: political support for the "particular aims and demands of the coalition."

While there are plenty of fireworks in the NLG on broader issues as well, such as when the OL supporters tried to slip through a veiled attack on Soviet aid to Angola at the Norman NEB meeting, at bottom each of the main currents tail after the class-collaborationist policies of one or another Stalinist bureaucracy. The CP pushes Brezhnev's project for détente with U.S. imperialism; the OL supports Hua's attempts to woo the Pentagon into a "united front against Soviet social imperialism"; and the "independents" love Cuba.

They all managed to unite on a resolution endorsing the present policies of the Vietnamese government. With the rivalry of the competing Moscow-Peking bureaucracies threatening the precarious "unity" of the NLG, all parties found a PDC motion, presented at the NEB in Norman, Oklahoma, denouncing Carter's anti-communist campaign for "human rights" too hot to handle. The PDC called on the Lawyers Guild to "not participate in or sponsor projects or activities for the defense of Soviet dissidents which are subordinated to a Cold War propaganda mobilization." The PDC has clear opposition to the anti-communism of the American bourgeoisie, but the NLG refused to take a position.

All of these Stalinist tendencies take defense work as a means to achieve a political bloc with the "progressive" bourgeoisie. That is precisely why they exclude freedom of criticism by communists and supporters of class-struggle defense. It is the Partisan Defense Committee that uniquely upholds the ILD's tradition of principled united-front actions, seeking the broadest possible defense of causes in the interests of the working class, calling for solidarity "regardless of conflicting views on other questions." The PDC and the Spartacist League have defended both Angela Davis of the CP and OL supporters arrested in Houston following fascist attack. But this anti-sectarian defense of victims of capitalist "justice," seeking to mobilize the power of the working class in defense of its own, is lost upon the Stalinists and New Leftists.

Courts Out of the Unions!

The NLG crosses the class line with a vengeance in the trade unions. In the mass organizations of the working class

An Open Letter to NLG Membership from the Partisan Defense Committee

Assata Shakur and Gary Tyler have been locked up for life. *Washington Post* pressmen, Carter and Artis, Wendy Yoshimura, UE militants Markley and Soares: all convicted in the frame-up courts of capitalist "justice." UAW member Bennie Lenard is beaten by Chicago-area cops, then faces charges of assault. Every time a prison door slams shut on a labor militant whose "crime" is his loyalty to his class, or on a black person subjected to a racist frame-up; wherever right-wing dictatorships unleash their torturers and hangmen, it is a blow against the entire working class.

But each time a victim of rightist repression is rescued from the class enemy, it increases the solidarity and combativity of working people around the world. From the earliest days of the Communist International, Marxists have insisted that there is only one way to defend the exploited and oppressed: through vigorous use of class-struggle methods. James P. Cannon, founder of the International Labor Defense (ILD) and later of the Trotskyist movement in the U.S., wrote of this policy:

"It puts the center of gravity in the protest movement of the workers of America and the world. It puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings, it calls for agitation, publicity, demonstrations—organized protest on a national and international scale. It calls for unity and solidarity of all workers on this burning issue, regardless of conflicting views on other questions."

—*Labor Defender*, January 1927

Although innumerable cases of capitalist "justice" cry out for such a class-

struggle defense, the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) is not about to provide it. Instead of defending the independence of the workers' movement, the NLG hauls the unions (the only mass defense organs of the working class in this country today) into the bosses' courts. Instead of treating an injury to one as an injury to all, various factions in the Lawyers Guild push cases on the basis of agreement with the politics of whichever defense committee or defendant suits their narrow organizational purposes. Instead of each group flying its own colors and uniting in common struggle for an anti-sectarian, working-class defense, the Stalinists and unaffiliated reformists hide behind lowest-common-denominator front groups and seek control of the NLF through backstabbing, anti-communist exclusions and unprincipled organizational maneuvering.

Examples: At the February 1976 NLG convention in Houston, supporters of the Peking-loyal October League (OL) and the pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP) were so entangled in their running dog fight that the defense workshop—which one would expect to be a key locus for deciding defense policy—was almost totally ignored. At the national executive board meeting in New Brunswick, New Jersey, last August, OL supporters opposed defense efforts for the Wilmington Ten and Charlotte Three because this demonstration was led by the CP-dominated National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR). At the last NEB in Norman, Oklahoma in February, it was the "independents," in

league with the CP supporters, who led the charge against the OL-supported motion regarding defense of Gary Tyler. And so it goes.

Battle lines are being drawn in the Lawyers Guild on the sectarian basis of organizational squabbling, but the NLG doesn't draw the class line in defense work. OL supporters hold meetings to advance the struggle against "Soviet social imperialism in the guise of the CP's NAARPR" while attempting to exclude the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League (SL) as well as the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC). The "anti-sectarian" aging New Leftists, on the other hand, are mobilizing to remove OL supporters from positions of leadership in the Guild. With this "third force" doing their work, CP supporters sit back, confident that their own brand of Stalinist class-collaboration will ultimately triumph in this amorphous defense milieu.

There is talk of throwing OL supporters out of the Lawyers Guild on charges of "disruption": we will fight to prevent expulsion of any working-class tendency from the NLG, though the PDC has been the target of blatant anti-democratic action by these cravenly unprincipled Maoists. There is nothing unprincipled with caucusing in the Guild. Every defined current within the left should have that right, and will do so anyway. In fact, some honest political struggle in an organization which tries to falsely present itself as the great conciliator of all good "progressives" will be a welcome change, but aside from the PDC's fight for anti-sectarian

Workers Guild

it is most clear that a class-struggle policy in defense is also anti-sectarian. Perilously, the NLG has no such policy. The same sectarian and class-collaborationist policies which characterize the Guild's defense work in other areas is given particularly reactionary content as the NLG's Labor Project legal commandos go on the offensive in the capitalist courts against the independence of the trade-union movement. Organizational squabbling to gain factional advantage for some form of class collaboration, as usual, replaces class-independent criteria for deciding what trade union cases the NLG will legally assist.

Just as "an injury to one is an injury to all" should be ABC for anyone claiming to defend the exploited and oppressed.

PDC Labor Motion

WHEREAS: The NLG is currently considering to whom within the workers movement it shall offer legal assistance, and

WHEREAS: Within the workers movement an injury to one is an injury to all, and therefore only a policy of defense for *all* under attack by the bosses and their government is in the interest of and can best protect the working class, and

WHEREAS: The trade unions are the sole mass organizations of working people in the U.S. today, which provide the only existing protection to workers despite the misleadership of the reactionary labor bureaucracy which consistently sells out the interest of the working class and the oppressed, and

WHEREAS: The courts and the Labor Department are instruments of the bourgeois state whose intervention in the trade unions will only weaken them, not the least when such interventions falsely claim to be in the interests of the specially oppressed or of union democracy, and

WHEREAS: While all legal tools against the government and the employers should be utilized to protect and advance the interest of the working class, suits against the trade unions betray the class struggle by 1) continuing and reinforcing state intervention and control of the trade unions and 2) creating the illusion that the working class can fight the trade-union bureaucracy and divisions in the working class by reliance on the bourgeois state, therefore be it

RESOLVED: That NLG legal assistance should be given to members of the labor movement under attack from the bosses and/or their state—not to suits which bring the government into union affairs and which, therefore, attack the unions, and be it further

RESOLVED: Such legal assistance should be given to those within the workers movement on an anti-sectarian basis—not on the basis of political agreement with the workers under attack.

15 April 1977

Jacob Braun
Valerie West
Rachel Wolkenstein

PARTISAN DEFENSE
COMMITTEE

so it should be the most elementary impulse to defend the organized labor movement from the capitalist state. However, all the major currents in the NLG not only fail to consistently defend the workers movement against attacks by the class enemy, but they also are united in advocating the "tactic" of suing the unions in the bourgeois courts.

Members of the NLG Labor Project will get up and pontificate about how bad the capitalist state is, about how they don't want to build illusions in the "neutrality" of the capitalist courts. This is phrase-mongering by cynical windbags. They all jump at a chance to sue the unions, and in fact that is about all the Labor Project does these days. Some groups want to take the unions to court over "rank-and-file democracy"; others favor court suits to gain "superiority" for oppressed groups. All fail to see that dragging the bosses' government into union affairs is a deeply unprincipled and dangerous act which attempts to wed the trade-union movement to the bourgeois state.

The Partisan Defense Committee has introduced a motion to this NLG conference, to be submitted for vote at the Seattle convention, which denounces the anti-labor practice of taking the unions to court and puts forward a policy of consistent class defense (see attached). Standing for class defense means that the PDC's motion rejects the usual NLG policy of supporting cases on a narrow sectarian basis, demanding political agreement with the victims or the defense organizations. Similar motions introduced by the PDC in the past have been rejected as the union-suers "unite" as the common enemy of class-struggle defense. Furthermore, a look at the Guild's history will show that it has always been a legal arm for class collaboration. As the Spartacist League has written ("Identity Crisis in the Lawyers Guild," *Workers Vanguard* No. 96, 13 February 1976) "the history of the NLG is the history of whatever is popular on the radical left."

Yesterday the "anti-facit people's front" and "no-strike pledges" were popular; today the suing of unions in the name of union democracy and minority rights, crossing picket lines and sectarian front-group defense committees are popular. All this is the antithesis of the class-struggle defense work of the ILD and the International Red Aid, which stood as a beacon to all victims of bourgeois class oppression until Stalinist degeneration politically gutted and ultimately destroyed these pioneer working-class defense organizations. The PDC seeks to recover those traditions from decades of Stalinist and social-democratic betrayal.

The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, anti-sectarian defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League. Our purpose, at this meeting and everywhere, is to draw the class line in defense work. Our motion for defense of victimized trade unionists on an anti-sectarian basis and for the independence of the union movement as a whole from the bosses and their state is a step toward building support for class-struggle defense policies. For those who disagree with us, we welcome open political debate conducted according to the norms of workers democracy. We hope that NLG members who have questions about our trade-union defense motion or other matters will seek out PDC supporters at this conference.

Like the ILD, our policy is the policy of the class struggle. It is the PDC's policy today, when it is unpopular in the National Lawyers Guild, and it will be our policy in the future when we hope many who are here in Boston will come to see the need for an organization which carries out class-struggle defense.

Keep the state out of the labor movement—Vote for the PDC motion! Build the Partisan Defense Committee!

—Partisan Defense Committee
16 April 1977

PDC Fund Drive in High Gear

Over \$6,000 Collected for Fernando Marcos' Eye Operation

by the Partisan Defense Committee

As the campaign being conducted by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) to raise \$10,000 for a crucial eye operation for a Chilean trade-union leader in exile goes into its second month, over \$6,000 has been raised. This welcome response to the fund appeal has made available to Fernando Marcos the last chance to save his eyesight which was lost as a result of an explosion of industrial supplies in a Chilean foundry.

Support for the campaign has been wide-ranging, with New York City leading the way. A letter from a trade unionist in Australia echoes the determination of the PDC and its supporters to make this fund drive a success:

"I hope to be able to raise some more money from friends and fellow unionists over the next few weeks.... I wish brother Marcos success in his treatment. I commend the PDC for its work which demonstrates against the sneers and abuse of skeptics that the workers movement can defend itself against the power of capital.

In solidarity.
R.L.H."

In the U.S., unionists have also come to the aid of their class brother, with individual workers making donations, in particular at the Mahwah, N.J. auto plant where over \$75 was collected on the line by PDC supporters. A note

enclosed by a phone worker, along with a second donation to the campaign, reads: "I am sending this contribution because I want brother Fernando to get his vision restored. We all need his eyes as much as he does." A meeting of the Hispanic Labor Council in Chicago heard a PDC presentation on the case and nearly \$50 was collected. In Canada, this same solidarity has been expressed, with a national union sending in a \$50 contribution.

Other supporters of Marcos' cause have been political organizations which, in the spirit of anti-sectarian defense, have sent contributions or publicized the fund drive in their press. This is in sharp contrast to a feminist, writing on the letterhead of the Vancouver Status of Women to the PDC: "You keep sending me materials on Chilean prisoners being freed. I do not wish to contribute more \$ until you free some ♀ prisoners."

Not only factually inaccurate with regard to the defense work of the PDC, this letter exemplifies defense work poisoned by sectarian class-collaboration—the degenerated traditions which the PDC struggles to root out. Perhaps the Vancouver Status of Women should take a lesson from the

continued on page 9

Urgent PDC Fund Appeal Exiled Chilean Militant Needs Your Aid

Fernando Marcos is a 30-year-old Chilean miners union organizer now exiled in France. He was blinded in a 1972 industrial accident, but continued to aid the workers' struggles until the bloody Pinochet coup forced him to flee the country. Previous operations to regain his eyesight have failed due to inadequate medical attention, first from a pro-junta doctor in Chile and then in a charity ward in exile. His last chance to see again involves a delicate corneal transplant operation at the world-renowned Barraquer Clinic in Barcelona. The cost: \$10,000. The Partisan Defense Committee has undertaken to raise the funds necessary for this operation, one which will determine if Marcos can again dedicate himself with his fullest abilities to the cause of the oppressed. The PDC solicits and welcomes your financial support in this effort.

☐ Enclosed please find my contribution of \$_____ to aid the campaign on behalf of Fernando Marcos (Make payable to Partisan Defense Committee and earmark "Marcos Fund.")

☐ Enclosed please find my contribution of \$_____ to aid the work of the Partisan Defense Committee.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

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Box 6729, Main Post Office, Chicago, IL 60680

Box 26078, Edendale Station, Los Angeles, CA 90026

Box 5555, San Francisco, CA 94101

The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization which is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League



Washington demonstration last Saturday called for dropping indictments against Local 6 pressmen.

State Backs Off Felony Charges

Drop All Charges Against Washington Post Pressmen!

WASHINGTON, D.C., April 16—Approximately 200 people, most of them trade unionists, marched here today in defense of the 15 *Washington Post* pressmen charged with sabotaging the presses at the start of a bitter strike by Local 6 of the International Printing and Graphic Communications Union (IPGCU) against the paper.

Demonstrators gathered for a rally on McPherson Square and then marched through downtown Washington past the *Post* building. Among the marchers were contingents from IPGCU, District 1199, locals of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (UE), and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. Among left groups present were the Center for United Labor Action, the Workers League, and the African Liberation Support Committee. A Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League contingent carried a banner reading "Bosses' Government Out of the Labor Movement! Drop All Charges Against the *Post* Pressmen!"

The demonstration had been called to coincide with the scheduled Monday opening of the pressmen's trial on a slew of phony charges ranging from rioting to grand larceny to assault with a deadly weapon. It was partly to head off the growing support for the pressmen that the District of Columbia Superior Court decided on April 14 to drop all felony charges against the defendants in exchange for agreement to plead guilty

on minor misdemeanor charges such as disorderly conduct.

The indictment of the 15 was the culmination of a vicious union-busting drive by *Post* owner Katherine Graham against Local 6 in which 204 union pressmen were replaced by scabs and subjected to a nationwide blacklist. Local 6 struck the *Post* on 1 October 1975 when management, after months of secret preparations (including training management scabs at an industry school for strikebreakers), switched over from linotype to computerized photocomposition production in the dead of the night. Graham's aim was to oust the union and force layoffs, drastic wage cuts and vicious "management prerogatives" in production down the pressmen's throats. After five months of halfheartedly respecting the Local 6 picket lines, the other pressroom unions decided to scab and the strike went down to crushing defeat.

Defense of the 15 pressmen, framed up for their courageous struggle for the survival of the printing trades unions, is of crucial importance to the entire labor movement. Although the state has now decided, under pressure, to drop the felony charges, the men nevertheless face jail sentences of up to two years and are still without their jobs. Thus today's demonstration was an important statement that the fight to stop the jailings and drop *all* the charges must be continued. ■

"Human Rights" Crusade...

(continued from page 1)

health, education and housing standards which American "democracy" finds too expensive. There is even opposition to ratifying the genocide convention, since it would require the government to prosecute Nazi war criminals now living in the U.S. (see "How U.S. Opened Doors to Nazi War Criminals," *WV* No. 152, 8 April).

Carter's real aim is the more effective utilization of UN agencies and forums by the imperialist propaganda mills, or (as in Korea, the Congo and the Near East) as a cover of "international peacekeeping" to mask Western military intervention. Having inherited near universal opprobrium for U.S. adventures as world gendarme following the Vietnam debacle, Carter is seeking to enlist the imperialist "den of thieves" for his campaign to "make the world safe for democracy," 1970's-style.

"Linkages" I

The Soviet bureaucracy welcomed Jimmy Carter to the White House with guarded praise, declaring that his inaugural address gave "deep satisfaction" to "all sober people" and hailing his vague talk of doing away with nuclear weapons. Russian Communist Party general secretary Leonid Brezhnev spoke of a "new major advance in relations between our countries" (see "Dissidents and Cold Warriors," *WV* No. 144, 11 February). But even though the Kremlin had muted its customary wishful thinking on détente, it was in for a rude shock.

The new U.S. president had criticized his Republican predecessors, former secretary of state Henry Kissinger in particular, for presuming a "linkage" between the issue of the Soviet regime's treatment of dissidents and progress in strategic arms limitation talks (SALT). However, in the wake of Carter's UN speech, where he made his anti-Communist "human rights" crusade the cornerstone of an aggressive U.S. foreign policy, Brezhnev reaffirmed this "linkage" by denouncing "Washington's claims to teach others how to live."

"I will repeat again," he said. "We will not tolerate interference in our internal affairs by anyone and under any pretext. A normal development of relations on such a basis is, of course, unthinkable" (*New York Times*, 22 March). Carter's flippant response was: "Some people are concerned every time Brezhnev sneezes"—but not this cold-warrior. The next day Carter called for a huge increase in the budgets of American government propaganda radio stations aimed at the Soviet bloc.

Voice of America broadcasts to the Soviet Union and East Europe would be increased by 25 percent, while the transmitting capacities of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty would be nearly doubled. The latter two stations were operated by the CIA during the 1950's and 1960's, specializing in virulent counterrevolutionary propaganda. Since U.S. government sponsorship has been openly admitted, they now put on an appearance of "professional" news analysis. However, both stations continue to be notorious CIA fronts, staffed in many cases with ex-Nazis.

To slightly alter von Clausewitz' famous statement, diplomacy is the continuation of war by other means. This was certainly brought home at the SALT negotiations in Moscow at the end of March. If there was any ambiguity in the "signals" Carter had been sending to Brezhnev, these were cleared up with the arrogant and deliberately one-sided "disarmament" proposals presented by U.S. secretary of state Cyrus Vance. The American position was certainly not welcomed by "all sober people" in the Soviet leadership. It

could not be, and was not intended to be, accepted by Moscow.

James Reston of the *New York Times* (1 April) hailed the Carter/Vance "two-tiered" SALT proposal as "the most revolutionary arms proposal since the beginning of the Cold War." If there was anything "revolutionary" about it, it could only be that no one had previously put forward a proposal so obviously intended to strengthen the U.S. position in strategic weaponry vis-à-vis the Soviet Union. It was not a negotiating position so much as a slap in the face, which is how Brezhnev took it.

"Linkages" II

The original SALT agreement in May 1972 called for a U.S. arsenal of 2,358 land-based and submarine-launched missiles for the USSR and 1,710 for the U.S. In November 1974 in Vladivostok, Gerald Ford and Brezhnev agreed upon equal limitations of 2,400 missile launchers, of which 1,320 could be armed with MIRV (multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicle) warheads. In Moscow, Vance proposed that a total ceiling of 1,800 to 2,000 strategic missiles be permitted, of which 1,100-1,200 would be "mirved." In addition, "heavy" rocket launchers would be cut back from a maximum of 308 to 150.

This was the so-called "comprehensive package." The "deferral option" would confirm the levels agreed to at Vladivostok and write them into a SALT II treaty to take effect when SALT I runs out this fall. Under the "comprehensive package," American "Cruise" missiles of "intercontinental" range (unspecified) would be banned and limits placed on the Soviet "Backfire" (Tupolev A-G) bomber. On the "deferral" plan, no limits would be placed on either weapon.

On the third day of negotiations, a Soviet team headed by Brezhnev walked into the conference room, rejected both American "options" and ended the session in less than an hour. The U.S. delegation professed shock and dismay. In the following days, the liberal press was filled with a debate over whether Washington had "miscalculated" the Soviet response, whether the Russian rejection was the result of Carter's "human-rights" blithering and what had happened to détente.

The "nyet" in Moscow had nothing to do with "miscalculations," as Carter himself admitted. In the first place, the Vladivostok agreement included the cruise missile in the quotas for rocket launchers. (The U.S., basing itself on the fact that the accord was never published, claims that it put limits only on "ballistic" missiles, therefore excluding the cruise missile which is essentially a pilotless airplane.) Secondly, the Tupolev A-G bomber is not a strategic weapon, since it cannot reach the U.S. without refueling. Moreover, the "Backfire" is already deployed (in central Europe), while the American cruise missile program is still in the development stage. In short, the Russians were being asked to give up a sizeable something for nothing at all.

Equally important are the numerical cuts implied in the "comprehensive" U.S. proposal. Since the American arsenal includes a smaller number of strategic missiles than the proposed 1,800-2,000 limit, it would not have to destroy any rockets; the USSR, on the other hand, would have to destroy at least 400 missiles and possibly double that number. The "heavy" missiles are the only area where the Soviet Union has superiority over the U.S. (which has no such missiles); here the Russians would have to cut their existing force in half, and again the U.S. would cut nothing.

While much of the U.S. bourgeois press thundered vituperation against "Soviet intransigence," and liberal reporters wrote of miscalculations, *Newsweek* (11 April) let the cat out of the bag. The American negotiating proposal was "weighted in favor of the

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U.S. in several instances," it admitted. "It sought severe limits on large missiles with heavy throw-weights, in which the Soviets have a sizable lead. It proposed sharp restrictions on the number of land-based missiles with multiple warheads—on which the Soviets are relying for future defense. And on cruise missiles—in which U.S. technology has a big lead—it proposed that only those with the longest range be excluded from SALT limitations...."

It then quoted Carter's cold war hawk national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski claiming the U.S. had done its best to come up with an "equitable" package.

"The Soviets did not see things that way. To them, the deferral plan was nothing more than a recycled version of a proposal they have rejected twice already on the ground that it handed the U.S. a nuclear advantage. The comprehensive plan was equally untenable," Gromyko said. It proposed to liquidate half the rockets in our possession...." he contended. Certainly the arithmetic seemed to support his view. Under the most severe limits, the Soviets would have to scrap as many as 3,980 warheads while the U.S. would not lose one; Moscow would have to eliminate 740 strategic bombers and missiles to America's 329. "What kind of stability is that?" Gromyko asked."

SALTing Away Détente

Immediately after the Russian rejection of these proposals—which no Soviet leader in his right mind could accept—Western leaders began beating the propaganda drums. "The sense in Washington today is that President Carter is being put to the test by the Soviet leadership—a test that, perhaps unintentionally, he brought upon himself with his vigorous public diplomacy on human rights and arms control," wrote the *New York Times* (1 April). An "experienced Congressional observer" was quoted as saying, "This is Khrushchev and Kennedy all over again," recalling the 1961 Berlin crisis and 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

At the same time as they hypocritically claimed to be "tested," the imperialists gloated over the propaganda benefits. "The Administration evidently feels it has gained a propaganda advantage by offering what the President called 'drastic' reductions aimed at putting a real cap on the arms race and putting the Kremlin on the defensive by coming out against such reductions," said the *Times*. The conservative British business weekly, the *Economist* (9 April), echoed this sentiment: "By a master stroke of Soviet diplomacy, Mr. Brezhnev has now presented himself to the world as the great opponent of disarmament as well as of human rights."

Secretary of State Vance at first expressed "disappointment," then said perhaps there had been "miscalculation." But after being corrected by the White House press secretary on this point, he swung into line, saying: "To them [Soviet leaders] everything is going their way. I don't think they're in any mood to negotiate." U.S. secretary of defense Harold Brown doubted that a new arms control agreement could be negotiated before SALT I ran out in October, commenting: "It's too early to tell if the Soviets are interested in rough equivalence or in strategic superiority."

In point of fact, it is the *Pentagon* that has been waging a campaign to preserve its "strategic superiority." First there was the "Team B" report on Soviet military capabilities, asserting the Russians sought "superiority," not parity of striking power—thereby giving grist to the mills of military hawks who seek to raise the war budget. Then came the CIA's doubling of its estimate of the percentage of the USSR's gross national product expended on the military (achieved by statistical sleight of hand, through doubling the GNP estimate!). On the SALT negotiations, "Administration officials acknowledged that the Government was trying to use Soviet fears about the development of the American cruise missile as an inducement

to get the Kremlin to relinquish some of its heavy SS-18 missiles" (*New York Times*, 5 April).

According to the *Times*, this was a "significant shift" of the White House position toward views long held by the Joint Chiefs of Staff (who claimed that the original SALT negotiations were a giveaway to the Russians). This was underscored in Carter's press conference following the breakdown of arms control negotiations. If he determined the USSR was refusing to bargain in "good faith," said Carter, then "I would be forced to consider a much more deep commitment to the development and deployment of additional weapons." In short, all the talk of eliminating nuclear weapons becomes nothing but an excuse for stepping up war preparations.

Oust the Stalinist Bureaucracy! Defend the Gains of October!

Trotskyists are unconditional defenders of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. The only "human right" that Carter and his ilk would bring to the Soviet Union is the "right" of the capitalists to ruthlessly exploit and oppress the working people.

Revolutionary Russia under Lenin and Trotsky depended above all on the mobilization of the international working class to defend the USSR from the threat of international counterrevolution. In contrast, the parasitic bureaucracy that has ruled the country since the degeneration of the October Revolution under Stalin puts its faith in a deal with imperialism. In the 1930's Stalin sought

in vain to protect his rule through the League of Nations, the Laval pact with France and then the pact with Hitler. Today his heirs seek refuge in pipe-dreams of nuclear disarmament and everlasting peaceful coexistence.

Despite the Stalinist usurpation of political power in the USSR, fundamental social gains of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution remain. To defend the collectivized property forms of the Soviet Union, no confidence can be placed in ephemeral and empty "disarmament" negotiations. While state control of production has permitted tremendous technological jumps, symbolized by the sputnik, the U.S. remains well ahead in war technology. The Pentagon has developed every major military advance—atomic bomb, hydrogen bomb, nuclear submarines, MIRV warheads and now the cruise missile. In the face of this threat, any rotten liberalism by the Kremlin rulers in arms control bargaining poses grave threats to the existence of the Soviet state.

Brezhnev and Gromyko rejected Carter's arrogant, sabre-rattling SALT proposal. But their "answer" is to appeal to the lagging spirit of détente. Far from seeking the spread of world revolution, the Kremlin bureaucrats hope that by appearing reasonable they can appease the imperialists. Thus during the agonizing Vietnam War, Moscow (and Peking) consistently refused to supply North Vietnam with adequate weaponry to defend itself against the terror raids of American B-52's. Eventually a U.S. withdrawal was "negotiated," but only because the American army had been

defeated in the field of battle.

The bureaucracies of the Russian degenerated workers state—and of the deformed workers states from East Germany to Vietnam and Cuba—fear above all the explosion of proletarian revolution, which would directly and immediately threaten their precarious privileged position. A real defense of the social gains of the countries which have smashed capitalist rule cannot be based on Soviet diplomatic maneuvers, but on the mobilization of the working people in defense of their vital interests. This the Brezhnevs and Huas can never accomplish.

On the one hand, a hapless search for détente with imperialism; on the other, rigid suppression of workers democracy at home—this is the necessary program of the Stalinist bureaucracies. Trotskyists warn that the pro-imperialist views of many in the current generation of "Soviet dissidents" hold no answers for the working people who wish to move forward to socialism; nevertheless, we defend the right to free expression of those who do not advocate or engage in direct counterrevolutionary activity.

The Sakharovs of the USSR get plenty of publicity for their reactionary views; it is the job of revolutionary communists to denounce the repression against the unknown oppositionists in the Soviet Union, the workers jailed for striking, the intellectuals sent to "psychiatric hospitals" for seeking to follow the path of Lenin. The fullest soviet democracy is required to truly defend the gains of October, and this can be obtained only through workers political revolution, led by a Trotskyist vanguard party, in the degenerated/deformed workers states; and social revolution in the capitalist countries that sweeps the scourge of capitalist militarism from the earth forever. ■

Demonstrate April 22!

100 at Teach-In to Keep Kissinger Off Columbia Campus

APRIL 19—About 100 people, including representatives of the bourgeois press, attended an anti-Kissinger teach-in tonight at New York's Columbia University. The teach-in, organized by the Ad Hoc Committee to Keep Kissinger Off Campus, was part of a continuing militant campaign to prevent Dr. Henry Kissinger, architect of American imperialism's terror bombings of Vietnam, from assuming a teaching position in the Political Science department of this "Ivy League" university. The Ad Hoc Committee, which led a demonstration on March 25 against this outrageous travesty of "academic freedom," organized the teach-in to publicize its call for a demonstration to be held at 1:00 p.m. this Friday, April 22, at the Columbia sundial.

The anti-Kissinger campaign has drawn the fire of the liberal-bourgeois opinion-makers, who charge the demonstrators with advocating political censorship (*New York Times* editorial, 14 April). This is nonsense. An open letter to the *Times* distributed today by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), which initiated the Ad Hoc Committee, explained:

"At issue here is not academic freedom at Columbia University. The prestigious faculties of Columbia shelter a plethora of well-salaried conservative professors fully capable of arguing in defense of American imperialism and—unlike the Spartacus Youth League—fully free to voice their opinions on campus without the slightest administrative harassment. The ventilation of such opinion must be regarded as a

legitimate exercise of academic freedom.

"But Henry Kissinger is not just an apologist for imperialism, although he cut his academic spurs by elevating pure imperialist power politics to the level of 'theory.' This man was the main orchestrator of the Christmas bombing of Vietnam; the coordinator of the 'Forty Committee' which aided the Chilean right in preparation for the bloody Pinochet coup, and the oily diplomat for U.S. imperialism who has backed the vicious white-supremacist regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa. Henry Kissinger must be driven away from Columbia—not for his views, but for his deeds."

Tonight's teach-in featured a film, "U.S. Techniques of Torture and Genocide in Vietnam," which graphically reminded the audience of the atrocities perpetrated by U.S. imperialism against the working people of Vietnam. The speakers included Columbia professor Alexander Erlich, who forcefully insisted that war criminals like Kissinger must not be permitted to don the robes of academic respectability. "We don't want to be a dumping ground for uncommon criminals with PhD's," he said.

Other featured speakers were representatives of the Ad Hoc Committee, SYL, Political Science Graduate Students Opposed to the Appointment of Kissinger, Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union, Federación Universitaria Socialista Puertorriqueña and United Farm Workers.

Keep Kissinger Off Campus! Demonstrate on April 22!

Fernando Marcos...

(continued from page 7)

fact that one of the first contributors to the Marcos fund drive was a veteran of the suffragist movement in the U.S.

College professors and students have been an important source of funds for the campaign. Church groups, legal workers, Latin American support groups, supporters of the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz as well as subscribers to *Workers Vanguard* have also made valuable contributions on behalf of Marcos.

Notable was a social gathering recently held in New Jersey, where friends interested in hearing about the defense work of the PDC and particularly the Marcos cause raised over \$300 toward the \$10,000 goal.

Basing its work on the traditions of the International Labor Defense (ILD) under its founder James P. Cannon and the sterling defense record of the Spartacist League, the PDC welcomes the letter of a supporter in Cleveland: "...Not since the days of the ILD have we seen in this country the kind of vigorous international class struggle defense campaigns that the PDC now wages."

Support the fund drive for Fernando Marcos today—assist the PDC in reaching its goal of \$10,000! Only \$4,000 more to go. Support today can indeed make the difference. In summing up the campaign, we quote from a letter from the PDC to the editor of the *New Haven Advocate* (6 April 1977):

"Despite recent cosmetic actions, the Chilean generals continue to imprison, torture and murder thousands of political opponents both within the country's borders and around the world (e.g., Orlando Letelier). Restoring the sight of Fernando Marcos would be both a symbolic victory for all the far-flung South American leftist refugees and a material contribution to the struggle against the junta." ■

UAW Local Elections...

(continued from page 12)

began to rise, too. In the 1976 contract talks the largest no vote in the UAW history was recorded among production workers at the "target" company, Ford. In the skilled trades, ratification was secured only by altering the method of vote counting.

Since the national agreements were signed in the fall, a substantial number of local contracts has been rejected. "Official" strikes over local conditions, plus a recent spate of "unauthorized" strikes, could signal a new round of class struggle between the auto workers and the capitalists.

Detroit: Loyal "Opposition" in Disarray

The UAW sports a variety of "dissident" currents. However, they usually play on the dissatisfaction of the membership only to knuckle under to their superiors in the hierarchy on every crucial occasion. Their pessimistic cynicism reinforced by the layoff-induced passivity of the auto workers over the past period, these loyal "oppositionists" are now especially demoralized and prostrate.

Frank Runnels, president of Cadillac Local 22 in Detroit, has for the last few years been grooming himself for higher union office by playing a mildly dissident role. He is chairman of the "National Short Work Week Committee" which calls for a vaguely defined cut in work time and is allied with the pressure group "30 and Out Committee" (also made up of local bureaucrats) led by Hugh Oginsky of Flint GM Local 599. Runnels recently told *WV* of his all-out support to Fraser: "I think Fraser will make a very good president. I'm very enthused over his position on the four day work week." Having been indicted several months ago for allegedly running a workmen's compensation kickback racket and with charges in his local of vote fraud in the recent elections (which his slate swept) Runnels may have decided that now is not the time to rock the boat.

The United National Caucus (UNC) grew out of the skilled trades' Dollar-an-Hour movement in 1967. Comprised of bureaucratic aspirers, a few ex-radicals and disgruntled skilled tradesmen, the UNC later caught the attention of the International Socialists (I.S.) which sought to give the UNC a "think-fraser production worker" tilt. Though always concentrated in Detroit, for some years it was the only organized opposition caucus with even a semblance of national influence.

Ten years after its "birth," the UNC is nearly dead. It has largely dissolved into its constituent elements. The skilled trades mainstay of the UNC is now largely grouped in the Independent Skilled Trades Council (ISTC) led by Al Gardener (past president of the Ford

River Rouge Tool and Die unit) and Pete Kelly.

Though the discontent of UAW skilled tradesmen is great, the ISTC does not attempt to lead them in a class-struggle direction, nor link up their grievances with the numerically predominant production workers. Instead the ISTC panders to the backwardness of the militant but politically conservative tradesmen by peddling parochialism and protectionism (Gardener ran for re-election in 1975 on the slogan "American work for American workers"). Its main issue during the last contract negotiations was the blatantly undemocratic demand that tradesmen be given a veto over UAW contracts. The ISTC has scarcely opposed the discrimination which keeps the trades nearly all white. And so far, the ISTC has not moved to publicly defend Jordan Sims, the UNC's only prominent black spokesman, who was recently deposed by the International from the Local 961 presidency.

Although Pete Kelly ran against Woodcock for the UAW presidency at the last convention, Kelly is not even running for delegate this year. Both Gardener and Kelly told a *WV* reporter that they did not know if they would even oppose Fraser at the upcoming convention, though a number of ISTC delegates have been elected. Gardener added that, if Fraser came out for the referendum vote for International officers (the same system used in the highly bureaucratized Steelworkers and National Maritime Union), "we'd have a hell of a time not supporting him." Though Fraser is unlikely to do this, it indicates the rather low asking price of the ISTC.

I.S. in Chaos

The other main component of the has-been UNC, supporters of the social-democratic I.S., has always pushed a narrowly economist and purely reformist program, moving steadily to the right in a fruitless search for easy popularity. The failures of the I.S., "get rich quick" schemes periodically generate internal opposition, for which the I.S. has a ready solution: expulsion. In 1973, the I.S. expelled about 100 of its dissident members and, just a few weeks ago, purged nearly another 100 grouped in the so-called "Left Faction."

While the split heavily intersected clique loyalties in the I.S., one of the evident "sins" of the "Left Faction" was its criticism of the I.S.'s increasingly crass opportunism, and, in particular, its embarrassing accusations concerning the I.S.'s latest "mass work" ploy in auto, the "Coalition for a Good Contract" (CGC):

"Instead of fighting for a rank and file movement independent of the trade union bureaucracy, in the CGC, (with the rank and file disinterested) the IS increasingly supported and promoted opportunists in the bureaucracy—Runnels, Oginsky, Weissman, etc."

"There is always a price for this policy. When there was a wildcat strike at Weissman's Twinsburg, Ohio plant on Nov. 5, 1976—a strike Weissman helped break, denouncing the picketers as 'screwballs,' 'young single guys who just wanted a night out' (Cleveland Plain Dealer, Nov. 7), *Workers' Power* again singled Weissman out for praise, while claiming that the membership of his local 'did not become active in the struggle against the sellout.' (Dec. 13, 1976)"

—Left Faction "Draft"

If the I.S. can back strikebreaker Weissman, why not Doug Fraser? This is evidently not to be ruled out. The "Left Faction" noted: "...the National Secretary announced at the auto fraction during the National Convention that the I.S. might find itself supporting Doug Fraser..."

If the I.S. is not yet allied with Fraser, it is only because these opportunists can see no percentage in it at the present time. But I.S.-supported candidates have been running (getting themselves elected in a few cases) on programs that a large section of the UAW bureaucracy

could endorse. The United Coalition of Local 51, an amalgam of a few I.S. supporters and black local officials, got several delegates elected and recently recommended acceptance of the Local contract (which had been turned down by the membership twice). It contained, said the coalition, "many important improvements"—like more cops in the parking lots, fixing the plant roof and hot food!

In Local 869, Chrysler's Warren Stamping Plant, Dave McCullough (described in *Workers' Power* as a long-time member of the I.S.) was just elected vice-president. The 28 March *Workers' Power* asked what his campaign platform was: "I haven't really promised to do anything," McCullough replied, "except what you expect of a union official: fight the company, use the power that the people have." Such empty rhetoric is a dime a dozen in the UAW. The I.S. is preparing its members for "leadership," i.e., absorption into the bureaucracy, by becoming indistinguishable from it.

East Coast

Outside of Michigan, where the union is concentrated, the Woodcock/Fraser steamroller carried most locals handily. For example, at the Ford assembly plant in Mahwah, New Jersey, Local 906 president Joe Reilly's "Brotherhood" slate won virtually every office and delegate slot. Since breaking a wildcat four years ago and purging a number of militants, Reilly has run the Local with a dictatorial hand, gaining Ford's eager cooperation.

Throughout this period, the only organized opposition to the Reilly machine has been the Militant Solidarity Caucus (MSC). While other "oppositionists," like supporters of the October League (OL) and Revolutionary Communist Party-backed "Autoworkers United to Fight" (AWUF) cowered quietly in the wings only to emerge at election time, the MSC has stood toe-to-toe with Reilly and borne the full brunt of Ford's harassment.

The MSC candidates, Richie Bradley for convention delegate and Ron Painter for sub-council delegate, ran on their militant record and a full program of transitional demands, including: yearly elections, conventions and contract; union control of hiring to fight discrimination; full rights for women, including maternity leave and free child care; no deportations of, and full citizenship rights for, all foreign-born workers; union defense guards against racist attacks; the full right to strike over all grievances without International authorization; a shorter workweek to make jobs for all; and a break with the Democrats—for a workers party and a workers government to expropriate capitalist industry and run a planned economy in the interests of the working people.

Bradley polled 409 votes for convention delegate, outdistancing his latecoming competitors; Doug Niehouse of AWUF got 190 votes and the OL supporter Tom Cocke got 299. Painter received 223 votes for sub-council delegate.

The shallowness of the OL's current "left turn" in trade-union work was shown most clearly by OL supporter Sandy Richardson's race for committee. Though the OL is now shouting, "Throw the bureaucrats out!" and "Build a class struggle UAW," for years they have posed barely to the left of the union bureaucracy, seeking to ingratiate themselves whenever possible. Richardson, for example, has been an alternate committeeman in Local 906 for three years, but has never taken the union floor to denounce or oppose the Woodcock/Reilly regime. His new found "militancy" was neither believable nor well-received: Richardson got only nine votes.

Like the Stalinists' "Third Period" dual unionism, the OL's mock "leftism"

may well prove simply to be the precursor to a more egregiously opportunist line than in the past. The OL's basic commitment is to being the most slavish mimics for every twist and turn of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy. Given Peking's rapprochement with U.S. imperialism and every "Third World" despot who will visit the Heavenly Palace, the anti-Soviet OL must end up in a bloc with the sabre-rattling bourgeoisie and their lieutenants in the labor movement. The OL's evaluation of Leonard Woodcock may in fact change very quickly if Woodcock ends up in Peking sipping champagne with Hua Kuo-feng.

At another important East Coast plant, Tarrytown, NY, GM, pro-International officials of Local 664 got rid of their opposition by simply ruling them off the ballot. Led by Bill Scott, who is described as a Communist Party (CP) supporter in the CP's *Daily World*, 14 candidates who were among 1,800 laid off in 1975 and recalled only six months ago were declared ineligible because they had not been in "good standing for 12 continuous months" prior to the elections. This was because they had not paid union dues while on layoff.

It is hard to believe that Scott, a former Local shop chairman, was so ignorant of the UAW's constitutional requirement to maintain dues while laid off. Nevertheless, this provision is unjust and imposes a hardship on laid-off workers. UAW members should fight to remove this restrictive, disenfranchising clause from their constitution and defend the right of Scott and his supporters (and all laid-off UAW members) to run for office.

Chicago

In the Chicago area, a co-thinker of Scott's, Norm Roth, was elected delegate from Local 6 (International Harvester). Roth is co-chairman of the CP-backed Auto Workers Action Caucus (AWAC). This seldom-heard-from creation was formed several years ago when some members of the UNC decided that it was too "anti-leadership"! Roth and AWAC's other co-chairman, Lasker Smith from Local 2, demonstrated what that meant in practice by voting for Woodcock's reelection at the last convention.

Now retired, Roth spiced up his campaign with a blatant appeal to reactionary protectionist sentiment, stating, "We must win legislation to restrict the multi-national corporations so we can keep our jobs at home." Roth, who praises "détente" for providing jobs at Harvester through extensive tractor orders from Eastern Europe, might sing another tune on the values of economic protectionism if Soviet bloc workers took up the call: "keep our jobs at home."

Auto workers have no interest in fighting each other along national lines for a shrinking number of jobs. Protectionism, high tariffs and import quotas direct workers away from their real enemy: the capitalist auto giants. Two candidates in the Local 6 elections, Mark Freedman and Judson Jones of the Labor Struggle Caucus (LSC) pointed out in a leaflet distributed to the plant:

"Nixon/Ford/Carter try to mobilize us against our Japanese and German class brothers and sisters and our 'leaders' pant and bark with approval and active support like good lap dogs, with their rabidly national chauvinist protectionist 'buy America' schemes. Their fundamental policy is the preservation of profit-hungry, racist, sexist, warmongering, anti-labor capitalism."

Though the LSC candidates were not elected, they were the only ones to

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provide a class-struggle alternative to the likes of Roth and the pro-International flunkies who were elected in other Chicago-area locals.

West Coast

The pattern of bureaucratic victory held true on the West Coast as well. At the Van Nuys and Southgate GM plants near L.A., no one was elected who can be expected to give Fraser any difficulty. Former western states Regional Director Paul Shrader, who supported Fraser for International president in 1970 and was subsequently dumped in a vindictive Woodcock-engineered coup, told *WV* that he was unemployed and would not be running for delegate. The left-liberal Shrader, however, may well regain some position in the union when Fraser takes the reins.

The elections in Fremont's Local 1364, held in the wake of the four-day strike there, provided a clear opportunity for contending slates to draw the lessons of the strike and the treacherous role of the International. The Local leadership, which called the strike, found itself caught in a squeeze between the International and a hardline management and shamelessly ended the struggle with no gains, drew only the most defeatist conclusions: "The events of late (wildcat strike) proved, if nothing else, that we must have some workable means other than strike, of policing and correcting irresponsible supervisory personnel" ("Brotherhood Caucus" campaign leaflet).

In a light, largely day-shift, turnout possibly caused by demoralization in the wake of the strike's defeat, the Mays/Nano/Malone Local leadership won the convention slots. Clearly, however, they are prepared only to lead the membership backwards.

The several groups of a Maoist bent in the local only demonstrated their disorientation and impotence. During the strike, OL supporters, the August 29th Movement and Workers Viewpoint Organization all skirted the clear-cut issue of defending the shop committee members who had been fired. On the other hand, the AWUF group spent most of the strike trying to get into good graces with the Mays leadership they helped to elect in 1973. Although none of the strike demands were won and union officials were subjected to company discipline, AWUF idiotically declared the strike "a victory...despite some setbacks."

Like AWUF in other locals, and the Revolutionary Communist Party which backs it, the Fremont "On the Line" group combines mindless "militancy" with a thoroughly reformist program that miraculously transforms defeated struggles into victories. AWUF calls for more jobs—but opposes the shorter workweek with no loss in pay necessary to get them. AWUF occasionally gripes about UAW support to the Democrats—but opposes the demand for a workers party based on the trade unions, to fight for a workers government. In short, AWUF lacks a program upon which to build a new class struggle leadership in the UAW.

The Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW), which ran Ruth Ryan and Joan Putnam for Local 1364 delegates, both accurately analyzed the lessons of the Fremont strike and advanced a program to combat the International and its Local tag-alongs. CMUAW defended the unions' leaders from company attack, but insisted that the key to winning the strike was mass picketing and extension of the strike, both expanding the demands and including other UAW locals. Pointing to the continual harassment and speed-up in the plants, CMUAW demanded the junking of Paragraph 117 of the contract, which binds local unions to the endless grievance procedure and forbids strikes without the (seldom-given) authorization of the International.

The various Maoist tendencies foolishly think that a few dozen sup-

porters scattered in a few locals makes a national opposition. But the fight for influence in the labor movement is not a circus sideshow shell game. Influence in the labor movement must proceed through the construction of authoritative class-struggle caucuses firmly rooted in the membership of the unions, which can, on the basis of *real* support, succeed in ousting the labor fakery.

Because groups like CMUAW will not be on the convention floor in Los Angeles, Leonard Woodcock will pass the baton to Doug Fraser without great difficulty. The scattered complaints of house-trained fake oppositionists who may be there will only provide a foil for Solidarity House.

But the harassed and sped-up auto workers cannot remain in the bureaucracy's grip forever. The conditions for new class battles in auto are ripening. When the masses of auto workers begin to take up the program of groups like the CMUAW, the days of Doug Fraser's scab-herding will be numbered. ■

ILA...

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small consolidators, ruling that the contract clause was an "unlawful" attempt by the ILA to obtain work for its members. This was upheld six months later in a U.S. court of appeals.

On the West Coast, the 50-mile limit clause, along with the per-container royalty paid to the union, were dumped from the contract of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) in 1971 following a similar suit by an independent shipper. This led to a wholesale loss of jobs. But even before that ILWU chief Harry Bridges' notorious "Modernization and Mechanization" agreements, which accepted cuts in jobs in exchange for a so-called Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP) assured the decimation of the longshore force. And with unemployment rapidly increasing the PGP funding has been undercut and massive reductions in benefits have been instituted. Meanwhile the West Coast longshore workforce shrank from 26,000 in 1948 to hardly more than 10,000 today. The government ruling clearly poses a similarly intensified attack on the ILA's jobs, as well as its pay guarantee.

Despite the seriousness of this threat, Gleason conducted a half-hearted strike. The strike on the East Coast affected only seven "target" companies: Sea-Land Service, Seatrain Lines, U.S. Lines, Hapag-Lloyd, Atlantic Container Lines, Dart and the Russian-flag carriers Balt-atlantic and Blasco. The inclusion of Russian flagships was clearly an anti-Soviet jab by the conservative ILA leaders since these lines carry only a minute portion of containerized cargo; this reactionary move must be protested by class-conscious dockers.

In contrast, Gleason bent over backwards to make this a comfortable strike for the shippers. Effects of the strike up and down the coast were minimal. Container shippers not part of the seven target companies, as well as all bulk cargo, were unaffected. Perishable goods were also exempted from the "strike." In addition, most of the fleet of the seven companies affected was at sea. In all, only about 34 ships were affected.

In New York, a Waterfront Commission spokesman said he didn't foresee any major pile-up. Here the strike idled only 1,300 men on seven ships, while over 6,500 longshoremen were working cargo on another 28 ships.

Meanwhile, the initial response of Ralph Massey, president of the ILA's South Atlantic and Gulf Coast District, was *no strike*. "We've got a contract down here up until September 30 and we're going to live with it until September 30" (*Houston Chronicle*, 13 April). This backstabbing "solidarity" could have completely sabotaged even the

minimal strike effort in the Northeast if shippers had simply diverted cargo to ports from North Carolina to Texas. However, eventually the Southern ports did go out with the strike, with longshoremen refusing to handle cargo of the seven struck companies.

The official strike demands included a pay hike from \$8 to \$10 an hour, double time for weekends and holidays, larger employer contributions to health and pension funds, and a reduction in the workweek from 40 to 32 hours. Clearly, however, these demands were not meant seriously.

When Gleason ordered a return to work, he won none of them, nor any concession whatsoever! Instead he settled for a petition to be filed with the Federal Maritime Commission (FMC) by the seven struck steamship companies, which was to demand that a tariff concession which inland consolidators receive be repealed. Supposedly this will divert work from the warehouses back to the docks. However, as the *Wall Street Journal* (19 April) observed, hearings before the FMC "could last for months." In any case, the federal government, which has jurisdiction over the NLRB as well as the FMC, has amply demonstrated its intention to replace higher-paid longshore labor with lower-wage workers.

The repeal of the 50-mile clause was a real blow which struck primarily at the ILA membership and not the steam-



ILA president Gleason

ship employers. The strike against this action was entirely just. However Gleason's strategy, based upon asserting that the interests of longshoremen can be defended by forming an alliance with the companies, is a fatal illusion.

It should have come as no surprise that he "settled" the strike without getting anything from the steamship associations and stevedoring firms, for Gleason does not regard them as the real enemy. From the beginning of the dispute, the ILA bureaucrats have moved in step with the bosses. The hearings before the NLRB pitted the union together with the steamship owners associations against the independent warehouse operators. Likewise in the petition before the FMC.

The ILA cannot maintain its jobs and standards through a combination with the companies. The spread of containerization and the availability of an abundant supply of cheap labor inland has forever doomed the ILA's cozy relationship with the steamship operators. The only way forward is a joint struggle against the bosses by the maritime and transport unions, for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. This must be combined with a vigorous drive to bring the standards of inland warehousemen to the levels of the longshoremen, while insuring that unorganized workers are brought into unions. Only in such a fashion can the longshore unions on all coasts—Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific—survive extinction. ■

Chicago Red Squad...

(continued from page 5)

spying, including a 10 March *Sun-Times* editorial railing that "outrageous" police spying against the ISA, "who simply march about chanting in Persian," is a waste of the taxpayers' money. The radical-chic "alternative" paper, the *Reader* has been running its own version of the Red Squad exposé, written by David Moberg, mouthpiece for the social-democratic New America Movement. An article in the 14 February edition makes the shameless assertion that massive spying was only "petty-bourgeois bureaucratic idiocy," a mere thing of the past. Echoing the liberal claptrap of the *Sun-Times*, Moberg demands that the cops do some "bona fide crime-stopping." The real criminals, however, are the cops and the capitalist state they protect. Iranian students, blacks, the left and labor movements will be spied on, harassed and shot down until the bourgeoisie's monopoly of violence is smashed through victorious proletarian revolution.

Hands Off the ISA!

The Iranian students are extremely vulnerable to bourgeois repression—it is imperative that these militants not fall into the hands of the racist cops and courts! However, the policies of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which believes the blood-soaked FBI/CIA can somehow be reformed, have endangered the lives of the ISA through acts of criminal stupidity, provocation and fingering.

The RCP has used ISAers, who can be deported at any moment, as goons against "Trotskyites" in innumerable public demonstrations ringed with trigger-happy cops. The SWP's response to one such incident (in Houston) was even more criminal. Last fall the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) and its SWP/YSA sponsors demanded that the state of Texas prosecute a rival wing of the ISA for an alleged physical attack. The SWP's *Militant* (19 November 1976) reported that a CAIFI spokesman "says his group will press charges against the attackers." Moreover CAIFI smeared the rival ISA students, implying they were SAVAK agents. While vigorously condemning gangster tactics in the left, the SL condemns any court action taken by CAIFI, which could easily result in the deportation of those ISA students to Iran where torture and death await them.

Both wings of the ISA unfortunately have a long record of rejecting principled defense efforts and have excluded the SL from their picket lines. This sectarian policy can only narrow and weaken their defense. The Spartacist League stands in solidarity with the Chicago ISA students now facing deportation. Defend the ISA in Chicago and Houston! Full citizenship rights for foreign workers and students! Down with the butcher Shah! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Fake Opposition UNC Breaks Up

Woodcock / Fraser Steamroller Takes UAW Local Elections

United Auto Workers (UAW) locals around the country are electing delegates to the Constitutional Convention scheduled for May 15-18 in Los Angeles. UAW president Leonard Woodcock will be retiring and is rumored to be in line for a position in U.S. imperialism's foreign service, possibly as liaison officer to Peking. The "Administration Caucus" candidate to succeed Woodcock is Doug Fraser.

Returns from around the country indicate that Fraser will face little opposition at the convention. In the overwhelming majority of locals those being elected are lower-level toadies who regularly turn out to endorse the actions, candidates and sell-out program of the gang at Solidarity House.

The Indianapolis Massacre

One of the built-in dangers to these local leaders was illustrated in the recent 12-day strike at the Indianapolis Chrysler Electrical Plant. Doug Fraser flew into town to personally break the strike, refusing International sanction and leaving 23 local officers fired in his wake.

Similarly, when the Local 1364 (Fremont, California GM) shop committee called its plant out on strike two weeks ago, demanding the dismissal of a foreman who had assaulted a committeeman, the International again came down hard. The Local leadership buckled under and called the strike off after four days, with the shop committee drawing serious disciplines and a large number of rank and filers put "on notice."

Despite the demonstrated willingness



WV Photo



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Left, UAW tops Woodcock and Fraser. Right, strikers at Ford's River Rouge plant in September.

of the International to crush outbreaks of militancy at any cost and to axe any local bureaucrats who do not clamp down on rank-and-file militancy, few UAW office holders are able to conceive of challenging Solidarity House. WV recently interviewed a number of officers and delegates from key Detroit locals and found *not one* whose support for Fraser had been altered by his despicable strikebreaking.

Layoffs and Speed-up

The stranglehold of the Woodcock/Fraser bureaucracy is reinforced by the massive layoffs which hit auto workers during the 1974-75 depression.

Nearly 300,000 auto workers were on either indefinite or temporary layoffs, and tens of thousands were never called back. Contrary to various crisis-mongers, workers usually respond to widespread unemployment with caution and conservatism rather than militancy. Betrayed at every turn by their "leaders" and knowing full well that there were plenty of unemployed willing to take their place, employed auto workers reacted to the layoffs with a drastic decline in wildcats, grievance-filing and militancy.

Auto company productivity in 1976 jumped at a rate *twice* that of the yearly increases in the previous decade. The

necessary accompaniment to this speed-up was increased harassment and tight discipline to make the workers bear the pace. When auto sales finally began to pick up, many auto plants began scheduling grueling overtime as well: six days a week, nine and ten hours day. The killing combination of speed-up, overtime and harassment is so severe that it is common today to hear auto old-timers say that conditions in the plants are returning to those of the pre-union 1930's.

By these methods the Big Three did succeed in posting near-record profits in the final quarter of 1976. But discontent

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ILA's Gleason Calls Off Token Strike

APRIL 18—After a five-day "selective strike" by East and Gulf coast dock workers, International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) chief Thomas Gleason ordered his members back to work this evening. Abandoning the struggle for what could amount to thousands of jobs, Gleason settled for a big zero: some empty promises and nothing signed on paper. ILA longshoremen are now working without a contract.

The "strike," nothing more than a token pressure tactic, was aimed at the government's enforcement of a 1975 National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) ruling which canceled the key job protection clause in the contract, due to expire this September 30. The ruling had been under appeal.

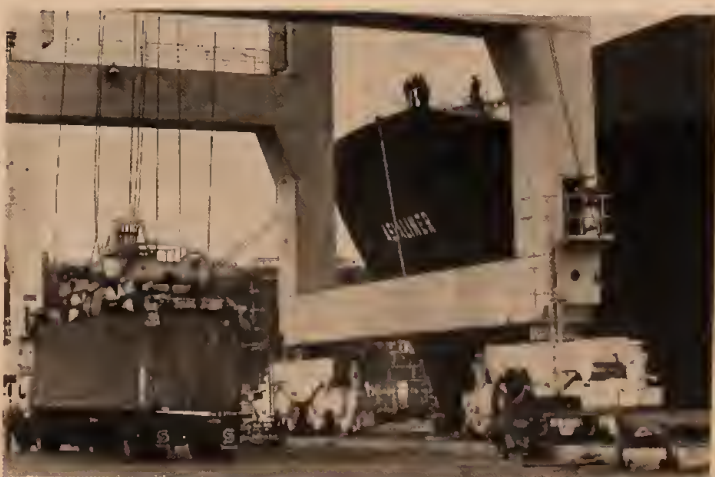
The latest slam against dock workers in the Port of New York and New Jersey came on January 10 when the Supreme Court upheld the NLRB decision voiding the clause which provides that

ILA workers have jurisdiction to strip and stuff all consolidated containers moving to or from points within 50 miles of a port.

The government ruling clearly threatened the decimation of the ILA, with its 35,000 members the largest waterfront union in the U.S. The growth of containerized shipping has made it possible to do work which once had to be done at the docks in consolidated warehouses inland. Lower-paid Teamsters and non-union labor are utilized to bypass the longshoremen.

The dispute began in April 1973 when the ILA moved to crack down on widespread ignoring of the 50-mile rule by steamship lines in the Port of New York. Two off-pier consolidators, Twin Express and Consolidated Express, challenged the union clause in a Labor Board case. In December 1975 the NLRB settled the dispute in favor of the

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WV Photo

Container ship being loaded at Port Seatrain, Weehawken, New Jersey.