



Black anger erupts at Stephen Biko funeral.

Major/Contact

Black Newspapers Closed, Anti-Apartheid Groups Banned

South Africa: Vorster Lashes Out

Smash Apartheid—For Workers Revolution!

The butchers of Soweto struck again last week. Deepening attempts to intimidate and atomize all opposition to its white-supremacist policies, the South African government launched a new crackdown on October 19. "Justice" Minister James Kruger announced the closing of the largest-circulation black newspaper and the outlawing of 18 organizations, nearly all of them associated with the "black consciousness movement." Additionally, Kruger's stormtroopers arrested some 50 black leaders and more than 100 white university students and served "banning" orders on five liberal white clergymen and a prominent white journalist. The blacks could rot in jail indefinitely under the draconian preventive detention pro-

visions of the Internal Security Act. The banned white oppositionists are consigned to virtual house arrest for five years.

With the outlawing of the "black consciousness" groups—principally the Black People's Convention (BPC), the South African Students Organization (SASO) and the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC)—every significant black political organization in South Africa is now illegal. Despite intense repression, these groups had operated openly, filling the void left by the older nationalist groups, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), which were hanned and driven into exile by the massive crackdown following the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. Prime Minister Balthazar J. Vorster explicitly linked the current wave of arrests and hannings with the post-Sharpeville repression, which he had personally overseen as



Mourners carry Biko's coffin into stadium.

Major/Contact

Minister of Justice. "If we did not act against individuals and organizations as we acted in the early 1960's, you and I would not be sitting here tonight," Vorster told a crowd of cheering supporters at an election rally (*New York Times*, 21 October).

Kruger's official announcement of the new curbs was typical of the regime's policies, self-delusion beyond parody, racist arrogance beneath contempt. With the blood of black schoolchildren from Soweto and "Coloured" youths from Cape Town on his hands, with the body of murdered BPC leader Stephen Biko fresh in its grave, Kruger declared: "The Government is determined to insure that the peaceful co-existence of peoples in South Africa [!] is not disturbed by a small group of anarchists."

Besides the black consciousness groups—which embrace a broad political spectrum from accommodationist liberal tendencies to militant

black nationalism—the so-called "anarchists" include the black secretary general of the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference; a majority of the Committee of Ten, the moderate community leadership body which replaced the discredited Urban Bantu Council in Soweto; a director of a black group which runs medical clinics in the Eastern Cape; and the editor of *The World*, South Africa's most important black newspaper. The proscribed organizations also include the Union of Black Journalists and the well-known Christian Institute of Southern Africa, a white ecumenical religious body which has consistently irked the Vorster regime by its attacks on white supremacy.

Liberal Press Under Attack

Among the bourgeois opposition forces, the liberal press is especially

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Letters

To The Editor:

The Bakke decision has become the spearhead of a racist offensive aimed at stripping away the democratic rights of blacks and other minorities. This racist decision must be resolutely opposed by the entire labor movement. Our unions, ILWU Locals 6 and 10, have taken a strong position against the Bakke decision. In doing so, however, we have not joined with the liberals and reformists who link opposition to the Bakke suit with support for the capitalist government's union-busting Affirmative Action schemes.

The recent flurry of activity around the Bakke case demonstrates once again that the bosses and their government will waste no opportunity to use racial oppression and the divisions it fosters as a club against the working class. In the 1968 New York teachers' strike, a coalition of fake-leftists, black nationalists and liberal democrats came together under the guise of "community control" of education to undermine the teachers' union. The AFT bureaucracy, accepting the false logic of their arguments, equated the fight against black oppression with the destruction of unionism and opted for the racist status quo. Now, with the Bakke issue, we've seen legitimate concern about the special oppression of racial minorities turned into uncritical enthusiasm over union-busting capitalist Affirmative Action schemes. At bottom, what these two episodes have in common is the false notion pushed by Democratic Party liberals and echoed by the reformist left and their supporters in the trade unions: that gains for blacks can only come at the expense of the organized labor movement.

The ranks of the ILWU, from many bitter experiences with government intervention, know well that the government of big business is no friend of labor. Debates on Bakke and Affirmative Action in recent meetings of ILWU Local 6 and 10 revealed once again a willingness on the part of the union ranks to reject the divide-and-conquer schemes of the bosses and their government. They know that any real gains—jobs, decent housing, better medical care and equal educational opportunities—for racial minorities will be wrested from the ruling class only by a united struggle of black and white workers against the employers.

For the membership of our union, like most major industrial unions in the U.S., racial discrimination is not a secondary issue. Some 60 percent of Local 10 Longshoremen are black. The membership of Local 6 is over one-third black and one-third Spanish-speaking. Any infringement on union seniority rights by government Affirmative Action lawsuits would itself be an attack on the rights of minorities, leading to an erosion of the job opportunities and living standards of black and Latino union members.

In Local 6, the membership went beyond the position of simple opposition to Bakke taken by the leadership. The September 15 East Bay Division membership meeting unanimously endorsed a Militant Caucus motion which, in addition to opposing the Bakke decision, called for open college admissions with full scholarships and a living stipend paid for by the government to provide equal educational opportunities for all.

In Local 10, a political fight broke out at the September membership meeting over a motion put forward by loyal "opponentist" Leo Robinson with the support of his regular bloc partner, Communist Party supporter Bill Proctor. Originally proposed at a previous Local 10 executive board, Robinson's motion called for support to the National Coalition to Overturn the Bakke Decision, not only in its efforts to reverse the Bakke decision but also in *any other efforts* of the Coalition. The CP-backed coalition makes support for Affirmative Action lawsuits a central part of its program. When we opposed this at the executive board, Robinson race-baited us and successfully rammed through his motion. He was not so successful at the subsequent membership meeting, however, where Howard Keylor's warnings about the dangers of Affirmative Action lawsuits forced the Local president to change the wording of the motion during the course of the meeting.

Keylor warned against any reliance on the government to defend democratic rights for black people, noting the waffling Justice Department brief on Bakke. And he read the sections of the Coalition leaflet which *condemned* the Supreme Court decision allowing the Teamsters seniority system to stand. He noted the dangerous conclusion of the Coalition's position: capitalist government intervention in the union hiring hall.

As it was eventually passed, the motion supported the Coalition's efforts to overturn the Bakke decision, but specifically denied Local 10 support for any other efforts of the Coalition which would attack union seniority.

It is our belief in the working class as the instrument of revolutionary change which has differentiated us from Robinson, Proctor & Co., who go scurrying to the capitalist government and its politicians at the first opportunity. Thus, for instance, in the fight against South African apartheid, Robinson/Proctor have been quick to make verbal calls for total, open-ended boycotts of South Africa—a demand which could only be either meaningless tokenism (boycott Krugers) or a call on the American capitalist government for chauvinist trade war. At the same time, it was Robinson, Proctor & Co., who scuttled a motion for longshore action against South African shipping on the eve of the general strike to protest the Soweto massacres last year.

The history of our union has much to offer in the way of lessons for those genuinely concerned about combating racial oppression. Every major step forward was made in defiance of the capitalist government. The bloody 1934 San Francisco general strike was fought principally over the issue of the union hiring hall. The 1948 longshore strike was waged in defense of this historic gain despite Taft-Hartley injunctions. Thirty years of union-controlled hiring in longshore and warehouse meant successful racial integration of Local 6 and Local 10. In Hawaii, where the ILWU was successful following World War II in organizing virtually the entire island's workforce, decades of racial hostility were overcome by the bonds of solidarity forged in those organizing struggles. More recently, due largely to the efforts of the Militant Caucus, Local 6 and 10

lent active support to the campaign to jail the murderers of Tyrone Guyton, a black youth shot in the back by racist Emeryville cops.

The popularity of "Affirmative Action" schemes has been facilitated by the insensitivity and complacency of the union bureaucracies, and on this point the ILWU bureaucracy is no exception. Over the past two years alone for instance, the International leadership has ignored or refused to implement repeated votes by the membership to dump the contract and strike for a shorter work-shift at no loss in pay to create more jobs—the basis for a real solution to racial oppression.

It is clear from events surrounding the anti-Bakke campaigns that the current union leadership is unwilling to mobilize the union in defense of the civil rights and living standards of blacks and other minorities. That can and must be changed. By forging bonds of struggle between black, white and Latino workers to dump the labor fakers, we can help put the labor movement on the road of struggle toward a workers party and a workers government. As a class-struggle opposition in the ILWU, we are determined to bring that about by building a new militant leadership in our union.

Howard Keylor
Executive Board
ILWU longshore Local 10
Stan Gow
Executive Board
ILWU longshore Local 10
Bob Mandel
General Executive Board
ILWU warehouse Local 6

Letter to the Toronto Globe & Mail:

"Middle Class Blacks Aren't Real Africa, Editor Writes"

The following letter was published in the 12 October Toronto *Globe and Mail*.

Ray Clifton's story "South African Blacks Have Serious Misgivings About Majority Rule" (Oct. 6) was followed up the next day by your editorial, "Passlaws", expressing a modicum of skepticism regarding Mr. Clifton's claim that blacks actually approve of apartheid regulations which require such savage police terror to enforce. But skepticism is a less than adequate response to Mr. Clifton's blatant apology for white supremacy in South Africa.

Unlike those "who have never stepped inside the country and based themselves on out-of-date information" Mr. Clifton seems to base most of his information on interviews with eight middle-class black Africans including teachers and the chief of personnel at a large factory. He does not mention the up-to-date information that blacks who reach managerial or professional status in South Africa are rather unrepresentative. Thus, as against 24.1 per cent of the white work force in such occupations, they are only 3.1 per cent of the black work force.

Further, even though two of the eight blacks interviewed were teachers and one was a university lecturer, either they failed to inform Mr. Clifton or he fails to inform us that while education is free and compulsory for whites, it is voluntary and often prohibitively expensive for the impoverished black population.

Nor does he mention that the gap between what the Government spends for every white pupil and for every black pupil has increased every year since the National Party came to power in 1948. Thus in 1953 expenditures per white pupil were 5-1/2 times greater than those per black pupil; in 1964 they were 10 times greater and by 1974, 15 times greater.

Further as it is not economically feasible for many black children to enter or complete school, the gap for expenditures per child is even greater. Perhaps Mr. Clifton was not given this "up-to-date" evidence of gross discrimination because blacks who express opinions contrary to the white supremacist regime in Pretoria do not long hold middle-class jobs. Or perhaps he does not report such evidence because it does not conform to his attempt to convey widespread black support for apartheid.

European colonialism destroyed the tribal-based economies which rested on unlimited grazing rights, communal land, etc. Apartheid is, in turn, destroying what remains of family life. Only those repressive aspects of tribal institutions which directly serve the interests of white supremacy and South African capitalism are being reintroduced to "retribalize" the black proletariat. Black townships are nothing but concentration-camp ghettos. According to the *London Observer*

(June 20, 1976) in Soweto 86 per cent of the homes are without electricity, 93 per cent without a shower or bath, 97 per cent without hot water and the unemployment rate is 54 per cent. According to reports in the Johannesburg *Financial Mail* last year, before the Soweto uprising, in May, 1976, the poverty datum line (PDL) for a black family of five in Soweto was estimated at 129 Rands per month, but the actual average income was 73 Rands. I suspect that if Mr. Clifton had to live under such conditions he might consider them a hardship, even if he could live with his "own". For blacks he portrays these deplorable conditions as communal bliss.

Mr. Clifton concludes by praising the "mood of optimism about the future of the black in South Africa." But optimism cannot be founded on faith in reforming the vicious apartheid system which Mr. Clifton so disingenuously defends. Optimism can only be based upon the social weight and combativity of the black laboring masses. It is they who by smashing apartheid and translating "majority rule" into a black-centred workers and peasants government will repossess their birthright and wealth and open the road for ending poverty and injustice through black Africa.

John Masters
Editor, *Spartacist Canada*
Toronto

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SL/SYL Demonstrate Against David Duke:

"The Klan Will Not Ride in the Bay Area!"

SAN FRANCISCO, October 25—On Sunday, October 16, David Duke, national director and "Grand Wizard" of the Ku Klux Klan, swooped down in a rented helicopter on the 24-lane San Ysidro border crossing just outside San Diego, California, where, in the company of about a dozen fascist companions, he held a press conference to announce plans for 500 to 1,000 armed Klansmen to patrol the Mexican border from San Diego to Texas. Duke snarled: "The rising flow of color is washing over our border, washing away our culture, our racial fabric and changing America as we know it." Duke also claimed that several Border Patrol members are Klansmen and that the KKK had been receiving cooperation from lower-level officials of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Following the press conference, the KKKers were given a tour of the INS office by the agent in charge.

This publicity stunt, aimed at generating press coverage of the KKK, was only one stop on Duke's recruiting tour in California. Playing on liberal guilt and demanding the Klan's "right" to freedom of speech, Duke has managed to garner a good deal of free press coverage and air time for his vicious hate campaign. But he has met with militant resistance as well.

At the San Ysidro border crossing about two dozen supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party/Revolutionary Student Brigade (RCP/RSB), the RCP-supported Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), and the Progressive Labor Party-backed Committee Against Racism (CAR) confronted Duke, chanting "Death to the Klan" and throwing eggs, at least one of which hit its target. One demonstrator was arrested (for assault with a deadly weapon) after allegedly throwing a brick at a car full of Klansmen. According to VVAW spokesman Landy Collier, the car had been attempting to run down the demonstrators. None of the fascists were arrested.

Again at a hotel press conference in Sacramento on October 20, Duke was met by about 50 demonstrators who tore the door of the conference room off its hinges in an attempt to stop him from spewing out his calls for lynch mob terror. The Klansmen were protected

by deputy sheriffs, who dispersed the demonstration.

In the Bay Area, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) took the lead in mobilizing against the KKK publicity campaign, calling for united-front action around the slogan, "The Klan will not ride in the Bay Area!" An Ad Hoc Committee to Stop David Duke, initiated by the SL/SYL, threatened to picket the KPFA radio station in Berkeley and began a call-in campaign protesting the scheduled live appearance by the Klan Führer. The barrage of protest forced the station to cancel the event. When KGO Radio across the Bay in San Francisco offered free air time to Duke on Saturday, the Committee threw up a militant picket line of about a hundred demonstrators chanting "Genocide is not debatable!" and "No platform for fascists!"

The Ad Hoc Committee was formed on the elementary position that there can be "no platform" for fascist scum. In an October 20 press release, the Committee said:

"The KKK is a fascist organization of action, not words, whose only use for 'debate' is to gain publicity to carry out its racist and genocidal program against blacks, Jews, union militants and leftists. Recent events such as racist anti-busing mobilizations in Boston and Chicago, and the pro-Bakke decision have emboldened these vermin to more openly propagate their fascist ideology—as evidenced by their recent appearances at anti-Bakke demonstrations in the Bay Area and their recent proposal to establish armed KKK border patrols aimed at stopping undocumented Mexican workers from crossing into the U.S.

"The Ad Hoc Committee, initiated by the Spartacist League, and endorsed by labor and left groups and concerned individuals, was instrumental in forcing KPFA to cancel its proposed debate with Duke this Friday. The demonstration is called to protest the increasingly more heinous activities of the Klan and prevent it from propagating its program and organizing its terror and murderous campaigns. No platform for fascists!"

But while even the bourgeois liberal San Francisco Press Club turned down Duke's request to use its facilities for a press conference—on the grounds that it feared damage to its property—"left" groups could not even muster the courage to endorse the Ad Hoc Committee's picket line. Most blatant was the social-democratic Socialist Workers Party/

Demonstrators protest appearance of KKK Grand Wizard David Duke.

For Workers
Defense Guards
to Fight
Klan Terror!
SPARTACIST SY

NO PLATFORM
FOR THE
KU KLUX KLAN!
LONGSHORE
MILITANT

Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA), whose spokesman, John Votava, bluntly stated in reference to the Klan: "We don't think they should be deprived a priori of their right of free speech.... Besides, you can't protest against every bad thing that happens." An SL/SYL leaflet distributed at an SWP-sponsored anti-deportation conference in the Bay Area over the weekend excoriated the head-in-the-sand civil libertarianism of these reformists:

"The Ad Hoc Committee to Stop David Duke contacted the self-proclaimed 'host builders' of the anti-deportations movement and invited them to come and confront *la migra's* fascist assistants. 'The SWP/YSA response? It's a false issue,' said their Berkeley organizer; 'That's not our approach,' said an SWP organizer in San Francisco; 'You know our position,' said the SWP organizer in San Jose. Yes, we are familiar with the SWP/YSA's position, respect for the fascists' 'right' to free speech 'without qualifications' (*Young Socialist*, July-August 1975). The SWP is so committed to demonstrate their loyalty to bourgeois legality that they will defend the Klan's 'right' to organize racist border-patrol murder squads. The SWP/YSA's refusal to demonstrate against the Klan shows their opposition to deportations to be a hollow sham."

Equally disgusting was the response of the Stalinist Communist Party (CP), which was more interested in maintaining its friendly relations with the liberal, listener-sponsored KPFA than in smashing the Klan's organizing drive. When asked by a Spartacist spokesman on October 19 about endorsing the picket line, CP leader Albert Lima agreed that the fascists have no right to a platform but recoiled from endorsing the protest on the absurd ground that it might mean the "destruction of KPFA." Unlike many liberal supporters of the station, such as Jessica Mitford and attorney Charles Garry and trade unionists like ILWU International

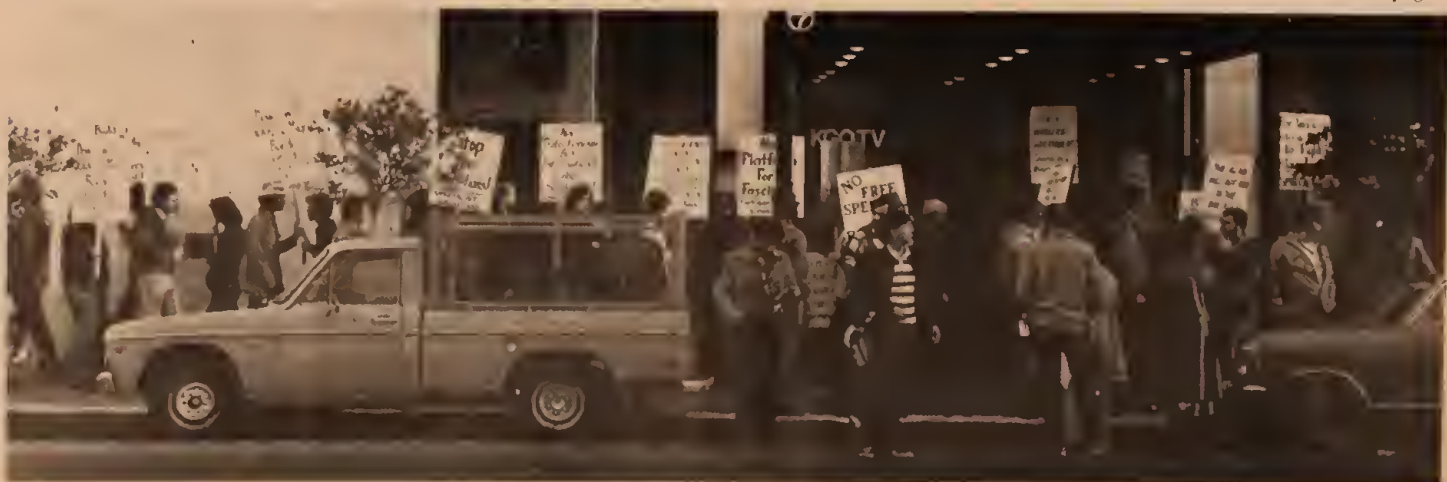
secretary-treasurer Curtis McLain, who responded to the Committee's call to protest Duke's appearance, the possibility that the growth of the Klan might result in more than the destruction of KPFA apparently did not bother the fake "communists" of the "Communist" Party.

Eventually KPFA management canceled Duke's live appearance—a real victory for the workers movement—after "a lot of internal debate" between management and workers (most of whom are in UE Local 1412) and because "community people became involved in the discussion," according to Alan Snitow, chief steward of UE workers at KPFA. But it was clear that the political question was not resolved. Instead, a rotten compromise was worked out. In place of Duke, KPFA featured a program on the "resurgent right" with guest speakers Mark Allen, staff writer for the CP West Coast weekly *People's World*, and teacher/activist Yvonne Golden.

Allen agreed with the liberal concept of "exposing" the Klan but objected to the "concept of a debate" and quickly separated himself from the Ad Hoc Committee by noting proudly that "I did not launch a picket line against the station." True enough. Allen pandered to the self-styled "Third-Worldists" at KPFA, asserting that "a people's radio station" cannot respond to threats. Thus he equates the working-class militancy and hatred for the Klan of the Ad Hoc Committee with the fascist terror of the KKKers!

But the liberal talk show host, Mama O'Shea, would not accept the cancellation of Duke. So when the phone calls came in, O'Shea admitted that she selected Duke's phone call first to allow her listeners to respond. Caught by his own treachery in a de facto debate with

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100 Ad Hoc Committee supporters demand "No platform for fascists!" outside KGO-TV station.

WV Photo

Protectionism at USWA District 31 Conference

Balanoff Plays Footsie with McBride

Sadlowski Bureaucrats Slide Toward Protectionism

CHICAGO—Faced with upwards of 65,000 firings and layoffs in the steel industry since summer the annual conference of District 31 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) was held here this past weekend. While there was plenty of huffing and puffing about protectionism and price rollbacks, there was not the slightest hint from the militant-posturing Balanoff/Sadlowski district leadership to prepare for strike action to halt plant closings and defend jobs.

Instead the Sadlowski/Balanoff wing of the bureaucracy has abandoned even its cheap campaign rhetoric of last winter and spent the conference mending fences with the openly reactionary McBride leadership of the International. Thus while the conference adopted a motion opposing the campaign for import quotas, the Balanoff-dominated resolutions



Jim Balanoff

WV Photo

committee concurred with a motion submitted by Local 1033 (Republic Steel) "in favor of strong restraints on the importation of specialty steel"! In devious bureaucratic fashion, the motion was never actually discussed and was simply passed in bloc with "related" motions.

USWA president Lloyd McBride addressed the conference plugging the steel bosses' vicious protectionist schemes which pit American steel workers against Japanese and European steel workers in destructive competition for a shrinking number of jobs. Showing his contempt for the membership, McBride boasted that by acting "reasonably" the union leadership had limited job cuts at the Johnstown, Pennsylvania, plant of Bethlehem Steel to "only" 3,500. Cleveland-based District 28 director Frank Valenta seconded McBride, going so far as to condemn U.S. Steel president Edgar Speer for dropping the call for import quotas in favor of vigorous enforcement of so-called anti-dumping laws.

Acting like anything but a militant oppositionist, Balanoff could only murmur that he did not agree with Valenta 100 percent. Of McBride's social-chauvinist speech, the District 31 director whimpered, "I think there is no difference between brother McBride and myself in building this union," though there might be differences in approach. "I wish the rest [of you] would understand this also," he emphasized.

Another invited speaker was Chicago preacher and poverty hustler Jesse Jackson, who gave the invocation. Jackson asked that "god grant us help from internal dissension," and his protectionist



WV Photo

District 31 conference in Chicago, October 15.

remarks following the invocation went unchallenged.

While the McBride bureaucracy demands import quotas, the Balanoff/Sadlowski forces also place their hopes in the capitalist government. Resolution 17, endorsed unanimously, urged that "our union should call upon the federal government to order the steel companies to roll back their prices to a level allowing them to compete more effectively." Thus, by a wave of a magic wand, the government is supposed to restore the competitive position of decaying American capitalism!

Balanoff attempted to placate the left by asserting that "Our union must raise the question and the idea" of a shorter workweek, an idea embodied in paper resolutions of the USWA since the 1940's. However, this reference to a shorter workweek is not a call for militant struggle, but a legislative demand made on Democratic Party politicians. McBride and Balanoff can happily agree to support the utopian and meaningless Humphrey-Hawkins bill, a weaker version of the existing and impotent Full Employment Act of 1946.

The failure of the leadership of District 31, which has the largest concentration of basic steel workers in the U.S., to call for militant strike actions against the plant closings allows the companies to continue to pick off plants one by one. And if the Balanoff bureaucrats still maintain even a semblance of opposition to protectionism, it is only because the firings that have hit Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York have yet to strike the Chicago-Gary district. Even so, these two-faced hypocrites have demonstrated their willingness to talk out of both sides of their mouths, endorsing quotas on specialty steel while ever so gently upbraiding McBride. It is significant that at U.S. Steel's Southworks division, which has been threatened with a plant closing, the pro-Sadlowski Local 65 leadership has failed to oppose protectionism. Local president John Chico has, in fact, indicated his personal preference for selective quotas.

In spite of the evident capitulations to McBride by the Sadlowski bureaucrats, the reformist opposition groups in the

union continue their support to these fake oppositionists. Joe Kransdorf, prominent spokesman for the National Steelworkers Rank and File Committee (NSRFC), politically backed by the Communist Party (CP), spoke in favor of the price-rollback gimmick and directed his remarks against protectionism at the easy target of McBride, letting Balanoff and Chico off the hook. Another NSRFC supporter, Roberta Wood, even urged the conference to endorse and publish Balanoff's mealy-mouthed speech.

A spokesman for Breakout, supported by the Revolutionary Communist Party, could only stutter that he gave support to Resolution 17, but that it was necessary to "go further than that and put our whole union and its 1.44 million members up against the company" in some unspecified way. These disoriented workerists of Breakout found their entire empty program adopted by the conference, including "support from the International" for workers' struggles. They

could only distinguish themselves by challenging the steel companies to a ludicrous "public debate on imports and our jobs"—as if there were anything to "discuss" with the job-slashing bosses.

In Chicago today it is impossible to avoid the question of racist terror being whipped up by the capitalists and their politicians. The powerful, integrated Steelworkers union, if mobilized to defend open housing in Marquette Park or bused schoolchildren, could easily drive the racists off the streets. Referring to attacks on black steelworkers en route to and from their jobs, Balanoff claimed the union must "do all in our power to stop these dastardly attacks." In fact, because of fakers like Balanoff the power of Steelworkers has not been employed at all. Instead the sellouts misleading District 31 call upon racist mayor Bilandic and his police chief to protect black children in Chicago's limited transfer program and "take firm action against those promoting violence or race hatred." This appeal to racist cops and capitalist politicians is a gross betrayal. How many times do they have to show that their role is to brutalize rather than "defend" blacks?

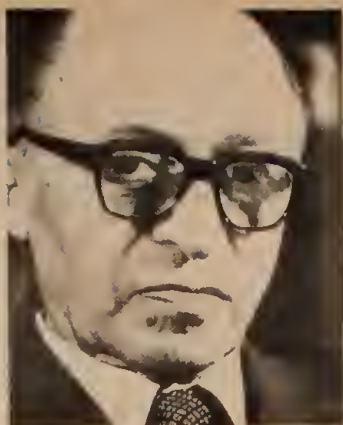
The District 31 conference also endorsed resolutions calling on the unions to take their money out of banks that invest in South Africa and demanding that U.S. Steel cease its operations and investments in South Africa and "redirect the huge flow and revenues toward providing jobs for our brothers and sisters here who are currently facing layoffs." Under the guise of opposing apartheid, these motions are in fact only appeals for protectionism, no different from a similar ploy launched by Arnold Miller's Mine Workers bureaucracy against imported South African coal three years ago. The answer for the oppressed South African black masses is not throwing them out of jobs by closing down American-owned plants, but supporting their just struggle for trade union recognition and against apartheid. The labor movement in the U.S. must take strike actions to force U.S. firms with plants in South Africa to recognize

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Ed Sadlowski

WV Photo



Menachem Begin

L'Express



Dayan with Carter, Vance and Brzezinski in Washington.

McNamee/Newsweek



Yasir Arafat

Salthani/Sygma

Geneva Conference—An Imperialist Hoax

Jimmy Carter: Smiling on the PLO?

U.S. president Jimmy Carter presented his domestic energy program as the "moral equivalent of war." Lately he has been losing that war in the Senate. But at the same time he has escalated American diplomatic activity in that part of the world where the imperialist struggle for energy resources is very likely to lead to a real shooting war, the Near East.

International diplomacy, which offers numerous opportunities for empty moral bombast, is for bourgeois politicians a favored diversion from domestic failure. In this regard the annual farce performed at the glass menagerie overlooking New York's East River, the United Nations General Assembly, is particularly useful. Appropriately, Carter chose the UN as the place to attempt to redeem Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's abortive August trip to the Near East.

But Near East diplomacy is more than mere diversion for U.S. imperialism, given its increasing dependence on Arab oil. This dependence was graphically brought home to the American bourgeoisie by the Arab oil boycott engendered by the October 1973 Arab-Israeli war. The U.S. and Soviet Union, after nearly escalating that conflict into a thermonuclear confrontation, convened the peace conference in Geneva which brought an unstable ceasefire to the battlefields. The Arab oil spigot was turned back on, but not before crude petroleum prices underwent a fivefold increase.

Since then U.S. dependence on Near East oil has continued to increase. In

1973, Arab petroleum supplies constituted 22 percent of total U.S. oil imports; last year that figure had risen to 38 percent. And it will go on escalating in the immediate future irrespective of whether Congress deregulates domestic fuel prices or further emasculates the American automobile. Therefore, U.S. "mediation" of the Arab-Israeli conflict (i.e., stirring up the conflict, arming one side and preferably both and then stepping in as policeman) has taken a "pro-Arab tilt."

This does not mean that American imperialism, which this year alone is lavishing \$2 billion in aid and military credits on Israel, will dump its Zionist client state. It does mean that the U.S. will bring increasing pressure to bear on Jerusalem, including the threat of reducing aid or military shipments, to make concessions to the Arab regimes, especially withdrawal from the territories occupied in the 1967 war.

Palestinian Question

Unlike former Secretary of State Kissinger, whose piecemeal shuttle diplomacy got no further than getting the Zionists to give up a "piece of land for a piece of peace," Carter wants the adversaries to return to Geneva to negotiate a "comprehensive settlement." But such a settlement must address the "Palestinian question," for fully one million Palestinian Arabs live in the occupied territories of the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip. In addition, Palestinians living in Lebanon, Syria and Jordan constitute a constant threat to those shaky regimes, as was dramatically demonstrated in the Jordanian civil war of 1969-70 and the Lebanese civil war of last year. In 1974 the Arab League states sanctified the Palestine Liberation Organization as "the sole representative of the Palestinian people," and they have since demanded PLO representation at Geneva.

Since Israel was created through the destruction of the Palestinian people, the PLO has historically called for Palestinian self-determination through the destruction of Israel. But as the PLO has become more respectable, it has accepted the West Bank/Gaza mini-state "solution." The Zionists, of course, can never recognize the Palestinian right to self-determination, as that would call into question the legitimacy of their existing state. The current right-wing Likud coalition government led by former Irgun terrorist Menachem Begin stands for no territorial concessions at all. Begin's own party, the Herut, stands



Israeli police beat Arab demonstrator.

AP

for the conquest of the East Bank (the present state of Jordan) as well as the West Bank and the incorporation of both banks into a Greater Israel. Again, for the sake of international respectability, such pronouncements are temporarily shelved. But Begin is no less resistant than the previous "Labor" government to negotiations with the PLO.

The U.S. has attempted to jockey between the two positions through economic, political and military pressure on the one hand and diplomatic formulas so vague and duplicitous that all real differences are masked. However, most of the pressure has been on Israel, as Carter has at one time or another called for the return of all occupied territories (except for "minor adjustments"—the Golan Heights, for instance?), for a "Palestinian homeland" and Palestinian representation at Geneva. But after the failure of the Vance mission in August, the Carter administration has apparently come to the conclusion that the road back to Geneva requires the additional pressure that can be brought by the conference co-chairman, the USSR.

U.S.-Soviet Statement

On October 1, Vance and his Soviet counterpart, Foreign Minister Gromyko, signed a joint statement which, while making certain verbal concessions to the Begin regime, could only be construed as an extension of Carter's "pro-Arab tilt." On the one hand, the statement referred to Israeli withdrawal "from the territories occupied in the 1967 conflict" rather than "all the territories"—an

omission which the Zionists seized upon as license for continued military occupation. The statement also calls for the "establishment of normal peaceful relations," implying lifting of the Arab trade and travel ban with Israel in addition to diplomatic recognition. But by referring to the "legitimate rights of the Palestinians" rather than the usual American diplomatese "interests," the statement appeared to endorse Palestinian rights to national self-determination.

The statement was purposely ambiguous about inviting the PLO to Geneva, calling instead for "representatives of all the parties involved in the conflict, including those of the Palestinian people." The Carter administration's official position is not to recognize or negotiate with the PLO until the latter recognizes the existence of the Israeli state as expressed in UN Resolution 242. (The Resolution, passed after the 1967 war, is ambiguous about the extent of Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, and also refers to the Palestinian question as a refugee problem rather than a national question, while recognizing Israeli sovereignty and the 1949 borders.)

By not explicitly reaffirming Resolution 242, the October 1 U.S.-USSR joint statement leaves open a possible change in Washington's attitude toward the PLO. But at the same time one of the purposes of the statement was to get Moscow to pressure the PLO to recognize Israel in some form. Finally, the statement calls for "internal

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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RAF Deaths Spark Protests in Europe

West Germany Unleashes Police State

OCTOBER 24—In the wake of the discovery of the body of leading West German industrialist Hanns-Martin Schleyer in the trunk of an abandoned car in Mulhouse, France last Wednesday, Bonn officials have unleashed what they called "the greatest manhunt in West Germany's 33-year history." While ostensibly aimed at tracking down 16 suspects allegedly implicated in the kidnapping-assassination of the former SS officer and Nazi, an equally obvious purpose of the dragnet was to whip up hysteria against the radical left, lumped together under the catch-all rubric of "sympathizers."

Since federal chancellor Helmut Schmidt's appeal in the Bundestag (lower house of parliament) for a worldwide campaign to "stamp out terrorism," West German police have been turning the country upside down looking not only for members of the "Red Army Faction" (RAF referred to in the mass media as the "Baader-Meinhof Gang"), but also for those suspected of being in the RAF "periphery." The police published "special phone numbers that citizens should dial if they wanted to supply clues, even anonymously," reported the *New York Times* (21 October).

Already heated up by government blacklisting of radicals (*Berufsverbot*) and a panoply of "anti-terrorist" laws, the atmosphere in the federal republic recalls the McCarthy era in the U.S. when schoolchildren cheerfully sang, "If your mommy is a commie, turn her in." By the weekend, roadblocks were thrown up from Berlin to Munich as police stopped thousands of vehicles to examine the passengers' identity papers and search through their luggage. Television programs were interrupted to show films of the RAF suspects. In some cities police roamed the streets with bullhorns urging the populace to report any "suspicious" activity. And police around the country reported local precincts were besieged by thousands of callers with hot tips.

With the decision by the Schmidt government to launch the Mogadishu commando raid which rescued the passengers aboard a hijacked Lufthansa jet October 18, it was understood that Schleyer's fate was sealed. A government spokesman announced at the time that Bonn would "never" give in to the kidnappers' demands. And when, only hours later, the authorities announced the deaths of Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan-Carl Raspe—three imprisoned RAF leaders whose release had been demanded both by the kidnapers and hijackers—it was simply a matter of time until the anonymous phone call came which led police to Schleyer's body.

This was the signal for the manhunt to begin. Federal republic police immediately released a list of suspects, prepared weeks ago, and began distributing throughout West Europe three million posters and leaflets in seven languages containing their descriptions and photographs. Topping the most-wanted list are Friederike Krabbe, younger sister of one of the 11 jailed RAF prisoners whose release was demanded by Schleyer's abductors, and Christian Klar, who police say was seen in the car where the body was found. At present the most intensive search is reportedly centered on the French-German-Swiss border area where French police are searching for and underground tunnels of the World War I Maginot Line, looking for the hideout where Schleyer was apparently held for

43 days since his kidnapping in early September.

In Bonn, all parties in parliament eulogized the powerful businessman who was simultaneously a director of Daimler-Benz and president of both the West German employers' and industrial federations. However, it was difficult to generate popular enthusiasm for "the hulky industrial executive with the dueling scars on his face [who] looked to some West Germans almost like a caricature of the 'ugly capitalist'" (*New York Times*, 20 October). This was particularly true because, for the first time since his kidnapping, the press had begun reporting Schleyer's Nazi past. Significantly, there was considerable unease over the decision by the Christian Democratic mayor of Stuttgart to permit the burial of Baader, Ensslin and Raspe in a public cemetery, out of fear that their graves would become a shrine and gathering place for youthful radicals.

Fallout from the "Schleyer Affair"

There was good reason for this nervousness, as the deaths of the three RAF leaders provoked a wave of leftist demonstrations throughout southern Europe, from Athens to the Basque region of Spain. In Italy, West German governmental offices and business properties were attacked and bombed in Venice, Naples, Bologna, Torino, Milano, Livorno and Siena. Thousands of youths battled riot cops outside Rome University after the government refused to authorize a march on the German embassy protesting the "murder" of Baader and his comrades. The next day armored personnel carriers surrounded the German embassy after an anonymous threat to arrange the "suicide" of Bonn's ambassador.

Many of the demonstrations in West Europe protesting the deaths of the inmates in Stammheim prison shaded over into anti-German chauvinism. In France, three German tourist buses were firebombed in downtown Paris and two in Nice. The RAF itself has been implicated in this poisonous reaction. Thus the UPI reported on October 21 a telephone call from the Siegfried Hausner Commando of the RAF (the group which kidnapped Schleyer) threatening to set off "100,000 bombings which will destroy the capitalist German economy throughout Europe.... We give firms and private individuals three months to get rid of any German products. On January 20, the first German automobiles will be blown up throughout Europe." This dangerous nationalist logic is shared with those who claim the entire German nation bears a "collective guilt" for the rise of Nazi barbarism.

Moreover, it feeds into heightened inter-imperialist rivalry, which has engendered a resurgence of anti-German chauvinism in France in particular. On 2 September, shortly before the Schleyer kidnapping, noted French writer Jean Genet published a front-page essay in *Le Monde* praising the "heroic" effort by the RAF to unmask the "brutality" of European bourgeois democracy. Then in a two-part series correspondent Manuel Lucbert summarized:

"The German Federal Republic is sick. Political assassinations, unemployment, recurring terrorism, a latent economic crisis, social peace threatened, Hitler suddenly making the front pages; not a day goes by without the good citizens being jolted in their democratic consciences. The German mark reigns over Europe, the *Bundeswehr* seems



Police roadblock in Bonn.



West German bourgeoisie congratulates itself for the commando raid at Mogadishu.

solid as steel—and yet the giant is quaking in its boots. Doubts have invaded people's minds and one word, *Angst* (fear, anxiety, anguish), keeps turning up obsessively, disturbingly in their remarks and reactions."

Le Monde, 7 September

He added, "only a society which is itself monstrous can heget monsters."

While Genet's opinions are certainly idiosyncratic, his and Lucbert's remarks feed into very tangible bourgeois anti-German sentiment in France. In siding up to dissident Gaullists, the French Communist Party (PCF) has called for maintenance of the nuclear "*force de frappe*" (strike force) as a defense against West German imperialism. (About French imperialism the PCF says not a word.) The prevalence of such views in liberal circles is heightened by the headline stance of Bonn against popular frontism in southern Europe. The Social Democratic-led cabinet in Bonn has given crucial backing to Mario Soares in Portugal because of his pronounced anti-Communism, and multi-million mark loans to Italy on the condition that the PCI be kept out of power. Consequently, those segments of bourgeois opinion that see the desirability of bringing the Communists into the government, by a Union of the Left or a "historic compromise," complain about the arrogant interference of "Deutschmark imperialism."

Nevertheless, on the whole the "Schleyer affair" has visibly strengthened

the hand of the West German state. At home Schmidt is praised for his "cool" crisis management, combining a "steady hand" with the "daring" Mogadishu raid. The grateful federal chancellor waxed biblical in thanking the Somali government for its cooperation: "Our black brother was the good Samaritan who rescued whites from distress at the hands of the brigands." And the diplomatic correspondents noted an unusual degree of international cooperation in preparing the raid by the German "border police." The commandos used special "stun grenades" developed by the British for use in Northern Ireland, while U.S. aid was instrumental in obtaining Somali agreement. Everyone drew the obvious parallel to the Israeli raid on Entebbe, and 13 nations let it be known that they already had or were training special anti-hijacking commando squads of their own.

Revelation over the criminal airliner hijacking gave the Bonn government its highest boost in stature in years. Israeli prime minister Begin congratulated Schmidt, marking the end of his long-standing boycott of Germany, and the press was full of praise for the "new," "33-year-old" West German state—ignoring the fact that Bonn openly claims to represent the continuity of Hitlerian Germany and took over the state apparatus of the Third Reich more or less intact. As thousands of cheering West German citizens greeted the returning commandos, the *Wall Street Journal* (19 October) reported:

"The raid gave heroes to a nation that hasn't had any for a long time. Behind all the rejoicing was a feeling that perhaps, at long last, there wasn't any further need to feel ashamed for what happened 40 years ago. Germans have been reasserting slowly their pride for some years, but this was the first time that German troops conducted what was essentially a military operation on foreign soil."

Mogadishu and Stuttgart

Bonn has capitalized on the legitimate disgust of the population generally for the criminal tactics of the terrorist hijackers of the Lufthansa jet. The very act of taking scores of random individuals hostage is a declaration of intent to kill utterly innocent persons who are in no way enemies of the working class. In no sense can such indiscriminate terror be defended as an anti-imperialist act, even in intent.

Accounts of the ordeal of the 86 victims of the Lufthansa hijackers make it clear that their captors were a gang of

Measures

sadistic thugs. The plane's pilot was forced to kneel and beg for his life, then shot in cold blood and left in the aisle for some time as a "reminder." The hijackers searched the passengers' hand luggage thoroughly looking for Israeli goods. Three young women who had jewelry with stars of David were accused of being Jewish, and it was announced they would be executed a few hours hence. (Later the terrorists backed off from this threat, in order, they said, to prove that they were "freedom fighters.")

The international Spartacist tendency, unlike various petty-bourgeois arm-chair guerrillaists who hail every act of the most fanatical Palestinian nationalists, has always sharply distinguished between such criminal actions and the misguided, counterproductive strategy of individual terrorism aimed at symbols and representatives of imperialist oppression. The RAF, at least implicitly, had recognized such a distinction in the past, as even the German liberal news magazine *Der Spiegel* (17 October) admitted:

"In practice, up until the [Lufthansa jet] hijacking, the RAF comrades sought to give the impression that their people's war was not directed against the people. It was always supposed or actual 'establishment figures' [Systemträger] of West German society who were chosen as the assassination targets.

"In contrast, the RAF and its sympathizers always distanced themselves with indignation from attacks endangering the general population which were ascribed to them, such as the mysterious bomb threat against the city of Stuttgart in the spring of 1972 or the subsequent bomb attack on the Bremen train station. But the hijacking of the [Lufthansa jet], jammed with vacationers, fit exactly in this category."

What was the connection, then, between the RAF prisoners in Stammheim and the group which seized the German airliner in Mallorca, between a decomposition product of the German New Left and an Arabic-speaking group with the previously unknown name of "Society Against World Imperialism"? That some relation existed was made evident by a picture of Schleyer in RAF captivity, sent to the Paris newspaper *Libération* shortly after the Lufthansa hijacking, which bore the name in Arabic used by the hijackers.

But who exactly were the hijackers? A UPI dispatch of 24 October quotes "Middle East sources" as suggesting that the operation was planned by the elusive "Carlos" (of course) and a former leader of the Palestinian PFLP, Wadie Ha Haddad. Yet no information has been forthcoming from the sole surviving hijacker. A 21 October UPI dispatch from Somalia reported: "She is mentally deranged," one official said of the young woman, who has been hospitalized with minor wounds...."

Concerning the triple deaths in Stammheim prison in Stuttgart questions abound. First and foremost, how did the prisoners obtain the alleged suicide weapons, in particular two military pistols? This was so obvious that even Chancellor Schmidt remarked that the deaths in the maximum security prison were "inconceivable." Then, "upon subsequent investigation," further items were uncovered. It turns out that the specially built prison-fortress had more holes than a Swiss cheese. An entire communications system was uncovered whereby the prisoners could have tapped out in morse code the terms of a suicide pact. A package of 270 grams of ammonium nitrate, conveniently labeled explosive, was found in another hole. Razor blades, a stomach

probe and an "unidentified putty-like substance" were found in yet another hiding place, while a fourth recess held a transistor radio wrapped in a sweater. Yet supposedly every cell was searched daily.

Such miraculous discoveries are all too convenient for government authorities eager to bolster their case for the draconian law, rushed through the Bundestag in record time, prohibiting any contact with "dangerous" prisoners. The very quantity of unanswered questions concerning the official version invites extreme skepticism, and Ensslin's attorney, Otto Schilly, who was present at the autopsy, has called for an international commission to investigate the deaths. But there are also questions on the other side. If prison authorities had murdered the prisoners and tried to make it look like suicide, then why was Baader shot in the neck in classic execution style?

Above all, why was the job so badly botched that one of the prisoners, Irmgard Möller, survived? On the other hand, why is there no statement from Möller? Officials claim she has refused to talk to anyone, but they have removed her to a secret locale (allegedly to

left and enacting all sorts of anti-democratic legislation. The bloody events of October 20 in Stammheim prison were only the last act in a murderous scenario which rips the "democratic" mask off capitalism's barbarous class "justice."

McCarthyite Hysteria

Even though it is doubtful in the extreme that an accomplished and sophisticated group of terrorists would sit around in West Germany waiting to be caught, the "anti-terrorist" repression in the federal republic continues to escalate. Several examples are indicative of the extremes which the McCarthyite hysteria has reached:

- In mid-September, two actors who play the part of clowns in a well-known children's television show took a break during a filming session, going out in full costume for a snack. Suddenly they were surrounded by more than 20 cops with drawn machine pistols, who had been notified of "suspicious figures" by "phone calls from the citizenry." The *Frankfurter Rundschau* (16 September) reported:

"A check of identity papers established that these two were not, as had first been

sympathizer, the liberal magazine quotes the ominous definition of Rheinland-Pfalz prime minister Vogel, that it can be "someone who simply says 'Baader-Meinhof Group' instead of 'Gang'."

- The same issue of *Der Spiegel* published the results of an opinion poll conducted on behalf of the federal chancellor's press office. Under the headline, "In Full Harmony With Popular Opinion," and accompanied by a picture of a border policeman with a finger on the trigger of his machine pistol, it reports that "the average *Bundesbürger* is confused" about the kidnapping and did not know what would happen. *Der Spiegel* noted:

"The press office specialists commented in an internal memorandum that the confusion of the population concerning the outcome of the kidnapping would have 'an entirely positive effect' for the future action of the government, 'because none of the indicated possible results would disappoint widespread expectations among the populace'."

In other words, the government could adopt a hardline stance without fear of popular pressure. The article ended with a comment on the cooperation of the "free but responsible press" with the government's news blackout on the Schleyer affair that was worthy of any Latin American dictatorship:

"That the chancellor and his government feel so close to their subjects is certainly thanks to the understanding commentary on their actions by the German press. According to press office analysts, never before has the chancellor enjoyed such a unanimously positive press coverage as at this moment."

- A conference of state interior ministers in Bonn on October 15 recommended that following terrorist attacks a siren warning signal should be sounded indicating to the population that they should all turn their radios to a particular channel in order to receive further instructions. Another measure which had been under discussion was a proposal to turn all traffic lights red in case of a terrorist action. However, it was apparently felt that the resulting mammoth traffic jams would hinder rather than help the police.

Down With the "Anti-Terrorist" Witchhunt!

With the "anti-terrorist" hysteria in the federal republic at a fever pitch, it is necessary that the workers movement respond with massive, united protests. From the *Berufsverbot* to police roadblocks on the Autobahns to laws barring contact between left-wing prisoners and their lawyers, the goal of the ferocious state repression in West Germany is to intimidate the entire citizenry and build up the apparatus of a "strong state" which is ultimately directed at straitjacketing the proletariat with a barrage of bonapartist measures. It is indicative that after proposing to outlaw communist organizations in the wake of the Schleyer kidnapping, right-wing

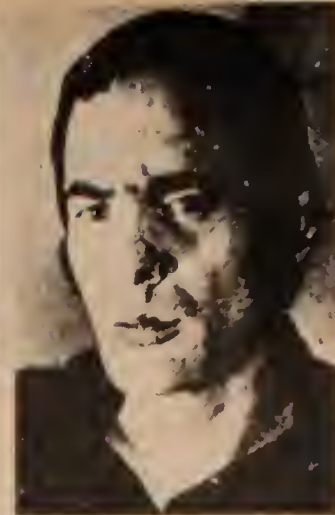
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Jan-Carl Raspe



Gudrun Ensslin



Andreas Baader



The press joins an anti-terrorist/anti-left campaign.

prevent any attempt to free her), and her lawyer reports he was denied permission to talk to her on the grounds that nothing had changed since the hunger strike by the RAF prisoners last summer which proved her "suicidal tendencies."

In any case, whether it was a classic prison murder or whether the prisoners were driven to attempt suicide by the inhuman conditions of their imprisonment and the obvious determination of the West German state to keep them locked up until their dying day, the responsibility for the deaths of Baader, Ensslin and Raspe clearly lies with Schmidt and the bourgeoisie. For years West German rulers have used the "Baader-Meinhof Gang" as the excuse for stepping up repression against the

supposed, bank robbers or anarchists, but employees of the Hesse radio and television network who had taken a short break in filming...."

Nevertheless, a spokesman for the Frankfurt police announced: "It is very good that people are so suspicious." Luckily, the clowns Nappo and Kunkel didn't make any "suspicious movements."

- The 3 October issue of *Der Spiegel* contained the first installment of a series on "The Sympathizers." The article contains several photos of religious leaders above the caption, "theologians suspected of sympathizing." (The next issue features pictures of "terrorist lawyers" who defended the RAF prisoners.) In answering the question of who is a

40,000 Aircraft Workers Strike Boeing, Lockheed

Simultaneous strikes against two major aerospace companies began October 10 as 15,000 Lockheed Aircraft Corporation machinists walked off the job to join 24,000 Boeing Company workers on strike since October 3. On October 19 workers at Lockheed's Marietta, Georgia plant set up picket lines. This is the first Boeing strike since 1965 and the first at Lockheed in 15 years.

The action taken by members of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM) provides a rare opportunity to win substantial gains, and above all jobs, for workers in the unemployment-ravaged aerospace industry. But the IAM bureaucracy led by William Winpisinger has already demonstrated its determination to cripple the struggle with the toothless tactics of business unionism.

Approximately 90,000 aerospace workers are covered by contracts currently being negotiated with the IAM and the United Auto Workers (UAW), and the Boeing settlement will most likely set the pattern for nearly 200,000 workers at more than a dozen firms throughout the industry. In order to wage an effective strike against the aircraft and military contractors, militants must demand an industry-wide strike across the U.S. and Canada.

The IAM bureaucracy has not made an effort to shut down the Seattle Boeing complex, as thousands of employees report to work every day. This includes a small number of the 18,500 IAM members at the complex as well as 10,000 engineers, designers and machine tool planners belonging to the Seattle Professional Engineering Employees Association (SPEEA). A Local 751 official in Seattle told a *WV* reporter that SPEEA had not been asked to honor the IAM's picket lines despite the fact that SPEEA members receive the same medical and retirement benefits as IAM.

The IAM tops are unconcerned by the stampede of scabs. Al Schultz, chief union negotiator, remarked, "They'll have a couple of thousand engineers running around but there'll be no planes moving out the back doors and that's where it counts" (*Wall Street Journal*, 5 October 1977). A Boeing spokesman, however, stated that presently the company is making deliveries as committed and hopes to finish work on 15 airliners scheduled for October completion. While uncorroborated company claims must be taken with a grain of salt, the presence of management personnel, technicians and white collar workers in the plant poses a real threat to the effectiveness of the strike. Boeing must be shut down solid.

The UAW bureaucracy, which represents 62,000 aerospace workers and is currently negotiating contracts for almost half that number, is equally culpable in this shameful betrayal. While pledging "our complete support and assistance to our colleagues in IAM who are carrying on this fight..." (UAW press release, 5 October), Solidarity House has kept 2,500 UAW members on the job at the Vertol Division of Boeing in Pennsylvania and 13,000 union members have been working without a contract at Rockwell International since October 1. The "colleagues" in the IAM and UAW bureaucracies are also collaborating in maintaining production at the McDonnell-Douglas Corporation where contracts affecting 10,000 workers expired October 16.

Solidarity House rationalizes its backstabbing policy with the same "one-at-a-time" strategy used to cripple auto workers' solidarity since the days of Walter Reuther. Ken Bannon, UAW

vice president for the union's aerospace division claims to be aiding the IAM strike by slowing UAW negotiations. "If you aren't producing the [McDonnell-Douglas] DC-10, that makes it easier to make fewer 747's" (*Wall Street Journal*, 7 October 1977). Bannon used identical inverted reasoning in the negotiations which he led with Ford Motor Company in 1976, resulting in a defeated four-week strike and the current wretched auto contract subsequently foisted on Chrysler and G.M. workers.

It is imperative that the IAM and UAW ranks learn from Bannon's treachery in the auto strike. Mass pickets must be organized at aerospace factories across North America. The plants must be sealed and the industry entirely shut down.

Lockheed and Boeing are offering the IAM wage increases from 3 to 3.5 percent. This is a slap in the face; the Boeing Company, for example, recently reported second quarter earnings more than doubled over the same six months of the previous year. The union negotiators want a 20 percent pay increase over three years at Boeing and seek 8 percent from Lockheed the first year of the new contract to be followed by two annual 4 percent raises. Lockheed wants individual seniority dates lumped together in six-month periods, allowing the company considerable latitude to lay off out of seniority. The company also wants the freedom to exempt favored workers from layoff regardless of length of service. Similarly the IAM is resisting Boeing "retention" policies by which lower seniority workers are kept at work in certain positions while more senior workers are laid off. The Machinists union is also seeking a closed shop at Boeing.

As a result of the de-escalation of the war and eventual defeat of U.S. imperialism in Indochina, cutbacks in the space program and stagnation in the commercial aviation industry, over half a million aerospace jobs were lost between 1968 and the end of 1976. Some 318,000 of these layoffs affected production and maintenance workers. Winpisinger's small-change reforms do not even approach the membership's needs. The obvious and crucial demand for jobs among workers in this industry calls for a struggle for full employment with a sliding scale of wages and hours.

The bureaucrats' efforts to win aerospace jobs have centered on support for expanded military projects coupled with utopian "missiles-into-plowshares" schemes. The IAM convention in 1976 passed a resolution supporting continued production of the B-1 bomber. According to an IAM spokesman at the international headquarters in Washington, D.C., Winpisinger now favors "a more active space program" which would also "play a major role in future defense plans."

Likewise at the UAW aerospace convention in February, Bannon discussed efforts to bring the Pentagon's business to UAW-represented plants. This includes the B-1 at Rockwell, the Advanced Tanker/Cargo Aircraft (ATCA) to McDonnell-Douglas and the Light Airborne Multi-Purpose Systems (LAMPS) helicopter to Boeing's Vertol Division. Lacking any strategy to recover 80,000 UAW aerospace jobs, the delegates backed the ATCA and LAMPS projects and called for full budgeting for the B-1 program, describing the soon-to-be-canceled bomber as the only weapon system "capable of meeting the requirements for an effective, recallable strike force in the 1980's and 1990's" (*Solidarity*, 18 March).

When Carter scratched the B-1,



Striking machinist at Boeing plant in Seattle.



Pickets at Lockheed-California in Burbank.

thereby eliminating 8,000 union jobs at Rockwell, the UAW tops exhumed their Reutherite "social conscience." Solidarity House issued a press release August 5 which stated, "We need the equivalent of a 'civilian NASA' for the conversion of idled and underutilized aerospace manpower facilities to peacetime production that would help meet our nation's needs for mass transportation, development of new energy sources, housing and other programs."

Militants must support the IAM strike against the aerospace giants. But instead of begging for government bailouts to finance the corporate slush funds of these notoriously corrupt war profiteers, militants must demand the immediate expropriation without compensation not only of scandal-ridden Lockheed but of all military production. And as against the labor fakers' social-patriotic sabre-rattling bluster for a "strong defense posture," class-

conscious workers must oppose not only the B-1 but the entire war budget of U.S. imperialism.

Counterposed to the bureaucrats' hypocritical schemes to reallocate a portion of the U.S. war budget for peaceful purposes, Marxists demand unconditional, unlimited unemployment compensation and massive programs of public works to be planned and carried out under union control. Union unemployment committees must be created in the depression-level aerospace industry, and all seniority rights must be preserved indefinitely.

Winpisinger (appropriately nicknamed "Wimp" even by his friends) pretends to champion leftism within the labor movement hierarchy. But his real class loyalties are revealed by his leadership—shared with ex-astronaut and Eastern Air Lines chief Frank Borman of the Institute of Collective Bargaining, which is dedicated to promoting harmonious labor-management relations in public and private employment.

The Aerospace Workers Organized to Fight '77 (AWOF), an opposition

group in the IAM, leafleted a strike vote meeting in Los Angeles on October 11. Like several similar outfits backed by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party in other unions, AWOF has nothing to offer strikers but empty rhetoric. The leaflet fails even to call for industry-wide strike action for fear of antagonizing conservative workers, and AWOF says not a word in opposition to the U.S. military budget. Likewise the Stalinist *Daily World*, usually a harsh verbal critic of the "military-industrial complex" has avoided any mention of the bureaucrats' anti-Soviet salesmanship for the Pentagon's armaments programs. A front-page article in the 18 October issue reported on rallies at the White House and in half a dozen cities in protest of the B-1 and neutron bomb without any reference to the IAM strike.

Leadership in the aerospace workers' strike cannot be left in the hands of the bureaucrats who for the last decade have stood by and watched the union gutted by layoffs, offering no alternative but a bigger arms budget for the warmongers. A successful struggle requires the election of authoritative strike committees where militants can fight for an industry-wide shutdown, raising demands for full employment, total opposition to the U.S. war budget and expropriation of the bloodsucking merchants of death. ■

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Owens-Illinois Strike in Oakland

ILWU Militants Demand: Expel Union Scabherder

OAKLAND, October 14—A month-long strike by the American Flint Makers Union (glass moulders) at Owens-Illinois Glass Container Division here sparked a militant revolt among the approximately 160 warehousemen who steadfastly honored the moulders' picket line. The warehousemen, members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), correctly recognized that class solidarity is crucial at Owens-Illinois (OI), where craft divisions have kept the 1,800 employees separated into nine different unions. During the strike the ILWU ranks were particularly incensed at the actions of their own union misleaders in encouraging scabbing.

The glass moulders strike began September 15 as part of a nationwide walkout against glass container producers at some 90 plants around the country. While the glass moulders union avoided publicizing the strike or the issues involved, a central point of dispute was reportedly management's desire to force workers to operate many machines, i.e., to throw out existing job classifications. In their support for the strike picket lines, the warehousemen clearly recognized that a defeat for the moulders on this issue would mean speed-up and possibly layoffs, which would quickly spread to other unions in the plant. (The strike ended yesterday although the terms have yet to be announced.)

On the first day of the strike, ILWU warehousemen were shocked to find their own business agent, Joe Villegas, ordering them to cross picket lines. Thoroughly disgusted but determined, the ranks held solid—only two out of 160 scabbed despite repeated instructions from Villegas! But even two scabs represented a blot on the union and a toehold for company scabberding. The ranks responded by demanding reinforcement of the picket lines, and suspension and a union trial of this scabberding business agent.

Such elementary class solidarity flies in the face of the cravenly legalist policies of the ILWU leadership, which at all costs seeks to avoid mobilizing the ranks for militant struggle. After trying unsuccessfully to get support from the Local 6 (Bay Area warehouse division) general executive board (GEB), frustrated Owens-Illinois workers finally got action at an East Bay Stewards Council meeting October 6. Lacking any direction from so-called union "leaders," the assembled stewards, officers, business agents and general executive board members adopted a motion put forward by the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in the local.

The motion endorsed honoring the picket lines, calling on Local 6 members "to participate on the picket line to stop the scabs." It also ordered that "the East Bay Business Agent and the union president be present on the picket line," and demanded that "Villegas, who ordered the brothers to scab, and the Local 6 scabs be suspended immediately and that a trial body be established to investigate the charge in front of the membership and to expel them if guilty." An amendment also endorsed the specific charges against Villegas.

But while the meeting went on record "unanimously" for the motion, it was clear that some of the assembled bureaucrats and fake-leftists were voting only as a sop to the angry ranks. At the picket line the next day, with about 50 ILWUers present (including Militant Caucus sup-



Strikers list scabs by name at Owens-Illinois Glass in Oakland.

porters), Local president Keith Eickman was nowhere to be found. Business agent Abba Ramos, a well-known supporter of the Communist Party (CP), showed up only briefly but gave no directions, allowed two ILWU scabs to go in after a brief verbal exchange and then left the line.

According to ILWU members interviewed by *WV*, at an OI house meeting at the union hall on October 10, the angry ranks confronted Eickman, who at first tried to prevent Bob Mandel, a GEB member and leader of the Militant Caucus, from addressing the meeting. But the ranks insisted on Mandel's right to speak. Mistakenly hoping that the OI workers were tired of the strike and "hungry," Eickman even tried to stampede them back to work, but was forced to drop the subject when it became clear the ranks were in no mood to tolerate scabbing. Dissatisfied with Eickman's noncommittal stance, the picketers enthusiastically endorsed a united-front leaflet drawn up by the Militant Caucus, which included the original anti-scab motion. Over 50 ILWU members eventually signed the leaflet, mostly strikers from the OI plant, including the chief steward.

With the scabbing halted, the left-talking reformists quickly abandoned the necessary disciplinary action against Villegas, since that would mean challenging the treacherous Local 6 bureaucracy bequeathed by former president (now International secretary-treasurer) Curtis McClain. Even though the Stalinists ran Abba Ramos against Eickman in the special Local election this summer, another well-known CP supporter, Joe Lindsay, chief steward at Golden Grain, refused to sign the united-front leaflet despite the fact that he had voted for the original motion. At a class on "Work in Trade Unions: A Marxist Approach" on October 12, Lindsay tried to excuse the absence of his name on the leaflet by muttering that it "was not on the issue of the Owens strike" (!) and slanderously claiming that the original anti-scab motion did not mention the possibility of expulsion.

Similarly, Vern Bown, a well-known supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), flatly refused to sign the leaflet, although he too had voted for the original motion. His excuse was to

claim that the strikers would somehow get all they need whether or not he added his name to a leaflet expressing the determination of the Local to militantly support the OI strike and its refusal to tolerate scabs and scabherders in its midst. Perhaps this cowardly refusal is Bown's interpretation of the Maoist slogan of "self-reliance."

Villegas is a notoriously corrupt official whose ouster has long been sought by ILWU militants. During the recent Local 6 presidential election campaign, Bown and his cohorts helped circulate a petition demanding the recall of Villegas. This, however, was essentially an election ploy by supporters of Bob Camara designed to create a phony impression of "militancy," while deliberately whitewashing the class-collaborationist policies of the McClain/Eickman leadership. Following the vote, Camara quickly made up with the winner and dropped the recall campaign. Bown's reluctance to demand the ouster of this proven scabherder is doubtless due to the fact that the demand no longer has the support of a wing of the bureaucracy.

The Militant Caucus, on the other hand, says that scabherders cannot be tolerated within the workers movement. Villegas must be suspended immediately, brought before a union trial and then expelled from the ILWU for his offenses. To fail to do so is to demoralize the union membership and set a precedent for the toleration of such crimes against the labor movement. But no thanks to the ILWU bureaucracy, the OI warehousemen respected the lines throughout the strike, which at the very least frustrated management's plans to run roughshod over the moulders' union.

The Stalinist hacks such as Lindsay and Bown regularly denounce the Militant Caucus as "sectarian" and "disruptive" because it refuses to capitulate to the pro-company bureaucracy. But the real sectarians are the Stalinists who when faced with an elementary question of trade-union solidarity refuse to wage a principled struggle against scabbing rather than join a united front initiated by the Militant Caucus. Such cowardly sectarianism only aids the bosses, and the poisonous reformists who spread it must be rebuffed if strike struggles such as at Owens-Illinois are to emerge victorious. ■

Klan...

(continued from page 3)

Duke, Allen could only mutter, "This is precisely what I didn't want to participate in." So the liberal/Stalinist coalition ended up giving free air time to the fascist scum after all!

On October 22 the Ad Hoc Committee mobilized the picket line at KGO, which had also offered Duke a platform to broadcast his racist filth. The Committee raised the demonstration call in a number of unions and leafletted about a dozen work locations of the ILWU, phone workers, transport workers and auto workers in an attempt to bring out as many workers as possible to the protest. In addition to UE Local 1412, the demonstration call was discussed in ILWU Local 6, AFSCME 1695 and the UAW Local 1364 executive board.

The RSB, whose latest campaign is opposition to the "BaKKKe," refused to endorse the picket line, while boasting that it would mobilize far more people than the "Trotskyists." As it turned out, no one for the RSB/RCP even showed up at the KGO picket line. The Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), formerly October League, sent a token force of three people to "fight fascism." The only other significant force at the demonstration was PL/CAR, whose contingent of 15 people was overshadowed by an SL-led contingent of over 70. Unable to expel the SL from demonstrations as it once did, a disintegrating PL was forced by circumstances to join the larger and more militant picket line initiated by the Spartacist League. As a result of this demonstration, the Spartacist League will receive equal time on KGO to answer the Klan on Saturday, October 29 at 6 p.m.

The picket at KGO was ended with a short speech by Al Nelson, spokesman for the SL, who noted the increasing boldness of the KKK and the Nazis in the Bay Area and the need for a massive working-class mobilization. Ultimately, he pointed out, only the working class with its own workers defense guards, organized and led by a Trotskyist vanguard party, can smash the Klan and the fascists once and for all. ■



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and Imperialist Moralism"

Speaker:
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SL Central Committee
Workers Vanguard Editorial Board

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Reynolds Club Lounge
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CHICAGO

Life at Stake

Hands Off Joan Little!



Joan Little's life is in danger as revenge-hungry state troopers attempt to hunt her down. Reported "missing" from the North Carolina Correctional Center for Women on October 15, prison authorities claim she escaped by climbing a ten-foot-high chain-link fence topped with barbed wire.

Little has been subjected to a gauntlet of state vengeance since she defended herself against the prison guard who raped her two years ago. When North Carolina authorities tried to frame her for the stabbing of that guard, a nationwide defense campaign focused attention on her victimization and raised the tens of thousands of dollars necessary for a first-rate legal defense. Under the pressure of mass protests, Little was acquitted.

But despite this acquittal, the racist courts threw her back into prison to finish a seven-to-ten-year sentence for a prior conviction of breaking and entering. It was immediately clear that Little's life would be in grave peril in jail, where prison

guards could take revenge. The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee along with thousands of others who supported her defense continued to demand, "Free Joan Little!"

Those fears were indeed justified. Clearly Joan Little either escaped because she feared her life was in immediate danger, or else she was set up for a murder in the style of George Jackson. Incredibly, prison officials have claimed that Little escaped because a friend was released earlier in the day. This nonsensical "explanation" is made doubly ludicrous by the fact that she was scheduled to come up for consideration for parole in a month.

Joan Little's many-year ordeal in prison has been a relentless record of harassment and assault. Attacked and raped by one of those professional thugs known euphemistically in the bourgeois press as a "correctional officer," she had good reason to believe that fellow guards would try to avenge his death. Since being returned to jail the attacks on her have escalated: denied parole, she also faces charges of "violating prison rules" and other "serious and substantial" disciplinary actions. Most recently she was dropped from the work release program and completely separated from all other prisoners. For her a barbed-wire fence may have seemed a better bet than getting set up for a jail killing.

But Joan Little's life is threatened in or out of prison! Right now the North Carolina cops and prison guards believe they have a legal license to kill her with impunity, if she has not already been shot. She must not be returned to prison. A mass movement like the one which won her acquittal on the charge of murder must again take to the streets demanding, **Hands Off Joan Little! Stop the Manhunt Now! Drop All Charges—Joan Little Must Not Be Re-imprisoned!**

West Germany...

(continued from page 7)

Christian Democratic demagogue Franz Josef Strauss denounced the power of the trade unions.

Torching tourist buses in Nice, bombing Mercedes Benz dealerships in Milano and declaring political solidarity with the politics of the RAF in Rome do not aid the struggle against the McCarthyite repression emanating from Bonn. On the contrary, this simply leads into the Schmidt government's claim that all left-wing opposition to its draconian crackdown is anti-German terrorism. Such actions are based on the assumption that the German working class will remain forever acquiescent in the face of mounting repression. But the German working class—the most powerful in West Europe—is the only force which can put a stop to the right-wing resurgence in the federal republic. The key is to build a revolutionary, Trotskyist leadership which can break the West German proletariat from its bloody Social Democratic leadership, which today attacks the RAF so that tomorrow it can again murder the Luxemburgs and Liebknechts.

While denouncing all anti-German

chauvinism and sharply attacking the RAF's petty-bourgeois politics of despair, the international Spartacist tendency and its German section, the Trotskyistische Liga Deutschlands, demand:

Freedom for all left prisoners! Down with the "anti-terrorist" witchhunt! For proletarian unity of action against the threatened ban against "communist organizations!"

Down with all emergency laws! Down with the "contact ban" law! For the dissolution of the "federal border police" and the "mobile intervention commandos!"

Smash the *Berufsverbot*! No black-listing in the trade unions!

For the proletarian class justice of a workers' government! ■

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NEW YORK

South Africa: Vorster Lashes Out...

(continued from page 1)

hated by the government, and dozens of individual journalists have been arrested for "security" offenses over the last three decades. The Nationalist Party holds an overwhelming and seemingly permanent parliamentary majority over the opposition political parties, of which the largest, the United Party, is often virtually indistinguishable from the government. The liberal press therefore assumes central importance as the mouthpiece for English-speaking capitalist interests who bridle at the economic dislocations and international outcry caused by extreme apartheid policies. The wide circulation and international prominence of press criticisms offend the Afrikaner Nationalist government's sense of propriety, given its predomi-



Cops frisk blacks at checkpoint near Soweto.

nance over its white political opponents.

It is indicative of Vorster's political strategy that, in the midst of the furor over the police assassination of BPC founder and leader Biko, he announced the dissolution of Parliament and the provincial councils and called for general elections November 30. He confidently expects a repeat of his party's dramatic electoral gains in the early 1960's, when naked police-state terror against the black masses and an elemental outburst of black rage and frustration eclipsed the political middle ground and drove racially frenzied white voters (including many English-speaking whites) into the Nationalists' laager.

The government also included two prominent newspaper editors in its demagogic attack on opponents who seek "to create a revolutionary climate." In fact, the two men, Percy Qoboza of *The World* and Donald Woods, white editor of the East London *Daily Dispatch*, are leading voices in the moderate bourgeois opposition. Both journalists have been particular sources of embarrassment to the Vorster regime. *The World's* black reporters have been able to circulate through Soweto and other black townships and expose police atrocities while the white press has been, by circumstance and/or choice, frozen out. For his part, Woods recently earned the prime minister's wrath by publicly recalling Vorster's World War II internment for pro-Nazi underground activities and by calling for Kruger's dismissal.

In addition, the two editors and the clergymen from the Christian Institute represent the few remaining links between moderate black and white government critics. Woods was a close friend and adviser to Stephen Biko. Qoboza worked for Harry Oppenheimer's Progressive (now Progressive Federal) Party before interracial organizations were prohibited in the early 1960's. Since becoming editor of the

white-owned *World*, he has had close contact with prominent white liberals in the press, churches and political parties.

The broad scope of the arrests and hannings stunned "world opinion" from the just outrage of the working masses to the paper-thin hypocrisy of liberal imperialist spokesmen. *The Times* of London labeled the repression "a terrible and lateful deed"; the *New York Times* called it "grave folly." Washington even recalled its ambassador "for consultations," and a State Department spokesman said the U.S. would "reexamine its relations with South Africa" in the wake of this "totally unprecedented event." What is "unprecedented" is not the number of arrests over 20,000 black militants were rounded up in the stormy months after Sharpeville—but the outlawing of major oppositional bourgeois institutions. *The World* and the Christian Institute, along with the arrest of prominent liberals at a time when the imperialist powers are hoping to strengthen just such forces.

From the viewpoint of the imperialist powers, the attack on respectable liberals, black and white, is far more ominous than the repression of militant black nationalists. The latter is merely embarrassing while the former strikes directly at the Anglo-American attempts to defuse the situation in Southern Africa through incremental concessions to the black masses and a deal with their most accommodationist leaders. In this they are aligned with the more internationally oriented South African capitalist interests which have always distrusted the implicitly isolationist, semi-populist Afrikaner nationalism of the ruling party.

The liberal imperialists follow a clear class criterion in their reactions to Vorster's police state measures. When close to a thousand non-white youths and working people are gunned down in cold blood they express mild dismay and shock; when their own friends and agents are locked up, however, they scream loudly. The proletariat, on the other hand, has a clear interest in vehemently protesting *all* suppression of bourgeois-democratic liberties in South Africa, including when it is mainly directed at liberals.

Vorster's escalation of apartheid repression must be met with a concerted campaign of international protest. However, such a campaign must be initiated and led by the workers movement and must carefully maintain its independence from the treacherous moral posturings of the liberal imperialists. The Sharpeville and Soweto massacres, Stephen Biko and thousands of nameless victims of apartheid barbarism, will not be avenged by diplomatic snubs, UN deals, or imperialist economic sanctions.

The workers movement internationally must use its strength in protest actions aimed at materially damaging the murderous Vorster regime (such as a labor boycott of all arms shipments to South Africa) and forcing the imperialist corporations to open a breach in the solid wall of apartheid regimentation. In particular, labor militants must demand that the "multi-nationals" recognize black unions and abolish apartheid practices in their South African operations. Not through imperialist pressure or moralistic consumer boycotts, but only by aiding the organization and ultimately the revolutionary mobilization of the powerful black proletariat can the death blow be dealt to white supremacy in southern Africa. ■

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PLO...

(continued from page 5)

tional guarantees" of the borders and settlement terms reached at Geneva, and the participation of the U.S. and the Soviet Union in such "guarantees." For Begin this raises the spectre of Soviet troops ringing Israel's borders.

Zionist Furor, Carter Double-Talk

As could be expected, the Vance-Gromyko statement engendered a furor in the Zionist camp. When a draft of the statement was shown to Begin by the U.S. ambassador to Israel, an angry meeting ensued according to press accounts. Thereupon Begin, who has a weak heart, had to be rushed to the hospital for several days of recuperation from what was diagnosed as "exhaustion." AFL-CIO autocrat George Meany and cold warrior U.S. senator from Boeing Henry Jackson were quick to denounce the statement. But Carter's national security advisor and principal architect of his Near East policies Zbigniew Brzezinski was equally quick to retaliate:

"I think the point to bear in mind is that the U.S. is not just an interested bystander, not even just a benevolent mediator. The U.S. has a direct interest in the outcome of the Middle Eastern conflict. And therefore, the U.S. has a right to exercise its own leverage, peaceful and constructive, to obtain a settlement. And that is exactly what we will be doing."

Carter played soft cop in his speech before the General Assembly on October 4. Attempting to assuage the U.S.' former close comrades-in-arms in Jerusalem, he claimed Washington's "commitment to Israeli security is unquestionable." As if he was unaware of his national security advisor's remarks about the U.S. "right to exercise its own leverage," Carter cooed: "We do not intend to impose from the outside a settlement." But to make clear the drift of his policies, Carter again referred to the "legitimate rights of the Palestinian people."

In order to sweeten this bitter pill for the Zionists, in his very next breath the double-talking U.S. commander in chief hailed "our shared respect for human rights and the courage with which Israel has defended such rights." Talk of "shared respect for human rights" from the imperialist butchers of Indochina and the Zionist terrorists who drove the Palestinian people from their native land simply underlines the reactionary, hypocritical character of Carter's anti-Soviet moralizing. But in any case, neither the threat of U.S. "leverage" nor appeals to "human rights" can cow the fanatical Begin government.

On the very day that Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan spoke before the UN, October 10, the Likud government announced authorization for six new Jewish settlements in the West Bank. To be populated by members of the clerical-fascist Gush Emunim sect, the settlements would be located inside the military and police bases that ring the densely populated Arab region of Sa-

Balanoff...

(continued from page 4)

the black trade unions and eliminate all aspects of apartheid in their South African operations. This will be a powerful aid in the struggle of the South African proletariat against apartheid, paving the way for a struggle to topple the South African bourgeoisie and expel the imperialists.

Iron Miners Strike

While Sadlowski/Balanoff pretended business as usual, 18,000 USWA iron ore miners, who largely supported the Sadlowski slate, were in their third month of a strike. The steel bosses, who control the iron mines, have taken a hard stance toward the strikers. At a bargaining session on October 5, U.S. Steel's William Miller made it clear that the companies would not negotiate on the key issue of incentive pay, designed to bring the miners' wages up to parity with steel workers. This followed by two days a ruling by an arbitrator who declared that as of October 20, strikers would be forced to pay their own medical insurance premiums. These expenses, averaging \$100 a month, will be an enormous burden for workers drawing only \$30-a-week strike benefits.

McBride has done everything he can to isolate this strike, which threatened to bust apart the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA). According to the USWA's *Steel Labor*, McBride

answered miners' questions by declaring, "The strikes were called on the [iron] range and they will be settled on the range."

But not only McBride is isolating the strike. So are the miners' own leaders, including District 33 director and Sadlowski supporter Linus Wampler, who addressed the District 31 conference. Although the companies' massive stockpiles have been augmented by significant importation of iron ore, Wampler did not address himself to the need for joint strike action from steel and maritime workers, limiting his appeals for solidarity to passing the hat at the District 31 conference.

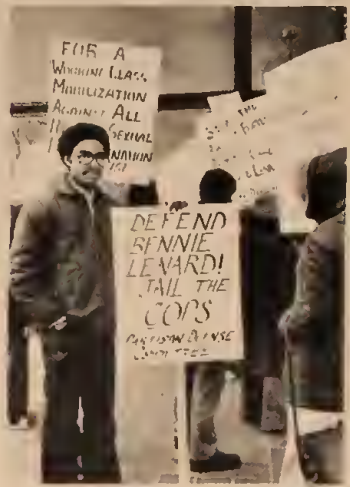
The Sadlowski/Balanoff bureaucrats are as treacherous and useless as McBride & Co. in the face of the determined onslaught of the American steel trust to restore its competitive position through plant closings, more brutal exploitation of the workforce and doses of protectionism. The fake oppositionists have continually prostrated themselves before bourgeois legality, refusing to mobilize steel workers against Abel's sellout contract and in a joint struggle with the iron miners to bust the ENA. Today, their occasional references to strike action are less frequent than ever, while they bleat all the more hysterically for the government to intervene to bail out the companies. Such is the hallmark of trade-union reformists, who when pressed hardest, find no other recourse but to seek the reactionary embrace of the capitalist state. ■

Bennie Lenard...

(continued from page 12)

Chicago Area Bennie Lenard Defense Committee mimics this legalism, making the demand for a jury of his peers central to its campaign. However, before it was scuttled by Graham & Co., the original official UAW Local 6 Bennie Lenard Defense Committee, set up by a membership vote, had demanded that all charges against Lenard be dropped; that the cops involved be indicted, jailed and dismissed from the police force; and that Lenard and his family receive full compensation for all injury by the police. The fight for these demands is not over.

The nightmare of cop terror and legal frame-up to which Bennie Lenard was subjected is no isolated incident. In the



Bennie Lenard's supporters at court house.

tense Chicago situation, which continues to be the scene of assaults on black schoolchildren and open housing marchers, the Lenard case could galvanize labor support as a symbol of resistance to the racist onslaught. It is because they fear the tremendous power of a labor movement mobilized around integrated working-class defense that the UAW tops, from Solidarity House to the Local 6 misleaders, have dragged their feet and even sabotaged the defense of Bennie Lenard. The reformists, in turn, simply try to bypass the uncooperative union officialdom.

Only by fighting to bring out the strength of organized labor can the anti-busing bigots, racist cops and night-riding fascists be stopped. This was the lesson of the successful UAW Local 6 defense two years ago of the house of black union brother C. B. Dennis against firebombing marauders. This exemplary defense effort was initiated and led by the Labor Struggle Caucus, which has also consistently pushed for official union defense of Bennie Lenard. While UAW support to the Lenard defense was grudging, always under pressure from the ranks, there is no doubt that it was instrumental in winning his acquittal on the frame-up charges. His victory in court represents the promise of what a genuine mass labor/black defense could do to crush the recent upsurge of racist reaction. ■

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CHICAGO

WORKERS VANGUARD

400 Supporters at Frame-Up Trial

Jury Declares Bennie Lenard Innocent

Jail the Racist Cops!

CHICAGO, October 21—After a ten-day frame-up trial, the state of Illinois was unable to pin the rap for the brutal beating of black United Auto Workers (UAW) member Bennie Lenard by suburban Melrose Park policemen on the badly injured victim. A jury declared Lenard "not guilty" on five of the most serious charges, including all counts of resisting arrest, battery and obstructing justice, and those relating to an "unlawful firearm" which the cops and prosecution falsely claim he was carrying. However, the partially blinded defendant was found guilty on a minor charge and no action has been taken against the racist cops who savagely assaulted him.

In declaring Lenard innocent, the jury ripped away the cops' cover story that he "resisted arrest," was drunk and tried to strike the woman driver whose car collided with his last January 31. The truth was so apparent that there was no hiding it at the trial: Lenard had insisted on calling the police to report the minor accident, but was then set upon by race-hating cops and beaten until he lost consciousness, taken to the police station and beaten again. As a result he permanently lost sight in one eye.

Even though the judge ruled out all testimony on the vicious beatings of Lenard after his arrest, and the prosecution appealed to the jury on the basis of their "civic responsibility" to stand behind the police, it didn't work. It was too obviously a frame-up. All of the state's witnesses told stories that were contradictory, in spite of the fact that they seemed carefully coached. It was noticeable, for instance, that six prosecution witnesses used one and only one adjective to describe Lenard's allegedly drunken condition: "staggering."

The jury's decision is an important partial victory for Bennie Lenard and those who supported his defense. But he was declared guilty on the ludicrous charge of "possessing a beer can." (Three other phony traffic violation charges were dropped by the prosecution before the trial even began.) This "beer can" charge is an insult to a man who was beaten, grievously injured, harassed and framed. It is clearly meant as a lesson to black people, to meekly submit to cop terror: if the cops beat you, you get a police record. But Bennie Lenard is innocent, and his supporters must continue to demand that this trumped-up charge be thrown out. It is the cops who are guilty, as the trial testimony made abundantly clear.

The Bennie Lenard defense must continue its work, buoyed by this courtroom victory but not lulled into accepting an amnesty for the racist cops. Opponents of police terror must demand that the remaining charges be dropped, and that the cops who beat Lenard be indicted and jailed. The in-



Bennie Lenard entering court house as supporters protest racist frame-up.

WV Photo

jured victim must receive full financial restitution. The damage suffered by Lenard is nearly inestimable in human terms. The physical injuries received may mean that he can never work again. A civil suit for \$24 million has been filed against the policemen, officials of Melrose Park, the driver of the car who assisted the cops in the frame-up and the hospital which helped in the cover-up. But under capitalist "justice" an appeal of the "beer can" charge and putting together this civil suit costs thousands of dollars. Bennie Lenard still needs your support.

Labor Support for Bennie Lenard

What was most significant in the case of Bennie Lenard was the support he received from the Chicago labor movement. Certainly such support was influential in gaining this partial victory in court and in focusing attention on the racist cop brutality. Although far from the needed large mobilization of Chicago-area labor, pressure from the ranks did bring out some labor support for the first time in many years for such a case. This was dramatically evident on the first day of the trial when nearly 400 supporters protested at the Maywood District Court October 11.

The September membership meeting of UAW Local 6, of which Lenard is a member, passed a motion calling for a demonstration at the trial opening, and the Local's Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) issued a leaflet urging members to attend a rally for their union brother at the court house. This brought a significant display of solidari-

ty, as around 100 of Lenard's fellow workers from the Melrose Park International Harvester plant, many from the first shift, showed up at court.

Also present was the entire executive board of Local 6 and a delegation from UAW Local 1307 of Harvester's West Pullman works. Additional contingents participating were from the Labor Struggle Caucus of Local 6, Auto Workers United to Fight, the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC), the Chicago Area Bennie Lenard Defense Committee, the Spartacist League (SL) and the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC). The SL, PDC and Labor Struggle Caucus set up a picket line outside the building, chanting "For labor/black defense! Drop the charges, indict the cops!" Gradually the lines swelled as others joined in.

As the trial proceedings began, faced with hundreds of Lenard supporters, the judge quickly ruled against a defense motion to move to a larger courtroom. Restricted to a chamber that barely seats 50 spectators, much of it reserved for courthouse dignitaries, the overflow crowd was banished to the hallway. There Ardrella Lenard addressed the protesters on behalf of her husband:

"It's up to us here and the working class of people to defend Bennie. It's no surprise that there's no room in the courtroom for working people. We demand the charges be dropped, and the cops indicted."

The picketing outside was marred by incidents of sectarianism. A leader of the unofficial group which uses the name Local 6 Bennie Lenard Defense Committee tried to assert proprietary

rights to the line, saying only "approved" chants could be used and *WV* could not be sold. He piped down, however, when the head of the Local 6 FEPC said there had never been any such decision by the union. The ALSC, which is controlled by the Maoist Workers Viewpoint Organization, refused to march in the same demonstration with other supporters of the defense. Instead they set up their own line and chanted: "Float like a butterfly, sting like a bee; you won't get Bennie Lenard and you won't get me."

While Local 6 officialdom was well represented at the trial opening, this was only due to pressure from the ranks. At every turn it has sought to keep the Lenard defense restricted to token gestures, while the UAW International has tried to wash its hands of the issue altogether. The Local 6 "leadership," headed by president Ed Graham, refused to commit union funds to the defense and sought to bury the issue in the FEPC. In an effort to force the bureaucrats' hand, an October 9 Local membership meeting passed a motion, proposed by the Labor Struggle Caucus, to give a day's pay to those executive board members and shop committeemen who showed up at the trial opening.

The bureaucrats and reformists have steadfastly refused to challenge the capitalist legal system which framed Bennie Lenard from the start. Graham told *WV* that "all we want" is to see that Bennie "gets his day in court." The unofficial

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