

Carter Foreign Spy Fakery

New License for FBI

Last week high officials of the FBI—the government's domestic secret police who burgled, ransacked and wiretapped the homes of thousands of leftists; who set up the Black Panthers for murder; these black-bag jobbers and hit men, the arch-witchhunters from McCarthyism to COINTELPRO—yelped loudly that they are now the innocent victims of a Justice Department witchhunt. On April 10 Attorney General Griffin Bell removed New York field official chief J. Wallace LaPrade from his post on the grounds that he lied in his testimony before a grand jury investigation into the FBI's illegal 1970-72 search-and-disrupt missions against the Weatherman organization.

That same day the grand jury indicted three former top FBI men for their role in the Weatherman operation: L. Patrick Gray, the former FBI acting director notorious for admitting dumping Watergate files into the Potomac; W. Mark Felt, long-time No. 2 man at FBI headquarters; and Edward S. Miller, former chief of the FBI's counter-intelligence program. Along with these indictments the government announced it was dropping all charges against John J. Kearney, the FBI operative indicted last April in the same case. To a casual observer it looked as if Bell was dropping a little fish to go after the barracudas. But in fact this falling-out among thieves demonstrates once again the sham of liberal reforming.

The Hoover leftovers are crying "foul

politics" while the Carter moralists are trying to pass it off as a post-Watergate mopping-up operation. What is really going on in this feud between "Justice" and the "Bureau," as in all the other Watergate liberal/reform schemes, is nothing but a smokescreen. As with Watergate, Koreagate, Lancegate and Snepgate, the Hoovergate exposure opens into cover-up.

LaPrade Has A Secret

It is a tautological truth that secret police must conduct secret operations—that is what they are for. In the racist, imperialist U.S., the work of the murderous CIA/FBI—whose actions are directed mainly at the left, the labor movement and black activists,—the work of the murderous CIA/FBI never stops with looking and listening. And even though Carter came to office on a program of government moral uplift in the wake of a floodtide of Watergate exposures, his FBI is no exception.

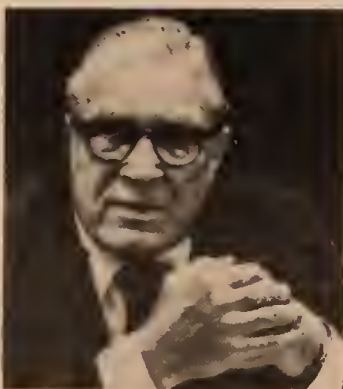
From the point of view of Carter and "Justice," the problem is how to continue the same old practices without getting caught. Or put another way, how to redefine the practices so that what was illegal in the early 1970's becomes legal now. They hope to do a little Congressional investigating, a little scapegoating, a little streamlining—and then go on with their lethal business as usual. In fact, journalist William Safire,

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L. Patrick Gray (left) and J. Edgar Hoover.

Swanson/Sarsini



Clarence Kelley

William Batson



William Webster

UPI

Democrats' "Anti-Inflation" Policy

Carter to Labor: Peanuts

The presidencies of Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford should not have been such a hard act to follow. Nixon left the White House disgraced as a crook and a liar. Ford was generally regarded as an affable oaf, unable to shake off the stench of Watergate. Jimmy Carter's election owed more to the electorate's desire to dump the discredited Republicans than to the appeal of his vague neopopulist rhetoric.

But in the 15 months of his administration Carter has antagonized ever greater numbers, including many of his former supporters, by pursuing anti-labor, anti-black, anti-women policies strikingly similar in form and content to those of his Republican predecessors. Carter's standing in the public opinion polls was highest on his inauguration day, when few knew what he really stood for, and has been in steady decline ever since. Behind the toothy grin, the

Mr. Clean moral pretensions and "down home boy" style, Jimmy Carter has shown that the Democrats are no more friends of the working people than the Republicans, and both parties are in fact the servants of big business.

Thus it came as no surprise when Carter announced on April 11 an anti-inflation program explicitly aimed at the paychecks of American workers. The cornerstone of Carter's speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors is a clamp-down on wages. The president declared his intention to cut federal wage increases to 5.5 percent, below the current rate of inflation, asked state and city governments to follow suit and demanded that the rest of the working class "sacrifice for the common good." Citing the "national interest," Carter said, "Let me be blunt about this point: I am asking American

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Carter at UAW convention last June with Woodcock (center) and Bluestone.

WV Photo

Mass Picketing to Stop the Scabbing

Don't Abandon Stearns Miners!

STEARNS, Kentucky—The 21-month-old strike for a United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) contract in Stearns, Kentucky is in mortal danger. Scabs are entering the struck Justus pit daily under state police protection, and last week the Blue Diamond Coal Company ran the first coal from the Justus mine since July 1976. With the rest of the union back at work under the miserable agreement negotiated by the UMWA leadership, the Stearns miners are more isolated than ever. Instead of raising the elementary demand for a UMWA contract at Stearns as a condition of settling the national strike, union president Arnold Miller's only action here in recent months was the firing of the leading organizers!

For more than 600 days the miners have stood up to assaults by professional strikebreakers, the cops and the courts. Twelve months ago the strikers dug in on the picket line behind sandbag fortifications and battled back against the high-powered rifle fire of Storm Security Service gun thugs. But today pickets on the Justus road are limited to four by a judge's order and they must stand aside while dozens of scabs—among them several former strikers—go into the compound each morning. Until last week the scabs performed only "dead work," mostly mine maintenance, for \$43 to \$48 per day and no coal was dug or moved. But the six months of daily scabbing was a warning that Gordon Bonnyman, chairman of Blue Diamond, intended to resume production in Stearns. The UMWA bureaucracy ignored the threat.

The miners' will to win is nevertheless undiminished. Pickets told WV that they would stay out as long as necessary to get a contract, and members of the Stearns Women's Club, recalling the militant role of their counterparts in the 13-month Brookside (Harlan County) strike in 1973-74, stated that they would eagerly assume picketing duties if the organizers would allow it. In the union's local hall in nearby Whitley City an up-to-date list of the scabs' names is posted and on the truck trailer which now serves as shelter at the picket site miners have painted the message: "A good scab is a dead scab."

Some strikers worry that the paranoid and vindictive union president might respond to criticisms of the International by cutting off the \$100 weekly benefits paid to each miner, but others are openly bitter. "The rank and file doesn't know what's going on because the International won't tell them," one militant said in Whitley City. "I don't think the International is doing anything outside of the paycheck" (strike benefits). Others were equally frustrated. "We haven't got any say-so. We can't criticize Miller." And inside the union hall, among the posters, solidarity messages and newspaper clippings that cover the walls are photos of the union president—minus Miller's face.

Arnold Miller's only visit to Stearns was last October, nearly 16 months into the strike, following a massive police attack on the Stearns picket line which was assembled to stop Bonnyman's first scabs. One hundred riot-equipped cops clubbed the pickets into submission, severely injuring several. Seventy-nine strikers and 24 supporters were arrested. Miller met with Kentucky governor Julian Carroll and later announced that he was "totally satisfied" with the conference at which the governor promised to reduce the police presence in Stearns. The scabbing resumed,



Stearns strike in 21st month: the will to fight is there.

WV Photo

however, and eleven militants remained in jail for up to two months. At that time Miller told reporters that the union would do "whatever we have to do to win this battle," and vowed that "if (he) asked other members of the union to participate in the Stearns strike, they would" (*McCreary County Record*, 1 November 1977).

In fact, the muscle of the UMWA could have won a contract at Stearns a long time ago, but neither Miller nor anyone else in the International leadership has ever called for concrete solidarity action. Since first drawing national attention to the strike last May, WV called for a nationwide union mine shutdown to demand a contract in the Justus mine. As a faded *Workers Vanguard* clipping posted in the union hall points out, it was the belated five-day national work stoppage in August 1974 which won the Brookside strike. However, the last UMWA contract with the Bituminous Coal Operator's Association (BCOA) expired in December without Miller's having used a single one of the ten contractually permitted "memorial period" days to stop production in solidarity with the Stearns miners!

Twice during the 110-day contract strike UMWA miners, struggling to stop the flow of scab coal in Kentucky, came to Stearns to demonstrate their support for the organizing drive. On December 12 close to 400 roving pickets from eastern Kentucky and Tennessee appeared in Stearns and faced down 100 state police at the picket site. That same day an army jeep belonging to one of the scabs was destroyed by dynamite. On February 9 a caravan of nearly 300 miners from seven states marched through Whitley City "to show support for the Stearns Justus miners."

Rather than applaud the miners' spontaneous demonstration of solidarity which he feared to organize himself, the next day Miller "transferred" Stearns organizer Lee Potter to Denver and instructed former International director of organizing John Cox, then assigned to Stearns, to quit or be fired. Reportedly Miller was outraged at the appearance of the roving pickets and blamed Potter and Cox. (Last fall, the union president informed the UMWA press aide in Stearns that his services "were no longer needed." He also transferred to Stearns and later fired his personal press assistant, holding him responsible for informing the media that Miller was at the World Series on the

day the strikers were beaten and jailed at the Justus picket site last October.)

During the life of the 1974 BCOA contract the UMWA's share of U.S. coal production fell precipitously. By doggedly shutting down hundreds of scab mines during the national strike UMWA militants offered the union an opportunity to reverse this erosion of its strength. As one Ohio local official put it to WV: "We're shutting the god-damned mines down, send the organizers in!" Instead Miller used his "organizers" as a personal goon squad for "protection" from the angry rank and file. At the beginning of the contract strike WV wrote:

"The difference between the union and non-union mines is recognized by thousands of non-union miners, such as those at Brookside and Stearns who have waged month-long battles to win UMWA contracts. It is imperative that union militants raise as a major demand on their own leaders, 'No settlement without standard UMWA contracts at the non-union mines.' In such a fashion the strikers can cut through the anti-union propaganda of the scab outfits and demonstrate clearly to the non-union miners that the strike is in their interest."

—WV No. 184, 2 December 1977

When the nationwide strike ended however, the Stearns miners were still without a contract. "They could have at least mentioned us," one miner lamented to WV.

Under the 1978 pact, pensions are barely improved and the pay in the organized pits will not be impressive to workers in non-union mines where scab operators offer higher wages precisely to keep the union out. Miller's abandonment of the right to strike over grievances will worsen safety conditions underground, and the union health card

has been handed over to private insurance carriers which will charge up to \$200 annually for services which have been free for UMWA families since 1946. Although many non-union miners will admit that a defeat for the UMWA jeopardizes wages, benefits and working conditions for all miners, the terms of the 1978 agreement will make organizing considerably more difficult than it already was under the previous sellout contract.

The UMWA has a long history at the Stearns mine—one the union cannot afford to repeat. The Stearns Mining Company was first organized in the 1930's, but the UMWA was driven out after a bitter, year-long strike in 1952 and then replaced by the pro-company McCreary County Miners Union. According to the *UMWA Journal* (16-31 May 1976), "The memories of that strike—and others like it in the late '50s and early '60s in eastern Kentucky—have long been a major obstacle to UMWA organizing in the area." In the current strike, miners told WV that workers in other nearby mines—including Blue Diamond operations at Leatherwood, where the union was driven out in 1964, and Scotia, where the UMWA was broken in 1965 and which was the site of the tragic 1976 explosion which killed 26 men—are watching the Stearns struggle intently.

The organizing drive here is crucial for the entire beleaguered union. A defeat now after 21 months on strike would represent a disaster for future campaigns in Kentucky (where the union's share of coal has fallen to 42 percent of the state total over the last five years) and all across the southern Appalachian coalfields. U.S. coal production is scheduled to nearly double by 1985, and much of the increased tonnage will come from new and re-opened mines in the Appalachian region—the traditional union stronghold. These mines must be organized or the UMWA will be buried under an avalanche of scab coal. Yet this task is far beyond the capacity of Arnold Miller's pro-capitalist bureaucracy.

The 21-month-long Stearns strike must not be abandoned. Mass picketing and occupation of the mine by strikers is urgently needed to stop all production and transport the scab coal as well as all scabbing. The miners should elect a local strike committee to lead the fight and demand that the officials of District 19, a center of opposition to Miller throughout the contract strike, bring out union miners and supporters to the picket lines on a daily basis. By rejecting Miller's recipe for defeat and advancing instead a strategy based on militant union solidarity, the Stearns miners can bring Blue Diamond to terms. ■



April 4 meeting of the Stearns Women's Club.

WV Photo

CP Stabs Coal Solidarity Strike

ILWU Stalinists Lie!

SAN FRANCISCO—Recently a couple of leaflets signed by the "San Francisco Transport Club, CPUSA" were to be found in gutters near the San Francisco and Oakland waterfronts. While Communist Party (CP) dock workers in the Bay Area are usually kept busy doing dirty work for the leadership of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), the Transport Club occasionally surfaces to issue scurrilous attacks on left-wing opponents in the union. This time was no exception, with the Militant Caucus in ILWU Local 6 becoming the target of a Stalin-style Big Lie smear campaign. But in a second throw-away the CP backhandedly criticizes almost two decades of its own union activity as well.

Eighteen years after long-time ILWU president Harry Bridges negotiated the first Modernization and Mechanization (M&M) agreement—which decimated the dock workforce, slashing the number of West Coast longshoremen from well over 20,000 to 10,000—the CP has suddenly discovered that the M&M automation contracts were class-collaborationist! An undated leaflet entitled "A Beautiful Piece of Class Collaboration," distributed early last month, begins by quoting a 17 January *New York Times* report of unabashed remarks made by the now-retired Bridges at a recent Washington, D.C. dinner:

"In classical Marxist terms, by the way, it [the M&M pact] could be called a sellout. There is no class struggle in it. I know that. It did lead to certain strains within the Communist Party. In typical ideological terms, of course they're right. But the union is more practical. The contract, he summed up with a mischievous grin that brought laughter from the audience, 'was a beautiful piece of class collaboration.'"

The CP agrees that, "Class collaboration—accommodation to the bosses"



Jimmy Herman

WV Photo

interest—is exactly what was involved in the M&M agreement and its extension, 9.43, though the results have not brought much laughter from waterfront workers." The leaflet goes on:

"This same accommodation had us getting in bed with Joe Alioto while he made 'pro-labor' noises and used the mayor's office to enrich himself and his family... Where is the union now and where are the jobs? Will the ILWU continue the policy of accommodation to the employers, or will there be a turnaround?"

Instead of these disingenuous questions, ILWU militants should ask the real one: where was the Communist Party all these years?

The answer is obvious. Not only did the CP not criticize the M&M schemes as they were being put into force, at the time these sellout artists were marching



WV Photo

arm-in-arm with Bridges to shove the job cuts down the ILWU membership's throat. Today, wishing to put a little distance between itself and the discredited Bridges/Herman leadership, the CP reprints Bridges' claim that this class collaboration created tensions between him and the Communist Party. But as Howard Keyrol, a former CP supporter and now ILWU Local 10 executive board member and co-publisher of the "Longshore Militant" newsletter, told *WV*: "Back in 1961, I attended the meetings where Archie Brown [then leader of the CP dock workers] instructed his followers to vote for Bridges' M&M scheme and even go out and drum up support for it!"

The CP stood behind Bridges and the M&M clause through thick and thin, with the West Coast party weekly *People's World* declaring the 1960 and 1966 contracts nothing less than "precedent shattering" and "a revolution." As Keyrol noted in a 1975 election leaflet, in response to a hypocritical attempt by Brown to wash his hands of the job-cutting pacts:

"Those of us who have been around long enough remember that Archie Brown actively supported the deregistration of the B-men in '63 and that he threw his full prestige behind the treacherous M&M contract... Then, just before the 1973 contract, Brown retreated from his previous total opposition to 9.43 and made a resolution for an equalization of hours formula."

In 1975, when the disgruntled longshore division membership repeatedly voted down Bridges' contract, the double-talking Stalinist Brown mildly criticized the pact while opposing efforts by the "Longshore Militant" to demand a strike.

Behind the Communist Party's belated discovery of class collaboration is an effort to catch up to the angry ILWU ranks and regain some credibility going into the 1978 contract period. But lest anyone get the mistaken idea that the CP intends to alter its *present* class-collaborationist policies, the Transport Club leaflet carefully avoided attacking by name current ILWU president Jimmy Herman or his support to Democratic S.F. mayor Moscone and Jimmy ("Taft-Hartley") Carter. To play it perfectly safe, a second CP leaflet issued later in March came out with a

rabid slander attack on the supporters of the "Longshore Militant" and the Militant Caucus, those who really fight accommodation with the bosses in the union.

Covering Up for Jimmy

Their image tarnished by intimate association with the Bridges regime, CP supporters in the union have lately been further embarrassed by the party's craven support of the despised United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) president Arnold Miller, even as tens of thousands of miners were out to lynch that patsy for the coal bosses. With Carter's invocation of Taft-Hartley (used to squash the 1972 West Coast dock strike) forcing the ILWU bureaucracy to take a paper stand in defense of the miners—the March 10 International Executive Board motion for a 24-hour longshore sympathy strike—the Communist Party was feeling some heat from the left.

In a leaflet entitled "How to Foul Up a Good Thing—Once Again the 'Militants' Served the Employers!" the CP makes the ludicrous charge that Militant Caucus spokesman and Local 6 Executive Board member Bob Mandel sabotaged the IEB work stoppage motion... by publicizing it and fighting for its implementation! This lying leaflet stated:

"The news services carried a report on March 13 that 'an executive board member with ILWU Local 6 in San Francisco said that the ILWU leaders have called for a 24-hour strike at West Coast ports to protest the use of the Taft-Hartley Act against the striking coal miners.' No one authorized this imposter to speak in the name of the union.

"Not only was this statement a distortion of the facts (if not an outright lie) but this 'board member' (who is not a member of the International Executive Board) tried to claim credit for his little divisive group of 'Militants' for something someone else had done....

"The result of this provocation was that it gave those labor leaders who were not too anxious to participate a chance to dodge the issue. In several AFL-CIO labor councils the accusation was made that 'people not connected with the labor movement' were trying to tell the unions what to do....

"Take for example the matter of timing, even if everyone agreed to hold a work stoppage. The Carter administration has been forced by mass pressure and



WV Photo

Bob Mandel (left) of Militant Caucus and CP supporter Joe Figueredo, (right). Communist Party said "too soon" to implement ILWU solidarity strike with miners.

court action to hold off on fully applying Taft-Hartley until the outcome of the vote on the new contract. Wouldn't it be stupid to hold a work stoppage now? You don't waste your main fire on some adventurist scheme advocated by the disrupters, but use it when it counts most.... The disrupters should be exposed for what they are and the labor movement go ahead, without them, to fulfill its obligations."

If this garbage proves anything, it only reaffirms Stalin's adage that paper will take anything written on it.

But for the record let us see who *really* sabotaged the proposed dock shutdown in solidarity with the UMWA strike—for sabotage it was. Had the IEB's resolution been turned into action it could have sparked similar actions in other industries. Had the power of the entire labor movement been brought into action behind the coal strikers, the miners would not be saddled today with a takeaway contract that sacrificed their medical care plan. (Of course, since the CP's *Daily World* termed this sellout contract a "victory"—despite the fact that 43 percent of the strikers voted against it, and the rest voted "yes" out of despair of their misleader's ability to win anything more—no wonder the Stalinists thought it was "stupid to hold a work stoppage now.")

The only thing that is true in the CP Transport Club's pack of lies and slanders is that the AP story quoting Mandel was carried in papers up and down the West Coast and put pressure on "those labor leaders who were not

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Fight for "30 for 40," Not Absence Control

UAW's "Shorter Workweek" Hoax

750 Bureaucrats Attend Detroit Conference

DETROIT, April 11—Ringling speeches and heavy applause resounded throughout the ballroom of the plush Hyatt-Regency Hotel in Dearborn, Michigan today as over 700 delegates from 25 unions gathered for the first national conference of the "All Unions Committee to Shorten the Workweek." Frank Runnels, president of United Auto Workers (UAW) Cadillac Local 22 and prime initiator of the Committee hailed the meeting as a "historic occasion." But when the rhetorical ballyhoo had settled, it was abundantly clear that the new "movement" Runnels claims to have founded does not in any way represent a departure from stale business unionism or a break from the labor bureaucracy's dead-end reliance on capitalist politicians.

Even the organization of the conference made clear that this was not a "movement" aimed at mobilizing the power of the millions of unionists in the U.S. to wage a real fight for a shorter workweek. All delegates were required to be either local union presidents or officially authorized by their local unions—where, of course, no elections were conducted. As a result, the delegates present represented the lower echelon of labor-union officialdom, and the conference stirred little attention in the unions' ranks. Even with such a restricted attendance, the conference organizers allowed no discussion at all from the floor, which was taken up with grandstanding speeches from such luminaries as Detroit congressman John Conyers and UAW president Doug Fraser, in a stage-managed pitch for media coverage.

The only concrete action taken was to pass a motion to organize a petition campaign for 250,000 signatures backing a bill recently introduced in Congress by Conyers to gradually reduce the standard workweek to 35 hours and require double-time pay for overtime work. Conyers was given time at the conference to promote his bill, HR-11784, an amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 which ostensibly established the 40-hour workweek but which in fact is violated by massive mandatory overtime in many industries.

The totally bankrupt strategy of pleading with the bosses' state to enforce a shorter workweek underscores the impotence of the All Unions Committee. The "impartial" government and Democratic/Republican politicians, who lined up solidly behind Jimmy Carter's invoking of the Taft-Hartley Act against the striking coal miners, have stalled the toothless Humphrey-Hawkins bill for over three years. Humphrey-Hawkins is a simple restatement of the federal government's supposed "commitment" to full employment (which is currently described by government economists as achieved when the jobless number no more than five million!) and has been on the books without effect since 1946 in the form of the equally meaningless Employment Act. Humphrey-Hawkins promises not one new job, yet it is too "controversial" to have cleared Congress!

Even featured speaker Doug Fraser found it easy to pooh-poo the notion that the Congress will pass a 35-hour workweek. Citing Congress' hesitation over Humphrey-Hawkins and the mild Labor Reform Act, the UAW chief said it was unrealistic to think the Washington



UAW president Fraser speaking at Detroit conference last week.

WV Photo

lawmakers will achieve a shorter workweek. Fraser even had a chance to indirectly bait and upstage Conyers by declaring that "...the fight is going to be won on the picket lines and not in the halls of Congress."

Himself better known for breaking auto workers' wildcat picket lines than for fighting the companies, Fraser was quick to back off from any implications of a real fight for a shorter workweek, noting that the four-day week is only one of labor's goals and, in any event, was not to be expected in the UAW's next bargaining round in 1979.

For the treacherous head of the UAW to be a main speaker at the Shorten the Workweek conference should expose the gathering's real character to genuine union militants. Fraser's idea of a "giant step" already made in the right direction is the 1976 UAW contract, which sported the Paid Personal Holiday (PPH) plan. In reality a scheme to curb absenteeism, the PPH clause offers workers a few days off a year in exchange for weeks of perfect attendance. In the three years of their current contract, the total time off gained for auto workers is a meager 12 days! Even that is meaningless for the tens of thousands of UAW members forced to slave nine hours a day, six days a week under contracts with GM and Chrysler which recognize "voluntary overtime" only after 54 hours a week, while at Ford the ten-hour day is authorized.

Frank Runnels carefully avoided the question of how many hours the workweek should be cut so as to leave the door open for claiming whatever further tokenisms Fraser might win as "victories." "We're not wedded to a specific plan for reducing work time, such as a 36 or 32 hour week," Runnels said even before the conference opened. But whether the UAW's historic demand for "30 for 40" is won or auto workers just get a few extra days off makes a great deal of difference to both those UAW members suffering grueling overtime and to the millions of unemployed who need jobs.

A drastically reduced workweek is imperative for the over six million jobless conceded even by the U.S. government's conservative figures. For blacks, the unemployment rate hovers at 12.4 percent, while for black youth it is nearly 40 percent. For them, a real shorter workweek matters.

Since the 1930's depression, Trotskyists have challenged capitalist unemployment with the demand for a

sliding scale of wages and hours to divide up the available work among the workforce, enabling the working class to benefit from productivity increases and pointing to the possibility of ending unemployment at capitalist expense. But to accomplish this demand the ranks of labor must be prepared for sharp class battles. It will take massive strikes and militant factory occupations to reduce the workweek at no loss in pay, and those battles will inevitably have to be aimed at the root cause of unemployment: the capitalist system. Spreading the available work to all who need it is a basic principle of socialist economic planning. Only by expropriating the ruling class and expanding production in a rationally planned economy under a workers government will the scourge of unemployment finally be vanquished.

Such a fight requires as a precondition that the labor movement break its subservient ties to the Democratic Party, instead of courting its more left-talking representatives such as John Conyers. Instead, the All Unions Committee places its faith in the political mouthpieces for the capitalists, who do everything they can to work labor more hours for less money. Thus the "action" proposal adopted by the conference was to lobby Congress.

Who is Frank Runnels and What is He Leading?

While the formation of the "All Unions Committee" does not bring the

working class even an inch closer to winning the shorter workweek, it has helped advance the career of Frank Runnels, who has long had aspirations for higher office in the UAW. Ever anxious for publicity and vain in the extreme (his local newspaper *The Cadillac Steward* reads like a Hollywood publicity agent's handout), Runnels has become known as the most loyal "dissident" in the UAW, eager to make the news by appealing to the widespread discontent in the union's ranks but careful never to break his ties to Solidarity House.

For years Runnels was associated with the "30 and Out" committee in the UAW, centered in the big Flint, Michigan locals, which acted as a pressure group on the Reuther/Woodcock regime to win automatic retirement rights after 30 years' service. For the last eight years, Runnels has sought to build his own power base with the "National Short Workweek Committee" in the UAW. By championing the shorter workweek and at the same time keeping it in the range acceptable to the UAW tops, Runnels hopes both to stir up the membership and keep it safely under control for Fraser & Co.

Runnels' "All Unions Committee" has attracted like-minded bureaucrats from the liberal wing of the trade-union leadership. While some 60 UAW local representatives made up the biggest single union contingent, 40 Steelworker locals were represented, most of them from the Ed Sadlowski wing of the USWA bureaucracy. Sadlowski sounded a bit bolder than Runnels, running against the Abel/McBride machine in last year's election. But like Runnels, Sadlowski offers no fundamentally different program from the Meanyite labor skates, and steers his followers back into the fold of the Democratic Party.

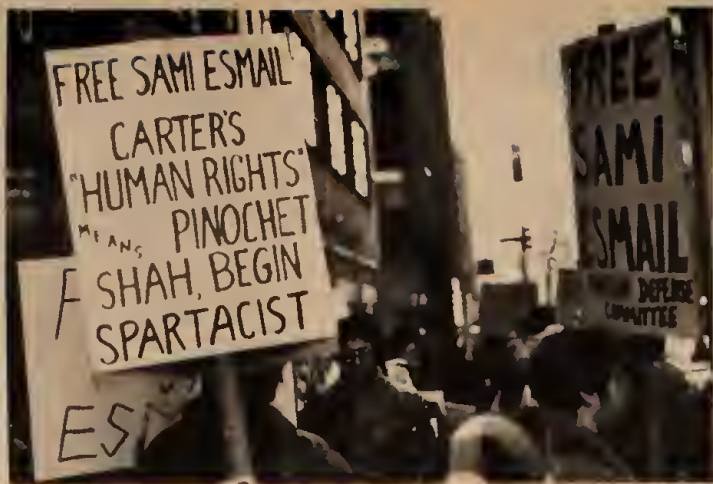
Twenty-five locals of the Stalinist-influenced United Electrical Workers union comprised the next biggest bloc of delegates in attendance. These so-called "progressive" bureaucrats seek to tap the discontent that is mounting in the ranks of the labor movement and therefore must talk tough and even occasionally criticize the established union leaders. But they always stop short of leading militant workers into a fundamental political conflict with the labor bureaucracy and its capitalist

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WV Photo

The fight for the shorter workweek will not be won in the halls of Congress.



Demonstrators in New York March 13 protest detention of Sami Esmail.

FBI Joins Witchhunt of Sami Esmail

Sami Esmail, a U.S. citizen and graduate engineering student at Michigan State University (MSU)—abducted by Israeli authorities on December 21 as he stepped off a plane in Israel, then tortured and imprisoned for four months—has now been put on trial as an alleged Palestinian "terrorist," as his vicious persecution by the Zionist state continues. Esmail faces a possible 25 years in prison under a "divinely inspired" Zionist law which proclaims the right of the Israeli state to abduct,

try and punish *anyone* in the world whom it judges to be its enemy.

Last week the three-judge panel hearing his case ruled admissible confessions signed by Esmail under torture by the Shin Beth (Israeli secret police). Esmail described his ordeal:

"Danny, the chief interrogator, would always scream at me, slap me, spit at me, punch me, pull my hair, undress me, make me stand up, sit down and tell me how my 12-1/2 years of education are going to come to a stop."

"... He and the others used to make fake

calls to the hospital in Ramallah, saying my father just had a heart attack and if I would sign a paper I could go to see my father."

San Francisco Examiner, 30 March 1978

Esmail, who had gone to Israel to visit his dying father, was picked up at Ben-Gurion airport and originally charged with being on a "spying and terrorism mission." When his father *did* die, the Zionists were forced to change their story. Esmail is now being tried for "membership in an illegal organization" (the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)) and "contact with an enemy agent" (see "Release Sami Esmail!" *WV* No. 193, 17 February 1978 for earlier coverage of the case).

FBI and State Department Help Get Esmail

This trial, which opened at the time of the murderous Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon, has provided the Begin regime a chance to assert its independence from the U.S. But as usual, Washington has turned a blind eye toward the Zionist terror and even aided it. The United States government has already demonstrated its willingness to help the Israeli government railroad Esmail. Evidence of FBI interference in Esmail's case has recently surfaced.

Representative M. Robert Carr, Democratic congressman from Michigan, revealed that the FBI has kept an extensive file on Esmail. The FBI admits to having informed Israeli agents of Esmail's August 1976 trip to Libya, where Israeli authorities allege he spent two weeks in a PFLP "training camp." But the FBI denies that it forewarned the Zionist cops about Esmail's Decem-

ber trip to Israel when he was arrested.

Members of the 200-strong Arab community at Michigan State University are now coming out with reports of systematic FBI surveillance and harassment. With the arrest of Esmail, many say they are fearful of returning to Israel for family visits and find that post-graduation plans have been disrupted. FBI senior supervisory resident agent Ted Klimaszewski, in Lansing, refused to comment on FBI activity at MSU, saying "It's like asking how long have you been beating your wife" (*Detroit Free Press*, 13 March).

The State Department has also joined the prosecution. U.S. vice-counsel in Israel, Mark Davidson, who saw Esmail three days after he was seized by the Israelis and filed an affidavit attesting that he was badly abused, has been taken off the case by his superior, head counsel James Kerr, and been restrained from testifying at Esmail's trial. Kerr, whose early statements denied that Esmail was physically harmed during a week of interrogation, has wrapped the American consulate in Israel in "diplomatic immunity."

State Department official Steve Dobrenchuk explained the U.S.'s do-nothing policy:

"Sami Esmail is being held on charges of a crime against Israel in a matter that Israel takes most seriously. It doesn't matter where such a crime is committed. It's a matter of their law and there's nothing more we can do. I'm sure it's not unprecedented."

—*Detroit Free Press*, 20 March 1978

Although Esmail's attorney Felicia Langer is seeking to have the U.S. State Department waive Davidson's diplomatic immunity so that he can testify, *continued on page 10*

Court Evicts Fascists from "Bookstore"

Labor Must Drive Nazis from Detroit

DETROIT, April 16—Community and labor groups staged a "victory celebration" today in front of the storefront office from which a band of American Nazis was evicted on court order last Wednesday. At the "party" the landlord of the Vernor street building, Eddie Bullock, announced he would instead lease the premises for two rent-free months to the United Auto Workers (UAW)-initiated Labor/Community Council Against the Nazis.

But while the fascists have been temporarily removed from the city's Southwest Side, they have not yet been driven out of Detroit. Until they flee in fear of their lives it is only a matter of time until these homegrown Hitler lovers stick their heads up again.

For the past four months the Nazis have succeeded in disseminating their racist, anti-Semitic filth while the cops have stood guard over their office and the labor bureaucracy deflected all plans for direct anti-Nazi action. Up until the end these racist scum provocatively flaunted their presence and managed to escape without so much as a bruise. Two hours before the Detroit police arrived for the eviction, the two-bit Nazi Führer Bill Russell proclaimed, "I'll guarantee you, if they come here, they're going to be met with shotguns. There'll be a battle. The strongest will survive" (*Detroit Free Press*, 13 April).

Russell's statement was mere bluster, however. As 300 people chanted and cheered, "Get the Nazis Out," the police, fully armed and sporting bullet-proof vests broke down the door and arrested the lone occupant for accumulation of traffic tickets.

In arguing for the eviction Bullock maintained that the stormtroopers had violated their lease, which stated the

premises were to be used for a printing business. Since the Nazis did not dispute the landlord's case the judge issued a directed verdict for eviction. The Nazis' explanation of why they refused to take the stand revealed their true fears, however. Russell refused to make a defense on the grounds that he could not make his supporters public because hundreds of organizations, particularly the powerful River Rouge UAW Local 600, were out "to get him."

Indeed, the presence of the Nazi recruiting office in this largely black and union city enraged Rouge workers as well as many of the 300,000-strong Detroit UAW membership, which would gladly have taught these fascist scum a lesson. And they might well have done so had they not been prevented by the obstruction of the labor scab, who now have the gall to take credit for the eviction. For months at the Labor/Community Council meetings Local 600 leaders like president Mike Rinaldi and former shop chairman Paul Boatin repeatedly squelched all proposals for militant action in favor of appeals to Mayor Coleman Young and dependence on the capitalist courts. It was Rinaldi's early defense of the Nazis' "right" to attend the meetings (!) which emboldened these scum to make a sadistic razor-attack on one young woman trade unionist outside the meeting hall the very next week!

While this time around a legal technicality could be used to effect the Nazis' eviction, the capitalist courts will not and cannot fight the fascist threat. In Illinois, for example, the courts have repeatedly upheld the fascists' attempts to stage provocations by parading their swastikas and dumping race-hating filth in the Jewish community of Skokie,



New York Times

Detroit cops collect weapons found in Nazi "bookstore" during raid last week.

whose residents include hundreds of Nazi concentration camp survivors. From the night-riding Ku Klux Klan lynch mobs to Henry Ford's support for the Black Legion to today's Nazis, the capitalists protect the fascists and keep them in reserve for when they are needed to assist the bourgeois state in smashing social revolution.

The fascists are a mortal threat to the labor movement, to blacks, Jews and all minority groups. But they are also cowards. Thus when thousands of community residents in South St. Louis last month barged a uniformed brownshirt march with bottles, snowballs and stones, the fascists sought refuge with their real friends, the cops, who led the cringing stormtroopers away from the angry crowd.

The fascists cannot be beaten down by simple reliance on spontaneous outbursts of just anger by the masses any more than they can be routed by the (occasionally adventurist) actions of small groups. Throughout the four months' fight to shut down the Nazi "bookstore" in Detroit the Spartacist League insisted on the need to mobilize

the strength of the organized working class. In contrast, several pseudo-revolutionary groups oscillated between relying on their own tiny demonstrations and tailing after the Local 600 bureaucracy's appeals to the capitalist politicians and their courts. The outpouring of opposition to the Nazis in Detroit factories indicates the potential power which could have been tapped. The next time the fascists try to stage a provocation the responsibility for their presence must be laid squarely at the door of the Rinaldis and the Boatins, who failed to take this opportunity to teach the Hitler lovers a lesson they would never forget. ■

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The tremendous power of *The Battle of Chile* as a documentary film comes from its vivid portrayal of the last months of the Allende government. Here is the CIA's "destabilization" plan in high gear: we see the truck owners' lockout, financed by Washington; the fascist shock troops, equipped by the Pentagon, with their scorpion symbol; the middle-class housewives banging their pots and pans for counterrevolution. Beyond the dramatic scenes of the June 29 trial coup, in which an Argentine cameraman films his own death, the movie deals with the internal political dynamic. The screen records not only the machinations of U.S. imperialism but also the participation in the plotting by virtually the entire Chilean bourgeoisie. The utter paralysis of the Unidad Popular (UP) coalition government overwhelms the viewer. And the workers' insistent, anguished clamor for arms, for leadership, for a program to halt the tide of reaction could not be clearer.

The Battle of Chile portrays the demise of the "peaceful road to socialism" in a far-off land of the southern hemisphere. But the Chilean experience is hardly remote. If Hitler's rise to power in Germany and the Spanish Civil War were the defining events for the generation of the 1930's, the Chilean coup of 11 September 1973—and the process which led up to it—have posed starkly before the generation of the 1970's the key question of revolutionary leadership. Learn the lessons of Chile—this is the watchword of authentic Leninists in our period. If not, you will be doomed to repeat the tragic bloodbath which cut down many of the best fighters of the most class-conscious proletariat on the South American continent.

The movie directed by Chilean filmmaker Patricio Guzmán comes into

FILM REVIEW

THE BATTLE OF CHILE

Directed by
Patricio Guzmán

the unfolding catastrophe as events reach a fever pitch. European and American audiences are gripped by seldom seen images of a pre-revolutionary situation, with workers, fascists and the military all constantly mobilized. But Guzmán's film is more than just a recording of events—much more. While it adopts a mildly critical

The Spartacist tendency supported the 1973 El Teniente copper miners strike (left) against the UP government's attempts to eliminate their cost-of-living escalator. *The Battle of Chile*, however, joins Allende (right) in denouncing the strikers as a "privileged" elite. Abandoned by the left

HOW

The Battle of Chile

DISARMS THE WORKERS

attitude toward the Allende regime, *The Battle of Chile* is a dangerously slick apology for the "peaceful road" as seen from Havana. With its diplomatic vagueness, its hiding of the crimes of the UP against the workers, this film is a sophisticated piece of Stalinist propaganda for popular frontism. It politically disarms the workers by telling them the lie that if only they had had arms they could have won.

The Spanish workers had guns and fought bravely, yet they were crushingly defeated. And the Chilean workers could have gotten arms the same way their class comrades in Madrid and Barcelona did, by assaulting the arsenals and winning over the base of the capitalist army. The key problem in both cases was the political roadblock represented by the popular front, the coalition tying the working class to the bourgeoisie. Like its Spanish predecessor, the Chilean popular front sought to prevent revolutionary struggle by the masses, who were pressing for expropriation of industry,

land to the peasants, armed workers militias. And so, on the altar of "realism," faith in the "constitutionalist" officers and alliance with the "democratic" bourgeoisie, the workers were led to slaughter.

The Battle of Chile is a cover-up for the Stalinist and social-democratic bureaucrats who bear the responsibility for this fiasco. Its systematic distortions, convenient omissions and downright lies serve to let the UP leaders off the hook—and by disguising the betrayals of the popular front it helps prepare a new bloodbath in the future. This must not go unanswered.

Here, then, is the story of the death agony of the Allende regime which *The Battle of Chile* did not tell.

Why Were Chilean Workers Defenseless Against Pinochet?

The Battle of Chile is subtitled "The Struggle of a People without Arms." And the Chilean proletariat was unarmed. In several tragic cases, on the day

(some who termed them "fascists") the Teniente strikers became a cause célèbre for the right as Christian Democrats tried to capitalize on working-class opposition to the bourgeois Allende coalition's wage-slashing and speed-up policies, euphemistically called "the Battle of Production."

of the September 11 coup hundreds of workers gathered in their factories to await the long-promised arms to defend "their" government. The guns never arrived.

In a series of interviews following the attempted coup of 29 June 1973 the demand for arms to defend themselves and the government is repeated over and over. A housewife in a slum district, a union leader, a leftist militant all repeat that they are organized but have nothing to fight back with. At a dramatic moment in the film, a militant in a union meeting asks a representative of the CUT, the Chilean labor federation, what the plans for struggle are:

"The *compañero presidente* [Allende] keeps asking us to maintain calm. For what, I ask? What is the worry, comrade that we, the workers, will go out on a general strike?... Where are your plans for us to confront the right?..."

"The truth is the people, the workers, are getting tired.... We're fighting a bureaucracy in our own midst, within our own defenses, our own unions. Until when?"

The participants in the filmed meeting and the audiences in the theaters applaud, for it is obvious to all who witnessed the scenes of the botched putsch that a showdown is coming. The armed forces, far from defending the "constitutional regime," will spearhead the counterrevolutionary drive. The workers must defend themselves or be slaughtered.

So why weren't the workers armed? *The Battle of Chile* does not answer this basic question. And its thundering silence is complicit, for it cannot honestly answer this question without pointing the finger of guilt directly at the film's heroes, the *compañero presidente* and the rest of the UP leaders.

The Battle of Chile does not tell its viewers that Allende came to office after signing a "Statute of Constitutional Guarantees" stipulating that he would not touch the armed forces officer corps and declaring workers militias illegal. The film also does not report that the Communist and Socialist leaders constantly preached confidence in the "constitutionalist" officers and opposed all calls to arm the workers. Allende's "First Message to Congress" in December 1970 stated:

"The sceptics and the prophets of doom have emphatically stated that the Armed Forces and Corps of Carabineros... would not consent to guarantee the will of the people if these should decide on the establishment of socialism in our country. 'The Chilean Armed Forces and the Carabineros, faithful to their duty and to their tradition of non-intervention in the political process, will support a social



organization which corresponds to the will of the people."

Among the preparations for the September 11 coup which are extensively documented in the film are the raids on factories by the armed forces searching for arms caches in the hands of the workers. (Naturally they did not search the offices of Patria y Libertad [Fatherland and Freedom], the fascist group heavily bankrolled, advised and armed by the U.S.) The narrator points out that these searches, aimed at intimidating and removing from the workers what few arms they had, are legal under a law passed by the reactionary Congress a year earlier. But *The Battle of Chile* does not point out that this act was signed by President Allende, who could have vetoed it!

What the film does not say is that the leaders of the popular front were steadfastly opposed to arming the masses, for they might then get "out of hand" and throw a wrench into the UP strategy of a gradual evolution to socialism by parliamentary means. The leaders "won," the workers remained unarmed, but at the end of the "peaceful road" was ... the bloody September 11 coup.

What About the El Teniente Strike?

The first half of *The Battle of Chile* is entitled "The Insurrection of the Bourgeoisie," and a large segment of that is dedicated to the May-June 1973 strike at the El Teniente copper mine. This is one of the most enigmatic portions of the film, for most viewers cannot figure out why the "popular" government is against the workers. The narrator introduces this section with the remark: "Traditionally well paid, the copper miners are the labor aristocracy of Chile, among whom economic tendencies hold sway." According to the script, the El Teniente strike is just one more rightist attempt to paralyze the country, such as the truck owners' lockout and the obstructionist tactics of the anti-government majority in Congress.

The copper strike is presented in such a confusing manner that even those unfamiliar with the events leading up to September 11 can smell a rat. Liberal film critic Pauline Kael, writing in the *New Yorker* (23 January 1978) complained about the narrator's vagueness: "When the miners in the nationalized copper mines strike, we want to know the issues...." Allende, speaking to a UP rally, dismisses their demands with the remark that "...it is a privilege to be a copper miner in this country." Clearly they are among the best paid workers in Chile (so are auto workers); it's also obvious that the right wing picked up the

While Patria y Libertad (left) openly engaged in street provocations, the Allende government turned to officers such as Pinochet (shown at right with UP Defense Minister Toha) to restore "law and order." But even as the military entered the government, new plans for the September



Sygma



Gamma

The real lessons of Chile: popular fronts mean workers blood. Above, Castro saluting the "constitutionalist" officers of the Chilean military including Augusto Pinochet (at his side). Below, the "democratic" facade comes off as thousands of workers and leftists pay with their lives for the fruits of class collaboration.

issue of the strike and exploited it to their advantage. But is that the whole story?

Not by a long way. The issue in the 1973 El Teniente strike was the miners' sliding scale of wages (automatic cost-of-living adjustment). This was won from the Kennecott and Anaconda companies by union struggle as far back as 1943. When the mines were nationalized in June 1971 the law established that the workers would not lose their conquests, including the sliding scale. However, as a result of the imperialist economic pressures and domestic speculation and hoarding, inflation in Chile began to skyrocket in 1972-73, reaching a level of more than 50 percent a month toward the end of the UP regime. In response the government decreed across-the-board wage increases (which did not come close to keeping pace with price rises).

The strike arose when the government tried to do away with the El Teniente miners' sliding scale of wages, claiming it

was becoming too expensive and copper miners were already the best paid (i.e., they should allow their real wages to be drastically cut by inflation). The most Allende would concede was a productivity bonus. In fact the mine was picked as the test case for an assault on the copper miners. The previous year El Teniente had produced the largest surplus over plan targets, and at Chuquibambilla—the second largest mine, which had experienced far more strike activity since nationalization—the cost-of-living escalator was left intact. Allende conceded this fact—thereby disposing of the argument that the strike was nothing but a right-wing manipulation—by stating:

"We could have arrived at a solution, which surely would have cost less than one day's production! But that would have set an ominous precedent, one increase on top of another, with full fringes...."

What does it mean when workers strike against a nationalized enterprise

and a popular front government? Must the workers accept "sacrifices" due to the economic crisis since the state now receives the profits and their leaders are in office? *The Battle of Chile* and virtually the entire Chilean left responded, "Yes, the copper miners must sacrifice." Genuine Bolsheviks, however, give a resounding "No!" The Chilean state remained capitalist, and so long as the bourgeoisie has not been expropriated and their government and armed forces smashed, the workers bear no responsibility for the capitalist economic crisis. To put the matter starkly, the profits from El Teniente went not to the workers but to buy the armed forces new airplanes and guns which were later used to massacre leftists by the tens of thousands. No revolutionist can call on the workers to sacrifice for that!

Allende called the strikers "privileged"; the Stalinists went even further, labeling them "fascists." Fidel Castro, speaking some months earlier to miners at Chuquibambilla, called on copper workers to "sacrifice more" for the good of the fatherland. It is tragic, though not altogether surprising, that the miners, finding no support on the left, turned toward the Christian Democrats (who always had considerable influence in the labor movement). However, as Trotskyists, who defend the working class even against the attacks of "progressive" popular-front capitalist governments, the international Spartacist tendency supported the striking miners instead of stabbing them in the back (see "Defend the Chilean Miners' Strike," *WV* No. 23, 22 June 1973).

The El Teniente strike is a classic case of how the Stalinists' and social democrats' class collaboration divides the workers. The copper miners' federation had in the past been the strongest battalion of the Chilean workers movement. After 1970 the main mining regions were the base of a split-off from the Socialist Party, the USOP, which (while no less reformist than Allende) refused to go along with the popular front and demanded a coalition of the workers parties alone. Furthermore, last November the supposed "fascist" miners at El Teniente waged a 12-day strike against the junta, the first major labor struggle since the coup. But finding no left-wing support at the crucial moment for an active struggle against the austerity/speed-up plans of the UP government (the so-called "Battle for Production"), the miners turned toward the right.

Covering Up for the UP

The often stupid New Left hip jargon used by the English-language narrator is annoying, but secondary. The liberals' *continued on page 8*

coup were being hatched. *The Battle of Chile* never mentions that the UP coalition from the beginning consistently opposed the arming and independent political mobilization of the working class, thus paving the way for the bloody coup.



"Battle of Chile"...

(continued from page 7)

complaint that the commentary is "ideological" is absurd—how could you have a non-political film about such powerful events? What is fundamental is the constant distortion due to the filmmakers' Castro-Stalinist blinders. As Lenin wrote, the truth is revolutionary and *The Battle of Chile* is neither revolutionary nor accurate.

Thus the film mentions the impeachment of Communist Party economics minister Orlando Millas, portraying him as a great defender of the JAP's (neighborhood price control committees). It does not mention that Millas' main accomplishment was a law limiting the number of enterprises to be nationalized to 91 and calling for other companies taken over by the workers to be returned to their former owners. The film shows factories being "intervened" by the workers following the June 29 mini-coup. It does not even mention the fact that after the workers seized hundreds of companies in the Santiago area, the UP government ordered them to be handed back. This piece of treachery was one of the main factors in so demoralizing the Chilean proletariat that there was no resistance to the generals on September 11.

Another key omission concerns the speech by Socialist Party leader Carlos Altamirano on July 9 in which he calls on members of the armed forces to disobey their superiors if they are ordered to participate in putschist actions. In addition to showing the Altamirano speech, the film reports that a group of sailors heeded his call and denounced their officers for planning a coup. What *The Battle of Chile* does not tell you is that these sailors, led by Sergeant Juan Cárdenas, were then arrested, with the permission of the Allende government (which was still trying to conciliate the officer corps), and tortured. They remain in jail today, victims of the popular front and the junta (see "Free Sergeant Cárdenas!" *WV* No. 116, 2 July 1976).

Or take the question of the "constitutional" officers. Describing the June putsch, the narrator says "only the presence of a constitutional sector, headed by General Prats" prevented the coup from being larger. In fact the coup was stopped not by Prats but by the rapid mobilization of the workers in the industrial suburbs who began seizing factories and preparing to march on the city center. And while Prats was a relatively honorable bourgeois democrat—later assassinated by Pinochet's DINA (secret police)—the fact remains that he resigned as minister of defense in August 1973, fully aware that plans for a coup were under way, in order to "preserve the unity of the institution" (the armed forces). The new head of the army was another prominent "constitutional" officer, General Augusto Pinochet, on whom Allende conferred the task of organizing popular defense groups to resist a coup!

The examples of omissions and distortions could be extended ad infinitum. There is hardly a scene in the film which does not seek to hide the key

political point for revolutionaries. There are impressive portrayals of the militancy of workers in the *cordones industriales*, the embryonic organs of dual power which grew up in the last months before the coup. Repeatedly they confront the CUI bureaucracy and the UP government, but nowhere is it suggested that they would have to break with the popular front in order to wage a revolutionary struggle. What we are viewing on the screen is a replay of Russia during February-October of 1917 but without Lenin, and with every event distorted to praise Kerensky (Allende).

What was needed in Chile was a Trotskyist party which warned the workers of the impending catastrophe and called for a struggle against popular frontism. The Spartacist tendency wrote at the very beginning of the Allende regime

"It is the most elementary duty for revolutionary Marxists to irreconcilably oppose the Popular Front in the election and to place absolutely no confidence in it in power. Any 'critical support' to the Allende coalition is class treason, paving the way for a bloody defeat for the Chilean working people when domestic reaction, abetted by international imperialism, is ready."

Spartacist, November-December 1970

Tragically this prediction was proved correct in every particular. It must be remembered that there were any number of "left" critics of the Unidad Popular, who, however, never made a fundamental political break with the Allende coalition. The authors of the script for *The Battle of Chile* fall into this category, taking political positions corresponding to those of the "left" wing of the Socialist Party, Fidel Castro and, by extension, the Chilean MIR. But while repeatedly raising the question of arms, they never challenge the fundamental political question of popular frontism.

The way in which their mild left criticisms of the UP are in reality a defense of class collaboration is made dramatically clear in an introduction by Marta Harnecker—a pro-Cuban Stalinist who was one of the main "advisors" in writing the script—to the screenplay for Guzmán's film (*La Batalla de Chile*, Pamplona/Madrid, 1977). She writes:

"The peaceful road must not be understood as the 'unarmed road'."
"The peaceful road is the road which does not use armed violence because the arms are on its side, because the correlation of military and not only social forces is far superior to those of the enemy."
"And thus, paradoxically, dialectically, there will be no peaceful way if the people are not prepared for the armed road."

This contorted reasoning is simply an attempt to reconcile Castro's mid-1960's "armed struggle" rhetoric with his mid-1970's support for Brezhnevite "peaceful coexistence" and the "peaceful road."

What this meant in practice was support to the UP, which paved the road to Pinochet. It meant telling the workers to sacrifice for the capitalist state. It meant keeping the Chilean proletariat tied to the class enemy through submission to bourgeois legality, the officer corps and capitalist politicians.

The Chilean working masses were politically disarmed, and the key weapon they require to win state power is a Trotskyist party, forged through intransigent struggle against popular frontism of all stripes. This is the task to which the international Spartacist tendency and our Chilean sympathizing section, the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria, are dedicated. ■

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Vote No and Strike!

NYC Transit Workers Seethe Over Sellout



WV Photo

TWU ranks denounce giveaway contract at union headquarters.

APRIL 18—Massive rank-and-file opposition to the giveaway contract negotiated by Transport Workers Union (TWU) International President Matthew Guinan threatens to bury this pact and shatter the tenuous labor peace that has shrouded New York City since the bank-manipulated fiscal crisis of 1975-76. In the past two weeks there have been repeated rallies, demonstrations and meetings of dissident TWU Local 100 ranks all over the city determined to vote this sellout down.

On April 5 more than 400 transit workers and their supporters overflowed into the corridors of a social hall in Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant district to cheer as speakers angrily denounced the insulting agreement. The following week, on April 11, more than 1,000 TWU members turned out for a rally in front of the union's mid-Manhattan headquarters. Responding to a call by the Coalition of Concerned Transit Workers, the militants present expressed disgust with their leadership through numerous signs reading "Guinan, Watts, Lawe and Cronin Must Go" and "Sold Out by Lyin' Guinan." And two days later yet another opposition meeting held in Rochdale Village in Queens brought out a largely black audience of more than 250 dissidents.

Faced with this mounting opposition as well as a deep split on his own executive board (which agreed only by a 21-12 margin to accept the Transit Authority's offer in the first place), Guinan & Co. have been going to extraordinary lengths to force the contract's ratification. Feeding into rabid union-busting Mayor Ed Koch's scare campaign, the TWU leaders first mailed to every transit worker a "special appeal" which threatened that a "no" vote on the contract would not only mean a long strike, but would spell the bankruptcy of the union, the firing of transit workers as well as the financial ruin of the city. When this ploy failed to dent the "no" vote mood, the TWU tops then ran a half-page ad in the 17 April New York *Daily News* blaming the rejection lever on the "hysterical ravings" of left-wing groups!

But the TWU ranks are not fooled. Far from a victory, the 3 percent yearly wage increase coming on the heels of Local 100's 18 percent drop in purchasing power over the past four years is nothing but subway robbery! Another hot issue is the agreement to hire 200 "experimental" part-time

token takers. In addition, the proposed contract's productivity clauses will mean the elimination of still more TWU jobs above the 5,500 which have been lost since 1974 as well as further deterioration of subway and bus service.

If the TWU stuck by its oft-proclaimed "no contract, no work" principle, Local 100 would be on strike right now. Instead they have been working without a contract for the past two weeks while every aspect of Guinan's drawn-out voting procedure is designed to wear down, isolate and demoralize the ranks. Although ratification ballots went out in the mail last week, the results will not be known until April 25. Instead of a simple "yes" or "no" on the voting sheet, the ballot instructions demand the members check boxes which state "I accept the contract" or "I reject and vote to strike." And if these intimidations do not work, no doubt the leadership will simply try to steal the votes it needs to get the contract voted up!

The bourgeoisie fears a transit strike, for it is determined to make the 1974-75 wage and job slashings stick this time around. Unfortunately, it is not only the Local 100 tops who tremble in fear of the very idea of a strike. At the April 11 demonstration Concerned Transit Workers leader Henry A. Lewis, Jr. went to pains to make clear, "We are not in any way, shape or form calling for a strike." Such cowering before the government's threats is a sure way to another defeat. After every single union of New York City workers has taken it on the jaw since the beginning of the "fiscal crisis," a subway strike is the best thing that could happen to NYC today.

TWU ranks must not be deterred by Guinan's scare campaign nor by the cold feet of the "dissident" leaders. Koch's bluster about invoking the Taylor Law and calling up the National Guard would come to short shrift were he given a taste of the "Lindsay treatment," the massive 1966 strike which quickly brought the mayor to his knees. Even alone the TWU ranks have the power to paralyze New York City and stay out until their demands are met. In the vanguard of a strike by the rest of city unions, currently in the midst of contract negotiations, a TWU walkout could win back all the vital gains given away in 1974-75, as well as the union pension funds which have been thrown down the Big MAC rat hole.

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Peanuts...

(continued from page 1)

workers to follow the example of federal workers and accept a lower rate of wage increase."

Workers know that when they hear "the common good" and "the national interest" invoked they had better check their wallets. Nixon's 1971 wage and price controls froze wages while prices skyrocketed at a double-digit rate. Ford's "WIN" (Whip Inflation Now) program was quickly buried in the 1974-76 depression, which cut the inflation rate by the time-honored method of throwing millions out of work. Though Carter is avoiding, at least for now, the mandatory controls so unpopularity used by Nixon, nobody believes his "jawboning" will hold down prices.

For the millions of workers who have had their standard of living ravaged by the past years of widespread unemployment and rampant inflation, while the urban centers in which most of them work steadily rotted away, Carter's appeal to "sacrifice" will neither cut much ice nor help his plummeting standing in the polls. Even before Carter's wage-cutting speech, the most recent *New York Times*/CBS News poll showed that 54 percent of the public disapproved of the president's handling of the economy. The Lou Harris poll found that only 32 percent approved of Carter's overall performance. This was the worst showing for any president in recent history after the same amount of time in office.

Even the encrusted labor bureaucracy which blew \$11 billion getting Carter into the Oval Office blasted his call for "wage restraint." The AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department issued a statement denouncing the "discredited theory that working people must bear the brunt of corrective measures." Meany criticized the 5.5 percent ceiling for federal employees as "completely unfair" and denounced the threat of government intervention in labor negotiations (UPI, 17 April). Many of the labor skates feel the pressure of the militant example set by the United Mine Workers strike. Even though the supposed 30 percent plus wage increase won by the miners was not the central issue in their strike—and their cost-of-living allowance is "capped"—what the miners got is way beyond what Carter is now calling for. Next year both the Teamsters and United Auto Workers contracts are up, and Frank Fitzsimmons has already said that "somebody must be crazy" if they think he won't demand wage increases equal to the miners'. The irritation of these bureaucrats, who regularly sell their members short at the bargaining table, reflects the mounting discontent at the base of the labor movement.

Virtually the only people expressing any degree of support for Carter's "plan" were the leaders of American finance and industry. They appreciated the green light to hard-line it against wage demands. There is, however, widespread feeling in capitalist circles that Carter's plan didn't go far enough. *Business Week* (24 April) wanted a full-scale austerity program: tighter monetary and fiscal policies and a rescinding of the increases in the minimum wage passed last year, thereby putting the burden on the worst paid workers. The editors of *Business Week* are openly skeptical of the president's reliance on toothless "jawboning," as they fear the power of big unions. Meanwhile, the Consumer Price Index rose at an annual rate of 8.4 percent in January and February, while wholesale prices were up at a 9.2 percent annual clip in the first three months of the year, foreshadowing even greater retail price hikes. If this continues, Carter will have produced a dead letter that pleases nobody.

The Shaky Economic "Recovery"

Carter was compelled to say something about this mounting inflation, as it

threatens the halting economic recovery from the depths of the 1974-76 depression. Yet he resisted stronger measures out of fear that cutting back too hard would throw the economy into another tailspin. The rise in business production has been based not on significant new capital investment but on consumer spending backed by rising personal debt. This situation cannot be sustained for long, and the weaknesses have been showing. The gross national product grew at an annual rate of 7.5 percent in the first quarter of 1977 but has been sliding downhill ever since, registering only a 1.5 percent annual rate in the first quarter of 1978.

In addition, the stock market has been in decline for months. Unemployment never got below 6.1 percent and is now rising again. The steel industry is still on the rocks, and there is a record inventory of two million unsold automobiles. The government's index of leading economic indicators, which is used as a guide to future growth prospects, fell 1.9 percent in January and has remained stuck since.

On the other hand, prices began spurring up, so that workers' real purchasing power has declined in every month this year. The dollar is taking a pounding on the currency markets, its precipitous decline greased by a trade deficit that reached an unprecedented \$31 billion last year and a whopping \$4.5 billion in February, the worst ever for one month. Carter let the dollar fall, hoping to cut the trade deficit by making imports more expensive and U.S. goods cheaper in foreign markets. But the trade deficit has worsened anyway, and the short-run effect has been to make inflation worse, as imports cost more, allowing U.S. competitors to boost their prices to match.

As Carter is fond of pointing out, the astounding trade deficit is due mainly to oil imports, which have risen from \$2 billion ten years ago to \$45 billion today and account for 50 percent of the oil used in the U.S. Carter pins the blame on the OPEC nations, while whitewashing the price-fixing role of the U.S. petroleum giants who dominate the world oil market. In any event, his energy legislation to boost domestic oil production is hopelessly bogged down in Congress. Even if passed soon, its immediate effect would also be inflationary, as regulations on the price of natural gas would end, domestic oil companies would step up their notorious profiteering and every other business would pass its increased energy costs on to the consumer. Carter's threat to impose oil import controls through administrative decree if Congress doesn't act soon would also have the effect of jacking up oil prices. Other protectionist measures endorsed by the Carter administration—which keep out or limit, for example, cheaper foreign steel, beef, textiles and shoes—also drive up U.S. prices. Thus, all the prospects are for heightened inflationary pressures cutting into the floundering economy. The U.S. is far from immune to the simultaneous inflation and unemployment that are plaguing Europe. The dominant economic fact of the 1970's is that the U.S. economy no longer towers powerfully above the rest of the capitalist world; it is just the strongest of a number of imperialist competitors.

The competitive devaluation of the dollar to sustain the U.S. recovery has brought Carter into increasing conflict with the other major capitalist governments. In order to prevent the total collapse of the dollar—now under heavy attack by currency speculators—as the medium of world trade, West Germany and Japan have lent the U.S. billions, in effect subsidizing the American deficit and economic recovery. While Carter has preached to the German and Japanese governments that they stimulate their economies (as if they prefer stagnation) in order to import more, Helmut Schmidt is now demanding



Unemployed youth clamor for jobs in NYC.

Conrad/New York Times

anti-inflationary austerity measures of the American president.

Despite the wishful thinking of a host of Keynesian economists, there is little a capitalist government can do to smooth out the erratic and disruptive cycles of capitalist economies. What the government can do is seek to impose the costs of resolving those crises on the working class. In Britain, the "socialists" of the ruling Labour Party reduce the wages and living standards of the British workers to among those of the poorest European nations. In the relatively better-off U.S., Jimmy Carter continues the tight-fisted economic policies of the Nixon/Ford years. If that doesn't work well enough, more extreme measures will be found. "Jawboning" will be replaced by more union-busting and head cracking on the picket lines.

The Breakdown of the Democratic Party Coalition

Franklin Delano Roosevelt forged a "Grand Coalition" of unionists, blacks and farmers to support his liberal capitalist policies. Every Democratic president since has, however fraudulently, claimed to speak in their interests, offering a special "deal" to the down-trodden and working masses. FDR had his "New Deal," Truman, a "Fair Deal," Kennedy offered the vision of a "New Frontier," and Lyndon Johnson spoke of building a "Great Society."

The labor leaders who palmed Carter off as a "friend of labor" saw him kill or compromise every one of their legislative pets, from common situs picketing to National Health Insurance. Carter's promises of jobs translated into lukewarm endorsement of the empty Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill and slashing unemployment benefits while over 6 million workers were stranded without jobs. Black leaders who helped Carter over the "ethnic purity" crisis now dejectedly watch Carter's version of benign neglect. Feminists who lent Carter their support are appalled by his endorsement of cutting off federally funded abortions and his refusal to push state legislatures to pass the bogged-down ERA.

But to the hacks who regularly hustle votes for the Democratic Party, particularly the labor leaders, this is an endless broken record. Time after time, they push the "lesser of two evils" between the Democrats and Republicans only to saddle the working people with another fraud. And then, while they may grouse and complain, they will not break with the Democrats and launch an independent party of labor.

The Rooseveltian alliance of organized labor, the ethnic minorities and liberal middle class, which made the Democrats the dominant American party, was deeply fractured in the 1960's first by the mass black agitation and then the Vietnam War. This laid the basis for eight years of a Republican presidency. Carter's feeble attempt to recreate the image of a "people's party" is now totally bankrupt after barely a year in office. It is above all the trade union bureaucracy whose continuing support to the Democratic Party ties American workers to their capitalist class enemies.

The political hold of the Democrats can be broken by forging a militant leadership of the labor movement that rejects the dead-end strategy of supporting the candidates and policies of both the bosses' parties. A class-struggle opposition must be built in the unions fighting for a workers party and a workers government. Forty years after the organizing of the mass industrial unions, this remains the urgent task of American labor if the working people are not to sit passively and pay the price of the boom-bust cycle of capitalism, as peanut boss Carter and his class demand they must. ■

Letelier...

(continued from page 12)

New Jersey, from whence the Cuban counterrevolutionary group headed by the brothers Novo took them to Washington, she added."

Even as the supposed "real" suspect is at last being flushed out, Modak's detailed story—which is fully consistent with earlier leaks—shows the continuing cover-up. Not only is this pipsqueak fascist hitman (and likely CIA agent)—who richly deserves to stand before a jury made up of relatives of the tens of thousands of Chilean leftists slain by Pinochet & Co.—a fall guy to divert attention from his masters, but it is clear that the American government knew of the assassination plotting beforehand, yet did nothing.

From the CIA's repeated efforts to overthrow the UP government to Washington's unabated aid to Pinochet, the U.S. is involved up to its neck in the DINA plots. Certainly the DINA could not operate freely on U.S. soil without extensive complicity by American intelligence and police agencies. In the Letelier murder, the chain of conspiracy links the junta to the CIA/FBI. To avenge this assassination and the murders of more than 30,000 Chileans who lost their lives in the bloodbath that followed the September 1973 coup, the working class must bring to justice the butchers and torturers, from the trigger men to those that sit in the halls of power.

Jail the murderers of Letelier! Down with the DINA and CIA/FBI! ■

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Sami Esmail...

(continued from page 5)

this statement from a high U.S. official indicates the policy of the U.S. government is to sabotage Esmail's defense effort.

That Israel claims the right to try anyone, anywhere for alleged violations of its laws prohibiting anti-Zionist activities is an outrage against the most elementary democratic rights. They in fact demand the "right" to conduct a worldwide Zionist witchhunt against all who oppose Zionist ideology.

The reverse side of Israel's "Right of Return" statutes, which automatically grant citizenship rights to all Jews, is the systematic denial of those same rights to Arabs residing in Israel. Such theocratic practices create a climate in which the Zionist rulers claim the divine prerogative of infallibility and revenge—whether it be border expansionism in the name of "eye-for-an-eye" carnage or the trying of U.S. citizens for "crimes" that occur outside Israeli jurisdiction.

Liberals Jump Ship, Sink Defense Committee

Prominent bourgeois liberals who had earlier rallied to Esmail's cause have now backed out following his attorney Felicia Langer's statement in court that her client had in fact visited Libya in 1976. Senator James Abourezk, Democrat from South Dakota, hopped off the bandwagon after learning of Esmail's trip to Libya and after having a private meeting with the FBI in his office. The 20 March *Detroit Free Press* reported that "What he learned is not known, but he has been silent about the case since the FBI meeting."

Additionally, the Detroit City Council, under fire from local Zionist pressure, rescinded by a five-to-four vote a 22 February resolution in defense of Esmail which had previously passed nine-to-zero. This resolution was simply a minimal statement hoping that the U.S. would see that he got "due process" and did not even call for his freedom! It was upon these and other liberals that the MSU-based Committee to Defend the Human Rights of Sami Esmail had pinned all their hopes for his defense.

Such disorientation results from the Committee's policy of relying on the Carter government's claims to be protectors of "human rights." The defense committee followed the twisted route long advocated by such reformists as the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in its illusion-mongering in bourgeois "justice." The SWP offered the following advice in a leaflet for an April 1 Esmail defense demonstration in Detroit:

"And we know that Sami's freedom won't be won by relying on Jimmy Carter and his hypocritical 'human rights' campaign to win it for us. We must do it ourselves."

Then in the very next breath they hailed the "Committee to Defend the Human Rights of Sami Esmail," which relied on Carter's government.

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) has warned of the danger of a "human rights" defense. At the April 1 rally in which over 100 people came out to support the Esmail defense, PDC spokesman Frank Hicks raised the need

for a unified class defense of Sami Esmail:

"There is no such thing as 'due process' for a Palestinian in Israel.... The defense of Sami must be based on the strength of workers in this country and throughout the world, and in the Middle East, on both Hebrew and Arab."

The Detroit area has a proletarian Arab population of over 80,000, of which thousands are organized in the United Auto Workers, but the "Human Rights" committee has not even attempted to mobilize this working-class population in defense of Esmail, preferring instead the treacherous, slippery promises of bourgeois liberals. The latter have displayed their real class interests by abandoning Esmail to his fate the minute his case began to look the least bit tainted by radicalism. With the liberal strategy of the Esmail "Human Rights" committee revealed as a bankrupt shambles, now more than ever it is essential to launch a broad united-front class-struggle campaign to save Sami Esmail!

Stop the Zionist railroading of Sami Esmail—Free him now! For a campaign of international working-class solidarity to free all victims of Zionist repression! ■

Stalinists Lie...

(continued from page 3)

too anxious to participate"—in the first instance ILWU president Herman himself. As the 13 March *Seattle Times* ran the dispatch:

"Bob Mandel, Executive Board member of the I.L.W.U. Local 6, San Francisco, said yesterday that the union's International Executive Board had voted Friday to authorize the union's international officers to call a strike, Associated Press reported."

"No date has yet been set but it probably would be within the next few weeks. The union's Executive Board appealed to organized labor in all cities where there are ILWU locals to join in the 24-hour protest strike, Mandel said."

As far as the charge of distortion is concerned, Mandel's description was confirmed by Seattle Local 19 president Dick Moork, who told the *Seattle Times* he had seconded the dock strike motion; and in Los Angeles IEB representative Chick Loveridge told a mine strike support meeting that he had amended the original IEB motion to explicitly include the call for a shutdown.

The International did at first try to claim that the whole thing was a hoax (and at the March 10 IEB meeting officials were barred from taking notes, so concerned were Herman & Co. that they might be forced into taking action if word got out). ILWU *Dispatcher* editor Danny Beagle told CBS radio that the motion simply authorized the International officers to "look into the question" of a strike. But two weeks later the *Dispatcher* admitted that the IEB had authorized a work stoppage without setting a date—exactly what the AP story quoting Mandel said in the first place (see "Frenzied ILWU Tops Attack Militants," *WV* No. 201, 14 April).

Secondly, the IEB motion was first made public not by Mandel but by ILWU Local 10 president Larry Wing at the March 11 San Francisco "Miners Strike Labor/Community Support Coalition," two days before the AP story came out. The Communist Party knows this very well, for at this meeting after Wing spoke, Franklin Alexander, a prominent CP supporter in the ILWU, took the floor to oppose implementing the resolution on the grounds that it was "too soon"! And when a vote was taken on a motion by a militant transit worker for a 24-hour sympathy strike both Alexander and ILWU Local 6 business agent Joe Figueroa, another well-known Stalinist hack, abstained.

The March 10 International Executive Board motion calling for a dock shutdown in solidarity with the miners is not the private property of Jimmy Herman and much less of the Commu-

nist Party. The only purpose of keeping the motion from the membership and from the striking miners was to sabotage strike action, postponing it with claims that "now is not the time" and thus turning the resolution into a dead letter. But the CP has a particular reason for slamming Mandel for publicizing the IEB motion: the 15 March edition of its own *Daily World* ran the AP story, complete with the quotes from Mandel, under the headline, "Labor Lining Up Beside Defiant Miners!"

Throughout the work stoppage affair CP supporters in the ILWU were badly disoriented, opposing implementation at one moment, abstaining on the question the next; themselves publicizing the motion, then blaming "militants" (a category which certainly does not include them) with distorting it; and then at a Local 6 membership meeting on March 16 calling for endorsement of the "distorted" content of the IEB resolution! This confusion was not the result of stupidity but of an attempt to talk out of both sides of its mouth. Like Herman, the CP wanted to take credit for passing a militant-sounding resolution, yet didn't want to risk anything by implementing it.

This all-talk-no-action policy has been the Stalinists' unbroken record in recent years as it repeatedly joined ILWU tops in scuttling proposals for boycotting cargo to South Africa, Rhodesia and Chile. In contrast, the "Longshore Militant" and Militant Caucus groupings have been in the forefront of the struggle for militant labor solidarity. And likewise on the longshore contract, when in 1975 CP supporters verbally opposed Bridges' contract while accusing the *Longshore-Warehouse Militant* supporters at the ILWU convention of being "paid company agents" for calling for a coast-wide dock strike!

To these second-string reformists "now" is never the time if it means turning the bureaucrats' hot air into militant action by the ranks. When the workers finally dump the defeatist, pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy and rally to a class-struggle leadership that has the program and commitment to fight, the Communist Party hangers-on will wind up in the same trash bin as Bridges and Herman. The day will come when they pay for their own complicity in "beautiful class collaboration" and the accompanying Stalinist lies. ■

"Shorter Workweek"...

(continued from page 4)

mentors. Thus, as Runnels explained again at the press conference, "I don't want this to be looked on as a rebel group creating conflict in the organized labor movement."

The Stalinists and social-democratic groups are always happy to play in the shadow of the "progressive" labor fakers, hoping that a little influence will rub off on them. Thus, the Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party and International Socialists have all uncritically hailed Frank Runnels' bureaucratic "movement." But real communists know that a powerful workers movement will be built only by fighting against the illusions these fake-lefts foster in liberal bureaucrats barely to the left of George Meany.

The fight for a shorter workweek will not come through tailing after Runnels & Co. any more than it will come through the halls of Congress. A new fighting leadership must be built in the unions on a class-struggle basis to prevent the Runnels and Sadlowskis from locking militants looking for a way out of the Meanyite stranglehold back into the dead end of reliance on the Democratic Party. Fight for "30 for 40," not disguised absenteeism control! Break with the Democrats, dump the bureaucrats for a workers party! ■

FBI/CIA...

(continued from page 1)

an ex-Nixon staffer with a pretty good nose for Democratic Party hypocrisy, claimed in his 17 April *New York Times* column that warrantless wiretapping and other such "investigations" and "plumbing probes" are on the increase. And if anyone ought to know, it is J. Wallace LaPrade, the 27-year career Hoover G-Man.

So when he was fired from his post, LaPrade held a press conference April 13 to announce loud and clear that "the FBI was still conducting warrantless investigations under authorization from President Carter and Attorney General Griffin Bell" (*New York Times*, 14 April). After all, he reasoned, if he is going to eat it for his 1970 crimes, what about the black-bag jobs being ordered by Bell and Carter right now? Behind this appeal to logic is a not-so-veiled threat to expose a lot more than the Administration would like to see hit the light of day. Were LaPrade to add an open mouth to his closed mind, hard shell and easy conscience, it could prove quite an embarrassment.

As it is, Carter and Bell want to use the indictments of the former top-ranking FBI agents and the removal of LaPrade to clamp the lid on FBI exposures. Last week Bell aborted the three-year grand jury investigation amid flying rumors of more than 60 more indictments in the works. The Carter administration hopes to make a deal: shut-up LaPrade, drop the charges at some future date, and enshrine its own new legal method for FBI techniques declared illegal under Nixon.

Call It Espionage

Remember that the outlawing of warrantless wiretaps and break-ins was called the big victory of the FBI/CIA liberal reformers. Indeed, if under the Fourth Amendment, rights against search and seizure by the secret police could be guaranteed, the FBI's work would be considerably hampered. Not only would it be time-consuming to go to court for warrants for each dirty trick, but the operations' secrecy would also be endangered. Many judges would be reluctant to "know" (based on the "need to know" rule) exactly what these state-sanctioned thieves and murderers were planning, and might turn down the requests. Imagine the FBI going to court to get a warrant to set up Chicago Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark to be murdered in their beds; or to send poison-pen letters to civil rights leaders; or to carry out a "black-bag job" on some psychiatrist's office.

The government can't do it. Carter has considered a number of alternative routes to avoid this obstacle, including a special panel of judges who would do nothing but issue warrants for the Justice Department and the FBI. Like a judicial version of the heralded Congressional "watchdog" oversight committees, this panel would act as an adjunct of the FBI and be hand-picked for its willingness to rubber-stamp secret police activities.

Basically, the Carter-Bell method of bypassing the courts has been to change the name of the operation to espionage. In this they are getting the sanction of the courts. Thus, for all the apparent wrangling between the FBI and "Justice," a spectacular display of inter-bureaucratic solidarity was shown recently as Carter and Bell and the FBI enlisted the aid of a federal district judge who last week ruled that trial evidence gained through warrantless wiretaps, bugging, break-ins and so forth was legal and admissible if the President judged that the case involved "foreign intelligence" and matters of "national security." But plumbing by any other name smells no sweeter.

Carter himself signed two authorizations for warrantless FBI black-bag jobs against Ronald L. Humphrey, a former U.S. Information Agency officer who is

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charged with conspiracy to commit acts of espionage with David Truong, a Vietnamese living in the U.S. and alleged to be a "foreign agent."

Humphrey, whose trial is scheduled to open May 1, is alleged to have turned over "classified" documents to Truong, who lived nearby. The entire affair has a distinctly amateurish quality with Humphrey looking more like a guilty liberal bourgeois-defeatist on the Vietnam war, à la Daniel Ellsberg, than a spy. Moreover, the government has not produced any of the documents which it claims threaten "national security," in this case identified as the pursuit of imperialist military objectives in Southeast Asia.

Given what is now known about "overclassification" of intelligence documents, it may well turn out that the documents Humphrey gave to Truong—who Humphrey says he thought was a representative of the "Vietnamese peace movement"—are, in fact, worthless from a military point of view. But like the Ellsberg documents, they might prove embarrassing to the government. What is important about the case is that under the Carter-Bell method the black-bag job done on Ellsberg's psychiatrist would be legal today because Carter could define it as in the interests of "fighting espionage."

So the Watergate reformers have done it again. They have made things a little better for the bourgeoisie and perhaps a lot worse for the left. The Carter-Bell reform which the liberals are pushing can only result in a loosening of the category of "espionage," a crime that can bring life imprisonment. After all, if the road to secret police surveillance lies through presidential assumption of ties to a "foreign power" or international contacts, such charges will become the order of the day.

Take, for instance, the Weathermen and Mr. LaPrade. What he did in opening their mail and other forms of surveillance was clearly illegal and he is now being "punished." But Carter and Bell could be doing the same thing now under the guise that the Weatherman Organization is a concern of "foreign intelligence." That the Weathermen had contact with the Cubans, Algerians and North Vietnamese may offer a sufficient basis to run the old "Squad 47" "mail runs" legally this time around. (As if to underline how little the "clean ups" hamper the government's witchhunts, five alleged Weathermen have been locked up for six months on frame-up charges in Los Angeles.)

So LaPrade is hopping mad. It is clear that he has done nothing different from those who have had him removed and perhaps indicted. That is why he and his defense are harping about the "terrorist threat" represented by the Weathermen, their alleged ties with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and so forth.

Trying to Close the Watergate

Carter and Bell do not want a fight with sections of the FBI. Most of all they want to end the investigations and they wish a few of the Hoover types would simply take the rap and be done with it. With Carter's popularity slipping, he will hardly benefit from the sort of campaign LaPrade seems capable of mounting. So how did the Administration get into this mess in the first place?

The trouble began last April with the indictment of John J. Kearney, the former New York "Squad 47" supervisor, on charges that agents working under his direction had illegally opened mail and tapped telephones of people they thought were aiding members of the Weather Underground. Undoubtedly "Squad 47" activities involved much more, but it was for these crimes, brought to the attention of a federal grand jury, that Kearney got caught and became the first FBI agent ever to be indicted on felony charges.

The grand jury investigation was part of the Carter administration's attempt to make a few token "prosecutions" and appear to be cleaning up its criminal

secret police agencies. Kearney's indictment was the sole result of that investigation, although it was obvious even at the time that his illegal actions were standard FBI procedure and had, moreover, been ordered at the highest FBI levels, and probably by the Nixon administration itself. But Kearney refused to be the government's fall guy and chose to fight instead.

When the secret police use scapegoating as a method of cover-up, there is always the problem that the sacrificial object might object. Francis Gary Powers, caught in the act of piloting Eisenhower's U-2 spy plane, didn't take his poison pill and confessed instead. When the Watergate investigations and the Freedom of Information Act exposed the illegal FBI activities, it was John Kearney who was supposed to take the rap. But he and his agent friends weren't going for it. These middle-level agents realized that they could become easy scapegoats for all the FBI's illegal activity every time it is exposed, so they yelled the obvious truth made famous by Adolph Eichmann: "I was only following orders."

But who gave the orders? In New York City it was LaPrade. On 10 May 1977 the *New York Times* reported that Justice Department sources had leaked the existence of a special report prepared by William L. Garner, head of the division's criminal section, which proved LaPrade had lied to the grand jury about his role in the case. According to the *Times*, Garner's report also included testimony from many "Squad 47" agents that it was standard procedure in making requests for illegal activities to pass them up through their supervisor (Kearney) to the field office chief (LaPrade) and through him to Edward S. Miller, head of the intelligence operation in Washington. The *Times* said Miller had publicly stated he only authorized the break-ins after receiving approval from W. Mark Felt, who in turn passed the buck to L. Patrick Gray.

As the months went on the stories continued to grow. On 7 October the *New York Times* again reported "sources" insisting that Kearney's prosecutors had possession of an FBI memorandum from Washington, D.C. to the Newark, New Jersey field office (headed by LaPrade at the time) authorizing illegal activities and providing a written link between the FBI and two previously announced burglaries by agents at the Union City, New Jersey residence of Benjamin and Rosa Cohen, the parents of an alleged Weatherman fugitive, Judith Flatley.

By this time Bell was even more reluctant to go ahead with the case. On December 7 all five lawyers conducting the Justice Department's investigation resigned in protest against Bell's insistence that Kearney and Kearney alone be brought to trial before any further indictments were handed down. And while Bell insisted he was pursuing the investigation, the 8 December *New York Times* went on to quote:

"But sources familiar with the investigation said that Mr. Bell had approved the Kearney indictment without a full understanding of the importance of the case and then, surprised by the outcry from friends of the bureau, had grown cautious about prosecuting any other agents or former agents."

Carter and Bell were in a bind. Prosecuting attorneys were resigning. News of more illegal break-ins, gleaned by victims through the Freedom of Information Act, were spawning new civil suits every day. The press was pushing the investigation as well as numerous civil-liberties organizations and other concerned liberals. To cover it up at this point was to run the risk of creating a new Watergate scandal for the Carter administration.

Predictably the news of the indictments brought howls of protest from FBI agents, who know full well the "Bureau" is a snake-pit of organized crime and who do not intend to take the rap each time some facet of its daily

illegal work is exposed. And LaPrade put the question to newsmen: "Is it proper to ask: Will another political power in Washington desire to prosecute today's action five years from now?" (*New York Post*, 14 April).

Hoover Lives In The FBI

LaPrade has not only threatened to blow the whistle, he has also decided to make a political fight for Hooverism against Bell and Carter. What LaPrade hopes to gain is more independent power for the FBI within the government repressive apparatus. Wrapping himself in the American flag and flanked by portraits of his god, J. Edgar Hoover, and his hapless successor, Clarence Kelley, LaPrade swore to fight any attempt to impinge on the independent authority of the secret police and challenged Bell to debate on national TV how he would deal with terrorists while hamstrung with legal impediments such as the need to obtain search warrants. And finally he harked back to the old Hoover days when every effort to put the secret police on a leash was foiled:

"I think that Mr. Hoover in his tenure was strong enough to maintain the organization in such a fashion that that was not possible, although it was always tried."

The FBI likes to pretend that it is just an "apolitical" agency busy catching bank-robbers and kidnappers just like television's most popular G-men. Of course not a word is ever said about the FBI's overwhelmingly dominant function—the surveillance and disruption of the lives of individuals judged in its eyes to be "un-American" troublemakers. Moreover, for over a quarter century, these eyes were located in the paranoid head of J. Edgar Hoover, who saw himself as the bulldog guarding against not only the "Communist menace," but also "soft-on-Communism" liberals and even the CIA's "eggheads." With the Watergate exposures many liberals came to believe that the FBI had "gone too far." But the FBI loyalists have no such guilt about the Hoover years. The high point of the popular tours of the FBI's Washington fortress is the visit to the "Director's Office" preserved intact as a shrine to those halcyon days.

Thus the "Bureau" was itching to go on a general counter-offensive against the "reformers," and the rightward-drifting social climate set just the tone for it to do so. With Kearney's indictment the FBI rallied around the case, with some 300 FBI agents demonstrating last April 17 on the steps of New York's Foley Square Courthouse and threatening to disrupt the criminal proceedings. This show of strength was clearly organized at the highest level of the secret police agency, and combined with a press campaign about the "dangerous" lowering of morale among the agents, it was part of the effort to turn the tide of opinion and offer the government a basis to drop the charges and stop the investigations of its murderous activities.

One year later there is much reason to believe that LaPrade will provide a new rallying point for the right. Already a New York-based "Special Agents Legal Defense Committee" has been formed and has declared its support for LaPrade, Gray and his aides. LaPrade and the Hoover loyalists can easily become a rallying point for the entire ultra-right wing as the secret police defend their murderous methods against civilian control. This would be a dangerous development and could give impetus to the expansion of American fascist groups and groups like the John Birch Society, who have traditionally had close ties to the "intelligence community."

Jail the FBI/CIA Criminals

But if LaPrade thinks he can restore the Hoover "independence" of the FBI in the present period, he is mistaken. Carter does not need that sort of independent center of secret police power now. That is, in part, what the

fight is all about. Replacing Clarence Kelley, who reeked all over with the Nixon stench, Carter has appointed as new FBI director the yes-man William Webster, whose career as a U.S. circuit court judge was distinguished by his astonishingly low rate of dissenting opinions.

In fact, Carter has centered the special police power in the presidency and the Justice Department. But it still is not clear to the liberals and reformists that the government will not put the secret police out of business. The more the Justice Department runs legal interference for the most noxious tasks of the secret police, the more the liberals and reformists scream for Bell to be even more vigorous in his FBI prosecutions.

For instance, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP)—one of the prime targets of FBI illegal surveillance—continues to create illusions in the democratic reform of the secret police and has even taken to "advising" Griffin Bell on the ways to become the "best builder" of an FBI investigation. According to the *Militant* (21 April), "Bell did not look far enough. A real probe... would have looked into tens of thousands of cases!"

A "real probe" will never be conducted by the Justice Department but by workers tribunals following the victorious socialist revolution. And while communists support all efforts to diminish the power and authority of U.S. imperialism's secret police, we see no such efforts at present. Bell and the Senate investigating committees are no more likely to make serious inroads against the CIA/FBI criminal activity than the SWP is likely to get the government to hand over all the names of the FBI informers and agents in the SWP. What the liberal reformers will continue to do, as we have seen, is to redefine criminal acts as legal.

Certainly Kearney is right about one thing—he did only what was standard procedure in the "Bureau." Without exception the entire secret police—the most felonious organization in the country—is guilty of the same charges and probably much more that is far worse. From Kearney of "Squad 47" to the fall guy for the My Lai massacre, Lt. William Calley, to Adolph Eichmann, capitalism's butchers and hit men are always "only following orders." And while we demand that the big guys who gave the orders be brought to justice, the scum who actually pull the triggers must not be allowed to beat the rap. Put away all the FBI/CIA criminals! Smash the capitalist secret police through workers revolution! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

More Cover-Up On Letelier Murder

Pinochet's the One!

Fall Guy Fascist Handed Over in Phony Junta Clean-Up Campaign

After more than a year and a half of stalling, the Justice Department has finally named a handful of suspects in the September 1976 assassination of Orlando Letelier. (Letelier, a former defense minister and Chilean ambassador to the U.S. under the government of Salvador Allende, was killed in Washington, D.C., along with his American assistant, Ronni Moffitt, when a bomb exploded in Letelier's car.) But although they have lifted the lid on the case a millimeter, the cover-up continues as the FBI/CIA seek to hide their own complicity, and bloody Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet continues to protect himself and the other main accomplices in this grisly crime.

On April 7 the Pinochet government ordered the expulsion of one Michael Vernon Townley, wanted by U.S. authorities for questioning in the Letelier murder. Upon arrival in Washington he was arraigned as a material witness in the case and released on bond. The deportation was ordered after American officials identified Townley and Chilean Army captain Armando Fernández Larios as the two suspects who had traveled from Santiago to the U.S. under false names in August 1976, using Chilean diplomatic passports. However, after Captain Fernández was questioned by a Chilean magistrate at U.S. request, he was declared cleared of all suspicion and released.

Townley, a 35-year-old American citizen described as an electronics expert, was a member of the fascist Patria y Libertad organization which received extensive aid from the CIA to finance sabotage and disruption against the Allende regime. Both Townley and Fernández were said by the FBI to be agents of the DINA, Pinochet's hated secret police (since renamed). But even though the names of the bearers of the passports have been identified, and the Justice Department has evidence that they met with the anti-Castro gusanos in Miami who are alleged to have actually carried out the bombing, these two accomplices in assassination are today



Butcher Pinochet

Christian Belpaire



Orlando Letelier

Lawrence McIntosh

walking the streets of Washington and Santiago as free men.

Townley had been living in Chile off and on for over 20 years, ever since his father was sent to Santiago as manager of Ford Motor Company of Chile. In June 1973 he participated in a commando raid by Patria y Libertad in Concepción in which a night watchman was killed. Townley fled from Chile to the U.S. to escape an arrest warrant (returning after the overthrow of the Unidad Popular [UP] government by the Pinochet coup). The Allende government accused him of being a CIA



Linda Wheeler

Orlando Letelier's car after he was assassinated by a bomb near the Chilean embassy in Washington in September 1976.

agent active in Chile since 1968. More recently the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence reported receiving numerous allegations during its 1975 inquiry that Townley was connected with the CIA.

But if Townley is eventually sacrificed it will only be to shield the likes of former DINA chief General Manuel Contreras Sepúlveda and Pinochet himself. From the beginning, all threads in the Letelier murder conspiracy led straight to the Chilean junta. (A close personal associate of the dictator ever since the 11 September 1973 coup, Contreras precipitously resigned from the cabinet last month.) But under pressure from Washington, Pinochet has tried to brush up his image by appearing to cooperate with the U.S. investigation. In the same vein his cabinet was reorganized last week under a new civilian minister of the interior.

As is always the case when the murderous junta embarks on one of its periodic attempts to clean up its act, *New York Times* reporter Juan de Onís turned up in Santiago to sympathetically cover the charade. (His latest apology for Pinochet & Co. is entitled "Chile Appears to be Moving Away from Its Repression and Austerity," in the 8 April *New York Times*.) Just as he last year lauded the so-called "abolition" of the DINA, this time around he praised the "abolition" of the "state of siege" and reported for the nth time that there would be no more political prisoners left in Chile's jails. This followed Pinochet's proclamation that some 220 persons convicted of state security crimes would be pardoned or their sentences commuted if they went into exile. However, most of the prisoners in the junta's prison camps never went before a court, and thousands have simply "disappeared."

The U.S. government has been under considerable pressure to do something about the Letelier case. For well over a year the FBI dragged its heels, with "sources close to the case" leaking periodic reports of "new information." The investigators were supposedly hot on the trail of a Santiago/Miami/

Caracas connection and had uncovered evidence of a DINA-gusano link. But this much was known within days after the assassination. As early as 20 December 1976 the *Los Angeles Times* cited "sources" reporting that the Justice Department had evidence that two unidentified people traveling under false names had entered the U.S. with Chilean diplomatic passports shortly before Letelier's murder.

The FBI is still keeping mum on the case, but in an interview published in the 6 April edition of the Mexico City newspaper *El Dia* former Allende press secretary Fridal Modak gave a much fuller account than has appeared in the U.S. press. In addition to Townley and Fernández, she directly implicated General Contreras, Héctor Durán (Chilean press attaché in Miami) and Colonel Eduardo Sepúlveda (Chilean consul in the same city). According to the report, Modak indicated that "in a routine investigation in Miami in August 1976 FBI personnel discovered a meeting of Cuban counterrevolutionaries with an American and two Chileans in the English Lobster Club." The article continued:

"Also by accident they followed the three individuals who turned out to be Michael Vernon Townley, Héctor Durán and Colonel Eduardo Sepúlveda. Modak indicated that this was the needle in the haystack which led the FBI to the discovery of the authors of the crime, the American Townley and Chilean Army Captain Armando Fernández Larios, who are presently sought by U.S. judicial authorities."

"The former functionary of the Allende government also said that the investigation, concluded in March 1977, led the FBI to determine that in June 1976 in an unidentified hotel in the Dominican Republic there was another meeting, including participation of elements of CORU—an anti-Castroite organization led by Orlando Bosch, presently in jail in Caracas—and [then] Col. Contreras himself, who agreed to deposit \$1 million in a bank in the Bahamas in order to carry out the plan."

"To undertake the attack, explosives were sent from Chile aboard a plane of the national airline (LAN) to Miami, where Col. Sepúlveda received them. From there the explosives were sent to

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