



Informations Ouvrieres

House-to-house fighting earlier this year left Beirut in ruins.



UPI

Leftist and Palestinian guerrillas with Syrian tank knocked out of action in Sidon.

Syrian Troops Out of Lebanon!

JUNE 13—Since the beginning of June, Syria has been engaged in a full-scale military intervention into the Lebanese civil war. It has reinforced the 15,000 Syrian or Syrian-controlled troops already in Lebanon with an additional 13,000 regular soldiers and 400 tanks, most of which are Soviet-made T-54s.

Syrian troops had previously infiltrated Lebanon under the guise of Palestinian commandos (the Syrian-controlled as-Saiqa Palestinian guerrilla organization in Lebanon contains 7,000 men, and the 3,000-man Hittin Brigade of the Palestine Liberation Army is also pro-Syrian). However, on April 9 Syria massed 8,000 regular soldiers inside the Lebanese border, partially to bolster support for Elias Sarkis, its candidate in the Lebanese presidential elections. On May 27 Damascus consented to another six months' extension of the UN observer force on the Golan Heights, thereby freeing up units of the Third Armored Division, which are normally held in reserve for combat with Israeli forces on Golan, for the June invasion of Lebanon.

The June invasion, preceded by the Syrian-imposed election of Sarkis (see *WV* No. 112, 4 June), was undertaken with the approval of the United States and Israel. On May 26, U.S. special envoy to Lebanon L. Dean Brown (who formerly served in Vietnam, Cyprus and Jordan during the 1970 civil war there) stated that the U.S. had "made a mistake in discouraging Syria from sending troops into Beirut last month as

a peace-making force in the civil war" (*New York Times*, 27 May 1976).

The attempt of Sarkis, elected by Syrian bayonets, to negotiate an agreement with the contending forces in the Lebanese civil war collapsed in late May over the question of the continuing presence of Syrian troops. Following this collapse, the civil war quickly escalated, with over 115 reported killed and 230 wounded on May 29. Coinciding with this escalation, Ahmen al-Maamari, a fanatical Muslim army commander, encircled and savagely shelled two isolated Christian towns in northern Lebanon—Andakat and Al Qobaya—threatening to wipe them out.

Both Fatah, the leading Palestinian group, and Druze patriarch Kamal Jumblat, a leader of the Lebanese Muslim forces, called on Major Maamari to cease this genocidal attack, but Maamari is a man who likes to be on the winning side. He has gone from being a supporter of Jumblat's ally, Lt. Ahmed al-Khatib, commander of the "Lebanese Arab Army," to being an enemy of Jumblat and a supporter of the Syrians. Since the Syrians are currently backing the Maronite Christians, Maamari's attack on these towns was a provocation to justify further Syrian military intervention.

In addition, on May 31 Syria sent 2,000 additional troops into northern Lebanon near the encircled towns and 4,000 along the Damascus and Beirut highway to reopen that road to the reactionary Maronite Phalange, which holds the coastal area north of Beirut.

Jumblat, who only a week earlier had denounced French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's offer to dispatch combat troops to its former colony in the Levant, now appealed to Lebanon's former imperialist master: "I have asked for French diplomatic and political assistance to defend our independence." So much for Jumblat's self-proclaimed "socialist," "progressive" and "anti-imperialist" sentiments (which have been taken as good coin by wretched opportunists like the Healyites).

Of course, the Maronite reactionaries were overjoyed by Syrian reinforcements rushing to their aid. A joint statement issued by the incumbent president Suleiman Franjeh, Interior Minister and former president Camille Chamoun (who had called for the U.S. Marine invasion of Lebanon in 1958), Phalange chief Pierre Gemayel and the leader of the clerical-fascist Order of Maronite Monks, Charbel Rassis, said: "We appreciate what sister Syria is doing in Lebanon in spite of the difficulties it is facing in Lebanon and elsewhere" (*New York Times*, 6 June).

The Pentagon and the Kremlin

The Ford administration, having given Damascus the green light to invade Lebanon, responded to the invasion by stating: "The Syrians have played a constructive role in Lebanon." For his part, the bloodthirsty Israeli prime minister, Yitzak Rabin, viciously remarked: "I am not shedding any tears over the military encounter between the

Syrian Army and Arafat's terrorists."

Rabin's gloating at the sight of Arab killing Arab lays bare the genocidal and racist character of Zionism. But the Palestinian refugee camps that were yesterday blown up in the name of Zionism are today strafed and bombarded in the name of the "Arab Revolution."

The Ba'athist rulers in Damascus who demagogically denounced Sadat's "Sinai Agreement" with U.S. imperialism and Zionist Israel—putting themselves forward as uncompromising champions of the Palestinians' rights—are now hailed by Washington and Tel Aviv as they perpetrate the mass murder of Palestinian refugees and Lebanese Muslims. Arab nationalism, like Zionism and all forms of nationalism, translates into national chauvinism and ethnic genocide, even when both parties to the conflict speak Arabic.

The Syrian invasion of Lebanon is also another serious blow to Moscow's already badly damaged prestige in the Near East. Since Sadat abrogated the Soviet-Egyptian "friendship pact," the USSR has become increasingly dependent upon Syria and Iraq as its sole purported allies in the region. To the acute embarrassment of the Kremlin, the May 31 Syrian invasion of Lebanon took place on the eve of Soviet prime minister Alexei Kosygin's state visit to Damascus.

Since, as Stalin once remarked, paper will take anything that is written on it,

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Rightist Terror Stalks Argentina 6

While Kissinger Hobnobs with Junta, Thousands Tortured in Chilean Prisons

No Aid to Butcher Pinochet!

JUNE 14—Contrary to a well-orchestrated propaganda campaign in the American press, recent visits to Chile by U.S. Treasury Secretary William Simon and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger have not resulted in any easing whatever of the brutal repression begun 33 months ago when the Pinochet junta seized power. Instead, the junkets and pious pronouncements by top Washington policy makers are a deliberate ploy to prop up the isolated and economically floundering Chilean dictatorship.

Simon declared he would visit Chile "only if there was some demonstration of willingness to move in the civil rights area." Similarly, at the opening session of the Organization of American States (OAS) conference in Santiago last week, Kissinger remonstrated that "human rights violations" "impaired our relationship with Chile." He added that "human rights are the very essence of a meaningful life, and human dignity is the ultimate purpose of government." No doubt, the more than 30,000 leftists slaughtered by Pinochet's butchers would have had something to say to Kissinger's cynical soliloquy on a "meaningful life."

In honor of the Simon visit last month, the junta announced the release of 49 political prisoners, including Pedro Ramirez, former minister of mining under Allende's Popular Unity (UP) regime, and Anibal Palma, former UP minister of education. For Kissinger's benefit, Chilean police claimed to have released some 305 prisoners before and during the OAS meeting. But despite these token gestures, the reality remains grim for the 4,000 to 8,000 political prisoners in Chile.

Mass arrests continue unabated. Only six days after the announcement that 49 would be released in May, Hernan Montealegre, one of the principal civil liberties lawyers still practicing in Chile, was arrested without charges and sent to one of the junta's concentration camps. On May 18 one of the most damaging roundups since the coup was carried out by junta security forces. Among those arrested were Victor Diaz, deputy general secretary of the Communist Party (CP) at the time of the 1973 coup, former CP national secretaries Jorge Muñoz and Mario Zamorano, along with a dozen other top party leaders. Hundreds of arrests have been reported in the last few weeks.

At the OAS conference, five Chilean lawyers issued a lengthy report denoun-

cing the National Intelligence Directorate (DINA), which acts as a law unto itself under Pinochet. With 4,000 civilian and military employees and an estimated 30,000 informers throughout the country, DINA has become the only reliable base of support for the junta chief. Presently in the hands of these sinister murderers is Edgardo Enriquez, a leader of the MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement), reportedly being held at the Monte Maravilla torture center after having been secretly turned over by the Argentine police on April 27.

The single "success" of the OAS in extracting guarantees from Pinochet concerning political prisoners was a vague promise to consider the possibility of an inspection by the UN Human Rights Commission, which has been turned away several times in the past. However, even this pro forma concession was rendered meaningless by a resolution presented by Chile and supported by other military dictatorships at the meeting, requiring any investigative committee to work through government representatives only!

Torture Continues

Torture has become institutionalized in Pinochet's Chile, and its methods, according to a United Nations report released in February, "extend from cold methodical application of torture as a means of extracting information or of punishing and destroying political opponents to frequent manifestations of barbaric sadism by individual operators." Every released prisoner tells of the horrors of the torture centers. Hanging prisoners upside down and repeatedly slashing them with razors; burial in sand with only the head free, exposed to hot sun; women prisoners subjected to the most degrading forms of sexual abuse, including multiple rape; submerging



Pinochet greeting Kissinger in Santiago last week.

UPI

arrested is held incommunicado for a period and their arrests are routinely denied. One case cited was the murder of a lathe operator in Concepción who had been arrested on September 26 and later returned to his home badly beaten and incoherent. He was then rearrested and found the following day, his body riddled with bullets. The death certificate listed the cause of death as "acute anemia"...as a result of gunshot wounds (*New York Times*, 8 June).

No Aid to Chile Butchers!

With arrests and tortures undiminished, unemployment well over 20 percent and inflation still above 300 percent annually, Chile has not seemed

aid as well. In March, World Bank president and Vietnam mass butcher Robert McNamara pushed a \$33 million loan through that institution, despite resistance from European members; and last week, 16 U.S. and Canadian banks, led by Morgan Guarantee, granted a \$125 million loan to the Central Bank of Chile under State Department pressure.

Credits to the junta from the U.S. and from international organizations under its influence now total about \$1.8 billion since 1973. Whether ostensibly economic or military, all such aid is directly political in character, providing funds to arm Pinochet's murderous troops and police, covering the staggering foreign debt (interest alone now equals 38 percent of import earnings) and otherwise bolstering the shaky regime. These emergency transfusions are strikingly similar to the loans rushed to the South African apartheid regime by a consortium of international banking institutions in 1961 to reverse the drain of foreign investment that followed the massacre of black protestors at Sharpeville.

The fanfare accompanying the recent reported release of only a tiny fraction of the left-wing prisoners in Chile is nothing but a cynical cover to legitimize U.S. bankrolling of the Pinochet police state. The international labor movement must denounce this fraud, demand freedom for all class-war prisoners in Chile, and fight to end all aid to the bloody junta. Working-class solidarity, including a labor boycott ("hot-cargoing") of all military cargo to Chile, is key to prying imprisoned militants from Pinochet's clutches.

The bloody seizure of power by the Pinochet junta represented a tremendous defeat for the Chilean proletariat, but the working class has not been atomized by the bonapartist military dictatorship. Under the leadership of a revolutionary Trotskyist party that can draw the lessons of the reformists' class collaboration—how their confidence in the "constitutionalist" officers and "progressive" bourgeoisie tied the workers' hands, blocking a mobilization against the counterrevolutionary putschists—the Chilean workers can truly avenge their fallen martyrs only by sweeping aside the bourgeois class rule that gave rise to the infamous torture chambers and concentration camps. ■



Inside the National Stadium in Santiago. Thousands of Chileans were imprisoned and tortured there by the bloody Pinochet regime.

Gamma

prisoners in human excrement. Many of the more deranged atrocities are inspired or devised by former German Nazi officers now working with DINA, including Walter Rauff, who was the designer of the "gas wagon" used to annihilate Jews during World War II by spraying cyanide into a sealed compartment.

Even the OAS, so adept at covering up U.S. aggression and barbarous crimes of various Latin American tinpot dictators, felt compelled to issue a report this month accusing the junta of continuing "arbitrary jailings, persecutions and torture" despite baseless denials to "tranquilize or confuse" world opinion. It also stated that despite an official regulation giving prisoners the right to be brought to court within five days of arrest, practically everyone

a "good risk" for investors worried about becoming identified with the despised junta. So despite U.S. economist Milton Friedman's confident predictions of stable growth following a temporary "shock treatment" of severe austerity, the Chilean economy goes on sinking. Now the situation has gotten so desperate that U.S. leaders are worried that Pinochet may go down the drain.

Consequently, while mouthing pieties about "human rights," Kissinger & Co. have pumped massive military and economic aid to this gang of butchers. Witnesses at a Congressional subcommittee hearing this spring testified that the government provided \$272 million to Chile in 1975 alone, more than 11 times the \$25 million ceiling imposed by Congress last year! The U.S. has also used its levers to secure international

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Unions Must Mobilize Against Racist Offensive in Chicago!

Klan, Nazis Riot— Daley Arrests Black Protesters

Drop Charges Against M.L. King Jr. Movement!

CHICAGO, June 14—Assaults on blacks have increased sharply and spread throughout the city after a Nazi Klan-incited riot exploded in the Southwest Side Marquette Park area last weekend (see *WV* No. 113, 11 June). White street gangs have been emboldened by the absence of any organized response to the fascist offensive, while the black establishment redoubles its efforts to keep the ghetto masses in line, placing all its chips on Mayor Richard "Boss" Daley and his cops. In turn, the bureaucracy of Chicago's powerful integrated labor movement has said and done nothing at all about the rising wave of racist violence.

Frank Collin, the Nazis' two-bit local *Führer*, reveled in the "success" of the Sunday riot. "The violence of June 6 has saved the neighborhood for years to come," he crowed. "It scared the Negroes" (quoted in *Chicago Daily News*, 8 June). Collin had good reason to be jubilant, for last week saw repeated incidents of terrorization of the black populace in Chicago. Among the reported incidents (*Chicago Defender*, 11 June):

- Tuesday night, black bus driver Clarence Wilson and his eight months pregnant wife were attacked by a mob while driving through a white South Side neighborhood.
- Wednesday night, 19-year-old Gary Smith was almost run over, then beaten in the head and his nose broken while waiting for a bus near the Republic Steel Mill on the far South Side.
- Another black youth, Robert King, was attacked and beaten by a gang in Marquette Park. He is hospitalized and listed in serious condition.
- In addition, at least six blacks have been attacked in mid-afternoon throughout the week at Foster Avenue Beach on the North Side. Some of the victims were beaten to unconsciousness and assaulted with broken bottles. The attackers were reportedly members of the TJO street gang, and Nazi posters have proliferated in this area recently.

The Cops React... By Arresting Civil Rights Marchers

Black "community leaders" have responded to the racist terror by trying to convince the authorities that they can clamp down on the ghetto masses so as not to "provoke" the fascists. The Nazi/Klan riot was a response to a planned (but subsequently cancelled) march for open housing by the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement, a small church-based pacifist group. The day after the racist riot a "coalition of community leaders" met at the Urban League headquarters and demanded a moratorium on all demonstrations in the area (including those planned by the King Movement) as well as more police protection. In short, these misleaders promised to take over from the Nazis

the job of keeping blacks out of white neighborhoods, while covering for the occupation of ghetto areas by Daley's racist cops!

The Martin Luther King Jr. Movement, however, refused to go along with the moratorium and on Tuesday night led a handful of marchers toward Marquette Park. The cops stopped the demonstration and arrested the Movement's leaders, Rev. C.H. Turner and Rev. Edgar Jackson, for parading without a permit. Fred Rice, police commander of Englewood District (the ghetto area bordering on the Nazi/Klan stronghold in Marquette Park), made it absolutely clear that his main task was suppressing any black response to the fascists. Speaking after he arrested the civil rights marchers, Rice said:

"the black community is up in arms.... we've got to defuse the situation, and it can't be one-sided. We've got to defuse it over here, too, or we're in for one hell of a summer."
—*Chicago Sun-Times*, 9 June

Because of the arrests of Turner and Jackson, the King Movement marches became, for a few days, a symbol of defiance against the racist system. Marches later in the week attracted as many as 150 participants, although as could be expected the cops broke them up. Turner and Jackson, out on bail, were rearrested along with others, and this time the charges were escalated, including resisting arrest, mob action and incitement to riot! (In contrast, the few Nazi/Klan-incited rioters arrested last Sunday were booked on misdemeanor charges, disorderly conduct and drinking in public.) Chicago trade unions, left and black organizations must defend the King Movement and demand that charges against Turner, Jackson and the other civil rights marchers be dropped!

Our solidarity with the King Movement marchers against Daley's racist cops does not detract from our fundamental opposition to the Movement's pacifistic liberalism. Confronting the fascist scum through prayerful vigils disorients and disarms the ghetto masses no less than the Urban League's anti-demonstration moratorium or police commander Rice's efforts to "defuse the situation."

Liberals and Fake-Lefts Applaud "Anti-Fascist" Daley

A few days after the racist riot, Boss Daley announced his intention to shut the Nazis' "Rockwell Hall" headquarters "in the interest of what's decent." In fact, the Marquette Park office remains open. City attorneys also obtained a six-week court order restraining the Nazis from "urging the violation of the rights of blacks, where such action is directed to inciting or producing imminent lawless actions" (*Chicago Tribune*, 10 June). The same day, Daley threw his support behind the "ethnic purity" Democratic presidential candidate, Jimmy Carter.

Daley's tokenistic response drew praise from the same liberals who for years have rightly denounced the mayor



Petetti/Chicago Tribune

Two-bit "Führer" Frank Collin heckles police in the door of the Chicago Nazis' headquarters last week.

as the embodiment of the corrupt, brutal, racist political boss. Remember the beating of antiwar protesters at the 1968 Democratic convention and the murder of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark? The new admirers of the "anti-fascist" Daley evidently don't want to.

James Compton, head of the local Urban League (which recently reported that Chicago was the most segregated city in the U.S.), commended the mayor and called for outlawing the Nazis. This kowtowing simply enhances the authority of Daley and his cops as they prepare to crush any ghetto response to the fascists. The slap on the wrist meted out to the Nazis by the courts will be used as justification for a hundred times more brutal treatment of black militants who seek to defend themselves against the racist assaults.

Naturally, the reformist Communist Party is crawling along right behind the bourgeois liberals. Last week a delegation to Daley, headed by Mark Almsberg of the Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), demanded that the mayor and city council denounce the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis, prosecute those responsible for racist terror and make reparations to the victims of racial violence. The YWLL delegation was curtly informed by the mayor's office that it was already "doing all" they demanded!

Not to be outdone in such legalistic class-collaborationist reformism is the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). SWP congressional candidate Andrew Pulley called upon his Democratic and Republican opponents to join with him in building a "mass movement...to put pressure on the city government and mayor to address the culprits." In contrast to the Marxist policies of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL), which calls on labor and the left to organize to suppress the fascist vermin, during recent years the SWP has aggressively defended a policy of "free speech for fascists." It would not be surprising, therefore, if Pulley should endorse the American Civil Liberties Union defense of the Nazis' "rights" against the actions of the Daley administration!

For Labor/Black Defense

The way to defeat the fascists in Chicago was presented by the Labor Struggle Caucus (LSC) of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 6 (International Harvester, Melrose Park) at a union meeting yesterday. The LSC presented a resolution that Local 6 call a demonstration within two weeks around the

slogans, "Smash the Nazi racist terror" and "Enforce black rights to open housing with labor/black defense guards." The resolution also called on the union to contact all labor and minority organizations in Chicago to actively support this demonstration and to initiate coordination of city-wide labor/black defense against racist terror, and to demand that all charges against the Martin Luther King Jr. Movement be dropped.

Last year UAW Local 6 pointed the way forward for the entire workers movement by organizing militant labor/black defense against racist night-riders in suburban Broadview. It was this action which enabled black union member C.B. Dennis and his family to move into a predominantly white neighborhood. However, at this Sunday's union meeting, the Harvester local rejected that course of action, voting instead to rely on the bosses' police force against the current racist attacks in Chicago.

Responsibility for this rejection of labor/black defense rests squarely with former Local 6 president Norm Roth, a prominent spokesman for the Communist Party-supported Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD). When the LSC spokesman introduced his resolution, Cornelius Cobb, one of Roth's co-thinkers, presented in effect a counterresolution placing full confidence in Mayor Daley, his city council and cops to stop the racist assaults and outlaw the fascists. Roth seconded Cobb's motion and went even further, "commending" Daley for his good work against the Nazis.

Undeterred by the reactionary union bureaucracy and treacherous reformists like the CP, SWP, et al., class-conscious militants must continue to demand integrated working-class action against the Klan, Nazis and all other racist terrorists. ■

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Witchhunting and Watergating

In the post-war anti-Communist witchhunts, New Deal liberals learned that there was more to fear than fear itself. They learned to fear the Congressional investigation, the subpoena, the blacklist, which together spelled merciless FBI harassment, social ostracism and often financial ruin. They learned that being branded a "security risk" or "Communist-influenced" or a "premature anti-fascist"(!) could mean being driven from their professions, while their families were hounded at home and at school. It could even mean prison, and death. The execution of the Rosenbergs in June 1953 showed the lengths to which the witchhunters would go to mobilize opinion behind the anti-Soviet crusade.

The fear was not restricted to those actually investigated. It spread out in waves in the face of the anti-"red" hysteria. And the liberals responded with either a voracious appetite to join the hunt or a moral cowardice and paralysis of spirit appropriate to liberalism—an ideology whose time had come and gone a century before.

The witchhunt period is increasingly becoming a subject of fascination for a liberal press anxious to establish official villains and proclaim some of its own as heroes. Recent months have seen a renewed interest in the cases and issues that occupied the attention of the



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HUAC members in 1948. From left, Rep. Richard Vail (R., Ill.); Chairman J. Parnell Thomas (R., N.J.); Rep. John McDowell (R., Pa.); Robert Stripling, chief counsel; Rep. Richard Nixon (R., Calif.).

"conscience" is as murky as their perception of the line between social classes. Hellman's memoir indicting the cowardice of the intellectuals who inhabited the time for scoundrels confirms the general warning appropriate to the confessional genre: look out for what is omitted.

To the Watergate and Back

Maureen Howard, reviewing for the *New York Times* (25 April) is more laudatory and less perceptive than Kempton, but provides a clue to the present interest in the HUAC period: "She wants us to pay attention; we must remember our mistakes. . . . In the wake of Watergate, Lillian Hellman has made the necessary connection between 1952 and our recent disgrace." It is the Watergate connection which most engages liberals. What they seek is reassurance that Watergate, like the "McCarthy period," is "over." Hellman presents the liberals' dilemma:

"It is not true that when the bell tolls it tolls for thee: if it were true we could not have elected, so few years later, Richard Nixon, a man who had been closely allied with McCarthy. It was no accident that Mr. Nixon brought with him a group of high-powered operators who made Cohn and Schine look like cute little rascals from grammar school. The names and faces had been changed; the stakes were higher, because the prize was the White House. And one year after a presidential scandal of a magnitude still unknown, we have almost forgotten them, too."

—*Scoundrel Time*, p. 152

With Nixon's resignation the Watergate period was stamped "closed." "Justice" was done and liberalism could almost feel smug once more. Similarly when McCarthy was politically impaled before the television cameras, and liberals were able to localize the red scare by naming it "McCarthyism" after its purest expression, they could slide out of responsibility for the "cold war" which was their creature. They could show how those who go "too far"—McCarthy, Nixon—are foiled. And liberal parliamentary structuralists could always concoct explanations which floated far above the inelegant realities of shattered lives: McCarthyism was a legislature gone beyond the fabled "checks and balances" controls, while Watergate of course was the executive branch running amok.

As always, for liberals going "too far" is defined as going after "innocent" people and not just Communists. The Watergate conspirators brought down

the wrath of the bourgeois press by spying on the respectable liberals of the Democratic Party. This was a violation of the accepted rules of the game—rules that have always permitted the vicious persecution of leftists, labor leaders and black militants. As Noam Chomsky has noted in his introduction to the Cointelpro papers, that Black Panthers were legally murdered in their beds was a far more important atrocity than the Watergate burglary. Watergate was an "excess"—and it is the "excesses" which the liberals can sanctimoniously decry without imperiling the routine repression and brutality which is the core of the capitalist state.

Moralizing and Myth-Making

What gives the American political scene its strange character is in large part the absence of a mass political expression of the working class. The peculiar absence of even a rudimentary sense of the connection between social reality and class struggle makes American politics particularly prone to being mythologized in terms of bourgeois reactionary villains and bourgeois progressive heroes.

The historical terrain of the bourgeois moralist is close to that of the 1950's western movie. The images are important. The end of "McCarthyism" is symbolized during the Army-McCarthy hearings when the "good lawyer from Boston" turns dramatically to the "bad Senator from Wisconsin" and asks: "Have you no sense of decency, sir?"

It is for her self-proclaimed apolitical decency that liberals now applaud Hellman. Compared to the finks—Elia Kazan, Clifford Odets and the many others who sang and lied their way into the hearts of HUAC in order to protect their cushy careers—Hellman deserves credit. But her wide-eyed naiveté rings false. "My belief in liberalism was mostly gone," Hellman writes. "I think I have substituted for it something private called, for want of something that should be more accurate, decency" (*Scoundrel Time*, p. 113).

It is this disavowal of politics which buttresses the myth of the political slaughter of the innocents. Thus Garry Wills, in his flattering introduction, describes Hellman's confrontation with HUAC: "She came to it armed with no ideological weapons, just with that personal code, with undefended decency." She attributes to her aristocratic Southern upbringing a sense of "Christian honor" not to be found among the

"children of timid immigrants" who "make it so good that they are determined to keep it at any cost." Her now famous letter to HUAC lays claim to the "old-fashioned American tradition and there were certain homely things that were taught to me: to try to tell the truth, not to bear false witness, not to harm my neighbor, to be loyal to my country, and so on."

But although she explains her stand before HUAC by "these simple rules of human decency," life was not so simple, she was not so simple and it was all political. Murray Kempton, an anti-Communist who however remembers the period with less Stalinist mist in his eye, punctures her pious balloon. *Scoundrel Time* remarks: "Lives were being ruined and few hands were raised in help. Since when do you have to agree with people to defend them from injustice?" (p. 85). But it turns out that defense against injustice is not so much a matter of "simple decency" as it is a matter of class politics. Kempton recalls the case of James Kutcher:

"We do not diminish the final admiration we feel owed to Dashiell Hammett when we wonder what he might have said to Miss Hellman on the night he came home from the meeting of the board of the Civil Rights Congress which voted to refuse its support to the cause of James Kutcher, a paraplegic veteran who had been discharged as a government clerical worker because he belonged to the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party. But then Hammett was a Communist and it was an article of the Party faith that Leon Trotsky, having worked for the Emperor of Japan since 1904, had then improved his social standing by taking employment with the Nazis in 1934. Thus any member of the Socialist Workers Party could be considered by extension to be no more than an agent of Hitler's ghost. Given that interpretation of history, Paul Robeson spoke from principle when a proposal to assist the Trotskyite Kutcher was raised at a public meeting of the Civil Rights Congress. Robeson drove it from the floor with a declaration to the effect that you don't ask Jews to help a Nazi or Negroes to help the KKK."

—*New York Review of Books*, 10 June 1976

Hellman still insists she never knew the exact nature of Hammett's association with the CP. Whatever were his formal ties, he was sufficiently politically committed to go to prison as a trustee of the Civil Rights Congress. Hellman's appeal to apolitical "decency" is at bottom an alibi. The Stalinists and their fellow travelers had politics—politics which meant the sectarian refusal to defend Kutcher's civil rights, politics which helped to leave them defenseless before the red-baiting onslaught.

As the witchhunts continued the isolation of the Stalinists intensified. The purges of "reds" and militants from the labor movement broke the back of any potential resistance to the repression. The popular-front policies of the Stalinists in part set them up for their own victimization. In the service of the "war effort" they had made themselves programmatically indistinguishable from the Rooseveltian liberals—complete with jingoistic rhetoric and no-strike pledges. Politically self-located on the terrain of moralism ("all men of good will") which permitted the persecution of Communists but objected to the victimization of apolitical "innocents," their only recourse was to seek more frantically than ever to blend in with their liberal protective coloration.

The witchhunts were not morality plays, but political show-trials intimately linked to the reorientation of public opinion to facilitate the shifted imperialist aims of the American bourgeoisie following World War II. The alliance with the USSR and the corresponding popular-front ideology of liberals and Stalinists had served their purpose. As

REVIEW: *Scoundrel Time* by Lillian Hellman

hunters, the hunted and the headlines. The Alger Hiss case is now being retried in the pages of the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Review of Books* as veteran anti-Communist Sidney Hook is joined by Smith College professor Allen Weinstein in attempting to rehabilitate the reputation of arch-fink Whittaker Chambers. The Rosenberg case has refused to die as the Rosenberg sons find increasing sympathy for their efforts to force a reexamination of the judicial murder of their parents. Recent rallies against government domestic spying have featured speakers from the "Hollywood Ten"—early "unfriendly witnesses" hauled before HUAC in the 1947 wave of purges.

Among the spate of new books and review articles dealing with what the liberals call the "McCarthy period," the one which is getting the widest attention is *Scoundrel Time*. Its author, playwright Lillian Hellman, seems the most likely candidate for liberal beatification. *Scoundrel Time*—certainly the least rewarding of Hellman's three volumes of memoirs (the earlier ones are *Penitence* and *An Unfinished Woman*)—is a slim volume focused on Hellman's May 1952 appearance before HUAC.

In her letter to HUAC chairman John Wood, Hellman separated herself from the ugly parade of "friendly witnesses" in a now much-quoted statement of aesthetic and moral contempt for those who collaborated: "I cannot and will not cut my conscience to fit this year's fashions." Hellman agreed to testify before HUAC about her own political activity but refused to testify about the activity of anyone else because it would "bring bad trouble" for them. For Murray Kempton, reviewing the memoir in the *New York Review of Books*, (10 June) it was "that one great moment. . . her summit. We can ask from her nothing more. . . . The important thing is never to forget that here is someone who knew how to act when there was nothing harder on earth than knowing how to act."

But for liberals the delineation of

the American "big daddy" set about restabilizing the shattered West European capitalist regimes, only the might of the Soviet Union appeared to stand in the way of U.S. imperialism's unchallenged domination of the globe. The "cold war" was on.

The policies of "McCarthyism" originated with the Truman administration. It was the Truman Doctrine, issued in March 1947, which most clearly articulated the aggressive anti-Communist foreign policy that had already been established. It was the liberals—the ADA, the trade-union bureaucracy, the Democrats—who whipped up the red scare. As the introduction to *Scoundrel Time* in fact notes, the loyalty oaths were instituted in 1947.

The Bankruptcy of Liberalism

All ideology, says Garry Wills in his introduction to *Scoundrel Time*, is "an escape from personal responsibility." Wills and Hellman can offer nothing more illuminating than an appeal to a timeless moral code for the individual abstracted from social struggle. Leon Trotsky might have been addressing them when he wrote:

"Let us note in justice that the most sincere and at the same time the most limited petty-bourgeois moralists still live even today in the idealized memories of yesterday and hope for its return. They do not understand that morality is a function of the class struggle; that democratic morality corresponds to the epoch of liberal and progressive capitalism; that the sharpening of the class struggle in passing through its latest phase definitively and irrevocably destroyed this morality; that in its place came the morality of fascism on one side, on the other the morality of proletarian revolution."

—"Their Morals and Ours"

Hellman and the liberals who have all but canonized her indeed "still live in the idealized memories of yesterday." This is the meaning of the recurrent nostalgia for the good old days of the popular front when all "decent people" were on the side of all-Americanism against the Nazis and other foes of "progress." Hellman's book takes a long and sentimental look at the early days of the Henry Wallace campaign, which tried to resuscitate the popular front around a new New Deal at home and more deals with Russia. But U.S. imperialism in 1948 had no more use for popular-front "progressives." Nowadays not even the slickest liberal can see much of a way to slither forward to "progress." And the new champion of moralism and "Christian honor" is Jimmy Carter, the respectable racist.

The political world became essentially incomprehensible to Hellman when the era of Rooseveltian good feeling broke down. She ends *Scoundrel Time* with a confession/apology for her sympathies for Stalinist Russia. She is angry with the intellectuals who opposed McCarthy simply because of his "crude methods"; she, on the other hand, took sides, even if a bit too uncritically: "I, and many like me, took too long to see what was going on in the Soviet Union. But whatever our mistakes, I do not believe we did our country any harm. And I think they did" (p. 155). In other words, better a Stalinist sympathizer than a witchhunter.

But the Stalinists and bourgeois democrats cohabit the same moral universe, based at bottom on the acceptance of the status quo. The period of the patriotic "united front against fascism" was also the period of the Moscow Trials. Both the apologists for Stalin and the enemies of communism identified the Russian revolution with the Stalinist bureaucracy. The more secure the petty-bourgeois regime in the Kremlin, the more the Western liberal recognized a bureaucratic friend. The more glaring the crimes and betrayals, the more the liberal explained that Stalin was a man of utility and "practical" politics.

The onset of the frame-up Moscow Trials was initially greeted with selective

blindness by "progressives." The *Nation* and the *New Republic* looked the other way as Yagoda dragged revolutionists through the mud and blood. The 3 May 1938 *New Masses* carried "a statement by American Progressives" which proclaimed that the Moscow Trials:

"have by sheer weight of evidence established a clear presumption of guilt of the defendants... for twenty years the opponents of the Soviet Union have... been forced to resort to covert means. They have disseminated reactionary propaganda and financial patronage to disaffected elements within the Soviet Union through special agents. Drastic attack must be met by drastic defense: it is in this light that we regard the trials... We call on [American liberals] to support the efforts of the Soviet Union to free itself from insidious internal dangers, and to rally support from the international fight against fascism—the principal menace to peace and democracy."

—quoted in Stefan Kanfer, *A Journal of the Plague Years*

Among the prominent signers were Dorothy Parker, Irwin Shaw, Harold Clurman and a number of the "Hollywood Ten."

Stalin's purge trials were a watershed for "progressives." Some locked on; some cut and ran. But the underlying assumption remained the same: Stalinism equals Leninism. The sophisticated sycophants like Merleau-Ponty justified the mass terror as "historically necessary," identifying Stalin by false historical analogy with Robespierre instead of with Bonaparte. The queasy denounced Stalin's purge machine—and with it the supposed "amoralism" of Bolshevism. Both sides agreed there were only two "practical" alternatives: Stalinism or anti-communism.

Counterposed to these worshippers of the accomplished fact are the Trotskyists who project another road: the liberation of mankind through international proletarian revolution. The Trotskyists understood that the alternative to fascism in Germany or Francoism in Spain was not bourgeois democracy but socialist revolution; the answer to Stalin's purges in Russia was not liberal witchhunting but the struggle for political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Hellman's political history is a living disproof of her claim that there is a morality of "simple decency" that floats above politics and history. The ground of her morality was and continues to be the quicksand of the popular front. It was politics that created the moral grid for Stalinists and anti-Communists alike. A false perception of the world that served capitalist ideology and the narrow interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy—that the world could be divided into the evil forces of fascism and the good forces of bourgeois democracy—created a fully false moral vision.

From the standpoint of class morality, liberals and fellow travelers of the Hellman genre are profoundly immoral. With consummate self-righteousness they rallied to the popular front, which served only the enemies of revolution and prolonged the dominion of the reactionary capitalist system. As Trotsky insisted, the sharpening of the class struggle irrevocably destroyed Hellman's morality: "in its place came the morality of fascism on one side, on the other the morality of proletarian revolution." The alternative to the time for scoundrels is not the refurbishing of bankrupt liberalism but the fight to replace the decomposing capitalist social order by the revolutionary rule of the working class. ■

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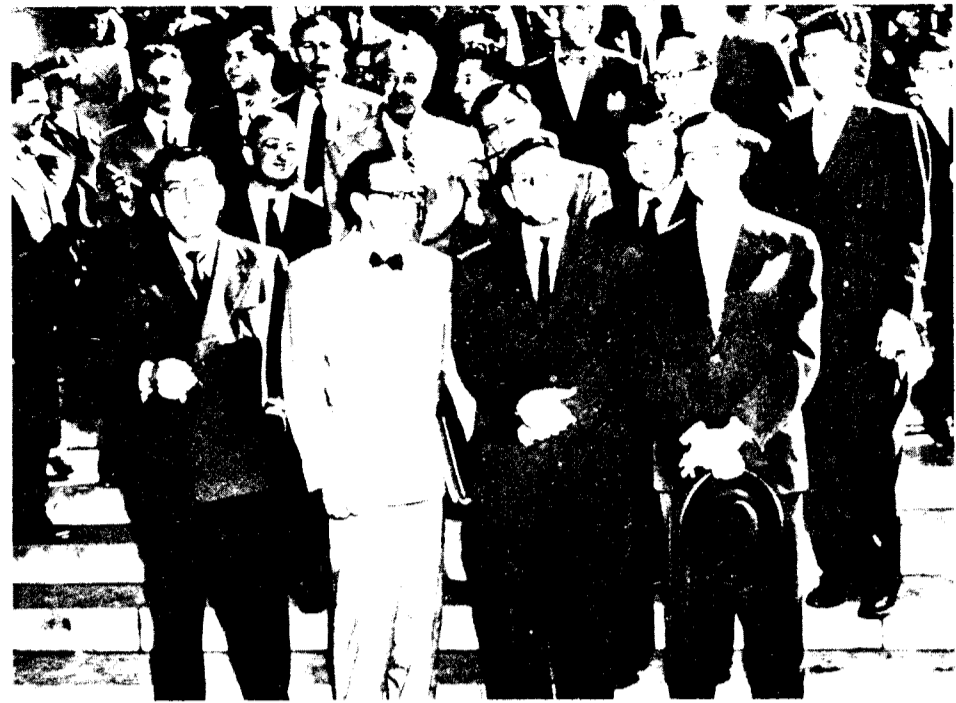
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The Hollywood Ten



International News Photos

Some of those called before the HUAC "Hollywood Ten" hearings. From left, (front row) Lewis Milestone, Dalton Trumbo, John Howard Lawson, legal counsel Bartley Crum; (center row) Gordon Kahn, Irving Pichel, Edward Dmytryk and Robert Rossen; (top row) Waldo Salt, Richard Collins, Howard Koch, Albert Maltz, Herbert Biberman, Lester Cole, Ring Lardner, Jr. and attorney Martin Popper.

Attempts at ideological purification of "the arts" were far from a new phenomenon when Lillian Hellman defied HUAC in 1952. The first "investigative" witchhunt into the entertainment field began under the Roosevelt Administration in 1938 when Martin Dies' Committee dragged in the New Deal-sponsored Federal Theater Project. These precursors to tougher investigations became notorious for their philistinism. Thus Alabama Congressman Joseph Starnes zeroed in on a reference to Elizabethan playwright Christopher Marlowe: "You are quoting from this Marlowe. Is he a Communist?" (Eric Bentley, *Thirty Years of Treason*).

In 1947 HUAC undertook to investigate the Eisler brothers. Gerhardt Eisler was arrested and detained on Ellis Island. Hanns Eisler, a composer who worked with Bertolt Brecht, was grilled on the subversive content of his music in a manner that would soon become one of HUAC's hallmarks. Brecht himself was hauled before HUAC in a famous confrontation. In a prepared statement (which he was not permitted to read) the playwright noted that *undeutsch* (un-German) was "a word which I can hardly think of without Hitler's wolfish intonation" (Eric Bentley, *Thirty Years of Treason*, p. 221).

But the most famous investigation was HUAC's hunt in Hollywood. Of the many persecuted, the best remembered case is that of the "Hollywood Ten": Alvah Bessie, Herbert Biberman, Lester Cole, Edward Dmytryk, Ring Lardner, Jr., John Howard Lawson, Albert Maltz, Samuel Ornitz, Adrian Scott, and Dalton Trumbo. Ten contempt citations were brought by the committee and upheld by Congress, sending ten writers and directors to jail and creating the atmosphere of fear that was to last for decades in the film industry, with a blacklist technique that is still operative.

Why did HUAC descend upon Hollywood with such vengeance? HUAC saw Hollywood as an ideal ideological receptacle which, when subdued by rousting the "subversive" element, would provide a larger-than-life medium for disseminating anti-Soviet poison. Like all mass entertainment, as opposed to art, Hollywood movies—based on catering to already existing aesthetic and political tastes—would be an easy target to bend to the new political requirements. The particular quality of the Hollywood star system could generate enough publicity to capture the ear of vast sectors of the American public.

All three radio networks were present as the J. Parnell Thomas' investigation of "Communist infiltration" in the motion picture industry began on Monday morning, 20 October 1947. So were eleven newsreel and television cameras, over 100 news agencies from around the world and some 300 spectators, all jammed into the old House office building in Washington. The government attack began with testimony of witnesses friendly to HUAC. The first was Jack L. Warner of Warner Brothers, who had stood on the roof of his studio with his staff to watch the cops beat pickets in the bloody Conference of Studio Unions strike. Warner attacked "ideological termites" who burrow into American industries:

"My brothers and I will be happy to subscribe to a pest removal fund. We are willing to establish such a fund to ship to Russia the people who don't like our American system of government and prefer the communistic system to ours."

Warner admitted making *Mission to Moscow* (1942), a pro-Soviet propaganda film made with State Department consent which put forward the Stalinist line on the Moscow Trials. But those, he noted, were different times.

During the rush to find Communist propaganda in the Hollywood film, a note of sense was struck by the only organ of real communist propaganda in the U.S., the *Militant* of the then-Trotskyist SWP. The Trotskyists saw that the witchhunt was the attempt to create the anti-Soviet sentiment necessary for imperialism and that Hollywood, far from being a bastion of independent artistic expression, was a camp follower of conventional bourgeois taste—New Deal clichés in the popular-front period, anti-Communist clichés in the period of the red scare:

"One might ask what can the capitalist politicians possibly find wrong with the movies? Doesn't the silver screen serve its millionaire owners and Wall Street well enough? Doesn't it give a false enough picture of American people and their problems? If any European were to base his ideas on American movies, he would tell you that everybody in the US lives in huge and luxurious homes. There are no class divisions because poor girls always marry rich men. The Negroes are perfectly content—all they ever do is laugh and sing. In brief, such tripe is all that Hollywood peddles. And what can possibly be communistic in it? "The contempt the Un-American Committee has for the intelligence of the American people can be gauged by this charge that the movies are now chock-full of communistic propaganda. Ask yourself: 'What pictures with communist propaganda have I seen recently?' The answer is immediate, 'None!'"

—*Militant*, 3 November 1947



UN Refugee Camps Raided

Rightist Terror Stalks Argentina

JUNE 14 - The alarming escalation of right-wing terror in Argentina in recent days underlines our repeated warnings that behind the March 23 "Gentlemen's Coup" in Buenos Aires lies a mortal threat to the working class. General Videla's "democratic" image is going up in smoke as foreign refugees and Argentine leftists are mercilessly hunted down, savagely tortured and assassinated by the junta and its AAA (Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance) henchmen. Socialists, labor militants and defenders of democratic rights must urgently protest this bloodbath, which has cost well over 300 lives since the generals seized power two and a half months ago.

On June 9, a band of gunmen driving Ford Falcons (the automobiles used by

the right-wing death squads and federal police) broke into the offices of a Catholic relief organization that aids foreign (particularly Chilean) refugees under the auspices of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). After ransacking the premises, the pistoleros walked off with names and addresses of approximately 8,000 refugees. A UNHCR representative protested to the junta that this theft puts the refugees' lives in imminent danger.

Two days later, 25 political refugees from rightist dictatorships—23 Chileans, one Paraguayan and one Uruguayan—were kidnapped from two refugee hotels in the capital area. Robbed of their money and documents

At Argentine Mission to UN

Demonstrate for Mario Muñoz!

On Friday, June 18, the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz will sponsor a delegation to the Argentine Mission to the United Nations to protest the Videla junta's persecution of Argentine trade unionists and Chilean political refugees. The case of Mario Muñoz Salas—the Chilean miners' leader who escaped Pinochet's butchers in Chile only to find himself imperiled by a murderous manhunt in Argentina—has become symbolic of the plight of the countless left-wing political refugees in Argentina.

The delegation will include Dr. Philip Oke (U.N. representative of the Christian Peace Conference), Daniel Berrigan and Martin Sostre. It will meet with the Argentine ambassador to the U.N. to raise the case of Muñoz and insist that he and his family be granted safe conduct out of Argentina. This meeting will be followed by a press conference at the Plaza Hotel at 1:00 p.m.

As part of its international campaign of protest and pressure to secure the safety of Muñoz and his family, the Committee has enlisted the support of United Auto Workers (UAW) International president Leonard Woodcock, who this week sent a telegram to Videla which said:

"Deeply concerned about safety of Chilean trade-unionist leader Mario Muñoz Salas who is being hunted by Argentine authorities. Muñoz and his family must be granted safe conduct out of Argentina and under no circumstances should they be extradited to Chile."

Also reflecting the international interest in the Muñoz campaign, an article on page 2 of the 11 June *Le Monde* reprinted an appeal of the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz.

At the June 10 general membership meeting of the New York chapter of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG), a resolution of support to the efforts to save Mario Muñoz was passed despite the dissenting votes of the majority of the chapter leadership. This motion overturned the original sectarian refusal of the New York chapter's executive

board to endorse the campaign. NLG national president William Goodman and the NLG's Massachusetts, Yale University and Chicago chapters had already solidarized with the campaign; endorsement by the NLG national office is still pending.

Also last week a demonstration was held in the Bay Area by the Chilean Refugees Committee demanding that the OAS meetings in Santiago, Chile, condemn the junta repression. The Refugees Committee leaflet for the

demonstration singled out the cases of Muñoz and MIR leader Edgardo Enríquez, who was recently turned over to Pinochet by the Argentine junta.

Other endorsements secured by the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz during the past two weeks include: the Confederation of Iranian Students, Austria; Alfred Dallinger, Chairman, Private Employees Union*, Austria; Dominique Le Court, France; Paris Federation of the Socialist Party;

Joshua Sobel, journalist; Groupe Socialiste des Travailleurs du Québec; AFSCME Local 2068; AFSCME Local 2070; Peter Bonerz, actor and director; Lee Baxandall, author; Clergy and Laity Concerned, Cleveland chapter; Cliff Fried, President, AFSCME* Local 2070; Rev. Dewey Fagerburg, East Cleveland Congregational Peoples' Church*; Kent Gay Liberation Front, Kent, Ohio; Lutheran Global Justice Task Force; La Raza Organization, San Francisco State University*; Julio Mojica, Vice-President, District 65, Distributive Workers of America*; New Haven Political Prisoners Defense Committee; Fr. William J. O'Donnell; Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño, Bay Area committee; Joe Davidson, National President, Canadian Union of Postal Workers*; Frank P. Zeidler, Socialist Party USA*; Rev. Jack Mendelsohn, Sr. Minister, First Unitarian Church of Chicago*; Dorothy Ray Healey; Ramona Ripster, Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California*; John R. Glenn, attorney; and Edward Gray, Assistant Regional Director, UAW* (NY/NJ region).

The Committee to Save Mario Muñoz is organizing a demonstration to picket the Argentine U.N. Mission in conjunction with the visit of the delegation at 11:30 a.m., Friday, June 18, at 44th Street, near First Avenue. The Committee calls on all labor, socialist and civil libertarian organizations and individuals concerned for the freedom and democratic rights of the victims of rightist terror to participate in the picket on the basis of the following demands:

Hands Off Mario Muñoz!
Chilean Working-Class Leader Must Not Die!

Free All Victims of Right-Wing Repression in Argentina and Chile!
Stop the Manhunt!

For more information, contact: Partisan Defense Committee (Muñoz), Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

*for identification purposes only

CABLE ADDRESS: UAWWOLSKAR

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT
1125 FIFTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20004
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INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA—UAW

EMIL MAZEY, SECRETARY-TREASURER

LEONARD WOODCOCK, PRESIDENT

VICE-PRESIDENTS
PAT GREATHOUSE • KEN BANNON • DOUGLAS A. FRASER • DENNIS McDERMOTT • IRVING BLUESYONE • ODESSA HOMER • MARC STEPP

June 9, 1976

Ms. Valerie West, Attorney
Partisan Defense Committee
260 West Broadway Room 522
New York, New York 10013

Dear Ms. West:

Subsequent to our meeting, I raised the issue of Mario Muñoz with President Leonard Woodcock. As I explained to you, our union has taken his case as part of a general protest to the Argentine authorities.

Attached for your information is a copy of a cable addressed to the Argentine government.

Sincerely,
Esteban E. Torres
Esteban E. Torres
Assistant Director
International Affairs Department

EET:rah
opeiu42
enclosure

INT PRESIDENT JORGE VIDELA
REPUBLICA ARGENTINA
CASA ROSADA
BUENOS AIRES, (ARGENTINA)

DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT SAFETY OF CHILEAN TRADE-UNIONIST LEADER MARIO MUNOZ SALAS WHO IS BEING HUNTED BY ARGENTINE AUTHORITIES. MUNOZ AND HIS FAMILY MUST BE GRANTED SAFE CONDUCT OUT OF ARGENTINA AND UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD THEY BE EXTRADITED TO CHILE.

LEONARD WOODCOCK, PRESIDENT
INTERNATIONAL UNION, UAW

by the unidentified assailants, they were given 48 hours to leave the country. Witnesses reported that the abductors acted unhurriedly, apparently unconcerned that there was a police station only half a block away (*New York Times*, 12 June).

Earlier, the 3 June *Rouge*, newspaper of the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, reported that according to the British Broadcasting Company correspondent in Buenos Aires, Mario Roberto Santucho, leader of the Argentine PRT ERP (Revolutionary Workers Party People's Revolutionary Army) had been arrested. Although this information has not been confirmed, the junta's policy of secrecy and rapid execution makes even the probability of Santucho's arrest a cause for grave concern.

Torture

Amnesty International estimates that altogether some 20,000 to 30,000 people have been arrested since the coup which ousted Isabel Perón in late March. Richard and Cristina Whitecross, British citizens who were recently released

FUNDS NEEDED!

Send urgently needed contributions for the defense campaign to save Mario Muñoz to:

PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE
 Box 633, Canal St. Sta.
 New York, NY 10013

Make checks payable to "Partisan Defense Committee," earmark for "Muñoz Campaign."

from the junta's prisons as a result of international pressure on the Argentine government, have vividly described what arrest means under the present military dictatorship:

"The Argentine federal police have a ten-storey office building in central Buenos Aires, into which people literally disappear. This is the coordination centre, the 'co-ordina', to which newly arrested prisoners are taken and held incomunicado, lost to the world for a week, a month, or (not infrequently) for ever.

"From the time you are taken to the co-ordina, you are a non-person: relatives and friends brave enough to enquire for you are turned away and advised to seek elsewhere. 'Have you tried the morgue?'

"The steel doors clang open every hour or two, but you are seldom spoken to by the guard. You are an unimportant, unknown animal, to be stared at every so often, fed two or three times a day, hustled down to the toilet, and kept safe until they are ready to take you for interrogation....

"Then, anything can happen. Perhaps you will be knocked down, kicked, or beaten with rubber hoses, pushed into a corner for a day or so to think your own thoughts, a piece of human furniture to be moved backwards or forwards, lifted or dropped, sworn at by the steady stream of off-duty policemen, who double as agents of the Triple-A, and joked about by their women—typists, filing clerks and secretaries who go through their 9 to 5 routine to the accompaniment of screams and cries of terror.

"Interrogation and torture takes place in any odd corner of the office that happens to be free; the window sash may be used to tie you to the formica-topped desk ('Just move the typewriter a bit'), and a polythene bag is all that's needed to suffocate you. A muslin hood and a glass of water conveniently produces a sensation of drowning; or you could be treated to a full-scale *submarino*, with four or five men holding your legs in the air with your head under water in the sink where they wash the office coffee cups.

"All the time you are aware that this may be only a beginning, the softening up process. There may be midnight rides in the [trunk] of a car, mock executions...or real ones. There's also the *picana*, run off a 12-volt car battery or a hand cranked generator; this is a simple and widely used device to pass electric current through your body. The army uses it, the navy uses it, the air force and the police use it. Even the social welfare ministry and the metal

continued on page 11

150,000 Support Recall in Philadelphia

Oust Racist Rizzo!

Break with the Bosses' Parties— For a Labor Mayor!

PHILADELPHIA The revelation that the city of Philadelphia has gone bankrupt is shaking the administration of Mayor Frank Rizzo to its very foundations. Only a few months after being solidly re-elected on his record of having "held the line" on taxes and balancing the budget, Rizzo suddenly "discovered" a deficit of \$80 million, as well as substantial deficits in school board operating funds and the city transit system. Now a citizens' initiative has gathered more than 150,000 signatures to put a proposition for Rizzo's recall on the ballot, an almost unprecedented action in a major U.S. city during recent decades.

In April, totally contradicting his campaign promises, Rizzo announced



W.R. Everly III

Philadelphia mayor Rizzo, former police commissioner, characterized himself as the "toughest cop in America."

that "Philadelphians are prepared to bite the bullet," and launched a massive austerity campaign. The Rizzo plan, recently approved by the city council, includes an immediate wage freeze for city employees (except cops!), layoffs of 500 to 1,000 municipal workers and 350 transit workers. The regressive city wage tax is being raised 30 percent, which will make it the highest in the nation, while property taxes are being raised a similar amount. Rizzo also plans to close Philadelphia General Hospital, the city's only municipal hospital, a large proportion of whose patients are poor and black. A major test for Rizzo's policy will come June 30 when the contracts of non-uniformed city employees and firefighters expire.

The revelations of municipal bankruptcy pumped life into the campaign by the Citizen's Committee to Recall Rizzo. This group announced on May 31 that, with two weeks remaining in its campaign, it had achieved the 146,000 signatures necessary under the city charter to institute a referendum to recall Rizzo. A newspaper-conducted poll revealed that as of May 15, some 57 percent of the city's population agreed that Rizzo should be ousted—a substantial change of popular sentiment in the six months since the November elections.

Cop Mayor

Frank Rizzo rose to power in Philadelphia politics as a tough "law-and-

order" cop who would brook no nonsense from radicals and racial minorities. As a captain in a district in the West Philadelphia ghetto and later as police commissioner, Rizzo's overkill cop mobilizations and vicious brutality provoked the just hatred of the black community. Utilizing "preventative" law-enforcement tactics reminiscent of the Palmer raids of the 1920's, the police often arrested blacks and radicals the night before demonstrations and released them the next day. Thus upon hearing of Rap Brown's possible visit to the city, Police Commissioner Rizzo threatened:

"If one of these outside agitators comes in, he'll be taken on and taken on quickly.... And he may be very sorry he came to Philadelphia...."

Philadelphia Magazine,
July 1967

Examples of his atrocities are legion. In a pre-dawn raid in August 1966, Rizzo directed a virtual army of 1,100 cops to swoop down on four residences of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which resulted in the frame-up arrest of two militants for supposed possession of two and a half sticks of dynamite. Again in the summer of 1967, after a black youth was beaten by the (white) son of a ghetto storeowner Rizzo responded by putting the black community under virtual martial law. Five hundred helmeted police were sent into the area to patrol and harass black



Two of Rizzo's fellow cops corner black youth in North Philadelphia during police riot in August 1964.

residents. The next week, in response to a small (40 people) rally called by the NAACP to protest the incident, 1,000 cops were stationed nearby. Soon afterward, Rizzo ruthlessly enforced a ban on public assembly of more than 12 people in the black community. In 1970 Rizzo personally commanded a massive raid on Black Panther Party headquarters, in which black militants were forced to parade nude in front of police and newsmen.

As mayor, Rizzo let the police go on a rampage in the ghettos, not only arresting at random but also acting as prosecutor, judge and executioner. In 1973 alone, 24 people were shot to death by the trigger-happy cops. Admired by the police on the force for steadfastly supporting their atrocities, the mayor shrugged off the terror with the comment, "sometimes you have to act before

there is time to think."

Most recently, Rizzo called on the federal government to provide 15,000 troops to stifle two demonstrations called by radicals to coincide with the July 4 bicentennial celebration planned for Philadelphia. Trying to prove to his old constituency that he is still the tough cop who can smash leftists and blacks, Rizzo announced that if the government failed to send the troops, "the blood is on their hands, not mine" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 8 June).

"Nixon Was the Greatest President"

Rizzo's bonapartist instincts and contempt for bourgeois-democratic norms, however, are not reserved for blacks and leftists. Rizzo has conducted a running feud with his liberal (and not so liberal) opponents in the Democratic Party and with a section of the bourgeois press. In 1973 he was caught operating a 34-man special police squad to spy on his political enemies. With a number of his aides presently under indictment on corruption charges, the mayor responded to a court order compelling him to fire his deputy mayor on similar charges: "Mike Wallace will be deputy mayor as long as I'm the mayor.... They [the courts] will have to deal with me on that one." With his boundless contempt for legal procedures, it is not surprising that Rizzo feels a strong kinship for ex-president Nixon. In the face of Watergate, he persisted in calling Nixon "the greatest president we ever had."

But Rizzo is not only a racist cop. Rizzo has commanded wide appeal among small property-owners and layers of white workers. The local AFL-CIO executive council, representing 250,000 workers, supported him in the Democratic primary, and leaders of most of the key unions in the area supported him in November. On numerous occasions the labor fakers have come to Rizzo's aid in the mayor's battles with his political opponents. The day after Rizzo launched a \$6 million libel suit against the *Inquirer* last March, the newspaper was closed down by a 250-man goon squad dispatched by the building trades unions. Construction union business agent Thomas Magrann asserted that the pickets were set up to protest the paper's anti-union coverage, but hardly anyone swallowed this baloney.

Despite union support, cop politician Rizzo, of course, has never been pro-labor. In 1973 he almost provoked a citywide general strike by his refusal to bargain with the teachers. However, like other demagogues, Rizzo has been able to cultivate popular appeal among backward layers of the masses by making ostentatious gestures at the appropriate moment. Thus, just prior to the Democratic primaries, he granted a 13 percent wage settlement to city workers while NYC politicians were ordering mass layoffs and a rigid wage freeze. Of course, these deals were essentially fraudulent, with Rizzo and his cronies carefully concealing the city's actual financial state until after the elections. The institution of Rizzo's austerity program, which will take back whatever gains city workers realized in the past, now threatens to disrupt the mayor's cozy romance with the racist and corrupt labor leaders.

The Recall Campaign

The campaign to recall Rizzo was initiated last January by the Citizen's

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Mass Protest Against CUNY Shutdown, Tuition

NEW YORK, June 13—Following the axing of a 129-year policy of free tuition at the City University of New York (CUNY) and the contemptuous "lock-out" of nearly 300,000 students, faculty and campus workers late last month, 5,000 angry CUNY demonstrators surrounded City Hall on June 9. Chanting "Beame is a liar," the marchers denounced the massive budget cuts imposed on the city's higher education system and the duplicitous buck-passing by state and local politicians.

Many of the demonstrators marched on to a smaller rally at Union Square, tying up traffic en route, and then

members to lobby state legislators to pass this disastrous bill.

During union caucuses in Albany, members who demanded to know the details of the legislative package which their leaders backed were pointedly told that all they needed to know for now was that the bill would reopen the campuses and provide money for staff salaries, which have gone unpaid since April 30. The measure, rushed through in an amended form on Friday, in fact provides a budget for next year of only \$470 million, \$48 million less than the current budget and \$72 million less than this year's actual operating expenses. It

and AFSCME district council head Victor Gotbaum, Polishook lamely pleads for "equality of sacrifice" between the city's ravaged working-class populace and the austerity-minded capitalists who call the tune to which the politicians dance. The lie was given to this time-worn canard when, in the same week as the closing of 49 city day-care centers was announced, a state task force sprang a proposal for substantial tax cuts to make New York "more attractive" to businesses and their executives. While the masses are squeezed to the bone to boost corporate profits, the pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats continue to grovel for favors from the so-called "friend of labor" politicians who oversee the union-busting, budget-cutting offensive.

Yet rather than leading militant CUNY-wide actions aimed at mobilizing the city labor movement against the ruling-class attack, various would-be radicals in the PSC proved their mettle by taking pressure off the leadership with proposals for useless, diversionary activities. At the June 9 meeting in the Marc Ballroom, Polishook pushed vigils and petitions while left-talking elements argued for their own favorite gimmicks. A group called Faculty Action touted the Bicentennial March on Philadelphia initiated by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). Supporters of the Progressive Labor (PL)-backed Committee Against Racism urged PSC participation in that group's march on the Democratic convention. The more sedate Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) supporters, in line with their consistent opposition to any actions that might offend the bourgeoisie's sense of propriety, advertised another of their never-ending conferences and urged votes for the Socialist Workers Party's reformist presidential campaign.

Break with the Democrats—Mobilize NYC Labor!

The symbiotic relationship between these fake radicals and the PSC leadership and its bourgeois-politico friends was demonstrated at the Friday meeting of the ad hoc coordinating committee, set up at their behest to plan "mass actions." The aspiring bureaucrats in control of the meeting reportedly explained that to publicly oppose the Landes bill would embarrass the union tops who had provided facilities for the meeting. With the exception of several CAR supporters and independents, the body, including YSA supporters, Faculty Action and representatives of the United Community Centers, voted to keep its opposition to the state's budget-slashing bill strictly internal. Its plans for protest actions like the June 14 demonstration at a Democratic Party fund-raising dinner are clearly not counterposed to the liberal pressure politics of Polishook but represent the same strategy in a slightly more militant form.

While phony militants compete for the role of loyal opposition to the PSC leadership, the parochial student "leftists" generally confine themselves to actions on a single campus that they consider their "turf" or, at best, to strictly university demonstrations that ignore the enormous social power of the working class. Last month's student strike at City College, for example, fell apart after the leadership of the Maoist El Comité/Frente Estudiantil Puertorriqueño and the left-liberal Emergency Committee demonstrated an inability to



Five thousand CUNY students and faculty rallied near City Hall June 9 against budget cuts imposed by the city.

packed the Marc Ballroom for a strategy meeting led by bureaucrats from the Professional Staff Congress (PSC), the major campus union, affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). The union brass suggested a number of tepid "protest actions": a 24-hour-a-day vigil at City Hall, circulation of a petition demanding that the state supply funds to reopen the temporarily bankrupt university, lobbying junkets to Albany, boycotting "anti-CUNY" banks, etc.

PSC President Irwin Polishook, who engineered last month's wretched contract—which included not a single penny in new wages or benefits, deferred \$16 million in *already earned* salaries and increments until 1978 and omitted any form of job protection—was interrupted several times by shouts of "sellout." Although strong sentiment was expressed at the mass meeting for militant actions such as sit-ins and campus occupations, Polishook & Co. simply took down a laundry list of proposals and referred them to a subcommittee meeting on Friday. This body, largely composed of would-be "militants," predictably produced nothing more than plans for yet another protest rally.

Don't Ask Questions

Although the PSC leadership pays occasional lip service to defense of free tuition and open admissions and to demands for "full funding" to prevent campus closings and staff firings, it has thrown its weight behind the Landes bill in the state legislature, which embodies Governor Hugh Carey's program for further drastic slashes in student enrollment and campus jobs. While Polishook and his cohorts sanctioned this week's protest actions, their major effort went into organizing hundreds of PSC

incorporates the tuition plan passed by the NYC Board of Higher Education June 1, which will mean charges of \$750 to \$900 a year for those students who survive the campus closings and the addition of discriminatory entrance requirements that accompanied the abandonment of open admissions.

A memorandum distributed to key legislators last week spelled out the likely impact of the new wave of budget cuts: firing 2,000 out of 9,400 full-time faculty and 2,400 out of 12,100 full-time administrative and maintenance employees, and the reduction of enrollment by one fifth, i.e., the *elimination of more than 40,000 full-time students* (*New York Post*, 11 June).

Although CUNY students have sporadically demonstrated the potential for mass militant actions and strongly supported Wednesday's rally, the PSC tops have cynically turned their backs on the students and even on their own part-time and lower seniority members. Polishook did not lift a finger to oppose the firing of tutors and adjuncts or the destruction of the hard-won open admissions policy, and then championed a bill which legitimizes the imposition of tuition.

The union chief even had the audacity to wag his finger at state legislators who supported continuance of free tuition or "per pupil" state funding of CUNY equal to that of the state university (SUNY): "Each legislator has a personal agenda, and many would let the university die rather than yield on their conflicting positions. Some insist on tuition; others insist on no tuition; many of them say 'My position or nothing'" (*New York Times*, 6 June).

Handouts for Big Business, Budget Cuts for Working People

Like such big-time municipal labor fakers as AFT president Albert Shanker

Lebanon...

(continued from page 1)

Kosygin and his Syrian hosts managed to cover over their differences with a joint communiqué blaming the Lebanese civil war exclusively on the imperialist powers. It is certainly true, as we have pointed out before, that the imperialists laid the basis for the communal war in Lebanon. But today it is Syrian soldiers with Russian weapons who are doing the work of the imperialist powers, taking the place of the U.S. Sixth Fleet and the Marines.

Iraq and the Arab League

The Russian prime minister arrived in Damascus following a visit to his other Near East "ally," Iraq. Since Baghdad made its peace with the Shah of Iran (backed by the U.S. and China) on the basis of bloody suppression of the Kurds, the Iraqi colonels have turned their self-serving martial demagoguery in another direction and massed troops on the Syrian border.

In Lebanon, the Syrian and Iraqi Ba'athists are on opposite sides of the barricades, the former currently supporting the Maronite Christians, the latter supporting the Muslims and the main Palestinian forces. Already in April, Baghdad cut off shipments of crude oil for the Syrian refinery at Homs (Assad is now promised supplies by Saudi Arabia) and escalated the long-

CORRECTIONS

The concluding paragraph of the article on the upcoming Italian elections, "No to the 'Historic Compromise' with Capitalism" (*WV* No. 113, 11 June), contains a call upon the "reformist misleaders of the working class to break with the bourgeoisie." While Marxists of course call upon the working class to break with the bourgeoisie, and the article elsewhere correctly demands that the mass reformist workers parties break with bourgeois coalitionism as a precondition to any electoral support, to call on the *reformists* to break with the *bourgeoisie* can be read as a demand that they cease to betray.

Revolutionaries do not seek to reform or pressure the bourgeois workers parties to the left, but rather to shatter these obstacles to proletarian revolution.

The demand that the mass reformist workers parties break with popular frontism and contest for power in their own name is not an electoralist slogan. On the contrary, it aims at a fundamental polarization along class lines *within* these parties, between their pro-capitalist tops and the proletarian base. It seeks not only to shatter the workers' illusions in their class-collaborationist misleaders, but the very parties themselves, in the process of constructing a revolutionary, Trotskyist party that can thereby gain the leadership of the proletariat and lead it to victory. ■

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standing battle over the use of Euphrates waters. Following the May 31 invasion, Iraq moved additional troops toward its Syrian border.

Thus, not only is the Palestinian cause being drowned in blood with Soviet weapons in the hands of Syrian troops; but even more Soviet military hardware is now being lined up on the Syria-Iraq border threatening a shoot-out between the USSR's two main Near East allies!

The Arab League, responding to the Syrian invasion at a meeting in Cairo, has decided to send a "token" peace-keeping force to Lebanon composed of Saudi, Sudanese, Syrian, Libyan, Algerian and Palestinian troops. However, to the great discomfort of the Palestinian nationalist leaders—who have based their entire strategy on obtaining support from various sheiks and colonels—this force is so token that it is not scheduled to even show up in Beirut for at least another week! Damascus officials, meanwhile, have made it quite clear that there will be no major troop withdrawal on their part, and "Syria will continuously be exerting its efforts for its Lebanese brothers."

Syrian troops currently have Beirut under seige, the airport closed and the southern approach cut off. (Maronite forces control northern exits, while the eastern exit is the Damascus road, on which Syrian forces are but nine miles from the Lebanese capital.) There are also heavy concentrations of Syrian forces in the eastern Bekaa Valley and in northern Lebanon. Thus, except for the extreme south, Lebanon is essentially under Syrian military occupation.

Not Arab Nationalism, But Proletarian Internationalism!

No doubt Syrian nationalist demagoguery is used to justify this invasion. Following World War I, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Jordan were considered by Arab nationalists to be part of an integral territory of Greater Syria and it was only through the machinations of the imperialist victors that the Levant was carved up along its present borders. The Damascus Ba'athists aspire to maintain a reactionary-ruled client state in Lebanon in order to shore up their own none-too-stable bonapartist rule. Itself a complex matrix of religious, racial and national minorities, Syria fears that the sectarian civil war in Lebanon could easily spill over the border.

Today it is Syrian troops that fight to maintain the imperialist status quo in Lebanon, which can only culminate in more sectarian communal conflict and petty national wars. In the context of giving no support to either side in the Lebanese civil war, we call for Syrian troops out of Lebanon. With "leftist" Muslim leader Jumblat now seeking to internationalize the extremely fluid conflict, calling on imperialist France as well as the Arab states to intervene, the Muslim/Palestinian coalition cannot be regarded as waging a struggle to which the working class could give military support. However, with superior Syrian forces apparently determined to "discipline" (crush) the Palestinian commandos, armed clashes may occur in Beirut and elsewhere in which independent proletarian forces might form temporary military blocs with Palestinian and various Lebanese forces in the course of defending workers' quarters and refugee camps against a bloodbath.

With the "militant anti-Zionist" Assad (who came to power after blocking Syrian military aid to the embattled Palestinian commandos in Jordan during "Black September" of 1970) threatening a Lebanese "Black June," the bankruptcy of all wings of Arab nationalism is manifest. A genuine and democratic unification of the Near East will not come about through the intrigues and massacres by the colonels and sheiks and Zionists, but only when the victorious Arab and Hebrew proletariat overthrows the rotting capitalist system and forges a socialist federation of the Near East. ■

18 JUNE 1976

Where's the Class Line in the News Line?

LONDON, May 6—"At first glance it looks like the *Daily Mirror*," writes the weekly London entertainment guide *Time Out*, comparing to the British equivalent of the New York *Daily News* and *National Enquirer* the Workers Revolutionary Party's latest desperate maneuver—a "popular" daily paper featuring big pictures, a "full racing card" and very little politics. The logo is indeed a deliberate imitation of that used by the sex-and-scandal British gutter press.

It looks like the *Daily Mirror* at second glance, too. The sympathetic article in *Time Out* notes, "Despite appearances, the *News Line* is closely associated with the Trotskyist Workers Revolutionary Party," commenting approvingly that most of the WRP's political views have been removed from the new publication. Most of the news is "straight" reportage; thus *News Line* reports without comment that General Carvalho is being run for Portuguese President, or that the Italian Communist Party has proposed a grand coalition.

The WRP's daily *Workers Press* folded in February (see *WV* No. 97, 20 February 1976). Evidently concluding that even the fake-mass *Workers Press* had been too political to gain a wide readership, the WRP has now staked its hopes on trying to compete with the bourgeois press on its own terms. The accent is on sensationalism: spy scares, government sex scandals, tidbits of "human interest."

Even the sports news in *News Line* is banal. The racing tips are mostly carefully hedged predictions 'on favourites—and the track record so far is not outstanding.

Once again the WRP's antics provide fuel for the opponents of Trotskyism. The introduction to an anti-Trotskyist polemic (by Stalinist Monty Johnstone) notes with glee that the WRP "had also bitterly attacked the [CP's *Morning Star*] for having changed its name from the *Daily Worker*—only themselves now to adopt one which has not the slightest hint of a connection with working-class traditions and aspirations."

Desperation

The WRP took the opportunity in the interim between dailies to retire general secretary Gerry Healy, renowned for his political banditry and organisational thuggery, whose place has now been taken by the equally notorious Michael Banda. The Healyites' organisational fortunes have continued to decline markedly, both in Britain and internationally. The WRP May Day march was

claimed to have 2,000 participants, but *WV* observers counted at most 560, including a large number of children.

Perhaps in desperation, the Healyites have pushed their techniques of "mass recruitment" to bizarre lengths. For instance, the 1 May issue of the Healyite *Young Socialist* trumpets "200 Members Join Hull YS." And how did the

tunist political practice. The outstanding trait of the Healyite "method," the pretense at a mass base (a "base" built on discos and not Marxism) was strikingly revealed in the failure of its "mass paper," which never had any significant support in the working class. Moreover, the Healy tendency's degeneration into anti-Trotskyist political



Hull Healyites "recruit" 200 new members to their Young Socialist branch? Simple. They just held a disco (dance with records) and "everyone who attended the disco was signed up as a YS member"! Another article on the same page further amplifies the recruitment technique. It explains with an apparently straight face that at a YS "football rally" recently a discussion was precipitated by the arrival of a group of youth wearing swastikas. "In the end," the article placidly concludes, "it was agreed that such signs could not be worn in a Young Socialists disco and they were taken off."

By all rights the British ostensibly Trotskyist organisations who mourned the demise of *Workers Press* should be hailing its rebirth as *News Line*. If the closing of *Workers Press* was a "loss" as the International Marxist Group's *Red Weekly* said, surely *News Line* is a "gain"? And if the Workers Socialist League (whose core was expelled from the WRP in 1974) was correct in calling the liquidation of *Workers Press* "A Blow to Trotskyism" then why is not *News Line* a "blow for Trotskyism"?

The WSL's assessment of *Workers Press* showed its failure to draw the proper balance sheet of Healyism, attacking only the organisational sectarianism of the WRP and not its oppor-

banditry occurred many years before the expulsion of the WSL. The disorientation of the WSL, and its leanings towards rightist conciliation of the Labour Party, are shown in its insistence that the WRP should never have stood candidates against the Labour Party—at the same time as the WSL insists that the WRP had enough mass support among advanced workers to sustain a daily paper! You cannot have it both ways.

The liquidation of the *Workers Press* removed a barrier in the fight to create a Trotskyist Party in Britain. The *News Line* is a last wild gamble that will not succeed. The hoped-for advertising, which was supposed to provide the financial support for the new paper that would enable it to succeed where *Workers Press* could not, has not materialised, with only a handful of theatres and bookstores taking out classified ads. The modest fund drive goal of £4,000 a month was just barely reached in the first month, and the needed circulation of 30,000 copies a day will not be reached on newsstand sales. The new paper, having effectively liquidated such political face as the WRP has, will carry general secretary Banda and his gang of political bandits down to disaster. ■

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Officers and Gentlemen— Enemies of the People

The current West Point cheating and hazing scandals have exposed the morally corrupt, brutal nature of how the "officers and gentlemen" who form the backbone of the U.S. armed forces are created. At least 164 West Point cadets have now been formally charged with cheating on exams. In response, the cadets have submitted over 258 names of others involved in cheating, seeking to thereby expose the hypocrisy of the army academy's selective enforcement of its rigid "honor code."

Hazing, torture and humiliation are routinely dished out to underclassmen at West Point and other military academies, and only the occasional "excess" receives much public attention. The recent case of West Pointer Steven Verr, who collapsed in tears after exhaustion and enforced starvation resulting from such hazing, is being publicized only because it coincides with the wider cheating scandal and reassessment of the Point's "honor code."

More horrible is the brutal death of Pvt. Lynn E. McClure, a mentally retarded Marine recruit who was clubbed senseless during a "training drill" while 70 other recruits watched. He died March 31 after three months of unconsciousness, having suffered severe brain damage. Such "excesses," however, particularly when directed against "mere" enlisted men, are generally seen as unfortunate accidents in the necessary process of creating "tough men."

The cheating scandal at West Point raises more complex issues. Hazing and general brutality are necessary for the bourgeois military in order to break down recruits' sense of individuality and impose blind obedience. However, the West Point "honor code," and other regulations which are so severe that it is impossible to survive without cheating, are designed to break the recruits' spirit. This provides the officer corps with an internal selection mechanism, designed to weed out not only incompetents but those with individual integrity as well.

Although the bourgeois press, politicians and army officials are now indulging in an orgy of moralizing over "integrity" in the armed forces, the true purpose of West Point's rigid regulations is carefully hidden. Why is it necessary to impose such inhuman discipline in order to learn basic engineering and how to march in formation? The ostensible purpose of military academies is to create well-trained and technically competent officers. Presumably cheating subverts this purpose, and certainly the same knowledge could be mastered in less severe conditions. But the real purpose of West Point and other academies is to develop an elite cadre of professional officers with a sense of caste loyalty, above the law and conventional bourgeois morality. Thus the unrelenting pressure and impossible "honor code"



"Training" of West Point cadets.

Pierre Boulat/Time

which necessitates collective cheating.

The West Point instructors have always known that the cadets cheat, and use this for discriminatory expulsion, victimization and patronage. The end product is meant to be a person whose overwhelming social loyalty is to the officer corps itself, and thus an element of moral corruption is desired. It is useful for a commanding officer to know that his subordinates cheated at the Point and that the service covered up for them. They will then be prepared to cover up for him... and for the monstrous crimes against humanity perpetrated by the imperialist war machine.

Training America's Pinochets

Everyone knows the cops are corrupt, lawless and brutal. However, the popular image of the professional army is different. The Chilean armed forces—before the bloody September 1973 coup exposed their true nature—were likewise widely believed to be honorable, "democracy-loving" institutions. In the United States and other imperialist countries, the army is unleashed primarily against foreigners, so that most Americans have not had the everyday Vietnamese experience of seeing "their boys" murdering, raping and torturing.

A Vietnamese peasant has a truer knowledge of the products of West Point than does the average U.S. citizen. The My Lai massacre showed what the West Point "gentlemen" are really capable of. Major General Samuel Koster, commander of the Americal Division, which included Lieutenant Calley's platoon, was deeply implicated in the subsequent cover-up. He was also the superintendent of West Point in 1968, until forced to resign by the public outrage over My Lai. Captain Arthur Lincoln, Verr's West Point lawyer who is currently giving interviews about corruption at the academy, was a former "interrogator" of prisoners in Vietnam.

The army officer corps feels itself to be above the law, above any democratic institutions, because it is. Liberal pipe-dreams about more civil liberties for cadets or "reforming" the army are only a smokescreen, obscuring the army's true purpose and nature. The army is the bourgeois state's last bastion of internal repression, not its front line, the justly despised cops, so this purpose is often not so apparent domestically. But the army's guns are there to be used by its masters, including against the U.S. population itself, as was amply demonstrated by the dispatch of the 82d Airborne Division to Detroit to impose martial law in the black ghetto during the 1967 riots.

The fundamental basis of capitalist society is exploitation for profit, not political democracy. It requires an armed force that will physically defend this inequality and exploitation come what may. Maintaining American imperialism requires a military force which is prepared to ruthlessly trample all laws, civil liberties or other trappings of bourgeois democracy, in order to maintain the profit system. The bourgeois officer corps *must* feel itself to be above the law, since its purpose is to maintain capitalism when its legal, democratic façade no longer holds.

While it has not yet been necessary for the American bourgeoisie to unleash the full weight of military repression internally, as happened in Chile and Argentina, it nevertheless must train and maintain its future Pinochets for that eventuality. The entire working class must realize that these crew-cut youths in their grey pocketless tunics are being trained as its ultimate and most ruthless enemies. No amount of reforms will change this officer corps; it must be smashed root and branch in the course of socialist revolution, or else these imperialist jackals will yet unleash a holocaust threatening all humanity. ■

Warehouse ...

(continued from page 12)

given to continued scabbing. The simple lesson that a picket line means shutting down the entire plant and letting no one cross has been completely buried by these legalistic bureaucrats, who fear a united union mobilization more than the employers' offensive!

There have been numerous indications of determined, rank-and-file militancy throughout the strike. At one house a lone picket tried to prevent a truckload of scab cargo from being moved out, until he was subdued by two cops. Cops had to be mobilized the next day to get the truck back in. Pickets from another house caught up with a truckload of scab merchandise as it was parked in a gas station and picketed it in order to prevent further deliveries from being made. But despite the clear desire for militant picket lines, McClain & Co. have refused to mobilize the ranks for shutting the industry down tight.

Ranks' Discontent Met by Goon Attacks

McClain has reportedly been seeking help against the police from Democratic Party "friends" such as Assemblyman Leo Ryan and S.F. mayor George Moscone, predictably to no avail. There have been no joint membership meetings of the two unions—not even joint stewards' meetings—and last-minute strike preparations were left to the individual warehouses. Teamster locals have been no better than ILWU Local 6, with scabs being herded into many IBT houses as the bureaucrats stand idly by.

The Local 6 leaders have refused demands from the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition group in the local, to hold elections for a joint strike committee of ILWU/IBT striking locals, and call a joint mass strike rally.

Instead, the plans of the bureaucracy, in addition to keeping the picket lines full of holes in the interests of legal purity, are centered on watering down the strike demands and sending houses back to work on the basis of inferior individual agreements. An open letter to the strikers signed by Louis Goldblatt for the ILWU and George Mock for the Teamsters whined about how the union was not being rewarded for its "reasonableness" on demands. Many individual houses have signed a union "Memorandum" containing terms based on the Teamster Master Freight Agreement (\$1.60 over three years). Workers at these houses are kept out of the strike, thus creating a division in the ranks for terms which represent a deep cut in the original, membership-approved union position.

The terms of the Memorandum are so bad that one striking union, Teamster Local 853, has been rumored to have rejected them outright. Recognizing this as a challenge to the IBT International, which was largely responsible for pushing the MFA-patterned terms on the warehouse strikers, Local 853 leaders were allegedly boycotting this week's Teamster convention in Las Vegas.

The Militant Caucus of ILWU Local 6 has been the only group to spell out the real needs of the striking ranks of both unions:

"It's clear the employers are out to squeeze us dry. We must meet their hard line with a hard line of our own. We need jobs for all through a shorter work week at no loss in pay; a one-year contract with a big wage boost plus 100 percent COLA [cost-of-living allowance]; the unrestricted right to strike; free 24-hour child care; and a pension equal to a month's wage with a full COLA."

"Warehouse Militant," 7 June

Discontent over the way the strike is being handled surfaced at the only union meeting held so far since the strike began—a meeting for Local 6 stewards and house committeemen from throughout the Bay Area, attended by

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about 200. On the picket lines the next day, outraged ILWU members told *WV* reporters that violence had been used against critics of the leadership at the meeting. Hecklers of union negotiator Goldblatt had demanded to know where reinforcements for the picket lines were. One striker, after vigorously complaining of weakness of the picket lines, was hustled out of the room by two goons. When Militant Caucus spokesman Bob Mandel, a member of the Local 6 General Executive Board, left his place at the speakers' line to investigate this undemocratic exclusion, he was "punched and stomped resulting in six stitches on his face and one of his teeth kicked out," according to a leaflet published by ILWU longshore Local 10 militants the next day (June 10).

This rampant goon-squad action in front of 200 striking stewards failed to silence the voice of militants seeking to strengthen the strike. Several supporters of the Militant Caucus spoke. The room fell into hushed silence as Mandel, bleeding from his injuries, rose to demand effective strike strategy through flying picket squads, and to call for dumping the rotten contract proposals being pushed by the leadership on independent houses. Local president McClain ruled out of order a Militant Caucus motion condemning violence in the union and defending workers democracy, using the flimsy excuse that this was already covered in the union constitution. This cop-out ruling was upheld by the body, with the result that no vote was taken on the goon-squad attack against Mandel. The leadership, however, was shaken by the unexpectedly heated criticism from the stewards of the way the strike was being conducted.

For Labor Solidarity!

The striking warehousemen need not face the employer offensive alone. Longshore Local 10 of the ILWU, along with Teamster driver locals, could play a key role in the strike by refusing to handle cargo going to or from any struck warehouse. This has been reflected in calls for solidarity coming from both the Militant Caucus and militants in the ILWU longshore division. A supporter of *Longshore Militant*, a class-struggle opposition newsletter in Local 10, was responsible for initiating the Local 10 executive board resolution calling for hot-cargoing of struck products by Local 10 and for aid to the warehouse picket lines. Militants of both unions must now give life to this resolution; if left to the "leadership" of ILWU International president Harry Bridges, Curtis McClain and the bulk of the Local 10 executive board, it will do little more than collect dust in the files.

As one of the few union locals in the country with a significant reflection of CP views in its leadership, Local 6 of the ILWU has been the victim of disgustingly blatant Stalinist hatchet work in the service of bureaucratic conservatism. Prior to the current strike, business agent Abba Ramos ordered militant workers at Thrifty's warehouse to handle scab products from Nestlé's, a Local 6 shop which had been struck earlier. Ramos and another like-minded business agent, Joe Figueiredo, signed the union officials' strike bulletin calling for picket-line crossing by non-union and other union members. Chief steward and board of trustees member Joe Lindsay led the way on the picket lines last week against those who wanted to keep all the picket-line crossers out.

Meanwhile, in Local 10, well-known CP supporter Archie Brown has been instrumental in derailing attempts to strike against the rotten longshore contract, which now promises to result in layoff-deregistrations of full union members next month. Although CP supporters in Local 10 play more of a fake-oppositional role than in Local 6, Stalinist treachery in both locals demonstrates typical reformist adaptation to the trade-union bureaucracy.

The warehouse strike can only be won through an immediate mobilization of the union behind class-struggle policies, including solid picket lines at all houses, hot-cargoing of struck products by longshoremen and Teamster drivers, and close coordination between all striking unions. No local must return to work until all have settled! No reliance on bourgeois politicians to defend arrested strike militants—For a Bay Area-wide labor mobilization demanding all charges be dropped against the strikers! Condemn the goon-squad attack on Bob Mandel—Defend workers democracy! Dump the rotten contract proposals and call out all ILWU IBT warehousemen together! ■

Argentina...

(continued from page 7)

workers union used it during the rule of Isabel Perón."

Argentina Information [London], May 1976

At the time of the March coup, most of the imperialist press accepted official reassurances that the new government was committed to protecting human rights. Now some of the more "respectable" organs of bourgeois opinion are talking of "hardliners whose repression could well make [Chilean] General Pinochet look like a dove," and warning Videla to crack down on the death squads or "his prestige will crumble" (*Economist*, 12 June). Even the boot-licking Communist Party of Argentina has toned down its earlier commendation of the junta for "its respect for representative democracy, social justice, the reaffirmation of the state's role in controlling society, and the defense of the capacity for national decisiveness."

The Stalinists, guerrillaists and, above all, bourgeois Peronists bear the responsibility for allowing the murderous generals and admirals to take power unopposed. Today the menace of the junta is all too clear, and the Argentine masses are paying for the treachery and capitulation of their misleaders with their lives.

—*Stop the rightist terror in Argentina!*

—*Smash the bloody junta through workers revolution!*

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Rizzo...

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Committee to Recall Rizzo, dominated by the Americans for Democratic Action and the "Philadelphia Party," Charles Bowser's dissident Democrats.

Bowser's Recall Committee charges Rizzo with, among other things, fiscal irresponsibility, using the police department for political purposes and the closing of Philadelphia General Hospital. However, none of the charges goes beyond the confines of Democratic Party politics. Rizzo's real crimes, his racist and anti-working-class policies, go unchallenged. This is not surprising, considering the character of the Recall Committee.

Bowser, though himself a black and appealing in large measure to the support of black voters, refuses to support busing for school desegregation, a volatile issue in Philadelphia, asserting that the matter should be left up to the courts. In November's elections he endorsed taking measures to curb the municipal unions. Moreover, Bowser has been joined on the Recall Committee by the former top dog among Philadelphia Democrats, Peter Camiel, recently ousted by Rizzo as Democratic Party city chairman.

Marxists do not support campaigns to remove bourgeois politicians under all circumstances. Such campaigns may be nothing more than apolitical squabbles for positions of patronage and prestige. This is particularly true with American "machine" politics, notorious for their venality and pettiness, and lacking even the rudiments of class counterposition. Issues such as "financial irresponsibility" and "personal dishonesty," which are the focus of the Rizzo recall campaign, are not inherently suitable for the intervention of communists. Indeed, such issues can be seized upon by the extreme right in a mobilization against bourgeois democracy, as in the Stavisky riots in France in 1934.

For revolutionary socialists to support the ouster of a bourgeois politician, that removal must correspond to the interests of the working class, such as the preservation of bourgeois democratic rights and legality against bonapartist usurpation, or defense of trade-union gains. In the case of Philadelphia, beyond the ostensible issue of corruption, there is a real political polarization posed over the Rizzo recall issue. As the mayor put it in responding to the challenge:

"It's a philosophical thing... I'm against busing, they're for busing, I'm for the death penalty, they're against the death penalty. They're for legalized prostitution, I'm against legalized prostitution."

Philadelphia Bulletin, 1 April

The issues involved must also have a major impact on the masses. At its inception in January, the Rizzo recall campaign did not generate enough interest to polarize the city's population, and remained essentially a squabble within the Democratic Party. To have pushed the recall at that time would have simply meant spreading illusions in the Bowser wing of the Democratic Party. This was precisely the position of the Communist Party, which had supported Bowser in the November election.

However, with the dramatic revelation of the city's financial bankruptcy in April, the situation changed radically. For the first time, the movement to oust Rizzo gained mass support. Charges of financial incompetence and personal dishonesty were directly linked to the tax increases, wage freeze, layoffs and cutbacks in social services. Rizzo's base of support shrank noticeably, and is now limited to the most reactionary layers and racist elements. Even in South Philadelphia, an Italian-American section of the city which has been Rizzo's stronghold, sentiment in favor of recall is running at 40 percent.

Under these conditions, recall—which has become a focal point for the just outrage of working people in general and racial minorities in particular—can be critically supported.

For a General Strike to Smash Cutbacks!

Philadelphia workers must not rely on the recall of Rizzo to prevent or restore the cutbacks. Not only is the recall procedure extremely long and cumbersome, but there is no reason to believe that one of Rizzo's Democratic or Republican opponents would not carry out the same fiscal austerity policies if elected. The influential *Philadelphia Inquirer*, long an opponent of the Rizzo regime, has openly endorsed the cutbacks, asserting that they are probably insufficient.

Rizzo's austerity program can only be answered by a citywide general strike, demanding: "No layoffs—Restore the cutbacks! Smash the wage freeze!" and "Oust Rizzo—For new elections!" The unions must also demand no tax increases, jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no cut in pay, and a sliding scale of wages (full cost-of-living protection) to maintain pay against inflation. In this manner hegemony in the anti-Rizzo movement can be wrested from bourgeois politicians like Bowser.

Rizzo's turn to austerity offers the opportunity to drive a wedge between the Democrats and the unions. Now is the time to forge an alliance between organized labor in Philadelphia and racial minorities, by launching a labor candidate for mayor. Union militants must reject their corrupt misleaders and fight for a workers party dedicated to smashing capitalism. Such a party would reject the politics of Rizzo and his labor lackeys and unflinchingly support democratic demands such as busing to achieve school integration, while counterposing the building of workers militias to any reliance on the cops, the hired guns of the bourgeoisie. Only such a party would offer a real alternative to the rotten politics of all stripes of apologists for capitalism. ■

CUNY...

(continued from page 8)

do more than conduct endless marches around campus and through the community and its unwillingness to broaden the leadership to include representatives of all campus organizations opposed to the cutbacks.

In contrast, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) built the struggle while demanding a democratic, united-front strike committee and raising a program linking the needs of students to the class struggle. The SYL argued that students should be organized to approach the Transit Workers and other city unions in an effort to mobilize labor solidarity. In contrast, the YSA confined itself to distributing campus election literature while PL and the RCP buried their politics to appeal to moldy "student power" sentiments. The failure of these reformist forces to present a strategy for winning the struggle leaves CUNY faculty, students and campus workers divided and demoralized. Only by joining together in city-wide labor/student mobilizations can free higher education, threatened social services and city workers' jobs be successfully defended. ■

Blow-Up in the Near East

Speaker: Joseph Drummond

Time: Fri. June 25, 7:30 pm
Buchanan YMCA
Geary, Buchanan Sts.

SAN FRANCISCO

WORKERS VANGUARD

Defend the Lines—Stop the Scabs!

Cops Break Warehouse Picket, Arrest Strikers

LATE NEWS BULLETIN!

JUNE 15—In the latest of the widespread police attacks against the cross-Bay warehouse strike, Tuesday afternoon Berkeley police punched through an ILWU Local 6 picket line to escort scabs into work at Automatic Plastic Molding. With virtually no warning, the cops waded into the militant line of 75 to 100 workers, wielding their clubs freely. At latest report, 12 union members were arrested.

The enraged pickets, including Teamster warehousemen, then marched on Berkeley city hall to denounce the attack. They announced plans to appear at the city council meeting tonight to demand that police strikebreaking be stopped at once. Berkeley cops have been escorting scabs through ILWU lines at Automatic Plastic Molding for over two months, and also staged a series of violent attacks against Molders union pickets during the recently concluded Bay Area foundry workers strike.

Among those arrested today are: Rochelle F. Towers, Anthony Wilkinson, Rogiele L. Vilchis, Patrick Rogers, Bruce Allen Hartford, Stanley Gow, John Paul Dow, Mitchel Miller, Winford Adams, Bobby James Burleson, and two others, as yet unidentified.

In addition, on Monday morning in Hayward, 35 local police and state Highway Patrol officers swept through a 50-man picket line of Teamsters (IBT) Local 853, which also included some ILWU Local 6 strikers. The purpose of the cops' attack was to escort a number of scab trucks from the Di Salvo Truck Lines through the picket lines. Five Teamsters were arrested in this attack, including the secretary-treasurer and a business agent of Local 853.

For a mass strike rally including all Bay Area transport unions—Elect a central IBT/ILWU strike committee! Mobilize the workers to defend mass picket lines—Stop the police scabherding! Drop the charges against the warehouse strike militants! Extend the strike—Bring out all Northern California IBT and ILWU warehouses—Enforce the ILWU Local 10 resolution to hot cargo struck products!

OAKLAND, June 13—Going into its second week, the Bay Area-wide warehouse strike has heated up sharply as the vicious employer offensive makes itself felt and disgruntlement mounts in the ranks over the criminally sloppy handling of the strike by the leaders of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT). The Teamsters union, representing about two thirds of the approximately 11,000 striking warehousemen, is also under pressure in the six-week-old Associated Freight Lines strike, in which the employer is trying to break the recently signed drivers' Master Freight Agreement (MFA).

Both unions are feeling the effects of the defeat of the recent San Francisco city workers strike and now face a barrage of massive police attacks and scabherding on a scale not seen in the Bay Area in decades. The class struggle is being escalated by the employers to a historically normal level of strikebreaking violence, but inured by decades of class collaboration, the union misleaders are thus far limiting the workers' response through subservience to bourgeois legality and cowardly conservatism.

At the beginning of the warehouse strike on June 4, three days after the

major contract expirations, Local 6 issued a strike bulletin which allowed "non-union office workers or members of other unions" to cross picket lines "as long as they do not touch our work" (emphasis in original). Predictably, this weak-kneed formula for scabbing immediately provided an opening for management attacks by the Distributors Association. Supporters of Stalinist Communist Party views, well represented in the Local 6 leadership, have been prominent in attempting to maintain this strikebreaking policy despite the employer attacks.

Cop Rampage and Bureaucratic Sabotage

A large confrontation between strikers and police took place at Folger Coffee on June 9. Police were mobilized from Daly City, San Mateo, Colma and other Peninsula cities as well as the state Highway Patrol to protect scab trucks driven by supervisors as they attempted to leave the warehouse. An incredible pile-up of over 40 police cars collected, and nearly 80 cops moved in on the strikers. Twenty-eight pickets, including Local 6 president Curtis McClain, were arrested as they sat in the driveway in front of the trucks. According to a union bulletin, McClain told the cops, "we are peaceful and unarmed," just prior to a



Arthur Frisch/S.F. Chronicle

Cops attack ILWU Local 6 striker outside Folger's Coffee Company warehouse in South San Francisco last week.



WV Photo

ILWU pickets outside Crown Zellerbach's South San Francisco warehouse.

police charge in which pickets were clubbed, kicked and brutally handcuffed. The 28 were later released on bail. The entire labor movement of the Bay Area must be mobilized to defend McClain and all arrested warehouse militants. Drop the charges against the strikers!

Another series of confrontations have taken place at Golden Grain warehouse in San Leandro, where the company moved two box cars loaded by scabs out of the warehouse and pickets numbering up to 100 have attempted to keep office workers and supervisors from crossing the picket lines. Four pickets were arrested Wednesday, one of them severely beaten, and felony assault charges are being pressed by the cops against two of them. The next day, another picket line of about 100 workers was ready to stop scabs by any means necessary, and their militancy con-

vinced the office workers not to cross. Nevertheless, Golden Grain chief steward and Local 6 board of trustees member Joe Lindsay repeated the official line that office workers and management can cross the lines "as long as they don't do our work and don't hire scabs"!

Lindsay and other union officials later worked out a deal in a meeting with management and the San Leandro mayor, city manager and city attorney. A Local 6 bulletin paraded as a "victory" the following terms at Golden Grain: "the six scabs presently in the plant were terminated immediately! No more scabs will be hired! All legitimate office workers, supervisory and managerial personnel will be given union-approved i.d. cards in order to gain access to company property!" With such "victories," direct union sanction is

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