

Carter Will Continue Anti-Labor Policies of Nixon/Ford

Layoffs Hit U.S. Workers... AGAIN!

Big Steel Hikes Prices

DECEMBER 6—The Bureau of Labor Statistics announced Friday that the U.S. unemployment rate, already the highest among industrialized nations, continues to soar. It rose in November to 8.1 percent, not far below the depression-level peak of last year. Moreover, most of the newly unemployed are adult males, pointing to the fact that layoffs (rather than new entrants into the labor force) are the key factor in the current increase in joblessness. Official government statistics don't even include those who have given up looking for work and involuntary part-time workers. The AFL-CIO index, which includes these factors, shows that the actual level of unemployment is much higher: 10.9 percent of the labor force, or 10.5 million workers presently without jobs.

With the unemployment statistics showing that there will be over 11 million out of work by New Year's Day, all other indices of the U.S. economy also point toward crisis. While the inflation rate on consumer goods and services has remained steady at about 5 percent annually, wholesale prices (a good indicator of future cost-of-living changes) are rising rapidly, running at a 10 percent annual rate last month. November was also the third month in a row that the Department of Commerce composite index of leading economic indicators failed to rise.

Less than a year after the halting upturn in the greatest depression of the post-war period, the advanced capitalist world is again heading into an economic crisis. During the last three months industrial production has fallen in Japan, West Germany and Italy, as well as the U.S. (*Economist*, 4 December). Unemployment is on the rise virtually everywhere.

This new downturn demonstrates that the 1974-75 depression was not, as bourgeois economists claimed, a fluke resulting from the price explosion of Arab oil. Rather, it was the product of a fall in the rate of profit (to which the rising price of raw materials contributed) and demonstrates the fundamental incapacity of world capitalism to generate rapid or steady economic growth.

Steel Cartel Raises Prices

In the midst of this emerging economic crisis, the giant American steel corporations dropped a bombshell, announcing on November 24 a price hike of 6 percent for sheet and strip

products. This is an open challenge to the incoming Democratic administration to protect big business profits in the face of declining production.

Steel manufacturing is concentrated in a handful of major producers who can have considerable impact on the market by agreeing to act in concert. The monopolistic character of the industry acts as a partial buffer to sharp falls in price and profit levels during periods of economic decline. Thus prices continued to rise during the 1974-75 depression.

This announced price hike, also, is an attempt to offset falling output. Since last May steel production has declined about 20 percent and plant utilization in the industry has dipped from 91 percent of capacity to only 68 percent. In October the steel corporations announced a price hike, but retracted it when demand proved too weak to support it. This time around industry executives claim the increase is geared to expanding orders. However, steel mills across the country continue layoffs and short worktime. Just last week Bethlehem Steel, the second largest U.S. producer, laid off 2,800 employees at its Sparrows Point, Maryland, mill.

A major political goal of the steel corporations (in concert with the national-chauvinist leadership of the United Steelworkers of America) is to obtain government protection through higher tariff barriers against imports. After World War II, the steel industries of rival imperialist powers like Japan and West Germany were rebuilt almost from scratch, and therefore incorporated the most modern technology. In 1972, 80 percent of Japan's steel was made by the superior basic oxygen process as compared to only 56 percent of U.S. production.

The existence of more efficient foreign competitors undercuts the monopoly position of the U.S. steel cartel in the American market, and therefore its ability to rig high prices. Right now, while announcing their price hike, the steel cartel is campaigning to extend the quota on special steels (e.g., stainless and tool steel) which President Ford granted them last June. Far from benefitting working people or "providing jobs," protectionist laws fuel inflation as well as inflaming national divisions within the international working class.

Big Steel Maneuvers Carter

Steel executives are not simply concerned with keeping prices up. The

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Job-seekers line up in Chicago.

UPI



AFL-CIO chief George Meany (left) with president-elect Carter.

Wide World

The Short-Lived USec/OCI Treaty

Editor's Note: *The USec and OCRFI versions of the now-aborted deal are not identical in every respect. LCR internal bulletin No. 50 [November] prints both the USec text and the OCRFI's response. We are reprinting the latter. We have italicized the passages where there is a significant difference and have put the USec version in brackets immediately following.*

The International Bureau delegation, mandated by the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International, after meeting with the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, notes the resolution adopted by the USec:

"We propose that the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International prepare parallel statements for publication in *Rouge*, *Informations Ouvrières* and other publications of the Fourth International and the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International.

"1. That the goal of discussions is to strengthen the Fourth International as sole international organization based on the Trotskyist program, which includes *acceptance of [reference to] democratic centralism.*

"2. That the United Secretariat and the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, even though they have deep-going differences with some of the positions of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International and the OCI, consider them to be revolutionary organizations.

"3. That the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International and the OCI also affirm that the Fourth International and its French section, the LCR, are revolutionary organizations despite the deep-going differences which the former organizations have with some of the positions of the latter.

"Starting from an agreement on these points, the United Secretariat will open an organized discussion with the Organizing Committee based on a commonly agreed on *agenda* [timetable. If the OCRFI rejects any resolution on the proposed points, the USec will consider that an organized political discussion cannot for the moment take place]."

The delegation of the International Bureau of the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International repeats its proposal for opening discussions without restrictions or preconditions between the two international organizations, with a view to reconstructing the Fourth International, reunified on the basis of the founding program; so as to attempt to overcome the differences which are at the origin of a split which has lasted nearly a quarter century.

That the goal of the discussions is to strengthen the Fourth International as a single international organization based on the Trotskyist program, which includes acceptance of democratic centralism.

The delegation of the Organizing Committee feels that the link to the Fourth International, the affirmation of the validity of its program, characterize an organization as revolutionary. Both the USec and its sections and the Organizing Committee and its organizations uphold the necessity of the Fourth International; both affirm the validity of its program; this characterizes them as revolutionary organizations.

USec/OCI Deal Falls Through

No Tango in Paris

When leaders of the United Secretariat (USec) and representatives of the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) met in Brussels six weeks ago to sign a pro-fusion statement, it seemed that a 25-year estrangement might be coming to an end. The political core of the diplomatic three-point document, which provides for discussions "to strengthen the Fourth International as sole international organization based on the Trotskyist program," is that each side characterizes the other as "revolutionary... despite deep-going differences." On leaving the October 19 meeting, Ernest Mandel, leading light of the centrist USec, was heard to pronounce it a "historic meeting"; Pierre Frank, gray eminence of the USec's French section, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), proclaimed it a "miracle."

Mandel/Frank's grandiose expectations to the contrary, it did not take the fractious LCR very long to puncture the new fusion balloon. Ten days after the peace treaty was signed, the LCR Central Committee passed a motion declaring the agreement "inadequate" and suspending any bilateral relations with the OCI. Two weeks later, the USec knuckled under and wrote to the OCI retracting the deal. Thus a national section of this purportedly "democratic-centralist" fake-Trotskyist fake-International dictated international policy to its supposedly higher body. The LCR laid down the law and suddenly the USec's "historic" enterprise was just a piece of paper.

The United Secretariat's pretext for backing out of the engagement was the OCI's long-standing characterization of the USec as having "revisionist positions contrary both to the principles and the program of the Fourth International." So what else is new? This formally correct statement is as true of the USec now as it was 25 years ago when the USec's political progenitors, led by Michel Pablo, first locked onto the liquidationism which sent the majority of the French section of the Fourth International (from which the OCI is lineally descended) into opposition. Mandel and Frank, Pablo's lieutenants, presumably liked this characterization as little at the time as they do today. But the OCI's formally orthodox anti-Pabloist disclaimers did not deter the USec honchos from undertaking the secret treaty on October 19.

LCR Throws Wrench in the Works

There was no more unity in the LCR Central Committee on November 1 than there is in the faction-ridden "United" Secretariat. The LCR majority's demand that the USec "adopt at an international level an attitude which corresponds to the one we have taken

toward the OCI" was opposed by LCR leaders whose softness toward the OCI flows from their sympathies with the USec reformist minority tendency, brain-trusted by the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP). In addition, pro-SWP/OCI LCR "left" oppositionist Matti refused to vote at all on the motion.

For several years, the OCI and SWP have been on intersecting courses, defined particularly by a convergence of appetites toward accommodation to international social democracy. Accordingly, the SWP has been negotiating on its own behalf with the OCI (see "SWP-OCI Discussions," *WV* No. 57, 22 November 1974) and has also been a most diligent marriage-broker between the USec and the OCI's own international conglomeration, the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI). Appropriately, the SWP's Joseph Hansen was one of the signatories of the October 19 pact.

The LCR has demonstrated that it has no intention of permitting Mandel's diplomacy—neither the present rotten bloc with the SWP nor the aborted non-aggression pact with the OCI—to interfere with "main chance" opportunism in France. The LCR majority's primary orientation is toward explicitly anti-Trotskyist currents such as the Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU) and "non-sectarians" such as Lutte Ouvrière (LO). Thus the Central Committee motion unfavorably contrasted the possibility of bilateral relations with the OCI to "the type we may entertain with the PSU, Lutte Ouvrière or Révolution."

The LCR's number one priority is fusing with the Pablo-led left wing of the left social-democratic PSU. The Pablo tendency broke to the right from the USec in the mid-1960's and in 1972 explicitly renounced Trotskyism and the need for the Fourth International. Always obliging, Mandel proclaimed his willingness to abandon these "labels" (see "Mandel Offers to Renounce Trotsky, Fourth International," *WV* No. 117, 9 July 1976) to facilitate the LCR's efforts to "regroup" with the "broad vanguard" represented by the PSU. Révolution originated as a petty-bourgeois, "Third Worldist" split from the LCR's forerunner in 1969, essentially over the question of affiliation with the USec. It is currently holding a fusion

congress with a hardened pro-Peking Stalinist grouping, the Gauche Ouvrière et Populaire.

Lutte Ouvrière, an ostensibly Trotskyist group which opposed the formation of the Fourth International in 1938, is known mainly for its workerism, which makes an organization's social composition (*not* its program) the touchstone of its revolutionary integrity, and its naive predilection for sponsoring "non-sectarian" international gab-fests with sundry state-capitalists, Maoists and syndicalists. LO's long-time position favoring a lowest-common-denominator "unity" of the so-called "family of Trotskyism" has become increasingly attractive to the LCR as it impressionistically shifts from strident petty-bourgeois radicalism to exhortations to present a "credible alternative" (i.e., left cover) to the popular front.

Accustomed to being slapped down by its star section, the USec manfully took its medicine. At the same meeting at which it repudiated the October 19 agreement with the OCI, the USec and the LCR sought to sweep LO into their net by harking back to "non-sectarian" proposals made by LO in the wake of May 1968. At that time, LO had proposed that a loose regroupment of all "revolutionaries" should publish a common newspaper (if necessary with a given number of pages allotted each group) in an effort to be a "credible

U.S. Prevents Transit to Canada

PDC Protests Exclusion of Ernest Mandel

On November 24 Ernest Mandel was scheduled to give a forum in Montreal on "The World Economic Crisis and the Rise in Working Class Struggles." Mandel, one of the main leaders of the pseudo-Trotskyist "United Secretariat," is currently forbidden to enter the United States, West Germany, France and Switzerland.

He was scheduled to fly to Montreal from Colombia, changing planes in Miami. However, after initially agreeing to allow Mandel to spend sufficient time in the international transit waiting room in Miami to make his flight connection, at the last minute the State Department capriciously changed its mind and refused in effect to allow him transit through the United States. In consequence, Mandel's forum in Montreal had to be cancelled only two hours before it was scheduled to begin.

A statement of protest by the Trotskyist League of Canada and the international Spartacist tendency was read to a press conference in Montreal held shortly after it became known that Mandel would be unable to speak.

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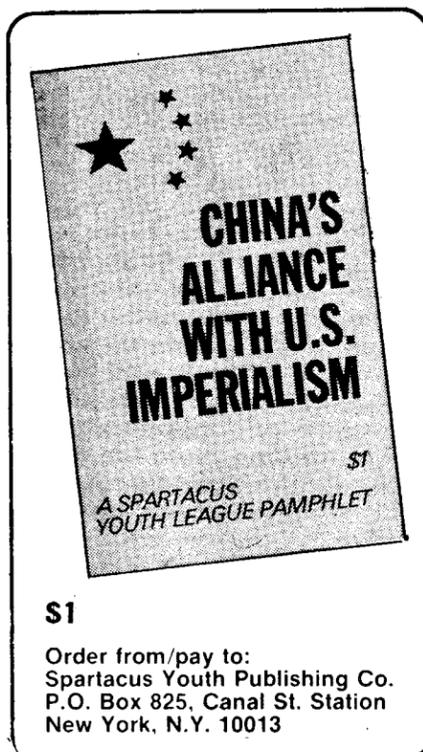
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alternative." Now the USec has offered to edit jointly with LO a four-page weekly supplement to *Rouge* and *Lutte Ouvrière* and to allow LO to contribute articles to every fourth issue of *Inprecor*. Discussions are proposed as well with a view to presenting joint LCR/LO candidates in the 1977 French municipal elections and holding a joint trade-union conference in the summer of 1977.

OCI Lusts for SWP

The OCI—which is usually dubbed "sectarian," for both good and bad reasons—recently opened the pages of *Informations Ouvrières* (24 November) to a former member to declare: "Trotskyism discredits itself by its divisions. Trotskyism must be made credible to the masses of workers if one wants to build the party.... The OCI must do everything to move toward the unity of Trotskyism...." Like its USec competitors, the OCI is also responding to the tantalizing prospect of an electoral victory for the "Union of the Left" popular front, but in its own fashion. Whereas the USec majority wants the radicalized petty bourgeoisie and "new mass vanguard" to pressure the popular front to the left, the OCI wants to reform the popular front through unity of the Stalinist and social-democratic apparatuses.

Over the past several years the OCI has consolidated a sharp rightward turn based on its long-standing tendency toward Stalinophobic capitulation to social democracy. The petty-bourgeois radicals of the LCR have always been able to score correct points against the OCI's shameless softness toward the bureaucracy of the Force Ouvrière labor federation. Outside France, many OCI-affiliated groups adopted the Pabloite practice of deep entrist into the social democracy a decade after the USec had generally abandoned this discredited strategy in favor of enthusing over third-world guerrillaism.

Thus in the recent October elections in Germany, the IAK, which is entrised in the SPD, raised the cold-war capitalist-restorationist slogan of "Free elections in all Germany"; in Canada the OCI affiliates call for a government based on the NDP, running on the NDP ticket whenever they can. Most notoriously, in Portugal the OCI group is buried inside Mário Soares' Socialist Party and actively supporting the trade-union-based "list B" of this CIA-funded "Socialist" party.

This sharp rightward motion is what is behind the OCI's courtship of the reformist SWP, which the OCI rebaptized "not centrist" and "Trotskyist" when it began its pro-SWP maneuvers three years ago. The OCI's explicit advocacy of a federated international structure, for example in Latin America (see "OCI Reconstructs the London Bureau," *WV* No. 95, 6 February 1976), is an additional point of convergence with the SWP.

The OCI hides behind its formal

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SWP Electoralism Flops

Basking in the glow of left-liberal respectability and an unusual amount of publicity in the bourgeois press, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) used the bicentennial presidential campaign to deepen its commitment to social-democratic reformism. Following the dissipation of the feminist and antiwar "mass movements" of the late 1960's, the SWP has become an electoral party on permanent campaign footing. It spent two solid years on the '76 presidential "race" and almost a quarter of a million dollars; it brought successful court suits against the media to allow it air time while pushing SWP apparachiks into an all-out effort for Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid. Yet despite widespread distrust of capitalist candidates Carter and Ford, and even with extensive media coverage of its "socialist Watersuit" against FBI harassment, the SWP failed to score the hoped-for big gains.

In fact, even though final tallies are not yet available, SWP figures show that their standard-bearers did little better than Linda Jenness in 1972. While SWP candidates polled higher in several states (such as Texas), and stayed the same in others, they *lost* votes in five states where comparative results are in (down 3,000 votes in Massachusetts, the only state to go for McGovern in 1972).

Although this electoral stagnation reflects the general rightward shift of U.S. politics over the last several years, the *Militant* will no doubt glibly announce that this year's totals represent a significant advance over the last time around. However, its higher overall vote total will only be because the SWP managed to get on the ballot in California (where they received 17,083 votes) and Ohio (with 5,346), both big college states where they were ruled off in 1972.

A number of liberal commentators, repelled by the dull Ford/Carter "contest," were pleasantly surprised to discover the SWP's mild-mannered "realism." British journalist Simon Winchester found Peter Camejo a "young and highly intelligent Marxist messiah... peddling ideas of a non-Marxist Socialist economy that will sound familiar to followers of Tony Benn" (*Guardian* [London], 29 October 1976). The SWP can hardly object to this unflattering comparison with the milktoast reform schemes of the "left" Labourite member of Callaghan's cabinet. Last year the *Militant* (14 November 1975) crowed when the staff director of the Democratic Party platform committee commented on the SWP's platform: "I think tomorrow I'll go down to [Democratic National Committee] Chairman [Robert] Strauss and suggest that we adopt this. It all looks perfectly reasonable. You may have saved me ten months' work."

The SWP's comrades in the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) were not so complimentary, however. A reporter for the LCR's *Rouge* asked Camejo: "In most rallies, the general level of the speeches would be called elementary in France. What is more, there were no red flags and no revolutionary songs, to say nothing of the *Internationale*. Can you explain why?" (quoted in *Intercontinental Press*, 22 November 1976). After reporting Camejo's response, to the effect that the voters don't even recognize that the Democrats and Republicans are capitalist parties, *Rouge* concluded: "Whether they are students or workers, Americans are totally ignorant as regards politics."

Certainly the level of class consciousness among U.S. workers is far lower than in Europe, but two years of Camejo campaign speeches have done nothing to raise it. While on the

face of it this open-ended escape clause lets the SWP off the hook (what can you expect with ignorant Americans?), in their internal bulletins the LCR will accuse its SWP factional enemies of bowing before American backwardness. (Of course, the trappings of "red flags and revolutionary songs" do not make a revolutionary program either. The LCR pursues its own more "sophisticated" class collaboration "under French colors" by acting as a left cover for the popular front.)

The SWP campaign was "elementary," all right—elementary reformism. The big SWP gimmick for '76 was a "Bill of Rights for Working People," a program to add a few utopian-liberal "democratic" demands to the U.S. Constitution. It includes points for a "right to an adequate income," a "right of oppressed national minorities to control their own affairs" and a "right to decide economic and political policy" but not a word about socialist revolution. In the days when the Socialist Workers Party represented revolutionary Trotskyism in the U.S., James P. Cannon had some harsh words for wiseacres who pushed such gimmickry:

"He [Budenz] came to the National Committee of our party with a proposal that our whole program should be an amendment to the Constitution; that our revolutionary program should be whittled down to one parliamentary project. It was a terribly capitulatory, a philistine program of the crudest kind."
—*History of American Trotskyism*, 1944

In one TV campaign interview Camejo claimed that after a majority of the American people were sufficiently exposed to the SWP's program, socialism (or at least Peter Camejo) could be voted into office. But the real appetites of these suit-and-tie reformists is to be a pressure group on the capitalist state. Camejo differs with veteran social democrat Michael Harrington only in preferring an "independent" stance rather than working directly through the Democratic Party. "I'll tell you what'll bring social change," said Camejo in a debate with Harrington the day before the election, "if millions of people in this country began to refuse to vote Democratic or Republican. That would put more pressure on the government to have to bend to the demands" (*Militant*, 26 November 1976).

This frank admission of a perspective of "pushing" the capitalist politicians into granting reforms underscored the fundamental identity of the SWP's campaign with that of the arch-reformist Communist Party (CP). Proclaiming that a vote for CP candidates Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner was a "vote with clout," the Stalinists made the same pitch: "a big Communist vote in Detroit would become a serious concern for the executives of GM and Ford," and a good showing in New York would "make the banks come to the rescue of NYC" (*Daily World*, 3 April 1976).

The resemblance was more than skin-deep, with the twin parties of American reformism both pledging to "reduce" profits. The CP limited itself to a call for slashing the military budget by 80 percent (thereby leaving the Pentagon \$24 billion to play around with), while the SWP ambiguously worded its demand to "cut" the "war budget," instead of the traditional Marxist position of refusing to support the capitalist repressive forces ("not a single penny, not one man to the bourgeois army"). No doubt Camejo/Reid want to demonstrate their "responsibility" by not calling for *eliminating* funding for "legitimate" police and army actions, like sending federal troops to Boston to enforce busing (a favorite SWP demand).



WV Photo

Peter Camejo

The SWP did find a way to distinguish itself from the CP and enhance its appeal to liberals, however. Camejo told reporters that the difference between him and the Communist Party was that, regarding the Soviet Union, "I feel there is a totalitarian regime there. They don't" (UPI dispatch, 28 October 1976). Furthermore, Camejo told the House Intelligence Committee on 18 November 1975: "We are opposed to totalitarianism everywhere in the world, whether in the USSR or in Spain." This blatantly anti-communist equation of the degenerated workers state in Russia with the most reactionary bourgeois butchers was a constant in the SWP campaign. In California, SWP senatorial candidate Omari Musa told the *San Francisco Chronicle* (6 August) that he opposed all dictatorships "whether in the Soviet Union, China, Spain, Chile" or "Iraq and the Zionist state of Israel."

On NBC's "Meet the Press" (17 October 1976) Camejo was asked point blank by Nat Hentoff of the *Village Voice* what the SWP's position would be toward a Russian or Chinese invasion of the U.S.:

"Hentoff: This is for Mr. Camejo. I notice that one of your key elements in the program is the elimination of \$115 billion in military spending... in the context of the fact that most Americans... sincerely believe... that this is the kind of program that only a flaky party would endorse because, what do we do if you eliminate all this in terms of the USSR and maybe later China engulfing the world and eventually us? How do you get credibility with an electorate with this kind of program."
"Camejo: ...I think that if the American people feel that there is any danger to our own existence in terms of somebody coming in here to invade and take us over, then I think the American people should have the type of defense that was originally intended when this nation was set up: Popular militia with elected officials so that an Army cannot be used against the people. When was the last time the National Guard was called out to make sure a strike succeeds? In fact, it is only called out to break strikes. I want an Army that can't kill four students at Kent."

Here Camejo has gone beyond his usual classless rhetoric against "totalitarianism" of the left or right and his consistent failure throughout the campaign to raise the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defense of the degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialism. Now the SWP has committed itself on nationwide TV to defending the "American people" *against an invasion by the USSR or China!*

At least it took the actual outbreak of World War I to induce the parties of the Second International to abandon their formally internationalist program and line up openly behind their "own" bourgeoisies. But the SWP throws away the Trotskyist program under the bright lights of a TV studio simply to win a few votes of anti-communist liberals. ■

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Stop Forced Sterilization!

Over 3,000 Indian Women Sterilized by U.S. Government

Buried in the 23 November issue of the *New York Times* was the outrageous revelation that, according to the U.S. Congress' General Accounting Office (GAO), over 3,400 American Indian women have been permanently sterilized over the past four years by the Indian Health Service (IHS), many of them without their knowledge or consent. While Indian groups have long protested the government's campaign to sterilize Indian women, this is the first official confirmation of widespread illegalities and abuse.

The GAO reported that a close check of 113 "voluntary" sterilization cases in four health centers in the Southwest revealed that the majority of "voluntary consent forms" filed contained no statement that indicated that the women had the right to refuse sterilization, or that they had been informed of their rights at all. Most hospital records did not even contain the forms—only notations that the sterilizations had been performed for "medical reasons."

The full extent of forced sterilizations by the arrogant reservation administrators, who order the operations in self-righteous contempt for the poverty-stricken Indians at their mercy, may never be known. Dr. Connie Uri, a Choctaw/Cherokee physician who investigated sterilization practices at the Indian Health Service hospital in Claremore, Oklahoma, in 1974, found that hospital records mysteriously disappeared as soon as she asked for them. According to *Akwasne Notes* (Summer 1974), when she appealed to the IHS Board she was informed that poor Indian women were "better off" sterilized.

Despite official obstruction and contempt, however, Dr. Uri was able, through interviews with Indian women and workers at the hospital, to expose widespread abuses there in all aspects of medical care. Of 132 American Indians sterilized at the hospital in 1973, she found that 100 were given the operation for "non-therapeutic" reasons—i.e., simply to keep them from having more children. As Dr. Uri was conducting her investigation, sterilized Indian women came to her asking how they could have children, obviously unaware of what

had been done to them.

The vicious practice of forced sterilization extends to many poor and minority women on welfare as well. Dr. Bernard Rosenfeld, who protested the forced sterilization of two black and one Chicana woman at a Los Angeles hospital in 1974, summed up the attitude of government administrators as, "The more tubes you tie, the fewer kids you have to support on welfare." As Aid to Dependent Children rolls have grown, various state and local agencies have advocated making sterilization mandatory for poor women on welfare after they have given birth to one or two children. In 1964 a law was passed in Mississippi which made having an



Dolores Neuman

"illegitimate" child a felony punishable by a maximum of three years in prison or forced sterilization. While this barbarous attack on women was rescinded after nationwide protest, it is still a misdemeanor to have an "illegitimate" child in Mississippi.

Poor and minority women must not remain helpless victims of government hospital butchers. The workers movement must demand that the grotesque practice of forced sterilizations be ended immediately! ■

Bernadette Devlin Evades Question of Troops to Boston

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, self-proclaimed "revolutionary socialist" and a well-known leader of the Northern Ireland civil rights movement in the late 1960's, just completed a tour of the U.S. sponsored largely by Pathfinder Press. While her speeches before Socialist Workers Party (SWP) Militant Forums and the SWP-led National Student Committee Against Racism (NSCAR) meeting in Boston helped publicize the desperate plight of the Murrays, two anarchists condemned to be hanged in Dublin, she carefully evaded the hard political questions facing the American and Irish working classes.

Devlin, who spoke in San Francisco before a large banner proclaiming "British Troops Out of Ireland," and emphasized the oppressive role of the British imperialist army in every speech, consistently refused to take a position on the SWP's call for the American imperialist army to occupy Boston and other cities wracked by lynch-mob attacks on black people.

The most obvious lesson of the Northern Ireland civil rights movement, which in 1969 welcomed British troops into Ulster as a "peace-keeping" force, was that these troops are committed not to protecting democratic rights but only to maintaining the status quo. They mainly repressed the insurgent Catholic masses while locking up a few token Protestant paramilitary leaders. Devlin, however, refused to apply this lesson to the bitter struggles over busing that have erupted in the U.S.

Repeatedly asked by the Spartacist League why she did not draw this fundamental lesson for the American black struggle, Devlin refused to answer, pleading need to "study" the situation. We are forced to conclude that Devlin, an experienced politician and former Member of Parliament, preferred not to embarrass her SWP sponsors, whose main slogan in the pro-busing movement has been for "Federal Troops to Boston" to defend black rights.

It was clear, however, that Devlin's insistence on her ignorance of the "specifics" of the Boston busing struggles was an evasion of the principled nature of the question. Evidently, for Devlin the question of preaching confidence in the imperialist army to "protect" the oppressed simply depends on "the specific situation," i.e., is a purely tactical question.

This at least would be consistent with her past position of welcoming the British troops to Ulster when it was a widely held illusion by almost the entire civil rights movement, including her own group, People's Democracy (PD), that they would indeed "protect" the Catholic masses. But when presented with her past history by Spartacist League supporters, Devlin exploded into vehement denials that she had ever had any illusions in the army, despite well-documented evidence to the contrary.

The *New York Times* (22 August 1969) quoted Devlin as saying: "The British Army must remain. If withdrawn, the underlying problems will again raise their heads." Months later the Socialist Labour League's *Newsletter* (18 June 1970) quoted her as saying, "...you cannot simply say take the troops out because if you do the people will die..."



WV Photo

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey

She could only retort lamely that the *Times* is a "bourgeois press" and that the SLL prints slanders. But her proclamations of support for the British military presence in Northern Ireland were widely reported in a number of newspapers at the time and are a matter of common knowledge throughout the British and Irish left. During a fundraising trip in the United States, she told a predominantly Irish-American audience that "They [British soldiers] are a necessity now because they have restored a semblance of order" (*New York Post*, 22 August 1969). The *Daily News*, which gave extensive and sympathetic coverage to her 1969 tour, quoted Devlin's remarks on the NBC-TV program, "Meet the Press": "The British troops have got to stay until the problem is solved. They can't go and leave us with the problem. How long that takes depends on Harold Wilson" (*Daily News*, 25 August 1969).

That Devlin's position was infamously soft on the question of British troops in Ulster is also attested to by a report in the *Irish Times* (20 August 1969): "In a broadcast last night for Radio Free Derry, Miss Bernadette Devlin MP said Wilson's statement was an assurance that things would be better for Northern Ireland. She welcomed the news that the security forces would be under the control of the GOC [General Officer in Command]. 'It shows that the British Army is not prepared to be used by the Stormont government'."

Devlin's angry interruptions that nothing made her madder than "Americans telling me what I did in Ireland 10 years ago" when the SL reminded her of her earlier position are simply an attempt at national-chauvinist, anti-internationalist demagoguery. "Everywhere I go the Spartacist League asks me the same question," she complained on the last night of her tour in New York. But, if Devlin wishes to be taken seriously as a "revolutionary socialist," she has the political responsibility to take on the real questions facing the working class and not simply repeat platitudes about the workers and the bosses, as she did this time. The litmus test of revolutionary leadership is the ability to forthrightly account for one's political history and defend one's program both in the course of mass struggles and in open political combat with other tendencies in the workers movement. ■

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ISA Members in Houston Threatened with Deportation

Drop Court Suit Against Iranian Students!

Several weeks ago the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI)—a civil-libertarian group dominated by the reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA)—announced its intention to prosecute several members of the Iranian Student Association (ISA, Iran House) who allegedly were involved in an attack on five supporters of CAIFI on November 1 at the University of Houston (see "Civil Libertarians Endanger Iranian Students," *Young Spartacus* No. 49, December 1976).

Yet CAIFI knows full well that, especially in Houston, U.S. authorities working in collaboration with the Iranian secret police (SAVAK) seek to use any legal entanglements involving Iranian dissidents to deport these "troublemakers." In Iran, these opponents of the Shah suffer torture by electrodes, whips, boiling water enemas and branding irons in the SAVAK dungeons.

In an attempt to cover its despicable treachery, CAIFI has smeared these ISA members as *agents provocateurs* for the Shah's Gestapo. The *Militant* (19 November) reports: "CAIFI views this incident as particularly alarming in light of recent revelations of activities in the United States by SAVAK, the Shah's secret police."

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) is opposed on principle to the use of violence, intimidation and slander within the left to suppress political views. We vigorously condemn the hooligan attack on CAIFI at the University of Houston and, despite our political differences with both CAIFI and its SWP/YSA sponsor, we would support efforts carried out within the framework and traditions of workers democracy to prevent such attacks. In this regard, we point to our defense of a meeting last year featuring Argentine "Trotskyist" Juan Carlos Coral which was organized in Chicago by the SWP/YSA-dominated USLA and which was threatened by right-wing Cubans.

But in resorting to the capitalist courts to resolve differences within the left, CAIFI has crossed the class line. While its grievances against rival Iranian activists in Houston may be real, CAIFI has trampled over workers

democracy no less than the thugs who attacked the CAIFI supporters in Houston.

On December 6 the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) contacted CAIFI headquarters in New York City to confirm the report given in the *Militant*. Questioned about the allegation that the accused Iranian students in Houston were somehow implicated in SAVAK disruption of the ISA, the CAIFI spokesman stated, "We have a very

radical opponents of terror in Iran—is a despicable crime which can have truly murderous consequences.

The prosecution of ISA members by CAIFI threatens to open up the Iranian student movement in this country to state interference and cop surveillance. CAIFI's SAVAK-baiting of the ISA serves only to discredit the Iranian student movement and divide even further the opponents of the Shah's white terror.

The SL/SYL stand resolutely opposed to all gangsterism on the left, and we have demonstrated in practice our commitment to enforce workers democracy. We are equally proud of our anti-sectarian record of militant defense of all victims of reactionary repression.

ILWU LOCAL 6 PROTESTS ARREST OF IRANIAN STUDENTS

The following resolution was adopted by the General Executive Board of Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) on November 23.

"ILWU Local 6 demands that all charges against the 91 Iranian students arrested in Houston be dropped and deportation proceedings ended immediately. The union will notify the Iranian Students Association, the District Attorney in charge of the case and the U.S. Department of Immigration of its position."

strong suspicion that if they are not actually on the payroll of the SAVAK, at least they play into the hands of the SAVAK with their violence within the Iranian student movement."

And what was given as the basis for this "suspicion"? First, the CAIFI spokesman pointed out that none of the accused Iranian students was among the 91 students arrested in Houston on November 8, when the cops launched an unprovoked attack on an ISA demonstration protesting the arrest and deportation of ISA members in Paris. When asked about the role of these accused Iranian students at this particular demonstration, the CAIFI spokesman admitted, "Well, we don't know whether they were at the demonstration or not!" Then he claimed that these accused Iranian students were no different from the Iranians who have disrupted CAIFI meetings in Houston in the past. But when the PDC asked if they had been identified as among the hecklers at any of these meetings, the CAIFI spokesman admitted that they were "not exactly the same individuals."

Stripped of excuses, the CAIFI spokesman could only resort to a naked appeal that the capitalist courts offered redress for the attacks against CAIFI: "In a way, such an inquiry could lead to really finding out who are these people who propagate these type of tactics among the students." But any "inquiry" conducted through the capitalist courts and the Immigration and Naturalization Service will have only one result—to victimize supporters of the ISA and all who oppose the butcher Shah. On more than one occasion Houston authorities have stated their desire to "rid" Houston of "outsiders" who "disturb the peace" with their militant protests. For "socialists" to legitimize any intervention by the U.S. government in a milieu vulnerable to deportations—especially in the context of SAVAK's vicious vendetta against

CAIFI's initiation of the legal persecution against ISA members is a scandal. We call upon left and labor organizations as well as all who oppose the Shah's repressive police-state regime to denounce the shameful and dangerous prosecution of Iranian students by CAIFI, and demand that the charges be dropped. Through its civil-libertarian legalism CAIFI is now jeopardizing the civil liberties and even the very lives of these anti-Shah militants.

Oppose gangsterism within the left! Demand that CAIFI drop the charges against the Iranian students and repudiate its court action! For the right of political asylum for opponents of the Shah's white terror!



Editions Sociales

50,000 French Workers Protest Cop Attack on Parisien Libéré Strikers

The valiant 21-month strike and occupation of the *Parisien Libéré* newspaper printing plant fell victim to a sharp blow by the mailed fist of the French state December 5. Attacking on a Sunday night, when in the words of Prime Minister Barre the "risk of incidents" would be less, swarms of CRS paramilitary riot police equipped with bulldozers and blowtorches burst in and overwhelmed the 50 strikers guarding the facilities.

The *Parisien Libéré* strike—against a threatened plant closure and in defense of the closed shop—has been the focus of militant resistance by French printers and journalists to the wave of "rationalization" in the newspaper industry

which threatens to wipe out thousands of jobs. The red flag flying over the occupied plant, the 1,200 pound rolls of newsprint and heavy metal plates barricading the entrances and the strikers' militant action against scab distributors had also become a symbol of working-class opposition to the austerity schemes of the Giscard government.

The attack on the strikers immediately provoked an outpouring of labor protest in Paris and across the south of France. Three thousand printers marched in Paris as news of the police assault spread. The next day an estimated 50,000 demonstrators responded to a call by the major trade-union federations and marched through the streets of the capital chanting, "*Parisien Libéré, Solidarité!*"

Large sectors of the city were blacked out by rotating one-hour power cut-offs, buses and subways were shut down by sitdown strikes and strike calls reportedly received wide followings in Marseilles, Toulouse and Nantes. In response to a call by the printers union for a 48-hour strike, no newspapers appeared... except for the scab *Parisien Libéré*.

The timing of the government attack was no doubt prompted by Sunday's mass meeting to found the "Assembly for the Republic" movement headed by former Gaullist prime minister Jacques Chirac. Chirac set out to attack the Giscard coalition government as being "soft" on the Communist Party (PCF) as the first step in building up an anti-Communist frenzy for the 1978 legislative elections. The protest against the police attack against the *Parisien Libéré* strikers and the predictable press shutdown in response had the effect of blacking out newspaper coverage of Chirac's right-wing spectacular.

Despite the anger of the printers, strike activity has been firmly in the hands of the reformist trade-union tops, principally the PCF-dominated CGT. The CGT has cynically allowed the *Parisien Libéré* strike to be dissipated and refused to mobilize the Paris workers in defense of the printers. The cop assault on the *Parisien Libéré* strikers must be met with a militant general strike to reinstate all the laid-off printers, to close down the scab newspaper plant and to smash the anti-working-class austerity scheme of the Giscard/Barre government!

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Protests Continue Against DDR Expulsion of Dissident

East German Regime in Frenzy Over Biermann Affair

Volkspolizei Searches for Singer's Tapes, Colleagues Arrested

The revocation of political protest singer Wolf Biermann's East German citizenship by the Stalinist bureaucracy continues to raise storms of denunciation in West Europe, including from the communist parties of both France and Italy. Meanwhile, in the German Democratic Republic (DDR), the ruling Stalinist apparatus of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) has been driven into a frenzy of repression, attacking protestors as "counterrevolutionaries" for daring to criticize the regime's arbitrary action. The hated Volkspolizei ("Vopos") have been sent into homes to seize private tapes of Biermann's songs, and have arrested several other well-known critics.

Wolf Biermann had unexpectedly been given an exit visa (his first in ten years) to travel to West Germany, where he was invited by the youth group of the West German metal workers union to give a concert in Köln (see East Germany Deprives Singer Wolf Biermann of Citizenship, *WV* No. 135, 26 November). The DDR bureaucrats had tried to stifle Biermann by banning him—for the last dozen years—from recording songs or performing in public.

Increasingly irritated by the wide "underground" circulation Biermann's music achieved in dissident circles in the DDR via private tape recordings passed from hand to hand, the Stalinists thus set a trap to rid themselves of a bothersome critic. Following the concert, on November 16 the SED tops stripped him of his citizenship, claiming he had launched "poisonous" attacks on "socialism" in the DDR from a capitalist country.

Although the initial announcement of Biermann's banishment was a laconic press release, the outburst of protest, which took the bureaucrats by surprise, forced them into a heavy-handed and vehement counterattack. Slogans defending Biermann appeared on East Berlin walls, and the West German weekly *Der Spiegel* (29 November) indicated that the case was being intensely discussed at Humboldt University in East Berlin. Reports that petitions supporting Biermann were being circulated on the Alexanderplatz—an almost unheard of degree of open protest—indicate the depth of internal opposition to the banning.

A correspondent of the Agence France-Presse in Berlin reported that there is deep discord within the SED itself over the measure. According to *Le Monde* (24 November), rumors are flying in East Berlin that representatives of the Soviet Union considered the punishment "mistaken" and complained of "inconsistency" in the SED's political line, and that the political bureaus of the Soviet and East German parties were to meet on November 23 to discuss the matter. *Newsweek* (16 December) reports, however, that the USSR gave the SED a "free hand" in dealing with Biermann.

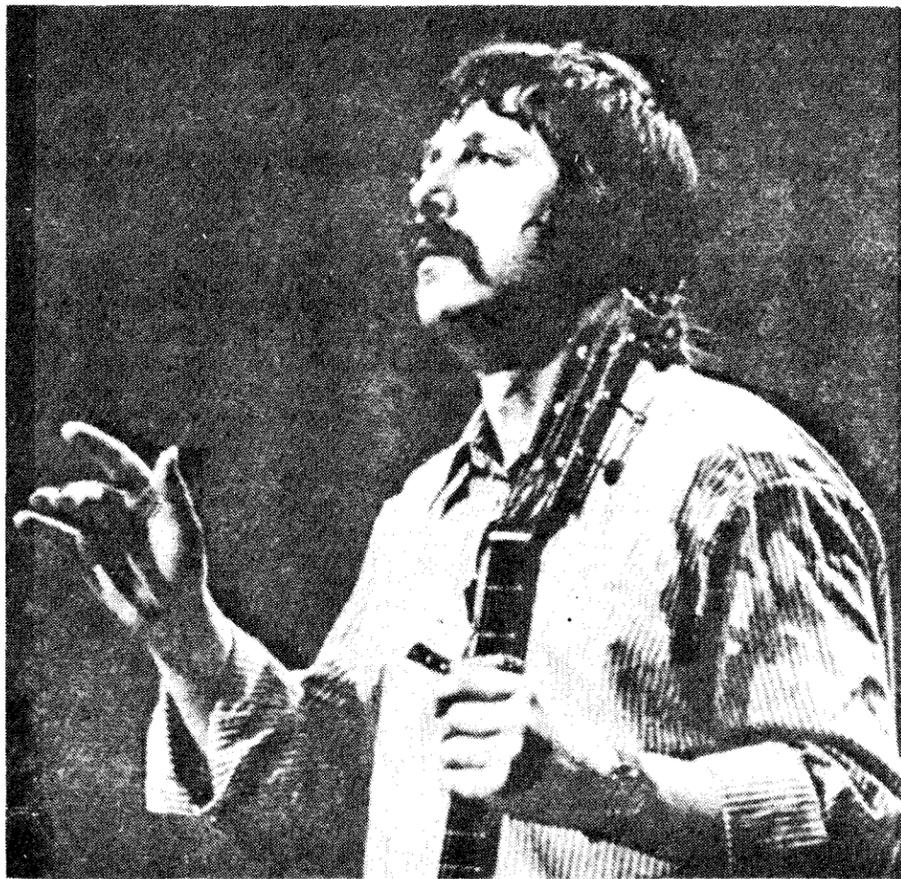
The group of 12 artists and writers who initially wrote an "Open Letter" of protest to the Central Committee of the SED has now grown to over 33. Criticisms, albeit carefully formulated, have appeared even in official publications, such as the criticisms by Gisela May (a well-known singer of Bertoldt Brecht songs) in *Horizont*.

Not Everyone is a "Mitdenker"

The East German bureaucrats, stung by strong adverse reaction, have cracked down hard on domestic dissent. Dr. Robert Havemann, a well-known physicist, socialist critic of the regime and defender of Biermann, has been under house arrest in a suburb of East Berlin since November 23, following the publication in *Der Spiegel* (29 November) of his letter of protest to his "dear colleague and comrade," DDR head of state Ernst Honecker. Havemann's tape recordings were seized, his phone line (and that of his wife in East Berlin) was cut, and the street he lives on has been sealed off to "strangers" by the Vopos, who have forbidden journalists any access to him. Also arrested were author Jürgen Fuchs, who had previously been expelled from the University, song writer Gerulf Pannach and musician Christian Kunert.

The SED tops have brought heavy pressure to bear on the protesting artists and writers, forcing several to publicly dissociate themselves from the protest statement they had signed. *Neues Deutschland* (20-21 November), the official organ of the SED, devoted a full page to pro-government statements by East German artists under the title: "Wir sind es gewohnt, mitzudenken" ("We're accustomed to thinking along [together]").

Despite lengthy lists of "Mitdenkers" provided by the East German press agency, the SED bureaucracy has been unable to stifle the dissent. Even the pro-



Wolf Biermann at Köln concert.

Klemm

government statement in *Neues Deutschland* by Anna Seghers, a prominent writer and head of the East German writers union, had a peculiarly ambiguous tone. Her statement that "I want to live and work in the DDR," while it could be interpreted as expressing deep love of the state, could equally easily imply that you'd better "think along" with the bureaucrats or else you won't be able to "live and work" in East Germany. Which, of course, is exactly what Wolf Biermann wants—that is the whole point of the protests! *Newsweek* reports that the bureaucrats had assembled statements by over 70 prominent writers, but that the tone was either so ambiguous or ironic in most that they were forced to scrap the project.

The SED itself justified Biermann's banishment with a venomous statement in *Neues Deutschland* on 17 November:

"The hate, slanders and insults that he [Biermann], as citizen of the DDR and in a capitalist country, has directed against our socialist state and its citizens make the cup run over. For years he has let loose his poison against the DDR to the applause of our enemies...."

"He is in a bloc with those who have escalated their psychological warfare against the DDR to a level approaching that at the time of the Cold War. In this bloc he is quite at home and virtually indistinguishable from many others. He disappears in the dark mass of anti-communist rowdies...."

Biermann's Defense of the DDR

But Biermann is no Solzhenitsyn, despite the SED's attempts to smear him by linking his name to that of the Great Russian chauvinist, tsar-loving religious obscurantist and rabid anti-communist. Thousands of DDR citizens saw him defend the DDR against bourgeois attack in a rebroadcast of the Köln concert on November 19 over West German television (which is received in East Germany), thus exposing the bureaucracy's slanders and prompting the SED to threaten to close down the

West German TV station's offices in East Berlin.

One example of Biermann's defense of the DDR came in his reference to his friend Reiner Kunze, expelled from the DDR writers union last month. Referring to the "representatives of the bourgeois press here, who will try to use what I say for their own purposes," Biermann clearly defended Kunze, saying he "produced no fascist literature. He did not incite to war. Everything he wrote about the DDR is the truth." Biermann went on, "He did not lie, but we communist writers believe that it is also possible to use the sad truths about life in the DDR to lie about the sole hope of mankind...namely about socialism."

Biermann's defense of the DDR (as well as his illusions in reforming the bureaucracy) were clear in his attack on Maoists in the audience at Köln, who, following Peking, see the DDR as a "social-fascist" state:

"I only hope that these people [the Maoists] will not arrive with tanks, since they would slaughter me and many of my comrades in the SED (although I am no longer a member), and would slaughter Comrade Dubček, in the name of Stalinism. And they would kill Comrade Honecker, in the name of I don't know what theory. With them I can have no agreement."

Biermann sings that he "live[s] in the better half" of Germany, and that "in the DDR socialism will arise, despite snotnoses and Stalinists." Yet despite his courageous and harsh criticisms of the bureaucracy, Biermann deeply believes in the possibility of the bureaucracy reforming itself, and accepts the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country." Today he hails the reformist communist parties of France and Italy as models of "Eurocommunism," adding a special verse in Köln to his now-famous song "So oder so, die Erde wird Rot" ("One way or another, the earth will be red"): "The West Germans need a



East German Stalinist organ "Neues Deutschland" ran dictated statements from intellectuals supporting revocation of Biermann's citizenship. Headline reads "We are accustomed to thinking along (together)."

CP, growing and maturing as I see, in Italy's warm sunshine. So should it be...."

Long Live East German Workers Revolt!

The fatal limitations of Biermann's liberal Stalinist outlook lead him to denounce the courageous 17 June 1953 uprising of the East German workers, which was crushed by Soviet tanks. In the Köln concert, Biermann characterized the uprising as "Janus-headed" with a strong fascist component, saying that:

"Like my mentor Brecht, I would have despaired on that 17th of June and with tears in my eyes I would have taken off my cap and greeted the tanks."

Teary-eyed or not, Biermann accepts the official Stalinist version of the workers revolt. He must deny the anger and heroism of the German working class, which exploded in bloody street fighting in East Berlin as well as massive and well-organized strikes and the formation of factory committees in such old Communist Party strongholds as Leuna. Along with "Comrade Honecker" and the rest of the Stalinist bureaucracy, Biermann propagates the slander that it was all the work of a few agents of the West German SPD's notorious Ostbüro and the CIA.

While many East German workers had illusions that the West German Social Democratic Party bureaucracy would liberate them, this did not make the East German workers a counter-revolutionary force. The imperialist conquest of East Germany, abetted by the SPD, would have had to crush in blood the independent organs of the insurgent workers. Revolutionaries should have struggled against any illusions in the SPD, calling instead for



Robert Havemann

Der Spiegel

political revolution in the East to oust the Stalinists, and for social revolution in the West to reunite Germany on a revolutionary basis.

Fake Leftists Favor "Free" West Germany Over DDR

The commotion over the Biermann affair in West Germany has thrown into stark relief the political positions of the German left. Various New Left and pseudo-Trotskyist groups have uncritically hailed Biermann while Maoist organizations used the banishment to further castigate the "imperialist" DDR.

The most hysterical and vehement attacks came from the Peking-line KPD. Making token references to the "fascist danger" in West Germany in the pages of *Rote Fahne*, they compared the situation there favorably to the DDR where there is already "foreign rule and fascist oppression." The KPD continually calls for unrestrained "freedom of movement" throughout Germany (as do

the Social Democrats and reactionaries of all stripes) while equating political repression in both German states. The KPD also criticized the KBW (a West German Maoist group, which, unlike the Peking-loyal KPD, has not dared to call openly for "defense of the fatherland"), for its statement that at least the border prevents Western capital from subjugating East German means of production to its drive for profits. Thus the mouthpieces for the Chinese Stalinists give open support to the capitalist German state, which would like nothing better than to dismantle the proletarian property forms of the DDR through counterrevolution.

Another group which favorably contrasted West Germany to the DDR was the pseudo-Trotskyist International Workers Correspondence (IAK), connected with the French OCI. The OCI has been increasingly soft toward the social-democratic parties of West Europe, a position the IAK extends almost to the point of caricature. As we reported earlier, it played a leading role in setting up the "Initiative Committee for Freedom of Opinion in East and West" which invited Biermann to Bochum University. The Initiative repeatedly equates capitalism and the proletarian-based state of the DDR, opposing "all forms of political repression in East and West."

In a special section devoted to "freedom," the statement listed as the two enemies to be fought the "curtailment of freedom" represented by the West German conservative Christian Democratic (CDU) and Christian Social Union (CSU) party of reactionary Franz-Joseph Strauss, and the "elimination of freedom" by the DDR in the name of "real socialism." The complete silence on the betrayals of the SPD, while equating the CDU/CSU and SED as enemies of freedom, is no accident.

Despite the Initiative's claim that "no one can credibly oppose 'Berufsverbot' [the anti-red laws excluding radicals from government positions in West Germany]... without condemning conditions in the DDR," its list of signatures for the Biermann campaign includes prominent SPD officials, such as federal minister Egon Bahr and SPD mayor of West Berlin Klaus Schütz, who are responsible for and enforce the "Berufsverbot"! Thus the IAK's pretense of equally opposing repression in East and West is given the lie, as it capitulates to its own capitalist government, heavily dominated by the SPD, against which it utters not one word of direct criticism!

An IAK leaflet, "For Freedom of Return for Wolf Biermann," calls on the SPD and the West German trade-union federation to "mobilize all their power" (i.e., including the West German government presently dominated by the SPD!) against the DDR to let Biermann return. Reflecting the OCI's own equivocations, the IAK and the Initiative do not mention one word about the need to defend the East German deformed workers state against imperialist attack in their Biermann propaganda.

Popularity With the "Broad Vanguard" or Trotskyist Honesty?

Of all the left groups, the GIM (German section of the United Secretariat [USec]), has been the most uncritical of Biermann. A GIM Political Bureau statement of 19 November, frequently referring to Biermann uncritically as a "communist," calls him "a symbol of the continuity of Marxist opposition in the DDR." Its political support to Biermann, a culture hero to West Germany's youth, and refusal to call for the necessary construction of a revolutionary Trotskyist party in the DDR reflect the GIM's perennial tailing of petty-bourgeois radicalism.

But there is some genuine political identity between Biermann and the GIM. After all, one of Biermann's heroes is "Comrade Dubček," in whom

the GIM had more than a few illusions. To the extent that it distinguishes itself politically from Biermann, it is on the question of the Berlin Wall, where the GIM comes out to the right of him.

The Berlin Wall, according to the GIM statement, is simply "a wall for the protection of the bureaucracy, for the prevention of any real construction of socialism in the DDR." While it is true that the bureaucracy's crimes (notably the vain attempt at "peaceful coexistence") made the wall's construction necessary, and that it would be torn down in a revolutionary reunification of Germany, nevertheless it represented a defense of East Germany's deformed collective economy. When it was constructed in 1961, the DDR was suffering a massive hemorrhage of its workforce,



Erich Honecker

Der Spiegel

particularly skilled workers, threatening the collectivized economy. The proletarian economic forms have to be defended through political revolution—and social revolution in the West. The GIM's social-democratic criticisms of the wall only feed open anti-communism.

Only the Trotzistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD, German section of the international Spartacist tendency) both raised the demand that Biermann should have his citizenship immediately restored (protesting "in the sharpest manner against the measures of the East Berlin bureaucratic clique to rid itself of a troublesome critic"), and at the same time attacked the "anti-communist frenzy that aims at undermining the proletarian bases of the DDR deformed workers state."

The TLD presented a resolution at a student assembly meeting at the Free University of West Berlin putting forward the Trotskyist position:

"Immediate restoration of citizenship to Wolf Biermann!

"Immediate release of all writers and intellectuals imprisoned in the DDR for defending Biermann!

"For unconditional defense of the DDR against imperialist attack!

"For political revolution to overthrow the parasitic bureaucratic clique in the DDR and all the other deformed or degenerated workers states."

Yet GIM members at the meeting voted *against* this revolutionary defense of Biermann and the vital Trotskyist position of defense of the deformed workers states!

On November 24 a mass meeting, called by the West Berlin section of the German Writers Association and the spontaneist paper *Langer Marsch* (Long March), was held at the Free University's main meeting hall, which was filled to capacity with over 3,000 people to hear presentations by "respectable" anti-communist "friends" of Biermann.

The writer Gerhardt Zwerenz compared the rescinding of Biermann's citizenship to West Germany's refusal to

allow USec spokesman Ernest Mandel into the Federal Republic, without bothering to mention the different class character of the two states. Former Free University vice president Uwe Wesel explained that oppression on both sides of the border was the result of the historic legacy of Prussian "Untertanengeist" (submission to authority), and equated the DDR to a feudal autocracy!

A leader of the West German teachers union, Übelgün, reflecting the views of the IAK, praised Mayor Schütz's support of the Initiative, which provoked an outburst of disapproving whistles. The crowning touch to his disgusting display of capitulation to the treacherous SPD bureaucracy was his concluding remark that "the division of the German working class in 1918 was tragic," thus condemning the formation of the German Communist Party of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

Following the presentations, the first speaker from the floor was a comrade from the TLD. Criticizing Übelgün's statements, he said that the vital task before revolutionaries was precisely "the polarization of the workers movement into those who would go the way of Noske and Scheidemann and those who follow the tradition of Liebknecht." He criticized the "anti-communist front wallowing in theories of totalitarianism," counterposing the TLD's principled position of demanding reinstatement of Biermann's DDR citizenship while denouncing his "confused liberal Stalinist" views, which amount to accepting the myth of "socialism in half a country." At this point the audience broke into a frenzy of hissing and booing, as their idol had been attacked.

The TLD spokesman ended with a call for the revolutionary reunification of Germany and the rebirth of the Fourth International. Audience reaction was so intense that after only one more speaker, discussion was cut short, despite protests by the TLD and others. The GIM was furious, since despite its putting out a leaflet sponsoring the meeting, it got neither a presentation nor speaking time from the floor.

Coming up to TLD comrades afterwards, GIM supporters fumed that Trotskyism had seldom been so discredited as by the TLD's criticisms of Biermann. On the contrary: it is not those who tell the revolutionary truth that discredit Trotskyism, but those like the GIM and the Spartacusbund (which put out a leaflet with very mild criticisms of Biermann), who mute their criticisms in order to better chase after the latest will-o'-the-wisp petty-bourgeois hero or reformist bureaucrat. ■

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Taxi Fleet Owners Threaten Leasing

NYC Cabbies Vote No Confidence in Van Arsdale

At the semi-annual general membership meeting of New York City Taxi Drivers Union Local 3036 on November 18, the 1,500 union members in attendance boisterously voted down a motion put forward by the bureaucrats giving Local officials authority to take "any appropriate action" for a "satisfactory contract." The cabbies knew from bitter experience what this wording meant: a similar motion passed in 1972 was later used to justify the union tops' acceptance of binding arbitration which ended up in a disastrous settlement for Local 3036.

But despite widespread dissatisfaction in the ranks with the sellout leadership of Harry Van Arsdale, the prospects for the drivers remain bleak in the present contract negotiations. The confused pandemonium in which the membership meeting ended—after the bureaucrats lost the vote of confidence, they simply walked out of the hall without even bothering to adjourn the meeting—showed that there is no class-struggle alternative to fill the present vacuum of leadership. Without this, the crucial factor for a successful defense against the management offensive is missing, and the bureaucrats retain control of negotiations.

The cabbies have already been working for three weeks without a contract. Although management had earlier rejected all 30 of the union's minimal demands and broken off negotiations, leaving its own list of demands as a "last offer," after the November union meeting bargaining was resumed with the Metropolitan Taxicab Board of Trade on December 1. But both the drivers and garage workers—who were forced to work without a membership-approved contract for almost three years, in 1970-73, before the worst settlement ever negotiated for NYC cabbies was forced down their throats—are wondering how long the impasse will continue this time.

Taxi Fleets Breaking Up

Drivers in NYC's fleet taxi industry face conditions today that are worse than at any time since the Great Depression. Then, simply in order to keep their jobs cabbies would often "ride the ghost"—turning in money for imaginary fares out of their own pockets. During the last three years the fleet taxi industry has closed 24 garages, selling 3,000 cabs to non-unionized owner-operators. These cabs represented almost half the total number of fleet taxis, or more than 12,000 full- and part-time union jobs on all shifts.

At many garages the shape-up to get a cab now lasts three or four hours each day, while harassment, favoritism and arbitrary firings have grown apace. Veteran full-timers with regularly assigned cabs are harassed for higher meter bookings, and in many cases are being replaced with younger drivers who, on a part-time schedule, can put in longer and more "productive" days. Moreover, in the present negotiations management is pushing a "pilot" leasing program which will mean further speed-up, still longer hours and ultimately the destruction of the union. Yet the bosses themselves admit that they currently have "the highest income operating conditions ever available to the industry" (*Taxi News*, 1 December).

General insecurity in the NYC job market has made owning a cab seem an

attractive prospect to many working people who can scrape together their life savings to make a down payment for a taxi medallion. Thus bids on medallions (saleable licenses to own yellow cabs) have recently risen to over \$25,000 each. These same medallions were first issued by the city to owners of cabs in 1937 for a token price of \$10 each! Prices of medallions rose constantly until 1964 when they reached an all-time high, but then began to decline with the racial tension of the mid- and late 1960's. By 1971, when non-medallioned gypsy drivers had taken over much of the business in black and Puerto Rican neighborhoods where yellow cab drivers refused to work, the price of a medallion had fallen to \$12,500.

Now, with the recent (and probably temporary) rise in value, many owners are selling their medallions and moving their capital into other businesses. When the fleet bosses found a way to get around the 1937 Hass Act (which had frozen the number of owner-operator medallions and forbidden the sale of fleet medallions to individuals) by the establishment of "mini-fleets" of two owners with two cabs, the floodgates broke. Since then half of Local 3036 has been swept away and now the union must fight for its very existence.

But the Van Arsdale leadership is neither willing nor able to fight the bosses. At last May's general membership meeting, for example, the bureaucrats voted against a motion which merely called for a union demonstration against sales to "minis," on the grounds that medallions were the owners' property with which they could legally do whatever they pleased! Their strategy of reliance on the "basically decent, reasonable men on the other side" (as one Local 3036 vice president described the fleet owners to *WV*), on the Taxi and Limousine Commission and on the bourgeois courts has reduced the union to its present desperate straits.

Taxi Rank and File Coalition: Syndicalist Hodgepodge

The November 22 meeting, with its militant vote of no confidence in the bureaucrats' contract motion, could have become a decisive turning point in the union's history—if a disciplined class-struggle caucus had been there to lead the fight. But the opportunity was lost in the hands of the inept New Left Taxi Rank and File Coalition, a five-year-old opposition group in the Local which played the most prominent role in the "no" vote. After the bureaucrats' motion was defeated, Taxi Rank and File had none of its own to present in its place. Instead of putting Van Arsdale's cronies on the spot, with hardly a word of protest Taxi Rank and File meekly allowed them to withdraw.

The Coalition preferred instead to try (with notable lack of success) to hold together a rump meeting of the 500 or so members who remained behind. The group did manage to push through a motion calling for an adventurist wildcat strike in one week's time if the union officials did not bring back a better offer from the bosses. But nothing was done to try to win the backing of the whole local for a strike vote, or for the creation of an elected strike committee which is key to taking control of the bargaining out of the bureaucracy's hands. All that ensued from what could have been a significant defeat for the bureaucrats was a few planning meet-

ings for a demonstration outside the site of the contract negotiations on December 9.

Taxi Rank and File is a grab bag of petty-bourgeois radicals that has at one time or another contained supporters of virtually every ostensibly revolutionary organization in the U.S., with the exception of the Spartacist League. Making a fetish out of its lack of discipline ("we have no leaders," Coalition members proudly proclaim), the group's ineffectiveness has led it to doubt the need for socialists to work in the trade unions at all. Thus the Coalition's newspaper, *Hot Seat*, wrote in its October-November 1976 issue:

"...former Rank and File Coalition members who were on [union shop] committees felt handicapped by being identified as 'the union' and therefore not trusted by other workers. These views are not unanimously held in the Coalition.... But, we are frankly unsure if it is possible to work within the framework of unions as they now stand...."

While Rank and File claims its doubts about the unions flow from the bureaucrats' opportunism, what could be more opportunist than its own impotent call for a wildcat strike *which the Coalition had no intention of carrying out?* Immediately after the rump meeting, prominent Rank and File members admitted to *WV* that they were not committed, and felt no obligation, to carry out such an action. It is the bureaucrats' stock-in-trade to demagogically push through votes they never intend to implement. The Rank and File also claims to oppose Van Arsdale's collaboration with the fleet owners. But what could be more class-collaborationist than the Coalition's own policy of calling on the bosses to intervene in union affairs? After having brought a suit against the union over the last contract, the Rank and File is now appealing to the NLRB against the union's "harassment" of its members.

While many Rank and File sympathizers are personally disgusted with the out-of-office bureaucrats in another Local 3036 opposition group, the Watchdog Committee, there is little difference between the program of the two groups. Both say they are against leasing and mini-fleets (which even the union leadership claims to oppose), but neither has any strategy to stop them. Nor do they have any program to recoup the 10,000 jobs already lost, or to create more jobs for the unemployed. Rather than the Rank and File program of minimal reform demands for today and maximal calls for socialism in the distant future, what is needed is a program of class-struggle demands which could lead the union ranks to militant battle with the capitalist system.

The Spartacist League has called for just such a transitional program including such demands as: a city-wide union strike against leasing and sales to mini-fleets; for municipalization of the taxi industry—expropriate the fleets—no compensation to fleet owners; the city must buy back the medallions of owner-operators—cancel debts on operator-mortgaged medallions; abolition of the meter commission system—for a straight hourly wage; unionize the gypsy cabs—for a joint union contract fight with city transit workers; oust the bureaucrats—build a workers party based on the trade unions—forward to a workers government! ■



UPI

Free Wendy Yoshimura!

OAKLAND, December 6—Wendy Yoshimura went on trial here last month on charges of possessing explosives and a machine gun. A victim of bourgeois hysteria surrounding the crazed, killer-cult Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) since she was arrested last September along with millionaire heiress Patricia Hearst, Yoshimura faces no charges in connection with possible association with the SLA. In the trial, the government is charging that she is linked to an attempt to blow up an ROTC building at the Berkeley campus of the University of California.

The prosecution has attempted to paint a lurid picture of her as part of a terrorist gang which planned to wage "an all out war against society" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 5 December). The government claims that besides the abortive attempt on the ROTC building, the group also made a "target" of Berkeley's Naval Building and Space Science Laboratory and attempted to assemble a dossier on then-Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, including photographs of his vacation home in Aspen, Colorado.

In the words of her lawyer James Larson, the government's legal case against Yoshimura is nothing but "innuendos and disconnected facts." While Yoshimura has readily admitted that she rented the garage where the police found the explosives, press reports indicate that her fingerprints have been found only on artists supplies, a copy of *Quotations from Chairman Mao* and a postcard placing an order for brochures on guerrilla warfare.

The government's real purpose in prosecuting Yoshimura is to strike a belated but vicious blow at all who struggled against U.S. imperialism's war on the Vietnamese workers and peasants. This case is an excellent example of bourgeois "justice": the saturation bombing of millions of Vietnamese is defended vengefully against those suspected of threatening a building symbolic of imperialism's vicious war. Those who are clearly guilty of tapping phones, spying illegally on the left, labor, black, women's, radical—and even not so radical—movements are, in the words of the prosecuting attorney, "truly horrified" at the possible existence of a dossier on mass murderer McNamara.

Although the case against Yoshimura is flimsy, the effort to railroad her into jail is substantial. Unlike the prodigal daughter returned home to Randolph and Katherine Hearst, Yoshimura has been persecuted by the government from the beginning. "Patty," now out of jail on \$1.5 million in bail easily raised by her super-rich family, lives in a plush hotel suite. But when Yoshimura was picked up in September, she was held on \$100,000 bail, prohibitive for the daugh-

ter of a Fresno, California gardener. While her rich companion saw her parents every day, Yoshimura was held behind the wire barriers of Santa Rita prison farm. But the plight of Yoshimura, who was born in a "relocation" concentration camp during World War II, evoked bitter memories among Japanese-Americans of their own racist victimization, and they responded with a flood of defense contributions, making it possible for Yoshimura to be released on bail.

Our defense of Yoshimura is in sharp contrast with our condemnation of the degenerate, irrational, cultist gang of the SLA, whose first public act was the pointless, vindictive murder of a black school superintendent. The SLA was never part of the left, but Wendy Yoshimura in 1972 was. Marxists oppose individual terror as a generally ineffective and self-defeating tactic, but—unlike the indiscriminate terror of the SLA—attacks on the symbols of imperialist oppression are not crimes from the standpoint of the working class. That is why we defend not only Yoshimura but also her three companions, who pleaded guilty after their arrest in 1972. *Drop the charges against Willie Brandt, Paul Rubenstein and Michael Bortin! Free Wendy Yoshimura!*

Marine Brass Covers for Klan

LOS ANGELES, December 6—In the last week the press has reported an attempt by the military brass to cover up the surfacing of the fascist Ku Klux Klan on Camp Pendleton Marine Base near San Diego. Pendleton, home port for the U.S. Marine Corps on the Pacific Coast, houses 32,000 Marines, 6,000 of them black.

The Klan has apparently been pushing its race-hate filth for some time, unhindered by Marine authorities. But what triggered the publicity was an incident on November 13 when, according to published reports, 14 black Marines, armed with clubs and screwdrivers, broke into a barracks room where a group of white Marines, alleged to be Klan members, were meeting. Six of the whites ended up in the hospital.

The black soldiers are now in prison



Burk Uzzie

where they are being held virtually incommunicado, on charges of assault and conspiracy to commit assault. In an interview with *WV*, San Diego Urban League director Clarence Pendleton said that the arrested blacks were being defended by Marine Corps-appointed lawyers.

The first hearing, equivalent to a grand jury proceeding, was held today for three of the black Marines. All three were granted continuances for one week.

Camp Pendleton authorities have claimed the whites were not Klan members. But only hours after the November 13 incident, a search by Navy security of an adjoining room to where the whites were meeting revealed Klan literature, various weapons, including a .357 Magnum revolver, and a local KKK membership list with the names of 16 Marines.

For almost three weeks, Marine Corps brass had been stonewalling any suggestion of Klan activity on the base, even with evidence of mounting activity by several fascist groups in the area. This included distribution of racist propaganda on the base, public announcements of KKK meetings and the attempted firebombing of Urban League offices in nearby Oceanside. Even while the Marine Corps transferred the 16 Marines on the list to other bases, camp officials tried to hush up the incident.

They admitted the KKK presence
continued on pag 10

Workers Democracy Defended in Los Angeles

WL Goon Assault Backfires

LOS ANGELES, December 4—Spartacist League reporters and salesmen were wantonly attacked today by club-wielding Workers Leaguers outside the WL's poorly attended "Fifth Anniversary Conference and Disco" held at the Twilight Zone Bar in the Inglewood section of Los Angeles. The WL's Healyite goons were courageously repulsed by defenders of workers democracy. Finally the frustrated WLers took refuge behind the "protecting" mantle of the racist L.A. cops.

The incident began as SL supporters outside the bar were selling *WV* and



WV Photo

WL goon screams, "We don't want your cameras here."



WV Photo

Healyite thugs attack WV salesmen in L.A. December 4.

Australasian Spartacist detailing Healyite thug attacks on Spartacists and other leftists in Australia (see *WV* No. 134, 19 November). Anticipating possible trouble from the notorious political bandits of the WL, who have repeatedly provoked similar confrontations in L.A. and elsewhere, the *WV* salesmen were accompanied by SLers and others who support the right of working-class tendencies to distribute their literature and who oppose thug violence within the workers movement.

Shouting "We don't want your cameras here," a frenzied WL goon lunged at a *WV* photographer. Then a gang of WL thugs brandishing wooden clubs and jagged broken pool cues attempted unsuccessfully to assault the photographer. After a brief scuffle during which a plate glass door was broken, the Healyite goons were repulsed and retreated into the bar. The SL supporters resumed selling their literature. Then "somebody" called the cops. Four squad cars arrived, accompanied by a police helicopter overhead. Recent WL congressional candidate Sheila Leburg brazenly accused the SL of attempting to "disrupt" the meeting.

Not even by hiding behind the cops can the WL shield itself from the revolutionary criticism of the Spartacist League. Working-class militants must continue to instruct the WL hooligans in the principle of workers democracy. Stalin-style gangsterism and attempts to suppress the expression of political views must be expunged from the workers movement!

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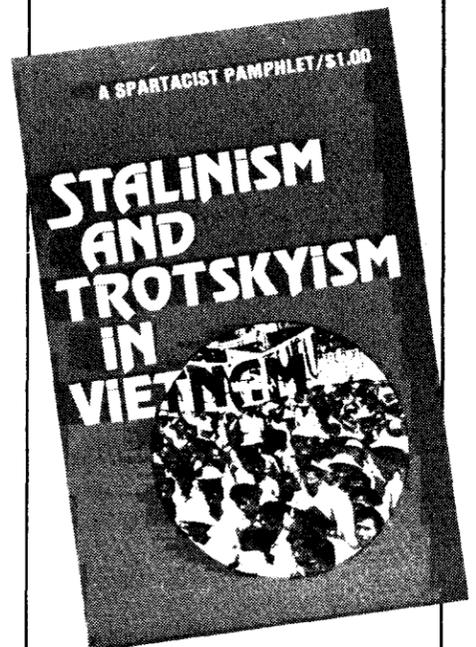
BOYCOTT THE FRANCOIST REFERENDUM!

The article "Massive Strikes in Spain Say No to Francoist Monarchy" in our last issue (*WV* No. 136, 3 December) contained a political confusion between calls for *boycotting* and *abstaining* in the phony Juan Carlos referendum on parliamentary reform. While the headline and text correctly called for a boycott (refusing to go to the polls), the text also uses the term abstention (in this case casting blank ballots).

Faced with the Spanish working masses' burning desire for democratic liberties, the referendum is simply an attempt to give the aura of popular legitimization to a scheme for modifying the bonapartist regime. Thereby its authors hope to head off the threat of a proletarian revolution which would destroy the dictatorship root and branch. Moreover, the Spanish workers have no loyalty to the Francoist regime nor illusions in the efficacy of its "elections" or "referenda."

Therefore, the proper demand for revolutionaries to raise is to *boycott* the sham referendum; to call for abstention already goes part way toward acceptance of the "reformed" Francoist regime. Instead Trotskyists call for linking up the tempestuous strike struggles into a revolutionary offensive to topple the reactionary dictatorship; raise the demand for a democratically elected constituent assembly against the various schemes for a "reformed" Cortes (parliament); and struggle to build the soviets which can detonate the proletarian revolution and become the basis of a workers republic which will sweep away the filth and stench of 40 years of Francoist rule once and for all.

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11 Million Out of Work...

(continued from page 1)

price hike was also a deliberate challenge to president-elect Carter. In fact one of the first actions of the steel makers after announcing the increase was to volunteer a delegation to discuss the matter with Carter.

Business leaders, weighing the Democrats' heavy support from organized labor during the election, want to force the new administration into taking an early firm stand against the union. Steel executives, in particular, are concerned about contracts in their own industry which expire next year. With the leadership of the Steelworkers (USWA) being contested between I.W. Abel-loyalist Lloyd McBride and challenger Ed Sadlowski, the steel barons are not certain that the union bureaucracy is solid enough to control the rank and file.

Steel makers want Carter to play an interventionist role in the contract negotiations. The price hike is in part a warning to the Democratic president-elect that big capital will not cooperate with his economic policies unless he exercises a strong restraining hand on labor.

There is a precedent for steel price hikes as a means of putting pressure on a Democratic administration. In 1962 there was a celebrated confrontation

between U.S. president Kennedy and Roger Blough, then chairman of U.S. Steel, over an announced price hike. This confrontation took place shortly after a USWA contract had been negotiated in accord with Kennedy's informal "wage guidelines." The union accepted no wage increase at all and only modest improvements in fringe benefits. When the steel cartel subsequently announced its price increase, a wave of resentment swept through the Steelworkers ranks.

Kennedy eventually "jawboned" Blough & Co. into retracting the price increase, an accomplishment which won him an undeserved reputation as an opponent of monopolistic business practices. In exchange, Kennedy gave the steel corporations his support for an investment tax credit, accelerated depreciation allowances and other profit-boosting tax dodges.

More importantly, Kennedy emerged from the confrontation with increased authority to enforce his wage guidelines on labor. As liberal journalist Murray Kempton noted: "The most significant comment on U.S. Steel's capitulation was made by Labor Secretary Goldberg, who said that now he had an example with which to hold the unions in line" (*New York Post*, 17 April 1962). And, in fact, Kennedy was largely successful in imposing his wage guidelines.

Carter, Meany and Wage Controls

The steel price hike has provoked a new round of discussion about re-

stituting wage/price controls. While Carter criticized the steel price hike, he insisted that he had no intention of seeking mandatory controls. Such controls are unpopular now with most of the ruling class as well as the labor bureaucracy following their total ineffectiveness in curbing inflation under Nixon. Carter would prefer to rely on informal, preferably secret, agreements with union leaders to hold down wage demands.

AFL-CIO president George Meany is certainly willing to participate in discussions with the White House over wage/price guidelines or controls. At a press conference shortly after the election, Meany said that if such discussions were held, "We will be here" (*New York Times*, 11 November). He also went out of his way to stress that he was making no demands on Carter.

Under a Republican administration, labor bigwigs like Meany, Woodcock and Fitzsimmons all participated on Nixon's Pay Board. While Meany eventually walked off and issued some blustering denunciations of Nixon "unfairness," neither he nor any other labor leader ever led a concerted struggle against wage controls. The core of the bureaucracy remains equally willing today to subordinate the interests of the working class to the bosses through the mediation of the capitalist state. In fact, wage guidelines or even mandatory controls remain a distinct fallback alternative under Carter if the labor bureaucracy is unable to keep the lid on its ranks.

Steelworkers Elections

The issue of government intervention in the labor movement is very much on the order of the day, and nowhere more sharply than in the important upcoming elections for USWA president. "Rebel" Ed Sadlowski and the ossified Abel bureaucracy both perpetuate illusions in

Labor Department against Abel, then tomorrow he will collaborate with the government of big business in suppressing the steelworkers' struggles. This was precisely the course followed by Arnold Miller of the Mine Workers, who began by utilizing the Labor Department to get himself elected and subsequently joined with the state in enforcing court injunctions against wildcatting miners. Even on the issue of Abel's notorious no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), which he claims to oppose, Sadlowski has argued that it is "legal" and must be enforced until 1980!

Unemployment, inflation and imperialist war cannot be ended by supporting pro-capitalist union bureaucrats—whether reactionaries like Meany or "reformers" like Sadlowski—who all endorse nationalist protectionism and "friend of labor" capitalist politicians like Carter. Militants must reject these misleaders and instead regroup themselves around a program of working-class independence. Capitalist government must be kept out of the unions! No to wage controls and guidelines! ■

Marine Brass...

(continued from page 9)

only after David Duke, a national Klan leader, and Marine corporal Dan Bailey, the KKK's local "exalted cyclops," began publicizing the group's activity at the base. Klan leaders claim many more "secret" members among the Marines. Bailey, who says he wears "robes and hood just like the Klan always has," boasts that the Klansmen at Pendleton are armed and organized. "We don't have any jets or bombers or tanks, but we do have all the weapons we need; we're all armed and we're very capable of using our weapons."

For public relations' sake, Bailey has since been transferred to North Carolina. Major General Carl Hoffman said in an interview that membership in the Klan is "not contrary to the laws of our land, but we say it was desirable to transfer some of the members in the interest of furthering our human relations effort...."

It is not merely because the Marine Corps tolerates the presence of these fascist scum that the Klan has surfaced at Camp Pendleton; notorious for the brutality of its training, the whole Marine "esprit de corps" as an elite unit of marauding imperialist killers fosters such racist reactionaries. But with the Marine Corps now roughly 20 percent black (the highest percentage of any of the armed forces), open activity by the Klan becomes a public relations embarrassment and a problem for troop morale.

At today's hearing in San Diego, the Progressive Labor Party-led Committee Against Racism (CAR) set up a picket line of about 15 people outside base headquarters. When fascist demagogue David Duke arrived at the building, he was recognized and one woman from the CAR picket line reportedly attacked him with her picket sign while other picketers chanted "Death to the Klan." No one was arrested but the demonstrators were forced to disperse by the Military Police, who thus defended Duke's small group of fascists.

Unlike reformists and liberal civil libertarians (such as the ACLU, to whom the KKK is appealing) Marxists do not defend the supposed "rights" of fascists. On the contrary, we demand that the 14 black Marines accused of the "crime" of reacting against racist terrorists be immediately released and all charges against them dropped! ■

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard is published bi-weekly in December. The next issue will be dated 24 December 1976.

Protest Nobel Prize for Junta Braintruster!



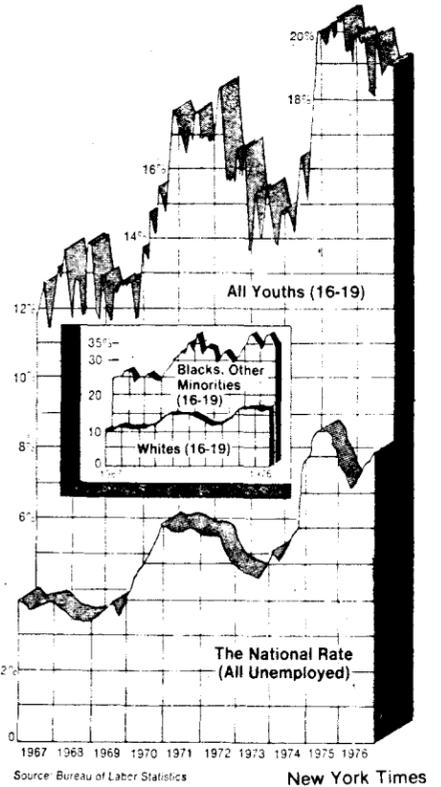
WV Photo

As Chicago's glittering "elite" stepped out of limousines in front of the Conrad Hilton Hotel December 3 to attend a dinner honoring Nobel economics prize winner Milton Friedman, they were met by a militant demonstration initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL). Chanting "Friedman's 'Achievement': Starvation in Chile" and carrying banners proclaiming "Down With Milton Friedman—Apartheid's Apologist, Pinochet's Braintruster!" approximately 20 protesters, including members of the Labor Struggle Caucus of UAW Local 6 and the Red Rose Bookstore collective, picketed this "establishment" gala.

For the past year the SYL has campaigned against Friedman, both at the University of Chicago and throughout the country, publicly exposing his direct collaboration with the bloodthirsty Chilean junta. Along with his former students, known in Chile as the "Chicago Boys," he has been the brains behind the junta's economic "shock treatment" which has thrown tens of thousands of Chilean workers on the streets and caused mass starvation in the shantytowns around Santiago. Friedman has also praised the racist apartheid regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia as bulwarks against Communism in Africa.

In an incredibly sectarian move, the Stalinist-dominated Chicago Committee to Save Lives in Chile held a smaller demonstration down the sidewalk from the main gathering and ignored repeated appeals from the SYL for a joint demonstration. When asked why the group wouldn't join the others, one Committee member suggested they would if the SYL took down its "awful" signs!

The liberals and Stalinists objected to the slogans "Smash Apartheid—for Proletarian Revolution in South Africa!" and "For a Workers Revolution to Crush the Chilean Junta!" In a leaflet passed out that night, they whined that Friedman "has brought dishonor to the University of Chicago and to the meaning of the Nobel Prize"! In contrast, the SYL denounced the award of the imperialist prize to this collaborator of the jackals of the Chilean junta as an affront and a provocation to the international working class.



the capitalist government. Not only did Sadlowski support Carter, but he has consistently based his campaigns on using the bourgeois government against his opponents.

His election as head of the Chicago-area Steelworkers District 31 was effected through a Labor Department-ordered rerun election. Recently Sadlowski won a suit against the USWA leadership, obtaining the right for both himself and McBride to one mailing to the membership at union expense. The ruling also cited *Steel Labor*, the USWA newspaper, for being a factional tool of the Abel bureaucracy and gave the state a role in determining what the union newspaper can or cannot print.

Steelworker militants must ask themselves how Sadlowski, if elected, would act toward the capitalist politicians and government officials he supports and works closely with today. If today Sadlowski works hand-in-glove with the

Japan...

(continued from page 12)

the fact that he is a "self-made man." But this status is common to most LDP leaders, who are *nouveaux riches*. Before the war the handful of ruling families—most notably, Mitsubishi, Mitsui, Sumitomo, Yasuda—ran the country as *zaibatsu* (familial trust houses). As noted by the *New York Times*: "Before the war Japanese politicians usually were wealthy men for whom bribes were unnecessary" (22 August). The *zaibatsu* have given way to control through banking; but Japanese capital is no less concentrated, the economic grip of the ruling families no less tight, and their rule through the LDP no less effective. The style has changed.

Today in the absence of competing bourgeois parties, particular capitalist interests are normally expressed through Liberal Democratic factions built by leading politicians. Traditional patterns of client-patron fealty have been grafted onto the parliamentary system through these permanent factions. In a public rebuke of Miki, party elder Shigeru Horii reminded the prime minister that the LDP "is not based on ideology or logic. Rather, it is founded upon human relationships and love of the party" (*Los Angeles Times*, 7 September).

The peasantry, which is the LDP's securest political base, believe, not without reason, that the slightest wavering in support for their regular MP's will lead to a cut in government services and/or the loss of seasonal jobs controlled by LDP-loyal businessmen and contractors. Political aspirants and officeholders attach themselves to one faction or another in order to receive funds to run their campaigns and to spread among their local party workers.

Political bribery is virtually indistinguishable from ordinary corporate contributions, particularly since the bulk of it is poured into favored factions rather than the central party coffers. Moreover, many forms of corporate kick-backs are not even illegal. In 1972, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry compiled a 70-page booklet entitled *Rebate Systems in Japan* containing virtually all the information needed by a foreign businessman eager to buy his way into the Japanese market with a few well-placed gifts.

While the scandal is the immediate cause of the LDP's electoral losses, the erosion of the party's support was well underway long before the revelations. In fact, the re-election of Tanaka along with a second indicted MP and a number of the so-called "gray officials" indicates that even the Lockheed affair has not seriously disturbed many of the party's absolutely safe rural constituencies. Nevertheless, as in Italy (where another Lockheed scandal played a

major role in weakening the grip of the entrenched Christian Democrats), when the ruling party has been built around its control of political patronage, prospects of electoral or parliamentary defeat could lead to a disintegration of the LDP as the "families" jockey to save their factional fortunes.

The Opposition Jockies for Position

The LDP's declining fortunes can be traced fundamentally to the economic growth of the 1960's and early 1970's which speeded the urbanization and proletarianization of the population. Collectively, the opposition parties are far stronger than the ruling party in the cities. In capturing municipal governments, the opposition parties have made important inroads into the patronage system on which LDP support depends.

Increasingly the newly uprooted peasantry has flocked to the Komeito, a party formed in the mid-1960's by the Buddhist sect Soka Gakkai. The Komeito is built less on lines of personal loyalty than on attempts to mobilize the poorer urban petty-bourgeoisie around a vague program of government and tax reform. The reformist workers parties hold the allegiance of urban workers with their particular bases connected to structural divisions within the proletariat. The right-wing Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) is influential among workers in private industry (represented by the Domei labor federation) with its strong paternalist traditions, while the JSP and JCP have their strength among more militant public sector workers (in the JSP-led Sohyo labor federation).

The steady electoral decline of the ruling party has buoyed the reformists' hopes of creating a niche for themselves in a bourgeois coalition government. The JSP's "National Unification Program" and the JCP's "Platform for a Democratic Coalition Government" represent attempts (of several years' standing) to create a popular front roughly modeled on the French Union of the Left.

The greatest obstacle to an inclusive opposition bloc is the rigorous anti-communism of the Komeito and DSP and those parties' hopes of a parliamentary alliance with the shaky LDP. In recent years the Komeito and DSP have blocked with the LDP in a number of municipal contests against joint JSP/JCP candidates. In the complex pre-election maneuvering, the JCP evidenced particular fear of being frozen out of an opposition bloc through the alliance of the right-wing (Eda faction) of the JSP with the DSP and Komeito. This fluid line-up was formalized to a degree in the Forum to Study a New Japan, which has been keenly eyeing for months the possibility that Miki would lead his significant minority out of the LDP and join with a liberal-leftist bloc.

Last week, Tomomi Narita, chairman of the somewhat leftist JSP, told reporters:

"A dispute is going on over whether the Socialists should join forces with the Communist Party or with the Komeito party and the Democratic Socialist Party. But now is the time for all opposition parties to iron out minor differences of opinion for their best common interests."
—*Daily Yomiuri*, 2 December

Narita proposed a post-election meeting of all opposition parties, indicating that participation even by the New Liberal Club, which merely wants to "revitalize" the conservative LDP with younger politicians, "is considered desirable." But even while calling for unity with the JCP, Narita ensured that the Stalinists' parliamentary strength would be curtailed when the JSP and Komeito concluded an electoral no-contest agreement on November 28.

To boost its respectability and placate the DSP and Komeito, the JCP (which has an "independent" parliamentarist outlook similar to the "Euro-communist" parties) has backed away from principled opposition to the U.S.-

Japan security treaty and gone all-out in aiding the social democrats to restrain the restive proletariat on the economic front. On the eve of the election, JCP chairman Kenji Miyamoto proposed establishment of a "stopgap" government of all forces united around three common goals—full disclosure of the truth about the Lockheed affair, the "struggle against fascism" and "improvement of the people's living conditions."

According to the English-language *Daily Yomiuri* (2 December), "In listing the objectives of the proposed stopgap government, Miyamoto said that he removed the abrogation of the Japan-U.S. security treaty from the objectives in order to make it easier to rally forces for the establishment of such a government." The worried Miyamoto also said that his party was ready to back Narita for prime minister.

In dropping the issue of the U.S.-Japan treaty altogether, the JCP actually placed itself to the right of the JSP-Komeito agreement, which included a proposal to "abrogate" the treaty "through diplomatic negotiations after obtaining the understanding and agreement of the people." While denouncing the "intrusion" of Lockheed funds as an "attempt to revive militarism" through promoting big sales of military aircraft, the Stalinists sidestep the most important expression of the integration of Japanese imperialism into the worldwide U.S.-led military alliances against the Soviet bloc.

The heightened class struggle in recent years added to the reformists' optimistic expectations that even the hidebound Japanese bourgeoisie would perceive the necessity of making concessions to the workers parties in return for maintenance of labor discipline. The economic downturn of 1974-75, following on the heels of the 1973 oil crisis, sent shock waves through Japanese society. Sky-rocketing inflation ate at the vitals of the export-oriented economy. For the first time layoffs hit industries which traditionally maintain their workers' loyalties with guaranteed lifetime employment.

In 1974 the JCP helped defuse the massive "Spring struggle campaign," waged each year when national trade union agreements simultaneously expire, by appealing to striking teachers to return to work because of their "sacred duty" to "maintain order in the schools." Last winter the social-democratic and Stalinist trade-union leaders of the Sohyo federation buckled under a government hard-line and called off an eight-day-old strike of government workers that had crippled much of the nations' transport and communications.

Collapse on the key issue of that struggle—recognition of government workers' right to strike—paved the way for further capitulation in this spring's massive strike of unions representing 8.7 million members. The government and private railway workers unions spearheaded the joint union campaign by launching a projected three-day strike in late April. Left-talking bureaucrats vowed to break the 10-percent limit on wage increases announced by the employers federation. But after only two days, the private railway unions accepted a 9.2 percent mediation offer. A few hours later, the National Enterprise Labor Relations Commission invoked its powers of compulsory arbitration and forced the national railway and public corporation employees to accept an average 8.8 percent increase. Leaders of the public workers unions caved in rather than wage an illegal strike.

Not only did the Stalinists and social democrats betray the union members in the spring strikes, at no time did they attempt to utilize the massive class confrontation to bring down the corrupt and crisis-ridden government. Such timid economism in the labor movement is the obverse side of the parlia-

mentary cretinism of the reformist workers parties.

The decline of the LDP has brought the issue of the popular front to the fore in the workers movement. Only the most intransigent struggle against this class collaborationism can politically arm the working class to fight for power in its own name. Thus the principled position for a revolutionary party in the elections was refusal to extend the slightest support to the reformist workers parties so long as they maintain the perspective of bourgeois coalitionism.

Japan is ripe today for the intervention of revolutionary Trotskyists. Just as the LDP's political hammerlock on national government is being pried loose by deep-going societal changes in conjunction with economic crisis and the Lockheed and other scandals, conditions which favored reformist hegemony among the proletariat are being rapidly undermined. As the opportunist policies of the reformist union leaders prove impotent to defend the workers' living standards and JCP/JSP leaders abandon the struggle against militarism and U.S. imperialism in the hopes of a deal with the Komeito, the Japanese proletariat will be increasingly receptive to the revolutionary program of Trotskyism. ■

USec/OCI...

(continued from page 3)

posture of anti-Pabloism to pursue the SWP (which stood with the anti-revisionists until its 1963 reunification with Mandel, Frank & Co. to form the USec). Under this formally orthodox cover, the OCI solidarizes with the SWP in its opposition to the USec majority *from the right*. Thus OCI head Lambert wrote to the SWP on 23 July 1976 that:

"there is a revisionist current in the ranks of the Fourth International, which we noted and characterized together ever since 1950-53; that this revisionist current has not been disarmed can be noted from the struggle that you, the SWP, have been waging since 1969 in the ranks of the United Secretariat and from the struggle which, on our side, the OCI has been waging..."

Orthodox phraseology notwithstanding, the OCI appears to be rushing down the path to reformism taken by the SWP some 15 years ago.

The French LCR has for now succeeded in blocking an expansion of its scotch-tape international to include the OCI and its friends, whose weight combined with that of the SWP wing might shift the balance of power within the USec. The LCR majority in effect demands that the OCI openly renounce even a verbal anti-Pabloist orthodoxy in order to get back into the zoo.

It is anybody's guess whether the OCI will accede to this ultimatum. But by signing a declaration which accepted the USec's claim to be the Fourth International and characterized USec sections as "revolutionary" organizations, the OCI has already all but signed away its years of struggle against Pabloism.

These pitiful attempts at forming a new London Bureau only highlight the principled struggle of the international Spartacist tendency to reforge the Fourth International as a politically homogeneous, democratic-centralist body based on the program of authentic Trotskyism. We are proud of our principled struggle against revisionism and we solidarize with the anti-Pabloist French majority of 25 years ago which addressed these words to Ernest Mandel:

"Playing tricks with ideas, consciously making unprincipled blocs by renouncing any defense of one's ideas, putting organizational 'combinations' before clarification, this is a very serious disorder, which calls for the most explicit reservations concerning the 'leader' who shows symptoms of it... for us the International is not built by maneuvers, and especially not by your ridiculous maneuvers." ■

Just Out!

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

No. 13

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Lockheed Elections in Japan

DECEMBER 6—Yesterday's parliamentary elections in Japan marked a signal defeat for the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). Despite the expansion of the lower house of the Diet by 20 new seats, the conservative ruling party dropped from 265 to 248 members of parliament (MP's). For the first time in its 21-year history, the LDP has lost its absolute parliamentary majority.

The largest workers party, the Socialist Party (JSP), gained a few seats, as did the right-wing Democratic Socialist Party (DSP). The advances by the two social-democratic parties came largely at the expense of the Communist Party (JCP), which lost more than half its parliamentary strength despite pre-election hopes that its tame reformism would lead to a big boost in seats and possibly even a role in a new coalition government. The biggest advances, however, were made by the bourgeois opposition parties, the Buddhist-affiliated Komeito (Clean Government Party) and the New Liberal Club (NLC), formed by six dissident young Liberal Democratic MP's only this summer.

While the LDP will most likely



Asahi Shimbun

Former prime minister Tanaka on way to jail in July.

remain in power with the support of a number of conservative independents and possibly the NLC, the party's setback will intensify its open factional warfare, perhaps heralding a major political realignment and the end of perennial one-party dominance of Japanese politics. A protracted governmental crisis in the midst of the Japanese bourgeoisie's drive to overcome the economic downturn by extracting greater surplus from the working masses could open the road to major class battles in the industrial powerhouse of Asia.

The Lockheed Affair

The election took place against the backdrop of the ten-month-old Lockheed scandal. On February 4, a U.S. Senate subcommittee investigation disclosed that from 1958 to 1975 the giant American aircraft corporation had paid \$12.6 million in bribes to various Japanese government officials as part of a free-spending campaign to boost its arms sales in a number of major countries. This revelation sparked the sharpest government crisis in 16 years, since the massive 1960 student and labor

upheaval against the U.S. security treaty.

On one hand, Prime Minister Takeo Miki faced a parliamentary boycott by opposition parties along with left and labor demonstrations demanding a thorough investigation. On the other hand, party bosses expected him to shelter implicated LDP members just as timely intervention by past prime ministers had saved the careers of numerous politicians. But Miki's faltering attempts to placate the mass protests while containing the scandal have only resulted in greater erosion of the LDP's popular support and intensification of intra-party struggles. During the election campaign, separate campaign headquarters were maintained by Miki's supporters and several factions loosely joined in the Council for Party Unity behind his major LDP rival, Takeo Fukuda.

To date, 18 prominent businessmen and politicians, including former prime minister Kakuei Tanaka and ultra-rightist millionaire power broker Yoshio Kodama, have been arrested. The government, however, has sought to limit the scope of the investigation and disclosures in a number of ways. Miki has resisted demands to release all the names of the so-called "gray officials," office holders who took Lockheed money but are safe from prosecution. Investigation of the links between Kodama, Lockheed's main financial conduit in Japan, and the CIA were also summarily ruled out of order.

Although Miki's precarious balancing act for several months staved off a coup by more powerful factions in the party, the magnitude of the LDP electoral setback will almost certainly lead to his ouster as prime minister. Already in late August Miki came within a hair's breadth of being deposed by a special LDP assembly. Two-thirds of the party's MP's and 15 of 20 cabinet members voted for a motion calling for new leadership. Only by allowing his opponents to take over key party posts and by threatening to dissolve the Diet and call early elections did the isolated prime minister force his critics to temporarily back down.

Miki's factional opponents, many of whom have weathered past scandals, openly expressed their outrage as the prosecutors' nets began to catch bigger fish. Naka Funada, a former speaker of the lower house, complained: "No other advanced industrial nation than Japan has devoted itself to the Lockheed affair for such a long period....political considerations should be taken into account and the investigation should be concluded when it reaches a level people can accept" (*New York Times*, 25 August).

Despite his 40-year career as a conservative politician, Miki is regarded as a troublemaker by such hoary party bosses as Funada. He was installed as prime minister two years ago after Tanaka resigned in the midst of another financial scandal. Chosen not on the basis of his faction's strength but because of his reputation for personal



AP

Tokyo unionists demonstrate demanding investigation of Lockheed scandal last February.

honesty, Miki was expected to go through the motions of cleaning up the government without making any real changes. However, his tepid proposals for reforming traditional methods of political fund raising and tightening anti-monopoly laws brought howls of protest and a sharp drop in donations from the LDP's corporate backers.

Japan, Inc.

Miki's enemies in the party resolved to unseat him after Tanaka was clapped behind bars on July 27. While some bourgeois commentators have sought to portray Tanaka as a corrupter of Japanese politics—bringing in "dirty money" and foreign influence—he is only the most blatant example of the mutual greasing of palms that is the lifeblood of post-war Japanese politics under the LDP.



Kawabata/Black Star

Prime Minister Miki

To charges that he had accepted \$1.7 million in Lockheed bribes, members of Tanaka's following replied that this was only a minuscule fraction of his total wealth. "The prize carp in his pond in Tokyo are worth twice that much," said one supporter. Against allegations that their mentor was unusually zealous in enriching himself through rake-offs on construction jobs, export licenses, land reclamation schemes and the like, Tanaka defenders claim his earnings were negligible compared to those of post-war prime ministers on reparations deals with the Philippines and trade commissions with Korea (*Guardian* [London], 17 August 1976).

Seats Won In Elections to the Lower House of the Japanese Diet

	1972	1976
Liberal Democratic Party	271	249
Socialist Party	118	123
Communist Party	38	17
Komeito	29	55
Democratic Socialist Party	19	29
New Liberal Club	—	17
Independents	16	21

Tanaka's main asset in the factional intrigue in the LDP has been his facility in raising the hefty amounts needed to ensure the loyalties of his political supporters in the party and the Diet. His major fund raiser was Henji Osano, a large shareholder in All Nippon Airways and other airlines. Acting on behalf of the rightist Kodama, Osano arranged a meeting in 1972 between Tanaka and A. C. Kotchian, president of Lockheed. This contact eventually resulted in a major sale of Lockheed's Tri Star jets to the All Nippon Airways. Richard Nixon also reportedly urged the deal in his October 1972 meeting with Tanaka in Hawaii (*New York Times*, 29 February; *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 6 August).

Tanaka's avarice is often ascribed to

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