

Unemployment Escalating Sharply

U.S. Economic Recovery on the Rocks

Attempting to drum up a little interest in the final weeks of a deadly presidential election campaign, the candidates last month engaged in some completely phony polemics over their supposed "differences" on the economic question. In the third television debate on October 22 Carter played Roosevelt to Ford's Hoover, hinting about broad social programs to "put our people back to work," while Ford warned people to "tighten their belts" for the coming period.

With both candidates avoiding any concrete promises at all to aid inflation-ravaged working people and the unemployed, the bourgeoisie was unconcerned about the "debate." But it was worried about the economy. For the second straight month, the official Department of Commerce index of leading economic indicators has fallen. Jimmy Carter naturally jumped on the figures to denounce Ford and assert that "there will be more hard times ahead of us if the Republican mismanagement continues" (*New York Times*, 30 October). In reply, Ford's chief economist and neanderthal right-wing ideologue Alan Greenspan discounted the September index as a fluke, blaming it in large measure on the auto strike.

Bourgeois Optimism Versus Marxism

A few months ago almost every bourgeois economist was predicting that the recovery from the 1974-75 depression would go on and on. Last March Ford was crowing about the "new prosperity" and in May the chairman of the Federal Reserve, Arthur F. Burns, stated that "We're looking ahead to another full year of expansion" (*Wall Street Journal*, 10 May). In June Greenspan assured Congress that the unemployment rate would fall below 7 percent by New Year's Day 1977 and that the gross national product would grow at about 7 percent during 1976.

Even Jimmy Carter, who now finds it smart electioneering to compare the economy to the Great Depression,

believed the recovery would continue and unemployment would decrease. Carter limited himself to arguing that the unemployment rate under the Republicans was still substantially higher than when Lyndon Johnson was forced out of office during the height of the Vietnam war.

Moreover, even the prestigious Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in its July 1976 *Economic Outlook* predicted that the U.S. economy would grow at a 6 percent annual rate in the second half of 1976, while the major capitalist countries as a whole would grow at a 4.75 percent rate.

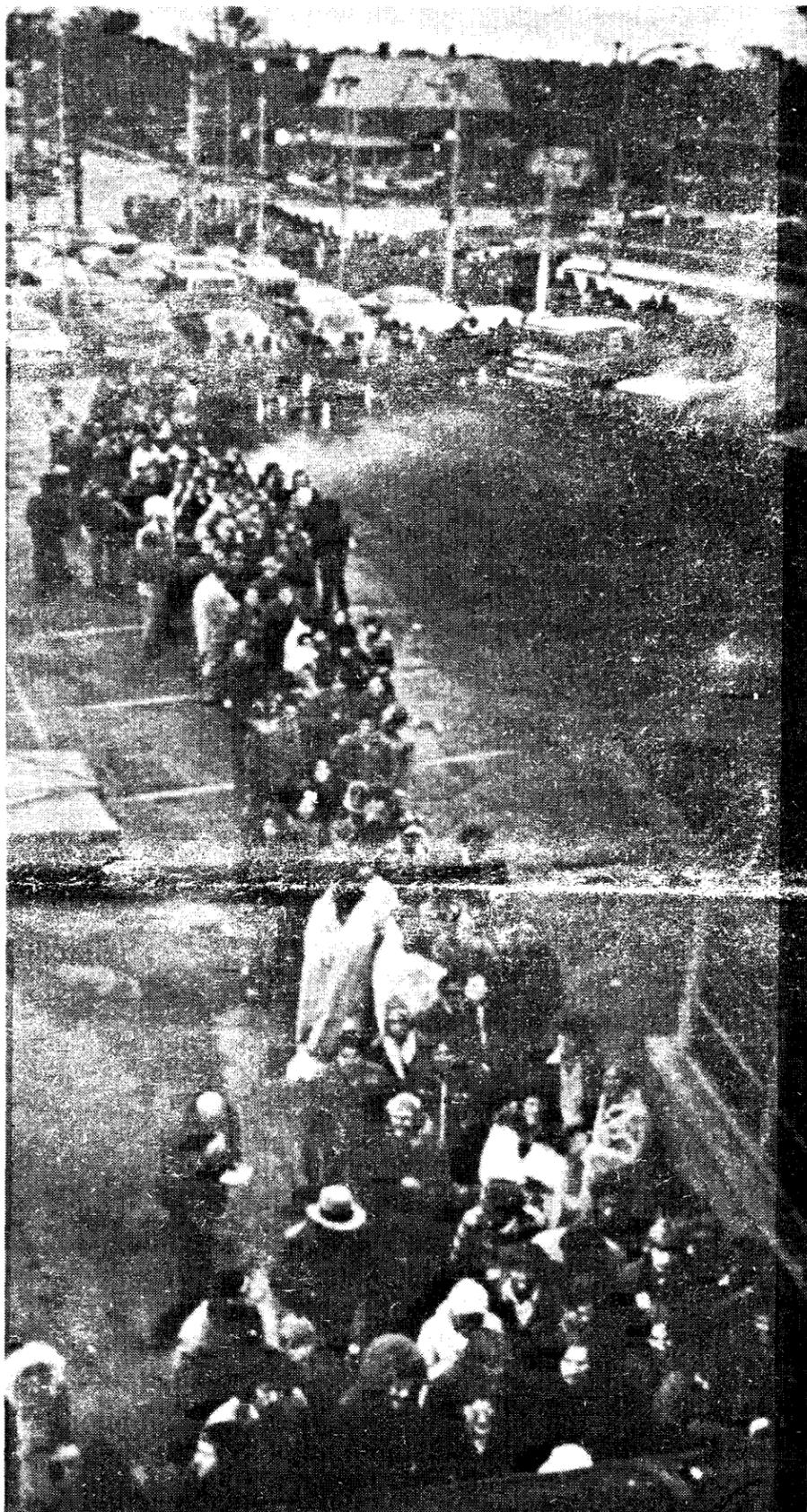
In contrast to the bourgeoisie's optimistic impressionism, the Spartacist League pointed out the shallow and ephemeral factors generating the 1975-76 recovery. While the recovery was in full swing last January, *Workers Vanguard* (No. 90, 2 January) wrote:

"The factors producing the recovery this past summer and fall are entirely ephemeral—an inventory cycle and a trade surplus achieved through exchange rate manipulation. Every serious bourgeois economist recognizes that unless the recovery feeds into a capital investment and/or housing construction boom, it must collapse. "The prospects for a strong increase in new plant and equipment are virtually nil, given the enormous existing excess capacity."

An internal memorandum of the SL/US dated 21 April 1976 went into more detail:

"The present recovery is essentially an inventory cycle, the turnabout in the massive liquidation of stocks in late '74/early '75. On its own momentum the factors expanding the economy should exhaust themselves by fall/winter '76. "The narrow base of the recovery is indicated by the fact that present capital investment plans are for zero growth with a significant decline in new plant. In the short-term, the absence of investment is conditioned by great excess plant capacity and in the longer term by heavy corporate indebtedness. Businesses are using the increasing profits generated by the recovery to repay loans and improve their liquidity position."

Today almost every statistic released indicates the beginning of a new



Edward R. Noble/Oakland Press

Job seekers line up at Pontiac, Michigan plant.

downturn, and this spells skyrocketing unemployment. Even the *slowdown* in economic growth which began last spring sent the unemployment rate climbing from 7.3 to almost 8 percent. In early October new applications for unemployment insurance totaled 452,000, the highest level all year; a manufacturing layoff rate in October of 1.5 per 100 workers is the highest in almost a year.

At present almost every serious bourgeois economist is busy radically scaling down earlier optimistic predictions. For example, Tilford Gaines, chief economist for Manufacturers Hanover Trust, who had earlier predicted a growth rate of 5.5 percent annually for the fourth quarter, has now revised his forecast to a mere 1.2 percent (*New York Times*, 1 October)!

The same factors which account for the weakness of the recovery and early downturn in the U.S. also govern the

conjuncture throughout the advanced capitalist world. The 1 November issue of *Business Week* contains an article entitled "The Bleak Outlook for European Economies" which summarizes the recovery:

"The strength of the recovery earlier in 1976 was based heavily on inventory accumulation in anticipation of new orders that did not materialize. In neither Europe nor Japan has there been a dramatic takeoff in either consumer or business spending."

Relying heavily on the most recent OECD forecasts, the article predicts that growth rates for late 1976 will be halved from the earlier part of the year, with Britain experiencing a zero rate and with output in Italy actually falling. Even the strongest economy in capitalist Europe, that of West Germany, is currently operating at only 80 percent of industrial capacity. But despite these worsening conditions of production,

continued on page 8

**The Battle Over France-
Soir and Freedom of
the Press 6**

Videla Regime Slanders Muñoz Campaign

The work of the Committee to Save Mario Muñoz was successfully concluded last month with the announcement of the safe arrival from Argentina of Muñoz' family, who were reunited with the Chilean miners leader in Paris on September 30. (The Committee had been formed five months earlier, following an April 26 pre-dawn raid on Muñoz' home in western Argentina by a squad of heavily armed federal police who brutalized his wife and relatives and threatened to shoot the "subversive" trade-unionist on sight.) But just as the struggle to free the victims of reactionary repression in Chile and Argentina continues, so the military butchers and their apologists have not abated their own "campaign" of lies and slanders against the foes of junta terror.

It is not surprising that the campaign which saved Mario Muñoz became a target of the vicious slander barrage. For the campaign did more than simply tear Muñoz and his family out of the blood-drenched grip of rightist reaction. It also played an important role in ripping away Videla's "democratic" facade and served as a focus for the mounting international outrage against repression in Argentina. The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) takes as further confirmation of the success of this political defense campaign the obvious lies being spread by the juntas in Santiago and Buenos Aires, by Birchite American Congressman Larry McDonald, and by the Stalinists who solidarize with Videla against his leftist opponents.

The defense campaign—co-sponsored by the PDC and the Europe-based Committee to Defend the Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile—mobilized broad support internationally among trade-unionists, leftists and prominent individuals. Through it, Mario Muñoz became a symbol of the desperate plight of the many thousands of working-class militants and their families who fled the murderous Pinochet junta only to find themselves imperiled by the Videla coup in Argentina.

The Argentine government—fearing itself threatened by the kind of international ostracism which its Chilean counterpart brought down upon itself—responded with efforts to discredit the Muñoz campaign. As fast as the Muñoz committee could discredit one rumor, another popped up: there was no such person as Mario Muñoz; Muñoz was not in Argentina; Muñoz was a dangerous criminal "terrorist"; Muñoz was in no danger from the Argentine government; there was no manhunt; Muñoz



Mario Muñoz

Hubert Schatzl

was safe in a United Nations refugee camp.

The Committee to Save Mario Muñoz painstakingly combatted this smokescreen. It not only circulated factual material documenting Muñoz' history as a respected trade-union leader in Chile (including an affidavit from Allende's former foreign minister, Orlando Letelier, later assassinated by Pinochet's henchmen) but above all struggled politically against Videla's "democratic" hypocrisy.

Concomitant with its efforts to enlist the broadest possible support for militant protests in defense of Muñoz, the Committee mobilized concerted pressure on the United Nations to actively intervene on his behalf. On July 2, Mario Muñoz was arrested along with twelve others at a UN refugee hotel in Mendoza, in a stark confirmation of the Committee's warnings of the precarious situation of refugees under nominal UN protection. Initially threatened with deportation, Muñoz was released after intervention of higher officials who indicated that adverse international publicity stayed the hands of the Argentine authorities. Subsequently, a substantial delegation from the Committee obtained an audience with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Geneva and demanded active UN support in obtaining safe-conduct for Muñoz from Argentina. With the assistance of the social-democratic government of Austria, visas were eventually secured and Muñoz arrived in Vienna on August 4.

The campaign had engaged the Videla junta in a battle over the fate of Muñoz, and international solidarity carried the day. The Argentine government did not take this defeat lying down. It continued its efforts to discredit the Muñoz campaign and its sponsors. An August 26 press release from the Argentine embassy in Washington, D.C., brazenly announced that "a Chilean mining union leader reported to have disappeared in Argentina actually is safe in Austria...". A Vienna embassy communiqué (undated) added that while under Argentine law political refugees can be extradited to their country of origin, no

such actions had been taken. This is a bare-faced lie. Chilean MIR leader Edgardo Enríquez was handed over to the Chilean butchers last May and is presumed to have been tortured to death at their hands.

A number of Australian supporters of the Muñoz campaign who had lodged protests with the Argentine embassy received a mimeographed letter from the embassy chargé d'affaires ad interim in Canberra. The letter, dated August 30, claimed that there was no record of any charges against Muñoz and that:

"Mr. Muñoz Salas has not been in Argentina for the last few months. The fact that he appeared in the Argentine Consulate in Vienna, Austria, on 9th August [to seek visas for his family] ... proves by far the intention to create a false image of the Argentine reality."

In a similar vein, the Chilean ambassador to the U.S., Manuel Trucco, wrote to Senator Edward Brooke that:

"Mr. Muñoz, an active terrorist in Chile... voluntarily and secretly left the country for Argentina. Through his contacts with international extremists, he traveled to Europe with forged documents—as has been the case in countless other situations—where he lived secretly, allowing his 'disappearance' to be used as a weapon against the Governments of Argentina and Chile.... Thus is uncovered another case of falsification of facts by extremists on an international scale...."

Of course, ultra-rightist Georgia Congressman Larry McDonald—who places some 200 anti-communist items in the *Congressional Record* each year and had already used his Congressional immunity to red-bait the campaign (see "Birchite Congressman Witchhunts Muñoz Campaign," *WV* No. 126, 24 September)—picked up this slander in the 1 October *Congressional Record*:

"Argentine officials denied any knowledge of Muñoz' location and it was not too surprising that the 'missing' Muñoz turned up unharmed in Vienna on August 4."

There is indeed a "falsification of facts on an international scale" taking place, but it is being perpetrated by the junta butchers and their hangers-on. The claim that "Mr. Muñoz Salas has not been in Argentina for the last few months" is patently fraudulent and presupposes a conspiracy not only by "international extremists" but by the UN, the Austrian government and various other governmental bodies as well. During those "last few months" Muñoz had been issued refugee documents by the UNHCR delegate in Mendoza and an international travel document from the Red Cross office in Buenos Aires. The UN refugee office in the Argentine capital arranged Muñoz' departure to Austria in early August, the Austrian consulate issued him a visa and the European Committee on Migration (CIME) office provided him with a *laissez-passer*. In September the same process was repeated for the Muñoz family.

Using the well-worn technique of the "big lie," the junta butchers who hunted Muñoz, harassed his family, arrested him and later arrested his brother, now in frustration turn their venom against the sponsors of the Muñoz campaign.

Stalinists Pick Up Junta Lies

The Argentine junta's slanders have also found an echo within the workers movement. In keeping with the pro-Moscow Stalinists' policy of alibiing the Videla regime, the Brezhnevite Socialist Party of Australia (SPA) took up the junta's defamation campaign. Under the title, "Trotskyists Profit from Muñoz

Campaign," the 15 September issue of the SPA's *Socialist* published a letter by one Gisele Mesnage charging:

"The latest issue of [*Australasian*] *Spartacist* carries a front-page headline claiming that Mario Muñoz is now safe in Austria. (Note well that at no time was he in the hands of his hunters.)

"So, the elusive Mario Muñoz is safe and the Spartacist League a few hundred dollars richer."

The Australian Muñoz committee immediately responded to this poisonous slander with an offer to open its books to responsible representatives of the working-class movement.

Two independent examiners then reviewed the committee's records. Steve Cooper, a research officer for the Amalgamated Metalworkers Union, noted:

"They appeared to me to be a well kept record of the money received and expenses incurred by the Committee over the past six months. Details of every expenditure were available to me and the total impression compares very favorably with the records of similar appeals made from time to time in the progressive movement."

Ron Webb, of the financial committee of the Vietnam Moratorium, wrote to the *Socialist* on 26 October that:

"I responded to the public invitation to inspect the books of account of the Mario Muñoz Defence Committee. I am no stranger to the accounts of both political mass movements and capitalist companies and I have no hesitation in stating that the books of the Mario Muñoz Defence Committee were in every respect adequate to the requirements of a political defence campaign and that their maintenance was nothing short of immaculate."

The SPA itself accepted the committee's offer and appointed Mesnage to inspect the books, but she could find no misappropriations whatsoever.

Mesnage's slander is a normal Stalinist *modus operandi*. The idea is simple: smear the financial operation and thereby cast a cloud of suspicion over the integrity of the entire campaign. But this time it did not work. The SPA did not expect to encounter the Muñoz campaign's policy of open financial accountability.

Caught out, Mesnage turned to the technique of the well-placed red-bait: "The political position of the PDC is in direct line with the international Spartacist tendency (Trotskyist International)." This line of attack—which would be devastating to the garden-variety Stalinist "front group" which has roped in liberal support by concealing its political coloration—falls flat on its face here. For the PDC openly proclaims that its class-struggle defense work is "in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League."

Unable to smear the PDC financially or red-bait it as a front group, Mesnage was forced back to the real source of the Stalinists' hatred for Muñoz and the

continued on page 9

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Speaker: JOSEPH SEYMOUR
Spartacist League
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CHICAGO

No to the Steelworkers' Arnold Miller!

Sadlowski Hits Campaign Trail

CHICAGO—The campaign for president of the United Steel Workers of America (USWA) picked up steam late last month as challenger Ed Sadlowski announced his full slate for International officers. Meanwhile, the incumbent bureaucracy loyal to outgoing USWA president I. W. Abel has added a fake militant of its own to the official ticket headed by Lloyd McBride and has picked up some Sadlowski-style rhetoric as well.

Trying to consolidate support on his home turf—Chicago-Gary area USWA District 31—Sadlowski and his “Steelworkers Fightback” held an official campaign kickoff meeting on the South Side October 25. Speaking before about 250 steel workers, the candidates offered only routine exercises in union loyalty and empty rhetoric (“return to the principles this union was founded on”). However, some sharp questions from the floor made Sadlowski distinctly uncomfortable and cracked open some of his slate’s phony posture of “unity.”

His candidate for treasurer, Andrew Kmec, who has been a union staff representative for years, praised the USWA staff as “one of the greatest,” while Jim Balanoff, who is running as Steelworkers Fightback candidate for Sadlowski’s present post as District 31

a sham—Sadlowski might not sign a new no-strike pledge, but he is fully committed to carrying out the present ENA, which does not expire until 1980!

Predictably Sadlowski tried to dismiss all critics as supporters of the incumbent Abel slate. One speaker, noting that Sadlowski had come into office after obtaining U.S. Department of Labor intervention to rerun the District 31 election, asked how Sadlowski now felt about bringing the government into the union movement. Sadlowski snapped back that the speaker should go vote for Lloyd McBride—as though the only choices were supporting the pro-company Abel bureaucracy or running to the bosses’ state.

Sadlowski’s politics are so close to McBride’s that the latter’s slate has been able to beat him to the punch with a number of campaign maneuvers. Thus the newly created position of vice-president of human affairs, which will deal largely with the problems of minorities and women, was initiated by the Abel machine. One member of Sadlowski’s slate complained that McBride had stolen from it the practice of referring to the employers as “bastards.” This sufficed to throw “Steelworkers Fightback” into a panic since tough language is all they really have to offer.

The Abel slate’s biggest coup thus far has been to jazz up the official family with the addition of Joseph Odorich, director of USWA’s McKeesport-area district as candidate for vice-president of administration. The *Wall Street Journal* (27 October) commented that Odorich is an “aggressive advocate of occupational health and safety” and “a vocal spokesman for the rank and file... whose rebel credentials rival those of Mr. Sadlowski.”

The Chicago meeting brought out numerous supporters of radical groups who back Sadlowski, reflecting his success in collecting liberal and left backers who are attracted to his combination of militant rhetoric and



Sadlowski, right, announcing his slate for USWA presidential campaign. UPI

director, railed against “lazy” staffers. Oliver Montgomery, Sadlowski’s choice for the newly created post of vice-president of human affairs, came out in favor of setting up special women’s committees in the union, only to have Kmec denounce them minutes later with the sharp retort, “Damn it, we’re all Steelworkers!”

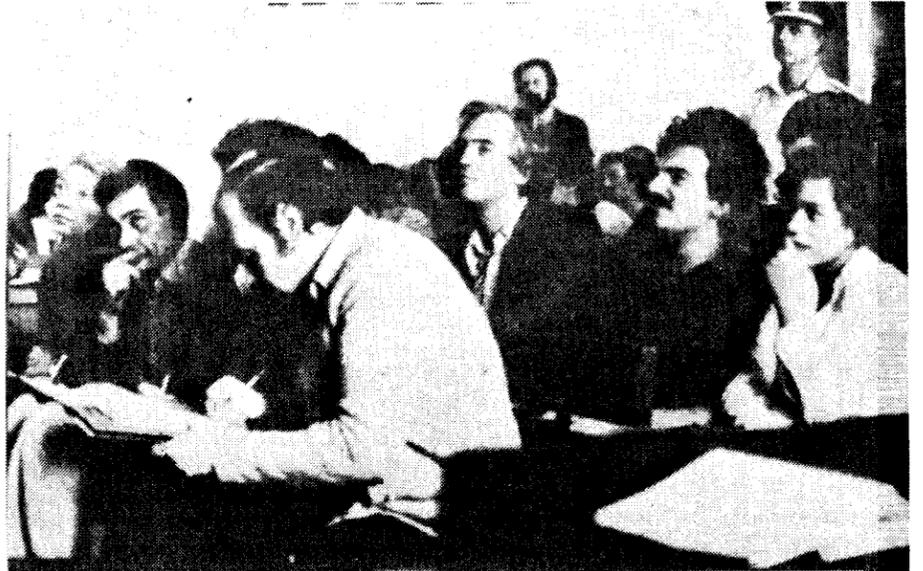
The question of union democracy was left deliberately vague. Significantly, at no time did Sadlowski or any of his slate bring up the hated Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA)—Abel’s touted no-strike deal—or the union’s present “ratification” procedure, which deprives the membership of the right to reject a contract! When a supporter of Breakout, a steel workers’ opposition caucus backed by the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party, asked, “Would you sign a contract with ENA?”, Sadlowski uttered a fast “no” and changed the subject. This “no” was

absence of program. The Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, for instance, are completely behind Sadlowski without a word of criticism.

The Revolutionary Steel Workers Caucus, supported by the Revolutionary Socialist League, claims it does not support Sadlowski, but the group’s leaflet distributed at the meeting counseled that “Sadlowski’s program for the elections should revolve around...: 1—tear up the ENA... 2—for the democratic right to vote on contracts... 3—build a national strike...” Aside from counseling Sadlowski, nothing was mentioned about key political issues facing the USWA, such as government intervention in the unions, the need for the unions to break with the Democrats and build a workers party, or the question of expropriation of industry.

Several Local 1014 rank-and-file militants distributed a leaflet at the

continued on page 11



Athens courtroom during recent trial of leftist militants. Ergatiki Pali

Free Jailed Defense Witnesses!

Greek Leftists Acquitted for May 25 Protests

On October 8, 14 Greek leftist militants, charged with “moral responsibility” for massive anti-government demonstrations last May 25, were acquitted in an Athens court. However, three other leftists were charged with insulting a government witness and the prosecuting attorney and received sentences of up to eight months in prison. Meanwhile, another militant who had been arrested and beaten following a July rally for the defendants faces 16 more months in jail for “abusing the authorities.”

The defendants, with the exception of one independent, were members of Maoist and ostensibly Trotskyist organizations, and the prosecution obviously intended to set the stage for subsequent legal action against “far left” groups. At the trial, defendants denounced the massive police crackdown on May 25 as a deliberate plot to whip up anti-communist hysteria in order to pass the reactionary bill 330/76.

The May 25 demonstrations were organized by several leftist and independent unions against this bill, which outlaws all strikes not approved by the government-controlled Greek Confederation of Labor. Ever since coming to power in 1974—after the notorious “colonels’ junta” bowed out in the aftermath of a failed coup in Cyprus—the Karamanlis regime has maintained its semi-bonapartist rule by constant attacks on the workers movement. It has also resisted pressures from liberals and reformists to cleanse the state apparatus of the more notorious criminals of the colonels’ regime.

The trial of the 14 showed that the government had no case at all and was simply interested in witchhunting the left. The prize witness, Markou, was head of state security and in the past had been responsible for denying passports to hundreds, perhaps thousands of Greek leftists and democrats, forcing them to remain in the country to face the junta torturers and prison camps. Markou admitted on the stand that the secret police maintains constant surveillance of the “extreme” left, but said he knew nothing at all of the activities of the fascist New Class gang.

In response to the security chief’s testimony, Kristina Stamatopoulou, a member of the Proletarian Left Group, received an eight-month contempt of court sentence for supposedly “insulting” Markou. Another woman militant got two months for saying that his testimony was no evidence at all since he was a fascist. When a policeman testified that he had “come to the conclusion” that, if free to do so, the demonstrators would have burned down parliament, a defense witness said

he had “come to the conclusion” that the prosecuting attorney had the ideology of a fascist. For that statement, he received a five-month sentence for contempt of court.

At one point the defense sent shock waves through the courtroom with a brief showing that Siouti, the prosecuting attorney, had been responsible for determining the classification of citizens as “subversives” under the dictatorship. During the trial Siouti had been using such arguments as, “the demonstrators should not have defamed Greece to the outside world. We live on the tourist trade” (quoted in *Ergatiki Pali*, 16 October).

The defendants did not bow to the government’s witchhunting attack. Fekelis, a leader of the Organization of International Communists of Greece (OKDE, section of the “United Secretariat of the Fourth International”), said that it “would have been an honor” to lead the May 25 protests, but the militant demonstrations were “a spontaneous action by the working class.” However, the Maoists reportedly spent a good part of their testimony excoriating the “two superpowers” (U.S. and Soviet Union) as threatening Greek national independence. The ultra-rightist prosecutor mockingly retorted that he was “in complete agreement” with the Maoists on this point.

The trial of the 14 leftist militants brought predictable responses from the bourgeois press and parties, who termed them provocateurs. But lined up with the mouthpieces of capitalist reaction were the treacherous Stalinists of the pro-Moscow Communist Party (KKE Exterior), who likewise took up the “provocateur” slander. As for the KKE Interior and the PASOK social democrats, they failed to come to the defense of the accused militants. Perhaps most damning was the unchallenged report by a policeman at the trial that following the May 25 events two Stalinist trade-union officials had gone to the police to denounce the anti-government demonstration and to thank them for breaking it up!

The working class internationally greets the acquittal of the 14 defendants in the anti-communist show trial in Athens. But socialist and labor militants denounce the brutal imprisonment of their comrades for speaking against the police-state laws and phony “justice” of Karamanlis’ courts. Free the four jailed militants and all class-war prisoners in Greece! Down with the anti-labor laws and the Karamanlis regime—For a workers and peasants government in Greece! ■

Drop Charges Against Markley and Soares!

U.S. Labor Spy Conspiracy Frames UE Militants

Support is growing within the labor movement for Alex Markley, a field organizer for the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers in western Massachusetts (UE) who is currently under indictment for conspiracy to blow up scab trucks. On October 30 some 225 people, including striking trade unionists from UE Local 262 in Cambridge who traveled across the state to be there, attended a Springfield,

coerce him into spying on the labor movement. Markley was threatened with a 60-year jail term; then the agents offered to void the pending indictment if he would provide them with information on several local unions which they named. Markley refused to cooperate and, when finally released, reported the incident to the union.

According to the Markley-Soares Defense Committee, when a newspaper reporter asked Arthur Montuori, New England chief of the ATF bureau, why Markley had been singled out by his agents in the first place, Montuori replied that "they had information to the effect that Markley had a potential for violating the law." The defense committee is stressing that due to the increased public scrutiny of the FBI and CIA the government is reviving a 1930's-style labor spy network through the Treasury Department.

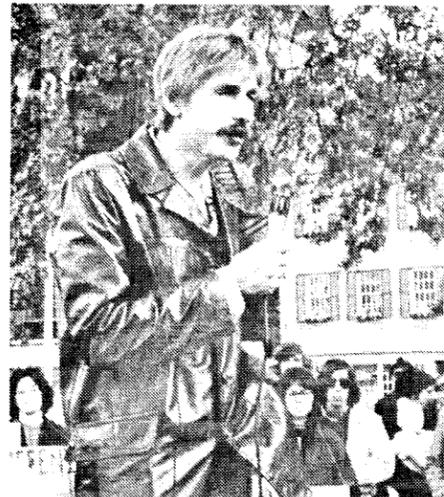
This outrageous attempt to harass and terrorize a union activist must be met with strong working-class solidarity. Government provocations against labor militants are on the increase, making the need for strong defense ever more urgent.

A highpoint of the Springfield rally was the message of support given by Eugene O'Sullivan, a *Washington Post* pressman who is facing a 41-year jail term growing out of the bitter *Post* strike last year. O'Sullivan and 14 other members of Local 6 of the International Printing and Graphic Communications Union are facing a combination of felony charges ranging from incitement to riot to grand larceny.

Also speaking at the rally was Sandy Polanski, head of UE Local 262 in Cambridge, Mass., which has been on strike against the Cambion-Cambridge Thermionic Corporation for nearly half a year. Five members of Local 262 will go on trial later this month on charges of assault and battery growing out of police attacks against the picket lines.

When a strike support meeting for the Cambion workers was sponsored by the Spartacus Youth League in Cambridge in October, Markley conveyed a message of solidarity to the meeting through the Partisan Defense Committee. The Partisan Defense Committee participated in Saturday's Springfield, Mass., demonstration and has sent a financial contribution to Markley's defense. Others wishing to do so can send checks to the Markley-Soares Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5001, Holyoke, Mass. 01040. The PDC is also actively supporting the defense of the victimized Cambion strikers.

Drop the Charges Against Markley and Soares—Down with the Government Labor Spy Conspiracy! Drop the Charges Against the Cambion Strikers! Victory to the Cambion Strike!



Alex Markley

WV Photo

Massachusetts, rally in defense of the framed-up unionist.

The charges against Markley stem from a strike in September 1975 by UE Local 259 against the Worthington Compression Corporation in Holyoke, Massachusetts. At the time, Markley, a former worker at the plant and past president of Local 259, was on assignment from the UE to assist the Local's negotiating team. During the course of the 11-week strike Markley was approached by a casual acquaintance, "Lee," who then introduced him to a second man, "Jerry." According to the defense committee, the two asked Markley to provide them with "material that could be used to 'take care' of the scab-driven trucks" which the company, supported by the Holyoke police, was repeatedly trying to run through the picket lines. But nothing happened, even though "Jerry" kept after Markley for the rest of the strike to let him "handle" the trucks.

On 8 July 1976, nearly eight months later, Treasury Department agents from the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Bureau (ATF), arrested Markley and a friend of his, Tony Soares, also a trade unionist. The agents claim the two had given "Jerry"—who turns out to be an ATF undercover agent—homemade bombs, consisting of cardboard toilet-paper rolls filled with black powder and stuffed with firecracker wicks.

At the time of his arrest Markley was held in the Treasury office in Springfield for 12 hours while the agents tried to



Demonstration October 30 in Springfield, Mass., against frame-up of union militants by Treasury agents.

WV Photo



Free Gary Tyler march in Detroit October 30.

WV Photo

Detroit Demonstrators Demand Free Gary Tyler!

DETROIT—More than two years after the arrest of Gary Tyler, an 18-year-old black youth from St. Charles Parish, Louisiana, this innocent victim of racist capitalist "justice" remains in jail and fighting for his life. He has been framed on a murder charge in the 1974 shooting of a 13-year-old white youth, Timothy Weber.

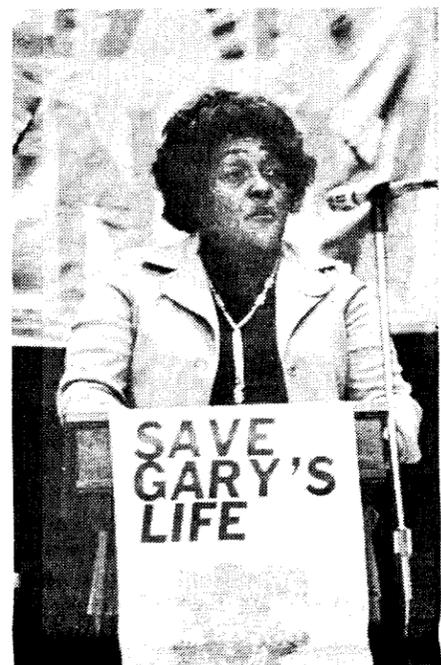
On Saturday, October 30, over 200 militants attended a rally and march in downtown Detroit called by the International Socialists-led Detroit Committee to Free Gary Tyler and the Socialist Workers Party's National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR). Members of several socialist, anti-racist and Detroit community organizations demanded freedom for Tyler and linked his case to that of other victims of racist cop frame-ups, such as Delbert Tibbs, "Hurricane" Carter and the Wilmington 10.

A speaker from NSCAR pointed to the right-wing mobilizations in Chicago, Boston and other cities where Nazis and Klansmen have been spreading their fascist filth and decried the ties between cops and nightriders as partners in racist terror. However, the SWP/NSCAR call for these same cops and the imperialist U.S. Army to protect blacks from right-wing terror contradicts the understanding that the enforcers of capitalist "law and order" are the enemies of all oppressed minorities and working people.

Statements from the Spartacus League (SL) and the Partisan Defense Committee which were read to the rally counterposed working-class defense of blacks' democratic rights to the SWP's liberal illusions: "Behind the black robes of capitalism's 'justice' stand the white robes of the KKK, and many of these nightriders are cops. The KKK must be smashed with labor/black defense guards."

Mrs. Juanita Tyler, Gary's mother, gripped the entire audience with a moving account of her son's 1974 arrest and the two years of struggle to free him. There was violence that October 7 at Destreham High School between white racists who were enraged over desegregation of the school and black students. When school let out, the black students were ushered onto a bus under a barrage of bricks and bottles thrown by racist students and parents, as 200 police approvingly stood by. ("Just like they always do," Mrs. Tyler added.) During this assault, someone fired the shot which killed the white youth.

Despite the fact that a man with a rifle was seen near the bus, the black students were searched for two hours at gunpoint. It was during this search that Gary Tyler protested at having a gun held at his head and was arrested for obstructing justice. Later, while waiting for her son, Mrs. Tyler herself stood with the driver as two cops walked onto



WV Photo

Juanita Tyler, Gary's mother, speaking at rally in Detroit last Saturday.

the bus. The driver told her that they would find nothing, since other cops had already torn up the bus in a vain search for the murder weapon. A few minutes later the cops reappeared with a .45 caliber police pistol, which was alleged to have killed Weber.

At the police station, Mrs. Tyler asked to see her son, who was charged with first-degree murder, but a cop told her, "It will be six months before you see him. My cousin's brains have been blown out—someone's got to pay for it." When Mrs. Tyler finally did see Gary, he had been beaten on the head, shoulders, arms and legs. He said to his mother, "They're going to kill me. Get some help." Gary told her that he was forced to pull down his pants because the cops said they wanted "to see what a nigger looks like." He was then kicked in the groin and buttocks.

During the past two years, the Tylers have been continually harassed by phone threats, and Klansmen have patrolled their neighborhood. Two of Gary's brothers have been arrested. Terry Tyler was charged with a burglary in Louisiana which occurred when he was in Detroit, and Mrs. Tyler's husband lost his job of 20 years, as did Gary's brother Steve and Mrs. Tyler's daughter-in-law. Mrs. Tyler concluded with a call for solidarity for the countless present and future victims of racist cop oppression.

Following the rally, most of the audience marched in the rain to the Federal Building and then to *Detroit Free Press* offices to demand that the case be publicized. The contingent of SL and Spartacus Youth League members and trade-union supporters raised class-

continued on page 11

Reopen Teamster Contracts: "30 for 40" Key Demand Spread UPS Strike!

NOVEMBER 1—A strike of 17,000 Teamsters (IBT) members at United Parcel Service (UPS) in 15 eastern states is now in its seventh week.

Picketers outside the UPS facility in Watertown, near Boston, told *WV* today that they expected to be out on strike for at least two more months. They had been informed by union officials that since operations probably could not be resumed in time to handle the Christmas rush, the company would most likely seek to extend the strike into 1977, hoping to wear down and starve out the strikers. UPS workers are receiving only \$35 a week in strike benefits and complain that they had not been prepared by Teamster leaders for the eventuality of an extended strike.

The Teamster officials have implemented only a partial shutdown of UPS facilities. Workers at Watertown complained that supervisors were being permitted through picket lines and that packages were being hauled in and out of the depot in unmarked delivery vans, often destined for non-struck UPS depots in other areas of the country. Customers are passing through picket lines undisturbed to pick up their merchandise. The Teamster bureaucrats have also gone along with a court injunction that allows only skeleton picket lines of five workers at each gate.

The most egregious act of treachery by the *IBT* officials has been to limit the strike to only selected UPS facilities on the East Coast. A similarly isolated strike of Midwest UPS workers was sold out after two weeks last spring. The contract deadline of East Coast UPS workers was extended several months before a strike was called, and since picket lines have been set up, the key UPS operation in New York City has been exempted! This is similar to the Midwest strike, in which the union bureaucrats refused to strike UPS in Chicago.

Work has been diverted not only to the NYC facility of United Parcel, but to the U.S. Postal Service as well. The

volume of bulk mail handled by the Post Office in the 15-state strike area has almost doubled. More than 3,000 casual employees have been added to the workforce several weeks before the usual Christmas hiring. Regular postal employees are working an extremely heavy schedule of overtime: all bulk-mail processing centers in the Northeast are running on two 10-hour shifts, six days a week (*Business Week*, 1 November)!

United Parcel is the largest single employer of Teamsters in the U.S., and in recent years its operations have expanded rapidly. UPS' ability to take business away from the Post Office has depended on the greatly increased productivity of United Parcel workers (UPS employees are subject to incredible speed-up and work rules that are unheard of in the Post Office).

Management at UPS has been able to achieve this status by negotiating what amounts to a sweetheart deal with Teamster officials: bargaining for IBT members at UPS is separated from the 450,000 Teamsters covered by the national Master Freight Agreement. As a result, UPS workers have traditionally been stuck with inferior contracts, particularly with respect to working conditions and part-timers.

The major obstacle to a settlement of the East Coast strike is the issue of part-timers. Except in the East, most UPS "inside" workers (those who sort and handle packages in terminals, as opposed to drivers) are already part-timers. This way UPS can work its employees at a killing pace that could not conceivably be maintained over a full day. Moreover, part-timers receive significantly less in pay and fringe benefits than full-time workers. In most Eastern hubs part-timers receive no fringe benefits, no cost-of-living allowance and no personal holidays.

A substantial majority of all United Parcel workers today are part-timers. Teamster leaders in the South, Central States and Western States conferences have already negotiated agreements with UPS giving the company the right to phase out full-time inside workers. However, part-timers are not nearly so prevalent in the Eastern states, except in New York City. Of the 17,000 strikers, over 10,000 are full-time workers.

Management has been pushing to consolidate the separate local and regional agreements into a nationwide bargaining arrangement, to become effective in 1979. Their precondition for this is ending the restriction on use of part-timers in the Eastern states—the company's key demand in the current strike. Militants of course call for a uniform nationwide contract, but as a part of the Master Freight Agreement, and with the provision that it not be accomplished by taking away the relatively better working conditions of any section of UPS workers. All part-timers must immediately receive full union wages and benefits and be upgraded to full-time status through a 30-hour week with 40 hours' pay.

Rank-and-file militants have expressed considerable dissatisfaction with the bureaucrats' weak-kneed policies in the face of the company's intransigent refusal to negotiate over the part-timer issue. One worker in Watertown remarked that the strike could be won if Chicago and other key hubs were pulled out on strike. Militants are

demanding that pickets be dispatched to non-struck UPS depots outside the Eastern states as well as in NYC.

Unfortunately, most of the dissatisfaction has thus far remained unorganized. The only existing opposition within the IBT at United Parcel is UPSurge, a reformist grouping supported by the International Socialists (I.S.). UPSurge has consistently tailed after the spontaneous militancy of the rank and file. In the current strike, it has largely confined itself to echoing the cry for dispatching roving picket squads to non-struck sites, while boasting that it is prepared to initiate this action.

The demand to expand the strike nationwide is certainly correct. However, this demand cannot be realized without calling for the reopening of the UPS contract nationwide and providing a class-struggle solution to the question of part-timers. The mass of part-time workers who predominate in UPS in NYC and outside the Eastern states can be drawn into the strike only if demands are raised in their interest as well.

At one time a job at UPS usually meant a second income or extra cash for college students. However, with today's high rate of unemployment, many UPS workers must support themselves and a family on the slim wages of a part-timer. The only way to provide a decent living for all UPS workers is to fight for 30 hours' work at 40 hours' pay, combined with a substantial wage increase and full cost-of-living protection against inflation.

This demand, which challenges the assumption shared by management and the union bureaucracy that the labor movement can only demand what the capitalist can "afford," has never been raised by UPSurge. In fact, UPSurge not only accepts the bureaucracy's framework for bargaining under capitalism but also the divisions within the working class which the union leadership perpetuates. Thus, UPSurge has never mentioned the need for postal workers to come to the aid of their beleaguered class brothers and sisters at UPS with solidarity strike action. Nor did UPSurge ever demand that UPS workers go out on strike jointly with Teamster drivers covered by the Master Freight Agreement, the only way UPS workers will achieve meaningful gains.

Such actions would violate existing contracts, and UPSurge is careful to tailor its strategy to what is "legal." Even its current demand to dispatch roving picket squads to halt the shipment of scab goods is not motivated by what is necessary to win the strike, but is justified on the grounds that UPS workers have the contractual right to refuse to handle scab goods.

The Midwest UPS strike last spring was quashed when the company, in collaboration with the union bureaucracy, suddenly announced that the old contract was being extended after two weeks of striking. UPSurge had mass-leafleted strikers, assuring them that such an action was manifestly illegal. However, this did not stop the company, which backed up this "violation of the law" with court injunctions to boot! Thus UPSurge's reformist fetishism of bourgeois legality served to disarm the workers. Both in the present strike and future battles, victory can be achieved only through a class-struggle strategy that recognizes the need of the working class to rely on its own organized strength. ■



CPUSA
Scottsboro Nine in 1931. Clarence Norris is second from left.

Last of Frame-Up Victims Pardoned

The Scottsboro Boys: Four Decades of Racist Injustice

After 45 years of unrelenting racist persecution, the state of Alabama last week pardoned the only known surviving "Scottsboro Boy," Clarence "Willie" Norris. Norris spent 15 years in Alabama's prison hellholes, five of them on death row; was dragged through one kangaroo court after another, convicted and sentenced to death three times; suffered threats to his life by lynch mobs in and out of uniform; was taunted, tortured, beaten; had his parole initially denied; and has lived the last decades as a fugitive from Alabama's "justice" after being finally paroled in 1946.

"Alabama owes me a lot," Norris said at a recent press conference (*New York Times*, 15 October). But for Norris and the eight other black youths who became known as the "Scottsboro Boys," hauled off a freight train at Scottsboro, Alabama, in March 1931 to face an angry lynch mob on trumped-up charges of raping two white women also on the train, this pardon cannot undo the life-long injury inflicted on them.

The pardon that racist demagogue George Wallace signed with the unanimous finding of the Alabama Pardon and Parole Board that Norris was *innocent from the outset!* (By implication, so were the other eight youths, since the evidence against all was the same.) Wallace hopes by his cynical gesture to gain a cheap "pardon" for Alabama justice, supposedly showing that the state is no longer a haven for the white-sheeted lynch mobs of the 1930's.

But in fact the pardon is a stinging indictment of the entire racist system of capitalist "justice"! While Norris' pardon comes after life-long damage has already been inflicted on him, countless other victims of racist legal terror rot in jails today. To name only a few of the countless victims of America's racist society, Gary Tyler, framed up on a murder charge in Louisiana, is still in jail; Johnny Ross in Louisiana and Delbert Tibbs in Florida, black victims of rape frame-ups, are still in jail.

The case of the "Scottsboro Boys" became the focus of a blistering international attack on Southern lynch law "justice." It was the mass protests by hundreds of thousands which saved the lives of the Scottsboro Nine. Today, similar mass protest must be organized against the racist frame-ups of Gary Tyler, Johnny Ross, Delbert Tibbs and the many other victims of capitalist legal terror. ■

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Between August 18 and 23 and again on August 26, the largest circulation daily newspaper in France, *France-Soir*, was shut down by a strike of its 206 newspapermen and editors. The strike action, supported by the United Journalists Unions, was prompted by an impending takeover of *France-Soir* by right-wing newspaper syndicate head, Robert Hersant. The Hersant publishing empire already controls



Andanson Sygma

France-Soir publisher Robert Hersant

eleven daily newspapers (including the conservative Paris daily, *Figaro*)—which with the addition of *France-Soir* would have a combined circulation one-sixth the total French newspaper readership—as well as nine weeklies or bi-weeklies, nine magazines, a news

agency and several printing plants.

The opposition to the Hersant bid comes at a time of continuing turmoil in the newspaper industry in France. In recent years there has been a general contraction of circulation, resulting in diminished profits. Numerous newspapers have found themselves severely hit, the older press syndicates are breaking up and management is seeking to drastically reduce payroll costs by switching over to modern photocomposition production techniques. One such attempt to restore profitability resulted in a plant occupation (still going on) and pitched battles in the streets during the bitter and protracted *Parisien Libéré* strike (see "Paris Printers Defend Closed Shop," *WV* No. 80, 10 October 1975).

The August 26 action included a Paris demonstration of over 2,000 journalists and the shutdown of French press activity for periods ranging from a few hours to the 12-hour stoppage at the national press agency. The *France-Soir* journalists have also attempted to secure the intervention of French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and have sought court action against the Hersant purchase. A month later, between September 17 and 24, the newspaper's writers refused to sign their articles in protest against censorship by the publisher.

From the outset, the dispute over ownership of *France-Soir* has involved a number of complex questions: demands for "journalists' control of editorial policy" in response to

editorial policy; calls for an "independent and honorable" boss rather than a former Nazi collaborator; a bid by supporters of the Union of the Left and squabbling within Giscard's presidential majority; appeals for state intervention against monopolization of the press; and defense of job security in the face of declining employment in the industry. The complexity of the dispute reflects the more general clash between the bourgeois-democratic right of freedom of the press and capitalist property relations.

Hersant has a reputation in the depressed French press industry for his ability to make newspapers "viable" through drastic job-slashing. He euphemistically refers to the sacking of several hundred employees, such as followed his takeover of *Paris-Normandie* and *Figaro*, as a "compression of personnel." The journalists have taken up the question of job security in their demands, primarily in response to pressure from the printers union. However, this is clearly a secondary issue: in the words of a strike leader, "the essential reason is Hersant, but economic security is also a consideration" (*Le Monde*, 23 August).

The striking journalists state that their action is in defense of "freedom of information" and of "pluralism." This has accompanied constant reference to the dangers posed by the monopolization of the French press. Thus on July 8, shortly after the sale of 50 percent of *France-Soir* stock to Hersant, the editors of the paper asked for the nomination of a judicial administrator to investigate the sale and to apply an obscure 1944 law restricting press ownership. However, the opposition is far from a simple reflex action against monopolization, as evidenced by the fact that there has been virtually no mention of the former owner of *France-Soir*: Hachette, the largest publishing concern in Europe.

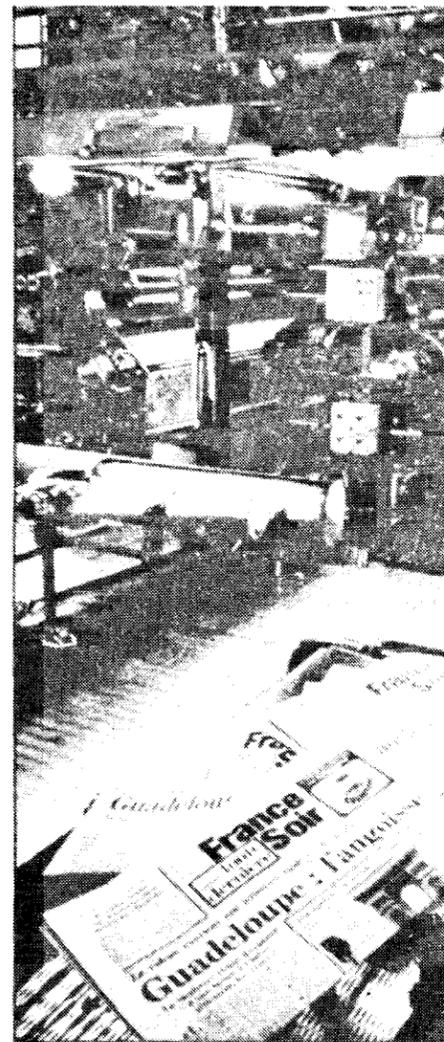
The Politics of the France-Soir Takeover

The dispute over ownership of *France-Soir* has distinct political overtones. As one of the editors said, "The problem is political: we began the strike in order to force the government to get Hersant to draw back, because we know that Hersant is simply the creature of certain political powers" (quoted in *Informations Ouvrières*, 25 August-1 September 1976). In this respect, the histories of Hersant and *France-Soir* are quite significant.

During the German occupation of Paris, Hersant headed a pro-Nazi youth group and was the editor of its newspaper, *Jeune Front*. Following the lifting of a ban on political activity by collaborators, Hersant was elected as a Gaullist deputy to the National Assembly and re-entered journalism. Yet the means by which he built up his newspaper empire are shrouded in mystery: he is said to pay for all his purchases with 500-franc notes so as to cover up his sources (*Economist*, 28 August). Reportedly Gaullists in the government, principally former prime minister Jacques Chirac, have intervened to secure loans from the nationalized banks on his behalf.

France-Soir, on the other hand, was the leading newspaper of the war-time bourgeois resistance in France. During the war it came out clandestinely under the title, *Défense de la France*; its commercialization began in 1947 when Hachette began to invest in the enterprise. Following Hachette's complete takeover, circulation dropped markedly, falling from 1.2 million in 1963 to its present 600,000. The newspaper is now operating at a deficit.

The propaganda of the journalists has been filled with references to this period. "We who fought for the liberation of France...now fight to remain free journalists." Implicit in much of this propaganda is the desire to find an owner with views more akin to the



Pressroom at France-Soir

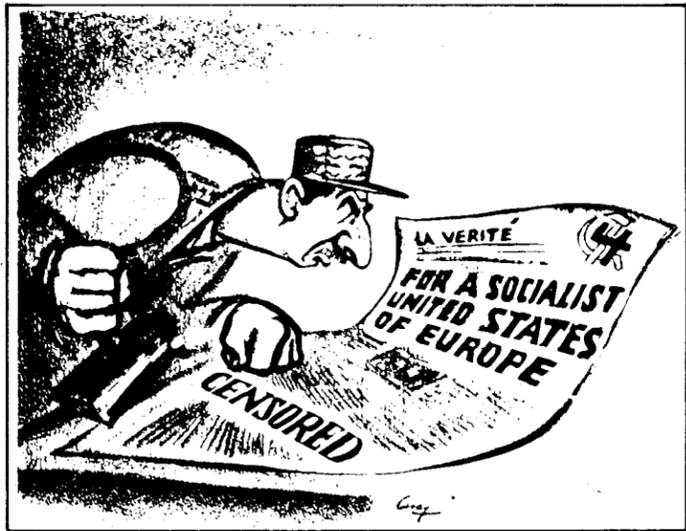
First French Resistance Paper Was Persecuted Under "Anti-Fascist" Laws

Under several post-liberation decrees and laws in France, collaborationist and Nazi newspapers were banned. However, the same laws required government approval in order for newspapers and magazines to be published legally. Under a series of Gaullist information ministers (Pierre-Henri Teitgen, Jacques Soustelle and André Malraux) and because of pressure from the Stalinists, this authorization was repeatedly denied to *La Vérité*, organ of the

occupation by virtue of the German-Russian agreement, which it warmly defended.

"In contrast, *La Vérité*, which had on its masthead 'Neither Pétain Nor Hitler—For a Workers and Peasants Government,' violently attacked Nazism, denounced the [Nazi] raiding of goods, appealed for regrouping against fascism on both sides of the demarcation line, etc. To our knowledge, *La Vérité* was the first resistance paper.

"For four years, in 19 mimeographed and 54 printed issues, *La Vérité* cam-



Tripartite post-WWII French Government banned Trotskyist newspaper.

Militant

paigned against fascism and the occupying imperialism."

The article went on to detail how the paper directed its struggle against fascism, racism and anti-semitism; for the right of self-determination for "all the peoples, including the colonies"; and against imperialist war. On the struggle for fraternization, it wrote:

"We appealed to the German soldiers to turn their arms against their officers and to fraternize with the workers of Europe, at the same time as we appealed to the workers of this country to address the workers dragooned by Hitler into his army, calling upon them to struggle together against fascism and capitalism. This propaganda is that for which

continued on page 10

The Battle for France-Soir: Freedom of the Press

journalists union (which is generally pro-Union of the Left) rather than Hersant. One motion of the coordinating committee of the journalists unions was to "take up official contact with all honorable offers to aid *France-Soir*" (including a bid by Michelin, the tire monopoly). A source of grievance has been the fact that an earlier bid to purchase the newspaper on behalf of Claude Perdriel, the millionaire publisher of the pro-Socialist Party (PS) *Nouvel Observateur*, was not even considered.

The takeover of the paper by Hersant is in itself a rather shady deal reflecting the current political divisions in France. The economic crunch has taken a particular toll upon the pro-government commercial newspapers, as opposed to the Communist Party's *L'Humanité*. There has been a considerable attempt to prop up these threatened papers, and the rejection of the *Nouvel Observateur* bid undoubtedly follows from that magazine's popular-front editorial policy.

The direct sale of the paper to Hersant would probably have created an even greater uproar. Instead the person who

organ of 'resistance' for four years. The first issue of *La Vérité* was secretly mimeographed as early as August 1940. There was another clandestine organ, *L'Humanité* (official organ of the French Communist Party) but all Parisians remember that it was then distributed in the streets with the tacit consent of the occupying forces and besides had officially applied for legal publication. *L'Humanité* appeared then without a single line against German



A. Nogues/Sygma

le Over oir and ress

state loans to Hersant will not be forthcoming.

Defend Freedom of the Press!

Hersant has tried to pose as the savior of *France-Soir*, alleging that the paper will lose 20 million francs this year and claiming that he is "salvaging the jobs of 2,000 professionals." At the same time, he issued an open threat to the journalists, asserting that there are no "philanthropists ready to dump their money into a newspaper without any return while leaving a newsroom independent" (quoted in the *New York Times*, 27 August). Winkler assured the journalists that "I am still the only editorial boss for the journalists," but this, too, has turned out to be a threat... and Winkler is not expected to be around long.

Faced with Hersant's statements and his past record at *Figaro* and other acquired newspapers, the journalists unions warned that freedom of the press was in danger in the *France-Soir* dispute:

"Journalistic independence, the guarantee of honest and high-quality news; the professional dignity of the men who provide it...; the exercise by the citizenry of the public liberties known as freedom of the press, freedom of expression, the right to information—these are what is at stake in the *France-Soir* conflict."

—*Le Monde*, 27 August

That this threat is real was indicated by a chain of events following Winkler's assumption of the positions of editor-in-chief and managing editor (in addition to publisher) of *France-Soir*. He has reportedly angered journalists by heavily censoring their articles over the telephone. After one incident—when he wrote in an endorsement of right-wing interior minister Poniatowski's hard-line stance endangering the passengers of an aircraft hijacked by Croatian reactionaries—the journalists and editors voted to refuse to sign articles for a week in protest (*Rouge*, 20 September).

Trotskyists stand by the *France-Soir* journalists in their struggle against monopoly control and censorship of the press. However, it is important to understand the context of the struggle, which is peculiar to French conditions. In the U.S., for instance, we take no sides in the disagreement between the publisher of the *New York Times* and its editorial page writers. Although the latter are slightly to the left of the Sulzbergers (favoring Bella Abzug over Patrick Moynihan in the N.Y. Democratic senatorial primary), in the past they have been the loyal mouthpieces of the liberal bourgeoisie in general and their employer in particular.

Even where the political differences are greater, as between the Gaullist prospective publisher of *France-Soir* and the pro-Union of the Left journalists union, this should not induce class-conscious workers to favor the "progressives" over the reactionaries. Nor, under conditions of bourgeois rule, do Marxists call for preventing one or another capitalist party or political current from expressing its views in the press. However, in France there is a historical tradition of a degree of editorial autonomy and political independence for journalists, derived from the fact that the bourgeois press collaborated with the Nazis and the post-war newspapers were built by journalists who created clandestine resistance organs. This measure of autonomy is threatened in the *France-Soir* takeover.

The striking journalists at *France-Soir* went beyond their opposition to Hersant to demand "the exclusive responsibility of the editorial crew over management of news" (*Rouge*, 21 August). The demand for journalists' control of press policy, which was prominently raised during the May-June events of 1968, is utopian liberalism. (Why should journalists set policy, or even printing industry workers? Under a workers government, press capacity and printing supplies would be allotted proportional to the support for different tendencies in the working

class.) However, without sharing the *France-Soir* journalists' *autogestionnaire* ("self-management") illusions or the liberal myth of an "objective" press, the labor movement must support their fight to preserve the degree of journalistic autonomy won in the past and oppose management censorship.

Press Monopolization and State Control

Opposition to monopoly control of the press is a just cause. As a liberal Parisian journalist wrote at the time of the August strike, "the press, the purveyor of ideology, is not, as M. Hersant would have people believe, a commodity like any other" (*Le Monde*, 24 August). Whereas in the case of industry and finance Marxists give no support to utopian "trust-busting" sentiments harking back to the days of pre-monopoly capitalism, we favor the maximum diversity of the press. However, this does not mean supporting a "progressive" boss against a "reactionary" publisher. Moreover, appealing to the state to determine permissible ownership of the news media is fraught with danger.

As Trotsky stated in "Freedom of the Press and the Working Class" (August 1938):

"It is essential to wage a relentless struggle against the reactionary press. But workers cannot let the repressive fist of the bourgeois state substitute for the struggle that they must wage through their own organizations and their own press. Today the state may appear to be 'kindly' disposed to the workers' organizations; tomorrow the government may fall, inevitably will fall into the hands of the most reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie. In that case, whatever restrictive legislation exists will be thrown at the workers. Only adventurers with no thought other than for the needs of the moment would fail to heed such a danger.

"The most effective way to combat the bourgeois press is to expand the working-class press."

In the hands of the capitalist state, even



Rouge

General assembly of *France-Soir* workers.

the seemingly most favorable press laws are at best a two-edged sword which can be used to swing back at the working class. This can be clearly seen by examining the history of the post-liberation press legislation to which the *France-Soir* journalists appeal.

The particular law involved is a 26 August 1944 ordinance aimed at eliminating the corruption and treachery of the press under the Third Republic and Vichy rule. According to its provisions, no individual or entity may own more than one daily newspaper with a circulation over 10,000, or more than one weekly with a circulation over 50,000. Hersant is already in violation of this seldom (if ever) used law, since at least *Figaro*, *Nord-Matin*, *Nord-Eclair*, *Paris-Normandie* and *Le Havre-Presse* fall under its provisions.

The articles of this ordinance (which was prepared in Algiers and issued on the day de Gaulle's provisional government entered Paris) make clear that its targets were the German-subsidized fascist/collaborationist newspapers and the reactionary yellow press. The anti-

monopoly provisions (Articles 4 and 9) were directed against the financial manipulations and press empire-building brought to light by the Stavisky affair in 1934. Another section (Article 10), requiring editors to provide the police with the real names of writers using pseudonyms, was aimed at the scandal sheets and wanton character assassinations, particularly of leftist politicians, which characterized the overwhelmingly rightist monopoly press before the war. Article 3 (all backers of a newspaper must be French) and Article 13 (no newspaper may receive a subsidy from a foreign government) were motivated by Doriot's German-financed fascist paper and other collaborationist organs.

It is equally clear, however, that such a measure could easily be used against the left and labor press. Certainly, the anonymous leftist soldier protesting repression in the barracks will be prosecuted before the police go after a rightist slanderer hiding behind a pseudonym. It will be the press of a truly internationalist communist tendency that is hit with charges of "foreign backing," not Catholic publications subsidized by the Vatican. As for the anti-monopoly provisions, one need only note that by October 1944, the French Communist Party had 17 daily newspapers and close to 200 weeklies, thus directly violating the August 26 ordinance!

Moreover, even where there is legislation which could be voted for by revolutionary deputies in a bourgeois parliament, such as the May 1945 French law whose sole aim was expropriating the collaborationist press, Marxists do not call for the capitalist state to suppress reactionaries. When legislation is enacted for this purpose, it is almost always aimed at "extremists" in general and used mainly against the left. A classic example of this was the 30 September 1944 French press law which (unlike the ineffectual August

26 ordinance) was implemented precisely because it had teeth and could be used as a weapon of bourgeois repression.

Again, the ostensible purpose was to ban all Nazi and collaborationist papers (those published after mid-1940 in the German-occupied regions and after 1942 in Vichy France). However, the same law requires all newspapers and periodicals to receive prior authorization from the minister of information in order to be legally published. All of the former underground publications were subsequently authorized...except the Trotskyists' *La Vérité*! As late as December 1945, almost a year and a half after liberation *La Vérité* was still forced to appear clandestinely, and in June 1945 the tripartite government (including the PCF) arrested three of its editors.

The Left and State Intervention

Even when it is not wrong per se to call for state action—as in the case of the

continued on page 8

France-Soir...

(continued from page 7)

France-Soir journalists' demand that the courts block the sale of the paper to Hersant under anti-monopoly provisions of the 26 August 1944 press ordinance. Marxists warn of the dangers of censorship which any government intervention can bring. But such considerations are completely foreign to the pseudo-Trotskyist adventurers of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR). Promising that "this ordinance permits an interesting battle bringing together all the workers in the profession," the LCR sums up the *France-Soir* dispute, stating: "The objective of applying the 1944 ordinance is: dismantling and expropriating the Hersant group" (*Rouge*, 21 August).

But who is to expropriate the Hersant group—the bourgeois state, either under Giscard or the Union of the Left? The LCR does not exclude this possibility. But if Hersant, why not Prouvost, Amaury and the rest of the syndicates? The demand for nationalization of the media by the bourgeois state is an open invitation for massive censorship—a direct threat to freedom of the press. Not only does this open the door to restrictions on the labor and socialist press, but even bourgeois investigations such as the *Washington Post* Watergate revelations, the *New York Times*' publication of the Pentagon Papers—or the *Nouvel Observateur/Canard Enchaîné* disclosures in 1973 about massive phone-tapping by Poniatoski—would be virtually inconceivable.

This is not the first time the LCR has demonstrated a criminal blindness to the class character of the state. In 1973 Krivine & Co. called for outlawing the fascists, whereupon the Gaullist regime obliged by outlawing *Nouvel Ordre* and *the Ligue Communiste!* Appropriately enough, the 21 August *Rouge* article on the *France-Soir* journalists strike recalled last year's *República* affair in Portugal, where the LCR had called on



Clandestine publications of French Trotskyists published under Nazi occupation and post war "democratic" regime.

the bourgeois state to expropriate press facilities and apportion them equitably to the workers movement!

In a similar vein, the LCR calls for nationalization of France's unique monopoly press distribution system, the Nouvelles Messageries de la Presse Parisienne (NMPP). Because of the NMPP, set up by law in the late 1940's, Paris papers are delivered to newsstands throughout the country at low cost. A side effect of this system is that it makes it easier for low-circulation fake-dailies like *Rouge* or the Maoist *Quotidien du Peuple* to exist. However, the delivery system is currently threatened by the introduction of computerized facsimile transmission equipment making it possible for the big syndicates (who bankroll the NMPP) to instead produce their papers in regional editions at a lower cost.

While revolutionaries would oppose any attempts to curtail service by the NMPP, the LCR typically calls for expropriation of the distribution system and facsimile transmission equipment. In other words, these fake-Trotskyists

are calling for the bourgeois state (which in France regularly seizes issues of newspapers on political grounds) to concentrate in its hands the sole capacity for distributing the press!

Freedom of the press is an important issue for communists as well as journalists and all working people. While opposing monopolization of the media by press barons like Hersant, Hearst and their ilk, Marxists resolutely struggle against all limitations on information and expression of opinion imposed by the capitalist state. Under decaying capitalism newspaper failures and press monopolization will continue, but unlike the case of industry (where we call for expropriation) nationalization of the press by the bourgeois state does not prefigure rationalized production. Rather, it strikes a blow (immediate or potential) against democratic freedoms.

Only under a regime of soviet democracy is it possible to expropriate the reactionary press syndicates while guaranteeing true freedom of the press through equitable distribution of press facilities for all except directly counterrevolutionary tendencies. ■

Economic Recovery...

(continued from page 1)

inflation rates remain high and in some cases are rising. France, Britain and Italy all suffer inflation rates over 10 percent.

Bourgeois Pessimism and the "Secular Stagnation" Thesis

The economic upturn during 1975-76 was the weakest such recovery in the entire post-World War II period. In every one of the four previous recoveries output rose within four quarters (one year) of the upturn to 4-6 percent above the previous peak. Now five quarters after the spring 1975 upturn, output stands only 1 percent higher than the previous fourth quarter 1973 peak.

The weakness of the recovery is particularly evident in the area of capital investment. In every previous recovery, investment increased by at least 10 percent in the first year after the upturn. Today capital spending is only 3 percent higher than the low point reached in early 1975.

The unusual weakness of the recovery combined with the present imminent downturn has produced expressions of bourgeois pessimism. In the October 1 *New York Times*, mainstream liberal economist Leonard Silk recalls the "secular stagnation" thesis put forward by liberal Keynesian Alvin Hansen in the 1930's. Hansen blamed the Great Depression on long-term structural changes and argued that the classic business cycle was obsolete. In particular Hansen pointed to reduced population growth and a falling off in technological innovation. Hansen's structural stagnationism was quite vogueish until World War II revitalized the economy.

Like all forms of bourgeois pessimism (e.g., Malthusianism), the "secular stagnation" thesis ascribes the obvious failure of the capitalist economy to



Protesting workers "distribute" scab edition of *Parisien Libéré* at beginning of strike last year.

Victory to the Parisien Libéré Strike!

Although the *France-Soir* dispute has focused primarily on the issues of press monopolization and freedom of the press, the printers union—CGT Livre—reluctantly backed the journalists' protests primarily out of concern over the threat to jobs posed by the likely introduction of modern offset printing systems. A dramatic confirmation of the printers' fears—and also of their will to resist the vicious attack on their livelihood—is the bitter strike at *Parisien Libéré*, which has continued for a year and a half.

The striking printers, who walked off the job on 3 March 1975, have demonstrated tremendous determination, militancy and courage. When *Parisien Libéré* owner Emilien Amaury attempted to print a scab edition of the paper in Belgium, trucks carrying the pirate edition were stopped by an armed border patrol mounted by Belgian and French workers. In May 1975 strikers occupied the printing plant, barricading themselves behind 1,200-pound rolls of newsprint and giant metal plates to fight off the reactionary publisher's private militia and attack dogs. Since then Amaury has succeeded in printing a scab *Parisien Libéré* in the provinces, but when bundles arrive in Paris they are regularly destroyed by the striking workers.

The disputes at *France-Soir* and *Parisien Libéré* are closely related. In May of this year, the publisher of *France-Soir* and Robert Hersant (the publisher of *Figaro*, who is in the process of taking over *France-Soir*) walked out of the newspaper bosses' Syndicat de la Presse Parisienne in opposition to a proposed deal with the CGT Livre for introducing modern production techniques. In leaving the publishers association, they linked up with Amaury, who has boycotted its meetings for years. The right-wing press magnates refused to consider any negotiated agreement, clearly indicating that they intended to throw hundreds of printers onto the streets.

That the intensity of the battle at *Parisien Libéré* has not abated was demonstrated by two events which occurred in late September. First, the offices of the Paris printers union were robbed by thieves looking for documents. Second, when Amaury attended a meeting of the Syndicat, obviously encouraged by the prospect of an alliance with Hersant, the striking printers also showed up and locked the publishers in the building in an attempt to force the *Parisien Libéré* boss to negotiate.

In accordance with the militancy of
continued on page 10

factors *external* to capitalist relations of production. In contrast, Marxists understand that depressed economic conditions do not arise from negative changes in population growth or technological innovation, but from the *internal* laws of capitalist production itself. Specifically, capitalist production is governed by the rate of profit, the ratio of surplus value to the value of invested capital. Both over the course of the cycle and in the historical long run, the rate of profit is forced down by capitalist accumulation itself.

One section of bourgeois opinion holds that unemployment can be overcome through increased government spending. Traditionally this has been the program of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. To a certain extent Jimmy Carter has used this traditional line, denouncing Ford for his veto of several government appropriation bills.

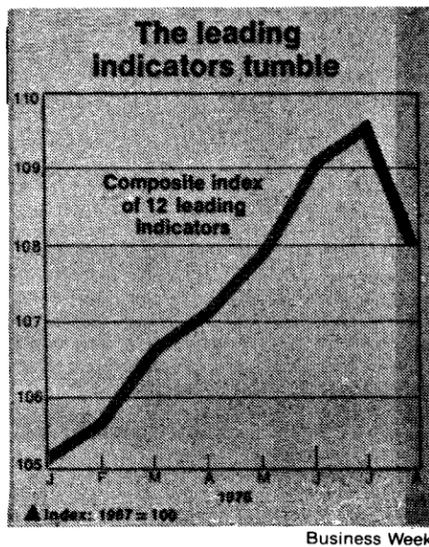
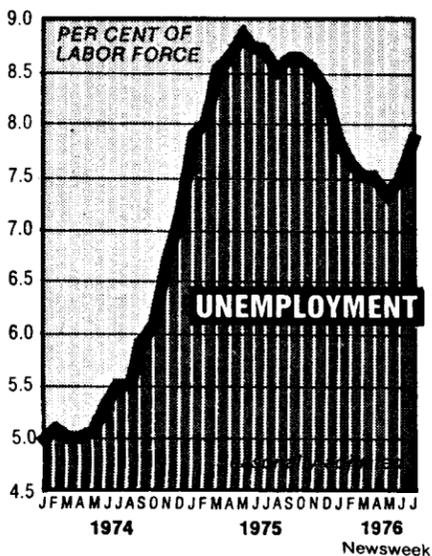
But this is just cynical electioneering. Neither Carter nor the mainstream of the Democratic Party is proposing a budget significantly higher than that favored by Ford and the Republicans. Carter did not even support the Humphrey-Hawkins bill (whose supposed goal is to drive unemployment down to 3 percent) until it was signifi-

unemployment and have a sharply *depressive* effect on the economy.

Break with the Capitalist Parties!

Both the Democrats and Republicans are solidly opposed to reducing unemployment through a massive public works program. This year these capitalist parties are hardly even talking about the usual patchwork of insignificant economic reforms. Very few workers are enthusiastic about Jimmy Carter, not to mention Gerald Ford. What binds the working class to the capitalist parties is not the illusion that these parties stand for the workers' interests, but the policy of the reactionary labor bureaucracy.

In 1971 in response to its declining position in the world economy, the American ruling class moved against its capitalist rivals abroad and the labor movement at home. Nixon devalued the dollar and announced that foreign creditors could no longer cash in their dollar holdings for gold on demand. These steps spurred an orgy of competitive currency devaluations internationally with the rival capitalist powers seeking trade advantages at each others' expense. One result of this wave of competitive devaluations was the rampant inflation during the 1972-73 boom.



cantly watered down. Most Democratic politicians, as well as the Republicans, today reject a significant increase in government expenditure.

As we have pointed out (see "Capitalist Politicians Can't Solve Unemployment," *WV* No. 98, 27 February 1976), the expansion of state expenditure, while increasing employment in the short run, drives down the rate of profit on private capital. A decisive section of the ruling class, not only in the U.S. but throughout the capitalist world, is agreed upon the need to *contract* the state sector in order to transfer resources to private profit. A program of increased fiscal austerity, designed to achieve this end, would initially increase

In August 1971 Nixon also introduced wage controls designed to drive down the relative cost of production in the U.S. The American labor bureaucracy abjectly accepted these controls, with George Meany's AFL-CIO and independent unions like the United Auto Workers (UAW) serving on Nixon's wage control board. This class-collaborationist stance continued throughout the past period. When mass unemployment set in with the depression of 1974-75, there were neither strikes nor factory occupations to prevent layoffs.

Moreover, during the recovery of the past year, the bureaucracy collaborated with the companies to keep the jobless rate high through speed-up and over-

time. While productivity (output per worker) increased a sharp 4.5 percent this past year, real wages per hour have not risen since 1973! This year, which was supposed to be the catch-up year for labor, wage increases negotiated in major contracts were actually *smaller* than in 1975.

The bad economic situation, which is going to get worse, condemns the rottenness of the capitalist system. The working masses and poor can expect nothing but more suffering from the buffeting of the economic cycle, with massive unemployment and deteriorating living conditions in store. Despite the wretched state of the world economy, which is even recognized by many bourgeois commentators, capitalism will not collapse from its own diseased condition. To achieve this, the working masses need a revolutionary, Trotskyist party capable of breaking the stranglehold of the bureaucracy over the organized labor movement. ■

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LOS ANGELES



New York demonstration Saturday in defense of jailed AIM militant Leonard Peltier.

NYC Demo Demands Freedom for Leonard Peltier

About 200 people demonstrated outside the Canadian consulate in New York City October 30 to protest the attempt of the U.S. government to extradite American Indian Movement (AIM) militant Leonard Peltier from Vancouver, B.C. to South Dakota. The U.S. wants to prosecute Peltier in a frame-up trial for the murders of two FBI agents killed in June 1975 on the Pine Ridge Indian reservation.

After a rally at the consulate, the demonstrators marched 20 blocks to FBI headquarters. Among the groups participating was the Partisan Defense Committee, which demanded "Free Leonard Peltier—Stop the Extradition." The Spartacist League (SL) carried placards demanding "End FBI Witchhunt of AIM," "Abolish the Bureau of Indian Affairs," and "Full Democratic Rights for North American Indians."

To AIM's utopian call for "self-determination" for the "Indian nation," the SL countered the demand "For Voluntary Integration of American Indians Under a Workers Government." The SL also raised the call, "Down with Exclusionism! For a United-Front Defense!", protesting incidents in Vancouver last spring and summer when AIM leaders barred the Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC) from selling its press outside a Peltier defense meeting and carrying TLC signs at a Free Peltier demonstration.

Muñoz ...

(continued from page 2)

successful campaign waged on his behalf:

"I personally have little respect for Mario Muñoz, a man who tore up his membership card in the Communist Party of Chile because the Party didn't support his trade union policies.... The money collected from the working people and their organizations to defend Mario Muñoz who was in no obvious danger would have greatly benefitted the campaign to save countless other men and women who today are still imprisoned in the torture camps of the fascist juntas of Chile, Argentina and the other fascist states."

What "campaign" is that? It is certainly not the "campaign" of the SPA, which lent back-handed support to the Videla coup and maintained a discrete silence about Argentina's persecution of left-wing and labor militants! The fiction that Muñoz "was in no obvious danger" is a threadbare rationalization for the real policy which Mesnage articulates: Muñoz should have been left defenseless before the reactionary onslaught because he opposed class collaborationism and "tore up his membership card" in the CP. Mesnage would have the workers defend only supporters of popular-front politics.

The Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand has demanded that the SPA publicly retract its irresponsible charges or stand exposed for its complicity in the defamation campaign of the reactionary Argentine and Chilean juntas. Like the Stalinist body upon which they grow, these vile and baseless slanders are the syphilis of the workers movement. ■



Jimmy Carter speaking at campaign rally in Minnesota.

Anti-Facist Laws ...

(continued from page 6)

L'Humanité reproaches us with the most hatred, pretending that we want to 'give our hand to the murderers.'

"On the contrary, *La Vérité* repeats unceasingly that 'we must execute the agents of the Gestapo, the SS, the reactionary officers. It is against them that we must give our hand to the German workers in uniform....'

"This is why the Gestapo reacted violently against our fraternization efforts. Thus, in one single case, in October 1943, against our comrades who edited *Der Arbeiter* in Brittany, 65 of our comrades, of whom 30 were German soldiers, were arrested, deported and murdered. On that occasion four members of our leadership were caught and tortured.

"But this repression did not prevent our work from continuing. Up to August 1944, we edited several organs in German, namely *Unser Wort* and *Arbeiter und Soldat*, the latter distributed in the barracks, from 5,000 to 10,000 copies."

After explaining how the Trotskyists fought against the gangster-manipulated black market and the decline in the workers' standard of living; for strikes and mass sabotage; against deportations; together with the partisans; and for workers militias and a general strike, the article concluded:

"Such is, in its general lines, the policy which our comrades defended during four years despite the violent blows of the Hitler and Pétain police. We are asked whether we belonged among the 'resisters.' But let that question be asked of the hundreds of our militants who paid with their lives or their liberty for their attachment to our ideas and their devotion to the working class.

"To speak only of a few of those shot, there is [Jean] Meichler, ex-manager of *Unser Wort*, who was among the first shot in Paris. There are Marc Bourhis and [Pierre] Gueguen, the former secretary of our Concarneau district, the latter former Communist mayor of Concarneau who rallied to our ideas,

both shot in October 1941 at Chateaubriant at the same time as Timbaud. There are young workers like Lebucher of Drancy, teachers like Thiolon of the XIth [arrondissement, Paris], regional leaders like [Robert] Cruau of Nantes, old militants like Wintley, leader of our German group in Paris, caught and murdered by the Gestapo in particularly atrocious circumstances, or young workers like Van Hulst of Suresnes, killed by a bullet in his head in a fight against the [fascist] Darnaud militia....

"Such are those whom *L'Humanité* dares call 'Gestapo agents'! Such are those about whom we are asked whether they 'resisted against Hitler!'"

Parisien Libéré...

(continued from page 8)

their ranks, the CGT Livre bureaucrats frequently adopt a tough-sounding rhetoric. Thus, in response to the journalists' protest against Hersant's projected takeover of *France-Soir*, a printers union statement argued, "To refuse Hersant as an individual at any price while at the same time undertaking efforts to favor the acquisition of the paper by others does not seem to us to be a policy to preserve and defend the interests of the workers." But the purpose of this statement was not to argue for militant struggle against all the press bosses—rather, the bureaucrats wanted to leave the way open for a deal with Hersant!

An even more disgusting sellout was the incredible May 1976 agreement between the CGT Livre and the publishers association. Under its provisions, all printers in the Paris newspaper industry who are over 57 years old will be forced into early retirement; all those under 50 will be laid off with lump-sum severance pay. As for the rest, they will be placed in new jobs and forced to take a wage cut (*Le Monde*, 9 July)! To sweeten this bitter pill, the publishers agreed to try to arrange negotiations under their auspices with Amaury in order to put an end to the festering *Parisien Libéré* strike. With a miserable leadership that can negotiate such "agreements," the printers' militancy will simply be dissipated.

The fact that it is not only the capitalists but the labor leaders themselves who are enemies of working-class militancy was suggested by a curious remark made by Amaury after being "captured" at the employers meeting by the striking printers. He wrote of his fellow publishers that "Certain among them noted...that no such invasion took place during the [Nazi] occupation...when *Signal* and the *Pariser Zeitung* were appearing" (quoted in *Le Monde*, 18 September).

This is an old slander, raised at the time of the 1946 printers strike, which was one of the first major strikes that threatened the shaky tripartite post-liberation government. Forgetting about the mass sabotage carried on by

Irish Anarchists Threatened with Execution

Stop the Hangings! Free the Murrays!

As we go to press the Irish Supreme Court is deciding on an appeal of two Dublin anarchists convicted of killing a policeman and sentenced to death by hanging. Marie and Noel Murray were picked up in a police dragnet of local anarchists after the *gardai* was killed in a bank robbery. They had been sought on earlier charges of bombing Spanish government buildings in Ireland.

The Murrays were convicted in the new "Special Criminal Courts" where they had no right to a trial by jury. A panel of judges convicted them on the basis of police "evidence" and testimony gained by torture. Moreover, the government has attempted to gag all criticism of the trial in the press, citing the *Irish Times* and the fortnightly *Hibernia* for contempt of court.

The victimization of the Murrays and the wide-ranging press censorship are part of a general intensification of government repression following the killing of the British ambassador to Ireland, Christopher Ewart-Biggs, by an IRA bomb on July 21. This particularly stupid piece of terrorism came on the eve of a parliamentary debate on a bill for emergency powers and served to stampede public opinion and the legislators into supporting this police-state measure.

Under the emergency measures IRA members can be sentenced to as many as seven years for "membership in an illegal organization"; "suspected terrorists" can be held for up to a week without charges; and the army can now, for the first time, detain civilians suspects. It was in this atmosphere of "anti-terrorist" hysteria that the Murrays were tried without jury, summarily convicted and given the death penalty.

Clearly the reactionary government of Liam Cosgrave intends to "make an example" of the two framed-up anarchists.

Although the contempt charges against newspapers which reported allegations that the Murrays had been tortured have intimidated potential opposition to the threatened hanging, their case has given new urgency to moves to abolish the death penalty in Ireland. The Irish Labour Party and civil-libertarian groups are currently pushing for the abolition of capital punishment. The Murrays' lives may very well depend on a broad mobilization against legal lynching and all the government's repressive legislation.

In defending the Murrays as part of the left, the Spartacist League condemns the futile and self-defeating politics of petty-bourgeois despair that motivate the sensational actions of the anarchist movement. But at least the anarchists have a history of picking targets that are symbols or representatives of the capitalist exploiters, unlike the IRA and Protestant paramilitaries who regularly engage in indiscriminate terror against working people.

The Partisan Defense Committee has sent telegrams to the Irish government protesting the threatened execution of the Murrays and demanding their unconditional freedom. Readers of *WV* are encouraged to do likewise, and can address protests to: The Minister for Justice, Republic of Ireland, 72-76 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, 2, Ireland; and to the Embassy of the Republic of Ireland, 2234 Massachusetts Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008. Stop the Hanging! Abolish the Death Penalty—Down with the Emergency Laws! Free the Murrays Now!

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VANCOUVER

the French workers against the occupiers, the proponents of "industrial peace" implied that the printers were practically collaborators for not refusing to set the Nazi papers.

What is revealing is who originated this scurrilous attack: none other than Communist Party leader Maurice Thorez. At a time when he was telling French workers that "The strike is the weapon of the trusts," he said of the striking printers: "These are anarchists who dishonored themselves during the war! I have never heard of a printing worker who refused to print the *Pariser Zeitung*!" (quoted in Georgette Elgey, *Histoire de la IVe République*). So once again the printers are subjected to this Stalinist slander, which the reactionary Amaury can repeat with hardly a comma changed.

Instead of the treacherous "deals" worked out by the CGT Livre misleaders, a genuine class-struggle leadership would resolutely support the *France-Soir* journalists' protests against actual and threatened censorship while extending the printers' and newsmen's struggle to mobilize the support of the entire labor movement. To answer the capitalist-manipulated crisis in the French newspaper industry, printers must fight for a drastically shorter workweek with no loss in pay and an industry-wide hiring hall. Victory to the *Parisien Libéré* strike! ■

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Sadlowski . . .

(continued from page 3)

meeting attacking Sadlowski's lack of program and his record as District 31 director. The leaflet noted his failure to fight layoffs and pointed out that:

"Sadlowski doesn't challenge Abel on any of his basic policies: in fact, his vague program of 'return the union to the membership,' 'support of the right to strike,' and denunciations of 'tuxedo unionism' are all borrowed chapter and verse from I.W. Abel's 1965 campaign against then-president McDonald!"

As opposed to Sadlowski's reliance on the bourgeois government in union elections, and to reformist oppositions that limit their program to simple trade unionism, these militants called for a class-struggle union leadership which would fight for a workers government.

The essential similarity between the Sadlowski and Abel-loyalist campaigns is becoming clearer day by day. While McBride adds militants to his slate and calls the employers "bastards," Sadlowski is having difficulty in avoiding exposure for what he is, a "militant" office-seeking bureaucrat. Punching holes in Sadlowski's "progressive" facade is a necessary beginning to the building of a class-struggle opposition in the USWA, counterposed to both the Abel and Sadlowski labor fakers. ■

Gary Tyler . . .

(continued from page 4)

struggle chants, such as "Smash the Nazis, Smash the Klan—Only Workers Defense Guards Can," and demanded Gary Tyler's immediate release.

To free Gary Tyler the broadest mobilization of labor, socialist and civil-rights organizations is necessary. This unity is not aided by the internecine organizational jockeying among groups supporting Gary Tyler. Thus, at present there are at least three competing national Gary Tyler defense committees/coalitions. Even at this supposedly united demonstration in Detroit there were several instances of such maneuvering.

At the *Free Press*, marchers demanded to see an editor, and a delegation went upstairs to confront spokesmen for the paper while a picket-line was re-organized outside. A short time later supporters of the Red Tide, youth group of the social-democratic I.S., decided to return inside the building. Members of NSCAR opposed this and at one point locked arms in front of the doorway to keep the Red Tiders from entering. The purpose of the Red Tide's unexpected tactics was not explained and tended to disorganize a united demonstration. However, NSCAR's obstructive tactics in the presence of a growing number of Detroit cops must be condemned.

Today Gary Tyler is still fighting for his life. Although the U.S. Supreme Court struck down Louisiana's death penalty law as being too broad and arbitrary, the state's attorneys are still arguing for Tyler's execution.

A genuinely united, non-sectarian class-struggle defense must be conducted to demand freedom for Gary Tyler. All legal channels must be pursued, but the defense must not be restricted to reliance on bourgeois "justice." The Spartacist statement to the rally concluded: "It is the task of the working class to smash racial oppression and free all Gary Tylers through proletarian revolution."

Free Gary Tyler—Drop all charges now! Abolish the death penalty! Smash the Klan!

Le Bolchévik

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Rhodesia Flim-Flam . . .

(continued from page 12)

who have consistently demanded unification of the feuding nationalist factions, and who control access to the guerrilla camps.

The blustering of the four nationalist spokesmen—besides Nkomo and Mugabe there are delegations led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa of the African National Council (ANC) and Ndabaningi Sithole, who contests Mugabe's claim to lead ZANU—is primarily aimed at isolating Smith before world public opinion, therefore making it more difficult for the U.S. to give even tacit support to the white-supremacist regime in the future. But while justly denouncing the outrageous crimes committed by Rhodesian troops and the brutal subjugation of the black majority, the nationalists' ultimate purpose is to put pressure on Britain to tame Smith's upstart settler state.

"Radical" Mugabe joins "moderate" Nkomo in appealing to the magnanimity of Britain, whose control over the territory dates from the late 19th century freebooting expeditions of empire builder Cecil Rhodes. According to Mugabe, "It is the responsibility of Britain as a colonial power and of no

Josiah Chinamano. In order to get its hands on a few ministerial posts, Chinamano indicated that ZAPU would accept "a qualified franchise . . . provided of course that it gives blacks a majority." He cautioned that Smith's insistence on white ministers of defense and "law and order" "conveyed to the African the concept of white domination." He hastened to add, however, that "there are whites the Africans would be happy to see running defense and police."

Today, Nkomo, Mugabe and their supporters among the "front-line presidents" hope to use the continuing guerrilla attacks as political leverage to force Britain's hand. The fly in the ointment is that the toothless British lion won't roar. The Labour government has so far refused to assign a cabinet member in place of Ivor Richard, Britain's UN ambassador who is currently chairing the Geneva meetings. Richard's insistence that he is a neutral arbiter is likewise indicative of London's reluctance to take on a major role in policing Rhodesia. So the nationalists have turned to the U.S.

According to the 1 November *New York Times*, Kissinger is now saying that:

"... Britain faces the choice of enacting a significant role in the transition or the far worse prospect of the collapse of the talks, the escalation of the guerrilla war and direct threats toward the white

interim "Council of State" as a path out of the predictable conference stalemate.

The problem with this latest brainstorm, as with the entire attempt at Rhodesian "shuttle diplomacy," is that the chances of any kind of negotiated "solution" are extremely slim. The ability of the endlessly compromising (and compromised) nationalist leaders to administer a slightly disguised white-supremacist Rhodesia is highly doubtful. And certainly the white minority will not peacefully relinquish its privileged position at a bargaining table in Geneva. A bloody demise is in store for Cecil Rhodes' legacy.

But if the Geneva farce is ultimately futile, it, like the rest of the history of the Rhodesian nationalist groups, demonstrates once again the Trotskyist thesis that in the age of imperialism the colonial bourgeoisie (or aspiring bourgeois nationalists) cannot achieve even the democratic tasks of national liberation from colonial oppression. In the Rhodesian case, not only would a black bourgeois-led Zimbabwe be subordinated to imperialist domination (as are more "radical" African states such as Angola, Mozambique or Somalia), but its prospective leaders repeatedly offer to abandon the elementary bourgeois-democratic principle of "one man, one vote."

While standing on the side of the various black nationalist guerrilla groups in any military conflict with the white-supremacist Rhodesian regime, Marxists underline the absolute necessity of a revolutionary Leninist vanguard party of the working class to liberate the impoverished masses of southern Africa. Rooted in the powerful black proletariat of South Africa, such a Trotskyist party will lead the struggle for national emancipation that the Nkomos, Sitholes and Mugabes can only betray in order to impose their own class domination. ■



ANC supporters wearing T-shirts with picture of ANC leader Muzorewa. S.S.

one else to grant us our right to self-determination." Nkomo chimes in, "The simple and straightforward issue before the conference is that of the transfer of power from the colonizer, the United Kingdom government, to the people of Zimbabwe through a process of decolonization" (*New York Times*, 30 October).

Servile appeals to British imperialism have long been characteristic of the nationalist leaders' strategy in Rhodesia, despite the fact that the UK never once exercised its legal right to veto legislation discriminatory against Africans, which it had reserved when granting dominion status to its colony in 1923. At a 1961 constitutional conference, Nkomo, Sithole and other nationalist leaders accepted a proposal by Commonwealth secretary Duncan Sandys to establish a separate African voting roll to elect only 15 out of 65 members of the Rhodesian parliament. (Subsequently the chagrined leaders denounced the deal.)

Since UDI, the nationalists and African heads of state have repeatedly demanded British military intervention. Only the intransigence of the Rhodesian Front government and the complete worthlessness of successive negotiations initiated by Labour and Conservative governments in London forced the nationalists to hesitatingly launch guerrilla warfare.

Geneva Prospects

That the nationalists would even today be willing to make far-reaching and criminal concessions to white supremacy is evident from a frank interview in *Newsweek* (11 November) given by Nkomo's second-in-command,

minority, outnumbered 22 to 1, many of whom carry dual British citizenship."

But even though the State Department's top African specialist, William Schaufele, has been dispatched to Geneva, allegedly to pressure Britain and Smith; and even though Washington has more than enough leverage to put the squeeze on the Labour government (via the IMF guarantee for the sinking pound), the UK manifestly lacks the wherewithal to mount a major operation in Rhodesia at this point. Hence the rumors now being floated of a Commonwealth "peace-keeping force" drawn from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Ghana and Nigeria, and a British head for the

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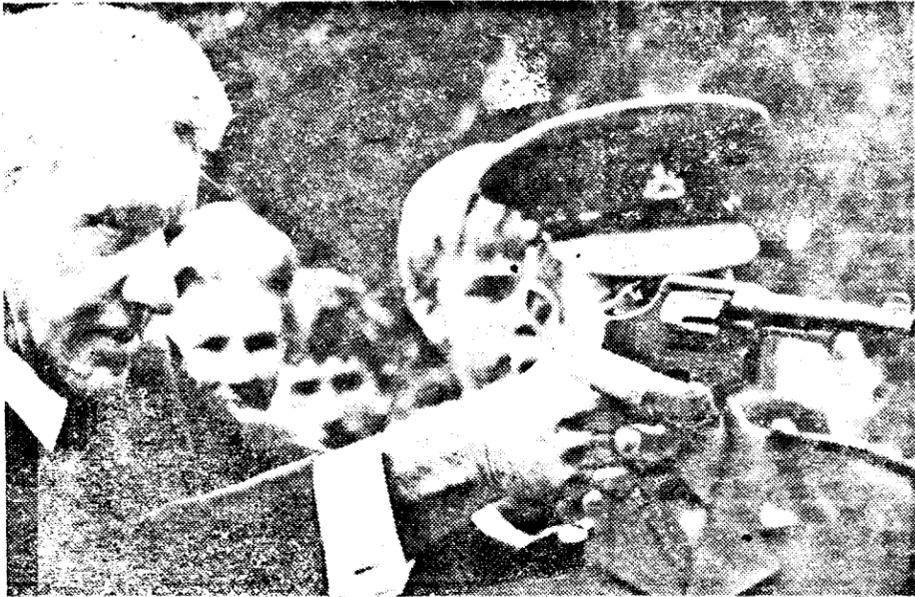
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Empty Talkathon in Geneva

Kissinger's Rhodesia Flim-Flam

NOVEMBER 1—Henry Kissinger's two-faced negotiations aimed at erecting a docile, anti-communist black bourgeois regime in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) while protecting the property and privileges of the white minority ought to earn him a reputation as the Jimmy Carter of international diplomacy.

Never publicly revealing the content of proposals raised during his whirlwind African tours—nor apparently even consigning them to paper—the U.S. secretary of state laid a deliberately ambiguous foundation for the current Geneva conference on Rhodesia. To Salisbury's racist prime minister, Ian Smith, Kissinger's proposals represent a non-negotiable "package deal," whose key elements are an end to guerrilla warfare, lifting of international economic sanctions, a white-majority "Council of State" and white control of the army and police during the two-year "transition period."

To the several black nationalist delegations at the conference, specifics of the interim government are open to negotiation. They maintain that the acceptable aspects of Kissinger's chameleon-like plan are Smith's public commitment to majority rule and the convening of the international conference. To a man, these so-called "anti-imperialists" are demanding that Britain reimpose its colonial authority over Rhodesia as a prelude to independence under black rule.

Confirming the duplicitous character of his African "shuttle diplomacy," Kissinger last week said of the diverse interpretations of his proposals: "I think

everyone is telling the truth" (*New York Times*, 29 October)!

Smith's Hard Line

Salisbury's delegation is headed by a poker-faced Smith who clings tenaciously to the plan as he outlined it on September 24. Since the Rhodesian Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965, Smith has gone through six rounds of negotiations, both with British representatives and black nationalist leaders. Each time he has confirmed the white settlers' perception that, no matter how great an embarrassment, the British imperialists (and their big brother in Washington) will take no steps to endanger the safety or entrenched privileges of their "kith and kin" in Rhodesia. With the U.S. and Britain already pledging a multi-billion dollar trust fund to protect white Rhodesians' property, this latter-day Colonel Blimp seems hopeful that continued intransigence may yet buy more time.

Two weeks ago, Smith told an interviewer:

"It is essential that we stand and fight for something worthwhile; that can only be obtained while we negotiate from strength.... We must first complete the exercise that Dr. Kissinger has started and then we will know what's involved. The terrorists will try to wreck everything."

When asked what will happen if the conference breaks down, Smith replied:

"We will then have to move ahead on our own, won't we? There is no turning back now. There are plenty of black moderates who will come forward to join our new government. Together, we can make a new multiracial era work effectively."

—*Newsweek*, 18 October



Henry Kissinger

UPI

Smith clearly hopes that he can hide behind Kissinger's insidious plan and deadlock the conference, while pinning the blame on the nationalists. In that event, he can further extend the "multi-racial" window-dressing of his regime, bringing in large numbers of tribal chiefs and quisling black politicians. In contrast to South Africa where whites constitute 20 percent of the population, Rhodesia's tiny white minority (less than 5 percent) has already been compelled to rely more heavily on black collaborators at all levels of government. This includes a limited black representation in parliament and, since April, seven black members of the cabinet.

This hard-line strategy is based on Smith's belief that his armed forces can indefinitely contain the Mozambique-based guerrillas while he maneuvers for international aid. But although Salisbury still retains the upper hand militarily, increased defense expenditures and troop deployments and the guerrilla threat to Rhodesia's remaining

road and rail links with South Africa threaten to bring its economy to a crashing halt. Moreover, since the toppling of Portuguese colonial rule in Angola and Mozambique, overt imperialist support to Smith has become far too costly.

As Smith will eventually find out, the "Kissinger exercise" in pacifying Rhodesia does not coincide with the pipedreams of his Rhodesian Front Party diehards. The grand strategist of U.S. imperialism hopes to avert the spectre of Soviet-supplied nationalist guerrilla war and shore up South Africa as a bulwark of anti-communism by welding an alliance between the most moderate nationalists and white liberal politicians and businessmen in Rhodesia.

Black Nationalists Appeal to British Colonialism

Central to this strategy of a negotiated transition to "majority rule" is Joshua Nkomo, lifetime president of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). Prominent in nationalist politics since the early 1950's, Nkomo portrays himself as the model of forgive-and-forget sweet reasonableness, a potential Jomo Kenyatta of a black bourgeois-led Zimbabwe. He reportedly enjoys the sympathy of much of the Rhodesian business community, particularly British investors. Significantly, his delegation in Geneva includes several whites, including former Rhodesian prime minister Garfield Todd.

Additionally, through his recently negotiated "patriotic front" with militant-talking Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) leader Robert Mugabe, Nkomo can now indirectly claim the backing of the guerrilla forces. The linchpin of the Nkomo-Mugabe alliance is support from the presidents of the "front-line states" (Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique and Angola)

continued on page 11

**Videla Regime Slanders
Muñoz Campaign 2**