



Peking rally against "Gang of Four." AP

Blood Flows as Clique Warfare Rages

Pitched Battles Explode in China

For Workers Political Revolution Against All the Bureaucratic Gangs!

JANUARY 4—Last week Chinese radio broadcasts announced that civil war conditions had engulfed the vast southwestern province of Szechwan:

"Because of sabotage by the gang of four, civil war and factionalism did not cease in our province. Many class brothers who had fought shoulder to shoulder became enemies and the previous lives were sacrificed in all-round civil war. Armed struggle was protracted and large in scale, and people's lives and property suffered serious loss."

—*New York Times*, 1 January

The day before, Reuters reported that "informed sources" told the agency's correspondent of mass violence in the city of Paoting, south of Peking, which involved "raids on military arsenals, looting of grain shops, bank

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Shanghai militiamen

Jerrold Schecter/Time

What Steel "Rebel" Told Penthouse

Will the Real Ed Sadlowski Please Stand Up?!

It has become trendy for up-and-coming, with-it national candidates to be interviewed by the large circulation glossy sex magazines, presumably to demonstrate the newcomers' swinging, progressive outlooks in contrast to the stodgy attitudes of the incumbents. First there was Jimmy Carter's *Playboy* interview in October and now United Steelworkers oppositionist Ed Sadlowski tells-it-like-it-is in the January *Penthouse*.

Throughout his campaign Sadlowski has spoken out of both sides of his mouth, his message depending on the nature of his audience. The *Penthouse*

interview is particularly useful because it rudely deflates the claims of his "left" apologists. Most astounding is his apparently seriously intended "solution" to the health and safety hazards, overwork, etc., faced daily by workers in steel mills and plants: *eliminate 75 percent of the existing jobs!!*

Most of the left has chosen to report only those statements by Sadlowski that would appear to justify jumping on his bandwagon. Particularly adept at the art of prettifying by omission has been the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) *Militant*. Justifying the reformist policy of all-out support to this bureaucrat-on-

the-make, SWP national secretary Jack Barnes' report to the 1976 SWP convention says of Sadlowski's Steelworkers Fightback:

"While the ruling class is falsifying and campaigning against this movement, we tell the truth about it... It can be a center of attention for every rebel grouping in American Labor, every group of workers anywhere who are groping toward union democracy and class-struggle politics."

The following excerpts compare the *Penthouse* interview to the *Militant*, proving what the Spartacist League has said all along: far from being some kind of socialist or even "anti-capitalist," in

both formal program and intent, Sadlowski is equally as rotten as the candidate of the incumbent I. W. Abel regime, Lloyd McBride. If victorious, the double-talking "steel rebel" will tighten the faltering grip of the American labor bureaucracy in holding back the struggles of the working class.

JOB

MILITANT

Sadlowski: "They're producing tons of steel at cheaper labor costs than ever before. Fifteen years ago you had

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New York Times

Iva Toguri d'Aquino in Japanese cell, 1945.

The story of the more than 100,000 jailed in World War II racist round-up:

The Agony of Japanese Americans in U.S. Concentration Camps 6

How U.S. imperialism persecuted Iva Toguri:

In Defense of "Tokyo Rose" 7



Linda Jenness

WV Photo



SL spokesman Kay Blanchard

SL Challenges Male-Exclusionist SWP Meeting

Hoping that the time was right for a resurrection of the now largely dissipated women's movement, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) held a conference on "Women's Liberation and Socialism" at Columbia University in New York on December 17-18. Unfortunately for the SWP, the 200 to 300 participants were mostly their own members, right-wing feminists from *Majority Report* and a few supporters of ostensibly socialist organizations.

The conference reeked with reformist gimmickry and feminist imbecility, including the exclusion of men from the workshops. The SWP hoped by such catering to backward consciousness to win the support of unreconstructed feminists (who were not noticeably interested). The largely petty-bourgeois radical women's movement of the late 1960's has long since splintered into various sects espousing Maoism, several varieties of life-stylism and standard Democratic Party politics, and is not about to be resurrected.

On Friday evening Evelyn Reed, lead-off speaker for the SWP, gave a schoolmarmish recitation of the "victories" of the women's movement in the past ten years, but was unable to explain why so many of the "victories" have undergone serious erosion recently or why the "movement" has not flocked to the SWP. Unable to respond politically to a comrade from the Spartacist League (SL), who counterposed the Leninist conception of women's emancipation through proletarian revolution and criticized the SWP's abandonment of Trotskyism in favor of minimal reformist demands for women (illustrated by the SWP's refusal to call in its front

groups for free abortion on demand), Reed answered demagogically: "Out there women are in *action!* Are you with them or against them?"

The SWP's attempts to implement male exclusionism met with vociferous protests from the SL. But although everyone who spoke on the question supported the Spartacist position of non-exclusion, the SWP refused to count the extremely close vote, insisting that the majority had decided in favor of male exclusion. At this point, the male SL supporters walked out and were joined by several other participants who were disgusted by this exclusion of communists through the introduction of one of the worst practices of feminism.

A special report on "Women's Liberation in Spain" by Linda Jenness concluded the conference. Her thesis, that the women's movement is the same all over the world—i.e., nothing but a struggle for democratic rights—was exposed by Spartacist speakers for the blind reformism which it is. Jenness refused to answer the SL comrades' questions as to whether the SWP would call for "free speech for fascists" in Spain, as it does in the U.S. However, she privately admitted to the SL after her speech that "We support free speech for fascists in this country and in Spain."

This call for free speech for the reactionary terrorists who are dedicated to drowning the workers movement in blood—not only in the U.S., where fascists do not at present constitute a major threat, but in Spain, where there is a pre-revolutionary situation—reveals the SWP's total lack of revolutionary perspective or even the slightest class instinct. It is only logical that, having drawn a sex line where the class line should be, the SWP has no trouble with supporting free speech for fascist scum while denying it to male communists.

The victory of the proletariat, which alone can liberate women and all the oppressed, will be the result of a struggle for the full Transitional Program and militant class solidarity. Feminists and the cowardly opportunists who capitulate to them are roadblocks to that victory. ■

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Federal "Investigation" of FALN Bombings

Stop Grand Jury Witchhunt of Puerto Rican Militants!

CHICAGO—A grand jury was convened here recently to investigate the circumstances surrounding the discovery of an alleged "terrorist bomb factory" on the city's predominantly Puerto Rican Northwest Side. The grand jury and preceding FBI and Chicago police investigations have been the occasion for an escalating witchhunt against the Puerto Rican independence movement.

On June 8 four bombs exploded within minutes of each other at Chicago police headquarters, the First National Bank, Bank Leumi Le-Israel and the John Hancock Center. All four of these symbols of imperialist oppression received only minor damage. Although no one has yet claimed credit for these bombings, the police and FBI have attributed them to the Puerto Rican nationalist FALN (Frente Armado de Liberación Nacional—Armed National Liberation Front). A manhunt, including a nationwide alert, was launched immediately after the explosions to track down William Pintoda, Carlos Fonesca Ortiz and his wife Adelina Rodríguez Ramírez, all alleged members of the FALN. The notorious "shoot-to-kill" mayor Daley threatened to undertake a racist stop-and-frisk dragnet in the Loop (downtown), "and maybe by chance we might be able to run into some of these people with the box [explosives]. . . ."

As the grand jury witchhunt extended its tentacles, Carlos Alberto Torres, owner of the building where the "bomb factory" was found, was added to the list of hunted alleged FALN members. The 80-man police and FBI squad that

raided the "factory" allegedly confiscated a "secret ledger" that "may lead to Puerto Rican terrorists here and abroad." The "bomb factory" was also linked to bombings in New York, Washington, D.C. and Puerto Rico.

In Chicago three Puerto Rican activists, Juan López, José López and Mirna Selgado López have been subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury, although there is no mention on the subpoena as to what they are to testify about. None of the three has been accused of any crime, and the government even admits that it has no evidence to connect any of them to the "bomb factory" or the FALN. This case of grand jury harassment—in which a treacherous "immunity" from prosecution is backed up by threats of jailings for contempt of court and loss of employment—is a classic FBI fishing expedition. The only "crime" of the three intended victims is their refusal to talk to the "feds" or cooperate with the manhunt. Juan López was delivered his subpoena by FBI agents who stopped him at gunpoint and said, "You wouldn't talk to us, so now you'll talk to the grand jury."

Defense efforts on behalf of the three have been organized by the Chicago Committee to Stop the Grand Jury, led by supporters of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP). Two well-attended demonstrations have been held outside the federal building, which houses the courtroom, under the slogans: "Stop the Grand Jury!" "No Collaboration with the FBI and other Repressive Forces!" "Stop the Harass-

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WV Photo

December 8 demonstration in front of the Chicago Federal Building protesting grand jury investigation of the Puerto Rican Independence movement.

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Hoxha Purges Pro-Peking Ministers

Albania: Last Hope for Maoists Without a Country

Confused and disoriented by the power struggles taking place within the Chinese bureaucracy, Maoist groups in the West have been treating readers of their press to an extraordinary exhibition of feinting, dodging and fast footwork in an attempt to avoid taking a position which may tomorrow brand them as "capitalist roaders." In the U.S., the Revolutionary Communist Party has been strangely silent on the question of the "Gang of Four," while the October League (OL)—after its blunder of sending condolences to the "gang's" leader, Chiang Ching, shortly before she was purged—has ventured only to paraphrase statements from the Chinese press.

But if many Maoist groups have been uncharacteristically reticent about recent events in China, several have become more than usually ardent in praising their other "socialist paradise"—tiny Albania. Thus when the Albanian Party of Labor (PPS) held its seventh party congress last month, the OL used the occasion to publish two lengthy articles in the *Call* glorifying Albania as the "lighthouse of socialism" in Europe. Even more fulsome in their accolades were some of the European Maoists, with the Portuguese Communist Party/Reconstructed (PCP-R) and the Communist Party of Germany/Marxist-Leninist (KPD-ML) now hailing Albanian leader Enver Hoxha as the



Albanian sheepherders drive flock to market.

Gun Kessle

deformed workers state to glorify? "Socialism in one country" has nothing in common with socialism as Marx conceived of it, yet it certainly does need its one country. "Where's your country?" Stalinist cretins of both the pro-Soviet and pro-Chinese variety love to jeer at Trotskyists, hoping to relieve themselves of the necessity to answer Marxist criticism. Yet with the Soviet Union having somehow become "social-imperialist" and the future of China a lot less predictable than it seemed when Chairman Mao was around, there is not a great deal left to choose from in the

got their signals crossed, as the Albanian party congress rubber-stamped the purge of several top government leaders and took several large steps toward an open break with China.

Among the disgraced leaders were the agriculture minister, the education minister and the chief economic planner. In part, the dismissal of key economic officials derives from Albania's worsening economic situation: from 1970 to 1974 production of foodstuffs stagnated despite the expanding population. Additionally, the expelled ministers are charged with wanting a rapprochement between Albania, the Soviet Union and the West. However, several Western newspapers claim that the purge victims actually supported a pro-Peking line.

Coupled with these purges has been an increased emphasis on the need for "self-reliance," reminiscent of the rhetoric which preceded Albania's break with the Soviet Union in 1960. Although hailed by New Leftists as "participatory democracy" writ large, "self-reliance" is a code word for "socialism in one country" as suited to the predicament of small deformed workers states in danger of being swallowed up by their larger neighbors. It is not an accident that its major proponents are Albania's Enver Hoxha and North Korea's Kim Il Sung. It is also useful, at times, to large "socialist" powers (such as China) which are reluctant to share their resources with smaller "brother" countries (such as Vietnam). Whatever the particular rationale, however, "self-reliance" condemns backward and impoverished countries to remain backward and impoverished.

No longer secure in the belief that they are backed by 800 million Chinese (2 million Albanians can't be wrong?!), the admirers of the Ilyrian "socialist" paradise on the shores of the Adriatic have been particularly sensitive to any mention of Albanian economic backwardness. In Portugal, PCP-R leader Eduardo Pires, speaking to a mass rally after returning from the seventh congress of the PPS in Tirana, complained that "all the bourgeois speak in chorus of a socialism of misery" in Albania. Not so, he declared. "For years there has not been a single unemployed in Albania" (!), said Pires, adding "The Albanian people is the only one in the world which pays no taxes" (*Bandeira Vermelha*, 1

December)!!

But despite important economic advances since the Hoxha regime took power after World War II, Albania remains the most impoverished nation of Europe. Its economic structure rests primarily on agriculture and travellers report that Albania is one of the few countries where traditional peasant dress is actually worn by much of the population. Whatever advances the Albanian economy has enjoyed have come almost exclusively through foreign assistance, with imports from the USSR running at double the rate of Albanian exports until 1960. While China now occupies the dominant position in Albania's foreign trade, its actual assistance has been far more limited than Russia's before it.

Even according to the rare official economic statistics, wages in agricultural collectives were only 20 lek (approximately one dollar) a day in 1970. Streets and railroads are built by young people in what the PPS euphemistically refers to as "socialist education" but in reality amounts to unpaid forced labor. Under such backward conditions, "self-reliance" can only result in a worsening of the conditions of "socialist life" for the masses of Albanian workers and peasants.

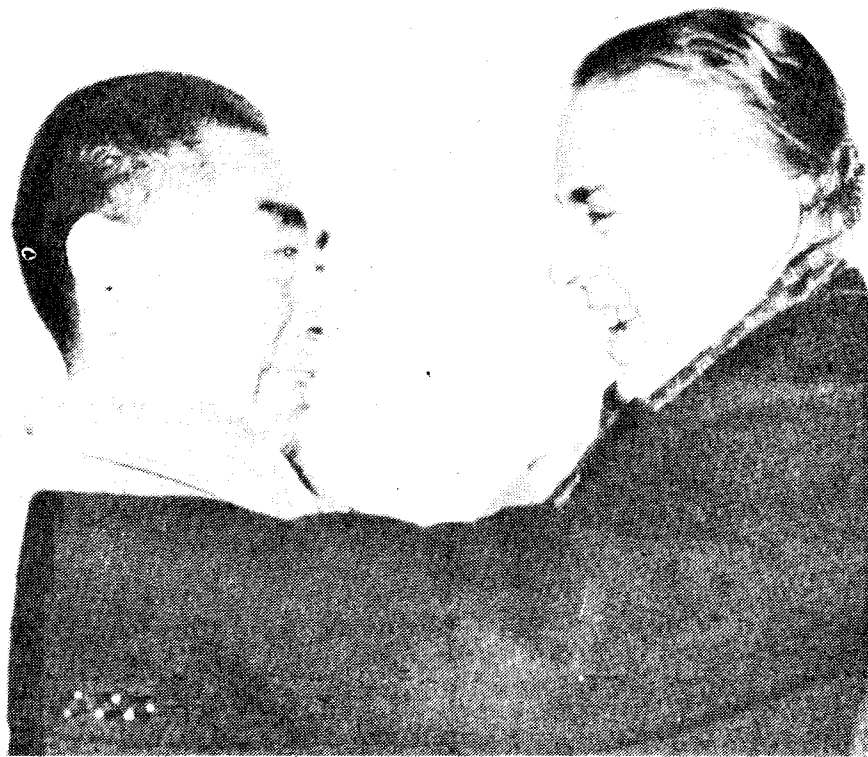
Tito/Stalin/Mao's Little Brother

The purge at the seventh congress and unmistakable signs of an estrangement from China indicate that Enver Hoxha may be in the throes of a break-up with his "socialist" benefactor for the third time in three decades. The Albanian Party of Labor was formed in 1941 under the aegis of Tito's Yugoslav Communist Party, and Hoxha's "National Liberation Front" seized power in 1944 as an adjunct of the Yugoslav partisans' successful routing of Nazi occupation forces.

The PPS saw its first task as the establishment of a "people's democratic government in an Albania that has been liberated from fascism" (Jan Myrdal, *Albania Defiant* [1976]). This classic Stalinist popular-front policy could not, however, be realized in practice for lack of bourgeois forces willing to ally with it. As a minor act of the Yugoslav revolution and in the context of Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe, the peasant-dominated PPS created a deformed workers state. Its ties to Tito were strengthened by the existence of a million-strong Albanian minority in southern Yugoslavia.

After driving out the Nazis, Tito set up a customs union with his Albanian satellite and coordinated economic planning for the two countries. However, when Stalin broke with Tito in 1948, Hoxha, smarting under Yugoslavia's "great power pretensions" and fearing that his own little bailiwick would soon become just one more Yugoslav republic, abrogated all treaties with the "superpower" next door. Pro-Yugoslav elements of the PPS were purged and for the most part physically liquidated. Among them were Koci Xoxe, ex-major general and former vice president and interior minister. As could be expected in Albania, infamous

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Chou En-lai (left) embracing Enver Hoxha.

Eastfoto

"greatest living Marxist-Leninist."

What is behind this adulation of primitive Albania as a Marxist-Leninist Shangri-la, and of Hoxha as the new "ML" pope? It is apparent that many Maoists feel the necessity to hedge their bets against the possible "loss" of China. With a subjectivist analysis of class relations which posits that "social imperialism" can at any moment assert itself by means of the bad will of the political leadership (as supposedly happened in the USSR)... who knows what evil lurks in the mind of Chairman Hua?

But what is a Stalinist without his

way of a glorious socialist fatherland. It is under these trying circumstances that nervous Maoists have located the forefront of socialism in the sheep pastures of Albania.

Purge and "Self-Reliance"

For the OL, at least, Albania must have seemed a "safe bet," and its two-part article was filled with banalities like, "The Seventh Congress will undoubtedly deepen the party's revolutionary political line and set high goals for the future" (*Call*, 8 November). But once again it seems that Klonsky & Co.

U.S., Pinochet Propaganda Bonanza

Behind the Corvalán-Bukovsky Deal

by the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria of Chile

The Chilean military junta has freed Luis Corvalán, general secretary of the Chilean Communist Party (PCCCh). After his arrest on 20 September 1973, Corvalán became the best-known figure among the popular-front leaders held in the dictatorship's concentration camps.

Corvalán, a 44-year veteran of the PCCCh, had seen prison and exile before, when another popular front brought to power Gabriel González Videla, a representative of the Radical Party. This coalition of reformist workers parties and bourgeois parties, called the Democratic Alliance, was made up of the PCCCh, the Socialist Party (PS) and the Radicals. The policy of capitulation to the bourgeoisie brought the PCCCh no great rewards: it was outlawed in 1948 primarily as a result of an important Communist-led strike by the Lota coal miners. González Videla had no qualms about forcibly suppressing his former collaborators, yet a faction in the PCCCh led by Reinoso, who favored an armed uprising against the government, was expelled for ultraleftism.

Ten years later Corvalán was elected general secretary and faithfully followed in his predecessors' footsteps, delivering the proletariat bound hand and foot to the bourgeoisie. Thus in 1970 the CP was one of the staunchest proponents of Salvador Allende's popular front, thanks to which the Chilean proletariat today stands defeated, savagely crushed physically as well as politically. After the 29 June 1973 dress-rehearsal coup, *compañero* Corvalán stated: "We will continue to support the absolutely professional character of our armed forces. Their enemies are not in the ranks of the people but among the reactionaries" (meeting of 8 July 1973).

Corvalán, imprisoned on Dawson

anti-communist propaganda ploy and in exchange for economic treaties which the Soviet bureaucracy reached with Chile with Rumania as intermediary.

Already on 6 September 1974, one year after the coup, the Organización Trotskista Revolucionaria de Chile (OTR) stated in an interview with *Informations Ouvrières*: "At the end of the first year of the massacre [the bourgeoisie] is trying particularly to wipe the revolutionary workers off the face of the earth—assassinating them—while the traitorous bureaucrats are relatively well-treated in prison, in the hope of a definitive deal between the bonapartist Soviet bureaucracy and the Chilean military junta." We also added, "... therefore Corvalán will not be shot, since he represents for the junta the last possibility of subordinating the workers movement." (This interview was never published, since the OCI leader in charge told us it was too "abstract.")

The Chilean junta, along with imperialism and international reaction, took advantage of this "exchange" of prisoners to carry out a forceful campaign of anti-communism, which has been joined in practice by such left organizations as the French OCI and its international conglomeration (the OCRFI), as well as West European Communist parties such as the French PCF.

As revolutionary militants, Chilean Trotskyists, we hail the release of Luis Corvalán, for which we struggled unremittingly, as well as for the life and liberty of all prisoners of rightist repression. We are likewise heartened by the release of Vladimir Bukovsky—our struggle is aimed also against repression by the anti-working-class bureaucratic regimes. We strongly reject Bukovsky's praise of the prisoner exchange and in particular his counterrevolutionary "humorous" suggestion that Brezhnev be exchanged for Pinochet; but we defend his freedom of expression in the Soviet Union as well as that of open reactionaries à la Solzhenitsyn, so long as this is not expressed in counterrevolutionary actions.

These two cases cannot be thrown into the same bag—there is a vast abyss separating Chile and the USSR: the abyss of the class character of their respective states. We cannot abandon one of the fundamental principles of our Trotskyist program, that is, the defense of the socialist basis of the USSR as a bureaucratically deformed workers state. When organizations which claim to defend the Transitional Program, such as the OCI, forget this fundamental principle, they become anti-Trotskyists and even agents of anti-communism.

The political line of the OCI and the OCRFI—as well as of their irreconcilable imitators, the "Fourth Internationalist rebuilders" led by Varga—of "freedom for all political prisoners" and of promoting committees of the Amnesty International type, leads them to organize events such as the October 21 meeting at the Mutualité in Paris [see "French CP Backs Liberal Anti-Soviet Meeting," *WV* No. 133, 12 November 1976]. This meeting was organized by a "Committee of Mathematicians" backed by the OCI, but the OCI finally had to keep out of the meeting which it had initiated only to find it had turned into an open tribune for anti-communism.

The PCF's prominent participation in the meeting was true to its flamboyant



Brezhnev welcomes Luis Corvalán to the Kremlin December 23.

UPI



Richard Melloul/Sygnma

Vladimir Bukovsky in Zürich December 18.

slogan from its 22nd Congress: "socialism in French colors." The PCF together with the Italian and Spanish Communist parties is in the forefront of the rightist degeneration of the European CPs. But for Mandel, leading theoretician of the majority tendency in the United Secretariat of the self-proclaimed "Fourth International," this "social-democratization" obviously means anti-bureaucratic pressure from the ranks (!): "That is, the Communist parties which take the Eurocommunist road are not simply making concessions to the bourgeoisie but also to the working class, to the powerful anti-bureaucratic current developing within the West European working class" (from *Mundo* [Barcelona], 23 October 1976). Thus these renegades from Trotskyism justify their Pabloist policy of capitulation to the bureaucratic leaderships of the reformist workers parties. Quite to the contrary, the fact that the PCF has deleted the dictatorship of the proletariat from its program simply by a stroke of the pen, without significant internal splits or protests, is further proof of the crisis of leadership of the working class.

Today Corvalán is already in the Kremlin, seated beside the almighty Brezhnev, while Pinochet assures the world that there are no more political prisoners in Chile. This is hardly surprising coming from the mouth of the leader of the bloodiest massacre ever perpetrated on the proletariat of Chile and Latin America, yet even spokesmen for the junta are compelled to admit that there still are in Chile today 880 people

imprisoned for "subversion" (Chilean delegate to the UN). The United Nations General Assembly, a body hardly suspect of "Marxist" subversion, by a vote of 95 to 12 (with 25 abstentions) adopted a resolution expressing "profound indignation" over these prisoners and demanding that the military junta immediately release the prisoners.

There are still some 2,000 political prisoners in Chile, divided among the various concentration camps: Chacabuco in Antofagasta, Pisagua near Iquique, Isla Juan Fernandez 360 miles from Valparaíso, Isla Quiriquina across from Talcahuano, Colliguay Alto in Valparaíso and Peñalolen in Santiago, not to mention the ordinary jails and barracks used as centers of imprisonment and torture. In addition, an indeterminate number—at least 1,500—have been "abducted" by the armed forces. Hundreds of their relatives search desperately through the prisons and barracks without obtaining information. In the best of cases the "missing person" is later found imprisoned and broken by torture; in others they never show up again; in an occasional "humane" gesture, the military may turn over to the relatives a mangled corpse.

Among the missing is Edgardo Enríquez, a leader of the MIR taken prisoner in Argentina and handed over to the uniformed butchers in Chile.

Critically important among those still imprisoned is the case of Sergeant Cárdenas and the leftist sailors who were arrested and savagely tortured for trying to prevent a military coup while the Unidad Popular government was in power. The then Minister of the Interior, Carlos Briones, a member of the SP, asked for the maximum penalty of the law against the "insurrectionary" sailors who had transgressed against the "democratic" and "constitutional" Chilean Navy. By coincidence, not a word is spoken about Cárdenas in the numerous international campaigns demanding freedom for Luis Corvalán. The so-called "Anti-Fascist Front" dares not mention the sailors since this would mean a self-accusation as defenders of the bourgeois order up until the last moment and conscious grave-diggers of the Chilean proletariat. Bonapartism repays its class favors—today Corvalán and Briones are at liberty while no one knows if Sergeant

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Juan Cárdenas

Punto Final

Island, has been the central figure of most of the campaigns launched for the freedom of political prisoners in Chile. As a prominent figure of the popular front who can obviously count on a lot of publicity, the Communist Party general secretary has been used by the military junta as an important element of pressure and blackmail. Yesterday he was used to show how "humanely" prisoners were treated—they even allowed Soviet surgeons to attend his gall-bladder operation. The same cannot be said of other prisoners, such as Batista Van Schouwen [of the "far left" MIR] for example. Today Pinochet brandishes Corvalán as proof of his "justice" and "humanism," when in fact Corvalán was traded for Bukovsky as part of an

Conviction Stuns Liberals

Jersey Court Frames Carter/Artis Again

On December 21, Rubin Carter and John Artis were again declared guilty of first-degree murder at a retrial in Paterson, New Jersey. The jury's railroad verdict in this blatant frame-up—the most prominent current political trial in the country—stunned both the defendants and their liberal/radical supporters. When the jury decision was read after nine hours' deliberation, Artis remarked, "I feel like I'm in a tunnel going around in circles." The kangaroo-court proceedings at the retrial were so obviously prejudicial against the defendants that the legal atrocities committed at the original trial were almost dwarfed in comparison.

The state of New Jersey has a long-standing vendetta against the two black men accused of murdering three whites in a Paterson bar ten years ago. Tens of thousands of dollars and more than a half-dozen investigators from the Passaic County prosecutor's office were devoted by the state to the retrial with single-minded vindictiveness. The original decision to "get" Carter came after the outspoken boxer, then a leading contender for the middleweight title, called for black self-defense in the wake of the bloody 1964 police riots in Harlem. The first trial judge has since moved up the judicial ladder, but the New Jersey police and court apparatus, severely discredited by revelations of bought testimony and suppressed evidence at the 1967 trial, has continued the attempt to vindicate itself in a massive self-protection cover-up racket.

They carefully picked a jury that would know its "duty." Out of the first 500 people selected as possible jurors, only 80 were black. Of these, every young black person was peremptorily dismissed from consideration so that the final jury composition was ten whites and two elderly blacks.

As its "evidence" the prosecution brought a new element into this trial, inventing a motive—"racial revenge" in the context of unrest in the Paterson ghetto that year—in an attempt to manufacture a race riot mentality in the minds of the jurors. A cop with no connection with the case was called to testify on the existence of an angry crowd of blacks outside another tavern, where a black bartender had been slain by a white man six hours previous to the Lafayette Grill murders on 16 June 1966.

It is Carter and Artis who are the victims of racist revenge, by the capitalist courts and cops. The state took the retrial—ordered by the New Jersey Supreme Court last March when it overturned the original convictions because of suppressed evidence that the key prosecution witnesses were bribed by the police—as a test of its "justice system," as indeed it was. Not only had the pair sat in jail for *nine years* (Artis will be eligible for parole in 1980) on the basis of admittedly bribed and perjured testimony, but at the retrial all the false testimony, cop conspiracy, judicial pressure and racist innuendo of the first trial were redoubled.

The retrial was obtained largely through the investigations of *New York Times* reporter Selwyn Raab. Raab's inquiry led to public recantations by the two star prosecution witnesses, Alfred Bello and Arthur Bradley. The two originally testified that they heard shots as they were robbing a factory near the Lafayette Grill and saw Carter and Artis running away from the scene of the crime. Last year Bello told both Raab and WNET television reporter Harold G. Levenson that, aside from the \$10,500 promised reward, Paterson police had promised to "take care of me" in his problems with the law.

At the retrial Bello reversed himself again, renounced the recantation and accused Raab and Levenson of bribing him to obtain it! Bradley, who stands by his recantation though he was not called to testify, states that, because he was awaiting trial at the time, "I lied to save myself." A motion by defense lawyers to prevent Bello from testifying since he was an admitted perjurer and chronic liar was turned down by Judge Bruno Leopizzi. But a less credible witness than Bello would have been hard to find. According to the 17 November *New York Times*:

"Alfred P. Bello who identified Carter and Artis as the gunmen in the first trial 9 years ago, then recanted, then renounced his recantation, depicted himself on the stand today as a man who had lied constantly to almost everyone involved in this long and complicated legal battle.... At different points during the day Mr. Bello, a former convict, was heard admitting that he lied to the police, to Assemblyman Eldridge Hawkins who was appointed by Governor Byrne to study the Carter-Artis case and to the Essex County Grand Jury in 1975."

Moreover, the state's three prime witnesses, defense witnesses in the first trial who had recanted their original stories that they had been with Carter far away from the Lafayette Grill the night of the murders, all turned out to be presently linked to the police, either through marriage ties or employment. Merritt Wimberly, a witness who did not recant, took the stand and testified that one of those who had reversed his story, Welton Deary, told him he had joined the police force and was now changing sides "in order to protect his job."



Artis and Carter

UPI

Reporters were not only forbidden to talk to the jurors during the trial, but in an unprecedented action Judge Leopizzi threatened to arrest any reporters who tried to interview the jurors after the verdict was in! "If you want to spend Christmas at home, then don't talk to them," he threatened reporters in his chambers. He also instructed the jurors not to talk to reporters. So furious was the prosecution over the exposés by liberal New York reporters which were instrumental in winning the retrial that it was announced December 28 that both Raab and Levenson may face prosecution on Bello's accusation that they pressured and bribed him to recant.

The defense had sought to defuse the trial atmosphere by attempting (unsuccessfully) to bar testimony which would turn the courtroom into a "racial battleground." Thus it never directly exposed the monstrous racist frame-up in which Carter and Artis were scapegoated for ghetto unrest, then railroaded in order to restore the tarnished "dignity" of the courts and cops. Instead, claiming that "the state has the right to prove whatever facts it wishes to prove," Leopizzi accepted the prosecution's unproved assertion of motive as "evidence."

During the last year and a half Carter and Artis have received a great deal of publicity in the media and have been the occasion of some large demonstrations. Celebrities who campaigned in behalf of these two victims of racist injustice included Muhammad Ali, Bob Dylan, Candice Bergen and others. Yet none of the big names attended the trial, and the defense committee floundered. There were none of the mass demonstrations that should have taken place, mobilizing blacks, labor and defenders of democratic rights and turning all eyes to the scandalous proceedings in that New Jersey courtroom.

As the defense reportedly attempts to gain yet a third trial—for which there are more than ample grounds—those who wish to effectively defend Carter and Artis must turn to class-struggle methods, mounting a massive defense mobilization and demanding not endless trials (in which the capitalist courts repeatedly victimize the victims) but immediate, unconditional freedom for Carter and Artis! ■

Free All Victims of Apartheid Terror!

SASO Nine Railroaded in South African Court

On December 15, the South African courts convicted nine student leaders associated with the South African Students Organization (SASO) under the notorious Terrorism Act. This once again demonstrated the brutal repression which is necessary to the survival of the racist apartheid system.

After a 17-month trial which laid bare the vicious reality of "separate development" for the oppressed non-white masses, it was cruel hypocrisy for the "enlightened" judge to pretend sympathy for the plight of the South African blacks even as he condemned the youths to prison: six were sentenced to ten years, the other three received five-year prison terms.

They will be sent to the same jails in which hundreds of anti-apartheid militants have been "detained" without trial. During the last year in these racist hellholes, seven black detainees have died under suspicious circumstances which the government usually terms "suicide."

Five white university activists tried on similar charges were acquitted on December 2. The five, including four leaders of the National Union of South African Students, were charged with conspiring to aid the outlawed Communist Party and African National Congress.

The following telegram was sent by the Partisan Defense Committee denouncing the racist frame-up of the SASO Nine:

South Africa Permanent Mission to the UN
300 E. 42nd Street
New York, NY 10017

South Africa Embassy
3051 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20008

We protest the outrageous verdicts against the nine black students of the South African Students Organization, and demand that they be immediately freed. Vorster's courts declare the anti-apartheid students guilty, but in the eyes of the international proletariat the SASO Nine are courageous fighters against barbaric white supremacy. The working class will not forget who is guilty for the massacres at Sharpeville and Soweto, and for the continuing repression of all who struggle against apartheid. Free All Victims of Apartheid Repression!

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 633 Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013

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Over 100,000 Jailed in World War II Racist Round-Up

The Agony of Japanese Americans in U.S. Concentration Camps

CPUSA Expelled All Japanese Members in 1942

Over 110,000 Japanese Americans were rounded up and incarcerated in concentration camps during World War II by the Roosevelt administration following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941. A recent book, *Years of Infamy* by Michi Weglyn, documents this savage uprooting and imprisonment of thousands, victims of capitalist America's racist war hysteria. Although Weglyn's view is that the concentration camps were "a democracy's mistake," the book is extremely valuable as a detailed exposé of the cynical atrocities perpetrated upon an entire racial minority.

Because of the liberal authorship of this monstrous act of imperialist barbarity—and the obvious comparison to Hitler's concentration camps for Jews—there has been until recently a "gentlemen's agreement" not to mention the mass incarceration of Japanese Americans. Not only is this important aspect of World War II seldom taught in the schools, but when a pamphlet ("Concentration Camps U.S.A.") appeared in the mid-1960's, many liberals refused to believe that the camps existed.

Today, some 35 years after Pearl Harbor, many prominent liberals have had attacks of conscience and now bemoan the "tragedy," "mistaken policy," etc., that they hailed and implemented at the time. The race-hate campaign and roundup of the Japanese Americans was in fact initiated at the highest levels of the U.S. government. It was not some crude red-neck nativism which swept the Japanese into concentration camps, but a policy decided by prominent "upper crust" liberals around Franklin Roosevelt, including Francis Biddle, Earl Warren and a host of others.

Even before Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt had begun probes of the "loyalty" of the Japanese Americans on the West Coast and in Hawaii, since war with Japan was expected to break out imminently. A secret report to the president prepared by Curtis Munson found an extraordinary degree of "loyalty" among Japanese Americans, concluding that "there is no Japanese problem." Following Pearl Harbor, however, the report was hushed up and plans for the roundup began.

The "tragedy" so bemoaned by liberals today was, of course, the fact that from the bourgeoisie's own viewpoint the Japanese Americans were "innocent"—that is, they did not oppose the imperialist war aims of the U.S. Presumably those who *did* refuse to go along *should* have been thrown into prison, as were the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party. However, the U.S. government was unable to find any proof of saboteurs or enemy agents among the Japanese American population, and decided, therefore, to round up *everyone* on the incredible grounds that they couldn't tell who was or wasn't "loyal."

One of the most vociferous advocates of this policy was Earl Warren, later highly revered as a liberal on the

Supreme Court. Warren, then attorney general of California, claimed that the "Japs" (as he called them in a report prepared for the Tolan Committee set up to expedite the roundup) had for years been infiltrating themselves into "every strategic spot in our coastal and valley counties," and that "there is more potential danger among the... Japanese who were born in this country than from Japanese who were born in Japan. As a member of the racist "Sons of the Golden West," he evoked the image of the "inscrutable Oriental": "... when we are dealing with the Caucasian race we have methods that will test the loyalty of them... But when we deal with the Japanese we are in an entirely different field..."

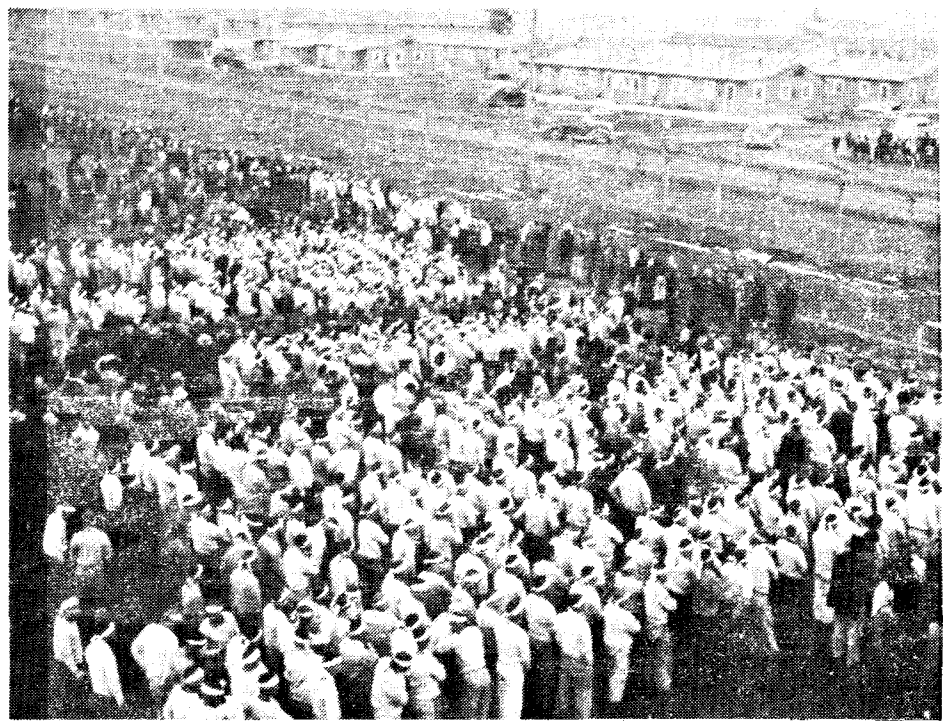
The shoddy "legal" basis for the mass internment was Executive Order 9066 issued by Roosevelt on 19 February 1942, and Public Law 503 passed in March. The rulings gave the U.S. Army power to remove all individuals from military areas, designated as all Pacific Coast states and southern Arizona! Francis Biddle, then U.S. attorney general, sent Roosevelt a covering note on how to present the laws to the press: "It [Order 9066] is not based on any legal theory, but on the facts that the unrestricted movement of certain racial classes, whether American citizens or aliens, in specified defense areas may lead to serious disturbances." (Biddle was later to have his words thrown back in his face when he acted as a judge at the Nuremberg war crimes trials against the Nazis, who used the Japanese American concentration camps in the U.S. to justify the Jewish camps in Germany.)

The Concentration Camps

Even before a formal order came to round up the Japanese Americans, the U.S. government began its campaign of harassment. All persons of Japanese descent who were not citizens were immediately designated "enemy aliens," forbidden by law to become citizens, forced to register and carry identification cards with photographs and to turn over all "contraband" articles (short-wave radios, cameras, weapons). Bank accounts of "aliens" were frozen, liquor licenses were revoked under "trading with the enemy" laws, and the licenses of "alien" architects, doctors, teachers and other professionals were rescinded. Many West Coast Chinese wore "I am a Loyal American Chinese" buttons for self-protection on the streets as well as for their own chauvinist reasons.

In Canada, which instituted its own mass concentration camps a month earlier than the U.S., all Japanese males were ripped away from their families and sent to the Canadian interior. Their property and possessions were confiscated and sold at public auctions to pay for the incarceration costs—only later were their families shipped off to join them.

When Executive Order 9066 was promulgated in February, the U.S. Army immediately began nailing up huge posters in Japanese American neighborhoods, saying, "Attention All Japanese," informing them they had a week or so to settle all their affairs and show up for "relocation" with a bedroll and whatever they could carry. The



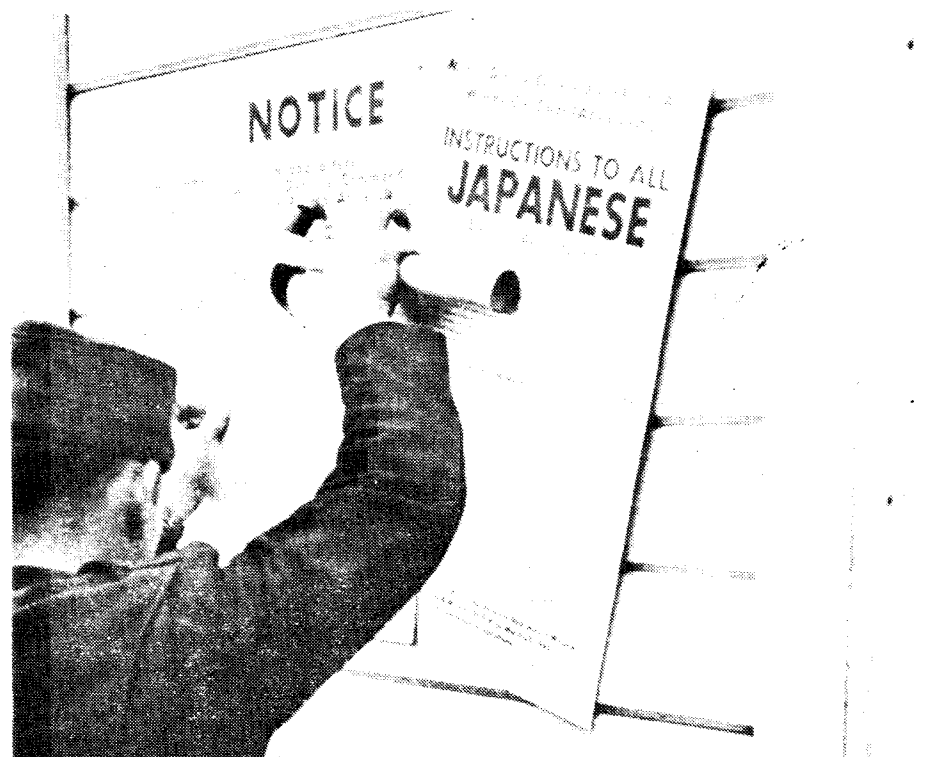
National Archives

Mass demonstration of internees at Tule Lake in response to "retroactive" termination as farm workers.



Wayne M. Collins

WRA security police raid barracks at Tule Lake.



Seattle Post-Intelligencer

Posting of Civilian Exclusion Order No. 1 in early 1942

Japanese American population, overwhelmingly older people who had immigrated before 1924 and their young children, were tagged and shipped off to temporary "assembly centers." Orphans were ripped out of orphanages, the sick were pulled out of hospitals and crammed into the hastily assembled camps built on race tracks (Santa Anita was one), stockyards and fairgrounds.

The "assembly centers" were surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by soldiers with rifles, as searchlights played over them by night. Asphalt floors melted in the burning California sun, and the livestock facilities stunk from years of animal dung, hastily swept up. Tarpaper shacks with no windows and thin partitions housed thousands of families jammed together. Straw-filled sacks served as beds, while infants had to sleep in cardboard cartons. Toilets were left unpartitioned, outbreaks of measles and other contagious diseases spread rapidly, and hundreds became ill from the unsanitary conditions in old stables. In the initial dislocation, many disoriented older people were abused, as a hospital record from one of the assembly centers notes:

"Older people who have poor memories, etc., get up at night and try to get out—Doctor says she has to bandage and sew up heads in the mornings of the old people who try to get through the gates and have been struck on the head by soldiers."

More permanent stockades were constructed farther east, euphemistically dubbed "havens of refuge" by the War Relocation Authority (WRA), which administered the program. The Japanese Americans were assured conditions would be better there, but upon arrival they found the same conditions—barbed wire, wooden guard towers and armed patrols in the midst of arid, freezing, barren wastelands.

As regular farmhands flocked to jobs in the expanding war industries, the incarcerated Japanese Americans were used by the government as slave labor to harvest the cotton crop in Arizona and the sugar beet crops of Idaho, Utah, Montana and Wyoming. They were given only token wages which they were forbidden by law to spend in the towns they had to pass through, for fear they would "subvert" the countryside.

The Loyalty Oath

Adding stinging bureaucratic insult to grievous injury, in 1943 the U.S. government decided to administer a loyalty oath to the imprisoned Japanese Americans. Already ripped from their homes and thrust behind barbed-wire stockades, they were now expected to swear undying loyalty to the American system. Additionally, the government decided to create a special segregated Army battalion of Japanese Americans, so they could "prove in blood" their loyalty, thus producing some of the finest soldiers in the American Army—the 442 regimental combat team.

The loyalty oath, which threw the camps into fear and confusion, contained such insinuating queries as:

"Can you furnish any proof that you have always been loyal to the United States?"

"What does the Samurai tradition mean to you?"

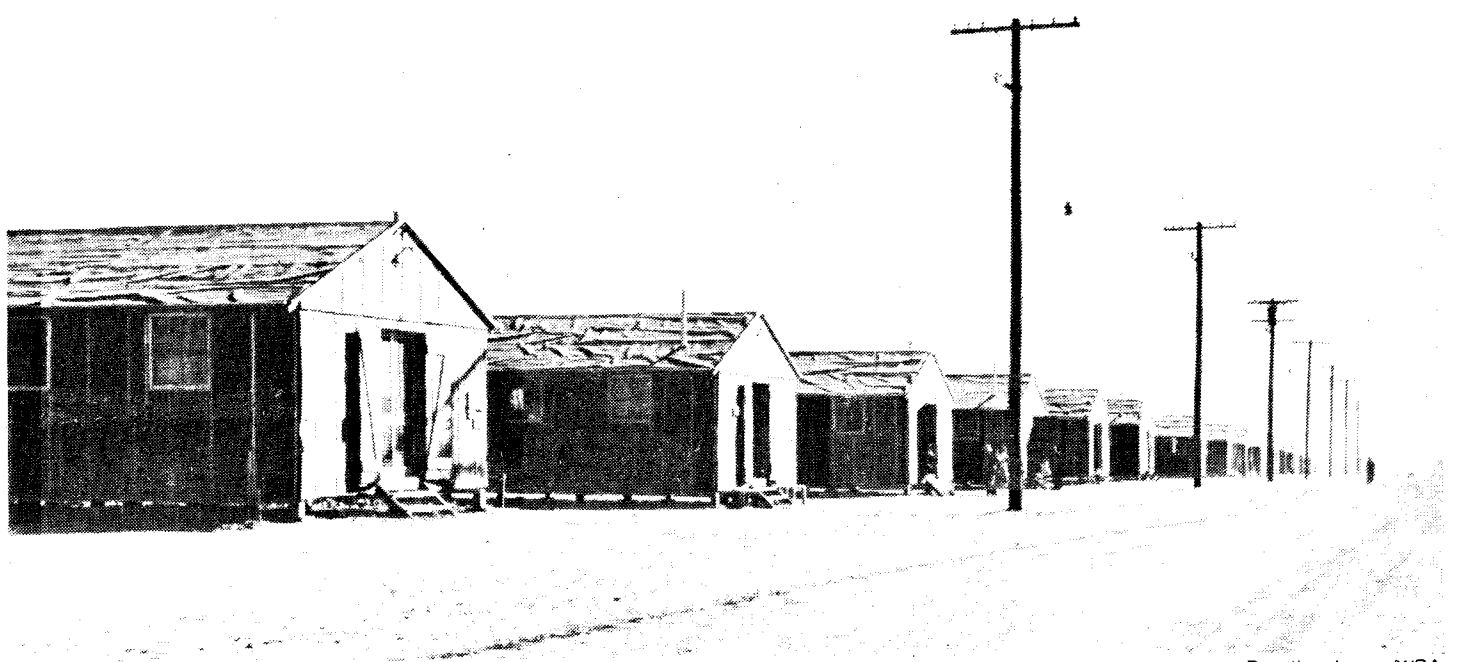
"Do you believe in the divine origin of the Japanese race?"

"Will you voluntarily remain out of the States of Arizona, Nevada, Utah until such time as public opinion makes you more welcome?"

"Will you conform to the customs and dress of your new home?"

There were more than 70 other insulting proddings. This "oath" caused such dissension, confusion and fear that its results were almost useless, although the government sought to use it to further divide out "loyal" from "disloyal" Japanese, segregating the "hard cases" at the Tule Lake camp in California.

Tule Lake became a center of protest over the harsh conditions of prison life. A demonstration there, over the segregation of "troublemakers" in a special prison within the compound, resulted in



Dorothea Lange/WRA

Manzanar Relocation Center in California.

the Army taking over Tule Lake from the WRA, a move which provoked nationwide applause and further racist hysteria over the "coddling" the "Japs" were supposedly getting.

Following the uproar over the loyalty oath, in 1944 the government passed another law, providing that American citizens on American soil could renounce their citizenship in time of war. This was an effort to finally get rid of the Japanese Americans who were citizens, and could not simply be kept in the camps forever after the war. Given the bitter experience of the camps, the U.S. hoped to trap the Japanese Americans into renouncing their citizenship, so that they could be deported. Pushed to the limit of their endurance by the racist, brutal treatment they had received, thousands did—an act they were bitterly regret after the war.

Following the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the war's

end, early in 1946 the Japanese Americans were unceremoniously shoved out of the camps and told to "go home." Many had nothing left to return to, and it has been estimated that some 80 percent of the possessions abandoned five years earlier by the Japanese were either lost, stolen or sold. The desperate, hysterical mass renunciation of citizenship many were forced into during the last months of the camps became the focus of lengthy court battles as thousands of anxious families sought to avoid deportation to Japan. The searing tragedy of smashed lives and hopes dragged on for decades after the deactivation of the concentration camps.

Ominously, several of these camps still exist, ready to be reactivated in times of "national emergency," when under provisions of the anti-communist McCarran Act thousands of "potential spies and saboteurs" on a "master pick-

up list" can be arrested overnight. The Tule Lake detention camp is maintained as a McCarran Act site, with a capacity of 10,000 (Charles Allen, Jr., "Concentration Camps U.S.A.," 1966).

International Japanese Hostages

Even before the outbreak of war, the U.S. government had formulated plans for the mass taking of Japanese hostages within its areas of influence, to be used as pawns in dealing with Japan. Latin America and Europe were scoured for victims. In October, two months before Pearl Harbor, a deal was set up with Panama to immediately intern Japanese there in case of war. Costa Rica and other Latin American countries were pressured to hand over their Japanese residents to the U.S.

Since the Japanese in Peru were providing particularly stiff competition

continued on page 8

How U.S. Imperialism Persecuted Iva Toguri In Defense of "Tokyo Rose"



Iva Toguri d'Aquino taken from Japan to be tried for treason in California in 1948.

Iva Toguri d'Aquino, now 67 years old, runs a small shop on Chicago's North Side. Twenty-seven years ago in San Francisco she was tried, convicted and jailed for the crime of treason. Called "Tokyo Rose," she was the central figure in what was one of the most sensationally vindictive campaigns of racist and chauvinist persecution of post-war America.

"Tokyo Rose" was the collective name given to all the women's voices that were broadcast over the Pacific Ocean in the English language from Japan during World War II. Radio Tokyo played American popular records over the air, and the disc jockeys talked about "home." Presumably this was meant to demoralize the U.S. military forces, although there is no evidence that it did anything but provide entertainment to bored and lonely men.

But the vindictive state machinery of U.S. imperialism wanted a victim. The nationalist logic of inter-imperialist war demanded that after the carnage in the Pacific, a villain be found and persecuted as a symbol of U.S. victory and Japanese defeat. "Tokyo Rose" was to be that symbol, a figure who was nearly as widely despised as the Emperor Hirohito and the General Tojo.

Of course there was no one "Tokyo Rose," so Iva Toguri was picked by U.S. occupation authorities for the sinister role. The fact that Toguri had really done nothing criminal didn't matter much to the imperialist victors. Since

continued on page 8

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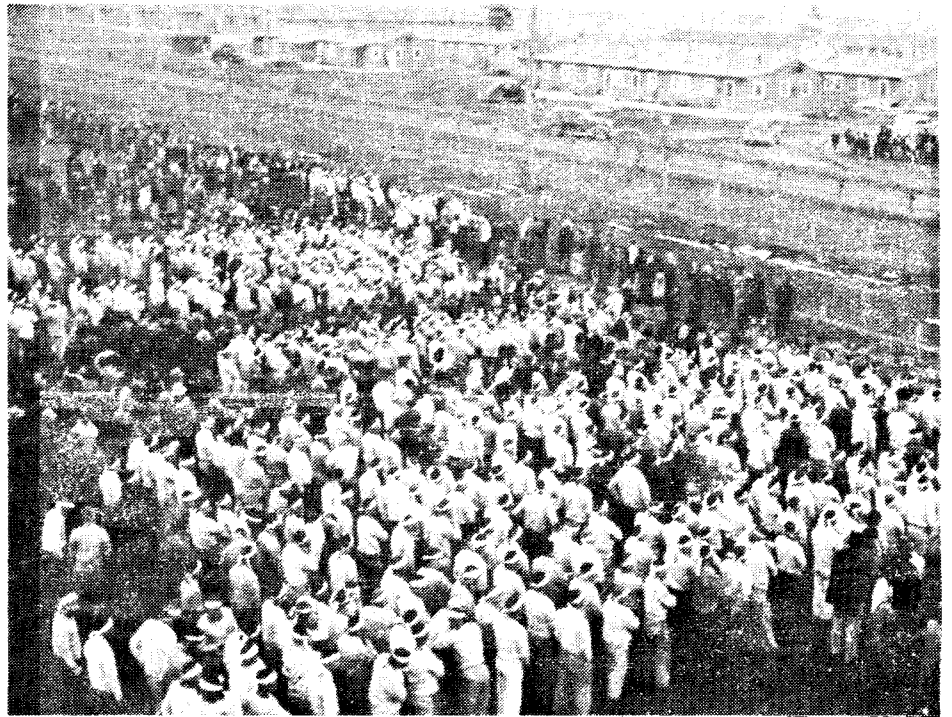
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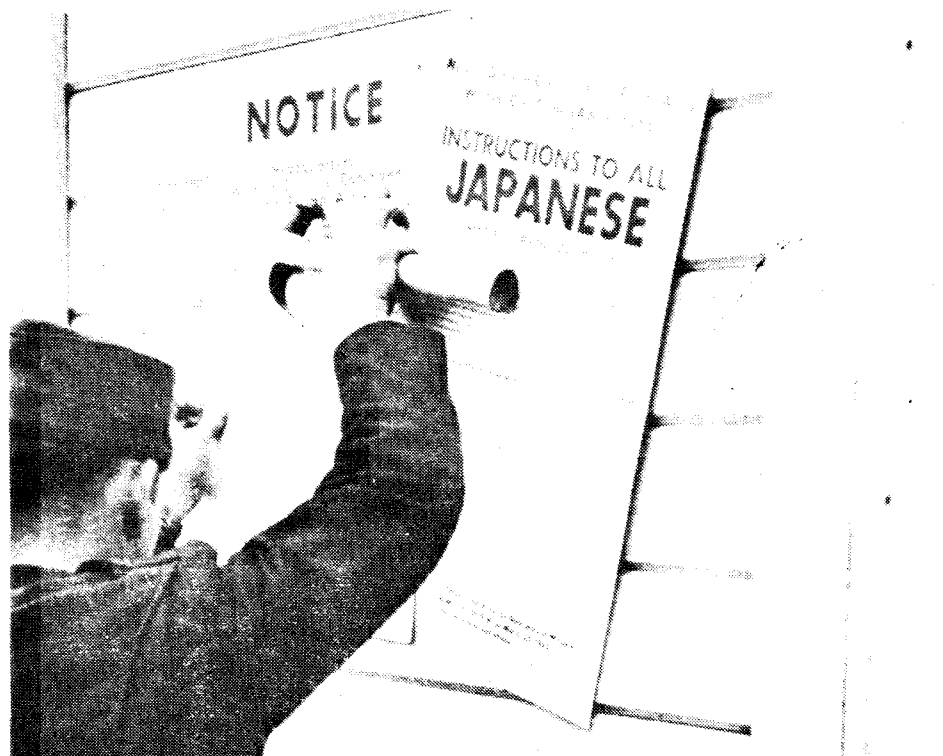
National Archives

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Wayne M. Collins

WRA security police raid barracks at Tule Lake.



Seattle Post-Intelligencer

Posting of Civilian Exclusion Order No. 1 in early 1942

Japanese Americans...

(continued from page 7)

to indigenous businessmen, the Peruvian government was only too happy to oblige, and provided over four-fifths of all the Latin American Japanese shipped to the U.S. As U.S. ambassador to Peru Henry Norweb informed the State Department on 20 July 1942:

"...the [Peruvian] President is very much interested in getting rid of the Japanese in Peru. He would like to settle the problem permanently.... He asked Colonel Lord to let him know about the prospects of additional shipping facilities from the United States.... Peru would like to be sure that these Japanese would not be returned to Peru later on."

Following this wholesale kidnapping, the unfortunate Peruvian Japanese abandoned in the U.S. after the war, their usefulness as hostages over, were not allowed back into Peru. They were then informed by American authorities that they were in the country "illegally," having failed to obtain the proper visas and passports, and some 1,700 Peruvian Japanese were dumped in Japan!

State Department telegrams to Rumania asking for the "fourteen Japanese nationals in Rumania" to be

handed over forthwith to the U.S., and to Belgium inquiring about Japanese there, indicate the depth of America's arrogance in simply scooping up human beings at will to deposit them in wretched camps for use in prisoner trades.

The wartime practice of making hostages of unfortunate nationals of the "enemy" country is not particularly new. However, the mass concentration camps in the U.S. were an unprecedented expression of chauvinist hysteria, emanating from the highest levels of the government, the liberal intelligentsia and the Democratic Party.

American Anti-Oriental Racism

The mass internment of Japanese Americans provided a vent for wounded national pride and frustration after Pearl Harbor. It also intersected the fear and hostility toward Japanese and other Asians on the West Coast. It is interesting that the large Japanese population in Hawaii was *not* incarcerated (although several thousand "suspect" Japanese, including fishermen who "knew the waters," were shipped to the U.S.). The relative absence of racial hysteria in Hawaii was due to the crucial and well integrated role of Japanese Americans in the economy—thus giving the lie to the "security danger" they supposedly represented.

Years of anti-Oriental race hatred on the West Coast also had an economic component. Businessmen who found the industrious Japanese American farmers a serious economic threat saw Pearl Harbor as an opportunity to finally crush their competition. Moreover, general anti-Oriental prejudice has been a constant theme of West Coast politics since the Civil War, as the influx of Chinese workers—who slaved on the railroads, in California's fields and as small shopkeepers—was used to keep down wages and whip up racist resentment and hostility among the white population. The Democratic Party built its strength in California through anti-Oriental demagoguery, expressed by the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882.

In 1924 Japanese immigration was also halted. Japanese who had arrived earlier, however, and who like the Chinese before them were denied U.S. citizenship, nevertheless managed to buy up quantities of cheap "undesirable" land and through hard work turn it into profitable farmland. By 1941 the Japanese Americans produced 35 percent of the commercial truck crops of California.

The California Chamber of Commerce, the Bank of America and the Associated Farmers along with the xenophobic "Native Sons of the Golden West" all saw in Roosevelt's evacuation

order an opportunity to seize the land. The Bank of America and the U.S. government both extended loans to white farmers to take over the Japanese land as its owners were shipped off to the camps.

Who Defended the Japanese Americans?

The vicious atrocities against the Japanese Americans went almost unopposed in the years of American war fervor—at least among those liberals who today claim to be so concerned for "human rights" and "dignity." Franklin Roosevelt and the liberals around him designed and carried out the roundups, imprisonment and humiliations. The only people who dared to help the Japanese Americans were the Society of Friends (Quakers), who visited the camps and provided bedding, clothes and what personal aid they could, a very few individuals such as the pacifist Norman Thomas, and the Trotskyists, who were themselves facing severe persecution.

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) abandoned the Japanese to their fate, claiming the roundup was perfectly legitimate and a legal part of the president's war powers. To their credit, sections of the California ACLU objected to the policy.

Because of its pretensions to represent the working class and oppressed, the Communist Party (CP) was perhaps the most disgusting of all in its betrayal. The CP was not merely swept up in the war hysteria, but one of the most rabid drumbeaters for U.S. imperialism. It praised to the skies Roosevelt, and all he did, as the Soviet Union's great ally against fascism. The abandonment of the Japanese Americans by the Communist Party indicates the depths of national chauvinism to which its cynical class collaboration and support for Stalinist foreign policy led it.

The day after Pearl Harbor, the CP National Committee (then headed by William Z. Foster, as Earl Browder was in jail), pledged "its loyalty, its devoted labor, and its last drop of blood in support of our country in this greatest of all the crises that ever threatened its existence.... Everything for National Unity!" The statement, printed in bold type on the front page of the 8 December 1941 *Daily Worker*, began dramatically: "Japanese guns have fired on the American flag."

The *Daily Worker* carried "news" items on "subversives" during December 1941 and early 1942, such as "FDR Orders Enemy Alien Registration" (1 January), and "Coast Sharpens Vigil Against 5th Column" (15 January). A special article by Blas Roca (long-time Cuban CP leader, still active under Castro) on 25 January 1942, entitled "Pearl Harbor Holds Vital Lesson for Cuba," was a masterpiece of slanders, lies, chauvinist hysteria and vicious attacks on the Japanese Americans:

"As it has already been published, the fifth column of Pearl Harbor was formed by the Japanese of Honolulu, many of them American citizens with more than 20 years in the country, established as business men and with children born in the island."

Repeating the outrageous stories the U.S. Army put out, Roca claimed that the Japanese bombers over Pearl Harbor were "led by arrows made on the cane fields, in the same manner that their Axis partners may be directed tomorrow by hundreds of 'fifth column greengrocers.'" But what about the presumably "loyal" Japanese Americans? Roca blasts "many outstanding North Americans" for their "interested and blind defense" of the Japanese Americans, warning that "the fact remains that among them Japan recruited countless spies and agents of sabotage...."

In 1972, in the guise of reviewing a book on racism in California (and fifteen years after its first, enormously inconspicuous apology), the CP belatedly admitted its rotten betrayals, while attempting to cover itself with the

Tokyo Rose...

(continued from page 7)

the "day of infamy" attack on Pearl Harbor, U.S. propaganda mills had been characterizing the Japanese as "inscrutable" and "sneaky," while over 100,000 Japanese Americans were interned in concentration camps as supposed "fifth columnists" (see article this issue).

This found its way into the movies in the character of the Japanese commander who tells his captured American prisoners not to be surprised that he speaks their language because he was educated in California. The popularization of "Tokyo Rose" as a racist stereotype was particularly explosive in its sexual overtones, calling up the image of the "Dragon Lady," alluring but treacherous villain of Milton Caniff's chauvinist comic strip "Terry and the Pirates."

The case of "Tokyo Rose" is once again in the news, but this time she is not the target of the frenzied super-patriots who demanded her imprisonment after the war. In November, Iva Toguri requested a presidential pardon and reinstatement of her citizenship, and she may well receive it. This year the California legislature and the San Francisco board of supervisors passed unanimous resolutions supporting a pardon. The Los Angeles city council reversed its 1948 position opposing her re-entry into the U.S. and now supports her pardon and right to citizenship.

The pressure of the 30,000-member Japanese-American Citizens League no doubt accounts for some of the willingness to rethink the case. But also, with the passage of time it has become impossible to suppress the facts of the case—the truth is coming out over the din of racist hysteria. Most recently her story was sympathetically told by John Leggett in the *New York Times Magazine* (5 December). It is not merely the story of an innocent young girl caught up in the cruelty of imperialist war, although that is surely Iva Toguri's personal tragedy. It is also the story of the hypocrisy and racism of bourgeois class "justice."

The Case of Tokyo Rose

After growing up in southern California and graduating from high school, Iva Toguri was chosen by her family to visit a sick uncle in Japan. While she was there in 1941, Japan and the U.S. declared war and she was trapped.

Tokyo authorities wanted her to take Japanese citizenship, but she could barely speak the language and refused. It is interesting that she held on to her American citizenship, in a country at war with the U.S. and at a time when "her country" was "relocating" Americans of Japanese descent into concentration camps.

In Japan, Toguri was denied a food ration card and forced from the home of her aunt and uncle because of harassment from the police and neighbors. Without a ration card and a place to live, in a country where she could barely communicate and didn't know the customs, Iva Toguri's choice was to find work or starve. She found a number of part-time jobs.

One of her part-time jobs was as a typist for Radio Tokyo. Here she made friends with a number of Allied POW's assigned to the radio station by the Japanese authorities. She met Major Charles Cousens, an Australian officer, and Captain Wallace Ince of the U.S. Army. After the war they both argued that their show, "Zero Hour," was an attempt at propaganda sabotage when it wasn't simply broadcasting American pop tunes. When it was decided that "Zero Hour" could use a woman's voice in 1943, Cousens and Ince were instrumental in selecting Iva Toguri. They wrote the scripts and Toguri broadcasted as "Orphan Annie." In fact, none of the various women who broadcast over Radio Tokyo used the name "Rose."

Yet the myth grew. After the war, U.S. journalists found a hungry and insecure Iva Toguri who allowed an interview, for which she was promised \$2,000 she never saw. She was held by U.S. authorities for 11 months until the Army's legal division released her in October 1946, after saying that "Toguri's activities, particularly in view of the innocuous nature of her broadcasts, are not sufficient to warrant prosecution." Cousens and Ince were also cleared of involvement in treasonous activity. Iva thought she might at last come home.

But in America the cold war was beginning—the mobilization of public opinion behind U.S. imperialism's drive to be the world's leading power. Among the many targets for savage punishment for "disloyalty" and "un-American activities" was Iva Toguri. Walter Winchell advised "Mr. and Mrs. America" that "Tokyo Rose" must be kept out of the U.S.; American Legion posts demanded that she be jailed. And sure enough, Iva Toguri was arrested again in August 1948 and charged with treason.

Now separated permanently from her husband, Felipe d'Aquino, with little money and a racist witchhunt mounted against her, she was fortunate enough to find a courageous lawyer to represent her: George Olshausen, a left socialist.

The U.S. government had no legal case, but it was determined to send a Japanese woman to prison as "Tokyo Rose." Central to the case was the testimony of two Japanese witnesses who renounced their U.S. citizenship at the outbreak of the war. They testified that they heard the same broadcast by Toguri when she allegedly said: "Orphans of the Pacific, you are really orphans now. How will you get home now that all your ships are sunk?" But no tapes or transcripts survived to corroborate the testimony.

In a travesty of justice, Toguri was prevented from subpoenaing witnesses who could aid her defense, although the prosecution had unlimited rights to do so. Six blacks and two Asian Americans were peremptorily dismissed from the jury by the state. But the all-white jury seemed deadlocked until the judge instructed them to bring in a verdict. So after days of deliberation they brought in a verdict of guilty. On 7 October 1949, after Iva Toguri had already spent two years in jail, Judge Roche sentenced her to ten years in prison, a \$10,000 fine and loss of her U.S. citizenship.

She was released from Alderson Prison in 1956 after nine years of imprisonment, being separated from her husband and losing a child in childbirth, as well as being hounded by both Japanese and U.S. governments. Iva Toguri was the victim of racism, imperialist war hysteria and cold war witchhunting. She was never guilty of anything but trying to stay alive by working and perhaps a mistaken and naive trust in the U.S. government.

Many others were victimized by the "democratic" U.S. imperialists during and after World War II. The leaders of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party were the government's prime targets because they took the principled Leninist position of calling for the defeat of *all* the imperialist bourgeoisies in World War II and for the victory of the international proletariat.

Iva Toguri was certainly no revolutionary. She was, and continues to be, a naively "loyal" American. It is not for her national loyalty that she deserves our efforts in her defense, but rather because she has been victimized by racist, chauvinist class "justice." That is why revolutionaries defend "Tokyo Rose." ■

excuse that, after all, *everybody* was more or less racist then:

"The virulence of this racism in California has affected the Socialist movement, the labor movement, and it is reflected even in the Communist Party....

"When the war between the United States and Japan began in the midst of World War II, the U.S. Army decided to round up all people of Japanese ancestry and to herd them into concentration camps on the West Coast. Among others who failed to fight this vicious racist action which violated the most fundamental democratic rights was the Communist Party.

"Under a slogan of 'unity' in the struggle against fascism and Japanese imperialism, the Party allowed this act to go unchallenged, decided to drop Japanese from membership, and allowed their members to go to concentration camps."

—*World Magazine*, 1 January 1972

This vile "excuse" for class collaboration is a slander of those few courageous revolutionaries and others who defended the Japanese Americans.

The Record of American Trotskyism

The American Trotskyists of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP) defended the persecuted Japanese Americans both in their press, the *Militant*, and through whatever concrete aid they could offer. The SWP was then a small party, the target of a CP campaign of slander and intimidation. Their leaders had just been convicted under the Smith Act in Minneapolis and faced lengthy prison sentences. Nevertheless the Trotskyists extended what support they could to the persecuted Japanese Americans.

As a veteran Trotskyist organizer, in Los Angeles in 1941, has recounted, many Japanese Americans in the important CP fraction in San Pedro Harbor turned to the Trotskyists for aid when "their" party, the CP, told them they were no longer considered members, that they should expect no help from the party, and that they should accept any and all directions from the U.S. government and army. The West Coast Trotskyists helped the Japanese Americans secure their property and make personal arrangements and aided however they could in the days before internment.

In sharp contrast to the *Daily Worker*, the *Militant* carried many articles exposing the racist lies and atrocities against the Japanese Americans. In March 1942 the *Militant* attacked the "brutal and indiscriminate witchhunt being conducted against non-citizens," calling the government's roundup "characteristic of a racial pogrom" and exposed the big business interests behind the evacuation pressure on the West Coast:

"And so the story of the Japanese American evacuation stands today—a repressive measure, based purely on racial discrimination and motivated chiefly by the desires of Big Business for additional profits, which is presented as a necessary part of the 'war for democracy'."

—*Militant*, 30 May 1942

In July 1942 the *Militant* declared:

"The American workers must let the ruling class know in no uncertain terms that they are ready to fight again in defense of their democratic rights and that they are as much opposed to racial discrimination when it is practiced in the United States as when it is practiced in Germany and the Far East."

Today it is cheap for the liberals to shed tears of remorse over their horrible "mistake," for the CP to attempt to slide out from under its horrible betrayals through slandering everybody as "racists." But in the war years, when American imperialism exposed its true bloodthirsty and vicious character, they were enthusiastic partners in persecution. The Spartacist League stands in solidarity with the revolutionary tradition of the Trotskyists who, in the face of terrible persecution themselves, courageously stood up for the rights of the oppressed against all odds and opposed the imperialist war aims of the U.S. ■

Albania...

(continued from page 3)

for its tradition of blood feuds, there was a regional/clan aspect to the purge. Xoxe and the other purge victims were members of the northern Ghegs, while Hoxha is a southern Tosk (the other major language group).

Until the split between Moscow and Peking, Albania remained a faithful follower of the Kremlin, serving after 1948 as a military base for the Soviet fleet. But in the Sino-Soviet split Hoxha allied himself with Peking for reasons having nothing to do with "peaceful coexistence" or any of the other ostensible ideological reasons for the bureaucratic split. Albania at first equivocated on the differences between Peking and Moscow, allying itself with China only when it became clear that a continued alliance with the Soviet Union would necessitate rapprochement with Yugoslavia.

But even before the formal break, the PPS had been busy expelling pro-Soviet party members, among them several political bureau members. When in 1961 Khrushchev attacked Hoxha's "savagery" in executing central committee member Liri Gega, the Albanian leader retorted that as head of the secret police she had personally executed several other CC members by hitting them over the head with a sledgehammer. Perhaps CCers are no longer demoted with sledgehammers, but the latest purge and the lockstep flavor of the seventh PPS congress indicate that Hoxha is still firmly in the saddle, and the rule of Albania's threadbare bureaucracy remains undisturbed by even the slightest token of workers democracy.

Locating the "Primary Contradiction"

There has always been a shading of difference between the foreign policies of Albania and China. Thus Hoxha has attacked the Soviet Union not only for its explicit policy of peaceful coexistence with U.S. imperialism, but also for its tacit approval of the Shah's repressive internal policies in the early and mid-1960's and for Soviet complicity in the destruction of the Indonesian Communist Party in 1965 because of its confidence in the "anti-imperialist" Sukarno. Albanian publications remain silent, however, about Mao's support for Iran's butcher and the equal responsibility of Peking in the Indonesian disaster.

In recent months, these policy differences have been growing as China has developed the position that "social-fascist" Russia is the "more aggressive" and "more dangerous" of the two "superpowers." Hoxha has continued to maintain that both "superpowers" are equally dangerous. Thus at the seventh PPS congress, a key section of Hoxha's report was his assertion that, "the two superpowers are the principal and most dangerous enemies of the peoples, and therefore we can never support ourselves on one imperialism to fight the other or to escape from it" (*Bandeira Vermelha*, 24 November).

It is this line that attracts the Portuguese PCP-R and the German KPD-ML when they praise Hoxha as "the greatest living Marxist-Leninist, whose teachings show the sure way to the communists of Europe and the rest of the world." The PCP-R went so far as to "entirely approve the Marxist-Leninist proletarian line of Comrade Enver Hoxha's report" at a central committee meeting, and its leaders attended the PPS' seventh congress as special guests. KPD-ML leader Ernst Aust, a long-time hard-line Stalinist, also attended the Tirana congress, and his newspaper (*Roter Morgen*, 26 November), in an article entitled "Study the Report of Comrade Enver Hoxha," praised the speech as a sharp weapon against revisionism "because it is guided by nothing else but the teachings of



Eastfoto

Arms from Soviet Union displayed in Tirana parade.

Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin" (isn't someone missing here?). Not present at the PPS meeting was even a single representative of China.

Albania's "two equally dangerous superpowers" line is being eagerly seized upon by European Maoists who have been embarrassed by Peking's increasingly explicit alliance with U.S. imperialism against the USSR. Various Chinese pronouncements have made it clear that this includes calling for the strengthening of NATO and support for the most reactionary domestic forces in West Europe, such as Franz Josef Strauss in Germany. While some Peking-loyalists have taken up this policy and developed it into a policy of "defense of the fatherland," others have gagged on it, fearing a loss of credibility in the radical milieu.

In Portugal, for instance, immediately after the April 1974 coup there were six different Maoist groups with unclear lines of political demarcation. Of these, the PCP-ML has remained a tiny sect with its policy of openly supporting bourgeois forces against a supposed threat of "social-imperialist" aggression; the MRPP has lost influence with a line that is theoretically against "both superpowers" but in practice directed against the pro-Moscow Communist Party; and the remaining groups fused to form the PCP-R, which holds U.S. imperialism to be the main danger. The PCP-R is now by far the largest of the Maoist groups, with a periphery of several tens of thousands, while the PCP-ML has nothing but the Peking franchise.

In Germany the KPD-ML has gone through grotesque contortions over the question of "defense of the fatherland" and the question of the "main contradiction." During 1975 it wallowed in the most extreme anti-Sovietism, arguing that resistance by the West German Bundeswehr to a "social-imperialist invasion" would be a "just war of national defense." Aust went so far as to sue Social Democratic defense minister Georg Leber for "insufficient preparations" to defend against the "Soviet danger."

But after visiting Tirana in December of that year, the KPD-ML leader announced an abrupt switch. In Aust's 1976 New Year's speech he made a little "self-criticism": some KPD-ML documents had "unclear" and "confusing" views, it seemed, on the question of the "main enemy of socialist revolution in West Germany." Now it seems that "the West German working class is oppressed in the first instance by West German imperialism and secondly by U.S. imperialism" (*Roter Morgen*, 3 January 1976).

A Hoxhaite International?

Not only did Hoxha implicitly attack the Peking line of an anti-Soviet "united

front" with U.S. imperialism at the PPS' seventh congress, but he hinted at the formation of an "ML" International. He spoke of the "quite useful activity" of the Comintern "at the time of Lenin and Stalin," although downgrading its role to mere "cooperation" of the national parties, which "naturally" must be independent and not "receive orders from one another" (*Roter Morgen*, 13 November 1976). As the "critical Maoist" Kommunistischer Bund (KB—Communist League) in West Germany noted, this is the first time since the Sino-Soviet split that such a suggestion has been made.

However, for several reasons it is unlikely in the extreme that a "Marxist-Leninist" International will ever see the light of day. In the first place, such a project would have to be undertaken without and largely against China. The Peking leaders have for decades resisted even so much as officially recognizing "fraternal parties" in the West, and the only international organization it has ever sought to build is that of "non-aligned" countries run by "Third World" despots.

The Albanians have begun to move away from any identification with Maoism. Thus demonstrators celebrating the seventh congress of the PPS carried in the front line mammoth pictures of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin; and in his speech, Hoxha repeated (on at least four occasions) this quartet, mentioning Mao only in relation to China. (Even while praising close relations with China, judging from excerpts published in the PCP-R's *Bandeira Vermelha*, Hoxha neither greeted Chinese leader Hua Kuo-feng nor condemned the "Gang of Four.") Coincidentally, the last major Chinese leader to visit Albania was Yao Wen-yuan, one of the "Four.")

Moreover, to actually build an International means deciding upon which groups are the official sections, a procedure which requires either a combination of material inducements and a powerful repressive apparatus (as Stalin ruled the Comintern), which Albania would be hard put to supply, or a political struggle for a common line. The latter is unacceptable to the Stalinists because it could easily lead to a build-up of pressures for soviet democracy as prevailed in the Communist International under Lenin and Trotsky. Enver Hoxha will hardly permit in his "International" what he could not tolerate in his own "party" without jeopardizing his bureaucratic rule.

In any case, while various "critical Maoist" groups may cut the ties that bind them to Peking, they are unlikely to exchange them for a Tirana franchise. It is one thing to believe that Stalin would overtake the West in a decade, or even that China could catch up in 50 years; it would be ludicrous to think that Albania could be anything other than an impoverished backwater without aid from the most advanced industrial powers. (Khrushchev was reportedly so struck by Albania's backwardness that he advised its leaders to forget about industrialization and stick to sheep and olives.) For today's "critical Maoists" to sign up as front men for Enver Hoxha would mean becoming the laughing stock of the left.

The counterrevolutionary policies of both the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies have become increasingly clear to would-be revolutionaries throughout the world. Yet the Albanian bureaucratic ruling clique, which for its own reasons has evidently become dissatisfied with its Peking benefactors, can only oscillate from one overlord to another. Real revolutionary leadership for the international proletariat can only come through a struggle against all the Stalinists, through political revolution from Tirana to Moscow and Peking, and by the re forging of the Trotskyist Fourth International as a true world party of socialist revolution. ■

China...

(continued from page 1)

robberies, murder and rape." And today's *New York Times* reports that according to the Honan provincial radio, People's Liberation Army (PLA) troops have taken over the key rail junction of Chengchow.

Military occupation of the coastal province of Fukien in late October could be viewed as a successful mopping-up operation against bureaucratic supporters of the Chiang Ching clique. But the reported "civil war" in Szechwan, riots in Paoting and labor unrest in Chengchow point to a serious disintegration of China's political and social order.

Although information about the current situation depends on the far-from-credible official Chinese organs and second-hand reports of bourgeois journalists in the major cities, reports of recent fighting indicate that the intra-bureaucratic conflicts may be fueling upheavals of a far broader and more spontaneous character. The clique- and faction-ridden Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy, under the weak regime of the colorless, little-known Hua Kuo-feng, cannot contain the explosive pressures generated by uneven economic development, mass discontent, scarcity and inequality, and political repression. Chinese society is becoming unstuck.

Ever-Deepening Purge

The Hua regime has stated its intention to deepen the campaign against the "Gang of Four" and extend the purge throughout the 30-million-member Communist Party. On December 24, Hua announced that a "movement of consolidation and rectification" would be launched.

Here Hua is as good as his word. With each passing day some prominent Chinese figure disappears from public life. Early last month foreign minister Chiao Kuan-hua was dismissed and the regime announced other unspecified "appointments and removals." When Peking party boss Wu Teh failed to appear at an important national farm conference last week, bourgeois commentators deduced he was a purge victim.

Most of the "rectified" leaders will certainly be accused of being cohorts of the "Gang of Four." In most cases this accusation will be false. The so-called "moderate" majority which ousted the "gang" last October was a heterogeneous, conflict-ridden grouping whose only point of agreement was hostility to the Chiang Ching clique and to upstarts like Wang Hung-wen, who rose to prominence during the Cultural Revolution. With Chiang Ching's cohorts out of the way—at least at the uppermost levels of the bureaucracy—all the conflicts which have beset Chinese Stalinism for the past three decades are reappearing among the victors of October.

An editorial in the 23 December Peking *People's Daily*, the official party organ, characterized the four arrested leaders—Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao, Wang Hung-wen and Yao Wen-yuan—as "active counterrevolutionaries." This is the term usually applied to Kuomintang agents and is qualitatively harsher than the charges Mao levelled at his bureaucratic rivals Liu Shao-chi and Lin Piao. Not only does this have grave implications for the four (they could be executed), but it should be mind-

boggling to foreign Maoists. After all, Chiang Ching and her friends weren't exactly nobodies: if the Chinese "socialist" regime was presided over during the past period by "active counterrevolutionaries," does that mean that capitalism was secretly restored and has now been overthrown again? The thought should send would-be serious foreign Maoists into the cocktail lounges and mental hospitals.

A key purpose of the campaign against the "gang" is to shore up the authority of Hua's weak regime by blaming all of China's manifold social and economic difficulties—endemic to a bureaucratically deformed workers state, especially one so economically backward—on sabotage by the purged leaders. They have been accused of preventing "preparedness against war and modernization of the army"; stifling culture and the arts; "destroying education"; undermining the rural commune system and agricultural production; and impeding industrial and technological development. But just where were Mao, Hua and other party leaders when the "counterrevolutionary Gang of Four" were supposedly sabotaging the Chinese economy?

Just as the "gang" is held responsible for China's ills, the campaign against them is supposed to open a cornucopia of opportunities for economic and social development. Recent production increases claimed in the national chemical industry, the Wuhan Iron and Steel Company and a large tractor plant in Kiangsi province have all been hailed as victories stemming directly from the "overthrow of the Four."

For Political Revolution Against Chinese Stalinism

The evident preoccupation of the Hua regime with economic development points to the root cause of the relative instability of Chinese Stalinism. The legacy of Maoist economic adventurism (particularly the catastrophic Great Leap Forward), bureaucratic ultimatism and the extreme poverty and isolation of the Chinese deformed workers state (in part a result of China's counterrevolutionary foreign policy) has produced a materially discontented and increasingly restive population.



AP
Carter advisor James Schlesinger with Hua Kuo-feng during recent 23-day tour of China.

The millions of students ordered to the countryside to "learn" from the peasants are a mass of discontent both in the rural areas and in the cities to which many have returned illegally. Extreme regional income differences, built into the commune system with its emphasis on self-sufficiency, feed peasant unrest. The low-wage policy pursued by the Maoist regime since the early 1960's has exacerbated industrial unrest, provoking some important strikes in the past period, the most notable being that in the textile center of Hangchow in 1975, which were suppressed by the army.

It is revealing in this respect that Hua has accused the "Gang of Four" of "mishandling" the suppression of these

strikes and riots in Hangchow and Paoting, indicating the common hostility to the working class which unites the squabbling bureaucratic cliques.

Hua and the remaining senior leaders (largely veteran PLA commanders) lack the broad political authority of Mao, who in the eyes of the Chinese masses is identified with the overthrow of bourgeois/feudal oppression and of foreign domination. Because of the fundamental inability of Stalinism with its nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" to transform China into a modern, nationally integrated industrial society, Mao's heirs face the same centrifugal tendencies that have beset weak Chinese governments for centuries.

Furthermore, the backwardness of communications and transport as well as of military technology, limits the effective repressive power available to the central state apparatus. At the same time, the policy of economic decentralization and the associated strength of provincial military and party leaders threaten to unleash unchecked regional autarky and incipient warlordism.

In their vicious clique battles and ritual of vilification and purge, the Stalinist mandarins threaten more than their own careers and miserable necks. They undermine the very foundations of proletarian property forms upon which their bureaucratic regime rests. Defense of the real and important gains of the Chinese revolution requires the extension abroad of the gains of the Chinese revolution and the institution of workers democracy through soviets; that is, a proletarian political revolution under the banner of communist internationalism, of Trotskyism! ■

Sadlowski...

(continued from page 1)

525,000 steelworkers, today you have 357,000 employed.... That says something about what that industry has done, and what this union *hasn't* done to keep abreast.... I think it's long overdue that we start talking about a shorter workweek—not just talking about it, but making it a reality."

PENTHOUSE

Sadlowski: "We have already benefited from what our brains have produced technologically. We've reduced labor forces from 510,000 fifteen years ago to 400,000 today. Let's reduce them to 100,000. The coal miners went from 400,000 to 68,000."

Interviewer: "But what happens to the guys who get laid off?"

Sadlowski: "In the present structure, they find employment somewhere else. Society absorbs it."

Interviewer: "How does society absorb it? There seem to be a lot of unabsorbed people right now."

SOCIALISM

MILITANT

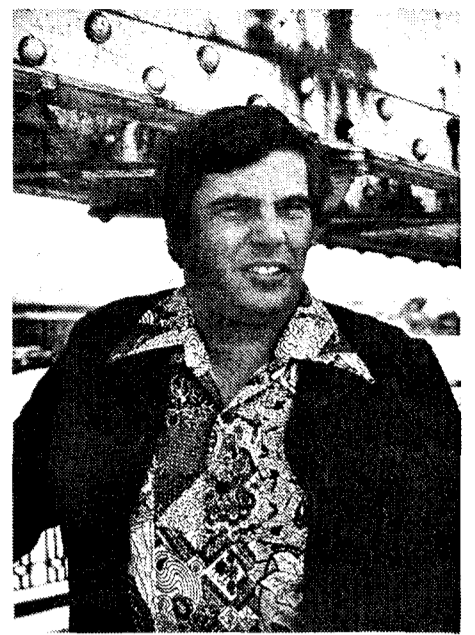
Interviewer: "Well, are you a socialist?"
Sadlowski: "In the sense of Eugene Debs, yes. You carry that answer back with you. Get a handbill out—get it just exactly as I quoted it now."

PENTHOUSE

Sadlowski: "I don't have a political philosophy. I'm not that sophisticated."

Interviewer: "If you could replace capitalism, what would you replace it with?"

Sadlowski: "It's not a question of a system. It's a question of the distribu-



Malinowski

Ed Sadlowski

tion of the system. The worker should get a larger share than he's getting now."

LABOR BUREAUCRACY

MILITANT

Sadlowski: "They're calling Abel a labor statesman and responsible union leader. I'm very leery about any form of statesmen, especially a labor statesman. His concept is to be responsible to the industry, not to the membership. The only guy that he thinks he's responsible to is the boss."

PENTHOUSE

Sadlowski: "Abel doesn't get money from U.S. Steel. They don't pay him for being a dinosaur. Abel is very inconsistent. I've seen him come out strong. I've seen him backtrack. Abel is his own boss."

Interviewer: "George Meany?"

Sadlowski: "You ask me about Meany. I ask what you're measuring him by.... Meany has been very, very consistent on domestic affairs. I think, however, he should have said more than he said."

Interviewer: "How do you assess Walter Reuther's place in history?"

Sadlowski: "I think that Reuther was probably the most significant, decent labor leader in the last quarter century. In my opinion, he was progressively sound."

NATIONALIZATION

PENTHOUSE

Interviewer: "Do you envision ultimate ownership of the industry by the people who work in the industry?"

Sadlowski: "No. That might work in Western Europe, to some degree, but it doesn't seem likely here." ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Bourgeoisie Mourns Chicago Autocrat

DALEY DROPS DEAD

So Chicago's Mayor Richard Daley is dead—and good riddance to that corrupt master of bourgeois big city politics, the wheeling-and-dealing vote-peddling dispenser of machine favors and juicy contract deals, "the Boss" backed up by his brutal police force and army of ward-heelers. After a 21-year career as mayor of the midwestern metropolis, Daley dropped dead of a heart attack in his doctor's office, surely the end he would have favored. Had he left office voluntarily, "His Honor" would doubtless have gone directly to jail on a host of corruption charges (assuming there's an honest judge in Chicago, that is).

The city was soon inundated with official glorification of the dead mayor. A billboard at Soldier Field proclaimed, "We Join in Mourning Our Great Leader Richard J Daley Good-bye, Friend," and the local media chimed in with a chorus of hyperbolic praise, the *Chicago Daily News* headlining "Loving City Buries Daley."

Chicago has certainly been called a lot of things, but "loving city" was never one of them. Along the ghetto streets in this most segregated of America's major cities there is no outpouring of love for the late mayor. Nor is there any love lost for Daley among those who demonstrated outside the Democratic Party convention of 1968 and were bloodied by Daley's rampaging cops as the whole world watched on TV.

As for "friends," even among his fellow Democratic Party politicians, there are few who would call him that. The memory of "kingmaker" Daley's highhanded behavior at that Chicago convention, shouting obscenities and cutting off the microphones of nationally known figures as if they were unruly members of his captive city council, still rankles. Nobody who knew the man loved him—Daley was feared and/or despised, yet still the national politicians, Carter, Ford, Rockefeller, McGovern, Kennedy, et al. flocked to his graveside to pay their last respects to



Ed Jarecki/Chicago Daily News

the powerful politician who ran Chicago with an iron grip.

"The City That Works"

The bourgeoisie certainly has reason to mourn the passing of this master of ward-heeling politics, since traditional means of dominating the masses have become increasingly difficult to apply as America's big cities continue to disintegrate in the epoch of capitalist decay. And the Daley mystique—last of the big city bosses, Democratic kingmaker, the man who made Chicago work—has fascinated political commentators for years.

Daley was unique in recent years in managing to successfully play a bonapartist-like role as mediator between big business interests and the labor movement, in containing the large black vote and in adroitly manipulating

the various ethnic blocs which have dominated Chicago politics for the last half-century. He came up through the Democratic machine, making all the right connections along the way and building his base among the city's Irish population, which is heavily represented in municipal government jobs. Behind the Daley mystique lies one of the most powerful repressive apparatuses in the country, ranging from a massive spying system to a ruthless police force equipped with armored anti-riot vehicles. But more than just another corrupt and dictatorial machine boss, Daley was able to maintain intact his unchallenged rule in part because he "delivered."

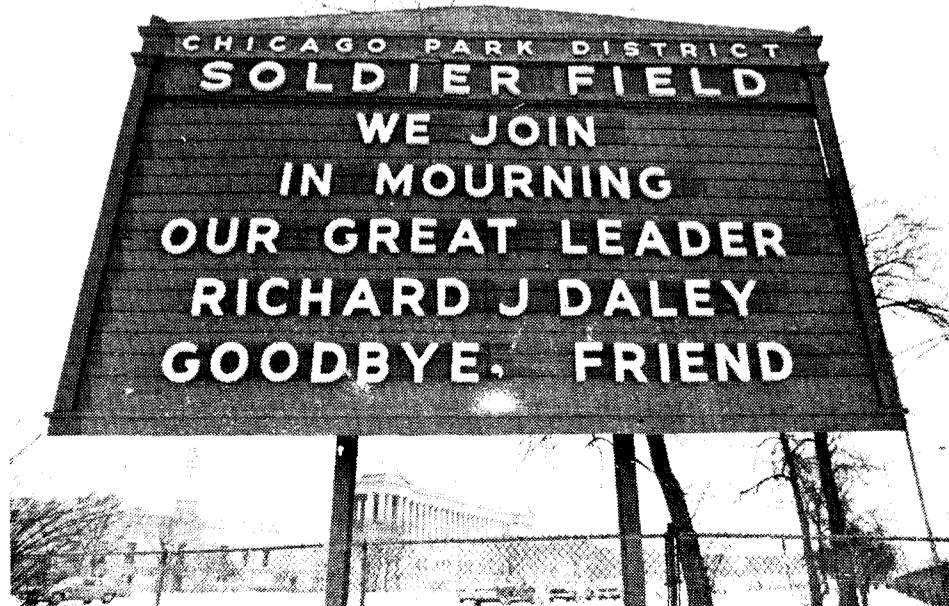
It is not necessary to deal in depth with the notoriously corrupt practice of the mayor and his administration, since even his fellow politicians and admirers will freely admit he was a past master at

the usual practices of machine politics, including a little graft, nepotism, currying favor with the corporations and cold contempt for the poor. It is remarkable, nonetheless, how almost every single one of the men surrounding Daley was struck down by federal indictments for various forms of corruption. To hit just a few of the high points of recent history: over 50 North Side policemen sent to prison for extortion and income tax evasion in the early 1970's; chief of traffic and 18 vice detectives convicted in 1973 of extortion; federal judge and former governor of Illinois Otto Kerner, Jr. found guilty in 1973 of income tax evasion on racetrack stock; Cook County clerk Edward Barrett convicted in 1973 of bribery in purchasing voting machines; Daley confidant Matthew Danaher indicted in 1974 for a shady real estate scheme; city council leader Thomas Keane indicted in 1974 on conspiracy and mail fraud charges; and so on.

While a mere piker compared to respected members of the notorious "millionaires' club"—the U.S. Senate—where such "friends of labor" as Henry Jackson wield large personal fortunes built up during years of "devoted public service," Daley himself managed to lay aside a "nest egg" for a rainy day. He secretly owned a real estate firm called Elard Realty Co., which bought up acres of tax-delinquent South Side property expropriated by the city from impoverished blacks. In the process of this brutal "urban renewal," fortunes were made; Daley accumulated \$200,000.

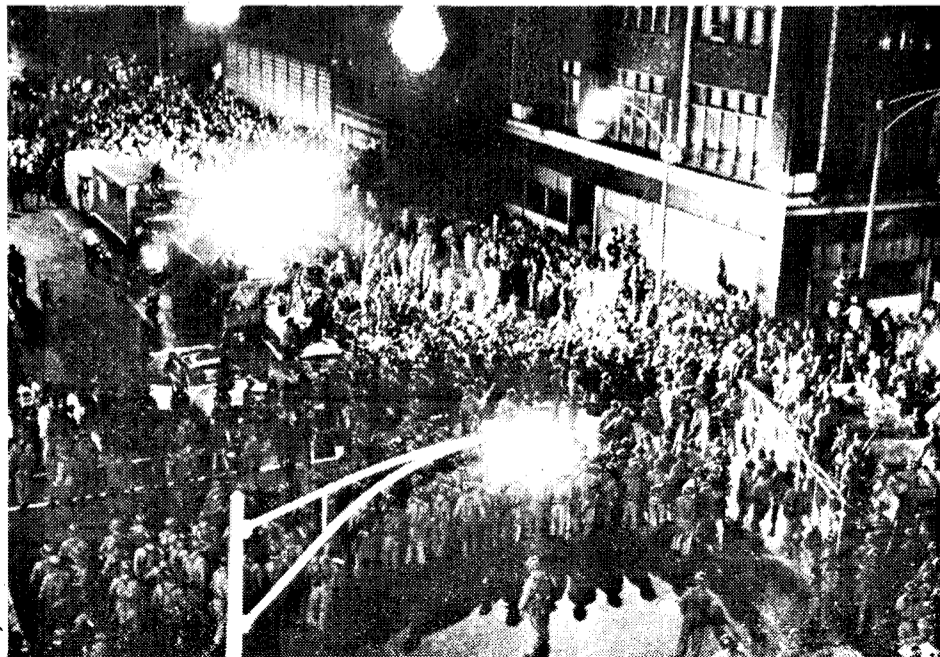
Daley's main concern, however, was always strengthening and maintaining his grip on the city. What was unique about Daley was his skill at manipulating and controlling the sources of political power in Chicago. In the final analysis, it was the willingness of the prosperous Chicago bourgeoisie to invest in "their" city—at least the thin strip along Lake Michigan stretching from the Gold Coast to the financial

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WV Photo

Sign in Soldier Field in downtown Chicago.



Chicago Sun-Times

August 1968, Daley's police and units of the Illinois National Guard battled demonstrators near the Democratic Convention in Chicago.