

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Blacks, socialists targeted

Hearings put FBI crimes on trial

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—The FBI was placed on trial this week as congressional committees held public hearings on the secret Cointelpro operations. The verdict in the minds of millions of Americans was "Guilty."

Confronted by testimony from victims of its secret war against the rights of the American people, and questioned sharply by hostile members of Congress, FBI representatives could offer nothing but the most feeble justifications for their massive campaign of disruption against the civil rights, antiwar, women's, and socialist movements.

The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence made public new documentary proof of the FBI's attacks on Martin Luther King, including plans made against the Black leader just a few days before his assassination. According to committee counsel F.A.O. Schwarz, the bureau's goal was to "discredit or destroy" King.

In November 1964, FBI agents tried to force King to commit suicide by sending him an anonymous letter along with a tape recording it hoped would humiliate him. "King, there is only one thing left for you to do. . . . You are done. There is but one way out for you," the note said.

The revelation of this operation adds substantial new evidence to the widespread belief that the FBI was involved in the assassination of King four years later. *Continued on page 6*



Martin Luther King and co-workers at Memphis motel day before assassin's bullet struck. New evidence of FBI's plots against King points to government role in murder.

Students march on D.C.: 'No cutbacks, no layoffs!'

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Thousands march against cutbacks
- 4 Ford, Carey 'save' N.Y. with cuts, tax hikes
- 5 What cutbacks mean for day care
- 6 FBI: 'No evidence' SWP violates law
- 7 Why FBI wages war against SWP
- 8 Protest ouster of Australian Labor party
- 9 What S. 1 means for democratic rights
- 13 New momentum in pro-ERA drive
- 14 Union women press affirmative-action fight
- 15 Camejo & Reid on tour
- 16 Omari Musa debates William Domhoff
- 23 Nixon's NEP: balance sheet for workers
- 28 Masses confront Portuguese junta

- 2 In Brief
- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 11 National Picket Line La Lucha Puertorriqueña
- 12 Great Society Women In Revolt American Way of Life

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 19 India since Gandhi's 'state of emergency'
- 20 Mao sends troops to quell strikers
- 21 Kurdish struggle: reactionary or progressive?

THE MILITANT

VOLUME 39/NUMBER 44
NOVEMBER 28, 1975
CLOSING NEWS DATE—NOV. 19

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Managing Editor: LARRY SEIGLE
Business Manager: ROSE OGDEN
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING
Washington Bureau: CINDY JAQUITH

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.
Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Telephone: (213) 483-2798. Washington Bureau: 1345 E. St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Washington, D.C. 20004. Telephone: (202) 638-4081.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: domestic, \$7.50 a year; foreign, \$11.00. By first-class mail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$32; all other countries, \$53. By airmail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$42. By air printed matter: Central America and Caribbean, \$40; Mediterranean Africa, Europe, and South America, \$52; USSR, Asia, Pacific, and Africa, \$62. Write for foreign sealed air postage rates.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly to Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe: £1.50 for eight issues, £3.50 for six months, £6.50 for one year. Send banker's draft or international postal order (payable to Pathfinder Press) to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

In Brief

STUDENTS PICKET SHOCKLEY IN L.A.: A picket line of 150 students protested the racist theories of Prof. William Shockley November 11. The demonstration occurred prior to Shockley's appearance at a debate on the University of Southern California campus in Los Angeles. The action was organized by the Associated Black Students, the campus MECHA, and the Student Coalition Against Racism.

Shockley, who contends that Blacks are genetically inferior to whites in intelligence, was debated by Prof. Richard Goalsby, a leading Black geneticist from the University of Maryland. An overflow crowd of 1,700 attended the debate.

Attempts to shout down Shockley and prevent the debate from occurring were initiated by the Progressive Labor party and a group associated with it, the Committee Against Racism. The debate was completed, but discussion was cut off when one individual seized the microphone.

PLANNING TO MOVE?—The post office does not automatically forward newspapers. Let us know your new address at least two weeks in advance to avoid missing any issues of your subscription. Please send the address label from a recent copy with your change of address notice.

CHARGES DROPPED AGAINST 3 ATTICA DEFENDANTS: Murder charges against three leaders of the 1971 Attica prison rebellion have been dropped. The three—Herbert X. Blyden, Frank Smith, and Roger Chapman—had been charged with kidnapping two inmates who were later killed. A state supreme court justice ruled November 13 that there had been no kidnapping and therefore the men could not be charged with a "felony murder." This makes eighteen indictments against Attica defendants that have been dismissed for lack of evidence or other legal reasons.

While he is concerned that a government appeal might end in a reversal, Blyden says in some ways he would welcome a trial. "They're going to make a Watergate out of it. We don't want things decided on technicalities. We want to air Attica in the courts," he said.

HURRICANE CARTER WINS TRANSFER: Black frame-up victim Hurricane Carter won another round this week. He was transferred out of New Jersey State Prison in Trenton, a "maximum security" facility known for its brutality and violence, to Clinton Correction Institution, a "minimum security" prison. Carter considered Trenton a dangerous place, a place where his life was always in danger. The prison, as Carter described it in his autobiography, *The Sixteenth Round*, was constructed in 1859 for "niggers and mules." Carter lived in an eight-by-five-foot cell.

Before approving the transfer, New Jersey prison officials tried unsuccessfully to get Carter to drop a civil suit he filed against them. The suit charges officials violated the rights of Carter and three other prisoners because of their activities as prison leaders. If Carter wins the suit, it could have a significant effect on prisoner rights in New Jersey. Carter's lawyers described the maneuver to get the case dropped as "blackmail."

BLACK YOUTH IN DALLAS GETS 99 YEARS: Sixteen-year-old Ivory James was sentenced to ninety-nine years in prison by a Dallas judge November 5. James is Black, and he was convicted by an all-white jury of raping a white woman. The jury deliberated forty-five minutes before finding him guilty; the judge took an hour and thirty-two minutes to come up with the sentence.

The alleged rape occurred in May, but the state stalled for months until James's sixteenth birthday so that he could be tried as an adult. He was not allowed to hire a private attorney. During the trial, evidence in his favor was suppressed, and defense-called character witnesses were denied. Bond was \$100,000.

A November 7 picket line of thirty protested James's unjust trial and the severity of the sentence. "Any one of our children or neighbors could be facing the same situation Ivory faces today," says a fact sheet on James from the People United for Justice.

PSP MEMBERS TO BE FREED FROM DOMINICAN JAIL: Three members of the Puerto Rican Socialist party who have been in prison in the Dominican Republic since last June have been amnestied by President Joaquín Balaguer. The amnesty, which was won through international protests, will take effect December 23. The Victoria Three—Angel Gandía, Raúl García, and Johnny Sampson—had been sentenced to thirty years' hard labor on phony charges of transporting guerrillas into the Dominican Republic. The major evidence against them at their trial consisted of "confessions" the three say they were tortured into signing.

Unfortunately, their release won't end the ugly incident. The San Juan, Puerto Rico, office of the FBI is asking that the three be prosecuted for violating the Federal Neutrality Act as soon as they return to their homeland, Puerto Rico.

HIGH COURT BARS DENIAL OF UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS TO PREGNANT WOMEN: States may no longer deny women unemployment benefits in the last three months of pregnancy and the six weeks following delivery on the sole presumption that they are unable to work. So ruled the U.S. Supreme Court November 17 in the case of a Utah woman, Mary Ann Turner. The decision invalidated part of a Utah law denying women unemployment benefits during the eighteen-week period. And it cast doubt on laws in nineteen other states.

The Utah Supreme Court decision that prompted Turner to petition the federal court had cynically instructed her to "work for the repeal of the biological law of nature" instead of the state employment law.

"She should get it amended so that men shared equally with women in bearing children," the court said. "If she could prevail upon the Great Creator to so order things, she would be guilty of violating the equal protection of the law unless she saw to it that men could also share in the thrill and glory of motherhood."

CHICAGO DOCTORS END STRIKE: Doctors returned to work at Chicago's Cook County Hospital November 13, ending an eighteen-day strike. A tentative contract includes provisions for Spanish-language translators, additional paramedical personnel, and improved cardio-pulmonary equipment. A committee of doctors and management will be set up to work out patient-care issues. Many important demands, however, were not included in the contract. The doctors still have to vote on the settlement.

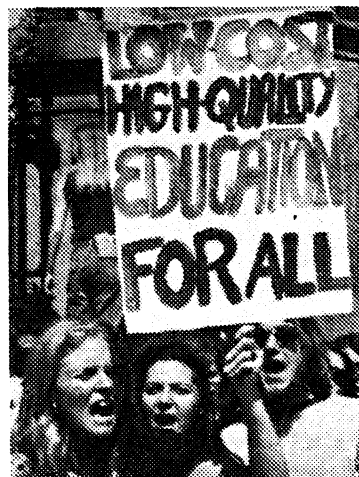
The day after the strike settlement, seven strike leaders were sentenced to ten days in jail for contempt of court. The sentences are pending appeal. The House Staff Association was also fined \$10,000.

'SHAH IS ONLY IRANIAN TERRORIST': "There is only one terrorist in Iran, and that is the shah himself, who is perhaps the greatest terrorist in the world," said Dr. Reza Baraheni. He was responding to the shah's statement that there are only 3,000 political prisoners in Iran and that they are all communists and terrorists. Baraheni himself was one of those prisoners in 1973, released only after an international defense campaign was organized. He is now touring the United States and spoke on a panel at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale November 6.

The meeting was sponsored by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), and other speakers included Elizabeth Eames, an SIU professor who spoke on "International Women's Year and Women Political Prisoners"; and C. Harvey Gardiner, a former professor who addressed his remarks to "U.S. Foreign Policy and the 1953 CIA Coup in Iran." One hundred sixty people attended.

—Nancy Cole

Special Offer For New Readers



CUTBACKS: Students across the country face massive education cutbacks. For a strategy on how to fight back, and national news of anticutback actions, subscribe to the *Militant*.

The Militant—2 Months/\$1

- () \$1 for two months—new readers only
- () \$4 for six months
- () New
- () \$7.50 for one year
- () Renewal

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014

Students: 'No cutbacks! No layoffs!'

By Steve Clark

WASHINGTON—"No cutbacks. No layoffs. Join us!"

That slogan was splashed in bright blue and red across the banner at the top of the Capitol steps during the rally of 6,000 people here November 19.

Students and faculty, mostly from the twenty campuses of the City University of New York, were here to demand that President Ford and Congress provide massive federal funding to preserve open admissions, free tuition, and vital educational programs at CUNY.

But as the banner on the Capitol steps indicated, the students were not only concerned about education cutbacks. They roared their approval when rally speaker Sam Manuel said, "We're not here to say, 'Give us the money, we're not worried about the other folks.'"

"We are for building a movement that can unite everybody. When we come back to Washington again, we want to bring the day-care workers who are facing cutbacks and layoffs. We want to bring the hospital workers with us. We want to bring all these hard-hit municipal workers with us."

Manuel, a coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), is a leader of the New York City anticutbacks movement.

Broad support

The November 19 demonstration was sponsored by the University Student Senate (USS), which represents the twenty CUNY schools; the Professional Staff Congress (PSC), the faculty union; the National Student Coalition Against Racism; the National Student Association; and the Student Association of State Universities, which represents students in the New York state college-system.

Student governments on most of the CUNY campuses actively supported the march, allocating thousands of dollars for publicity and bus transportation. Colleges from throughout the United States wired messages of support to the CUNY students, and campus delegations attended the demonstration from Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland.

The student government at Kingsborough Community College in Brooklyn financed thirty-three buses to Washington. Twenty buses came from Queensborough Community College; fifteen from Medgar Evers; eleven from La Guardia; ten each from John Jay, Bronx Community College, and York College; and dozens more.

Three busloads of students from Harpur College, a state school in Binghamton, New York, traveled to Washington to show their solidarity with the CUNY students, along with another busload from Newark, New Jersey, and carloads from other schools along the East Coast.

Militant spirit

The march stepped off from the Washington Monument in the early afternoon. In the lead was a large contingent of Black students from Medgar Evers College, the smallest of the twenty CUNY schools. Medgar Evers, named for the Black Mississippi civil rights leader assassinated in 1963, is one of the six campuses threatened with extinction under one plan being considered by the New York City Board of Higher Education (BHE).

One student carried a sign reading "Medgar Evers will not be killed twice."

A banner brought by the students from Binghamton pointed to the hypocrisy of the claim that there is no money for schools while \$100 billion is spent each year for the war budget. "Is the defense department biting the bullet?" it asked. A banner from Newark demanded, "Money for education, not for war."

Other banners and signs protested the enormous profits being reaped by the Wall Street banks and big corporations at the expense of schools and people's jobs. "People before profits," declared the ten-foot-long banner heading up a contingent of nearly 1,500 students from Kingsborough. A popular chant at the demonstration was, "They've got the money, we're no fools. Take it from the banks, and give it to the schools."

As the march passed the new multi-million-dollar headquarters of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, demonstrators shouted, "Education is our right. For that right, we will fight," and, "Hey! Hey! What do you say. Open admissions is here to stay." A popular chant was, "They say cut back, we say fight back!"



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

NSCAR's Sam Manuel, at microphone, told students, "When we come back to Washington we want to bring all hard-hit municipal workers with us."

At the rally on the steps of the U.S. Capitol building, the first speaker was Jay Hershenson, president of the University Student Senate. Hershenson was met with a thunderous response when he said that the aim of the demonstration was not only to defend open admissions and free tuition in New York City, but to begin a nationwide movement to extend these benefits to all students.

Later in the rally, this theme was sounded again by Bob Kirkpatrick, president of the Student Association of State Universities, and Clarissa Gilbert, president of the National Student Association.

After Hershenson, the crowd heard from Belle Zeller, representing the Professional Staff Congress. Zeller centered her remarks on a new budget cut proposal by the board of higher education. Many students first learned of the plan as they read the newspaper on the bus trip to Washington.

On top of the \$87 million (or 10 percent) slash in CUNY's fall budget, Zeller said, "Last Monday the board agreed on an additional \$55 million cut to be made next semester. They plan—unless you, and the faculty, and an enlightened citizenry stop it—to pass it next Monday."

She blasted a major provision of the new plan, which would abolish mid-year admissions. "No freshman class in February," she said, "which means that 20,000 students will find the doors closed at City University."

The BHE proposal would also force CUNY faculty members to accept a four-week payless "furlough" during the Christmas holidays.

Zeller urged the demonstrators to attend a November 24 protest at 4:00 p.m. outside the BHE headquarters at 535 East Eightieth Street in Manhattan. The demonstration has been called by the PSC, the USS, and New York SCAR.

Unfortunately, Zeller concluded her speech by urging students to work for passage of the legislation now pending in Albany proposed by New York Gov. Hugh Carey (see page 4).

Support for this phony solution—and especially for the antilabor austerity legislation now being pushed by the Democrats in Congress to "save" New York City—was the theme of a parade of Capitol Hill politicians who came out for a minute or two to address the crowd. Among them were Democratic presidential hopefuls Henry Jackson and Morris Udall, and Representatives Edward Koch, Bella Abzug, and James Scheuer.

Ongoing struggle

"Belt tightening" sermons didn't sit too well with the majority of demonstrators. However, it was clear that many students are confused about the bills in the Senate and the House of Representatives and hope they will somehow aid the students and working people of New York City.

Campus leaders received the best response from the demonstrators. Richie Izzo, head of the Committee to Save Kingsborough, was cheered when he said:

"Mayor Beame and some other politicians say that we must reevaluate the role of City University. I say that we must reevaluate the role of our city politicians . . .

"We must not sit idly by and allow the politicians to cut back on any of our citizen services. If we unite all citizens involved, the politicians will not dare proclaim any further cuts."

This spirit of solidarity also ran high two days earlier, on November 17, at a New York demonstration of 2,000 students through the financial district to city hall. The protest, called by the USS, PSC, and SCAR, helped build momentum for the Washington march.

At the Monday demonstration I talked to a young municipal worker who had come down to show his support for the CUNY students. "If all the people don't start pulling together," he told me, "the whole thing is going to be cut back one by one. Me protecting my own program just isn't going to work."

And NSCAR leader Sam Manuel summed up the students' optimistic perspective at the city hall rally. "This is only the beginning," he said.

"We didn't win the civil rights legislation with the first march. We didn't end the war with the first march. And we won't end the cuts with the first march. We've got some more marching to do, and there's a lot more people that we can bring out with us."

"We know that the only people that aren't being cut back are the bankers and politicians that run this city, so we know that we can turn out the majority."

"And that's what this movement is all about."



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

November 19 march on Washington. Students chanted, "They've got the money, we're no fools. Take it from the banks, and give it to the schools."

The big charade

Ford & Carey 'save' New York: higher taxes, more budget cuts

By Andy Rose

NEW YORK, Nov. 19—The big fix is in. New York City is about to be "saved"—again.

In return for a new city and state package of layoffs, drastic cutbacks, and harsh tax increases (see box), the federal government will guarantee repayment on two to three billion dollars in city bonds—supposedly enough to keep the city solvent for the next several years.

In this "rescue" operation, as in previous ones, the only winners will be the banks and wealthy individuals who own city bonds. Not one penny will be allocated by the federal or state governments to restore jobs and services in New York City. On the contrary, even more severe budget cuts are demanded as the price for propping up city bonds.

The federal "bailout" climaxes an elaborate charade played out in recent weeks by Ford, Congress, Gov. Hugh Carey, and Mayor Abraham Beame.

'Hard cop-soft cop'

This charade followed a timeworn script known as the "hard cop-soft cop" routine. It works like this.

The hard cop bellows and shouts, threatening drastic reprisals, while the soft cop claims to really be your friend. The tougher the hard cop blusters, the more "reasonable" the soft cop seems.

Finally, to save you from a beating by the hard cop, who acts like he's getting out of control, the soft cop offers a "deal." You take it—and you're sunk.

The sham battle began with Ford's October 29 speech calling down hellfire on the city for alleged lavish spending on schools, hospitals, wages, and welfare. "I am prepared to veto any bill," Ford declared, "that has as its purpose a federal bailout of New York City to prevent a default."

Ford's belligerent posture gave Beame and Carey a welcome chance to pose as defenders of the city. They pointed to the terrible consequences of default for working people: massive layoffs, schools and hospitals closed, welfare and paychecks halted.

They urged New Yorkers to unite—workers together with bankers and politicians—behind whatever sacrifices might be required.

The Democratic city and state administrations used the threat of default to force working people to accept a



Ford's hard-line pose made it easier for Democrats to implement cutback plan

cutback program *virtually identical to Ford's*—voluntarily, and all in the name of "avoiding default"!

That is precisely how the charade unfolded:

November 10: Carey announces he will submit to a special session of the state legislature a package of new taxes and cuts "like you've never seen."

The *New York Post* reports: "The Governor is willing to raise taxes, reduce union benefits and take whatever other steps are necessary to combat assertions by Ford that federal loan guarantees should not be granted because the city and state have not done all that is possible to curb fiscal excesses."

November 11: Beame announces a plan to eliminate 8,734 jobs, mostly in

social services, hospitals, and education.

The same day, Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur Burns and House minority leader John Rhodes, both conservative Republicans close to the White House, give the first signal of a shift toward possible support to federal loan guarantees.

November 12: The city asks state approval for a \$70 million cut in Medicaid.

President Ford tells a group of magazine publishers that New York has "made a lot of progress" and that his position on loan guarantees is now "very fluid."

November 13: Carey lays out his plan for a state wage freeze, cutbacks, and higher taxes. "It will teach us a lesson that we'll have to live within our means," Carey says.

Treasury Secretary William Simon likes the Carey plan so much he will now back short-term aid to the city. "They are finally doing after eight months everything they said before was impossible," Simon says.

'Pin it on Ford'

Beame protests the sales tax increase, but the *Daily News* reports: "According to one high City Hall official, the opposition to the sales tax hike was more for public consumption than to stop the increase."

"The strategy is to fight like hell, but we know we'll just go down fighting," the official said. "We want to try to pin all this on (President) Ford."

November 15: Carey announces he will make Medicaid and welfare cutbacks totaling \$500 million. This is on top of the city's \$70 million Medicaid cut.

November 17: The White House announces that Ford will now back

\$2.5 billion in loan guarantees for the city.

November 18: The Senate votes to appropriate \$90.7 billion for the Pentagon, including some \$6 billion for the CIA and other "national intelligence" operations. The appropriation is up \$7 billion from last year.

(Of course, neither Congress nor the capitalist news media portray this vote as related in any way to the city budget crisis. They pretend there is no connection between spending billions of dollars for war and CIA spying, and cutting funds for jobs, education, and welfare.)

November 19: Ford again plays hard to please, saying he will not approve the loan guarantees until the state legislature votes for Carey's tax and cutback package.

The real differences

There were, to be sure, some real differences of opinion in ruling circles, particularly about how dangerous a New York default would be to the world capitalist credit structure. There was also a certain amount of political jockeying with an eye toward next year's elections.

There was and is, however, complete agreement between both capitalist parties that the standard of living of New York working people must be driven down, that they must bear the burden of the world economic crisis.

Speaking on the Senate floor November 3, liberal Democrat William Proxmire, one of the architects of the "bailout" legislation, explained the Democratic party's program for New York—and every other city:

Proxmire stated that "in the past few months . . . real progress has been made. Here it is:

"More than 31,000 employees have been taken off the payrolls.

"Wages have been frozen for three years. . . .

"Eighteen percent of New York City's teachers have been laid off. . . .

"Sixty percent of paraprofessionals and 30 percent of teachers' aides have been cut.

"The school week has been reduced by two periods. . . .

"Garbage pickups have been sharply reduced.

"Libraries and museums are only opened on shorter hours.

"So New York has made progress.

"What our bill would do would be to force that progress to continue. . . ." (Emphasis added.)

The most important result of the shadowboxing between Ford and the Democrats was to confuse and demobilize the potential opposition to this kind of "progress."

Municipal union officials fell right into the trap. They placed their political alliance with Beame, Carey, and the rest of the Democrats above the needs of New York workers.

Victor Gotbaum, head of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 37, vowed to "fight like hell"—against default. What this meant in practice was acceptance, without so much as a word of protest, of the new Beame-Carey cutback plan.

The AFL-CIO also switched from opposition to support of the federal "bailout" bill. The excuse given was that the federal panel established to oversee city finances would no longer be empowered to "renegotiate" union contracts to lower wages and pensions.

Continued on page 26

How 'bailout' hits you

NOV. 19—Details of the latest plan to "save" New York City from default are still being haggled over in Washington and Albany. As the *Militant* goes to press, the major provisions stand as follows:

WAGES: Frozen for at least one year for all state employees, including cancellation of \$20 million in wage increases due under current contracts. Possible state law to freeze wages of all local government employees in the state as well.

TAXES: Increase of \$867 million in state taxes, most of it from a one-cent hike in sales tax.

Increase of up to \$250 million in city taxes, probably from another one-cent rise in sales tax. That will bring sales tax in city to ten cents on the dollar.

PENSIONS: New York City workers forced to pay \$85 million a year more into pension funds. This amounts to a 2 to 4 percent cut in take-home pay.

City employee pension funds to loan \$2.5 billion to city.

SERVICES: Cutbacks of more than \$500 million in welfare and Medicaid, plus \$400 million or more in other state cutbacks, plus \$724 million in city cutbacks still to be implemented.

BONDS: Some owners of short-term city notes forced to exchange them for long-term bonds. All bondholders to be fully paid for every penny of principal, plus high, tax-free interest payments. Repayment of future bonds to be guaranteed by federal government.

What cutbacks mean for day-care parents, staff

By José Pérez

NEW YORK—Parents, staff, and children from this city's day-care centers will be going to Mayor Abraham Beame's "We love New York" rally in Times Square November 24, but not for love of Beame.

They're going to protest the closing of twenty-eight day-care centers, the first round of closings caused by Beame's November 10 order to cut 20 percent from what was left of the day-care budget.

At the beginning of this fiscal year, the Agency for Child Development, which runs day-care programs for 53,000 New York children, had a budget of \$159 million. Over the summer, that was cut by 5.3 percent, and now has been slashed \$29 million more, leaving roughly \$122 million.

Many of the centers scheduled for closing first learned of the cut by reading a casualty list published in the November 12 *Daily News*. One of these was Our Children's Center, located on the New York City Community College campus in Brooklyn.

"When we first saw that list we didn't know what to do," says Lenore Blake, director of Our Children's Center. "It just didn't make any sense to us that they should close this center down."

Strategy meeting

"The same day we saw the news article we had a strategy meeting of our board of directors and other parents, to figure out what we should do," Blake said. "We decided to contact other centers on the list and have a meeting the following day, Thursday, and that's where we decided to call the protest."

Representatives of about a half dozen centers attended the Thursday meeting at Our Children's Center, a total of some fifty people in all. It was agreed there to schedule a protest rally for 10 a.m. the morning of November 24 at Bryant Park, and then to join Beame's noontime rally as a protest contingent.

Other centers have since expressed their support to this action, as has the day-care workers union, Local 205 of District Council 1707, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

"We're not going to hear what Beame has to say; we're going to let Beame hear what *we* have to say!" a Black woman studying nursing told me the morning of November 19 as she was dropping off her child at the center.

A crowd of eight or ten parents



Militant/Lou Howort
PAT WRIGHT: 'Cuts are more than just a question of the budget. They are out to roll back all gains of women and minorities.'



Militant/José Pérez
Day-care workers will attend Beame's Times Square rally to protest cuts.

gathered. They blurted out their reasons for protesting in a hurry so as to get to their classes on time.

"They lay your husband off, then they kick your son out of day care, and next thing they'll close the college down or charge tuition so we can't go," one Black woman said.

People studying nursing, liberal arts, computer programming, and bookkeeping, and even a medical student all told the same story. Our Children's Center is uniquely geared to the needs of NYCCC parents. It opens earlier and closes later than most other centers, so students can take classes from eight in the morning to six at night.

The Agency for Child Development claims they'll relocate all the children now enrolled in day care in other facilities, most likely near parents' homes, but this doesn't satisfy the students.

"If you live at any distance," one mother objected, "you're leaving home at seven o'clock, seven fifteen at the latest, to make an eight o'clock class. Where are you going to put the baby until nine, when the center opens, and who is going to take him there?"

'Hire babysitters'

The agency has been suggesting to parents that they hire babysitters and pay someone to take the children to the centers.

"But where are we going to get the money?" one asked. "If we had the money, we wouldn't be able to have our children here at all, we wouldn't be eligible."

A particular focus of anger is the way the agency has gone about closing the center. As of November 19, no official notification had been received, but four days earlier officials had come in and confiscated the balance in the center's bank account, putting it into receivership.

The agency refused to say, even informally, when the center is to be closed, but press reports say by January 1. That will mean that many students won't be able to finish their courses, because final exams are in January.

While I was visiting the center, two agency officials walked in and began preparations for transferring the children. Lists of names, addresses, and other information began to fill yellow pads.

Lenore Blake said, "They just want to keep us off-balance, in the dark, so

we won't know what to do to stop the closing. Now these two say all our kids might be taken out by the end of next week."

An official at the agency told me that afternoon, after I had visited the center, that "we don't expect that transferring children will begin for another week or two."

The spokesperson stated categorically that no more centers other than the 28 would be closed. No one at Our Children's Center believes that—they think at least 100 of the 400 centers will be closed unless the cut is rescinded. The facts prove they're right.

More closings

The city is in the process of purging an estimated 5,000 children from the child-care program, on the pretext that their parents—usually working mothers—make too much money.

The agency is also freezing enrollment, saying the programs will be allowed to shrink through attrition. Although a spokesperson claims there is no specific target figure, a month ago—when the possibility of a \$29 million cut was first announced—the same official told me the programs would be reduced by 9,132 children. The twenty-eight centers account for only 1,800 spaces, indicating many more centers will be closed.

When asked about these discrepancies, an official at the agency (who routinely requests that her name not be used) said, "I have to get off the phone. I have to go to a meeting. Please call back tomorrow."

Pat Wright is the AFSCME shop steward at Our Children's Center. She is also the Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Congress in the Fourteenth Congressional District. I asked her what she thought the city administration was up to.

"This cutback in the number of centers is the first step toward cutting out day care altogether," she said. "That's the way they started at our center, cutting back, and now we're being closed."

"These cutbacks are more than just a question of the budget," Wright said. "The actual savings to the city from closing our center is quite small, because most of our funds came from state and federal programs. That's true of many other centers too."

"They are really out to roll back all the gains women, minorities, students, and the unions have made through hard years of struggle."

The cutbacks in day care will mean, she added, that thousands of women, primarily Blacks and Puerto Ricans, will be forced out of jobs, schools, and training programs and onto the welfare rolls.

"The government's got the money," Wright said. "And we should demand they use it for *our* benefit, instead of using it for war spending or for tax-free triple-guaranteed giveaways for the banks."

"There are a lot of people angry about the cuts," she said. "Yesterday, college students rallied. Today, poverty agency workers protested. Tomorrow, high school students have a march."

"Day-care workers and parents protested a month ago when they started talking about cutting \$29 million, and we're going to protest again on Monday. This is good, but it hasn't been enough."

"What we need to do is to have a big city-wide conference of unions, students, and community groups. The unions should take the lead in organizing it, since they have the resources, and invite everyone who has been hurt by the cuts. Once we're united, we can sit down and plan the kind of actions it will take to stop the cuts."

Should unions join Big Mac?

By Andy Rose

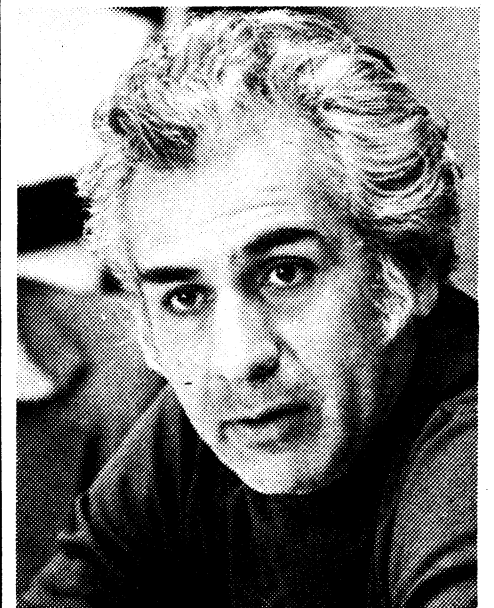
NEW YORK—Do city workers and Wall Street bankers have common interests? Can they collaborate together on solutions to the New York crisis?

Municipal union officials say yes; the Socialist Workers party says no.

Gov. Hugh Carey's office announced November 18 that the unions will be given seats on the Emergency Financial Control Board and the Municipal Assistance Corporation (Big Mac)—the state boards that now rule over New York City finances.

The appointments were immediately condemned as a "trap for the unions" by Catarino Garza, Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress from Manhattan's Eighteenth Congressional District. Garza is a bilingual teacher, a community activist on the Lower East Side, and a delegate in the United Federation of Teachers.

"These boards were set up for one purpose and one purpose only," Garza said, "to attack the working people of New York through layoffs, cutbacks, and wage and pension reductions."



Militant/Lou Howort
CATARINO GARZA: 'Any union official who takes seat on these boards lends authority to their antilabor actions.'

"Now they are trying to cover up their antilabor character with a facade of impartiality. But the addition of one union official, or even a bunch of them, is not going to make these boards one bit more responsive to our needs."

"The Emergency Financial Control Board demands that the city budget be slashed \$724 million. It has the power to rip up any union contract it deems too expensive. It has already torn up the teachers' contract."

"The very existence of this board, elected by no one and responsible only to Wall Street, is an attack on the unions' right to free collective bargaining."

"Any union official who takes a seat on this board, *regardless of how they may vote*, will be lending their authority to the board's actions. They will be taking responsibility for imposing cutbacks and layoffs on their own members and other unionists."

"That is the role of a scab, a traitor to the working class."

"I and the other Socialist Workers party candidates intend to campaign—within our own unions and everywhere we can get a hearing—for the union officials to get off these antilabor boards."

"Big Mac and the Emergency Financial Control Board should be abolished, not prettied up."

...FBI: no evidence SWP violates law

Continued from page 1

Schwarz emphasized that the FBI had not one shred of evidence of any illegal activity by King.

In addition, the committee said, the FBI established a network of 7,500 "ghetto informants" in the late 1960s.

The investigators also made public documents detailing extensive spying on a group called the Women's Liberation Movement in Baltimore, which the FBI described as "a group therapy session with young women who were

For editorial on King assassination, see page 10.

either lonely or confined to the home with small children, getting together to talk out their problems."

At hearings sponsored by the House Select Committee on Intelligence on November 18, FBI officials were confronted by Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo and other victims of government disruption efforts, invited by the committee to testify on the crimes of the FBI.

In response to questioning, the FBI officials were forced to concede that the SWP does not advocate violence, that it does not engage in illegal acts, and that there is no law authorizing the FBI to continue its harassment and disruption under the guise of "investigating" the party.

The SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance have filed a \$27 million suit against the FBI and other government agencies charging them with burglary, wiretapping, bombing, police infiltration, and harassment of individual members. The government has justified its spying on the SWP on the grounds that the SWP is "subversive."

Preview of trial

The lawsuit is scheduled to come to trial sometime in 1976. The November 18 hearings may preview what this unprecedented trial will be like.

"The FBI had their chance today to justify why they have spied on the SWP ever since its founding in 1938," said Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund. The PRDF is organizing support for the suit.

"These officials could not produce a shred of evidence that the SWP is guilty of any crimes," Stapleton explained. "Their testimony proved our case—that they are the guilty ones, guilty of trying to destroy a legal political party."

Testifying on harassment of social-

ists, in addition to Camejo, were Lori Paton, who was investigated for writing a letter to the SWP as part of a high school project, and Kathy Sledge, a member of the Seattle YSA whom the FBI tried to get fired. Robert Silverman, a Chicago businessman who once employed an SWP member, told the committee of FBI attempts to get the socialist employee fired.

All these incidents happened after 1971, when the FBI supposedly ended its attempts at disruption of the SWP and YSA.

The committee also heard from FBI provocateur Robert Hardy, who helped stage the Camden 28 draft board raid; and Marcus Raskin, codirector of the Institute for Policy Studies, another victim of FBI spying.

Former agent testifies

Another witness was former FBI agent Arthur Murtaugh, who testified about the harassment of King and of Rep. Andrew Young (D-Ga.). Murtaugh testified that he had been ordered to obtain handwriting samples of associates of King, including Andrew Young, and to obtain copies of stationery and envelopes of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Appearing at the hearings to defend these crimes were James Adams and W. Raymond Wannall, top FBI officials.

"Your rationale for investigating the SWP would be based either on a violation of law or a threat to the United States?" asked committee counsel A. Searle Field.

"Yes," replied Wannall.

"In the last thirty years you've found no violations by the SWP. Could you say the same about the Democratic and Republican parties?" demanded Field, as laughter broke out in the hearing room.

Ominously, the FBI claimed the right to investigate groups that, in its opinion, might advocate terrorism or other illegal acts in the future.

Some people, FBI official Adams warned, "publicly state that they consider terrorist activity 'counterproductive' in today's political climate. Nevertheless, they by no means renounce its use at the right moment to attain their political objectives."

This is the FBI's cheap argument in the SWP's suit: that the party only "pretends" to oppose terrorism, but is secretly plotting violence "when the time is right."

This slander was ripped to shreds at the hearings by Camejo and the majority of members of the House committee.

"For thirty years you've been follow-



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Under questioning from House Intelligence Committee, FBI men were forced to admit SWP does not advocate violence or engage in illegal acts.

ing these people. Why do you stay after them if you don't have any convictions?" asked Rep. James Johnson (R-Colo.) impatiently.

"We have no evidence of a statutory violation," admitted Adams. But, he insisted, "we feel that when an organization states publicly that they don't engage in violence, but also states to its members, 'Wait until the time is right,' . . . we feel we have to monitor that situation."

The SWP, he suggested, might become "violent" in the event of "a hostile attack by the Soviet Union or others."

"Are you aware that SWP members have never advocated violence?" asked counsel Field. He went on to point out that provisions of the Smith Act, which made it illegal to advocate revolutionary change, have long been ruled unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court.

"So you're continuing to surveil under something that's been ruled unconstitutional?" he demanded.

"We surveil on the basis of activity in which [the SWP] has engaged," replied Wannall.

"Has it engaged in any activities that are violent . . . ?" asked Field.

"Not violent," said Wannall.

Camejo responded to the "terrorist" charge. "The FBI knows what our real position is," he told the committee. That position is to win the majority of the American people over to the need to replace the capitalist system with socialism.

"The Declaration of Independence says we have a right to do that," he noted.

"After we win a majority," he continued, "we do not intend to use violence." Those who will use bloodshed, he predicted, are "a small minority," the capitalist class.

"What more could we ask than that we be treated like any other party, and that the Watergating of my campaign be ended?" he finished.

Revolution of 1776

The only member of Congress to attack Camejo was Rep. Robert McClory (R-Ill.) who bristled at the socialist's examples from the American Revolution. McClory asked Camejo if he favored "violent" revolutions like those in 1776 and 1861.

Camejo offered the representative a short lesson in history. "The American people chose in 1776 that they didn't want taxation without representation. . . . There was a tyranny that was opposed to that. There was a revolution. The entire nation is celebrating it next year," he concluded, as

spectators and reporters laughed.

At the end of the hearing, the committee offered the FBI a chance to rebut the testimony of victims. Hoping to avoid putting his foot in his mouth once again, Wannall declined to take up the charges of the SWP, claiming he couldn't comment on a matter in litigation. "I think the courts themselves are going to make the decision" as to whether the FBI is going to continue to spy on the SWP, he said.

Pressed to justify his contention that the SWP does pose a threat "to national security," Wannall said, "It's my recollection that Leon Trotsky established the Fourth International in 1938 and the party here in the United States was established at the same time. . . . I regard [the SWP] as a party that follows the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism as interpreted by Leon Trotsky."

The SWP, as Camejo had explained, is in fraternal solidarity with the world Trotskyist movement, the Fourth International, but is not affiliated with it because of the reactionary Voorhis Act.

Dellums accuses FBI

Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.) pointed this out and blasted Wannall for trying to use this excuse. "As I understand, the SWP was affiliated with the Fourth International back in the late 1930s which was not illegal," he said.

"With the passage of the Voorhis Act they disaffiliated," he explained. This fact "flies in the face of your justification for surreptitious entries, wiretaps, and all the rest under the absurd nomenclature of Cointelpro!"

Dellums went on to accuse the FBI of burglarizing the SWP, citing the 1971 break-in at the Detroit office of the party. A letter stolen in that burglary later appeared in civil service files and was used to harass a former member of the SWP seeking a job.

Wannall stonewalled the question, claiming he had "no knowledge" of FBI involvement in the break-in and that "there is nothing" in the files on the matter.

Rep. Philip Hayes (D-Ind.) told Wannall he was incensed that a legal political organization should be disrupted solely because of the ideas it advocates.

As the hearings drew to a close, one of the FBI's few friends on the committee that day, Rep. Dale Milford (D-Tex.) glumly summed up the demoralizing events of the day. "The FBI," he sadly predicted, "is probably going to flunk out as a TV star on tonight's news."



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate, details FBI attempts to disrupt Black and socialist movements. To his left is Lori Paton, who was investigated by FBI because she wrote to SWP for high school research project.

Why FBI wages war on Socialist Workers party

[Following are major excerpts from the statement presented by Peter Camejo to the House Intelligence Committee on November 18. Camejo is the Socialist Workers party candidate for president of the United States.]

As the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers party I would like to thank the committee for this opportunity to testify. I realize that you disagree with many of my views. Until today, the investigations of FBI and CIA activities have not given those of us who have been the victims of these agencies an opportunity to be heard. Of course, there are many other victims of these FBI and CIA activities in addition to the SWP.

Because the FBI spends so much time and money trying to disrupt the SWP, I think it's important that I explain briefly exactly who we are and what we stand for.

We believe that this society needs to be reorganized on the basis of production for human needs, not for private profit. We think that a political party based on the working class is needed. That is why we are offering candidates in the 1976 elections.

On many issues our views are shared by many, if not most, Americans. These are issues such as the right of every worker to a job, the right of Blacks to attend desegregated schools, the importance of organizing massive support for the Equal Rights Amendment, and opposition to sending American soldiers to prop up reactionary governments around the world.

On the question of establishing socialism, however, we are in a minority. Our goal is to win a majority to our point of view.

Activities of SWP

We run in elections to explain our ideas and win support for our program. In addition, our members participate in organizing demonstrations, such as the large peaceful antiwar marches that helped force an end to the Vietnam War. Many of our members are active in the labor movement and the struggle to desegregate the schools. We hold public meetings and distribute leaflets, books, and newspapers.

These are all activities protected by the Bill of Rights.

The Socialist Workers party doesn't advocate or engage in violent or illegal activity. The FBI has never produced any evidence to the contrary. But, in spite of that, they admit that they began wiretapping us in 1945. They've burglarized us, "investigated" us, bugged our offices, "covered" our mail, visited our members, gotten them fired from jobs, harassed our election campaigns, and generally made efforts to prevent us from getting a hearing for our views.

But since the exposure of the illegal and unconstitutional FBI Cointelpro tactics, the FBI has been trying to fool the public with the claim that it stopped disrupting political activities back in April 1971. But we know that's not the case. I'm turning over to the committee a list of some 225 incidents of FBI harassment that have taken place since April 1971.

In the FBI's view, the SWP continues to be a legitimate target for disruption. They have been attempting it for decades and they are continuing it right now.

In their public explanations, they say this is because we are terrorists, or because we are "subversives," or because we advocate violence. I would like to respond to these charges.

First, the FBI itself has provided us with proof that their charges are false. Let's look at the record. The FBI admits it began wiretapping our party in 1945. Since then the FBI has not brought a single indictment against a single member of the SWP. Not one indictment against a single member in thirty years of the tightest imaginable surveillance. The Democratic and Republican parties, on the other hand, cannot point to such a record.

Secondly, I call your attention to the 1961 FBI memorandum that launched the "SWP Disruption Program." Here they give the FBI's real reason for this war of disruption. This document, which was never intended for public view, stands in sharp contrast to their public charges of violent and illegal acts.

The memo said: "The SWP has . . . been openly espousing its line . . . through running candidates for public office and strongly directing and/or supporting such causes as Castro's Cuba and integration problems arising in the South."

Not violence. Not assassinations. Not kidnapping. Our crimes, to the

exchange ideas and to discuss major world political developments. But these are not illegal acts.

We maintain a relationship of fraternal solidarity with the Fourth International. Does this violate the Voorhis Act? No. We decide our own policies and principles through our own conventions and elected bodies. And although we strongly disagree with the Voorhis Act, since it was passed in 1940 we have not been affiliated to the Fourth International. No government agency has ever produced any evidence to the contrary.

In a recent editorial condemning the continuing FBI harassment of the Socialist Workers party, the *New York Times* pointed out that "the Socialist Workers party is a legal American political organization."

Attempt to outlaw ideas

The FBI has no evidence to dispute that. What they are trying to do is to effectively outlaw our ideas. In their defense against our suit, in place of evidence of illegal SWP activity, they are reduced to quoting from books written by Marx and Lenin.



Militant/Dennis Scarla

SWP goal is to win majority to socialism. "All our activities," Camejo told congressional committee, "are protected by Bill of Rights."

FBI, were running candidates, supporting the fight against segregation, and opposing this government's criminal attempts to overthrow the Castro regime.

FBI's charge of 'terrorism'

What about the public charges that the FBI makes? Is the SWP terrorist? Absolutely not. We believe, as Marxists have always believed, that the philosophy and methods of terrorism are damaging to the workers movement. We believe that society can only be changed through the efforts of millions, through broad social forces representing the overwhelming majority, not through acts of terror.

Advocacy of terrorism is incompatible with membership in the SWP. And, I repeat, no evidence has ever been produced by the government that the SWP advocates or engages in terrorism or other illegal acts of violence.

To take up another charge: Is the SWP run by a foreign power or organization? No. We are internationalists. We work for the release of political prisoners in Chile, in Spain, in the Soviet Union, and in China. We are opposed to totalitarianism everywhere in the world, whether in the USSR or in Spain. We meet with socialists from other countries to

The notion that some ideas are "subversive" is dangerous for everyone who may disagree with an administration in power. If it can be applied to our ideas today, it will be applied to others tomorrow.

Of course, it is already clear that many dissenting groups other than the SWP have been the targets of FBI harassment and attempted disruption, especially Black individuals and organizations. To help force an end to all political spying, the Socialist Workers party plans to continue with its landmark suit against the FBI, CIA, and similar agencies.

In our opinion, only a tiny corner has been lifted on the shroud of secrecy behind which the FBI, CIA, and other secret-police agencies operate. Ending this secrecy would be a big step in the direction of bringing their crimes to a halt.

The American people need and deserve all the facts about the past and present secret-police operations carried out behind their backs. I hope this committee will help bring the full truth to light and take steps to bring about the full disclosure of the secret files on the FBI and CIA crimes. Only such steps can give the American people the facts necessary to decide the important issues posed by the actions of the FBI and CIA.

New book tells story of secret Cointelpro plots

By Karen Melville

"I recently saw reference to one of your titles dealing with FBI activities against the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance. Please send me a copy."

"Please rush the Minneapolis SWP 75 copies of *Cointelpro*. We're having a civil liberties speak-out on November 24th."

Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom, now available from Pathfinder Press, is the first book to detail, in the FBI's own words, actual case studies of their illegal actions against Black activists, antiwar leaders, and socialists.

In his introduction to the book, Noam Chomsky reminds us that "the criminal activities of the FBI were initiated under the liberal Democratic administrations and carried further under Nixon. These programs [Cointelpro] were (partially) exposed during the Watergate period, and though incomparably more serious than anything charged against Nixon, they were virtually ignored during this period by the liberal national press. . . ."

The book contains about 100 documents from the files of the FBI. Accompanying essays, giving a picture of the victims and the background of the incidents, are based on a series by Nelson Blackstock that appeared earlier this year in the *Militant*, with additional articles by *Militant* staff writers Baxter Smith and Nancy Cole.

The material in *Cointelpro* outlines the efforts of the FBI over the past ten years to destroy the civil rights and antiwar movements and to disrupt the Socialist Workers party through the use of informers, poison-pen letters, and other "dirty tricks."

One section of the book concerns the assassinations of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, and Fred Hampton. The documents point to possible FBI collusion in their deaths.

Morton Halperin, from the Center for National Security Studies, said, after reading the book: "The FBI's interference in the electoral process and its efforts to destroy the Black nationalist movement are described in chilling detail in this important book."

And Robert Allen, editor of the *Black Scholar*, calls the documents "more damning than Watergate since they reveal the insidious work of a political police force whose aim is to nullify the Bill of Rights."

Militant readers can help get *Cointelpro* into the hands of thousands of people across the country. Bring the book to the attention of union, campus, or community newspapers for possible review.

If your local bookstores don't have copies in stock, request that they order them. Already 1,500 copies have been sold to retail bookstores through the efforts of SWP and YSA members during the fall.

Pathfinder is also making the book available to individuals in lots of five paperback copies at a special price of \$7.00 (normally \$9.75). The book is available in cloth for \$9.00 or in paperback for \$1.95. To order copies, write to Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

Workers march, strike

Protest ouster of Australian Labor gov't

By Peter Green

From Intercontinental Press

Demonstrations and strikes erupted throughout Australia within hours of the unprecedented dismissal of Labor party Prime Minister Gough Whitlam on November 11 by the queen's representative, Governor General Sir John Kerr.

Kerr's "coup" installed millionaire rancher Malcolm Fraser, leader of the conservative Liberal party-National Country party (L-NCP) coalition, as prime minister. He was commissioned to form a "caretaker" government until elections—scheduled for December 13—are held for both houses of Parliament.

Thousands of workers downed tools as soon as they heard the news. Dockers around Australia went on a twenty-four-hour strike. Seamen walked off their ships in port, and the Seamen's Union office was flooded with calls from ships at sea condemning Kerr's action.

Workers at the railway workshops in Sydney and Newcastle went out, the state dockyards in Newcastle were shut down, and 1,500 workers walked off the job at the Whyalla shipyards.

More than 3,000 meat workers closed many plants throughout Queensland, and metalworkers and others in many individual factories also went on strike.

In Canberra thousands of civil servants stopped work in protest and demonstrated outside Parliament House. Nearly 1,000 demonstrators mobbed Fraser's car as he left Parliament by a back door to be sworn in by the governor general.

In front of Parliament House 2,000 workers and students rallied to hear speeches by Whitlam and Bob Hawke, the president of the Labor party (ALP) and of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU).

Whitlam led the crowd in singing "Solidarity Forever." He told his supporters: "Maintain your rage and enthusiasm. You will have a Labor Government again." But he also appealed for restraint.

As many as 10,000 workers and students gathered in Melbourne's City Square for a rally and march to Government House. About 1,500 dem-



Labor party Prime Minister Whitlam (left) appeals for restraint from workers protesting his ouster by queen's representative Kerr (right).



onstrators then marched on the Victorian Liberal party headquarters. Police attacked the demonstration, driving vehicles through the crowd to try to break it up.

In Sydney about 6,000 workers marched through the streets carrying signs calling for a general strike. Demonstrations also took place in Adelaide, Perth, and Brisbane that day.

'Mockery of Democracy'

Twenty-seven days of political crisis preceded the action by the governor general, who was accused by Whitlam of having "made a mockery of democracy."

On October 16 the Senate, the upper house in the Australian Parliament, refused to pass the Labor government's annual budget. The conservative opposition in control of the Senate said it would block passage of the budget until Whitlam resigned and called an election for both houses.

This move cut off the supply of funds to government departments, and it appeared the government would run out of money to pay civil servants by November 27 unless one side backed down.

Traditionally, the party that holds a majority in the lower house, the House

of Representatives, forms the government. The Labor party still holds a majority there.

According to the Australian constitution, the Senate cannot amend money bills. It does not specify whether it can reject them, but the tradition since Federation seventy-five years ago has been that it does not.

As for other bills that are rejected by a hostile Senate, the government has the option of calling a double dissolution of both houses and then putting the disputed bills to the vote at a joint sitting of the new Parliament.

The unprecedented L-NCP action in the Senate followed months of scandal-mongering over the so-called loans affair. The scandal developed around attempts by the Labor government to borrow money from Arab countries through "unorthodox" channels in order to buy back Australia's mineral resources from overseas companies.

Treasurer Dr. Jim Cairns and Minister for Minerals and Energy Rex Connor were caught making false statements to Parliament on the matter, and the ensuing publicity in the press led to their dismissal by Whitlam.

But the "loans affair" was merely a pretext for the opposition moves. Fraser wanted an election in order to take advantage of Whitlam's plummeting popularity, with inflation soaring to almost 20 percent and unemployment at about 400,000, the worst since the Great Depression.

When Whitlam showed no signs of backing down and agreeing to a double dissolution, Kerr stepped in. The governor general, traditionally only a figurehead representative of the queen, dismissed Whitlam and commissioned Fraser to form a government.

Within a half hour the Senate passed the budget. In the House of Representatives, however, a motion of no confidence in the newly appointed government was passed by 64 to 54.

Kerr disregarded this and shortly after dissolved both houses of Parliament. He cited several previously deadlocked bills as grounds for the dissolution, and set general elections for December 13.

Whitlam hinted that if he were returned to office he would get rid of the governor general. In an angry tirade from the steps of Parliament House he played on the phrase "God Save the Queen" in Kerr's proclamation dismissing him.

"He may well say, 'God Save the Queen,'" Whitlam shouted, "because nothing will save the Governor General." Later, complaining that he was the first prime minister to be dismissed by the crown since King George III dismissed British Prime Minister Lord North 200 years ago, he said:

No Prime Minister with a majority in the

House of Representatives will ever have his commission withdrawn by the Governor General again.

Call for General Strike

Many workers reacted to the undemocratic dismissal of an elected Labor government by demanding that the ACTU organize a nationwide general strike.

The Federal Council of the Australian Building Construction Employees and Builders Laborers Federation called for an immediate general strike and the resignation of the governor general.

The Amalgamated Metal Workers Union—Australia's biggest union, with 186,000 members—called on the ACTU to put in force a recent ACTU executive resolution to withhold the supply of labor.

Other calls for a general strike came from the Newcastle Trades Hall Council and Hugh Hamilton, state president of the Queensland branch of the Building Workers Industrial Union. There were also calls for a national teachers' strike.

In face of this upsurge of protest against the capitalist parties and desire for militant action, Whitlam tried to cool down Labor's supporters. He urged them to "maintain their rage," but not to demonstrate too vigorously.

Hawke was also strong on rhetoric, but ordered workers to refrain from militant action.

At the demonstration outside Parliament November 11 he urged the unions not to strike.

Hawke said there had never been greater provocation of the industrial movement to take direct action. But he added:

... we have got to show we are not going to allow this situation to snowball and there is a real possibility it will snowball into violence. We must not substitute violence in the streets and anarchy for the processes of democracy.

Of course I am upset but it is not just a
Continued on page 26



Canberra government workers walked off job and demonstrated in front of Parliament House to protest dismissal.

Trotskyists run candidates

The Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers League in Australia have announced candidates for the December 13 elections. The campaign will pose a socialist alternative to Labor party Prime Minister Gough Whitlam, and provide answers to the problems of unemployment, inflation, and the oppression of women and Blacks.

The SWL is campaigning vigorously for the return of a Labor government. The league will demand that Labor mobilize its supporters in militant action to show that the undemocratic dismissal of Whitlam will not be tolerated.

The SWL will be fielding nine candidates for the Senate, urging voters to "Vote 1 Socialist Workers! Vote 2 ALP! [Australian Labor party]." Australian elections are by preferential ballot. Thus, if the voter's first choice is not elected, his or her next preference is counted as a full vote.

The November 13 issue of *Direct Action*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the SWL, explains: "Through the Socialist Workers Senate campaign, working people and their allies can register a vote for an aggressive, fighting stance for the labor movement and at the same time, through the preference system, support the union-based Labor Party against the capitalist parties."

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—You may be a worker on strike in an arms factory, a reporter uncovering illegal government activities, or a member of a socialist organization. Under the new crime "reform" bill now before Congress, S. 1, you could be thrown into jail.

You might even be executed, if a jury found you guilty of "treason," "espionage," or "sabotage."

S. 1, officially known as the "Criminal Justice Reform Act of 1975," has prompted an outpouring of opposition from trade unions, civil liberties groups, and civil rights organizations.

"The bill's alleged purpose is to revise and reform the United States Criminal Code," notes the American Civil Liberties Union pamphlet *Stop S-1*, "but the real purpose of important parts of the bill is to perpetuate secrecy and stifle protest."

Answer to Watergate

Indeed, S. 1 is the capitalists' answer to Watergate—not a bill to curb government violations of democratic rights, but a bill to intimidate future Daniel Ellsbergs, silence antiwar GIs, break up demonstrations against government policy, and prevent dissidents from expressing their views.

The bill's authors have even dusted off old witch-hunting legislation, such as the Smith Act, and included it in S. 1, despite the fact that provisions in these laws have been ruled unconstitutional.

Although inspired in part by such figures as John Mitchell and Richard Kleindienst, S. 1 is not just a conspiracy on the part of the Nixon or Ford administration, but a bipartisan effort. When the bill was introduced in Congress, it was sponsored not only by Dixiecrat senators like James Eastland (D-Miss.) and John McClellan (D-Ark.), but also by liberal Democrats Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) and Birch Bayh (D-Ind.).

In September, however, Bayh withdrew his sponsorship, citing mass pressure from around the country against the bill. Support to S. 1 at this time, he apparently reasoned, would not mesh well with his announced intention of restoring "moral leadership" by running for president in 1976.

Sharing Bayh's embarrassment, both the Senate and the House have shied away from holding open hearings on the bill. No open hearings have been held since last spring.

The Senate Judiciary Committee is now preparing to act on S. 1, but has not yet said whether it will hold hearings. The House Judiciary Committee says it is waiting to see what happens to S. 1 in the Senate.

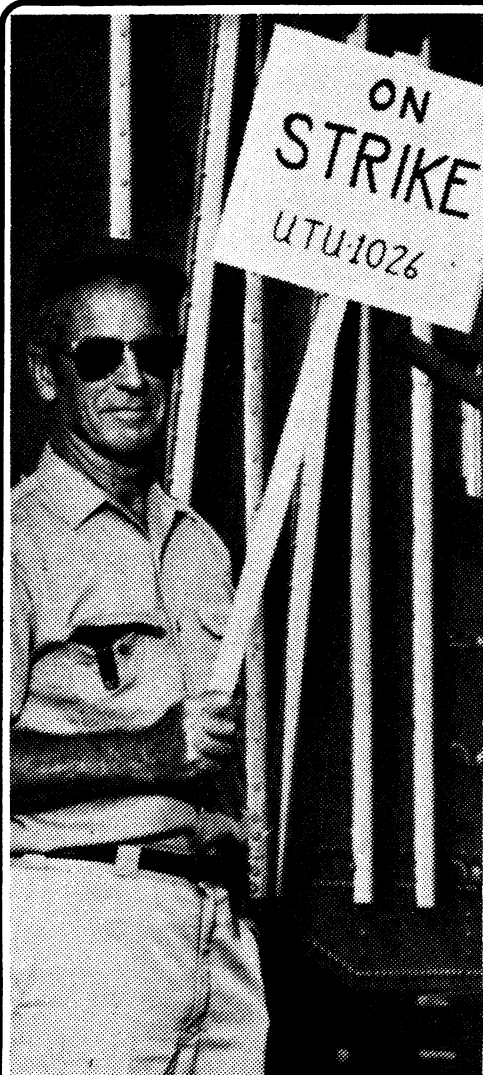
In the meantime, opponents of the bill have been publicizing the police-state measures it contains.

Official secrets act

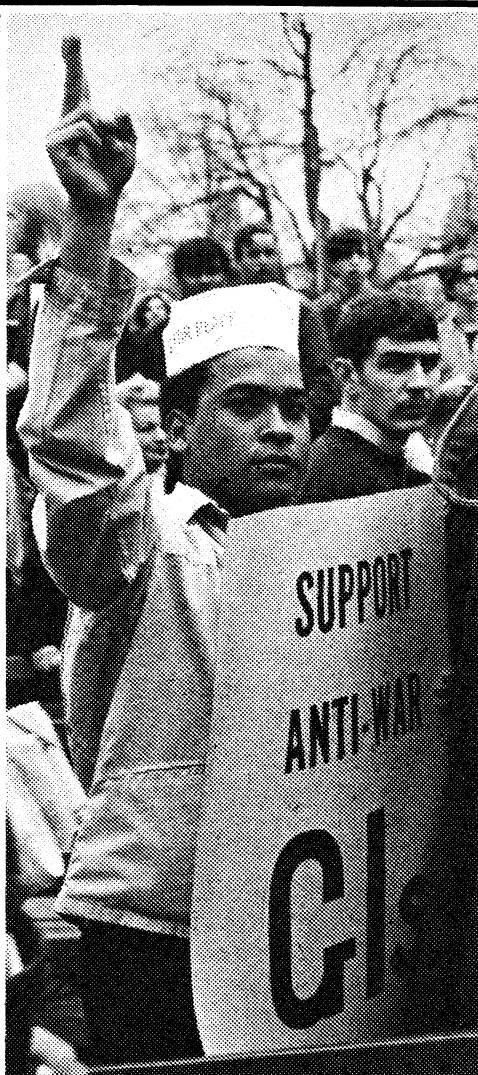
S. 1 would make it a crime to reveal secret, illegal actions of the U.S. government. Its provisions amount to an official secrets act with special penalties for the news media, a fact that has been condemned by capitalist newspapers like the *New York Times* as well as by the Newspaper Guild, the reporters union.

Using a vague definition of "espionage," the bill would make it illegal to disclose "national defense information," a phrase that could cover anything from the Pentagon papers to CIA plots in Portugal. The penalties are severe:

- Life imprisonment for giving such information to "a foreign power" during wartime or "a national defense emergency."
- Up to thirty years in jail for disclosing the same information during peacetime.
- Up to seven years for possessing such information without authority and failing to return it to the government.



Militant/Walter Lippmann



Shelley Ramsdell



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

If S. 1 passes, you could go to jail for such offenses as: striking an industry vital to 'national defense'; supporting right of GIs to speak out against U.S. policy; or demonstrating within 200 feet of a courthouse to support a defendant.

'Criminal code reform'

What S. 1 would mean for democratic rights

- Up to seven years for disclosing "classified" information.

Clearly, reporters and editors, not just government employees, would fall under these provisions. Just to make sure, S. 1 has another provision attacking freedom of the press. This is the section on "Impairing Military Effectiveness by False Statement."

This section makes it illegal to communicate "false" information during wartime about anything "likely to affect the strategy or tactics of the military forces of the United States or likely to create general panic or serious disruption." The question is, who decides what is "false"?

When the media first revealed the secret bombing of Cambodia, the White House branded the stories as "false." The CIA said the same thing when reporters first disclosed assassination plots against Fidel Castro.

One of the most serious and least publicized sections of S. 1 concerns "Instigating Overthrow or Destruction of the Government." This is the 1975 version of the Smith Act.

According to this section, a person is guilty of a "treasonous" offense if he or she:

- "incites other persons to engage in conduct that then or at some future time would facilitate the forcible overthrow or destruction of such government, or
- "organizes, leads, recruits members for, or participates as an active member in, an organization or group that has as a purpose the incitement described in paragraph 1."

The mere advocacy of revolutionary

ideas, or membership in a revolutionary organization, is grounds for guilt under this bill.

This was exactly the purpose of the Smith Act, which was first used in 1941 in a frame-up of leaders of the Socialist Workers party and Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544. Eighteen people were convicted and sent to prison.

Although major portions of the Smith Act have since been ruled unconstitutional, the government is raising the same arguments today against the SWP. In answer to the SWP's lawsuit against illegal government spying, the FBI and other agencies contend their harassment is justified because of the *ideas* advocated by the SWP, despite the fact that the party has been charged with no crime for decades.

Attacks freedom of assembly

Other sections of S. 1 are aimed at curbing the right to hold demonstrations:

- It would be a felony to physically interfere with a government function, such as by protesting CIA recruitment on campus or by demonstrating in front of the Pentagon.
- It would be a misdemeanor to demonstrate or picket within 200 feet of a courthouse "with intent to influence another person in the discharge of his duties in a judicial proceeding."
- Any gathering of five or more persons could be branded a "riot," defined in S. 1 as a "public disturbance . . . that, by violent and tumultuous conduct, creates grave danger of injury

or damage to persons or property."

The riot provision, as the *United Mine Workers Journal* recently pointed out, "might well be used against union members on strike," by breaking up picket lines, for example.

S. 1 contains other attacks on the right to strike, including a section on strikes in war plants. Under this section, workers could be charged with "sabotage" if their job action delayed or obstructed production for "national defense."

A Smith Act-like attack on GIs' free speech is also included, making it illegal to "incite" other members of the armed forces "to engage in mutiny, insubordination, refusal of duty, or desertion."

"Sabotage," "treason," "espionage," and murder are punishable by death in S. 1 wherever "the defendant, in the commission of the offense, knowingly created a grave risk of substantial impairment of the national defense."

At the same time, the real crimes being committed in this country—the government spying, assassination plots, and official slander campaigns against dissenters—are protected under the provisions of S. 1. Wiretapping, for example, is made *legal* wherever "an emergency situation exists with respect to conspiratorial activities threatening the national security."

Another section allows government officials to wiggle their way out of prosecution for illegal activities. It permits as a defense the excuse that a given crime was "required or authorized" by government superiors or by the nature of the job.

Hands off Angola!

On November 10, the last Portuguese troops in Angola boarded ships bound for Lisbon. After 490 years of direct colonial rule, the Portuguese flag no longer flies over that African country.

The winning of independence is a victory for the courageous and tenacious struggle of the people of Angola against the long years of brutal war waged by the oldest imperialist power in the world. It is also a tribute to the revolutionary upsurge of the workers and peasants in Portugal, and the rank-and-file soldiers who rebelled against fighting any longer for their imperialist masters.

The departure of the last Portuguese soldiers, however, does not signal an end to imperialist efforts to hang on to Angola's vast natural resources. Angola today is divided among three rival liberation groups. The imperialist powers, including the United States, are maneuvering for position through intervention in the civil conflict.

The ruling Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement) in Lisbon stalled on granting formal independence for more than a year and a half following the overthrow of the Salazarist dictatorship. This “transitional period” gave Lisbon and the other imperialist countries time to jockey for position by playing off the Angolan groups against each other.

The MFA was thus able to carry out a strategy of divide and rule—a game as old as Portugal's empire itself. Responsibility for this lies with the Portuguese Communist and Socialist parties. These parties hold the allegiance of the majority of the working class in Portugal, but they refused to mobilize the workers in a movement that could have forced the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Portugal from Angola. Instead, they participated in the neocolonialist maneuvers.

On November 10, Secretary of State Kissinger bluntly threatened increased U.S. intervention in the current turmoil in Angola. Washington will not tolerate Soviet “hegemonial aspirations” in Angola, Kissinger hypocritically proclaimed.

The duty of American revolutionists and of all supporters of self-determination is to demand an immediate end to such intervention, direct and indirect, in Angola.

The demand must be raised in the United States, and in every imperialist capital: “Hands off Angola!”

King's assassins

On April 4, 1968, Martin Luther King was gunned down in Memphis, Tennessee. James Earl Ray confessed to the crime and was convicted.

Then, from his prison cell, Ray stated that he hadn't acted alone, but had been part of a conspiracy with white Southerners. He petitioned for a new trial to air these charges. Earlier this year, a federal judge ruled that no new trial would be allowed.

The startling revelation this week of new facts about the FBI's drive to eliminate King as a leader of the civil rights movement adds new weight to a suspicion already shared by millions: the “white Southerners” who plotted the killing were in the service of the FBI.

The depraved attempts of the FBI to silence King knew no limits. The latest disclosures show that the FBI hoped it could compel him to commit suicide by threatening to make public tapes of his private life. King was harassed and hounded at every turn by government agents.

The FBI tried character assassination, and failed. Their next step, all the evidence indicates, was to use a real assassin.

Only a tiny portion of the facts are known about the FBI's war on King, and on other Black leaders such as Malcolm X and Fred Hampton. The rest remain locked in files in Washington. Who would deny that these still-secret files contain accounts of crimes far more sinister than what has already been forced into the open?

The Political Rights Defense Fund, which is coordinating the suit filed by the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance against the FBI, has already succeeded in compelling the release of files documenting illegal government activities against Blacks, unionists, antiwar activists, and radical groups.

As the case comes closer to trial, s^t more such information will be brought to light.

The PRDF suit and similar lawsuits by other victims of the FBI's illegal operations deserve the full support of all those who want to lay bare the truth about the crimes of the FBI and other secret police agencies.

Blacks & the bicentennial

The United States has entered into the celebration of its bicentennial. While everyone seems to be extolling the achievements of the last 200 years, the Black community should not participate in this hypocritical festival of denial and bigotry.

In reality, this country was conceived in racism by violence and dedicated to the implied proposition that all white men are created equal. When their founding fathers wrote their constitution and a document declaring independence, Black people and the Native American were excluded. We were considered numerical objects for manual labor and burden.

Black people were not part of any constitution. Passage of a civil rights document is neither freedom nor an honor; it's a slap in the countenance. Patrick Henry said give me life, liberty, and human rights or put me to death—not legislate me civil rights.

Instead of participating in the bicentennial, Black people need to call for a year of national mourning for turning the American dream that never was into a nightmare that always is.

This country should create its first national commitment to freedom. Henry Kissinger went to the Middle East to reaffirm this country's national commitment to freedom. Let him travel to the Native American reservation. The president went to Russia to reaffirm this country's national commitment to freedom. Let him travel to the plantations of Black factory workers receiving slave wages.

Blacks and Indians are still suffering and unfree. That calls for struggling and mourning, not celebrating a birthdate in 1976.

*A prisoner
Pennsylvania*

Textbook supplement

Please enter my subscription to the *Militant*. A former resident of Seattle, I now am teaching high school in a rural and isolated town in Montana. I have previously subscribed to the *Militant* and appreciate its accurate analysis and honest journalism. As a social studies teacher I need a supplement to the bourgeois textbooks.

*R.L.S.
Opheim, Montana*

'Accord' is no deal

It is difficult, if not impossible, to see in the so-called Sinai accord a prelude to meaningful peace. This is despite the assertions of Secretary Kissinger and the Egyptian and Israeli leaderships, strongly supported by the U.S. Congress. The “accord” suffers from both what it tries to do and what it will not do.

There are strong indications that the fundamental causes underlying the continued crisis in the Middle East are not going to receive the proper focus: 1) insistence of the Palestinians on their right to nationhood in Palestine; 2) Israeli insistence on an exclusively Jewish state in Palestine; 3) insistence on the “Law of Return,” which keeps alive both fears and ambitions of further Israeli expansion.

On the other hand, the agreement, while separating Egypt from and thus drastically weakening the Arab camp, promises the Israelis such U.S. military assistance as would make waging war of unprecedented dimensions, by one side, always tempting, often compelling.

It is a sad commentary indeed that to most politicians temporary solutions

are often preferable, even when they harm permanent solutions, and that we here in the United States are willing to waste much more on war than spend on peace.

The Sinai accord is no prelude to peace: rather a prelude to deeper discord, which will be of greater waste and greater tragedy. Why not instead build in Palestine one secular state for both Jews and Palestinians?

*Hannah Selwyn
Kokomo, Indiana*

Panama

Please write an update article on Panama. A family of a U.S. soldier who is based there has told me that, recently, U.S. troops in Panama are out of communication with their families by mail or telephone and that U.S. troops are quietly being rushed to that area for possible intervention or occupation.

I have not seen any recent articles on the Panama liberation struggle in the *Militant*.

*M.S.
Los Angeles, California*

Fallout is fatal

Linda Jenness's column on the Karen Silkwood case in the November 14 *Militant* is very timely in the light of new evidence on the health dangers of plutonium.

Dr. John Gofman, a widely respected researcher on the health dangers of radiation, has recently calculated that worldwide fallout of plutonium from past atmospheric nuclear weapons tests has irreversibly committed approximately one million people in the Northern Hemisphere to develop fatal plutonium-induced lung cancer. Approximately 115,000 of these deaths will be in the United States.

The risk of developing plutonium-induced lung cancer is more than three times greater for cigarette smokers than for nonsmokers. In the light of these calculations, it is frightening to read that the cancer rate, which has increased approximately 1 percent per year since 1933, last year increased more than 5 percent.

The depredations of the government-nuclear complex will continue unless we stop them, since the proliferation of nuclear power plants and weapons means vast profits. Please continue to report the news in the Silkwood case.

*Edward Gogol
Chicago, Illinois*

Censored

The September-October issue of the *Young Worker*, “monthly” newspaper of the Young Workers Liberation League, arrived recently. I was glad to see it, since it came with a note apologizing for the fact that they had failed to send the last issue or so.

On the inside back page of the paper that finally came, right across from “Hank's Stamp Corner,” James Steele concludes his speech to the Communist party's convention with a call to join the YWLL.

As originally printed, this would read, “We appeal to all youth, especially young workers—Black, white, Chicano, Puerto-Rican, Native American Indian, Asian and all nationalities; youth of all political and sexual orientations; student, religious, and unaffiliated youth.”

But there was a black pen mark through the words “and sexual” in my copy. I checked with my friends, and



Planning—for whom?

their copies were the same.

This left the sentence reading as an invitation to "youth of all political orientations," which sounded strange. Were they inviting the Young Socialist Alliance? or the Young Democrats? or Young Americans for Freedom, perhaps?

Knowing how much the Communist party despises the gay rights movement, I assumed they wanted to emphasize that only "straight" youth are wanted.

But when the CP and the YWLL came out against the Equal Rights Amendment, I wondered. Could "sexual orientation" simply mean "women"? Maybe they are editing all women out of their movement.

Who else in the paragraph will find themselves so crudely marked out in coming issues of the *Young Worker* (assuming that future issues will be mailed)?

Diane Rupp
New York, New York

On-the-job depression

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) gets more than 100,000 individual charges of racial and/or sexual discrimination a year now.

Two precedent-setting cases that were won recently could become new weapons in the legal fight against discrimination. In both cases, women were awarded fairly large sums of money, plus medical expenses, for depression caused by sexist and racist treatment on the job.

Marie Louis Glass suffered severe feelings of depression when her employer kept promoting younger men, whom she had trained, while not promoting her. The court ruled that this was an on-the-job injury like any other, and she was awarded \$17,500 plus medical expenses.

In another case, a Chicana named Angela Davis was hospitalized for three months because of the racist insults she was subjected to at work. She was awarded \$50,000.

These cases are but another sign of the impact that the feminist and antiracist movements have made on the thinking of wide sectors of the American public.

E.J.
New York, New York

Readable even at a distance

Enclosed is money for my subscription renewal. Please use the remainder for the Prisoner Fund. I am a potter and live in the hilly country of Tochigi Prefecture in Japan, and the *Militant* and *International Socialist Review* supplements are the only way I have of keeping my eyes open.

I have just read George Novack's piece on the necessity of the American revolution [*ISR* supplement, September 5 *Militant*]. Very interesting and, most important, very readable. I am a person who, no matter how interested I may be in a subject, simply falls asleep if forced to deal with boring six-syllable words.

Bert Cohen
Tochigi, Japan

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

The United Auto Workers union has held several council meetings leading to a special collective bargaining convention in Detroit next March where demands for the 1976 UAW contract will be finally adopted. Last September the UAW General Motors Council met to talk about demands, including the need for a shorter workweek. Nothing was decided by the 253 delegates at the conference. But an odd thing happened there.

Irving Bluestone, director of UAW's GM Department, and UAW President Leonard Woodcock made sure that every delegate received a copy of a small pamphlet titled *The Case for Planning*, a statement issued by a group calling itself the Initiative Committee for National Economic Planning. Cochairpersons are Harvard economist Prof. Wassily Leontief and Woodcock.

A bill is sponsored by Senators Hubert Humphrey, Jacob Javits, and others, "incorporating, with a few changes, the program called for in the statement."

The "program" includes the traditional means of capitalist economic development: tax incentives, government monetary and fiscal policies, selective credit controls, guidance of basic capital flows, and some measures to protect natural resources and the environment against capitalist waste and pollution.

The statement says, "Democratic planning is not a substitute for a decentralized economy nor does it replace the millions of private decisions that are made in the market every day."

It calls for the establishment of an Office of National Economic Planning, "within the Executive Office of the President," whose director would be "designated as the chief adviser to the President for economic affairs."

This would be little different from the President's Council of Economic Advisers, which now directs government economic policy, except that what is here proposed and incorporated in the Humphrey-Javits bill would appear to give the economic advisers greater independence. But this is more apparent than real because the employing class controls both the economy and the government regardless of which of the two

capitalist parties is in power, and the economic policy of the government is always determined by the needs of the employing class whether in times of depression or prosperity.

So what is new in *The Case For Planning*? Nothing. The authors say there was greater planning during World War II, and "our space program is a good example of planning in its most sophisticated and successful form." In both instances planning was directed by the employing class. It is true that special planning boards were established for these purposes.

What the Leontief-Woodcock committee urges is a special board for overall national economic planning to direct long-term projects that will eliminate economic crises, guarantee a rising standard of living, and provide full employment. That is precisely what capitalism as an economic system cannot and will not do.

The UAW delegates who were handed the statement on economic planning thumbed through it and laid it aside. It evoked no discussion and the leadership made no effort to explain it. Probably it has been forgotten. No one expects anything from the likes of Humphrey and Javits in Congress.

It is reminiscent of another statement on social planning. That one was titled *Our Greatest Challenge*, a 1957 talk by Walter Reuther, then UAW president. Reuther was a better talker than Woodcock, but he said about the same thing.

"Soon, we of organized labor will take up the cudgels for a shorter workweek. Already, the men of little faith are pulling their hair and gnashing their teeth at our proposal that now is the time to shorten working hours. They say, as they have always said, it can't be done."

That was Reuther talking almost twenty years ago. The shorter workweek is an urgently needed step toward social and economic planning. It can be done. But it is a matter that cannot be left to the planners and politicians of the employers. It can only be done by the working class—with an independent labor party based on the union movement.

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

José Pérez



The 'big lie' against the PSP

"The size of the lie is a definite factor in causing it to be believed, for the vast masses of a nation are . . . a more easy prey to a big lie than a small one."

—Adolf Hitler

It would be appropriate if the words of the former German Führer graced the mansion of the honorable governor of the U.S. colony of Puerto Rico.

Not because Rafael Hernández Colón is a fascist—on the contrary, he is a "liberal." But these words should still be up in his residence, because the honorable colonial governor has become an enthusiastic practitioner of Hitler's "big lie" propaganda technique.

During most of October the governor carried out a propaganda campaign implying and sometimes stating openly that the Puerto Rican Socialist party is involved in terrorist bombings. It just so happened that one of his more irresponsible statements to this effect came only a few hours before the so-called Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation (FALN) took credit for explosions in three U.S. cities.

Immediately the news media picked this up. One daily ran the headline "Three cities under fire of the FALN" and under it the subheadline "Hernandez Colon: Blames the PSP."

Three days after the bombing, the governor had a news conference. As the PSP had done before, it challenged his charges, this time through a reporter for that party's daily, *Claridad*.

Hernández Colón said he wanted to "clarify" that he had not charged the PSP with the latest bombings in the United States.

But, "according to my memory, the PSP has taken responsibility for the placing of bombs in Puerto Rico."

The reporter asked whether the governor had any proof, and Hernández Colón replied, "I can't tell you dates, nor do I go around with the evidence in my pocket. But I remember this has happened."

Now, since he had made these same accusations in the past and the PSP had challenged them, one would think the governor would have brought along his evidence, to show that he was telling the truth. But he didn't. And the reason he didn't is that he couldn't. Because he doesn't have any evidence.

The evidence, on the contrary, shows that the PSP and other proindependence groups have been the targets of some 175 terrorist attacks in recent years.

The evidence shows that these terrorists act with the cooperation of the government—not one of them has been prosecuted and put behind bars.

The evidence also shows that the government spends its time completing the work of the terrorists by persecuting proindependence activists, frequently framing them up on fake bombing charges.

The voice of the governor of the U.S. colony is but one in a chorus of U.S. officials, U.S. corporate executives, and U.S. news media who have repeatedly smeared the proindependence movement.

The slanders against the PSP are but the latest incident in a whole campaign to destroy the proindependence and workers movements on the island.

It should be met with a united response, both on the island and in this country. All those who support independence for Puerto Rico and all supporters of democratic rights should say with one voice: "Stop the slanders! Stop the frame-ups!"

If Hernández Colón is so concerned with fighting terrorism, let him prove it—by putting behind bars those responsible for the many violent attacks against the Puerto Rican left.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Xmas shopping tip—A *Los Angeles Times* classified ad offers the following: "JUAN BATISTA OF CUBA PRIOR OWNER OF THIS YACHT. Machine gun mounts still on deck. '51 Chris Craft. Xlnt cond. All extras. Loaded! GM Twin 453 Diesel. Must sac. Fantastic conversation piece. Best offer accepted. Cash only. No trades."

Don't chew gum in the water—President Ford took a swim in the White House pool, and hit his head against the side.

Profitable change—"There seems to be a popular and growing notion that profits are bad," mourns the editor of *Newsweek*. He commends

General Electric executive Reginald Jones, who favors developing acceptable synonyms for the word. "People understand such things as taxes, interest, earnings and savings," says Jones. "But nobody in the family thinks in terms of profits. They are considered something alien, received only by the undeserving businessman."

Capitalism: the big mind-blower—Prof. Ivor Mills of Cambridge University says the problems of contemporary society may be pushing people close to the ultimate capacity of their brains.

Sounds reasonable—The "Texas blob," a moldlike growth, could not be



'Let me get this straight—you fellows are supposed to be the Good Guys—'

killed. Attacking it with knives and pitchforks only divided it into smaller chunks, which continued to live. However, it finally turned brown and dried up when doused with a mixture of water and tobacco.

Thought for the week—"I have a vision that one day the nation will create a day of atonement to atone for its sins against Richard Nixon and his administration."—Rabbi Baruch Korff.

Thought for the week II—"I want to say I have no more idea what happened to Jimmy Hoffa than anyone in this room does."—Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons at a banquet of the union honoring Anthony Provenzano.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Women's strike shuts down Iceland

When the United Nations declared 1975 "International Women's Year," the women of Iceland took it seriously. They decided to show their importance to the country's economy by going on strike for one day, October 24.

Many of Iceland's men thought the idea was pretty funny. But when October 24 rolled around and the nation was virtually ground to a halt by an effective women's strike, the women had the last laugh.

The population of Iceland includes 60,000 women over the age of nineteen. About half of them turned up at a rally in Reykjavik's Laekjartorg Square to demand equal treatment.

In Iceland women earn an average of 30 percent less than men for the same work. Of the sixty-seat Iceland parliament, only three members are women, two of whom spoke at the rally. The most important and best-paid jobs are held by men.

But the almost 100 percent effective strike showed the power of women in Iceland. First, the entire communications system was closed—the switchboard operators are almost all female. Newspapers

didn't publish—the typesetters are women. No one could go anywhere by plane, because there were no stewardesses. Neither could they go anywhere by car in the city of Reykjavik, because the rally created the biggest traffic jam in the country's experience.

Most schoolchildren went untaught, because 65 percent of the teachers are women. Nursery schools were closed, so businessmen had to take their small children to work with them. And when they got home, the men had to cook for themselves and the children because the women at the rally vowed not to return home for dinner. Instead, they broke into small group meetings and continued their strike against housework for a full twenty-four hours.

"We hope our husbands can manage the children and cook cereal for them for just one day," said one woman.

A few banks stayed open with the executives staffing counters, and some restaurants stayed in business with the owners serving customers. But most businesses were closed.

"We wanted to show how much of the work that women do really counts," Yilborg Hardardottir, a member of the Red Stockings Organization, told a reporter. And newspaper reporter Johanna Kristjonsdottir said she was on strike because "we are equal under law but not in fact."

The massive show of solidarity in the women's strike was partially due to the wide endorsement of the strike sought by the organizers. The strike had the official endorsement of all the labor unions, and political parties as well.

This is not the first time Iceland has been affected by the international women's liberation movement. Last year a reactionary abortion law that allowed for abortions only for medical reasons was replaced with a more liberal law allowing for economic and social reasons as well.

Leaders of the October 24 strike hope to keep the women of Iceland united behind some of the main battles ahead, such as the fight against inflation. Prices have increased by 50 percent in the last eighteen months there.

The American Way of Life

The air-poisoning lobby

LOS ANGELES—Once upon a time, the planners of Los Angeles dreamed of putting a freeway within four miles of everyone.

Increasing opposition from environmentalists, coupled with a recession, shattered their hopes.

Now Los Angeles, instead of being choked by freeways, is merely congested.

We can only be thankful the freeway pushers didn't get their way.

A recent study undertaken by the United States Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) found that living near a freeway can mean having ten times as much lead in your blood as living in the desert.

The research was carried out near the San Diego Freeway in West Los Angeles.

Every day, automobiles pour 26,000 tons of lead into the air of Los Angeles County.

Children are hit hardest. Ten percent of a sample of children under the age of sixteen living near the freeway had blood lead levels considered poisonous by many experts.

Airborne lead has become a significant health hazard in Southern California.

The human body does not need lead at all to function, and too much of it results in lead poisoning. Lead poisoning inhibits the production

of hemoglobin, a vital part of blood. Lesser concentrations can lead to psychological difficulties, such as lethargy, irritability, and even permanent brain damage.

Dr. Herbert Needleman, a Harvard psychiatrist and special consultant to the California Air Resources Board, which recently held hearings on the subject, said that 600,000 American children currently bear blood lead levels over half the generally accepted level where lead poisoning begins.

The board's hearings were undertaken to reconsider the state's standard for lead in the air.

The push for a new rule came from five corporations that manufacture lead additives for gasoline, a \$400-million-a-year enterprise.

The old standard, in effect since 1970, was frequently exceeded in many parts of the county, and a new one was contemplated last June, when the board nearly called for the phasing out of leaded gasoline.

Suddenly the manufacturers became very interested in lead, and the attempt to keep it out of the air was blocked. The lead industry claimed that there was no medical or health basis for limiting the amount of lead in the air.

Their claims were repeated at the board hearings.

Dr. Jerome Cole, director of environmental health for the Lead Industries Association, asserted that "airborne lead in the concentrations found in the general ambient atmosphere is, at most, a minor contribution to lead in the blood."

Dr. Cole did not explain how Los Angeles dwellers got ten times the lead in their blood of their desert neighbors if not by breathing it.

The sale of gasoline lead additives is a big, profitable business. Lead additives are second only to storage batteries among the uses of lead.

Lead-industry spokespersons claimed that the production of unleaded gasoline with the same octane rating would require the refining of 10 percent more crude oil.

As far as the lead industry is concerned, we can all get lead poisoning as long as they can keep on selling their lead and scooping up the profits.

Capitalist logic says that's OK. But it's not OK to build an efficient mass-transit system that can get us where we want to go without emptying our wallets and poisoning us. It's more profitable to build cars that spew poison into our lungs.

—Arnold Weissberg

'200 years is too long!'

Drive for ERA picks up new momentum

The movement to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment is beginning to pick up new momentum in cities across the country. In the wake of the setback on November 4, when proposed state ERAs were defeated in New York and New Jersey, women's groups are discussing how to step up actions to mobilize the majority that supports the amendment.

Through such actions and educational campaigns, the pro-ERA forces are hoping to build coalitions that can win ratification of the amendment in 1976. Approval by four more state legislatures is needed to make the amendment law.

More than 300 women from throughout the Southeast met in Atlanta November 7-8 at a rally and conference sponsored by Georgians for the Equal Rights Amendment. The conference called a January 10 march to the Georgia state capitol to demand passage of the ERA. The Georgia coalition has organized two similar actions in the past.

"The theme of unity and action was stressed again and again by speakers at the conference," reports *Militant* correspondent Maryanne Lunn from Atlanta. "The audience made clear

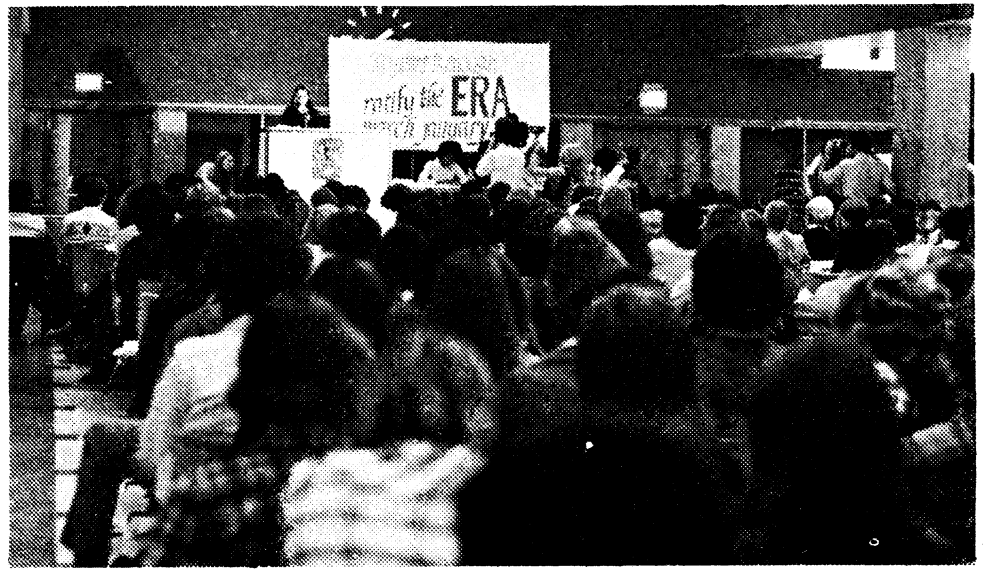
which side it was on by its overwhelming response to the '200 years is long enough' slogan."

Darthulla Stanfield, Black vice-president of Local 1644 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, told the rally, "Women haven't come as far as we have because *they* decided to give us a chance. We had to fight."

Two Black feminist leaders—Myrian Richmond of WAOK radio, and Miesa Patterson, a student activist—stressed that those who have a crucial stake in the ERA are those now at the bottom of the economic ladder: Black women.

Other rally speakers included Atlanta city council member Panke Bradley; Susan Perry of the National Conference of Black Lawyers; Jan Gibson of the Atlanta Lesbian Feminist Alliance; and Martha Gaines, from the National Organization for Women and the American Civil Liberties Union.

"The following day's workshops," reports Lunn, "discussed various methods of mobilizing support among trade-union and campus women, and how to deal with anti-ERA forces. Among the workshop leaders were Alice Moore, chairperson of the Grady Hospital chapter of AFSCME, and Black femin-



Women from throughout Southeast attended conference sponsored by Georgians for the Equal Rights Amendment in Atlanta.

ist Sandra Reed. The 'Black Woman and the ERA' workshop was particularly exciting.

"The need for a strong national campaign was underlined by Sarah Ryan, GERA chairperson, who pointed out the need to stop defeats like the recent anti-ERA votes in New York and New Jersey, which are being used as 'proof' by opponents of the ERA's unpopularity.

"The broad regional attendance, including the women who organized last year's march of 3,000 in Florida, coupled with the determination of the GERA, make prospects for the January 10 march excellent," concludes Lunn.

In Springfield, Illinois, 500 women and men marched and rallied November 5 for passage of the ERA. Correspondent Nancy Rosenstock reports: "The action was called by the Illinois ERA Coalition and was supported by many organizations. Among them were: NOW, National Women's Political Caucus, Socialist Workers party, AFSCME, Federally Employed Women, Communications Workers of America, and the Young Women's Christian Association.

"Buses brought demonstrators from all over the state and from many campuses. Speakers at the rally included legislators who are sponsoring the ERA, labor officials, and Illinois Gov. Daniel Walker.

"The crowd chanted: '200 years is too long—ERA now!'"

In Los Angeles, the women who organized the successful October 29 "Alice Doesn't Day" march of 4,000 women for equal rights and against women's oppression met after the demonstration and decided to make the ERA the main focus of their activities.

Ann Wilcox reports from Los Angeles: "The coalition organized a picket line outside a statewide conference of anti-ERA forces on Saturday, November 15. ERA opponents are planning a statewide drive to rescind California's ratification of the ERA.

"The next big pro-ERA action will be a teach-in on January 24. This will include a debate on the ERA, workshops, and an organizational meeting to take steps toward coordinating activities of pro-ERA groups."

The address of the coalition is 15401 Lemay Street, Van Nuys, California 91401.



Militant/Nancy Rosenstock

Five hundred women and men demonstrated in Springfield, Illinois, to demand ratification of ERA.

CP versus ERA: it's all in the family

By Herman Faulk

NEW YORK—I was in the old neighborhood the other day and stopped at what used to be a favorite bar to catch the Knicks on TV. When it became clear that the Knicks weren't going anywhere, down twenty points at the half, I became aware of an animated discussion between two people at the bar.

To my surprise, I recognized the man as Herb, the son of an old Communist party member named Max. Max, who has since moved out to Los Angeles, was always a loyal party member.

The woman Herb was arguing with I recognized after a minute. She was Mollie. Her folks had also been in the CP for years, although Mollie's father, Stanley, was kind of a griper. He nearly got brought up on charges a couple of times for raising criticisms in an uncomradely way.

It seems Mollie was distressed by the defeat of the proposed New York State Equal Rights Amendment at the polls November 4. "Gee," she was saying, "the right-wing forces really are ecstatic."

"Now, Mollie," said Herb, "you know we've discussed this before. The party is against the ERA. The right-wingers may be happy, but that doesn't mean we should be unhappy. After all, I think we had some influence. I think

the vote was a sign of growing influence for our party, as a matter of fact."

"Sure," she replied, "especially in the rural areas upstate, which carried the vote."

"Mollie," said Herb, his eyes narrowing slightly, "don't get sarcastic."

"Sorry. I just think it's a setback, that's all," she said.

"Now, Mollie," said Herb. "The ERA is a middle-class issue. It wouldn't benefit working-class women at all. In fact, it would wipe out protective legislation. You know that, we've been over it before."

"Yes, I know," she said.

"If that thing passes, women are going to have to work hours just as long as men. They're going to be forced to lift heavy weights. They'll pay a heavy price for an empty notion of 'equality.'"

"Yeah, I know. But it still seems to me that equality is a good notion. Besides, if protective legislation is progressive, it ought to apply equally to all workers. Anyway, Herb, I can lift as much as you can."

"That's not the point," he said.

"And men shouldn't have to work long hours, either," she added hastily.

"Of course not," said Herb. "But working women have families—"

"So do working men," Mollie interrupted.

"Now, Mollie," he said. "Women are different." She looked at him. "I mean, they have different responsibilities. Taking care of the children. Preparing meals. The ERA would make them work longer hours, it would disrupt family life."

"Well, what I don't understand is why we shouldn't fight for shorter hours for men and women. Look, the party is for laws requiring equal pay for equal work, aren't we?"

"Don't be silly, of course we are."

"Well, we don't think that means men ought to take a wage cut so they get only as much as women. We think women ought to get a pay raise, don't we?"

"Now, Mollie," he said, "let's be rational about this. Instead of being emotional, you ought to look at it dialectically." He ordered two more martinis.

"Look, the question of democratic rights is not a simple one. Look at India."

Mollie winced.

"What's the matter," he asked, "did you swallow the olive?"

"No. It's just that I had a big argument with a Trotskyite today, and I couldn't explain why we supported the suppression of democratic rights in India. I really got clobbered."

"Mollie, I thought you *liked* Indira Gandhi. Anyhow, as I was saying, you have to look at democratic rights in a dialectical way. In India, it was getting in the way of national progress. In order to make economic progress, the workers had to give up certain democratic rights—temporarily, of course. Besides, you don't hear many Indian workers complaining about it, do you?"

"No, I guess not. If they complain, they get locked up, don't they?"

"Now Mollie," Herb said. "I think you've gotten all worked up over this ERA thing. Sarcasm doesn't go over well, not in this party. Look what happened to your old man."

"Yeah."

"Look, our party has discussed this question thoroughly. You remember how Gus explained at the convention that we needed to come up with a position, that the convention shouldn't decide it but it should be referred to a commission. Well, we did that. And the commission made its decision. There's really no point in discussing it any more."

"Well, I guess you're right," she said.

"Sure I'm right. The party's right, too," he said, reassuringly putting his arm around her. "Look, Mollie, I'm getting hungry. What's for dinner?"

Union women press affirmative-action fight

By Linda Jenness

Several thousand members of the Coalition of Labor Union Women are expected to gather in Detroit December 5-7 to participate in CLUW's second national convention.

The first question confronting the women there will be whether or not time is to be allotted on the agenda for discussion of the major issues facing CLUW.

The convention agenda proposed in the convention call has basically two points: adoption of the constitution

and election of officers. There is no time allocated for discussion of program or activities.

An alternate agenda, proposed by the Houston chapter of CLUW, would set aside part of the convention for discussion of the priority issues facing CLUW.

The cardinal issue that has to be discussed is CLUW's stand on the defense of affirmative action in the face of massive layoffs. If CLUW does not go firmly on record in support of the fight of women against the discriminatory "last-hired, first-fired" practice, it will be walking away from the struggle to defend the interests of working women.

Recognizing this fact, CLUW members around the country have been gathering support for the agenda proposed by Houston CLUW.

The Houston chapter voted at its November 13 meeting to adopt the agenda along with a statement presented by chapter chairperson Linn McDonald and Debby Leonard, who is a member of the Houston chapter and a member of CLUW's steering committee.

The statement explains why the convention must discuss the affirmative-action question if CLUW is going to become the kind of organization it set out to be: "an organization that can fight in the interests of working women on the job, in society as a whole, and within our unions."

"The question of how the union movement should respond to the attacks on affirmative-action gains is being widely debated," the statement points out. "Because of the importance of this debate—how to defend the



CLUW members want organization that will put interests of union women first.

affirmative-action gains of women and minorities—there must be a place on the agenda of the CLUW convention to discuss it."

The statement says that the constitution and election of officers are, of course, important. "But our convention is faced with other important issues that must be discussed. For CLUW to attract thousands of union women to its ranks we must leave this convention with a plan of action around the most pressing needs of union women."

In addition to affirmative action, the Houston statement focuses on two other issues: the Equal Rights Amendment and a "jobs for all" campaign.

Noting that proposed state ERAs in New York and New Jersey were defeated on November 4, Leonard and McDonald state: "This setback must be met with a renewed and vigorous drive by the union movement for ratification of the federal ERA in 1976."

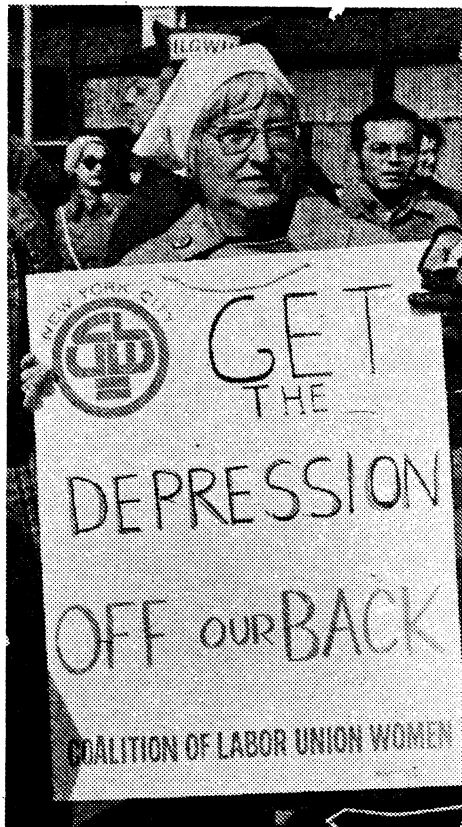
"CLUW has always made support to the ERA a priority. The CLUW convention must now plan an *action campaign* around the ERA. There must be room on the convention agenda for discussion of and adoption of an ERA campaign."

The statement also draws attention to the need for action around CLUW's program for fighting unemployment: a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay, and a massive public works program at union wages.

"Houston CLUW," continues the statement, "is planning a meeting on Friday evening, December 5, at Cobo Hall in Detroit of supporters of the proposed alternate agenda. The meeting is to organize for adoption of the alternate agenda by the convention on Saturday morning."

This meeting will draw together those interested in fighting for a union women's organization that actively champions the demands of working women and that stands on its own two feet. As the Houston statement puts it: "Let's come out of this convention with a constitution, elected officers and a governing body, *plus* a program and action campaign that we can implement in our chapters all over the country."

For copies of the statement and agenda, or to indicate support for them, write to Houston CLUW, 126 West Grenfell, Houston, Texas 77022.



Militant/Fran Collet

'Labor Committee' threatens renewed violence

By Jim Mack

There are ominous signs in the wind that the right-wing outfit known as the National Caucus of Labor Committees is getting ready to renew its violent attacks on radical groups. Harassing phone calls, leaflets, and articles in the NCLC newspaper, along with at least one physical confrontation, point toward the imminent danger of more violence from this virulent fascistlike gang.

In Seattle, the NCLC plastered copies of a leaflet outside the headquarters of the Socialist Workers party. The leaflet displayed a picture of Lee Harvey Oswald in front of a poster produced by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee saying, "Hands off Cuba."

The caption under the picture read: "Lee Harvey Oswald passing out leaflets for an SWP front group in New Orleans prior to JFK assassination."

The text of the leaflet charged that the SWP, the Communist party, and the Revolutionary Union "are being turned into nothing but assassination squads."

"The lives of many, including President Ford and Labor Party presidential candidate LaRouche, are in grave danger. . . ." The "Labor Party" is the ballot name used by the NCLC, which is running Lyndon LaRouche (known also as Lyn Marcus) for president.

"Leave the SWP and CP before it's too late!" concluded the leaflet.

This crude attempt to link the SWP with the assassination of Kennedy and the attempts on Ford's life reads as though it was made to order for the FBI and other government police agencies who like nothing better than to have charges of terrorism—however fantastic they may be—flung at radical groups.

The pasting up of this leaflet in Seattle coincides with NCLC harassment of *Militant* salespeople in that city. A *Militant* seller on a street corner was grabbed around the neck and shoved by an NCLC goon.

Phone calls in other cities to SWP offices have repeated the charge that the SWP is involved in a plot to assassinate LaRouche.

These incidents are apparently the first stages of what one NCLC phone caller promised would be "Operation Mop-up Number Two" against the SWP and other groups.

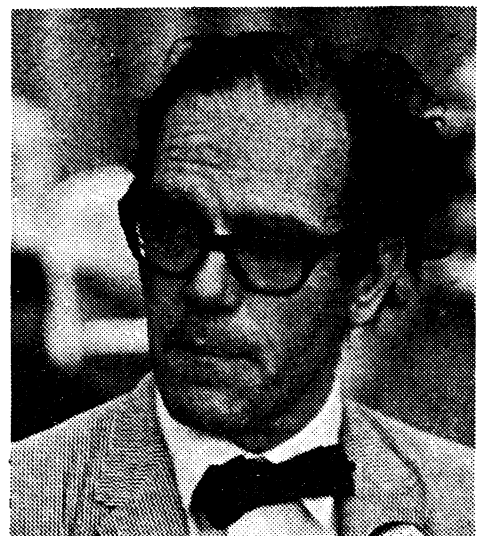
In April 1973, the NCLC launched a campaign to "mop up" the Communist party and other radical groups. At that time the NCLC newspaper, *New Solidarity*, promised, "Immediately, readers will obtain a taste of our ruthlessness in the way we proceed to finish off the Communist Party."

"Operation Mop-up" was also extended to the SWP, especially after the SWP came to the defense of the CP against these attacks. Others, including the Congress of African People, a Newark-based Black organization, also came under attack.

NCLC thugs, armed with clubs, pipes, and other equipment, assaulted political meetings. When they were unable to stop the CP and SWP from holding meetings, they turned to violent sneak attacks on individual members of the CP and SWP.

The recent escalation of provocative phone calls and threats of violence was signaled by an editorial in the November 13 *New Solidarity*. Naming specifically the SWP, the CP, and Maoist groups as agents of the "capitalist financier forces," and "anarcho-syndicalists," the editorial calls for providing the "final solution" to eliminate these groups.

"The university campuses, an important spawning ground of the anarcho-



Lyndon LaRouche, leader of right-wing cult.

syndicalist disease, will be a special focus" of the operation.

In an article entitled "How Nelson Rockefeller Runs The SWP And The CPUSA," in the November 10 *New Solidarity*, the NCLC extends its list of "agents" to include Ernest Mandel, a leader of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization: "Mandel (born Ernst Mandelbaum) has the broad distinction of being one of a group of post-Anschluss Austrian Jewish adolescents targeted by a British-directed, Rockefeller-backed refugee recruiting operation directed at that specific population." This type of anti-Semitic filth is typical of the NCLC.

Paralleling the attempt to link the SWP with assassinations, *New Solidarity* accuses Mandel of being linked to terrorist groups such as the Baader-Meinhof gang in Germany, the Japanese Red Army, and the Black September group.

The NCLC is one of the groups that emerged out of the breakup of Students

Continued on page 26



'Labor Committee' thugs try to break up 1973 meeting at Columbia University. Fascistlike group is now threatening to conduct new 'Operation Mop-up' against socialists.

Campaigning in Louisiana

Reid pays tribute to fighting Black students

By Debby Woodroffe

NEW ORLEANS—Surrounded by the sixty members of the Southern University at Baton Rouge choir, Willie Mae Reid stood singing "Lift Every Voice and Sing"—the Black national anthem.

Reid, Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate, was a featured speaker at a campus meeting November 14 of 400 Black students commemorating the deaths of Denver Smith and Leonard Brown. The two Southern University students were gunned down November 16, 1972, by Baton Rouge police.

Smith and Brown had been participants in a boycott of classes seeking greater student involvement in decisions and the removal of authoritarian administrators.

In paying tribute to Smith and Brown, Reid said, "These two young people were willing to stand up and say, 'If Black liberation is going to come, we must be in the forefront of bringing it about.'"

She talked about the role that Black students have played in the struggle for liberation, from the civil rights movement to the fight for minority programs on campuses in the late 1960s.

Then Reid described two current attacks on Black rights—the racist violence in cities such as Boston, and the education cutbacks in New York City and elsewhere. "It is Black students who have once again taken up the banner of struggle and are determined to fight to protect the gains they made in the past," she pointed out.

When the service was over, students brought their printed programs up to Reid and asked her to autograph them. Among those surrounding Reid was Jill Primus, a worker in the campus dining hall. Primus asked Reid whether she could prepare a special luncheon for her. On the way to the dining hall, Primus took Reid and her campaign supporters past the spot, adjacent to the university chapel, where the students fell.

"It was a bad day, that day," Primus kept repeating. But she added that there is greater student involvement in decision making at Southern as a result of the 1972 protest. "Every time



Militant/Debby Woodroffe
Socialist vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid (left). 'She speaks to the issues and doesn't just spout ideology.'

you demonstrate, you get something."

The 1972 boycott also took place at Southern University in New Orleans. A Black nationalist flag, which now flies at the center of the campus, was one of the gains of the struggle at SUNO.

Reid spoke to 135 Black students on that campus and answered questions for an hour on whether Blacks should join a multiracial revolutionary party and on the relationship of Black women to the women's liberation movement. The meeting was sponsored by the student government association.

Afterward, a campaign supporter mentioned to student government representative Michael Williams that Reid seemed to enjoy the meeting. "Whether a speaker likes SUNO," Williams commented, "depends on how we like her. And we love Reid. She speaks to the issues, and doesn't just spout ideology."

Reid's tour was a big boost for her campaign supporters at the University of New Orleans. The Young Socialist Alliance has been denied the right to organize on that campus, and is not permitted to sell socialist literature. A rally featuring Reid was held to protest this denial of democratic rights.

A new branch of the Socialist Workers party was established in New Orleans this fall. Reid's tour concluded with a rally November 15 attended by branch members and many other Louisiana socialist campaign supporters.

New Orleans campaign director Kirk Fowler reported to the sixty-five in attendance that in the four days Reid

was in Louisiana, she addressed more than 800 people, the majority of them Black students.

In addition to her campus meetings Reid addressed a meeting of the New Orleans Women's Political Caucus. Thousands more became acquainted with Reid's campaign through a feature article in the New Orleans *States-Item* and her appearance on "Keep the Dreamer's Dream Alive," a radio program coordinated by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

As a result of the week's tour, several people decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance. One of these, Tanya Cohea, is a student at SUNO. She holds a part-time job in the student government office. Her philosophy class had been discussing socialism, and her professor mentioned that a Black woman is running for vice-president.

Weeks later, the Louisiana Socialist Workers campaign committee sent the student government a notice announcing that Reid would be coming to New Orleans and would be available to speak at Southern. Cohea opened that mailing, realized this was the candidate her professor had described, and moved immediately to raise honoraria to bring Reid to the campus.

It was Reid's speech that made Cohea decide to join the YSA. "I loved the way she made things so plain and simple. And she didn't ask us to support her as an individual—just to support her beliefs. At first I thought I'd wait to join the YSA," Cohea continued, "but then I realized that's the problem. Everyone's waiting. I want to participate."

Camejo tours S. Calif.

L.A. students: 'He's got all the right ideas'

By David Salner

LOS ANGELES—In four days of campus campaigning here November 11-14, Peter Camejo has spoken to more than 1,100 students. And 130 of them signed up to work for or find out more about his campaign for president on the Socialist Workers party ticket.

"He's all right. What do you think, Reubin?" one student asked his friend, who had been carrying a guitar toward the California State student union in Los Angeles when they stopped to listen to Camejo.

"He's got it. I think he's got all the right ideas," Reubin agreed.

That's been a typical response to Camejo's outdoor meetings on Southern California campuses. At one of these rallies of more than 350 at the California State campus in Long Beach, I asked a Chicano student what he thought of Camejo.

He said he was impressed with the socialist candidate because he was "getting down to the issues" and that he planned to vote for Camejo in 1976 "even if I don't agree with everything he says."

At the University of California in Los Angeles, where students are conducting a struggle against CIA recruitment on campus, Camejo outlined the FBI and CIA harassment of socialists and pointed to the importance of united actions in support of democratic rights.

When asked about the difference between the Socialist Workers party and other organizations on the left, Camejo pointed out:

"We're for uniting everyone on the left to fight for social change. Unfortunately, the Communist party just recently announced that they are

opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment.

"It's tragic that we can't unite with the CP on this issue, that the CP has chosen to add its voice to the right-wing offensive against women at a time when we need the greatest unity in action to push through the ERA."

Camejo hailed the October 29 "Alice Doesn't Day" march for equal rights of 4,000 women in Los Angeles as the kind of response needed to the attacks on the ERA.

Many listening to Camejo on his Los Angeles tour had also heard Tom Hayden speak during the preceding weeks. Hayden, a Chicago Seven frame-up victim and former leader of Students for a Democratic Society, is running for the Democratic party nomination for the U.S. Senate seat now held by John Tunney.

Omari Musa, the SWP candidate for that seat, has challenged Hayden's concept of working in the Democratic party as the "realistic" way to bring about change.

By talking to people at Camejo's meetings I found that Hayden had left some skepticism in the wake of his campus talks.

What did they think of working for a Democratic party candidate like Hayden? "Not really impressed." "I don't trust him, because he condemned the establishment and then joined it." "From what I hear he supports the U.S. military establishment."

One former supporter followed the Hayden campaign trail for four or five speaking engagements before he became disillusioned. Don Langford works as a draftsman and considers himself typical of the young people "working for Tom."



Militant/David Salner
Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate, spoke to 1,100 students in four days of campus campaigning.

"I was interested because Tom said he was trying to do something that nobody had successfully done—use the Democratic party as a force for change," he told me.

Gradually, however, it became apparent to Langford that Hayden's "grass roots" campaign would evaporate after the elections, because Hayden was not building an organization that could stand up to the racist and sexist policies of the Democratic party.

Langford first found out about Musa's socialist campaign at a meeting sponsored by the Women's Political Caucus. He decided to find out more about the socialist alternative and began attending the Thursday-night classes of the Young Socialist Alliance.

When I talked to Langford on the last day of the Camejo tour in Los Angeles, he was reading *Socialism on Trial* by James P. Cannon and had decided to join the YSA.

How did he like his first YSA meeting? "What struck me most was the combination of seriousness and democracy. Hayden's campaign committee meetings were more like political entertainment."

As an individual, Langford felt he would have a much greater impact building a socialist organization. He said, "People often start out thinking they can change the Democrats or Republicans, but it's the other way around. The established parties end up changing the individual."

Big step forward

Seattle socialists assess council campaign

By Harold Schlechtweg

SEATTLE—Back in September when the results of the primary election here were announced, Seattle socialists celebrated. Socialist Workers party candidate Patricia Bethard had taken second place with nearly 18 percent of the city-wide vote in her campaign for city council position five.

This was the first time in Seattle's history that an SWP candidate had qualified for the November ballot in the officially nonpartisan primary. And Bethard's supporters went full speed ahead with the unique opportunity before them.

A second campaign headquarters—a storefront—was opened in the Central Area, in Seattle's Black community.

Between the primary and the November 4 election, 27,000 pieces of Bethard campaign literature were distributed. This included a general flyer, headed "Jobs, Schools, Equality!" and several snappy, concise leaflets on issues the socialists saw as crucial for Seattle working people.

Bethard is secretary of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1488 and a delegate to the King County Labor Council. In the last weeks before the election, she took a leave from her job at the University of Washington to campaign full-time.

She spoke to twenty-five trade-union and community meetings in every part of the city. And she forced her opponent, Democratic City Council President Sam Smith, to do a little campaigning for an election he had assumed was in the bag.

Smith hoped to get at least 80 percent of the vote, boosting his chances to run for mayor in 1976. Although more votes were cast for city council position five than any other council race, Smith failed in this respect. Bethard garnered 26 percent of the tally—more than 40,500 votes.

'Wherever an audience'

The race between the socialist and the Democrat was viewed seriously. Before the election, *Seattle Times* reporter John Wilson wrote: "At coffee klatches, precinct meetings, wherever there is an audience, they have debated how the city spends its money, from



SWP city council candidate Bethard. In heat of campaign, her supporters set up second headquarters, in Black community, which they now plan to maintain.

where the money should come, how local businesses spend their profits and how all this cash affects the residents of Seattle. . . .

"Smith says the city can't afford to grant huge salary increases to public employees. . . . Without 'fiscal responsibility,' Smith says Seattle could end up like the Big Apples—financially rotting at the core. . . .

"He says the City Council must pare Mayor Wes Uhlman's \$105 million budget for the next year below the historic \$100 million mark.

"Meanwhile, Ms. Bethard says the poor, those hardest hit by the economic slump, will suffer.

"She suggests the city tap state and federal coffers to fund her proposed public-works program and expanded social and health services."

Bethard drew Smith out into the open on some issues he would probably just as soon have kept mum on.

One central aspect of Bethard's campaign was her vigorous opposition to a ballot initiative to restore the

death penalty. She argued it would be used to victimize working people, especially Blacks.

Smith, a Black politician who relies on the Black community for much of his support, had "mixed feelings" about the initiative. As a "religious person," he was opposed to taking human life. But his practical feelings saw the need for some "deterrent to these hideous crimes."

The initiative passed.

'Unfair' to business

Another initiative—and Bethard supported this one—would have taxed corporations to help pay for education. Smith opposed it as "unfair" to business. That initiative failed November 4.

Redlining was also a major issue in the campaign. Redlining is the policy whereby banks refuse to loan money to homeowners and small businesses in the Black community. Bethard proposed city council legislation to outlaw such racist practices. Smith counter-

posed his solution of "talking" to the bankers.

But Bethard did more than just debate Smith on the issues. When the Student Coalition Against Racism called a picket line against redlining outside the downtown banks, Bethard was there to show her support.

By the final week of the campaign, she was becoming well known as a candidate for city council. When she joined picket lines set up by striking electrical workers, a striker greeted her, "You didn't have to come down here to convince me, I was already going to vote for you."

Near the end of the campaign, Bethard got some extra help from Clifton DeBerry. As the 1964 SWP presidential candidate DeBerry was the first Black ever to run for that office. He came into Seattle from California to speak at several area campuses and at a YWCA in the Black community.

One sour note in the campaign was an attempt by the right-wing National Caucus of Labor Committees—who use the name "U.S. Labor party" in their election campaigns—to knock Bethard off the November ballot.

After losing to Bethard in the primary, U.S. Labor party candidate Dominic Braun pushed for an investigation of Bethard's campaign committee for not having disclosed the identities of its contributors.

The socialists have refused to do so because of the history of harassment of socialist supporters.

Interestingly, two days before the election, the U.S. Labor party, which demagogically parades as a left-wing group, endorsed a full slate of capitalist candidates, including Sam Smith.

Socialists here assess the Bethard campaign as a sizable step forward in getting out the name and ideas of the Socialist Workers party, and in winning new adherents to its program.

Several people have decided to join the SWP or the Young Socialist Alliance. And the temporary campaign headquarters in the Central Area is no longer temporary. Socialists will continue to use it as an organizing center to reach people in the area with socialist literature, the *Militant*, and news of the next socialist campaign.

Musa vs. Domhoff: which road for left in 76?

By Carl Finamore

BERKELEY, Calif.—"I think the kind of analysis Omari offered tonight would get him ten times as many votes in the Democratic party primary as he'll get running in the third party," argued radical professor and author William Domhoff.

Domhoff was debating Socialist Workers party senatorial candidate Omari Musa on the topic "What course for radicals in the 1976 election: Democratic party (Tom Hayden) or the socialist alternative?"

Tom Hayden, known for his days as a leader in Students for a Democratic Society and as a defendant in the Chicago Seven conspiracy trial, is making a bid for the Democratic party nomination for U.S. Senate in 1976. His campaign has heated up the debate on working within the Democratic party to bring about change.

That there is interest in this discussion was evidenced by the October 31 Militant Forum debate between Domhoff and Musa, attended by more than 120 people.

Though not officially representing Hayden, Domhoff said that he sees his candidacy as an important part of "waging ideological struggle inside the Democratic party."

"There is a state-enforced tendency towards a two-party system," he said. "Because the two-party system is so entrenched and dominated by the capitalists, they make it very difficult for third parties to get on the ballot."

"They force you to fight organizational battles when you want to spend your time fighting ideological battles."

Therefore, Domhoff concluded, instead of wasting time fighting for the right to campaign independently, "it makes sense to struggle ideologically inside the Democratic party primaries."

Running in the Democratic party with "openly socialist principles," he said, "poses an important challenge to ruling-class thought control."

We do have to struggle ideologically, Musa agreed, "but not inside the party owned lock, stock, and barrel by the capitalists. We want to win people to a perspective of mass struggle independent of the capitalists."

"Real challenges to the ruling-class control over our lives came from the millions of people who participated in the civil rights, antiwar, and women's liberation movements," Musa asserted.

"We need more organizing drives like that to put a stop to the racists in Boston and Louisville, not relying on

the racist and reactionary Democratic party."

Hayden is not a socialist, but a Democrat, Musa said. He criticized Hayden for "being long on describing the problems, but short on prescribing solutions."

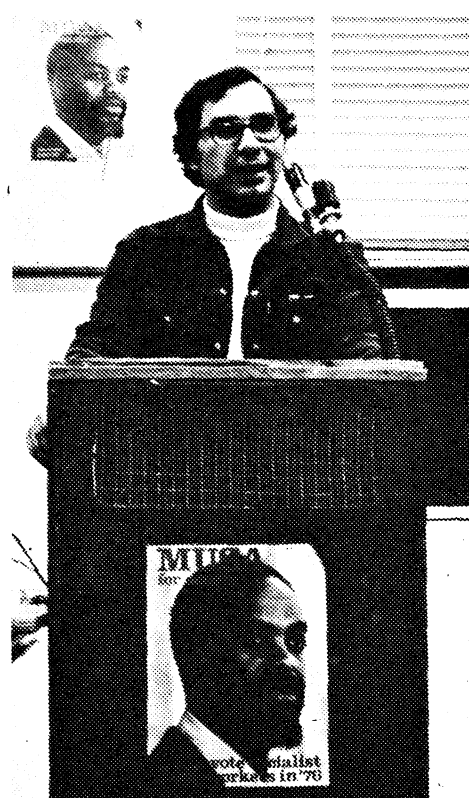
"Hayden is quiet when it comes to calling for federal troops to halt the racist attacks on Black children. He is silent when it comes to calling for the elimination of the military budget."

During the discussion, one person asked Domhoff if his plan to take a socialist program into the Democratic party wasn't an attempt to be "cute and clever" when the American people were looking for honest and straightforward answers.

Domhoff answered, "You may be right."

In summation, Musa countered Domhoff's argument that the rigidly maintained two-party system necessitated socialists working within it. "An investigation of capitalist state structure only reveals how brutal capitalism really is, how the capitalists try to conceal their rule," Musa said.

"We must build our own party, which can project a new society. I urge you to consider working with the socialist campaign."



Radical professor William Domhoff argued that running in Democratic party with 'openly socialist principles' poses challenge to ruling-class thought control.

Rights vs. campaign 'reform': court to rule

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—The fight against discriminatory campaign financing and disclosure laws went to the U.S. Supreme Court November 10. The debate centered on how the new federal "reform" law threatens the rights of smaller and independent parties.

The suit before the court was filed by Eugene McCarthy, running for president as an "independent"; Sen. James Buckley, Conservative-Republican of New York; and others. It challenges nearly every aspect of the 1974 Federal Election Campaign Act, charging that the law places unconstitutional burdens on candidates running against Democrats and Republicans.

The plaintiffs appealed to the Supreme Court after the U.S. Court of Appeals rejected their challenge to the law. The appeal has been expedited, making possible a ruling in time for the 1976 election campaigns.

An earlier challenge to the law was lodged by the Socialist Workers party in a suit filed by the American Civil Liberties Union. That suit is still in the lower courts, so the ruling on the McCarthy-Buckley case is expected to decide basic issues raised in both suits.

In opening arguments, attorney Ralph Winter, representing the plaintiffs, explained that the law, supposedly designed to curb the influence of money on politics, actually "increases the advantage of wealthy candidates."

He also pointed out that incumbent Democrats and Republicans are allowed to spend more money on their campaigns than their opponents. "The burden of the Federal Election Campaign Act thus falls heaviest on those challenging the status quo," he charged.

Justice Byron White asked Winter if



Democratic party extravaganza in 1972. Campaign financing and disclosure law, promoted as way to curb 'big money' control of political parties, really curbs right to challenge two-party monopoly of elections.

he doubted the sincerity of Congress in passing the law. "It was aimed at limiting corruption, wasn't it?" asked White.

"They were under pressure to do something because of Watergate," replied Winter. "And, as one congressman said, any time they could vote for reform and freeze out opponents at the same time. . . ."

Joel Gora, an attorney in the SWP

suit and a member of the American Civil Liberties Union, argued against the campaign disclosure provisions. These require campaign committees to turn over to the government the names, addresses, and occupations of all contributors of more than \$100.

Such a rule amounts to "virtual monitoring of everyone who makes political contributions," Gora explained.

Bolstering this position was an amicus (friend of the court) brief filed by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL). CoDEL is supporting both the McCarthy-Buckley and the SWP suits.

The SWP bases its case on the fact that the FBI and other government spy agencies have openly admitted to victimizing people who support socialist election campaigns.

The justices posed a number of questions about the issue of invasion of privacy. "Does this law discriminate against small parties, such as the Socialist Workers party?" Thurgood Marshall asked government attorney Daniel Friedman. Friedman, who is deputy solicitor general, cavalierly dismissed the issue of civil liberties. "Any adverse impact on individual rights is overridden by government needs," he said.

Lloyd Cutler, another attorney for the government, admitted that the laws do discriminate against smaller parties. He defended this. "One of the legitimate aims" of campaign legislation, he claimed, is "to foster political stability."

"So there is discrimination and you would say there's a need for it?" asked one of the justices.

"Yes," replied Cutler.

The November 11 *New York Times*, commenting on the court debate, said, "The question that appeared to bother the majority of the Justices the most was the possible impact of the law on free speech rights—an impact that the law's challengers have said would be severe."

The *Times* predicted: "The concern evident in much of the questioning suggested that the court might strike down some of the provisions."

Fake union label stirs Cal State UFW backers

By Joanne Tortorici

LOS ANGELES—An alert member of the United Farm Workers support committee at the Los Angeles campus of California State University made an interesting discovery. Six boxes of lettuce, grown in the Salinas Valley by a ranch with a Teamsters union contract and hand-stamped with the United Farm Workers union's black eagle emblem, had been delivered to the school's cafeteria.

Members of the campus UFW support committee, which had been regularly checking the lettuce shipments promptly rounded up the campus newspaper's photographer and a reporter to document the illegally stamped boxes.

The next day's paper carried the story on its front page.

The lettuce was grown by the Royal Packing Company, with which the UFW has never had a contract. It was delivered to Los Angeles by the Ranch Fresh Produce Company.

The Cal State UFW group had good reason to keep a close watch on the lettuce shipments. They had found scab lettuce in the cafeteria three times in the past two weeks. One of the first things the newly formed group did was assemble a delegation of about twenty-five students and inform Jack Eastman, the school's food services director, that if the shipments of non-UFW lettuce continue, they would organize a

boycott of the cafeteria.

The same evening, they prepared leaflets and picket signs in anticipation of the possible boycott.

At that time, Eastman said, "As I read it, the community wants UFW lettuce, and that's what we'll serve." He claimed the food service had only "good intentions," asserting that the lettuce "slipped by," was "delivered by mistake," and at six o'clock a.m. it was "too late" to send it back.

Just a week later came the discovery of the Teamster lettuce with the bogus UFW label.

Not surprisingly, when contacted, everyone involved with the lettuce delivery denied knowledge of the

illegal union stamp.

Larry Bubar of Ranch Fresh Produce said that his driver "bought the lettuce off the back of a truck," got no receipt, and couldn't remember which company the trucker worked for.

The UFW is planning a lawsuit against the grower. Steve Burton, attorney for the Farm Workers, said that using the UFW label on a Teamster-grown carton of lettuce is a violation of federal trademark and consumer laws and of state laws.

Meanwhile, the campus UFW support committee will continue its daily check on the cafeteria's lettuce supply, ready to organize a picket line should scab lettuce be delivered again.

About those files the cops said didn't exist...

By Stacey Seigle

PORTLAND, Ore.—"Remember those files the police said they didn't have on the Socialist Workers party? Well, it turns out they did indeed have files," began KGW-TV's evening news program November 13. The report was part of extensive news coverage here of startling revelations by the Portland Police Department that it maintained political files on the SWP until May 1975.

The same day KOIN radio led its afternoon news report with a story on the files, beginning with the exclamation: "Now get this!" And the *Vanguard*, Portland State University's student newspaper, featured front-page coverage with a banner headline reading "Portland Police, FBI share

Oregon Socialist Workers Party information."

The admission that files were maintained on the SWP came November 12 during depositions taken from police intelligence officers by American Civil Liberties Union attorney Eldon Rosenthal, acting on behalf of the Oregon socialists.

The police also conceded that information gathered on the Socialist Workers party was transmitted to the FBI.

Publicity on the case was so extensive because barely two weeks earlier, the police had stated they had no files on the socialists "as of June 17 and since June 17." June 17 was the date George Kontanis, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Portland, had requested access to any such

files under a 1973 Oregon statute. Police made that statement in response to a court order requiring disclosure of the existence of any file on the party at the request of attorney Rosenthal.

At that time, Police Chief Bruce Baker was quoted as saying, "We don't have a file, we never had a file, and we didn't have last June 17 or at any time since then."

Police now contend that all files were shredded last May, although no written record remains to confirm this date.

The depositions—a legal procedure to obtain testimony under oath—were taken from five cops and Chief Baker.

Mayoral candidate Kontanis, in a statement to the media, pointed out that "when the city of Portland said

last month . . . they had no files on the Socialist Workers party, we called it Watergating. We called the city's response to our suit a cover-up in the style of Richard Nixon, and we have been proven correct."

Kontanis went on to note that his party believes "the fact that the police shredded our files in May is significant. We think the files were shredded because in March of 1975 the first set of FBI Cointelpro documents were forced into the open by the Socialist Workers party's suit against government harassment. We think the Portland Police Department was afraid their complicity with FBI dirty tricks against political dissidents would be revealed."



Why labor officials seek 'another Truman'

Good old days of cold war, witch-hunt

By Frank Lovell

The AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education is busy collecting money from union members for some undesigned capitalist politician who has demonstrated his ability to represent the interests of the employing class and will run for president next year on the Democratic party ticket.

Top leaders of the union movement have as yet expressed no preference. AFL-CIO President George Meany has said that Alabama's racist governor George Wallace is unacceptable, and the implication is that any of the others will do.

At the recent AFL-CIO national convention the assembled delegates were reported to be "most comfortable" with Hubert Humphrey, their 1968 candidate. But in more relaxed and contemplative moments they retreat further in time for an example of what they really want. There is general agreement among them that what they hope for is "somebody like Truman."

It must be that time has dimmed their memory of Truman and that they are the unwitting victims of the Truman myth that they have helped create over the years. Truman was never a champion of the "little man," as portrayed. A mediocre and accidental occupant of the White House, he was ever a willing servant of the rich and powerful.

Senator Truman from Jim Crow Missouri was reluctantly accepted by the CIO in 1944 as Roosevelt's fourth-term running mate only after Roosevelt made it clear that vice-president Henry Wallace was being dumped.

After Roosevelt's death, Truman presided over the launching of the cold war abroad and the witch-hunt at home. He boasted of having dropped the first atomic bombs, wiping out the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

On March 5, 1946, Truman introduced Winston Churchill, the deposed wartime prime minister of Britain, at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, for the famous "iron curtain" speech. It was a call to arms of the capitalist world against the Soviet Union.

When the "Truman Doctrine" was announced on March 12, 1947, Truman thought it was simply a

proclamation of the already-secured "American Century." He little realized that the "aid" program to prop up the Greek monarchy and the Turkish military dictatorship was the first open move in the military encirclement of the Soviet Union, or that this would lead to a disastrous arms race that would eventually bankrupt this country and threaten the destruction of the world.

When Truman ordered U.S. troops to Korea on June 25, 1950, he thought he was launching a "police action" in some small land on the other side of the world, never dreaming that the Korean War would outlast him and bring the first defeat of an American army.

Truman's domestic policy was the necessary complement of his foreign policy. On March 24, 1947, he issued an executive order providing for a purge of more than two million federal employees. They were to be fired for suspicion of "disloyalty"—a term never defined—or for membership in any of a long list of "subversive organizations," which included the Socialist Workers party, the Communist party, church groups, civil liberties organizations, and associations of Blacks and foreign-born. That was the beginning of what later became known as McCarthyism.

At first the conservative labor officialdom saw nothing wrong with this in principle, protesting only its "excesses." They quickly introduced the same type of purges into the union movement.

Truman had his own ideas about how to purge the unions, consisting mostly of strikebreaking legislation, punitive court rulings, government "fact-finding" committees, and federal seizure of industries closed by striking workers. In this way he tried to break the strikes of the coal miners and of steel, auto, railroad, and packinghouse workers.

He succeeded in holding wage increases to a minimum at the end of the war, broke the backs of some unions, and blocked the organization of the still unorganized sectors of industry. Truman was an open-shopper at heart.

In the spring of the 1948 presidential election year, Truman was held in such low esteem by the

labor movement that union officials were frantically searching for another candidate for the Democratic party. United Auto Workers president Walter Reuther bemoaned Truman as "hopelessly inadequate" and hoped that "some competent man like Eisenhower will be nominated by the Democrats."

The union officials quickly fell in line, however, when the Democratic party went on to nominate Truman over their protests. They found excuses to support and elect the "lesser evil" Truman-Barkley ticket. And Truman accommodated them by promising to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act, along with many other "Fair Deal" promises he never kept.

After winning the 1948 election Truman continued to invoke Taft-Hartley, for a total of sixty-six times before his term of office expired.

By mid-1949 Truman and the Democrats in Congress had given up all pretense of seeking social reforms. George Meany was then secretary-treasurer of the old AFL. He spoke at the fifth annual dinner of the Liberal party in New York and said that in his opinion it would be "no catastrophe" if the two-party system were "weakened" by a "third party." He said the situation in Congress "to my mind is an indictment against the two-party system."

Truman remained true to his capitalist mentors to the end. The last year of his administration was rife with scandals involving expensive "gifts" from businessmen to Truman's close personal aides.

One of his last official acts, on January 7, 1953, was a warning to Moscow that U.S. industry had developed the hydrogen bomb.

What the union labor skates have to be thankful for in their nostalgic reminiscences of the "Truman Era" can only be the fact that they survived it all and are still alive. This last condition is debatable even though they continue to creep around and can be heard to bleat for "somebody like Truman."

If that is what they are looking for, they need look no further than the present occupant of the White House. He is a mediocrity too, and just as evil. But that is what comes to the top in the Democratic and Republican parties.

Rally backs Cleve. nursing-home strike

By Shirley Pasholk

CLEVELAND—More than eighty people attended a November 2 march and rally to support striking workers of Olmsted Manor Nursing Home. Local 47 of the Service Employees International Union, which represents the workers, sponsored the rally.

During the strike, the nursing home's owner has brought in scabs and refused to negotiate with union representatives.

Olmsted Manor, like many nursing homes in the Cleveland area, receives most of its income through assignment of patients by the Cuyahoga County Welfare Department. Although these patients are financed by taxing working people, this money is not used to provide decent health care for the elderly patients or to provide a living wage for the workers.

Improved patient care is a major issue of the

strike. In addition to asking other unions for support, striking workers have visited representatives of elderly groups to urge their support. Marchers at the November 2 action chanted, "Olmsted Manor is unfair; strike for decent patient care," and, "The union means higher wages and decent patient care."

A sign placed outside Olmsted Manor by union picketers proclaimed, "On strike for improved patient care." As the march passed Olmsted Manor, one of the patients stood in the doorway, waving his encouragement.

The strikers are demanding a reduction of the current ratio of one aide to fifty patients, and adequate supplies and food for the patients.

Other demands relate to working conditions. Most important is the demand for a union shop. Wages are also an issue. Newly hired workers are paid the

minimum wage, and the average wage is \$2.15 per hour. The union is asking that this be increased to \$2.50 per hour.

Olmsted Manor workers receive no holiday or sick pay. Some workers have been on the job three years without a paid vacation. The union is asking for two paid sick days a year.

Speakers at the rally reflected the success the striking union has had in winning support from other unions and community groups.

The Ohio AFL-CIO sent a representative to express support. Other speakers included Alyson Valenza, Coalition of Labor Union Women; David Fuller, Ohio director of the United Farm Workers union; Jeff Reichenbacher, president of Communications Workers of America Local 499; and Ted Dostal of the Senior Citizens Coalition board of directors.

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

NOVEMBER 28, 1975

Workers asked to 'appreciate' bosses' difficulties

India since Gandhi's 'state of emergency'

NEW DELHI—In the last analysis, the explosive potential of the economic slump must be regarded as the main reason for Gandhi's imposition of the state of emergency in June.

When the budget was presented in March, the major economic problems facing Indian capitalists were inflation, the slackening of investment and production in both industry and agriculture, the weak financial position of the Gandhi regime, and the lack of competitiveness of the Indian economy in the midst of the worldwide depression.

The pre-budget economic survey for 1974-75, which Gandhi presented to Parliament in late February, described 1975 as the year of the most "unprecedented economic challenge since independence" and discounted any possibility of "dramatic changes in the short run."

Commenting on this survey, an editorial in the February 25 *Economic Times* remarked: "The fears are really about future development, about sluggishness of production and export, about the competitiveness of the Indian economy and the ever upward course of Indian prices and costs."

The economic survey itself concluded on a pessimistic note: "It will be unrealistic to assume that a major breakthrough in the rate of growth in industrial production is just round the corner." The survey conceded that the regime had only a limited margin of manoeuvre in bringing about a sharp acceleration in the overall rate of growth.

'Growth with Stability'

As the March 1 editorial in the sober *Economic Times* noted, the budget for 1975-76 was marked by the absence of any attempt to counter the escalating inflation.

How did Gandhi respond to the crisis at the time, that is, in March 1975? The theme then was "growth with stability." The dangerous economic situation had to be met somehow. Gandhi's answer was to increase production.

By June, the economic situation had considerably worsened. Kamani Engineering, one of the largest engineering complexes in Asia, was on the verge of collapse. Major marketing concerns like Voltas, Larsen, Tubro, and others reported huge stockpiles of durable consumer goods and industrial equipment. Prices had climbed to an all-time high. The purchasing power of hard-pressed consumers was steadily being eroded, leading to a growing decline in demand for a wide range of goods.

The urgency of the economic situation demanded drastic action on a political level. From this point of view, Gandhi's abolition of civil liberties was



Indians protest food shortages (top), Gandhi's reserve police. Explosive potential of economic slump was main reason for state of emergency imposed in June.

a necessity for the bourgeois economy.

This or that aspect of the tactical course followed by Gandhi, Jaya Prakash Narayan, or Morarji Desai might accelerate or retard the drive to restrict civil liberties. Ultimately, however, it is the entire system of bourgeois democracy, functioning within the conditions of a backward capitalist economy, that is at stake.

The declaration of the state of emergency has temporarily checked

the economic crisis. As an editorial in the September 16 *Economic Times* said, "The Indian economy, which had been subjected to severe strain and stress, has now probably reached a state nearer stability."

Prices have stabilized somewhat. A complete industrial truce has been promised and practiced by the leadership of the major trade unions. "Industrial discipline" has led to an increase in production. Favorable monsoons

have also raised hope of an improved harvest. Emergency measures have greatly slashed overtime payments to employees.

Raids, searches, the curbing of smuggling, and the arrest of some economic and social offenders have contributed to the unearthing of hoarded valuables and "black [untaxed] money." They have also reduced somewhat speculative activities in land and in the building industry.

Rally around Gandhi

These measures have considerably boosted the morale of the regime, and the bourgeoisie has once again rallied round Gandhi.

But it still cannot be said that the Indian economy has recovered. The editorial in the September 16 *Economic Times* pointed out, "Inflation remains a major problem in spite of the decelerating trends noticed recently."

The annual report of the Reserve Bank of India has rightly claimed that the moderation of inflation was a notable feature of 1974-75. The rise in average prices was 17% (July 1974 to June 1975) compared with 25% in 1973-74.

The lead article in the September 16 *Economic Times* commented skeptically that "even the average of 17% has to be viewed in the context of Indian social and economic conditions and the much lower rates of increase in the earlier period."

The article correctly pointed out that the decline in the rate of inflation has been brought about largely by import surpluses financed from external assistance. Data on imports corroborate this. Imports—mainly of food, fertilizer, and fuel—rose by 49% in 1974-75 compared with an increase of 29% for exports. The rise in imports doubled the trade gap from Rs. 402 crores* to Rs. 1096 crores during 1974-75. This

Continued on page 22

* One crore equals ten million units. A rupee is officially equivalent to US\$0.114.

Indian political prisoners challenge repressive decree

Four imprisoned opposition members of Parliament have launched a court challenge against Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's declaration of a state of emergency. A.B. Vajpayee and L.K. Advani, leaders of the Hindu chauvinist Jan Sangh; S.N. Mishra, a leader of the Organisation Congress; and Madhu R. Dandavate, a leader of the Socialist party, have brought the case before the Karnataka state high court in Bangalore, the state capital. "We are challenging the entire

emergency, and the measures the Government has imposed to protect it," said Shanti Bhushan, an attorney for the four political prisoners. The outcome of the case could affect political prisoners throughout the country.

Specifically, the four opposition leaders are challenging the manner in which the emergency was declared. They say that President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed formally declared the emergency June 26 at the direction of

Gandhi alone, not on the orders of the cabinet, as provided in the Indian constitution.

They are also contesting a constitutional amendment barring the courts from ruling on the legality of the emergency decree and a presidential amendment to the Maintenance of Internal Security Act. The amendment states that the regime need no longer disclose its reasons for arresting persons under the act.

Mao Tsetung sends troops to crush striking workers

[The following article appeared in the October issue of *October Review*, a revolutionary-socialist monthly published in Hong Kong. The translation was done for *Intercontinental Press* by Jerry Chow.]

By Kai Chang

Since the middle of July, on the basis of broadcasts of the Chekiang provincial radio, China watchers in Hong Kong have reported unrest in the city of Hangchow. According to these reports, workers demanded higher wages. The demands were followed by strikes, slowdowns, factional strife, and "sabotage" in many of the city's factories. Ten thousand troops were sent to these factories "to participate in production." The leadership in the province warned that those involved in the strikes would meet merciless suppression.

Earlier in the year, foreign correspondents in Peking reported that railroad workers in Chekiang Province had been on strike and that some of the striking workers had been arrested. This beautiful area, best known to foreigners as the favorite vacation retreat of Chairman Mao Tsetung, was said to have been closed to foreign visitors for several months.

Reports from China

The country's dailies and periodicals have not yet reported the whole event clearly. However, issues of *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) carried the following news: "Substantial numbers of workers at the Hangchow Steel Plant, Hangchow Silk Printing and Dyeing Plant, Hangchow No. 1 Cotton Mill, Hangchow No. 2 Cotton Mill, and Chekiang Hemp Spinning and Weaving Mill . . . are determined to further strengthen revolutionary unity and develop the national economy. . . . Owing to both the influence of the counterrevolutionary and revisionist line and the interference of bourgeois factionalism, these enterprises were unable for a time to increase production. . . .

"In the most recent period, these enterprises have time and again called meetings to make oaths to promote revolution and production. . . . They have exposed and beaten back those bad elements who intended to destroy peace and solidarity and to sabotage revolution and production. . . .

"Everybody expressed the need to arrive at a satisfactory solution to the whole situation. . . . In the past few days the production of sacks, linen, raw silks, and silk goods has increased quite rapidly." (*Renmin Ribao*, July 14, 1975.)

In the Hangchow Clutch Factory, "during last year's campaign to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, a handful of people in the factory, because of bourgeois influences, carried out wrong activities with the intention of weakening and even getting rid of the leadership of the party. . . . For some time a fallacy that ran counter to our party's line of promoting revolution and production appeared in the society. . . . Many workers, however, actively participated in voluntary labor and resisted wrong ideas with concrete actions." (*Renmin Ribao*, August 15, 1975.)

"A number of PLA [People's Liberation Army] soldiers entered plants to participate in production on the eve of Army Day, August 1. During the recess periods, they devoted themselves to propagating among the workers the major directives of Chairman Mao and the party center. . . . As a result of their hard work, workers started to



Chinese workers reading Mao Tsetung. Strikers in Hangchow didn't like proverb 'However hard the work is, and however tired we feel, our heart is still light.'

follow the PLA soldiers' example and work hard and conscientiously for the purpose of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, production has gradually increased." (*Renmin Ribao*, August 2, 1975.)

In the Jin-hwa railway district of the Hangchow Railway Branch Bureau, "the quantity of goods transported in the second quarter of this year was nearly double that of the first quarter. Since March of this year, the transport quota has been surpassed nearly every month." (*Renmin Ribao*, August 10, 1975.)

Hidden Facts

If we dig out the facts hidden under this Maoist phraseology, it is clear that the following things have been confirmed by *Renmin Ribao*:

1. Actions detrimental to production had repeatedly surfaced in Hangchow. The output of many enterprises stagnated owing to slowdowns and strikes. After the "bad elements" were attacked—in other words, after the striking workers were suppressed—production "increased quite rapidly."

2. Rail transport in the vicinity of Hangchow was operating at only half its capacity before March of this year. This indicates that rail workers in that area were then engaging in a slowdown or even a strike.

3. There is a coincidence in the timing of the suppression of the "bad elements" in the factories and the sending of the PLA soldiers. These soldiers, ostensibly sent into the factories "to participate in production," could not really help production very much because of their lack of skills. They could not have replaced the skilled workers. One cannot help but ask why they were sent into the factories where production was stagnant.

From the information in our hands we can infer that since last year, strikes sporadically occurred in Hangchow and its vicinity and that the event reported recently was one of the biggest. The latest strike lasted for such a long period that Mao and the party center had to issue an "important directive" on the problem in Chekiang Province, and soldiers had to be sent into factories to suppress the striking workers.

The working class in China is hailed by the Maoists as the leading class in

society. According to the Maoist view, they should not have engaged in strike action. Yet they did go on strike, and the scope of the strike was very extensive. This cannot be attributed to the influence of the class enemy. The fact that the Chinese Communist party called them only "bad elements," not "counterrevolutionaries," shows that their class backgrounds must be impeccable, making it impossible for the CCP to pin a worse label on them.

In fact, it is the CCP's policy alone that has caused the workers to engage in slowdowns and strike actions. Their wages have not been raised for a long time, yet their production quotas have been raised higher and higher. They have been urged to "produce more, faster, and better." All political campaigns waged by the CCP inevitably came down to an exhortation to the workers "to increase production." The workers were encouraged to contribute more and produce more, but to receive less in return. Wage demands were denounced as "revealing bourgeois lifestyles and attitudes."

An actual description of the working conditions and the level of labor intensity can be seen in the quotation below:

"At present, it is the rainy, damp, and hot season in Hangchow. However, workers, cadres, and technicians in these enterprises welcome difficulties, brave high temperatures, and strive to increase production. The workers of the Hangchow No. 2 Cotton Mill are overcoming the production difficulties that the hot and damp climate has brought about, and are striving to operate more spinning and weaving machines for the purpose of increasing production. . . . They said, 'When we work hard for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, however hard the work is, and however tired we feel, our heart is still light.'" (*Renmin Ribao*, July 14, 1975.)

The above sufficiently illustrates the true working conditions. But how many workers really feel that "their heart is light" under severe hardship? How many would express that sentiment willingly? The slowdowns and strikes are the best answer to that.

For a long time China's rulers have asked the workers to endure this "hardship" and "tiredness." Yet they themselves can go to summer resorts for a vacation or work in air-

conditioned offices during the summer. But the workers can no longer endure poor working and living conditions. They are forced to seek improvement through slowdowns and strike actions.

This is their right, and it has been recognized as legitimate by the new constitution. But the rulers did not accept the demands by the workers to change their policies. On the contrary, they not only ruthlessly suppressed the workers, but also used their propaganda machines to sing in the name of the workers the hymn, "However hard the work is, and however tired we feel, our heart is still light."

Bureaucratic Rule

The condition of the working class in Hangchow is really just an illustration of the situation in all parts of China. The strike in Hangchow is but one of the numerous strikes that have occurred in China in the recent period. It reflects the irreconcilable contradiction between the working class and the ruling bureaucracy, which have opposing interests. It also shows that the guarantee of "workers' freedom to strike" and all other promises of democratic rights in the new constitution are empty words. The real purpose of these promises is to cover the dictatorial nature of the ruling bureaucracy.

In face of the growing discontent and opposition of the masses, the CCP has continually waged various "campaigns." These "campaigns" have two purposes: On the one hand they put ideological pressure on the masses, urging them to work hard to increase production; on the other hand, they allow the purging of some bureaucrats whom the masses hate most.

Basically, all the recent campaigns, such as the campaign of "criticism of Lin Piao and rectification," the campaign to "criticize Lin Piao and Confucius," and the campaign for the "study of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat," have these two functions.

Every "campaign," however, will inevitably arouse unrest and struggle inside the party and deepen its internal crisis. It will sap the strength of the CCP and shake the foundation of its rule. At the same time, however, these processes will also raise the political level of the masses, and their confidence in their own power will be strengthened.

Kurdish liberation fight: progressive or reactionary?

By David Frankel

Does acceptance of arms from one or another imperialist power brand a struggle as reactionary? The question has come up once again in regard to the fight of the Kurds in Iraq for autonomy.

It was widely known that the shah of Iran supplied the Kurdish rebels with arms until he reached an agreement with the Iraqi regime in March. Now, as a result of congressional hearings on the Central Intelligence Agency, it has been revealed that Richard Nixon ordered the CIA to send a shipment of arms worth several million dollars to the Kurds.

John M. Crewdson reported in the November 2 *New York Times* on information provided by a "a senior intelligence official." According to Crewdson, the official "said the delivery, made up of Soviet and Chinese arms, was delivered to the rebel forces through the Iranian Government after the Shah of Iran asked former President Richard M. Nixon to provide military assistance to the Kurds during Mr. Nixon's visit to Teheran in May, 1972."

It was not explained how the CIA obtained such large quantities of "Soviet and Chinese arms" or whether the supplying of arms made in China or the Soviet Union is a common CIA practice to disguise White House aid.

The shah's role in the transaction, of course, had nothing to do with concern over the rights of the Kurdish people. He explained his intentions in a cynical interview with Egyptian journalist Mohammed Hassanein Heykal, which was published in the September 17 issue of the Tehran daily *Kayhan*.

"I would like to make it clear," he said, "that we did not invent the Kurdish revolution but merely faced it as an existing reality. . . . The Kurdish revolution offered itself as an opportunity for us to take advantage of."

"Do we want to create a Kurdish problem? Of course not. You must realize that we ourselves have a large Kurdish minority."

"For years the ruling regimes in Iraq maintained a hostile attitude toward Iran. Didn't we have the right to react to that attitude? And didn't we have the right to use any opportunity that arose?"

The aggrieved shah ended on a note of reconciliation, however, saying, "The Iraqis stopped their hostilities, and so did we."

Stalinist Position

Opponents of the Kurdish struggle used the fact that the fighters were receiving aid from the shah to smear it as a proimperialist movement. The most active role in this campaign was played by the pro-Moscow Stalinists.

The Kremlin had supported the Kurds during the 1960s. But in April 1972 the Iraqi regime signed a fifteen-year treaty with Moscow, and the following month two members of the Iraqi Communist party were brought into the cabinet. As a result, the past was conveniently forgotten.

The head of the Iraqi CP wrote in January 1975: "The attempts of the imperialist oil monopolies to retain their hold on our country have been frustrated; so international reaction is now pinning its hopes on the right wing of the Kurdish movement. . . . The anti-Soviet tendencies of the Kurdish rightists gladden reactionaries of all hues."

The Stalinists hailed the accord between the Iraqi Baathist regime and the shah that enabled Baghdad to crush the rebellion. The March 19 *Daily World*, newspaper of the CPUSA, printed an article by William Pomeroy that went so far as to suggest that perhaps the shah was turning into a progressive ruler.

"Behind the settlement with Iraq," Pomeroy said, "lies an important shift of policy by Iran, a nation which, with the encouragement of U.S. imperialism in particular, had been inclined to seek an overlord role in the Middle East. It had close ties with Israel and unfriendly relations with the Arab states. The October War in 1973, however, and the consequent 'energy crisis' that brought deep contradictions between U.S. imperialism and the oil-producing states has altered the Shah's outlook."

Unfortunately, the Stalinists have not been alone in denouncing the Kurdish struggle, and the confirmation that the Kurds obtained arms from Washington will no doubt be seized on as justification for this attitude.

However, the fact remains that the Kurdish struggle is a legitimate expression of the demand of an oppressed nationality for self-determination. As

such it deserves the unconditional support of all revolutionists.

There is nothing new in national liberation movements turning to one or another imperialist power for material support. The Irish revolutionists, who led the famous Easter Rebellion of 1916, for example, turned to Germany for aid. A German submarine loaded with arms was sent, but was captured by the British. Had the arms arrived safely, would this have justified the dismissal of the Irish liberation struggle as a German imperialist plot?

A similar example was the struggle of the Arab people for independence from the Ottoman Empire during World War I. A massive Arab rebellion was encouraged by British agent T.E. Lawrence ("Lawrence of Arabia"), and armed by British imperialism. Was the demand of the Arab masses for independence and their rebellion against the Ottoman Empire therefore a British plot, not deserving of support?

Unconditional Support

The answer of revolutionary socialists is that the right of self-determination is an inviolable principle, and peoples denied this right by an oppressor nation are justified in fighting for it by any means necessary. This includes the right to take advantage of whatever contradictions may exist among the world powers and to accept arms from any source that will supply them.

The question of who is leading the struggle, or of what other forces may seek to reap profit from it, is secondary to the main principle.

Support to a national liberation struggle means in essence support to the right of a people to establish its own state and choose its own leadership. No socialist would dream of questioning the right of the masses in an imperialist country to vote for the policies and the leaders of their choice, even if they disagreed with the result.

Thus, in the case of the Kurds, there are really only two questions that need be asked to determine what attitude to take toward their struggle:

Are they a nation?

Are they fighting against oppression?

Why the Kurds Fought

Not even the Iraqi government disputes the fact that the Kurds are a

distinct people. They have their own language, culture, and history, and a long record of struggle around nationalist demands. Furthermore, the regime in Baghdad admits that the Kurds faced persecution under its predecessors, but argues that all this has now changed. The Iraqi Baathists point to the "Law for Autonomy in the Area of Kurdistan," a decree issued by the government in March 1974, as proof that the Kurds are no longer oppressed.

This "autonomy" law is a cynical fraud. There are no elections in Iraq under the Baathist regime and in keeping with this reality the Legislative Council for Kurdistan set up by the autonomy law is appointed by the central government. Furthermore, written into the law is the provision that any law passed by the Kurdish regional government can be vetoed by a special committee appointed by the central government.

Against the phony autonomy law, it is necessary to weigh the systematic discrimination against the Kurds in the following areas:

- Economic development. Only 3 percent of Iraqi industries are located in Kurdish areas. Only one of the twenty-five members of the Economic Planning Board is a Kurd. Iron and steel plants have been built in Basra, although the raw material comes from Kurdistan. Similarly, while denying that Kirkuk, Khanaqin, and similar oil-rich areas are Kurdish, the Baathist regime admitted this in fact by refusing to construct oil refineries in these areas.

The Kurds amount to 20 or 25 percent of Iraq's population, but only 7 to 12 percent of the national budget is spent in the Kurdish areas.

- Employment and education. For the last ten years no Kurds have been allowed to enter the Air Force College. Medical, dentistry, agricultural, and engineering colleges discriminate heavily against Kurds. Only 7 percent of all university students in Iraq come from the Kurdish areas, and the percentage of Kurds in secondary schools is half that of Arabs.

- Language and culture. The Iraqi Ministry of Information published more than 100 books in 1972, but not one of them was in Kurdish, or about the Kurds or Kurdistan. There are few

Continued on page 22



Does nationalist leader Barzani's (center) acceptance of CIA-supplied arms brand Kurdish liberation struggle 'reactionary'?

New Zealand: 10,000 march for Maori land rights

By George Fyson

WELLINGTON—About 10,000 Maoris gathered in Parliament grounds here October 13. The demonstration concluded a historic march for land rights that began one month earlier when several dozen marchers set out from Te Hapua, at the northern tip of the North Island, 700 miles away. Tens of thousands of Maoris in total participated in the march at some stage.

The march, which passed through the central city streets of Wellington before reaching Parliament, was made up almost entirely of Maoris. Many had walked off jobs. Construction sites were silent with the workers all out on the march; truck drivers left their vehicles beside the road to join in.

The marchers sang and chanted traditional Maori verses, as well as the

song specially written for the land march by its central leader, eighty-two-year-old Whina Cooper.

The Wellington demonstration, one of the largest ever seen in the capital city, presented the demand that all legislation having the power to "take Maori land, alienate Maori land, designate Maori land, or confiscate Maori land" be repealed, and that this should be reversible only by a national referendum of Maoris.

Today Maoris own less than four million acres of land, out of New Zealand's total sixty-six million acres. Most of this land was taken in the second half of the nineteenth century following a series of resistance wars in which many Maori tribes united under an elected king against the British colonists.

The majority of Maoris now live in the cities, forming an important section of the industrial working class. They number about 9 percent of New Zealand's population of three million.

The current Labour government, elected in 1972 with strong Maori support, took steps to slow down the process of dispossessing Maoris of their land. But it was its failure to put a halt to the land loss that prompted the Maori march.

The march arrived in Wellington at the close of the parliamentary session and just as the general election campaign is beginning. The power and the united character of this action have forced both government and opposition politicians to take far more serious notice of Maori demands. One sign of this is the recent announcement by the opposition National (conservative)

party that they would amend certain laws, such as parts of the Town and Country Planning Act, under which Maori land has been taken.

As well as forcing the government onto the defensive, the march has had a big impact on the Maori community. When the march began, Syd Jackson, a leader of the Maori radical group Nga Tamatoa (Young Warriors), said, "This is the beginning of a new type of politics. . . . Even if only two people make it to Wellington it will be an achievement because it has taken us 135 years to get that far."

The way in which support for the Maori land march snowballed as it traversed the North Island indicates that a "new type of politics" can indeed be expected in the Maori community.

...India

Continued from page 19

trade gap resulted in a massive balance-of-payments deficit at the end of fiscal year 1974-75, which was financed by external assistance and drawings on the International Monetary Fund.

This large inflow of external assistance has undoubtedly contributed to helping the economy. In fact the Reserve Bank's report observed that without it the regime's fiscal and monetary policies "would have been much less effective."

It is not without reason, therefore, that the lead article of the September 15 *Economic Times* warned: "What ultimately matters is whether inflation in India is controlled—not just cyclically moderated, but permanently ex-

pelled from India's political economy."

The Reserve Bank and the Finance Ministry have claimed progress in returning the economy to normal. But certain recessionary trends have been pointed to by leading business executives and industrialists.

A September 24 *Economic Times* editorial entitled "Is recession on?" reported that there is a glut of cement, paper, steel, tyres, and a range of other products. The textile industry is swamped with unsold stock. Many engineering units are in the same position. Some steel plants have already closed down.

An *Economic Times* study of business inventories covering 290 companies showed that as a percentage of net sales inventories had increased by as much as 32.2% in 1973-74 and 34% in 1974-75. The latest data suggest that the figure has since gone up.

A lead article in the September 20 *Times of India* pointed out that the acute shortage of aluminum has turned into a large surplus. Black-market premiums on a wide range of goods have disappeared. The article

also reported that the manufacturers of consumer durables are in dire straits, the building trade has come to a virtual standstill, and space in railway wagons is to be had for the asking.

It is thought that this decline in demand is a result of the drive to suppress dealings in "black money." But the *Times of India* article correctly pointed out that at best this would explain only the slump in the demand for consumer durables and to a lesser extent in the building industry. It cannot account for the lack of market for textiles, steel, cement, aluminum, tyres, and chemicals, all of which are industrial goods. Thus the editors of the *Times of India* warned September 20: "The Government cannot therefore ignore any longer the danger of a recession."

The editors of the *Economic Times* noted with satisfaction September 16 that the climate for production had improved with the restoration of "industrial peace." It is true so far as workers are concerned that economic struggles have almost come to a standstill. This is the major "achieve-

ment" of the emergency in the economic field.

The industrialists have not, of course, observed any truce. An official statement issued September 25 said: "The Government has noticed with concern that despite assurances given to the Government by the leaders of industry, instances of lay-off, retrenchment and even closures are being increasingly reported. Some of these relate to fairly large industrial establishments including units of multinational companies."

The regime has announced that it will introduce legislation to prevent unjustified lay-offs, retrenchment, and closures in certain classes of establishments. That this pledge may be regarded with some skepticism was indicated at the end of September when Gandhi slashed the minimum bonus of the workers in the organized sector from 8.33% to 4%.

In announcing this measure, she asked the workers in the organized sector to "appreciate" the overall economic difficulties that made the cut "necessary."

...Kurds

Continued from preceding page

television programs in Kurdish, and there are no plans to build new radio or TV stations in Kurdish areas.

It is these conditions that have produced Kurdish rebellions.

The fact that Washington sent arms to the Kurds is worth considering from another angle as well. When a government chooses to supply arms to one side in a war, it is a natural assumption that it is interested in seeing the side it is supplying win. However, that is not always the case.

Iran and Turkey are Washington's only allies bordering the Soviet Union's southern boundary. Both of them have considerably larger Kurdish minorities than does Iraq, and both of them have suppressed Kurdish nationalist movements in the past. An independent Kurdistan, or even the success of the Kurds in winning autonomy within the Iraqi state, would threaten the equilibrium of both the Iranian and Turkish regimes.

The shah alluded to this danger in the interview cited above. Washington

was also well aware of this, and it had no desire to upset the status quo among its own allies. Its aim was simply to maintain the Kurdish rebellion as an ongoing internal problem for the Iraqi regime, while not giving the Kurds enough aid to attain their objectives. This plan had to be abandoned when the shah decided he had more to gain from a deal with Baghdad than by backing the Kurds.

There are numerous precedents for double games of this type. Both the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies gave limited arms aid to the Vietnamese freedom fighters while attempting to hold them back from an outright victory. However, thanks in part to the international campaign of solidarity with the Vietnamese freedom struggle, things worked out considerably better for them than for the Kurds.

Since the recent defeat of the Kurds (see *Intercontinental Press*, March 24, p. 392), Washington gave the blade in their back another twist. Quoting "an unimpeachable source," *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Dana Adams Schmidt reported November 3 that Mustafa al-Barzani, the Kurdish leader, had secretly been brought to the United States by the CIA, which arranged a medical checkup for him.

Schmidt's source revealed that while Barzani was in the United States he

learned "that the Iranian Government has decided to send back to Iraq by Dec. 10 most of about 80,000 of the Kurdish refugees still in Iran. Many of those who are being sent back are going unwillingly, he said."

Barzani may have been tempted to

protest, but the CIA made sure that he "was kept in total isolation." Barzani also "asked to stay [in the United States] longer but was told he must return to Iran. He asked if he could go instead to Switzerland or Sweden but was told he must go first to Iran."

Of Special Interest

Two Views on Portugal

In Defense of Portuguese Revolution

By Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, and Ernest Mandel

For Correct Political Course in Portugal

By Gerry Foley, Joseph Hansen, and George Novack

In the September 8 and October 13 issues of *Intercontinental Press*. Send \$1.50 for both numbers. The address is Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, New York 10014.

By Dick Roberts

One thing Richard Nixon did not promise to do when he launched the "New Economic Policy" four years ago was to end unemployment. Since the Kennedy administration in the early 1960s, the federal government has abandoned any pretense of being able to provide jobs for all workers.

Kennedy's economic advisers considered "full employment" to be about 3 percent unemployment. The level rose to 4 percent unemployment in the Johnson administration and 5 percent in the Nixon administration. It is higher today.

A look at trends in unemployment will help to summarize the *Militant's* balance sheet on four years of NEP. It will also help to explain recent data that surprised economic analysts in Washington. For in October the official unemployment level jumped to 8.6 percent from 8.3 percent, after declining for the previous four months. This rise in joblessness seemed to cut across the belief that economic recovery is finally under way after two years of depression.

In August 1971 when Nixon announced NEP, the country was in a recession. There were 5,114,000 workers officially unemployed, 6.1 percent of the labor force. The official unemployment figures, however, do not count people who have given up looking for jobs, nor do they count people working part-time who would prefer full-time jobs.

This rate hovered around the August 1971 level for a full year after NEP began. Wages were frozen. Prices, supposedly frozen, began to rise. The way was open for higher corporate profits, and production began to increase.

By November 1972 the unemployment level fell significantly below five million for the first time since NEP, to 4,498,000 persons officially jobless, 5.2 percent.

It was still six months later, in May 1973, before unemployment fell below 5 percent. And unemployment remained below 5 percent for eight months, through December 1973.

Permanent unemployment

Thus there have only been eight months in the past four years when U.S. unemployment has been below 5 percent. It reached its lowest level in October 1973, with 4,100,000 workers still jobless.

May 1973 was the month of the massive supermarket picket lines and meat boycott. Prices had begun zooming upwards. The same eight-month period that saw the fullest employment also saw the sharpest price increases in food. They were immediately followed by soaring energy prices and industry once again began to slow down. For nineteen grueling months, from November 1973 through May 1975, unemployment increased. By last May it had risen to 8,538,000 officially jobless, a rate of 9.2 percent.

These figures emphasize that no matter whether the economy is up or down there are millions of jobless Americans. Furthermore, in each "boom," the low point of unemployment moves higher.

Rising overall unemployment is inherent in the imperialists' drive to increase U.S. productivity in world trade. On the one hand they try to increase profit margins by retarding wage increases. On the other hand they try to speed up production, to "rationalize" industry, in order to produce more goods with fewer workers.

In each economic upturn there are fewer new jobs created. Under the racist and sexist conditions of U.S. capitalism, minority populations and women—swept into the labor force during the long postwar expansion—are increasingly shoved back out of the production process.

U.S. monopoly *can* reach the point where it does increase production and profits. But the way to this point is paved with massive unemployment, wage controls, and international trade and financial warfare.

Economic "recovery" is founded on higher and higher unemployment.

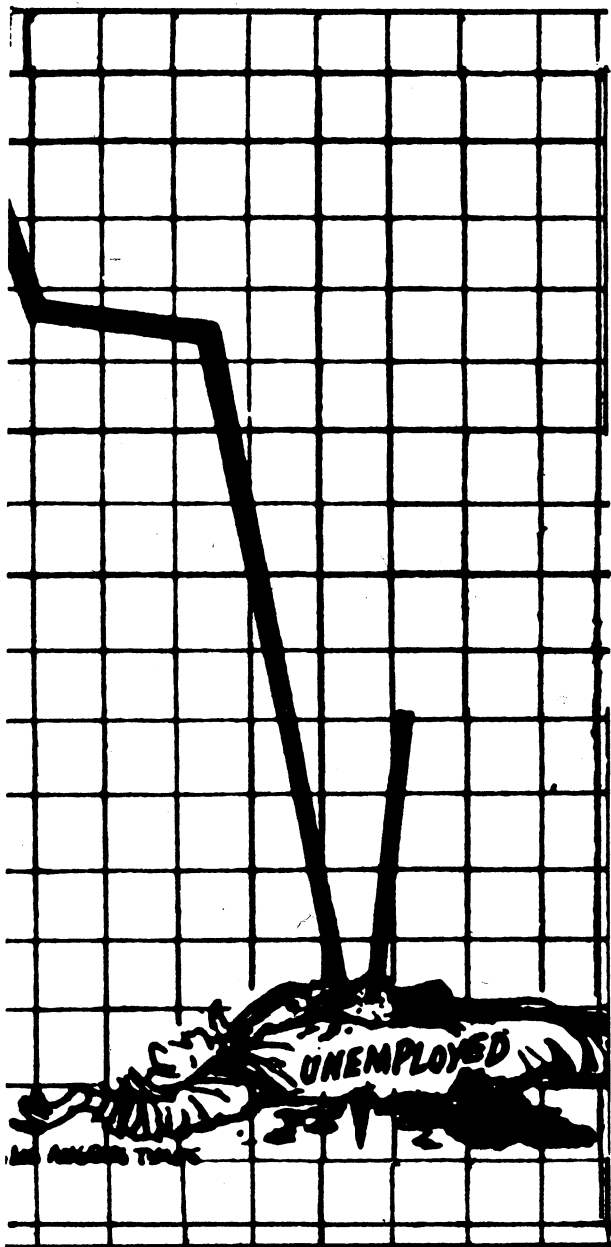
Permanent inflation

The policies of the ruling class are not aimed at ending inflation either. Nixon pretended that NEP would control prices. The Ford administration also pretends that inflation is its main economic concern.

But the Ford administration is planning an \$80 billion deficit for fiscal year 1976—*forty times* higher than the projected deficit for New York in the same period.

The gigantic, ever-increasing U.S. military budget, eating up more than \$100 billion every year, necessitates gigantic federal deficits. When the economy is not functioning at full industrial capacity, when there is high unemployment and when corporate sales are off, federal tax payments are lower.

Nixon's NEP: balance sheet for workers



But the Pentagon budget is higher. Washington fills in the gap between tax receipts and military expenditures with inflationary deficits. These increase the money circulating in the economy, so that when there is even a slight upturn in sales, the monopolists begin to raise prices.

The October figures for wholesale prices underlined this side of the economy. Last month wholesale prices jumped 1.8 percent, the highest in the year, more than doubling the 6 percent annual rate of May-June 1975.

Washington's economic policy is aimed at strengthening its position in international competition *without incurring politically intolerable rates of unemployment or inflation.*

It can get rid of neither of them. In fact, the very aim of remaining top dog in the imperialist camp requires both:

- Unemployment, because the low wages and high productivity it fosters are the keys to success in world markets.

- Inflation, above all, in order to finance the international police force that protects U.S. goods and investments in world markets.

This explosive contradiction of the world economy was dramatized by the "energy crisis." The U.S. imperialists willingly helped to drive up world oil prices in order to make profitable the search for alternative energy sources to Middle East oil, intensifying world inflation.

But higher energy prices played a major role in undermining the world economic upturn of 1972-73 and bringing about the global unemployment of the past two years.

Economic instability

Undoubtedly the most important lesson of the economic developments since 1971 when Nixon froze wages is that Washington could not solve any of the problems facing U.S. capitalism except by intensifying the attack on workers.

Sharpened international competition has brought more massive unemployment and more explosive inflation. It has increased the special exploitation of women and of oppressed national minorities in the population.

"Prospects for Socialism in America," the 1975 political resolution of the Socialist Workers party, published in the *Militant* November 7, drew out important consequences of this process:

"Today growing numbers of American workers sense that they are faced not with just a temporary economic depression, as serious as that may be, but with a more enduring *social* crisis that is worldwide. . . .

"They are beginning to sense that the economic problems they face are much greater than before, that the prolonged period of relative prosperity has definitely come to an end; and while the period now opening may have its ups, the ups won't be high or last long and the downs will be really deep and long.

"The forebodings of the workers are accurate. We face a period in which stagnation will predominate over boom and in which the employers will seek to tighten their control over job conditions, speed of the line, health and safety conditions, the organization of the work.

"Combinations of breakdowns and shortages, slumps and inflation, speedup and degradation of labor, new wars—that is what American capitalism promises for the future."

The "New Economic Policy" was launched with considerable fanfare. Its architects promised that the sacrifices asked of workers would improve the situation for all Americans in the long run.

The opposite happened. Every step taken to improve the profitability of U.S. monopoly was a blow against workers, not only here but also abroad. Every month of NEP has added new arguments for seeking a socialist solution to the crisis facing capitalist America.

Further reading

Bourgeois politicians and economists boasted of taming the periodic crises of capitalism through manipulation of fiscal and monetary policy, as prescribed by Keynes. But the miracle cure backfired, leading to the rampant inflation and mass unemployment of the 1970s. Dick Roberts explains why Keynesianism could not overcome the contradictions of the profit system.

Capitalism in Crisis

By Dick Roberts 128 pp., cloth \$6, paper \$1.95
Order from Pathfinder Press,
410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Interview with Stanton Story

Black frame-up victim appeals for retrial

By Stephanie Brooks

PITTSBURGH—Six miles out of downtown Pittsburgh looms the imposing structure of the state prison for men, Western Penitentiary.

Mark Satinoff from the Student Coalition Against Racism and I entered the prison gate. We gave a guard the number of the prisoner we had come to visit—P-1050. "Oh, you're here for Stanton Story," he said.

All of the guards know who Story is. In fact, Stanton Story has become somewhat of a household word in Pittsburgh because of the vicious frame-up drive that convicted him of the shooting death of a Pittsburgh cop. A short while later we were seated with Stanton in the prison's visiting room. Despite the death sentence hanging over his head, Story talked with energy and optimism about his appeal.

On July 3, 1974, Pittsburgh cop Patrick Wallace was shot to death. The only witness to the shooting was Wallace's patrol partner, who fingered Story, a prisoner who had overextended his weekend furlough, as one of the killers.

The entire police force was mobilized in a frenzied manhunt for Story. Sporting black armbands and driving cars decked with black mourning stripes, the police rampaged through the Black neighborhood of Lemington Heights, near where the shooting occurred.

Newspapers and television painted Story as a dangerous murderer on the loose. Grocery stores and cigarette



Pittsburgh picket line to support Stanton Story. 'A big defense effort is necessary, like the one for Joanne Little.'

shops throughout the city displayed collection cans for Wallace's widow.

This was the atmosphere in which Story was arrested last September, tried, and convicted of first-degree murder. He became the first person sentenced to death in Pennsylvania since capital punishment was reintroduced in the state two years ago.

According to Story, he was not even in the state at the time of the cop's shooting, but was in North Carolina.

We asked him to explain the basis

for the appeal and his request for a new trial.

"Well, first of all, everybody on the jury was in favor of the death penalty. Anybody against the death penalty was automatically excused from jury duty. It was a pro-death jury," Story said.

"Secondly, the jury was all-white. It was not a jury of my peers.

"Thirdly, the mayor's cousin and people related to local police officers were allowed to sit on the jury."

Illegal evidence was admitted at the trial, such as an unsigned confession that Story denied writing.

And to top it off, the judge "forgot" to instruct the jury that they could find Story "not guilty" as well as "guilty."

How is Story treated at the prison? He is housed in A-Range, a block of isolated cells supposedly for inmates who have broken prison regulations.

"There is no reason for me to be on A-Range," Story said. "I haven't broken any rules. Everyone knows me here. They don't want any people respected as leaders in the prison population.

"On A-Range, the cells are so small you can touch both walls at the same time. I used to be under twenty-four-hour-a-day lockup, but I threatened to sue the prison. Now I get two hours of exercise in a yard about twice a week. I have no access to the gym. I get one shower a week, maybe.

"The main thing is that I can't get to the library, to those law books."

Story is a Muslim, a member of the Nation of Islam. "At first they

wouldn't let me go to temple services," he said. "But the Nation put some pressure on them. They've started letting me go. I still can't eat most of the food they serve here."

A decision in the first round of the appeal is expected by January. Through efforts of Story's sister and mother, Jerry Paul, one of Joanne Little's attorneys, has agreed to work on the case with Story's attorney Paul Gettleman.

The National Student Coalition Against Racism has pledged to aid the defense campaign. And the Stanton Story Defense Committee was recently endorsed by Dick Gregory and Anne Braden.

"A big defense effort is necessary like the one for Joanne Little," Story told us. "You need to have experts who can detect biased jurors. With present-day jury selection, nobody can get a fair trial.

"But more important, you need the people's support.

"What impresses me about SCAR," he continued, "is that it takes ten times as much courage as a few years ago to stand up to racism. Because in this day and time, the political machinery of this country and the media are turning people away from the struggle.

"It's harder to get people to turn out. There have been a lot of accomplishments in the past, but people don't recognize them. We need to get people aware of what's happening. We need to get them to come out for what they believe. I feel optimistic that we can win this."

Socialist teams publicize December convention

By Brian Williams

"It's great to see the YSA back on campus again. You're just what we need," said one student, as he passed the big "Join the Young Socialist Alliance" banner behind the group's literature table at Arizona State University in Tempe.

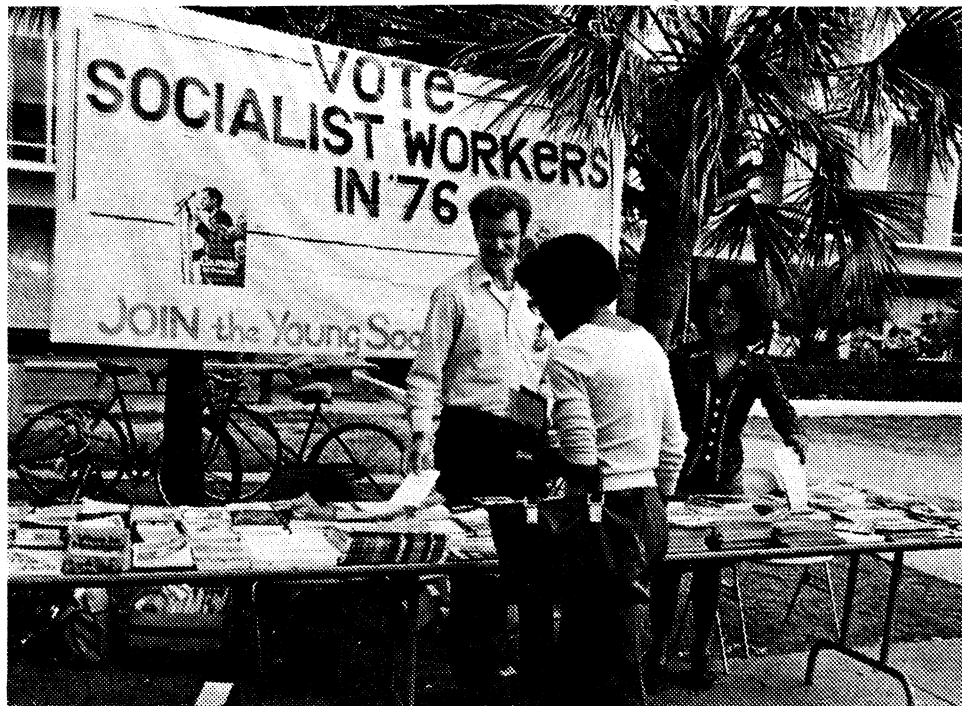
Tempe was one of more than 100 campuses visited by seventeen traveling YSA teams this fall. These teams were on the road eight weeks, touring campuses from Pullman, Washington, to Tampa, Florida. They found that students are concerned about many of the same problems facing all Americans: rising costs, unemployment, racism, cutbacks, and government attacks on democratic rights.

"Many of the students who we talked to were quite willing to accept the premise that socialism will be a far superior system to capitalism," explained Illinois team captain Marie Head. "What they have the most questions about, however, is whether socialism can be democratic—whether the repressive regime in the Soviet Union is synonymous with socialism."

Team members explained that the rise of the bureaucratized Stalin regime in the mid-1920s crushed workers' democracy in the Soviet Union. The YSA is fighting for a truly democratic society like that established during the early years after the Bolshevik revolution. The YSA actively defends Pyotr Grigorenko and other Soviet dissidents whom the Kremlin tries to silence through confinement and intimidation.

This fall the traveling teams convinced more than 100 students to join the YSA and helped to set up twelve new chapters.

"Students were anxious to read literature on a whole multitude of topics, ranging from introductory pamphlets on socialism to books by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky," explained Marty Pettit of the Michigan-Indiana team.



YSA teams found students anxious to read socialist literature

Altogether the teams sold more than \$5,000 worth of socialist literature, especially books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder Press on the Black struggle, feminism, the labor movement, and socialism.

The teams sold 10,000 copies of the *Militant* and 8,500 copies of the monthly *Young Socialist* newspaper. They also signed up 1,400 new subscribers to the *Militant* and 950 to the *Young Socialist*.

The Ohio-Kentucky team threw itself into the thick of the desegregation struggle during its visit to Louisville, Kentucky. The team worked with the Louisville Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR) and other local groups to publicize a demonstration in defense of the city's court-ordered busing plan.

The Texas team spent nearly two weeks in Dallas helping to publicize a November 22 community speak-out on desegregation sponsored by the local

SCAR chapter, the Dallas NAACP, and others.

In Massachusetts, the New England team found great concern on the state college and university campuses about education cutbacks and scheduled tuition hikes. They helped spread the word about an October statewide anticutbacks demonstration in Boston that drew 2,000 students.

The teams also won hundreds of backers for the 1976 Socialist Workers party ticket of Peter Camejo for president and Willie Mae Reid for vice-president. In Eau Claire, Wisconsin, team members organized a successful debate on the topic "The role of the Democratic party in changing society," with a professor who is a supporter of Democratic presidential hopeful Fred Harris.

Eau Claire is a stronghold of support for Harris, who is vying energetically for the student vote this year. As a

result of the debate, several Harris supporters became interested in the SWP campaign. They bought *Militant* and *Young Socialist* subscriptions and are now planning to attend the YSA national convention. The convention will be held December 28-January 1 at the Milwaukee campus of the University of Wisconsin.

In all, twenty-three people joined the YSA as a result of the activity of the Wisconsin team. The reaction of the student body president at the University of Wisconsin in Oshkosh summed up the impact of the YSA teams.

"I don't know how you people do it," he said. "You've only been here three days, but you've really turned this campus around. How can we get a YSA started here?"

As the government axes funds for education and the racists step up their drive against Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican rights, more and more students will be asking the same question. Those that come to the YSA's December convention in Milwaukee will find some good answers.

At the convention young people from across the country will discuss how to fight back against education cutbacks and racist attacks on school desegregation. There will be panels and workshops on the campaign to pass the Equal Rights Amendment, support to the United Farm Workers, high school rights, and many other struggles.

Convention participants will hear a special presentation on revolutionary developments in Portugal, and they will take part in a program celebrating the YSA's fifteenth anniversary. In addition, there will be a campaign rally featuring Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid.

People interested in attending the convention should write: YSA, Post Office Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003; or contact the YSA chapter nearest them by consulting the Socialist Directory on page 26.

'Militant' to the rescue at cutback protest

By Pat Galligan

On November 17, 2,000 students demonstrated in New York City to protest cutbacks in education. When there weren't enough signs to go around, a number of students found a good substitute. They held up copies of the November 21 *Militant*. The headline, "Stop the cutbacks! Students: 'March on D.C. Nov. 19,'" aptly expressed the sentiments of the crowd.

A total of 150 *Militants* were sold to demonstrators and onlookers. Fifteen hundred copies of "Why working people should not pay," the platform of the Socialist Workers 1976 New York campaign (reprinted from the October 31 *Militant*) were distributed—many of

these by students who first saw the platform at the demonstration and liked what it had to say.

Ron Wolin sold thirty *Militants* that day. "I had already sold twenty papers along the march route when the demonstration began," comments Wolin.

"I told people why students would be demonstrating and pointed out that the *Militant* explains the cutbacks," he continued.

"People were interested in reading the *Militant* to find out the issues behind the demonstration. They were impressed that the *Militant* proposed concrete solutions to the city crisis," he said.

Sales of the November 7 *Militant* (headline: "Unionists condemn anti-busing drive") totaled 5,712 in local areas. This is 76 percent of the national goal.

As of November 18, we have 4,400 new subscribers, 73 percent of our goal of 6,000 by November 30. We should have 4,750, or 79 percent, at this point in the drive.

The Socialist Workers party branch and local of the Young Socialist Alliance in Oakland/Berkeley surpassed their goal this week. They now have 183 subscriptions, or 105 percent of their 175 goal.

Of the 531 subscriptions received

this week, 83 were sent in by the nine YSA teams still on the road. The Michigan Indiana team finished their tour with a very successful week in Kalamazoo and Grand Rapids, Michigan, by selling 32 subscriptions. They also sold 194 single copies.

Houston socialists sent in 75 subscriptions, boosting their total to 170, or 85 percent of their goal of 200. Jane Strader, the YSA subscription drive director there, assures us that there are enough subscriptions in the mail to put them over the top.

Nationally, we need 1,600 more subscriptions to make the drive. On to 6,000 new subscribers!



'Militant' coverage of city crisis well received in New York

Militant/Brian Shannon

Sales scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold last week	%			
Bloomington, Ind.	125	140	112	Central-East L.A.	350	224 64
San Diego	200	222	111	St. Louis	300	191 64
Philadelphia	275	303	110	Detroit	375	231 62
Logan, Utah	25	27	108	Cleveland	200	121 61
San Jose	150	161	107	Baltimore	150	90 60
Newark	100	105	105	Oakland/Berkeley	350	200 57
Pittsburgh	275	282	103	Milwaukee	200	109 55
San Francisco	325	327	101	Twin Cities	300	162 54
South Side Chicago	250	250	100	West Side L.A.	300	161 54
Cincinnati	35	35	100	Lower East Side N.Y.	250	130 52
Santa Cruz, Calif.	20	20	100	Washington, D.C.	325	160 49
Norman, Okla.	9	9	100	Upper West Side N.Y.	325	156 48
West-North Chicago	250	242	97	Brooklyn, N.Y.	300	110 37
Lawrence, Kans.	20	19	95	Total	7,500	5,712 76
Seattle	275	245	89	YSA teams		
Corona, N.Y.	7	6	86	Michigan/Indiana	90	194 216
Houston	350	280	80	Ohio/Kentucky	90	91 101
Boston	300	240	80	Missouri/Kansas	60	60 100
Denver	275	218	79	Rocky Mountain	90	74 82
Atlanta	375	286	76	Northern Calif.	90	64 71
Santa Barbara, Calif.	25	18	72	Illinois	60	32 53
New Orleans	150	100	67	Louisiana	60	28 47
Portland, Ore.	200	132	66	Southeast	90	35 39
				Upper Midwest	90	16 18
				Total	720	594 83

...new upsurge in Portuguese revolution

Continued from back page

the government, which was the case until Azevedo took over from Gonçalves in September, the CP leadership used the same tactic, labeling strikes as counterrevolutionary plots.

Behind the Coup Charges

The same parallel holds true in relation to the mass demonstrations organized by the SP and CP. When the SP leaders called the masses into the streets against the Gonçalves government on July 19, concentrating on the legitimate resentment against the assaults on democratic rights being carried out by that regime in league with the CP, the Stalinists accused the SP leaders of planning a rightist coup. Actually, the SP leaders wanted to use the mass mobilization—which drew about 100,000 persons into the streets—only as leverage in their maneuvers over posts in the capitalist government.

Now, the roles are reversed. The SP's national secretariat described the November 16 demonstration as "clearly insurrectional in nature," according to a report in the November 16 *New York Times*. The SP claimed: "It is obvious that such a mobilization is aimed to block traffic in the city and cover up the assault of strategic positions of the state machinery."

But the real aim of the Stalinists had been stated the day before when the CP leadership demanded "a reinforcement of the [pro-CP] left in the political and military structure."

This was made even clearer on the November 16 demonstration, when the names of Vasco Gonçalves and Gen. Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho were chanted by the crowd. (Carvalho is the

figure in the ruling military council who has taken greatest pains to cultivate a left-wing image.)

The fact that both the SP and CP have proved successful in mobilizing huge antigovernment demonstrations, while neither has been able to do the same to support the capitalist regime of their choice, can lead to only one conclusion: The masses are not enthusiastic about any capitalist government.

Workers & Peasants Gov't

What the workers and peasants of Portugal need is a government of their own that will really represent their interests. The workers need a government that will place their needs before profits, and that will not try to solve the economic crisis by holding down wages. The peasants need a government that will give the land to those who till it, and that will provide them with loans, modern agricultural equipment, and new irrigation projects.

And both peasants and workers need a government that will provide full employment, decent medical care and housing, and educational and cultural opportunities for all.

The desire for such a government was expressed in April when the Portuguese masses gave an absolute majority to the CP and SP in the elections to the Constituent Assembly. However, the sectarian and opportunist squabbling of the two largest workers parties in Portugal over posts in a capitalist government has deeply divided the working class. It can only end by demoralizing it and opening the road to a victorious reaction.

The perspective of a workers and



Latest demonstration of Portuguese workers is largest since May 1, 1974, mass celebration of overthrow of Caetano dictatorship (above).

peasants government is one that could reinspire the Portuguese masses, unifying and mobilizing the majority behind it. An unelected capitalist regime that could not even hold a radio station would be in no position to stand up to the demand of the masses for a government that would really represent them.

The Stalinist and Social Democratic leaders know this. They refuse to break with the MFA and to move toward the formation of a CP-SP government because their whole perspective is to maintain capitalism, not to overthrow it. The task of revolutionists in Portugal is to win the majority from the reformist leadership of the CP and SP. And this can only be done by exposing them to their followers, who believe their socialist rhetoric is really sincere.

The cutting edge of the call for a CP-SP government is that it would require a break with *all* the representatives of Portuguese capitalism, above all with the military hierarchy that is currently calling the tune. This demand would gain vast popularity if it were raised as part of a consistent campaign, including calls for joint CP-SP actions to defend the democratic rights and economic interests of the workers, soldiers, and peasants. Eventually, the big workers parties would have to respond or else risk losing mass influence to the revolutionary groups carrying out such a campaign.

The rising sentiment against Azevedo, reflected in the November 16 demonstration in Lisbon, shows once again the desire of the masses for a government representing their class interests, not a seventh provisional government of Portuguese capital.

Calendar

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

YOU ARE ON INDIAN LAND. Film and discussion. Speaker: Julie Christensen, chairperson, United People for Wounded Knee. Fri., Nov. 28, 8 p.m. 4040 W. Washington Blvd. (at Washington Square Shopping Center). Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

NEW ORLEANS

PROSPECTS FOR SOCIALISM. An educational weekend. Fri., Nov. 28, 7:30 p.m.: **Portugal at the Crossroads.** Speaker: Barry Sheppard, SWP national organization secretary. Sat., Nov. 29, 11:30 a.m.: **The Role of the Revolutionary Party.** Speaker: Harry Ring, Militant Southwest Bureau chief. 2:30 p.m.: **Socialism and Individuality.** Speaker: Harry Ring. 1540 Phillip. Donation: \$3.50—all sessions; \$1.25—per session. Ausp: YSA and SWP. For more information call (504) 522-6775.

TWIN CITIES

CIVIL LIBERTIES SPEAK-OUT. Speakers: William Kunstler, attorney; Vernon Bellecourt, American Indian Movement; Prof. August Nimtz, Political Rights Defense Fund. Mon., Nov. 24, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. SE, Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

UPPER MIDWEST SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND. Fri., Nov. 28, 8:00 p.m.: **Feminism and Socialism.** Speaker: Linda Jenness, 1972 SWP presidential candidate. Sat. Nov. 29, 12:30 p.m.: **Socialism and Democracy.** Mary Nell Bockman, YSA. 2:30 p.m.: **Portugal in Revolt.** Speaker: Mary Hillery, 1975 SWP candidate for mayor of Minneapolis. 8:00 p.m.: **The Economic Crisis and Defense of Affirmative Action.** Speaker: Linda Jenness. 25 University Ave. SE, Mpls. Donation: \$3.50—entire weekend; \$1.50—Fri. only; \$1—each Sat. session. Ausp: YSA and SWP. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

... 'bailout'

Continued from page 4

The November 18 *New York Times* observed, however, that "under the revised bill, such renegotiations are still required, but would be carried out by the State Emergency Financial Control Board, which already has authority over city spending."

Thus the labor federation gave backhanded approval to the coming attempts to lower wages and pensions in New York.

The union bureaucrats in New York and nationally may be under the illusion that their acceptance of the latest plan will appease the politicians, that now the worst is over.

Nothing could be further from the

truth. This "bailout" solves none of the problems of New York workers. And the lack of resistance from the unions will only encourage the businessmen and bankers to press on for more.

The *New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal*, two leading voices of the nation's rulers, pointed the way in November 17 editorials endorsing the Carey plan.

The new taxes, the *Times* said, "cannot substitute for drastic new spending cuts. . . . the major emphasis now, and in the foreseeable future, must be on cutting governmental expenditures. . . ."

The *Journal* complained of "suspect expenditures" about which "little has been done": "The city university still offers free tuition. There is still an extensive municipal hospitals operation in the face of a surplus of hospital beds. There has been no adjustment of the city's outsized pensions. Nothing has been done about rent control. . . ."

This is a checklist of attacks yet to come. It is a warning of the abyss into which the union officials' pro-Democratic party policies are leading.

...Australia

Continued from page 8

question of a Labor Government appearing to fall, my concern is about the future of this country. What has happened today could unleash forces in this country the like of which we have never seen.

However, if Australian working people obey Whitlam and Hawke's orders to sit tight until December 13, they could lose out then as well. Labor is already suffering from capitalist control of the press, radio, and television. It was revealed that the L-NCP had paid \$1 million (US\$1.27 million) to buy all the available prime TV advertising time so that none was available to Labor.

The initial reaction of the bourgeoisie in Australia and abroad to Whitlam's dismissal was unmasked glee. Business executives in Sydney toasted each other with champagne.

After the euphoria died down, however, some of the more far-sighted sectors of the bourgeoisie began voicing fears about the possible dangerous consequences for them of the governor general's action.

One result is that whereas a few months ago Whitlam would probably have been trounced in any election, Labor is now said to stand a good chance of being returned. A new Labor government, moreover, would have a politically aroused popular sentiment behind it, making it harder for the reformist Labor leaders to betray working-class interests.

Another consequence of the governor general's action the ruling class fears is the radicalization of the working class it is provoking—"bitter class hatred" in the words of the London *Daily Telegraph*. Many workers will no doubt look for solutions beyond the confines of reformism and parliamentary politics.

An editorial in the November 13 *Christian Science Monitor*, a newspaper whose views frequently reflect thinking in the U.S. State Department, expressed the fear that "if the bitter outbreak of strikes and demonstrations against the Whitlam ouster continues in Australia, the flow of resources to the United States and other countries could suffer."

Controversy understandably continues over such a dramatic sequence of events, the editors said.

But all friends of Australia must hope and pray—the word is not too strong in the current turbulence—that bitterness will be muted. That Bob Hawke, president of the Australian Labor Party and head of the Council of Trade Unions, is listened to when he asks that demonstrations be kept peaceful.

Despite the prayers of the bourgeoisie, demonstrations continued to take place in all the main cities.

On November 12, 3,000 dock workers and students marched on the Sydney stock exchange. In Melbourne 2,000 demonstrators rallied in the City Square, and 1,000 staged a sit-down protest, blocking one of the main streets. In Brisbane 5,000 workers and students held a city rally, and 2,000 unionists marched down the main street to the state Liberal party headquarters. Two demonstrations took place in Adelaide, while in Canberra 3,000 persons rallied outside Parliament House. In Darwin, 500 workers marched on the Legislative Assembly.

Demonstrations took place in the capital cities November 13 as well.

After his dismissal, Whitlam recalled the 200-year-old British precedent but

made no mention of a case closer to home. In 1932 in the midst of the depression, the Labor premier of the state of New South Wales, Jack Lang, was dismissed by the state governor. Lang had suspended interest payments on the state's debt to bondholders in London.

A huge upsurge by the Labor movement protested Lang's dismissal, but Lang, demagogic Social Democrat that he was, provided no leadership. A quarter of a million workers attended an election rally for Lang in Moore Park, Sydney, demanding action. Lang betrayed them, however, and refused to conduct a militant fight. He was soundly defeated at the polls.

Perhaps Whitlam's reticence on this precedent was because he was aware of the lessons but refused to draw them: For the workers to win in a struggle like this, they and their allies must take to the streets; if they do not, it even lessens Labor's chances at the polls.

...NCLC

Continued from page 14

for a Democratic Society in the late 1960s. Organized as a cult around LaRouche, it evolved steadily to the right. Today, it has been transformed into an organization with many of the characteristics of a fascist outfit.

Its paper is filled with racist language and ideas. It has directed its "mop-ups" at the union movement as well as radical groups. It views local cops as "taking the lead" in the fight against "an attempted fascist takeover."

The NCLC has extensive financial resources. Its operations have been extended to many countries in Europe as well as Mexico. It publishes *New Solidarity* twice a week. And, according to a reporter from the *Wall Street Journal* who visited the NCLC headquarters in a Manhattan office building, there were 100 or more people working in the office.

The threatened violence by this organization needs to be taken seriously by unions, Black organizations, socialists, and everyone who supports democratic rights. A united effort is needed to stop this right-wing outfit from carrying out its threats.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Tucson: YSA, SUPO Box 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720. Tel: (602) 881-0712.

CALIFORNIA: Long Beach: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, CSU, 6101 E. 7th St., Long Beach, Calif. 90807.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: SWP, Militant Bookstore—(213) 483-1512; YSA—(213) 483-2581.

Los Angeles, West Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4040 W. Washington Blvd. Suite 11 (at Washington Square Shopping Center), Los Angeles, Calif. 90018. Tel: (213) 732-8196.

Los Angeles: City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

Berkeley-Oakland: SWP, YSA, Granma Bookstore, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: SWP—(415) 431-8918; YSA—(415) 863-2285; Militant Books—(415) 864-9174.

San Jose: SWP and YSA, 123 S. 3rd St., Suite 220, San Jose, Calif. 95113. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: SWP—(303) 623-2825; YSA—(303) 893-8360.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Dave Bouffard, 754 El Rancho, Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St., NE, Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Chicago, South Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 1754 E. 55th St., Chicago, Ill. 60615. Tel: (312) 643-5520.

Chicago, West-North: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books,

428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737; YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

Chicago: City-wide SWP and YSA, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0748.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: YSA, 3138 Perkins Ct. #C, Indianapolis, Ind. 46203. Tel: (317) 783-6447.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, 3020 Iowa St., Apt. C-14, Lawrence, Kans. 66044. Tel: (913) 842-8658.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506. Tel: (606) 266-0536.

Louisville: YSA, Box 3593, Louisville, Ky. 40201.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, P.O. Box 51923, New Orleans, La. 70151. Tel: (504) 899-7684. YSA, P.O. Box 1330 U.N.O., New Orleans, La. 70122.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, P.O. Box 4314, Baltimore, Md. 21223. Tel: (301) 467-5509.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, c/o Mark Cerasoulou, 13 Hollister Apts., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, Militant Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050; YSA—(617) 482-8051; Viewpoint/New England and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Militant Books—(617) 338-8560.

Worcester: YSA, Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103, Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 663-8766.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, Militant Bookstore, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) 831-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, First Floor Student Offices, Union Bldg., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823. Tel: (517) 353-0660.

Kalamazoo: YSA, c/o Andy Robins or Dave Evans,

Box 125 Union Desk, Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, Mich. 49007.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, Box 51 Warriner Hall, Central Mich. Univ., Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48859.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. SE, Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Greg Oelke, 201 W. 38th St., Kansas City, Mo. 64111.

St. Louis: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4660 Maryland, Suite 12, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP and YSA, 11-A Central Ave. (Central and Broad Streets), Second Floor, Newark, N.J. 07102. Tel: (201) 624-7434.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Mary Ann Kellogg, 468 Madison Ave., Albany, N.Y. 12208. Tel: (518) 463-5330.

Binghamton: YSA, c/o Debbie Porder, 184 Corliss Ave., Johnson City, N.Y. 13790. Tel: (607) 729-3812.

Ithaca: YSA, c/o Doug Cooper, 105 Dryden Rd., Ithaca, N.Y. 14850. Tel: (607) 273-7625.

New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 136 Lawrence St. (at Willoughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

New York, Lower East Side: YSA and SWP, 221 E. 2nd St. (between Ave. B and Ave. C), New York, N.Y. 10009. Tel: (212) 260-6400.

New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 2726 Broadway (104th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

Ossining: YSA, c/o Scott Cooper, 127-1 S. Highland Ave., Ossining, N.Y. 10562.

NORTH CAROLINA: Greenville: YSA, P.O. Box 1693, Greenville, N.C. 27834. Tel: (919) 752-6439.

OHIO: Cincinnati: YSA, c/o Charles R. Mitts, 6830 Buckingham Pl., Cincinnati, Ohio 45227.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 2300 Payne, Cleveland, Ohio 44114. Tel: (216) 861-4166.

Columbus: YSA, Box 3343 Univ. Station (mailing address); 325 Ohio Union, Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 422-6287.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 3400 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

State College: YSA, c/o William Donovan, 260 Toftrees Ave. #320, State College, Pa. 16801. Tel: (814) 234-6655.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

Nashville: YSA, c/o Warren Duzak, 3523 Byron Ave., Nashville, Tenn. 37205. Tel: (615) 269-9455.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Student Activities, Texas Union South, Austin, Tex. 78712.

Dallas: YSA, c/o Steve Charles, 3420 Hidalgo #201, Dallas, Tex. 75220. Tel: (214) 352-6031.

Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Tex. 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o Dorothy Taylor, 317 W. Evergreen, Apt. 2, San Antonio, Tex. 78212. Tel: (512) 223-9802.

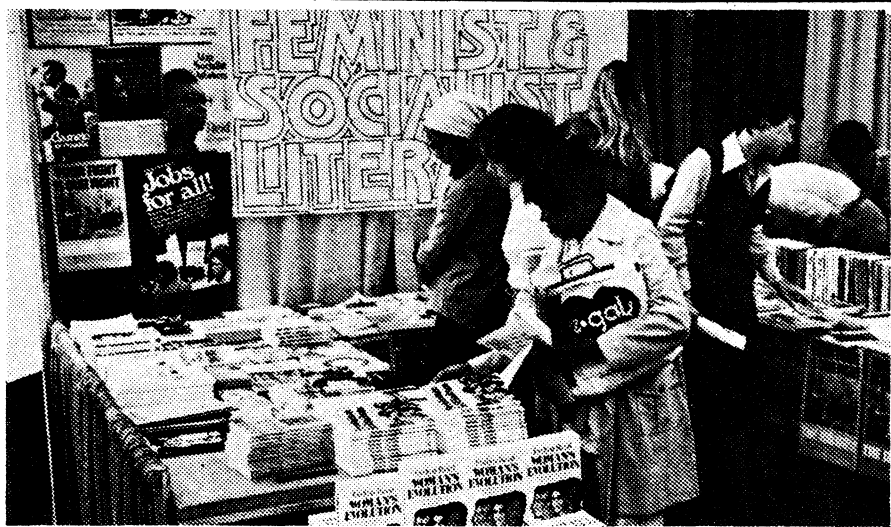
UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1345 E St. NW, Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5623 University Way NE, Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442, Madison, Wis. 53701. Tel: (608) 238-6224.

Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 207 E. Michigan Ave., Rm. 25, Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: SWP—(414) 289-9340; YSA—(414) 289-9380.



Issues facing women's movement

WHY WOMEN NEED THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

by Dianne Feeley. 16 pp., \$.35

WOMAN'S EVOLUTION, From Matriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Family by Evelyn Reed. 492 pp., cloth \$15; paper \$4.95

AN ANSWER TO THE NAKED APE And Other Books on Aggression by Evelyn Reed. 24 pp., \$.25

FEMINISM & SOCIALISM.

edited by Linda Jenness. Anthology. 160 pp., paper \$1.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Spread the word!

You can win new readers
for the Militant. . . .



. . . by taking a regular bundle and subscription cards to sell where you work, go to school, or where you live. Join other readers in the Militant's sales campaign!

Send me a weekly bundle of _____

I want to take a weekly sales goal of _____
(The cost is 17 cents per copy, and we will bill you at the end of each month.)

Send me a packet of prepaid subscription cards. Enclosed is:

_____ \$5 for 5 cards _____ \$10 for 11 cards

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

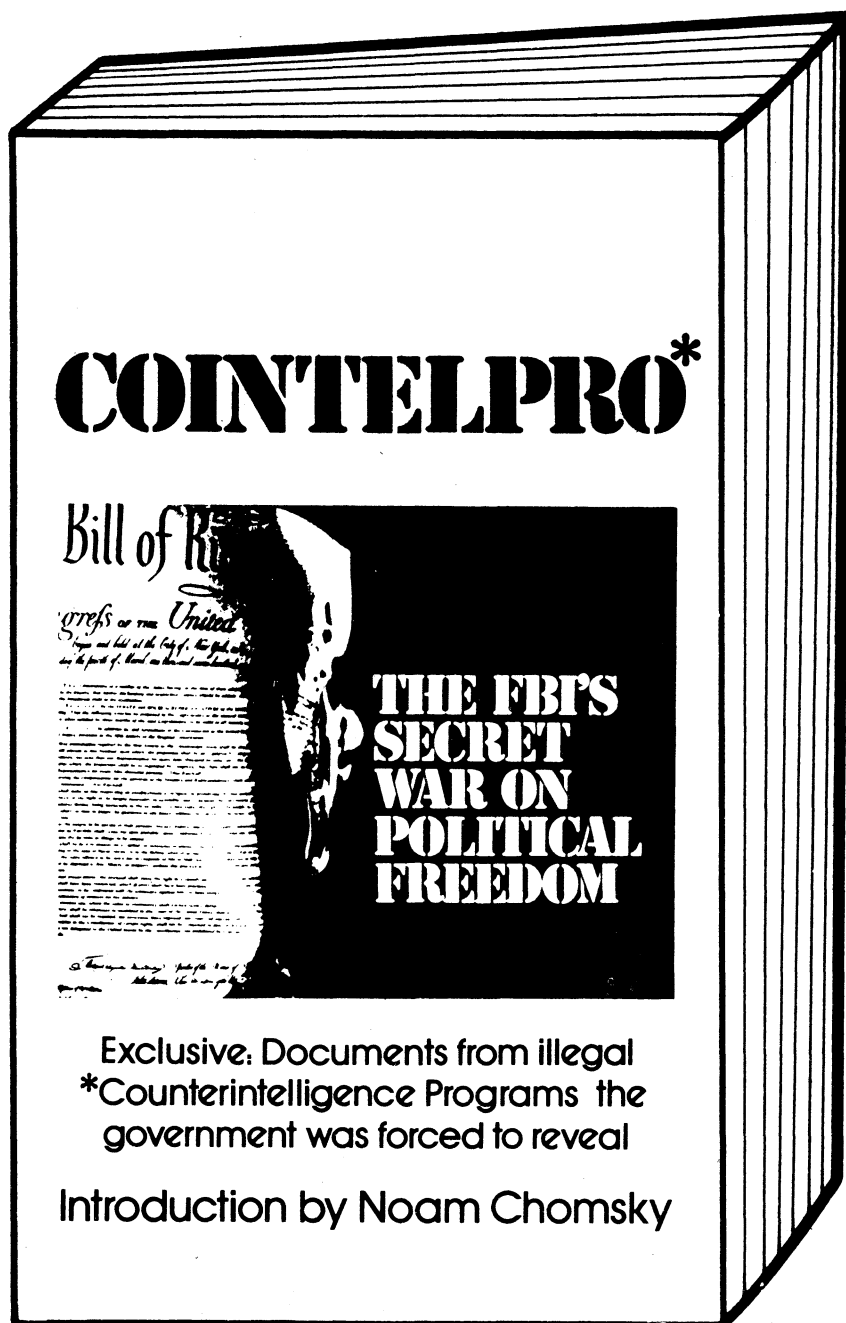
MILITANT BOOKS



Where You Can Find

Socialist Literature

The Militant, the Young Socialist, Intercontinental Press, Pathfinder Press books and pamphlets, and other socialist literature can be obtained from the bookstores listed in the Socialist Directory on the facing page. Contact the store in your area for hours and information.



New from Pathfinder

MORTON HALPERIN, Center for National Security Studies:

"The FBI's interference in the electoral process and its efforts to destroy the Black nationalist movement are described in chilling detail in this important book."

ROBERT ALLEN, editor, *The Black Scholar*:

"These documents prove beyond any doubt that the FBI—through Democratic and Republican administrations—has deliberately tried to destroy legitimate American organizations and nullify the Bill of Rights. These disclosures are more damning than Watergate."

GLORIA STEINEM:

"No one who reads *COINTELPRO* can ever again accept a disruptive, unproved charge—or fail to see the 'dirty tricks' of the Nixon era as relatively minor examples of a long and unconstitutional tradition."

PHILIP BERRIGAN:

"The book clarifies for the American public its government's attempts to harass, silence, and crush the American left (notably the Socialist Workers party, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the Black Panther party)."

ROBERT WALL, ex-FBI agent:

"Every person who values freedom should read *COINTELPRO* . . . to be better able to defend against future FBI attempts to suppress political dissent. Never before have such revealing FBI documents been brought to the public."

FRANK DONNER, director, ACLU Project on Political Surveillance:

"This collection is indispensable. . . . The descriptions in the news media are inadequate to convey the thrust and meaning of the systematic attack by a political police agency on groups and individuals who have neither committed nor threatened violence."

The first collection of documents in print detailing many of the illegal actions of the FBI to harass, intimidate, and victimize people in the socialist, antiwar, and Black movements. A Monad Press Book. 192 pages, cloth \$9.00, paper \$1.95

Available from the bookstores listed in the Socialist Directory on the facing page or by mail from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Masses confront Portuguese junta

By David Frankel

From Intercontinental Press

The biggest mass demonstration to take place in Portugal since the enormous May 1, 1974, celebration of the overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship was held in Lisbon November 16. It represented a stunning blow to the regime of Premier José Pinheiro de Azevedo, the sixth government since the fall of Caetano, and marked a new surge forward in the class struggle.

"With raised fists and shouts of 'Out with Pinheiro de Azevedo!' the demonstrators marched down Lisbon's palm-lined Avenue of Liberty," reported a dispatch in the November 17 *New York Times*. "They were led by a procession of cement-mixers, tractors, bulldozers and Land-Rovers."

More than 100,000 persons turned out for the antigovernment protest, called by unions and workers commissions from Lisbon's industrial belt and supported by the Portuguese Communist party. This compares with a turnout estimated as low as 20,000, and at most 40,000, at a progovernment rally on November 9.

The Socialist party leadership, slavishly supporting the military regime, issued a statement denouncing the demonstration as a move to "subvert the democratic Government." In fact, Azevedo's regime is no more democratic in origin or policies than the five others that have gone before it. In every single one of those governments the real decisions have been made by an unelected junta of military officers. This state of affairs has been reflected in the response of the masses.

At the November 9 progovernment rally, called jointly by the SP and the capitalist Democratic People's party (PPD), Azevedo cataloged and denounced the challenges facing his government, lashing out at what he called impossible wage demands, wildcat strikes, unauthorized seizures of farmland, and a lack of discipline in the armed forces.

The massive outpouring on November 16 was the second big defeat for the



20,000 construction workers encircle Premier Azevedo's palace, forcing government to grant 40 percent wage increase

government in two days. On November 14, thirty-six hours after he was besieged in his official residence at the São Bento Palace, Azevedo announced to the 20,000 construction workers camped outside that he would meet their demands for a 40 percent wage increase.

Rightists Enraged

The victory of the construction workers was a powerful blow to the government's attempts to limit wage increases, and one more sign of its extreme weakness. A frustrated Gen. António Pires Veloso, the northern regional commander of the armed forces, told a progovernment rally in Oporto: "The best answer to all the tumult in Lisbon that the north of Portugal can give is hard work."

Another answer was proposed by angry rightists, who attacked the Oporto Trade Union Federation and burned the contents of the building after hearing of Azevedo's decision. There were also attacks on the Union of Communist Youth and the Communist Student Union. Other rightists temporarily took over a left-wing radio station.

Francisco Sá Carneiro, leader of the Democratic People's party, attacked President Francisco da Costa Gomes "for not taking the necessary measures" to suppress the workers. However, that would have been easier said than done.

There are 300,000 construction workers in Portugal, and even the bourgeois press admitted their nationwide strike was 80 percent effective. During the strike both the SP and the PPD urged their followers to mobilize in the streets against the siege of the São Bento Palace. But the masses were not willing to oppose the demands of the construction workers, and they refused to respond to this progovernment call. The result of the construction work-

ers' strike shows the dilemma facing the Portuguese ruling class and its reformist supporters. The mass radicalization set in motion by the overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship in April 1974 continues unabated, and attempts to crack down on the workers, soldiers, and peasants threaten to provoke a response that could overwhelm the fragile barriers the capitalists have managed to set up to protect bourgeois property relations.

The radicalization in the countryside among Portugal's sizable peasant population has been indicated by the occupation of more than half a million acres of farmland by landless peasants. The government has been powerless to prevent these illegal land occupations, although an indication of what it would like to do was given on October 27 when cavalry troops were used to expel squatters and protect the holdings of a landowner near the town of Azambuja.

While workers in the cities and peasants in the countryside have been defying the regime, the ferment in the military has proceeded apace. The involvement of the ranks in politics and their insistence on the right to discuss and decide on the ways in which they will be used has sent a shiver of fear through the Portuguese rulers.

Admission of Weakness

The necessity of negotiating and compromising with its own rebellious troops, and of giving in to the demands of the construction workers, were both examples of the weakness of the government. Another, even more graphic, example was the way the regime dealt with the dispute around Rádio Renascença.

Formerly the voice of the Catholic church in Portugal, the station had been taken over by members of several left groups who opposed Azevedo's

government, favoring instead the fifth government headed by former Premier Vasco Gonçalves. In September troops were ordered to shut the station down. Then, on October 22, soldiers and civilians opposed to Azevedo broke into the station and began broadcasting again in defiance of the regime.

Any other government in the world would have sent a detachment of police to clear the dissidents out that same night. Azevedo would have liked to have done this, but he was not able to. It was not until two weeks later that a detachment of soldiers under government orders settled the matter by blowing up the station's transmitter. Destroying useful equipment is usually one of the last precautions of a retreating army, not the act of a ruling government.

Numerous appeals for discipline in the military, the formation of the specially chosen "Military Intervention Unit," and the establishment November 1 of special military courts for state security cases have so far proved unable to reestablish the government's capacity for repression.

As a result, the capitalists have no alternative but to rely on the support of the reformist workers parties to maintain their rule. The competition between the Stalinists and the Social Democrats complicates this process and introduces an additional element of instability.

In the construction workers' strike, although the demands were economic in form they were directed against the government, and the SP leadership attacked the strike as an antigovernment maneuver by the CP. These Social Democrats are willing to defend the capitalist regime against the legitimate demands of the workers because they have been given a few extra seats in the cabinet.

When the CP had the upper hand in

Continued on page 25



Azevedo. His demand for 'discipline' is going unheeded by masses.