

# THE MILITANT

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

**United actions needed**

# Stop Ford's War drive in Angola!

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## THE MILITANT

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**NO MORE SHACKLES FOR SAN QUENTIN SIX:** The San Quentin Six have scored a victory with their civil suit charging "cruel and unusual punishment" in their treatment by prison authorities. In December a federal judge ordered an end to the use of tear gas, neck chains, or any mechanical restraints except handcuffs "unless there is an imminent threat of bodily harm" for the six Black and Latino prisoners. The judge also expanded the outdoor periods allowed all prisoners in the "maximum security" Adjustment Center at San Quentin.

The six men are currently on trial for the murder of three guards and two white prisoners in August 1971. Nearly two years ago they filed their own lawsuit charging mistreatment ranging from twenty-four-hour-a-day incarceration to unwholesome food. Judge Alfonso Zirpoli concluded that the continuous segregation of the prisoners, the lack of outdoor exercise, and the use of excessive restraints demonstrated by the plaintiffs were unconstitutional.

Reflecting his group's view that prisoners are animals and should be treated as such, Ken Brown of the California Correctional Officers Association in Sacramento commented, "This ruling is almost like ordering loose a pet dog who's turned rabid. It's 'cruel and unusual' if you don't turn the dog loose."

## Chicago trial opens in Hampton family suit

CHICAGO—Jury selection started January 6 in the civil suit initiated by relatives of slain Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. The suit attempts to prove that federal, state, and local officials acted in complicity with the Chicago Police Department and former state's attorney Edward Hanrahan in a campaign of harassment against the Black Panther party, culminating in the assassinations of Hampton and Clark on December 4, 1969.

Lawyers for the Hampton family tried unsuccessfully in December to reopen pretrial fact-finding because of new information brought to light by Senate intelligence committee hearings. U.S. District Court Judge Joseph Perry denied their motion to postpone the trial and also refused the plaintiffs' request for a deposition, or questions under oath, from Mayor Richard Daley.

Out of 200 people in the initial jury pool, observers counted only 14 Blacks, or 7 percent. Attorneys for the plaintiffs expect to present the first of their more than 300 witnesses by January 12.

The December 4th Committee is urging supporters of the lawsuit to attend the trial. For information, contact the committee at 53 West Jackson, Room 1362, Chicago, Illinois 60604. Telephone: (312) 341-9766.

**40 MILLION POOR IN U.S., SAYS CHURCH GROUP:** In conflict with the government's figure of 24.3 million poor people in the United States, a Catholic church agency says there are at least 40 million. In an eighty-page report the Campaign for Human Development explains that the government has revised its "poverty level" from what represented 54 percent of the average median family income in 1959 to 40 percent in 1974. If the percentage had remained consistent, the figure would be 46 million poor Americans today. The Catholic agency suggests the poverty line be half the average median income, or a meager \$3,210 last year.

**FIRE DESTROYS SOCIALIST PARTY OFFICES:** The national offices of the Milwaukee-based Socialist party, USA, were demolished by fire in late December. Arson is suspected. The group's 1976 presidential campaign committee was also housed in the same building. All mailing lists were destroyed. Until new offices are opened, the party and the campaign committee may be reached through Frank Zeidler, 2921 North Second Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53212.

**ATLANTA ACTIVITIES TO MARK KING'S BIRTHDAY:** "The Bicentennial: America's Challenge to Fulfill Dr. King's Dream" is the theme of two days of activities in Atlanta January 14-15. Scheduled for Wednesday, January 14, is a Full Employment Conference and a mass rally. Thursday's activities include a march and rally and a benefit concert. For more information call the Martin Luther King, Jr., Center at (404) 524-1956.

**GROUP FORMED TO FIGHT RODINO BILL:** A group recently formed in Los Angeles to defend the rights of undocumented workers has begun a petition and letter-writing campaign to prevent the passage of the Rodino bill in Congress this year. The National Trade Union Committee to Organize Immigrant Workers, founded by activist Bert Corona, has called for the defeat of the Rodino bill and other similar legis-

lation that would deprive undocumented workers of their rights.

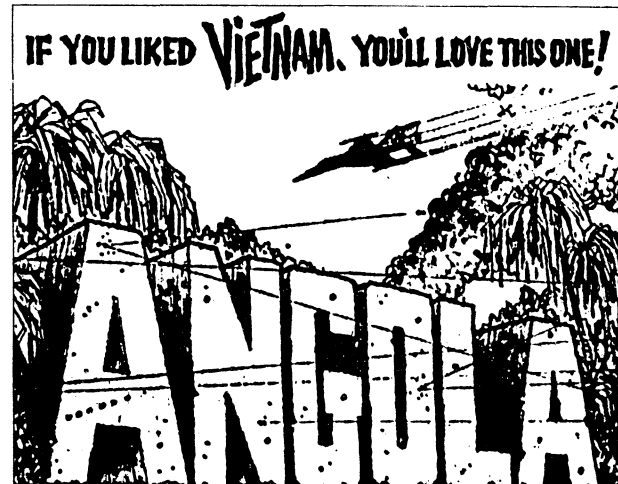
The group's "Action Letter" notes, "[These] bills are nothing but the focusing on our people and upon all Brown and Asian people's ability to obtain and keep a job, get a promotion, and to be able to fight off discrimination. But now it will not only be the government agencies that will be qualifying Brown people as to whether we have the 'right' to be here, but every employer will be challenging us at every turn."

**AFRICAN SUPPORT GROUP SUES FBI:** The Southern Africa Committee has filed suit to force the FBI to turn over its files on the committee. The lawsuit was filed in federal district court in New York by Michael Davis and Peter Weiss of the Center for Constitutional Rights. Last year the FBI informed the committee it was under investigation, but refused to disclose the reason. When this refusal was appealed under the Freedom of Information Act, the Justice Department failed to respond. The committee, which publishes a monthly magazine on Africa, has charged that the "investigation" is part of the government effort to disrupt groups opposing white minority rule in southern Africa and supporting African liberation movements.

**'COUNTER-SPY' ON CIA HYSTERIA CAMPAIGN:** The recent killing of Richard Welch, CIA station chief in Athens, has provided the spy agency with a straw to grasp at in its recent plummet in public esteem. Those who identified Welch in the journal *Counter-Spy* "indirectly assassinated" him, the capitalist press has charged. The fact that Welch's "cover" was blown long ago, and *Counter-Spy* merely reported a fact easily confirmed in a number of public sources, is conveniently ignored by the CIA's backers. They are using the affair to bolster their claim that any disclosures of the CIA's criminal deeds will lead to similar "tragedies."

The Organizing Committee for a Fifth Estate, which publishes *Counter-Spy*, responded to this hysteria campaign in a statement released December 28. It said, in part: "The attempts of CIA officials, both current and retired, and their supporters to cast the Fifth Estate with even partial responsibility for the death of the CIA Station Chief in Athens, Greece is an attack on all Americans who have had the courage to voice opposition to this secret police force and the anti-democratic corporate empire it serves. . . . The CIA is attempting to shift the onerous history of thirty years of villainous rampage against the people of the world to those who have exposed the truth of CIA murders and lies."

—Nancy Cole



## Special Offer For New Readers

ANOTHER VIETNAM? U.S. intervention in Angola threatens a new war of aggression on the scale of Vietnam. For the story behind the Ford administration's cover-up and action proposals that can halt government intervention, subscribe to the *Militant*.

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# Socialist Workers urge united action to get U.S. out of Angola

[The following statement was adopted January 3 by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party, meeting in Milwaukee.]

Immediate action is needed to stop the Democrats and Republicans from plunging the United States into a new war. Picket lines, teach-ins, rallies, and marches are required to get the message to Washington: Stop the U.S. intervention in Angola—Hands off!

Working people in this country have nothing to gain and everything to lose by Ford's intervention in the civil war in Angola. They have no interest in seeing tens of millions of dollars spent on another war while funds for education, health, and housing are slashed. And they have no interest in seeing American troops sent to die in Angola, which can happen if Washington's intervention escalates.

Black Americans in particular want no part of Ford's war policy. The American government has waged an unceasing war on the Black freedom struggle—in Africa and in the United States. Black Americans know better than anyone that Washington's policies are thoroughly racist. Why should they believe Ford's rhetoric about defending democracy in Africa, when they see the U.S. government refusing to enforce its own laws on desegregation at home?

Why should they believe that the CIA is fighting for freedom in Angola, when they know that the United States plotted to murder Patrice Lumumba, the Congolese rebel leader, just as it has conspired to disrupt and destroy the Black liberation movement in this country?

Why should they support the spending of millions of dollars for war in Angola, while social services desperately needed by the Black communities are being slashed?

## New colonial war

The Ford administration has offered repeated assurances to the American people that the U.S. intervention in Angola is "not analogous" to the war in Vietnam. But Ford's policies point precisely to another Vietnam. Ford is involving the United States in a new colonial war, in which American financial resources and military might are committed to the protection of the profits and investments of the giant corporations.

For years the United States backed Portugal's colonial wars in Black Africa. Portuguese troops were trained in the United States, armed with U.S. weapons, and financed by U.S. dollars in their racist war to crush the African freedom fighters. Now, in the wake of the disintegration of Portugal's empire, Washington is moving toward direct intervention to impose its will on the peoples of Angola and to maintain imperialist control of that country.

This involvement runs the risk of escalation into a nuclear war that would destroy humanity.

As in Vietnam, Washington's moves have been carried out behind a screen of lies and secrecy.

Despite the official denials, there ought to be no illusions about the U.S. aims in Angola. The war makers have been escalating their intervention step by step, testing the reaction, gauging how far they can go without generating a new antiwar movement.

Just as the anti-Vietnam War movement played a major part in forcing the United States to get out of Indochina, a movement against U.S. interven-



Socialists join 1974 march against U.S. support to Portugal's colonial wars. Now Washington is moving toward direct intervention to impose its will on peoples of Angola.

tion in Angola can help prevent Washington from dragging the country into a new foreign adventure. The potential exists for such a movement to be built, and to win mass support.

The American people are already deeply distrustful of the government's aims and motives in Angola. The justifications offered by Ford and Kissinger for the U.S. operation in Angola are the same as those used in Vietnam: the need to "stop Communism" and to defend "national security" by intervening in a small country thousands of miles away.

Vietnam, Watergate, and the steady stream of disclosures about secret CIA plots abroad have left the American people with a healthy suspicion of government propaganda and deep opposition to any new imperialist adventures.

The hypocritical argument that Washington is acting to stop "Soviet colonialism" in Africa doesn't carry much weight with millions of people who are beginning to see that the real threat to the right of the peoples of the colonial world to self-determination comes from Washington.

Kissinger's claim that the goal is to defend self-determination is a transparent cover-up of the real U.S. role. Throughout southern Africa Washington has been a steadfast supporter of colonialism and apartheid.

United States backing of Portugal's colonial wars went hand in hand with its unwavering support to the white-settler regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia.

## Ruling-class divisions

The deep and potentially explosive opposition to Ford's moves in Angola has already caused divisions within the U.S. ruling class over the tactical wisdom of Ford's policy. A section of this country's rulers believes that the danger of a political reaction against U.S. intervention, hand in hand with South Africa's apartheid regime, outweighs what could be gained through such a course. They argue that a new Vietnam could be disastrous for American imperialism.

It was the representatives of this point of view who carried the vote in the Senate on December 19 to cut off funds for "covert" operations in Angola.

But this Senate action, taken with much fanfare, isn't binding. Congress conveniently adjourned for the holidays before the measure could be taken up in the House, freeing Ford's hand for at least several more weeks of military aid and diplomatic maneuvering.

Just as happened time after time during the Vietnam War, the congressional war critics satisfied themselves with rhetoric about peace, while refusing to take action to get the United States out.

What an abdication of responsibility

it would be for opponents of U.S. intervention in Angola to rely on the Democratic and Republican politicians to halt the U.S. war drive! The movement against the Vietnam War was successful because it did not trust the "doves" in Washington to live up to their peace promises. Instead, it mobilized millions of people in the streets.

The anti-Vietnam War movement learned that the only voice the "doves" ever responded to was the voice of masses of protesters.

## Antiwar action & education

The labor movement, the Black communities, the colleges and high schools, ought now to become the arenas for antiwar discussion, education, and action.

All those who opposed the Vietnam War, and those who have marched against U.S. intervention in southern Africa, need to join forces in a determined effort to stop Ford's war plans in Angola.

The differing views that exist on the role and programs of the three liberation groups now involved in the civil war in Angola should not stand in the way of united actions by all supporters of the Angolans' right of self-determination.

Now is the time to launch a campaign of action to stop U.S. aggression and to let Washington know that the American people don't want another Vietnam. The Socialist Workers party pledges its aid and support to build such a movement.

No secret war! Let the American people know the full truth about U.S. intervention!

Not one penny for war, not one soldier to Angola!

No more Vietnams! Hands off Angola!

## SWP leader begins nat'l tour on Angola

NEW YORK—Tony Thomas, a member of the national committee of the Socialist Workers party, will begin a nationwide speaking tour January 14 on the topic "Angola: the Next Vietnam?"

Thomas's tour is part of the campaign being carried out by the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance against U.S. intervention in Angola.

Thomas will be speaking at public forums, campus teach-ins, and antiwar rallies. In addition, he will concentrate on getting the truth about the U.S. role in Angola to the Black communities through interviews with Black newspapers and engagements on Black radio shows.

Thomas, a staff writer for the *Militant*, has written frequently on the African revolution and the Black liberation struggle in the United States. He is the editor and major contributor to *Black Liberation and Socialism*; wrote *In Defense of Black Nationalism* and *Marxism versus Maoism*; and is the coauthor of *Two Views on Pan-Africanism and War in the Middle East—The Socialist View*.

The tour will be sponsored by Viewpoint Speakers Bureau, a division of Pathfinder Press.

The tour schedule for January is: Cleveland, January 14; Newark, January 16; St. Louis, January 20;



Tony Thomas

Militant/Lou Howort

Pittsburgh, January 22; Houston, January 23-24; Denver, January 27-28; and San Diego, January 30.

For more information, contact the address nearest you in the Socialist Directory on page 26, or Viewpoint Speakers Bureau, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Tel. (212) 741-0690.



## CIA recruiting troops for Angola

# Ford escalates undercover war

By Nelson Blackstock

A secret U.S. military operation is now under way in Angola.

That was the latest revelation in the slowly emerging picture of deepening U.S. involvement in Angola.

The CIA has been recruiting active-duty enlisted men and officers from the U.S. armed forces for its top-secret mercenary army, according to the *Christian Science Monitor*. The recruits receive "indefinite leave" or are discharged early under a special program.

The White House initially termed the revelations "nonsense." Subsequently, both Ford and his press secretary, Ron Nessen, have made more equivocal statements.

The *Monitor's* sources were identified as senior mercenary officers close to the CIA.

Also recruited have been ex-servicemen from across the country and at least fifteen South Vietnamese refugees.

There were also reports that some 360 Cuban refugees in Florida had signed up to go to Angola.

According to U.S. law, such recruitment for a foreign army is illegal.

There are already about 300 Ameri-

cans in Angola. Another 300 are reportedly ready to join them.

During the last week in December more than 150 of the recruits underwent special training at Fort Benning, Georgia. The training included instructions in using weapons, classes in the Portuguese language, and "interrogation techniques."

Following the impact of its initial disclosures, the *Monitor* said that its confidential sources reported that CIA recruitment of mercenaries in this country had shifted to Europe, where the effort continues to be financed by U.S. money.

This has no effect on the 300 American mercenaries already in Angola, the *Monitor* said. They are working with the União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (UNITA—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) and the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA—Angolan National Liberation Front). Those are the two factions backed by Washington in their conflict with the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), which is backed by Moscow.

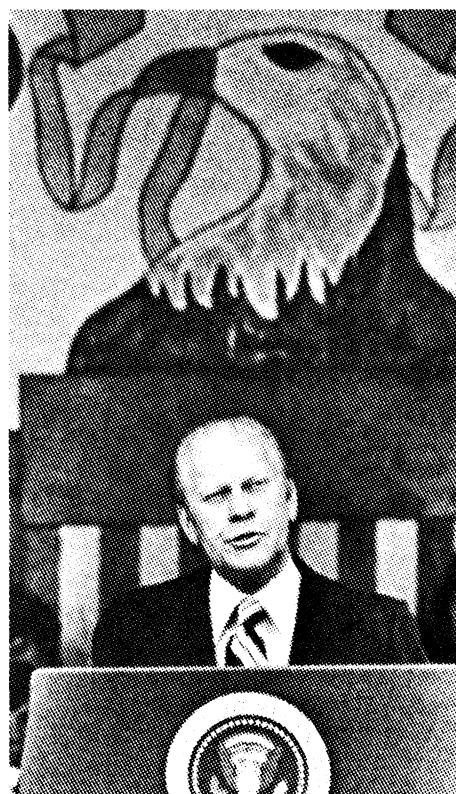
The CIA mercenary force is being grouped into what are called "B-teams," consisting of ninety-four men—a headquarters staff of ten and six "A-teams" of fourteen each.

The A-teams are composed of men possessing complementary combat skills. Dividing their time between fighting and training local recruits, each B-team can supposedly train an army of 10,000 in about six months.

The American mercenaries will get monthly salaries between \$1,000 and \$15,000 each. Including weapons and ammunition, it will cost around \$1 million to finance each B-team for six months.

A B-team now working with the FNLA is being financed half by the United States and half by the Maoist regime in China, according to the *Monitor*.

The CIA is also recruiting a force of more than 150 helicopter pilots and mechanics to operate a shipment of thirteen helicopters now on its way to Angola by way of South Africa.



FORD: Driving ahead despite opposition

The undercover way the U.S. rulers are forced to conduct their war in Angola is an indication of the antiwar sentiment in the United States. In the wake of Vietnam, the American people are suspicious of anything that looks like a similar adventure.

The U.S. ruling class remains divided over how to respond to the situation in Angola following the withdrawal of the Portuguese colonialists.

One view is reflected by those in Washington who think Ford provoked a confrontation with Moscow by sending a major arms shipment early last year. But worst of all, they argue, the administration appears to have lined up with the losing side.

The Ford administration appears intent on driving forward despite the overwhelming opposition of the American people to this new adventure, and despite the criticism of Congress. "We're going to keep it up," said an administration official, referring to the arms flow to Angola. "I'm not going to say how much or where it is coming from," he added.

A December 19 *Wall Street Journal* editorial argued the administration point of view.

Will Angola become another Vietnam? "Preposterous," the editorial insisted, to think that "if we send some bullets, we will be stepping on a slippery slope and will end up with 500,000 American troops slogging through the jungles of Africa."

What are the U.S. interests in Angola? To prevent "Soviet expansion." Remember also that "Angola has important oil, mineral and agricultural potential."

"It's possible, as several anti-aid Senators have claimed," the *Journal* editors continued, "that even if the Soviet faction prevails the Russians could find themselves enmeshed in a snakepit of African nationalism and tribal rivalries that would make them rue the day they ever got involved. Yet these possibilities can only be increased by a U.S. policy of supplying arms."

Furthermore, the Soviet Union is "testing American resolve in light of the post-Vietnam reassessment here."

"If the United States publicly declares itself unwilling to take even small risks to limit Soviet expansion," the editorial concluded, "it will be an open invitation to even bolder challenges throughout the world."

The Organization of African Unity will convene on January 10. Currently on record in favor of a coalition government between the warring factions, the OAU will be under pressure to endorse the MPLA.

In part this pressure stems from the revulsion in Black Africa at the spectacle of troops of the minority white South African government fighting against the MPLA.

Kissinger sent a top State Department official to Africa to try to block an OAU move to endorse the MPLA.

Reports from Angola on January 6 indicated that the MPLA had scored a major military victory against the FNLA. The MPLA overran Uige, a northern provincial capital that had been an FNLA sanctuary.

Michael Kaufman, writing from Kenya in the *New York Times*, reported that the MPLA offensive was timed to put

*Continued on page 26*



Militant/Howard Petrick

American working people want no part of any new foreign adventure.

# Blacks say: 'No more Vietnams!'

Around the country, Black voices are being raised more and more insistently against the escalating U.S. intervention in Angola.

Reflecting the overwhelming sentiment in the Black communities against any new Vietnams, the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) has sent out a letter urging Black elected officials to oppose U.S. involvement in Angola. The CBC called for "a groundswell of American public opinion to prevent another Vietnam."

The seventeen Black members of Congress, in a policy statement that is also being circulated, said, "We are particularly concerned about the convergence of U.S. interests with those of racist South Africa."

"Once again," the CBC stated, "we are faced with an example of executive distortions and secrecy. The executive has attempted to keep the facts of U.S. involvement in Angola from the American public. . . ."

Comparing the U.S. role in Angola to the Vietnam War, Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.), a member of the CBC, declared: "There are not many Vietnamese constituents in America, and that is why it took twelve years to develop a broad base of support against that war. But it won't take 25 million Black people twelve years to

mobilize against American involvement in Angola."

The Black press has been virtually unanimous in its opposition to the American intervention, although there are varying views on the role of the liberation groups in Angola and the roots of the conflict there.

The Los Angeles *Herald-Dispatch* wrote: "The United States of America's high officials, not elected by the people, have already spent over \$50 million of the taxpayers' money in an effort to re-enslave the Angolan people. These power hungry men . . . are loudly attempting to deceive the citizens of this country into believing they want peace. . . ."

"Fact of the matter is, the U.S. is heading for another 'Vietnam in Africa.'"

In an editorial, the *New York Amsterdam News* said that "the United States has about as much right poking its nose into the affairs of Angola as the Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan has trying to tell Roy Wilkins how to run the NAACP. . . ."

"The Portuguese victimized, exploited and decimated the people of Angola for decades while we sat by and never raised an official murmur of protest."

"And now, a few months after these poor people become independent, and



DELLUMS: 'Blacks will mobilize against American involvement in Angola.'

start going through the struggles that go along with independence, along comes Henry Kissinger, Hell bent for elections, screaming that we must hurry over there and save them from the Russians and the Cubans, in what

could end up as another war in which Angola itself would be virtually destroyed as Vietnam was.

"With such friends as Kissinger was to Vietnam—Angola does not need any enemies."

"Let's get out of Angola now—and stay out!"

In an article headlined "Hands off Angola," R. Ato Yarney took a similar stand in the *Milwaukee Courier*. "In Black Africa," he wrote, "the democracy we have seen brought in by the Western powers is the democracy of torture, atrocity, rape, slavery, discrimination, apartheid, prostitution, dehumanization, colonialism, imperialism, and the exchange of the Bible for the Africans' gold, diamonds, and lands. The African's burden has been the Western man's greediness."

Linn Washington, writing in the *Philadelphia Tribune*, denounced the Ford administration's cover-up of its real motives in Angola. "The anti-communist smoke screen veils the true U.S. intention in Angola which is to preserve U.S. corporate interests (namely Gulf Oil in Cabinda) and to forestall the establishment of a nationalistic government in the country which would signal the beginning of the end for the racist-apartheid government of South Africa. . . ."



# Behind Robert F. Williams frame-up: a chapter in the fight for Black rights

By Baxter Smith

After flying into Charlotte, North Carolina, aboard a DC-9 jetliner, after a ride to nearby Monroe in a late-model sedan, and after viewing the new county courthouse where he will soon relive an old struggle, Black rights fighter Robert F. Williams quipped at the end of his fourteen-year absence, "Nothing has changed."

The fifty-year-old former Monroe leader then elaborated: "Racism is still here. Nothing has changed."

For Williams, his surrender to North Carolina authorities December 16 may have marked the end of a long exile, but it signaled the beginning of yet another effort to win justice by overturning a trumped-up kidnapping charge stemming from 1961.

That effort will begin on the legal front January 19 when Williams, who is now out on bail, goes to court.

## A KKK town

Located fourteen miles from the South Carolina border among the hills and dales and piny woods so typical of the Carolina region, Monroe—not unlike the rest of Dixie—has always known extremes of hunger, poverty, and prejudice. It was once the southeastern regional headquarters of the Ku Klux Klan, and in the early days of the civil rights movement anti-Jim Crow struggles developed there that thrust the town of 11,000 (in 1961)—one-quarter of which was Black—into national prominence.

The story begins in 1955 when Williams was discharged from the U.S. Marine Corps and returned to Monroe. He had had run-ins with racists in the service and had decided to join the NAACP after he got out, to fight to put an end to Jim Crow.

The Monroe chapter had dwindled to six people when Williams joined, but he was determined and went to work to build its membership.

One day he went into a Black pool hall, broke out NAACP literature and plopped it on the table. He gave a pitch for the organization and recruited half of those present.

After that it looked like the sky was the limit.

Williams was elected NAACP president in Union County, of which Monroe is the county seat. He was particularly adept at recruiting former war veterans who, like himself, didn't scare easily. Soon, farmers, laborers, unemployed, and domestic workers were virtually standing in line to sign up.

The first test of the revitalized organization came in 1957. Without a hitch, the group surprised itself by winning desegregation of the public library.

Williams writes in his book *Negroes With Guns* that Blacks in other south-



Williams faces trumped-up charges because of his leading role in desegregation struggles of 1960s.

ern cities were nearly flooded when they learned that Monroe Blacks had opened up the library.

"We moved on to win better rights for Negroes: economic rights, the right of education and the right of equal protection under the law. We rapidly got the reputation of being the most militant branch of the NAACP, and obviously we couldn't get this reputation without antagonizing the racists who are trying to prevent Afro-Americans from enjoying their inalienable human rights as Americans," Williams wrote.

## Swimming pool

After cutting their teeth on the library, Monroe Blacks took aim at the municipal swimming pool. The move was prompted because year after year Black youngsters would drown in unsupervised swimming holes.

At first Monroe Blacks asked city officials to build a pool in a Black section of the city to which they would have access. When city officials balked, Blacks asked them to set aside one or two days a week for Blacks to use the pool. But the officials said it was too costly, because each time Blacks used the pool it would have to be drained and refilled.

Still determined, Williams and Dr. Albert Perry, vice-president of the NAACP branch, led eight youngsters to the pool one day in bathing suits and towels. They were denied admittance and this furnished the grounds for a lawsuit.

This drew local publicity and the Klan became more active.

Cross burnings and open-air rallies—one of up to 7,500 persons—became commonplace. Racists conducted horn-honking, drunken motorcades through Black neighborhoods as an incitement, waving and firing pistols. On one occasion they caught a Black woman on an isolated street and made her dance at pistol point.

## Monroe rifle club

As these racist provocations increased, Blacks sought protection from city officials who turned their backs.

"Luther Hodges, who is now Secretary of Commerce, was the Governor of North Carolina at that time. We first appealed to him. He took sides with the Klan; they had not broken any laws, they were not disorderly," Williams wrote in his 1962 book.

Monroe Blacks then telegraphed President Eisenhower, but received no response.

In North Carolina it is legal to carry arms as long as they are not concealed. Thus Blacks began to arm themselves against the Klan attacks.

"I wrote to the National Rifle Association in Washington which encourages veterans to keep in shape to defend their native land, and asked for a charter, which we got," Williams wrote of the idea to form a rifle club to familiarize the community with the use of arms.

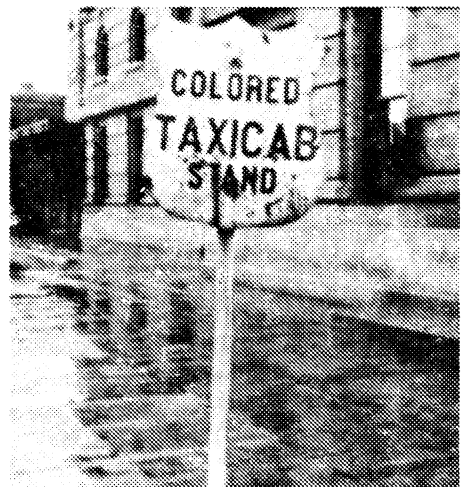
Soon Williams had organized a community defense guard and an alert system that brought armed Blacks to the scene of incidents even before the police.

"The Klan discovered we were arming and guarding our community. In the summer of 1957 they made one big attempt to stop us," Williams wrote. "An armed motorcade attacked Dr. Perry's house, which is situated on the outskirts of the colored community. We shot it out with the Klan and repelled their attack and the Klan didn't have any more stomach for this type of fight."

The Klan attacks died down but in late 1958 another incident occurred



Desire to eliminate Jim Crow segregation was driving force behind struggles of Monroe, North Carolina, Blacks.



that was to test the Monroe Black community.

In October of that year two Black youngsters, aged seven and nine, were arrested on the charge of rape, which is punishable in the state by death.

This became known as the "kissing case."

The two boys were playing house with some white children. In the course of the game one of the white girls planted a kiss on the cheek of one of the Black boys. After she went home her mother asked where she had been and what she had been doing, and the little girl told her of playing house and of the kiss.

Upon hearing the story the mother went to pieces and called the police, who located the two youngsters and jailed them for rape.

The boys were sent to a reformatory after a "separate but equal hearing." The judge took a closed-quarters statement from the white mother, and on the basis of that passed a sentence that the boys might be released when they turned twenty-one.

The local media blacked out the event, but Williams persisted and got national publicity for the case.

Soon pressure began to mount demanding the boys' freedom. Letters, telegrams, and cables poured in on the Union County and governor's offices from the four corners of the nation, and from foreign countries the world over.

In February 1959, state and county officials capitulated and released the boys.

## The 'Crusader'

In 1959 Williams was suspended for six months as president of the Union County NAACP branch for making a statement on Black self-defense that irked the national leadership of the group.

The suspension was aimed more at intimidating Williams and Monroe Blacks than anything else, because Williams had begun to vocalize militant positions on Black rights that embarrassed the moderate national leadership.

"The national office of the NAACP

was determined to keep within the good graces of a lot of the influential Northern whites who were disturbed by our militancy," Williams said in his book.

In June 1959 Williams began publishing the *Crusader* to popularize his beliefs and to get out news on the struggles of Blacks in other parts of the country and nonwhite peoples elsewhere.

In 1960, when the sit-in movement was taking shape in the South, Monroe Blacks again moved into action.

All through 1960 the Monroe Black community initiated sit-ins and stand-ins against Jim Crow establishments.

By 1961 Monroe Blacks, according to Williams, felt they needed "a broad program with special attention to jobs, welfare, and other economic needs."

They presented a ten-point program around these needs to the Monroe Board of Aldermen, and began picketing until they were implemented.

In August 1961 Freedom Riders went to Monroe, and were ridiculed and beaten when they picketed for Black rights.

Racists became enraged at the Freedom Riders' efforts to help Monroe Blacks, and they threatened violence.

## Appeal to gov't

Williams again appealed to the governor for aid, but was again ignored. In short time the racists were attacking the Black community, but Monroe Blacks matched Monroe racists bullet for bullet.

Not long after this the local rulers decided they had had enough. And, finally, on August 27 the police chief and his men were seen driving through the county urging racists to come to town to fight the Freedom Riders and the Blacks.

On that day the Freedom Riders were picketing in the courthouse square and were brutally attacked by mobs of racists. Firing broke out. Word of the attack quickly spread to the Black community, and Monroe Blacks took up arms.

Early that evening a white couple from out of town drove through a

Continued on page 26

## Eight years on phony charges

# Sostre granted clemency, soon to go free

By Steve Clark

The struggle for the freedom of all political prisoners scored a victory on December 24 when Martin Sostre, a Black Puerto Rican nationalist, was granted executive clemency by New York Gov. Hugh Carey.

Since 1968 Sostre has been serving a thirty- to forty-one-year sentence on a conviction by an all-white jury for allegedly selling fifteen dollars' worth of heroin to police informer Arto Williams. Williams later recanted his testimony, charging that police forced him to participate in the frame-up.

Sostre's arresting officer was also dismissed from his job in connection with the disappearance of \$10,000 of impounded heroin. Nonetheless, Sostre was denied a retrial, and the U.S. Supreme Court refused in October to review his case.

At the time of his arrest, Sostre lived in Buffalo, New York, where he owned and operated the Afro-Asian Bookstore, a center for local Black and Puerto Rican activists and for the anti-Vietnam War movement. This "crime" was the real cause for his arrest and conviction.

Following the 1967 ghetto rebellion in Buffalo's Black community, Sostre was picked up on charges of arson and incitement to riot. Evidently convinced that they couldn't make these charges

stick, Buffalo police dropped them and instead planted narcotics in Sostre's bookstore several months later. As a December 20 *New York Times* editorial explained, "The Buffalo papers were full of allegations about his leadership



Martin Sostre. Jailed for 'crime' of operating center for Black, Puerto Rican, and antiwar activists.

role in the riot during the tension-filled months preceding the trial." The editorial concluded that "the evidence that Mr. Sostre is in prison today essentially because of his political beliefs seems strong enough to warrant gubernatorial clemency in his behalf."

Sostre has spent most of his term in punitive solitary confinement because of his refusal to submit to humiliating rectal searches required by prison regulations. His resistance to this degrading practice led to his conviction earlier this year on a second frame-up charge: an alleged 1973 assault on seven Clinton Prison guards who attempted such a search. The guards were the sole witnesses at the trial.

On December 18, 1975, Sostre was granted parole on the 1968 heroin charge, but as the *Times* editorial noted, "Mr. Sostre remains incarcerated on a subsequent prison-based conviction, which is at least as questionable as the drug case."

The clemency decision will make Sostre eligible for parole on the second conviction when the New York Parole Board meets this month. He has not been pardoned or cleared of either charge, and remains in prison as of this writing.

Sostre's case has been widely publicized by supporters ever since his 1968

conviction, but defense efforts stepped up significantly this year. Sostre was recently adopted as a "prisoner of conscience" by Amnesty International. Andrei Sakharov, the prominent Soviet dissident and a leader of Amnesty International, issued a December 7 appeal to Governor Carey for Sostre's release.

Sostre made use of his prison term—and of the twelve years he spent in Attica following a 1952 conviction—to champion prisoners' rights. He studied law in prison libraries, and he filed and won several important lawsuits that have benefited other prisoners throughout the country. Among these are court decisions recognizing his right to practice the Muslim religion in prison; \$13,000 in damages for illegal solitary confinement by prison officials; and the right of prisoners to receive literature considered "subversive" by prison officials.

Lawsuits that are still pending challenge the legality of all-white parole boards and of rectal searches.

In an interview with *New York Times* reporter David Vidal prior to the clemency decision, Sostre said, "For me this is a continuous struggle whether I am on the outside or the inside. . . . People say prisoner's rights, but human rights are human rights."

## J.B. Johnson targeted in harassment campaign

By Nancy Cole

Not content that an innocent Black youth spent more than three years in prison and now faces a grueling retrial, St. Louis police have devised a harassment campaign for J.B. Johnson.

Johnson, framed up for a 1970 murder, had his life sentence overturned by the Missouri Supreme Court in July 1975. His new trial is set for February 17. He is now free on \$25,000 bail.

The National Committee to Free J.B. Johnson has demanded that St. Louis Mayor John Poelker take action to end the cop harassment of Johnson.

The committee cites examples of the cop actions, such as one night in December when three detectives stopped Johnson while he was walking home. One of them asked him if he thought he was going to "beat his case."

"My answer was, 'I don't know,'"

Johnson later said. "They looked on the ground where I was standing and asked if I had a gun. Then they asked me to unbutton my coat. One kept going over the employment applications I had with me and asked if the address on them was where my mother lived."

In November, Johnson was also stopped by cops and questioned. After his release from prison in July, police cars frequently stopped in front of his house over a period of several weeks.

Johnson was nineteen years old in January 1970 when police grabbed him. He had been in the vicinity of a jewelry store robbery where a cop was killed.

The only eyewitness to the incident was unable to pick Johnson out of a police lineup, and the man later convicted of the murder swore he had never seen Johnson before.

To top it off, two "stolen" rings supposedly found in Johnson's shoes

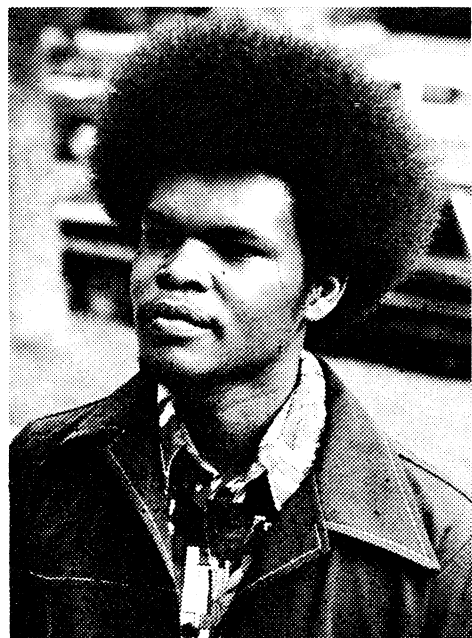
after his arrest match two missing from a police evidence bag photographed at the time of the holdup.

Despite all this, an all-white jury convicted Johnson of being an accomplice to the murder. His sentence was "natural life."

County prosecutor Courtney Goodman is using all the resources of his office to come up with "new" evidence for the retrial. He has assigned two prosecutors and a special investigator for the trial.

When Johnson was released this past summer, his defense committee asked Mayor Poelker for assurances that he would not be harassed. The mayor's office promised protection of Johnson's civil liberties.

Theodore McNeal, president of the St. Louis Board of Police Commissioners, said that if the latest incident really happened, "it was wrong." He has promised that the inspector of police will be asked to "investigate it."



Militant/Pat Hayes

While state plots new frame-up, police do their part by harassing Johnson.

## Women prisoners in North Carolina file lawsuit

By Jerry Hornsby

RALEIGH, N.C.—The six-month-old rebellion of prisoners at the North Carolina Correctional Center for Women has entered a new stage with a lawsuit seeking \$25 million in damages.

The plaintiffs are thirty-six of the women who last June staged a peaceful demonstration on the prison grounds in protest of harassment and inhumane conditions of confinement. The protest was brutally quelled.

The lawsuit, prepared with the help of the National Conference of Black Lawyers and the Prisoners Rights Organized Defense, names as defendants North Carolina Gov. James Holshouser, Secretary of Corrections David Jones, and unnamed "John Does" and "Richard Coes." Jones, in turn, has threatened to charge the plaintiffs with "assaulting" his officers.

After the women began their protest on June 15, 450 male guards—armed with billy clubs, tear gas, pepper gas, dogs, and riot gear—were called in from Raleigh's prison for men. This force was supplemented with 150 state highway patrolmen and 50 city policemen. An undetermined number of national guardsmen were placed on standby.

Five days later, this army managed to subdue the women prisoners. Three small women were selected out of a group of chanting and singing prisoners to be carried to "security" isolation. Despite their attempts to walk peacefully, the male guards grabbed and jerked them by the arms, dislocating the shoulder of eighty-nine-pound Anne Willett.

Some of the demonstrators were confined to Dorm C (the "punishment cottage"), while thirty-four others were transferred to the Western Correctional

Center at Morganton, an all-male facility. They were returned to the Raleigh prison, handcuffed together, in three separate groups in August and September.

One of the major issues of the rebellion is inadequate medical care. Examples cited by the women include:

- No full-time medical doctor.
- Sick call and medical treatment have been denied women who ask for improvement in prison conditions.
- After complaining of stomach pains for three weeks, and being told that there was nothing wrong with her, a prisoner's appendix ruptured.

• After an eye operation, performed illegally at the prison hospital to begin with, the wrong solution was used, resulting in serious burns on the prisoner's face and eyes.

• A woman had to have a hysterectomy because she was denied treatment for three to four years for a

vaginal infection.

• The chief-of-staff doctor at the prison, which is 65 percent Black, once said, "I don't want to treat that nigger anyway because if she hadn't killed a white man, her hand wouldn't hurt."

Another demand of the women is to close the prison laundry. Their grievances include: extreme heat, up to 120 degrees at midday; no exhaust fans; wet, slippery floors that cause injuries, often resulting in toe amputations; a faulty boiler system, often resulting in severe burns; and harsh detergents and no protective clothing or gloves.

Officials have promised since 1972 to close the laundry, yet it still operates.

One of the laundry workers commented, "We as women would like to leave here still able to have babies and our bodies as healthy and reproductive as when we entered this institution. Are we wrong to feel this way?"

*Continued on page 26*



## Now branded as 'accomplice'

# Hurricane Carter battles a new frame-up

By Michael Smith

NEWARK—Top Democratic officials in New Jersey are trying to frame up Hurricane Carter and his codefendant, John Artis, for a second time.

The two innocent Black men have already spent nine years in prison, convicted on admittedly perjured testimony for the 1966 killing of three whites in a Paterson, New Jersey, bar.

Now, with the original case against them publicly exposed and discredited, they are accused of being "accomplices" to the triple murder.

The perpetrators of this new frame-up are Democratic Gov. Brendan Byrne and Eldridge Hawkins, a Black Democratic legislator who heads the state assembly judiciary committee. Hawkins was appointed by the governor last September to conduct a special inquiry into the case and make a recommendation as to pardon. His report was turned over to Byrne on December 10.

An indication of the pressure on Byrne to release the two men was a December 20 editorial in the *New York Times* that cited the "considerable evidence" of perjured testimony and suppression of evidence. The *Times* called on Byrne to grant their application for "limited clemency, which will give them freedom until a new trial is held."

At the time of the killings, Carter was a leading contender for the middleweight boxing championship. He was also known as an outspoken defender of Black rights and had often been harassed by New Jersey police. Artis's only crime was being in a car with Carter the night of the shootings.

The innocence of the two men was established more than a year ago when both of the state's "eyewitnesses" to the crime recanted their testimony, admitting they had lied because the police offered them deals.

Recently a tape recording of a cop offering the payoff—a reduced sentence and reward money—was discovered. It had been illegally suppressed by the prosecution and withheld from the defense at the time of the trial. Had it been disclosed it would almost certainly have saved the two men from conviction.

Governor Byrne, who was a local



New Jersey protest demands freedom for Carter and Artis. In answer to such public outcry, Gov. Brendan Byrne is engineering new trumped-up case.

prosecutor at the time, knew about the deal and helped arrange a lighter sentence for Arthur Bradley, a convicted burglar, in exchange for his perjured testimony.

The new frame-up rests on the claim that the three whites were killed in retaliation for the shotgun-slaying of a Black bar owner in Paterson. This alleged motive was investigated by detectives in 1966 and abandoned as a dead end. Nine years later Hawkins is trying to reestablish it.

In order to do so he has lined up testimony from two people. Alfred Bello, the second "eyewitness" who recanted, has now given Hawkins a third version of what he saw on the night of the killings. His latest testimony is contradicted not only by his own earlier statements but also by other witnesses.

Hawkins's other "witness" is Annie Ruth Haggins, thirty-three. She gave Hawkins a statement that Carter and Artis were outside the bar when two other men fatally shot the three whites inside. Haggins said she had been

dating Carter at the time and has remained silent ever since out of fear of him.

In a recent interview with the *Militant*, Carter denied Haggins's charge and explained the real origin of her testimony.

Back in 1966, he explained, Haggins volunteered statements to the police implicating a Paterson man and saying she had disposed of one of the guns used in the crime. On the basis of this promised testimony, police paid Haggins's air fare from Florida to New Jersey, Carter said.

Haggins wound up in jail for a time, held as a material witness. She later declared that her 1966 statements had been false.

For the last step in constructing the new frame-up, Hawkins tried to turn Artis against Carter, telling Artis that he was playing the patsy and getting nothing while Carter got all the public attention.

In an unusual move, Hawkins had Artis taken from prison to his parents' home for a meeting on December 2.

Hawkins promised, Artis stated, that "I could be home by Christmas if I gave him a statement" confirming the story that the two men had been outside the bar while the shootings took place.

Artis refused. Instead he contacted Carter, and Carter took the story to the news media. Hawkins's actions have been "treacherous," Carter told the *Militant*, adding, "Hawkins is just a puppet. Governor Byrne is the puppeteer, pulling the strings. It is his program."

Hawkins's report fails to deal with numerous other facts pointing toward the innocence of Carter and Artis:

- They passed a lie-detector test and a powder test just hours after the crime and were initially released by police.

- One of the victims, who survived for a month after the shooting, said they were not the killers.

- Two grand juries refused to indict Carter and Artis for the crime.

The flimsy new frame-up put together by Hawkins is obviously designed to shake the wide public support for Carter and allow the governor to avoid granting a pardon to the two men. Hawkins's report again makes the victim into the criminal and shields the real criminals, those who arranged the frame-up.

Carter has now withdrawn his pardon application so as to remove any implication that he admits any connection whatsoever with the crime.

The road to freedom for Carter and Artis now lies through the New Jersey Supreme Court, which hears their plea for a new trial on January 12. Those active in defending the two men believe granting of a new trial would be tantamount to acquittal.

One thing that worries Carter is that the chief justice of the state supreme court, Richard Hughes, is the same man who appointed Carter's trial judge, Samuel Lerner, nine years ago. This past year, when Lerner twice refused to grant a new trial, Hughes publicly commended him and promoted him to the state court of appeals.

Carter told the *Militant* the latest developments in the case show that "these people think that justice means 'just us.'"

## Innocent Black youth on death row in Louisiana

By Joel Aber

NEW ORLEANS—Juanita Tyler's home in the Black community of Preston Hollow was decorated for Christmas. But she could not share the holiday with her seventeen-year-old son Gary.

Gary Tyler has been sentenced to death for a murder he did not commit. Last November 14, an all-white jury found him guilty of shooting and killing a white student at Destrehan High School on October 7, 1974.

I interviewed Juanita Tyler on Christmas day. The week before, she told me, Gary was transferred from the local St. Charles Parish prison to death row at Angola, the Louisiana state prison. She will not be permitted to visit her son for thirty days.

She described to me the circumstances under which her son was framed up for murder. School had been closed early after several fights erupted between white and Black students.

Three busloads of Black students pulled away from the school, past a stone-throwing mob of 200 white students. Someone fired a shot, and

Timothy Weber was killed.

The next day, David Duke of the Ku Klux Klan flew to Louisiana after stirring up trouble in Boston. Duke held a rally at Destrehan High School, twenty-five miles from downtown New Orleans, denouncing "Black savages." It was in this atmosphere of racist hysteria that Gary Tyler was singled out, indicted, tried, and convicted.

Gary was not in school October 7. He and Huey Smith were walking home along the Mississippi River levee when a St. Charles Parish deputy sheriff, V. J. St. Pierre, picked them up.

Gary was wearing tight-fitting blue jeans and a knit T-shirt. There was no way he could have been hiding a gun.

St. Pierre drove the two youths to the fighting at the high school and released them there. Along with all the other Black students, they were herded into a bus. After the shooting, sheriff's deputies searched the bus and arrested Gary Tyler for "disturbing the peace."

Juanita Tyler drove to the sheriff's substation at New Sarpy. "I'm just a mother concerned about her son," she told me. "But they wouldn't let me

inside. I heard them beating and slapping Gary.

"I asked to see Gary, and V.J. [St. Pierre] came out. V.J. said, 'My little cousin just got his brains blown out and some motherfucker's gonna pay for it.'"

"I said I just wanted to see my son, and V.J. said, 'It'll be six months before you see your son.'"

The case against Gary was completely trumped up. After three-and-a-half hours of searching the bus, the police mysteriously "found" a .45-caliber automatic revolver in a bus seat.

Just as mysteriously, the same gun had somehow disappeared earlier from a police firing range. Gary Tyler did not have it when picked up by St. Pierre earlier in the day.

Only one witness—Natalie Blanks, a student on the bus—testified to seeing Gary fire a gun.

But her mother gave a sworn statement to Juanita Tyler's attorney that Natalie had been under psychiatric care for seven years, and that she was unstable, lied frequently, and had drug charges pending against her at the



Gary Tyler (right). Tried and convicted of murder in atmosphere of racist hysteria.

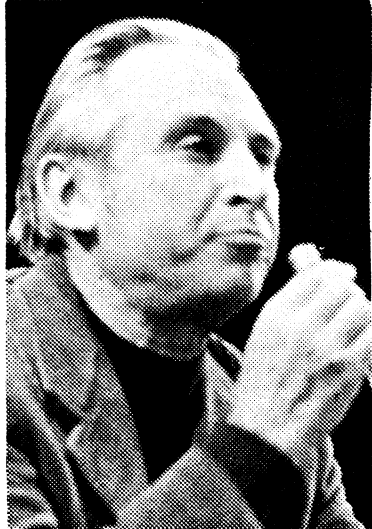
time of Gary's arrest and indictment. This information was never brought out at Gary's trial.

Juanita Tyler is demanding that her son be freed. Only when Gary can return home can the holiday season be a time of joy for the Tyler family.



## Boston U. symposium

# U.S. left debates issues in Portuguese revolution



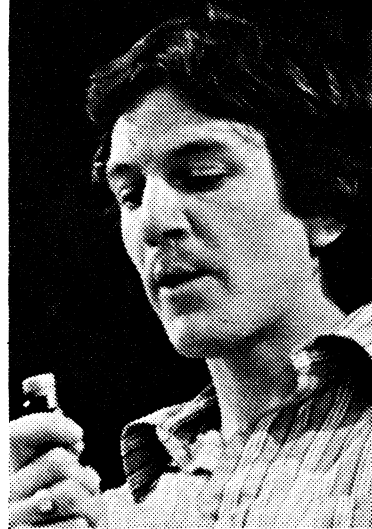
Arthur Simson  
Communist party



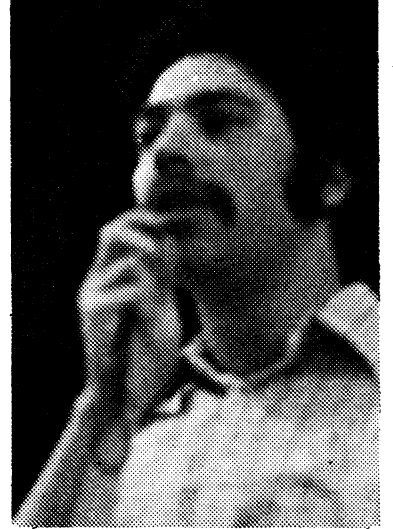
Joan McBride  
International Socialists



Barry Sheppard  
Socialist Workers party



Patrick Smith  
The 'Guardian'



Militant/Anne Teesdale  
Dan Burstein  
October League

### By Steve Clark

Every socialist current has been put to the test by the revolutionary upsurge in Portugal following the April 1974 coup by the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement) that toppled that country's decades-old fascistlike regime.

At each decisive fork in the road, every working-class party—inside Portugal and out—has had to take a stand on vital questions of strategy, tactics, and political program.

At a December 14 symposium on Portugal at Boston University, representatives of five tendencies on the U.S. left participated in a debate on this central development in the international class struggle. The symposium, sponsored by the campus student-government, was attended by 300 people.

Speaking on the panel were Arthur Simson, a frequent correspondent from Portugal for the U.S. Communist party newspaper, the *Daily World*; Barry Sheppard, Socialist Workers party national organization secretary; Joan McBride, of the International Socialists; Patrick Smith, a writer for the pro-Maoist *Guardian* newspaper; and Dan Burstein, of the Maoist October League.

Also on the panel were Mário Castanheira of the Portuguese Committee for Democratic Action and two Boston-area journalists who have recently visited Portugal—Danny Schechter of WBCN radio and Boston *Phoenix* reporter Sid Blumenthal.

### What kind of revolution?

An obvious first question in a serious discussion of revolutionary prospects for Portugal is: What kind of revolution are we talking about?

SWP leader Barry Sheppard offered his answer to this question in opening remarks. "The mass upsurge in Portugal during the past year and a half," he said, "has placed the socialist revolution on the agenda."

"The Portuguese masses, whose democratic rights had been suppressed for forty-eight years, very swiftly came to the conclusion that the correct name for the *opposite* of what they had lived under for so long—the correct name for what they wanted—was *socialism*."

Hundreds of thousands of Portuguese workers joined the previously illegal trade unions, Sheppard explained. Tens of thousands joined the political parties they believed to be socialist, especially the Socialist and Communist parties. The deep radicalization could be seen in the outbreak of strike struggles and factory occupations; the election of workers commissions in many plants; the breakdown of military discipline among rank-and-file soldiers; and the enormous mobilizations that blocked rightist coup attempts in September 1974 and March 1975.

"It was also reflected in the elections to the Constituent Assembly last spring," Sheppard said, "when all the parties—even the capitalist parties—

claimed to be socialist and when the majority of votes were cast for the two big workers parties—the Socialists and Communists."

Joan McBride of the International Socialists, while differing with Sheppard on many crucial questions of strategy and tactics, agreed that the fundamental dynamic of the Portuguese events was toward a socialist revolution.

### Now or later?

Other panelists, however, disagreed.

Patrick Smith of the *Guardian*, for example, did not believe that the socialist revolution was on the agenda in Portugal for some time to come. "In the context of the present situation," he said, "the principal battle is between neo-fascism and democracy."

Smith was not referring here to the struggle for democratic rights, a key aspect of the struggle to make the Portuguese socialist revolution. He was talking about "democracy" on a capitalist basis, postponing the struggle for socialism to a "stage" in the indeterminate future.

Communist party spokesperson Arthur Simson sidestepped the issue, as he did most other disputed questions throughout the symposium. The CP's position was clarified several days later, however, in a December 17 *Daily World* account of a meeting of the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist party (PCP). According to this report, the Central Committee "said that a democratic regime, developing toward socialism, remains a long-term objective of the Portuguese revolution."

On this point, the *Guardian* and *Daily World* are in close agreement.

Both the *Guardian* and *Daily World* also share the view that the Armed Forces Movement is the leading force in the unfolding Portuguese revolution. Before the Socialist party became the favorite of the MFA government this fall, the Portuguese Communist party for eighteen months had loyally helped the generals and admirals attempt to impose their stiff austerity measures on Portuguese workers. The PCP served as the MFA's policeman in the labor movement.

Simson spoke in particularly glowing terms about Portugal's fifth provisional government—headed by Col. Vasco Gonçalves—which was replaced in late August. The PCP had achieved its greatest influence in this cabinet. Panelist Mário Castanheira also praised Gonçalves, saying that his was "the government that for the first time in 800 years did something for Portugal."

Smith from the *Guardian* gave his seal of approval to the fifth government too, contrasting it favorably with the current Lisbon regime.

Despite the fact that both Simson and Smith were highly critical of the current SP-backed sixth MFA-dominated provisional government, the *Guardian* and *Daily World* have sounded the alarm against what they believe to be—as the *Guardian*

put it—the threat that "the MFA would be eliminated as a political force." The *Daily World* wrote recently that the MFA's dissolution could be "the most reactionary move in the last 19 months. . . ."

### Socialist demagogy

Sheppard differed sharply with these estimates of the Armed Forces Movement. The MFA, he insisted, was and remains a capitalist political instrument.

"It was forced to use socialist rhetoric and demagogy to maintain its support," he said. "If it could just maintain support during the mass upsurge, it could hope for eventual restabilization and the reimposition of bourgeois 'law and order.'"

The MFA could not successfully carry out this strategy without the help of the leaderships of the Communist and Socialist parties, which exercise significant influence among Portuguese workers. "The leaders of these parties," Sheppard said, "subordinate the interests of the Portuguese workers to one or another wing of the MFA."

"They have had a rivalry between themselves over which party could do that best, which would get the most cabinet posts, and so on. Last summer during the Gonçalves government, the Communist party was the favored junior partner of the MFA; this fall it has been the socialists."

Sheppard pointed out that many Portuguese organizations to the left of the PCP and SP have failed to provide a clear alternative to the class-collaborationism of the two reformist parties. These centrist groups tended to look to the most radical-sounding officers, such as Gen. Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho and Adm. Rosa Coutinho.

The views of the Revolutionary party of the Proletariat (PRP), a small group championed in this country by the International Socialists, provide an example of these illusions. PRP leader Isobel do Carmo told panelist Joan McBride in an interview recently published in the IS newspaper, *Workers Power*: "Some of the people in the [Gonçalves] government were to the left of the CP. The head of the cabinet was of the revolutionary left. But that was the peak."

### Still imperialist

Sheppard said that such illusions were common among those taken in by MFA phrasemongering. "One of the demagogic things that the MFA did in order to win support," Sheppard explained, "was to call itself a national liberation movement."

"But the problem with that is that Portugal won its independence—from Spain—several centuries ago! Today, Portugal is not an oppressed nation. It is an *imperialist power*, albeit one of the weaker ones."

The MFA's "national liberation" demagogy, Sheppard pointed out, helped mask its true aim, which was to protect Portuguese capitalist interests in its African colonies. "We're a national liberation movement, therefore we're anti-imperialist, there-

fore we can no longer oppress other people," was the MFA's argument, Sheppard said. It helped the generals explain why they kept Portuguese troops in Angola for nearly a year and a half after the April 24 coup.

The MFA's real plan, however, was to shift from direct colonial domination of its colonies to the type of neocolonial arrangement worked out by most other imperialist powers.

### Strategy and tactics

There was a lively discussion of revolutionary strategy and tactics during the symposium, despite the opinion of several panelists that such a discussion within the American left is inappropriate. Simson excused his reluctance to discuss the CP's position on many questions by remarking, "In this room we are not going to decide today the fate of . . . Portugal." Blumenthal of the Boston *Phoenix* called such discussions "counterproductive" and "hairsplitting."

Sheppard explained why he believed such discussions are extremely important. "Parties and factions," he said, "represent different policies for the road ahead—different strategies and tactics."

"Because Marxism is internationalist in its perspective," Sheppard explained, "the discussion of strategy is necessarily also international. It's not enough to say, 'Let's leave it to the Portuguese.' No, the lessons are international, and we must take stands on questions of broad strategy and program in all countries—in order to even understand our own."

Earlier in the symposium, Sheppard pinpointed the central axis of a revolutionary socialist strategy for Portugal: political independence of the working class from all capitalist forces, including from the MFA. "The whole question of strategy at every turning point of the Portuguese revolution," he said, "has been how to organize and help lead the spontaneous upsurge of the masses of working people, students, and others in an independent direction to establish their own power."

Sheppard stressed the need for powerful, united actions of the Portuguese workers to fight for higher wages, against inflation and unemployment, against government strikebreaking, and for full democratic rights.

### Democratic rights

"A central aspect of MFA strategy," Sheppard said, "was to divide the working class." This summer, for example, the PCP spearheaded—for the MFA—a concerted attack on the democratic rights of the Socialist party. Many of the centrist groups in Portugal supported this sectarian vendetta.

The Socialist party-backed daily newspaper *República* was taken over by a small group of printers, who objected to the paper's occasional mild criticisms of the MFA regime. The MFA backed up the take-over.

"Workers democracy," Sheppard pointed out, "does not consist of fifty printing workers censoring the views—no matter how wrong they are—of millions of Socialist party workers. That is not workers democracy; it is capitalist repression—capitalist censorship."

"You can't make a socialist revolution," he said, "by putting yourself in the position where you look like you are suppressing democracy. The MFA, the Communist party, many of the Maoist groups, and the centrist currents identified socialism and communism this summer with the suppression of democratic rights, thereby bolstering one of the props of capitalist rule in the world today: the fear among the masses of people that socialism and communism will mean an end to their democratic rights."

By cheering on the CP's sectarian campaign, Sheppard explained, the centrist groups played into the hands of Mário Soares and the other class-collaborationist SP leaders. During that period, these misleaders were able to pose as champions of democracy in the face of capitalist repression. At the same time, the centrists failed to see the SP's real crime against the Portuguese workers: its political support to the capitalist MFA regime and its subordination of workers' struggles to that regime.

Even right-wing forces were able to cloak their reactionary aims in democratic verbiage during the summer. "Revolutionists should not give the powerful issue of democracy to the right wing," Sheppard said. "That strategy will never lead to victory."

### 'Social fascism'?

Simson tried to defend the PCP's attitude toward the SP by quoting the assertion of a leading Portuguese Stalinist that "Mário Soares is now part of the right." Castanheira called the SP a "right-wing party." The *Guardian* and IS spokespeople

echoed this characterization. Many Portuguese centrists, for example the PRP, even assert that the SP is fascist.

Sheppard pointed to the dangers in this kind of slander campaign inside the workers movement. "Do you think you can win over the working-class majority from the wrong policies of the SP leadership by telling them, 'You belong to a fascist party'?"

"These radicalized workers who have joined the SP don't think that they belong to a fascist party. And they're right."

October League representative Dan Burstein added another dimension to this discussion, hurling the accusation of "social fascism" at the PCP. This refrain is a favorite of most Portuguese Maoist groups as well.

Burstein said that there are two types of fascism in Portugal today: "the fascists of the old Salazar-Caetano-Spinola type, who are tied directly to U.S. imperialism," and the "new type of fascists—the social fascists of the Cunhal [Communist] party." The PCP, he said, is merely the agent of "Soviet social imperialism," which he called the "main danger to the people of Portugal. . . ."

Smith of the *Guardian* agreed that the PCP might be social fascist in the abstract, but insisted that in the concrete situation in Portugal it has been a "representative thus far . . . for the establishment of progressive and democratic rights." He failed to explain how "social fascists" could play such a role.

The potentially disastrous results of sectarian campaigns like these are amply illustrated by the very origins of the term "social fascism." In Germany in the early 1930s, Hitler rose to power on the crest of just such a campaign by the German Communist party against the German social democrats. Stalin's theory of "social fascism" and refusal to call for a united front with the German SP blocked the ability of the German workers to mount a united fight against the Nazi threat.



In aftermath of November 25 adventure, Sheppard said, MFA was able to rebound from blows of militant construction workers' demonstration, shown above.

Ironically, Simson referred to this historical analogy in his closing remarks, of course without referring to Stalin's disastrous policies. "If there had been unity between the Communist party of Germany and the Socialist party of Germany—with all the weaknesses of that party—in 1933," he scolded, "the road to power for Hitler would have been successfully barred."

"The important thing to remember is that working-class unity, and only working-class unity, is going to bar the present threat of fascism in Portugal. . . ."

### Class independence

Sheppard pointed out that leaders of both the PCP and SP had torpedoed this much-needed unity in Portugal through their attacks on the democratic rights of each other.

Sheppard also explained that the concept of working-class unity advanced by the PCP was in reality a policy of unity with the capitalist MFA. "The Portuguese Communist party," as Simson put it, "would like to participate in a government on a principled basis in which the PCP and PSP are represented. . . ." He stressed the leading role that the MFA must play in any such government.

Sheppard differed fundamentally with this class-collaborationist perspective. "We have to unite the working class around the idea that they should have their own government," he said, "and not

subordinate themselves to the MFA—either to the Gonçalves wing, the Carvalho wing, or the wing that is now in the saddle."

"We have to say to the Portuguese workers, 'Why don't the Communist and Socialist parties form a government—a workers and peasants government? After all, they won the majority in the elections last spring.'"

Sheppard continued, "We should ask them, 'Why do we need the MFA—this self-appointed group of military officers? Let's form our own government and begin the construction of socialism.'"

### Minority revolution

To IS spokesperson Joan McBride, all these questions of strategy and tactics seemed irrelevant. "People there [in Portugal] don't need analysis," she said. "They don't need long discussions on the problems. They don't need long discussions on the answers. They know the answers."

McBride said, "What we have in Portugal is a situation of dual power . . . workers commissions, soldiers committees, neighborhood committees, and other organizations of working people. They have linked up in major cities and are governing cities and entire areas." She identified this "dual power" with the small sectarian "soviets" set up by the PRP.

Sheppard said that this utterly fantastic exaggeration of the political situation in Portugal has led the IS, following the PRP in Portugal itself, to totally disregard the question of winning the masses of working people to a revolutionary perspective.

"The problem with groups like the PRP," Sheppard said, "is that winning power is not yet on the order of the day in Portugal. The vast majority of the Portuguese workers still follow either the misleadership of the Communist or Socialist parties into support of a capitalist government."

"Revolutionists must win the majority to a revolutionary course before winning power is on the agenda. The PRP calls for 'insurrection' helped set the stage for the adventurous coup attempt on November 25."

That was the day that radicalized rank-and-file soldiers at several Portuguese military installations were misled by the ultraleft rhetoric of the Stalinists and centrists into trying to change the government by the determined action of a handful. This attempt was rapidly quelled by progovernment troops.

Since the aborted coup attempt, the MFA has stepped up its repressive campaign against democratic rights in the military and in other sectors of Portuguese society. The MFA has intensified its austerity campaign, rebounding from the blows it suffered only a week earlier from a militant strike and demonstration by construction workers. This action had won a much-needed wage hike, which has since been rescinded under the wage freeze proclaimed by the MFA government after crushing the November 25 adventure.

But Sheppard did not agree with the moderator of the panel, who in her opening remarks said, "After the recent events in Portugal, I feel as if I am presiding at a funeral."

"I think it is far too premature to draw an 'X' through the Portuguese revolution," Sheppard said. "The workers, the masses, have not been defeated. They will have the final word."

## To save the schools

The public school system has become a prime target in the Democrats' and Republicans' nationwide drive to cut government spending on social services. Everywhere their bipartisan program is to reduce teaching staffs and increase class sizes; to hold down salaries and roll back contract gains; and to eliminate "frills" such as art, music, athletics, and remedial programs.

Hardest hit are the schools in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities, where youth are already viewed more as inmates to be guarded than as students to be taught.

The war cry of the capitalist politicians is to stop "living beyond our means" and cut out the "luxuries." The future these parties hold out is one where decent education is a luxury available only to those wealthy enough to attend private schools. The very right to free public education is in jeopardy.

The attacks on education have brought growing protests from teachers. There has been a steady rise in teacher strikes—from New York to Berkeley, from Detroit to Atlanta. Now nationwide attention is focused on Pittsburgh, where nearly 5,000 teachers and other school employees have been on strike since December 1.

The teachers are trying to maintain limits on class sizes, stop threatened cutbacks, and win salaries that keep up with inflation. For this a local judge has ordered them back to work under threat of jail terms or heavy fines: now standard procedure in the war against education.

Teachers all across the country are up against formidable obstacles: antiunion laws, strikebreaking courts, and demagogic politicians who try to make public employees the scapegoats for rising taxes. The fight to defend education cannot be won on the picket lines alone. It will take political action by all those with an interest in saving the schools. But what kind of political action?

The crisis in education is just one symptom of the deepgoing economic and social crisis wracking the capitalist system. So long as the Democrats and Republicans govern unchallenged on behalf of private profit and the profit system, their assault on public employees and social services will continue.

To effectively challenge these policies, working people need their own political party: a labor party based on the trade unions. Among the tasks facing a labor party would be the mobilization of teachers, students, and parents in a political fight to:

- Cut class sizes, put every jobless teacher to work, and improve the quality of education.
- Take the tax burden for schools off working people and small homeowners. Provide full federal funding for education out of the \$100 billion now squandered every year on the war budget.
- Repeal all laws that restrict the right of public employees to organize, bargain collectively, and strike.
- Defend the right of Blacks and other minorities to equal education and desegregated schools, and of Chicanos and Puerto Ricans to bilingual education.
- Guarantee the right of students to free speech, assembly, and participation in political activity.

## Chile torture

Sheila Cassidy is a doctor. For the past four years she has lived and worked in Chile.

On October 18 she was asked by a priest to treat a wounded opponent of the dictatorship. She agreed.

For that crime Cassidy was arrested, thrown into prison, and brutally tortured. After her release on December 29 she returned to her home in Britain where she described her treatment at the hands of the Pinochet regime:

"Electrodes were placed on various parts of my body, and the strength of the shocks progressively increased," she said. "Eventually I couldn't stand it." She told her captors what they wanted to hear.

Such barbarism is part of daily life in Chile. The only thing different about Cassidy's case is that she is a British citizen and in a position to make her torture known. Thousands of others have faced the same fate—and worse.

The Chilean generals are not the only ones to blame for this brutality. The responsibility for turning Chile into a huge torture chamber falls squarely on Washington.

It is now a matter of public record that Pinochet and his band of murderers came to power through a campaign organized and financed by the CIA to topple the government of Salvador Allende.

When Kissingers and Fords talk about their concern for human rights and democracy in Portugal or Angola, they ought to be reminded about Chile.

## Corporate kryptonite

For some of those who read *Superman* when it first began in the 1930s, there is a special irony in the recent stories about Joseph Shuster and Jerry Seigel, the creators, winding up destitute. It seems they sold the rights to *Superman* back in the thirties for a few hundred dollars and the publishers went on to make millions out of it while they ended up with nothing.

The irony is that at the time the strip first appeared, some people saw a socialist message in it, with Superman as a fantasized superrevolutionary triumphing over injustice.

That may or may not have been what creators Shuster and Seigel had in mind, but their present situation certainly suggests that more than a superman is needed to combat capitalist injustice.

Discussing their plight with one reporter, Seigel commented, "For years I've been waiting for Superman to crash in and do something about it all. . . . He might have a new ray which is capable of stimulating a corporation's conscience."

That would be a ray more powerful than the Bomb.

Harry Ring  
Los Angeles, California

## Shockley

I was glad to see in the December 26 *Militant* that the racist Schockley was argued down by Prof. Richard Goldsby. However, none of Goldsby's points were reprinted in the article. Could you run a future article demolishing Shockley point by point?  
Amy Lowenstein  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

## Sources, please

As one who has subscribed to the *Militant* for several years, I consider it to be an excellent source of socialist analysis and, of equal importance, accurate information.

I do have a suggestion/request that would greatly benefit those of us among your readers who are students, researchers, "educators," or simply curious: whenever space permits, would you please include enough of a bibliographic citation of a source that has been quoted or paraphrased so that those of us interested might go to the original source for more information?

H.M.  
Columbus, Georgia

## On Angola

It is the height of pious hypocrisy that the U.S. representative to the United Nations demands a condemnation of Russia for an alleged colonialist invasion of Africa! This liberal-racist never ceases to amaze me.

The Soviet Union is indeed jockeying for postcolonial dominance in the national affairs and resources of Angola-Cabinda. Yet recognizing that must not entail an automatic belief that all indigenous factions are puppets of one of the other superpowers, or that victory for any entails subservience to their backers.

The MPLA is the only independent Angolan-based structure willing, capable, and determined to guide an independent Angola into socialism. And it commands the popular support to do so. Because the MPLA receives material aid and political support from

the Soviet Union is a poor reason for assuming that they are no better than the tribalist puppets of the FNLA and UNITA.

The MPLA's materialist pragmatism toward existing capitalist structures must not be viewed as evidence of a lack of socialist-revolutionary intent. To read such an assumption in the *Militant* is sickening. As if Soviet support equals Soviet conquest!

This is pitiful because from past reading, even when I disagreed with a *Militant* view, that view was qualitative and worthy of consideration. Not so in your December 12 "analysis" of the MPLA, its Soviet aid, its alleged procapitalism, Cuba's alleged collaboration with social-imperialist aims.

I'm under no illusions about Russia, or Cuba. And on Angola I've done my homework as best I can in the turmoil of prison. I've learned much from the *Militant* and hope to continue. Return to quality reporting and analysis. You haven't strayed so far that it can't be corrected.

A prisoner  
Michigan

## A better solution

Certainly much more profitable and more conducive to justice, peace, and stability in the whole Middle East than the recent United Nations resolution condemning Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination would be persuading the Israelis and the United States of the practicality and necessity of replacing the artificial "Law of Return" with the natural right of the uprooted Palestinians to return to their homes and property and be citizens, with full rights, of a secular, democratic, and multiracial state in Palestine. Models for such a state are not lacking.

The task is formidable, of course. It calls for courage, imaginativeness, and sacrifice from many; but its feasibility and exceeding value remain undeniable. Any other alternative will *have* to be predicated on an interminable spiral of hatred, violence, and suffering. An integrated Palestine is doubtless superior to a Palestine usurped, dismembered, or abridged.

R. Busailah  
Kokomo, Indiana

## Defends 'Jewish nationalism'

I was shocked by your editorial support for the recent "anti-Zionist" resolution passed by the United Nations General Assembly.

Though I am not a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, I respect the YSA and the Socialist Workers party for their support of the rights of women, Blacks, Chicanos, homosexuals, and political dissidents. I am especially pleased with the *Militant's* coverage of national and international developments in the women's movement.

Unfortunately, the Jewish people has not been afforded this attention by your organization. I have been disappointed in your coverage of efforts to free Soviet Jews and of the rampant anti-Semitism in the United States.

When your paper discusses the state of Israel, much background information is left out. Israel was settled by Jews tired of persecution and sickened by the holocausts of every century. I do not find this nationalism very different from that of friends of mine who are from



Frank Lovell



## Ford's veto of picket bill

Not much was lost by construction workers when Ford vetoed the common-site picketing bill that has been the top legislative goal of the building-trades unions for the past twenty-five years. But the way this bill was passed by Congress and Ford's reasons for the veto tell a good deal about the class character of government in this country and about the self-defeating political strategy of the trade-union bureaucracy.

In 1951 the Supreme Court ruled that picketing of a building site in Denver to force a non-union subcontractor on the same project with organized construction companies to pay union wages and hire union labor was an illegal secondary boycott under the Taft-Hartley law. Since then the union movement has sought legislation to protect the right of the craft unions to enforce union conditions in all departments of construction in the same way that industrial unions negotiate and enforce union conditions in the mass production industries.

The bill that would have legalized common-site picketing contained additional provisions to establish labor-management-government boards to supervise wage negotiations and mediate jurisdictional disputes, impose a cooling-off period before strike action, and make top union officials of international unions responsible for the action of local unions.

Robert Georgine, president of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department, announced that international presidents of the affiliated unions—carpenters, painters, bricklayers, and so on—had agreed to voluntarily minimize picketing that might halt construction. They agreed that the Building Trades Department, representing all of them, would have to give approval before an international union would authorize one of its locals to picket a job site.

These were conditions extracted by Ford in exchange for his false promise to sign the "common situs picketing" bill if passed by Congress.

Thus the legislation that finally passed in both houses of Congress under the joint sponsorship of the AFL-CIO lobby and Labor Department Secretary John Dunlop, for the Ford administration, was in fact two bills—one recognizing the right to picket and the other

to ensure that this right would not be exercised.

The Dunlop provisions in the common-site picketing bill codified a plan that big business has long sought in order to control the building-trades unions and drive down wages in the construction industry. This is why Ford promised to sign the bill.

The trade-union bureaucracy, for its part, was willing to trade off wages and working conditions in exchange for formal recognition and the promise of bargaining rights in this largest, least centralized, most fluid of U.S. industries. AFL-CIO President George Meany said the bill would have furthered industrial peace and acted as a "stabilizing mechanism for collective bargaining."

Ford vetoed the bill because the ruling class is divided in its estimate of how to deal with the labor force in this industry. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the non-union Associated Builders and Contractors, and the open-shop National Right to Work Committee lobbied against the bill. They contend that the present economic and political climate favors their drive to destroy the building-trades unions, that there is no need to enlist the services of the union officialdom to regulate wages. They have their own ways of doing this far more effectively, they say.

The fact that more than half the industry is unorganized and some construction unions are accepting wage cuts lends weight to the arguments of these open-shoppers. They are also encouraged by the voluntary concessions the top AFL-CIO officialdom was willing to make in the hope of having the common-site picketing bill passed.

This dependence upon the political parties of the employing class and the false hopes that the government will protect the gains of the union movement is self-defeating in both the short and the long run, as was demonstrated in this vain effort to get some kind of union protective measure on the statute books. It is a policy that has sapped the strength of the union movement and can only bring more attacks upon it from the employers.

George Meany thinks Ford is "too weak" to stand up to right-wing political pressure. But Ford is not the only one.

## By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



## A New Year's poll

Ting-aling-aling. Time to ring out the old and ring in the new. Good-bye 1975; pleased to meet you 1976.

Maybe 1976 will be a good year and bring Blacks some cheer. Not that we believe in the fairy godmother, Peter Cottontail, or any of that stuff. It's just that Black America is in dire need of social and economic relief. And because 1976 is the bicentennial year, maybe we'll be obliged.

So here are some of the things that Black America wants. These are the results of a poll I took the other day in which I got 25 million replies.

- Nearly all respondents stated they are sick and tired of seeing one out of every four Black workers unemployed. Asked how they would remedy the situation, 97 percent said they favored a reduction in the workweek with no reduction in pay, for openers, and then turning the money wasted on the Pentagon's war budget into creating socially useful jobs. Three percent said they are sick and tired of seeing one out of every four Black workers unemployed, but added that they couldn't think of a remedy to the situation at the moment.

Other issues that drew sharp responses include the following:

- Ninety-eight percent of those replying stated they strongly oppose all cutbacks—whether on the federal, state, or municipal level—in spending for education, health, recreation, housing, or other social services. Under recreation, 2 percent gave the nod to axe funds for building more tennis courts because they found the game too hard to master.

- Blacks are strongly against turning the clock back to the pre-1954 days of segregation and Jim Crow. Ninety-nine percent of respondents said they favor eliminating school segregation through busing.

The same percentage wants all vestiges of segregation removed in employment and housing. One percent of those answering indicated they favor segregation. But these appeared to be crank replies, submitted under names such as Adolph Hitler, Louise Day Hicks, Jerry Ford, and Tarzan the Apeman.

- Government spy agencies received low marks from Blacks. Accumulation of intelligence dossiers on individuals, wiretapping, and bugging should be done away with, Blacks believe. Revelations about FBI agents doubling as Klansmen and about FBI attempts to discredit Martin Luther King have especially raised the dander of Blacks. Ninety-three percent of Blacks now favor abolishing all secret police agencies such as the FBI and CIA. Four percent want the FBI and CIA to investigate why the government has not granted full equality to Blacks, and 3 percent want the FBI and CIA to investigate why, despite brushing with Crest, Blacks are more cavity-prone than whites.

The poll turned up additional information.

- Blacks were deeply heartened over the acquittal last year of Joanne Little, and it renewed their determination to fight future frame-ups.

- Blacks continued to solidarize themselves with the efforts of their brothers and sisters behind prison bars to win dignity and justice. A sizable number of those polled admitted that, upon seeing TV footage of the revolt at Rikers Island prison in New York City this fall, they sprang from their chairs, raised a fist, and hollered "right on."

Finally, nearly every Black vowed on their reply that they, like their behind-bars colleagues, will continue to struggle in 1976—by any means necessary—to gain full equality and liberation.

Bangladesh or Armenia.

Don't get me wrong: I do not favor bombing raids on Palestinian refugee camps, and I support the creation of a Palestinian state on the West Bank. However, I do not think the Palestinians will achieve a homeland by slandering Jewish nationalism at the United Nations. This sort of propaganda will just make Israel *more paranoid* about the world's anti-Semitic propensities.

Therefore, I do not view the UN vote as a "victory." Instead, it will be a stumbling block to peace in the Middle East. Its only advantage is a short-term propaganda gain for the Jews-into-the-sea Arab extremists.

I hope that young Arabs and young Jews can look beyond the centuries of hatred and war to find meaningful compromises, not new missiles. I do not expect this accord soon. It can take place only when the rights of both peoples to existence are recognized. I do not think that the *Militant* hastens this day when it condemns the nationalism of one of the world's most persecuted peoples.

Janet Heller  
Chicago, Illinois

### ERA correction

The article in the December 26 issue of the *Militant* entitled "Actions planned to mobilize ERA support" contains two errors. At the Alice Doesn't Day rally in Los Angeles October 29, the Equal Rights Amendment was not exclusively the theme as could be inferred from the article. There was a broad spectrum of feminist issues raised, although many of the speakers, chants, and signs dealt with the ERA.

Secondly, the Los Angeles Coalition for the ERA was formed by individual women who had worked on Alice Doesn't Day, not by a number of the organizations involved in October 29, as the article states. While several are also members of the groups listed in the article, the groups themselves have not yet voted to participate as organizations. This newly formed coalition is in the process of reaching out to these groups and many others, asking for endorsement and support. We will keep the *Militant* posted on progress of our endeavors.

Sally Frumkin  
Los Angeles, California

### Very suspicious

I thought you might be interested in an article in the December 12 issue of the *Atlanta Journal*. The frame-up case against Peter Camejo has been dismissed by Atlanta authorities.

He was only exercising his constitutional right to dissent at a demonstration against President Ford's visit to the city to speak at a conference on "economic matters," February 3, 1975. He should never have been arrested for "disorderly conduct" and "criminal trespass."

Maybe someone should talk to the FBI about this. Seems like a Cointelpro operation to me.

Lorenzo E. Ervin, Jr.  
Atlanta, Georgia

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 Great Society

Harry Ring



**Doing her bit**—To ease the taxpayers' burden, Queen Elizabeth of England will kick in a quarter of a million dollars a year to support four of her royal relatives. Her sister and mother, however, will continue collecting a quarter million between them from the government. And, to cope with inflation, the queen's allowance was recently upped a million dollars a year.

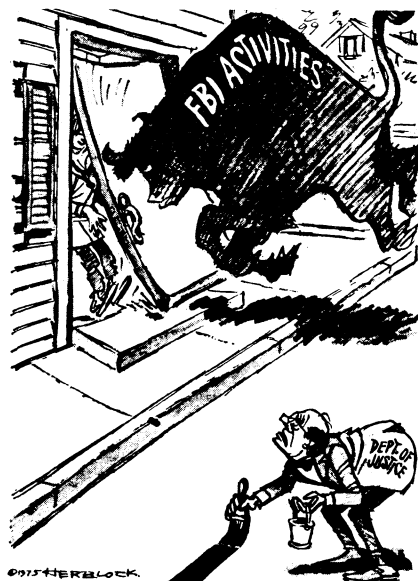
**You can read along**—A new monthly, *The Soap Opera Digest*, offers a running digest of all fourteen major daytime serials.

**They can pile up**—"Sheriff's Lt. Carl Clifford made some unusual friends when he attended the FBI's national Academy in Quantico, Va. . . . One of the delegates to the

elite school was a man from Indonesia who told Clifford about the work he had to clear up before he could come to the U.S. The job: Doing thirteen executions that had piled up."—The Daytona Beach *Evening News*.

**Piety pays?**—A Tuckahoe, New York, lawyer was charged with stealing \$200,000 from the estate of his former priest, the late Msgr. J.A. Kerwin. What intrigued us was that the good father departed this world with an estate of \$763,000. Nearly half a million represented stock holdings in thirty-three companies.

**Apartment hunting?**—New Yorkers griping about the apartment shortage should check out the new Olympic Towers condominium at Fifth Avenue



'We're drawing some guidelines for it'

and Fifty-first Street. A nine-room duplex with fireplace, sauna, circular staircase, and elevator is only \$650,000 down, plus \$964 monthly carrying charge. That includes use of the building health club, wine cellar, and "financial room" for those who relate to stocks.

**Worth its weight in sugar**—The Metropolitan Museum of Art is displaying the world's only pure platinum sugar bowl.

**Solid statement**—If only we could afford it, we'd award each reader who kicks the habit in 1976 the nonsmoker's pin offered by an Atlanta store. In heavy gauge sterling, fifteen dollars. In 14-k gold, only seventy-five dollars.

## iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



### New facts on 'illegals'

LOS ANGELES—For several years Americans have been fed a steady stream of propaganda designed to create an unfavorable image of immigrant workers without documents—the so-called illegal aliens.

According to this racist propaganda, undocumented workers, most of whom are from Mexico and Latin America, are flooding the country to take advantage of us poor folks in the United States. The myth perpetrated by the Immigration Service and the news media has it that undocumented workers are here to make a fast buck. They take good jobs, we're told, earn high wages, collect welfare and food stamps, and use social services—all without paying taxes.

But it's all a big lie. Chicano community groups have been saying this all along, but now an official Labor Department study entitled "Illegal Aliens: Their Characteristics and Role In The U.S. Labor Market" backs them up.

The study consists of interviews with 793 undocumented workers. The findings show that undocumented immigrants work at the hardest jobs and get the lowest wages. They do pay taxes and they

don't use social services because they are afraid of getting caught by *la migra*.

One of the most startling statistics concerns welfare. Despite their impoverished circumstances, only 0.5 percent of those interviewed had ever received welfare. Only 1.3 percent had ever received food stamps, and only 4.0 percent had ever collected unemployment benefits.

Only 27 percent of the undocumented workers had used hospitals or clinics, and only 8 percent had children in school (either here or in Mexico).

Nonetheless, these workers were being heavily taxed to pay for these services.

Workers interviewed were found to be earning \$2.66 an hour compared with the average U.S. wage of \$4.47.

Farm workers were earning an average of \$2.07 an hour. Construction workers were getting \$2.98, while the average for citizens in construction is \$7.15; those in manufacturing were getting \$2.92, while U.S. citizens get \$4.73.

Actually, these overall statistics for immigrants without visa papers do not reveal the full extent of exploitation of *mexicanos*. The sample included

Eastern Hemisphere immigrants.

Among Mexicans interviewed, the overall average wage was \$2.33. Not only do immigrants without visas earn less, they work more hours: an average of 44.5 a week compared with 35.9 for citizens.

The report also provides a clue as to why profit-hungry employers are able to get away with this legal wage robbery. Only 10 percent of the Mexican immigrants without papers belonged to unions. Racist union bureaucrats who refuse to organize all workers share the responsibility for the shameless exploitation of *mexicanos*.

In the Southwest, only 1.5 percent were unionized; in the border counties, 0.7 percent. Only 0.7 percent of undocumented farm workers were found to be organized. This underlines the importance of the United Farm Workers accomplishing its stated goal of organizing all farm workers, with or without papers.

Meanwhile, we must use the newly available data to blast the lying propaganda being spread by supporters of the Rodino bill and other measures designed to further victimize the undocumented workers.

## Their Government

Nancy Cole



### Rosenbergs: cold-war victims

More than 29,000 pages of FBI documents on the 1950s espionage case of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg have been turned over to their sons, Michael and Robert Meeropol. These files, by the FBI's own admission, are less than half of what the bureau is withholding under their old standby, "national security."

The Rosenbergs were electrocuted in 1953 for allegedly passing the "secret" of the atomic bomb to the Soviet Union. The Meeropols have worked diligently to make these long-secret files public to prove their parents' innocence. They see their effort as part of a larger campaign to expose government lies and persecution of those out of step with the American "system."

It may take researchers years to sift through the disorganized FBI files and reconstruct the insidious plot to "get the Rosenbergs." But what has already emerged from the files confirms that the Rosenbergs were victims of the cold war witch-hunt.

The information supposedly passed to the Soviet Union in the form of a crude drawing was not the "secret" of the atomic bomb as the government so

sensationally proclaimed at the time. According to scientific experts, that theoretical knowledge was already known to the Soviet Union.

No, the case was a political production from the word go. And the trial and execution of the Rosenbergs was the government's dramatic illustration of the fate of "commie lovers" in the United States.

The most notable evidence gleaned from the files so far is that David Greenglass, Ethel's brother and the prosecution's key witness, changed his story somewhere between the original accusations and the trial. At first he told interrogators that he had no espionage contact with Julius, that his own wife Ruth had recruited him to the spying operation. Later in the same session he switched, claiming Julius had put Ruth up to the recruiting.

In an interview with the chief assistant U.S. attorney, the files reveal, Greenglass first said that Ethel had never been present at any of the meetings where "secrets" were passed from him to Julius, and that he had never talked with her about it at all. But at the trial he testified that not only had

Ethel been present, but she had actually typed up some of the information.

In one FBI memo, assistant attorney general James McNerney is quoted as saying that he promised Greenglass he would recommend an early parole for Greenglass because of his testimony against Ethel. David Greenglass served nine years of a fifteen-year sentence. Ruth Greenglass was never indicted.

The latest information turned up by researchers is that an FBI informer listened in on meetings between the Rosenbergs and their defense attorney, Emanuel Bloch.

Morton Sobell was convicted of aiding the Rosenbergs, and he spent eighteen years in prison. He was paroled in 1969, apparently not with the FBI's fond wishes. A September 11, 1973, FBI memo noted that "he has not been engaged in overt activities due to his conditional release but that it is believed that in the event of a national emergency he could represent a threat to the national security."

That phony excuse may have worked in 1951, but not many people are buying it anymore.

# Means convicted in racist S.D. frame-up

By José Pérez

Russell Means, an Oglala Sioux and a leader of the American Indian Movement, has been sentenced to four years in prison on trumped-up charges of rioting.

Means was convicted December 15 in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, and sentenced December 31. His bail has been continued pending decision on whether he will be allowed bond while appeals are in progress or whether he will have to go to prison immediately.

These charges have a long history, going back to early in 1973, a few weeks before the occupation of Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota.

On February 6, 1973, a large delegation of Indians went to the courthouse in Custer, South Dakota, to demand that stiffer charges be brought against a white man who had murdered an Indian.

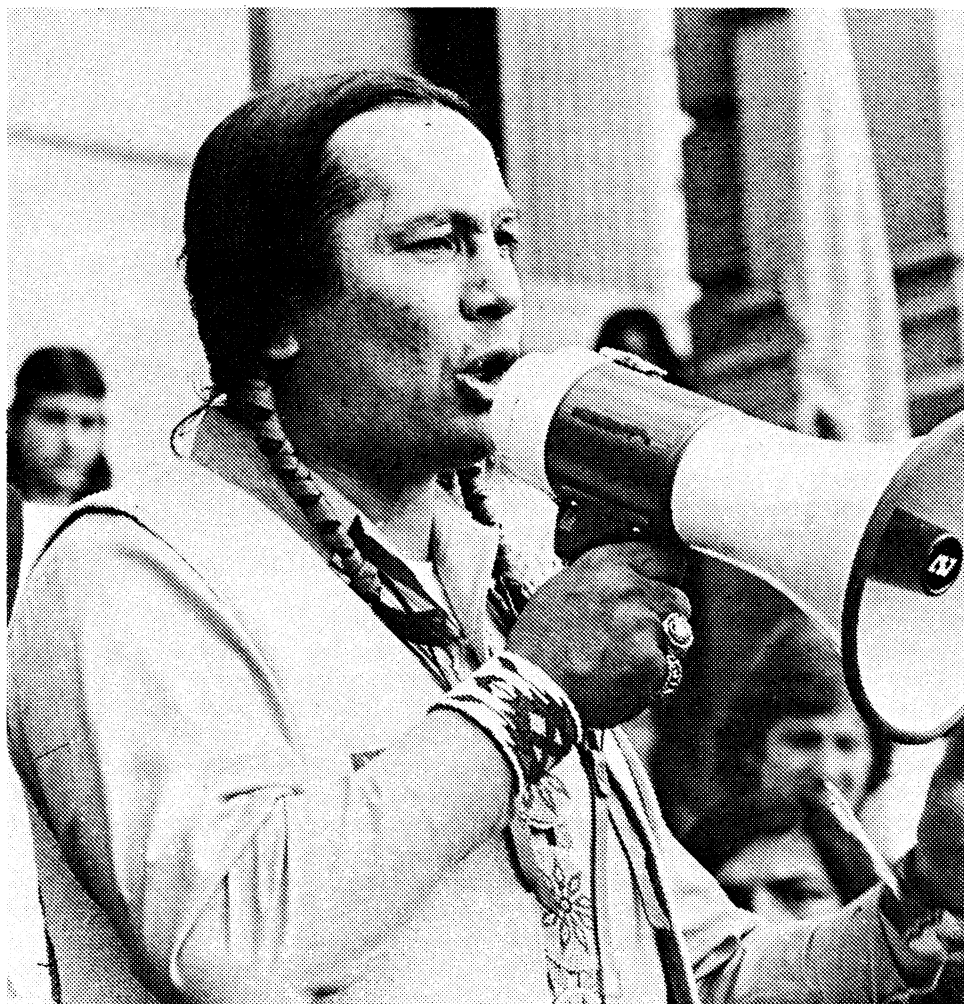
The police savagely attacked this protest, but the government, instead of punishing the cops, indicted the Indians. One of these "Custer cases" came up for trial in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, in 1974.

While jury selection was in progress a dispute developed between defense lawyers and Circuit Judge Joseph Bottum. Bottum jailed the only Indian on the defense team of three lawyers, and in symbolic protest, spectators supporting the defendants refused to stand when the judge entered the courtroom.

The first time this happened, on April 27, 1974, the judge ordered the cops to remove those sitting from the room and this was accomplished peacefully. However, at the next hearing, on April 30, when people again refused to stand, the judge left the room.

As the spectators were waiting, suddenly two dozen members of the state tactical police squad burst into the room and attacked the Indians. The police assault was obviously carefully planned and coordinated with both the prosecutor and the judge.

Among the victims of the police riot was Russell Means, who had traveled from St. Paul, Minnesota, to help negotiate an end to the courtroom dispute. He had been on trial in St. Paul on charges stemming from the Wounded Knee occupation. As in Custer, the victims in the Sioux Falls



Militant/Muffie Page

RUSSELL MEANS: Found guilty of 'riot' that cops started by attacking Indians in South Dakota courtroom.

courtroom assault became the criminals in the eyes of the state and were indicted.

When one of the "Sioux Falls cases" came up several months ago, Circuit Judge Richard Braithwaite dismissed the charges. More than 100 possible jurors had been interviewed, and an impartial panel couldn't be found.

After that decision, Braithwaite was heavily criticized in the local press, and this had an effect.

Jury selection for the trial of Russell Means began August 25, 1975. As the weeks dragged on and more and more prospective jurors were dismissed because of prejudice, the defense moved to throw out the case altogether. However, contradicting the clear precedent of his own decision a few months earlier, Judge Braithwaite insisted that the trial go on.

After seven weeks and more than

200 possible jurors had been questioned, Means was forced to waive his right to a trial by jury, and agreed to let the judge decide the case.

The state's case was clearly fabricated. One prosecution witness, Kenneth Dahl, admitted under cross-examination that the attorney general of South Dakota, William Janklow, paid a special visit to him in prison, offering parole in exchange for testimony.

One cop and two county commissioners testified that they saw Means breaking a window in the courthouse; however, they couldn't agree on how Means had done this.

Two Lutheran bishops, eyewitnesses to the April 30 events, testified that the cops started the riot and attacked defendants and spectators. They also testified that Judge Bottum admitted planning the riot, saying, "These are

not ordinary Indians. These are the toughs. They were asking for it and I let them have it. I accept full responsibility for it."

Despite all this, Braithwaite found Means guilty. As Means explained in his opening statement to the court, "The only reason these charges were brought is because I'm a leader of the American Indian Movement."

Means has spent twelve of the last twenty-four months on trial on a variety of trumped-up state and federal charges. The best known is the Wounded Knee case tried in St. Paul, where extensive publicity and protests led to revelation after revelation of massive government lawbreaking to frame up Means and other AIM leaders. Means and codefendant Dennis Banks were acquitted in the end.

Means still faces six more trials, including a charge of murdering a man who told police before he died that Means didn't shoot him. Also, an assault charge stemming from an assassination attempt against Means last summer in which he was shot in the back by the son of a police officer.

The charges against Means are only a small sample of the hundreds of others that have been brought against Indian activists since the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973. The pace of this repression has increased since last June, when an Indian was killed in an incident on the Pine Ridge reservation where two FBI agents also died.

As Means explained in a news release last November, "South Dakota has brought in five federal judges from other states to try 154 Indian cases in three months. Some cases have more than one defendant; in Rapid City alone there were seven jury trials in eight days."

In addition, all of the offices of the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee have been raided at least once by the cops in recent months. Committee lawyer Bruce Ellison also told the *Militant* that he and other lawyers have been subpoenaed to testify before a grand jury in mid-January, in clear violation of attorney-client privilege of privacy.

Clearly what is involved is not just an attempt to victimize individual militants, serious as that is, but to break the Indian struggle against racist oppression and destroy the American Indian Movement.

## Army whitewashes 1890 Indian massacre

In recent issues of this and other newspapers there have been commemorative articles telling the true history of the 1890 massacre of Sioux Indians at Wounded Knee.

The December 29, 1890, slaughter is important because it climaxed a thirty-year campaign by the U.S. government to wipe out the tribes of the Great Plains and steal their land.

Also, the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee has become a symbol of the renewed struggles by Indians against racist oppression and for the right to control their own affairs.

Apparently fearing this renewed discussion of the United States record of 200 years of genocide against the original inhabitants of this country, the army released on the anniversary of the massacre a twenty-four-page whitewash of what happened in 1890.

Calling the event a massacre is "unfair and inaccurate," the army

contends. "The Army showed great restraint and compassion" before the shooting began, and "restraint and precautions were even observed during the battle. . . . There is not one iota of evidence . . . nor can it be implied that there was any indiscriminate killing."

The whitewash concedes that "individual excesses occurred," carried out by "inexperienced, untested troops who were carried away in the heat of battle." But the slaughter of the Sioux band—two-thirds of it women and children—was accidental, "not the deliberate, intentional shooting of helpless persons."

History has it otherwise. The U.S. Seventh Cavalry was sent out to hunt down this band of 350 Sioux because the Indians were practicing a religion the government had forbidden.

When the cavalry caught up with the band, the Indians offered no resistance. They were told where to camp

and did so, surrounded by 600 soldiers and powerful Hotchkiss guns, which could hurl explosive charges up to two miles.

The morning after their capture the Indians were disarmed. As this was being completed, a young Sioux protested being forced to give up his rifle. The army then simply opened fire.

The Hotchkiss guns, placed on a rise overlooking the Indian camp, began firing nearly a shell a second. Many Indians fled, and were chased for two to three miles by the soldiers and killed.

When it was over, most of the Indians were dead—precisely how many, no one knows. Twenty-five soldiers were also killed, mostly by army bullets or shrapnel.

Indian leaders and even white historians and Democratic party politicians have blasted the army for this new whitewash.

Vernon Bellecourt, a national coordinator of the American Indian Movement, said the study was "hypocritical" and "false." Sen. James Abourezk (D-S.D.) called the army report "outrageous," adding, "They say it's not a massacre. I don't know what you'd call it, unless you want to redefine the English language."

The army's report was prepared in response to a bill introduced by Abourezk to give token payment to the descendants of the army's Wounded Knee victims.

But it's not the money that worries the army. What they're afraid of is the legal recognition that the U.S. government carried out a massacre. They are afraid of setting a precedent because similar events have occurred in modern times—for example, in March 1968 at the village of My Lai in Vietnam.

—J.P.



## Mass picket answers injunction

# Pittsburgh teachers defy antistrike order

By Mark McColloch

PITTSBURGH, Jan. 5—Almost all members of the Pittsburgh Federation of Teachers are continuing their strike, now in its sixth week, in defiance of a court injunction issued January 3.

In response to a suit brought by the Pittsburgh Board of Public Education, Common Pleas Judge Donald Ziegler ordered the 3,800 teachers and 900 other unionized school employees to return to work today under terms of their previous contract, which expired November 30.

School Supt. Jerry Olson promptly announced that students would be expected back in the classroom at 1:00 p.m. today. The board was forced to cancel classes, however, when—according to its own reports—only 318 teachers showed up.

"Let me state unequivocally," PFT President Albert Fondy said in response to the court order, "that the strike will not end as a result of this

injunction. It will only end when we have negotiated and ratified new contracts."

Ziegler's order further voided teachers' union rights by prohibiting the strikers from picketing or interfering with the "orderly operation" of the school system.

In a show of strength and solidarity, some 1,800 teachers walked the picket lines in nine-degree weather starting at seven o'clock this morning. Three thousand gathered for a rally later in the morning.

Judge Ziegler's injunction was handed down on the grounds that Pennsylvania law requires 180 days of instruction per year, and that Pittsburgh will lose state funding if the strike continues. But in past teacher strikes in Pennsylvania, the school year has been extended to make up lost days, and no state funds were lost.

Thus the judge's ruling is a thinly veiled effort to get around the fact that public employee strikes are legal in Pennsylvania. PFT attorney Louis Kushner called the ruling "legally indefensible."

School Superintendent Olson, testifying in favor of the injunction, argued that the strike is "detrimental to the educational process." He professed special concern for the effect on Black and other students who, he claimed, "come from homes where they receive little motivation."

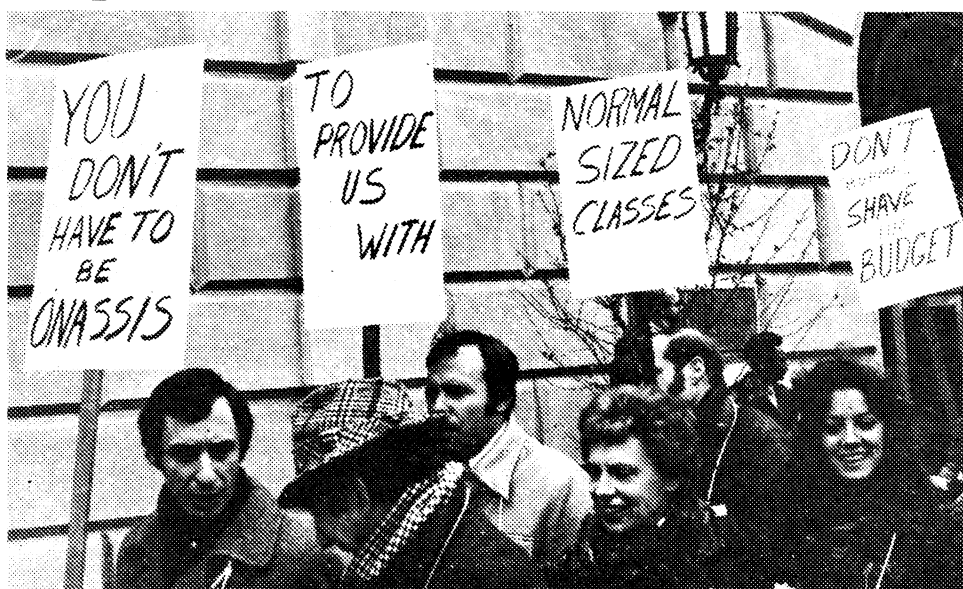
In fact, it is not the teachers' strike but the board's actions that threaten the quality of education in Pittsburgh.

Following the example set in New York City, the board is out to cut educational services, increase class sizes, and hold down teachers' salaries. If the board is able to impose these cutbacks, schools in the Black community are bound to suffer the worst.

PFT President Fondy told the *Militant* earlier in the strike, "Anything that costs money they say they can't afford. The few proposals that don't cost money they say are 'policy matters' and not subject to negotiation. They're sitting around talking about cutting the budget, while we're talking about increasing it."

The board has proposed to lengthen the workday for all teachers, reduce sick days, and remove from the contract all provisions on class size and job security.

The PFT is seeking major salary increases to make up for inflation, a limited cost-of-living escalator clause,



Militant/Fred Stanton

Quality of education is threatened not by teachers' strike but by board's cutbacks

a guarantee against layoffs, and a limit on class size.

The board has publicized its offer to increase salaries a total of \$1,000 over the next year. But, union leaders report, the deal would also increase the average class size from twenty-eight to thirty-six students.

As it becomes clearer that the teachers are the ones fighting for better schools, they have won support on the picket lines from students, parents groups, and other unions. The Allegheny County Central Labor Council has unanimously endorsed the strike.

Students and parents held a news conference last month to denounce the cutbacks planned by the board and voice support for the strike.

High school students at the news conference further exposed the hypocrisy of the board's claim to be safeguarding education by breaking the strike. At the few classes being conducted by scab teachers and administrators, the students reported, those who teach "hardly know what they're talking about. Some of them haven't taught in years. The main reason they are there is that they are afraid they will be fired if they don't cross the picket lines."

The threat of jailing and heavy fines still hangs over the teachers. The board has urged Judge Ziegler to fine the union \$25,000 plus \$10,000 a day for each day the strike continues, and to fine each member of the union negotiating committee \$100 a day.

"Obviously, I wouldn't be too happy

about going to jail," union leader Fondy says, "but whatever has to be done will be done."

When teachers in New Haven, Connecticut, and Cahokia, Illinois, were hit with injunctions and jailings during recent strikes, solid labor and community support—including in New Haven the threat of a general strike—forced the courts and school board to back down.

In Pittsburgh, too, mobilizing support from parents, students, and fellow unionists—along with the continued unity of the PFT membership—will be decisive in defeating the antiunion injunction and winning the strike.

## Which Way for Teachers?

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## City claims 'fiscal crisis'

# Seattle electrical workers fight for wage parity

By Harold Schlechtweg

SEATTLE—More than 700 City Light electrical workers are continuing to hold out against an intransigent, anti-labor city administration. Their strike began October 17 over the issues of wage parity and work-rule changes.

In recent weeks, the strikers have conducted militant picket lines at the public utility's north and south service centers and headquarters downtown.

The striking linemen, dispatchers, powerhouse operators, and system controllers are represented by Local 77, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW).

Charles Silvernale, Local 77 business representative, told the *Militant* that strikers are demanding wage parity with utility workers in surrounding areas—Tacoma and Snohomish County—and at Puget Sound Power and Light.

Wage parity was never an issue in contract negotiations before. During the past twenty-four years, the city has

negotiated according to a 1951 city council resolution granting City Light employees wage parity with other utility workers in the Northwest.

"In the past, all we had to do was convince the city of the prevailing wage rates," Silvernale said.

But last July, in the middle of contract negotiations, the city council rescinded the 1951 resolution. Members of Local 77, working without a contract since March 31, walked off the job when the city refused to better its standard wage offer of 11.5 percent to all unionized city employees.

Since the October walk-out, City Light has continued operations with supervisory and nonunion personnel. In addition, some 200 City Light employees belonging to unions affiliated to the Joint Crafts Council are crossing picket lines and scabbing on the strike.

Seattle's mayor, Wesley Uhlman, contends the electrical workers' strike is over the issues of "fiscal responsibil-

ity and productivity." He has stated that the real issue is "a day's work for a day's pay."

Other Democratic and Republican party politicians joined in attacking the workers. Democratic city council member Tim Hill told reporters, "The demands they are placing on our budget are too severe. The New York situation adds greater import for the city to hold the line on excessive wage increases."

In recent weeks, the strikers have taken a step toward gaining the public support necessary to win this strike. Their picket lines of several hundred strikers were visible demonstrations of determination and solidarity.

Unfortunately, some have made the union's task of winning public support more difficult. On New Year's Eve, a bomb blast did extensive damage to City Light's Laurelhurst substation, plunging a section of the city into darkness.

A terrorist group, the George Jack-

son Brigade, claimed responsibility for the blast, saying it was carried out in solidarity with the striking electrical workers.

Union business representative Silvernale rightly denounced this action. "We don't consider such senseless actions as support," he told reporters.

Despite the strike's long duration, the electrical workers' morale is high. At a mass meeting December 30, the strikers voted 344 to 47 to back up their negotiating committee in rejecting the city's latest offer, essentially the same 11.5 percent wage increase offered in October.

Local 77 maintains that an increase of 15.3 percent is needed to bring City Light wages into line with those paid employees in other utilities.

"Of course, we would like to see this strike over with," Silvernale told reporters, "but we are not going back until we see some movement on the city's part."

# Mpls. taxi drivers on strike

By Bill Onasch

MINNEAPOLIS—On the day after Christmas, 600 drivers and inside workers struck the Yellow and the Blue & White taxi companies here.

The taxi companies are going all-out to break the employees' new union, the Guild of Taxi Drivers and Associated Workers, an independent union that ousted the Teamsters last year as bargaining agent for 90 percent of Minneapolis taxi workers.

Since the old Teamster contract expired August 15, the employers have fired and harassed guild leaders and have slashed commission rates for new drivers. The only offer the fleet owners have made is to demand that drivers give up their commission wages and agree to lease their cabs from the owners.

Similar lease arrangements in other cities have meant a drastic reduction in both driver income and quality of service to the public. The Chicago taxi drivers union estimates that their members have suffered a 25 percent cut in income since leasing was illegally instituted by Yellow Cab there.

The guild estimates that the average Minneapolis driver now makes only \$130 before taxes for a forty-five-hour week. Many inside workers make less than \$3 an hour.

From the first day of the strike, the companies have put scab cars on the street, running from 5 to 10 percent of normal service. Obviously, the employers are losing money on this kind of operation, but they are willing to sustain losses for several weeks if they can break the union.

By keeping their doors open, they hope individual drivers will become hungry and demoralized and drift back to work in ones and twos. National Yellow Cab is prepared to subsidize this local war of attrition.

The guild has operated flying picket squads that have convinced several scabs to mend their ways. The pickets also inform the public about the strike and ask people not to ride in the scab taxis.

Although the guild won bargaining rights for the employees from the Teamsters, they couldn't get access to the hundreds of thousands of dollars the Teamsters collected from the drivers over the years.

Starting out from scratch, the guild treasury is not in shape to pay strike benefits. The union has been able to get donations of food to feed those on picket duty and has helped its members get public assistance.

The taxi drivers need the support of the rest of the labor movement in their fight for decent wages and the union of their choice. Although some unions—notably American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 6, and United Electrical Workers Local 1139—are backing the strike, most labor officials have taken a cool attitude toward the guild because of its independent status.

This shortsighted attitude is a disservice to their own members, because if the taxi fleet owners succeed in breaking the guild, it will only encourage similar antiunion attacks by other employers.

# 'Labor Committee' uses disruption, violence in bid to silence socialists

By Jim Mack

"If you see these zombie scum on the street peddling their rag, the Militant, let them know what happened to fascists in WWII. . . . fascist dogs have no political rights!"

This quote is from a leaflet distributed outside a recent meeting in Chicago for Peter Camejo, the Socialist Workers party candidate for president. The leaflet was signed by the "U.S. Labor party," a name used more and more frequently by the right-wing National Caucus of Labor Committees.

At the bottom of the leaflet appeared telephone numbers of SWP headquarters and several individual SWP members in Chicago, St. Louis, and Milwaukee. The leaflet said: "Call them and let them know that you will not allow a grey flannel pervert FBI agent to run for president. . . . FINISH WORLD WAR II!"

This open threat of violence is part of the NCLC's nationwide campaign of harassment and disruption against the SWP and other socialist groups. This antisocialist offensive goes hand in hand with the antilabor and anti-Black activities that we have described in previous articles.

The fact that the NCLC uses socialist language and denounces its opponents as fascists has confused many people about the real character of the organization. This confusion is one of the things the NCLC hopes to accomplish. The originators of this technique were the Nazis in Germany, who used socialist and anticapitalist rhetoric to mask their real anti-working-class program.

## 'Rockefeller agents'

The NCLC campaign against radical groups is justified on the grounds that these groups are all agents of Nelson Rockefeller. *New Solidarity*, the NCLC's biweekly newspaper, wrote November 20, 1975: "Throughout the country over the past week, Rockefeller's 'left cover' outfits—the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party USA, Baraka's Congress of African Peoples, plus an assortment of individual agents and ad hoc coalitions—have been confronted with a choice: either close their public events down, or face the risk of being held accountable for their crimes. . . ."

It is obvious that despite the "anti-Rockefeller" veneer, the real goal of the NCLC actions is to deny socialists and other working-class groups the democratic right to function openly. To compel them, in the NCLC's words, to "close their public events down."

Their methods are violence and threats of violence, sustained harassment of individuals, provocative attempts to disrupt political meetings, and use of reactionary laws against the democratic rights of left-wing groups.

• One of the NCLC's favorite tactics is to use restrictive ballot laws to deny SWP candidates the right to be on the ballot. The NCLC has filed challenges to SWP nominating petitions in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Seattle. In some cases they have been successful in having the socialists removed from the ballot on the grounds of technical violations.

In Chicago, during Willie Mae Reid's 1975 campaign for mayor on the SWP ticket, the NCLC harassed campaign workers who were circulating her nominating petitions.

## 'Militant' sellers harassed

• In cities across the country, NCLC "organizers" concentrate a good deal of energy on harassing people selling the *Militant* on street corners. The NCLC thugs try to provoke fights. Failing that, they do their best to interfere with sales.



Militant/Afrodita Constantinidis

Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo. 'Labor Committee' says socialists 'have no political rights' and urges violence to 'close their public events down.'

• In recent months, the NCLC has stepped up its campaign of harassing phone calls, often at odd hours, to socialists. Repeated calls are also made to SWP headquarters. This tactic is part of the NCLC's attempts to create a general atmosphere of intimidation.

• On some college campuses, the NCLC has demanded that radical student groups be barred and denied use of college facilities.

• NCLC members frequently disrupt public meetings by interrupting speakers and creating disturbances.

In 1973, a similar series of actions culminated in a wave of physical violence against the SWP and the CP. Members of the NCLC, armed with clubs, num-chucks (jointed sticks), and brass knuckles, attacked meetings of these groups. Later, the NCLC goons began attacking individual members of the SWP and the CP.

The current round of attacks hasn't reached that level yet. However, that is clearly the logic of the Labor Committee's provocative acts and incendiary rhetoric.

## Assassination of Kennedy

Among the most pernicious elements of the NCLC's current drive is their accusation that the Socialist Workers party and the Communist party participated in the assassination of President Kennedy.

This is part of the attempt to portray the SWP as a terrorist organization. The primary sources of the charge that the SWP is terrorist are the FBI and other government agencies that are trying to justify their illegal spying and harassment against socialists.

These slanders also echo the charges made by ultraright groups that "communists" were responsible for the Kennedy killing and for recent attempts on Ford's life.

The NCLC, of course, doesn't offer even a shred of evidence to back up these absurd charges. But that doesn't prevent them from advertising public meetings with titles such as "How the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party (USA) participated in the murder of John F. Kennedy."

In one leaflet circulated recently in Seattle, the NCLC reproduced a photograph of Lee Harvey Oswald distributing handbills of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. The caption read, "Lee Harvey Oswald passing out leaflets for an SWP front group in New Orleans prior to J.F.K. assassination."

This NCLC leaflet states, "Unless Rockefeller's FBI goons, his LEAA [Law Enforcement Assistance Administration] and his Maoist drug pushers are caged now, the lives of many, including President Ford and Labor Party Presidential candidate [Lyndon] LaRouche are in grave danger."

Thus, the NCLC's campaign against the SWP and other radical groups dovetails perfectly with the attempts by such right-wing terrorist groups as the Legion of Justice in Chicago to intimidate radicals and prevent them from carrying out activities.

At the same time, the NCLC accusations that socialists are responsible for violence and assassinations plays right into the hands of the FBI, which is desperately trying to justify its attempts to deny socialists' democratic rights on the grounds that the SWP is made up of assassins and conspirators plotting violence.



Photo of Lee Harvey Oswald reproduced by 'Labor Committee' with caption accusing SWP of participating in Kennedy assassination. Their charges dovetail with FBI's attempt to portray socialists as terrorists.



## Phantom crews provide votes

# Growers and Teamsters rig Coachella elections

By Arnold Weissberg

COACHELLA, Calif.—Normally, the United Farm Workers organizing staff here would be only a skeleton crew, preparing for the organizing drive that will be under way when the grape harvest begins this spring.

But there is a UFW staff already functioning here, headed by Eliseo Medina. They are on the scene early because the local citrus and vegetable growers have developed an ominous new trick to keep the UFW from winning union representation elections.

Here's how the trick works: According to the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act, an election can only be held when the number of people on the job is more than 50 percent of the number of workers employed at the peak of the harvest.

For example, if Ace Growers hires 400 farm workers at the harvest, no election can take place at Ace when fewer than 201 workers are employed. This is intended to assure that a union representation election is not decided by a small minority.

For an election to be held, a union must submit a petition signed by a majority of workers on the job.

If a union obtains the necessary number of signatures for an election, the company must then make available a list of workers who are eligible to vote. The eligibility list is the payroll list from the pay period immediately preceding the certification of the petition.

But there are no laws specifying any minimum number of hours a worker must put in to be eligible to sign a petition or to vote.

Coachella growers, in collusion with



Coachella farm worker. To keep UFW from winning union representation elections, growers hire crews for as little as half hour, thus making them eligible to vote.

Teamster union bureaucrats, have used this loophole to pad payrolls and rig elections.

What the growers do is bring in a crew to "work" for a very brief time before the petitioning begins—sometimes for as little as a half hour. These handpicked workers, selected by labor contractors for their willingness to vote as they're told, are then eligible to vote in the representation election.

With the phantom crews brought in, the ranch work force is artificially inflated to the necessary 50 percent of the peak figure.

Let us say, for example, that Ace normally has 100 workers in December and 400 during the June harvest. They bring in an additional crew of 101 for one day, giving them 201, or more than half the peak figure of 400. It is now possible to hold a December election at Ace. Teamster organizers move in and collect the required number of signatures, and an election is scheduled for a week later.

The phantom crew returns on election day to vote, and if there's no hitch, the Teamsters may well have "won" the representation election before most of the legitimate workers ever arrive.

This game requires careful coordination between the growers, the labor contractors, and the Teamster hacks. "There has to be collusion because the Teamsters have to know when to file the petitions," explained Henry Giler, a UFW staff attorney in Coachella.

"This is a very serious problem," UFW staffer Paul Cummings told the *Militant*. "The Teamsters and the growers have always been able to work together, and if they can continue to set up elections by arranging to create an artificial peak, they can have a

relatively good chance of winning every election that's going to take place."

UFW complaints to the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB), which oversees the elections and investigates charges of unfair labor practices, have gone unanswered so far.

Despite the fast shuffle that the UFW has gotten, the farm workers union has won six of eleven Coachella elections it has contested so far.

Although the major crop in Coachella is grapes, the grape harvest won't begin until spring. However, preharvest work, like pruning, has already started. The normal crew size for the preharvest is small, but Cummings said that the union has heard that the Teamsters will be filing petitions on a number of grape ranches.

The farm workers movement in Coachella goes back to 1965, when a militant strike took place. It was also in Coachella that the UFW won the first grape contracts in 1970, after a five-year struggle and a worldwide boycott of table grapes that brought the growers to terms.

In 1973, the growers in Coachella signed sweetheart contracts with the Teamsters union to freeze out the UFW. A long and bitter strike, marked by repeated acts of Teamster violence, resulted.

Coachella has always been one of the most hotly contested prizes in the long struggle of the farm workers for justice.

The continued pressure of the grape boycott and a demand that the ALRB guarantee fair elections are necessary to prevent the UFW from being swindled in the coming grape elections.

## City stalls on Proposition M

# Judge orders S.F. to take action on child care

By Robert West

SAN FRANCISCO—Judge Byron Arnold of the California Superior Court has ordered the mayor and board of supervisors of San Francisco to "consider the enactment of an ordinance" to implement child-care expansion mandated more than two years ago by the city's voters.

Proposition M, making it the policy of San Francisco "that low cost, quality child care be made available to all San Francisco children," was passed in November 1973 with more than 96,000 votes in favor.

Since that time, nothing has been done to implement the decision of the voters. The suit demanding action by the city was brought by Child and Parent Action, the coalition formed in 1973 to place Proposition M on the ballot and campaign for its passage.

Coplatiffs in the case were the Childcare Switchboard, the Children's Council, the National Organization for Women, and two working parents who now have their children in high-cost centers.

The case was handled by Prudence Kay Poppink for the Employment Law Center. Judge Arnold handed down his decision on December 19.

There are at least 50,000 children under the age of six in this city who are in need of quality child-care centers. To place one child in a private full-day center costs thirty-five to forty-five dollars per week.

Despite this desperate need for low-cost child-care centers, and despite the directive of 96,000 voters, not one step has been taken by the liberal Democratic city administration.

After the victory of Proposition M, Child and Parent Action sponsored a city-wide conference at which parents, teachers, and community groups worked out detailed plans for its implementation. These were given to the mayor, the board of supervisors, and the board of education.

The only expansion of even a token nature was carried out by the San Francisco Unified School District, which voted in August 1974 to expand its child-care program by \$1.8 million. Yet by August 1975, only 27 percent of these funds had actually been used.

The excuse of the school district is lack of space for expansion. The district has more than 2,500 children on its waiting list, many of whom have

been waiting for three years for a center.

The court victory does not mean there will be an expansion of child care in San Francisco. It will take the mobilization of thousands of parents to bring the necessary pressure on the city administration to ensure that the court order is carried out.

Sylvia Weinstein, cochairperson of Child and Parent Action, was asked by reporters after the court decision about the cost to the taxpayers of such a program.

"The cost of badly cared for children is far greater than any tax burden," she replied.

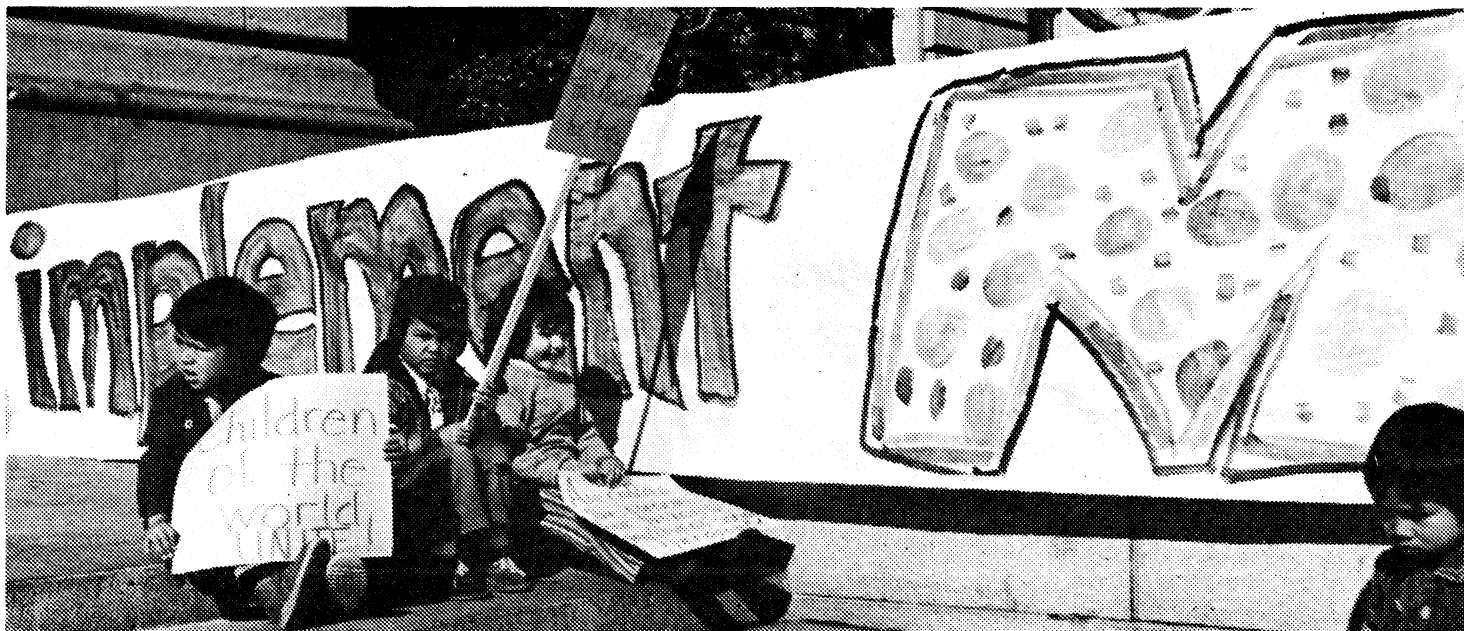
"We are tired of little children having to bear the burden of latchkeys around their necks just because the

business interests do not pay their share of taxes," Weinstein said.

"Every time a big timber company plants a tree they get a tax break from the government. In five years the lumber company gets an increased depreciation for their tree. Even after the tree is cut and sold the industry gets another break.

"Why can't the government do as much for a child as they do for the lumber industry? After all, it's our money."

Child and Parent Action, Weinstein said, intends to continue the pressure on city officials until the mandate of the 96,000 San Francisco voters who demanded expansion of child care is realized.



Children at February 1974 demonstration demanding implementation of child-care proposition

Militant/Howard Petrick



# National City Chicanos fight back against police violence



Militant/Marc Rich

October 28 meeting in National City, California, launched campaign to recall city council.

By Harry Ring

NATIONAL CITY, Calif.—This small city could well be called San Diego's poor neighbor. Immediately adjacent to San Diego, it has a population of about 42,000.

Forty percent of National City's residents are Chicano. About 12 percent are Filipino and perhaps 5 percent are Black.

Although these oppressed nationalities constitute a majority here, they have never had any voice. White racists have always run the town. At least up to now.

The city council is composed of the mayor and four other members. Four of the five are Anglo. One token Mexican-American sits on the council.

## Record of violence

The fifty-five-member police force, virtually all-white, has a record of racist violence. Now that violence has touched off a significant movement in the Chicano community.

This past October 12, Luis Rivera, a twenty-year-old Puerto Rican who lived in the Chicano community, was shot dead by a cop named Craig Short. The killing sparked a wave of protest that is having major repercussions. Right now it is focused on a drive to recall the mayor and two of the four city council members. (The other two are up for reelection in March.)

I recently interviewed the principal organizer of the recall movement, Herman Baca. In 1968 Baca was involved in the Mexican-American Political Association, which is mainly oriented toward the Democratic party. He left MAPA to become San Diego County director of La Raza Unida party.

Baca became best known in the area as a leader of CASA, an organization that worked to defend the rights of undocumented workers from Mexico.

He is now chairperson of the Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights, a coalition of a dozen Chicano groups in San Diego County.

## Story of killing

The story of the killing, as Baca reported it to me, is all too familiar. The police got a call from someone at a party in a barrio church. A man had grabbed two purses from a table and fled.

Short and his partner were dispatched to the area in a patrol car. They saw a man going down the street who they decided was the suspect. They slowed down and turned a spotlight on him. Short pointed his gun at the man and yelled, "Freeze."

Luis Rivera didn't freeze. He bolted down the street. Short shot him dead.

The description of the purse snatcher called in to the police and sent out on the police radio was of a tall person wearing a yellow shirt.

Luis Rivera was not tall and he was wearing a white T-shirt.

Shortly after Rivera was gunned down, two people who had pursued the purse snatcher from the church arrived on the scene. They looked at the body and told the cops they had shot the wrong person.

The killing occurred early Sunday morning. On Monday, Baca said, his phone rang constantly. People wanted to know what would be done about the killing. One of the calls was from the father of Luis Rivera. He asked if the Ad Hoc Committee would see to it that something was done.

The coalition met that night and voted to act. A community meeting was called for the next night.

The anger of the community was evident from the turnout. Four hundred people packed into the same church from which the purses had been reported stolen.

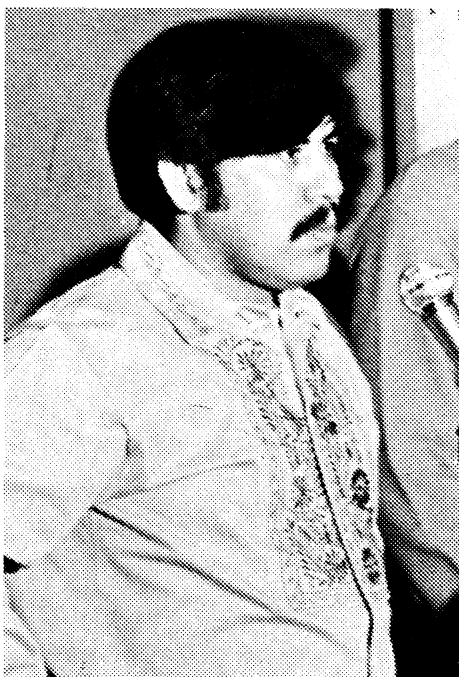
After discussion, the meeting agreed on four demands: a grand jury investigation; an investigation by the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department; creation of an independent citizens' commission to probe the killing; and the firing of the chief of police.

## Confront city council

After the vote, 150 people went down to a meeting of the city council and packed the chamber. Baca presented the demands of the community.

The council members declared they would do nothing. The matter would be handled through "normal" police channels.

A protest march was organized on October 28. In this small city, 1,500 to 2,000 people turned out. They marched from the church to city hall where they



Militant/Marc Rich

BACA: 'There are two justice systems in San Diego County—one for the rich and their servants, and one for the people.'

reiterated their four demands. Again the council refused to consider them.

The people returned to the church for another meeting. There the motion was adopted to launch the recall petition.

Community anger deepened after a San Diego grand jury decided that the killing was an act of "justifiable homicide."

Then the San Diego County district attorney decided to act as though he were doing something. He went before a municipal judge with a charge of second-degree manslaughter against Short.

The hearing proved, however, to be a bitter farce. It was turned into a trial not of Short but of the victim, Rivera. The only witnesses called were police witnesses. They presented a series of unproven, slanderous assertions that Rivera was known to be "violent." The dead youth was so "dangerous," they claimed, that the cops were justified in gunning him down.

The judge agreed. Short was exonerated and ordered reinstated. The cops in the courtroom cheered. The community was enraged, and the recall movement received new impetus.

"A Chicano, a Black, a poor working person, cannot get justice in San Diego County," Baca charged in a statement to the media at the time. "There are two court systems, two justice systems in San Diego County—one for the rich and their servants, and one for the people."

## Registration drive

In our interview, Baca explained that the law is designed to make a recall campaign as difficult as possible. There are only 7,056 registered voters in the city. A recall petition must be signed by 25 percent of them.

As in many Chicano communities, only a small portion of the barrio residents are registered. Baca estimated it was only 16 percent when they started. The key to the success of the drive is the simultaneous effort to register Chicanos so they are qualified to sign the petition.

The campaign has been going extremely well, Baca said. In less than a month they have registered more than 600 new voters and obtained 1,100 signatures on the recall petitions. Another 600 are needed, and Baca thinks they have a good chance of getting them.

Baca said the Ad Hoc Committee is also weighing the possibility of fielding candidates against the two city council members up for reelection in March. The coalition is also considering running for school board.

Baca explained that the political character of the proposed campaign has not been worked out. There are many different political views within the Ad Hoc Committee.

If the group does decide to go ahead

and field candidates, it will have to face the question of the relationship of its campaign to the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. A truly independent campaign, representing a break from the capitalist parties, could be a significant step forward.

## Independent alternative

For his own part, Baca said, he believes the Chicano people need an independent alternative to the two major parties.

"This is what we have struggled for in the past," he said, "an independent political organization that can address itself to the gut issues that affect our community."

He said he sees such a political awakening of the Chicano community as a process that can develop out of struggles such as the present one.

"I believe that will come about," Baca said, "as people see the massive contradictions that exist. Why, for example, the two Democrats on the council never spoke up for them. Or the mayor, a Democrat who is probably run more by the Chamber of Commerce than the [Republican] mayor of San Diego."

"I think a lot more people are waking up today than we ourselves realize," he added. "I think that what people have learned about the judicial system, they'll be seeing in the political system as well."

"I think," he concluded, "that, unknowingly, this is one of the things Luis Rivera contributed with his short life."

## Journalist harassed

NATIONAL CITY, Calif.—José Viesca, a Chicano journalist, writes a weekly Spanish-language column for the National City *Star News*. After the killing of Luis Rivera, Viesca wrote several columns sharply critical of the police.

On November 26, Viesca was getting into his car when four brawny Anglos appeared and began beating him. They warned him that he and his family "would be sorry" if he didn't stop writing articles about the National City police.

That evening, Viesca was stopped by a uniformed policeman and taken to jail for an alleged outstanding traffic violation. He didn't get out until the next afternoon.

On being released from jail, Viesca left town. His wife said she believes he is staying with friends elsewhere.

## Washington gives go-ahead

# Indonesian generals invade East Timor

[The following article appeared in the December 18 issue of *Direct Action*, an Australian revolutionary socialist fortnightly. It has been slightly abridged for reasons of space.]

By John Percy

The generals in Jakarta launched a full-scale invasion of East Timor on December 7, giving up all pretense they weren't using military force to try to crush the nationalist Fretilin\* government.

Indonesian troops overran Dili, the capital of East Timor, in six hours after a naval bombardment. The government of East Timor and its forces retreated to the hills. As many as twenty Indonesian warships, several dozen aircraft, and over 2,000 elite paratroops and marines took part in the assault, according to eyewitness reports radioed to Darwin.

True to their form of 1965, when they butchered up to half a million people, the Indonesian generals are engaging in a wholesale bloodbath. Frantic radio appeals from Dili were received in Darwin on the morning of December 7:

"They are killing indiscriminately," said one broadcast. "Women and children are being shot in the streets. A lot of people have been killed."

"We are all going to be killed. I repeat, we are all going to be killed. . . ."

"This is an appeal for international help. We appeal to the Australian people. Please help us. Please."

### Massacre of Timorese

Fretilin radio reports monitored in Darwin accused Indonesian troops of killing many of Dili's 10,000 Chinese population. José Ramos Horta, Fretilin's spokesman on foreign affairs, said in Lisbon on December 8 that at least 500 people, mostly women and children, had been massacred during the attack.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik at first denied it was an Indonesian invasion. "Indonesia acted in response to a call for help," he said. According to Malik, pro-Indonesian forces captured Dili and then invited Indonesia in to "restore security." But little effort was made to stick to this flimsy cover.

Even while Malik continued to pretend the invasion was by invitation, the Indonesian state radio station in West Timor was telling a very different story:

"As you know, from December 7, 1975, the Indonesian Armed Forces



Fretilin liberation fighters carrying wounded comrade. Indonesia threatens genocidal massacre of Fretilin supporters.

[Tentara Nasional Indonesia—TNI] have taken over the whole of Timor," it told its listeners in East Timor.

The broadcast made no mention of the pro-Indonesian parties—UDT, Apodeti, Kota, and Trabalista. It gave specific instructions to Fretilin soldiers on how they should surrender.

"We call on you to stop fighting. Think several times. Throw down your arms, return home, and surrender to the TNI."

"If not, they will kill all of you."

In a broadcast from Dili after the city was captured, Indonesian and pro-Indonesian parties vowed to kill anyone who supported Fretilin. (Fretilin claims to have 200,000 card-holding members, out of a total population of 650,000.)

### Crocodile tears

Both the Australian Labor party [ALP] and the Liberal-National Country party coalition reacted to the invasion with pious statements of regret.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs Andrew Peacock described the Indonesian invasion as "tragic." He said that while Indonesia's stated objective of restoring law and order was "laudable, the means chosen by Indonesia to achieve it was a matter for deep regret and concern on the part of the Australian Government." However, apart from raising the matter at the United Nations, he indicated his government was not going to do anything about it.

Gough Whitlam also said he deplored the invasion, and accused the coalition of inflaming Indonesia's attitude toward Fretilin by describing it as procommunist. However, he added that "without going into de-

tails," the parties in East Timor had made the present situation "probably inevitable." Like Peacock, Whitlam made it plain he wasn't going to go beyond a verbal protest.

John Kerin, secretary of the Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, condemned the invasion on December 11 and said Australia should urge the UN to demand Indonesia withdraw its troops.

Writing from Jakarta for the December 15 *National Times*, however, Hamish McDonald pointed out the hypocrisy behind the protestations of both Peacock and Whitlam.

"The Australian Government has been aware, right from the beginning, of the covert campaign Indonesia launched on October 6 against the nationalist Fretilin party," he wrote.

"Moreover, both Mr Peacock and the former Prime Minister, Mr Whitlam, are understood to have communicated private assurances to the Indonesians, at crucial points during the four-month civil war, that no objections would be forthcoming to even direct intervention."

The Australian government was given plenty of warning of the invasion. The Australian ambassador in Jakarta was one of the ten ambassadors called in to the Indonesian Foreign Ministry on December 4 to be informed that Indonesia might even feel obliged to "help restore order."

The national chairman of Community Aid Abroad, David Scott, also accused the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs of having had advance notice of the invasion. "The department set out to seal off the island so there would be no chance of any embarrassing incidents," he said on December 9. He said the department had canceled a regular flight due to leave Dili for Darwin on December 7, and had been scrutinizing all cables coming into Darwin from Dili for several weeks.

### OK from Ford, Kissinger

Having been assured that both major parties in Australia would be willing to turn a blind eye, all the butchers in Jakarta needed to proceed with their military conquest was the go-ahead from Washington. According to Fretilin spokesperson Chris Santos speaking in Sydney on December 7, "Dr Kissinger knew of the invasion and gave it his encouragement." The invasion began only hours after President Ford and Kissinger left Indonesia after an official visit.

According to early reports from Indonesian sources, the Indonesian troops won an easy victory. The Indonesian news agency Antara reported that Indonesian forces appeared to be in control of all of East Timor. Reports from Jakarta quoted in the December 12 *Sydney Morning Herald* said Bacau, the country's second largest town, had been captured.

Later reports showed that the Indonesians were meeting stiff resistance, however. A few days after the invasion Indonesian Foreign Minister Malik was only claiming that his forces held "most" of Dili. He said more "volunteers" would be needed from Indonesia.

Radio broadcasts from Fretilin tell of fierce fighting in Dili and Bacau and claim that Indonesian soldiers in villages near Bacau have been surrounded.

It remains to be seen how long the people of East Timor and the Fretilin forces can hold out against the superior Indonesian numbers and military might. It is clear, however, that the resistance is putting up a brave fight, and if the generals are to achieve

their aims, they are going to have to carry out a massive policy of genocide against the people of East Timor and import a huge army of occupation to subdue and colonize the country.

Fretilin's president, Francisco Xavier D'Amaral, told *Sydney Morning Herald* correspondent Michael Richardson on December 2, shortly before he left Dili, that if Indonesia invaded East Timor, "I believe they will have to kill or capture more than 70 per cent of the 650,000 people. . . ."

### Protests mount

The United Nations General Assembly condemned the Indonesian invasion on December 12. A motion deploring the military intervention and calling for Indonesian troops to withdraw without delay was approved by 72 votes to 12 with 43 abstentions. Although the Australian delegate voted for the resolution, he prefaced his vote with an objection to the resolution's crucial parts. Those parts included an expression of deep concern "at the critical situation resulting from the military intervention of armed forces of Indonesia in Portuguese Timor," and a call to Indonesia to



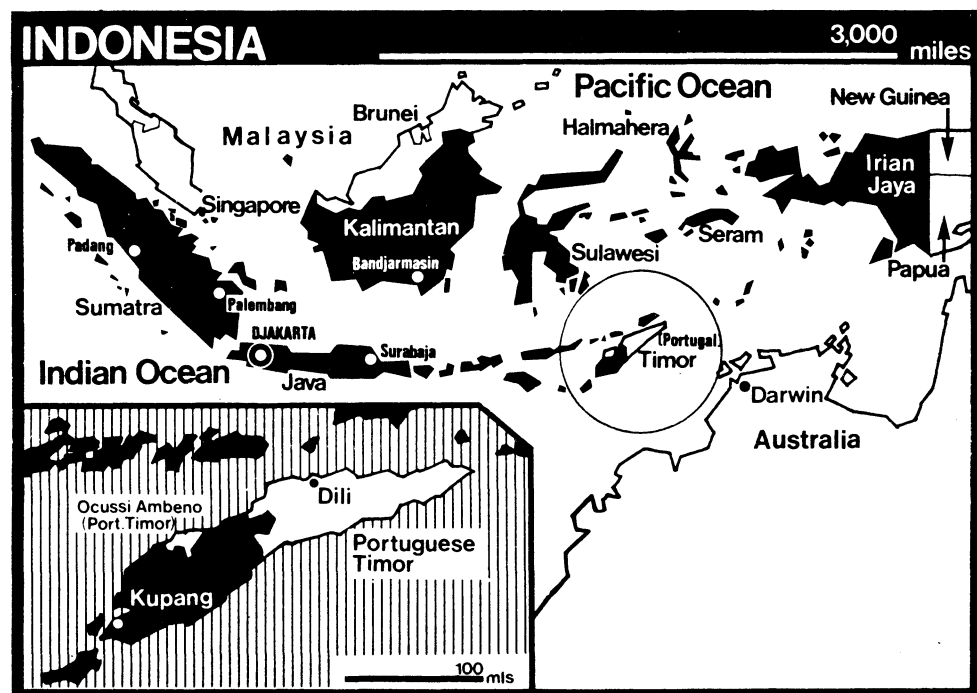
Invasion of Timor began only hours after Kissinger and Ford left Indonesia on official visit.

"Withdraw without delay." Neither section was endorsed by Australia.

In Australia, demonstrations were held in most major cities protesting the Indonesian attack. Within hours of news of the invasion, 150 demonstrators gathered outside the Indonesian consulate in Sydney. Further demonstrations were held on December 8 and December 17. Demonstrations were also held in Melbourne on December 9, Adelaide on December 10, and Brisbane on December 11.

Speakers at the Brisbane demonstration included representatives of the Building Workers Industrial Union, the meat workers, and the Waterside Workers Federation, as well as Terry Farr of the Communist League and Socialist Workers League Senate candidate Renfrey Clarke. Clarke criticized the refusal of the ALP leadership to take an unequivocal stand in opposition to the invasion or to support demands by rank-and-file unionists for a ban on trade with the aggressors.

The most effective action so far has been taken by Australian maritime unions, who have refused to handle war material destined for Indonesia. Waterside workers in Sydney have halted shipment of 200 tonnes of barbed wire—enough to go four times around the earth. Delivery of two Nomad aircraft has also been held up in Darwin.



Manchester Guardian



# World Outlook

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

JANUARY 16, 1976

## Canada, Australia, New Zealand

### Socialists analyze labor party election defeats

Last fall saw labor party governments thrown out of office in elections in Australia, New Zealand, and the Canadian province of British Columbia.

The American news media generally interpreted this to indicate a rightward swing among voters and a rejection of "socialism." Socialists in these three countries have a different analysis. World Outlook this week features election evaluations reprinted from newspapers published by revolutionary socialists in each of these countries.

While calling on voters to return the labor party to office, the socialists—who were critical of many labor party policies—also entered their own candidates in the elections. In Australia the Socialist Workers League ran its first candidates for public office. Also featured is an evaluation of that campaign.

## Canada

[The following article appeared in the December 15 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary socialist newspaper reflecting the views of the League for Socialist Action, the Canadian section of the Fourth International.]

By George Addison

The New Democratic Party government in British Columbia has gone down to defeat. It is essential that all supporters of the NDP discuss and assess the lessons of this experience.

Results of the Dec. 11 B.C. provincial election reduced the NDP strength in the legislature from 37 to 17 seats. The Social Credit party standings went from 13 to 36 seats. Premier David Barrett and seven cabinet ministers lost their seats.

In terms of popular vote, the NDP support remained about the same as in the 1972 election which brought it to office—39 percent. The Socreds, with their refurbished image, almost-unlimited funds and stable of turncoat Liberal and Conservative candidates, took 49 percent of the popular vote, 17 percent higher than in 1972. The combined vote for the Liberal and Conservative parties fell from 29 percent in 1972 to only 12 percent this time.

The big-business parties successfully ganged up on the NDP. During the three-and-one-half-year term of the NDP in office, big-business forces worked at building a political coalition to bring about its defeat. That has been clear from the day David Barrett's government took office.

The conspiracy against the NDP

was not limited to electoral combination. The mining companies refused to expand production during the NDP's term in office, and threatened to pull out of the province. The private auto insurance companies launched a bitter campaign against the government's public insurance scheme. Landlords and developers cut back construction of housing and launched a publicity campaign blaming the NDP for the housing crisis.

#### Big-business threats

During the election campaign, the newspapers, TV and radio were full of advertisements paid for by various groups of anonymous capitalists, warning the public that unless the NDP was defeated, B.C. would face little economic expansion and fewer jobs.

As former Labor minister William King put it, "The NDP was up against formidable odds in the election and lost it largely because of a big money campaign and an appeal to fear."

But despite the enormous anti-NDP campaign, the vote for labor's party remained what it had been in the previous election. There were no significant desertions from NDP ranks. This is a change from the 1974 federal election, for example, when the NDP vote declined in B.C.

Moreover, it is testimony to the broad radical sentiment in B.C. that the Social Credit party came to office with the promise that most of the social reforms brought in by the NDP government would be retained. Clearly, these reforms were so popular that

even the right-wing coalition around Socred leader William Bennett could not say publicly that they opposed them.

"You must understand that we have only lost a battle, not the war. . .," said Barrett on election night.

"Every measure of social progress will remain. No one will dare touch it. Every measure of economic progress will stay. . . ."

Barrett's latest prediction, like the prediction that his government would remain in office, should be taken with a grain of salt. There are certainly some measures enacted by the NDP government that the Socreds will seek to undo. Moreover, the Socreds can be expected to work hand in glove with the federal Liberals in enforcing wage controls, thus attacking the living standards of B.C. workers. The B.C. labor movement and the NDP should be prepared to resist these attacks by any means necessary during the coming years of Socred rule.

But the main objection big business had to the NDP in office was not its modest progressive legislation. Rather, the giant corporations who run the province decided that they needed their own party in office to carry out their antilabor drive. The NDP government, despite its lack of significant action in

working people's interests, did increase the expectations of the population. These are expectations that big business is not prepared to grant. The labor movement and the ranks of the NDP generally could exert more pressure on a government administered by labor's party.

#### Placate corporations

Big business swung behind the Socreds despite everything the Barrett government could do to placate the giant corporations. The last few months of office saw the Barrett government desperately trying to prove to the capitalists how responsible it was. Barrett legislated more than 50,000 strikers back to work. He promised to enforce Trudeau's wage controls, along with a temporary program of provincial price controls. A 15-percent ceiling was placed on increases in education spending in the universities and colleges. Barrett even moved to change the mining royalties act (which the corporations had raised the biggest fuss about) to meet most of the corporate objections. And through its whole term in office, the NDP government refused to enact the radical positions of the party on women's rights, labor laws and native land claims.

*Continued on next page*



David Barrett, former New Democratic party premier of British Columbia. Despite his attempts to satisfy big business, employers went all out to remove NDP from office in preparation for a general offensive against workers.

## ...socialists analyze the meaning of the recent labor

*Continued from preceding page*

To no avail. The corporations wanted their own chosen instrument at the reins.

The lesson should be clear to NDP supporters in other provinces: there is no substantial difference among the big-business parties, and they will combine against their working-class opponents. The stage is certainly set for such a combination to keep the NDP out of office in Ontario.

### Why it happened

The NDP leadership have known since their election in 1972 that the following election would be polarized in this way. They were aware of the big-business campaign being mounted against them. Why then, after more than three years in office, were they unable to increase their support by even 1 percent?

The most prominent argument offered by the monopoly press is that the NDP moved "too far, too fast," thus scaring the conservative-minded population. This is also a favorite argument of the NDP leadership against enacting socialist policies.

But the lie is put to this theory by the facts of the B.C. experience. The NDP government did not present any legislation that seriously challenged corporate power in the province. Most of the reforms enacted simply brought B.C. up to the level of other provinces. The record of the NDP government in fact demoralized a large section of the most committed and active party supporters, and alienated the natural allies of the party, such as native people, teachers, public workers and sections of the trade-union movement. In fact, much of the dissatisfaction working people feel in face of the economic downturn, soaring inflation, the housing crisis, cutbacks in social services, turned out to be directed at the NDP government which was administering the capitalist state in the province.

Rather than seeking responsibility in the eyes of the capitalists, the NDP government should have been enacting policies that could have inspired its following, educated the population,

and led all working people in the province forward. They could have campaigned for the rights of women and native Indians. They could have guaranteed the unfettered right to strike, and helped the unions fight inflationary attacks on workers' living standards. They could have resisted and mobilized the population against Trudeau's wage controls. Such programs could have prepared B.C.'s working people to resist the right-wing offensive.

But the Barrett government instead chose to work strictly within the capitalist framework, and thus ensured its own defeat.

### Where do we go from here?

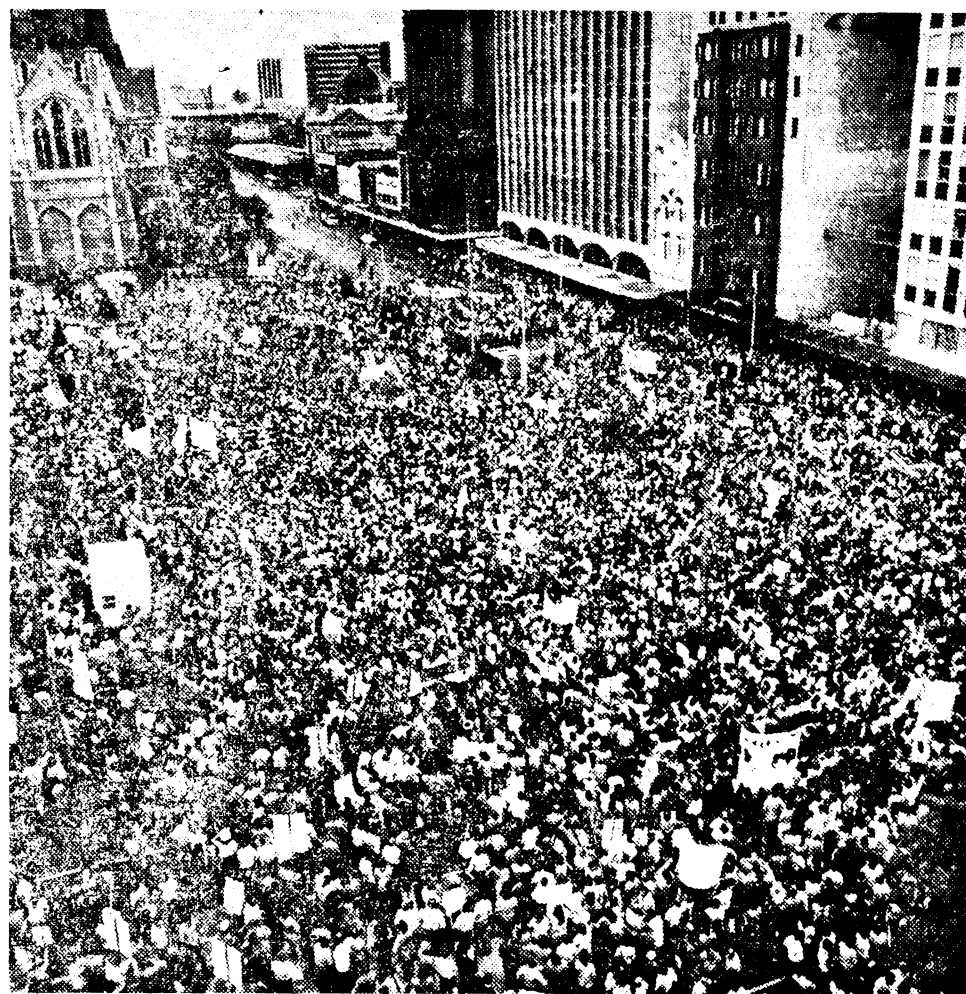
Where next for the NDP? The first thing that NDP supporters and activists should demand is a thorough discussion of the election campaign and the record of the NDP in office. Clearly, the personality campaign carried by the party, centered on the premier's sense of humor and the government's record, was a disaster.

In such a discussion, socialists could present their criticisms, and argue for a socialist course for the party. They could fight for a new leadership team in the B.C. NDP, committed to enacting the radical planks in the party's platform.

A socialist caucus, based on a clear class-struggle program, can be built through this process.

The British Columbia labor movement should play a greatly increased role in the NDP. For too long the leadership of the B.C. Federation of Labour and the affiliated unions have stood aside from actively involving the trade-union ranks in the party. A mass campaign should be launched to affiliate every trade-union local to the NDP. The unions should fight within the party to commit it to opposition to all forms of antilabor laws, even those that were enacted by the NDP government.

It is time for the B.C. NDP to change its leadership and direction. It must move to the left.



Some 30-40,000 workers turned out to huge Labor party rally in Melbourne on November 14 to protest undemocratic dismissal of Labor government three days earlier. But Labor's record on unemployment and inflation led to drop in vote.

electorates for that. This claim is obviously justified, but once again cannot detract from the huge loss of votes suffered by the Labor party.

Another point made by ALP [Australian Labor party] President Hawke was that at 7.1 percent the swing against Labor was less than the 7.2 percent swing against the Liberals in 1969 and that Labor could regain office if it were to repeat its 1969 success. But all these are only excuses. The loss of twenty-eight or twenty-nine seats in the House of Representatives cannot simply be explained away in this fashion.

### Personality cult

Within hours of the defeat, the recriminations started. Clyde Cameron, former minister for science and consumer affairs, said that seeing that Gough Whitlam claimed responsibility for the electoral success of 1972 and 1974 he should also accept responsibility for the electoral debacle of 1975. Cameron also said that the ALP has made a mistake by printing Gough Whitlam's picture on the how-to-vote cards. In a way Cameron was right: The Labor party did place higher emphasis on Whitlam's personality than at previous times. It was people like the NSW [New South Wales] president of the party, John Ducker, who led the chants of "We want Gough." The whole campaign was based on Whitlam's personality.

But Cameron cannot absolve himself or any other Labor figure from the defeat. They all backed the personality cult of Whitlam, and what's more important, they all endorsed Whitlam's policies which were responsible for the disaster.

Why did Labor lose then? If the opinion polls are to be believed, why did the party lose so much ground in the last five weeks leading to the election? There are many reasons. Certainly the dismissal of the Labor government on November 11 gave the Liberals all the advantages of the gov-

ernment without any of the disadvantages, which they exploited to the limit. But the most important reason for the loss of the working-class vote can be summarized in two words: unemployment and inflation.

For working people, the Labor record on jobs and prices was undoubtedly a major factor in changing their vote. Labor promised full employment and protection from price rises. However, under Labor, unemployment reached 300,000 while inflation remained in double figures since the early days of the Labor government.

Aside from increasing the unemployment benefits, Labor has done nothing to create jobs or curb price rises. Most workers regard the Prices Justification Tribunal as a joke. They know that the real effect of the indexation scheme introduced by the government was to stop wage rises. They know that a wage freeze is currently operating. They know that Labor had a "resounding success," in keeping wage rises to

## Australia

[The following articles, analyzing the results of the Australian elections on December 13, are reprinted from the December 18 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Sydney. The Australian Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers League won 28,311 votes in the election.]

### By Sol Salby

The trend away from Labor in the federal elections was nationwide. It is expected that by the end of counting all but one of the 127 seats in the House of Representatives will show a decline in Labor's share of the vote. This kind of swing is virtually unprecedented in Australian elections. What made it even worse for the Labor party was the more-than-proportional swing in the working-class areas.

There can be no question that tens of thousands of unionists, people who

work in factories and mines as well as offices, changed their vote from Labor to Liberal in the last elections. They did this as a protest against Labor's policies. Even the most superficial analysis shows that as of December 14, the drop in the Labor vote was 4.7 percent in the rural areas, 5.7 percent in the rural provincial cities, 6.0 percent in the Labor strongholds of the inner city areas, and 7.7 percent in the outer suburban areas.

### Labor leaders' response

Labor leaders would no doubt point out that Labor already lost a substantial proportion of the countryside vote last year and couldn't expect to lose much more this year. They have already pointed out that Labor gained 43 percent of the vote compared to only 40 percent in 1966, so the disastrous result is not so bad after all. They have blamed the unequal distribution of



Former Labor Prime Minister Whitlam: Failed to produce on his promises.



# party election defeats in their countries

less than 10 percent in 1975. This is certainly lower than price rises during the same time.

Workers are also aware that the Labor government's policies contributed directly to the high level of unemployment. The credit squeeze of 1973-74 and the cuts in government spending played a major role in the loss of so many jobs.

Worse still, many people who voted Labor in 1974 feel deceived. They remember that unemployment was falling and that Whitlam made a lot out of the drop in price rises which took place in the March quarter of that year, just before that election. They now know that the forces which caused the rise in unemployment were already unleashed by 1974 and that the government was well aware of this. At the same time, with the benefit of hindsight workers can tell that the fall in inflation was a false dawn. It was a temporary result of seasonal forces. Justifiably these workers feel cheated.

## Liberals spread deception

Those workers who felt deceived by Labor will be even more deceived by the Liberals. The Liberals and their big business friends are already spreading deception by promising them an improvement in the jobs and prices situation. The Liberals are no more capable of solving the problems of unemployment and inflation than Labor was. Their projected increased subsidies and other payments to big business can only increase inflation.

It is quite clear that the determination of the employers to have Labor thrown out must have been pretty close to unanimous. There was certainly no public indication that any section of the employing class was backing Labor.

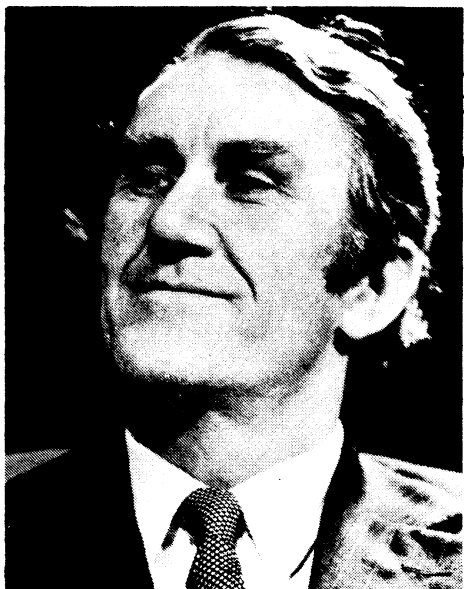
For its part the privately owned media spoke with a single voice: "Labor must go!"

In the case of press baron Rupert Murdoch, one of the main reasons for the change was the Labor government's refusal to waive some of the regulations concerning the inflow of foreign capital to a project in which his News Ltd. has a share. Labor's refusal on the grounds of economic nationalism and the environmental impact incensed Murdoch, who previously was also a major contributor to the Labor party funds.

Regardless of how representative of the capitalist class Murdoch and News Ltd. were, the 1975 elections have proven the old dictum that a Labor government which wants to preserve the capitalist system cannot survive the opposition of the capitalists themselves. The Labor leaders did everything they could to preserve the system; they even wrote their support for it into the Labor party platform at the 1975 Terrigal conference. But none of their actions succeeded in gaining sufficient backing from the capitalist class to win.

On the other hand what has Labor done for working people? Now that we no longer have a Labor government it may be appropriate to draw the balance sheet of Labor in power. It may also be appropriate to view the period since the last time Labor's stocks hit rock bottom—the 1966 elections.

In one of the most laudatory descriptions of Whitlam's rise to power, David Solomon and Laurie Oakes wrote in the *Making of an Australian Prime Minister*: "The 1966 election was the nadir of the Labor Party's fortunes. Under the leadership of Arthur Cal-



New Liberal Prime Minister Fraser: Had strong backing from employers.

well, Labor was routed. It received only 40 per cent of the formal votes compared with the Liberal-Country Party coalition's 49 per cent, lost eleven seats and was left with only forty-one members in a House of one hundred and twenty-four. In other circumstances commentators and political scientists might have been tempted to write the ALP off after such a disastrous result, even though it had proved its power of recovery often enough in the past. But no-one did, largely because waiting in the wings was a man who was widely seen as the great white hope of the party. Edward Gough Whitlam had already built up his reputation as a vote winner. . . ."

Nine years later the reputation of Edward Gough Whitlam as a vote-winner has been demolished. In terms of seats, Labor is down to thirty-six or thirty-seven in a slightly larger House. In terms of achievements, after nine years of Whitlamism, the party can only point to the introduction of Medibank. True, there have been a few other minor reforms: spending on education has increased dramatically; pensions are up to 25 percent of average weekly earnings; and free tertiary education has been established. But almost everything else has remained the same. Asio [Australian Security Intelligence Organization] still spies on activists in the labor and radical movements, Australian troops are still stationed overseas, foreign bases still remain in Australia. . . .

## Deserted by big business

All the changes that Whitlam introduced, the rewriting of Labor's platform in 1967, 1969, and 1971, did not help him. When it came to the crunch he was deserted by his big business friends.

In the turmoil which has been caused by the electoral debacle the suggestion has been made that Bob Hawke should replace Whitlam as leader of the Labor party. It remains to be seen whether or not the Labor caucus will take up this suggestion. But regardless of the final outcome, Bob Hawke is the last person to claim that he wasn't responsible for the December 13 landslide. Bob Hawke cooperated with the leadership of the parliamentary wing of the party in urging "wage restraint."

He made little if any criticism of Labor even when unemployment was steadily increasing. But more than that, Bob Hawke was the person who sealed the fate of the Labor government. By refusing to call a general strike on November 11 when the Labor

government was dismissed, Hawke made sure that Labor couldn't win. A general strike would have been essential to mobilize the working people, not only against the Fraser-Kerr coup but against the anti-working-class policies of the Labor government.

Hawke's endorsement by the Murdoch and Fairfax press gives an indication of whose interests he would serve. The problems faced by the Labor party cannot be solved by a change of personalities at the top. They cannot be solved either by superficial changes

in the party platform and other forms of window dressing.

As this newspaper has pointed out in the past, what is required is a change of policy. The change that we want is a change away from the old big-business policies which underlie Labor's defeat to radical socialist policies in the interests of the working class. Labor was defeated not because, as some are already trying to claim, its policies were too advanced, too radical, but because they were not nearly radical enough.

## Australia

# The socialist campaign

By Jim McIlroy

The Socialist Workers election campaign, which sought to put the socialist alternative right up front in the recent political crisis, has achieved considerable success in getting the message out to wide layers of the population. In addition to the significant vote gained by the nine candidates of the Socialist Workers Senate team on December 13, the overall impact of the campaign has been tremendous.

Particularly impressive was the very positive response the campaign received from Labor supporters at rallies and elsewhere. Campaign workers noted the large numbers of people who were looking for a positive alternative to the procapitalist program of the Whitlam leadership and who appreciated the socialist policies advanced by the Socialist Workers campaign.

## 100,000 copies

During the course of the campaign 100,000 copies of the eight-page Socialist Workers election manifesto were distributed at Labor rallies, street corner meetings, and by letter-boxing. This was the single most solid piece of election material put out by any party during the entire course of the campaign and certainly served to inject ideas into an election based almost entirely on slogans as far as the major parties were concerned.

An example of where the manifesto was distributed in the final week of campaigning was the 5,000 handed out at the windup rally for Whitlam in Hyde Park, Sydney, on December 12. The Socialist Workers campaign newspapers, *Direct Action* and *Young Socialist*, also were well received, and sales rose dramatically during the crisis period.

Tens of thousands of copies were sold at Labor rallies, in the streets, at factories, and at other selling places during the few weeks of the campaign. For instance, over 1,000 *Direct Actions* were sold at a Labor rally and in the streets of Brisbane during the last week. In Melbourne, almost 800 *Direct Actions* and 150 *Young Socialists* were sold at the final Labor rally at the Moorabbin Football Ground. Street sales in Melbourne outside Myers sometimes ran at a rate of 70 an hour per seller.

The socialist campaign sparked considerable controversy at times. In Adelaide, one *Direct Action* seller,

Steve O'Brien, sold thirty in a very short time with the help of the far-right Workers party. When Workers party candidate John Whiting, who was spruiking in Rundle Street, saw O'Brien he launched a frenzied verbal assault on "the communist selling newspapers." Immediately, people crowded around to buy O'Brien's papers to express their disgust at Whiting's attack.

## What labor needed

On the other side, several times Labor officials at campaign meetings formally dissociated the ALP from our election material. However, this didn't prevent members of the audience at a Labor meeting in suburban Melbourne from asking questions directly based on points raised in the Socialist Workers election manifesto, one on the abolition of the Senate and another on wage indexation. A further response: A marshal at the ALP vigil on December 10 in Canberra commented that he was beginning to think that the socialist policies the Socialist Workers campaign stood for were just what Labor needed.

Socialist Workers candidates spoke at a large number of meetings and rallies during the campaign. In the last two weeks, South Australian candidate Brett Trenery spoke to audiences of 200 to 250 during meetings for the candidates at Salisbury and Murray Park Colleges of Advanced Education. Can-

*Continued on next page*



Direct Action

Brett Trenery, Socialist Workers League candidate in South Australia, spoke to hundreds.

## ...socialists analyze labor party election defeats

Continued from preceding page

didates also addressed the December 6 demonstrations in several cities for the repeal of all abortion laws, and spoke at meetings and rallies in defense of independence for East Timor.

Rod Quinn, Socialist Workers candidate for the ACT [Australian Capital Territory], was well received by the women present at a Women's Electoral Lobby forum and at a December 6 meeting on abortion in which he delivered a strong attack on the Right to Life Association. Quinn also defended the rights of the Palestinians to a strongly pro-Israeli audience at the National Jewish Centre.

### Name more widely known

Press, radio, and television coverage also stepped up in the final weeks, with interviews and reports on the Socialist Workers campaign in every major city where socialist candidates were running. Certainly, the name of the Socialist Workers League is immensely more widely known now than before the beginning of the political crisis leading up to December 13.

One of the most striking aspects of the campaign were the 25,000 posters pasted up, highlighting a number of different demands of the Socialist Workers team. These posters became very prominent around the inner suburbs of the major cities in particular in the weeks leading up to Decem-



Direct Action  
Rod Quinn, candidate in Australian Capital Territory.

ber 13, rivaling the posters of all other parties.

The final rallies in all centers were a fitting culmination of the campaign. The most successful was in Sydney, where nearly 100 people heard the two NSW Senate candidates and Socialist Workers League National Secretary Jim Percy speak on the meaning of the Socialist Workers campaign and the present crisis.

### Only beginning

A final point: The campaign was only able to cover a limited number of polling booths in the major cities on December 13. It is clear from the importance of the how-to-vote cards, especially in the Senate, that the Socialist Workers vote would have been increased considerably the more supporters there were available to help out. So, too, the overall impact would have been even greater with more campaign workers to carry out the general publicity.

The Socialist Workers League has grown as a result of this campaign, but more members and supporters are always needed. This is only the beginning. The next year offers big new opportunities for further building the socialist alternative for the great struggles ahead. The fighting demands of the Socialist Workers campaign have shown how the labor movement can defend itself in the dangerous period looming up.



Direct Action  
Helen Jarvis, a founder of Sydney women's liberation movement, was Socialist Workers League candidate in New South Wales.

## New Zealand

[The ruling Labour party of New Zealand lost to the National party in general elections November 29. Labour Prime Minister Bill Rowling was replaced by Robert Muldoon of the National party.]

[The following article appeared in the December 12 issue of *Socialist Action*, a New Zealand newspaper that reflects the views of the Socialist Action League.]

### By Keith Locke

Why did Labour lose? Was it because of a general turn to the right in New Zealand politics? Are people responding to the demagogic appeals of a strong leader?

No, these are not the main conclu-

sions we should draw from the result. More important are Labour's record in office and its election campaign. The slogan "Trust Labour—It's Working" simply did not square with what most people knew about the economic difficulties facing New Zealand.

When real wages are dropping and unemployment growing it's not much comfort to be told that New Zealand is doing better than other Western nations. And can you really say that Labour is "working" when rents and house prices have doubled during its term in office?

Despite the big election meetings for Bill Rowling, there was a drop in enthusiasm among a significant layer of Labour voters. National's vote as a

percentage of those on the roll increased only 3 percent from 1972. Yet the Tories completely reversed the 1972 Labour landslide and ended up with a 23 seat majority.

### Stayed at home

They were able to achieve this because only 76 percent of the electorate voted on November 29, compared with 82.4 percent on election night in 1972. It seems that those who stayed at home were mostly Labour supporters. In those electorates where the total poll was substantially down on 1972 (such as Henderson or Dunedin North) the swing against Labour was the greatest. Yet in Wanganui and Tasman, two marginals which Labour retained, the percentage who voted hardly fell at all.

One bad sign was that Labour's greatest drop in support was in Auckland, the growth area of New Zealand and the centre of the working class. It is here that the problems in New Zealand society are mostly visible, and where people are demanding clear answers to them.

Labour's policy of playing it cool to gain the middle-of-the-road vote simply didn't work. The more Labour advances conservative policies, like wage restraint, the more people are likely to turn to the most consistent advocate of conservatism, the National Party. It was noticeable at Rowling's meetings, where the most enthusiastic Labour supporters turned out in force, that Rowling's claim that the employers and manufacturers backed Labour failed to inspire much applause.

Labour's leaders can't blame Muldoon for capitalising on anti-immigrant feeling when they themselves have been restricting entry and making immigrants the scapegoats for the housing shortage and unemployment.

And if the anti-abortionists took votes from Labour, as Tom McGuigan believes, he has only his government to blame. By going along with Dr Wall's Hospitals Amendment Bill, and launching the police raid and other attacks on the Auckland abortion clinic, Labour put wind in the anti-abortionists' sails.

It is a bit late to complain that National picked up votes on the Springbok issue. All Bill Rowling would say during the campaign was that a South African team would harm New Zealand's international standing, which to most people looked like a cowardly way of taking a "moral" stand, for reasons of expediency rather than because of an important principle. Nowhere did Rowling explain the real issue, that to accept an all-white team would be to endorse the apartheid system of racial discrimination.

Labour's weakness on issues of racism and democratic rights undoubtedly helped raise the Values vote. Of the four main parties, only Values advocated the repeal of the abortion and homosexual laws.

This is not to say that the Values vote is primarily a radical one. They probably picked up more support on their conservative immigration and population policies, as is indicated by the party's high poll in affluent areas.

One excuse offered by defeated Labour MPs is that they did not explain what they had achieved. That's true to an extent. Labour seemed to be embarrassed by some of their more progressive moves, like the ban on the Springboks. But some other government legislation was not worth



Former Labour Prime Minister Rowling: His slogan, "Trust Labour—It's Working," didn't square with the facts.

explaining. We won't be sorry to see the last of the compulsory superannuation tax or the restrictions on court reporting.

### Not radical enough

Labour did *not* lose because its policies were too radical. They were not radical enough.

The way for Labour to regain the lost ground is to adopt new policies, socialist policies. It must stand up and fight on this ground rather than cringing every time the National Party shouts "you're socialists!" Labour should go out and campaign to win the majority to a socialist programme, instead of defending business interests and adapting to the conservatism and prejudice of the middle-of-the-road voters. A programme which mobilised working people in defence of their real interests, against wage restraints and layoffs, would put the Tories on the defensive.

By fighting for the repeal of the abortion and homosexual laws Labour could win the backing of the majority of New Zealanders, who already support such steps. And by abandoning its restrictive immigration policies, defending Maori rights, and opposing the Auckland police task force, Labour could counter National's appeal to Kiwi chauvinism.

The Muldoon victory, coming at a time when New Zealand capitalism is in dire straits, is going to mean a decline in the standard of living for ordinary people, and ruthless cutbacks in expenditure on health, education and welfare. Labour has a chance to come back more strongly than ever, but only if it challenges the Tory policies head on.



# ...1,000 at rally hear socialist candidates

Continued from back page

its positions and objectives . . . to educate, organize, and lead working people and all the oppressed in the struggle for a socialist America."

Novack reviewed the history of the SWP and YSA in the defense of civil liberties. "And now it's up to you to add to this unblemished record," Novack said to the young socialists.

Following Novack's talk, Pat Wright read greetings from Robert Allen, the editor of the *Black Scholar* and an advisory board member of PRDF. Allen hailed the "landmark" PRDF suit.

"By exposing this sinister FBI campaign and publicizing the documents [released by the FBI and CIA], the SWP and YSA have tried to awaken public opinion to the need for actively defending the Bill of Rights. . . . For this great service to the cause of democracy and justice, the SWP and YSA are to be heartily congratulated."

## 'Washington Post' strike leader

"I'm glad to be here and be able to tell our side of the story for a change," began James O'Sullivan, a picket captain for press operators on strike against the *Washington Post* since October 1.

"For the past twenty years," O'Sullivan said, "the American Newspaper Publishers Association has had a systematic campaign throughout the country to break the craft unions in the papers. . . . In just the last year, they've forced the union out of Dallas and Kansas City, Missouri—and now they're in Washington, D.C."

The union was forced out on strike when the *Post* offered a contract that would have drastically set back wages and working conditions. Now, said O'Sullivan, the *Post* is threatening to "blacklist us—that's illegal."

O'Sullivan said the strike was continuing and reaching out for broader support. "The local SWP workers," he added, "have helped us in organizing demonstrations and given us a lot of support."

After O'Sullivan spoke, Pat Wright read a greeting to Camejo and Reid from Rex Weng, a vice-president at-large of the Massachusetts State Labor Council, AFL-CIO. Weng said that he hoped that the candidates' socialist program would "bear fruit," given the failure of the Democratic and Republican parties "to address themselves to the real problems" facing workers.

## 'Workers need labor party'

"I would like to begin by thanking those speakers on the platform who are not members of the YSA or SWP," said Peter Camejo, stepping up to the podium. "These brothers and sisters come here although they may not agree with everything we stand for, and share their experiences and ideas with us. Our party carries on a dialogue with these and other leaders of



Militant/Lou Howort

Milwaukee rally was a high point of fifteenth Young Socialist Alliance national convention. Delegates voted to throw efforts behind 1976 SWP campaign.

today's struggles not only to convince them of our ideas, but to try to learn from them as well."

Camejo lambasted Ford and Kissinger's claim that the United States is not involved in Angola. "The fact is," Camejo stated, "the U.S. was in Angola ten years ago. It was American tax dollars that bought the guns, the planes, and the napalm that Portugal used against Black Angolans."

Camejo said that Kissinger should remember that socialists helped to build a movement of millions against the Vietnam War. And, the YSA and SWP are going to help organize demonstrations and teach-ins to begin to convince the American people to oppose this new war and force the U.S. government out of Angola, Camejo said.

In 1976, Camejo pledged, his campaign will continue to help publicize and organize actions in support of busing, for the Equal Rights Amendment, in support of students fighting cutbacks, and in defense of working people, like the *Post* press operators, who are fighting the assaults on their standard of living and their right to a job.

But we need to do more than this, Camejo said. The greatest illusion still held by working people is that somewhere there is a liberal politician who could solve the basic problems facing the American people.

"The fact is," Camejo said, "that it makes no difference who the Republicans or Democrats run. . . . They will represent the class that puts profits above human needs. The real question posed in the elections is which class, not which individual, will rule this country. . . .

"Everything that is produced in this country is made by working people. This gives them tremendous potential power." But, Camejo added, the workers movement is like a "drugged giant" unable to fight with its full strength because the unions are tied to the Democratic party.

What working people need, Camejo said, "is a mass labor party based on the trade unions. A party of our class that will be a party not only for elections, but a party that will also help mobilize and fight for the rights of working people, the aged, Blacks, Chicanos, youth, and women. A party that would oppose imperialist aggression abroad."

"As socialists," Camejo continued, "we would join and build such a party. And we would fight for the adoption of a clear class-struggle program whose logical conclusion would be the formation of a workers government and the socialist reorganization of the economy through the democratic participation of all working people."

"The message we will take to the American people in the 1976 elections is that they can only trust in themselves. That they can only trust in the kind of mass movements that they built against the Vietnam War and for civil rights. And they can only trust in a party of working people that fights for working people. The Democrats and Republicans belong to another class. Working people not only need to protest the injustices against us, but to think in much larger terms—our right as the majority to run and govern this country."

## Reid outlines SWP '76 expansion plans

MILWAUKEE—Some tossed in quarters, because that was all they had. Others pulled out five- and ten-dollar bills. Then there were the big ones—checks and pledges for \$100, \$250, and \$500. They all went into the cardboard cannisters circulated among the par-

ticipants at the Socialist Workers party campaign rally in Milwaukee.

When the checks and pledges were counted, the bills stacked up, and the change rolled into wrappers, it all added up to \$9,500. The 1,000 Young Socialist Alliance members and other supporters responded with enthusiasm to a fund appeal from SWP vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid.

"This spring," Reid said, "Peter Camejo, Ed Heisler, the labor spokesperson for the national campaign, and I will crisscross the country."

Since the campaign was launched a year ago, it has won supporters in many cities where no SWP or YSA chapters exist. The campaign has already helped open the door for establishing new branches of the SWP in New Orleans, San Jose, Baltimore, and Newark. This spring, new branches will also be getting under way in Dallas and San Antonio.

Reid said that the spring tours will include Louisville, Kentucky; Richmond, Virginia; Cincinnati and Toledo, Ohio; Indianapolis, Indiana; Phoenix, Arizona; and Kansas City, Missouri.

"In addition," Reid said, "we will be reaching out to those struggling in other countries. Peter Camejo will be going first to Canada, then to Puerto Rico. Camejo will let the people of Puerto Rico know that if Camejo and Reid were elected, we would immediately recognize independence for Puerto Rico."

Reid blasted the antidemocratic election laws designed to keep ballot status the exclusive right of the Democrats and Republicans. But Reid announced that through petitioning drives, the socialists aim to

be on the ballot in thirty states plus the District of Columbia. That would be seven more states than in 1972.

By being on the ballot, Reid explained, the SWP is in a better position "to stack our program side by side with the parties of the rich and expose just whose interest these political fakers represent. This helps more and more working people to see that it is necessary and possible for a legal political party to exist in this country that represents their interests."

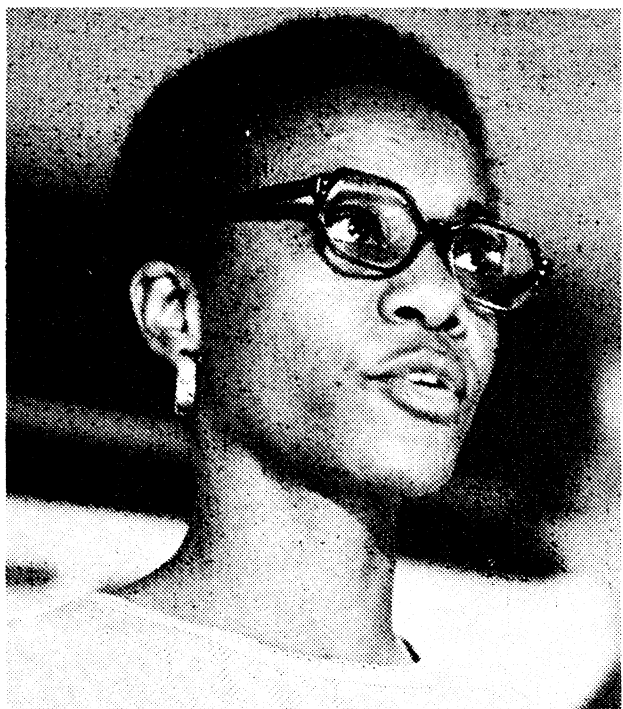
New materials are being prepared for the last leg of the campaign, Reid announced, including "a brochure on the direction for the Black community in the '76 elections. 'Truth kits' exposing the voting records and phony proposals of our Democratic opponents will be printed. One on Fred Harris is almost ready for distribution."

"We need your participation to organize this campaign," Reid said.

"One year ago," Reid told the audience, "the Socialist Workers party 1976 election campaign got its most important endorsement—the endorsement of the Young Socialist Alliance. Your endorsement," she continued, "is important because of what the YSA is and what it represents."

"The YSA is demonstrating how to fight back—in Boston, against budget cuts, and for the Equal Rights Amendment. . . . It is this determination to do battle against this oppressive, exploitative system whenever and wherever struggles develop that makes you special. . . . You strengthen our belief that our party is the party of the future."

—G.H.



Militant/Susan Ellis

WILLIE MAE REID: 'YSA support is most important endorsement.'



# Why economic upturn has not brought jobs



[The following article is abridged from *Inprecor*, biweekly information organ of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. It appeared in the December 18, 1975, special issue containing a selection of articles by Ernest Mandel and others on the international capitalist economy. To order copies send \$1.50 c/o the Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York, 10014.]

**By Dick Roberts**

Two seemingly conflicting trends characterize the economic scene in the United States today. Industrial recovery from almost two years of depression is underway. Automobile sales, normally one of the "advanced indicators" of the direction of the economy, were 23% higher this October than a year ago.

But New York, the country's wealthiest metropolitan center, came close to bankruptcy in November. President Ford's intervention to guarantee New York's bonds became a dire necessity for national (and international) money markets. It will postpone, at least temporarily, a New York default.

Yet the promise of financial rescue by the White House did not in any way alter the fundamental components of New York City's crisis. It came only after tens of thousands of city workers had been fired and other workers had been laid off, as municipal construction ground to a halt; after a three-year wage freeze had been imposed on city workers, tearing up their previously negotiated wage contracts without rank-and-file consultation; after educational, hospital, and welfare programs had been cut and in some cases eliminated altogether; and after the responsibility for all of these measures had been accepted by the Democratic party administration of New York State.

Moreover, it is certain that the people of New York will continue to suffer a sharp deterioration of living standards. The bipartisan antilabor offensive aimed at rescuing New York's creditors is only in the beginning stages.

In Detroit the process is further along. "Like other cities around the land," the July 25 Wall Street Journal reported, "Detroit has been confronted with a budget crisis. Old programs have been cut back or cut out. City workers have lost their jobs. Improvements in city facilities or services have little chance of getting off the ground. . . ."

"Detroit's fiscal crisis came earlier than most cities' simply because its recession arrived earlier—nearly a year before the slump hit the rest of the country. The energy crisis in the fall of 1973 cut deeply into automobile sales, and the auto industry has never really recovered."

This article will examine these two countervailing tendencies—the beginnings of economic recovery and the crisis of cities in America—through the prism of the auto industry. Here the focus is more on Detroit than New York and specifically on the Black workers of Detroit. But this is precisely to suggest that there are important links between the *present conjuncture of U.S. industrial production, the special exploitation of oppressed national minorities, and the crisis of the cities.*

## Auto sales turn up

There are signs that a "bottom" has been reached in the devastating two-year downturn of world automobile production. Business Week magazine reported in its November 10 issue, "Sales throughout Europe, with the sad exception of Britain, are perking up, Japanese car makers are producing all that they can."

October marked the first upturn in auto sales in the United States in nearly two years. Third-quarter profits as a whole were up 123% for the U.S. auto-and-parts industry.

But the headlines from Detroit are contradictory: "Auto sales up," "Layoffs increase." Auto sales are increasing but auto *production* is still below year-ago levels and there continue to be episodic layoffs.

In fact the evidence points to significant "rationalization" in the auto industry. Fewer workers are turning out more cars and profits are surging.

Although precise data is impossible to obtain, government figures are indicative. For June, the most recent month for which all data is given, Commerce Department figures show 571,800 production workers in motor vehicles and equipment and a total output of 841,400 motor vehicles, including trucks and busses. The ratio is 1.47 vehicles per production worker. Here are comparative figures:

Year	Vehicles	Workers	Ratio
June 1973	1,219,800	746,600	1.63
June 1974	909,500	676,000	1.34
June 1975	841,400	571,800	1.47

These figures show three stages of the auto production cycle. June 1973 was the second highest auto production month in U.S. history (May was the highest). Productivity and profits stood at record highs. This is because the whole productive apparatus of monopoly industry is geared to make profits at a fraction of full capacity. When output exceeds this fraction, and this can happen with minimal additional hiring, productivity and profits soar.

By June 1974 production had fallen 25% and employment was down 9%. Profits approached a low point. The bottom was reached in February 1975. By June of this year production was on an increase but it was still 7% lower than a year earlier and employment was 15% lower. The way was being paved for the profit surge in the third quarter.

## Slashed jobs

New York Times figures in September 1975 further confirm this trend. The Times reported from Detroit September 1 that unemployment had risen from the February low point. There were "274,380 idle in the week of Feb. 3, when the industry jobless rate reached 38.5 percent." The latest information places "employment at the Big Three (i.e., General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler) . . . down 178,600 from the peak reached in their record year of 1973." These figures are close to those shown in the table



above. They underscore the essential point: *Auto production today is taking place with a considerably reduced work force, on the order of 175,000 fewer workers, almost 25% below the 1973 peak.*

### International competition

It is well known that the U.S. auto industry is under tremendous pressure to build smaller cars that use less gas. With considerable fanfare, General Motors placed a new "subcompact," the "Chevette," on the market in September. It gets 30-40 miles per gallon and it is supposed to cost less than \$3,000. GM president Elliott Estes told Forbes magazine that GM had a \$3,000 million investment plan to invade the small-car market. To raise capital GM floated a \$600-million loan earlier this year, the largest single bond offering ever made by a corporation. "We don't compete against around 56% of the foreign cars sold domestically today," said Estes. "This car is aimed right at that 56%, which is a 600,000-vehicle market, and we are going after 200,000 to 300,000 of them."

But the Chevette is the only new subcompact this year. Business Week reported in July that the auto "rusts would only have "face-lifted versions" of last year's models on the market in 1976 "with little improvement in fuel economy."

Apparently the conversion of the U.S. auto industry to smaller cars is finally under way—a tribute to the "speed" at which monopoly adapts to technological progress!—but it is only the beginning. Large cars still overwhelmingly dominate this year's U.S. auto output.

Nevertheless it is certain that when General Motors does produce subcompacts in massive numbers, it will control half the market, as its president, Estes, boasted. The gigantic multinational manufacturing monopoly dwarfs every other competitor inside and outside the United States. Up to now, GM has refrained from massive production of subcompacts only because of the higher profits on the bigger cars. But the tremendous profit losses in 1974, as the world market for big cars virtually collapsed, could not be neglected by GM's board of directors.

What is most important is that the production of smaller cars in the United States will clearly be accompanied by a profit-gouging rationalization of the industry. The notorious GM Vegas, which come off the Lordstown assembly lines at more than 100 per hour, show what is in store. *In this light, the huge reduction of the auto labor force is not accidental. It paves the way for intensified U.S. competition in the world small-car markets.*

### Auto-trade war

The ultimate consequences of this can undermine the European and Japanese economies. Business Week already notes that the present recovery in auto production outside the United States is "due largely to the resurgence of the U.S. economy, the key import market." At this stage of the international crisis of capitalism any "solution" for one sector of national monopoly can only exacerbate the problems elsewhere. GM's Estes's dreams of capturing an American market could end up only closing off a vitally needed recovery valve for Japan and West Germany.

The figures in this article should also be closely studied by those trade unionists who believe that furthering the position of U.S. monopoly in international competition is a way of saving jobs. In reality, a crucial part of gearing up U.S. industry for world competition is slashing jobs and speeding up production. This was no less true in the shoe and textile industries, which closed up their northern plants and moved to the union-free south. In the steel industry, where protectionist cries are the loudest, steel-union chief I.W. Abel has entered into productivity pacts with the bosses that pave the way for drastic job losses.

International monopoly competition can never protect the interests of the workers. Its central aim is always to increase profit margins in order to slash prices on world markets. This is always done at the expense of workers, both outright in the form of job losses, and in the plants in the form of speed-up and other job-threatening procedures. On the job "accident" score, the U.S. auto industry is close to first place.

### Detroit's Black workers

Detroit is the fifth largest U.S. industrial city. It is 43.7% Black—and on the way to becoming majority Black as whites move to the suburbs. It is the hub of the American automobile industry, although many of the plants have moved from downtown to metropolitan neighborhoods. Including metropolitan Detroit and the constellation of other "motor cities" in central Michigan and neighboring Ohio, as many as half the cars

produced in the United States come from this area. Detroit was dragged into the depression of the 1970s earlier, and in many ways to an even graver extent than New York.

In 1973, General Motors said it employed a total of 639,091 workers, of whom 95,685 (14.9%) were Black. The Black jobs were concentrated almost entirely in production. "Semi-skilled operatives" included 72.9% of the Blacks working for GM; Blacks held 19.9% of these jobs. In addition, the GM Black labor force held 23.5% of the jobs classified as "service workers" and 29.6% of the jobs classified as "unskilled laborer."

We have already seen the tremendous volatility and immense loss of production worker jobs in the auto industry. By February of 1975 a Detroit Free Press correspondent was writing this about the Michigan representatives in the U.S. Congress: "Each day, in the letters and postcards they get from home, members of the Michigan congressional delegation feel the pain of the unemployed."

"And they shake their heads with frustration and even a bit of fear when they hear reports of new plant closings, new layoffs coming, new unemployment figures: 14 percent in the state, 22 percent in Detroit, 50 percent in the inner city, 15 percent in Port Huron, 20 percent in Flint and no letup in sight."

### Unemployment

There were sections of the overwhelmingly Black east side of Detroit that reported unemployment above 60%. The waiting time in the unemployment lines was at least two hours.

The long lines of unemployed Black workers were not created only by the 1974 depression. Many Blacks did not find adequate employment—if any jobs at all—in the brief 1972-73 upturn of the economy, so that Black unemployment in the recession of the 1970s must at least be traced back to the previous 1969-71 downturn. The National Urban League emphasizes that "Poverty patterns among black families consistently underscore the impact of the 1969-71 recession. Between 1969-71, the number of black families below the official poverty level rose by 155,000, to 1,480,000. But they continued to rise to 1,525,000 by 1973 (a "boom" year, especially for auto—D.R.). Thus, by 1973, there were 200,000 more officially poor black families than there were in 1969. . . . And the proportion of the official poor among all black families remained unchanged (at 28 percent) over that four year period." ("Black Families in the 1974-75 Depression," National Urban League Research Department, July 1975.)

Figures have not yet been reported for the standard of living of Black families in 1974-75, but the present situation is obviously much worse. The Urban League said, "Since industries such as construction and manufacturing (especially automobiles) with a concentration of men were hit harder by the economic decline than were the service industries with a concentration of women, men tended to be affected disproportionately." In the second quarter of 1974 official figures listed 319,000 adult Black men out of work. This figure had risen to 621,000 by the second quarter of 1975.

The 1974-75 downturn consequently caught much of the Black population before they had recovered from the previous downturn—and the 1974-75 slump was worse. Moreover, if the auto industry is indicative, the production drive on which the present "recovery" is based will hold even less promise of jobs for unskilled workers than did the previous upturn.

Already in February 1975 the Chrysler Corporation made it clear that its well-known Jefferson Avenue plant in the Black east side of Detroit would not be operating during the next cyclical upturn. This downtown multistoried assembly plant had been rendered obsolete by the single-story continuous assembly-line plants in the suburbs, according to Chrysler executives.

*As the world crisis of capitalism deepens and U.S. imperialism places more and more emphasis on international competition, economic "recovery" will increasingly be at the expense of the more oppressed layers of American society.*

### Cities in crisis

This prospect is deeply intertwined with the fate of the big industrial cities whose populations are heavily composed of oppressed nationalities.

It is easy to trace for New York a decline of jobs parallel to Detroit, going back to the 1969-71 recession.

Michael Sterne gave this account in the October 15, 1975, New York Times: "The fiscal crisis that has agonized New York for the last year, bringing it repeatedly to the brink of bankruptcy, really began in 1969 when the city's economy, which up to then

had been growing rapidly, began to shrink.

"In the six years since then, 501,800 jobs have disappeared from the city, and with them have gone an estimated total of \$1.5-billion in tax revenues that, had they been available to Mayor Beame, could have eased the fiscal crisis significantly and might even have averted it. . . .

"The causes of the decline are many and complex. Among them are wage rates higher than those that prevail elsewhere in the country, high energy, rent and land costs, traffic congestion that forces up transportation costs, a lack of modern factory space, high taxes, technological change, the competition of newer centers of economic concentration in the Southwest and West, the refocusing of American economic and social life in the suburbs. . . .

"Some of the causes are international in scope, such as the transfer of apparel and other soft-goods manufacturing to areas of cheap labor in the Caribbean and the Orient, which has taken jobs from New York and other, older American cities.

"The loss of the factory jobs has been especially harmful to New York because it came at a time when the part of its population needing such work—the traditional, foothold occupations of new New Yorkers—was growing. Since 1950, the number of poor blacks and Hispanics living here has increased by two million while an equal number of middle-class whites has moved out."

All of these factors combine to leave a heavy residue of unemployment in the major cities even after employment begins to rise elsewhere in the country. New York's unemployment rate stood at 11.9% in September and October compared with the national average of 8.2%.

Unemployment in Boston stood at 12.9% in August, compared with 6.9% a year before, while Detroit's rate of joblessness stood at 13.6%, compared with 8.6% a year before.

### Attack on workers

The concentrated attack of the rulers of the United States on New York workers—which it is crystal clear they mean to keep in national prominence—points to the imperialists' strategy for cities across the land. They hope to teach workers that the sacrifice of jobs and services is the only "solution" they should expect as the cities decay.

That workers themselves are keenly aware of this meaning of the New York crisis was revealed in an unexpected response to a national poll following President Ford's scathing attack on New York City delivered at the Washington, D.C., National Press Club October 29. The poll showed that 69% of those queried believed that a New York default would have an important effect on the national economy. Sixty-eight percent believed that other cities are facing similar financial problems to New York. And 55% believed that the federal government should provide funds to help New York out of its financial crisis. The irony was that not one single bill before the U.S. Congress at the time actually considered direct federal aid to New York. They were all merely different forms of federal guarantees to the New York banks no different from the plan that the Ford administration ended up initiating.

The demise of the "Jefferson Avenue" plant on the east side of Detroit symbolizes the countervailing trends in the American economy discussed in this article.

Under conditions of global economic crisis the U.S. imperialist drive to maintain first place in international competition will increasingly clash with the struggle of Blacks and other oppressed minorities for equal rights and job opportunities. A parallel process is the sharp deterioration of living standards for all workers in the industrial cities, supported by an offensive of the ruling class to take back concessions to workers that had been extracted previously. These deep-seated tendencies are increasingly constant features of American society, regardless of fluctuations in the "business cycle."

### 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., paper \$1.95  
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# Calendar

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**ANGOLA: ANOTHER VIETNAM?** A panel discussion. Panel: Vince Eagan, member YSA National Committee; others. Fri., Jan. 16, 8 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

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**ANGOLA: ANOTHER VIETNAM?** Speakers: Rev. Al Dortch, L.A. Angola Support Committee; Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; others. Fri., Jan. 16, 8 p.m. 4040 W. Washington Blvd. (at Washington Square Shopping Center). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

## PITTSBURGH

**THE PITTSBURGH TEACHERS' STRIKE.** Speakers: Albert Fondy, president, PFT; Ellard Yow, member, United Electrical Workers Local 610. Fri., Jan. 16, 8 p.m. 3400 Fifth Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

## ST. LOUIS

**COINTELPRO: THE FBI'S SECRET WAR ON POLITICAL FREEDOM.** A panel discussion. Panel: Charles Koen, Cairo United Front; Percy Green, ACTION; Edith Graeber, ACLU; Ed Warren, SWP. Fri., Jan. 16, 8 p.m. Peacock Alley, 75 Ewing (LaCleda Town). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

## SEATTLE

**POLITICS OF BLACK MUSIC.** Speaker: Joe Brazil, Univ. of Washington professor of jazz. Fri., Jan. 16, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

## TWIN CITIES

**EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT SPEAK-OUT.** Speakers: Virginia Watkins, coordinator, Minnesota NOW; Ramona Austin, coordinator, Women's Minority Task Force, Minnesota NOW; Sue Welsh, president, AFSCME Local 1164; Elaine Onasch, president, Twin Cities CLUW. Fri., Jan. 16, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. SE, Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

## ...Angola

*Continued from page 4*

the group in the best military position for the OAU meeting.

Kaufman also reported on speculation that the MPLA may be focusing its attack on the northern-based FNLA as part of a move to seek an accomodation with UNITA, which is based in the south. All three groups have fought one another at times in the past.

When the U.S. House of Representatives reconvenes on January 20 it will

take up the Senate resolution, passed last month, that put restrictions on a military appropriations bill limiting the use of funds available in Angola to "intelligence gathering" purposes.

The Senate is also scheduled to debate a new resolution barring Washington from using money from any source in Angola.

Regardless of the outcome of the congressional debates, Ford and Kissinger have made it clear they intend to continue—one way or another—U.S. interference in the affairs of the peoples of Angola.

## ...Monroe

*Continued from page 5*

Black area and were stopped by Blacks who believed they were racists looking for trouble.

Angry Blacks gathered around and threatened them.

Acting swiftly, Black leaders led the couple to Williams's home for safety.

Shortly thereafter scores of police cars drew up to Williams's street and barricaded it, claiming that Williams was holding the couple hostage.

Williams's phone rang. It was the chief of police, who told Williams, "In thirty minutes you'll be hanging in the courthouse square."

Williams, taking the police chief at his word, decided to leave rather than face lynch-mob justice.

When he arrived in New York City not long afterwards, he learned he was wanted for kidnapping.

Five individuals had been indicted on the charge; three were taken into custody. Mae Mallory, a New York supporter of Williams who was in Monroe at the time of the alleged kidnapping, was arrested two months later.

In 1964 the four defendants were convicted in the kidnap frame-up, but their conviction was later overturned.

Now, Williams, the tough rights activist who led the Monroe struggle fourteen years ago, has returned to wage another fight.

## ...lawsuit

*Continued from page 6*

Another prisoner, one of those shipped to Morganton after the June rebellion, wrote from there, "I am one

of America's many victims of the justice system. I know how it feels to have a cockroach an inch long walk on my face when I sleep. I know how it feels to be sick and denied medicine. I hurt to see fellow comrades work in 120-degree temperatures in a germ-infested laundry.

"I feel the blows as my sisters fall victim under the racist guards' sticks late at night. . . . I cry when I remember the distant look in a comrade's eyes as a result of a mind-killing drug. My eyes and flesh burn when I think of the mace and tear gas sprayed on me by the keeper of the slave camps, and I sit here now because I am a human being and a woman and I stood up as one."

"I cannot understand why they beat us, terrorize us. I do not know why a handful of women—naked, unarmed, behind bars—frighten them so much," says another prisoner.

On her seventy-seventh day of "security" isolation in the hole, Alice Wise wrote, "We hanging tuff—we gonna fight this out to the bitter end."

Support for the women is being coordinated by Action for Forgotten Women. To help or for more information, write AFW c/o Brooke Whiting, 1601 Sedgefield Street, Apartment E, Durham, North Carolina 27705.

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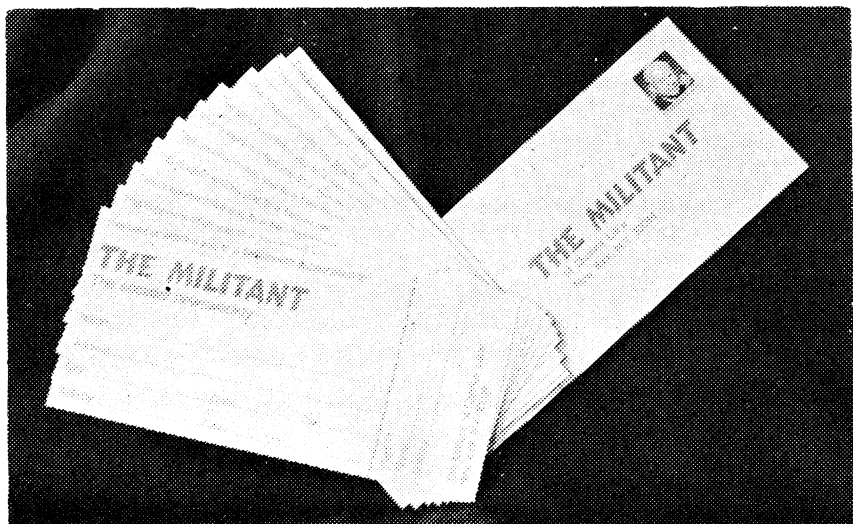
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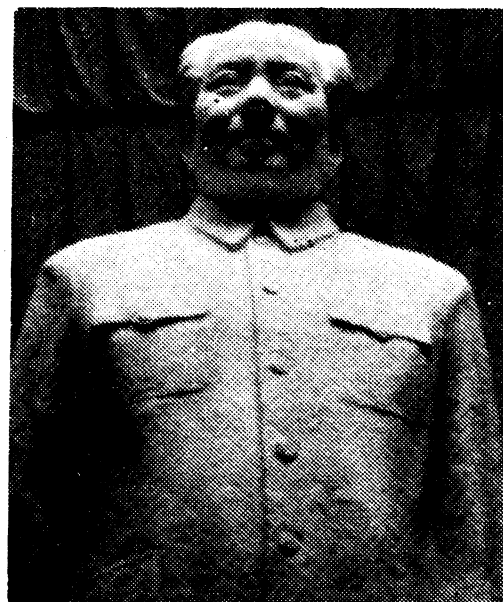
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# THE MILITANT

## Camejo, Reid in Milwaukee

# 1,000 at rally hear socialist candidates

By Ginny Hildebrand

MILWAUKEE—"The victims of injustice come to a party that fights injustice," said George Novack, a leader of the Socialist Workers party since the 1930s. He was speaking to a December 29 rally sponsored by the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee.

SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid were the featured speakers. They shared the platform at the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee with a leader of the NAACP, victims of racist frame-ups, and a union strike leader. They also received messages from other leading fighters against injustice.

Most of the 1,000 people attending the rally were in Milwaukee to participate in the fifteenth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Bernie Senter, SWP candidate for mayor of Milwaukee, opened the campaign rally by welcoming people to Milwaukee and introducing the chairperson of the evening, Pat Wright.

Wright is a New York City day-care worker active in the fight against the devastating budget cutbacks. She is also the SWP candidate for Congress from Brooklyn's Fourteenth Congressional District.

Wright began by calling attention "to the serious threat to world peace due to U.S. intervention in Angola." We must begin, she said, to help organize the American people to demand, "Hands off Angola! No more Vietnams!"

### 'If you're against the bus . . .'

Joe Madison, executive director of the Detroit NAACP, began his remarks by commending the young activists in the audience for spending their New Year's weekend working for social justice.

"Now some people," he said, "might have their



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Leaders of struggles for social justice participated in socialist campaign rally in Milwaukee. From left, SWP leader George Novack, 'Washington Post' striker James O'Sullivan, Michael Murphy, Pat Wright, Peter Camejo, Julia Mendoza, Detroit NAACP Executive Director Joe Madison, Willie Mae Reid.

jaws out of shape because the executive director of the Detroit branch came to the Young Socialist convention. Well," he continued, "I wasn't invited by the Young Democrats and I wasn't invited by the Young Republicans. You see, they haven't made up their minds on where they stand on this so-called pseudo-issue of busing."

But, he continued, "there's not a single thing that the Democratic or Republican party can do about busing except see that it is implemented to desegregate segregated schools."

"We have to understand," Madison explained, "that the issue is not 'forced busing.' Because in this country, Blacks and minorities have always been forced to do something. We were forced to live in inadequate housing and slums. We were forced to take inadequate education."

"Mr. President," Madison demanded, referring to Gerald Ford, "don't you understand that if you're against the bus, you're against integration? If you don't want to drive a nail through a board, you take away the hammer. If you don't want to desegregate segregated schools . . . take away the buses."

Sustained applause followed Madison as he left the podium. He could not have found a more receptive audience to his call to keep up activities in support of busing. At the convention, the YSA was making plans to continue its involvement in the busing fight and other antiracist struggles.

Michael Murphy, a young Black active in the YSA's Milwaukee chapter, explained to the rally his run-in with racist injustice. Murphy is scheduled to stand trial on January 7. His crime? "Exercising my democratic right to self-defense," he said.

Murphy explained that several months ago, a young Nazi tough decked out in brown shirt and

swastika insignia assaulted him on a Milwaukee street. Cops stood by and watched until Murphy began defending himself. Then the cops swooped down and arrested him along with the Nazi.

Julia Mendoza, the next speaker, also knows the ruthlessness of racist injustice in Milwaukee. Her son, Ray, is serving two concurrent life prison sentences. Ray Mendoza was assaulted by two drunken off-duty cops. At the end of a struggle, the two cops lay fatally wounded by their own gun.

"My son is a Chicano," Julia Mendoza said. "He was tried in Anglo-controlled courts, by an Anglo jury, for murdering two Anglo cops. . . . If Ray had not defended himself, he would not be alive today."

"Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid are the only candidates for national office who understand the true nature of my son's case," she said.

### Democratic rights and socialists

George Novack spoke to the rally about the \$27 million suit of the SWP and YSA against government harassment. The Political Rights Defense Fund is organizing publicity and fund raising for legal expenses.

"This suit," Novack said, "is being conducted not only to protect the constitutional rights of our own two organizations, but the freedoms of all those who have been or may be victims of similar attacks from the political police."

In more than thirty years, Novack continued, the government has not uncovered the slightest evidence of illegal or violent activity by the YSA and SWP, "despite the provocative activities of its own agents and informers." And it's no wonder, Novack asserted. "We are a legal political party that openly proclaims

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