

THE MILITANT

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

United march, rally

3,000 in Atlanta say: 'ERA in '76!'

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME 40/NUMBER 3
JANUARY 23, 1976
CLOSING NEWS DATE—JAN. 14

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

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

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: U.S., \$7.50 a year; outside U.S., \$13.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico, \$35.00. Write for surface and airmail rates to all other countries.

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

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

TEXAS RIGHT-WINGERS DECLARE WAR ON COMMUNISM: On January 7 the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee in Houston received a "Declaration of War" from the Veterans for Victory Over Communism. This right-wing outfit promised to "wage total war on Communism and supporters of the Communist Conspiracy." Louis R. Beam, Jr., one of the fifteen declaration signers, was indicted in connection with the bombing of the SWP headquarters and Pacifica Radio in Houston in 1971. A number of known members of the Ku Klux Klan are also members of the VVOC. Both groups have been responsible for terrorist attacks in Texas in the recent past.

The Houston Police Department is notorious for its inaction against the terrorist activities of such groups. In demanding that Mayor Fred Hofheinz investigate the threat and provide protection, the socialists cited a federal law that specifically protects federal candidates, their headquarters, and supporters from terrorist harassment. "The United States Department of Justice and the FBI, as well as the Houston Police Department are obligated to investigate this threat fully and provide adequate protection from further harassment and terrorist attack," stated a campaign news release.

NEW YORK ANTICUTBACKS MEETING: Eighty-five people from City University of New York (CUNY) campuses, community groups, and trade unions met at Baruch College January 8 to discuss the fight against the New York City budget cuts. This was a meeting of the continuations committee set up by a similar gathering held December 10 under the sponsorship of the University Student Senate, the umbrella student government for CUNY.

Jay Hershenson, president of the USS, reported that the USS and others are filing suit against the board of higher education for its decision to end the open admissions policy at CUNY. Representatives from Borough of Manhattan Community, Hunter, and Brooklyn colleges announced plans for educational activities such as teach-ins and urged other campuses to do likewise.

Mike Myers, assistant national director of the NAACP, told the meeting that faculty firings will wipe out the gains made by Black and Puerto Ricans under affirmative-action programs, and that the end of open admissions will most severely affect minority students. "Retrenchment at a time when Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and other minorities are trying to advance is nothing but racism," Myers said. He called for the broadest possible fight against the cutbacks. He urged anticutbacks organizers to involve NAACP branches and the NAACP youth in their plans.

Sam Manuel, of the New York Student Coalition Against Racism, announced that NSCAR will hold a national steering committee meeting in New York on February 14 and that the fight against cutbacks will be a major topic of discussion.

NEW JERSEY SUPREME COURT HEARS ARGUMENTS FOR NEW CARTER, ARTIS TRIAL: Myron Beldock, attorney for frame-up victims Hurricane Carter and John Artis, argued for a new trial before the New Jersey Supreme Court on January 12. He explained to the seven-judge panel that there was a "massive, purposeful suppression" of evidence by the Passaic County prosecutor's office during the 1967 trial that convicted the two Black men of murder.

In particular, information was withheld concerning promised rewards for the prosecution's key witnesses, Alfred Bello and Arthur Bradley. A tape recording and detective's notebook have surfaced revealing that promises of leniency were offered the witnesses, who faced burglary charges, in exchange for their cooperation. The testimonies of these witnesses had already been placed in question when both recanted their earlier stories. Recently, however, Bello has changed his story again.

AN APPEAL TO HALT TEN EXECUTIONS IN IRAN: The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran recently issued an appeal for protests against the planned execution of ten Iranians. The ten have been convicted of belonging to an urban guerrilla group connected with the assassination of two U.S. army colonels in Tehran last spring.

News of the political trials was not reported until the execution sentences were announced. The only "evidence" cited by the government consisted of "confessions" by seven of the accused. "Confessions" in Iran are routinely extracted in the torture chambers of SAVAK, the secret police. Manijeh Ashrafzadeh Kermani, one of the condemned, is the first woman marked for execution by the shah's regime.

The committee is demanding that the executions be stopped and that the cases of the defendants be remanded to the custody and protection of the United Nations Human Rights Charter. Telegrams of protest should be sent to: Shah of Iran, Niavaran Palace, Tehran, Iran, and Ardeshir

Zahedi, Iranian Embassy, Washington, D.C. Copies should be sent to the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.

DOMINICAN LABOR LEADERS FREED: The United States Committee for Justice To Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has announced that two leaders of the Dominican Central General de Trabajadores (CGT) were released from prison December 22. The two are Francisco Antonio Santos, CGT general secretary, and Eugenio Pérez Cepeda, CGT secretary of grievances.

The union leaders were imprisoned last June as part of a witch-hunt. The Balaguer dictatorship was supposedly searching for guerrillas involved in a mythical invasion from Cuba. At the request of the CGT, USLA has been coordinating protest activities in this country.

GAY MOTHER WILL APPEAL CHILD-CUSTODY VERDICT: A jury in Dallas has ruled against the right of a gay mother, Mary Jo Risher, to retain custody of her nine-year-old son. The decision goes against recent precedents where judges have ruled that a mother's sexual orientation has no bearing on her right to custody.

Risher plans to appeal the decision. The National Organization for Women is helping with legal fees.

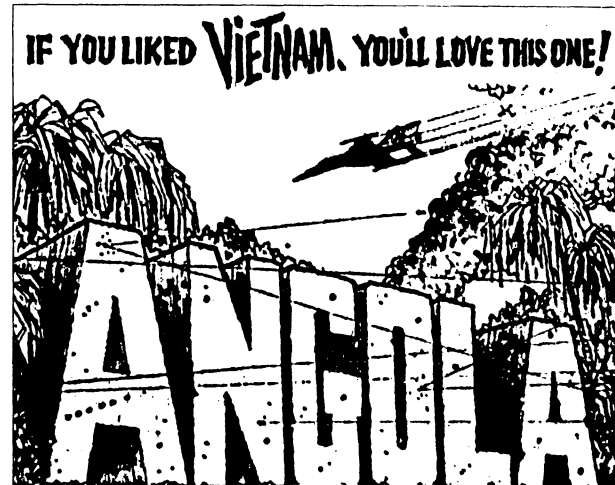
TRIAL FOR MILWAUKEE VICTIM OF NAZI ATTACK POSTPONED: A new trial date has been set for Michael Murphy, charged with disorderly conduct for defending himself against an assault by a Nazi in downtown Milwaukee last summer. Murphy is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers party.

The trial was postponed to March 17 to allow more time for Murphy's attorney, John Murray, to take depositions from witnesses. One of the witnesses, Nazi leader Arthur Jones, has recently announced his intention to run for mayor of Milwaukee.

A special appeal from the Michael Murphy Defense Committee to raise funds for these depositions and publicity costs has been signed by prominent Milwaukee civil libertarians, journalists, professors, and community activists. The National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression has endorsed Murphy's defense, as have Karen Galloway and Jerry Paul, defense attorneys for Joanne Little.

Contributions for defense activities can be sent to: Michael Murphy Defense Committee, c/o George Dolph, 806 North Twelfth Street, Apartment W, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53233.

—Ginny Hildebrand



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Women, unionists, Blacks rally

3,000 in Atlanta: 'ERA in '76'

By Eva Chertov

ATLANTA—Car horns honked, people waved through bus windows, and they shouted support from street corners as a march of 3,000 women and men supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment wound through downtown Atlanta on January 10. Marchers chanted, "What do we want? The ERA—When do we want it? Yesterday!"

It was the third annual march and rally initiated by Georgians for the ERA (GERA) to demand that the Georgia state legislature ratify the federal amendment, which would outlaw sex discrimination. By 1979, four more states must join the thirty-four that have already ratified in order for the ERA to be added to the constitution.

More than a dozen trade-union, women's, Black, and student organizations cosponsored the demonstration. Young women, many of them from the campuses, made up the bulk of the march, which was double the size of last year's action here. Also marching were delegations from Tennessee, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and North and South Carolina.

The large, united march was in part a response to the defeat of state ERA referenda in New York and New Jersey in the November 1975 elections. In her speech to the rally, feminist author Kate Millett spoke of the heightened sense of urgency ERA supporters feel because of the right-wing offensive against the amendment.

'We are going to march'

"This is going to be a lot harder than we thought," said Millett. "Two years ago, we thought ERA was a 'shoo-in' . . ." But now, she continued, "we are going to march in a lot of places, we are going to march in many, many states, and we may have to do it many, many times. And I think here is the place to start—let Georgia lead the South!"

"We're speaking to state legislators in Florida, Alabama, North Carolina, and South Carolina [other states where the ERA has not been ratified]," said Mary Riddle of GERA. "We're speaking to the legislators in Tennessee who ratified, then voted to rescind the ERA. Are you listening, Georgia General Assembly? Are you listening, elected representatives all over the Southeast and all over the country? We're not going to quit. We're getting stronger every day."

"We all hold different views—on politics, religion, life-styles," Riddle continued. "But we are united on the ERA. We must unite. We can do it. We can ratify the ERA."

The rally was chaired by GERA coordinator Sarah Ryan. During the rally she announced that ERA supporters in many parts of the country are making plans to commemorate Inter-



January 10 Atlanta ERA demonstration. 'We are going to march in a lot of places and we may have to do it many, many times,' Kate Millett told demonstrators.

national Women's Day, March 8, with ERA teach-ins and rallies. Ryan urged the marchers to help make International Women's Day in Atlanta another broad, united event for the ERA.

The speakers' contingent that led the march exemplified the diversity and unity of support for women's rights. Marching behind a big GERA banner that read, "200 Years is Enough, Ratify the ERA," were Mary Alice Moore, Grady Hospital chapter chairperson of Local 1644, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Lithangia Robinson, president-elect of the Georgia Association of Educators; Betty Friedan, a founder of the National Organization for Women; Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid; Jean O'Leary, legislative coordinator for the National Gay Task Force; Georgia State Sen. Julian Bond; and Kate Millett.

Lithangia Robinson opened her remarks saying, "On behalf of the 42,000 educators in Georgia who have endorsed the ERA as our priority legislation, I want to say that we are all with you in spirit today." She discussed several aspects of sex discrimination in education, including the discrimination that allows only a tiny number of women into school administrative positions.

"Too long have women suffered from humiliation, deprivation, and exploitation," she concluded. "Is equality an American dream or an American nightmare? Now is the time to pass the ERA."

Another Black unionist, Mary Alice Moore, who is also a member of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, spoke of the need for the unions to join this fight.

"We will no longer say that we can wait till next year. No, we want the ERA to be ratified in 1976, and the only way we are going to do that is to stand up and hit the streets whenever we have to. . . ."

"I'm saying to all union women and all union men, all my sisters and brothers here today, to stand up and be counted. And the only way you can be counted is to support the ERA."

Several unions and working women's organizations endorsed the march: the Coalition of Labor Union Women in Atlanta, Amalgamated Meat Cutters Local 442, American Federation of Government Employees Local 1568, AFSCME Local 1644, and Stewardesses for Women's Rights.

Black women speak out

Willie Mae Reid spoke about the importance of the ERA for Black women and outlined a strategy to win its passage.

"I'm very glad to see the faces of many of my Black brothers and sisters here today," Reid said, "because the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment will give Black women a new tool to use in challenging our bottom-of-the-barrel existence in the job market."

"We must be very clear about these opponents of the ERA," Reid explained. "They are the same forces that have been in the forefront of resistance to the right of Black students to an equal education. They are the same forces that are opposed to our right to abortion. They are the same forces who oppose the union movement and every other movement fighting for democratic rights and social change."

Reid emphasized the need to organize massive actions in the streets to show that ERA supporters are the majority. She warned of the dangers of relying on lobbying or electing "friendly" Democratic or Republican party politicians instead.

"Our fair-weather friends in the Democratic party will try hard to convince us that supporting them is the solution, the road to victory," Reid said. "Well, the Equal Rights Amendment was introduced into the Congress in 1923. If Democrats or Republicans were really so friendly to women's

rights, they could have passed the ERA many times over in the last fifty years."

"The Socialist Workers party campaign," Reid continued, "will tell women not to depend on these 'friends,' but depend on ourselves. Our movement is more important than any individual being elected to office. It should not be subordinated to any election campaign."

Atlanta University student leader Miesa Patterson said: "I want to impress on all my Black sisters and brothers the importance of building a mass struggle around the ERA. On this, the eve of Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday, we should remember the importance of boycotts, demonstrations, and pickets to let the people know that we are serious about getting our rights, serious about the ratification of the ERA."

Black and student endorsements for the demonstration came from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of Atlanta, Black Women's Coalition, Emory Women's Organization of Emory University, Georgia State University Women's Coalition, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

NOW chapters from Atlanta and DeKalb, Georgia, endorsed the demonstration. Betty Friedan called the march and rally "the first major action of 1976 for the women's movement. . . . And this march today in Atlanta has nationwide significance." She directed most of her remarks, however, toward urging women to focus their energies on electing pro-ERA politicians.

Eleanor Smeal, chairperson of the NOW National Board, and Elaine Latourelle, legislative vice-president of NOW, also spoke.

Gay activist Jean O'Leary said that gay women must be involved and welcomed in this struggle, for, like all women, gay women need the Equal Rights Amendment. One hundred gay women marched in the demonstration in the Atlanta Lesbian Feminist Alliance contingent.

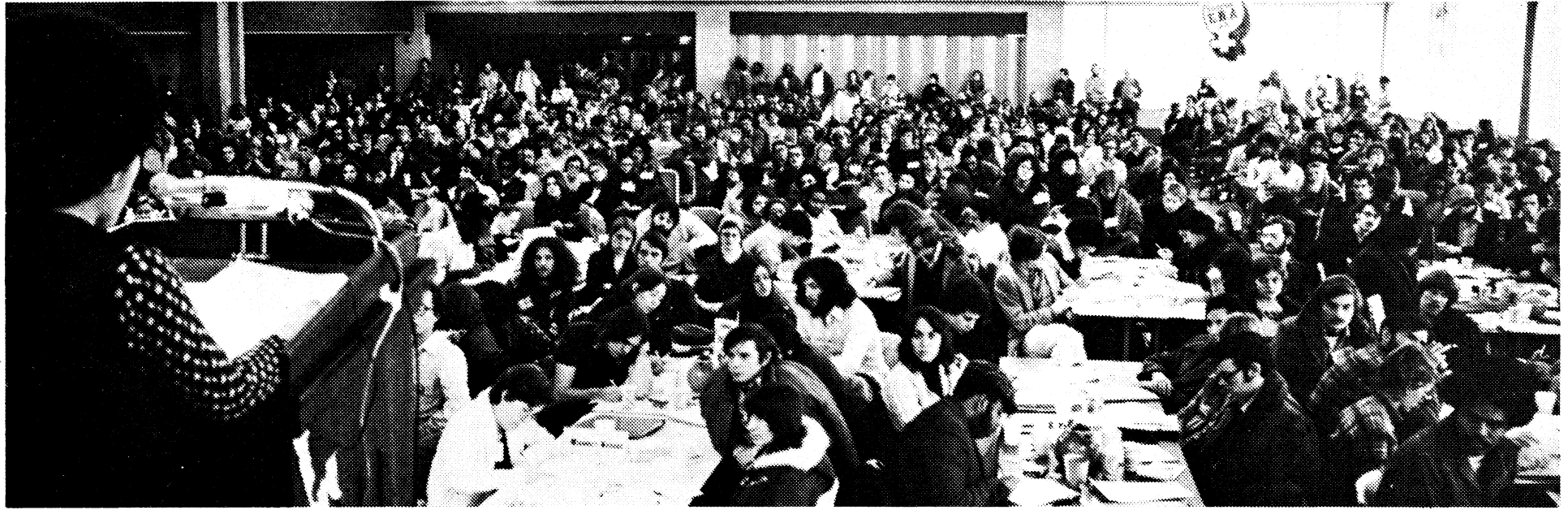
Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson also spoke at the rally.

Among those who sent messages to the rally were Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.), Democratic presidential hopefuls Sargent Shriver and Sen. Birch Bayh, Rep. Andrew Young (D-Ga.), and NOW President Karen DeCrow.



Militant/Harris Freeman

Young Socialist Alliance sets campaigns for 1976



Militant/Lou Howort

Fifteenth national YSA convention discussed U.S. imperialist intervention in Angola, the racist offensive against busing, the fight to pass the ERA, and the ruling-class assault on education and workers' living standards.

By Steve Clark

"A lot has happened in the year since our last convention," said Ilona Gersh, opening the fifteenth Young Socialist Alliance national convention.

"We've seen the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam," she said, "the ongoing struggle of the Portuguese workers, civil war in Angola, and mounting protests against ruling-class attacks on our right to an education and decent living standards."

Gersh is the YSA's newly elected national secretary. The 950 young socialists she was speaking to had gathered at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee campus to assess the events of the past year and chart a course for 1976. During the five days from December 28 to January 1, they listened to reports, engaged in debates and discussions, participated in workshops, attended classes, and hammered out a plan of action. What did they decide?

- To initiate teach-ins, rallies, and demonstrations on their high school and college campuses demanding "U.S. hands off Angola!"

- To continue their activities in defense of school desegregation and busing and against all aspects of racism in American society.

- To step up their efforts to build a mass movement for speedy passage of

the Equal Rights Amendment.

- To mobilize support for the United Farm Workers' boycott of scab grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wines.

- To organize protests against education cutbacks and cost hikes in the high schools, community colleges, and universities.

- To campaign actively for the Socialist Workers 1976 presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid; and much, much more.

In the convention center, many organizations set up tables and displays, among them the Committee to Free Ray Mendoza; the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran; the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners; the campus Veteran's Union; the United Farm Workers; and Georgians for the ERA.

A special program on the first evening of the convention celebrated the YSA's fifteen years of socialist activity on the nation's high school and college campuses.

Fifteenth anniversary

"I remember the first YSA convention pretty well," said Jim Lambrecht, the YSA's first national secretary, now an active member of the Socialist Workers party in New York City. "We felt pretty confident—all 100 or so of us—after our first four years of work going back to 1956."

That was the year, Lambrecht explained, that important world events in the Soviet Union, Hungary, and Poland brought together the initial handful of socialist activists who would found the YSA four years later.

Tim Wohlforth, the YSA's founding chairperson, explained how that handful went about looking for new adherents. "We turned outward toward the American students," he said, "toward the first stirrings on the university campuses—stirrings which in that period were mostly at the level of thought, of a beginning to question the period that they had lived through. But this questioning would be a precursor for the actions to come."

Wohlforth developed political differences with the YSA and Socialist Workers party in the early 1960s and for a decade led a small opponent organization, the Workers League. Recent national and world events, however, led to changes in Wohlforth's views, and at the anniversary

celebration he expressed his solidarity with the YSA and SWP.

Wohlforth concluded his presentation by reviewing the YSA's active participation in the civil rights sit-ins and boycotts launched by Southern Black students to win desegregation of lunch counters and other public facilities.

Sherry Finer, the YSA's first national organizational secretary, pointed out that the YSA in the early 1960s "defended the Cuban revolution as it came under Washington's increasingly brutal attack. In the face of great hostility," she said, "we continued to speak out, participating in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee."

Current and former YSA leaders Kipp Dawson, Geoff Mirelowitz, Mac Warren, and Olga Rodríguez briefly recounted the YSA's participation in the anti-Vietnam War movement, feminist struggles, and the fight for Black liberation.

"Now I've heard about all the different movements that the YSA has been instrumental in building, and I think it's terrific," said Susan Seletsky, a new member of the Brooklyn College YSA, who was the final speaker at the special program. "Even better, though, is the fact that we're *still active* in the struggles against oppression."

Ruling-class assault

A report to the convention by Joan Quinn, a member of the YSA National Executive Committee, placed the YSA's current activities against the backdrop of world capitalism's deep-going economic crisis. To defend their profits, she said, the American ruling class has launched an assault on the living standards and democratic rights of working people, aiming their heaviest fire right now at Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, women, and youth.

"The deeply felt uncertainties about the economic situation," Quinn said, combined with the Watergate revelations and the exposure of CIA and FBI harassment and assassination plots, "have spread the openness to radical alternatives in this country." She pointed out that untamed inflation and continuing high unemployment levels have led to the beginnings of a changing consciousness and renewed militancy among American workers and trade unionists.

"The special concern of the YSA in this changed situation," Quinn explained, "is the 26.6 million high

school and college students in the country—organizing this force in the struggles ahead."

Much of Quinn's report and the discussion that followed centered on the ruling-class assault against university and high school education.

Education cutbacks

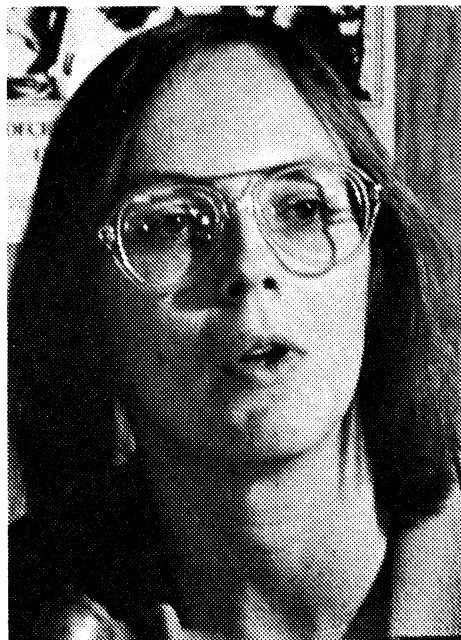
Candy Wagner, a YSA activist on the City College of New York campus, explained during the discussion that New York City politicians are trying to pit students against city workers and other New Yorkers in a scramble for diminishing funds. "The YSA's strategy in this situation," she said, "has been to continually press for the demand of *no cuts*."

"We've stressed the need to unite with other sectors of the city affected by cutbacks and layoffs," Wagner said.

Mike Zarate, a Chicano student at the University of California-San Diego campus, pointed to several other aspects of the YSA's strategy to fight campus cutbacks. He reported on a recent struggle by the UCSD Graduate Student Union for guaranteed employment and free tuition for out-of-state students.

"The YSA understood the importance of united-front tactics in drawing in as many campus organizations as possible to support the graduate students," Zarate said, "setting up regular information tables and holding frequent teach-ins and rallies to help mobilize and inform the rest of the campus population."

Zarate said that the YSA also urged the Graduate Student Union to put forward simple, clear demands that



Militant/Lou Howort

QUINN: "YSA's special concern is mobilizing nation's 26.6 million high school and college students in fight for a socialist America."

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could attract maximum support, "demands like: 'Education is our right' and 'No cutbacks.'"

"The fight against these attacks on our right to an education and a decent job," Quinn noted, "will be a long and hard one. Students can't win it alone. It is part of the larger fight by working people against the attacks on their living standards."

Delegates reported on YSA activities in solidarity with workers' struggles, ranging from participation in the United Farm Workers' boycott to mobilizing support in the nation's capital for the striking press operators at the *Washington Post*.

High schools

"The cuts are also crashing down on high school students," Quinn reported, "especially on electives and extracurricular activities. Reductions in staff; increased use of tracking; perpetuation of inferior, segregated education for Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans—these round out the ruling-class assault on high school youth."

"In the face of these cutbacks, we demand full local, state, and federal funding," said San Franciscan Jon Olmsted during the discussion. "We say, 'Eliminate the massive war budget and tax the big corporations to fund the schools.'"

"The government's simultaneous attack on students and teachers," he said, "poses the potential unity of these two groups, and high school YSA members can often take the lead in forging this unity during cutbacks fights or teachers' strikes."

Jo Carol Stallworth, a Black student



Militant/Lou Howort

ZARATE: 'Simple, clear demands against cutbacks attract maximum student support.'

at Detroit's Cass Technical High School, reported that the YSA had achieved official recognition as a school club at Cass. The key to successful high school activity, she said, "is to make the YSA a part of the life of the high school."

Fight against racism

Struggles against racism in education were another focus of discussion at the convention. A report by Nan Bailey, who was elected YSA national chairperson at the convention, emphasized the YSA's activity in support of school desegregation and busing.

Huston Pigford, a Black student from Staten Island Community College attending his first YSA convention, pointed to the importance of this issue in an interview during a lunch break.

"When Black rights are rejected," he said, "they have to be fought for. Because if the racists in South Boston, Louisville, and elsewhere defeat busing, all the other things that Blacks have won during the past decade would start rolling back."

In her report Bailey said, "We think that the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) is the kind of united-action coalition that is needed in the fight against racism. It

has recognized the importance of organizing the power of the student movement and using the resources of the campus to build this fight."

Hattie McCutcheon, a SCAR activist at Detroit's Wayne State University, talked about the desegregation fight in that city. "The key thing for SCAR today," she said, "is to conduct an education campaign to convince the majority of people in this country why they should support busing."

"But we also have to convince people that we know how to win desegregation," she said. "That means demonstrations like the May 17, 1975, march of 15,000 in Boston sponsored by the NAACP, and the picket lines and teach-ins sponsored by SCAR around the country in November."

"If you took a trip around the country and asked local SCAR activists what they are doing," Bailey said in her report, "you're likely to get quite a few different answers. NSCAR recognizes that racism comes packaged in many forms."

She pointed to NSCAR's participation in struggles for bilingual-bicultural education for Puerto Rican and Chicano students, protests against cutbacks in ethnic studies programs, demonstrations against police brutality, and fights against discriminatory layoffs.

"Defense of political prisoners and other victims of capitalist injustice is an increasingly important activity," said delegate Liz Jayko, a St. Louis YSA leader active in the effort to clear J.B. Johnson of a racist, frame-up murder charge.

The convention sent letters of support to many of capitalism's victims: Delbert Tibbs, Hurricane Carter and John Artis, the five Puerto Rican Nationalist party prisoners, Dessie X Woods and Cheryl Todd, Philip Allen, Robert F. Williams, the American Indian Movement, and Stanton Storey.

Following the discussion on the fight against racism, Nancy Brown, a member of the YSA National Executive Committee, presented a report on the group's perspectives for participation in the women's liberation movement.

"The March 8 International Women's Day is a traditional holiday for working women," Brown said. "There is no better way to celebrate it this



Militant/Lou Howort

BAILEY: 'National Student Coalition Against Racism is kind of action coalition needed to wage busing fight.'

year than to bring together women's rights supporters in cities across the country to demand, 'Ratify the ERA!'"

Brown also noted the growing interest in socialist ideas within the feminist movement. A special article in a future *Militant* will report further on the women's liberation report and discussion.

Reorganization

"The three previous reports have defined the YSA's strategy for new campus struggles," Rick Berman told the delegates as he began his organizational report to the convention.

"This report should begin a discussion on how we can deepen our high school and campus orientation in this new political situation," Berman, who was elected YSA national organizational secretary at the convention, proposed that the YSA aim to build separate chapters at each campus and high school. Currently, YSA chapters include students from several campuses most often organized on a city-wide basis.

"Doing this," he said, "should make it simpler for the YSA to expand onto new campuses and high schools, win new members more easily and make

them feel part of the YSA, and become more involved than ever in campus and high school life."

Berman said that the YSA's growth during the fall showed that the reorganization proposal was coming at a good time. With nearly 1,400 members and sixty-five chapters, the YSA has grown to its largest size in history, he reported.

SWP 1976 campaign

During the discussion following the organization report, Phyllis Lee of the Baltimore YSA explained how the tour of Willie Mae Reid—the 1976 Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate—helped expand the YSA onto new campuses in her area.

"At four out of five of the campuses where Willie Mae Reid spoke," Lee said, "this was the first public YSA event to occur there." In all, she said, 600 people heard Reid speak, and six joined the YSA.

On the second night of the convention, Reid and SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo were the featured speakers at a socialist campaign rally attended by 1,000 people.

Berman stressed the importance of the suit filed by the YSA and SWP against government surveillance and harassment of the two groups. "Campus chapters have to be on their toes to take full advantage of opportunities to win support for the suit," he said. "We'll find the biggest interest on campus right after the latest revelations of government dirty tricks hit the morning paper or the evening news."

Berman also reported on the YSA's plans to broaden the distribution of the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* newspapers to high school and college students, along with the socialist books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder Press.

Internationalism

The YSA convention's decision to launch a campaign against U.S. intervention in Angola was a highlight of the five-day gathering. When the proposal was presented by Joan Quinn, it was met with a spontaneous and extended ovation. Several hundred convention participants also attended a special class on Angola given by

Continued on page 26

Attendance shows YSA growth

Who came to the YSA convention?

The credentials report by delegate Tony Austin of Philadelphia provided some interesting facts and figures.

Students and other young people from thirty states were represented in Milwaukee, the largest groups hailing from New York, Wisconsin, and California. Attendance at the convention reflected the expansion of the socialist movement into new parts of the country during the past year. At the YSA's last convention only two participants came from Maryland, three from New Jersey, and none from Louisiana. This year the figures were twenty-two, twenty-five, and fourteen respectively.

Students came from 124 colleges, community colleges, and trade schools, and from 6 high schools. For nearly 200 participants, the YSA's fifteenth national convention was their first.

"I'm kind of frustrated with the way society is going, and I'm looking for alternatives," Mavis Payton told me. "That's why I came to the convention." Payton lives in Washington, D.C.

"I haven't decided whether I'm going to join the YSA," she said, but she intends to work with the YSA in the D.C. Student Coalition Against Racism.

At the convention, thirty-one participants decided to join the socialist movement.

"All of the conventions that I've been to have been meaningful," explained "El Fego" Baca, "because I've had the opportunity to talk to people and ask them questions: Where they stand on Chicano nationalism, busing, and on other questions that concern oppressed minorities in this country."

This was Baca's fifth YSA convention, but it was an important one. This year he decided to join the YSA. Baca is now a YSA activist in Denver's Metropolitan State College.

Cleveland high school student Becky Aiello joined the YSA shortly

before the convention. She was impressed by the help the YSA gave her in conducting a struggle in Cleveland high schools against the dress code and censorship and for students' rights.

André Lowen, a Black Brooklyn College student, also joined the YSA several weeks before the convention. "From my high school experiences in the civil rights movement," he said, "I knew that the groups that got involved with mass actions had the best results. The YSA at Brooklyn College was the only group that was working to mobilize large numbers of students against the budget cuts, so I signed up." —S.C.



Militant/Lou Howort

Delegates at Milwaukee convention. Young people from 30 states, 124 college campuses, and 6 high schools attended.

Strikers vow to fight on

Pittsburgh teachers hit with punitive fines

By Mark McColloch
and Dan Rosenheim

PITTSBURGH, Jan. 12—Punitive fines totaling an extraordinary \$2 million a week were levied today against the Pittsburgh Federation of Teachers and individual union members for their refusal to comply with a court back-to-work order.

Common Pleas Judge Donald Ziegler, who issued an antistrike injunction January 3, fined the PFT \$25,000 plus \$10,000 a day for every day the strike continues. PFT leaders say the union is already \$90,000 in debt.

Ziegler fined each individual striker \$100 a day, and threatened to seize the

PITTSBURGH, Jan. 14—The offices of the Pittsburgh Federation of Teachers were raided early this morning by Allegheny County sheriff's deputies, who evicted striking teachers and padlocked the doors.

The eviction was ordered by Common Pleas Judge Donald Ziegler, who earlier found the union in contempt of court for defying his strikebreaking back-to-work order. Ziegler has ordered the sale of the PFT's office equipment to meet fines he has imposed on the union.

Ziegler's latest moves are aimed at destroying the PFT's ability to function as a union. The judge evidently hopes his strongarm tactics will intimidate teachers into returning to work.

So far he has failed. After the raid on the union office, one teacher commented, "The founding of this country, the labor movement, and the civil rights movement all were based on defiance of unjust laws. It's nothing new."

bank accounts and personal property of the teachers if the fines are not paid.

Ziegler, a Democrat, branded as "anarchy and sedition" the teachers' refusal to bow to his injunction and return to work without a contract.

Teachers still refuse to be intimidated by the strikebreaking actions of the board and the courts. "The strike will end only at the collective bargaining table," said PFT President Albert Fondy. "It will only end when new contracts have been negotiated by the PFT and ratified by our membership."

Fondy said that the PFT, with the support of the American Federation of Teachers, would appeal today's ruling to the United States Supreme Court if necessary and would seek a stay of



Militant/Fred Stanton

If court jails teachers, other unions have pledged to take their place on picket lines

Ziegler's order.

Pittsburgh's 3,800 teachers and 900 other unionized school employees walked out last December 1, seeking smaller classes, additional reading teachers, adequate salary increases, and a no-layoff clause. The school board is trying to roll back previous teacher gains, proposing larger classes, layoffs, a longer workday, and reduction in sick leave.

The teachers have recently won new support from several areas. At its monthly meeting on January 8, the Allegheny County Central Labor Council acted to support the teachers union in the face of the threatened fines, as well as threats that teachers would be arrested.

The labor council had previously gone on record in support of the strike, but this time its support was put in more concrete terms. Clifton Caldwell, president of Amalgamated Food Employees Local 590, introduced a resolution of support that included: a promise to meet with the school board to make clear the labor council's opposition to strikebreaking tactics; a pledge of financial aid to the teachers; and, most importantly, a pledge to mobilize the ranks of the labor movement to take the place of any teachers arrested for continuing to picket.

In introducing the resolution, Caldwell warned the labor council delegates: "The whole labor movement in Allegheny County faces a grave crisis. The injunctive process which we've just seen is something the labor

movement can't sit still and accept. If they jail Al Fondy, I'm willing to take his place on the picket line."

Fondy also addressed the labor council meeting. "This battle has an effect on the entire labor movement," he said pointing out that a successful assault on the teachers would lay the groundwork for future attacks on other unions.

Fondy was given a standing ovation by the labor council, and Caldwell's support resolution was passed unanimously. The next day, a number of pickets from unions represented in the labor council joined the teachers on the picket line.

A pledge of support to the teachers union also came from I.W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers of America. Abel telegraphed the board of education to note his opposition to the use of the injunction.

Community support for the strike has also grown in recent weeks. Students and parents who held a news conference last month to voice support for the strike went on a campaign to leaflet neighborhood supermarkets to explain the strike issues to the public.

The growing show of solidarity with the teachers by the rest of the labor movement and by parents and students has had an impact on the school board. Following the labor council's meeting, sources close to the school board indicated they would not seek to jail PFT members, despite earlier threats to do so. The decision not to use arrests so far reflects the board's fear

of provoking further action by organized labor.

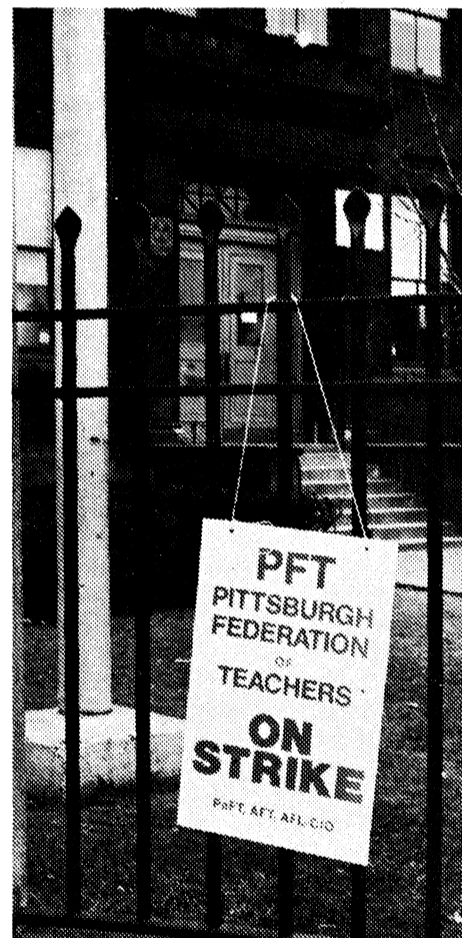
In an interview with the *Militant*, PFT executive board member Dave Horowitz said, "The board learned from previous experiences in Philadelphia and elsewhere that arresting striking teachers only strengthens their resolve and wins them new support."

Horowitz described the striking teachers' morale as "great" and added, "The people are resolved not to go back to work until they have a just settlement."

Another picketing teacher told the *Militant*, "After being out for six weeks, there's no way we're going back without a decent settlement. We'll strike until next May if we have to."

The city authorities in Pittsburgh have shown that they are determined to break the teachers' strike and ready to use the full power of the government to do so. The success of the strike will depend upon the willingness of the labor movement and its allies to mobilize in support of the PFT's demands and in defense of their right to strike.

If the statements of support from the labor council and the steelworkers are given expression through united, massive labor action, a decisive rebuff to the threat posed by the injunction and fines is possible.



Madison school board provokes teacher strike

By Joe Hubbard

MADISON, Wis.—A walkout by teachers in defiance of a no-strike law has closed public schools here since January 5.

The teachers, represented by Madison Teachers Inc., struck after seven months of negotiations in which the school board refused to budge on salary increases, class size limits, teacher evaluation methods, and other issues. The teachers' previous contract expired December 31.

In addition, 250 substitute teachers struck and filed charges of unfair labor practices against the school board for refusing to negotiate with their union.

On January 5, pickets marched in front of every school in near-zero temperatures and bitter winds. At strike headquarters, coordinators were

busy dispatching units of mobile pickets, assigning teachers to temporary day-care centers set up for children of working parents, and discussing the issues with news media.

The school board's attempt to keep schools open failed as fewer than 300 of the city's 1,900 teachers crossed the picket lines. Those who did cited intimidation by the board and media emphasis on the illegality of the strike.

Thirty minutes after the schools were opened, the board conceded the strike's effectiveness by canceling classes for the duration.

The day before the strike began, 1,000 teachers and supporters rallied on the steps of the state capitol. Messages of support were presented by leaders of the Wisconsin Coalition of American Public Employees, Fire

Fighters Local 311, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and the Wisconsin Council of Churches.

"We aren't going back until we've got a contract," teachers union President Jack Chvala told the rally.

One local newspaper, the *Capital Times*, called on the board to "immediately seek an injunction declaring the strike illegal."

After a secret meeting on the second day of the strike, however, the board postponed a decision on seeking an injunction. The defiance of a similar injunction by striking teachers in Pittsburgh was cited as the reason for the board's hesitation.

Throughout negotiations a key issue has been a school board proposal to evaluate teachers by a method called TBO—Teaching By Objectives, a spin-

off from an industry speedup program called Management By Objectives. Teachers argue that "you can't treat kids as inanimate objects. We're here to provide education, not to produce profits."

For months the board has clung to a miserly 2.27 percent salary increase offer and refused to negotiate on class sizes, claiming that is not a negotiable item.

One teacher negotiator commented, "Either the board has no concept of reality, no idea what teachers do, or they are trying to break the union."

Another union leader expressed the teachers' attitude this way: "Working people should not have to pay for the mistakes of Nixon and Ford, or the Democrats in the Congress and state-house."

Terror in San Diego

FBI murder plots uncovered

By Arnold Weissberg

SAN DIEGO—On the night of January 6, 1972, a car with at least two men in it slowly drove past the home of radical professor Peter Bohmer and Paula Tharp. Someone in the car fired two shots at the house. One bullet struck Tharp in an elbow, permanently injuring it.

But Tharp was lucky. The police told her she would have been killed if a window hadn't deflected the first shot.

One of the men in the car was Howard Godfrey, a paid FBI informer. Another was George Hoover, a member along with Godfrey of a right-wing terrorist outfit calling itself the Secret Army Organization (SAO).

The next day, Godfrey turned over the gun used in the shooting to his FBI boss, Steven Christiansen. He also gave Christiansen the jacket Hoover had been wearing.

Christiansen hid the gun under a couch at his home and disposed of the jacket. His superiors told him to keep the information secret because the FBI needed to protect Godfrey's status as an informer.

On FBI payroll

Godfrey later disclosed that the FBI paid him \$250 a month and supplied him with between \$10,000 and \$20,000 worth of weapons and explosives. Despite this revelation, FBI Director Clarence Kelley told a nationwide television audience January 11, 1976,



Militant/Dennis Scarla

BOHMER: After campaign of harassment, a \$10.6 million lawsuit.

that the FBI "did not sponsor, did not engage in, and did not condone" the SAO's terrorist activities. Kelley's denials, however, simply don't square with the facts.

Information about cop actions uncovered by the *Door* (a San Diego underground newspaper), a comprehensive report by American Civil Liberties Union attorney Mark Rosenbaum, and other sources have led Bohmer and Tharp to file a \$10.6 million lawsuit against the FBI and the entire government. The suit charges that their civil liberties were systematically violated by the government solely because of their antiwar and radical ideas.

Godfrey became an FBI informer in 1967. His first assignment was to inform on an extreme rightist group called the Minutemen, which was armed against an imminent "Communist take-over."

Five-year campaign

The Minutemen and its San Diego successor, the SAO, carried out a five-year campaign of terror bombings,

shootings, and harassment of radicals and antiwar activists.

Much of the SAO campaign was directed at Peter Bohmer, who taught economics at San Diego State College beginning in 1970.

Bohmer, a Marxist, quickly attracted attention for his outspoken antiwar and radical views.

The SAO campaign against Bohmer began in April 1971. In May, two death threats were phoned to his home on the day of antiwar demonstrations Bohmer had a leading role in organizing.

The cops had already begun their anti-Bohmer campaign by raiding his house in April and arresting him on a burglary charge. The charge, a complete fabrication, was dropped the next day. Bohmer's classes were also put under surveillance, and his home was broken into.

Campaign to fire Bohmer

The pace of the terror campaign stepped up in the fall of 1971. The FBI launched a campaign to get Bohmer fired. In cooperation with a right-wing student in one of Bohmer's classes, charges of unfair grading practices were brought against him. Although three committees cleared Bohmer, State Colleges Chancellor Glenn Dumke fired him anyway.

When a committee was formed to protest the firing, the San Diego cops and the FBI sent informers into the group.

The SAO campaign reached a fever pitch at the same time. According to an SAO sympathizer, Godfrey's group laid plans to poison antiwar activists, bomb their homes and cars, and kidnap them. A car in front of Bohmer's house was set on fire in November 1971.

During December, Bohmer got more phoned death threats, and SAO stickers appeared on his college office door.

Late in the month, an "SAO Special Bulletin" appeared, denouncing Bohmer as a "communist jailbird" who had committed "treason," and urging a visit to this "Red Scum." The "Special Bulletin" cited an earlier arrest of Bohmer's at MIT. Such information could hardly have been available to a local group and probably came from the FBI.

Bohmer went to the police with a copy of the "Special Bulletin." The cops blithely told him they had never heard of the SAO.

The shooting occurred a few days later. Hoover was convicted of the crime, but Godfrey was never arrested.

The FBI told the San Diego cops they had an informer who knew who had fired the shots. But the informer, Godfrey, was not turned over to the detectives investigating the shooting.

Instead, the cops claimed that Bohmer had fired the shots himself in order to win sympathy in his college frame-up case.

The terror campaign began to abate only in June 1972. On June 19, a bomb exploded in a pornographic movie theater in San Diego. The bomb was planted by a member of Godfrey's SAO cell.

Unfortunately for the SAO and the FBI, two San Diego cops were in the theater at the time. That was too much for Police Chief Raymond Hoobler, who demanded the name of the FBI informer.

The case quickly unraveled. Hoover was convicted, the bomber was convicted, and Christiansen was transferred by the FBI to Utah.

But the investigation of these events led to bigger fish. Simultaneous with the SAO/FBI campaign against Bohmer was the implementation of the "Liddy plan."

First broached by Watergate figure G. Gordon Liddy in January 1972, the plan called for harassment and intimidation of protesters at the upcoming Republican convention in San Diego. Bohmer and Tharp, leaders of the protest movement, were natural targets.

Donald Segretti, who worked under Liddy, made several trips to San Diego to organize this disruption. And a plot on Bohmer's life was set in motion in early 1972.

Bohmer was to be lured to a house in Mexico, where illegal weapons had been planted. Mexican authorities were to be notified, and Bohmer arrested or shot. If arrested, he would be held in Mexico until after the convention.

The SAO was also to be used at the convention to prevent any protests. Two SAO members told a San Diego reporter that they had been directed by Godfrey to kidnap Jerry Rubin and Tom Hayden, who were expected to play a leading role in the demonstrations.

The Liddy plan was supposedly never implemented. But, as Bohmer's attorney, H. Peter Young, wrote in a letter to Sen. Frank Church's Select Committee on Intelligence, the plan to kidnap Bohmer bears "remarkable similarity to the allegedly rejected Liddy proposal."

Even after much of the FBI's plotting against Bohmer became publicly known, the bureau carried out another campaign to get him.

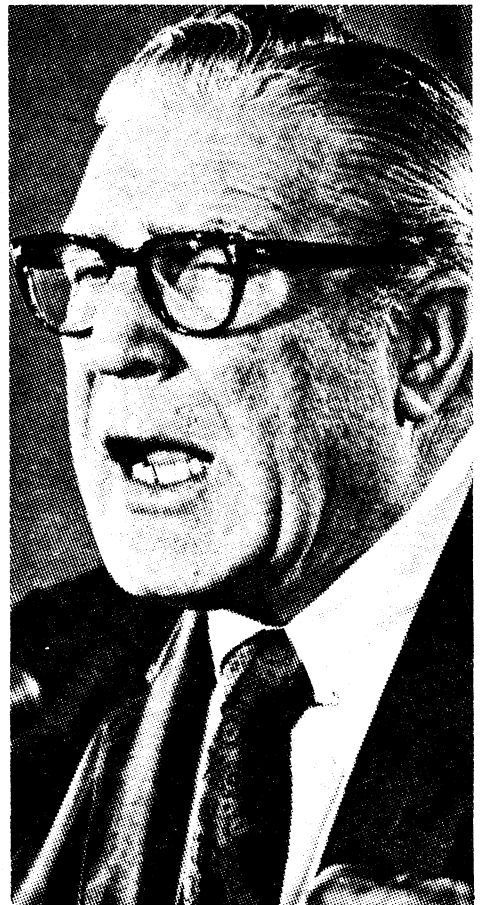
John Raspperry, an FBI informer, repeatedly opened and read Bohmer's mail at the Center for Radical Education. He also tried to get Bohmer to buy several M-16 rifles.

Had to be 'eliminated'

The FBI told Raspperry that Bohmer was a threat to national security and had to be "eliminated." Raspperry told a San Diego television station that he would have killed Bohmer if the FBI had supplied the plan and the weapon.

Although FBI Director Kelley has denied that the bureau allowed its paid informers to carry out terrorist activities, the truth is just the opposite.

Godfrey was chiefly responsible for the formation of the SAO. He organized the group, with avowedly terrorist aims, at the urging of the FBI. In addition, he reported frequently to the bureau. The FBI supplied funds and equipment to the SAO, equipment that



Kelley wants to legalize FBI support to ultraright terrorists like SAO.

could have no other use than terrorism. And during the entire five-year period until June 1972, not a single arrest was made in connection with the crimes of the SAO.

The real terrorists

This is not the first case in which the FBI not only "condoned" but organized right-wing terrorism. Recent Senate testimony has revealed that the FBI allowed violence against civil rights activists to go unchecked. Other government agencies have also used ultrarightists to do their dirty work.

Kelley's protestations of innocence are aimed at convincing the public that the FBI has done no wrong, and that any restrictions on its activities should not prohibit the financing of terror campaigns. Kelley would like to legalize the bureau's systematic violations of the civil liberties of the American people.

The FBI's San Diego intrigues show once again that the real source of terror and violence is the United States government.



FBI agents in training. Did courses in 'neutralizing' dissenters include organizing assassinations?

Boasted of 'shootings, beatings, unrest'

Behind Panther murders: FBI provocation

By Mark Schneider

SAN DIEGO—"As a result of our efforts, the Black Panther party in San Diego is no more. It has been completely done away with."

With these words, the San Diego headquarters of the FBI boasted in early 1970 to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover of a job well done. FBI documents recently made public by the Senate Intelligence Committee implicate the FBI in the 1969 murder of two Panthers, the wounding of four other Black activists, bombings, and other terrorist activities here.

These were all part of the FBI's secret "Counterintelligence Program" (Cointelpro) directed against the Panthers and other Black organizations.

The central strategy of the FBI in San Diego was to take advantage of political differences between the Panthers and the US organization, a Black nationalist group led by Ron Karenga, in order to foment violence between the two groups.

A 1967 memo from Hoover directed FBI agents across the country to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist . . . organizations."

A 1968 document warned: "Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength. . . ."

In the late 1960s, the Black Panther party had chapters in many cities and was one of the most active Black organizations. As a result, it became a major target of the FBI and local police.

A three-page report from the San Diego FBI, dated September 18, 1969, stated, "Shootings, beatings and a high degree of unrest continues to prevail in the ghetto area of southeast San Diego. Although no specific counterintelligence action can be credited with contributing to this overall situation, it is felt that a substantial amount of the unrest is directly attributable to this program."

In human terms, the anonymous memo writer was referring to the May 23, 1969, murder of Panther John Savage and the August 15 slaying of Sylvester Bell. Bell was distributing the Black Panther newspaper in Otto Square, a busy shopping center in the Black community.

Prior to and during the period of the killings, the FBI posted cartoons

attacking the Panthers as police agents. They falsely attributed the cartoons to US.

The FBI memo states, "In view of the recent killing of BPP member Sylvester Bell, a new cartoon is being considered in the hopes that it will assist in the continuance of the rift between BPP and US."

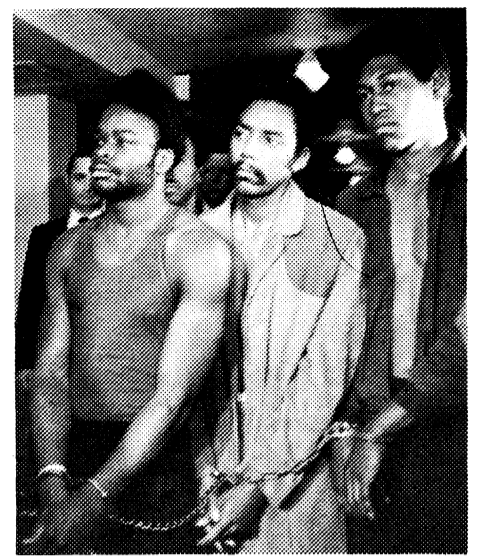
A former federal investigator in San Diego who talked with two FBI agents assigned to US and the Panthers reports that one of the agents said, "That's two for me and one for you guys." (The "one" refers to a wounded US member.) The other FBI agent responded, "That's all right. I'll catch up."

The efforts to "catch up" may have included the bombing of the US headquarters on August 30. After the bombing, the September 18 memo noted, "It is believed that the BPP is responsible for the bombing. Efforts are being made to determine how this situation can be capitalized upon for the benefit of the counterintelligence program, and any possibilities will immediately be submitted for approval by the bureau."

The memo goes on to claim that the San Diego police were notified before the bombing. The *Los Angeles Times* spoke to the San Diego police and county sheriff's department officials who logically would have been notified. None reports notification. The FBI has no record of such notification.

The September 18 memo also revealed a part-surreptitious, part-public campaign to pressure the Catholic church to deny the Black Panthers facilities for a free breakfast for children program. After receiving a barrage of letters and phone calls, the church canceled the program. They also transferred a priest who had worked with the Panthers to another city.

As a result of the release of this latest FBI memo, new evidence of FBI disruption has emerged. Leon Williams, San Diego's first Black city councilmember, who in 1969 was trying to negotiate a truce between US and the Panthers, told reporters here that San Diego's police chief and city



Los Angeles Panthers after December 1969 raid by cops. Hoover memo directed agents to 'expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist organizations.'

manager twice told him that they had learned from the FBI that the Panthers had put out a "contract" on his life.

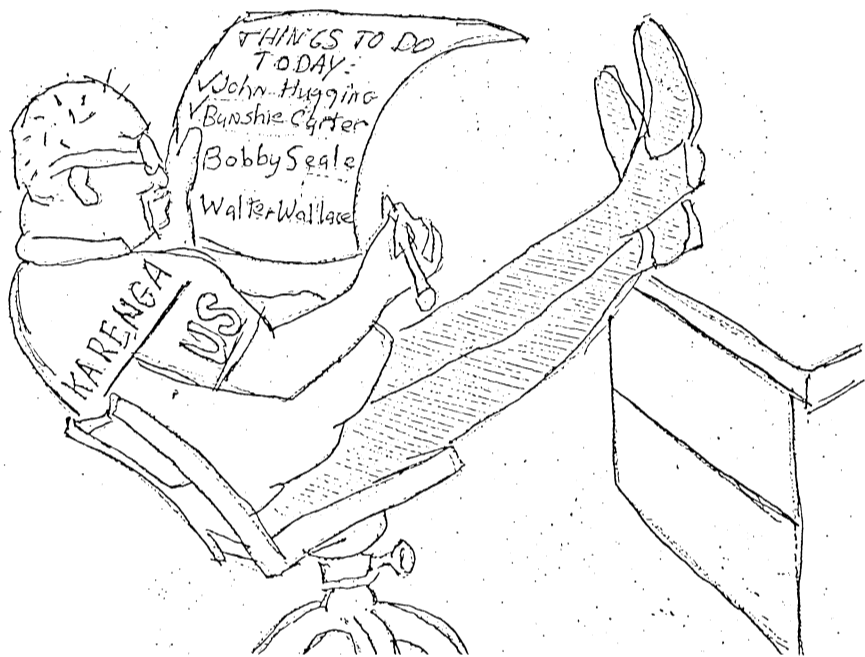
George Stevens, head of the San Diego Congress of Racial Equality, who was also attempting peace negotiations, reported that the FBI told him that he too was marked for death by the Panthers in 1969.

Another example of the police-generated friction between the two groups was the January 17, 1969, shooting at the University of California at Los Angeles. George and Larry Stiner, members of US, shot and killed Los Angeles Panthers Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Huggins at the breakup of a Black student meeting on the campus.

I talked with Ron McElroy, who joined the Panthers in San Diego in the summer of 1969. McElroy is now a supporter of the Socialist Workers party candidates in California. He had been on his way to join Sylvester Bell at Otto Square at the time Bell was shot.

"We realized that Sylvester Bell's

Continued on page 26



This cartoon, created by the FBI, was designed to provoke Panthers into taking vengeance against US organization.

The holes in gov't version of King assassination

By Baxter Smith

Blacks and others are raising serious questions, suspicions, and doubts about the government's version of the April 1968 slaying of Martin Luther King. Many are demanding a new investigation, especially in light of continuing revelations of FBI schemes to discredit and destroy the famed civil rights leader.

James Earl Ray, a small-time stick-up and rackets man living in Los Angeles, got into his car one day and for no known reason drove across the country, murdered King, then fled and financed his way through two continents and several countries for three months all by himself, the government's story claims.

But as the picture of government harassment and surveillance of King comes out—according to a former agent of the FBI's Atlanta bureau, it was so tight he "could not wriggle his ears without the FBI knowing about it"—this version seems less and less credible.

Did the FBI's hatred of King and the Black rights struggle drive the bureau to kill him, possibly involving Ray and others? Did they provide the murder weapon or weapons, and supply Ray with perfect aliases, contacts, and the necessary funds to travel and live abroad before he was captured?

If not, the obvious question is raised:

then why has the bureau suppressed relevant facts about King's death?

The doubts among the public about the official version of King's death have deepened to the point where 80 percent of those polled in a recent CBS survey stated they believed Ray had helped in the slaying. CBS called for a new investigation.

At a news conference in December called by U.S. Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.), Harold Weisberg released information about King's slaying he received from the FBI in a Freedom of Information Act lawsuit. Weisberg has been independently investigating the murder for some time.

Weisberg contends that the FBI's failure to find powder marks on the ledge of the rooming-house bathroom window from which Ray allegedly fired, and the absence of any marks on the muzzle of the .30-06 supposed murder rifle, prove the shot came from elsewhere.

According to Weisberg, the FBI has suppressed information that King was struck by two bullets; the official version claims the assassin fired only once.

Other reports also back the charge that there was a second sniper. An eleven-year-old Black youngster, the wire services reported at the time, saw a white man run from the bushes beneath the rooming-house window

and into the street after the shot was fired. And a roomer who said he was drinking wine in the bushes when a shot rang in his ear saw a man race by him so closely "he kicked gravel on me."

King's chauffeur, who was standing in the motel courtyard under the balcony on which King was shot, claimed to see "a man with a white sheet on his face in some bushes over there" hunker down as if to fire.

Weisberg claims the FBI had sketches of other suspects, and had even filed warrants for them in Birmingham, Alabama.

Weisberg says he has other information that contradicts the FBI version of the slaying.

At his trial Ray pleaded guilty, saying that he was an unwitting participant in the murder.

"I was set up and sucked in," he says. "I bought the rifle that was found on the sidewalk after Dr. King's murder, but I did not fire it at Dr. King, nor anyone else. In fact I was several blocks away from the scene when King was shot."

Ray claims he went to Memphis to participate in a gun- and drug-smuggling operation, and says he will "tell all—everything I know about people and events leading up to and after King's murder" if he loses his appeal for a new trial.

Ray may or may not be telling the truth about being the trigger-man. Nevertheless, there remains a maze of questions surrounding the slaying, the answers to which might spell FBI.

But while suspicions abound over the FBI's role, one institution has already brought in its verdict.

The FBI is not guilty, says the *New York Times*, the powerful public-opinion molder that prides itself on what it claims is always an objective weighing of the events.

The *Times*'s six-week investigation of the slaying produced stories January 1 and 2. Strewn with attributions from "a few retired F.B.I. agents," "Some former Justice Department officials," and "several past and present Justice Department lawyers," the investigation concluded:

"There are many more unanswered questions, but the clues to their solution lie not in the files of the F.B.I., but in the recesses of the mind of James Earl Ray."

But how can the *Times* clear the FBI so conclusively, while simultaneously admitting that there are many questions for which they—and their government sources—provide no answers?

To begin to answer the questions the *Times* overlooked, an independent investigation, led by and responsible to the Black community, is necessary.

Chi. judge hampers jury selection in suit against Fred Hampton's killers

By Charles Jackson

CHICAGO, Jan. 12—"A travesty of the questioning procedure."

That's how Hollis Hill, an attorney for the families of slain Black Panther party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, sees the first week of jury selection in the trial of their multi-million-dollar civil suit.

The families are seeking judgment against Chicago police officers, FBI officials, and former Cook County State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan, who ordered the December 4, 1969, cop raid that ended in the death of the two Panthers.

U.S. District Court Judge Joseph Sam Perry's questioning of prospective jurors, Hill says, "has prevented us from getting full, truthful answers."

"Most of the questions are tailored for a pat 'yes' or 'no' response" instead of "more open-ended questions that would reveal more about the attitudes of the prospective jurors, what their prejudices about our case might be."

This reporter was present when the bemused, seventy-eight-year-old judge asked one of the few Blacks in the jury pool if she was a member of the Ku Klux Klan or the Nazi party. Later, he twice asked a middle-aged white woman if she was a member of the Black Panther party.

This kind of questioning is "outrageous and needless and serves to make the whole proceeding seem silly when in fact it is very important," says Hill.

On January 9 Perry denied a motion by the plaintiffs' attorneys that the judge ask all the questions they had submitted to prospective jurors and allow the attorneys to question directly as has often been done in the past.

Perry also recently denied a motion that all FBI Cointelpro documents on attempts to "neutralize" the Black Panthers be turned over to the plaintiffs. Hill says, "We're being prevented from proving certain parts of our case, specifically, the breadth of the FBI's 'counterintelligence' programs in the late 1960s. We have alleged that Fred



Chicago cops remove Black Panther leader Fred Hampton's body after brutal 1969 killing. Now cops, FBI, and officials who ordered raid are on trial.

Hampton and Mark Clark were killed as a part of nationwide conspiracy to disrupt and destroy Black militant organizations."

FBI admissions that such programs existed have been made public through other lawsuits, but, because of Perry's denial of their motion, says Hill, "we may very well not be able to present to the jury these admissions."

Attorneys for the Hampton and Clark families cite a flagrant example of FBI efforts to destroy the Chicago Black Panthers that was revealed during the recent Senate Intelligence Committee hearings. A Cointelpro document from January 1969 shows that the FBI conspired to foment violent attacks on the Panthers by a Black street gang—the Blackstone Rangers.

FBI national headquarters approved the writing of the following letter to

Blackstone Ranger leader Jeff Fort, signed "a black brother you don't know":

"Brother Jeff:

"I've spent some time with Panther friends on the west side lately and I know what's been going on. The brothers that run the Panthers blame you for blocking their thing and there's supposed to be a hit out for you. I'm not a Panther or a Ranger, just black. From what I see these Panthers are out for themselves not black people. I think you ought to know what their [sic] up to. I know what I'd do if I was you. You might hear from me again."

Attorney Hill told the *Militant*, "The purpose of our lawsuit from the very beginning was to get to the bottom of how and by whom Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were killed. We're going to keep fighting for the information we need to prove our case."

Gov't is still hiding Rosenberg files

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—Judge June Green has decided to take a look at all those files from the 1950s Rosenberg case that the government is keeping secret under various Freedom of Information Act exemptions.

The Rosenberg's sons, Robert and Michael Meeropol, are suing to open all files relating to their parents' 1953 execution for "espionage." They contend that the 29,000 pages released by the FBI in November are only 10

percent of all government files on the case and 30 percent of FBI files.

And, say the Meeropols, even those released contain so many deletions that they cannot in all honesty be regarded as true copies of the documents.

In a hearing here before U.S. District Judge Green January 13, the Meeropols' attorney Marshall Perlin argued that FBI officials should be held punishable for contempt of court for failing to comply with the court-ordered disclosures.

Green had earlier ruled that all documents had to be inventoried, and a detailed justification given for each document withheld. "We can count ten witnesses called to testify at the Rosenberg trial that the FBI didn't bother to inventory the files of," Perlin told the judge.

In addition, Perlin stated, file numbers were deleted on the available documents, making it easy to cover up gaps in the files; the routing, or senders and receivers, of the documents was covered; and all penciled notations by those who had read the documents were eliminated on the copies made public.

"The FBI has shown they will flaunt the statute [the Freedom of Information Act]. The copies they have tendered are not true copies and they know it," Perlin said.

The government's defense before Judge Green was that Congress, in legislating the Freedom of Information

Act, never intended for government agencies to search *all* their files to answer requests. "Congress meant for agencies to *reasonably* go through their files, and that is what we have done," said attorney Jeffrey Axelrad.

In answer to plaintiffs' charges of missing witness files, Axelrad could only answer—over and over again—that those individuals' files were in the inventories, but under unrelated headlines.

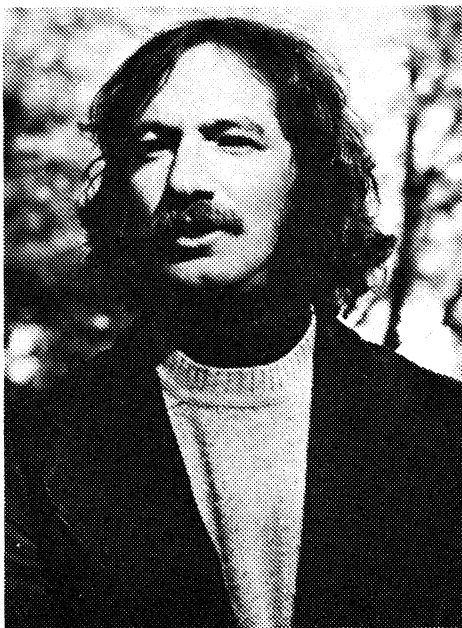
"But how would the plaintiffs know?" Green repeatedly asked.

"We have tried to bring the matter before the court openly and fairly," moaned Axelrad.

Declining to rule on any of the motions before her, Judge Green said the next step would be for her to view the originals of those files withheld, category by category, agency by agency. Then she will rule as to whether the disclosure of more files is merited.

At a news conference on the courthouse steps after the hearing, Michael Meeropol answered those who have criticized him and his brother for pressing the case for more files, rather than working from those already available.

"The fact is that 70 percent of the documents are not out. It would be absurd of us with our limited resources to start looking through these, to research these files—files that the government *chose* to give us—rather than concentrating our efforts on full disclosure."



Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case
MICHAEL MEEROPOL: 'Seventy percent of the documents are not out.'

Nat'l City Chicanos launch municipal campaign

By Mark Schneider

NATIONAL CITY, Calif.—Chicano activists have taken two major steps in a campaign to unseat the racist city council here. On December 27 the Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights announced a slate of three independent Chicano community leaders for upcoming "nonpartisan" elections for city council and school board. Four days later, committee leader Herman Baca submitted to the registrar of voters more than 1,900 signatures on petitions demanding the recall of the remaining city council members, who are not up for election in March.

The decision to launch the recall campaign was made after the October 12, 1975, murder of Luis Rivera, a twenty-year-old Puerto Rican. Rivera was shot in the back by National City cop Craig Short, who claimed he had suspected Rivera of purse stealing.

Two days later, 150 angry residents demanded that the city council take action against the cop. When the council refused, more than 1,500 people turned up for a protest march on October 28. The council again refused to act. That night a mass meeting voted to begin a recall campaign against incumbent city council members.

A second-degree manslaughter charge against Short was dismissed after a brief trial.

At a December 27 rally to launch the election campaign, Baca spoke of the success of the recall drive. "They said it couldn't be done, but here we are and we did it," he declared. He pointed to the support the committee had received from the community and from two organizations—NIA, a Black organization, and the Socialist Workers party.

The recall campaign was carried out in November and December largely by young Chicanos, including many members of MECHA from Sweetwater High School. In five weeks, they signed up more than 25 percent of the registered voters in the city on recall petitions.

Despite the fact that the last census found National City to be 40 percent Chicano, only one token Chicano sits on the city council.

A significant percentage of the population are undocumented workers, the so-called illegal aliens. Many Chicanos here fear being harassed or having a relative deported as a result of signing an official protest petition.

The arduous process of securing citizenship and the threat of deportation have created a situation that allows the Anglo minority to rule over the Chicano, Black and Filipino majority. Although the recall effort and the city council and school board campaigns began over the issue of police brutality, the committee's campaign will also address itself to such issues as discriminatory zoning rulings by the council, misuse of federal funds, and the failure of the schools to relate to the needs of minority students.

The real terrorists

New information on the FBI's Cointelpro plots, reported elsewhere in this issue, documents for the first time that the "disruption" plans against Blacks and radicals went beyond bugging, hounding people out of jobs, and circulating poison-pen letters.

Cointelpro included assassination plots.

In San Diego, a five-year reign of government-instigated terror culminated in shots being fired at radical activists by members of an FBI-armed and financed ultraright group. The shots, luckily, didn't kill. But one woman, Paula Tharp, was wounded.

Also in San Diego, it has now been revealed, the FBI sought to provoke members of two Black groups, engaged in a factional struggle, to shoot and kill their rivals. At the height of the violence, the San Diego office of the FBI privately boasted: "Shootings, beatings and a high degree of unrest continues to prevail in the ghetto area of southeast San Diego. . . . It is felt that a substantial amount of the unrest is directly attributable to this [Cointelpro] program."

There can no longer be any doubt.

Cointelpro included assassination plots.

In the current debate over these FBI crimes, FBI Director Clarence Kelley is arguing for continued use of Cointelpro-type operations because, he says, they are necessary to prevent violence, bombings, and assassinations.

"Is the Constitution a suicide pact?" asked one top Kelley aide, trying to justify the FBI's wholesale violations of the Bill of Rights. "Do we have to wait until the bomb goes off and people are killed or injured? Or can we act while the fuse is still sputtering?"

But the evidence proves that the FBI is not interested in preventing terrorism. The FBI organizes it.

"We must be willing to surrender a small measure of our liberties," says Kelley, "to preserve the great bulk of them."

Kelley is not out to preserve our democratic rights. He is upholding the property rights of the tiny minority of bankers and industrialists who run this country. To maintain its rule, this minority—the capitalist class—resorts to violence, terror, and assassination, abroad as well as at home.

The rulers seek to justify their repressive methods of rule by claiming that those who are fighting against racism, against exploitation, and against war are the ones who threaten democratic rights.

They claim that those who fight against injustice are terrorists, conspirators, and assassins.

But the latest FBI revelations leave no room for doubt.

It is the rulers of this country who are the real terrorists.

The real conspirators.

And the real assassins.

ERA actions

The pro-ERA march of 3,000 in Atlanta January 10 is a powerful example of the kind of action needed to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. The main slogan of the demonstration—"Two hundred years is enough"—should echo throughout the nation this bicentennial year as a reminder that 200 years after the American revolution, women are not even equal under the U.S. Constitution.

The Atlanta action brought together representatives of trade unions, women's organizations, Black groups, and students. These forces need to unite on a national scale, mobilizing their members in the largest possible demonstrations.

A massive, visible campaign of protest is necessary to counter the offensive of right-wing opponents of the ERA, who have succeeded in blocking ratification thus far. Bolstered by the defeat of state ERAs in New York and New Jersey in the November 1975 elections, the right-wingers hope to kill the amendment nationally.

But the American people in their great majority support the ERA. Their voices must be heard—on picket lines and marches, in teach-ins, debates, and rallies. United action—not reliance on lobbying or the election of "good" Democrats and Republicans—is needed to win the ERA.

The upcoming celebration of International Women's Day, March 8, is a good opportunity to begin such a campaign. ERA activities scheduled around that date can draw together students, unionists, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, National Organization for Women, Black organizations, and other supporters of equal rights. Successful actions on March 8 can be a step toward larger and more powerful actions on a national scale.

Letters

Angola

Bravo to the *Militant* for taking a courageous stand against U.S. imperialist intervention in war-torn Angola. The other day right-wing columnist James Kilpatrick wrote that he thought the CIA should be unleashed to prevent that mineral-rich territory from being "lost"—lost to the manipulation of Western businessmen, that is!

As for the MPLA, the Soviet-backed nationalist group, it's clear, as Ernest Harsch reports, that this organization is not exactly a genuine workers party—in fact, far from it. But don't we owe the MPLA at least a bit of support in their battles against the imperialist-backed coalition of the FNLA and UNITA? Shouldn't socialists take a clear stand in this bloody civil war, even if conditions aren't "ideal" for socialism?

Jack Coron

McAidén, Connecticut

[For an analysis of this question, see special feature on page 14.]

Massacres

According to a report in the December 31 London *Times*, the U.S. Army is on a campaign to prove no massacre ever took place at Wounded Knee in 1890. [For more information, see the January 16 *Militant*.] In defense of its allegations, the army drags up charges of Indian "provocation" inspired by a religious movement at that time represented by the Ghost Dance.

These racist interpretations of the Native religion have been lifted from a book on Wounded Knee by a retired colonel who worked in the United States Information Agency (USIA). Copies of this book were distributed inside Wounded Knee during the 1973 occupation, courtesy of the new managers of the trading post.

Before the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee, the USIA author had no problems at all about calling Wounded Knee a massacre. Readers might recall a picture I took, published in a *Militant* report at the time, of one of the giant billboards on a road inviting tourists to visit the massacre site and see the mass grave. Then it was a money-making proposition. In fact, the book the army takes its stories from is even titled *The Wounded Knee Massacre*.

Wounded Knee was the last military massacre of American Indians. But it ushered in the second century of Indian massacre, the legal massacre of Indians at the hands of the courts and of federal laws designed to destroy the land bases and cultural traditions of Native Americans.

It is primarily against this "second century of dishonor" that today's Native movement has organized. The 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee was a small part of this movement. The army's true position today on a massacre at Wounded Knee was demonstrated there in 1973. To stop further emergence of the Native movement, the army was in favor of killing 200 more Sioux there.

Skip Ball

London, England

New tape library

Tamiment Library, New York University, is forming an "Oral History of the American Left" project, under the directorship of Paul Buhle and Roger Keeran, to record the experiences of veterans of radicalism in labor, politics, and culture. Our intent is to create a central repository for those interviews that already exist and to ensure that many activists will have their

experiences recorded.

Tamiment Library will house and classify tapes, duplicating and returning those loaned by individuals and institutions. A guide to the tapes acquired will be issued by the library. Please address all inquiries to: "Oral History of the American Left," Tamiment Library, Bobst Library, New York University, 70 Washington Square South, New York, New York 10012. Telephone: (212) 598-3708.

Paul Buhle

Roger Keeran

New York, New York

Women in Israel

One of the claims frequently made by "left" Zionists, both here in the United States and in Israel, is about how emancipated the Jewish woman is in the "land of milk and honey"—Israel. The Zionist propagandists like to show the rest of the world pictures of Golda Meir and of women in the Israeli army carrying guns as examples of how liberated women are in Israel.

Recently, I came across an article in the *Jewish Press* (a right-wing weekly newspaper in New York whose frequent contributors include Menachem Begin and Rabbi Meir Kahane) that readers of the *Militant* might have missed.

Entitled "Women Singers On Radio Permitted," the article states: "Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, Chief Sephardic Rabbi in Israel, has ruled that religious Jews are permitted to listen to a woman sing on radio, only on condition that the listener does not know the woman and the song is not a love song. Recently about 600 religious Jews complained to the national radio network that women's voices in song should not be broadcast. In an effort to satisfy all aspects of the religious community, Rabbi Ovadia Yosef was asked to rule on the question."

This article provides another example of the "progressive" nature of the state of Israel, and helps to give it another label, besides racist, that it so rightly deserves: sexist.

Bill Jungers

New York, New York

Won over

I have enjoyed reading your paper very much. I showed some of my friends your papers and they said, after having read them, that they would vote for Peter Camejo.

There are two areas in socialism I'm weak on: 1) the workers running factories and 2) how much would come out of your check and what benefits we would get.

I did not agree with your Israel stand, but after reading what you have said about it, I agree with you 100 percent.

Thank you for telling it the way it is. This is the only paper that I can trust.

David Sperry Brown, Jr.

Southborough, Massachusetts

In the new year

Happy New Year! How many times do we hear this on January 1 by intended well-wishers, or just out of custom?

Then we stop and think. Will this be such a happy—or even a "new"—year? Or will it be a year filled with hunger, unemployment, police brutality, more taxes, inflation, wars, discrimination, racism, and sexism, as was last year and so many years prior, under this present capitalist system?

We cannot stop and "wish" each other a happy new year. We must all work toward making it happy, and new.

As we all know, America is

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Lessons from the miners

The continuing battle to transform the miners union into a democratic organization that will curb the destructive power of the mineowners should be of special interest to those in the Steelworkers union and the Teamsters union who are trying to win leadership there.

In all cases it is a battle against the employers, regardless of how corrupt or how democratic the union leadership may be; because the employing class seeks continually to subvert and control the unions in order eventually to destroy them as independent working-class organizations.

When Arnold Miller and the men around him took over the top offices of the United Mine Workers in December 1972, they pledged to establish a democratic regime and to use the power of the union for the improvement of wages and pensions and health-care and safety conditions in the mines.

The Miller team had only recently worked in the mines and knew from firsthand experience what needed to be done. They thought most of their troubles were solved when they got rid of the corrupt Boyle machine in their union. But they could not at that time anticipate all the new problems they would face.

The mineowners exert great influence upon all agencies of government, and they operate through the Republican and Democratic parties. That is the source of most of the problems of the mine workers union today.

In an interview in the December issue of the *United Mine Workers Journal*, UMWA Secretary-Treasurer Harry Patrick looks back on the past three years and ahead to the challenge of the next two. He lists union democracy as the greatest achievement.

"I could go back to the mines tomorrow," Patrick says, "and I would know that the democratic structure we all fought for would still be here. The right to vote on contracts, the right to vote on district officers, direct rank-and-file involvement in political action through COMPAC [Coal Miners Political Action Committee], the UMWA Credit Union, the expansion of our organizing drives and safety division, new kinds of contract benefits—now that the rank-and-file has these things, I don't think they'll ever let them be taken away."

This is all true and these are great gains for the union. But the miners union is still not in good shape. It is plagued with factionalism and crippled by adverse court rulings.

Patrick sees the tasks ahead as primarily educational. "It really made an impression on me," he says, "to hear the testimony by UMWA members about the way companies are violating the contract." The union is conducting an educational campaign on the contract and how to enforce it.

His prescription to strengthen the union is to elect dedicated officers. "If a man is the most dedicated and qualified for the job, vote for him. If he's not, don't vote for him even if he's your best friend."

It certainly helps to have dedicated union officials, but they should understand that the employers undermine the unions by use of Congress and the courts, which they control through the Democratic and Republican parties. Dedicated union officials ought not to support these political parties of the employers, but should try instead to organize a labor party that will elect working men and women to public office.

The coal miners union has had its share of bad experience with the courts and with politicians who represent the coal companies. In a federal court action against the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, filed in Pittsburgh on December 8, the union seeks dismissal of a lawsuit begun earlier by BCOA for massive damages in the 1975 wildcat strikes. The union charges that BCOA wants to "dictate control of the internal affairs of the United Mine Workers."

"The public reads about work stoppages . . .," says UMWA President Arnold Miller, "but the papers fail to report the deliberate violations of miners' contract rights by coal companies every day. If the BCOA is really serious about reducing wildcat strikes, it will stop making speeches and filing lawsuits and clean up its own house."

It is clear from the experience in the coalfields since 1974 that the union must police the industry and enforce the contract. Neither the employers nor the federal courts can be entrusted to do this.

The lesson for union men and women is also clear: keep an eye on the boss, and organize a labor party against his political control of the government and the courts.

celebrating a bicentennial this year, marking independence for this country. But in these 200 years, we the American people have been exploited, brainwashed, and used in any manner to further the capitalistic greed of our keepers.

Democracy? That's what the revolution was supposedly about. But when was the last time you had a voice in the "government of the people"? Yes, if you dissented from the rulers' ways, you were threatened, beaten, imprisoned, or even executed. America, we are finally awakening to all of your trickery and madness.

We must not plan for a one-night celebration, to be happy for a new year. We must plan for the year, a year of social reform, an end to all of this insanity.

A prisoner
Georgia

On affirmative action

The December 12 *Militant* article on the Coalition of Labor Union Women supports affirmative-action programs especially at this time of recession and layoffs. According to the article, we must fight against "discriminatory layoffs"; the ratio of female and Black to male and white workers must not be allowed to fall. At the same time we are assured that "women and Blacks are not out to destroy . . . advances won through seniority."

But your approach undermines those very advances. The evasive terms "discriminatory layoffs" or "preferential firing" hide the reality that if Black and female workers are not laid off, then white and male workers will be. "Fight discriminatory layoffs" implies the acceptance of some layoffs and thus amounts to an attack on the right of all workers to a job.

Actually, the *Militant's* program has two parts, the minimal demand "fight discriminatory layoffs" and the maximal demands for jobs for all, shorter workweek with no cut in pay, and public works programs. "These two struggles are not the same," you write. But how can the two be separated, since "fight discriminatory layoffs" means "lay off white male workers instead"? This position results in paying mere lip service to a socialist program of jobs for all.

Since we all have the right to a job, socialists must never agree to layoffs of anybody. To propose that one group be laid off to provide jobs for another is to split the working class.

The correct demand is: share the work. It is better that all workers work thirty hours a week than that some workers work forty and others none.

Socialists should also go on to raise the more advanced demand of "30 for 40"—thirty hours' work for forty hours' pay—and encourage all workers to fight for it as a realistic demand.

The demand "share the work" will unite workers in common struggle against the bosses. The bosses' role is to split the working class; the socialists' is to unite it in struggle.

J.B.
Fond du Lac, Wisconsin

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.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



More woes for BEOs

When they finally get around to offering a reason why they haven't been responsive to the needs of the Black community, Black elected officials (BEOs) will most likely explain that a) they were kidnapped, bound, gagged, and pistol-whipped; b) they fell through a manhole and were placed in a body cast; c) they were smitten by a cupid's dart and were blinded by love; d) two of the pups died coming through the Northwest Passage so the dog sled was delayed in bringing them the message; e) all of the above.

Don't laugh 'cause it ain't funny, McGee.

After all, they couldn't tell the truth—that Democratic and Republican party bosses were calling the shots and threatening to cut off the backing and influence that those parties provide. It would be too embarrassing.

But even though the great masses of Blacks aren't yet storming the Bastille—demanding an end to tyranny and an accounting from or the departure of Democratic and Republican Black elected officials—a growing number of voices are becoming restless.

In commenting on the Third National Institute for Black Elected Public Officials, held in December, the *Florida Courier* editorialized:

"By and large black politicians have followed almost to the letter the corrosive pattern of selfish performance that white politicians have been doing for years on end. . . ."

"Under such rubrics, the aching problems of the black masses at large are contemptuously pushed aside either as insoluble or beyond the sphere of their legitimate concern.

"This pattern of behavior has had the effect of reducing to zero the influence of elected black officials on matters of immense significance not alone to their individual constituencies but as well to the people at large.

"What need is there to have blacks in office who follow the white ritual of ignoring the sad plight of the great majority of blacks, men and women who are knee deep in the mud of poverty and want? It is a classic instance of swapping the devil for the witch."

Ouch. That hurts. If you're a BEO, that is.

Keep in mind that the Black-owned *Florida Courier* is not ordinarily militant or radical in its editorial outlook.

In December the *Militant* ran excerpts from an editorial in the October *Black World*, a Johnson publication, that was also critical of BEOs. In November *Black World* editor Hoyt Fuller goes further in his criticism of BEOs, which is normally taboo among acknowledged leaders, spokespersons, and opinion molders in the Black community:

"It is sadly ironic that, on every notable front, the state of well-being of ordinary Black people diminishes at the same time as the number of BEO's increases."

He adds: "Black 'leaders' of all descriptions avoid dealing with the basic realities. Those realities can be simply stated: Black people are the pariahs of America; under the American system of capitalist exploitation, Blacks—the pariahs—will always be 'the last hired' and 'the first fired' and the untouchables, and the 'tokens' who escape this classification do so at the expense of the masses and as appeasement against Black rage. . . ."

Women in Revolt

The FBI & women

Back in 1968, when the women's liberation movement began to take form one manifestation of rising feminist consciousness was the appearance of books, journals, and newspapers discussing women's oppression. One of the most popular of these was *Women: A Journal of Liberation*, a quarterly put out by a Baltimore group called the Women's Liberation Movement. The publication still exists today, and has a socialist-feminist outlook.

Women offered the early feminists a forum for discussion of how to win liberation. By 1970, it was being read by 20,000 women across the country.

It was also being read—and closely monitored—by the FBI.

The FBI's surveillance of *Women* and the Women's Liberation Movement was revealed publicly last November, during hearings on the FBI's Cointelpro program by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. The committee announced that the FBI conducted intensive investigations of many feminist groups, and released as proof one document on the Baltimore women.

The FBI memo, dated May 11, 1970, is the first

documented evidence to my knowledge of government attacks on the women's movement.

Why was *Women* a target for surveillance? Here's what the FBI document says about the journal's writers and editors:

"... they wanted a purpose and that was to free women from the hum-drum existence of being only a wife and mother. They wanted equal opportunities that men have in work and in society. They wanted their husbands to share in the housework and in rearing their children. They also wanted to go out and work in whatever kind of jobs they wanted and not be discriminated against as women."

No criminal plots, no illegal activities, just a fight for equal rights. That's subversive enough in the FBI's book, as we know from the experience of Blacks, socialists, and other victims of government repression.

This FBI report indicates close scrutiny of the Baltimore group's leadership, finances, and activities. It carefully avoids mention of any illegal behavior on the part of the government. However, in a news release the staff members of *Women*

Cindy Jaquith



charge the FBI with gross violations of their rights.

"Our phones have been tapped," they report, "our mail has been opened, we've been followed, our houses have been watched, and our groups have been infiltrated."

"We see this as part of the general pattern of harassment pursued by government law enforcement agencies to intimidate women's groups throughout the United States. We've every reason to believe that this surveillance is continuing against organized movements for social change all over the country," they conclude.

And we've every reason to believe that there are thousands more documents detailing the FBI's other attempts to destroy the women's movement. How many other women's groups were spied on? How many slanderous "news" stories and poison-pen letters attacking the movement were drafted at FBI headquarters? What plots were hatched to prevent different women's groups from uniting around common issues?

We should demand that the FBI open up all its secret files on the women's liberation movement.

Their Government

Santa Sam & the tax giveaway

"If only this heavy financial burden could be eased by Christmas, George would have a wonderful, relaxing and worry-free holiday."

Accompanied by a business reply Christmas card, this heart-warming appeal was sent by Cornelia Wallace to 300,000 of hubby George's best friends. No doubt the response was gratifying. But nothing made those evenings by the open fire cozier, I bet, than the knowledge that come January 3 Santa Sam would show up with a check for \$100,000.

That check was Wallace's first installment of what is known as "public financing of presidential election campaigns." If there weren't so much competition, it might better be called the Bicentennial Rip-off.

1976 is the first election year for this tax-subsidized gimmick—supposedly designed to help end corruption in politics. It's part of the much-touted 1974 campaign "reform" law. On January 3, eleven presidential contenders got \$1.88 million, with claims for an additional \$4.3 million still under review. Needless to say, they were all Democrats and Republicans.

Public financing works like this: If you are a

candidate of one of the two "major" parties, you automatically qualify for the handout by "privately" raising at least \$100,000 in donations of \$250 or less, including at least \$5,000 in each of twenty states. That amount is then "matched" by tax money in the \$1 checkoff fund. The spending limit imposed by the 1974 campaign law is \$10 million for the primaries. Thus each Democrat or Republican can get up to \$5 million in tax money.

All that hard work applies only to the primaries. For the general election, each Democratic and Republican nominee receives an outright grant of \$20 million, or the entire spending limitation. Plus \$2 million is allocated for each of the two national conventions.

A skeptic might argue that this "public financing" sounds more like another canonization of the two-party monopoly rather than a post-Watergate reform. But don't jump to conclusions. It does have provisions for those annoying "minor" parties. If a smaller party received 5 percent of the vote in the last election it qualifies for a small part of the take. Conveniently, none do. If a party gets 5 percent in

1976, it can qualify retroactively, providing there's money left in the till after the Democrats and Republicans have taken their millions.

So after the primaries, the capitalist politicians are home free with no financial worries to interrupt their campaigning. And with the number of loopholes in the finance law, there's no need to ponder the prohibitive \$20 million spending limitation. Meanwhile, smaller dissident parties can continue to struggle along with their limited resources, restricted even more by the unconstitutional requirement that the identities of their contributors be disclosed to the government.

No one should be surprised that his or her tax money goes to line the pockets of capitalist politicians. It's not even limited to U.S. candidates. Why only last month, Ford approved a little boost for anti-communist politicians in Italy with \$6 million funneled through the CIA. It's only "peanuts," the CIA said. Something to help them out with posters and advertising.

No. No one should be surprised. It's just that they wrap it up and put a "reform" ribbon on it . . .

Nancy Cole



La Lucha Puertorriqueña

Dual justice in New York's courts

There's a dual system of justice operating in the courts of New York City: one for Latinos, the other for the rest of the population.

Some aspects of the uneven treatment given Latinos were documented in an official report recently submitted to the Mayor's Hispanic Criminal Justice Task Force. Despite its limited scope—the study focused on the arraignment court in one New York borough, not the system as a whole—the results are revealing:

- Only one-third of the Latinos arrested for serious felonies had bail set at \$2,500 or less, while almost half of the non-Hispanics had bail set at that level.

- Only a third of the Latinos who had pleaded guilty to misdemeanors or violations at their

arraignment received fines of fifty dollars or less, compared with half of the non-Hispanics.

- Almost a third of the Hispanics who pleaded guilty to misdemeanors or violations at their arraignment received sentences of two weeks or more in jail, while less than one-fifth of the non-Hispanics received such sentences.

One big problem singled out in the report is language. Of those Latino defendants who needed interpreters, two-thirds did not receive the service until arraignment. This means that their preliminary conferences with their lawyers were probably inadequate.

It is estimated that between one-fourth and one-third of defendants in criminal cases in the city are

Latinos. Of these, approximately one-third need interpreters, and a majority preferred to speak in Spanish. Yet there are only fifty-five Latino court interpreters working in the city.

In the Manhattan Supreme Court, nine interpreters handle more than 1,000 cases a year. Of these, only one is Puerto Rican. The rest are European. According to Harold Baer, vice-president of the New York County Lawyers' Association, this means "severe difficulties in the fluency of the dialects most likely to be spoken by the city's Spanish-speaking men and women."

Baer reported, "Time and time again . . . the interpreter has not put the question the way it was asked or has not translated the answer from the witness or the defendant the way it was given."

José Pérez



OAU condemns S. Africa intervention in Angola

By Conrad Strauss

From Intercontinental Press

As the civil war in Angola continued, an emergency summit conference of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) opened in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, January 10. The emergency meeting, the first in the organization's history, had been called to seek a political "solution" to the Angola conflict.

Although the participants at the summit were divided on other aspects of the civil war, the conference soon reached a consensus on condemning South African intervention in Angola.

In addition to denouncing the apartheid regime, representatives from some of the countries that have formally recognized the Luanda regime of the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) also condemned the MPLA's rivals for collaborating with the South African troops.

In the weeks preceding the OAU summit, the MPLA greatly strengthened its diplomatic hand as twenty-three African governments formally recognized the MPLA regime as the only "legitimate" government of the country. The rival regime set up by the FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola—Angolan National Liberation Front) and the UNITA (União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola—National Union for the Total

Independence of Angola) has so far not been officially recognized by any government.

The principal factor that swung half of the OAU member states behind the MPLA was the South African intervention on the side of the FNLA and UNITA. The military dictatorships in Nigeria and Ghana specifically cited Pretoria's involvement as their reason for recognizing the MPLA.

Some circles in South Africa realized that Pretoria's intervention in the civil war had given the MPLA a political advantage over its rivals in seeking African support. The December 28 South African *Sunday Times*, for instance, called Pretoria's involvement in Angola "counterproductive" because it "placed the diplomatic initiative in the hands of the MPLA."

In an attempt to lessen the political effects at the OAU conference of the South African intervention, Pretoria hinted that it might be willing to withdraw from Angola if the South African-financed Cunene hydroelectric dam project in southern Angola was "protected" and guerrilla raids by Namibian (South-West African) freedom fighters into Namibia from their Angola bases were halted. The OAU rejected this "offer" December 30, stating that Pretoria had no right to "lay down conditions" for its withdrawal.

Seeking to block a possible recogni-

tion of the MPLA regime by the OAU, Kissinger sent his assistant secretary of state for African affairs, William E. Schaefe, on a tour of five African countries. In addition, President Ford sent a letter to several African heads of state in an attempt to pressure them into adopting Washington's proposals for an Angola "solution."

Ford's letter to Nigerian head of state Brig. Murtala Muhammed, made public in Lagos January 7, said, "It is our hope that the O.A.U. will insist upon a prompt end to all foreign involvement in Angola [rather than just South Africa's], arrange a standstill cease-fire between the forces, and bring about negotiations among the Angolan groups." Stressing Washington's "global responsibilities," Ford then warned, "We cannot, however, stand idly by if the Soviet and Cuban intervention persists."

This crude attempt to influence the Nigerian regime's position on Angola met with an unfavorable reception in Lagos. The government-controlled newspapers denounced the Ford letter January 7, carrying headlines reading "Shut Up" and "To Hell With America." On January 11, about 2,000 Nigerian students, teachers, and others marched to the U.S. embassy in Lagos, carrying anti-American placards.

The UNITA also launched a diplomatic campaign in preparation for the



FORD: The message from Africa was 'Shut up!'

OAU summit. On a tour of several African countries, UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi called for an immediate cease-fire and the establishment of a "government of national unity." In a message broadcast over Radio Uganda December 24, the UNITA also called for the sending of military forces under the command of the OAU to Angola to supervise a cease-fire, which would be followed by "free elections."

Savimbi called for the withdrawal of South African troops. This was the first time he made such a move since these troops entered Angola in support of the FNLA and UNITA forces in late October 1975.

The December 18 Lisbon daily *Jornal Novo* reported, "Jonas Savimbi . . . in Kampala [Uganda] has just called on African states to help him drive the South Africans out of his country. 'By asking for this support,' he added, 'I have proven that I am not collaborating with the racist regime of South Africa.'"

It is not yet clear whether the UNITA's call for the ouster of the South Africans is just a demagogic bid to gain diplomatic backing at the OAU summit or is a correction of the

Continued on page 26

Strikes reported in MPLA-governed area

A January 12 UPI dispatch from Johannesburg, South Africa, reported that strikes had taken place in central Angola in an area held by the MPLA. The information had come from the MPLA:

"The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola said in a broadcast from Luanda, its capital, that walkouts by teachers, electricians, bakers, nurses, mechanics and civil servants had almost paralyzed essential services in the town of Quibala and surrounding districts," according to UPI.

"The Luanda radio called on the strikers to return to work immediately. It gave no reason for the strikes.

"The Quibala area is near Angola's so-called southern front, where pro-Western nationalist forces last

week called an unofficial temporary halt to the fighting to await the outcome of peace moves at the meeting of the Organization of African Unity," UPI said.

This is not the first report of strikes in MPLA-governed areas. In late 1974 and early 1975 a strike wave swept Luanda and other cities. The MPLA helped break those strikes and in February 1975 reportedly sent troops against those workers.

In another instance of MPLA repression, the January 2, 1976, issue of the French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge* reported that the "neighborhood committee" in the São Paulo area of Luanda was "occupied in October by MPLA troops after they arrested nine members of the

committee. Eleven other militants, *Rouge* reported, were arrested elsewhere. In November they were released and deported to Portugal.

To better coordinate its repression, the MPLA has established a new secret police body, the Direcção de Informação e Segurança de Angola (DISA—Directorate of Information and Security of Angola). The decree setting up the DISA declared that it was to combat "all actions and activities that are directed against the Constitution, the organs of the State and of the MPLA and its officials. . . ."

In an interview in the December 26 *Le Monde*, MPLA leader Agostinho Neto declared that "measures will have to be taken to make sure that misguided elements can't interfere with our daily lives."

Protesters demand U.S. get out of Angola now

Actions to protest U.S. involvement in Angola have begun, and more are planned.

In St. Louis, Black community leaders held a news conference January 7 to denounce the U.S. intervention.

Alphonso Jackson, an assistant professor at the University of Missouri in St. Louis, declared: "The United States is not interested in the freedom and liberty of the Angolan people. We're there for financial reasons. We're after their natural resources."

U.S. intervention was termed "racist" by Percy Green, a leader of ACTION, a St. Louis civil rights group. Green stressed the need for an educational effort to "open the eyes" of Blacks and whites about developments in Africa.

Rev. Sterling Belcher, pastor of Emmanuel Lutheran Church, said: "We cannot afford to justify waging a war in Angola because there is an economic depression here. We lost 56,000 lives in Vietnam and that should teach the U.S. not to get involved again."

Renita Alexander, speaking for the Socialist Workers party, told the news conference that President Ford's claim to be fighting for Black people in Africa was hypocrisy.



Militant/Glenn Campbell
Demonstration at Federal Building in Cleveland.

"Under Ford's administration," she said, "a racist drive against equal education for Black people is under way with administration encouragement. Under his administration, Black unemployment and cutbacks in social services are at record highs.

"How can Ford expect us to believe that the CIA—which many of us believe has been involved in murder plots against Black leaders—can possibly be fighting for freedom in Angola?"

Also speaking at the news conference were Karim Abdul Aziz, of the Nation of Islam; and Bob Williams, of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and a leader of the St. Louis Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

The panelists unanimously agreed with Alexander that teach-ins, pickets, and demonstrations are necessary to head off the U.S. war drive.

In Cleveland, 100 people picketed the Federal Building January 10. Demands of the action included "U.S. hands off Angola," "No more Vietnams," and "Jobs at home, not war abroad." The demonstration was endorsed by several church groups and political organizations.

In Washington, D.C., a broad coalition will sponsor a noon rally on the east steps of the Capitol on January 19. The rally will demand that the United States get out of Angola.

Speakers at the rally will include: Dave Dellinger; Cora Weiss of Friend-

shipment; Howard University Prof. Ron Walters; Sterling Cary of the United Church of Christ; and William Booth of the American Committee on Africa.

The rally organizers expect to draw supporters from Baltimore; Philadelphia; and Richmond, Virginia, as well as the Washington metropolitan area.

Philip Weber, a spokesperson for the coalition, explained the reason for the rally: "We will be gathering at the Capitol steps because we perceive that Ford and Kissinger are pursuing the same kind of policy of covert intervention, CIA operations, and training of mercenaries that led Ford's predecessors, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon, into Vietnam. We're determined that this won't happen again."

Organizations represented in the coalition include Women Strike for Peace, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Americans for Democratic Action, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Anti-Apartheid Movement, Campaign for a Democratic Foreign Policy, Socialist Workers party, Friends of the Filipino People, Center for Social Action of the United Church of Christ, American Committee on Africa, Young Socialist Alliance, and others.

SPECIAL FEATURE



Refugees flee combat zone in Angola

ANGOLA: BEHIND THE CIVIL WAR

[The following report was approved by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party at its January 2-4 meeting in Milwaukee. Tony Thomas presented the report on behalf of the Political Committee of the party.]

By Tony Thomas

The Political Committee has proposed that we launch a national campaign against U.S. imperialist involvement in Angola. We want to help stop the intervention of the State Department, the CIA, and the Pentagon in the Angolan civil war. We want to help bring the secret moves of the Ford administration into the open and compel Kissinger and his cohorts to disclose the whole truth about their covert operations in Angola.

It is already known that Kissinger allotted at least \$33 million for arms and other aid for the Angolan National Liberation Front (FNLA) and for the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). Sen. Hubert Humphrey stated a few weeks ago that the Ford administration is going to ask for another \$150 million for this coming year.

'Another Vietnam?'

The American people as a whole are worried. They are pressing for an answer to the question: "Is Angola to become another Vietnam?" The question is being argued on a broad scale. This is a debate in which we are already involved. We propose a response like the one given during the Indochina war—a broad campaign of mobilization and propaganda around the slogan, "U.S. out of Angola. Not one penny, not one bullet, not a single adviser or soldier, into Angola."

We should not underestimate the danger of American military intervention, despite Kissinger's pledges not to commit U.S. troops. The American Committee on Africa reported on December 19 that American soldiers are being pressured by officers at various bases to resign and sign up as mercenaries for the FNLA and UNITA. The committee also disclosed that American air force units have been put on alert to fly tactical air strikes in defense of South African troops in Angola, should the situation require it.

The propagandists of the Ford administration repeat the same line used to justify intervention in the Vietnamese civil war. They point to the alleged

threat of a "Communist take-over." They remain silent about the four centuries of Portuguese imperialist domination. They remain silent about Washington's long-term policy of active support to Portugal's war against the right of the Angolan peoples to determine their own fate.

Washington aid to Lisbon

In the ten years before the rebellion in Angola erupted in 1961, Washington gave \$298 million to Lisbon in military aid. In some years during this period the United States provided more than half the Portuguese military budget.

After the Angolans began fighting for their freedom in a way reminiscent of the American colonists of 1776, Washington continued to help the Portuguese. Portuguese officers and troops were trained at American military installations, including the Green Beret base at Fort Bragg.

During the last years of Portuguese colonial domination, American imperialism increased its support to Portugal against the African rebels.

Tad Szulc, formerly a correspondent of the *New York Times*, described the policy toward southern Africa laid down by Kissinger in 1970: "In a National Security Decision Memorandum secretly issued by the NSC [National Security Council] in January 1970, the administration set forth a new policy of 'communication' with white regimes in southern Africa (including Portugal as the ruling power in Angola and Mozambique) on the grounds that 'the whites are here to stay and the only way that constructive change can come about is through them' and that 'there is no hope for the blacks to gain the political rights they seek through violence, which will lead only to chaos and increased opportunities for the Communists.'"

What imperialists are after

Wall Street's interest in Angola centers on its resources.

Angola is the third-largest coffee producer in the world. Much of its production goes to the United States.

Diamond mines owned by American, South African, Belgian, and Portuguese interests produced more than two million carats in 1972 alone, with an export value of some \$110 million.

The country has important deposits of iron ore, manganese, phosphates, copper, granite, marble, and asphalt.

Most importantly, Angola has oil. Gulf Oil's

concession in Cabinda produces about 10 million tons a year. By the turn of the century, Gulf projects pumping out more than 100 million tons a year from these fields alone. Exxon, Texaco, and the French Total corporation are exploring for oil in other parts of Angola.

In the Cunene River Valley in southern Angola, a large hydroelectric power plant has been built by South African and Portuguese capital. In the next few years the source is scheduled to provide the bulk of the power needs for Namibia and other South African-held areas as well as Angola.

Other known resources remain largely untapped. Angola's geographic location gives it important strategic value. It is in position to control the mouth of the Congo River; and it borders on territories occupied by South Africa. Zambia and Zaïre depend on Angolan railroads and ports to ship their copper to world markets.

Moreover, Angolan events influence the affairs of Zambia, Zaïre, the People's Republic of Congo (Brazzaville), and the South African colony of Namibia in a direct as well as indirect way. Many of the ethnic groups or nationalities in Angola extend beyond the boundaries between these countries, which were drawn by the European colonial powers.

Angola's freedom struggle

Despite the help given by American imperialism to Portuguese colonialism, the liberation struggle led by the Angolan National Liberation Front, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), and the fighters in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique eventually broke the Portuguese grip.

The armed actions began in 1961. The main ones took place in northern Angola where fighters of the Angolan People's Union, led by Holden Roberto, launched an uprising. The forces involved in this revolt were able to secure control over an area reaching 200 miles from the Congo (now Zaïre) border.

Portugal's response was the use of terror not only in the northern region but in Luanda and elsewhere. As many as one million people were forced to flee the north into Zaïre, Congo (Brazzaville), and Zambia.

Until the mid-1960s, it was the FNLA that carried out the main military actions in Angola. This is contrary to some of the claims of the MPLA and its supporters that the FNLA never fought as a real national liberation group and that only the MPLA was committed to the armed conflict.

In fact, the FNLA played such a prominent role that the Fourth International in 1964 correctly recognized that the FNLA was leading the struggle and should be supported accordingly. The Fourth International, of course, did not support the FNLA politically, for its program was limited to winning national freedom.

FNLA slandered

At the same time, the FNLA was slandered by the MPLA, which called it a tool of Western imperialism and of Tshombe's regime in the Congo. The truth was that Tshombe, who was backed by Portugal, Belgium, and Washington, severely harassed the FNLA.

The Fourth International defended the FNLA against these slanders. Comrades like Livio Maitan pointed out in articles that even if the FNLA had sought aid from Washington, what was essential was not such links but how the struggle of the Angolan masses for independence was carried on.

During this period, the MPLA was very weak—in 1963 it came close to dissolving. It lacked links with the fighters in Angola and with the refugees in Zaïre. However, in subsequent years it established links with Mbundu religious (Methodist) and ethnic leaders in central Angola. By 1967 it was able to gain bases in Zambia and Congo (Brazzaville), carrying out actions against the Portuguese in the areas bordering these countries.

The UNITA entered the field in 1964 and 1965. It began as a split from the FNLA led by Jonas Savimbi, who was the foreign minister and deputy commander of the FNLA. The UNITA was joined by pro-Mao splitters from the MPLA who attacked that organization as "tribalistic" and "pro-Soviet." During the later 1960s and the early 1970s, the UNITA claimed to have no outside support. It said

that all its activities were based inside Angola in contrast to the activities of the MPLA and the FNLA, which were primarily based abroad at that time.

The areas liberated by the UNITA were in south-central Angola, which is inhabited chiefly by the Ovimbundu people.

Fall of Caetano regime

The inability of Portugal to continue the burden of the colonial wars was decisive in bringing about an end to the Salazar-Caetano regime and in touching off the mass struggles that have shaken Portugal since April 1974.

The Portuguese imperialists sought to prop up various neocolonialist and white-settler organizations so as to postpone granting independence. All three liberation groups opposed this neocolonialist scheme and demanded immediate independence. All three, especially the FNLA, stepped up their guerrilla actions against the Portuguese.

On May 26, 1974, right after the downfall of Caetano, 20,000 Blacks demonstrated in Luanda, demanding independence. On July 15, in response to racist attacks on African communities, a general strike was staged, followed by occupations of universities and high schools by students, faculties, and staffs.

This upsurge brought the Angolan working class into the political arena.

With the growth of non-Portuguese imperialist investments in the 1960s and 1970s, the working class expanded in Angola. In 1973, out of an African population of five to six million persons, there were 130,000 workers employed in manufacturing, mainly concentrated in Luanda, Lobito, and Nova Lisboa.

In the wave of mass actions in Angola following the April 1974 coup in Portugal, the workers in Luanda, Lobito, Benguela, and Nova Lisboa launched a wave of strikes for better pay and working conditions and against racist moves.

In marches and demonstrations, participants carried the banners of each of the liberation groups.

Transitional government

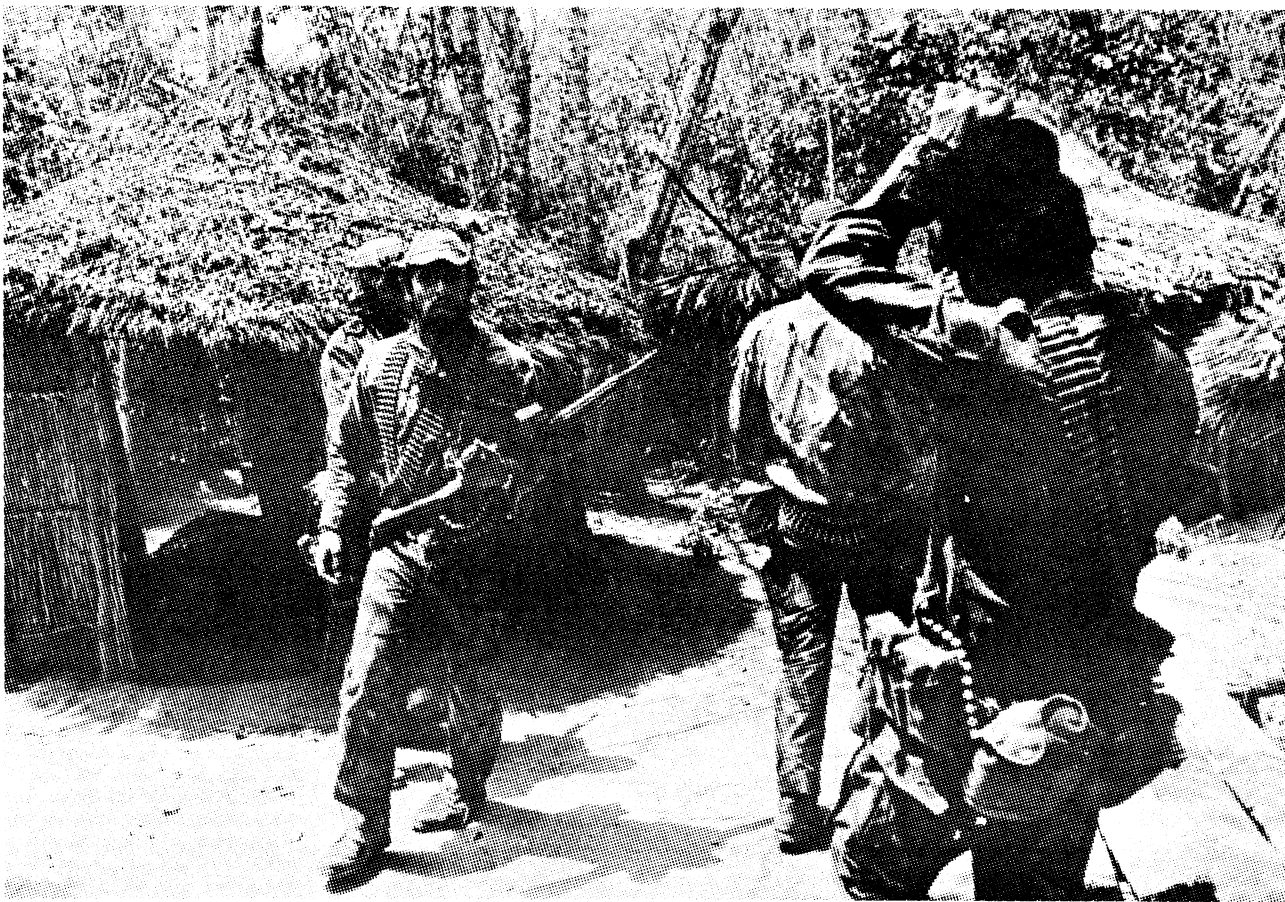
To meet the problems posed by this wave of mass mobilization and workers' struggles, the Portuguese signed an agreement that brought the UNITA, the FNLA, and the MPLA into a so-called transitional government with Portuguese officials.

Independence was to come later, following elections.

The establishment of the transitional government coincided with the opening of a new phase in the struggle. This phase has been marked by the breakup of the Portuguese colonial hold over Angola, by the efforts of the masses to establish their own government, and by the struggle of the various imperialist powers and other forces to gain control over the situation, or at least to take advantage of it.

The outstanding feature of this period has been the Angolan civil war—that is, the fighting between the three nationalist factions. This fratricidal conflict has greatly facilitated imperialist intervention. One of the aims of Washington, for instance, has been to deepen and exacerbate the hostilities.

Most of the groupings on the left have offered support to one or another of the nationalist factions



Portuguese colonial troops on 'search and destroy' mission. Lisbon's army in Africa was trained, armed, and financed by Washington.

in Angola. Some of the Maoists support the FNLA or the UNITA; the pro-Moscow Stalinists, the group around the *Guardian* in the United States, and most of the ultraleft groups support the MPLA.

As the comrades know, this is a question in dispute in the world Trotskyist movement. The comrades of the International Majority Tendency favor supporting the MPLA. Their position has been presented most vigorously by C. Gabriel in an article "On the Question of Angola" published in the December 8, 1975, issue of *Intercontinental Press*. The leadership of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores in Argentina agrees with the IMT on this.

The comrades of the IMT argue that in Angola the MPLA is supported by the working class and that because of this the MPLA must be supported no matter how inadequate or wrong its program may be. They contend that the MPLA must be credited with leading the workers' upsurge and that the victory of the FNLA and UNITA would signify the suppression and even massacre of the most radical wing of the workers. They also claim that the MPLA is more progressive than the other groups and has enacted a more progressive social program in the territories it controls.

These comrades contend that the FNLA and the UNITA are not legitimate national liberation movements, but are venal agencies of Washington and other imperialist powers. The FNLA and UNITA are pictured as "tribalistic," that is, based on ethnic groups. The implication is that "tribalistic" types are more "backward" than the MPLA, which is pictured as a "pan-Angolan" movement.

The reality is somewhat different from that. So I'd like to take time to show how false and misleading this picture is.

National question

I think the issue that most of the supporters of the MPLA fail to weigh properly is the national question—what they choose to call "tribalism."

The MPLA, UNITA, and FNLA all claim to represent a "pan-Angolan" movement; and each of them pictures the two others as "tribalistic." The truth is that each of them is based on one of the country's three main ethnic groups.

With the exception of small urbanized layers, it is false to claim that an Angolan nationality exists in anything like finished form. The bulk of the population of Angola consists of ethnic groupings in well-defined geographical regions, spilling over into other countries in some cases.

These groups have their own distinct languages and culture, and they have their own body of historical experience as distinct peoples. In short, each of the three has the attributes of a nationality.

Angola's boundaries, after all, were determined by imperialist colonial powers, and not by the ethnic boundaries or the desires of the African

masses. Also, Portuguese capitalism blocked the economic and political integration of the various Angolan peoples.

The liberation struggle developed unevenly, with each of the three groups representing one of the three main nationalities in the country.

The MPLA's base is the Mbundu who live in north-central Angola and around Luanda. They number roughly one to one and a half million.

The FNLA is based among the one to one and a half million Bakongos in the northwestern area of Angola.

The UNITA finds its support among the more than two million Ovimbundu who inhabit the central region and southern Angola.

Ethnic divisions

In fact, except for a few brief periods, the military positions of the groups have reflected the divisions of these different ethnic areas.

Ethnic divisions are also to be found in the urban areas. For example, in Lobito, the second most important port city, tens of thousands of demonstrators greeted the arrival of Jonas Savimbi and the UNITA when they took the town in November. Not surprisingly, Lobito is a center for the Ovimbundu.

When the MPLA secured control of Luanda, their own newspapers reported that for days thousands of workers of Bakongo and Ovimbundu origin demonstrated, demanding transportation to FNLA- or UNITA-held areas. Thousands were able to get away to Lobito where they were met by pro-UNITA demonstrations.

We have to anticipate that the victory of either side in this civil war may mean pogroms, with victims running into the tens of thousands. Already leaders of the MPLA have talked about turning the Bakongo areas held by the FNLA into "another Biafra."

In Africa, the word "Biafra" is synonymous with the civil war in Nigeria and the immense slaughter that occurred over the so-called tribal issue. A similar perspective is involved in Angola. Each of the groups—not just the MPLA—is using the animosities among the nationalities to further its goals.

We must make it clear that we aren't exactly "Angolan patriots." Being a "pan-Angolan" is not necessarily more progressive than being for helping the Bakongo, the Ovimbundu, and the Mbundu establish working relations against the common enemy—imperialism.

Right of self-determination

As Leninists we understand that the road to uniting the masses in Angola against exploitation and oppression is not to denounce the national aspirations of these peoples as "backward tribalism," but to support their right to self-

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Manchester Guardian

SPECIAL FEATURE: ANGOLA

Continued from preceding page

determination, which includes the right to autonomy or even secession.

Urging a victory for one of these nationalist factions against the two others leads to exacerbating the tensions. The MPLA, for instance, has announced that the supporters of the other groups will not be allowed Angolan citizenship, a threat that is bound to strengthen their determination to fight to the death against an MPLA victory.

One reason why none of these groups has really cut across the lines of nationality is that they stand on procapitalist and anti-working-class social and economic programs that are basically similar.

That was also one of the reasons why the Portuguese brought the nationalist groups into the transitional government. The Portuguese wanted to use them to curb the working-class upsurge.

This goes counter to the arguments pushed by supporters of the MPLA in the Trotskyist movement who claim that the MPLA is more "progressive" than the UNITA or the FNLA, or at least more sensitive to pressures from the working class.

All three groups complied with the dictates of the Portuguese. Particularly active were the UNITA and the MPLA, which are supported in the urban centers.

Antistrike campaign

One of the first measures the groups took was to appeal to the workers to stop their strikes. The appeal was soon followed by a decree empowering the government to place striking dockers and other workers under military control.

The various groups tried to use the antistrike campaign to gain factional advantages, as well as to try to maintain their bases among the workers.

For example, when the dockers in Lobito struck, the MPLA used this as an excuse to send troops against the UNITA. The MPLA claimed that UNITA troops were responsible for the strike, since the dockers were Ovimbundu supporters of the UNITA.

This is not to say that the UNITA played a more progressive role in that situation. After the MPLA attack on the strikers was beaten back, the UNITA helped break the strike by claiming that the dockers were blocking Zambian supplies for African liberation forces.

Since the collapse of the coalition regime and the initiation of civil war in July 1975, there has been no change in the attitude of these groups, including the MPLA, toward the workers.

In Luanda, under MPLA control, harbor work has been returned to almost around the clock, hours having been lengthened with no pay increases. There may be some labor resistance there, judging from the continual denunciations by MPLA leaders of workers who do not comply with the speedup as saboteurs.

Another indication is the report, acknowledged by leading comrades in Europe, that a crackdown on working-class militants took place recently in Luanda. This followed an earlier report of a purge of "left-wing" members of the MPLA.

The recent arrests of militants occurred in the context of a witch-hunt in Luanda against "Trotskyism" even though there is no indication that a large, or even any, Trotskyist group exists in the country. Comrades in Portugal have reported that Angolan students interested in Trotskyism, who returned to MPLA areas, were driven out by the MPLA at gunpoint.

MPLA's anti-working-class stand

On the crucial question of the working-class upsurge the facts show that the MPLA has taken the same basic stand as the FNLA and UNITA. The MPLA aims to break strikes, lengthen hours, and block independent organization of political action by the working class.

One claim made by the IMT comrades is that the MPLA is supported by the most radical layers of the working class, who would be suppressed if the other groups entered Luanda. Even if this were true, it could be argued just as cogently that with an MPLA victory in Lobito, the MPLA would suppress the pro-UNITA working-class militants such as the dockers against whom the MPLA sent troops.

Whatever support the MPLA may have obtained from the working class in the Mbundu areas, it has already broken strikes and arrested working-class militants in Luanda, and suppressed expressions of real working-class political radicalism.

The class lines in Angola do not follow ethnic

lines but exist between the workers and the leaderships of all three nationalist factions. The indicated course for the workers and their allies, in Luanda, Lobito, the Bakongo, Mbundu, and Ovimbundu areas, and all other parts of Angola, is to press ahead independently.

The workers and their allies need to break from each of these groups and form a party of their own based on a revolutionary working-class program.

Only by following that kind of program can the workers cut across the factional divisions and national animosities feeding the civil war. A program of class independence is required by the Angolan working masses to defeat the anti-working-class policies of the three nationalist groups and their neocolonialist and imperialist backers.

Still another element in the situation is the imperialist support given to the UNITA and the FNLA, including the use of South African troops. Does this automatically require us to support the MPLA?

First of all we have to consider our criteria. If we put a plus wherever the White House puts a minus, or if we put a minus wherever the White House puts a plus, it would be very simple to determine our policies.

We already went through this in the discussion with the IMT comrades on the Portuguese Socialist party's defense of its democratic rights last summer. Should we have opposed this defense because the CIA claimed to have channeled funds to the SP and because Wall Street's propagandists claimed they were defending democracy by favoring the SP over the Communist party? We answered no—although we of course sharply opposed the class-collaborationist policies of the Portuguese SP.

In Angola we must begin by checking the stands of the three groups in relation to imperialism. Here again we find no basic difference. The MPLA has made it very clear—as have the UNITA and the FNLA—that it favors foreign imperialist investments in Angola.

In fact, while they participated in the transitional government, the nationalist groups found themselves in mutual accord in this respect. All three favored continued foreign investment, with the proviso that in major resource industries the government should hold 51 percent of the ownership.

The government already held a 51 percent share of Gulf Oil's concession in Cabinda and a similar share in the diamond concession owned by South African, Belgian, Portuguese, and American interests.

Moreover, many of the Portuguese holdings had already been nationalized owing to MFA (Armed Forces Movement) decisions in Portugal.



Luanda dock workers on strike in 1974, shortly after overthrow of Caetano regime in Portugal. Under MPLA rule, hours have been lengthened with no pay increase, and antistrike drive has been carried out.

The only major action of this kind that was demanded, particularly by the MPLA and the FNLA, was expropriation of the coffee plantations and farms. On this point there was joint agreement, a consensus that was reached without great difficulty since most of the smaller Portuguese coffee planters had already fled Angola.

In addition, each of the groups has shown its willingness to solicit imperialist political, material—and even military—support against its enemies.

MPLA Solicited MFA Support

The MPLA, for example, solicited the support of the MFA regime while it still governed Angola. Although the Portuguese rulers were divided on how to respond, their main line after the transitional government was set up tended to be in support of the MPLA. For example, when the MPLA forced the FNLA and UNITA out of Luanda, the Portuguese army announced that it would prevent any attempt by the FNLA to return to the city. The MPLA received thousands of rifles, trucks, ships, and other equipment when the Portuguese withdrew from Angola, while most of this type of equipment was withdrawn from UNITA and FNLA areas (some of which was taken to MPLA areas).

The MPLA also has sought, and boasts of having received, material and political support from the governments of the smaller imperialist powers such as the Scandinavian countries, Holland, Belgium, and Canada. This support may have declined in recent months because of U.S. pressure.

We should add that the MPLA has maintained good relations with some of the biggest imperialist companies holding concessions in its territories—even those whose governments are actively supporting the UNITA or the FNLA.

Gulf Oil and the MPLA

Gulf Oil holds the biggest imperialist concession in Angola, grossing more than \$1 billion a year from its Cabinda wells, which are to be stepped up to ten times their current output in a few years.

There are many reports from the MPLA, from the U.S. State Department, and from sources in Gulf Oil, that relations between the MPLA and Gulf Oil are very good. There have even been reports that Gulf is trying to put pressure on the State Department to change its current anti-MPLA line.

Gulf Oil was the main financial stay of the MPLA until December 22, when the State Department forced the company to suspend payments.

In September and October Gulf Oil gave \$116 million to the MPLA. It planned to make another \$95 million payment by December 31. However, after Acting Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Edward Mulcahy put the squeeze on Gulf Oil, the company halted payments.

The September-October payment was three times the reported U.S. aid to the FNLA and UNITA combined. It matched the reported Soviet aid to the MPLA for the entire year of 1975. Thus from the formal point of who is on the receiving end of American imperialist aid—the MPLA was the recipient of the most American aid until a few weeks ago. Of course, the aid did not come from the Ford administration but from the biggest imperialist company operating in the country.

The stopping of payments for the time being came after a battle between the State Department and Gulf Oil. Gulf had tried to induce the State Department to take a less truculent stand toward the MPLA. Kissinger was strong enough to win this battle. The contest is indicative of the divisions in the American ruling class over intervention in Angola.

The friendly relations between Gulf Oil and the MPLA are not unique. Other companies of the same type get similar treatment.

This does not prove that the MPLA is controlled by Gulf Oil. It only underlines the point that each of these nationalist organizations holds an identical position toward imperialism; each of them maneuvers with imperialism; each is willing to make political and economic concessions to gain imperialist support.

Factional rivalry

The groups are real nationalist movements with mass support; consequently they are not dependent on imperialism. It is their factional rivalry, deepened now to the level of a civil war, that has exacerbated their readiness to invite aid from



Left to right: Neto (MPLA), Roberto (FNLA), and Savimbi (UNITA). The civil war involves three nationalist factions, each of which follows procapitalist, anti-working-class policies.

abroad to match their opponents in heavy arms and sophisticated military equipment.

To seek imperialist aid is common among such nationalist groups. Moreover, the various imperialist forces often intervene—as in this situation—on several sides to make sure that their interests are preserved no matter who wins.

It may be that the main strategy of the State Department in the current conflict is not to tip the scales decisively in favor of one of the sides—which could easily have been done by sending more massive aid to the UNITA and the FNLA or by more massive involvement of South African troops.

The State Department may be aiming at maintaining a balance of power between the three groups, preventing the total defeat of the UNITA and the FNLA. As time goes on, the Angolan masses may become exhausted and each faction will become more receptive to attempts by imperialism to increase its influence in return for support.

Moscow's intervention

Kissinger gives as one of his reasons for supporting the FNLA and UNITA the intervention of the Kremlin in the Angolan situation on the side of the MPLA.

Moscow granted an estimated \$100 million worth of military supplies to the MPLA.

The Kremlin's aims are the same as in other colonial and semicolonial areas. It seeks to strengthen the diplomatic influence of the Soviet Union, but without extending the world revolution or really assisting the national liberation of Angola.

In fact, like Washington, Moscow does not appear to be aiming to bring about a total victory for the side it favors. The Soviet bureaucrats are looking for chips to be used for bargaining purposes within the context of "détente" with American imperialism. That is the basis of the Kremlin's approach to the MPLA.

Another objective is to counteract Peking's prestige in Africa. By backing a supposedly progressive MPLA, pitted against the UNITA and the FNLA, which have received support from China, Moscow's image can be enhanced at the expense of Peking. In Africa, Moscow has long been regarded with less sympathy than Peking. In fact, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, two countries whose leaders are closely aligned with the MPLA, have closer relations with Peking than with Moscow.

Cuban intervention

The intervention of Cuba, which is reported to have as many as 5,000 troops in Angola, is subsidiary to the involvement of the Soviet Union. For diplomatic reasons, Moscow prefers not to send Soviet troops. From the Cuban viewpoint, the action may be considered worthwhile as a demonstration of opposition to imperialism.

Kissinger has denounced Moscow's support of the MPLA, claiming that this puts in question the détente as a whole. At the same time, Kissinger has not proposed any serious countermoves such as cutting off grain sales to the Soviet Union. But even if this propaganda were to be taken at face value, does this mean that we should support the "right"

of a workers state to take advantage of a situation like the one in Angola and that this calls for giving political support to the MPLA?

We don't think so. The interests of the world revolution do not coincide with the interests of the parasitic Soviet bureaucracy or its narrow diplomatic maneuvers. The military and diplomatic support given by the Kremlin to the MPLA is not meant to help the Angolan masses but to place the MPLA regime under obligations to Moscow.

If we were to base our stand on the actions of the bureaucratic representatives of a degenerated or deformed workers state, we would face a difficulty.

North Korea and China have sent advisers and some military aid to the FNLA and the UNITA. Romania, another deformed workers state, has pursued a policy of courting and aiding all sides in the current conflict. So which camp do we choose among these workers states that are fishing in the troubled waters of Angola?

Do we believe that Cuba and the Soviet Union are more "progressive" in supporting one petty-bourgeois nationalist faction than Peking and Pyongyang are in supporting a different petty-bourgeois nationalist faction?

If no confidence can be placed in the capacity of any of the factions to advance the socialist revolution in Angola or on an international scale, it follows that the aid offered by the bureaucracy of a degenerated or deformed workers state will not change that political conclusion.

For example, the counterrevolutionary bureaucrats who run the Soviet Union aren't at all opposed to the strikebreaking or the arrests of militants—especially under the cover of a witch-hunt against "Trotskyism." In fact, they may have made such a witch-hunt one of the conditions of their aid to the MPLA.

It is clear that a revolutionary-Marxist position in the Angolan civil war cannot be automatically derived from the Soviet and Cuban intervention in behalf of the MPLA, or from the Chinese and North Korean intervention in behalf of the UNITA or the FNLA.

The civil war involves basically three unprincipled nationalist factions that follow procapitalist, anti-working-class and class-collaborationist policies.

South Africa's intervention

The most ominous development in the Angolan civil war is the intervention of South Africa. This is one of the consequences of the unprincipled character of the contestants, who invite foreign intervention, no matter how reactionary its nature.

The South African intervention has passed through several phases.

The initial South African incursions began in late June or July. Their immediate objective was the pursuit of SWAPO (South West African People's Organisation) guerrillas from Namibia who had crossed the border into Angola. South African troops had been barred from such forays under Portuguese rule, even under the Salazar-Caetano dictatorship. The Portuguese feared that South African incursions would pave the way for South African penetration of the area.

The pursuit of SWAPO guerrillas was followed in August by seizure of the Cunene dam and military occupation of the area.

It is important to note that the FNLA and UNITA did not serve as puppets of South Africa in this imperialist invasion. Instead, it was the FNLA and UNITA that spearheaded the fighting against South Africa in June, July, and August, along with the MPLA. This is not surprising since these are areas where the local population supports the UNITA and the FNLA units led by Daniel Chipenda.

Deepening civil war

It was the deepening civil war that prevented the three organizations from joining forces and driving the South African forces out of Angola.

In October, reports began to appear in the press that South African troops were involved in a drive of UNITA and FNLA forces up the coast from the South. According to the MPLA, the column included several hundred South African troops, some of whom were masquerading as mercenaries. Other sources claim that today five or six thousand South African troops have invaded Angola with more troops being stationed in the border areas of Namibia.

Because of the South African censorship and the efforts of the FNLA and UNITA to cover up the South African moves, it is not clear at the moment which field of operations is primary, pursuit of SWAPO, occupation of the Cunene valley, or military thrusts against the MPLA.

The South Africans have intervened for four obvious reasons: 1) to maintain control over the Cunene region; 2) to strengthen their grip on Namibia; 3) to tip the balance in the civil war toward the UNITA and the FNLA; 4) to facilitate the counterrevolutionary designs of the State Department.

The UNITA and FNLA must be condemned for blocking with the South Africans, just as the MPLA had to be condemned for collaborating with the Portuguese colonial army against the FNLA and UNITA.

As for the Vorster regime in South Africa, it must be pilloried along with the Ford administration for intervening in the Angolan civil war. Vorster is using South African troops to help pave the way for use of troops from other imperialist powers. Our slogan must be "South Africa out of Angola!"

What position for revolutionaries?

Our judgment of the civil war between the nationalist groups in Angola can be summarized as follows: 1) All three of these groups favor collaboration with imperialism and are opposed to working-class mobilization and any real struggle for socialism. 2) All three of them seek to inflame animosities between the main nationalities in Angola. 3) At the same time each of them has a real mass base and has played a real role in the struggle for independence.

In our opinion, no political support ought to be given to any of these three nationalist groups. The victory of any one of the three offers no special promise of advancing the Angolan masses toward socialism. To impose the rule of one nationality over the other two nationalities offers no stable solution to the problems facing Angola and would only facilitate imperialist designs on the country.

In fact, I do not think that any of these groups can "win" the struggle in view of the broad popular base each has. If one of them does gain a decisive victory over the others, its current political outlook could signify a bloodbath in which the real winner would be imperialism.

Our position is one of opposition to the factional war. We stand for the program of socialism—for the struggles of the workers, the youth, and the peasants that point toward a socialist society. We are opposed to the program and practices of each of the nationalist groups. We are for a class-struggle policy for the masses.

Responsibility of American socialists

Our job as American revolutionary socialists is to oppose imperialist intervention in Angola, particularly American imperialist intervention. Our job is to build meetings, organize picket lines and demonstrations, and do everything possible to deepen the opposition that already exists against intervention in the Angolan civil war.

If the imperialist intervention increases, as seems

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SPECIAL FEATURE: ANGOLA

Continued from preceding page

quite likely, we may decide to favor the victory of one or another of the groups on tactical grounds, but of course without giving it any political support. In fact, we would continue to oppose that group politically.

However, as I have indicated, it would not be correct for us to take such a stand at this point. Our main concern is to mount an effective campaign against Washington's intervention in the civil war and against its aim of blocking the national liberation and social struggles of the Angolan peoples.

SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION

I would like to begin by taking up a few of the factual questions that comrades raised during the discussion. I think it is important to realize that many of these factual questions are very hard to answer, as comrade Fred Halstead pointed out. We try to go by concrete information: things that have been verified, usually even by pro-MPLA sources, such as many of the newspapers in Portugal, many of the publications in Angola published by the MPLA itself, as well as the reports of comrades who have been able to go to Angola.

Our statements on the slanders of the MPLA against the FNLA are not something recent. This was the position of the Fourth International throughout the initial years of the struggle. Only in the last couple of years did the International Majority Tendency make a shift on this.

It is rather dangerous to make flat, unqualified statements about one group favoring imperialism while another does not, or about one group not being a real national liberation movement while a different one is. The concrete facts have to be taken into consideration. The facts show that the other two groups are not simply puppets, despite the assertions of the MPLA.

It is not a matter of an Angolan Ky or Thieu or somebody like Ngo Dinh Diem, who was brought over to Vietnam from New Jersey. The analogy with Vietnam in this respect does not hold.

Movements with mass support

The FNLA and UNITA are real movements, real movements that have proven many times over that they have mass support. Even the MPLA says that it has no hope of politically winning over the people in regions like the Bakongo. And those areas are not just tiny pockets. Each liberation group has roughly a quarter to a third of the support in Angola.

I think it is important to take up some of the points that comrade Sam Manuel made. What do the three groups stand for? On the basic question of their attitude toward imperialism there is no fundamental difference.

One comrade mentioned that the MPLA does not call for a mass campaign against U.S. imperialism—perhaps because the MPLA does not want to disrupt détente. The MPLA's attitude is not primarily related to the détente between Moscow and Washington. It is true that the MPLA does not call for a big mass campaign against American imperialism. But that's not because of concern about the détente. They are looking ahead and holding open the possibility of friendly relations with American imperialism. This is the counterpart of the policy of the other two groups, who have been trying to outbid the MPLA in seeking friendly relations with American imperialism.

That tends unfortunately to be the character of the politics of these groups in this struggle.

At some point the situation could change in such a way that we would call for material support to the MPLA—or the UNITA, or the FNLA, or some combination of the three—while maintaining our political opposition to its program.

Our point of departure is opposition to American imperialist intervention, and if this ends up placing us in the same camp as one or another of the national liberation groups, then so be it.

Three groups could evolve

It is possible that over time one or another of the three organizations could evolve in such a way that they would cease to be national liberation groups,

would lose their mass support, would become puppets of imperialism. That could happen. At this stage there is no basic difference of this kind among the three groups.

Our opposition to the intervention of imperialism does not stem from any view that the imperialists are backing the wrong group or something like that. In our opinion, imperialism is intervening in this situation with the aim of imposing its control. Imperialism wants to hold back the independence of Angola, to weaken the MPLA in general. Even if we were to support the MPLA at some stage, we would not make the error of trying to pressure imperialism into supporting the MPLA.

I think it is important to note in addition that the American ruling class is not unanimous on the question of just which group to back. Even before the present debate there was pressure from those concerned about the danger of another Vietnam. The fact is that the American imperialist specialists in African affairs in the State Department were



Militant/Maceo Dixon

SWP has fought against Portuguese and U.S. imperialism in Angola. 'Our job now is to do everything possible to deepen opposition to U.S. intervention.'

unanimously opposed to Kissinger's policy. They held that the United States should seek a diplomatic settlement between the three groups.

Richard Clark, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Africa, went to Angola and talked with the leaders in the MPLA. After he came back, he maintained that there was no basic difference among the three groups. He said that the MPLA leaders assured him that they would turn away from the Soviet Union as soon as they were able to beat the other groups.

Oppose demanding Soviet withdrawal

I want to say a word about the campaign of the social democrats and the Maoists demanding that "the Russians" or "Soviet imperialism" get out of Angola. We are opposed to this. There is no such thing as Soviet imperialism, anyway, and all this does is play into the hands of American imperialism. It equates Soviet aid to national liberation movements with attempts by the imperialists to maintain their economic exploitation and social oppression of the colonial countries.

As revolutionists and as unconditional supporters of the right to self-determination of the Angolan people, we of course criticize the Kremlin's inadequate aid to the struggle against imperialism. We criticize the Stalinists' uncritical support to MPLA policies, including the MPLA's chauvinist attitude toward the Bakongo and Ovimbundu peoples and its attempts to crush these peoples. We criticize the Kremlin's political course blocking the development of a revolutionary socialist party in Angola. We do not agree with the Stalinist policy.

The interests of the Angolan workers and peasants do not guide the Soviet bureaucracy, any

more than the Soviet bureaucracy's policies represent the interests of the Soviet workers and peasants. But the threat, the danger in Angola is *imperialist* intervention.

Our job is to demand that the U.S. government get out. If the Soviet Union stopped sending weapons to the MPLA, would that be a step forward for the Angolan revolution? No. It would embolden imperialism!

We do not demand that *any* of the national liberation groups in Angola give up the arms they have received from *any* source.

It is the political course that all three groups have followed, not the source of their arms, that is playing into the hands of world imperialism. And as comrade Peter Seidman pointed out, the last thing we want to do is give Washington any cover for its own intervention anywhere. This is a particularly scandalous aspect of the Maoists' and social democrats' demand for the Soviet Union to get out. It is a capitulation to the pressure of American imperialism.

Call for unity

What do we think should be done in Angola? First of all, we call for the unity, in anti-imperialist action, of the three nationalist organizations or any other similar organizations that may exist in Angola. We call on them to unite against the various imperialist powers that have intervened.

When the Portuguese ruled there, we were for the nationalist organizations uniting in action to drive the Portuguese out of Angola instead of each one of them trying to maneuver in various ways with the Portuguese. We propose the same course in response to South Africa or any other imperialist power trying to get involved. At the same time our basic objective is to help the masses break from these organizations on a political level.

We don't have a neutral attitude toward the three groups in relation to the civil war. We are against the policies of each of them in the civil war; we are against their refusal to follow a united policy against imperialism. In my opinion, the fault does not lie with just the UNITA or the FNLA. At the time the UNITA and the FNLA were opposing the initial South African attacks—opposing the seizure of the Cunene Valley and so on—the MPLA took advantage of the South African invasion, tried to turn it to the MPLA's advantage.

Instead of launching a national campaign to unite the various organizations against South Africa, the MPLA advanced militarily against the UNITA and to a lesser extent against the FNLA.

Organize opposition

It is difficult at this distance to assess all the ins and outs of the factional war between the three groups. But we have no difficulty in seeing what our main job is, as Fred and other comrades said. This is to organize opposition to American imperialist intervention, not only in words but in deeds.

We will do that and to the extent that the national liberation groups in Angola are also consistent in their struggle to end all imperialist intervention we will find ourselves in the same camp.

But it would be an obstacle to make an incorrect assessment on the basis of a one-sided set of facts, so that we would find ourselves in the factional camp of one of these nationalist groups pitted against the others without adequate justification.

That would stand as an obstacle in our battle against imperialism, just as it has among the various groups in Portugal and around the world, who place support of one of the groups above the needs of the struggle against imperialism.

The main thing that we have to act on right now is not the polemic going on between the various groups or the polemic on this question in the Fourth International. The main decision this plenum must make to advance the interests of the Angolan peoples and the African revolution as well as the American revolution is to launch a campaign around Angola.

We have to establish the Socialist Workers party as the organization that is doing the most to get the United States out of Angola, that is trying to get everybody working together on this question, that is trying to override the factionalism engendered by the supporters of one or another of three groups.

I think that we are going to find a very broad response to such a campaign in the Black communities. I think we are going to find a good reception in the labor movement, in the student movement—wherever the Indochina experience is remembered.

World Outlook

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

JANUARY 23, 1976

Interview with Indian Trotskyist

Under Gandhi's state of emergency

[The following interview with an Indian Trotskyist was obtained by an *Intercontinental Press* correspondent in Delhi, December 2, 1975.

[Since that time, the Gandhi-controlled Indian Parliament has tightened its stranglehold on dissidents, voting to extend the state of emergency indefinitely. National elections, originally scheduled for this month or next, have been postponed for a year. The regime has imposed further curbs on freedom of the press, virtually taking over India's largest newspaper chain.

[Also, on January 6 thousands of Indian workers participated in a one-day strike protesting the bonus cancellation referred to in the interview. A number of strikers were arrested.]

Question. What, in your opinion, is the significance of the state of emergency that has been declared in India?

Answer. It has meant a major setback for the class struggle in India. The bourgeoisie has made full use of the state of emergency to impose anti-working-class policies and solutions for the mortal crisis that it is facing on the economic front, and to deal with the mass discontent that had been developing.

Q. Exactly what has happened under the emergency?

A. Under the emergency, the people have been deprived of all their basic rights. This especially includes their right to know the real facts. Under the precensorship which has been imposed, all articles must be submitted to the censor before being published.

Many people have been arrested. The regime has never admitted the number of detainees, and it is difficult to arrive at the exact figure because of the censorship. Estimates range as high as 80,000 to 100,000. Most of the political prisoners are from the twenty-six banned organizations, but they also include dissidents among the ruling Congress party in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and Madhya Pradesh.

Information on prison conditions is not known, but it is probably very bad. This number of new prisoners is over and above the number of political prisoners previously held—some 30,000 so-called "Naxalites." This is the name the government pins on many left-wing dissidents, whether or not they really are Naxalites.*

'Bonuses' slashed

Q. What has been the economic impact of the emergency?

A. For the working class it has been bad. "Bonuses" (deferred wages) have been slashed from an 8.33% minimum to 4%. Previously, under the government's bonus system, some of the workers' wages were supposed to be deferred until the end of the year, when a minimum lump sum "bonus" of 8.33% was to be paid.

This September the government reduced the minimum payment to 4%, and linked it to production, productivity, and profit. If there is no profit, the industries don't have to pay anything. And if there are high profits, the bonus can still be only 4%. Not only real wages, but nominal wages for the working class as a whole have been cut as a result of the bonus cut, inflation, unemployment, retrenchment, and so on.

As against this, things have improved for the big bourgeoisie. For example, licensing policies for import-export, for installation of new machinery, etc., have been liberalized. They have been afforded greater travel facilities in order to expand exports. The issuance of bonuses—extra shares to stockholders over and above cash dividends—has been permitted once again. Several tax concessions have also been given.

Q. What about trade-union rights?

* Members of the Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist). The term Naxalites is derived from the 1967 peasant uprising in Naxalbari, West Bengal.



Gandhi imposed 'state of emergency' to help stabilize bourgeois rule in face of growing discontent among urban masses.

A. The unions have been deprived of the right to strike to demand higher wages and better conditions. The mechanism for negotiations will now be even more restrictive than before, and the only unions that will be recognized for the purposes of negotiations are those that support the emergency. At present there are only three such all-India federations: the INTUC (Indian National Trade Union Congress), controlled by the ruling Congress party; the AITUC (All-India Trade Union Congress), controlled by the Communist party of India (CPI); and the HMS (Hind Mazdoor Sabha—India Workers Assembly), led by former Social Democrats, most of whom have joined the ruling Congress party.

Two other union federations have been completely shunted aside by the government and the employers. They are the CITU (Centre of Indian Trade Unions), controlled by the Communist party of India (Marxist), the CPM; and the TUC (Trade Union Congress), controlled by the Revolutionary Socialist party (RSP), a centrist formation.

Q. What has been the response of the workers organizations to the emergency and the new conditions that have arisen?

A. There have been no trade-union actions against the emergency, even by those unions led by the CPM and RSP, which oppose the emergency. The INTUC, the AITUC, and the HMS support the emergency, though there

are reports of a rift in the HMS over this. There have been verbal protests against the cut in the bonuses, even from within the INTUC, but no mass actions have been organized.

The pro-Moscow CPI supports the emergency and is closely tied with the ruling Congress party. The CPM and RSP oppose the emergency, but have done nothing in the form of mass actions. The CPM, which is a big force in some areas, has aligned itself in an unprincipled way with some of the right-wing parties opposing Indira Gandhi. So has the RSP.

There are some signs that the CPM is in disarray, and some dissidents within it are charging that the leadership has soft-pedaled its opposition to the emergency. The general secretary of the CPM, P. Sundaraiya, has resigned and has been replaced by Jyoti Basu from West Bengal. The Trotskyists of the Communist League of India oppose the emergency, but are a very small force.

Significant barometer

Q. Have there been any mass protests at all to the emergency?

A. There were some protests at first in various states, but in general people were stunned. Then, too, there was the inaction by the leadership of the mass workers organizations, or worse yet, outright support to the emergency by the CPI. So this helped disorient the masses.

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New York Times

African detente?

Why Kaunda collaborates with Vorster regime

By Tony Hodges

LONDON—One year ago, on October 27, 1974, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia welcomed South African Prime Minister John Vorster's drive for "détente" in southern Africa as "the voice of reason for which Africa and the rest of the world have been waiting."

Since then, Kaunda and Vorster have cooperated closely to engineer a settlement of the crisis in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia)—a deal that would almost certainly postpone African majority rule in the country for years. Kaunda has jailed several dozen Zimbabwean nationalist exiles likely to oppose such a "solution." Recently, he sent Zambian Deputy Chief Justice Leo Baron to Salisbury to head a team of lawyers aiding the faction of the African National Council led by Joshua Nkomo in its constitutional talks with Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith.

The negotiations, which opened December 11, have been denounced by other Zimbabwean factions, such as those led by Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, Robert Mugabe, and Bishop Abel Muzorewa.

What lies behind

Why is Kaunda playing such a prominent role in this bid to foist a "settlement" on the Zimbabwean people that would guarantee white settler rule for years to come?

The underlying consideration of the Zambian government is the destabilizing impact a successful liberation struggle in southern Africa would have on political life in Zambia itself. Emancipation of the oppressed masses of Zimbabwe or South Africa would doubtless stir the will to struggle of the Zambian workers and peasants, who are increasingly disillusioned with the neocolonial regime in power since "independence" eleven years ago.

But there is increasing evidence that more immediate economic and political considerations are also prompting Kaunda's collaboration with South Africa. The Zambian economy, hard hit by the world recession, is in the throes of its deepest economic crisis since independence. Kaunda is turning to South Africa for economic assistance that will allow him to meet the material demands of the Zambian masses.

Last October South African Minister of Economic Affairs J.C. Heunis reportedly visited the Zambian capital and signed an agreement to extend credit covering up to 125 million rand [1 rand = US \$1.15] worth of South African exports to Zambia. This would amount to a staggering one-quarter of Zambia's entire current annual import bill.

On October 27, Dr. Jan Marais, president of the South Africa Foundation, revealed that he too had visited Zambia at the end of October and held "extremely fruitful" talks with Kaunda on the "advantages to be derived from economic cooperation in southern Africa." Marais said it was clear that Kaunda wanted "peace and progress" in Africa.

On October 30, I have been told, there was a meeting of all the general managers of Indeco, a giant state-owned conglomerate, at which Zambian government officials announced that import policy had changed and that trade with South Africa was now to be encouraged.

This pattern of increasing economic contacts between Zambia and South



Kaunda and Vorster after August 25, 1975, meeting in Victoria Falls, Rhodesia. Kaunda fears impact on Zambia of victorious liberation struggles and also wants South African economic aid.

Africa has been confirmed in an appropriately titled lead article in the November 27 issue of the Johannesburg *Financial Mail*, "Into deepest Africa: South Africa's businessmen on the march." According to the *Mail*, South Africa may already be Zambia's No. 1 foreign supplier.

Oil imports

There is also considerable speculation that South Africa is footing the bill for Zambia's increasingly costly oil imports. South Africa is thought to be making payment directly to Iran to avoid the embarrassment of publicly announcing financial assistance to Zambia. Zambia's oil bill soared in 1974 to 47.1 million kwacha [1 kwacha at 1974 rate = US \$0.64] from 17.7 million in 1973 as a result of the quadrupling of oil prices.

The Zambian government seems also on the verge of formally reopening its border with Rhodesia, closed since January 1973. The first shot in what appears to be a well-orchestrated campaign to prepare public opinion came on November 17 when Arthur Wina, member of parliament for Livingstone and a former finance minister in Kaunda's cabinet, called on the government to reopen the border, as the export route through Rhodesia and Mozambique was the country's most "economic and efficient route." Then, on December 1, a caucus of MPs from the United National Independence party (UNIP), the country's sole legal political party, added their voice to the call for reopening the border.

In fact, the border is half open now. South African and Rhodesian railway trucks are a common sight in Zambia. Zaïre is known to use the rail route through Zambia, Rhodesia, and Mozambique to export some of its copper. And, according to a Radio South Africa report on November 16, Zambia decided to ship 9,000 tons of copper through Rhodesia after the closure of the Benguela railway in Angola because of the civil war. The Benguela railway used to take 45 percent of Zambia's copper exports.

While using the strictly government-controlled press to soften public opin-

ion for the change in policy, the Kaunda regime will probably wait until some progress has been registered in the Salisbury talks before making a move. This was indicated by remarks made by Peter Matoka, Zambian minister of development planning, on December 1. "The border," he said, "cannot be opened now because the President has information that this is not the proper time to do so."

White regimes' extortion

South Africa and Rhodesia clearly have the economic leverage at this time to impel a bourgeois-nationalist regime like the Zambian government to back the détente policy. The price of copper, which accounts for more than 90 percent of Zambia's exports, has plummeted from £1,500 [£1 = US \$2.02] a ton in the early part of 1974 to less than £600 a ton for most of 1975 as a result of slackened world demand during the world capitalist depression. Meanwhile, Zambia has been hit by world inflation, particularly in the cost of oil, fertilizers, and machinery. In 1974, the total payments surplus was only K18 million. This year, observers predict the deficit may reach K250 million.

The same picture is unfolding in other countries now backing the African détente. Zaïre, for example, is known to have negotiated an R8 million loan from South Africa to cover imports of food. The news leaked out in October. In the same month, the Credit Guarantee Insurance Corporation of South Africa sent a representative to Zaïre with a group of South African businessmen. South Africa is known to export foodstuffs, steel, and pharmaceuticals to Zaïre.

Like Kaunda, President Mobutu of Zaïre sees South Africa as a source of aid for his ravaged economy and unstable regime. The country also depends on copper for more than 70 percent of its foreign exchange earnings. Reserves have reportedly fallen from £370 million to less than £12.4 million, and the government is borrowing massively to keep afloat, according to the September issue of *African Development*.



NKOMO: Engaged in negotiations with Rhodesia.



SMITH: Defends racist, white settler rule in Rhodesia.



SITHOLE: Opposes current negotiations.

Fifteen years of Washington's Angola intervention

By Ernest Harsch

Washington's drive to influence the course of the Angolan civil war expanded sharply during the summer of 1975, as the Central Intelligence Agency funneled millions of dollars worth of military aid to two of the three contending nationalist factions. Although the American imperialist intervention in Angola reached a qualitatively new stage with this escalation, its roots go back a long way.

In fact, Washington has been involved in the mineral-rich African country for nearly fifteen years—from the time of Portugal's "Great War" against the Angolan rebels in 1961.

Revolt in Angola

In March of that year, a massive uprising against Portuguese colonial rule swept northern Angola. Initiated by the predecessor of the FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola—Angolan National Liberation Front), the rebellion was met by a brutal Portuguese counterinsurgency campaign that left tens of thousands of Africans dead and devastated large areas of the north.

Washington tacitly allowed the Salazar dictatorship to use American arms—supplied through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—in its Angola operations. For instance, according to an official Portuguese military publication in 1963, the planes used against the Angolan rebels included American F-84 Thunderjets, PV-2 Harpoon bombers, T-6 trainers reequipped for armed reconnaissance flights, and C-54 transports.

The 1961 uprising, however, was a clear signal of the growing nationalist sentiment in the Portuguese colonies. To some American policy makers, it appeared probable that Lisbon would someday have to relinquish direct political control of its African empire. Washington's policy in the Portuguese colonies, as in other parts of the world, was to hedge its bets. It continued to throw most of its support behind its imperialist ally in Lisbon, but also sought to keep its options toward the emerging nationalist leaders open.

Recent government leaks have unveiled some aspects of this side of Washington's Angola strategy. Citing "four official sources," Leslie H. Gelb revealed in the September 25, 1975, *New York Times* that the CIA began sending arms and funds to FNLA leader Holden Roberto as early as 1962. John Marks, an associate of the Center

for National Security Studies (a non-government organization) and coauthor of *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, provided additional details of this CIA operation in an article reprinted in the December 16 *Congressional Record*.

Marks cited a former White House aide as saying that during the administration of President Johnson, Washington's policy toward the Portuguese colonies was "to play all ends against the middle." This meant, according to the aide, giving some military and political support to the Salazar dictatorship, while subsidizing the independence groups to a certain degree.

The CIA, the official said, had the "habit of picking out single individuals and making them our guys, somehow assuming they would turn out all right. It was mainly a cash-in-the-envelope kind of thing—conscience money to show American good intentions."

In Angola, the CIA expressed its "good intentions" to Roberto. In Mozambique, according to the official, it was to Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, the principal leader of Frelimo (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique—Mozambique Liberation Front) until his assassination by parcel bomb in early 1969.

It is not unusual for nationalist organizations to seek to exploit the contradictions among the world powers. In their struggle against Portuguese colonialism, the Angolan and Mozambican rebels had the right to accept aid from wherever they could obtain it. The imperialists, of course, hoped to gain political concessions in return for such aid.

Although other nationalist groups existed in Angola and Mozambique, it appears that the White House chose the FNLA and Frelimo as recipients of CIA aid because they were the largest and most active, and therefore the most useful targets for the American attempts to gain future political influence. The FNLA carried out the bulk of the fighting in Angola throughout the early 1960s, as did Frelimo in Mozambique from the mid-1960s until Lisbon agreed in 1974 to grant the colony its independence.

In contrast, the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), a small organization, paralyzed by factional struggles in the early 1960s, was turned down when it approached Washington for help during that period. (The MPLA subsequently sought aid from Moscow, and received it.) The MPLA and Frelimo, it

should be noted, have maintained close ties for many years.

Although Marks's source did not reveal how much aid the CIA had sent to the FNLA and Frelimo, he did note that it was not enough to turn the tide against Lisbon. Until the April 25, 1974, Portuguese coup, the White House continued to place most of its bets on the Salazarist dictatorship.

Millions to Lisbon

Between 1962 and 1968, Washington sent more than \$39 million in military aid and \$124 million in economic assistance to the Lisbon regime. Hundreds of Portuguese troops received U.S. military training, either in Portugal by the Pentagon's Military Assistance Advisory Group or at bases in the United States. Some received instruction at the U.S. counterinsurgency school in Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

Since 1962, U.S. representatives in the United Nations abstained on or voted against all major resolutions condemning Portuguese colonialism. In his book *Portuguese Africa and the West*, William Minter quoted a State Department document: "The United States recognizes the contribution made in Africa by Portugal and believes that it is important that Portugal continue to contribute to stability in that continent."

Washington's policy of bolstering Portuguese colonialism prompted Roberto to declare in January 1964, "I came to the conclusion that the Western countries are hypocritical. They help our enemies. While paying lip service to self-determination, the United States supplies its North Atlantic treaty's ally, Portugal, with arms that are used to kill us."

According to the official quoted by Marks, President Nixon halted the CIA's "program aid" to the African independence groups in 1969 as part of an overall policy of easing the pressures against the white regimes in southern Africa. The CIA, however, did not want to close the door on Roberto entirely, and kept him on a \$10,000 a year "retainer."

D.C.'s Operation 'Tar Baby'

In February 1970, Nixon adopted a secret policy, on the recommendation of National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger, that codified Washington's support for Portuguese colonialism, as well as for the white minority regimes in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South Africa. Nicknamed "Tar Baby," the policy was based on the premise that the "whites are here [in Africa] to stay

and the only way that constructive change can come about is through them. There is no hope for the blacks to gain the political rights they seek through violence, which will only lead to chaos and increased opportunities for the communists."

In line with this policy, the White House increased its military and economic aid to the Lisbon regime. A \$436 million Export-Import Bank credit loan was extended to Portugal in 1971. In addition to herbicides of the type used by Washington in Vietnam, two Boeing 707s were sold to Lisbon for use in troop transport. U.S. investments in Angola and Mozambique also increased significantly during the Nixon administration.

Washington's stepped-up aid to Lisbon's colonial war was a losing venture. Nixon and Kissinger had not foreseen the April 1974 Portuguese coup, which led to the collapse of Lisbon's African empire.

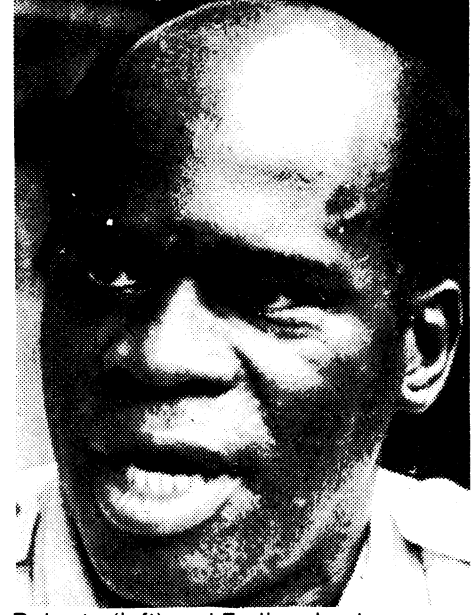
However, the ensuing struggle for power between the three main Angolan nationalist forces, the FNLA, MPLA, and UNITA (União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), gave Washington another opportunity to continue its intervention in Angola, this time in a more direct fashion.

Divide and conquer

Its aim is to prevent Moscow from gaining increased diplomatic leverage within the détente, which might result if the MPLA won the civil war through heavy Soviet backing. Washington is also seeking to perpetuate the fratricidal war in order to weaken the entire Angolan nationalist movement and facilitate continued imperialist domination of the country.

In January 1975, the White House's high-level intelligence-coordinating body, known as the 40 Committee, decided to "reactivate" the flow of CIA funds to the FNLA, setting the stage for the current escalation of American intervention. Seymour M. Hersh reported in the December 19 *New York Times* that the meeting, chaired by Kissinger, approved the sending of \$300,000 to Roberto.

Later that spring, the White House authorized the sending of another \$300,000 in arms and other aid to the UNITA, led by Jonas Savimbi. In mid-July, the CIA was authorized to send \$10 million worth of arms to the FNLA and UNITA. By the end of the year, at least \$33 million had been sent or was "in the pipeline."



When liberation struggles first broke out in Portugal's African colonies, Washington sought to 'keep its options open' with FNLA leader Roberto (left) and Frelimo leader Mondlane (right). Meanwhile, it fed tens of millions of dollars to Lisbon to carry out terror operations against African peoples, like that shown above.

...state of emergency

Continued from page 19

However, one significant barometer of the mass mood was shown recently in the state of Gujarat, where municipal elections were held in several cities at the end of November, resulting in a big defeat for Indira Gandhi's Congress party.

Of course, Gujarat may be somewhat different from the other states. The state government there has been in the hands of a coalition of parties grouped together in the Janata Morcha (People's Front). These parties have been in opposition to the ruling Congress party for some time. The parties in the Janata Morcha are extremely right-wing, but because they are opposed to the central government and Gandhi's Congress party, they have tried to keep the door open for criticism in Gujarat. So they have not imposed as many restrictions on political life as elsewhere.

That is why the state government went ahead and called the municipal elections despite the "advice" to the contrary by the Gandhi regime. (In India, the state governments have the authority to call municipal elections, while the central government has the power over parliamentary elections.) So elections were held in three big cities, Rajkot, Surat, and Vadodara (Baroda) at the end of November, and they are scheduled to be held in the state capital, Ahmedabad, at the end of December.

These elections became a test of strength between the Janata Morcha and the ruling Congress party, and were actually part of a longer-term struggle between them. Last year, in the early part of 1974, there were huge mass upsurges in Gujarat—"bread riots" under drought and famine conditions, and protests against inflation and corruption. The right-wing parties that later came together in the Janata Morcha were able to capture the leadership of this mass upsurge and used it to bring down the state government, which had been under the control of Gandhi's Congress party.

The Indira Gandhi regime responded by dissolving the state legislative assembly and imposing president's rule. That was in March 1974.

But a year later, under threat of a strike by the Majoor Mahajan, the powerful trade union of Gujarat encompassing more than 80% of all organized workers there, the Gandhi regime was forced to call statewide elections in June 1975. Indira Gandhi put all her prestige on the line in these elections. She made a tremendous personal effort, appearing at meetings in 120 districts out of 180 districts altogether. And so, her regime suffered a real blow when the Gujarat elections resulted in a big victory for the Janata Morcha coalition.

Anti-emergency vote

In fact, this turn of events threatened to put new wind in the sails of the then-floundering movement of J.P. Narayan in Bihar, and raised the specter of that opposition movement spreading throughout all India. This prospect was an important factor in Indira Gandhi's decision to declare the state of emergency immediately afterwards. So when elections were called again in Gujarat, this time under conditions of a state of emergency, and in defiance of Gandhi's pressure against holding them, a clear test of

strength was involved.

Of course, the Janata Morcha opposition to Indira Gandhi was a right-wing opposition. They denounced her as a stooge of Moscow. But they also campaigned against the state of emergency and for the democratic right to dissent. This issue struck a responsive chord among the masses and the result was that Gandhi's Congress party was trounced in these municipal elections. The Janata Morcha got a thumping majority of 75%. I think that this vote should be interpreted not as a right-wing vote, but as an anti-emergency, anti-Gandhi vote.

Q. What attitude did the working-class parties take toward this development?

A. In Gujarat, the working-class parties are all small and weak, and thus were not in a position to mobilize broad masses or affect events in a major way. But it is possible to judge how they met the test of events as best they could.

The CPI is supporting the state of emergency, and so of course they said nothing against it. They did run a few candidates in the municipal elections, but these were token campaigns.

The CPM, although opposing the emergency, adopted a completely opportunist and unprincipled policy of allying with the Janata Morcha. In Baroda they ran candidates officially on the Janata Morcha slate—that is, under the right-wing Janata Morcha program and under Janata Morcha discipline. They had no independent face at all, not even their own independent party symbol.

However, in Baroda there was an example of a principled revolutionary

approach, carried out by the Communist League, Indian section of the Fourth International. When processions were called earlier against the emergency, the Communist League participated, but as a separate bloc, clearly distinguished from the Janata Morcha, and chanting its own independent anticapitalist slogans. When the municipal elections were called in Baroda, the Communist League was able to field two candidates for municipal council, both of them militant workers participating in the workers committee in their factory that has been fighting against the bonus cuts.

Revolutionary campaign

Their campaign was completely independent of any other party or group. The main local issues they campaigned on were free medical aid for all; low-cost housing; free quality education for all, with an end to special privileges for private schools; and for water and gas services for the slums. In their speeches to workers meetings they were able to denounce the emergency, to expose Indira Gandhi's twenty-point program, and to denounce the bonus cuts, explaining how to fight back.

The Communist League also put out a leaflet exposing both the Janata Morcha and the ruling Congress, as well as the CPI and CPM. They campaigned for lower ceilings on election expenses, for an accounting of all election campaign income and expenses, for the right to recall, and for proportional representation.

The Communist League got only a little more than 1% of the vote, but it set an example in offering a class-struggle alternative.

Q. You mentioned that there was a struggle taking place over the bonus cuts. Is this limited to the one factory you mentioned?

A. No, it is not. Though it is not widespread, it is an important new development taking place, at least in a

few places we know about.

When the emergency was first declared, the working class and urban poor had some illusions in it, thinking it might save them from corruption, nepotism, and inflation, as Indira Gandhi had promised. There was a tremendous, systematic central government propaganda promising to crack down on smugglers and black marketeers, and announcing the twenty-point program as a boon for all. The workers at first were taken in by this.

But as time went on, prices kept going up, there were massive layoffs, no pay raises, and to top it off, the bonus cut. By September, the picture was becoming clear to the workers.

While the union officials took the position of making verbal protests, but doing nothing, the Communist League called for the workers organizations to fight back against the bonus cuts. They called for forming united fronts and action committees. They went to the factory gates, to the big textile mills in Baroda. They explained the capitalist class nature of both the central government of Indira Gandhi and the Gujarat state government of the Janata Morcha. They condemned the emergency and the bonus cuts. And they proposed broad action committees of the workers to fight against the bonus cuts.

Appeals like these met with some response among workers. Big factory gate meetings were held, ranging from 100 or 200 to almost 700 (almost an entire shift). In one case, nearly 1,000 workers from one textile mill came to a mass meeting to discuss their strategy of fighting back. The workers bypassed the do-nothing union and set up a workers committee which won some victories: a 4% cash bonus and an additional 4% in kind; a 100% "dearness allowance" (cost-of-living wage increases) rather than the usual 90% that is standard in Baroda; and a discount on the purchases of clothing.

Prospects

These are just small examples, and so far they are the only examples in all of Gujarat, but they give an idea of the changing mood among the working class and show that there is a potential that needs only a proper leadership.

Q. What do you think are the prospects ahead in India?

A. In the absence of a major change in the class relationship of forces, there is no possibility for a return to the situation existing prior to June 1975—in the sense that the people will not have the fundamental rights that they had prior to then (of course, even those rights were very limited).

The power of judicial review will not be restored to its original form. The question of political prisoners will exist for quite some time. There was an opening for struggle around the bonus cuts, but unfortunately the big working-class parties and unions did not try to exploit that opportunity. So, on an all-India scale, the Gandhi regime has been stabilized.

Democratic demands will assume greater importance, demands like: release of political prisoners, removal of the emergency, removal of censorship, removal of the ban on political parties, removal of all repressive legislation. Also, repeal of all anti-working-class legislation such as the partial wage freeze and the bonus cut, recognition of the dissident trade unions.

Demands like these will have to be a major area of activity for the left. And only independent mobilizations by the working class and toiling masses can help achieve them.



During 'emergency' Gandhi has jailed as many as 100,000 political opponents, mostly from twenty-six banned organizations but including dissidents from her own ruling Congress party.

By Les Evans

From Intercontinental Press

The death of Chou En-lai at the age of seventy-eight in Peking on January 8 brought to a close a political career that spanned fifty-seven years of activity at the center of events that shaped modern Chinese history. At the time of his death, from cancer first diagnosed in 1972, Chou had served as premier of the People's Republic of China for twenty-six consecutive years, since its establishment in 1949. This itself was testimony to his skill in the devious inner-party warfare that had led to the purge and disgrace of all but a very few of Chairman Mao Tsetung's oldest and closest associates by the beginning of the 1970s.

In his last years, Chou served as a display piece in China's governmental apparatus and its diplomatic corps. He cultivated a reputation for suave urbanity at odds with the crude strong-arm methods of the regime he represented.

Chou's extraordinary staying power in the multifarious purges that dot the history of Chinese Stalinism resided in an absence of principles and a keen sense of which way the wind was blowing at the top of the party hierarchy. These attributes more than once permitted him to switch sides abruptly in inner-party disputes without bothering with the niceties of rationalizing his conduct.

Diplomatic 'moderation'

The Western capitalist press, after Peking's turn toward Washington in 1972, professed to be charmed with Chou's personality and pleased with his moderation as a diplomat. On his death the editors of the *New York Times* hailed him as "one of the more far-sighted statesmen of the 20th century," citing as evidence his part, along with Mao, "in repairing the long-shattered Sino-American relationship."

These gentlemen, who are no friends of the Chinese revolution, are not shamming in voicing their regrets over Chou's passing. They are expressing appreciation of an erstwhile enemy for real services rendered. It is this internal transformation of Chou En-lai, the selfless proletarian revolutionist, into Chou En-lai the bureaucrat-administrator and great conciliator of capitalist power, that constitutes the central thread of his life and that defines his place in Chinese and world history.

Chou took part in virtually every major event in the revolution of 1925-27, a revolution brought to bloody and disastrous defeat by Stalin's policies of collaboration with the bourgeois Kuomintang and bureaucratic dictation of tactics to the CCP. It was in this



Chou: the great conciliator

school that Chou was formed as a revolutionist. He was arrested at Canton in March 1926 in Chiang Kai-shek's first move against the CCP; he participated in the Shanghai uprising in the spring of 1927 and was one of the leaders in the city who decided to welcome Chiang's troops, leading to the anti-Communist massacre of April 12; he was in Wuhan in July 1927 when Stalin's policy of continued collaboration with a "left" splinter of the Kuomintang led to another massacre; he took part in the Nanchang Uprising of August 1, 1927, which marked the turn to ultraleftism known later as "Third Period Stalinism," which lasted until 1934.

'Functionary-adventurer'

One of Chou's admirers during the events in Shanghai in March and April 1927 was André Malraux, who

was to write two novels based on these experiences, making Chou the hero of the second, *Man's Fate*. Leon Trotsky, in a 1931 review of Malraux's first novel of the Chinese revolution, *The Conquerors*, granted the personal heroism of the Comintern representatives and their Chinese associates. But he denied that this made them proletarian revolutionists:

"The type of the functionary-adventurer and the type of the professional revolutionist," Trotsky wrote, "at certain moments and by certain qualities, can find points of similarity. But by their psychological formation as much as by their historical function, they are two opposite types. . . . The French, the Russian or the Chinese proletarian revolutionist, will look upon the Chinese workers as his own army, of today or of tomorrow. The functionary-adventurer raises himself above all the classes of the Chinese nation. He considers himself predestined to dominate, to give orders, to command, independently of the internal relationship of forces in China. Since the Chinese proletariat is weak today and cannot assure the commanding positions, the functionary conciliates and joins together the different classes. He acts as the inspector of the nation, as the viceroy for the affairs of the colonial revolution."

Corrupted by Stalinism

Corrupted by Stalinism in his first serious experiences in the workers movement the young, idealistic, and talented Chou En-lai became converted into the prototype of the functionary-adventurer, exchanging this role in 1949 for the even less admirable one of functionary-administrator. The highlights of his career bear out this harsh judgment.

Chou's greatest personal triumphs were all inspired either by obeisance to the Stalinist machine or by the effort to conciliate and join together the different classes, nationally or internationally. During the period of Mao's disgrace after the failure of the Autumn Harvest Uprising of 1927, Chou became the chief lieutenant of Li Li-

san, the Stalin-appointed head of the party after its founding leaders, such as Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Peng Shu-tse, were made scapegoats for the failure of Stalin's policies in China.

When Li was purged in January 1931, Chou adroitly switched loyalties to the new Moscow-appointed leadership of Wang Ming. Chou acted as the hatchet man for Wang in removing Mao from the post of military commissar of the so-called Kiangsi soviet in August 1932 (Chou was rewarded by being given the post himself). Chou was just as supple in abandoning his former leaders and submitting to Mao when at the Tsunyi conference in January 1935, during the Long March into North China, Mao's faction succeeded in defeating Wang Ming and taking over the party leadership.

Following the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in the summer of 1935 (which elected both Mao and Chou to the Comintern Executive Committee), Chou found his true niche as the ablest Chinese practitioner of the class-collaborationist People's Front line. His most famous single exploit of the 1930s was his intervention in December 1936 to save the life of Chiang Kai-shek after the counterrevolutionary generalissimo had been arrested by his own troops at Sian for sabotaging the resistance to the Japanese invasion of Manchuria. Chou went to Sian where he pleaded for Chiang's life, and at the same time concluded an agreement that again subordinated the CCP to the Kuomintang in a bloc against Japan that required the CCP to hail Chiang as its leader. Chou even rejoined the Kuomintang and was elected to its presidium in 1938.

Bid to Chiang Kai-shek

At the war's end in 1945 Chou again distinguished himself as the most energetic collaborator of American generals Hurley and Marshall in trying to persuade Chiang Kai-shek to accept the CCP as a junior partner in his government. This was typical of the outlook of the Stalinist functionary-adventurer: seeking to use the massive forces accumulated by the CCP leadership in the anti-Japanese struggle as a bargaining point in an effort to join together the contending classes. It was through no fault of Chou's or of General Marshall's that this reintegration of the CCP-held territories into Chiang's government failed. It was the aristocratic and obdurate Chiang who launched a military offensive against the CCP in July 1946, precipitating the civil war that he ultimately lost.

Chou was entrusted by the new CCP regime after 1949 with the abortive attempt to organize a capitalist coalition government (the explicit political content of Mao's heralded "New Democracy"), a project that collapsed only in 1953 under the pressure of bourgeois sabotage of the government and economy during the Korean War.

'Peaceful coexistence'

From the early 1950s Chou found his true calling as the diplomatic arbiter of Stalinist "peaceful coexistence" with world capitalism. As the Chinese representative to the Geneva conference in 1954 he sought to placate Washington by pressuring the Vietnamese to concede to the French the reoccupation of the south of their country after the Vietnamese military victory at Dien Bien Phu. Chou, in fact, is credited with being the initiator of the formula "two Vietnams," which laid the "legal" basis for the genocidal American aggression of the 1960s and 1970s. (In June of 1972, in the seventh year of the American bombing of North Vietnam, Chou told American sinologist John K. Fairbank that he "very much regretted" having signed the Geneva Accords of 1954. This could have been small consolation to the Vietnamese fighters who had to win back what they gave up at Geneva to

Continued on page 26

Peng's assessment

[Peng Shu-tse was one of the founders of the Chinese Communist party and later of the Chinese Trotskyist movement. He has lived in exile for many years because of the repression of the Chinese Trotskyists under the Maoist regime.]

[In an interview published in the January 15 and 29, 1972, issues of the Amsterdam weekly *Vrij Nederland*, Peng gave the following assessment of Chou En-lai.]

He was always more of an opportunist. He returned from Germany in 1925 and attended the Fourth Congress of the Chinese CP. I had a good deal of contact with him, especially after the March 20, 1926, coup (when Chiang Kai-shek seized power in Canton and the Communists were forced onto the defensive).

His character was the exact oppo-

site of Mao's. He was very friendly and reasonable. Everybody liked him. There were never any conflicts with him. But politically he hopped back and forth, from one side of the fence to the other. He never took a clear, definite position. For example, when I talked with Borodin in Canton and proposed leaving the Kuomintang, Chou said: "There is much truth in both arguments that needs to be weighed." That was Chou En-lai in a nutshell. And that has been his style his whole life long. But on the other hand, he was very capable, especially in matters of organization and administration. We had great need of him at the time. He had lived in France and Germany for many years and understood the situation in Europe. He understood it in an impressionistic way, but he did understand it. Chou was a man who was interested in knowing the opinions of others. He was ready to listen to them.

TEAMSTER POLITICS

Teamster Politics by Farrell Dobbs. Monad Press, distributed by Pathfinder Press, New York, 1975. 256 pp., cloth \$10, paper \$2.95.

The most important question confronting the labor movement today is the question of political action. The escalating attacks on the rights and standard of living of working people—through inflation and unemployment; growing use of antilabor laws and government strikebreaking; a crushing burden of taxes to support the Pentagon while social services are cut back; the threat of new wars; secret-police disruption of the unions, the Black movement, and socialist groups—cannot be answered through action on the trade-union level alone, no matter how militant.

The resolution of the 1975 convention of the Socialist Workers party, "The Decline of American Capitalism: Prospects for a Socialist Revolution," declares that "the American workers will have to

Books

learn to think socially and act politically." It states:

"Labor's next giant step will be to break the stranglehold of the bourgeois two-party system to which it is tied and through which it vainly tries to find solutions to capitalism's breakdowns. With a labor party based on the organized power of the unions, all the interrelated social, political, and economic interests of labor and its allies can be encompassed and fought for. This will reinforce the independent mobilizations of all sectors of the oppressed and help aim their force at the common enemy."

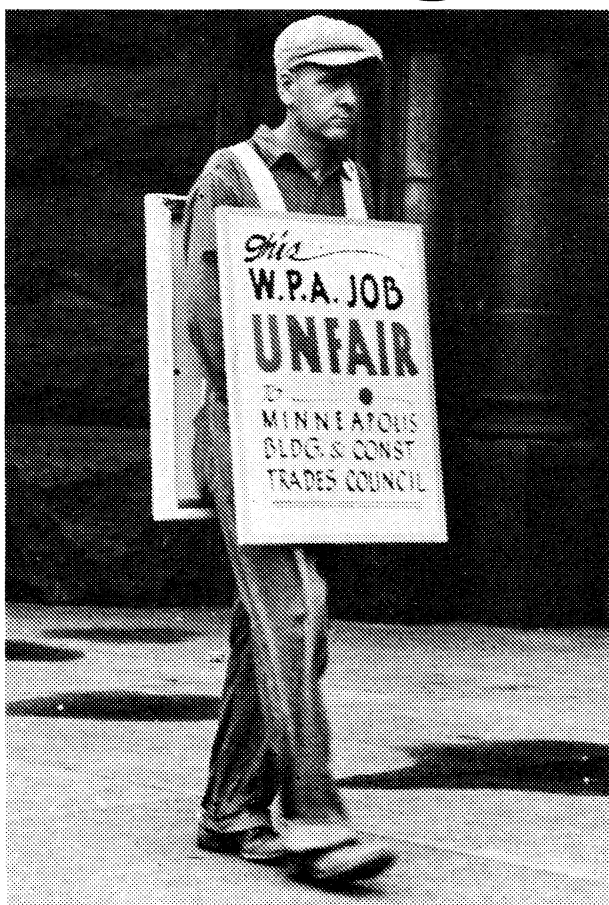
How do leaders of a class-struggle left wing in the unions work toward independent political action and the establishment of a labor party? How can they fight effectively against procapitalist tendencies in the battle for leadership of such a party? How should a labor party appeal to social forces outside the unions? What is the relation between a mass-based labor party and a revolutionary socialist party that is still relatively small?

These are some of the complex problems of revolutionary strategy and tactics taken up by Farrell Dobbs in *Teamster Politics*, the third volume in his history of the Midwest Teamsters during the labor upsurge of the 1930s.

Teamster Politics provides a concrete and comprehensive treatment of the labor party question in the United States, because it deals in rich detail with the historical experience of the American Trotskyist movement with the Minnesota Farmer-Labor party.

In *Teamster Rebellion* and *Teamster Power*, Dobbs described in detail how General Drivers Local 574 in Minneapolis won union recognition through a series of hard-fought strikes in 1934, defeating the bosses' "Citizens Alliance."

Under the leadership of Dobbs and other Trotsky-



Story of 1939 national strike on federal Works Progress Administration projects is told in 'Teamster Politics.'

ists of the Communist League of America (forerunner of the Socialist Workers party), Local 574 went on to consolidate union power in Minneapolis, extend class-struggle unionism throughout the North-Central region, and carry out an eleven-state organizing campaign of over-the-road drivers. The new volume puts these events into their national context and reexamines them from the standpoint of the social and political struggles of the period.

In an especially timely section, Dobbs recounts how the militant Teamsters were hounded by a series of FBI frame-ups. He provides strong evidence that in 1938-39 the FBI was already being expanded and transformed into a secret political police force to eliminate potential opposition to President Franklin Roosevelt's war policies.

Other chapters tell how the Minneapolis Teamsters organized the unemployed, fought against antilabor laws, and established a self-defense force against fascist attacks.

In the 1930's just as today, however, the most powerful weapon in the employers' arsenal was their political monopoly, maintained through the Democratic and Republican parties. That key problem, and how the revolutionary socialist leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters answered it, make up the central and most valuable section of *Teamster Politics*.

The Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota was a

qualitatively different type of political organism from the Democratic and Republican parties. Although millions of workers vote for Democratic candidates and consider themselves Democrats, they have no say over the party's policies, which are determined by the interests of the capitalist ruling class.

The Farmer-Labor party, on the other hand, was directly based on the organizations of the workers and farmers. It was formed in 1918 out of an alliance between the AFL State Federation of Labor and the Non-Partisan League, a large political organization of working farmers.

With the beginning of the Great Depression the FLP gained new momentum, and soon displaced the Democratic party as the main opponent to the Republicans in Minnesota politics. The FLP elected Floyd Olson governor in 1930 and again in 1932 and 1934. Thus Olson—a supposed representative of labor—was chief executive of the state as the Minneapolis Teamsters upsurge began.

A contradictory party

The Farmer-Labor party was a contradictory phenomenon. It was a big step forward for labor, running independent candidates against the Democrats and Republicans and raising many demands around the immediate needs of the workers and farmers. But its policies did not consistently or fully advance the interests of working people. It did not have an anticapitalist, revolutionary program, but a reformist one. Dobbs sums up its weaknesses this way:

"Programatically, the FLP fell far short of being a party of the kind the workers needed. Its basic line centered on a call for reforms under the existing system, to be achieved in a gradual and orderly manner through parliamentary action alone. Emphasis was placed accordingly on the substitution of reformist politics for class-struggle actions. As interpreted by FLP representatives in public office, implementation of that policy required blocs with liberal capitalist politicians on a statewide scale, along with support of the Roosevelt Democrats nationally. The fact that such a course violated the interests of the workers and small farmers was ignored. The official line was carried out by a machine consisting in large part of lawyers, small-town bankers, and other business people who were ambitious to develop a political career for themselves through the reformist movement."

The Trotskyists, whose overall goal was to further the development of massive, genuinely independent political action by the workers, took into account this contradictory nature of the FLP in shaping their policy toward it. They decided that FLP candidates could be backed in election campaigns as an alternative to the capitalist parties.

At the same time, the FLP's reformist program was criticized and means were always found to advance the socialist program the party *should* be campaigning for. Sometimes clarity on the issues could best be achieved by the Trotskyists running their own candidates against the FLP reformists, as they did in several election campaigns Dobbs describes.

Treachery in 1934 strikes

In the union arena as well as in elections, it was always necessary to take the FLP into account. In preparing its fight for union recognition, for example, Local 574 was careful to solicit statements of support in advance from Governor Olson, as well as from the local AFL bureaucrats. But there was no question of relying on these weak-kneed reformists in a fight.

True to form, Olson played a treacherous, strike-breaking role. Since he was campaigning for reelection at the time of the strikes, he was worried about losing union votes. But he was even more worried about his standing in liberal capitalist circles. Posing as a neutral arbiter between the opposing forces, Olson called up the National Guard, raided the union headquarters, arrested top strike leaders, and tried to ram through a settlement acceptable to the trucking bosses.

The strikers responded both in the streets, where they stopped scab trucks in defiance of the military,

Farrell Dobbs: union & party leader



Farrell Dobbs

Militant/Mark Satinoff

Farrell Dobbs emerged as a militant leader of the Minneapolis Teamsters during the 1934 strikes. The same year, he joined the American Trotskyist group, then called the Communist League of America.

Dobbs was elected secretary-treasurer of Local 574 and later appointed as a general organizer on the Teamsters national staff. He led an eleven-state organizing campaign of over-the-road drivers, which culminated in the first area-wide contract and laid the basis for the Teamsters' present power as a union.

Dobbs has been a central leader of the revolutionary socialist movement since the late 1930s. In 1940 he resigned from the Teamsters staff to become labor secretary of the Socialist Workers party. During World War II he was jailed along with other SWP and Minneapolis Teamster leaders for his antiwar views. Dobbs ran for president four times on the SWP ticket, and was national secretary of the SWP from 1953 to 1972.



Farmer-Labor party Gov. Floyd Olson called out national guard against Teamster strike in 1934

and in the unions and FLP clubs, where they scandalized Olson and aroused a storm of protest. Olson was forced to back off, and the strike was eventually won.

The developing labor upsurge sharpened the contradictions of a party based in the working class but with a procapitalist program and leadership, as experiences in 1935 highlighted.

Faced with a growing unionization drive throughout the city, the Citizen's Alliance went all-out to reelect the Republican mayor of Minneapolis. The class lines in the election were sharply drawn, and the workers rallied behind FLP mayoral candidate Thomas Latimer.

'Watch their every move!'

The Minneapolis Trotskyists issued a statement urging the election of the FLP candidates, while warning that "the Farmer-Labor officials will not and cannot give the working class any real lasting benefits—these will have to be won by the workers themselves through their fighting organizations: the unions, unemployed organizations and revolutionary workers party.

"Workers of Minneapolis," the Trotskyists advised, "Elect the Farmer-Laborites to office but watch their every move, do not trust them. They will serve the workers' movement only if the workers' organizations force them to." (Emphasis in original.)

The labor movement elected Latimer, but no sooner had he taken office than he knuckled under completely to the employers. He violated a specific campaign pledge by retaining in office reactionaries appointed by the Republicans. He ordered police assaults on strikers and demonstrations of the unemployed. And with the connivance of right-wing AFL officials, he set up a rigged Employer-Employee Board to maintain "industrial peace" by averting strikes.

The bitter experience with Latimer began to educate a broader layer of union militants about the nature of reformism. In September 1935 a conference of fifteen left-wing unions, initiated by Local 574, met and called for dissolution of the Employer-Employee Board, reaffirmation of the right to strike, and expulsion of Latimer from the FLP for strikebreaking.

Local 574 was also under attack at this time from the conservative, craft-minded bureaucracy of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, headed by Daniel Tobin. In 1935 Tobin revoked the local's Teamster charter and, together with conservative AFL hacks in Minneapolis, tried to read it out of the labor movement altogether. The attack was extended into the FLP, where Latimer and other right-wingers moved to purge Local 574 from the party because of "Communist leadership."

These disruptive and high-handed tactics did not go over well in the ranks of the AFL or the FLP. Local 574's fight for reinstatement was backed by the developing left wing among the other AFL unions, and after a year's battle Tobin was forced to reinstate the Trotskyist-led union under the new designation of Local 544.

Stalinist factionalism

Efforts to make the Farmer-Labor party more responsive to the workers' needs were opposed not only by the conservative union bureaucrats but also by the Stalinized Communist party, which in 1935 executed a 180-degree turn in its attitude toward the FLP.

In its ultraleft, sectarian "third period," which began in 1928, the CP had branded the FLP as "social fascist." The Stalinists absolutely refused to

give FLP candidates electoral support as against the capitalist candidates. But after Hitler's rise to power in Germany—made possible because the German CP's ultraleft line barred any united struggle with the Socialist party against fascism—Moscow decreed a new policy, the "popular front." The popular-front line demanded that political support be given to "democratic" capitalist politicians, who were now declared to be reliable bulwarks against fascism.

The U.S. version of the popular front was all-out support to Roosevelt and the Democratic party. In Minnesota, the CP switched in one leap from an ultraleft critic of the FLP to an abject supporter—now uncritically backing the reformist political program of the FLP.

The Stalinists' aims coincided with those of the most right-wing elements in the FLP. Fundamentally, both sought to water down the *independent class character* of the FLP and eventually to merge it with the Minnesota section of the Democratic party. Politically, they tried to link the FLP ever more closely with Roosevelt and the New Deal. Organizationally, they tried to minimize the influence of the trade-union base of the party in favor of a bureaucratic apparatus, ward clubs, and various paper organizations dominated by the CP.

In this de facto alliance, the CP provided a left cover and an organized cadre in the labor movement for the most conservative wing of the FLP. Bureaucratically rewarded with posts, the Stalinists quickly gained a dominant position in the FLP apparatus, even though their influence in the trade unions in Minnesota was minimal.

Union opposition emerges

By the time of the 1938 elections, discontent with Roosevelt's domestic policies was becoming widespread. The New Deal was turning into the War Deal: despite rising unemployment, Roosevelt was diverting money from social programs to armaments. The Minneapolis AFL Central Labor Union called upon the FLP to speak out against Roosevelt's preparations for war, and to demand that war funds be used for the jobless.

Instead, the Stalinists led the FLP gubernatorial campaign into the dead end of total identification with the New Deal. The main beneficiary was the Republican candidate, Harold Stassen, who posed as a critic of the status quo and trounced the FLP nominee.

The Stalinist and right-wing course, which was threatening to destroy the FLP, prompted the emergence of a trade-union-based opposition. Participating in this opposition, the Trotskyist leaders of Local 544 stressed the need to achieve a "dominant voice for organized labor within the movement," Dobbs explains. "Basically, that meant a fight for the workers to have democratic control over the mass party and for the adoption of a class-struggle program that would serve their interests."

As Dobbs explains: "The concept of building a two-class party of the FLP type is basically false. Superficially, the workers and farmers within its ranks appeared to have equal standing and influence. In reality, however, the middle-class ideology engendered by the farmers—who are economically petty proprietors—tended to dominate the movement, blocking the development of an anticapitalist outlook by the wage workers. That is why a mass political organization, which aims to oppose the capitalist parties, must be based primarily upon the trade unions. Only with that solid class footing can a meaningful political alliance of workers and farmers, along with other victims of capitalist exploitation, be created. . . ."

Based on these strategic considerations, revolutionary socialists advocated two key steps to reverse the FLP's self-destructive course: make a clean break with the New Deal, and throw the full weight of the FLP into a campaign to form a nationwide labor party.

After the major setback to the FLP in the 1938 elections, the *Northwest Organizer*, the official Minneapolis Teamsters newspaper, gave this analysis of the situation:

"Many months ago the unions here had protested to the FLP leaders against an organization set-up that removed the power from the economic organizations of the toilers and gave control to the singing societies, the art circles, the ward clubs, the all-party committees and the Communist Party. The unions had sought to urge upon the FLP a real program for housing, for unemployment relief, against war, and against any tie-up with the New Deal. But the Duluth convention rejected the unions' suggestion. . . .

"Only the trade unions can reform the ranks for the sort of political movement that alone will play a role in the future: a movement for real independent labor political action, controlled by the unions, with its policies and leadership shaped by the unions.

"The labor party movement in Minnesota, when it comes back, will come back as part of a national labor party, a party with a democratic regime, a party that has broken cleanly with both old parties, a party that will have the sort of bold answers to the needs of the masses that will win and hold the support of the workers, the farmers, the youth, the lower middle classes."

A series of bitter clashes followed between the Stalinist-reformist machine, which aimed to turn the FLP into a labor-backed version of a capitalist party, and the trade-union left wing, which sought to transform it into a labor party that would champion the needs of the workers and all the oppressed.

The final outcome of the conflict within the FLP is bound up with the 1941 showdown between Tobin and the Minneapolis Teamsters, and between Roosevelt and the Socialist Workers party at the outbreak of World War II. Those stormy events, Dobbs promises, will be covered in the fourth and final volume of his series on Teamster history.

Guide to action today

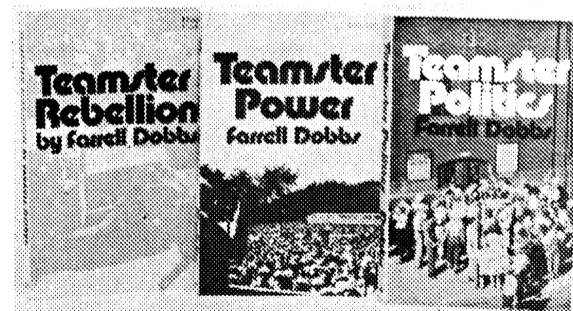
The economic crisis, the attacks on working people, and the impasse of the trade unions today make the need for a labor party clearer than at any time since the 1930s.

A growing majority of the American people—57 percent according to one recent poll—believe that both the Democratic and Republican parties favor big business over the average worker. This broad disillusionment has not yet found expression in any mass break from the capitalist parties, but it will.

The clashes Dobbs describes between revolutionary socialists, Stalinists, and trade-union bureaucrats within the FLP are battles that are certain to be fought again. And just as *Teamster Rebellion* and *Teamster Power* are already serving some young union activists as guides to union organization and strike strategy, Dobbs' latest book will be valued by this new generation of militants as their handbook on independent labor political action.

—Andy Rose

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THE REAL STATE OF THE UNION—A SOCIALIST ANALYSIS. Fri., Jan. 23, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

TWIN CITIES

THE WELFARE SYSTEM: HOW THE RICH GET RICHER AND THE POOR GET POORER. Speakers: Jim Gambone, welfare rights activist; Betty Olbekson, Minnesota Recipients Alliance; Chris Frank, SWP. Fri., Jan. 23, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. SE, Mpls. Donation: \$1. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

...FBI

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murder was a provocation, that we were supposed to respond violently. But we didn't, we decided not to right away." McElroy stated that the Panthers did not bomb the US office.

Karenga recently spoke with Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from California. Karenga, now living in San Diego and a leader of NIA, a Black organization, discussed earlier evidence about FBI and police disruption of US and the Panthers in Los Angeles.

"The police would shoot at the Panthers, and say it was US. Then they would shoot at US, and say it was the Panthers. . . . The climate was created to get a certain result. It [the violence] was prompted and provoked. It would never have happened if it wasn't for the police."

On NIA's plans, Karenga said, "We are looking into a civil suit that would further bring out the information on what actually happened. We have evidence and we want to pursue it to the end. . . . We want to cooperate with all other groups that have been victims and develop a common strategy."

Musa, who has been active in the

Black movement in California for a number of years, issued a statement calling for full disclosure of all secret FBI files:

"In a brief three-page memo, the FBI has revealed its involvement in a conspiracy resulting in the murder of two Black activists and the wounding of four. But this is only three pages out of 1,200! The only way the full truth can be known is to publish the entire FBI correspondence.

"All FBI and police personnel involved in these crimes should be prosecuted to the hilt. So far, they have gotten away for six years with a conspiracy to commit murder."

...OAU

Continued from page 13

dangerous error of allowing the South African forces to enter the country in return for military support in the UNITA's factional struggle for power. If the UNITA has reversed its stance toward the South Africans, and takes action to get them out, it would mark an important gain for the Angolan independence struggle.

Another sign of conflict between the UNITA and foreign troops who have been aiding it was the outbreak of fighting in Huambo December 24 between forces of the UNITA and of the "Chipenda Brigade." The brigade is led by Daniel Chipenda, a former leader of the MPLA who joined the FNLA in early 1975. According to the December 27 *Jornal Novo*, it is composed almost entirely of white troops, many of them mercenaries, from Angola, Mozambique, and Portugal.

According to *Jornal Novo*, Savimbi had warned that he would "physically discipline" the Chipenda forces. The fighting reportedly began when troops of the UNITA attacked the headquarters and other installations of the brigade in Huambo. Calling Chipenda a "reactionary" and blaming him for the fighting, Savimbi said that twenty UNITA troops had died in the battles. The Chipenda Brigade withdrew from Huambo shortly after the clash.

Although the MPLA's income from the royalty and tax payments of Gulf Oil (estimated at about \$500 million a year) was cut off when the State

Department pressured Gulf into suspending its operations in Angola, the MPLA is still reportedly receiving royalty payments from Diamang (Companhia de Diamantes de Angola, S.A.R.L.). Diamang, which is controlled by American, Portuguese, Belgian, British, and South African capital, owns vast diamond fields in northeastern Angola, which is controlled by the MPLA. It is not clear how large the Diamang payments to the MPLA are, but the UNITA has charged that they amount to \$80 million a year.

Up to now, the MPLA has taken no significant actions against the major imperialist holdings in Angola. In fact, it has continued its policy of soliciting greater foreign investments. Summarizing MPLA leader Agostinho Neto's economic policy statements, Kaufman reported in the January 4 *New York Times Magazine*, "Private investments will be necessary from all sectors, he says; there will be no confiscations."

...Chou

Continued from page 23

satisfy the needs of Chinese and Soviet diplomacy.)

Chou's next "triumph" was at the Bandung conference of 1955, where he hobnobbed with Nehru, Sukarno, and other "unaligned" bourgeois leaders of the semicolonial world. What was involved here was not simply China's attempt to breach the American embargo or to offer support to oppressed nations fighting for genuine independence from imperialist domination. The something more Chou offered that was characteristic of Stalinist, and not proletarian, diplomacy was peaceful coexistence with capitalist regimes in exchange for diplomatic and trade concessions.

As one of the main leaders of the bureaucratic caste in China, Chou was an implacable opponent of the program of Trotskyism and of its representatives, including founding members of the Chinese Communist party who played a heroic role in the development of the Chinese revolution and who were prime targets of the Chiang Kai-shek regime and of the Japanese imperialist invaders. Chou acquiesced

in the purge of Trotskyists on a nationwide scale after the Maoists came to power. Thrown into dungeons without charges or trials, these Trotskyists have remained political prisoners for twenty-three years. The fate of most of them remains unknown.

For the international working class, the Chinese revolution remains a great progressive accomplishment. But the motor forces of the Chinese revolution do not reside in the functionary-adventurers of Stalinism like Chou and Mao, who were thrust into power in 1949. They reside in the immensely powerful mass movement of the workers and peasants, who will again resume their march toward socialism.

...YSA

Continued from page 5

outgoing YSA National Chairperson Malik Miah.

Revolutionists from Puerto Rico, Portugal, and Canada attended the convention and presented greetings to the participants.

Almost the entire fourth day of the convention was set aside for a debate on revolutionary strategy in Portugal between Chuck Petrin, speaking for the YSA National Executive Committee, and Michel Mill, representing the International Majority Tendency of the Fourth International.

A leader of one of the two Portuguese Trotskyist groups—the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party) also participated in the discussion following the two reports. Earlier in the convention, the PRT leader presented greetings to the convention, stressing the importance of the events in his country and of collaboration between Portuguese and U.S. revolutionists.

YSA members at the convention agreed. Shirley Peña, a Chicana from San Francisco who has just recently joined the YSA, told me: "Everything at the convention has been great, but the one thing that impressed me the most, I'd say, is when the comrade from Portugal read his greetings.

"I started thinking, 'I'm going to be in that situation sometime.' It's really exciting to think that right now I am playing an active part in bringing that day about."

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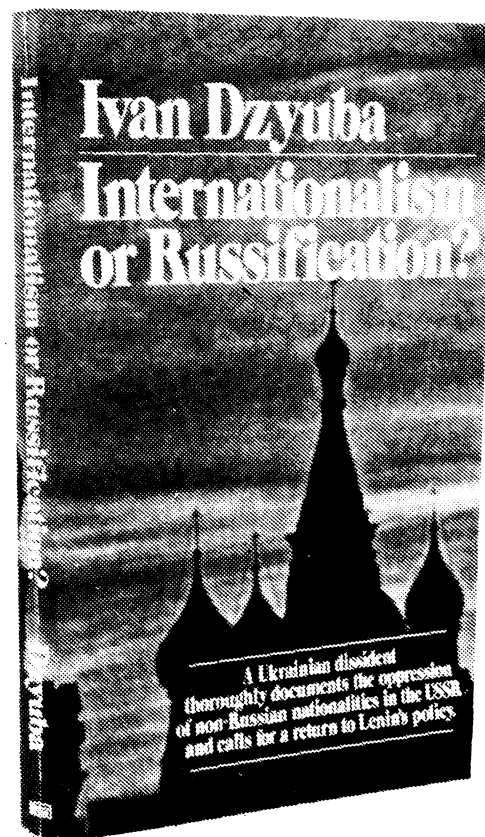
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Spain rocked by mass strike wave

By David Frankel

Spain is being rocked by a massive strike wave. Touched off by the year-end expiration of labor contracts, sharply rising prices, and growing demands for democratic rights and amnesty for all political prisoners, it has involved more than 100,000 workers in the Madrid area alone. A Reuters dispatch termed it "the biggest show of labor strength since Franco came to power 36 years ago."

The confrontation between the regime and the labor movement was brought to a head by the strike of 4,000 subway workers that began January 5. Following the example set by Franco during a similar strike five years ago, the government on January 7 ordered troops to run the trains.

The subway workers voted to return to work January 9, but vowed to go out again January 19 unless there was an acceptable response to their demand for a nearly 50 percent wage increase backdated to August.

On January 10 the state-owned subway company offered a \$455 annual pay raise and promised no punitive action against the strikers even though their walkout was illegal under Spanish law.

The subway strike, which caused huge traffic jams in Madrid, successfully challenged the government's wage-control policy. The mood of the Madrid working class was shown by dozens of sympathy rallies and walkouts in banks and the metal and construction industries, in solidarity with the transit workers.

The government responded to its defeat with a series of predawn raids on January 10 in which twenty labor leaders were arrested. The next day Madrid riot police broke up two separate demonstrations calling for an end to the wage freeze and for amnesty for political prisoners.

On the night of January 12, police attacked demonstrating workers and students. Responding to a call by

strike committees at Chrysler and Standard Electric, a subsidiary of International Telephone and Telegraph, the demonstrators were demanding the resignation of Finance Minister Juan Miguel Villar.

The 13,000 striking telephone workers have been out for more than a week. Management has refused to negotiate until the strikers return to work.

1,500 political prisoners

Installed on December 13, the cabinet headed by Premier Carlos Arias has been besieged with demands for unconditional amnesty for the estimated 1,500 political prisoners still held by the government.

The regime's promises of reform have been accompanied by continuing attacks on demonstrations and rallies. On December 14, for example, police aided by rightist goons broke up a rally staged by 2,000 Basques near the Basauri prison who were demonstrating in behalf of amnesty for political prisoners. About sixty demonstrators were arrested.

The day before, a fifteen-year-old student was shot through the lung by a member of the Civil Guard during a demonstration in Seville. Manuel Fraga, the new minister of the interior, tried to publicize his liberalism by telephoning the hospital to ask how the victim was doing.

The minister's gesture did not stop further attacks. In a December 18 dispatch from Madrid, *New York Times* reporter Henry Giniger said: "Riot police broke up tonight the second attempt in two days by leftist opposition groups to demonstrate in Madrid in favor of amnesty for political prisoners and exiles."

Madrid was not the only place where demonstrations were continuing, Giniger said. "Agitation is persisting throughout Spain and among a wide variety of political, professional and civic groups for immediate measures to erase past practices as a necessary preliminary to starting a new political system."

In response to the demands of the masses, Fraga promised December 20 that the government "will carefully differentiate between opponents who support a political cause or option of power and the enemy that makes war against the society without respecting any law."

'The enemy'

A few days later, Fraga elaborated on his distinction between "opponents" and "the enemy" in an interview with the French daily *Le Figaro*. "Spain is moving toward the establishment of a democratic society," he said, "but the Spanish Communist party (PCE) will remain outside of the political arena."

Another statement by Fraga, made on December 31, took up the issue of amnesty. "We are going to do it," he insisted, "but we are going to do it



Demonstration outside Spanish prison demands amnesty for political prisoners. While promising reforms, new regime is resisting demands for increased liberties.

carefully." He added, "We are not prepared to do that [release prisoners] under any pressure, nor in response to Communist propaganda."

The policy of limited concessions and promises of reform will hardly satisfy the masses for very long. *Mundo* said in its December 27 editorial, "What the people are insisting on are steps showing that the intentions are sincere: amnesty, an end to special jurisdiction and tribunals, genuine recognition of the rights of assembly and expression . . ."

But there is strong opposition within the regime to such steps. On December 29 Torcuato Fernández, the president of the Cortes, declared: "It is up to the Government to decide on political action. It is up to the Cortes to set the legal guidelines for this action."

A dispatch from Madrid in the December 30 *New York Times* characterized the statement as "an implicit warning against substantial political change."

The warning was underlined January 4 when police in Bilbao broke up a demonstration, estimated by Associated Press at 5,500 persons. The protesters were trying to petition the civil governor in the Basque city.

Gain time

The regime's maneuvers to gain time on the political front have been complicated by the danger of an escalating confrontation with the illegal labor movement. Contracts covering 1.5 million of Spain's 8 million salaried workers are up for renegotiation. The government estimates that inflation over the last year has run close to 17 percent, but it is attempting to impose a wage freeze nonetheless.

On December 29 Finance Minister Juan Miguel Villar, giving the usual capitalist explanation for inflation, said, "It is absolutely impossible for any economy to bear increases in wage costs of 28 percent without their resulting in strong price increases."

Henry Giniger reported from Madrid January 1 on the reaction to Villar's speech: "Management applauded the speech, but from labor came accusations that Mr. Villar, who had headed the country's biggest steel company before joining the Government, spoke more like a board chairman than a minister."

Earlier, Fraga had made clear that the illegal union organizations would not be recognized by the government. The December 24 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* reported Fraga's view that "the Workers Commissions are an organization dominated by the Communists, who have entered the trade-union system with a precise objective: to convert it into the instrument of a party, for the good of only one party."

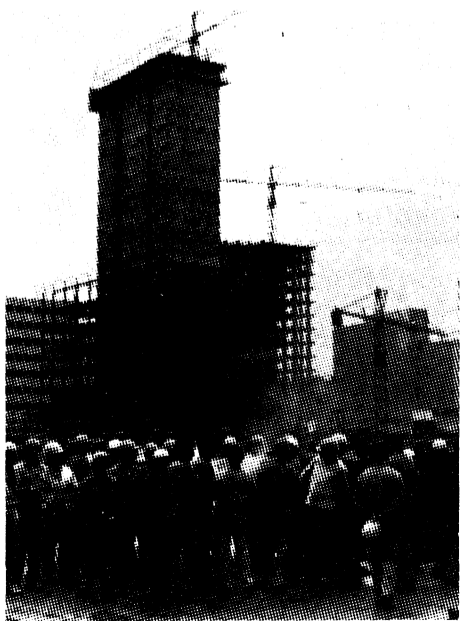
The red-baiting, however, did not seem to affect the workers. Taxi drivers in Barcelona and Bilbao, and bus drivers in Valencia, went on strike. "In Madrid," the December 21 *New York Times* reported, "about a third of the 11,000 taxis were made idle for a third day by a strike, despite a threat by the mayor to revoke the licenses of striking drivers."

"Strikes also affected the metal industry in Madrid, Pamplona and Barcelona, keeping 30,000 workers off their jobs."

Although the strikes were provoked by economic issues, the metalworkers in many plants also demanded freedom of expression, assembly, and other democratic rights.

Bank workers in Madrid, Valencia, Seville, and Barcelona also went out on strike in December. Nearly 30,000 bank workers from twenty-two provinces signed a petition that called for, in addition to economic demands, recognition of the rights of assembly, expression, and strike, and for a general amnesty.

So far the new regime has been able to get by with mere promises. How much time King Juan Carlos I can gain by this procedure remains to be seen.



Madrid construction workers walk off job. Strikers are resisting attempt to make working class pay for inflation.