

# THE MILITANT

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

## SOCIALIST SUIT HAS FBI ON THE RUN



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## THE MILITANT

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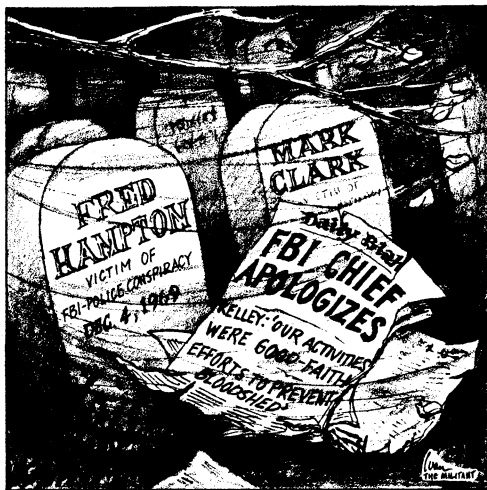
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**THE 'MILITANT' GETS AROUND:** The Ivan cartoon below first appeared in the May 28 *Militant*. It has since been reprinted by several other newspapers. The May 29 *Sun Reporter*, a Black weekly in San Francisco, reproduced it, as did the July 7 issue of the *Guardian*, a New York weekly, and the June 12 issue of the *Black Panther*.

*El Diario de la Gente*, a Chicano student paper from Boulder, Colorado, published a different Ivan cartoon in its June 28 issue. That was the "Free Gary Tyler" cartoon that first appeared in the June 25 *Militant*.

In addition, that issue of the Chicano paper reprinted Arnold Weissberg's story from El Paso, Texas, describing the frame-up of three Chicano activists there.



## Demand US gov't act to stop Iran hit squads

NEW YORK—Reza Baraheni, internationally known Iranian poet, has charged that the shah of Iran has sent out hit squads to assassinate Iranian dissidents in Europe and the United States.

Baraheni made the charge at an August 11 news conference at the American Center of PEN, a world association of writers. Baraheni attributed the report to a source in the U.S. State Department.

Baraheni was imprisoned by the shah in 1973 and tortured for 102 days. He was released and allowed to leave the country after an international campaign in his behalf.

Baraheni said he did not know who had been targeted. But Baraheni's name is likely to appear among them. Since his release, he has played a prominent role mobilizing opposition to the shah's repression.

The American PEN Center sent telegrams to Attorney General Edward Levi and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger demanding an investigation of the allegations. It also asked for protection of threatened Iranians and their families.

Similar statements by U.S. Rep. Fortney Stark (D-Calif.), U.S. Rep. Michael Harrington (D-Mass.), and former Attorney General Ramsey Clark were released at the news conference.

**RUSSELL MEANS ACQUITTED:** The American Indian Movement has beaten yet another government frame-up. The state of South Dakota had accused AIM leader Russell Means of being an accomplice to a barroom murder.

Several months ago, Dick Marshall, another AIM activist, was convicted of doing the shooting. Between the two trials, state witnesses changed their story, and even the all-white jury that heard the Means case wouldn't accept the government's version. Defense attorneys are appealing the conviction of Marshall, who was sentenced to life imprisonment.

**SCLC HOLDS CONVENTION:** The Southern Christian Leadership Conference concluded its annual convention in Biloxi, Mississippi, August 14 with a blast at both major parties.

The civil rights organization said, "The Democrats have far too long taken the Black vote for granted, and the Republicans have ignored Black and poor Americans."

The convention unanimously approved a resolution calling the death penalty part of a "racist justice system" and demanding that Congress pass a constitutional amendment banning capital punishment.

**CLEAVER FREED ON \$100,000 BAIL:** Ex-Black Panther party leader Eldridge Cleaver was released August 13 from the Alameda County jail in Oakland, California. He faces charges of assault and attempted murder stemming from a clash with Oakland cops in the late 1960s.

**UFW CAMPAIGNS FOR PROP. 14:** The United Farm Workers union has opened a campaign to win California voter approval in November for Proposition 14. The ballot initiative would ensure field hands the right to secret ballot elections.

Proposition 14 would replace the present farm labor law, which has been used as a political football by the major

party politicians. In addition to taking the farm labor statute out of the hands of the legislature, Proposition 14 would put more teeth into the law to make fair elections possible.

On August 15, the UFW held large meetings of supporters on the east and west sides of Los Angeles. The union is recruiting 350 volunteers to work full-time until the elections for passage of Proposition 14.

It will take a hard fight to get the measure passed. The growers have raised a reported \$3 million war chest to defeat it.

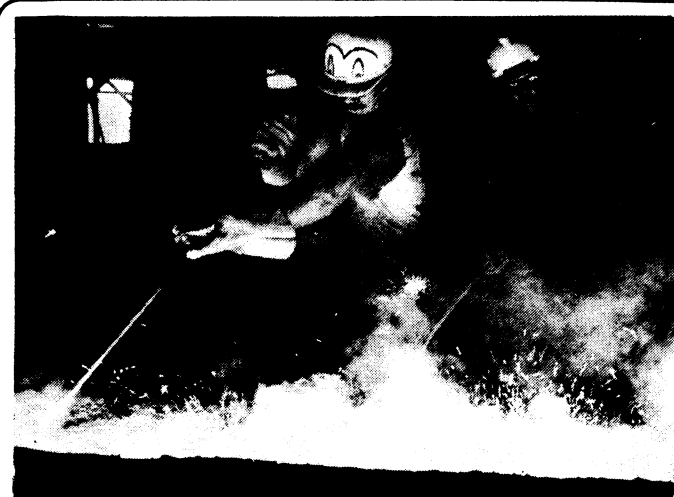
**ABORTION SUPPORTERS PICKET:** The "Shield of Roses," a small religious sect, has been appearing at the doors of Milwaukee abortion clinics to physically and verbally harass women as they enter. On Saturday, July 31, on their weekly visit to one abortion clinic, the seven "Shield of Roses" members were met by fifty supporters of a woman's right to choose abortion. The fifty chanted loudly, "Not the church, not the state, women must decide our fate!" and, "Keep abortion safe and legal, a woman's right to choose!"

This pro-choice picket line, the first held in the city since the end of March, comes on the heels of an attempt by bishops of Wisconsin's five Catholic dioceses to step up their organizing for passage of the so-called Human Life Amendment. This proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution, if passed, would outlaw abortion in the United States.

**PRINTERS' CONVENTION BACKS ERA ACTIONS:** At its recent national convention held in Chicago the International Typographical Union (ITU) voted to reaffirm its support to the Equal Rights Amendment. The printers also decided to support the pro-ERA march called by the National Organization for Women (NOW) for August 28 at the White House and to urge all locals to participate in ERA activities scheduled around August 26.

**PUERTO RICO AT THE UNITED NATIONS:** The Puerto Rican Socialist party has called for a demonstration August 26 in front of the United Nations building in New York. The UN Committee on Decolonization is scheduled to take up the case of Puerto Rico at the end of August. Protesters will demand the inclusion of Puerto Rico on the general assembly's list of colonial territories.

—José G. Pérez



## Special Offer For New Readers

The fight for union democracy in the United Steelworkers of America will affect the future of the entire labor movement. For coverage of the upcoming USWA convention . . . Ed Sadlowski's challenge to the Abel bureaucracy . . . struggles for jobs, decent wages, and safe working conditions—subscribe to the *Militant*.

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## Court action taken

# Calif. officials stall SWP ballot validation

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—The Socialist Workers party has submitted more than enough nominating petitions to qualify for a place on the California ballot. Election officials, however, are not complying with certification procedures, and the party is initiating court action.

To be certified for the ballot, petitions must be obtained bearing the signatures of 99,284 registered voters. On August 4-5, the SWP filed petitions bearing 138,487 signatures for its presidential ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid and 134,755 for Omari Musa, its candidate for U.S. senator.

The state election law requires that petitions be processed within five days after submission. Notice must then be given of the number of signatures not qualified. Election officials have not complied with this procedure, asserting they have lacked the time to do so.

As of August 16, twelve days after filing, only Orange County had completed processing the signatures. They reported that of 870 names submitted 750 were found valid.

The court will now be asked to rule that the signatures filed in the remaining counties be classified as valid and the candidates certified for the ballot.

According to the law, all petitions must be filed by September 3. The law also provides that petitions may be submitted earlier and, if there is an insufficient number of valid ones, additional names may be solicited and filed.

By delaying the processing, election officials are depriving the SWP of necessary time if added petitions were to be needed.

The party has every reason for concern that the delay is deliberate and could be intended as a means of denying it a ballot place.

Until recently, California had a prohibitive requirement of 300,000 signatures on independent nominating petitions. This year political pressure and pending legal action by the SWP and others resulted in a reduction to the present number.

However, there is no indication that this in any way represents a change of heart by state officials who favor a restricted ballot.

In demanding that the courts respond to the failure of election officials to abide by their own regulations, the SWP is contributing to winning fair treatment for all minority tickets.

In addition to the SWP, ballot status is being sought by the Communist and Libertarian parties and the supporters of Eugene McCarthy. If the SWP court action is successful, it will help ensure that the others are not submitted to the same unfair treatment.

The large number of voters who signed the SWP petitions demonstrated the broad support for ballot rights for smaller parties.

This was also shown by the number of prominent individuals who endorsed the SWP ballot effort. Among them were: Rep. Ronald Dellums, Vincent Hallinan, Daniel Ellsberg, and Charles Garry.

Any attempt by the Brown administration to cheat the SWP of a ballot place will also be made more difficult by the media coverage of the party's initial submission of signatures.

Because there has not been a socialist candidate on the California ballot for thirty-six years, it was properly regarded as newsworthy when the SWP filed a total of more than a quarter of a million signatures for its ticket. Media interest was heightened by the continuing revelations of illegal FBI activity resulting from the SWP's federal suit.

When Camejo and Musa led a contingent to the Los Angeles County registrar's office to file some 94,000 names, it was widely reported by local TV and radio stations and the *Los Angeles Times*. Similar coverage occurred when they filed in the San Francisco Bay Area and San Diego.

Such coverage makes dirty tricks more difficult. It's harder for officials to do their customary thing when the spotlight is on them.

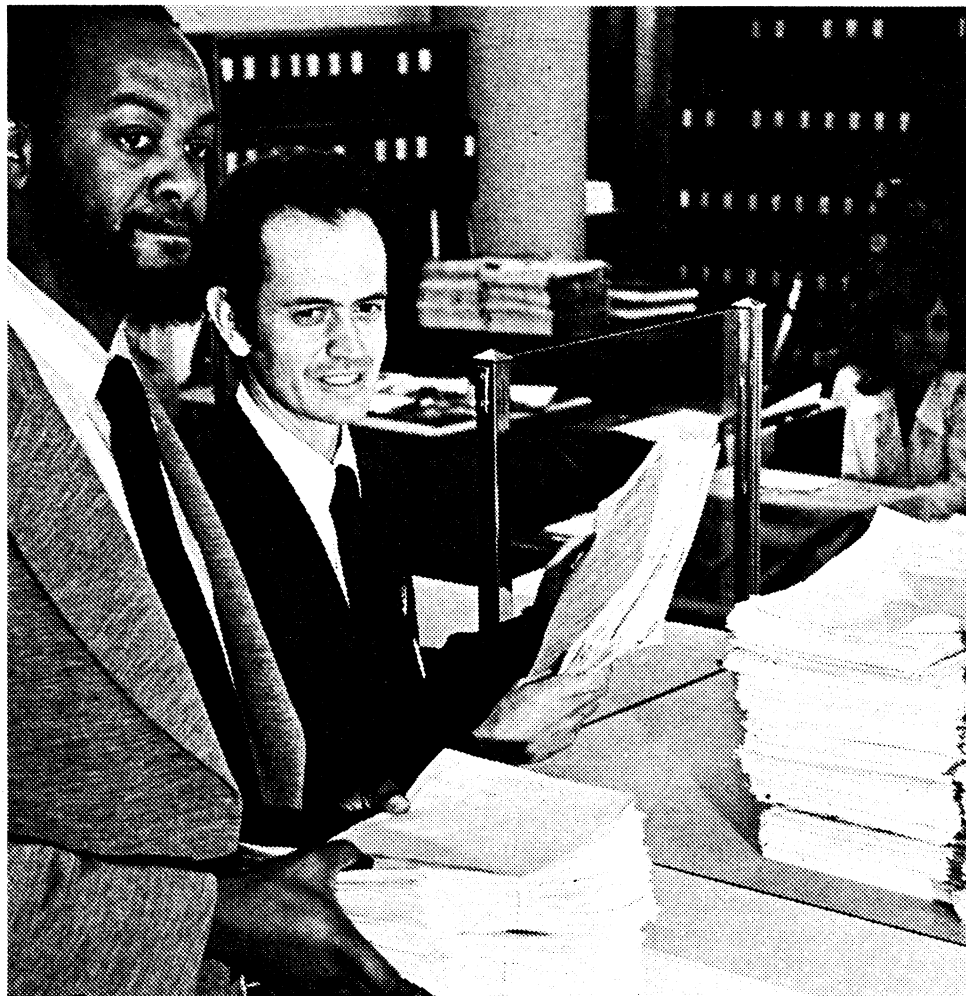
This was borne out when a car belonging to a Los Angeles SWP campaign official was stolen with 14,000 petition signatures in the trunk.

Although it was later established that police had the car some seven hours after it was stolen, a full day elapsed after the report of the theft during which nothing happened.

But within twenty-four hours after a well-attended news conference, the car and petitions were "found."

In addition to taking legal action, the SWP will seek broad public support for its demand that the petitions be certified without further delay.

People are urged to wire or write Governor Brown at the statehouse in Sacramento demanding that the election law be complied with and the SWP petitions certified.



Militant/Harry Ring

SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, Omari Musa, and the socialist candidate for president, Peter Camejo, file petitions in California's Alameda County courthouse.

## 'This is the right to be heard'

LOS ANGELES—When the Socialist Workers party filed its petitions at the county board of registrars August 4, Jan Tucker, of the Peace and Freedom party, and John T. Williams, business agent of Local 208 of the Los Angeles Teamsters, appeared to register their support for the party's right to a place on the ballot. The following is excerpted from the statement by John T. Williams.

"The right of the Socialist Workers party to appear on the electoral ballot does not necessarily reflect an agreement with the SWP, its candidates, nor its principles. This is the right of a political organization to advance its program, to be heard, and to be accepted. And this is the

right of the people to have an opportunity to agree or disagree with this program.

"This is also a right which affords the people an alternative to the plight of our major political parties. Recent surveys have shown over 70 percent of the American people are disillusioned and disgusted with the inability of our political processes.

"The Socialist Workers party presents alternative programs for the purpose of reversing our disastrous unemployment, staggering inflation, collapsing economy, our international butchery, and our corporate rip-offs.

"Without the right to alternatives, there is no alternative to our disaster."

# FBI conspiracy hinted in trial of NY Muslim

By Baxter Smith

NEW YORK—The trial of Lewis 17X Dupree, a member of the Nation of Islam charged with the 1972 shooting death of a white cop, began here August 2 amid speculation that the FBI has fashioned a sinister frame-up.

Dupree, thirty-six, was arrested for shooting Phillip Cardillo, one of a score of cops who burst without warning into Muhammad's Mosque No. 7 on April 14, 1972, and began firing.

The cops had entered the Harlem mosque allegedly in response to the call of an officer in distress. A melee ensued, Cardillo was shot, and six days later he died.

The police action—which officials later claimed to be at a loss to explain—set off an explosion in the surrounding Black community. Louis Farrakhan, then minister of the mosque and now national spokesperson for the Muslims, at the time termed the police action an "unprovoked, wanton, and possibly premeditated attack."

The day after the incident the *New*

*York Times* reported that "one police commander said privately that general police policy had been not to enter the mosque. 'We've told these guys that 50 times,' he added."

Saad El-Amin, attorney for Dupree, has asked Attorney General Edward Levi to determine whether the FBI was involved in "events leading up to the false emergency call made by the Police Department."

El-Amin has also cast a suspicious eye on the expected introduction by the prosecution of a mystery witness—a possible FBI or cop informant—to take the stand against Dupree.

The witness is said to have provided testimony for the murder indictment.

In a highly unusual move, the presiding judge has clamped a gag order barring attorneys in the case from discussing it with the press.

Prior to the gag order El-Amin revealed that the prosecution had asked a prospective juror whether "the presence or involvement of an FBI or CIA agent" in the case would impair her ability to behave as an impartial juror.

El-Amin has argued that Judge Martin Evans has overstepped his bounds and is "restraining free speech."

"The public has a right to know what is going on," the sandy-haired lawyer declared.

Evans's gag order has met with bewilderment from many legal observers, according to the *New York Times*.

"Strange, strange, strange," said one lawyer. "I can see no rationale."

Vito Navarra, the partner of the slain cop, has testified that he observed Dupree, who was dean and teacher at the mosque, beating Cardillo with his fists inside the mosque after the cops rushed in. He was not, however, able to link Dupree with the shooting.

Navarra, moreover, has given shaky responses to defense questioning. On August 12 he stepped down from the stand and walked to a man in the courtroom and pointed to him as having been present on the day of the shooting.

But under cross-examination he faltered.

"You picked someone out in the courtroom who was at the mosque, didn't you?" asked El-Amin.

"The man resembled a man at the mosque," replied Navarra.

"Didn't you tell the jury that he definitely was at the mosque?" El-Amin asked.

"He resembled the man at the mosque," the cop said.

Navarra said that he had not filed routine police reports after the incident, and that he was relying on his recollections written a year after the incident.

"Were you born with a photographic memory—with a gift that you remember everything you hear, see, and read?" asked El-Amin.

"No."

"Isn't it a fact that the longer time passes, the harder it is to remember?"

The trial, which requires broad support if Dupree is to be freed, is expected to run to October.



## Tel Zaatar refugee camp falls

# Lebanese rightists massacre Palestinians

By Peter Seidman

The fifty-two-day siege of the Tel Zaatar refugee camp near Beirut ended August 12. Rightist Christian forces finally overran the camp. They inflicted a bloodbath on its Palestinian and Lebanese inhabitants.

The capture of the beleaguered camp's only remaining water supply on August 11 finally convinced Abu Hassan, intelligence chief of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), that Tel Zaatar should surrender. According to an account in the August 23 *Newsweek*, Hassan "struck a deal with Amin Gemayel, son of [Christian rightist] Phalange party leader Pierre Gemayel. They agreed that the Red Cross would arrange an evacuation, and the next morning, the 12,000 refugees in the camp gave up.

"But," the *Newsweek* account continued, "Hassan and Gemayel failed to clear their bargain with the more fanatical right-wing groups: the Christian remnants of Lebanon's Army, and the National Liberal Party 'Tigers' of Interior Minister Camille Chamoun. . . .

"As the people of Tel Zaatar surged out toward the 'confrontation line' between Christian and Muslim Beirut, the rightists fell on them like wolves, arguing, by some accounts, over how many Palestinians each right-wing group was entitled to execute."

An account in the August 13 *Washington Post* told how "many of those interviewed charged that hundreds of the Palestinians and Shiite Moslems—especially men and boys suspected by the rightists of having fought against them—were killed when they attempted to surrender to rightist forces or pass through the predominantly Christian eastern Beirut to reach the western part of the city."

"A volunteer with a refugee center in western Beirut, who had driven a truck to the crossing point to help carry Tel-Zaatar refugees into western Beirut," told the *Washington Post* "that some rightist soldiers had begun shooting at the long line of men, women and children, setting off a panic.

"I wish you could have been with us carrying children when they started shooting at us," he said."

### 'Vision of horror'

The scope of the massacre at Tel Zaatar was vividly described by Agence France-Presse correspondent Xavier Baron:

"On Friday morning two enormous bulldozers, using the full width of their blades, pushed corpses through the ruins of the Tel Zaatar camp. The northern entrance to the camp at Dekouaneh is a vision of horror; it is necessary to wear a mask to walk



Victims of rightist bloodbath at Tel Zaatar

through the narrow streets, which are blanketed with a putrid odor. Dozens and dozens of dead bodies are strewn about this sector. It is impossible to count them, for it would be necessary to enter one by one the houses whose walls have been crushed by artillery fire to count the men, as well as the women and children, who lay dead on the ground.

"At the edge of the shattered road . . . the bodies of men and boys are covered with clouds of flies. Bulldozers are pushing them to a common grave, a few hundred meters away."

The savagery of the rightist violence against the Palestinians was reported by Minno Candito, special correspondent for the Italian daily *la Stampa*: "I saw, with my own eyes, dozens of bodies of people who were not killed in combat but who had been executed with a bullet in the head. I personally heard testimony from relatives of victims concerning the execution of prisoners."

Reuters correspondent Time Pearce described what he had been told by two doctors who had escaped from Tel Zaatar, Abdel Aziz Labadi and Youssef Iraki, about the summary execution of sixty male and female nurses by the Christian militia.

"Doctor Iraki," Pearce reported, "who had been saved by a Syrian officer whom he had previously treated, said: 'The dozen male and female nurses (who accompanied us) were led out two by two. I heard machine-gun fire, cries, and then nothing. The same fate was reserved for fifty other male and female nurses.'

"The two doctors think that about 60,000 artillery shells were fired on the camp during the fifty-two-day siege. They estimate at about 2,000 the

number of persons killed, and at about 3,000 the number wounded. Nine out of ten victims were children or civilians."

### Syria's role

Wafa, the PLO's news agency, charged August 12 that Col. Ali al-Madani, a high-ranking officer of the Syrian army, was at the operations room of the right-wing forces during the offensive against Tel Zaatar.

According to the August 13 *Washington Post*, the Arab League's special envoy in Lebanon, Hassan Sabri Kholi, when asked about this report, "simply stared and said nothing."

Whether Syria was directly involved in the assault on Tel Zaatar or not, President Hafez al-Assad has been clearly supporting the rightists against his former Palestinian allies.

Syrian troops have held down Palestinian and leftist positions to prevent the reinforcement of Tel Zaatar. In addition, leftists and Palestinians accused the Syrians of deliberately delaying efforts to carry out a cease-fire negotiated July 29 in order to allow the rightists more time to unfold their offensive against Tel Zaatar and other leftist positions.

Assad's maneuver in Lebanon has been aimed at blocking the defeat of the rightist forces and the emergence of a more radical Lebanese government that would give a freer hand to the Palestinians.

A strong Palestinian movement in Lebanon would be a powerful ally in Syria's defense against Zionist aggression. But Assad's strategy is to attempt to assure Syria's defense not by championing the Palestinian cause, but by striking up a bargain with Israel at its expense.

Assad also fears that a strong pro-Palestinian government in Lebanon might encourage and assist Syrian radical critics of his policies to challenge his regime.

### Israel

It is the Zionists who have the most to gain from Assad's betrayal of the Palestinian cause. Only a few months ago the Israeli regime stood isolated in world opinion following the massive protests of the Arabs inside Israel and the occupied territories. Now it delights in a major defeat for the Palestinians in Lebanon, a country that was until recently the only state adjacent to Israel where the Palestinians were still relatively free to organize their activities.

Moreover, the Zionists have cynically attempted to use the civil war in Lebanon, which they depict as simply a religious conflict between Christians and Muslims, as proof that the Palestinian demand for a democratic, secular Palestine is unworkable.

The truth is that the civil war in

Lebanon is not just an inter-religious conflict, but a struggle that cuts across religious lines and pits the oppressed against the oppressor. Compelling evidence of this is the fact that many Palestinians murdered by the rightists at Tel Zaatar were Christians who fled their homeland following the creation of the Zionist state in 1948 and settled in Lebanon.

Moreover, the Zionist regime has played an active, if low-profile, role in the current anti-Palestinian campaign. Not only have the Israelis supplied arms to the rightist-Christian forces, but the Israeli navy has undertaken an active blockade of Saida and Tyre, two ports that are the only outlets for leftist territory in Lebanon.

### Soviet Union

In the wake of the massacre at Tel Zaatar, leaders of the Palestinians have also criticized the class-collaborationist policies of the Soviet bureaucracy.

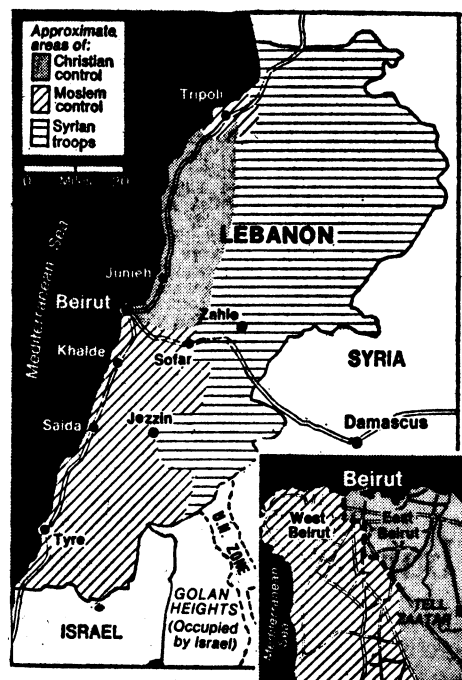
Moscow's principal diplomatic ally in the Middle East at this time is Syria. This has proved to be an embarrassment for the bureaucrats in the Kremlin, who also claim to be supporters of the Palestinian struggle.

Nonetheless, in pursuit of their policy of détente, the Soviet bureaucrats have done nothing that might endanger their diplomatic relations with Syria even while Assad has pressed ahead with his murderous anti-Palestinian course.

On August 15, Abu Iyad, Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yassir Arafat's second-in-command, addressed himself at a Beirut rally to "friendly states," which, according to the August 17 *New York Times*, was taken as a reference to the Soviet Union.

"What have you given us?" Iyad asked. "We do not want you to tell us to reach an understanding with the Syrians. You have lost many of your positions in the Arab world because you did not understand the conspiracy. We are not asking for the impossible; we want a ship carrying flour and hoisting the Russian flag to come to Saida and defy Israel."

Solidarity with the Palestinians is particularly necessary from opponents of injustice in the United States. It is the imperialist government in Washington through its support to the Zionist state of Israel and its encouragement to Assad that is most responsible for the brutal massacre at Tel Zaatar and the ongoing attacks against the right of the Palestinians to self-determination.



New York Times

Map shows division of Lebanon between rightist-Christian, Palestinian-Lebanese leftist, and Syrian forces as of August 18.



Rightist artillery decorated with pictures of Jesus pounded Tel Zaatar for fifty-two days



## Kelley admits burglaries may go on

# Socialist suit helps provoke FBI shake-up

By Diane Rupp

"I don't know everything that's going on in the FBI," bureau Director Clarence Kelley admitted. "A cloud appears to have settled over us."

The cloud is a deepening crisis of credibility and confidence triggered by continuing revelations of FBI crimes, including the recent burglary of the Denver Socialist Workers party.

On August 11 the bureau made a bold attempt to clear itself from the scandals. FBI Director Kelley announced a major shake-up of the bureau's political spy machinery. Kelley's dramatic move was designed to silence the critics and give the illusion of a reform that will lead to a halt in government attacks on democratic rights.

But at the same news conference where he announced the shake-up, Kelley admitted that FBI burglaries may still be going on. When asked about the burglaries Kelley said, "I wish I could say categorically, unquestionably that this is not going on. I can no longer make categorical, sweeping statements."

Kelley announced that spying on political activists will be transferred from the infamous intelligence division to the general criminal section.

Kelley claimed this would limit G-men to investigating lawbreaking rather than "subversive" ideas.

### How to spy on socialists?

Within a few days of Kelley's announcement, however, contradictory statements began circulating about the massive shake-up. "Government sources" quoted in the press could not agree on which agencies and which regulations would govern spying on political activists.



CLARENCE KELLEY: FBI director's 'reform' did not include order to halt spying on socialists.

"The one thing that is clear," said SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo, "is that Kelley's 'reform' is phony. What did he promise?"

"Did Kelley say the FBI would stop spying on us? No. Did he say the FBI would stop its burglaries? No. Did he say the FBI would open all its secret files? No.

"All he said was that the G-man spying on you the next time would come from a different office."

"Socialist Workers To Remain Subject To F.B.I. Scrutiny," declared a front-page article in the August 16 *New York Times*. The *Times* reported the FBI had decided to treat "the party

as a counterintelligence case rather than a domestic security investigation."

According to this report, the SWP, along with the Communist party, would remain targets of the intelligence division after all. Thus the bureau would not even have to pretend to be investigating criminal activity to openly continue its massive political spying.

The justification for this, according to the *Times*, was that the SWP and

CP would be treated as "groups whose foreign affiliations are believed to threaten the national security, whether or not there is evidence of any impending violation of Federal law. . . .

"The F.B.I.'s rationale . . . comes despite testimony in recent months from past and present bureau officials that the [SWP] has never advocated or engaged in any violent or illegal activity."

One "Justice Department source" told the *Times* that "the bureau cited as a basis for its decision the party's connections with the Fourth International."

The SWP is prevented by the Voor-

his Act from belonging to the Fourth International, the international Trotskyist organization. In 1940, when this reactionary legislation was adopted, the SWP disaffiliated from the Fourth International. However, the party maintains a fraternal relationship with the Fourth International.

Apparently, the FBI claims that only Democrats and Republicans have a right to collaborate with citizens of other countries.

Capitalist politicians not only confer with their foreign counterparts; they have the CIA buy elections, overthrow governments, and assassinate leaders.

Yet, according to the FBI, socialists who travel beyond U.S. borders or discuss politics with activists from abroad are fair game for spying, harassment, and disruption.

### Contradictions & denials

Kelley quickly issued a denial of the *New York Times* story. The next day's *Times* reported that Kelley said "that he had decided to transfer all of those cases previously handled by the internal security section, including the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, to the general investigative division. . . .

"But one Justice Department source said that if upon review and consultation with the department it were decided that some cases should be brought back to the intelligence division, 'they will return.'"

Attorneys for the socialist lawsuit against government harassment will submit written questions to the FBI asking what changes the shake-up will really bring.

Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support for the case, said, "We will also be demanding that the government produce what evidence it has, if any, to justify a criminal investigation of the socialists."

### Retreat to firmer ground

The results of the shake-up will not be to end political harassment. Nonetheless, Kelley's announcement signals a major political retreat.



Last May Kelley admitted that the FBI had been guilty of wrongdoing and said he was "truly sorry." But exposures of continuing FBI crimes provoked a deepening crisis of confidence. Growing sections of the ruling class became convinced that drastic steps were necessary to restore public trust in the FBI as an institution.

"What can he say after he's said he's sorry?" asked the *National Observer*. ". . . the FBI's problems have become sorrier than ever."

A *Washington Post* column described the FBI as "the battered, now reeling bureau." *New York Times* columnist Tom Wicker complained, "Merely to summarize the F.B.I.'s various troubles is becoming difficult." The *Christian Science Monitor* wrote of "The FBI's ordeal."

The *New York Times* published an editorial entitled "FBI Out of Control."

"This has not been a good year for Mr. Kelley or for anyone else who thinks seriously about the F.B.I. and understands that institution's importance," the *Times* said. "The revelations that have lately invaded the public consciousness, largely as a result of a \$37 million damage suit brought by the Socialist Workers Party and its youth wing against the F.B.I., have not simply tarnished the bureau's image, they have demonstrated a deep-seated malaise."

This press commentary reflects a growing consensus in the ruling class that the FBI in its present shape is not filling its function very well. At the same time, the rulers know that they are going to need their secret political police more than ever to combat the deepening radicalization.

What they are grappling with is how to reform the FBI so that they can give the illusion of ending its abuses of civil liberties, while at the same time making it more suitable for the big jobs it will have to carry out in the future.

It's clear that the campaign in defense of democratic rights being waged by the Socialist Workers party around its suit is going to make that a difficult problem for the capitalists to solve.

## Undeleted file exposes lies

# FBI caught trying to cover up burglary

By Larry Seigle

The unmasking of an FBI informer as the burglar who stole files from the Denver headquarters of the Socialist Workers party has triggered a new crisis for the American secret police. The public release of the bureau's file on the informer has implicated FBI officials all the way up to Director Clarence Kelley in the cover-up of the Denver burglary.

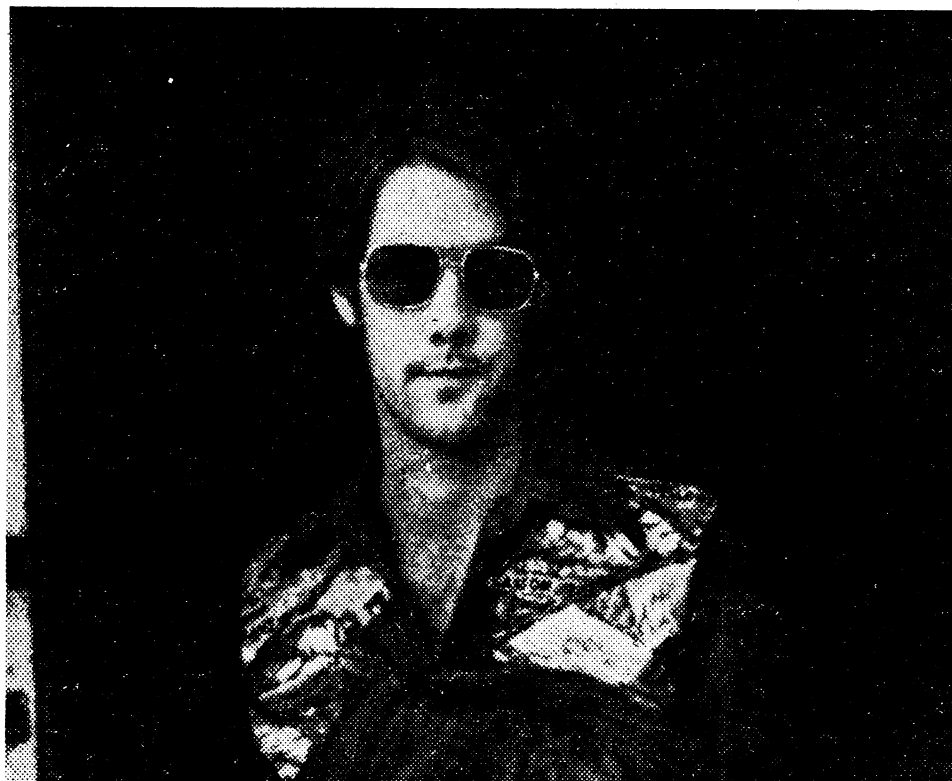
The informer file, the first of its kind ever to be made public, also provides a devastating portrait of the informer as a person with ultraright views, a history of psychiatric problems, and a bad habit of committing burglaries—political and otherwise.

The Denver burglary took place before dawn on July 7. At a news conference later that day to protest the break-in and to rally support for the demand that the cops apprehend those responsible, the Denver SWP charged that the theft had all the earmarks of an FBI operation.

However, an FBI official told reporters that the bureau had "absolutely no knowledge of the break-in."

Then, on July 24, a Denver newspaper reported that Denver Police Chief Arthur Dill had said that the FBI had told cops where the stolen files could be found. Several days later, newspapers reported that the suspect in the case was Timothy Redfearn, a paid informer for the FBI in the Young Socialist Alliance.

Lawyers for the SWP and YSA moved quickly. At a July 28 emergency hearing in federal court in New York



TIMOTHY REDFEARN: Informer collected Nazi posters, criminal record, and FBI pay

City, where the socialists' lawsuit against government harassment is being heard, the socialists insisted that the FBI be ordered to turn over the complete file on Redfearn and on the break-in.

In an unprecedented move, the federal judge in charge of the case directed the FBI to make the material available, *uncensored*, no later than noon on July 30. All other material turned over by the FBI has been heavily expurgated to conceal the most damaging information.

The files contain irrefutable proof that FBI higher-ups conspired to cover up the Denver break-in and to withhold information.

The files contain a teletyped message, transmitted in code from the Denver office to Director Clarence Kelley in Washington, dated July 8, the day after the burglary.

This message states in part: "At approximately 2:30 p.m., July 7, 1976, DN 481-S [Redfearn's code number; 'DN' means Denver, 'S' stands for security matter, and '481' is Redfearn's assigned number] telephonically contacted agent that he had something of great interest to the bureau. Contacting agent met DN 481-S and found that he had some files pertaining to SWP/YSA matters in the trunk of his car which he felt that the office might wish to reproduce. When asked how he obtained this matter, DN 481-S replied, 'You don't want to know.' . . . This information was immediately furnished to FBIHQ [in Washington] who in turn instructed Denver to advise the informant to return the files and that he should not furnish this office with any documents. These instructions were relayed to the informant who expressed disappointment. . . . He then left with the files intact in the trunk of his automobile."

In other words, FBI headquarters knew that the informer had stolen documents, but failed to instruct the Denver FBI to notify the police. They also failed to make this information available to the judge in the SWP case, or to the Justice Department investigators who at that very time were investigating illegal FBI burglaries.

The moment the burglary became known to the FBI, the machinery for the cover-up was set into motion. The July 8 teletype from the Denver FBI to Kelley states, "Newspaper inquiries will receive reply that this office knows nothing of the burglary at SWP headquarters."

A second memo, dated July 16, reports that James Ingram, FBI depu-

ty assistant director for the Intelligence Division in Washington, told the Denver office by phone that Kelley had given instructions to be personally notified about any "press release" to be issued in the case.

According to this memo, "INGRAM advised that it was the recommendation [of FBI headquarters] that if press inquiries were received by the Denver Office the Denver Office would respond as follows: FBI has not taken any documents, nor has it instructed anyone to do so—that any comments would be inappropriate as the FBI is engaged in litigation with the SWP."

### Why cover-up unraveled

The cover-up machinery was operating according to plan until July 14. On that day Redfearn was arrested at the Denver airport by local cops on a charge of stealing furniture from the house of a neighbor.

The following day, July 15, the Denver FBI office told the cops for the first time that Redfearn was an informer for the FBI and that the stolen files were in his possession. Whether Redfearn began to bargain with the cops by disclosing his role as an FBI informer, or the FBI merely feared that he might do so, is unclear. Whatever

the reason, the FBI was convinced it had to wash its hands of Redfearn.

The FBI had no choice but to concede the Redfearn burglary. However, the documents in the secret file show that the FBI is desperately trying to seal off the investigation before it uncovers other illegal acts carried out by Denver FBI agents and informers.

In an astonishingly frank memo—obviously never designed to be made public under any circumstances—Kelley cabled his Denver office, "In order to be apprised of any problems which might arise from a later grand jury subpoena, the [Justice] Department has requested that the Denver office gather data and be prepared to advise, on short notice, as to whether such testimony could possibly lead into areas concerning other break-ins by this former informant, other informants of the Denver office or agent personnel of the Denver office directed against the Denver branches of the SWP/YSA." (Emphasis added.)

On July 30 Redfearn appeared under subpoena to provide a deposition in connection with the SWP and YSA suit. A deposition is pretrial testimony under oath. However, he refused to answer questions about his activity for the FBI, invoking his protection against self-incrimination under the Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

### Portrait of an informer

The nearly 2,000 pages from Redfearn's file turned over under court order offer an unprecedented look into the subterranean world of FBI spies. The picture that emerges is one of a highly unstable personality with a long record of criminal activity sanctioned and protected by his FBI superiors.

When Redfearn was first tagged in newspaper reports as the suspect in the burglary, YSA members visited his apartment and found it decorated with Nazi emblems and paraphernalia. Whether Redfearn is linked in some way to a Nazi group is unknown. However, on July 26, the day Redfearn's identity was exposed, a photograph of a Nazi poster was found pinned to the door of the YSA office at Metropolitan State College in Denver.

In 1973, Redfearn had turned over the fruits of at least two of his burglaries to the FBI. In the files is a

## Gov't fails to get claims dropped

Government attorneys have failed in their attempts to have a judge dismiss claims for money damages against the federal government in the socialist lawsuit against secret police agencies.

The Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance are demanding \$37 million in their suit against government spying, harassment, and disruption. The lawsuit also seeks a court order forbidding these kinds of activities against the socialists.

The SWP and YSA have sued federal agencies such as the FBI and the CIA, as well as a number of individuals. The individual defendants range from Richard Nixon and John Mitchell to individual FBI agents who planned and carried out burglaries of SWP offices.

Government lawyers relied on a technical argument that the socialists' attorneys had not filed an administrative claim within the proper time period to sue for money. The law gives persons two years to file such a claim for damages.

The socialists' attorneys answered that the facts about the burglaries, Cointelpro programs, and other wrongdoing—the basis for the money claim—had only been uncovered in the course of the lawsuit. The two-year deadline, they pointed out, extends from the time the dirty tricks are discovered.

U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa ruled that it would be "inappropriate" to dismiss the damage claims. The judge said the issue involves facts that will be resolved when the case comes to trial.

## A reluctance to investigate

An obituary for John Roselli and Sam Giancana might describe the two as mobsters. Or it could call them CIA "civil servants." In the early 1960s the spy agency hired the two to help kill Cuba's Premier Fidel Castro.

Sam "Momo" Giancana was murdered in 1975 a few days before he was to testify about his CIA connections before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

Roselli did testify before the Senate committee. He said he went to Cuba several times and tried to have Castro killed with poison, high-powered rifles, and explosives.

On August 7 fishermen found Roselli. His body was in a fifty-five-gallon, chain-wrapped oil drum floating in a Miami bay.

At first FBI Director Clarence Kelley refused to investigate the murder. This moved cartoonist Herblock to contrast the FBI's zeal for spying on the Socialist Workers party to its lack of interest in finding the killers of the CIA-connected racketeers.

"NOPE, NONE OF OUR BUSINESS—NEITHER OF THEM SEEMED TO BE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY"



After several congressional requests the Justice Department changed its mind and ordered the FBI supersleuths to look into the case.

—D.R.





Denver newspaper's front page featured SWP organizer Ruth Getts looking through stolen files recovered from Redfearn.

report, dated December 30, 1973, from Redfearn accompanying "several items" that "were removed from the MILITANT bookstore at 1203 California St. Denver last night."

According to the report, signed by his code name "Lennon," 350 pages were copied and then returned to the headquarters.

Around the same time, Redfearn broke into the home of several members of the YSA who were out of town attending the YSA convention. He took not only personal and political papers, including bank statements, but also helped himself to a stereo and some jewelry that was in the apartment.

Throughout his career, he received high marks from the FBI for his resourcefulness. An evaluation of Redfearn, dated January 10, 1974, noted approvingly that, "Very recently, he made available for Xeroxing, YSA records relating to finances, membership, executive committee meetings, national meetings, resignations, transfers and graduations to SWP."

This form indicates that Redfearn was "considered stable and reliable" and that he was authorized to receive up to \$300 a month "for services rendered on a c.o.d. [collect on delivery] basis," and up to \$50 a month for "expenses actually incurred."

A report from an FBI inspection team, which visited the Denver office on a routine tour to make sure that bureau regulations and rules were being obeyed, judged Redfearn as "excellent," the highest rating. The report was dated January 22, 1974. The inspector, obviously, had access to the reports indicating Redfearn's break-ins. Under "remarks" appears the following notation: "Well handled informant. File is administratively sound."

However, in early 1975, Redfearn was arrested by Denver cops for stealing some \$20,000 worth of guns and electronic equipment from a home. Redfearn pleaded with his FBI cohorts to intercede with the prosecutor on his behalf, but the FBI decided not to disclose Redfearn's FBI links even to the local cops.

According to the file, Redfearn told his control agent that "during most of March, 1975, he was in St. Joseph's Hospital receiving treatment for depressed condition occasioned by his arrest on burglary charge . . ." and by what Redfearn said were threats on his life.

In light of this information, added to the fact that "since his arrest in Feb, 1975, source has made no significant efforts to provide coverage re Denver chapter YSA," Redfearn's services

were terminated. Redfearn has reportedly been under psychiatric care for "intermittent depression" for several years.

However, in December of 1975, FBI headquarters in Washington answered an inquiry from Denver by stating it had "no objection to reactivation" of Redfearn. It further authorized payments of up to \$400 a month. The FBI noted that terms of his parole barred him from associating with criminal types. But, the bureau pointedly observed, this did not include members of the YSA and SWP.

In April, 1976, an FBI inspector rated Redfearn's performance as "very good," and added that "in short time source has been reopened he has provided very good info."

Redfearn freely used epithets like "nigger" and "queer" in his reports, confident that the words wouldn't offend any of those who would read them.

### 'Thrown to the wolves'

An indication of the seriousness with which the FBI views its Denver debacle is the fact that Kelley quietly ordered Homer Boynton, head of the FBI's public relations division, to fly to Denver to soft-talk the Redfearn affair. There is no indication that he has met with any success.

In the meantime, morale among FBI agents continues to plummet as the Justice Department investigation moves inexorably toward indictments of past and present agents.

An article headlined "Accused Agents Feel Abandoned" in the July 30 *Washington Post* reports that FBI agents facing charges have organized a special legal defense fund.

The fund has been established by the Society of Former Special Agents of the FBI, Inc. to coordinate legal strategy among agents facing charges. Edward Morgan, a former chief inspector of the FBI, has been retained as attorney. According to the *Post*, Morgan "said the society is trying to boost agent morale and defuse bitterness arising from the [Justice] department's decision not to defend them."

"Many of them (agents) feel that they are being prejudged and thrown to the wolves," . . .

"Morgan said he believes most of the agents who are expected to be aided by the fund 'acted in good faith on directions that they believed to be proper' in committing the burglaries."

"If it comes to a point where every FBI agent has to read a law book before he follows an order, you won't have an FBI anymore," Morgan said.

Now wouldn't that be a shame?

## Judge says FBI gave 'false' reply, orders six informer files produced

By Diane Rupp

NEW YORK—U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa has charged the FBI with making "widespread misrepresentations" and "false" answers in the SWP and YSA lawsuit. In light of the bureau's stonewalling on what he called a "crucial" aspect of the case—the activities of government informers—Griesa ordered the FBI to produce complete documents on six people who had previously been identified as FBI spies who infiltrated the SWP and YSA.

Griesa issued his order when the socialists' attorneys pointed out that the FBI file on Timothy Redfearn contradicted statements about his activities the FBI had submitted earlier. Redfearn is the informer who burglarized the SWP headquarters in Denver.

In answer to earlier written questions, the FBI had submitted some limited information on the nature of informers' activities, deleting all names, places, and other details.

Timothy Redfearn turned out to be

one of those informers. When his role in the Denver break-in became known, Griesa ordered the release of the complete, undeleted FBI file on Redfearn.

When the Redfearn file was compared to the information provided by the FBI earlier, Griesa hit the roof.

In its earlier answers the FBI had claimed that all the informer had done was to listen carefully, and pick up leaflets and other materials distributed at meetings.

But Redfearn's file told a different story. Redfearn's information was not "picked up" just at meetings. He had broken into SWP offices and into homes of members to steal and photograph materials.

Assistant U.S. Attorney John Siffert tried to explain away the FBI lies. "There may be situations where in haste, there may be mistakes—nobody is perfect," Siffert said.

Judge Griesa rejected that excuse, saying, "I can draw no other conclusion other than the person making that answer intentionally omitted

materials that were unfavorable to the government. . . . Let's not waste time talking about haste. That was absolutely inexcusable."

Siffert lamely argued, "It is not something that we expected to happen, nor is it something we are glad did happen."

Griesa said that the falsified FBI answers raise a "distinct possibility that the full information is not going to be known until the documents themselves are produced."

The government lawyers complained that release of information on the six informers might "chill" current or future investigations.

"To somehow prejudice by saying that the plaintiffs are not entitled to the evidence is the worst kind of prejudgment," Griesa said. "It means . . . that the issue isn't even to be tried fully."

Government lawyers said they would file a legal brief backing up their arguments. But instead they withdrew their objections the next day and agreed to turn over the files.

## Atlanta rally backs rights of gay mother

By Al Budka

ATLANTA—"Why should sexual preference characterize our lives?" Anne Foreman asked a meeting of 125 people at Georgia State University, July 22. "Whenever someone asks about Jimmy Carter, you don't begin by saying, 'He's a heterosexual.' We are tired of second- and third-class citizenship."

Last December a Dallas jury was only interested in the "sexual preference" of Foreman's friend Mary Jo Risher. The jurors didn't care about Risher's jobs as a nurse. They didn't care about her reputation as a good mother. And they didn't care about the wishes of her nine-year-old son Richard. The only fact that concerned them was the gay relationship between Risher and Foreman. To them, this was "proof" enough that Risher was an "unfit" mother and her son should go live with his father.

Risher and Foreman explained their fight to bring Richard home. "We are prepared to go through the state courts and to the Supreme Court if necessary," Foreman told the crowd.

The appeals process, which could cost more than \$30,000, began in June.

Foreman explained the important constitutional issues the defense will raise. It will request a ruling on the right to sexual preference and the rights to freedom of association and privacy. The defense will also challenge the Texas Family Code, which requires parents to provide children with a "religious" home.

"The outcome is important," Foreman said. "It involves gay rights. It involves women's rights. It involves everyone's rights. . . . The right to

Continued on page 22

## GSU not so 'progressive'

The Georgia State University administration likes to boast that GSU is "the South's progressive, urban university." But not when it comes to gay rights.

The administration tried to stop the July 22 meeting, Steven Marshal told the crowd in Sparks Hall. Why did they stall on contracts and purchase orders to bring Mary Jo Risher to GSU? One school official told Marshal, "You are going to have every queer in the city here. . . . I don't like queers."

GSU administrators aren't the only ones perturbed by recent gay rights activities. Just before a June gay rights demonstration of 300, newspaper ads condemning "perverted sex" began appearing in Atlanta dailies. An anonymous group called "Citizens For a Decent Atlanta" has spent \$5,600 to advertise their prejudice. A local Bible-thumper has also taken up the sword against "Sodom and Gomorrah."

To counter these attacks, gay rights supporters have formed the Gay Pride Alliance. Linda Regner, a panelist at the July 22 meeting, said the group will be organizing public speaking engagements to answer these reactionaries.

As for the GSU administration, it faces some trouble too. Students have decided they don't like the official who says he doesn't like "queers." They are demanding his removal and an end to all administration oversight of student activities.

—A.B.



## FBI shake-up

Four years after the Watergate break-in the summer of 1972; Three years after the Socialist Workers party filed a lawsuit against government harassment in the summer of 1973; and Two years after Nixon's hand-picked successor Gerald Ford declared an end to the "nightmare of Watergate" in the summer of 1974 . . .

An FBI informer burglarized the SWP's Denver headquarters in the summer of 1976. (See story on page 6.)

What's more, FBI Director Clarence Kelley proclaims that he cannot say "categorically" and "unquestionably" that such burglaries are not continuing.

Revelations of these and other criminal activities have shocked and angered millions of people. Now, in a desperate attempt to convince the American people that the FBI is "cleaning house," Kelley has announced a major shake-up.

Kelley said August 11 that the "investigations" of groups such as the American Indian Movement and the Black Panther party would be shifted from the FBI's intelligence division to its criminal investigations division. But a front-page article in the *New York Times* a few days later reported that the SWP would remain a target of the bureau's espionage and counterintelligence division because of the party's collaboration with socialists abroad. The Communist party would also fall under this category.

Kelley quickly denied this report, claiming that both the CP and SWP would be transferred to the bureau's criminal division.

Investigations by the criminal division are supposedly covered by the guidelines issued last March by Attorney General Edward Levi. These guidelines, however, provide no protection for the liberties of the American people.

As U.S. Rep. Herman Badillo (D-N.Y.) pointed out, "If you followed these guidelines . . . Rev. Martin Luther King would still be subject to FBI investigation."

Moreover, the FBI has admitted to Congress that it has not discovered *even one* case of illegal activity by the SWP in nearly forty years. Yet Kelley's "reform" would place the SWP under the bureau's criminal division.

What the government is really saying is that the only way to escape the FBI's spying and dirty tricks is to give up your views and your criticisms of government policies.

The SWP has refused to buckle to these Gestapo-style attempts at thought control. Its campaign against government harassment has exposed criminal FBI activities to millions of people, and provided a powerful impetus to the fight for democratic rights.

## 'Harboring illegals'

*Go down Moses! Way down in Egypt Land!  
And tell old Pharaoh  
To let my people go.*

This spiritual was the Black slaves' freedom song. Conductors on the Underground Railroad would sing it to groups of slaves gathering to be led to freedom in the North. The conductors and others who helped them committed a federal crime. They were fined and imprisoned under the Fugitive Slave Act.

Today the government is stepping up its enforcement of a new version of the Fugitive Slave Act—a law that punishes people for "harboring an illegal alien." Two San Antonio Chicano activists—Ignacio "Nacho" Pérez and Mario Cantú—have been charged with this crime.

**Harboring.** According to the dictionary, the word comes from harbor, which means "a place of security and comfort: haven, asylum, refuge, shelter." Harboring means you give someone help. That's the crime.

Who are the "illegals"? The capitalists tell us "illegals" are dangerous. The source of all evils from unemployment to syphilis.

But the undocumented workers are the victims—not the cause—of the ills of this society. They're driven to this country by hunger, by the superexploitation of their homelands carried out by American corporations.

The capitalists treat them like cattle, letting them enter when unemployment is low, shipping them back when it is high. Since they're "illegals," these workers have no rights. They are exploited mercilessly.

All working people have a stake in the fight to defend undocumented workers. A campaign to defend Pérez and Cantú would be a good place to begin.

### Very informative

I'm renewing my subscription for a year. The articles and the layout of the paper are really excellent.

I don't feel I really know what's going on till I get the *Militant* each week.

As a coordinator for the Lansing United Farm Workers Support Committee, I particularly appreciate your articles on the farm workers' situation. They are well written and very informative.

*Christopher Magnus  
East Lansing, Michigan*

### Indispensable paper

Last September I dropped out of the Socialist Workers party after six years of membership. My husband and young son and I moved to a tiny rural Minnesota community for some badly needed "R&R."

Naturally, we immediately subscribed to the *Militant* as our umbilical cord to the real world, but I never dreamed how crucial to my own personal life its information would be. My brother is on the U.S.S. *Ranger*, which your July 23 editorial told me was steaming toward Kenya. We had expected him to head home from Subic Bay in the Philippines starting August 18, but now it looks as though those plans are "inoperative."

His wife is expecting their second baby in November and his two-year-old son asks for him constantly. It's ironic how the right-wingers like Phyllis Schlafly and company rail against the "destruction of the family" whenever a child-care bill comes up, but are such great friends of the American military, which sends husbands, brothers, fathers, and sons all over the world, many never to return.

We are rested. We are recuperated. We are ready to rejoin the party within a few weeks when we move to St. Paul. Thank you for your indispensable paper, which I loved when it was just a little eight-page operation and which now is absolutely beautiful!

*Susan Vass  
Rockville, Minnesota*

### Capitalist double standard

Capitalist justice has been exposed once again in this "city that works."

As reported in the *Militant*, Chicago cops were unwilling to fully protect civil rights marchers exercising their First Amendment rights in the Marquette Park area July 17. A few hundred more cops could have contained and dispersed the white racist mob and spared many Blacks and their white supporters the injuries received from flying rocks and bottles.

The cops, you see, were intent, not on "serving and protecting" the advocates of open housing and free access to public parks, but on teaching the marchers a lesson: it doesn't pay to fight for your rights.

To add insult to injury, it turns out that at least eight of the racist attackers were off-duty Chicago cops. One of them was arrested during the rock throwing but released when he claimed to be working "under cover."

Unlike the Marquette Park situation, when something really important is involved, like money, we see how fast the police can jump into action to preserve "law 'n order." The July 27 Chicago *Daily News* reported that a bank in suburban South Holland was robbed of \$20,000. A "courageous witness" alerted police. "Nearly 100 police, helicopters and canine units were summoned from Chicago and

other nearby communities to assist in the capture."

The robbers were quickly rounded up. One, a thirty-six-year-old unemployed electrician, Howard Zilleckis, was killed "after refusing an order to surrender." The \$20,000 was recovered. "Tremendous police work," enthused bank official Gerald Getty, who explained that "the stolen money was insured."

Insured or not, no effort was spared by Chicago's "finest" to punish those who would tamper with the sanctity of private property.

I guess the "life" insurance carried by civil rights marchers and rights "insured" by the U.S. Constitution don't count for as much as one suburban bank's insured \$20,000.

*Joel Britton  
Chicago, Illinois*

### Insightful opposition

I think the work you do is both necessary and great. The Socialist Workers party shoots arrows of insightful opposition into the heart of the "Great Society" and its mainstream politics.

I would like to see you broaden your perspective to include other areas of human experience in which politics play an important—sometimes vital, often fatal—part.

The *Militant* has helped begin and continue the evolution of political consciousness within myself and some friends in the out-of-the-way place, Topeka, Kansas, where I now reside.

*R.E.G.  
Topeka, Kansas*

### Deadly strife for Palestinians

An objective study of the Palestine conflict and its history yields an exceptionally saddening story.

The time ought to have come long ago when those directly and indirectly involved in the Palestine conflict should try the path of harmony and elementary justice. Let us, for instance, and for a change, disarm the Arab people of their primary grievance by repatriating the Palestinians and by creating in Palestine a pluralistic and democratic society for Arabs and Jews.

Doubtless, this is a path safer and saner than that of nourishing the conflict in hopes that the Palestinian resistance would finally be eliminated—for short of genocide, this remains an illusion.

The persecution of the Jews has netted us the shame of the Nazi holocaust and the tragedy of the Palestinians. The continued persecution of the Palestinians may yet net us another shame and tragedy.

*Joseph Sampiere  
Kokomo, Indiana*

### Kepone danger spreading?

The *Militant* has carried articles on the dangerous pesticide Kepone. About seventy-five residents of Hopewell, Virginia, where Kepone was produced, suffer from Kepone poisoning. Its symptoms are uncontrollable nervous tremors, erratic eye movements, loss of memory, slurred speech, liver damage, stillbirths in women, and sterility in men.

Although the production of Kepone has been banned, the danger of Kepone poisoning is not over. In a recent sample, 60 percent of the bluefish taken from the Hampton Roads area contain more Kepone than the .1 part per million deemed dangerous by the Environmental

# National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



## A protest for safety

[The following guest column was written by Joseph Samuels of Melrose Park, Illinois.]

Last May 14 workers on one of the filling lines of Capitol Packaging Company in this suburb of Chicago, led by their union stewards, refused to operate their line to fill a hazardous product. The line did not run that day.

Despite threats of immediate firing, the workers stood their ground. They insisted that corrective safety measures be taken, and they called in the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) to inspect plant conditions.

Of the 200 Capitol production workers, a majority are Black or Latino, and most are women. They belong to the 2,500-member Amalgamated Local 7-507 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union. A membership meeting of Local 7-507 on May 16 endorsed the action of the Capitol workers.

Capitol Packaging is an aerosol can filler, part of an industry noted for low wages, rapid assembly-line work, and hazardous operations with high-pressure gases. The Capitol workers are endangered each working day by flammable substances and irritating chemical fumes. They know of the disasters that have struck other aerosol filling plants in recent months.

At the Accra Pac Company plant in Elkhart, Indiana, five workers were killed and three injured in an explosion on January 7. Less than two weeks later, three workers were killed and seventeen injured at the Peterson-Puritan Company plant in Cumberland, Rhode Island. OSHA reported seven safety violations at that plant and fined the company \$630. That's \$210 per death.

The protest action by Capitol workers is unprecedented in the aerosol industry. It should be viewed against the background of their recent experiences. In February, after six months on the picket lines, the Capitol union returned to work with a contract. The strikers had been subjected to company harassment, police arrests, a court injunction limiting picketing,

and the killing of a union leader, Dave Watson, who was hit by a scab truck. But they won partial gains through the strike. They returned to work unified and unbroken, with confidence in their ability to stand up to the bosses.

Now these workers are demonstrating their readiness to support their tested leaders in struggles for safe conditions and a voice in plant operations. They are also learning quickly that their own strength and action are required for the workers' protection, beyond the intervention of OSHA.

The OSHA people listened to management's excuses that the dangers were minimal, and they accomplished what management could not. They persuaded the workers to start the line on the second day—"under trial"—while the OSHA representatives investigated and some corrections were made.

Weeks later, the OSHA committee cited Capitol for three violations: excessive noise, lack of respirators, and the practice of requiring a quality-control worker to spray a product into a paper napkin and smell it for test. The company was fined less than \$1,000.

Capitol workers are disappointed because the citation ignores the major hazards: exposure to flammable and explosive substances and to poisonous fumes. The respirators called for by OSHA are dust filters, of no value against poisonous gases.

Meanwhile, repeated accidents at the plant point up the ever-present dangers and the need for union surveillance of safety conditions.

An electrical control board caught fire and ignited solvent used to wash down a production line. This happened after working hours. If the fire had broken out while a flammable product was on the line, it could have ended in disaster.

Another night a single can ruptured from excessive pressure, producing a loud noise. Several workers panicked and screamed that the plant was exploding. There was a general rush for the exit door, smashing a glass panel and severely lacerating the arm of a young worker.

Protection Agency.

In spite of this, the governor of Virginia, Mills Godwin, has refused to ban the taking of bluefish. Because of the wide news coverage in Virginia of the dangers of eating bluefish, I can only conclude that bluefish are being shipped to other parts of the country to be sold to people unaware of the hazard.

Paul Freeman  
Richmond, Virginia

### More women writers

I often read your paper and I like it very much, but I have noticed (especially in your most recent issues) that most of your major analytical articles are written by men.

Since your paper is a strong supporter of women's rights, I should think that you would have your female staff writing articles on the Soviet Union, Maoism, the elections, international events, etc. If no women are able to write such articles (which I can't believe) then you should work with some women and help to train them. Women should be involved in the theoretical as well as the practical.

Jane Finley  
Chicago, Illinois

### Interview Eldridge Cleaver

I think it is about time you people interview Eldridge Cleaver.

This would at least unfold the mystery of Cleaver's accusation about Castro being racist. "Worse than Ian Smith of Rhodesia," said Cleaver in an article which he wrote himself in *Newsweek*.

I really wish you people would consider it. You have a great paper.  
Dennis Donovan  
Oak Park, Illinois

### Picking some bones

I have a bone—two bones—to pick with your Washington columnist, Nancy Cole. In her August 6 column, she refers to Carter as a "peanut farmer" in a snide way. The contempt for Carter is well deserved, but it's not because he's a "peanut farmer."

He's not a farmer, of peanuts or anything else. The only time his hands get dirty is when he poses for his television commercials in his crisp new blue jeans and polished boots.

Carter is a capitalist. Calling him a "farmer" is about as accurate as calling Henry Ford an "auto worker."

Second, Ms. Cole refers to Sen. Walter Mondale several times by his media nickname "Fritz." The *Militant* has had a fine record of not succumbing to the fake informalities by which the ruling-class politicians try to act as though they're "just folks." You don't refer to Abzug as "Bella," Ford as "Jerry," or Reagan as "Ronnie." What's different about Mondale?

By the way, I think Cole's column is consistently the best of all you publish.  
J.M.  
New York, New York

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.

# La Lucha Puertorriqueña

Catarino Garza



## The Dellums resolution

[Catarino Garza is the Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Congress from New York's Eighteenth District.]

U.S. Rep. Ronald Dellums, Democrat of California, has introduced a resolution calling on the United States to recognize Puerto Rico's right to independence.

Dellums, who presented the bill on the eve of the Fourth of July, called this issue "in many ways the most serious test of the sincerity of our adherence as a nation to the principles of the American revolution we claim to celebrate this bicentennial year."

This is the first time in decades that such a resolution has been before Congress.

That fact alone is testimony to the growth of the proindependence movement in Puerto Rico and the support for it in the United States.

If I'm elected to Congress, I will fight for and vote for the resolution submitted by Dellums. Its main provision reads:

"That All powers and authority presently exercised by the three branches of the Government of the United States . . . over the territory of Puerto Rico, are hereby relinquished and transferred unconditionally and without reservations to the people of Puerto Rico, in order to allow them to fully exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

In an article introducing the resolution, published in the July 2 *Congressional Record*, Dellums says Puerto Rico is a "classical colony . . . where the people of the land have neither the power to make laws that govern them, nor the power to revoke them."

Dellums also debunks the myth that the Puerto Rican people have freely chosen to be a colony of the United States.

He notes that in the 1952 referendum, which established the present form of U.S. rule, there were

only two choices on the ballot: the previous form of U.S. domination or the new one.

This referendum was conducted under the auspices of supporters of U.S. rule who dominated the island's local government as well as much of the media. It was conducted in the midst of a sweeping witch-hunt against *independentistas* and with much of the island occupied by U.S. military bases. The whole operation was carried out under the watchful eye of the FBI and CIA. The 1967 referendum was conducted under similar conditions.

Imagine the Southern slave owners holding a referendum among the Blacks as to whether they want to be slaves. The balloting is organized by the slave drivers, who supervise voting whip in hand. Supporters of slavery are free to say what they want, while abolitionists are gagged and punished. And the counting is done by the slave owners. The outcome is predictable.

The Dellums resolution is not likely to get much of a hearing in Congress. The tremendous profits American corporations reap from Puerto Rico mean that the Democratic and Republican parties will block the bill.

This resolution nonetheless provides a valuable tool for supporters of Puerto Rico. It can be a focus for discussions—a way to catch the ear of people who may not have been open to proindependence ideas before.

It will supplement the education around United Nations resolutions on independence and demonstrations such as the July 4 "Bicentennial without Colonies" rally.

Ultimately, the representatives of the bankers and big business—the Democratic and Republican parties—will not accept Puerto Rico's right to be free until they are forced to. In this, the struggle in Puerto Rico will be of great importance, but the weight of U.S. public opinion will also be important.

# The Great Society

Harry Ring

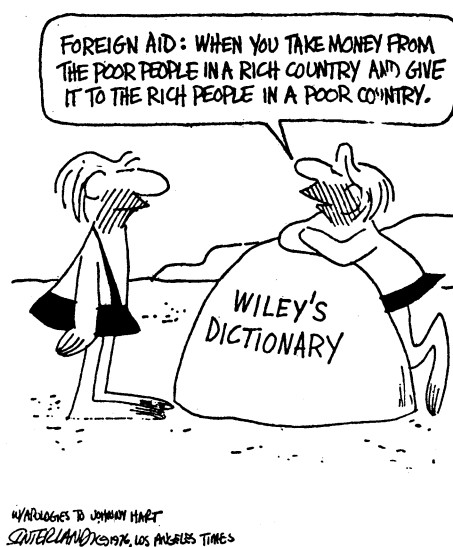


**How civilized can you get?**—TALLAHASSEE, Fla. (UPI)—Florida state prison officials are planning a course and series of seminars to psychologically prepare death row inmates for the electric chair. . . . The counseling . . . is similar to therapy given to terminally ill cancer patients."

**Only in America**—The *Ladies' Home Journal* conducted a poll of teens and preteens to determine whom they admired. The top fifty included President Ford, Charles Manson, and Linda Lovelace. Dr. Mario Rendon, a psychiatrist, said the poll reveals "the diversity of values in the United States as opposed to Russia or China."

**High cost of praying**—Baltimore Archbishop Borders ordered a probe of charges that the Pallottine Fathers instructed mail sorters to discard requests for prayers accompanied by donations of less than \$10. Earlier, the good fathers made the news with an impressive record of 97.5 percent "administrative costs" on the millions they raised for charity abroad.

**Rights victory**—A California judge reversed the state unemployment commission, which had denied jobless benefits to a Los Angeles school employee who quit his job because he was sandwiched between a cigar puffer and a cigarette addict and was "a nonconsenting victim of their smoke."



**Facts-of-Life dep't**—"Hell, the behavior of congressmen hasn't changed. We've still got the same number of alcoholics, the same number of guys who chase women, the same number who bully women, as we did twenty-five years ago."—Richard Bolling, fourteen-term representative from Missouri.

**School board takes stand**—Members of the Los Angeles Board of Education, who haven't been very resolute about desegregation, firmly rejected an economy proposal to give up their chauffeur-driven cars. In a way you can't blame them. They might be forced to take the bus.

## Women in Revolt

### Too strong to be a woman?

[The following guest column is by Militant staff writer Ginny Hildebrand.]

It was sickening, all the mud-slinging at the East German women athletes during the Olympics. And it's about time someone called it by its right name: a revolting mixture of crude sexism and old-time anticommunism.

Some athletic "experts" are accusing Olympic champions like swimmer Kornelia Ender and long jumper Angela Voigt of using muscle-building drugs—steroids.

Now, I don't know the difference between a steroid and an adenoid. But that's not really the point here.

The point is, these women are accused of being "synthetic athletes" because they're so good. They're big and strong and they accomplished feats that aren't supposed to be possible for "girls." Therefore, the argument goes, they can't be *real* women. They must be on some kind of drug. It's part of a communist plot!

Michael Levin, from the philosophy department at New York's City College, gave us a lesson on flag waving and "femininity" in a letter to the August 1

*New York Times*. He called the East German women swimmers "robots." And, he railed, "Only a totalitarian regime could produce such lately feted androids as Nadia Comaneci and Valery Borzov."

Shirley Babashoff, a top U.S. swimmer, had to admit that the East German system had some marks in its favor. But she also stooped to anticommunism to rationalize being beaten by East Germans: "We swim for fun. . . . By the looks of them, they don't enjoy it."

This suits the cold-war vision of the workers states: nobody has any fun "behind the iron curtain." But Kornelia Ender looked to me like she was having a grand old time as she left Babashoff and the others in her wake.

U.S. long jumper Willye White had some sexist comments for the East German track and field team: "If they turn around, the only way you can tell it's a woman is by their bust."

What about the millions of women whose measurements *don't* pronounce their sexual identity? Or those who have "too much" padding to suit this sexist society?

The fact is, only a minority of women fit the "feminine" mold. The rest of us are supposed to

Cindy Jaquith



hate our bodies and spend many hours and dollars on diets and cosmetics to change our looks.

I have nothing against body decorations or a little will power in eating habits. The problem is the goal we're supposed to be striving for: someone else's image of beauty.

To be really "feminine," we have to do more than manicure our fingernails and trim our bodies. We have to manicure our personalities too. The ideal, "feminine" woman is passive, submissive, and self-sacrificing.

It's disgusting to hear American women bad-mouth their East German sisters. For some women athletes to attack the "femininity" of others is especially self-defeating. All women athletes are up against the very same kind of prejudice, and these attacks only make it worse.

The mere presence of women athletes in the Olympics—and the spectacular performances of some—have helped debunk the norms of "femininity." The looks and competitive drive of the women just didn't conform to the stereotypes.

The East German athletes showed the world a different kind of woman. She's big, she's strong, and she's beautiful.

## By Any Means Necessary

### Want to make a mint?

Parker Brothers ought to put out a new game, a Black Elected Officials (BEOs) game. They would make an overnight kill. No more beating your brains out in Scrabble. No more wondering in Monopoly if Park Place is now redlined and of little value for investment.

Ah, the beauty of a new game. Something with which to stomp the others around you in the unemployment line. Something to put smiles on bodies with empty bellies.

Unlike other games, there would be no fantasy here. Nosiree. It would be based on reality.

From two to six can play at one time. The object is to make it around the board from election to reelection without finding yourself at odds with the Blacks who put you in office. Of course, as the board shows, you have to take chances in this game, pull a few stunts, and sometimes hide the truth. If that's a little beneath what you feel comfortable doing, that's unfortunate, because in this game that's the price you have to pay to get reelected, according to the official rules. Besides, no one's forcing you to play.

If you want, I have a copy of the game and you can play along. I'll take two volunteers. Okay, you and you. I'll officiate.

Take a different BEO marker and put it on the board on the square marked November, for election day. Fine. Now, roll the dice to start. You first.

Well, look at that—twelve. Okay, move your BEO marker twelve squares around the board and see where you land. Now, let's see what it says: *The Black community is reeling from severe unemployment and growing restless because BEOs aren't doing anything about it. Quick, dream up a fake jobs bill. Call it the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill. Move three squares forward.*

Okay, good, you got some breathing space. Now, it's the second player's turn. You rolled a ten and moved your BEO marker. Now let's see what it says: *You are Yvonne Burke and you are caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. In February you said: "If you have a candidate that Blacks believe will make a difference in their lives, they will go to the polls so you don't really have to concentrate on voter turnout." Now, with Jimmy*

*Carter in the driver's seat, you, as head of the Congressional Black Caucus, find yourself leading a massive voter registration drive in the Black community. Quick, issue a denial of the earlier statement. Punish yourself for earlier speaking the truth by moving two squares backwards.*

See, you're getting the hang of it.

Okay, the first player's turn again. Uh, huh, you rolled a six. Let's see what that square says: *You are Richard Hatcher. You said recently, "Black Americans are beseeched to vote for candidates who operate without a Black agenda. It is not that the Black voter turnout to date has been depressingly low. Apathy can be appealing when your choices are limited to endorsing either calculating indifference or outright hostility. Lethargy has its logic." You were one of the last holdouts from backing Jimmy Carter because he has no Black agenda. But now he is the man and you are saying, "His support of civil rights is right for everybody." You have winning potential in this game. Move five squares forward.*



Baxter Smith



## Willie Mae Reid 'down under'

# Socialist VP nominee visits Australia...

By Deb Shnookal

SYDNEY, Australia—U.S. vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid, nominee of the Socialist Workers party, arrived for a tour of Australia at a good time—the day after this country's first nationwide general strike.

On July 12, 3 million Australian workers walked off their jobs. They were protesting plans by Liberal party Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser to dismantle the free national health program, Medibank. Medibank was won during the previous Labor party government.

Ferment around this and many other social and political issues here contributed to the success of Reid's tour. More than 1,500 people turned out to hear Reid at meetings in eight cities. The tour was organized by the Australian Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing group of the Fourth International, and the Socialist Youth Alliance.

### Media coverage

The Australian news media showed up in force at the Sydney airport to cover Reid's arrival. She was met by three television crews, two radio stations, and two major daily newspapers, the *Morning Herald* and *Daily Mirror*. The media also covered Reid's arrivals at the airports in Brisbane and Melbourne. In all Reid was interviewed by eight radio and four television stations during her tour. She was a guest on the national current affairs program "This Day Tonight."

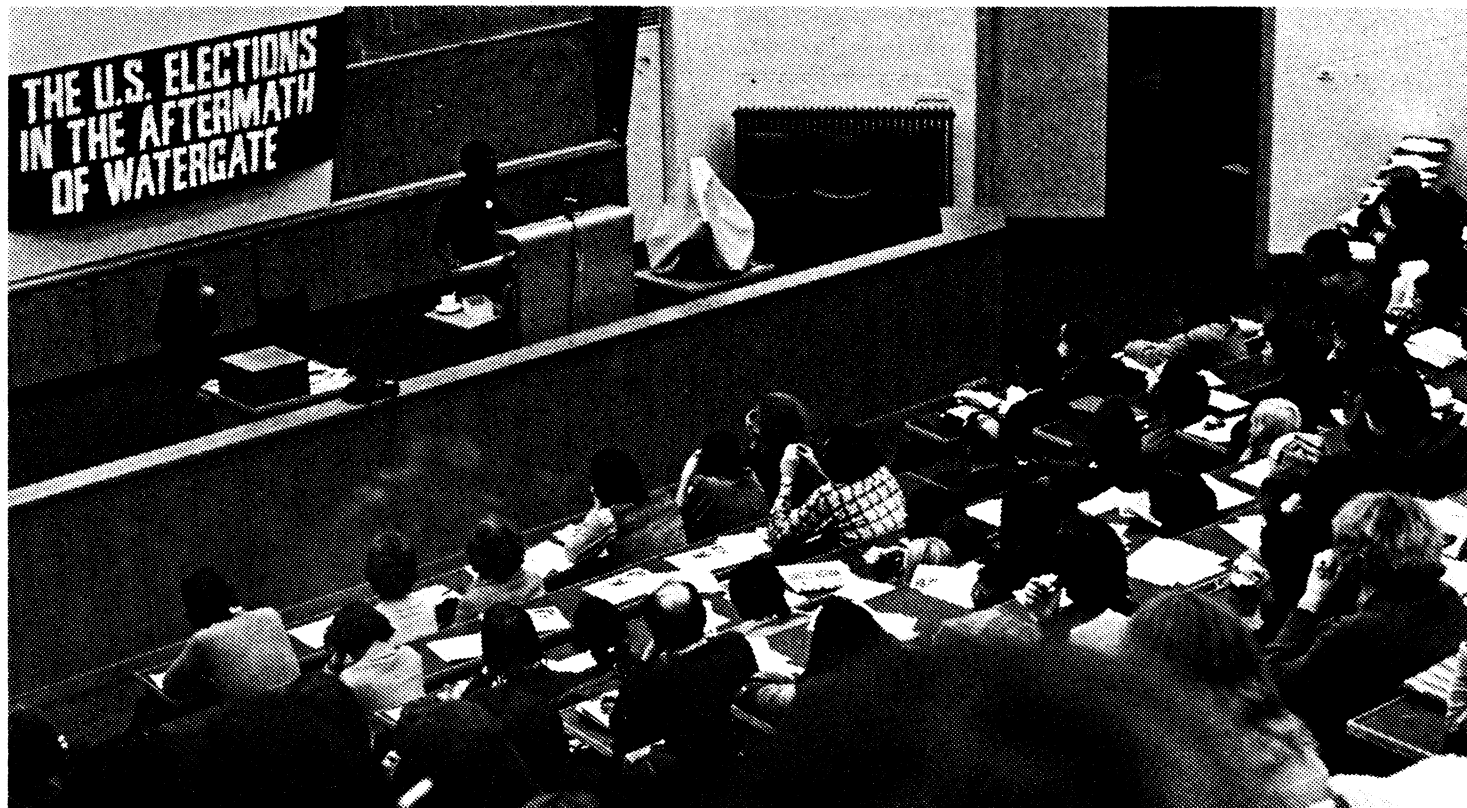
Most of the Australian news media have covered the American SWP's lawsuit against FBI and CIA spying and harassment. Two of Reid's radio interviews focused on the suit, and one Australian newspaper phoned the Political Rights Defense Fund in New York during the tour for an exclusive story on the groundbreaking civil liberties case.

Reid spoke on "The Coming American Revolution" and "The U.S. Elections in the Aftermath of Watergate." She found widespread interest in American politics: the continuing high unemployment and social service cutbacks; the fight for school desegregation; the women's liberation movement; and the growing disillusionment in government among the American people.

### National Aborigines Week

A highlight of Reid's tour was her visit to Brisbane. That city has been the center of an upsurge in the Black movement this year.

Last May a tent was set up in the city square to serve as a Black Embassy. This embassy was reestablished for National Aborigines Week, July 11-17, which coincided with Reid's visit.



Willie Mae Reid spoke to more than 300 students at Melbourne University

Direct Action

Aborigines are about 1 percent of the population in Australia.

Like Indians in the United States, Aborigines have been robbed of their land, forcibly put on reservations, and subjected to racist treatment. Their week of protests focused on halting police brutality, restoring land rights, and abolishing the Queensland Aborigines Act, which legalizes discrimination against Blacks in that state.

Reid was greeted at the Brisbane airport by a welcoming committee from the Black Embassy, and she met with many Aborigine leaders. On July 17 she addressed a rally of 200 people at the culmination of National Aborigines Week. Pointing to the racist antibusing movement in the United States, Reid emphasized the need for international solidarity among oppressed Blacks throughout the world.

That evening Reid spoke to sixty people at a public meeting in Brisbane.

Elsewhere in the "land down under," 30 people attended Reid's meeting in the industrial city of Wollongong—the SWP's first public meeting in that city. In Sydney 140 people attended a public meeting for Reid, and 130 students turned out at Sydney University the next day. A student strike there involving an estimated 5,000 students in seventy classes increased the interest in what Reid had to say.

At the University of New South Wales 150 heard Reid speak, and 70 people attended her meeting at the Australian National University in Canberra.

Several successful meetings were held in and around Melbourne. At Monash University Reid spoke to 300 students; at La Trobe University to 100 students; and at Melbourne University to well over 300 students—the largest meeting of the tour. Reid also addressed a public meeting of 100 in Melbourne and a meeting of 80 in the nearby industrial city of Geelong.

Ninety students heard Reid speak at Flinders University in Adelaide, and seventy students attended her meeting at Adelaide University. At Tasmania University in Hobart, Tasmania, Reid spoke to thirty-five people. Tasmania is a small island state south of the Australian mainland.

### Attempted disruptions

There were several attempts to disrupt Reid's meetings during the tour. Prior to her arrival in Brisbane, the "Nationalist Revolutionary Youth and Australian Fascist League" issued a leaflet entitled "US Red Here." The leaflet, filled with racist abuse, called for a demonstration outside Reid's meeting.

In 1973 Nazis managed to disrupt a Brisbane meeting for Ernest Mandel, a leader of the Fourth International, by creating a bomb scare. A defense guard was on hand at Reid's meeting in Brisbane. The Nazis did not show up.

In Sydney and Canberra, Reid was heckled by members of the Socialist Labour League, the Australian group aligned with the Workers Revolu-

tionary party in Britain and the Workers League in the United States. The disrupters challenged Reid to answer the slanders being peddled by WRP guru Gerry Healy that American Trotskyist leaders Joseph Hansen and George Novack were accomplices of Joseph Stalin in the assassination of Leon Trotsky.

When Reid tried to comment on these slanders, SLL members shouted her down.

In response to these disruptions, members of several groups signed a statement condemning the "violation of the norms of democracy and free speech within the radical and workers movement." The statement was signed by members of the Communist League, the Women's Abortion Action Campaign, Friends of Palestine, and other groups.

### Internationalism

During Reid's whirlwind ten-day tour here, she was often asked by the media why a U.S. presidential candidate was bringing her campaign to Australia. "Socialism means the total reorganization of the world's economy," Reid answered.

"It is very important for socialists from all countries to be able to meet and collaborate, to exchange experiences, and to learn the differences and similarities of the struggles in our countries. As internationalists, we are preparing for the struggle that is going to change the entire world."

## ...and cities throughout New Zealand too

By Brian Thomas

WELLINGTON, New Zealand—U.S. socialist vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid's week-long July visit here began on an enthusiastic note. Nearly forty people turned out to meet her at the Wellington airport under a banner reading, "Welcome Willie Mae Reid."

The Socialist Action League and the Young Socialists organized the tour.

Reid's itinerary began with an interview for a local television news program and an hour-long appearance on the popular television talk show, "Edwards on Saturday." "A vital personality, she was eloquent, assertive, interesting," wrote the Christchurch Press's television reviewer, R.T. Brittenden, the following Monday.

Reid's public meetings in Wellington and Auckland both drew 130 people—

among the most successful meetings ever organized by the SAL and YS. Marijke Robinson of the Women's Electoral Lobby welcomed Reid to Wellington. The candidate spoke to a special meeting of the Wellington WEL about the struggle for the Equal Rights Amendment and other aspects of the feminist movement in the United States.

The interest of New Zealand feminists in Reid's visit was clear at the Auckland meeting as well. Jill Presland of the Auckland Women's Centre congratulated the YS for bringing Reid and other overseas feminists to New Zealand.

Maori activists were also enthusiastic about Reid's tour. Maoris are an oppressed national minority that comprises about 10 percent of the population here. They are struggling for land

rights, self-determination, and an end to discrimination in jobs, housing, and education. Like Chicanos and Puerto Ricans in the United States, the Maoris are also demanding bilingual-bicultural educational programs.

Members of Nga Tamatoa, Te Mata-kite o Aotearoa, and the Maori Women's Welfare League organized special Maori welcomes for Reid.

Reid's meeting with thirty Maori activists in Wellington lasted for over three hours. The lively discussion centered on Reid's views on the relationship between racism, sexism, and the need for socialism, and on her support for the independent organization and self-determination of oppressed peoples.

Reid's meetings at campuses in Wellington, Christchurch, and Auckland each drew about 200 people. The

press gave good coverage to her tour in Wellington and Christchurch. The Christchurch Star featured Reid's picture on its front page.

"Once Willie-Mae Reid zeroes in on the American system there is no stopping her," began a large article in the Christchurch Press. "Full of passionate intensity she tears away at what she regards as any last shred of respectability the United States administration has left behind."

Reid was also interviewed by four radio stations; by the *Sunday Times*; by *Broadsheet*, a feminist magazine; and by the *New Zealand Listener*, the national television magazine similar to the U.S. TV Guide.

This media coverage reached tens of thousands of New Zealanders. Reid also spoke before audiences totaling more than 1,000 people.

## Report from the coalfields

# Miners strike to protest judge-company con

By Nancy Cole

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—Striking coal miners from seven states began returning to work August 12, ending their powerful month-long wildcat. The 100,000 miners had walked out to protest being “kicked around” by federal judges acting on the side of the coal operators.

The strikers charged that the coal industry has consistently violated the 1974 United Mine Workers of America contract by refusing to settle grievances at the mine site. Instead, the coal operators have forced the union to take grievances into the courts.

Job disputes in the mines are often life-and-death questions of safety. But the federal courts see fit to act only when it is the mineowners seeking fines and injunctions against the workers.

The UMWA national leadership did not back the strike and ordered the miners back to work.

The nationwide strike grew out of a dispute between the mineowners and Local 1759 at Cabin Creek, West Virginia. The local had demanded that a union member fill a new job monitoring safety telephones and electrical controls outside the mine. That phone would be the underground miners' only link to the outside in case of an emergency.

The Cedar Coal Company wanted to hire a supervisor. A federal arbitrator ruled that the job had to go to a unionist, but the company ignored the decision.

When the UMWA local tried on June 23 to get a court order forcing Cedar Coal to abide by the arbitrator's ruling, federal judges in Charleston said they were too busy to hear the case. The next day Local 1759 struck.

But when Cedar Coal wanted the strikers ordered back to work, Federal District Judge Dennis Knapp found plenty of time. Knapp swiftly issued a

back-to-work injunction.

The miners refused to end their strike, and on July 16 the judge slapped a \$50,000 fine on the union, plus \$25,000 for each day the workers refused to return to work. On top of that, he brought criminal contempt charges against each of the 213 members of the local. Local 1759 reportedly had \$28 in its treasury.

These harsh antiunion measures sparked a wave of “sympathy strikes” that developed into a nationwide protest.

### Judge chooses sides

Judge Knapp made no bones about whose side he stood on, as his remarks at the July 16 hearing showed:

“Any fight these men have with the company is no concern of mine,” he said. “Of course, I know what I would do if I were running the company. . . . If they don't want to work for this company, then they ought to go somewhere else and get a job. . . .

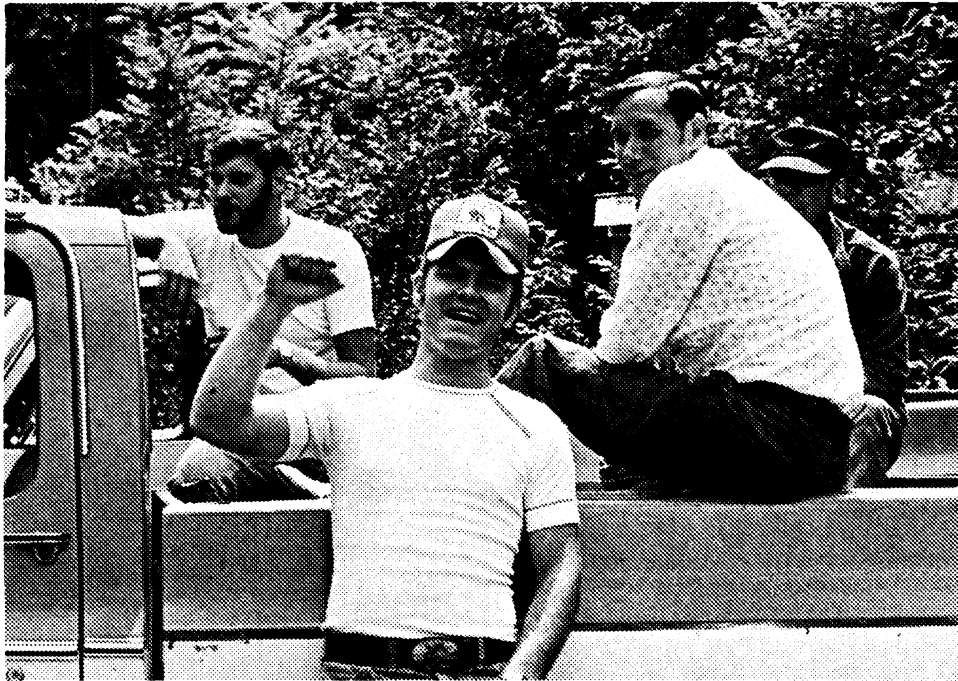
“If any of them here don't want to obey the court order, if they want to step forward, I can take care of them right immediately. There's plenty of room over here in the jail for them.”

Judge Knapp's method of dealing with the miners' grievances has become a pattern in the coalfields.

The word, as well as the picket lines, went out. Miners everywhere face the same unsafe working conditions and the resistance to settling grievances. Ninety-two miners have died in on-the-job accidents thus far this year.

They responded beginning July 19 with a tremendous show of solidarity with Local 1759. During the first week, 20,000 West Virginia miners joined the protest.

By the second week, the wildcat had spread to southeastern Ohio. In the third week, strikers shut down mines in parts of Virginia, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Indiana.



Militant/Nancy Cole

West Virginia miners. ‘We’ll organize and come back again. This is a battle, not the war.’

In all, two-thirds of the nation's soft-coal miners struck. Since the UMWA leadership was not behind the wildcat, there was no formal national direction to the strike. However, the eyes of all miners were on Kanawha County, West Virginia.

A July 24 meeting of strikers from Local 1759 and other locals adopted a list of four strike demands. The demands called for justice for miners throughout the country:

- “The main thing we want is equal justice from the federal courts,” said Local 1759 President Hayes Holstein. On paper the demand read, “We ask the B.C.O.A. [Bituminous Coal Operators Association] to bargain in good faith and without recourse to the courts. This means no more fines, jailings and injunctions.”

- “All fines and all injunctions be lifted on all U.M.W.A. locals through-

out the coal fields.”

- No reprisals.
- An investigation of the federal judges who have issued massive fines and penalties. “The way we’ve been kicked around by these judges,” said Holstein, “we want to know whether they’re on the companies’ payroll, or if they’re getting something under the table, or what.”

The last demand, although popular, was not included as a prerequisite for a return to work.

### Coal bosses and courts

Since 1970 the coal operators have depended increasingly on the federal courts to settle their labor disputes. In that year the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that if contracts contain procedures for settling grievances then strikes over grievances are illegal.

“If you have a grievance, you go to the company,” a veteran of thirty-three years in the mines told the *Militant*. “They won’t listen to you—they say, ‘Make a case out of it.’ You can’t get the judges to listen to you, so you go on strike. Right away they get an injunction against you. We’ve got to stop these injunctions!”

The 1974 UMWA contract commits both the union and the employers to settle disputes through the grievance machinery of the contract, “without recourse to the courts.”

If at all possible, disputes are to be settled at the mine site. If not there, then at the district level. Federal arbitration is the last resort.

The coal companies have consistently violated the contract, the miners contend, by rejecting all attempts to settle grievances at the mines.

### Sympathy strikes

During the miners’ strike last year, judges meted out fines and jail sentences right and left. But a recent U.S. Supreme Court decision has curbed the judges somewhat.

The high court ruled July 6 that strikes or protests in sympathy with other striking workers are not “illegal.”

Thus, only Local 1759, the initiator of the nationwide protest, was subject to court action. All other locals were acting in sympathy with Local 1759.

At a hearing July 31, Judge Knapp agreed to drop the exorbitant fines against Local 1759 and the individual criminal charges if they returned to work within a “reasonable” amount of time.

But by this time the judge’s concession wasn’t enough. The strike no longer involved just Local 1759. And Local 1759 was demanding justice for

## W. Va. strikers: ‘We’re all in this together’

DRYBRANCH, W. Va.—Called on short notice, it’s a smaller strike meeting than many that have preceded it in Kanawha County. The miners begin arriving about 11:45 for the noon meeting in the ballfield behind the elementary school.

Hayes Holstein, president of United Mine Workers of America Local 1759, is spotted crossing the narrow suspension bridge that leads to the field. The *Charleston Gazette* reporter goes to meet him.

A slight man with an easy unassuming smile, Holstein has become the de facto spokesperson for the nationwide wildcat strike. It was his local of 213 miners that sparked the strike, and it is his local that has been hit with fines and injunctions in the current dispute.

With UMWA President Arnold Miller ordering the miners back to work, and officers of District 17 refusing to speak to the press, Holstein has become the most quoted individual during the powerful strike.

Today he has complaints about yesterday’s *Gazette* story. It reported that he had said he would send out members of his local to close down any mines where the miners had voted to return to work. He never said that, he quietly explains.

The purpose of the meeting is to choose a committee of miners to meet with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, a meeting the coal bosses have arrogantly rejected from the start. But strikers say they won’t go back until they



Militant/Nancy Cole

Local 1759 President Hayes Holstein. De facto spokesperson for nationwide strike.

can sit down with the BCOA and present their demands.

“Get union men for the committee, Hayes,” a young miner good-naturedly suggests. “Not some of these presidents who have been sitting at home.”

The meeting begins. Holstein uses a sound system attached to a pickup truck. First point is on the couple of reporters present. No tape recorders, no photographs, no quotes from the

Ohio District 6 miners at the meeting—they’ve had it with the news media.

There are more complaints about the news coverage given the strike.

“It’s not just Local 1759,” a miner says. “We’re all in this together. This is the *United Mine Workers*.”

This same man goes on to talk about the rubber workers. They’re an example, he says, of a fighting union. “They’ve been out for fifteen weeks fighting. They’re not miners, but they’re union men.”

The miners discuss the few scabs who have tried to cross the picket lines. A miner next to me describes a scab’s battered car at the foot of the hill. “We’ll let you take a picture of that if you’d like,” he says with a smile.

Choosing the committee to meet with the BCOA is deferred to the next day’s meeting, when more miners can participate. Picket teams are divided up. The meeting adjourns.

A half hour later, five or six miners are hanging out in front of Julia’s Cafe, a bar a few miles south of the elementary school.

“Arnold Miller tells us to go back to work and then he’ll get BCOA down here to talk,” a UMWA mine construction worker says. “Well, if he can get them down here after we go back to work, why can’t he get them down here before.”

“That’s what they said last year—they said they’d talk to us after the strike ended. And here we are again.”

—N.C.



# piracy

all miners.

The strikers insisted that there could be no return to work until the nation's coal operators agreed to a meeting that could discuss the strike demands.

The coal barons, organized into the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, refused to even discuss the possibility of a meeting.

During the fourth week of the strike, the BCOA ran ads in papers in the coalfields, as well as a full-page ad in the *New York Times*.

"Are gangs of pickets, some brandishing shotguns, roving across state lines beyond the reach of Federal and state police powers?" queried the coal bosses. "Are Federal Judges in Southern West Virginia helpless against raw intimidation, and without recourse to Federal Marshals?"

## Role of union officials

At the beginning of the strike, UMWA officials had no comment on the strike. Then President Arnold Miller released a statement directing the miners to return to work. But, he added, "the current difficulty is proof once again that the place to settle the coal field disputes is at the mine site and not in the courts."

Striking miners interpreted the statement as a cautious go-ahead for the wildcat.

At the end of the second week, on July 29, Miller traveled to Charleston for the first time where he met with miners from four UMWA districts. Miller announced that the BCOA would not meet with strikers until they returned to work.

Miller agreed that a meeting the following day restricted to local presidents would vote on a back-to-work proposal. He said he would abide by the majority decision.

The mood of the next day's meeting was strike. But it was adjourned before a vote could be taken. Miller was quoted as saying afterward that a vote wasn't necessary because "they know they have to go back to work."

The strikers' patience with Miller's stance weakened. "He's no brother of mine," one of the miners shouted after Miller's first meeting in Charleston.

Other miners told the *Militant* they were disappointed in their president. "If he can't lead, he ought to get out of it," one striker said.

After Miller was unable to get the strikers back to work, the twenty-one-member international executive board met in Washington. They passed a back-to-work resolution warning that UMWA members who continue to picket "shall, on notice and hearing of charges, be expelled from the union."

The board then reconvened in Charleston August 10 where 500 angry miners confronted them.

But on the next day a meeting of local presidents voted overwhelmingly to return to work.

"If we've been beaten, we'll go back, but we'll organize and come back again," said one of the West Virginia miners. "This is just a battle, not the war."

The miners and coal bosses alike recognize that the issues of safety, speedup, and court intervention have not been resolved. The companies can be expected to continue chipping away at the UMWA contract, cutting back on safety, and squeezing more profits out of mine workers.

How the union will respond to these attacks—whether it will be able to mobilize the ranks in a struggle to defend the gains under employer assault—is the chief question before the UMWA.

This will be the most important issue before the upcoming miners' convention, scheduled for Cincinnati in late September.

## Carter the answer?

# ERA and the '76 elections

By Ginny Hildebrand

Those of us who marched in the May 16 national Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) demonstration in Springfield, Illinois, came away confident and determined. We felt this way for a good reason.

As Nancy Shier wrote in the June *Newsletter of the Democratic Left*, "We proved to legislators and to millions of sisters unable to attend that the feminist movement is indeed alive and well."

Shier is a national leader of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). She worked in the National Rally for Equal Rights office set up by the National Organization for Women (NOW) to build May 16.

In her article Shier says, "The ERA is now the cutting issue for the women's movement." She points to the wide range of women's organizations and trade unions that united for the first national ERA demonstration.

"What's needed is some way to mobilize these millions of women into strong national organizations which can win immediate victories and fight the long struggle," Shier says.

What is the next step in building such a movement?

"A top priority for our movement must be a change in Washington," Shier writes. "The current Federal Administration is the most serious obstacle to the growth and victory of the women's rights movement." What women need, she says, is a Democrat—Jimmy Carter—in the White House.

Should the feminists who organized thousands to march in Springfield now turn our energies to getting Carter elected? How will this further the goals we set out to accomplish on May 16?

## Promises are cheap

"Jimmy Carter's recent statement promising enactment of the ERA if he's elected President is a step in the right direction," Shier writes.

But campaign promises are cheap. Carter had a chance to help get the ERA ratified in his state when he was governor. Georgia still hasn't ratified. If Carter has changed, he could have shown it in his acceptance speech at Madison Square Garden. He could have said something like this:

"I have said that I am for truth and decency in this campaign. Well, the plain truth is that our party holds the majority of seats in fourteen out of the sixteen state legislatures that have not ratified the ERA. If our party is for the ERA, I think the only decent thing to do is ratify it. Why promise to do it after the elections when we have the votes to do it this fall?"

"I want to make it clear that the Democratic party stands for women's rights. And if you don't support women's rights, you don't belong in this party."

But Carter didn't say this. In fact, he didn't even mention the ERA in his speech. (Worse still, Carter actually opposes women's right to abortion—although he grudgingly says he will go along with the court rulings.)

Shier and many others like her are trying to find something good to say about Carter because they believe that the Democratic party is more responsive to the needs of women, Blacks, and labor than the Republicans.

## How we win victories

There have been lots of Democrats in office. Democrats in Congress helped to block the ERA for many years before 1972. In fact, some historic gains for women were enacted during Republican administrations. Remember, it was the "Nixon Supreme Court" that recognized women's right to abortion in 1973.

But neither Democrats nor Republi-



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand

Springfield, Illinois, May 16, 1976. Mass actions by women, not reliance on Democratic party, will force passage of Equal Rights Amendment.

cans nor Supreme Court justices deserve any credit for advancing women's rights. They were forced to give in to our demands by the massive social struggles women organized outside of both parties. That's how we won the right to vote and the right to abortion and got the ERA passed in Congress.

Many activists today are concentrating so much fire on the elephant in front of them that they don't see the sharp kick of the donkey coming at them from behind.

Shier gives us a good example of this. She says women and their unions are finding it harder and harder to protect the gains they've won in the past because of "the anti-women and anti-union tone emanating loud and clear from Washington. . . . The poverty of cities and states, aggravated by Federal policies following corporate priorities, compounds the problem."

President Ford and his whole party are antiwoman, antiunion, and "following corporate priorities." There's no argument on that score. But are they the only ones?

In New York City Democratic Mayor Abraham Beame is the one kicking public employees out of their jobs and stomping on social services.

In Washington, D.C., it's a Democratic majority in Congress that voted billions for the war budget instead of spending the money on child-care centers, schools, medical care, and jobs.

Shier recognizes that many feminists are apprehensive about supporting Democrats and that this "skepticism . . . is well founded." She writes, "We've seen the Democratic Party, which serves as the arena for most social change movements, vacillate. . . ."

What Shier doesn't see is that it's a fatal mistake to view this party "as the arena for most social change movements." The problem isn't that the social movements have to bargain harder with the Democratic party, as Shier suggests. The problem is the Democratic party.

The fact is that this party, like its Republican twin, is an instrument of the corporation and bank owners. These capitalists profit from women's second-class status. The politicians who work for them make just enough election promises to lure movements for social change out of the streets and into the party's net. Once the elections are over, the politicians regularly find

excuses for not implementing campaign promises.

Feminists have relied on promises to ratify the ERA time and again instead of organizing actions like May 16. That's been our major problem. Heather Booth, a central organizer of the Springfield rally, pointed this out in her speech at the rally. We've been "cautioned to put our trust in others," she said. "If we had listened to those others we would not be here today."

## Keep up the pressure

In Shier's article, she emphasizes the impact of independent actions like May 16: "We've placed state legislators on notice that millions of people are impatiently waiting for action on the ERA."

She's right. Mass mobilizations put the heat on all government officials. Demonstrations expose Democratic and Republican politicians as opponents of majority sentiment. At the same time, participants in these actions gain confidence in the power of their own organizations and movement.

On the other hand, when women's groups line up behind Democrats in Illinois, Georgia, and elsewhere it takes the pressure off these politicians. They can more easily ignore our demands if they know that the people demonstrating against them on one day will vote for them on the next.

When Shier says we need a change in the Washington administration, she's right. There's no doubt about it. Feminists have an important role to play in this change. We can help build an alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties.

In this presidential election the Socialist Workers party candidates, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, are running on a strong women's rights platform.

At the same time, all ERA supporters must continue to build united actions regardless of who we're supporting in the elections.

As Shier states, "The Rally for Equal Rights put the momentum back on our side." We shouldn't let the elections dissipate this momentum. Activists in DSOC, NOW, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the Socialist Workers party, and others fighting for women's rights need to organize ERA activities this fall. In this way we can prepare for a massive campaign in the winter and spring that can even surpass the success of May 16.



## The case of Nacho Perez

# La migra aims blow at Chicano movement

By David Salner

SAN ANTONIO—With the arrest of longtime Chicano activist Ignacio "Nacho" Pérez, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service has aimed a blow at the Chicano movement in San Antonio.

At 6:00 a.m., July 23, INS agents arrested Pérez on the charge of "harboring an illegal alien." On the strength of this vague charge, Pérez sat in jail for four days until community groups succeeded in raising the exorbitant \$25,000 cash bail.

In a press statement issued on his release, Pérez blasted the arrest as "a clear-cut case of official harassment and an attempt to intimidate the Chicano community into non-action. . . ."

The charges against Pérez stem from a June 18 INS raid on Mario's Restaurant, where he was having lunch.

INS agents arrested a number of undocumented workers at the restaurant and charged its owner, Mario Cantú, with "harboring an illegal alien." Cantú is also a well-known figure in the Chicano movement.

As Pérez was leaving the restaurant, a man who had asked Pérez for a ride was pulled away by the INS agents. Pérez points out that the charges against him are that "I refused to act as an immigration officer by demanding citizenship papers from a man that needed a ride home."

This crude attack is the product of a calculated campaign against those like Pérez who exercise their legal right to support their Mexican brothers and sisters.

"We must become aware of the national campaign being conducted by the Immigration Service against Mexican people," Pérez says.

*La migra's* attack extends beyond the undocumented Mexican workers. All Chicanos are also affected.

To counter this campaign and to win justice for Pérez, eighty supporters formed the Nacho Pérez Defense Committee July 29 at a meeting at St. Timothy's Church.

Mario Compean, founding leader of the Raza Unida party, chaired the meeting. Also present were members of the RUP, CASA (an antideportation group), Chicano student organizations from several campuses, Brown Berets, and the Socialist Workers party. Albert Peña, an ex-county commissioner in the Democratic party, and George Korb, from the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, also made statements of support.

On July 30 a line of pickets marched in front of the federal building that houses the INS offices in San Antonio. Organized by the Coalition Against La Migra and Police Repression, its message of support for undocumented workers and INS victims like Pérez came through loud and clear in articles in the Sunday editions of both major dailies and on all the major TV stations.

Pérez's record as a fighter for Chicano rights has helped him win support for his defense. "I first became active during the 1966 melon strike in the [Rio Grande] valley," he told the *Militant* at a fund-raising barbecue for his defense July 31.

He traveled to the valley and was put in charge of running the warehouse, distributing food to strikers, their supporters, and families. During this period he met farm-worker leaders César Chávez, Dolores Huerta, and Antonio Orendain.

Although the strike was brutally defeated, a network of supporters was built up. Pérez, along with Mario Compean, José Angel Gutiérrez, and others, decided to set up an organization that would continue the struggle for *la raza*. In 1967, the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO) was formed.

Pérez also participated when this group and others founded the Raza Unida party and put forward the strategy of independent Chicano political organization.

Pérez is currently working on a community level in support of health-care programs.

Pérez said that it will require broad-based community support to win his case.

"U.S. attorneys in the past have

proven themselves to be very proficient manipulators," he said. "So we must win support outside the courtroom in order to win my case."

## Justice for Richard Morales



By Marta Richmond

SAN ANTONIO—Despite the ninety-five-degree heat, 500 Chicanos marched and rallied here August 7, demanding justice for Richard Morales.

Morales was murdered by Castroville Police Chief Frank Hayes in September 1975. When Hayes's trial ended last July, he was given two to ten years for aggravated assault. An outraged Chicano community has been demanding that the federal government intervene in the case and prosecute Hayes for violating Morales's civil rights.

The march started at Elemendorf Park in the heart of the barrio and ended seven miles away at the Alamo. Several Chicanos led the march carrying a banner that said in giant red letters, "Marcha Para Justicia."

A large number of groups partici-

pated, including: Brown Berets; Mexican-American Youth Organization; Mexican-American Students Organization; Texas Farm Workers Union; Raza Unida party; CASA (a San Antonio antideportation group); Familias Unidas; Chicanos Unidos from El Paso; and Socialist Workers party.

Speakers at the rally were: Antonio Orendain, of the Texas Farm Workers; José Angel Gutiérrez, Rosie Castro, Guadalupe Youngblood, and Pablo Escamilla of La Raza Unida party; and Martin Delgado of the Brown Berets.

The *New York Times* reported on August 7, the day of the march, that U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi had ordered the Justice Department to reopen its investigation of Morales's murder "to determine whether any Federal action is appropriate."

# Minneapolis Blacks protest racist attacks

By Bill Peterson

MINNEAPOLIS—There's been an alarming rise in racist attacks on the Black community here.

While the mayor and police sit by and do nothing, the following incidents have occurred:

- Whites have been driving through the city's Black areas, shooting at homes and cars. There have been several reports of cases in which Blacks have been beaten on the street.

- A cross with the initials "KKK" carved in it was burned in front of the home of a Black woman who lives in the suburb of Bloomington.

- Burglars broke into the house of two Black men in Minneapolis and left a race-hate note that said, "We're going to get you niggers. White power." The letter was signed with a swastika.

One of the most vicious incidents occurred July 27 when a Black man, Sherman Henderson, twenty-eight, was nearly killed by three whites.

Henderson says the whites chased him into a 7-11 store on the city's north side. There, one white grabbed an empty soft drink bottle and hit him in the forehead. The bottle broke, and the white struck Henderson again, this time slashing his throat. Henderson told a reporter later: "I could see death."

Henderson was taken to a county hospital where he lay bleeding on a stretcher for forty minutes in the lobby. Fearing Henderson would die, a friend drove him to another hospital where it took thirty-eight stitches to close the wounds.

Authorities did not treat this attack seriously. The three whites were charged with aggravated assault, although the Black community has rightfully demanded that instead the three be charged with attempted murder. Police waited five days before booking the three whites. They were allowed to turn themselves in voluntarily and were immediately released on bond.

Demonstrations began immediately outside the 7-11 store. Black leaders denounced the store because two white clerks inside the store stood by doing nothing while Henderson was attacked.

At a rally attended by 200 persons outside the store, Randy Staten, a member of the board of the New Way, a north-side Black center, blasted city officials.

"Where's the city council? Where's the mayor? The only people who are going to care about us is us," Staten said. "We have to do what is necessary to save the children."

Spike Moss, the New Way's director,

urged the community to spread the issue. He called the bicentennial celebration this year merely an anniversary for "200 years of oppression."

More pressure was put on 7-11 nationally as Vernon Jordan, the executive director of the Urban League, demanded that 7-11 investigate the dispute.

At a news conference August 6, Black leaders announced that they had wrested significant concessions from 7-11. These included the immediate removal of the two white clerks from the store and the hiring of more Blacks at the store and at others throughout the city.

In another development, minority group representatives and other community leaders held a news conference to deplore the escalating racist attacks and threats in Minneapolis.

"We have a cancer in this city," said Gleason Glover, executive director of the Minneapolis Urban League. "Unless it's stopped, it will engulf the total essence of what Minneapolis is supposed to be about."

The news conference was prompted in part by a threatening letter received at the south Minneapolis home of Gillian Furst.

Furst said her life was threatened after she and others in the community tried to raise money to help two Black

neighbors who were burglarized last month. A race-hate note was left by the burglars, who signed the note with a swastika.

Furst said that in retaliation, a letter was sent to her anonymously signed by "a Nazi who hates niggers" and said that "niggers should be shot, or at least shipped back to Africa. If we have our way, you will be." The letter has been turned over to the police.

Robert Benford, a Black whose son was shot and killed by a white policeman in a Minneapolis suburb in January, also appeared at the news conference. The cop has since been exonerated by a grand jury. Benford linked the murder of his son to the continued wave of racist attacks.

A large number of prominent persons appeared at the news conference. They included State Rep. Phyllis Kahn, Minneapolis Democrat; Art Cunningham, president of the Minneapolis NAACP; attorney Larry Leventhal; Ramona Austin, coordinator of the minority task force for the National Organization for Women; Esther Kaw, a Chicana and a national vice-president of NOW who lives in St. Paul; and Morton Ryweck, executive director of the Jewish Community Relations Council, Anti-Defamation League of Minnesota and the Dakotas.

# World Outlook

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

AUGUST 27, 1976

## Angola: behind the MPLA's 'socialist' mask

By Ernest Harsch

In countless communiqués, speeches, and radio broadcasts, the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) has claimed that it intends to build a "socialist" society in Angola.

But the MPLA's "socialism" is limited to its rhetoric. Its actual policies tell a completely different story.

Since the end of the Angolan civil war in February, the MPLA regime has continued its efforts to control and demobilize the masses. In the Luanda area in particular, it has sought to contain and beat back any independent workers' struggles, arresting scores of labor and political activists.

At the same time, this "socialist" regime has obligingly invited imperialist interests to resume their exploitation of Angola's vast natural wealth. Two major oil and diamond companies have already accepted the MPLA's invitation, and other imperialist concerns are scrambling to grab a share for themselves.

From the actions it has taken to suppress any independent initiatives by the masses, it is clear that the MPLA fears any challenge to its course toward accommodation with imperialism and to its plans to construct a stable, neocolonial regime in Angola.

In order to contain this potential threat to its rule, the MPLA has adopted a two-sided policy. So far, its principal tactic has been to try to fetter the workers movement through trade union and "people's power" bodies directly controlled by the MPLA, as well as exhorting the masses to "sacrifice for the revolution."

The other aspect of the MPLA's policy has been to wield its iron fist against those who remain unconvinced by its demagoguery or who attempt to organize any independent struggles.

### 'People's power'

The massive labor upsurge that swept Angola following the April 1974 coup in Portugal had an important impact in loosening Lisbon's hold on the colony. For the first time, the Angolan workers had an opportunity to organize themselves on a broad scale. They formed trade unions, workers committees, neighborhood commissions, and "people's power" groups. Although they were established independently of the MPLA's control for the most part, these groups in the Luanda region generally looked to the MPLA for political leadership.

Rather than basing itself upon this labor upsurge to advance the struggle for real independence, the MPLA, like its nationalist rivals, saw the upsurge as a threat to its own narrow scramble for power.

After joining the coalition regime with the FNLA, UNITA,<sup>1</sup> and the Portuguese colonialists in January



Soldiers in the MPLA army, Forças Armadas Populares de Libertação de Angola (FAPLA). Main task at moment is maintaining control over Angolan territory formerly held by rival UNITA forces.

1975, the MPLA issued appeals to the workers to halt their strikes, supported strike-breaking legislation, and in February even sent troops against striking dock workers in Lobito.<sup>2</sup>

For several months in early 1975, the MPLA capitalized on its support among the Mbundu population of the Luanda region to draw the workers and neighborhood bodies into its factional struggle against the FNLA and UNITA. By the end of July, however, the MPLA had managed to drive the FNLA and UNITA out of Luanda and no longer needed these groups as factional tools. It forcibly dissolved and disarmed some of them and transformed others into bureaucratically controlled organs for imposing MPLA policies on the masses. In September and October 1975, it began arresting a number of leaders of the workers committees and "people's power" groups who had not shown the proper degree of subservience to the MPLA leadership.

Thus, by late 1975, the various independent mass organizations had been politically decapitated. Originally established as part of the mass upsurge from below, they had been transformed into bureaucratic instruments encharged with carrying out MPLA directives from above.

This system of mass control was institutionalized on February 5 with the adoption of the People's Power Law, which provides for the election of

"people's committees" on the neighborhood, village, commune, council and provincial levels. Only the neighborhood and village committees are to be elected directly, however. Each of the successively higher bodies are to be elected by the members of the subordinate committees within their jurisdictions.

Significantly, the law does not provide for any country-wide "people's committee," elected or otherwise.

To ensure that "undesirables" do not creep onto the electoral rolls, the MPLA tacked on a series of restrictions to the franchise. Denied the right to vote are sympathizers and former members of the FNLA and UNITA, as well as those who practice "racism," "tribalism," or "regionalism," that is, anyone who reflects the particular interests of the Ovimbundu, Bakongo, or other peoples of Angola. Also barred from voting are those deemed guilty of "economic sabotage" and "laziness," charges frequently hurled at labor activists and strikers.

Even with these restrictions, the MPLA still hesitated to hold the elections. They were originally scheduled for May 13, but were postponed because of a series of workers' struggles that broke out in early May.

### Strikes and slowdowns

Industrial workers in Luanda and other cities staged strikes and slowdowns to back their demands for wage increases and better working conditions. The strikes have continued for at least two months. According to the July 2 *Washington Post*, "the government ordered striking workers back to

jobs at the sole coffee sack factory."

According to a May 9 *Prensa Latina* radio broadcast datelined Luanda, Interior Minister Nito Alves "said that at the time when production was paralyzed in the capital, the electoral vote would lose much of its real revolutionary significance."

President Agostinho Neto also took the strikes seriously. "There can be no solid or stable political power," he said, "while the factories and the countryside are not producing towards the consolidation of real economic independence."

According to a report by David B. Ottaway in the May 24 *Washington Post*, the MPLA was also concerned "because leftist opposition elements have been using the councils as a springboard to attack the new government." The elections were postponed, he said, because the MPLA leaders "suddenly realized they had not made adequate preparations to control the selection of candidates."

To screen out any dissidents, the MPLA decreed that all candidates for the neighborhood committees must be proposed by one of the MPLA-controlled labor, youth, or women's organizations.

The decision-making powers of these "people's power" bodies appear limited to the organization of such local tasks as setting up market cooperatives in the shantytowns or carrying out educational activities. Their main function is to implement the policies of the MPLA leadership.

The various workers committees set up or taken over by the MPLA in the factories have a similar role. In a report in the February 28 issue of *Le Monde*, correspondent René Lefort quoted a manager of a coffee plantation as describing the workers committee there as "a simple consultative body." He added that "the powers of management are intact."

In the nationalized industries, the MPLA has set up management committees, some of whose members are elected by the workers in the factory and some of whom are appointed by the regime. As with the "people's power" groups, those members who are

*Continued on next page*



Manchester Guardian

1. Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (Angolan National Liberation Front), União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

2. For a description of the antilabor actions of the MPLA and its partners in the coalition regime, see *Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War*, by Ernest Harsch and Tony Thomas. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1976.

## Behind MPLA's 'socialist' mask...

Continued from preceding page

elected must be proposed by the local union.

The principal union federation in Angola is the União Nacional dos Trabalhadores de Angola (UNTA—National Union of Angolan Workers), which is directly controlled by the MPLA. During the strike wave that began in May, UNTA General Secretary Aristides Van-Dunen visited the Textang factory to denounce the strikers. On May 13, an UNTA delegation in Cuanza Sul Province passed a resolution demanding that the regime suppress the strikes.

The UNTA has also played a major part in the MPLA's campaign to impose speedup and longer working hours. Lefort reported that "according to the regional secretary of the union, the primary interest of the workers, in all cases, is to increase production."

Although the MPLA has tried to provide a pretense of democratic rule, the real power in Angola rests with the governing Revolutionary Council and with the MPLA's ten-member Political Bureau.

### 'Traitors' beware

MPLA officials have tried to justify the arrests of political dissidents and independent labor leaders by branding them as "reactionaries," "ultra-leftists," "traitors," "saboteurs," "racists," "divisionists," or "agents of imperialism."

The April 17 issue of *Diário de Luanda*, which is controlled by the MPLA, carried an article slandering Father Joaquim Pinto de Andrade, a leader of the former Revolta Activa<sup>3</sup> who was imprisoned briefly by the MPLA. The article went so far as to label Andrade a "true partner of the Devil."

According to a pamphlet released by the CDALPA<sup>4</sup> in Lisbon in March, many of those arrested by the MPLA were members or leaders of various "people's power" groups, workers committees, neighborhood commissions, student organizations, or other local bodies in Luanda and Benguela. An arrested leader of the UNTA in Benguela was accused of trying to form "Marxist-Leninist study groups in the factories."

Some of the arrested dissidents were also members of clandestine leftist political groups, such as the Organização Comunista de Angola (OCA—Angola Communist Organization) and the Comités Amílcar Cabral (CAC—Amílcar Cabral Committees). Unlike the MPLA, some of the underground groups identify themselves with the Angolan working class and have called for the establishment of a workers and peasants government.

To further silence these leftwing forces, the MPLA banned the newspapers *Angola*, *Poder Popular*, and *4 de Fevereiro*. The former editor of *Angola*, Rui Ramos, has been arrested.

On April 28, the regime announced the establishment of a People's Revolutionary Tribunal, which is to try "crimes against the Angolan revolution." A law signed by Agostinho Neto May 3 specified that the court would also judge crimes against "the state and the MPLA." The verdicts of the court cannot be appealed.

The only major case the court has heard so far was that of the thirteen British and American mercenaries who had been captured in northern Angola in February. But judging from the MPLA's slander campaign against the imprisoned dissidents, it may also be preparing to bring them before the People's Revolutionary Tribunal, perhaps on charges of being "agents of imperialism" or "saboteurs."

In an April 9 declaration, Interior Minister Nito Alves threatened that



MPLA Defense Minister Iko Carreira. Complains of 'anarchist feeling' and 'tendency for absolute egalitarianism' in the army.

some of the political prisoners may be executed. The dissidents could also be sent to the political "rehabilitation" camps the MPLA set up to supplement the old prison system inherited from the Portuguese.

### Strengthening the iron fist

Since the end of the civil war, the MPLA has continued to expand its police and military forces.

By March, there were 45,000 troops in the MPLA army, the Forças Armadas Populares de Libertação de Angola (FAPLA—People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola). In late February, a compulsory conscription law was adopted, stipulating that all Angolans between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five must serve two years in the armed forces.

"The draft will soak up the unemployed among Angola's six million and will be a convenient way to consolidate support for the regime," Caryle Murphy reported in the February 29 London *Sunday Times*. "Already the MPLA keeps close political control over its armed forces. Each army unit, for example, has a 'comite dos combatentes' which links the soldiers politically to the movement."

The MPLA's political control over its own troops does not yet appear to be complete, however. In May, Defense Minister Iko Carreira complained that there was a "certain anarchist feeling" and a "tendency for absolute egalitarianism" in the armed forces. He said that the troops showed little respect for their commanders. According to the May 17 issue of the Lisbon daily *Jornal Novo*, Carreira said that the MPLA had been forced to recruit "lumpen" elements, which had led to a "lowering of the political level" within the military.

"It has already been confirmed by the Luanda authorities themselves

that there are military units who are beyond the control of the General Command, acting on their own in an atmosphere of total indiscipline," the May 24 *Jornal Novo* reported. According to an MPLA commander, "infiltrators" within FAPLA have provoked unrest and incited the population in the Lubango region.

A plan for the reorganization of the armed forces was published in Luanda May 21. Distributed to the press by Commander Bakaloff, it called for the Central Committee of the MPLA to assume direct political control over the armed forces. Later the same day, President Neto canceled the report. He did not indicate any opposition to it, but said that it had been revealed "precipitately."

FAPLA's main task at the moment appears to be to maintain control of those areas of Angola formerly held by its rivals. Together with thousands of Cuban troops, it continues to carry out actions against guerrilla units of the UNITA, which still retains support among the Ovimbundu and other peoples of central and southern Angola.

In the Mbundu-populated region around Luanda, the MPLA's principal repressive forces are the police and the militia. According to Carreira, the purpose of the militia, the Organização de Defesa Popular (ODP—People's Defense Organization), is to "fight saboteurs, divisionist elements and all those people who try to alter the strategic tactical orientation of our movement." (Quoted in the *Daily News of Tanzania*, February 24, 1976.) In May, Carreira added that the ODP was also responsible for protecting workplaces.

Like the "people's committees," the ODP is organized on various levels, from the regional level downward. The two most important officials in the regional units are directly appointed by the FAPLA General Command. The regional ODP then appoints similar officials at the next lower level. This appointment process continues on down to the cell units, which are each composed of five persons. The cells are to be set up in factories, government agencies, offices, universities, farms, and other places to ensure effective control over the entire population.

To supplement the ODP units in the factories, the MPLA has established Comissões de Vigilância (CV—Vigilance Committees) under the control of the UNTA. According to the CDALPA

pamphlet, the CVs have the responsibility to "watch the workers, increase productivity, and prevent the distribution of revolutionary literature and pamphlets."

The secret police body directly in charge of political repression is the Direção de Informação e Segurança de Angola (DISA—Angola Directorate of Information and Security). Many of the dissidents now in prison were arrested by DISA agents.

The Soviet and Cuban governments have played a crucial role in helping the MPLA strengthen its repressive forces.

Much of the heavy equipment being used by FAPLA was provided by Moscow during the civil war. Western sources have estimated the value of the Soviet arms at about \$300 million. During the visit of Angolan Prime Minister Lopo do Nascimento to Moscow in late May, the Kremlin agreed to continue bolstering the Luanda regime by providing it with further military aid.

The importance the MPLA ascribes to Moscow's support was reflected in the composition of the delegation that accompanied Nascimento. It was the most important delegation the MPLA had sent abroad so far and included the defense minister, the deputy chief of staff of the armed forces, and the chief of intelligence and security.

According to a report in the April 29 *Jornal Novo*, the head of DISA, Commander N'Zage, has taken a course in "security" in the Soviet Union. This Soviet training was evident in the MPLA's witch-hunt against the left. The arrests of members of the CAC and "people's power" groups in Luanda in October 1975 were accompanied by a typical Stalinist slander campaign, which portrayed the dissidents as "partisans of Trotsky and Bakunin."

The Cubans, however, have had the most direct hand in training and advising the MPLA's police and military forces. They are helping the MPLA reorganize the former guerrilla units of FAPLA into a highly disciplined conventional army.

According to a dispatch from Luanda by David B. Ottaway in the May 26 *Washington Post*, "Domestically, the Cubans are presently helping the new Angolan government in many domains, from the training of a state security corps and a civilian militia to the reform of the country's prison system." Ottaway reported that the Cuban security personnel were also instructing Angolan police in techniques of crowd control.



MPLA trooper. Angolan security forces armed and trained in the Soviet Union have portrayed arrested dissidents as 'partisans of Trotsky and Bakunin.'

3. Active Revolt, a dissident tendency within the MPLA, now dissolved.

4. Comité de Divulgação e Apoio à Luta do Povo Angolano (Information and Support Committee for the Struggle of the Angolan People).



# ... danger of imperialist domination

From the MPLA's point of view, the political support extended to it by Moscow and Havana is a central dimension of their aid. It helps to strengthen the MPLA's bogus claim that its policies are "socialist" and gives it a political cover for its witch-hunt against the Angolan left.

## 'Crown jewel'

Angola was the "crown jewel" of Portugal's colonial empire. It has important deposits of oil, iron, manganese, phosphates, and other minerals. Before the outbreak of civil war in 1975, it produced 8 percent of the world's diamonds and was the world's third largest exporter of robusta coffee. It is estimated that, with the exception of South Africa, Angola has the greatest economic potential of any African country south of the Sahara.

The desire of the major imperialist powers to maintain and expand their exploitation of this vast natural wealth was the main threat to Angola's independence following the collapse of Portuguese colonialism and was an important factor fueling the factional warfare between the three Angolan nationalist groups.

Since it won the civil war in February, the MPLA regime has invited foreign companies to invest in Angola. Although the MPLA relies heavily on anti-imperialist demagoguery in its public pronouncements, its invitations to imperialist investors have been a standard feature of its economic program since early 1975.

During the civil war, however, many foreign concerns, particularly those owned by the Portuguese imperialists or colonial settlers, either abandoned their interests in Angola or temporarily withdrew their personnel. The uncertain economic prospects of a country wracked by civil war and labor unrest was the primary reason for this. Some of the foreign firms may also have been concerned that the MPLA's pledge to build "socialism" in Angola was a serious one or that it might not be successful in reining in the labor movement.

The MPLA's actions during the past few months have helped to dispel their concerns. Its efforts to stabilize its neocolonial regime by arresting leftist dissidents and labor activists and by tightening its control over the masses already appear to have convinced some of the imperialists that their investments will be relatively safe in Angola.

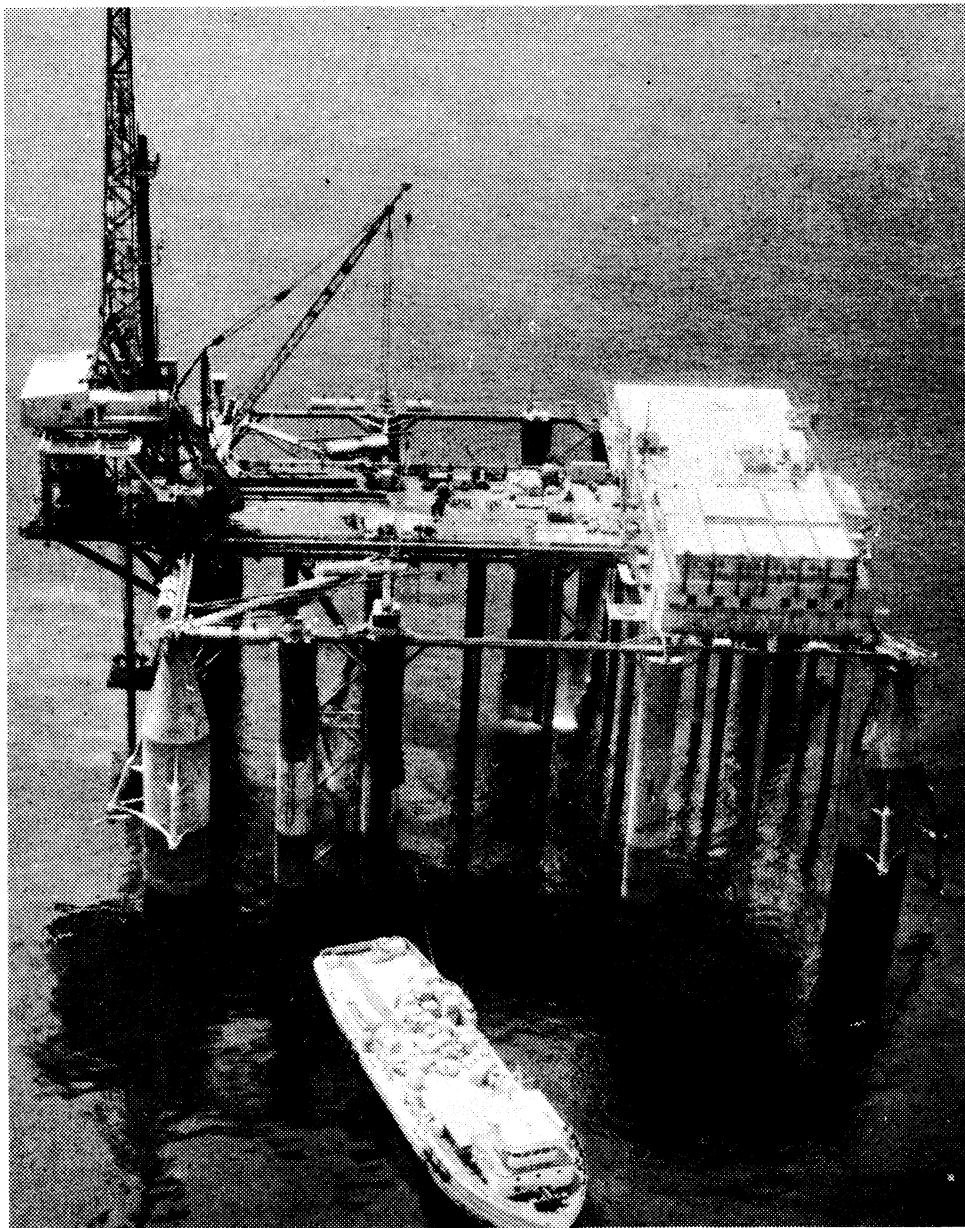
"Representatives of many western companies have paid visits to Luanda for discussions with the MPLA government about reviving the economy," the May 31 issue of the London weekly *West Africa* reported.

## Gulf's slice of the pie

The American Gulf Oil Corporation is by far the most important foreign concern to have resumed its operations in Angola so far.

By the end of May, the production from its 125 wells off the coast of the Cabinda enclave had climbed back up to 100,000 barrels a day, about two-thirds of its normal production level. Before resuming its operations, Gulf paid the MPLA regime \$102 million in back taxes and royalties that had been held in escrow since December.<sup>5</sup> Based on the present royalty agreement,

5. Texaco, which has a 25 percent share in another Angolan oil operation that was shut down in January, has also resumed its royalty and tax payments, giving the MPLA nearly \$1 million.



Gulf oil installation off coast of Cabinda. 'Income from Gulf's operations is vital to MPLA's economic plans.'

payments by Gulf to the MPLA government will average about \$500 million a year when production gets back to its former level.

The Cabinda oil wells are an important part of Gulf's overseas operations. According to a Gulf spokesman, production from the Cabinda wells normally contributes about 10 percent of the parent company's earnings from foreign oil operations, or about \$20 million a year.

The Cabindan oil is still being exploited on the basis of Gulf's oil agreement with the Portuguese colonialists. But the Luanda regime has declared its intention of acquiring state control over most essential industries, including oil. In line with this policy, Prime Minister Lopo do Nascimento announced May 13 that negotiations with Gulf would begin for a new contract "under new conditions."

According to the March 6 London *Economist*, Gulf officials are not opposed to ceding a 55 percent share of their Angolan subsidiary to the MPLA regime. In fact, before Angola gained its independence, Gulf had already negotiated a contract with the Portuguese authorities that gave Luanda a half share in Gulf's operations. But that agreement was never put into practice.

The income from Gulf's operations is vital to the MPLA's economic plans. With the decline in other industries as a result of the civil war, oil now provides about 80 percent of Angola's foreign exchange. Previously, it accounted for only 40 percent.

## Washington turns the screws

In December 1975, while Washington was funneling arms and money to the FNLA and UNITA, it pressured Gulf

into withdrawing from Angola and halting its payments to the MPLA (by that time Gulf had already paid the MPLA \$116 million in 1975). As a result of the failure of the American intervention in Angola and the defeat of the FNLA and UNITA by the MPLA, Washington has made a tactical shift and is now seeking an accommodation with Luanda.

The State Department's decision in February to allow Gulf to resume its operations marked the first significant overture by Washington to the MPLA regime.

Despite this tactical shift, its overall aims remain the same. American imperialism's basic strategy toward Angola—and to the rest of independent Black-ruled Africa as well—is to ensure that it remains part of the capitalist world and that American companies have as great an access to its natural resources as possible. The outcome of the civil war has simply forced Washington to try to implement its neocolonialist strategy in Angola through the present regime.

The large royalty and tax payments by Gulf to the MPLA give U.S. imperialism a strong lever in its dealings with Luanda. The White House is undoubtedly hoping to use this lever to wrangle further concessions from the MPLA.

The MPLA, for its part, has made it clear that its diplomatic doors to Washington remain open. On May 25, it returned the official residence of the former U.S. consulate in Luanda, complete with an apology for the temporary takeover of the building by Cuban and Angolan troops.

At the same time, the White House has continued its pressure on the MPLA to have the Cuban troops

withdrawn. On June 23, the U.S. representative to the United Nations vetoed Luanda's bid for membership in the world body. "The continuing presence and apparent influence of Cuban troops, massive in number in the Angola context, is the basis of our view," U.S. delegate Albert W. Sherer, Jr. explained.

Washington may also be seeking to pressure the MPLA from another direction. During the civil war it funneled money and arms to the FNLA and UNITA through such neighboring regimes as those in Zaïre, Zambia, and South Africa. It is possible that American money and supplies are continuing to find their way to the UNITA guerrillas, who have stepped up their activities in the past two months.

As part of its efforts to shore up the Black neocolonial regimes allied with Washington, the White House has requested approval from Congress of a \$27.5 million economic aid package to the regime of Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia. It has also indicated that it will ask for an increase in U.S. military aid to the Zaïrean regime of Mobutu Sese Seko. During the civil war, some of its funds to the FNLA and UNITA were hidden in similar aid packages, particularly to the Mobutu regime.

Since it is a standard practice of the American imperialists to keep as many options as possible, Washington may at the same time be keeping its eye open for figures within the MPLA who are even more favorable to the West than the present leadership.

## A race for profits

In the imperialist scramble to plunder Angola's valuable mineral resources, the American oil interests are at the head of the pack. But other imperialist firms are not far behind.

In 1972, Angola produced more than 2 million carats of diamonds, valued at about \$110 million. The company that exploits the diamond fields in northeastern Angola is the Companhia de Diamantes de Angola (Diamang), which is controlled by Portuguese, South African, American, British, and Belgian capital.

Since the April 1974 coup in Lisbon, production in the Diamang concession has dropped drastically to about 15 percent of its former level. This was caused by the departure of more than two-thirds of the company's 20,000 Black workers and by a sharp rise in smuggling.

Diamang has begun negotiations with the MPLA regime with the aim of turning over its concession rights. The company may be hoping that the MPLA will take on the responsibility of halting the smuggling and of getting productivity back up to "normal" levels. (MPLA troops have already taken on the task of policing the area after the dissolution of Diamang's private security force of 500 troops.)

Diamang still plans to remain in Angola as the principal exploiter of the diamonds, however. The MPLA regime, which now owns an 11.6 percent share of Diamang, appears to agree on this. According to the March 5 issue of the French *Marchés Tropicaux*, "The negotiations with the Angolan government began in Luanda at the end of January. The MPLA seems extremely interested in avoiding the impression that it seeks to nationalize the company, according to the president of Diamang."

The Angolan diamonds, moreover, are still being marketed through the Central Selling Organisation of De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd., which

*Continued on next page*

## ...Angola: behind the MPLA's 'socialist' mask

Continued from preceding page

is controlled by the South African conglomerate, the Anglo American Corporation.

The major South African interest in Angola is the giant hydroelectric project on the Cunene River in southern Angola, in which Pretoria has more than \$200 million invested. According to South African Minister for Economic Affairs J.C. Heunis, work on the Cunene dam resumed in early April after the MPLA had guaranteed to protect the workers and equipment.

The Cunene project, which is near the Namibian border, is scheduled to provide water for Ovamboland in northern Namibia and most of the power for the South African, American, and British-owned mines in the territory. The project is the cornerstone of Pretoria's scheme to increase its economic exploitation of Namibia, which it rules as a direct colony.

The South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), which is fighting for Namibia's independence, had previously declared that the Cunene project would be a target of its guerrillas. But it remains to be seen if it will carry out any actions against the dam given the reported MPLA "guarantee."

Writing in the June issue of the British monthly *African Development*, correspondent Roger Murray commented, "The MPLA has agreed to provide SWAPO with material assistance and the use of training camp facilities in southern Angola, and in return for this, SWAPO may be prepared to hold-off attacks on Kunene itself."

The MPLA, however, has claimed that it has made no deals with Pretoria concerning the dam project.

Among the other business interests eager to get on board is Grängestad National Mining, a Swedish company. According to a report by Bernard D. Nossiter in the June 3 *Washington Post*, the Swedish businessmen were invited by the MPLA to study reopening the Cassinga iron mines, which were closed when their former owner went bankrupt.

Nossiter reported, "The invitation to these businessmen, the sources here [Stockholm] contend, reflects a deliberate policy by [President] Neto to encourage links with the West."

### Modifying the rules

Like many similar nationalist regimes, the MPLA's capitulation to the imperialist powers is not totally abject. Nor is its anti-imperialist stance purely for show. Within the framework of neocolonial subordination, the new rulers of Angola are interested in strengthening their bargaining position with the imperialists as much as possible.

In order to gain a certain amount of control over the imperialist holdings in Angola and to compel the foreign companies to agree to more favorable economic deals, the Luanda regime passed a law on February 28 regulating the terms of state intervention in the economy.

It empowers the Revolutionary Council to nationalize any foreign or Angolan business, either partially or fully. Under the terms of the law, the regime indicated its intention of acquiring control over "strategic" industries. It can also confiscate businesses and property that have been abandoned by their owners.

In early May, the MPLA regime began nationalizing a number of Portuguese-owned industries and plan-



'Only the mobilization of the masses of Angolan workers and peasants under revolutionary-socialist leadership can overthrow capitalism, attain real national independence, and begin the construction of a socialist future. MPLA stands in full opposition to such a course.'

tations that had been abandoned, including the Champalimand steel works, a cement factory, textile and sugar companies, and twelve agricultural complexes. The fact that all of the nationalized firms had been abandoned by their owners revealed "the cautious approach of the MPLA government to the nationalisation scheme," a correspondent commented in the May 17 *West Africa*.

The nationalizations of the Portuguese enterprises came during a diplomatic rift between Lisbon and Luanda. The Luanda regime ordered Lisbon May 18 to withdraw all its diplomatic representatives from Angola. The MPLA charged Lisbon with being a "center of reactionary forces" because the Portuguese press publicized a tour by an FNLA representative and because Portuguese refugees from Angola had bombed an MPLA office in Lisbon.

Added factors in the rift were Lisbon's reluctance to release Angolan bank deposits held in Portugal or to back the Angolan escudo. Some of the present leaders of the ruling military junta in Lisbon have also expressed public hostility to the MPLA in recent months.

As part of its land-reform program, the MPLA nationalized a number of plantations, again mostly Portuguese-owned. Those that had been abandoned were confiscated outright. According to an April 29 radio broadcast by the Yugoslav news agency, Tanjug, "The handful of private plantation owners who did not flee the country when Angola was liberated will [be] indemnified for their property and allowed to remain and work on plantations as experts."

So far, the MPLA has been careful not to touch any non-Portuguese interests.<sup>6</sup> London *Financial Times* correspondent Jane Bergerol reported in a

6. The one exception is Tanganyika Concessions, a South African and British firm that owns the Benguela Railway. It is scheduled to be nationalized after it pays off its \$40 million debt. In the meantime, the Luanda regime is reportedly subsidizing the salaries of the railway employees at more than \$1 million a month.

May 6 dispatch from Luanda that in the recent nationalizations, "Shares owned by foreign non-Portuguese private interests are exempt from State control or confiscation, as exemplified in the case of one of the textile companies confiscated whose Dutch shareholders are specifically stated to be outside the scope of the Government's action."

While the MPLA regime has reserved for itself a role in Angola's economy, it has also made it clear that there will be ample room for private investments, both domestic and foreign. In fact, the same law that gave the regime the power to nationalize enterprises also stipulated that the private sector "must be encouraged and supported by the State as long as it respects the general economic and labour policies defined by MPLA."

According to the July-August issue of the New York bimonthly *Africa Report*, "Angolan officials acknowledge that great sums of financial aid and investment are needed to continue developing major foreign exchange earners—oil, coffee, and diamonds."

### A 'model' socialist state?

In his closing speech at the Luanda International Trade Fair in May, Prime Minister Nascimento said that the Luanda regime would launch a three-year development plan next year, to be followed by a five-year plan in 1980. He claimed that the MPLA was totally committed to "socialism" and aimed to build "a model socialist state on the African continent."

In light of the MPLA's actual policies, particularly during the past several months, the "socialism" espoused by officials like Nascimento is nothing more than a demagogic dressing for the Luanda regime's efforts to construct a formally independent Angola that will continue to be based on capitalist property relations and subordination to world imperialism.

In this respect, the MPLA's neocolonial regime displays features similar to those of other "African socialist" states, as in Tanzania, the Congo Republic, and Guinea, where the labor movements are also directly tied to the

state and the masses are controlled through bureaucratic "people's" bodies of one variety or another. Each of these three "socialist" countries has been free of direct colonial rule for fifteen years or longer, yet is today still subject to imperialist economic domination.

Although there is now no Angolan bourgeoisie to speak of, there are petty-bourgeois layers who are scrambling to take over the positions previously occupied by the Portuguese and who aspire to transform themselves over time into fledgling capitalists. A similar process has already taken place in many other African countries, where feeble national bourgeoisies were able to arise in the sectors of the neocolonial economy not directly controlled by imperialism.

There are already some signs that this process is beginning in Angola. In a report in the February 28 *Le Monde*, correspondent René Lefort summarized a description by an MPLA commander of the formation of "a new group of merchants, transporters, and functionaries who have always thought that their MPLA membership cards gave them the right to take the places left vacant by the departing Portuguese."

In the March 12 issue, Lefort noted that "the birth of a caste of *nouveaux riches* is quite evident. . . ."

"Within several months, tens of thousands of Angolans who were clerks or minor officials have become merchants with houses of their own or heads of departments."

As part of the MPLA's general "socialist" rhetoric, it has proclaimed that it is opposed to "the transformation of the Angolan colonial petty-bourgeoisie into a national bourgeoisie." But at the same time, the MPLA leadership has kept its arms open to the "patriotic bourgeoisie," which it warmly proclaims as "part of our Angolan nation."

The overriding danger to the Angolan masses, however, continues to come from the imperialist powers. Under the Portuguese empire, Angola was subjected to direct colonial rule; during the civil war, its freedom was threatened by the military intervention by Pretoria, Washington, and the other imperialist powers. But today, the danger of imperialist domination takes on a new, more indirect, form.

In a country as wealthy as Angola, the capitalists of the United States, Europe, and South Africa will use every available opening to continue and expand their plundering of its wealth. As long as capitalism survives in Angola, the political and economic strength of the foreign investors and the crippling pressures of the world capitalist market will ensure that the country remains underdeveloped or develops only in those sectors that serve the needs of imperialism.

No matter how many three- or five-year plans the MPLA institutes, it will not be able to appreciably ease the poverty of the Angolan masses under such conditions. Moreover, the danger also exists that the large foothold the imperialists now have will later give them an opportunity to roll back even those partial economic measures taken against them by the Luanda regime.

Only the mobilization of the masses of Angolan workers and peasants under a revolutionary-socialist leadership can overthrow capitalism, attain real national independence, and begin the construction of a socialist future. The MPLA stands in full opposition to such a course.



## Endorse Carter, Moynihan

# Social Democrats USA hold convention

By Fred Feldman

NEW YORK—The Social Democrats USA held a national convention here July 17 and 18.

The opening session drew 400. Addressing it were Prof. Sidney Hook and former Nixon-Ford aide Daniel Moynihan, currently a candidate for the Democratic party nomination for U.S. Senate from New York.

Nearly 500 persons attended a luncheon in honor of A. Philip Randolph, ex-president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and David Dubinsky, former head of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, two supporters of the SDUSA. The business sessions drew up to 150 delegates.

As a social-democratic organization, the SDUSA holds that all necessary social progress can be won by reforming capitalism, rather than by junking it in favor of socialism. While relatively small, the SDUSA has backers in the top circles of the trade-union movement. Tom Kahn, an SDUSA national leader, is AFL-CIO President George Meany's executive assistant. Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, supports the SDUSA.

The convention unveiled an addition to the SDUSA's allies in the labor bureaucracy. Paul Hall, president of the Seafarers' International Union, Nixon financial contributor and head of "Labor for Nixon" in 1972, was a featured speaker at the luncheon.

The SDUSA is a member of the Socialist International, which includes the ruling parties of England, Germany, Sweden, and Israel. Willy Brandt of the German Social Democratic party and Golda Meir of the Israeli Labor party sent greetings.

The SDUSA is one of two organizations that emerged from a split in the old Socialist party. The rupture reflected differences within the trade-union bureaucracy. One wing of the SP, led by the late Max Shachtman, agreed with Meany's support for the Vietnam War. This faction merged with the Democratic Socialist Federation in 1972 to form the Social Democrats USA.

A second faction, led by Michael Harrington, formed the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). This group looked to leaders like Jerry Wurf of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees who were critical of U.S. policy in Vietnam. They supported "new politics" Democrats, such as George McGovern, while the SDUSA favored "regular" Democrats like Henry Jackson.

### Support for Democrats

The main order of business at the SDUSA gathering was to put the organization behind Jimmy Carter's presidential campaign and Daniel Moynihan's race for the Democratic senatorial nomination in New York.

The SDUSA opposed Carter's nomination, but asserts that Carter is "committed" to fight for full employment, health insurance, and tax reform.

Albert Shanker told the convention, "It is impossible to underestimate the importance of electing Carter and Mondale." Shanker brushed off strong indications that Carter plans to give federal employees a taste of the same medicine that Mayor Abraham Beame and Gov. Hugh Carey (whom Shanker also supported) gave New York City workers.

The SDUSA's faith in Carter's campaign promises stems from belief in the fundamental viability of American capitalism. Like their cronies in the trade-union leadership, they cannot imagine that the capitalist boom times of yesteryear will not return soon. The main convention resolution, "Social Democrats and America," confidently predicts that the economic crisis "can be reversed through government monetary and fiscal policies."

The SDUSA presents the Hawkins-Humphrey bill—a Democratic election-year gimmick that will not assure a job to a single worker—as a solution to unemployment.

Consistent with this analysis, the SDUSA has adapted its long-term goals to conform to the outlook of procapitalist labor leaders like Meany. The convention adopted a resolution as a basis for further discussion that rejects the "old socialist doctrine" that nationalization of industry is needed for the emancipation of working people. SDUSA leader Max Green said, "Our task is to achieve our socialist goals in the context of a market economy."

The SDUSA generally tailors its positions to



Militant/Lou Howort



Social Democrats' heroes addressed convention. From top to bottom: Albert Shanker, Daniel Moynihan, Sidney Hook. The organization backs the policies of most conservative wing of trade-union bureaucracy.

George Meany's specifications. They part company, however, on the issue of busing. Meany has supported it and has called on the unions to take action in support of busing plans. Despite Meany's call, the violent attacks on busing in Boston and elsewhere were not discussed at the convention.

The lead article in the May 1976 issue of the SDUSA's monthly newspaper, *New America*, took a position that, although cautiously worded, differs sharply from Meany's. Author Kenneth O'Brien describes antibusing and anti-open housing stands taken by the Democratic hopefuls. While noting Meany's probusing stand, O'Brien writes:

"... the political approach long favored by labor—and, it should be noted, vigorously pressed by social democrats—has now been embraced by the major candidates of the Democratic Party. This approach stresses class above race as the means of resolving racial inequities on the sound premise that racially-based programs not only create unresolvable divisions within the working class coalition, but simply don't work."

At the convention this stance was stressed by SDUSA National Chairman Bayard Rustin. Introducing Moynihan, Rustin hailed his 1969 proposal that the Nixon administration react with "benign neglect" to the needs and demands of Black people. Moynihan's formula signaled the opening of the ruling-class offensive against the gains of the civil rights struggle. Rustin said Moynihan had been "misunderstood."

The history of the labor movement has demonstrated that workers can only be effectively united against their enemies if they support the rights and demands of the most oppressed. The SDUSA's demand that Blacks stop struggling for their rights

in deference to "working-class unity" is a capitulation to the prejudices that fuel groups like ROAR, which are antilabor as well as anti-Black.

Such a policy will divide the workers in the face of ruling-class attacks. Far from being an example of "deracializing politics," as SDUSA leaders like to assert, this stand is a massive concession to *white racist politics*.

The SDUSA's devotion to the defense of U.S. capitalism internationally also bars it from putting up an effective defense of labor's interests. Daniel Moynihan's denunciations of nations that fail to toe the U.S. line at the United Nations won him three standing ovations from the convention. While Moynihan lavished praise on the SDUSA for its anticommunism, he gave no hint of opposition to the domestic assault on public employees and other workers.

### 'Democracy' and 'totalitarianism'

In the face of the deterioration of the cities and cutbacks in social services, the SDUSA advocates an increase in the arms budget. All this is justified in the name of a "democratic" opposition to "totalitarianism."

But not quite all totalitarianism. The SDUSA devotes substantial resources and effort to demanding that the imperialists resume the "cold war" against the Soviet Union, using the Brezhnev regime's brutal treatment of dissidents as a pretext. However, the repression of working-class organizations in Chile and the apartheid system in South Africa rate only occasional criticism—even though U.S. imperialism is a partner in the repression carried out by these regimes.

The SDUSA convention was silent on the reinstitution of the death penalty, on repressive legislation such as S-1, on the antidemocratic spying and disruption campaigns of the FBI and CIA, and on the Equal Rights Amendment. It took no note of the growing demand for trade-union democracy in the United Steelworkers and other unions.

The only exception to this bleak record on democratic rights was the case of Eldridge Cleaver. Cleaver, who is in a California prison on frame-up charges of attempted murder stemming from his activities as a leader of the Black Panther party, recently rejected many of his old views.

At the convention, Rustin made a strongly worded appeal for support of Cleaver's right to a fair trial. SDUSA members were instrumental in forming an Eldridge Cleaver Defense Committee, which has been trying to raise bail and legal fees for Cleaver.

The logic of cold-war anticommunism led the convention to adopt, by a vote of 21 to 18, a constitutional amendment barring its members from "work with" Communists, Trotskyists, or other groups designated by the SDUSA leadership as "totalitarian."

Many SDUSA members undoubtedly oppose attacks on civil liberties. Their adherence to class-collaborationist, antisocialist policies leads them to ignore, if not to actually condone, such violations. Consistent opposition to capitalist assaults on civil liberties would surely divide a "working-class coalition" that includes the antidemocratic capitalist politicians themselves. This writer came away from the convention with a distinct feeling that the SDUSA's rhetoric about democracy is clearly marked "for export to the Soviet bloc only."

The convention voted to merge the SDUSA and the Young People's Socialist League. The YPSL will retain its name and some "autonomy," but all YPSL members will automatically be members of the SDUSA.

The SDUSA decided to support efforts by the Textile Workers Union of America to organize J.P. Stevens & Co., the nation's second-largest textile manufacturer. The TWUA has called for a national boycott of J.P. Stevens products.

The SDUSA convention was an effort by a significant current in the labor movement to defend and carry forward the class-collaborationist policies of the American labor bureaucracy. These policies have already placed the SDUSA in opposition to the antiwar movement, the women's liberation movement, and the Black struggle for full equality. In the future, the SDUSA's orientation will just as surely lead it into head-on confrontation with American workers, who will reject subordination to the Carters and Moynihans in order to fight for their basic needs.



## BULLETIN

Since the article below was written, the Canadian Labour Congress has set October 14 as a "day of protest" against wage controls. CLC President Joe Morris announced August 6 that there will be a "withdrawal of services" by union members across the country. Morris called on "all Canadian workers, whether organized or unorganized, pensioners, students, and others to join in this demonstration."

By Andy Rose

TORONTO—Will Canadian labor conduct a one-day general strike against government wage controls?

"No doubt about it!" says Frank Fairchild of the United Auto Workers staff here. Fairchild is administrative assistant to Canadian UAW Director Dennis McDermott.

"Everybody is looking to the union leadership to act," Fairchild told the *Militant*. "If the leadership doesn't act, they may take it on themselves."

The call for a general strike was adopted last May at the convention of the two-million-member Canadian Labour Congress (equivalent to the AFL-CIO in the United States).

This unprecedented campaign by the Canadian labor movement should

## LABOR UPSURGE IN CANADA

be of special interest to American unionists, who were shackled by wage controls from 1971 to 1974 and who may well face them again in coming years.

When Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced his program of economic controls on October 13, 1975, he claimed that prices would be limited along with wages. The program was supposedly aimed at reducing inflation, then running about 14 percent a year.

"Controls work, all right," Canadian UAW research director Sam Ginden told me. "Not against inflation, but against wages. That's their purpose."

Under Trudeau's controls, wage increases are limited to 10 percent in the first year of a new contract, 8 percent in the second, and 6 percent in the third. Prices are allowed to rise to meet "increased costs"—the standard excuse of profit-hungry corporate executives.

"Lying behind the controls," Ginden believes, "is a particular capitalist strategy of economic development.

# General strike against wage controls!



30,000 workers demonstrated against wage controls in Ottawa last March

Trudeau's strategy is to aid the capitalists in their accumulation of capital by restraining labor's share of the pie."

Ginden points out that from 1971 to 1974, total labor compensation in Canada rose by 45 percent, while profits rose 111 percent. Thus, profits were capturing a higher share of the country's total output while labor's share was falling.

Skyrocketing prices in this period, however, touched off an upsurge of union militancy. A new record in workdays lost as a result of strikes was set in 1974—and then surpassed in 1975. Through these struggles, Canadian workers began to regain ground they had lost earlier.

Canadian capitalists were especially dismayed that the historical gap between Canadian and U.S. wages was narrowing. Ten years ago Canadian manufacturing workers were paid only

about two-thirds the wages of their U.S. counterparts. But the higher settlements won by Canadian unions in recent years have nearly closed this gap.

By using the centralized power of their government to hold down wages, the Canadian capitalists hope to increase profits and improve their competitive position on the world market.

### 'Rising expectations'

In imposing controls last October, Trudeau attacked what he called "the revolution of rising expectations," that is, the belief by working people that "cheap and plentiful food, energy, housing, and government services, together with an ever-improving standard of living," are "a matter of right."

In calling for "a wrenching adjustment of our expectations—an adjustment of our national life-style," Trudeau's rhetoric was virtually identical to the "work harder, expect less" refrain now standard for Democratic and Republican politicians alike in the United States.

Interestingly enough, Trudeau's Liberal party government had been re-elected in July 1974 after campaigning against "wage and price controls," which were advocated by the Conservative party.

But when the profit interests of Canadian capital required direct government action against wages, Trudeau switched his position just as easily as the "free market conservative" Nixon had when he froze wages of U.S. workers in 1971.

Trudeau, like Nixon, invited top union officials to join in administering the economic controls, supposedly in the interests of fairness. But that is where the parallel ends.

"The CLC refused to take part in the controls," UAW staffer Ginden explained, "and that's terribly important. Right from the beginning the program didn't get that legitimacy."

When U.S. union officials took seats on Nixon's pay board—even if they voted against its wage-cutting decisions—they lent their authority to the controls and sabotaged any attempt to break through the wage limits. So far that hasn't happened in Canada.

One of the first tests of the sentiment among unionists came the week after controls were imposed, at the cross-country convention of the Canadian Union of Public Employees. CUPE, with 210,000 members, is the largest and fastest-growing union in Canada.

CUPE leaders submitted a resolution condemning the controls. Convention delegates, however, didn't consider the wording strong enough. They sent the resolution back three times for redrafting.

As finally adopted, the resolution called on all CUPE locals "to defy the legislation"; it proposed "an aggressive education and public relations program"; and it called on the CLC to convene a conference of labor to organize united opposition.

From the outset, demonstrations were organized by various unions, especially those with negotiations or strikes jeopardized by the controls. The largest of these actions was a march by 35,000 workers in Montréal on November 26.

The strategy of the CLC leadership could be summed up this way: Reject the controls, refuse to cooperate with the so-called Anti-Inflation Board, and negotiate with employers without regard to the wage ceilings.

This "business as usual" approach failed to explain, however, what the unions would do when the government started rolling back wage increases.

In major strikes by postal workers, Toronto high school teachers, and others, the inadequacy of the CLC's strategy became clear. Unions confronting the controls were left to fight their battles alone, with little or no help from the rest of the labor movement. The teachers and postal workers were forced back to work on the same terms offered before they struck. Angry unionists began to press for more effective and united action.

### March 22 protest

Finally, after the board rolled back wage gains for a group of paperworkers, the CLC called for a mass protest at the federal parliament in Ottawa on March 22.

The CLC leadership made at best a half-hearted effort to mobilize the union ranks. Nevertheless, 30,000 unionists turned out, making March 22 the largest protest ever in Ottawa and the first united action in Canadian history of masses of workers from both Québec and English Canada.

Just a few weeks later, on April 28, the Ontario Federation of Labour sponsored a march of more than 15,000 workers to the provincial legislature demanding an end to wage controls and social service cutbacks.

These massive, militant actions were fresh in the minds of the CLC convention delegates when they met in May.

### 'Manifesto' for collaboration

In contrast to the convention's unanimity behind the one-day work stoppage, there was heated debate over "Labour's Manifesto for Canada," a document presented by the CLC leadership.

Portrayed as a strategy for increasing labor's political and economic power, this document actually opened the door to union cooperation in administering the capitalist economy—for example, cooperation in a "fair" system of economic controls. A key paragraph read:

"Labour has always set the price at which it would support 'the system.' . . . The price of labour's future support must be an equal share in the economic and social decision-making on a national basis with the other partners—business and government."

Nearly one-third of the convention delegates voted against this document. Don Tapscott, a delegate from Alberta, voiced the feelings of many:

"This is a dangerous, unreal, and illusory coalition you are suggesting. The idea of a partnership with the bosses and with government, with whom we are at war, is out of the

## New controls in U.S.?

Capitalists in the United States have been patting themselves on the back lately, pleased that depression-level unemployment has driven down the rate of wage increases.

But the ruling rich try to leave little to chance. Unemployment might decline; unions might press for higher wages. And so political preparations are under way for a possible new round of government wage controls.

*Business Week* reported July 26 on a worldwide trend toward "wage restraints prescribed or suggested by government and accepted by labor." ("Labor" here is deliberately and falsely equated with the bureaucratized union officialdom.)

"In the U.S.," *Business Week* noted, "the platform adopted by this week's Democratic Party convention contains a call for an 'incomes policy' because union spokesmen dropped unequivocal opposition to any governmental restraint on wage increases."

*Business Week* had earlier explained that the AFL-CIO tops accepted the Democrats' wage-

control plank "in the interest of party unity."

On July 28, United Press International reported from Washington that the Hawkins-Humphrey so-called full employment bill is being rewritten to bring it into line with the Democratic platform.

The new version specifies that no public service jobs would be created for at least two years. It restricts eligibility for any such jobs and drops the pledge that "prevailing wages" would be paid.

UPI reported that the new bill also includes "anti-inflation provisions" whose details were not released.

What are these "anti-inflation provisions"?

It would be ironic indeed if the bogus "full employment" bill—pushed by the labor bureaucrats as a substitute for a real struggle for jobs—was transformed into the vehicle for a new imposition of wage controls.

Ironic, but not surprising. That's the logic of "party unity"—with the political party of the bosses.—A.R.

question. It's like sitting down and cooperating with a bunch of vampires."

#### What next?

An important element in the CLC leadership's current strategy was spelled out by UAW research director Sam Ginden.

"There is not a unanimous feeling in government and business about the controls," he told me. "This is a new thing. Trudeau is a very sophisticated thinker in his appreciation that capitalism won't work in its present form."

"So, even though the controls are aimed against wages, some businesses don't see it that way. And they're worried about the effect of labor fighting back. It politicizes labor."

"If we had a one-day stoppage and if it worked well, that would make the politicians and businessmen very nervous about what is happening in this country. These divisions could be the mechanism for actually ending the controls."

It should be obvious, however, that the ruling class is not going to be bluffed into early abandonment of controls.

Already the fight against wage controls has suffered a major setback with the breakup of the Common Front campaign by Québec public employees (see July 2 and July 16 *Militants*). Québécois workers had carried out the largest and most militant actions, propelling forward the entire pan-Canadian struggle.

Nevertheless, the CLC tops remain under strong rank-and-file pressure to carry through with the general strike. This was reflected at a special conference July 20 of the British Columbia Federation of Labour. Delegate after delegate called on CLC President Joe Morris to set the date for the strike.

\* \* \*

The existence in Canada of the New Democratic party, a labor party based on the trade unions, has advanced and helped to shape the fight against wage controls. NDP leaders have spoken out against the controls and spotlighted their antilabor character. At the same time, provincial NDP governments have actually participated in implementing the controls, thereby coming into sharp conflict with the unions.

The contradictory response of the NDP, and what it shows about the contradictory character of this party, will be taken up in the next article in this series.

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# Steelworkers western conference reflects growing ferment in ranks

By José G. Pérez

There is growing unrest, dissatisfaction, and a spirit of inquiry in the ranks of the United Steelworkers of America. This was reflected at the conference of USWA District 38, according to a conference delegate interviewed by the *Militant*.

District 38 covers the western United States and has 80,000 members. The conference was held June 16-18 in Rapid City, South Dakota.

About 900 people were present, including some 500 delegates. Of the delegates, about one-third were Black or Chicano. There was a sprinkling of women, an initial reflection of the growing involvement of women workers in the union.

The tone of the proceedings was more democratic than past conferences. Those chairing the meeting not only permitted a relatively free airing of views, but on occasion even urged delegates to take the microphone and express their viewpoints.

The sharpest exchange occurred around a resolution on nuclear power and environmental protection. This resolution supported rapid development of nuclear power plants, although it also included calls for stepped-up environmental and health safeguards.

Its supporters argued that the country needs increasing power consumption, that alternative power sources increase dependence on foreign imports, and that building and operating nuclear plants would provide jobs.

The arguments of opponents of the resolution were summarized by a delegate from Local 1304 who was the last speaker on the point. He said that ignoring the grave hazards of nuclear development as it is now being carried out is "penny wise and pound foolish."

He noted that—for the first time in U.S. history—there had been a national nuclear alert two weeks before the conference, when a truck carrying nuclear waste crashed in Nevada.

The delegate noted that this news had been suppressed by most of the media. And he asked, "How can we begin to make an intelligent decision with such ruthless manipulation of the media?" However, the resolution was approved.



Another issue that sparked a big discussion was health and safety on the job. This came up under a number of proposals for recommended contract changes.

There were other developments that reflected the changing mood among steelworkers.

For example, in addition to the usual union officers and capitalist politicians, American Indian Movement leader Russell Means was among the six invited guest speakers.

This was an unusual move. Means is hated by the South Dakota employers and their two political parties, who have tried to railroad him to prison several times. Undoubtedly, authorities in the area viewed the respect shown for AIM by District 38 as an affront.

Means was unable to speak because he was recovering from a gunshot wound suffered during an attempt to kill him a few weeks earlier.

However, Faith Traversie, Means's aunt, who is also active in AIM, took his place. She spoke for forty minutes, explaining the case of Dennis Banks, who is in California fighting extradition to South Dakota, and the attempts to frame up and victimize other AIM leaders.

She also denounced the racism in Rapid City and throughout South Dakota, and explained the ways Indian people are denied the right to their own culture and control over their own destiny.

The delegate I interviewed told me about an incident that, for him, captured the developing attitudes of members of his union.

Each district is divided into subdistricts. An opening in the wage policy committee of Subdistrict 3, which includes locals in the San Francisco Bay Area, was to be filled at the conference. There has never been a woman on this committee.

At first, a respected leader of one of the locals considered running for the post. This activist is a supporter of democratization of the union, and said he wanted to use the post to help this effort along.

However, after talking to other delegates, he decided not to run. Instead he supported a woman militant who is not as well known in the union. He felt that representation of women workers on the committee was long overdue.

Apparently, the majority of the delegates from the subdistrict agreed. She was elected by a substantial majority.

There was considerable interest at the conference in upcoming international and district union elections. District 38 Director Frank McKee is running for international secretary-treasurer and not seeking reelection as district director. He is part of a slate of three candidates closely identified with the policies of the present steel union leadership.

McKee's running mates for international officers also addressed the

conference, as did John Johns, international vice-president.

Johns is also closely identified with I.W. Abel, the international president.

Johns announced at the end of July that he would seek the international presidency. Johns claims to have the support of eighteen of the twenty-four district directors.

Ed Sadlowski, director of District 31 (Chicago-Gary), is also expected to run for international president. Sadlowski advocates democratizing the union and doing away with the "tuxedo unionism" of Abel and the entrenched leadership.

Although no one spoke about Sadlowski on the floor of the District 38 conference, there was considerable discussion off the floor, and much interest in this challenge to the bureaucracy.

Three aspirants for the post of district director campaigned at the Rapid City meeting. One was Robert Petris, who is now assistant director. His campaign stressed his close association with McKee.

Another is Linus Wampler, who became a union leader in the old Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers union. That union fused with the steelworkers sixteen years ago. Wampler's campaign literature says he will work closely with local leaders, will appoint more women to the staff, and will stress health and safety issues.

Wampler's only reference to the old leadership in his main piece of campaign literature is the statement, "I will do whatever I can to see that the Union is returned to the membership where it belongs."

The third candidate for district director is Juan Chacón, a copper miner who has been president of Local 890 in New Mexico for many years. Literature handed out at the conference stressed that Chacón "will serve the needs of the rank and file," and will "return our union to the members."

Chacón's campaign has been strongly publicized in the Communist party's West Coast weekly, *People's World*, as "the voice of the rank and file." However, there did not seem to be strong support for his candidacy among those at the conference.

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## Sadlowski slate sweeps election

GARY, Ind.—Supporters of Ed Sadlowski's campaign to democratize the United Steelworkers of America have swept the elections for USWA convention delegates at the 18,000-member Local 1010 here.

A "Rank-and-File Caucus" slate captured thirty-five of the thirty-six delegate positions in the August 5 local election. The USWA convention begins August 30 in Las Vegas.

Jim Balanoff, who was elected president of Local 1010 last April, headed the slate.

The platform of the caucus emphasized support to Sadlowski's expected bid for the USWA presidency, opposition to the current no-strike agreement in basic steel, opposition to higher union dues, and support for the right of union members to vote on contracts.

The Sunday before the election, 2,600 people attended a picnic sponsored by the caucus.

Balanoff said he thought the election results at Local 1010, the largest in the union, represented the mood of steelworkers across the country.



# Harry Braverman: Marxist writer

By George Breitman

Harry Braverman, director of Monthly Review Press, died on August 2 at the age of fifty-six. He had been severely ill for fifteen months following an operation for cancer.

In 1937, at the age of seventeen, while he was still a student, he joined the Young People's Socialist League (Fourth Internationalist), and soon after that he joined the Socialist Workers party. He remained a member for sixteen years, serving as organizer, candidate for public office, educator, and writer for the *Militant*. In the late 1940s he became a member of the SWP's National Committee.

After dedicating himself to the socialist cause, young Braverman dropped out of Brooklyn College. The son of a factory worker, he became a coppersmith at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, first as an apprentice and then as a master mechanic. He also worked as a steel layout man at Republic Steel when he lived in Youngstown, Ohio. He was active in various unions in these jobs.

During the Korean War the pressures of the witch-hunt beat down with cruel force on the small and isolated SWP. In the ensuing SWP crisis a faction developed that began to reject the SWP's perspectives as unrealistic and to feel increasingly imprisoned by its discipline. Braverman was one of the leaders of this faction, which left the SWP at the end of 1953. Along with other ex-SWP members, he published a magazine, the *American Socialist*, for the next six years.



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

HARRY BRAVERMAN

Braverman then went into the publishing business, learning everything there was to be known about it, and becoming an executive at Grove Press. One of the notable books he handled there was the *Autobiography of Malcolm X*, after Doubleday, which had commissioned the book, had canceled its publication and other publishers had turned it down.

He quit Grove Press in 1967 when its president backed out of publishing a book by Bertrand Russell indicting the U.S. government's role in Vietnam. Although it meant a substantial cut in his salary, he was glad to move to Monthly Review Press as director because it meant he could concentrate on books he believed in and because he had long admired his new associates, Paul Sweezy and Leo Huberman. Under his guidance, Monthly Review Press's line of books expanded considerably.

He was one of the best publishers and editors in the business. He worked hard at his job. Despite this, he always had time to give publishing advice and help to young authors and radicals who asked for it, including editors at Pathfinder Press.

Beginning in 1970 he also found time in the evenings or on weekends to begin work on his justly praised book, *Labor and Monopoly Capital*, which he completed in 1974, and which won that year's C. Wright Mills Award by the Society for the Study of Social Problems. (The last time I saw him he said he was disappointed that the *Militant*'s favorable review had missed the main point of the book.) Death cut off a number of other books he had planned.

Harry and I became friends in 1951 as fellow students in a six-month intensive educational program sponsored by the SWP. His main interests were Marxist economics and American history. Later, we were also fellow students at the New School for Social Research in New York under provisions of the GI Bill at the same time that we worked on the staff of the *Militant* a few blocks away. My main interest at the New School was the GI allotment we got to live on, but Harry studied too and eventually got a degree.

Our friendship was interrupted when he left the SWP but was renewed in the 1960s, despite our political differences. By this time he did not see any hope

that a mass revolutionary party could be built in this country in the foreseeable future and had developed serious doubts about Leninism as an international model. He continued to regard himself as a Marxist and tried to be objective about the SWP. He appreciated its activities in defense of the Cuban revolution, the Afro-American struggle, and the movement against the Vietnam War, but he felt its adherence to Leninism doomed it to sectarianism and dogmatism. He hoped that Maoism represented a break from Stalinism and was unhappy about its foreign policy; he was planning to visit China to observe factory conditions when he was stricken in 1975.

Harry was a very talented writer. Pathfinder Press has some of his early work in print under his SWP pen name, Harry Frankel. Its newly published *America's Revolutionary Heritage* has four excellent essays by Harry on the American Revolution, the Constitution, and the Jacksonian period, written in 1946 when he was in the army. Also in print is a pamphlet, *Sam Adams and the American Revolution*, which he wrote as a series for the *Militant* in 1951.

I thought it was exceptional then and still think so. Harry, on the other hand, thought it was too schematic when I asked his permission to have it reprinted in 1971. But he said permission was not needed because it belonged to his SWP period, so it was printed without changing the pen name.

Also just printed—in the new Pathfinder book *James P. Cannon As We Knew Him*—is the short speech Harry gave at a New York memorial meeting shortly after Cannon died in 1974. Harry wanted to pay tribute to the man who had had so much influence on his life, despite their subsequent differences. He could not understand why some other former associates of Cannon rejected invitations to speak at the meeting.

In conclusion, I would like to mention two aspects of his personality that stand out for me. One was the strength of his willpower, which perhaps was accentuated by the slightness of his body. The other (and this is not often found in people with strong will) was that he was a "good listener." Not only to fellow leaders, but also to rank-and-filers, new members, and people without special authority or expertise.

## Toledo city workers under attack

By Newton Brown

TOLEDO, Ohio—Several hundred workers and their families rallied here July 26 to protest the city administration's refusal to bargain with public employee unions.

Negotiations were broken off July 20 after the city demanded union acceptance of contract rollbacks as a precondition to further talks. The city's final offer would:

- Freeze base wages;
- Limit cost-of-living adjustment to a maximum of five cents an hour in any three-month period;
- Freeze medical benefit payments, even though hospitalization premiums are spiraling;
- Eliminate thirty-two refuse-collection jobs;
- Eliminate the requirement that subcontracted work must fall within union contract guidelines.

Some 1,800 city employees are represented by American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Locals 7 and 2058. Another 560 are in Firefighters Local 92, and 400 are in Teamsters Local 20.

The membership of these unions has voted to accept no reversal of gains won in previous contracts. But that is exactly what the Democratic party "friends of labor" in the city adminis-

tration are determined to wrest from them.

The July 26 rally was sponsored by Public Employees District Council 46, which unites the four municipal employee locals, and by the United Labor Committee. The United Labor Committee is an unusually broad committee, bringing together the Toledo area AFL-CIO Council, United Auto Workers, Teamsters, Northwestern Ohio Building Trades Council, and Toledo Port Council.

The ULC's support to the public employees was the focus of the July 26 rally. Unfortunately, the apparent strategy of the ULC leaders is to use their "influence" within the Democratic party to persuade Mayor Harry Kessler and the seven Democrats on the nine-person city council to intervene in the impasse and bring the city negotiators back to the table.

Dale Stormer of the AFL-CIO Council announced that the ULC had sent a letter to the mayor and city council requesting such intervention. Stormer pointed out that the city's action in placing preconditions on further bargaining, while negotiable items remain on the table, would be illegal if done by a private employer.

Charles Hendrix, president of District Council 46, rejected the city's

claim to have "no money." Hendrix disclosed that Toledo will have an unanticipated windfall of several million dollars from new federal funds and city income taxes.

Hendrix proposed a union boycott of the banks bearing the strongest influence on local politics, and a mass leafletting campaign to offset city propaganda. He added that he felt a strike "would not be productive" at this time.

The workers at the rally—whose signs were more militant than the proposals of their leaders—responded enthusiastically to the two proposals for action and to the bellicose quips of various speakers. But the union officials were careful to spare Mayor Kessler and the Democratic council members from the denunciations heaped on the city negotiators.

The Democrats gave their answer the next day. They voted down all proposals to discuss the stalled negotiations or to hear the arguments of both sides. Instead the dispute was referred to the finance committee, whose chairperson—the mayor—refused to set a date for a hearing.

Perhaps seeking to reassure the unions, the mayor promised that the issue "will not be buried."

## Calendar

### BOSTON

**FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM.** Speaker: Cindy Jaquith, *Militant* columnist. Fri., Aug. 27, 8 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. (Kenmore Square). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Boston Socialist Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4620.

### CHICAGO

**WOMEN IN HERSTORY: WOMEN SPEAK OUT.** Seminar with women portraying leading feminists of the past; plus a women's poetry reading and women's music. Sun., Aug. 29, 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. Body Politic. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Illinois SWP campaign. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

### NEW YORK

**DANCE CONCERT.** Beverly Grant and the Human Condition benefit United Farm Workers. Guest artist, Mario Giacalone. Fri., Aug. 27, 8 p.m. The Midnight Special, 122 W. 26th St., Twelfth Floor. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: United Farm Workers.

### PRINCE GEORGES COUNTY, MD.

**WOMEN'S FIGHT FOR THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT.** Speakers: Carol Pudlinder-Sweeney, ERA Vigil coordinator; Dr. Hilda Smith, U. of Maryland History Dept.; Tory Dunn, SWP candidate for Congress; Barbara Debnam, U. of Maryland Women's Center. Fri., Aug. 27, 8 p.m. 4318 Hamilton St., Room 10, Hyattsville, Md. (half a block off U.S. 1). Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (301) 864-4867.

### QUEENS, NEW YORK

**COMMEMORATE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.** A panel discussion plus slide show. Speakers: Nancy Borman, editor of *Majority Report*; Eileen Foley, N.Y. NOW ERA subcommittee member; Dianne Feeley, author of *Why Women Need the ERA*; slide show, "Suffrage and ERA." Fri., Aug. 27, 8 p.m. 90-43 149th St. (corner Jamaica Ave.), Jamaica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Queens SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

### SAN ANTONIO

**RALLY FOR THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT AND TO CELEBRATE THE RIGHT TO VOTE.** Featuring speakers, feminist music, and poetry. Sat., Aug. 28. Cocktails, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. CWA Hall at N. St. Mary's and McCullough. Ausp: August 28th ERA Coalition. For more information call (512) 824-1302.

### SOUTHEAST WASHINGTON, D.C.

**SWP VS. FBI.** Speakers: Eli Green, SWP candidate for D.C. city council; Laura Moorhead, SWP. Sun., Aug. 29, 7 p.m. 727 8th St. SE. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (202) 836-6458.

## ...gay

Continued from page 7

raise a child. The right to equal protection under the law."

The GSU crowd rose to its feet to greet Mary Jo Risher. She began her talk by relating an encounter with a Dallas reporter.

She said the newsman told her that she seemed to be a "reluctant symbol." Yes, Risher is reluctant. She said she didn't "welcome the thought that the world would learn of my sexual preference." This is "the final destruction of my privacy," she said.

Risher went on to tell the audience, "I am a fit mother who wants her son back. And he wants me back. Unjust laws have labeled me as unfit, subhuman, and evil. If all this makes me a symbol of gay rights and feminist rights, I will accept it."

During the trial, Risher explained, the father's lawyers constantly introduced the issue of homosexuality. "They wanted homosexuality, not Mary Jo Risher, on trial," she said. "They wanted to wave the flag and inflame the jury. They got their way."

Mary Jo closed her remarks explaining the "toughest question" she faces. "It isn't the money," she said. "Through our friends we know the money will be there when we need it. The toughest question comes every two weeks when my son gets in my car and says, 'Momma, when can I come home?'"



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# THE MILITANT

## SOUTH AFRICA

# Black protests erupt

By Ernest Harsch

Two months after the first massive Black uprisings erupted in South Africa, Black youths have launched a new wave of protests against the racist white minority regime.

In face of government bullets and tear gas, tens of thousands of young Black militants poured out into the streets of Soweto and other Black townships to express their hatred for the apartheid regime and to demand the release of all political prisoners.

There were student boycotts and sporadic protests throughout the period after the June rebellions. The unrest took a sharp turn upward on August 4 when about 20,000 Blacks in Soweto tried to march from that Black city to the center of nearby Johannesburg. They planned to rally outside the central police headquarters to press their demands for the release of the arrested student leaders.

The protesters carried signs reading, "Release our brothers" and, "We are born free but everywhere we are in chains."

Before they reached the police barricades that had been erected on the outskirts of Soweto, however, the demonstrators were fired on by the police.

When the tear gas and gunfire subsided, three more Black youths lay dead.

In the days that followed, the enraged residents of Soweto again attacked symbols of white authority as they had in June. But unlike the June rebellions, which were spontaneous explosions of pent-up anger and frustration, the new protests in Soweto displayed signs of rudimentary organization.

The attempted marches to Johannesburg followed mass meetings of students, where the actions were discussed and planned. Students set up coordinated pickets and barricades on the edges of Soweto in order to urge Black workers to stay away from their jobs as a sign of protest.

The students' strike call to the workers, 220,000 of whom commute from Soweto to Johannesburg daily, met with some significant success. *New York Times* correspondent John Burns reported in an August 5 dispatch from Johannesburg:

"For the second day, large numbers of residents stayed away from work in response to student demands for a boycott. Youths with handkerchiefs across their faces, apparently an attempt at protection against tear gas, were out at dawn



Police with dogs attack Black demonstrators near Cape Town

manning roadblocks and picket lines at the township's rail stations, urging commuters to return home.

"Absenteeism in Johannesburg's factories, which rely on black labor, ranged from a quarter to three-quarters of the work forces."

The new spirit of militancy among young Blacks was captured in "Soweto, Where It's Happening," a song by Soweto jazz pianist Dollar Brand, which was sung by many of the demonstrators:

*This is where it's happening,  
In Soweto, man.  
And the white man will hear it happening  
From Soweto, man.  
Because the young men are saying  
The young men are saying  
Enough, enough  
In Soweto, man.*

According to a report in the August 16 *Newsweek*, "the words sent a chill through white South Africa."

Within a few days, the upsurge in Soweto spread to more than a dozen other Black townships throughout the country. For the first time since the early 1960s, Black unrest also spread to the Cape Town area. On the morning of August 11, several hundred students marched out of a high school in Langa, a Black township outside Cape Town, chanting "Black power." In the evening they were joined by workers returning from their jobs.

Police gunned down at least thirty Blacks, according to official figures. The real death toll could be much higher, however. Residents of the Black townships reported that the police took bodies away in trucks for secret burial.

Coloured students at the University of the Western Cape launched a boycott of classes in solidarity with the African protesters. On August 16, about 700 Coloured students marched to a courthouse in a white suburb of Cape Town to protest the arrest of dozens of student leaders. They were attacked by police armed with clubs.

Several hundred white students at the University

of Cape Town also held a solidarity action, attempting to march to the Black townships to join the Black protesters.

The apartheid regime's answer to the just demands of the country's Black majority was the same as always: more repression. In addition to butchering more than 200 Blacks since June (according to official figures), it has intensified its witch-hunt against the young Black militants.

According to the August issue of the London monthly *Africa* magazine, about 3,000 Blacks have been arrested since the June uprisings.

Among those detained in the wake of the recent protests are Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned African nationalist leader Nelson Mandela; Jairus Kgokong, Silumko Sokupa, and Barney Pitanya, leaders of the South African Students Organisation; Nxolisi Movov, president of the Black People's Convention; Harrison Motlana, an executive of the Black Parents Association in Soweto; and Leonardo Appies, president of the Students Representative Council at the University of the Western Cape.

Many of the Black political leaders who have been picked up are being held in solitary confinement.

Mapetla Mohapi, a former official of the South African Students Organisation, was arrested on July 15. On August 5 he died in police custody.

According to the cops, Mohapi committed suicide. However, the white authorities never like to admit it when a political prisoner dies under "interrogation." Mohapi would not be the first to have been tortured to death.

The American government, which makes occasional public criticisms of the Vorster regime, is actually one of the staunchest supporters of apartheid. More than \$1.5 billion in American investments help prop up the South African economy. Washington has sold millions of dollars in planes, helicopters, and other equipment suitable for military purposes to the white minority government.

Opponents of racism and imperialism in the United States have a particular responsibility to come to the defense of the imprisoned militants in South Africa.

## Zimbabwe struggle

The Black upsurge in South Africa is part of a mounting struggle by Blacks throughout southern Africa against white minority rule. While students in Soweto were protesting against the Vorster regime, the conflict in neighboring Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) intensified sharply.

On August 8, a mechanized unit of the Rhodesian army, backed up by helicopters, invaded Mozambique to attack a guerrilla camp of the Zimbabwean freedom fighters.

The Rhodesians claimed that they had killed more than 300 guerrillas, 30 Mozambican troops, and 10 civilians.

Several days later, the Mozambique regime charged that the Rhodesians had in fact killed 618 persons during their raid. Many of the victims were refugees, including women and children, who had fled into Mozambique from the Smith regime's counterinsurgency operations.

—E.H.