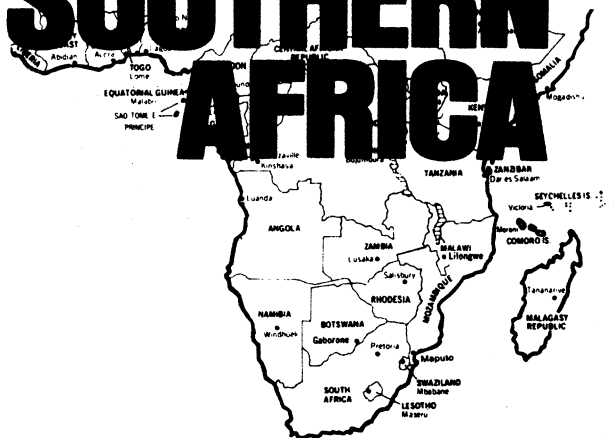


THE MILITANT

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

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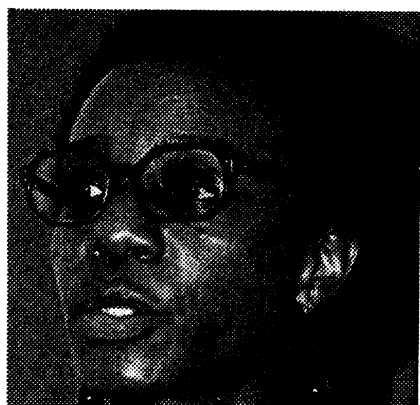
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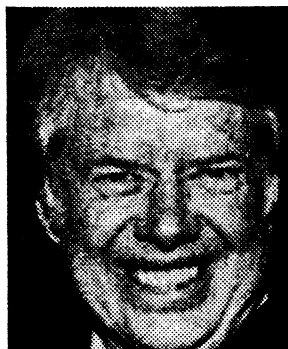
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WILLIE MAE REID



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'Militant' exclusive

RAZA UNIDA PARTY IN NEW MEXICO

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

MURDER A 'LA MIGRA': A bus trip from Texas across the Mexican border should be safe and uneventful. But the newspaper *El Sol de México* reported that this trip was fatal for forty-five-year-old Balderas Loredó. On the weekend of August 22 U.S. immigration officials in Austin put the Mexican worker on a bus to deport him. For *la migra*, deportation preparations included a brutal beating. Loredó died after arriving in his hometown of Razcón. The same weekend, reported *El Sol de México*, three Mexican workers were tortured by Americans near Douglas, Arizona.

ON THE ROAD FOR PEACE: The Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice is arriving in New York City. A group of peace activists began the cross-country trek in California seven months ago. Since then twenty new routes have begun with all marchers headed toward Washington, D.C., for an October 16 rally.

Highlights of the Continental Walk in New York include a march to the United Nations on September 11 and a September 13 rally at City Hall Plaza. The actions will focus attention on the billions wasted on weapons of war while social services are slashed.

For information call (212) 228-0450.

OHIO FARM WORKERS: On September 2 the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) went to court in Toledo. The predominantly Chicano union brought suit against two Fulton County farmers, a migrant farm worker crew leader, the Fulton County sheriff's department, the sheriff, and two of his officers. FLOC is suing them for obstructing the right of organizers to discuss unionization with farm workers in the area. FLOC members have been physically prevented from speaking to migrant farm laborers and even jailed without charges.

Mexican president assaults Chicano

By David Salner

SAN ANTONIO—Mexican President Luis Echeverría and his security force assaulted Chicano activist Mario Cantú here on September 7. Cantú was peacefully picketing with a small group of other Chicanos. Picket signs demanded an end to attacks on the Mexican peasants, students, and workers movement and freedom for Mexican political prisoners. Echeverría was attending a dinner at the St. Anthony Hotel here as part of ceremonies opening a Mexican trade fair.

Ellard Yow witnessed the assault. "We saw Echeverría's entourage coming up the street," Yow told the *Militant*. "Cantú approached the group. All of a sudden members of the entourage roughed up Cantú, shoving him across the street. Cantú tried to walk away, but they beat him up while San Antonio cops just watched."

A local television station reported that Echeverría himself kicked Cantú, tore up his picket sign, and called him a "young fascist." Cantú is currently on trial here on federal charges of "harboring an illegal alien."

Pedro Vásquez, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Senate, issued a statement denouncing the assault on Cantú. "This act of violence only serves to expose the real face of Echeverría's regime," Vásquez said. "The Socialist Workers party campaign joins the Chicano movement in protesting this flagrant violation of democratic rights."

WOMEN BOYCOTT TOKEN CELEBRATION: An attempt by Gov. Philip Noel to get on the good side of Rhode Island women voters backfired on August 26. Several women's groups boycotted official ceremonies on the statehouse lawn marking Women's Equality Day. Joan Cornell, president of the local chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), told the press that Noel "is trying to woo us with tokens and words but in his actions he has shown nothing but callousness, indifference, and contempt towards the needs and rights of women."

CLUW, the National Organization for Women, the Women's Liberation Union of Rhode Island, and other groups held a women's rights vigil at the statehouse that evening. Some activists, however, did attend the afternoon ceremony. Day-care mothers were there to boo the governor's speech. One confronted him on the steps with a sign: "Day Care Mothers of Rhode Island: No vacation with pay, no liability insurance, no craft supplies, toys, equipment."

MEANS GETS THIRTY DAYS: The government's drive to frame up American Indian Movement leader Russell Means will finally land him in jail, but not for long. Means got thirty days and \$100 fine when he pleaded guilty to misdemeanor assault. The prosecution had originally concocted seven felony charges stemming from a disturbance in a courthouse at Custer, South Dakota, in February 1973. The judge dismissed the felony charges when Means pleaded guilty to the lesser charge.

Dominican protest



Militant/Lou Howort

NEW YORK—"Transfer the prisoners now!" chanted 100 people at the Dominican consulate here on September 4. They were picketing in solidarity with eight women on a hunger strike in Santo Domingo. The women hope to force the government to transfer five imprisoned relatives from outlying prisons to a prison in the capital city, where the women can bring them food. Without this help the political prisoners face slow death by starvation. One prisoner has already lost eighty pounds. The Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the Dominican Republic sponsored the picket line, with support from the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, Puerto Rican Socialist party, and others.

FELICIANO ELECTED NATIONALISTS' PRESIDENT: The Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico has elected Carlos Feliciano president of the organization. Feliciano, a longtime leader of the independence movement, was released from prison a little more than a year ago after serving twenty-two months on trumped-up explosives charges.

TRUTH AND CONSEQUENCES: The House of Representatives ethics committee has subpoenaed Daniel Schorr and three other journalists. The committee plans to question them about the leaking of the report of the House Select Committee on Intelligence on the CIA. Congress's plan to keep the findings secret blew up when Schorr got hold of a copy and passed it on to the *Village Voice*. In February, the New York weekly published excerpts.

Schoor says he will not reveal who gave him the report when he is interrogated on September 15. He and the other reporters could be slapped in jail for contempt of Congress if they don't talk. Meanwhile, the public is paying for this witch-hunt. The ethics committee has already lifted \$150,000 from the taxpayers.



Auth

"The charge against you, Mr. Schorr, is assault with intent to commit truth."

AFL-CIO PAMPHLET ON BUSING: George Meany's videotaped speech to a May 1976 desegregation conference in Washington, D.C., is now available in a twelve-page pamphlet from the AFL-CIO. Titled *Simple Justice, Quality Education for All Children*, the pamphlet also reprints several AFL, CIO, and AFL-CIO prodesegregation statements, beginning with those issued the day after the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision.

AFL-CIO President Meany's speech last May decried those who attack busing. "The big yellow buses have improved the quality of education for millions," he said.

—Ginny Hildebrand

Drive opens for 20,000 'Militant' readers

By Harvey McArthur

If you answer your door in West Philadelphia these days, you're likely to be greeted with:

"Hi! I'm campaigning for Willie Mae Reid, the Socialist Workers Vice-presidential candidate.

"Are you familiar with the *Militant*, the socialist newsweekly? We have a special offer for new readers—ten weeks for only one dollar."

It's all part of the national campaign to win 20,000 new readers for the *Militant*. Although the drive does not officially begin until next week, we have already received more than 500 subscriptions. The West Philadelphia branch of the Socialist Workers party is leading the way after sending in nearly 70 subscriptions in two weeks.

"We sold most of them by going door to door talking with people in our neighborhood," says Terry Ann Hardy, former Socialist Workers candi-

date for mayor of Philadelphia. "We explain that we are campaigning for the socialist candidates in the November elections. People are very willing to talk with us and find out about our newspaper."

The top salesperson in Philadelphia so far is Rashida Abdul-Ahad, a young Black woman who has just joined the SWP.

"I didn't think I was selling very many at all; it was so easy," she said. "We were going around in the community, and I would rap with the people about the hard economic issues. Then I would show them the kind of things they were missing by not reading the *Militant*. People were impressed by the *Militant's* coverage, and because it related to their problems in the community."

Bill O'Kain found a similar response from workers in his local of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in Atlanta.

He has sold seventeen subscriptions to union members. Many were already familiar with the *Militant* because of its coverage of the school employees' strike in Atlanta last fall. He found the reporting on South Africa to be of special interest.

San Antonio was recently the scene of a demonstration of 1,500 people in defense of Mario Cantú, a restaurant owner arrested for "harboring illegal aliens." Socialist campaigners took the *Militant* along and sold seventeen subscriptions.

This is just the beginning. Members of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance are planning for the beginning of the real drive next week.

They will be canvassing in homes across the country; talking to thousands of people on the job, at plant gates, and at union meetings; selling subscriptions to students on hundreds of campuses; and setting up socialist campaign tables at busy street corners and shopping centers.

The *Militant* will report regularly on highlights of this campaign. We'll print a weekly scoreboard showing the progress made in each city.

However, this drive is much more than simply a way to obtain 20,000 new subscribers. It is a big step forward in the process of introducing socialist ideas to American working people, in helping to expose the lies and myths that cloud the capitalist system, and in winning new supporters and participants in the fight for a socialist society.

We urge all our readers to join in. Subscribe now if you don't already. And sell subscriptions to your friends, co-workers, and others.

Use the coupon below to order subscription cards, *Militant* promotional posters, and free sample copies.

We will also be glad to put you in touch with the nearest Socialist Workers campaign office, so you can join in their canvassing activities, as well.

Subscription goals

City	Goal
Ann Arbor, Mich.	50
Atlanta	600
Baltimore	300
Berkeley, Calif.	450
Bloomington, Ind.	75
Boston	800
Chicago	900
Cincinnati	150
Cleveland	450
Dallas	150
Denver	600
Detroit	800
Houston	900
Indianapolis	100
Kansas City, Mo.	125
Louisville	150
Los Angeles	1,000
Milwaukee	650
Minneapolis	700
Newark	400
New Orleans	225
New York	2,000
Oakland, Calif.	350
Philadelphia	650
Pittsburgh	450
Portland, Ore.	250
Richmond, Va.	80
St. Louis	425
St. Paul	175
San Antonio	225
San Diego	400
San Francisco	800
San Jose	350
Seattle	425
Tacoma, Wash.	100
Toledo, O.	150
Washington, D.C., area	700
Young Socialist Teams	3,000
Total	20,125

Help spread the word

Your friends, neighbors, and co-workers should be reading the *Militant* too!

Make sure they don't miss a single issue—sell them a subscription now. Only \$1 for ten weeks. Return this coupon to order subscription blanks, *Militant* posters, and sample copies of the *Militant*.

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Campaign under way to pass Mass. state ERA

By Anne Teesdale

BOSTON—Massachusetts voters will go to the polls this November to vote on an Equal Rights Amendment to the state constitution. It will appear as "Question 1" on the ballot.

The ERA states: "Equality of rights shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex, race, color, creed, or national origin." The Massachusetts state constitution currently has no provision outlawing sex discrimination. The amendment would also help strengthen already existing federal legislation prohibiting race discrimination.

Simple and just as this amendment may sound, there is a large-scale, well-financed campaign to defeat it. Among the groups organizing opposition are STOP ERA, members of the racist anti-busing organization ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), and the Massachusetts Citizens for Life, an anti-abortion group.

These groups spread lies, slanders, and fears about the ERA. These tactics contributed to the defeat of similar amendments in New York and New Jersey last year.

STOP ERA's campaign is already under way in Massachusetts. The group has announced plans for an October rally to urge a "no" vote on the referendum.

But supporters of women's rights are mobilizing, too. They recognize that this local ERA battle also has national implications for the fight to win ratification of the federal ERA.

What is needed is a massive public campaign here in support of Question 1—involving students, women's

groups, unions, and Black organizations. Activities aimed at mobilizing ERA supporters and educating about the referendum have already begun.

The Cambridge chapter of the Committee to Ratify the ERA is planning a rally for September 11. Speakers will include the mayor and vice-mayor of Cambridge, Boston Red Sox pitcher Bill Lee, and others.

A group that has been especially active on the campuses in Boston is the Action Coalition for the Equal Rights Amendment. This coalition is planning a statewide educational and activists conference to be held at Boston University October 1 and 2.

Action coalition member Ellie Beth Brady says, "Through this conference we want to encourage students and others throughout the state to actively campaign for the ERA and to vote yes on Question 1. We are asking for the participation of all groups and individuals who support the ERA."

The conference will include a rally Friday night at Hayden Hall, Boston University. Workshops will be held on Saturday on such topics as: What is the ERA?; Black women and the ERA; How the ERA affects working women; Housewives; and How to organize support for the ERA.

This conference is already gathering support and endorsement. Among those lending support are Ellen Feingold of the Massachusetts Civil Liberties Union; Massachusetts state representatives Mel King and Barney Frank; Elsie Franklin, of the Black Caucus of the Boston Teachers Union; and Kathleen Sullivan, of the Boston School Committee.

Indiana farm workers



Ed Breen/Chronicle Tribune

Striking migrant farm workers block entrance to a Warren, Indiana, cannery September 3 as U.S. marshal stands over them. Forty-three workers were arrested after defying federal court order prohibiting blocking the factory entrance. The workers, part of a group of 200 led by Baldemar Velásquez of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, are demanding that the Morgan Packing Company give them jobs they were promised in tomato fields and canneries. They are also demanding improvement in conditions of the camp where they are housed. The strike began August 25. Federal District Court Judge Jesse Eschbach said the way the workers were treated was "a national disgrace." But the judge rubber-stamped the company's motion for an injunction while refusing a request from the strikers that he order the company to negotiate. The strikers ask that food and other aid be sent to: Warren Farm Workers Committee, P.O. Box 124, Warren, Indiana 46792.

Challenge 'Great Debates'

Socialists sue for equal time

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK, Sept. 8—The Socialist Workers party is suing the major networks for equal time in the planned telecasts of the Ford-Carter and Dole-Mondale debates.

Leonard Boudin, the noted constitutional attorney, will represent SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid in the case.

The *New York Post* reported Camejo's view. "We want to see the Ford-Carter debate take place, but we think it should be broadened to include all viewpoints," Camejo said.

The two-way format planned "is unfair to the American voters, who have a right to hear all the alternatives . . . including socialist proposals for solving the problems facing working people," Camejo added.

Presidential aspirant Eugene McCarthy also blasted the Democratic and Republican parties' exclusionary policies, in an NBC-TV paid broadcast September 7. McCarthy has said that he will challenge the debates in court.

The basic question is: Can the Democratic and Republican parties get away with denying the right of other parties and candidates to present their views to American voters?

The SWP's suit challenges the new 1975 interpretation of the "equal time" provisions of Section 315c of the Federal Communications Act, which would permit the League of Women Voters to sponsor the Ford-Carter debates.

According to this interpretation, while the networks themselves cannot sponsor the debates, and while the debates cannot take place in network studios, "equal time" provisions do not apply if some other sponsor features the debates outside of network studios.

But this is clearly undemocratic.

The same debates will take place; they will remain limited to Democrats and Republicans and they will be viewed on the same network channels. Only the sponsor will be changed. This is a crass maneuver to abrogate the rights of other parties to network time.

Chipping rights away

The 1975 ruling is the latest in a long series of steps in which the federal government has been chipping away at the "equal time" law.

In 1960 it took a special act of Congress to provide the necessary exemption for the debates between Richard Nixon and John F. Kennedy. This year the Democrats and Republicans apparently feel they can get away with such a violation of democratic rights without congressional legislation.

The ruling parties are more and more using the government they control to perpetuate their rule, and many people are uncomfortable about it.

"It is an unfavorable judgment on our Federal and state laws that Eugene McCarthy should have to expend so much effort getting his name on the

ballot and trying to get television coverage for his opinions," *New York Times* columnist William Shannon wrote September 4.

"State electoral laws," said Shannon, "ought not to be a maze designed to baffle independent candidacies. If he is not permitted to participate in the Ford-Carter debates, television ought to afford him adequate time to present his views."

Shannon continued, "If independent voices and dissenting critics are to be heard in our ever bigger, ever more bureaucratized society, then these procedural issues of political access have to be resolved in favor of fairness and openness."

On CBS's "60 Minutes," during the "Point-Counterpoint" exchange, liberal columnist Shana Alexander and conservative James Kilpatrick reached unusual agreement that the smaller parties and other presidential candidates should not be excluded from the network debates.

Alexander criticized the League of Women Voters for dropping its nonpartisan stance and supporting the Democratic-Republican monopoly of politics.

Blacks and women excluded

The debates, moreover, are taking place at a time when the claim of the Democrats and Republicans to represent all Americans is being sharply questioned.

SWP vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid charged that it is an obvious "outrage that issues of vital concern to Blacks and women are to be debated exclusively by four white men."

Reid said, "Blacks face high unemployment, cutbacks in municipal services, violent attacks on Black citizens by racists, and segregated schools."

"Only the Socialist Workers party ticket has spoken out and demonstrated in favor of busing and supported demands raised by the Black community to end racial discrimination. To exclude us is to exclude points of view reflecting the needs and desires of 30 million Afro-Americans."

Majority parties?

The claim of the Democrats and Republicans to being the "majority parties" is also being called into question by events.

According to the Associated Press, "Jimmy Carter, President Ford and Ronald Reagan each won primary election votes this year from 4.2 percent or less of the country's voting age population."

AP said that "based on official returns from earlier primaries and unofficial totals from the later races, 16.1 million Americans voted in Democratic presidential primaries this year and 9.7 million in the Republican contests."

"That amounts to 17.6 percent of the 146,573,000 Americans of voting age in the country. . . ."

According to AP, Carter received the highest percentage, 4.2 percent of eligible voters. Ford received 3.4 percent. It means the combined primary vote for the "majority" candidates was less than 8 percent of eligible voters.

This week an extremely revealing poll conducted by Peter D. Hart Research Associates was released in Washington. Registered voters were interviewed in order to determine whether they planned to vote in November. The pollsters predicted that a majority of eligible voters may not vote.

This poll confirmed that a downward trend that has been apparent in American politics in the last decade is continuing. Fewer and fewer registered voters vote in the presidential elections; fewer Americans actually register to vote.

In recent elections the following percentages of registered American voters voted: 64.0 in 1960; 61.8 in 1964; 60.6 in 1968; and 55.6 in 1972.

Almost two-thirds of the nonvoting people that were interviewed in the new poll said "it doesn't make any difference who is elected because things never seem to work right."

"Non voters, who are approaching majority status in the adult population, seem to know better than ever just why they want nothing to do with politics," the *New York Times* stated September 5.

"Two-thirds of them in a new national sampling made public this weekend, agree on the theme 'candidates say one thing and then do another' as reason enough to stand off from the Presidential election."

Pollster's view

One of the pollsters told the *New York Times*, "The strangest thing we learned is that nonvoters aren't that strange. Demographically and in their

Consumers' Biggest Gripes
—Sylvia Porter — Page 36

Viking 2 Set to Land
—Page 5

3 Carter Sons Smoked Grass
—Page 4

WEATHER
Today: Partly Cloudy
Tonight: Partly Cloudy
Tomorrow: Partly Cloudy
Rain Sunday
High: 70° Low: 50°

New York Post
FUNDAMENTAL THE GREATEST CONTROVERSY IN THE UNITED STATES
NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1976
25 CENTS

OVER THE COUNTRY

New Legal Threat To the Debates



Another legal challenge to the Ford-Carter TV debate was filed today by the Socialist Workers Party. . . . The party and its vice-presidential candidates will be on the ballot in more than 20 states. . . . The party and its vice-presidential candidates will be on the ballot in more than 20 states. . . . The party and its vice-presidential candidates will be on the ballot in more than 20 states. . . .

The networks are free to consider the three networks as a single entity and treat them as one. . . . The networks are free to consider the three networks as a single entity and treat them as one. . . . The networks are free to consider the three networks as a single entity and treat them as one. . . .

'New York Post'—New York's evening daily—carried news of socialist challenge on front page.

attitudes, they're pretty much like the rest of us—cynical about Washington and about politicians in general."

The pollsters found that while the voting-age population has grown by more than nine million people since November 1972, the number of registered voters has dropped by five-and-a-half million at midsummer.

These statistics, the opinions expressed to the pollsters, and the actual votes in this year's primaries all emphasize that capitalist politicians are not addressing themselves to the issues that concern Americans. On top of that, an increasing number of voters see that there aren't significant differences between the Democrats and Republicans when they do take stands.

And far from cutting across this dissatisfaction, the proposed Ford-Carter, Dole-Mondale debates are reinforcing it.

It is likely that the SWP's suit for equal time will move quickly. Details will be reported in the *Militant*.

Meanwhile, we urge our readers to send letters and telegrams supporting our view both to the League of Women Voters, 1720 M Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20036; and to the Federal Communications Commission, 1919 M Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20544. Please send copies of your protests to the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Brooklyn protest

By Betsy Farley

BROOKLYN, N.Y., Sept. 7—When Jimmy Carter made his first campus appearance of his fall election drive this morning, he was met by protesters. Carter spoke at Brooklyn College.

The protests were directed against the upcoming closed debates between Carter and President Ford.

"End the Two-Party Blackout."

"Open Up the Debates."

"Let the Socialists Speak."

These signs were carried by Socialist Workers campaign supporters as Carter entered the Brooklyn campus.

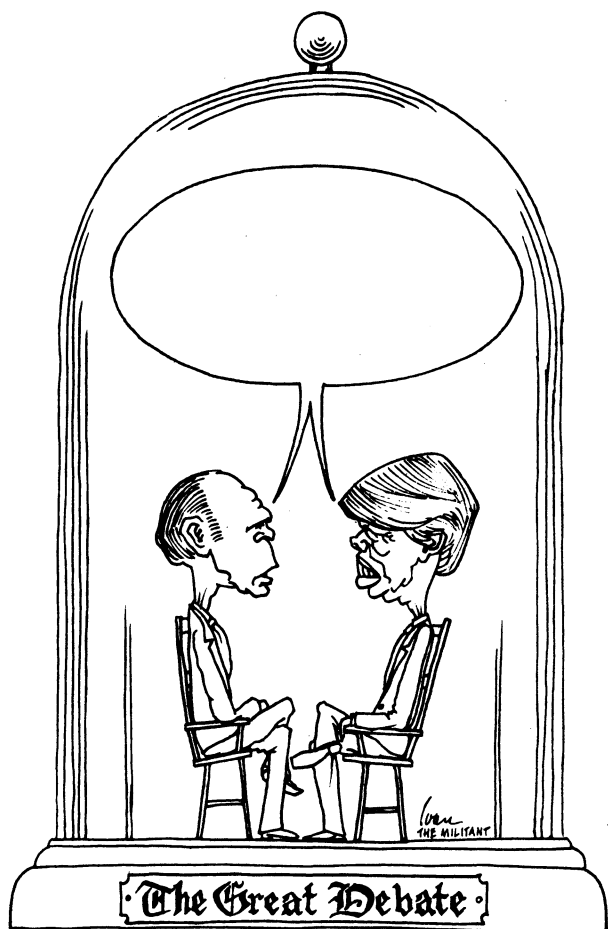
At the meeting, the audience—supposedly students—was packed with Democratic party club members who had been bused in for the event. Carter only took audience questions from these party stalwarts.

As Carter was leaving, a representative of a Dutch TV station that is doing a documentary on Peter Camejo's campaign asked the Democratic nominee why he hasn't debated Camejo.

"While he was shaking my hand I asked him," Emile Fallaux, the Dutch TV correspondent, told the *Militant*. "His smile disappeared, his face darkened, he brushed me off and turned away."

NEW YORK, Sept. 8—Peter Camejo, the Socialist Workers party candidate for president, today announced that his supporters will hold a peaceful, legal picket line at the site of the Carter-Ford debate September 23 at the Old Walnut Street Theater in Philadelphia to protest Camejo's exclusion from the two-way exchange.

Camejo urged other candidates who are also being excluded and all supporters of democratic rights to join him at the picket line in Philadelphia.



As state officials flout laws

SWP demands California ballot position

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 8—Right down to the wire California election officials are stalling about certifying the Socialist Workers party ticket for the state ballot.

They have refused to make official certification even though they are going past the legal deadline and despite the fact that a state official has already advised the SWP that it has more than the 99,284 certified signatures necessary to qualify for ballot status.

This morning, Deputy Secretary of State Cashmore Aperson advised Bruce Marcus, SWP state campaign manager, that county registrars had certified 106,240 signatures for the SWP presidential ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, and 103,150 for Omari Musa, the party's senatorial candidate. This tallied with Marcus's own survey of the county offices.

Late this evening, however, Tony Miller, chief counsel to the secretary of state, told this reporter in a telephone interview that it had not yet been established that the SWP nominees had already qualified for the ballot. He denied the information that Aperson had given Marcus.

Both Aperson and Miller said certification would not be announced until they finished checking the petitions submitted by all candidates.

The Communist party has filed for its presidential ticket of Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner. The Libertarian party, a right-wing group, has also filed. Supporters of Eugene McCarthy's independent bid filed less than the minimum and are seeking, so far unsuccessfully, a court-ordered extension of the petitioning period.

The filing date was September 3. The

law specified petitions must be certified or rejected within five days of filing.

The fifth working day, September 9, happens to be a state holiday. On this grounds, they said they couldn't announce then, although attorney Miller told this reporter that those dealing with the petitions would actually be working that day.

Officials now say they will not announce certification until Friday. Their whole record up to this point suggests no reason to give undue credence even to this.

The SWP is demanding that official certification of its ticket be made immediately, and it has good reason to make this demand. Throughout, state officials have used every trick at their command to thwart the efforts of the SWP and other independent tickets to win a ballot spot.

From the outset the state demanded that petitioners comply with the most stringent interpretations of the law, which is rigged to begin with.

If that wasn't enough, when it suited their convenience, state officials deliberately flouted the law.

For example, this is not the first time the five-day processing limitation has been ignored.

A month ago the SWP submitted some 138,000 signatures for Camejo and Reid and an additional 134,000 signatures for Musa.

According to the law, the petitioners were to be notified within five days how many of these signatures were certified as valid. The reason for submitting the names nearly a month before the deadline was to allow extra time for petitioning in case officials ruled that insufficient signatures had been submitted.

Election officials simply ignored the five-day proviso, pleading insufficient



Peter Camejo campaigns in Los Angeles

Militant/Harry Ring

personnel to process them in that period.

The SWP took the matter to the state supreme court seeking an order certifying it for the ballot.

After a two-week wait, the supreme court announced it had decided not to act on the case—graciously adding that it did so “without prejudice.”

Meanwhile the SWP campaigners

had no choice but to resume petitioning. They turned in an additional 14,000 petitions each for Camejo and Musa.

If at this point the election officials should try to bar the SWP from the ballot, they would be inviting a political scandal. The socialist slate stands ready to mount a full-scale legal and political challenge to any such move.

Missouri authorities rule socialists off ballot

By Barbara Tentaty

ST. LOUIS—For the second straight time the Missouri Socialist Workers party has been robbed of its rightful place on the ballot. On September 1, Missouri Secretary of State James Kirkpatrick announced he would not certify the SWP for ballot status. Kirkpatrick claimed the party had failed to collect a sufficient number of valid signatures.

Missouri laws regulating ballot status for all parties and independent candidates outside of the Democrats and Republicans are among the most restrictive in the country.

They require collecting 17,844 signatures of registered voters distributed over five of the state's ten congressional districts.

Kirkpatrick certified only 13,184 of the more than 25,000 signatures filed by the SWP. A check of the petitions by SWP candidates and campaign supporters revealed that a large number of signatures of registered voters had once again been invalidated. These included the signature of the eastern Missouri president of the American Civil Liberties Union, Roger Goldman.

The Socialist Workers campaign committee demanded an immediate recount and filed a formal request for more time to petition. The secretary of state immediately refused.

Kirkpatrick's refusal was supported by Republican Attorney General John Danforth. It is clear that the ruling capitalist parties have joined forces to maintain their monopoly of the ballot.

In 1974, after the SWP had chal-

lenged the election laws, the secretary of state arbitrarily changed them.

His office also carried out a campaign of harassment against signers and circulators of the SWP petitions, making telephone calls to landlords, employers, and neighbors.

In an attempt to keep Kirkpatrick's office from once again violating its rights, the Missouri SWP conducted an extensive campaign this year to expose and oppose the restrictive nature of the state's election laws and their discriminatory enforcement by elected Democratic and Republican state officials.

State representatives, a state senator, members of the St. Louis board of

aldermen, college professors, and activists in the women's movement and the Black liberation movement endorsed the democratic right of the SWP to ballot status.

Newspaper support

Two of the state's most prestigious newspapers, the *Kansas City Star* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, printed editorial endorsements of the SWP's ballot rights.

The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* stated that the SWP “has the same legal recourse to the ballot as any other [party]. Twenty-one other states placed the party on the ballot in 1972 when it won a total of 65,000 votes. . . . The general purpose of the election laws should be to encourage the use of the ballot, not to discourage independents and minor parties.”

At a conference held with the SWP candidates prior to the publishing of this editorial, each of the five members of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* editorial board signed the SWP's petition to put it on the Missouri ballot—as did other reporters, TV news commentators, State Representative Judith O'Connor, and numerous American Civil Liberties Union members.

In the course of its civil liberties campaign, the Missouri SWP also attempted to initiate joint efforts with representatives of the Communist party and supporters of Eugene McCarthy, who were also petitioning in Missouri.

A televised debate between representatives of these three petitioning drives

and Secretary of State Kirkpatrick was a highlight of this joint civil-liberties work. A second TV debate between Barbara Bowman, the SWP's candidate for U.S. Senate, and Kirkpatrick also received considerable attention.

Petitions of both the CP and McCarthy were filed after the SWP's and they have not been placed on the ballot either.

Fair ballot drive

The undemocratic exclusion of the three parties and independents from the ballot has alarmed increasing numbers of Missourians. In St. Louis, prominent citizens have formed a nonpartisan organization, Missourians for Fair Ballot Access.

In an open letter to Attorney General Danforth and Secretary of State Kirkpatrick, they stated, “Some 75,000 Missouri citizens have signed petitions in this election year on behalf of ballot status for the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, or independent candidate Eugene McCarthy. We support this expression of a substantial portion of the electorate and believe it represents a step in defense of the democratic rights of all Missourians.”

“We urge all possible steps be taken to secure ballot status for these parties and this independent candidate. We further propose to work for change in the law to provide equitable access to the ballot.”

The Missouri SWP will continue to work with the Missourians for Fair Ballot Access and others to force Danforth and Kirkpatrick to grant its rightful place on the November ballot.

Four states!

NEW YORK, Sept. 8—As the authorities in California still refuse to recognize the Socialist Workers party's place on the ballot, SWP petitions have been verified in four other states this week—Iowa, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Virginia.

This brings to nineteen states and the District of Columbia the places where SWP signatures have been certified for the November ballot.

It marks the first time for the socialist ticket on the Virginia ballot. The Pennsylvania certification involved dismissing a challenge to the socialist petitions by the right-wing “National Caucus of Labor Committees.”

SWP announces fall election drive

Camejo, Reid to speak in over forty cities

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK—National tours by the presidential and vice-presidential candidates—speaking in more than forty cities in the space of fifty two days.

Legal action to press for the inclusion of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid in the televised presidential debates.

Nine national campaign youth coordinators on tour; besides that, thirteen teams of student supporters touring college campuses.

A drive to sign up activists as supporters of the Socialist Workers ticket. Plus an additional drive to enroll supporters in the Chicano movement.

These highlights of the post-Labor Day plans of the SWP national campaign staff were outlined in New York this week. Campaign staff director Andrea Morell summed up the strategy.

"The campaign takes place in the context of the 'great debates,' the SWP's suit against the FBI and other spy agencies, and the fact that the SWP is active in more places and has more campaign supporters than ever before.

"The capitalist parties," Morell said, "entered into this debate with the idea that it would help to reverse their declining credibility and drum up voter interest. The debate would make the two-party system appear more visible and democratic—the contenders actually discussing campaign issues—as well as fostering the illusion that there is a real choice for working people between Ford and Carter.

"But what is coming out is the great lengths that the Democratic and Republican parties go to exclude every opposing viewpoint from discussion and to continue to impose the monopoly of the two big capitalist parties on American politics."

"In the case of the SWP," she pointed out, "the same Democratic and Republican government that appropriates money to send informers into

our organization, to burglarize our offices and to try to intimidate our members wants to keep our ideas hidden from voters. Our campaign is going to make that very difficult."

Endorser drive

Morell stressed the SWP's drive to gain endorsers, which is being launched simultaneously with the fall tours of candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid. "We want to place advertisements in the press signed by active leaders of struggles for social change.

"These ads will call for a vote for Camejo and Reid. They can help to show there is an alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties and that people who are fighting to change this system, even though they may not agree with every plank in the SWP's platform, are going to vote for the SWP instead of Carter or Ford."

Morell explained that in addition to the effort to sign up SWP supporters across the country, a special drive is addressed to the Chicano movement. "The SWP is involved in the struggles of Chicanos; in fact, telling the truth about these struggles all over the country is an important part of our campaign."

She pointed out that the New Mexico Raza Unida party endorses the SWP presidential ticket. "Juan José Peña, New Mexico RUP chairperson, addressed the August 13 SWP rally of 1,650 in Ohio that opened the final leg of our 1976 campaign. Juan José Peña is one of the initial endorsers of the SWP's Chicano advertisement. He sets an example we expect will be followed by many others."

New Mexico visit

Of special interest is Peter Camejo's tour in New Mexico slated for September 27 through 29. Olga Rodriguez, the SWP's Chicano work director, filled in details.

"Camejo will be speaking on campuses, talking with Chicano activists, and holding news conferences," she

Camejo tour

BOSTON—Sept. 9-11
SEATTLE—Sept 13
TACOMA, Wash.—Sept. 14
PORTLAND, Ore.—Sept. 15-16
CHICAGO—Sept. 17-18
ATLANTA—Sept. 20-21
DENVER—Sept. 23-24
SALT LAKE CITY—Sept. 25
LAS VEGAS, N.M.—Sept. 27
ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.—Sept. 28
EL PASO and LAS CRUCES, N.M.—Sept. 29
MINNEAPOLIS and ST. PAUL—Oct. 1-2
DETROIT—Oct. 4
CLEVELAND—Oct. 7-8
PITTSBURGH—Oct. 12-13
WASHINGTON, D.C.—Oct. 14-15
SAN ANTONIO—Oct. 16
PHOENIX—Oct. 19
SAN FRANCISCO—Oct. 20
LOS ANGELES—Oct. 21, 23
SAN DIEGO—Oct. 22
SAN JOSE—Oct. 25
OAKLAND, Calif.—Oct. 26
BERKELEY, Calif.—Oct. 27
NEW YORK—Oct. 29-Nov. 2

Reid tour

PHILADELPHIA—Sept. 10-11
NEWARK—Sept. 13-14
BLOOMINGTON, Ind.—Sept. 15
LOUISVILLE—Sept. 16
DETROIT—Sept. 17-18
SAN DIEGO—Sept. 20
LOS ANGELES—Sept. 21
SAN JOSE—Sept. 22
BERKELEY and OAKLAND, Calif.—Sept. 23
SAN FRANCISCO—Sept. 24-25
MIAMI—Sept. 28
MADISON, Wis.—Sept. 30
MILWAUKEE—Oct. 1
BALTIMORE—Oct. 2, 4
RICHMOND, Va.—Oct. 5
DALLAS—Oct. 6-7
NEW ORLEANS—Oct. 8
HOUSTON—Oct. 13-14
TOLEDO—Oct. 16
CINCINNATI—Oct. 18
INDIANAPOLIS—Oct. 19
KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Oct. 20
ST. LOUIS—Oct. 21-22
BOSTON—Oct. 25-26
CHICAGO—Oct. 29-Nov. 2

said. "We want to help the RUP's campaign and join in the defense of RUP members against the frame-ups and harassment that the ruling officials have launched.

"You have read in Arnold Weissberg's articles in the *Militant* how members of the *partido* in northern New Mexico have had their homes burned to the ground, are victims of illegal arrests and jailings, and have been shot at because they dare to challenge the Democratic party.

"For the first time the RUP is running a candidate, Ernesto Borunda, against the powerful New Mexico Democrat, Sen. Joseph Montoya. The RUP is running for two seats in the U.S. House of Representatives as well as a number of local posts.

"For this, the ruling Democrats have launched a terror campaign against *partido* activists. Peter Camejo will go there to find out what the SWP can do to help this struggle."

Youth coordinators

Betsy Farley, of the SWP's campaign staff, described extensive travel plans by nine youth coordinators. "Debates are being set up on college campuses where the Democrats, Republicans, NBC, ABC, and CBS do not enjoy the monopoly they do in the national media.

"In fact, we believe that the campuses can exert tremendous pressure on the capitalist candidates and the networks to broaden the debates and bring about a real discussion of 1976 campaign issues.

"For instance, what about a debate between Jack Ford and Osborne Hart?" said Farley. Hart, who is one of the SWP youth coordinators, "has been involved in the Black movement as a member of the Student Organization for Black Unity and the Pan African Congress, as a Georgia delegate to the National Black Political Convention, and as the youth representative on the resolutions committee at the June convention of the NAACP.

"Let's see Jack Ford explain to Osborne Hart why young people should support the Republican administration!"

There will also be thirteen traveling campaign teams visiting colleges to gain support for the SWP campaign. An all-Black team headed by Cathy Sedwick will be stopping at seven campuses in North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

Sedwick, former New York city-wide coordinator of the National Student Coalition against Racism, said that the team would be starting out at North Carolina Central University in Durham, North Carolina. "We plan to persuade people to vote socialist and actively support the Camejo-Reid ticket," she said.

"We'll be distributing the Carter fact sheet, which has already proven very popular in the South. It exposes Carter's racist record in the Georgia state legislature and as governor.

"We'll be explaining the importance of the SWP's 'Bill of Rights for Working People' and signing up endorsers for the campaign. We would like to see the endorser advertisements run in school newspapers with the names of the people on that campus who support Camejo and Reid."

Socialist Campaign Rallies

Hear the ideas the FBI tried to suppress

Socialist Workers party presidential and vice-presidential candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid are slated to appear at major rallies across the country. Along with leading activists in each community they will discuss the real issues facing Americans.



PETER CAMEJO will be the featured speaker at rallies in:

SEATTLE—Monday, September 13, 8:00 p.m., YWCA, 2828 East Cherry
TACOMA, Wash.—Tuesday, September 14, 12:30 p.m., Knutsen Hall, Pacific Lutheran University
PORTLAND—Thursday, September 16, 7:30 p.m., 3928 N. Williams St.
CHICAGO—Saturday, September 18, 8:00 p.m., Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams

WILLIE MAE REID will speak at:

NEWARK—Monday, September 13, 7:30 p.m., Robeson Student Center, Rutgers-Newark, 350 High St.
BLOOMINGTON, Ind.—Wednesday, September 15, 2:30 p.m., Alumni Hall, Union Building, Indiana University
LOUISVILLE—Thursday, September 16, 11:30 a.m., Bigelow Hall, University of Louisville
DETROIT—Saturday, September 18, 7:30 p.m., Operation Get-Down Headquarters, 9980 Gratiot

Your help is needed to build the SWP campaign and rallies. See the Socialist Directory on page 31 for the campaign headquarters nearest you.

Officers of the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee: Chairperson, Linda Jenness; treasurer, Arthur Hughes.

Judge refuses to halt probe of FBI burglaries

By Diane Rupp

NEW YORK—On September 3 U.S. District Court Judge Henry Werker refused to halt a grand jury probe into illegal FBI activities.

Two FBI agents had asked the judge to quash subpoenas from the grand jury. The G-men claimed the investigation threatened national security, violated their right to privacy, and made scapegoats of low-level FBI agents.

Jack Solerwitz, a lawyer for about twenty of the G-men, said that the agents could not testify about their black-bag jobs without endangering "national security." Solerwitz claimed that FBI burglaries and other crimes had been done for cases that involved "many hostile [foreign] governments."

Assistant U.S. Attorney General J. Stanley Pottinger, head of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, which has been investigating FBI crimes, disagreed. "It would border on fantasy to believe that the national interest is at stake," Pottinger said.

Judge Werker rejected the "national security" argument. "Those words have assumed a somewhat elastic meaning over the last few years, as we have observed," Werker said.

Solerwitz claimed that if the G-men

testified before a grand jury they would violate the FBI's required oath of secrecy. But Werker said the fact that the agents work for the FBI does not simply "exempt them from appearances before grand juries." Werker ruled that the attorney general could give the agents immunity from any charges of violating their secrecy oath.

Solerwitz also tried to stop the grand jury with an appeal to the Bill of Rights. The lawyer claimed that the investigation violates the agents' Fourth Amendment rights.

Ironically, the Fourth Amendment guarantees that "the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated. . . ."

So far the probe into FBI crimes has turned up evidence that the agents broke into homes without search warrants, stole mail, and even fire-bombed and kidnapped antiwar activists.

Judge Werker refused to declare the grand jury a "fishing expedition" and "instrument of oppression" that violated the Fourth Amendment, as Solerwitz charged.

Solerwitz complained that his clients

are only street agents who carried out the black-bag jobs on the orders of top FBI and Justice Department officials. Now, he lamented, the G-men are being "unfairly exposed to the profes-



Herblock

sional stigma" of criminal investigation by a grand jury.

"Not to mention the possibility of civil liability which could still result," Solerwitz added. Three FBI agents responsible for burglaries against the Socialist Workers party are already defendants in the SWP's \$40 million lawsuit against FBI harassment and disruption.

The other G-men being investigated may face a similar fate when the facts become public in a trial.

Solerwitz insisted that he can prove the agents committed the burglaries without authorization from the Justice Department. The lawyer said that if the FBI agents are brought to trial he will subpoena the last four or five attorneys general to show they approved the black-bag jobs.

The grand jury is hearing evidence from a five-month probe into FBI crimes. In March, FBI field offices searching their files under court order for the Socialist Workers party lawsuit against the government found evidence of FBI burglaries done in the early 1970s. The material was turned over to the Justice Department and triggered the probe into illegal FBI activities.

D.C. socialists release cops' red squad files

By Brenda Brdar

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The D.C. Police Intelligence Unit kept detailed files on the local chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance in the early 1970s. This was documented by the release of sixty pages of the police files at an August 26 news conference by the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee.

The files included detailed reports on YSA meetings and descriptions of picket lines the socialists had taken part in. As the *Washington Post* pointed out, "There are no reports that either group [YSA or Socialist Workers party] planned or executed any disruptive or illegal acts."

The socialists obtained the documents through a lawsuit filed by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) for the 1974 Socialist Workers Municipal Campaign Committee against the District of Columbia Board of Elections and Ethics.

The suit is trying to have the

Socialist Workers Campaign Committee exempted from the requirements to disclose names of their campaign contributors.



Militant/Walter Lippmann

Dorothy Hawkinson tells D.C. cops: "Stop spying on my campaign."

Attorneys for the socialists say that the released D.C. police files prove a pattern of illegal surveillance against the SWP and YSA. The files show how police and government spies would use the names of contributors to the SWP campaign as an "enemies list."

The socialists had subpoenaed files from the D.C. police on both the SWP and the YSA, but received only the files on the YSA. The D.C. police claim that they have already shredded all their political files through the letter "S", including files on the Socialist Workers party.

The socialists have also subpoenaed files on the YSA and SWP from the FBI. The bureau has admitted that it has 15,000 pages of documents on the D.C. branch of the SWP alone. But the FBI has asked the court to quash the subpoena. A ruling is expected soon on whether the FBI must turn over the documents.

Dorothy Hawkinson, Socialist Workers candidate for D.C. city council at-large, spoke at the August 26 press conference. Hawkinson explained that

the police spying is aimed not only at socialists but at any D.C. resident who speaks out on issues. Hawkinson called for an immediate end to all spying on her campaign supporters and urged other city council candidates to support the socialists' suit.

Sara Smith, chairperson of the George Washington University YSA, said, "We want to know what kind of cooperation George Washington University President Elliot and the rest of the administration afforded the D.C. police agents."

Anton Wood, a member of the D.C. Statehood party and a longtime political activist in the District, also spoke at the news conference. Woods's name appeared in the newly released police files because he had attended a picket line in which YSA members also participated.

Wood said that he may also file suit against the police for their political spying.

Diana Josephson, executive director of the ACLU, also attended the news conference.

Houston socialists sue cops for files

By Gene Lantz

HOUSTON, Tex.—Socialists in Houston have filed a motion to become part of a \$55 million lawsuit against political spying carried out by the Houston police. The Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance are joining the lawsuit to help prevent police from destroying evidence of the illegal spying.

The American Civil Liberties Union filed the original lawsuit in 1975. Defendants include the city of Houston, present and former mayors, police chiefs, and directors of criminal intelligence. The suit seeks \$55 million in damages for illegal spying carried out by the Criminal Intelligence Division of the Houston Police Department.

The ACLU began the legal challenge after Houston Mayor Fred Hofheinz and former Police Chief Carrol Lynn admitted that the police had gathered political files on more than 1,000 persons.

The suit was originally filed in the name of two individuals but sought to represent all persons illegally spied on as a class-action lawsuit. In July, however, U.S. District Court Judge John Singleton, Jr., ruled that the

lawsuit could not be maintained as a class action.

Singleton declared that the files contained such a "morass of useless data compiled on literally thousands of Houstonians and local organizations" that a class-action suit would be unwieldy.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

PEDRO VASQUEZ: Seeks cop files as new plaintiff in lawsuit.

Lawyers for the Houston police immediately claimed that the judge's decision meant that police could destroy all political files except those on persons who had actually sued the Houston officials.

City attorney Jonathan Day rejoined, saying, "The quicker we get this case disposed of the quicker we can move forward with having the files returned to the police department where we can destroy them." Judge Singleton, however, decided to keep custody of the files.

The ACLU is appealing Singleton's refusal to allow the case to represent all victims of police spying. The ACLU has also encouraged others to join the lawsuit so that files cannot be destroyed.

The new legal motion filed will add the Socialist Workers party, Young Socialist Alliance, and several SWP candidates as plaintiffs in the lawsuit. The new candidates will include Debbie Leonard, former SWP candidate for governor; Dan Fein, SWP candidate for state representative in the Ninety-seventh District; Gene Lantz, candidate for Congress from the Eighth Congressional District; and Pedro Vasquez, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate.

Socialists challenge government's right to

By Larry Seigle

The Socialist Workers party has opened a political war against the government's use of undercover informers. On September 4 the party released files, obtained from the FBI, which partially document the activities of paid government informers against the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance.

At the same time the socialists made public a legal brief, filed in connection with its omnibus suit against government spying and harassment, seeking to force the FBI to open the files on its informer program.

The two related moves add a new dimension to the SWP lawsuit. FBI Director Clarence Kelley has stated repeatedly that he views informers as absolutely essential to the bureau's so-called domestic intelligence operations. He has also stated that he will "never" divulge the names of FBI informers.

It is likely that the FBI will immediately appeal any court order requiring disclosure of the names of informers. Such a move could take this specific issue all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court before the suit itself comes to trial in the lower courts.

According to the statistics turned over to the SWP, the FBI currently has sixty-six paid informers masquerading as members of the SWP or the YSA. In addition, the FBI has an army of some 1,300 free-floating informers who have provided information since 1960 on a variety of groups including the SWP and the YSA.

Candidate's demand

Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers candidate for president, demanded that Attorney General Edward Levi "act immediately to remove the sixty-six spies from my campaign committees."

The use of informers against the SWP, Camejo said, "constitutes a flagrant violation of the right of the American people to support the presidential candidate of their choice."

The bureau's documents were provided to the party under pretrial discovery proceedings in its suit. The files consist of summaries of information in response to a series of questions

presented by the socialists' lawyers concerning the nature and extent of informer activity.

The files identify the informers not by name but by arbitrary code numbers. The cities in which the informers operate and any other information that would identify any specific individual have been deleted.

The socialists are now taking legal steps to compel the FBI to turn over the names and complete, uncensored files of nineteen present and past informers. The request for only nineteen files is presented as an "interim demand" aimed at securing additional evidence that the entire informer program is illegal.

In a statement released to the news media along with the FBI files, Jack



Militant Jerry Crist

SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo says 'informers threaten basic political rights.'

Barnes, SWP national secretary, declared:

"For many decades the FBI has used informers as a major weapon in its drive to silence those whose political views it finds objectionable. Today, despite repeated revelations of criminal and unconstitutional activities of FBI informers, and despite the overwhelming opposition of the American people to these crimes, FBI informers

are still operating against numerous organizations.

"This is not a question of the FBI running amok. The FBI's illegal use of informers is a policy and a practice that has been authorized and approved by both ruling parties and by every administration since Franklin Roosevelt. . . .

"The FBI's informer program is an intolerable violation of the Bill of Rights and of the civil liberties of everyone in this country. Informers have been used to disrupt the Black Panther party and set up police murders of its members; to interfere with the legal defense efforts of members of the American Indian Movement facing frame-up charges; to carry out physical assaults, in collaboration with ultraright and fascist gangs, on anti-Vietnam War demonstrators; to illegally influence and interfere with trade-union elections and policy; and to burglarize offices and campaign headquarters of the Socialist Workers party and the homes of its members and supporters."

'Offensive weapons'

The files are expurgated to make it look like the informers' function is merely to transmit the information on the internal life and public activities of the SWP. The informers collected items such as leaflets, party discussion bulletins, financial reports, and details of election campaign projects. Of course, even if this were the extent of the stool pigeons' activity, it would be absolutely illegal and in total violation of the Bill of Rights.

But the truth of the matter is that the FBI informers are not merely passive transmitters. They are, in the language used in the SWP brief, "offensive weapons employed to attempt to manipulate . . . and even to sow and exploit discord."

The informers are an indispensable tool in the FBI's war of disruption against radical, Black, women's, and labor organizations. They are the primary source of political and personal details that provide the raw data needed for the FBI's schemes to foment dissension, get people fired, break up marriages, and fuel personality conflicts.

In collecting this mass of information the informers—like FBI agents—resorts to all kinds of illegal techniques, including burglaries.

In fact, the current legal steps come in the wake of the discovery of a burglary of the SWP headquarters in Denver in July by an FBI informer. The spy, Timothy Redfearn, was paid \$400 a month for his activities. He was rated "excellent" on the basis of material he obtained as a result of a string of break-ins against the socialists.

"When the FBI says it has sixty-six informers masquerading as socialists, it is really saying there are at least sixty-six Timothy Redfearns skulking around, stealing from, spying on, and spreading malicious gossip about citizens engaged in legal political activities," said Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund. The fund is organizing support for the SWP and YSA suit.

'Question loyalty'

In addition to collecting information, the informers themselves are used as vehicles for implementing disruption operations. In one of the few places where instructions from the FBI to an informer were not totally blotted out in the new files, an informer is "advised to continue to question the loyalty of other members at every opportunity."

FBI documents made public previously prove that one of the government's most highly prized methods is the planting of false evidence or suspicions that a member of a political organization is an informer. For example, one FBI memo from 1970 outlined a "proposal for a disruption-



CAPITOL GAMES

disinformation operation targeted against the National office" of the Black Panther party. The plan was to anonymously mail "Xerox copies of true documents, documents subtly incorporating false information. . . to the residence of a key Panther leader.

" . . . A wide variety of alleged authentic police or FBI material could be carefully selected or prepared. . . documents could be prepared pinpointing Panthers as police or FBI informants. . . .

A similar FBI operation was successfully conducted to convince the leadership of the U.S. Communist party that William Albertson, a longtime member of the CP National Committee, was actually an FBI informer. The only "evidence" against Albertson was a document found in a car in which he had been a passenger. The document, made to look like an informer's report, was signed "Bill," and was in handwriting that resembled Albertson's. It ended with a "request for a raise in expenses."

Albertson was summarily booted out of the Communist party, his claims of innocence ignored. The truth about the incident became known to the public only in 1975, when an FBI document boasting of the agency's success in getting Albertson kicked out of the CP was released along with other, unrelated, Cointelpro files.

In his statement to the press, SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes noted that "other files have shown that the planting of 'disinformation,' often by informers themselves, to cast doubts on the loyalty of members is one of the FBI's favorite disruption techniques."

Barnes noted that the new files obtained from the FBI by the SWP show "that the FBI failed in one of the key objectives of its informer program. It failed to get the Socialist Workers party to conduct its own internal witch-hunts in what would obviously have been futile efforts to identify the government's informers."

'Informer privilege'

The FBI has not yet submitted its reply to the socialists' brief demanding disclosure of unexpurgated informer files. But government attorneys have stated in court hearings that they will rely on the so-called doctrine of informer's privilege in keeping secret the names of and facts about its informers.

This privilege against disclosure—something like the privilege protecting the privacy of attorney-client discussions—has been upheld by the Supreme Court when applied to people who give evidence of a crime to the authorities. But there is not a shred of evidence of any illegal activity whatsoever by the SWP or the YSA or any of their members in all the material collected by the FBI stool pigeons.

The brief, written by attorneys Eric Lieberman and Margaret Winter, points out that the informer's privilege is inapplicable to this case because the informers are "not used to report criminal activities, but to report upon the lawful political activities of American citizens and to attempt to control and disrupt an independent lawful political party. . . .

"The Redfearn file reveals all of this

A new defense fund



Marlette

'How many times do I have to explain, Henderson? There are good guys and there are bad guys and no matter how it looks, we're still the good guys!'

A new defense organization has sprung up. It's the FBI's Special Agents Legal Defense Fund. The SALDF is raising money to hire lawyers for G-men accused of burglaries and other criminal activities.

Some FBI agents have objected to the new defense fund. "Are members of the law enforcement agency supposed to chip in to pay for people charged with crimes?" one agent complained to the *New York Times*.

Apparently FBI Director Clarence Kelley thinks the agents should. Kelley sent the defense fund appeal out to the bureau's fifty-nine field offices with a personal note. He

stressed that contributions should be voluntary.

But one field agent asked, "How voluntary is it when the letter is handed to you by the top man in your office?"

Kelley will not be sending out any fund appeal for the Political Rights Defense Fund, the group organizing support for the Socialist Workers party lawsuit against FBI harassment. But if you would like to give money to the PRDF—not the SALDF—send contributions to the PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003

use informers



and more. Although Redfearn made a vast collection of information relating to the plaintiffs' exercise of their First Amendment rights, in the 2,000 pages of material produced for this court there is not a single reference to an unlawful act on the part of the plaintiffs.

"In fact, one item in the material produced is so ironic in context that only a Jonathan Swift could do justice to it. Redfearn's criminal background precluded him so long as he was on 'deferred prosecution' or probation from associating with criminals. Accordingly, SAC Denver [the Special Agent in Charge of the Denver FBI office] engaged in correspondence with the Director of the FBI in November, 1975, as to whether Redfearn could associate with members of the YSA. The decision is set forth in the last paragraph of the correspondence:

"As Bureau has previously been advised, it was decided that the YSA members did not qualify as 'criminal-type' individuals, with whom source was instructed by the court not to associate. He is, therefore, at liberty to participate in meetings and activities of the YSA."

Thus, the actions of the informers

and the information they furnish do "not relate to 'violations of law' but to First Amendment expression of opinion and activities of association. The officers who receive the information are not 'charged with enforcement of that law.' There is no law which authorizes the FBI to engage in political intelligence activities and to inquire into and collect information with respect to legitimate political parties."

'History of obstruction'

The brief goes on to point out that it would be foolish to rely on the FBI's statements about its informers, rather than on the complete, uncensored files themselves, to get at the truth. The brief points to "the extraordinary history of FBI obstruction of discovery [and] the FBI's false statements to this court. . . ."

United States District Court Judge Thomas Griesa, who is presiding over the case, had earlier blasted the FBI for "widespread misrepresentations" and "false" answers with regard to the Redfearn affair.

The record of FBI stonewalling, lies, and cover-ups makes it clear that the only way to get the truth out is to open all the FBI informer files.

How snitches earn their pay

The new FBI files turned over to the SWP are heavily censored, omitting information that would point to the FBI's criminal acts and reveal the true methods of its informers. Almost without exception the bureau's informers are pictured merely as passive transmitters of information—not as the provocateurs, disrupters, and thieves they are.

A graphic picture of the informers' techniques, however, has become available from another source. The Senate Intelligence Committee recently published the text of a memorandum concerning the FBI's disruption program against the Communist party.

The memo, dated August 28, 1956, describes plans to use informers as part of the government's plot to destroy the CP:

"During its investigation of the Communist Party, USA, the Bureau has sought to capitalize on incidents involving the Party and its leaders in order to foster factionalism, bring the Communist Party (CP) and its leaders into disrepute before the American public and cause confusion and dissatisfaction among rank-and-file members of the CP.

"Generally, the above action has constituted harassment rather than disruption, since, for the most part, the Bureau has set up particular incidents, and the attack has been from the outside. At the present time, however, there is existing within the CP a situation resulting from the developments at the 20th Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union [where Nikita Khrushchev made his famous speech admitting some of Stalin's crimes] and the Government's attack on the Party

principally through prosecutions under the Smith Act of 1940 and the Internal Security Act of 1950 which is made to order for an all-out disruptive attack against the CP from within.

"In other words, the Bureau is in a position to initiate, on a broader scale than heretofore attempted, a counterintelligence program against the CP, not by harassment from the outside, which might only serve to bring the various factions together, but by feeding and fostering from within the internal fight currently raging. . . .

"ACTION: A memorandum, together with a letter to 12 key [FBI] offices is being prepared, requesting these offices to submit to the Bureau the identities of certain informants who will be briefed and instructed to embark on a disruptive program within their own clubs, sections, districts or even on a national level. These informants will raise objections and doubts as to the success of any proposed plan of action by the CP leadership. They will seize every opportunity to carry out the disruptive activity not only at meetings, conventions, et cetera, but also during social and other contacts with CP members and leaders. . . ." (Emphasis added.)

This is irrefutable proof that the FBI uses its informers not merely to transmit information, but, in the words used in the brief filed by SWP attorneys, as "offensive weapons employed to . . . sow and exploit discord within the organizations, thereby fundamentally affecting plaintiffs' rights to free association, speech and lawful political activity." —L.S.

The long, sordid history of spying on labor mov't

By Larry Seigle

The confidential informant is as old as man and is used in practically every walk of life . . . and is used as a means of establishing truth.

—J. Edgar Hoover

One of the first things a person has to know as an informer is how to be a born liar—to both friends and enemies. The only problem with this is that at times, after lying so frequently, it may become hard to distinguish between the lie and reality.

—Stephen Cooper, ex-FBI informer in the Young Socialist Alliance.

The fight being launched by the SWP and the YSA against the FBI's use of informers will add a new chapter to the long history of struggle by the working class against this most pernicious form of government harassment and disruption.

In February 1917, when the Russian masses overthrew the Czar, the workers of St. Petersburg began examining the secret files of the Okhrana, the monarchy's secret police force. The archives of the central Okhrana contained the names of between 30,000 and 40,000 agents provocateurs who had been active in the preceding twenty years.

Unfortunately, Okhrana spies among the workers succeeded in setting a fire that destroyed most of the files.

In the United States, typically the hiring of stool pigeons by the capitalist class began as private enterprise, not as a government operation.

The employers' use of labor spies began in the period following the Civil War, when the American working class expanded its attempts to organize trade unions to fight for decent working and living conditions.

Some farsighted private detectives, such as Allen Pinkerton, saw in labor espionage a potentially lucrative business. In the early 1870s, Pinkerton proved his value to the bosses when he succeeded in planting an undercover agent, James McParlan, in the organization of Pennsylvania miners known in the capitalist press as the "Molly Maguires."

Pinkerton's spy agency earned a \$100,000 fee from Franklin Gowen, president of the Reading Railroad. After a five-month mine strike was smashed in 1875, Gowen moved to totally crush the "Mollies." His chief instrument was the labor spy McParlan.

Frame-up trials were arranged for miners secretly fingered by McParlan. In the most famous of the trials, five men were accused of murdering a police officer. The chief witness was none other than McParlan himself. His testimony, though uncorroborated, was enough to win a conviction. Miners who dared to testify for the defense were arrested for perjury as they left the stand.

Before the Pinkertons' dirty work was completed, nineteen miners had been convicted and executed, and many others sentenced to long years in prison.

The president of the Reading Railroad justified it all in terms remarkably similar to the language used by the FBI today. The miners' leaders, said Gowen, were foreigners, "advocates of the [Paris] Commune and emissaries of the [First] International."

(McParlan, incidentally later moved to Denver Colorado, where he became chief of the Pinkerton office there. In 1906 he played a major role in the frame-up of William ["Big Bill"] Haywood, Charles Moyer, and George Pettibone, leaders of the Western Federation of Miners, on a charge of murdering the ex-governor of Idaho.

In the wake of the Pinkerton success

against the "Molly Maguires," new clients, determined to keep their industries free of unionism, sought out the labor spy services provided by Pinkerton and his competitors, such as the Burns International Detective Agency and the Sherman Service Corporation. Some companies, like the Ford Motor Company, preferred to maintain their own system of spies.

The private agencies had no need to cloak their goals in patriotic rhetoric about "national security." They bluntly proclaimed their aim to be union-busting. In 1920, one rent-a-rat company sent the following letter to a prospective client:

"First, I will say that if we are employed before any union or organization is formed by the employees, there will be no strike or disturbance. This does not say there will be no unions formed, but it does say that we will control the activities of the union and direct its policies, provided we are allowed a free hand by our clients.

"Second. If a union is already formed and no strike is on or expected to be declared within 30 or 60 days, although we are not in the same position as we would be in the above case, we could—and I believe with



ALLEN PINKERTON: Began rent-a-rat agency.

success—carry on an intrigue which would result in factions, disagreements, resignations of officers, and general decrease in the membership."

By 1936 there were some 230 private agencies providing undercover informers to clients. It was estimated that there was at least one spy in each of some 41,000 union locals then in existence.

The bosses were paying out as much as \$80 million a year in fees to their private secret police. Thus it was logical that the capitalists would soon decide to centralize the job and turn it over to the federal government.

As the New Deal gave way to the "War Deal" during Franklin Roosevelt's second term as president, the FBI was directed to expand massively its operations against labor unions and radicals. The labor spy racket became a public service performed for the bosses at public expense.

In September 1940, FBI field offices were instructed to recruit or place informers in each of the nation's "war plants." By September 1942, 23,746 rats were placed in nearly 4,000 plants.

The FBI told the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities that as of 1975 it had some 1,500 domestic intelligence informers and a budget for 1976 of \$7.4 million—more than twice the amount spent on criminal informers.

However, it is likely that the true figure is substantially higher. For example, in 1967, under orders from Attorney General Ramsey Clark, the FBI set up a "Ghetto Informant Program" that at its height involved some 7,400 informers.

U.S. out of Africa

On September 6, U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and South African Prime Minister John Vorster concluded "fruitful" talks in Zurich on the fate of Southern Africa. The same day, Vorster's police opened fire on Black demonstrators in Soweto, the Black Johannesburg township where the current wave of protests against apartheid rule began. One man was killed.

The next day, as Vorster returned home, his cops fired on African and Coloured (mixed race) demonstrators in Cape Town, killing at least two and wounding scores of others.

The latest killings underline what Kissinger's diplomacy is trying to hide: the continuing brutal oppression and exploitation of Blacks by white minority regimes in South Africa, Namibia (South-West Africa), and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

Kissinger's talks with Vorster were supposedly aimed at bringing about a "peaceful transition" to Black rule in Namibia and Zimbabwe. (As for apartheid rule in South Africa itself, Vorster "is not about to discuss South Africa's internal problems," one of his aides declared.)

No details were given as to exactly what "progress" was made in the talks. But their overall aim is clear: to buy time for the white regimes, to defuse the liberation struggles in Southern Africa, and to placate world public opinion—all with a minimum of concessions to Black rights.

Namibia: Both Kissinger and Vorster still seek to palm off as legitimate a South African-controlled commission that has set a December 1978 target date for independence. This phony commission has been rejected by the South West African People's Organisation, the main nationalist group, as well as by the United Nations Council on Namibia. SWAPO is demanding immediate independence and the removal of South African troops.

Zimbabwe: Kissinger tries to give the impression that South Africa has agreed to exert economic pressure on the Rhodesian regime to accept Black rule in the next few years. But Vorster said just the opposite on September 5: "We can point out alternatives, realities, we can advise, and that is as far as I went in the past and that is as far as I am prepared to go in the future."

None of Kissinger's maneuvers have anything to do with genuine independence and self-determination for the Black masses of Southern Africa. His wheeling and dealing should be rejected by Blacks, students, unionists, and everyone else in this country who supports freedom in Southern Africa.

The continuing repression in South Africa should make it clear that—more than ever—we need to organize picket lines, rallies, teach-ins, and other protests demanding an end to all U.S. political, economic, and military support to the racist regimes.

School opening

September is here again, which brings the opening of school and all that has come to mean in recent years: teacher layoffs, educational cutbacks, and racist assaults on Black schoolchildren.

Last year teachers' strikes numbered a record 203. For the most part, teachers fought for job security and to maintain benefits and programs won in previous contracts. Union officials predict a similar number of strikes this year.

Again this fall the nation's attention is riveted on those cities where rocks and bottles greeted Black children riding school buses last year.

The segregationist forces have been dealt some legal and political setbacks. School openings thus far have been relatively calm. In Boston classes started with no major violence inside the schools. The same was true in other cities where desegregation orders are in effect for the first time.

Unfortunately, however, any last rites for the antibusing movement would be dangerously premature. A predawn bomb blast at a Louisville high school September 6 followed three nights of unruly antibusing protests. In Boston September 7 a ROAR motorcade ended in an attack on a city bus driven by a Black man.

School desegregation is still the central target of racists in this country. And it will certainly continue to be as long as the reactionaries are encouraged and aided by Democratic and Republican politicians—including both presidential candidates—who demagogically preach against "forced busing."

It remains the duty of all prodesegregation forces to be vigilant. They will need to continue to organize and mobilize in support of equal rights for Black children.

Undocumented workers

If there was ever a question about the rights of undocumented residents (so-called "illegals"), a recent article in the *Los Angeles Times* sets the record straight.

In April, following a raid by *la migra*, Mexican workers were dismissed from the Ortho Mattress Company. They knew that just as much money had been deducted from their paychecks for unemployment insurance as had been deducted from documented residents ("citizens"). So six *mexicanos* appealed a ruling that prohibits them from receiving unemployment benefits because of their citizenship status.

Not only were they turned down on that account, but immediately after the hearing before the appeals board, two immigration officers who appeared as witnesses arrested the six.

There was no one at the hearing who could effectively support them. The labor movement should have organized to defend the rights of these and all undocumented residents. Instead, even those unions that organize undocumented workers fall far short of coming to their defense in getting benefits or in fighting deportation. Some even cooperate in deportation proceedings.

M.H.

Los Angeles, California

Down-to-earth

I know, feel, and believe that the *Militant* is one of the most outstanding and down-to-earth papers on the streets today. I know that all prisoners around the country in different prisons do sincerely and truthfully appreciate the *Militant* newspaper. We thank you for your work because you're working for all oppressed nations.

A prisoner
Connecticut

'La Soufrière'

Capitalism—raw or refined, magnified or minimized, straight or on the rocks—stands for death.

This has been especially evident in the West Indies since La Soufrière volcano, on the French-ruled island of Guadeloupe, began smoldering.

Leave aside the fact that technology under capitalism—in this case, relieving the earth's pressure to reduce the violence of an eruption—gets a low priority. The point here is that there has been pitifully poor disaster preparation.

The French government sent only a couple of hundred rescue personnel to Guadeloupe.

Here, 160 miles away, the island government said a Soufrière eruption could cause a tidal wave. But the government had no evacuation plan for coastal areas, and islanders without transportation to the mountains, which included most, were left to their wits.

Happenstance brought me to one of the better hotels on the island, one of the Marriott chain. Rich and prominent Americans are always guests at it.

At midnight one night, acting on word that an eruption was imminent, the hotel issued a leaflet bulletin to guests that contained an evacuation plan. It was a premature bulletin, but several days later I learned off the record from a hotel employee that the management knew the plan was inadequate because the place of safety was not high enough to allow people to

survive a wave more than one hundred feet high and moving at several hundred miles per hour, which is typical for them.

Capitalism, even for the rich, stands for death.

Baxter Smith

St. Maarten, Netherlands Antilles

Too much energy on elections

You shouldn't spend so much energy on the election circus. I think it's a political mistake for a revolutionary organization to have its own candidates in these times of a weak socialist movement.

The "class alternative" will not be found with an alternative program to the bourgeois parties during the election campaign, or the election itself. The alternative is to be built in the concrete struggle for class interests. Don't you support parliamentary illusions through your participation in the election campaign?

I'm not a Trotskyist, but I read your paper to get socialist information about what's cooking in the United States. The development of a socialist movement in the USA has great importance for every socialist movement.

W.V.

West Germany

Socialism in church?

A church may be an unlikely place to sell socialist literature, but that's just what the Northside Houston branch of the Socialist Workers party did Sunday, August 22. The bilingual bulletin of Our Lady of Guadalupe Church simply noted that there'd be books in Spanish available for sale in the gym after services. Dozens of people showed up and bought \$63.44 worth of pamphlets and books. Best sellers were *450 Years of Chicano History*, *Problems of Women's Liberation*, and *Bert Corona Speaks*. Thomas Boushier
Houston, Texas

True colors

This country showed its true colors on its two hundredth birthday by legalizing the death penalty. I say its true colors in the sense that President Ford had the audacity to make an appeal to the government of Angola (when it should have been directed to Angola, Louisiana) to spare the life of a hired killer.

The paradox of this country is showing like never before. Stumbling Ford, ethnic-purity Carter, and war-monger Reagan answered in the affirmative to the July 2 [Supreme Court] decision. The two political parties give us regression instead of progression.

The Socialist Workers party is the only political organization that speaks out against this regression because it knows the true colors of the many political machineries that reside in this country.

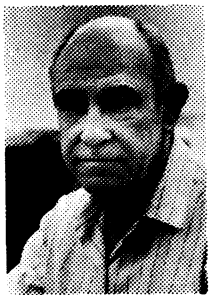
A prisoner
Ohio

Stereotyped image

I have to make a comment about the article regarding Timothy Redfearn and his activities against the Denver branches of the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



S.F. Muni drivers

[The following guest column was written by Milton Chee and Nat Weinstein. Milton Chee is a bus driver in San Francisco and member of Transport Workers Union Local 250-A.]

SAN FRANCISCO—On August 22 the San Francisco Muni (municipal bus system) drivers voted to approve a wage and benefit package that amounts to a reduction of \$700-\$1,000 per year per driver. The vote was 790 to 564.

The hourly wage rate was raised from \$6.89 to \$7.46. But this was more than offset by the loss of weekend premium pay, a cut in paid lunch from thirty minutes to twenty minutes, a trust fund loss, a loss in industrial injury pay, and a cut in night shift differential pay.

The real significance of the vote was the indication that Muni drivers, organized in Transport Workers Union Local 250-A, remain surprisingly combative despite the defeat of a city workers' strike last spring. A lot of drivers—42 percent—voted to reject the package. And they voted against the settlement in spite of backhanded endorsement of it by the union's executive board.

In last spring's thirty-nine-day strike, city-employed crafts workers were isolated from public support and effective labor unity. They were forced to accept drastic wage cuts. Virtually the only meaningful support came from the Muni drivers, who kept the bus system shut down throughout the strike despite a mammoth back-to-work campaign in the news media.

The strike defeat dealt a blow to the confidence of San Francisco unions. Although only a small group of workers in the city—about 2,000—was directly involved, the defeat left a profound impact on the entire labor movement.

The union officialdom here had grown accustomed to coasting on past victories that established San Francisco as a union town. They had convinced themselves that their success in gaining modest concessions over the years was a result of their

collaboration with San Francisco bosses and their political representatives in the Democratic and Republican parties. The union brass really believed their slick wheeling and dealing brought results.

The ferocious attack sprung on labor this year has had a stunning effect on the San Francisco labor bureaucrats. Shocked and demoralized by the clobbering at the hands of their Democratic party "friends," they run scared as new tests of strength come along. They are unwilling or unable to draw the lessons of the defeats. They continue to fatalistically pin their hopes on their capitalist party "friends of labor."

Reflecting this despair, the Local 250-A leadership pared the union's proposals down to the barest minimum. Even these were knocked down by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors to a wage and benefit package below last year's level. The union executive board submitted this dismal package to the membership for ratification without making a formal recommendation to accept or reject.

The fact that 42 percent voted to reject even under these adverse circumstances shows that Muni drivers could have been rallied for a tough defensive fight. The determination they displayed last spring could have been mobilized once again.

The Muni drivers are mostly Black. They have a tradition of militant solidarity with other embattled workers. They would not have been easily isolated from the masses of San Francisco workers.

More battles loom on the horizon. An initiative that would outlaw city strikes has been placed on the November ballot. In addition, the board of supervisors has declared its determination to initiate a ballot scheme next spring to further reduce Muni workers' pay and benefits.

These future battles can be won only if labor frees itself from its ruinous dependence upon capitalist politicians and parties. We urgently need militant, independent actions by the unions—rallies, demonstrations, and united strike action when necessary—behind a program that can appeal to the city's entire working population.

[*Militant*, August 27].

It's obvious that Redfearn's attitude and actions are reactionary and run counter to the rights of political organizations to exist freely, and that it was for these reasons, no doubt, that the FBI hired him. However, I find the author's statements regarding Redfearn's *psychiatric* history mystifying, careless, and offensive.

"A history of psychiatric problems," a "highly unstable personality," and bouts of intermittent depression do not qualify as sufficient evidence as to a person's character or lack of it.

The author was apparently attempting to draw a parallel between Redfearn's mental state and his offensive political actions. But to make statements about the state of Redfearn's mind, and to feel that making these statements is enough without being obliged to relate them to the crimes committed, is to support the oppressive stereotyped image people already have of "mental illness," absorbed through the media and bourgeois press.

The *Militant* is too good a paper to permit such cheap shots.

Erin Molenaar
Seattle, Washington

Questions on Portugal

Recent events in Portugal raise extremely important questions which I strongly urge the *Militant* to discuss.

In the recent election, Carvalho won the support of most of the revolutionary leftist parties and the most militant workers in the industrial centers. Yet those parties the *Militant* supported refused to give Carvalho critical support, and ended up having no candidate to support and no way to participate with the militant workers in a new revolutionary regroupment.

If Carvalho served as a momentary rallying point for the workers to regroup their forces, was not it tactically astute for revolutionaries to be among those workers, helping to build their new independent organizations while, *at the same time*, explaining Carvalho's limits and dangers?

Of course, there is always the danger of subordination of the workers movement to non-working-class leaders and leftist reformers, but isn't it purist and sectarian to refuse to be in the midst of the workers' most advanced struggles so that one can obtain a genuine hearing from the workers for revolutionary criticism of their "leftist" leadership?

Has not the *Militant* given critical support to Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, César Chávez, Arnold Miller, and Ed Sadlowski? Why not to Carvalho, when it offered such exciting opportunities to build new forms of workers soviets?

J.B.
Fond du Lac, Wisconsin

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

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Fear on the streets

The following is a guest column by Robb Wright, a member of the Socialist Workers party.

BOSTON—Boston has been a heavy scene over the past few nights. It's scary. Being on the streets of Dorchester near Geneva Avenue is a tense and depressing experience.

I thought I'd seen some racism. I was raised in a community in Connecticut where at one time more than 50 percent of the police force was affiliated to the John Birch Society. I lived, went to college, and did community organizing in the Tidewater area of Virginia, where the Klan is very strong and where standard equipment on a Ford pickup truck driven by KKK-minded citizens is a shotgun rack in the back window . . . with a shotgun in it.

But Boston is different.

The racism here permeates the entire atmosphere. It oozes from the cracks in the sidewalks in the rundown deteriorating Geneva Avenue-Fields Corner community, where racist attacks occur nightly. And you see it on the faces of whites on the streets.

At night, the Black community is tense. Wound up like a clock spring. You walk the streets and everyone is on their front porch or stoop, just watching, waiting. It's a strange feeling. You walk the streets and you're on edge. You hear a noise, you jump. You're constantly looking over your shoulder. If you see a group of whites, you walk faster.

The hairs on the back of your neck unwind. Your stomach tightens. A cold tingle runs up your spine.

Some brothers I met on the streets laughed when I mentioned this feeling. They told me they knew how I

felt. They said they'd experienced it in Vietnam on patrol in the Mekong Delta.

"You know," they said, "you're out there and you know sooner or later you're going to get hit. . . . You don't know how, or where, or when, but you know it's going to come down. And all you can do is wait. . . ."

And for the last few weeks in August it's been coming down nightly in Dorchester, in East Boston, and in Charlestown. Racist whites continue their attacks on Blacks in their cars, on the streets, and in their homes.

But the thing that really frightens you is the attitude of young whites—and not just the ones who've been carrying out the physical attacks.

In the daytime in the Dorchester area it's a trip. Walking down the street in the white area, you see Democratic party political campaign signs attached to white homes. "Boston Under Siege," they proclaim, with B-U-S underlined.

You walk into a store to get a soda and you hear a bunch of white kids talking about "those fucking niggers up the street," like you're not even there—or not caring if you are. An eight-year-old girl sits on her front steps and gives you the finger and says, "What you looking at, nigger."

But a scene that captured it all for me was on Toppliff Street, where a group of white kids were "playing." They had one kid on the ground and they had a chain and they were making believe they were whipping him, saying, "Nigger, nigger, nigger."

I just stared.

Yeah, Boston is a heavy scene, and it looks like when schools open it's going to get much heavier.

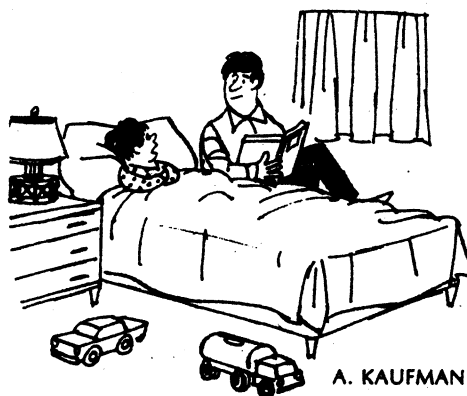
The Great Society

Harry Ring



Spiritual cutback—Maryland's attorney general said the Pallottine Fathers, a Catholic missionary group, would reduce their massive direct-mail fund-raising operation by 90 percent and get rid of most of their multi-million-dollar investments. An audit indicated that of \$20.4 million raised to feed the hungry abroad, only \$1.1 million was actually sent.

Like a fairy tale—Good Queen Elizabeth bought a quaint farm cottage for Princess Anne and her spouse. It's an eighteenth century stone job sitting on 730 acres. The former owner, Lord Butler, said it wasn't really profitable for farming and recently he mostly used it for picnics.



I'm sick of "Chicken Little." Got anything on the CIA?

Sorry about that—The Food and Drug Administration announced that 500 implanted heart pacemakers and 2,595 heart defibrillators may be defective.

Duck dinner, anyone?—About 1,000 mallard ducks are believed to have died of botulism after eating decayed fish from a marsh lake that lies between runways at Chicago's O'Hare International Airport. Officials said there's no danger to humans unless, of course, they happen to eat an infected duck.

The alternate media—If you think \$7.50 a year is a bit stiff for the *Militant's* weekly class analysis, you

might consider the *International Letter*, a newsletter for big-time corporate investors. Twelve monthly four-page issues, \$3,600.

Psychohistorians—A recent issue of the *Journal of Psychohistory* includes such analytical offerings as "Hitler As a Bound Delegate of His Mother," "The Sexual Background of Fascism," and "The American Revolution As a Psychotic Episode." Only \$4 a copy.

Bubble and boil—Max Factor recalled 32,000 bottles of Country Garden Wild Strawberry Bubble Bath that may have been contaminated with bacteria.

Women in Revolt

Ivy-covered prejudice

The University of California at Berkeley basks in the ill-deserved reputation of being a "liberal" and "enlightened" institution. It is supposed to have a "model" affirmative-action program to hire more women and minorities.

But as far as the handful of female, Black, and Chicano professors permitted to teach there are concerned, this image is a joke.

In 1972, the federal government cited UC Berkeley for sex and race discrimination in faculty hiring and promotion. The government ordered the administration to come up with an affirmative-action plan to correct this.

As of April 1976, the university had not exactly moved ahead by leaps and bounds. Out of 1,182 tenured professors, a mere fifty—4.23 percent—were women. As for the newly hired assistant professors, less than 17 percent were women.

One female professor told the *Los Angeles Times* that there are actually five fewer women on the faculty Academic Senate last year than the year before. The proportion of women faculty members,

in fact, was higher in the 1920s and 1930s.

The retreat on affirmative action affects universities across the nation. A survey by the American Association of University Professors reports that the number of women faculty dropped from 22.5 percent to 21.7 percent last year.

The administration at UC Berkeley has simply wrung its hands and claimed that tighter budgets today make it impossible to carry out the promises to women, Blacks, and Chicanos.

The administrators have been afforded cover in this argument by what the August 2 *Los Angeles Times* calls "a mustering of male forces, gathered beneath the banner of merit."

"On local campus committees, in national organizations and in the pages of such magazines as *Commentary* and *The Public Interest*, they have argued that 'affirmative action' to hire women and minorities constitutes reverse discrimination and that quality should be the only consideration in faculty hiring."

Cindy Jaquith



The logic of this argument is quite interesting. If you are a woman professor who wants to teach at UC Berkeley, the odds are roughly five to one against your getting the job, going by the school's present hiring patterns. This is not discrimination, according to those waving the "merit" banner.

However, if you are a woman professor who demands her right to the job under affirmative action, and you just happen to get hired over a male professor, then you are a beneficiary of "reverse discrimination."

In reality, the universities have had an "affirmative action" plan of a different sort for decades, a "quota system" that kept out women and minorities. Now, those who were excluded simply want measures to make up for past discrimination.

Those who squeal about "reverse discrimination" would do more to defend the jobs of all professors if they aimed their fire at the university administrations that are cutting back on teaching staffs, instead of at the prime victims of those cutbacks—women and minorities.

La Lucha Puertorriqueña

Stealing dimes from schoolchildren

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

Recently I testified at a meeting of the New York City Central Board of Education. The major point on the agenda was a proposal called "Transportation Policy and Practice for Pupils Attending Regular Classes." Five hundred parents came to voice their anger. The proposal, which the board passed, will increase the subway or bus costs for nearly 180,000 schoolchildren. Some fares went from five to ten cents a day to a dollar.

I spoke right after a representative from State Rep. John Marchi's district in Staten Island. Parents from Staten Island, often considered very conservative, heatedly pointed out that their children will have to walk on unpaved paths laden with sewage. As daylight decreases in winter, the children will have to walk to school in the dark.

I called the attention of these parents to the fact that Marchi, their representative, has been a consistent supporter of the cutback policy of the Democrats and Republicans.

Who does this increase affect the most? Certainly not the rich. Like the sales tax, this increase hits

the poor and the unemployed hardest. For a family with three children this change can mean an added cost of \$15 a week. An extra \$15 a week for a poor family can make the difference between sending a child to school regularly or not. With this new increase there will be children whose families cannot afford to send them to school at all.

This is just one more cutback in education in New York. First there were the cuts last September in the public schools; then the ending of open admissions, coupled with imposing tuition in the city university system; after that more teacher layoffs; and cuts in bilingual education programs.

Now the city has stooped to stealing dimes from schoolchildren. At a time when youth are told that "to get a good job you need a good education," the rulers of this city are making education even less accessible to the poor.

Education should be a right. Quality education should be free and accessible to all. Teachers, buildings, and plenty of students are available. All that is missing is money, because the bankers and the Pentagon are getting it instead.

You can judge a society by how it treats its children, how it feeds, clothes, and educates them.

Catarino Garza



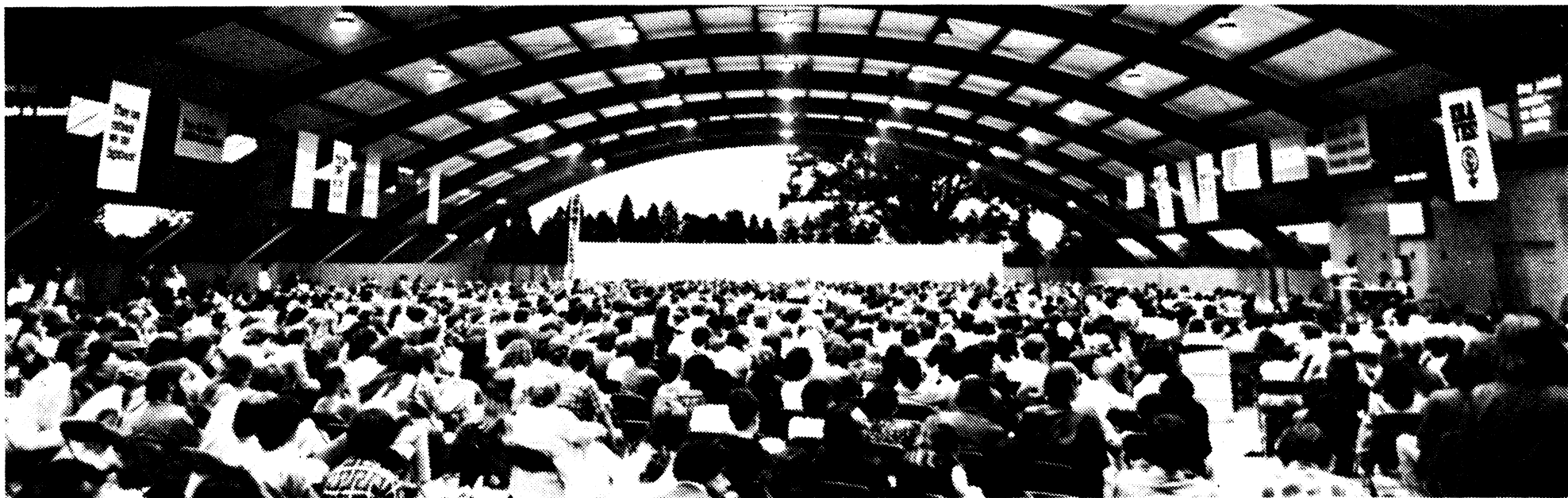
During all the bicentennial uproar we were told again and again what a rich, powerful, great country the United States is, and how lucky we are to live here.

Yet the United States does not educate its young adequately. This capitalist society cares nothing for its children. It places its priorities on profit and destruction. The cost of one Trident submarine could solve New York City's entire educational monetary crisis.

Cuba, with far fewer resources and a lower scientific and industrial development than the United States, provides free education for everyone from kindergarten through graduate school. If the priorities of our country were reversed, if money was used for education instead of warfare, if this country concentrated on human needs instead of profit, think what could be accomplished!

But until such a socialist transformation takes place, parents will have to fight.

The appointees of the rich and privileged who run our schools are not going to give our children a second thought. Our children will only be cared for when we run the schools—the parents, community activists, and other working people.



More than 1,650 people attended Socialist Workers party's national convention held in Ohio August 7-13

Militant/Lou Howort

By Steve Clark

"All of us have had the same strange experience as other American workers the last few months. We've read a lot of news in the paper that's called 'good.' But we seem to have a lot of bad news in our own lives."

With that observation, Socialist Workers party National Secretary Jack Barnes opened his report on the U.S. political situation at the party's twenty-eighth national convention.

The news has been good for the bosses and their government. Profits are up. War spending is up. Rent and utility rates are up. And American capitalism's edge over its European and Japanese competitors has widened.

But the news has most often been bad for working people and the oppressed. Wages are down. Spending for schools, hospitals, and other social services is down. Job openings are down. And our democratic rights are under attack.

"All the politicians seem to agree on the 'Holy Three,'" Barnes said, no spending, no busing, no abortion rights. By spending, they mean on us—not on war.

"And to top it all off," he said, "the best symbol of what capitalist America holds in store for us is the decision—based on the time-honored principle of ruling-class vengeance—to restore the death penalty in the United States."

These were among the major issues discussed at the SWP convention, held in Ohio August 7-13.

"There were no \$100-a-plate dinners scheduled during the party's six-day convention this week," wrote a reporter for the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, "no celebrity benefits, and no talk of funding from millionaire fat cats with big oil bankrolls."

Working people

This contrast with the Democratic and Republican conventions is no accident.

The purpose of the SWP convention, in fact, was to map a strategy to help working people defend their rights and living standards against the assault of the "millionaire fat cats" and their two parties.

The convention, the SWP's highest decision-making body, followed three months of democratic discussion by the entire party membership

SWP nat'l convention

Preparing for coming struggles

of the major issues to be decided there.

The national leadership presented three resolutions for consideration by party members.

"The Crisis of American Capitalism and the Struggle for Chicano Liberation" and "The Emerging Puerto Rican Struggle in the United States and Its Perspectives"—the SWP's first resolution on the Puerto Rican struggle—were drafted earlier this year. There was also further discussion on the main political resolution passed at the 1975 SWP convention, "The Decline of American Capitalism: Prospects for a Socialist Revolution."

SWP members had an opportunity to express their views on these resolutions and other topics during discussions organized by all party branches over the summer. They could also contribute articles and resolutions on any aspect of the party's program or activity to a discussion bulletin distributed to all members.

Each branch voted on the resolutions and elected convention delegates. These delegates discussed the reports given at the convention and decided the party's perspectives until the next convention. They also elected a new national leadership to direct the party's activity.

The two new resolutions and the convention reports presented by the SWP Political Committee were approved by unanimous vote of the delegates. They also reaffirmed the perspectives outlined in the 1975 political resolution.

The thoroughness and democratic character of this discussion stands in stark relief against this summer's Democratic and Republican party jamborees. At the Democrats' convention, in fact, the top party brass even rammed through a motion banning political discussion altogether!

New situation

At the SWP's convention one year ago, the party discussed an important turning point in the American political situation. The thinking of millions of American workers was beginning to change under the impact of major national and international events.

The long economic boom following World War II ground to a halt early in the 1970s. The combination of rapidly rising prices and high unemployment began to shatter workers' expectations of ever-improving living standards.

At the same time, Watergate and revelations of FBI and CIA criminality were undermining the confidence of the American people in the honesty and good intentions of government.

These new attitudes emerged in an atmosphere of protest and questioning already fueled by mass opposition to the Vietnam War; by the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican struggles; and by the women's liberation movement.

The political resolution passed at the 1975 convention predicted that the decades ahead would see sharpening clashes between working peo-

ple and the forces at the service of the ruling rich.

This situation opened new challenges and opportunities for party activity—both in an immediate sense and in preparing to meet future developments. This required changes in the way the party was organized and in many of its ways of doing things.

This year's convention already reflected many of these changes. Major reports and discussions focused on the party's deepening involvement in the struggles of working people and oppressed nationalities.

In addition to a report on the U.S. political situation, there were reports and discussions on the Puerto Rican and Chicano resolutions, on the current stage in the fight for school desegregation, and on the student movement. There was also a special educational talk on the role of women's liberation in the socialist revolution. These will be reported more fully in future issues.

Deepening involvement

Larry Seigle summed up the SWP's experiences over the past year in a report to the convention on party tasks and perspectives.

"We are more deeply involved in struggles of the working class, of the oppressed nationalities, and of women," Seigle said.

"Our members are activists and leaders in struggles for school desegregation, for bilingual-bicultural education, and against cutbacks in social services. We are involved in some important union struggles.

"We have participated in national campaigns like the fight to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, the fight against the frame-up of Gary Tyler and other Black youth, mobilizations to block Washington's moves toward new foreign adventures, such as in Angola and solidarity actions with the Southern African liberation struggles."

These activities were discussed not only on the convention floor, but at nearly sixty workshops held during the week. In these workshops activists exchanged experiences and suggestions on the desegregation fight, trade-union activity, the campaign to pass the ERA, the Chicano movement, and other struggles.

Many had come to the convention after a summer of petitioning to meet restrictive ballot requirements in their states. The SWP presidential ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid plans to be on the ballot in at least twenty-five states this November.

One high point of the convention was the showing of a short documentary by filmmaker Nick Castle about the enormous ballot effort waged by California socialists this summer. They turned in nearly 280,000 signatures just before the convention to ensure a ballot spot for Camejo, Reid, and U.S. senatorial candidate Omari Musa.

Who attended?

The 1976 convention was the largest in party history: 1,655 people attended.

Among them were activists in seventy-five different trade unions, in Black groups such as the NAACP, in women's organizations such as NOW, and in Chicano groups such as La Raza Unida party.

Since its last convention, the SWP has expanded into more than fifteen new cities. Its branches, now smaller in size, have almost tripled in number from twenty-three to sixty-five. Party members came to the convention from new parts of the country: Richmond, Virginia; Kansas City, Missouri; and Cincinnati, to name but a few.

Also attending the convention were members of two organizations in the United States that are interested in discussing political questions and taking part in some common activities with the SWP: Spark and the Revolutionary Marxist Committee.

More than 200 observers
Continued on page 14

...SWP national convention

Continued from page 13

from foreign countries attended the convention. Socialists came from as far away as Australia, and as near as Canada, Mexico, and Puerto Rico. Others came from Argentina, Costa Rica, Portugal, Britain, Germany, and other countries.

Alan Jones, a leading member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization, brought greetings to the convention.

Two international Trotskyist currents not inside the Fourth International also observed the convention and brought greetings: one was represented by the French organization Lutte Ouvrière (Workers Struggle), the other by several national groups affiliated with the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International.

The reports and discussions also reflected the convention's internationalism. Important debates took place on differing views inside the world Trotskyist movement on the recent elections in Italy, Portugal, and Mexico, and on how best to build the Fourth International. Educational talks were given on Chinese Stalinism and on the developing revolution in Southern Africa (see pp. 24-27).

In addition, the convention voted to throw the party's efforts behind an international campaign to defend victims of the repressive military regime in Argentina. Workshops focused on defense of political prisoners in Latin America, the Soviet Union, and Iran; solidarity with the Palestinian struggle and liberation movements in Southern Africa; and the international women's liberation movement.



Delegates from Boston listen during convention discussion.

Militant/Lou Howort

An article in an upcoming *Militant* will deal more fully with these international aspects of the convention. Several of the reports will also appear in future issues.

Thinking in transition

"Our political resolution says that we are on the threshold of a new period in the transformation of the political consciousness of the working class," Jack Barnes said in his report on the U.S. political situation.

"As is always the case when we start across such a historic threshold, the ruling class has the initiative—in the economy and in government.

"They made their turn first," he said, referring to Nixon's 1971 "New Economic Policy"—a freeze on wages, dollar devaluation, and a trade offensive against America's competitors in Europe and Japan.

"We made our turn second," Barnes continued, "a turn to prepare and organize to meet this.

"American working people—unevenly and in their own way—are making the turn last, as they respond to the initial blows that are dealt them."

Working people have not yet fully grasped the scope of the government's assault on their rights and living standards. They are angry and willing to fight. But many still hope that the economic prosperity of the 1950s and 1960s can somehow be revived.

The bosses and politicians try to sow confusion by pleading poverty. They claim that there is simply no money for higher wages or social services.

Meanwhile, they squander billions on war and jealously hide their real earnings from union inspection.

The capitalists also claim that workers' problems are caused by other workers: Blacks, women, immigrants, the unemployed, and welfare recipients. Many working people still fall for this trap of divide and rule.

Struggles ahead

At the same time, Barnes explained, America's rulers have not been able to reverse widespread antiwar attitudes in the population, attitudes against secrecy in government, or support for the demands of women, Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans.

"To the contrary," he said, "the offensive of the ruling class through their government is setting the stage for a tremendous fight.

"Even the relatively more privileged layers of the working class are getting squeezed. Little upturns, little concessions are simply going to whet workers' appetites and raise new hopes that are going to be dashed around the corner."

The role of government in this antilabor drive is also becoming clearer to many. As delegate Lynn Henderson commented during the discussion, "The rulers are less and less able to even give the appearance that government is just a neutral mediator between labor and big business."

In fact, Barnes pointed out, "The government comes directly or indirectly into every facet of our social and economic life."

Political action

"As long as the exploiters and oppressors have a monopoly on politics through their two parties and their government," Barnes said, "even partial victories will slip through our fingers.

"This is the question of questions: How to break out of political subordination to the capitalist parties?"

The prospects for a political break with the Democrats and Republicans are beginning to ripen today. Trust and confidence in the government are at low ebb, as a result of Vietnam, Watergate, and economic problems.

"Today more than at any

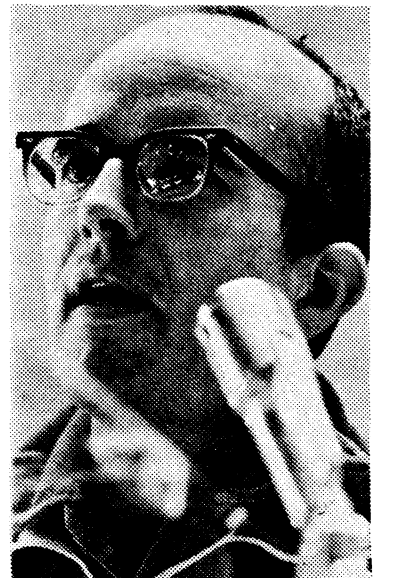
other time," Barnes said, "American capitalism's two-party system is in trouble."

Unlike the working-class radicalization of the 1930s, Barnes said, "we have a prior radicalization today—prior struggles of the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican populations. The prior struggles of a women's movement. Prior antiwar struggles and attitudes.

"Any motion toward the next big step for American labor—any motion toward political organization—would accelerate these struggles."

A movement for an independent labor party would have a colossal impact on American politics. Rather than being like the labor parties we now see in Europe and elsewhere in the world, Barnes said, "the thrust, the organization, and the consciousness that will drive toward a labor party in this country will be more like a wing of the British Labour party adopting the revolutionary program and breaking from that party."

Barnes emphasized the vanguard role of the Black movement in the class struggle



Militant/Lou Howort

JACK BARNES

gle in this country. The coming American revolution, he said, will have a combined character: a struggle by the working class as a whole for socialism, and by the oppressed nationalities for national liberation.

Democracy

There is a profound interconnection, Barnes said, between the fight for a class-struggle left wing in the American labor movement and the uncompleted political struggles of the oppressed in American society as a whole.

The capitalists, of course, are dead set against any break from their two-party charade. Workers in a movement for a labor party in this country will have to be ready for an all-out assault on their democratic rights, because the ruling rich will use all the means at their command to head off such a movement.

The fight for democracy within the unions is also essential in transforming them into instruments of struggle and turning them toward broad social questions and political independence.

Prospects for Socialism in America

Jack Barnes, Mary-Alice Waters, Tony Thomas, Barry Sheppard, and Betsey Stone



This book contains the main SWP political resolution that you've read about in the above article, as well as many other important materials. *Militant* readers interested in learning more about the SWP can order this book at the special price of \$1.50.

Our party is your party

YOU'VE BEEN READING about the Socialist Workers party convention.

IF YOU LIKE what you've read, why not help us build a better world, a socialist world?

JOIN THE SWP. Fill out the coupon below and mail it today.

- ☐ I want to join the SWP.
- ☐ Send me _____ copies of *Prospects for Socialism in America* at \$1.50 each. Enclosed is \$_____.
- ☐ Please send me more information.
- ☐ Enclosed is \$1 for a ten-week introductory subscription to the *Militant*.

Name _____

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SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

Goal: 20,000 new 'Militant' readers

One of the major activities projected at the Socialist Workers party convention was a drive to sign up 20,000 new *Militant* subscribers this fall. The *Militant* will offer new readers a special introductory subscription: ten issues for one dollar.

"What we are really talking about is not just a subscription drive," said Larry Seigle in his report on party tasks and perspectives, "but a massive canvassing for socialism, in which every branch, every party member, as well as friends and SWP campaign supporters, can participate."

The subscription drive will be one of the best ways to campaign for the socialist presidential ticket of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Seigle said. It can be combined with mass distribution of the Camejo-Reid platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People," and other campaign items.

"This drive will take advantage of the interest being generated by the publicity around our suit against government spying," he said.

The drive will also help the party carry out its activity in support of the Equal Rights Amendment, school desegregation, bilingual-bicultural education, trade-union struggles, antideportation fights, and its many other arenas of work.

The importance of the *Militant* as a champion of these struggles and source of information about them was spotlighted at the rally on the

last night of the convention.

Juan José Peña, chairperson of the New Mexico Raza Unida party and a speaker at the rally, called the *Militant* "the newspaper through which a great number of Chicanos get their news about the Chicano movement."

American Indian leader Vernon Bellecourt echoed Peña in a message to the rally. "We find that if it weren't for the objective reporting of the *Militant*," he wrote, "all people for the most part would know very little of the truth about the United States government and FBI misconduct and, illegal acts against the American Indian Movement and other political activists."

And prominent attorney William Kunstler wrote, "I want to express my appreciation to the *Militant* and its staff for providing a ready source of news and information that is largely ignored by the so-called establishment media."

The subscription drive will be kicked off September 10 with the opening of a nationwide "canvassing for socialism" week. The drive will run until November 19.

"A big subscription drive can help the SWP branches get to know their communities," Seigle said. "We can go door to door in the neighborhoods, talking to people about the party and about our election campaigns."

Party members will also sell subscriptions to people on their jobs, in the National Student

Coalition Against Racism, ERA coalitions, at conferences and demonstrations, and on street corners where they have been selling single issues of the *Militant* regularly.

The Young Socialist Alliance plans to help boost *Militant* circulation on campus. Subscription sales will be a central activity for the fall YSA teams that will travel from campus to campus throughout the country.

"With consistent work," Seigle told convention participants, "we can build up a whole new layer of people in the areas where our branches are who will be reading about the party every week, who will be following our activity, what our candidates are saying, and what is happening with our suit."

They will be reading about major national and world events and getting the socialist viewpoint on them, he said.

Establishing that kind of readership is important for the party both in an immediate sense and in preparing for the future, as delegate Tim Wohlforth pointed out.

As capitalism steps up its assault on workers' rights and living standards, Wohlforth said, "people who are not now political will become political. When they do, they will turn to those they know."

"And today," he said, "they can turn to us."

Winning 20,000 new readers for the *Militant* is a step in that direction.

—S.C.

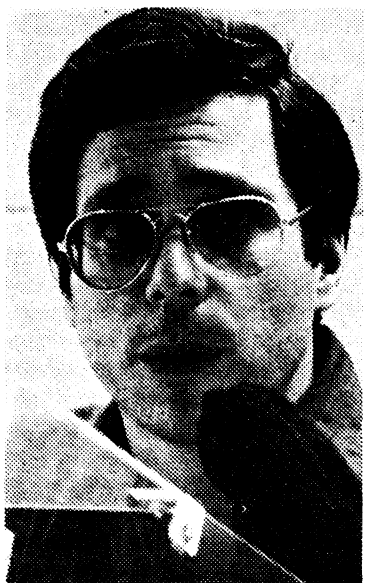
Barnes pointed to the promising example being set by the Steelworkers Fight Back movement to democratize the Steelworkers union.

"We see its importance not only because of its effect on the biggest union in the AFL-CIO," Barnes said. "Not just because of the importance of busting steel's long-term no-strike pledge and bringing down one of the bastions of class collaborationism in American industry—but because it has a big effect on the entire labor movement."

Steelworkers Fight Back is attractive to militant fighters among the oppressed nationalities, fighters for women's rights, and activists in many other progressive social movements.

"It is also a center of attraction for every rebel group in American labor," he said, "for every group of workers anywhere groping toward union democracy and a class-struggle policy."

"And it can raise for the entire American labor movement what to do with the power of the unions in the hands of the ranks: how to face up to the economic, social, and political questions that must be immediately posed."



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson

LARRY SEIGLE

During the discussion, delegates from Houston, Pittsburgh, and other cities reported on Steelworkers Fight Back's activities, pointing to its potential impact on the union movement in those areas and nationwide.

New opportunities

Barnes cautioned that there will be "false starts and detours" as American workers prepare themselves for the big struggles ahead. No one can predict how these struggles will begin or how they will unfold.

Nonetheless, he said, "We do know that the period will be marked by abrupt turns, by sudden struggles, and by unexpected explosions. The last thing that we can be locked into is some schema or a set of preformed priorities."

Larry Seigle's report on party tasks and perspectives focused on how the SWP can tap the opportunities opened by this situation.

Seigle pointed out that the organizational changes made after last year's convention have streamlined the party, preparing it to meet new challenges. Party branches are now located in more cities than before. Within major cities, the party is now organized into smaller, community-based branches better fitted to its current tasks and opportunities.

Seigle outlined some of the party's major activities during the coming year.

The Socialist Workers presidential election campaign will be the party's most powerful tool for popularizing socialist ideas this fall, he said.

SWP candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid plan to campaign in more than forty major cities prior to the November 2 election. In addition, local and statewide SWP candidates across the country will take the socialist alternative to tens of thousands more Americans.

As a result of the party's lawsuit against FBI spying



Militant/Susan Ellis

DIANNE FEELEY

and harassment, Seigle said, "millions are learning the name of the Socialist Workers party."

The suit, he said, is helping to deepen the crisis of confidence in the U.S. government by cutting through its lies and cover-ups.

"We are demonstrating," Seigle continued, "that even a small revolutionary party that knows what it is doing and understands the importance of the struggle for democratic rights can have a big impact."

Gaining new support and publicity for the suit—and using it to explain to millions what kind of party the SWP is—will be a top priority for the entire party, he said.

Trade unions

"The activity of socialist workers in the unions revolves around the expanding opportunities to take the big political questions that confront the working class into the union movement," Seigle said.

During the discussion, many delegates reported on how they had been able to do this in their own unions. B.R. Washington, a Black hospital worker from Detroit, spoke about his experience in building support for the school desegregation struggle in his union.

Other delegates discussed their work in mobilizing union support behind the fight for ERA ratification; in building strike support and participating in organizing drives; and in supporting developing struggles for union democracy, such as Steelworkers Fight Back.

"We are fighting to overcome the suicidal mentality of business unionism," Seigle said, "the idea that unions can ignore political and social questions and focus only on what they can get at contract time for their members."

"The unions have to think socially, to fight on the side of the least privileged, most oppressed layers of the working class."

Socialists can play a major role in fighting to transform the unions along these lines, he said.

Women's liberation

The fight for ERA ratification has become the central issue in the women's movement right now, Seigle said. He stressed the importance of mass actions such as last spring's May 16 national ERA demonstration in Springfield, Illinois, called by the National Organization for Women.

"Women have begun to take off their gloves and fight," said delegate Dianne Feeley. "They are willing to discuss what strategy can win the ERA, and women in the SWP have found growing receptivity to our strategy of independent mass mobilizations."

Seigle also noted the party's continuing participation in abortion-rights struggles, in child-care fights, and other feminist struggles.

Many women are becoming interested in the relationship between feminism and socialism, he said. The SWP can participate actively in this discussion through the *Militant*, classes and forums, and sales of books by Linda Jenness, Evelyn Reed, and other

socialist feminists.

Seigle wound up his report with a proposal for an ambitious "canvassing for socialism" during the election campaign this fall.

The SWP aims to distribute tens of thousands of copies of Camejo-Reid campaign materials before the November 2 election. And it intends to sign up 20,000 new subscribers to the *Militant*. (See accompanying article.)

Because of the party's growing areas of activity and its deeper roots in many new cities and communities, Seigle predicted that many people will become interested in learning about the SWP—and



Militant/Henry Snipper

B.R. WASHINGTON

joining it.

"What we want to do," he said, "is to have a serious, thought-out campaign to win new members. We want to systematize it, pay attention to it, and give it the same kind of time and leadership we give everything else we set a priority on."

Seigle proposed that the party strive to sign up 300 new members by the end of 1976.

Behind raid on Uganda

Israel's 'antiterrorist' campaign: who :

Readers respond to 'Militant' editorial

You label the rescue of 103 hostages, mostly Jews, as an "illegal raid," a "racist swoop," which left twenty "innocent" Ugandan soldiers dead or wounded. Do you also consider the flight to Uganda by skyjackers who released only their non-Jewish captives as "a racist swoop" into Africa?

What were the "innocent" Ugandan troops doing protecting the skyjackers in the first place?

Hasn't Uganda's distinguished idiot of a ruler, by the expulsion of all Asians and the confiscation of their property, and by his open hatred of Israel, also proven himself worthy of the title of racist?

How many men, women, and schoolchildren have to be slaughtered to make an Israeli raid to rescue 103 Jews a legal raid?

I am a new subscriber to the *Militant* and up to now have been pleased with your paper. However, this glaring anti-Semitic slur on your part is incredible.

B.D.
New Orleans, Louisiana

* * *

The SWP fills an important role for those of us who look for an alternative to the unspeakably corrupt and phony "two-party system" political circus in the United States.

Just as we value the SWP, we value the *Militant* as a valuable and important sector of the "alternative media," even though we may sometimes disagree with some portion of the SWP positions advanced in the *Militant*.

Your latest editorial is just too much. Come off it! You can't cast Idi Amin in a heroic role. To criticize that operation, as you did, as a "racist swoop into Africa" is to abandon any reputation for objectivity, rationality, or fairness.

Most civilized people were filled with disgust at the prospect of the execution of the captive civilians, and most of us (of center, left, right, black, and white) were relieved at their rescue.

Your editorial position certainly offended many people who were aware of the plight of the Palestinian people.

Denis Brasket
Columbia Heights, Minnesota

* * *

Your article about the Israeli raid made me sick (to be blunt). The facts were presented in a biased and selective manner. The petty effort to turn the article into an overall condemnation of Zionism in general only further emphasizes the fact that you apparently made up your mind in advance about who should be condemned and then began examining what actually happened.

When compared with the gutless,

racist (all Jews, not just Israelis, were segregated by the hijackers) actions of the terrorists, the Israeli "racist swoop into Africa" (to use the language of the *Militant*), which had the backing of "racist" Kenya, was at the minimum a daring and bold act of self-defense.

Jeff Broude
Claremont, California

* * *

Maybe it is your way to create simplistic solutions to complex problems, accepting narrow premises as truths and using them in a panacean way.

Is it racism or butchery to kill in self-defense a group of avowed terrorists and their collaborators who espouse the elimination of a race of people from a part of the globe?

M.B.
Baltimore, Maryland

* * *

I have read the *Militant* for 10 years. Though I haven't agreed with everything, I am sympathetic to the general thrust of the paper and the Socialist Workers party. I was especially pleased when you adopted gay rights as part of your policy.

But after reading the editorial on the Israeli raid I am very

disappointed. You have wholeheartedly become part of the worldwide anti-Semitic chorus, masquerading as fashionable anti-imperialism and "anti-Zionism."

In much of your paper's international articles, you depict only one righteous side. This is a tragically simpleminded view of life. Neither Israelis nor Arabs are free from racism, cruelty, and other such human traits. Grow up, SWP. Things are not quite as simple as you want your readers to believe.

D.F.
Little Neck, New York

* * *

It is pathetically cynical that the Entebbe tragedy is being presented to the world in a highly distorted manner not only by the West and the Israelis, but also by the African and Arab states.

Both prefer to ignore the real issue, which is not hard to discover even in as distant a place as Uganda: the conflict between Palestinians and Israelis.

It remains an unalterable fact that unless the grievance of the Palestinians is removed, United Nations debates will remain exercises in bitterness, while the tragedy of violation and violence will continue to take its toll.

F.A.
Falls Church, Virginia

By Peter Seidman

Many readers of the *Militant* responded to our July 16 editorial "Israeli raid." Some of their letters are reprinted above. Some of the writers are generally friendly to the positions of the *Militant*, but criticized our opposition to Israel's July 3 raid on Entebbe Airport in Uganda.

I believe that to one degree or another the disagreement with the *Militant's* stand reflects confusion produced by a massive and hypocritical campaign by world imperialism

against "terrorism." Washington and the Israeli government launched this campaign after the June 27 skyjacking of a Paris-bound jet by pro-Palestinian terrorists.

Israeli Ambassador Chaim Herzog's speech during United Nations debate on the Entebbe raid provides the flavor of this campaign.

"I stand here as an accuser on behalf of free and decent people in this world," he said. "Before us stands accused this rotten, corrupt, brutal, cynical, bloodthirsty monster of international terrorism and all those who support it in one way or the other, whether by commission or omission."

Similar phrases echoed through the halls of imperialist capitols around the world. French officials were delighted with the Israeli raid. Said one, "A moral victory has been won tonight, a victory over brute force." The British government was "very pleased." Of course, Washington was quick to add its congratulations also.

An editorial in the *Washington Post* hoped the defeat of the hijackers would generate "public support for a fresh broad-gauged attack on an activity that is one of the chief curses, present and potential, of contemporary international life."

"One of the biggest roars of applause of the entire Democratic convention," reported *New York Times* columnist Tom Wicker, "went to Walter Mondale when in his acceptance speech he declared that 'we reject . . . the idea that this nation must sit by passively while terrorists maim and murder innocent men, women and children.'"

Indeed, capitalist politicians throughout the world, along with their supporters in the media, are praising

the Entebbe raid. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin told his country the raid would "become a legend."

New books are rapidly being produced to make this a legend in our own time. And at least six movie companies have vied for rights to a film on Israel's exploits.

Smoke screen

This "antiterrorist" campaign is a smoke screen thrown up to obscure the real political questions raised by the

Entebbe raid.

The Israeli government is using an ill-considered terrorist skyjacking by a handful of Palestinians and their supporters as the pretext for mounting an attack on the entire Palestinian struggle for self-determination.

The Zionists hope to seize on popular revulsion at the use of innocent passengers by the skyjackers, particularly the separating out of Jewish passengers, and use this incident to discredit the Palestinian movement and the Arab revolution.

Moreover, the Zionists seem confident that general disgust with Uganda's tin-pot dictator Idi Amin will minimize the political risks inherent in their invasion of another country and at the same time create a precedent for future direct imperialist military intervention against liberation struggles in other African nations.

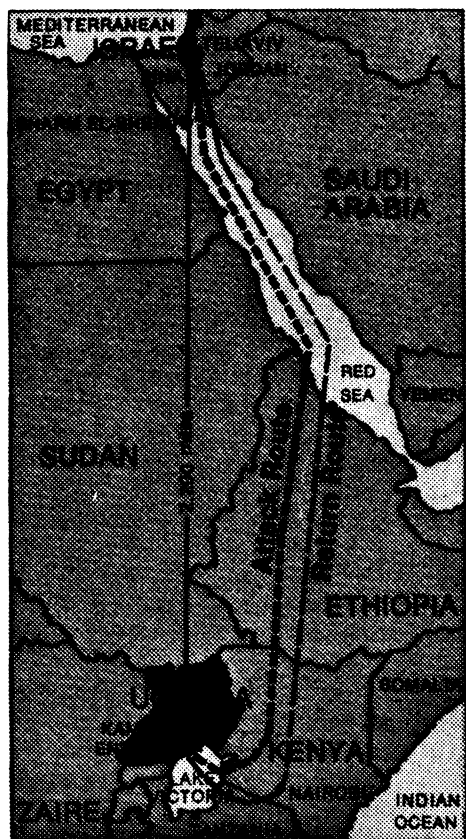
Hostages

The way the Israeli government treated the hostages held at Entebbe makes clear that defending the lives of innocent people was never its major concern.

While adopting a public stance of reversing its policy of opposition to negotiating with "terrorists," Israel in fact was plotting to turn the skyjacking into the pretext for a military expedition right from the start.

In his speech to Parliament after the raid, Prime Minister Rabin revealed that "the Israel defense forces and the intelligence community lost not a single hour required for thinking, planning, and preparation."

This was a repetition of the Zionist



Route of Israeli attackers

Socialists and the Fight Against Anti-Semitism

By Peter Seidman

An answer to the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League's attacks on left opponents of Zionism, including a chapter on the little-known record of the U.S. government in closing the door to Jewish refugees from Nazi terror. 32 pp., 60 cents

Israel: A Colonial-Settler State?

By Maxime Rodinson
120 pp., paper \$1.75

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for a free catalog.

are the real oppressors?

tactics used in May 1974, when Palestinian guerrillas seized an Israeli schoolhouse in Maalot and held eighty-five students hostage. At that time, the Israeli regime also agreed to negotiate Palestinian demands for the release of political prisoners. But these negotiations were used to gain time during which an attack on the schoolhouse by Israeli troops was planned.

In the fire fight that broke out during the raid, twenty Israeli teenagers were killed. A repetition of these fatal consequences was obviously considered acceptable by the Israeli government when it planned the Entebbe raid.

It was a desire to strike out at "Arab terrorists" and not genuine concern with saving the lives of innocent people that dictated Israeli tactics at Entebbe. Otherwise, why couldn't the Zionist regime simply have negotiated the release of the hostages instead of subjecting them to the dangerous raid, during which at least three hostages were killed?

Indeed, I think *Militant* readers should be highly suspicious of the claims of the Israeli regime that it is concerned with the lives of innocent people.

Is this "concern" shown by Israeli shipments of arms to the rightist forces in Lebanon who carried out the brutal bombardment and assault on the Tel Zaatar Palestinian refugee camp near Beirut?

Is concern for human life shown by the killing of at least eleven unarmed Palestinians by Israeli security forces during protests on the West Bank so far this year?

Is concern for human life shown by the killing of a hostage by one of his Israeli "rescuers" at Entebbe because "he looked like an Arab"?

Is concern for human life shown by the wanton killing of more than twenty Ugandan soldiers, who, after all, were caught up in events far beyond their control?

I think not. Underlying Israel's hypocritical claims to have undertaken the Entebbe raid because of its "concern" for human life is the military necessity for the Zionist regime to stand as a murderous oppressor of the Palestinian and Arab peoples.

'World view'

A U.S. diplomat, in discussing Washington's refusal to negotiate for the release of foreign service personnel held as hostages, shed light on the real attitude of the capitalist regimes toward "terrorism."

"We make morbid jokes about it," she told the *Washington Post*, "but it's horrible to know that the people behind you aren't worried about getting you out. That Kissinger isn't concerned about you. The attitude we have is, Kissinger doesn't know our names; he cares about the world view."

This insight should help *Militant* readers penetrate the hypocritical propaganda smoke screen thrown up by Israel during the Entebbe raid.

Israel's concern is to maintain the Zionist state as a privileged enclave at the expense of the Palestinian masses.

Israel was established through the forcible expulsion of 750,000 Palestinians from their homeland and the creation of a Zionist state against the wishes of the Arab masses.

It has maintained itself through four wars against the Arab peoples and by countless additional military incursions against them.

Israel maintains itself as a garrison state. It does this at the expense of millions of innocent people throughout the Middle East. Arabs are outraged



Cartoon above symbolizes much of media reaction to Zionist raid

that under Israel's "Law of Return" any Jew can live in Israel, wherever he or she was born, while Palestinians are forcibly excluded from their homeland.

The Palestinians and their supporters call for an end to the theocratic and racist state of Israel and its replacement by a democratic, secular Palestine where Arab and Jew alike could live without any privilege based on religion.

Israel has orchestrated a massive propaganda campaign aimed at distorting and slandering these just desires on the part of the Palestinian and Arab peoples.

It seeks to equate all opposition to its Zionist regime as "anti-Semitism." And it seeks to label the millions of Palestinians and their supporters throughout the world as "terrorist."

Terrorism

But this slander turns reality on its head. The Israeli state is the terrorist in the Middle East. This role flows inescapably from its defense of the special privileges of its 3 million Jewish citizens at the expense and against the will of 100 million Arabs.

The fact that a tiny minority of Palestinians have resorted to terrorist activities in response to Israel's role doesn't change the basic facts about the Zionist state.

Terrorist tactics like skyjacking are wrong because they help the Israeli regime obscure the truth about its racist, undemocratic, anti-Palestinian nature. And by helping to obscure the

truth about the Israeli regime, terrorist tactics undercut the necessary struggle that needs to be waged against it.

Terrorist tactics cut across mobilizing the massive participation of Palestinians and their supporters throughout the world in effective anti-Zionist actions.

But it is wrong to equate the misguided terrorist actions of some Palestinians with the massive terror of the Israeli Zionist state. In the struggle between the oppressed Palestinian masses and their Zionist oppressor, it is necessary to take sides.

It is wrong to make the *tactics* used by one side or another the basis for making such a decision. Such an approach would leave working people unable to take sides on the great social and political questions that confront us in the struggle for a better, socialist world.

For example, the U.S. government tried to justify its aggression against the Vietnamese people on the grounds that their national liberation struggle was "terrorist." In fact, during the course of their massive struggle, the Vietnamese did resort to terrorist tactics at times.

Did the use of terrorism invalidate the justice of the Vietnamese freedom struggle? Did this terrorism justify the genocidal war waged by the United States against the Vietnamese?

Most *Militant* readers would agree, I'm sure, that the United States had no business being in Vietnam in the first place. And that if Washington didn't



Refugee camp. Israel is maintained as privileged enclave at the expense of Palestinian masses.

like being the victim of "terrorist" attacks, it should just clear out—lock, stock, and barrel.

The same argument holds when one is analyzing the Middle East.

Israel is no more worthy of support when it uses "peaceful" tactics at a conference table than when its armies go to war. In both cases, the Zionist regime is pursuing the same unjust goals.

And the Palestinian struggle is not one iota less just if some Palestinians, out of desperation, resort to self-defeating terrorist tactics.

African liberation struggle

The Entebbe raid is being used not only to deal new blows against the Palestinian cause. The successful outcome of this racist swoop into Africa has encouraged Washington and other imperialist powers to consider additional military incursions, directed against the African liberation struggle.

The July 5 London *Financial Times* observed: "Militarily, the rescue is a reminder that intervention by force of arms can work at a time when it had become fashionable to think that force is counterproductive."

Washington Post correspondent David Ottaway noted in a July 6 dispatch: "The Israeli raid on Uganda's Entebbe Airport highlights once again the extreme vulnerability of African nations to outside interference of all kinds. . . ."

"In terms of self-defense African states seem just about as helpless today as they were 12 years ago when American planes and Belgian paratroopers were used to rescue the white hostages of leftist Congolese rebels holding out in Stanleyville. . . ."

"This lesson seems particularly relevant in East Africa, where conflicts between neighboring states are nearing explosion all the way from Sudan in the north to Mozambique in the far south."

Washington is afraid of the deepening struggles of the African masses in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), South Africa, Namibia (South West Africa), and other countries for their liberation from racist white-minority rule. The U.S. government finds its ability to intervene militarily against these struggles greatly hampered by deepgoing antiwar sentiment at home.

But the Israeli raid, the imperialists hope, can lessen this restraint. For example, the *Washington Post* editorialized July 22 that one benefit of the Israeli raid is that "direct action (violent and non-violent) in the cause of counter-terrorism now has a fresh legitimacy and a demonstrably large measure of public support."

Washington was quick to test this "legitimacy" by dispatching U.S. warships and planes to Kenya when relations soured between that country and Uganda following the July 3 raid.

The fact that this precedent for stepped-up direct imperialist intervention in Africa was set in Uganda, ruled by the totalitarian regime of Idi Amin, does not make it any less serious a threat to the African revolution.

The *Militant* in no way supports the policies of Idi Amin. He stands as an obstacle to the necessary struggle for socialism in Uganda and the rest of Africa. But it would be a grave error to believe that Israeli or U.S. intervention against Amin would be any help at all.

Who would Washington install in his place? A shah of Iran? A Pinochet?

Only the workers and farmers of Uganda can lead the revolutionary struggle that will remove Amin's reactionary, procapitalist regime and replace it with socialism. In supporting this struggle, working people in the U.S. should defend Uganda against any and all imperialist intervention.

The hysteria around the skyjacking has been used to pressure supporters of the colonial revolution to back off from their responsibility toward not only the Palestinian people, but the Ugandan and African masses as well.

Boston white gangs on the rampage

BOSTON—Racist gangs capped the first antibusing march of the fall August 31 with rock-throwing attacks on police in Charlestown.

The demonstration of 500 was called by the Powder Keg Information Center, a local antibusing group loyal to the ROAR faction led by City Council President Louise Day Hicks.

The following evening, an estimated 600 whites skirmished in gang assaults with police, attacking patrol cars and setting bonfires in Charlestown. The Boston *Herald American*, which opposes busing, termed it "a rampage." No arrests were made.

On September 2 the cops did arrest four hooligans in South Boston during an evening protest of 200 against "police brutality." Public transportation in the area was disrupted for three hours by groups of young white toughs who stoned city buses. Black employees refused to drive the vehicles in the area in anticipation of the planned protest.

The four arrested had scattered peices of cardboard embedded with two-inch nails under police cars.

Members of the secret, paramilitary Charlestown and South Boston Marshals Associations were present at the riot.

No city officials have spoken out against the racist disrupters. There's no question that the cops are only secondary targets. The real targets remain the Black students and citizens.

On September 3, Mayor Kevin White stepped up his year-long campaign to blame city financial woes on desegregation. Boston taxpayers may face a property tax increase of \$70 per \$1,000 of valuation to sustain the rise in the 1976-77 school department budget.

White's deputy mayor Edward Sullivan told Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity that "the city could be in default by the end of the year because many people will be unable to pay" the projected tax.

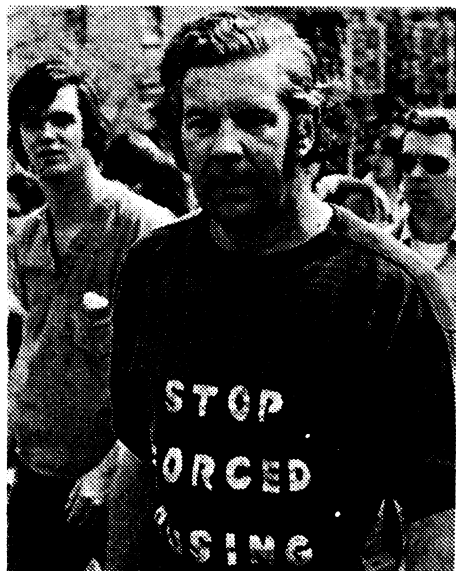
Last spring, an early closing of school was narrowly averted when Garrity headed off White's drive to gut court-ordered busing because of an alleged absence of funds.

Garrity has criticized the mayor's ploys. The city government has "treated students as if they were so many prunes in a box," he told Sullivan.

Black and Puerto Rican parents, as well as the school department, charge that the budget is inadequate, even with revenue from the tax hike.

The contract of Boston's public school teachers expired September 5. The union will vote on what to do next. A strike is possible.

—J.H.



Militant/Anne Teesdale

Student coalition plans national antiracist meet in November

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—The third National Student Conference Against Racism is scheduled for Boston University November 19-21. The gathering is sponsored by the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) and will be hosted by the Boston University Student Union.

"Two things form the backdrop for the conference," NSCAR National Coordinator Maceo Dixon told the *Militant*.

"First is court-ordered desegregation. Busing plans continue to be ordered. Attempts to block them are the central focus of America's racists. The city at the top of their list is Boston.

"Second is the eruption of the massive Black freedom struggle in South Africa. World attention is focused on the fight by Black workers and students against white racist rule there," Dixon said.

The conference will begin with a rally at Boston University. Among those scheduled to speak are Irish freedom leader Bernadette Devlin McAliskey and Robert Allen, editor of *Black Scholar* magazine.

Two days of workshops, discussion of strategy, and voting on NSCAR's campaigns and activities will round out the weekend.

"While defense of desegregation is our central concern," says Dixon, "we respond to many other issues. Right now, our chapters are helping to initiate teach-ins and protests in solidarity with the struggle against apartheid and white minority rule in



Militant/Glenn Campbell

October 1975 NSCAR conference. Busing and struggle in South Africa are backdrops for this year's meeting.

Southern Africa. The fight against racism is an international one."

Other issues to be discussed at the conference include work against the death penalty and in behalf of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans, and others persecuted by the racist judicial system.

NSCAR was launched at the first National Student Conference Against Racism in February 1975. More than 2,000 Black, Puerto Rican, and white students attended that first gathering.

Since then, NSCAR's seventy chapters have joined and led such struggles as those defending Joanne Little, J.B.

Johnson, Gary Tyler, and leaders of the American Indian Movement.

SCAR activists have also been in the forefront of the fight against cutbacks in higher education and in bilingual-bicultural programs for Spanish-speaking students.

"Our conference is open to everyone who wants to join the fight against racism," Dixon says. "It will be the major gathering of antiracist activists this fall."

For more information, contact NSCAR at 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02121. Telephone: (617) 288-6200.

Roxbury socialist faces antibusing incumbent in race for Congress

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—The man who sits in the U.S. Congress representing this city's Black community, Roxbury, maintains his headquarters in all-white South Boston. None of Democrat Joseph Moakley's Black constituents can go to that office without taking their lives in their hands.

Roxbury has been gerrymandered to minimize the voting power of the Black community. Antibusing leader Louise Day Hicks represented the Ninth Congressional District—which includes parts of Dorchester, East Boston, and South Boston, as well as Roxbury—before Moakley.

But Moakley pushed Hicks aside in 1972 when he ran as a "friend of the Black community."

Today, Moakley is one of the chief congressional promoters of antibusing legislation.

He faces token Republican opposition this fall.

But he does have a serious opponent. Socialist Workers party candidate James "Mac" Warren is running against Moakley.

Warren is well-known among Black community activists as an outspoken fighter for school desegregation in Boston.

A member of the Boston NAACP, Warren is a leader of the Coordinated Social Services Council, a coalition of more than forty community agencies formed to help implement desegregation.

He helped organize numerous marches and picket lines in support of busing. He is the organizer of the Roxbury branch of the Socialist Workers party.

Warren's supporters collected more than 7,000 signatures this summer to get him on the ballot. That, along with coverage by the city's Black news

media, has helped the campaign become known in the Black community.

"People stop me on the street to ask about the campaign," Warren says. "They've come up to me, handed me small contributions, and wished me success."

"The Democrats have run Boston for fifty years. Today, it isn't safe for Blacks to walk outside Roxbury. We're getting a taste of what the 'friendship' of the Democrats really means," he told the *Militant*.

Roxbury YMCA Director Jackie Cooper offered facilities to aid



Socialist Workers party congressional candidate James 'Mac' Warren.

Warren's campaign. Ellen Jackson and Ruth Batson, two central Black leaders, support his campaign as a positive alternative to that of Moakley. They plan a cocktail party for him this fall.

The campaign is supported by Black and white teachers in the Boston Teachers Union and by Black students.

Puerto Rican leader Héctor Ruiz, a staff member of the Cooper Community Center, set up a meeting for Warren.

"These are signs that people in Roxbury are getting fed up with Democrats," says Warren. "My campaign says our community has power when it breaks from the Democratic party, when we fight for our rights, for desegregation, for jobs, for the Equal Rights Amendment for women."

"We have to protest, to march, to stand up for what we want. My campaign says people can vote for what they march for."

As the buses roll this fall, Warren, a member of the Boston Public School Crisis Intervention Teams, will try to ride them and to enter the schools, where Black students' safety is in most jeopardy.

Warren's campaign supporters will go door to door in Roxbury to bring the message of a fighting, independent campaign to the community.

"And Joseph Moakley will boast how much he opposes desegregation and how his supporters should vote for Jimmy Carter," adds Warren.

Roxbury residents won't be able to go to Moakley campaign meetings, even if they want to. But Warren's campaign is looking for supporters to work on and plan activities.

"Our office is open. Our party is Roxbury's party," Warren says. "And anyone who agrees with what we're saying ought to join."

World Outlook

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

SEPTEMBER 17, 1976

Big questions remain

The economic upturn in imperialist countries

By David Frankel

From the point of view of industrial production and corporate profits, the worldwide slump of 1974-75 is clearly over, at least for the main imperialist countries. (See chart I.) By May of this year, according to a study by the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company, output in the major imperialist economies was about where it was before the 1974 downturn.

A summary of the situation in Western Europe was given by Clyde H. Farnsworth in the July 23 *New York Times*. "The output graphs in Economics Ministries across Western Europe are all showing a comforting upward curve," he said. "Bankers and businessmen are talking a little more optimistically about future profits."

Industrial output in Britain was up 4% in May from a year earlier. France and West Germany scored year-to-year gains of 7.8% and 2% in the first quarter, while in Italy industrial production in April was up 6% over the previous year.

In Japan, the government's mining and manufacturing index posted increases of 8.5% in January, 12.2% in February, and 15.9% in March, compared with the same months last year. Tracy Dahlby reported in the June 25 *Far Eastern Economic Review* that "Japan's 500 leading manufacturers reported a three-fold increase in profits in the six months to March, with most of this occurring in January-March, according to Sumitomo Bank. Sumitomo is also predicting a 30% gain in corporate profit during the April-September period. . . ."

The upturn in the United States began about six months earlier than in most other countries, with the real gross national product increasing in each of the last five quarters. At the end of June the real GNP stood at \$1,260 billion (measured in constant 1972 dollars), the highest point in history, and an increase of 8.5% in the

last fifteen months. (See chart II.) Industrial output increased at an annual rate of 12% in the first quarter of 1976, and of 7.5% in the second quarter.

U.S. economy ahead

Not only was the American economy the first to bounce back from the downturn, but—at least as of the first quarter—it was also climbing faster than the other main imperialist economies. The following are the estimates given by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the Argus Research Corporation for the rate of growth of the American economy in 1976 compared to some of its rivals:

	Argus	OECD
United States	7.4%	7.0%
West Germany	5.7%	6.0%
Britain	1.5%	2.5%
France	6.7%	5.5%
Italy	2.5%	2.0%
Japan	6.0%	5.5%

American imperialism has been aided in relation to its foreign rivals by a lower rate of inflation relative to them. The OECD recently estimated that of its twenty-four members—including all of the world's imperialist countries—the United States had the third-lowest rate of inflation, after West Germany and Switzerland. This helps the American capitalists compete for a bigger share of the world market, because ultimately inflation must be reflected in the prices of exports.

The Ford administration has attempted to regulate inflation by holding back the pace of the recovery—thereby keeping unemployment high. In June, U.S. unemployment stood at 7.5%, according to government figures, and in July it climbed to 7.8%. Unemployment is now above the February level of 7.6%, despite the growth in the American economy since then.

Even going by the official figures, which do not count millions of workers who have given up looking for jobs, unemployed workers in the United States account for more than half of the fourteen million out of work in the twenty-four countries of the OECD. (See chart III.)

Racist oppression

The ability of American imperialism to maintain high unemployment rates is inextricably tied to the oppression of the Black and Hispanic populations within the United States. Black unemployment is double that of whites, and among Black teen-agers unemployment in June was officially estimated at 40.3%. According to the Urban League, a Black civil rights group with ties to the American business community, unemployment among Black teen-agers is actually over 60%.

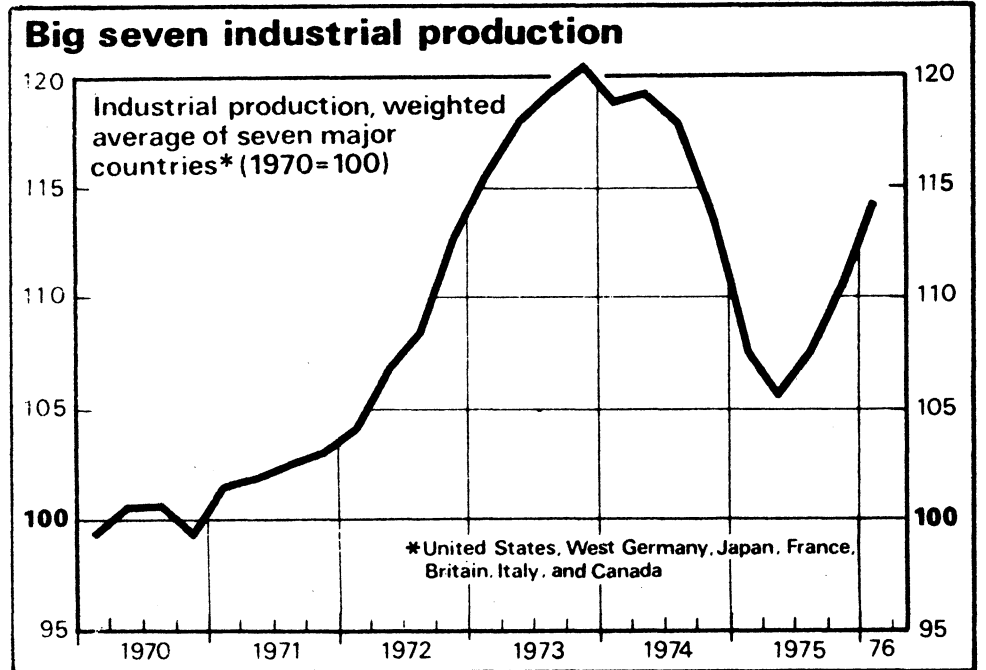


CHART I: Industrial production has steadily climbed for more than a year in major capitalist countries.

The strength of the recovery in the United States compared to the other imperialist powers is rooted in the across-the-board attack on the wages of American workers and the offensive in world trade and finance launched with the Nixon administration's "New Economic Policy" in August 1971.

Wages and benefits of American workers, measured in inflated dollars, increased 48% between 1970 and the middle of 1975. This compares to 162% in France, 116% in Britain, 213% in Japan, and 167% in West Germany. (See chart IV.) Another measure of the success of the employer offensive is the fact that *real wages in the United States remain lower today than they were in 1965*.

The *Wall Street Journal* reported July 26 that major union contracts negotiated in the second quarter of 1976 "called for average first-year wage increases of 8.2%, trailing the first quarter's 8.8% and the 10.2% rise for contracts reed throughout 1975.

"Over the life of contracts negotiated in the second quarter, wages will increase an average of 6.6% a year,

compared with the first quarter's 7.4% average and the 7.8% for all 1975."

The contrast between declining wage increases and soaring profits was indicated by the second-quarter earnings of the American Telegraph and Telephone Company and General Motors. They posted the first and second-highest quarterly profits in American business history. A.T.&T. raked in \$939.7 million, while G.M. posted a 173% increase in profits over its second quarter of 1975—\$909 million.

An indication of the success of U.S. imperialism in weakening the position of American workers is the accelerated influx of foreign investment into the United States. Between 1972 and 1976 this investment more than doubled. (See chart V.)

Newsweek magazine reported July 12:

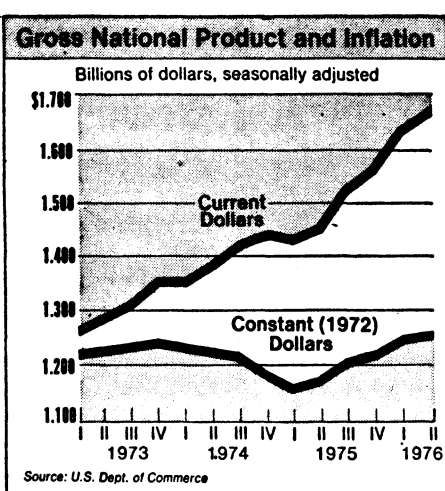
For some companies, in fact, the U.S. is now a cheap labor market. BASF [a West German chemical firm] says it spends \$10 an hour in total labor compensation at its German chemical plants and only \$8.63 at its U.S. facilities. Adds a top official of Hoechst: "We can produce chemical fiber more cheaply in South Carolina than in the lowest cost region in all of Germany."

Foreign companies also like certain American labor practices: they can lay off workers during business slumps more easily than they can at home. And many firms are especially attracted to the American South, where right-to-work laws and weak union activity result in lower total labor costs. It is widely assumed in France, for instance, that François Michelin—who has managed to keep unions out of his tire plants at home—picked South Carolina for a new facility because he could run a non-union shop there, too.

Strength of dollar

The strength of the American economic recovery compared to that of the other imperialist powers has been reflected in renewed confidence in the U.S. dollar and in the profitability of American industry. This is paralleled by the sharp drop in the price of gold, from almost \$200 an ounce in December 1974 to the neighborhood of \$110 an ounce in July. Investors want to cash in on the increased profits being generated by the recovery.

Continued on next page



New York Times

CHART II: GNP of United States has increased for fifteen months.

Adjusted unemployment rates in selected OECD countries: % of total labour force, seasonally adjusted			
	1975		1976
Half-year	I	II	I
US	8.3	8.3	7.5
Canada	6.9	7.1	6.8
UK	3.9	5.2	5.5
Spain	3.6	4.5	4.9 ^a
Australia	4.0	4.5	—
France	3.9	4.1	4.2
W. Germany	3.5	3.8	3.9
Italy	3.5	3.7	3.6 ^a
Finland	1.8	2.7	3.0
Japan	1.9	2.2	2.1
Norway	2.1	2.5	2.0
Sweden	1.7	1.7	1.6
Total ^b	5.0	5.3	5.0 ^c

(a) January. (b) Representing about 90% of total OECD. (c) Assuming no change for Australia

The Economist

CHART III: Unemployed U.S. workers make up more than half of all unemployed in twenty-four leading capitalist nations.

...economic upturn in imperialist countries

Continued from preceding page

"In fact," *Business Week* pointed out April 19, "the recent behavior of gold suggests a new investment rule for those who may be interested in it: Sell gold when the economic power of the U.S. is on the rise, and buy it when the U.S. is on the decline."

Similarly, sharp currency fluctuations have been cause by the unevenness in the rate of economic recovery between different imperialist countries. The flight from the British pound is the most spectacular case. From \$2.40 in the spring of 1975 it sank to a low of \$1.71 in June—a drop of nearly 30%.

New round of inflation?

Along with its unevenness, there are additional weaknesses in the economic recovery that the capitalists themselves have pointed out. To begin with, there is the constant danger that inflation will get out of control again.

Inflation remains at dangerously high levels in Italy, Britain, Japan, and France. (See chart VI.) In Spain, consumer prices in April were 16.2% above those of a year earlier, and the following month prices soared by 4.6%.

Emile Van Lennup, the secretary general of the OECD, recently warned that the recovery "could easily degenerate into a new inflationary boom, leading quite probably to a new worldwide recession in 1977 and 1978."

An even more dismal view was given in the July 3 issue of *The Economist*. The lead article in the business section pointed out that "the world's seven leading capitalist economies are already nine months into a more violent recovery than the 18 month boom in 1972-73 which caused so much trouble. . . . Cyclically, the equivalent point in the last cycle was early 1972." The *Economist* pointed to the following comparisons:

- Today, four of the seven big countries have inflation rates (latest figures compared with 12 months earlier) of 9-12%; two, Britain and Italy, of 15-17%; and one, Germany, of 5%. In early 1972 all were within spitting distance of 5%.
- Total unemployment in the seven countries is now just under 12½m. In early 1972 it was just under 8½m.
- Commodity prices (*The Economist* dollar index) rose 28% in the twelve months to June, 1976; just about equal to the 29% rise in the twelve months to June, 1972.
- In 1972 governments (Italy apart) were running budget deficits—on an internationally comparable basis—of ½-1½% of gnp to

counter recession. Now they are running deficits equal to 3-7% of gnp. True, the slump is more severe, but deficits will not be easily eliminated.

Therefore, the article concludes, "Despite pleadings, exhortations, warnings and meetings, the seven major capitalist countries are less well prepared today than they were three years ago for a sustained and durable expansion. . . ."

Inflation & unemployment

"Most . . . countries are still assuming that the high unemployment will stop a resurgence of inflation. It probably won't."

Of course, as the *Economist* article points out in passing, the severity of the 1974-75 downturn sets a different context today than was the case early in 1972. Economic indicators that read the same on paper may have an altogether different significance. For example, it is possible that the rise in commodity prices is largely speculative, based precisely on the expectation that there will be a repeat of 1972. The fall in the price of gold and the overall decline in commodity prices in July and August tends to support this view.

Nevertheless, the inflationary threat is clear. Inflation has become a permanent feature of capitalism since the 1950s, and today it has reached the point where, as Felix Schultess, the chairman of the Swiss Credit Bank, put it, "Not even the severest recession of the postwar period" could bring inflation down to levels "compatible with the social and economic foundations of Western democracies." (*Wall Street Journal*, June 21.)

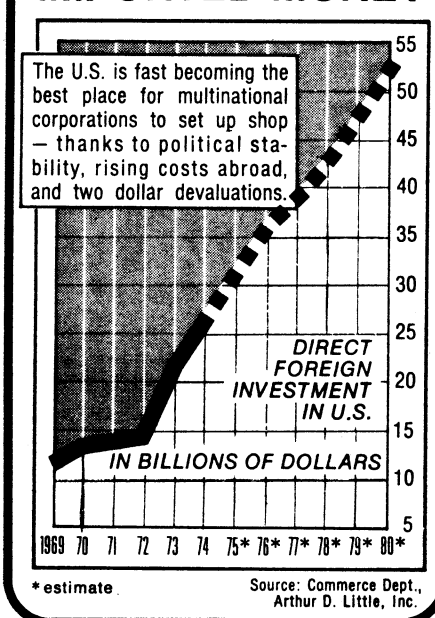
Low investment

There is another big unknown also remaining. Unless the capitalists make substantial new investments to expand productive capacity, the recovery will peter out.

In the American economy, which is leading the upturn, capital spending measured in constant dollars has not yet recovered even to the 1974 level. Housing starts, a crucial index for the massive American construction industry, are not much higher now than they were in October 1975. (See charts VII and VIII.)

In his July 23 article on the economic situation in Europe, Farnsworth reported, "The three major West German chemical companies—Bayer,

IMPORTED MONEY



Newsweek/Fenga & Freyer

CHART V: Increased foreign investment in United States reflects success of American rulers' offensive against workers' standard of living.

Hoechst and BASF— all see clear improvement in profits this year, an optimism that is shared by the Rhone-Poulenc chemical giant in France and Imperial Chemical Industries in Britain.

"But very few companies plan to increase capital spending. The chairman of Hoechst, Rolf Sammet, says spending this year will be concentrated on labor-saving rather than capacity-generating projects, a point echoed by many other European corporate executives."

Business Week gave a more optimistic prognosis for capital spending in the United States in its August 2 issue, but it also warned that "with news this week that growth of real gross national product slackened considerably in the second quarter, it is clear that one of the largest clouds remaining on the economic horizon is sluggish capital spending."

Lack of capital investment can also result in heightened inflationary pressure if capacity is not expanded and shortages of some materials result. This happened in 1973 in the case of fertilizer and paper, for example. And a recent survey by the U.S. Commerce Department reported that American factories were running at 82% of capacity in the first quarter of 1976—only four points below the 1973 peak.

Investors and corporate executives are well aware of the risk if capital investment does not increase, but they all want someone else to do the investing. Ever-rising production costs coupled with the gnawing fear that any recovery will collapse before the new products can be profitably marketed have resulted in a profound reluctance among investors.

Debt balloon

In the current situation, this reluctance to invest is increased by the maintenance of high interest rates. The same lack of guarantees facing the industrial investor faces the banks providing the investment capital—and consequently the banks demand higher interest charges for the risk.

At the same time the costs of merely keeping the economy going have inevitably risen. In 1975, when business activity in the U.S. declined by \$24.6 billion as measured by the gross national product, the total of public and private debt soared by a massive \$228.5 billion. This pushed overall debt to a record level of nearly \$3 trillion!

The growing debt itself forces up interest rates. More and more money is owed to the banks relative to the amount of real wealth being produced.

Payment of interest and principal to the banks is threatened by the overextension of credit. The banks respond by raising their rates.

To make matters worse, there are other claimants on the banks whose demands will become all the more insatiable as the world crisis of capitalism deepens: semicolonial countries whose economies will be increasingly devastated by the oscillations of spiraling inflation and deep depression in the world capitalist market; municipalities within the imperialist bastions—like New York—where economic stagnation and racial oppression combine to create a whole new series of "fiscal problems"; and, importantly, as in the case of Britain and Italy, imperialist governments themselves.

The total foreign debt of the semicolonial countries is estimated at \$135 billion, with a growing proportion owed to private banks in a handful of major imperialist powers. These countries must continually borrow more money just to pay the interest on their outstanding debts.

Peru, for example, has a foreign debt of \$3.7 billion. It had a balance-of-payments deficit of \$1.6 billion in 1975, and expects one of \$1.3 billion in 1976. A group of American banks are reportedly negotiating a new loan of \$150 to \$200 million to enable the regime to meet the repayment schedule on its debt.

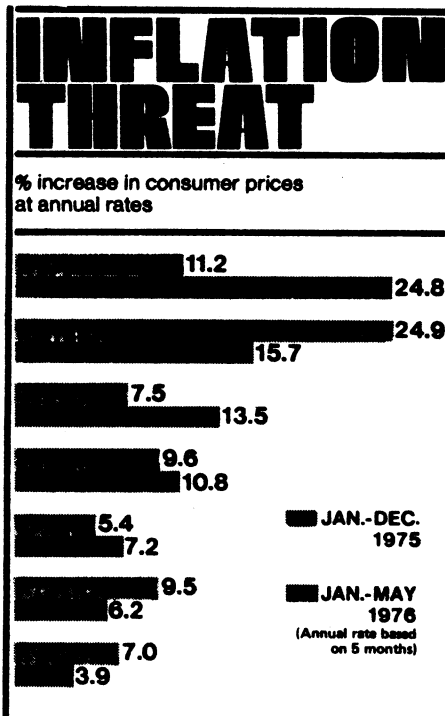


CHART VI: Inflation remains at dangerously high levels in several major countries.

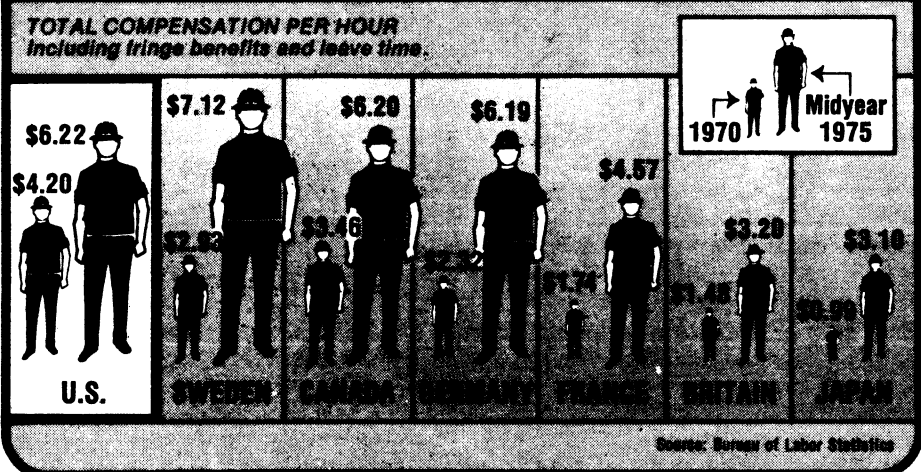
The same vicious circle of borrowing at high interest to pay back earlier loans was at work in the New York City financial crisis. *Business Week* warned in a July 12 editorial that ". . . New York City's troubles are harbingers of a broader problem. Every major city in the U.S. is going to have serious financial distress in the next three to five years."

In fact, as the Italian and British capitalists have found out, not even the biggest imperialist governments are immune from the demands of the banks that loan them money. Thus, U.S. Treasury Secretary William Simon told an OECD meeting in Paris June 22 that "lenders will become increasingly reluctant to finance expanding current account deficits unless borrowing nations make fundamental changes in their domestic economic policies."

British example

One of Simon's underlings added that the British government would have to meet "rigorous conditions" if it

THE WAGE GAP: CLOSING FAST



Newsweek/Fenga & Freyer

CHART IV: Wages in other major capitalist countries have risen much more than in United States.

wanted further loans.

On July 22 the Labour government in Britain announced that it would cut spending by £1 billion [\$1.78 billion]. Included in the package were cuts in unemployment benefits, in the building and maintenance of hospitals and schools, and in subsidies on housing. The cost of meals for schoolchildren, and charges for dental treatment and eyeglasses through the national health service were also raised. Unemployment in Britain stands at 6.3 percent, and thousands of additional workers will lose their jobs as a result of the cutbacks.

Defending this policy, the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* declared in its July 25 issue that "borrowing more money from anyone after the present stand-by credit runs out in October will be much more difficult if public spending is not cut. . . .

"A package of £1,000 millions cuts may seem devastating. . . . But it is probably not much more than a tenth of the borrowing requirement which the public sector will run next year."

In Britain, as elsewhere around the world, the policies needed to stimulate the economy and pull the country out of depression are coming into conflict with the policies needed to ensure financial stability—that is, the payment of interest to the banks.

The amelioration of the capitalist business cycle by means of a constantly increasing debt cannot indefinitely postpone the specter of a financial crash.

Making the workers pay

Nevertheless, at this point the American ruling class is feeling flush with the profitable recovery and it is intensifying the antilabor offensive that has proved so successful up to now. The U.S. Supreme Court, for example, ruled June 24 that state and local governments are not bound by federal laws setting minimum wages and maximum hours. This ruling clears the way for further attacks on public employees in the United States.

Until they are stopped by the resistance of an aroused working class, the capitalists will continue to push wage increases and living standards down. The type of proposals currently gaining a hearing among the employ-

ers in the United States is illustrated by an editorial in the July 19 issue of *Business Week*. It took up the parsimonious U.S. Social Security system under the headline of "Promising too much."

"As the number of retirees increases in proportion to the number of workers," *Business Week* said, "the nation may have to rethink the idea of retirement at 65 and find ways to encourage workers to stay on the job."

Two summits

A gauge of the progress of the antilabor offensive in the United States and around the world is the comparison of the recent major-power summits: Rambouillet, eight months ago, and Puerto Rico, in June.

At the Rambouillet economic summit conference in November 1975 most of the discussion was shrouded in secrecy. But as *Wall Street Journal* reporter Richard Janssen pointed out at the time, there was "reason to believe that the political leaders, and their economic advisers, have indeed decided to settle for less economic growth in the next few years, to quietly accept chronically higher unemploy-

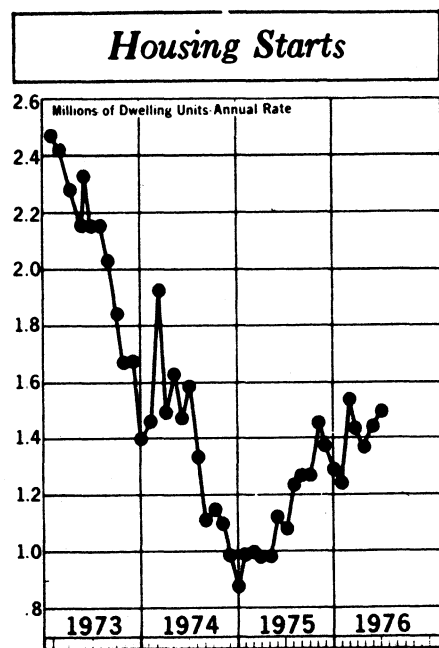


CHART VII: Weakness of recovery in U.S. construction industry is reflected in low level of housing starts.

"The Ulster police were taught five new interrogation techniques at a special seminar at Belfast in April 1971 [internment was introduced August 9], which the paper said were 'designed to cause severe mental and physical stress.'"

"The techniques were said to have consisted of forcing prisoners to stand against a wall with legs spread apart for long periods, tying hoods on them, subjecting them to continuous banging noises, depriving them of sleep and denying them adequate diets."

Similar techniques, along with more traditional police goon methods, were used against three men arrested in Dublin's territory in connection with the May 20 shooting of a British police employee in a border county tavern.

The testimony of one of these three suspects, John Little, was reported in the *Hibernia* article by Eamonn McCann. Little was arrested at 2 p.m. on May 22 and not released until 1 p.m. on May 24.

"At no time during this period was I allowed to rest. . . . My boots were taken off and I was forced to go barefoot. I was forced to strip to the waist and pushed about. I was spread-eagled against a wall for long periods of time. My feet were trampled on. I was beaten on the back, chest, face and arms. My feet were twisted, my

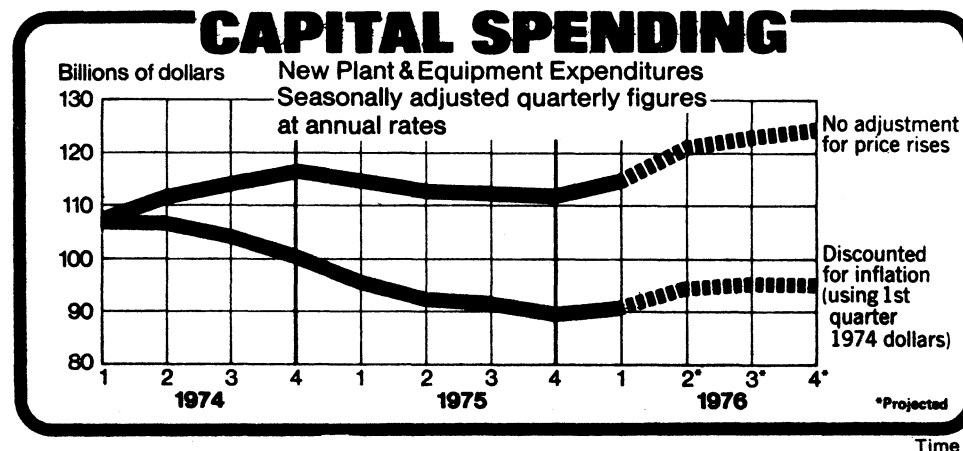


CHART VIII: If present trends of low investment continue, recovery will peter out.

ment in hopes of lower inflation, of avoiding booms-and-busts." (November 24, 1975.)

This policy was made explicit in June with the convocation of the Puerto Rico economic summit conference. There, the heads-of-state of the seven leading imperialist powers declared that their major economic concern was that recovery from the world depression would take place too rapidly.

No full employment

"The clear implication of this strategy is that the West does not foresee a return to full employment until well into the 1980s," Bernard Nossiter said in the June 23 *Washington Post*.

"Since the end of the war," he added, "high unemployment has been regarded as the greatest danger, to be avoided at all costs. The heavy jobless rolls in France, Germany and Britain during the recent slump provoked fears for stability in these and other nations."

"But nothing has happened. No government appears to have paid a price. Politicians in industrial nations no longer perceive unemployment at the present level as a matter of overriding voter concern."

Special mention should be made of the reformist Social Democratic and Stalinist trade union leaders in this regard. While refusing to mobilize the ranks of the trade unions to fight unemployment, they have collaborated with governments and employers to hold wages down.

The situation in Germany, for exam-

ple, was taken up in a dispatch by Alfred L. Malabre, Jr., in the May 12 *Wall Street Journal*.

German case

"Germany's recovery is full of zing," says Arnold P. Simkin, a senior economist at Lionel D. Edie & Co., an investment research concern. . . . Corporate profits are particularly buoyant. "This year's profits are likely to jump," the analyst predicts, partly because "German unions accepted comparatively small wage increases this year."

German unions have agreed to a wage ceiling of 5.5%. An article in the July 26 issue of *Business Week* said, "Otmar Emminger, deputy governor of the Deutsche Bundesbank, Germany's central bank, ascribes his country's success largely to the fact that 'the unions take government policy explicitly into account in making their wage demands.'"

In Britain, the Trades Union Congress has agreed to a 4.5% limit on wage gains, even though inflation is running triple that rate. "Another unexpectedly bright spot" is Japan, according to Malabre, who hails "the moderation of the so-called spring labor offensive, in which the year's major wage increases are determined." Wage gains this year should average about 9%, he writes, down from last year's average of more than 13%.

It remains to be seen how long the imperialist rulers can get away with cutting wages and living standards before they provoke major class confrontations.

...Ireland

Continued from page 22

few are able any longer to dismiss them as mere propaganda," Eamonn McCann wrote in the July 16, 1976, issue of the Dublin liberal fortnightly *Hibernia*. This was especially true, he noted, "since the *Sunday Independent's* Vincent Browne drew from a semantically-minded member of the Dublin 'interrogation squad' the explanation that their treatment of prisoners could not be described as torture because 'we do use instruments.'"

Ironically, publication of the European Commission on Human Rights report on the use of torture by British forces against internees in Northern Ireland came only a few days after the Dublin government's new step toward institutionalizing such practices in its own territory. It was the Dublin government itself that brought the Northern Ireland case to the commission.

In the August 28 *New York Times*, correspondent Peter T. Kilborn summarized the commission's findings:

legs were twisted. I was half choked. I was forced down on hands and knees and kicked on the backside. My arms were twisted behind my back. I was spat upon."

Another one of the three arrested, Patrick Rehill, claimed that he was charged with being a member of the IRA "to keep me in prison where my body could not bear witness nor my tongue testimony to the tortures I had undergone." Rehill was accused by police of being a member of the Provisional IRA, although he offered to accept bail, taking an attitude that McCann noted was "in contradiction of standard Provo attitudes."

According to McCann, courts in Dublin's jurisdiction have been refusing to rule inadmissible "confessions" by defendants when the persons making such statements have denounced them as extorted by torture.

The new escalation of repressive legislation in the formally independent part of Ireland has been described in the bourgeois press in Britain and the U.S. as a reaction to the assassination of the British ambassador to Ireland, Christopher T.E. Ewart-Biggs on July 21. The Provisional republican movement has been accused of responsibility for this action, and a number of its leaders were arrested, including Ruairi O Bradaigh, the president of Provision-

al Sinn Féin, the Provisional republicans' political organization.

The day the government's new legislation plans were announced, eight Provisional republicans were arrested in connection with their participating in a banned republican demonstration, held on the anniversary of the Easter 1916 uprising in whose name the Dublin government claims the right to rule Ireland. More than 10,000 persons took part in this demonstration, including a leading member of the Irish Labour party, David Thornley, who was there to protest the denial of civil rights by the ban. One of those arrested was described in the August 25 *London Times* as "the manager of a republican paper."

Although the Provisionals traditionally take responsibility for their actions, they did not claim the Ewart-Biggs assassination. The bourgeois press in Ireland, Britain, and the U.S. speculated that a "splinter group" might be involved. It is true that a campaign of small-scale commando actions such as the Provisionals have been waging is difficult by its nature to control. But in various truces with the British in Northern Ireland the Provo leadership has demonstrated that it has considerable authority over its followers.

Death squads step up attacks in Argentina

[The following is from the News Analysis section of Intercontinental Press.]

By Judy White

Mass executions claimed the lives of forty-seven political prisoners in the Buenos Aires region August 20. Five additional "extremists" were gunned down in Córdoba the same day in what security forces reported as "armed confrontations."

The Buenos Aires victims had been transported from jail to suburban areas, where they were mowed down with automatic weapons fire and then dynamited. Most of them were tied up. Some of the bodies were so badly mutilated it was impossible to tell their sex.

These were the latest in the continued wave of kidnappings and killings of even the mildest critics of the Argentine military dictatorship.

Governmental use of extralegal gangs to kill trade-union and political activists began with the return from exile of Gen. Juan Perón in 1973. But a qualitative change in the repression took place following the military coup on March 24, 1976. Since then the use of rightist murder gangs has become more blatant and has been complemented with "official" repression.

From the outset, these murder gangs served a particularly useful purpose for the bourgeois rulers of Argentina. They perform the dirtiest tasks, while their "unofficial" status makes it possible for their promoters and organizers to disclaim all knowledge of and responsibility for their actions.

Since mid-August, the junta has increasingly repeated its claim that the gangs are "out of control." The Ministry of the Interior described the August 20 mass murders as "the madness of irrational groups."

But the murder gangs are hardly "irrational" in their choice of targets. They began by focusing on rank-and-file leaders of the workers movement. Later, they broadened their target to include family members and others associated with alleged subversives, the tens of thousands of political exiles who live in Argentina, the Jewish

community, and anyone suspected of having even liberal sympathies.

Moreover, the evidence has never pointed to the gangs being "out of control." Quite the contrary.

- Despite official promises to spare no efforts to punish those responsible, not a single arrest—let alone conviction—has been made of any of the perpetrators of the rightist terror that has been a regular feature of Argentine life for more than three years.

- Those carrying out abductions invariably show police or armed services credentials.

- There is growing evidence that the Videla regime is cooperating directly with the security forces of other Latin American dictatorships in the cases of political exiles who are abducted.

Uruguayan refugee sources reported that Hugo Gatti, an exiled labor leader among those abducted in July, had been seen in a police detention center in Buenos Aires. He lost an eye under torture conducted by Uruguayan intelligence personnel operating in conjunction with Argentine security agents.

- *New York Times* reporter Juan de Onis has confirmed reports coming from Argentine political prisoners that (in the case of the August 20 mass executions) the victims "appeared to have been brought to the place they were murdered from detention centers."

Furthermore, the Videla regime's official campaign to "annihilate subversion" encourages the actions of such gangs, as do Videla's repressive decrees. Along with the armed forces' shoot-on-sight operations against alleged extremists and the mass arrest of "factory guerrillas," Videla has reinstated the death penalty, imposed a ban on carrying firearms, decreed all political and trade-union activity illegal, and banned Marxist literature.

Political exiles are refused official refugee status and are referred to as participants in an international terrorist conspiracy.

On August 16, sweeping powers were granted to public prosecutors. That arm of government now has the right to make arrests, tap telephones, intercept mail, carry out searches of any



Militant/Mirta Vidal

José Páez campaigning for vice-presidency of Argentina in 1973. Now military is holding Páez prisoner.

public or private premises, seize any documents or other materials at will, hold prisoners incommunicado, and ask for the aid of the police and armed forces and the collaboration of all intelligence services.

The regime carried out a major "antisubversive" action in the academic sphere in early August. Seventeen faculty members at the University of Bahía Blanca were arrested and a list of another thirty-one "wanted" members was issued in an effort to "cleanse the teaching field" of "subversion." The arrested professors were accused of indoctrinating the students in revolutionary Marxist ideas that led to the organization of guerrilla forces.

There are an estimated 20,000 persons in jail. Videla refuses to issue lists of the prisoners, thus facilitating their "disappearance" or making it possible for authorities to claim "they have never been arrested."

Among the prisoners are approximately 100 members of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party), including PST leader José Francisco Páez.

Páez was one of the main leaders of the autoworkers union in Córdoba, which was in the vanguard of the working-class upsurges in that city in 1969 and 1971.

In 1973 Páez supported the PST's call for an independent working-class slate in the Argentine federal elections. He ran for governor of the province of Córdoba in the March election and for

vice-president on the PST's slate in September. Following the campaign, he acted as the party's trade-union director and as one of its public spokesmen until his arrest in January 1976.

Today Páez is being held in the Córdoba penitentiary, where all inmates have been held incommunicado since March 24 and where at least seventeen prisoners have been removed from their cells to be later reported killed in "clashes with security forces."

The regime justifies keeping these prisoners incommunicado on the grounds that the Third Army Corps in Córdoba is conducting a security investigation that could be impeded by granting the prisoners the right to see their families and attorneys, and to receive and send mail.

If Videla is now bleating about the repressive forces being out of control, it is because the barbarities of his regime have received increasingly unfavorable publicity in the world press. This, in turn, has generated international protest and condemnation of his practices from wide-ranging sources.

The protests threaten to undermine one of the main immediate goals of the junta—foreign financial aid. They make it politically costly for Washington and the European governments Videla has been wooing to come across with the loans and investments the Argentine ruling class needs to shore up its economy.

Irish government seeks new 'emergency powers'

By Gerry Foley

The Cosgrave government in Dublin announced August 25 that it would ask the Irish parliament to declare a state of emergency when the body reconvenes August 31. The same day, the proimperialist coalition cabinet began

Since this article was written, the Irish parliament approved the declaration of a state of emergency requested by Prime Minister Liam Cosgrave. Action on the emergency powers legislation is expected shortly.

circulating proposals for new repressive laws to members of the assembly. Under a state of emergency, the constitution is suspended and laws are no longer subject to the test of constitu-

tionality in the courts.

According to a dispatch from Jonathan Harsch in the August 26 *Christian Science Monitor*, the Dublin government is asking for the right to jail for ten years "anyone inciting or inviting support of the IRA—an offense which could apply to sympathizers who collect money or sell pro-IRA literature." It also wants to be able to jail for twenty years anyone found guilty of "usurpation of the functions of government or obstruction of government by force of arms or intimidation."

Jury trials for political cases were abolished in May 1972 by government decree. On December 2, 1972, the Special Powers (Amendment) Act eliminated the usual rules of evidence. Sentences are handed down by three-judge tribunals. The word of a police officer that he believes a person is a

member of the IRA is considered sufficient evidence for conviction. Up until now, these courts have been empowered to decree two-year sentences for membership in the IRA. The government wants to raise this to seven years.

The Cosgrave government is also calling for sentences of ten years against the political leaders of the republican movement, as well as fifteen years for anyone "participating in an unauthorized military exercise."

The recommended new legislation would also give powers of search and arrest directly to the neocolonialist army.

Compared to the call for empowering special tribunals to hand down harsh sentences for very broadly defined political offenses on no more evidence than the word of police officers, the recommendation for increasing the

period of detention on suspicion from two to seven days might seem relatively unimportant. Actually, it has grave implications. This measure increases the time police have to extort confessions by torture.

In April, the Dublin government's police got a number of successive detention orders against Osgur Breathnach, the editor of the *Starry Plough*, the monthly newspaper of the Irish Republican Socialist party. They were trying to force him to "admit" involvement in a train robbery. When he was finally released, he showed obvious signs of torture.

Torture has reportedly become standard operating procedure in the neocolonialist part of Ireland.

"Allegations of torture and brutality by the Gardai [police] have come so thick and fast in recent months that

Continued on page 21



MANUEL ARCHULETA

Militant/Arnold Weissberg



JUAN JOSE PEÑA

Militant/Henry Snipper

Raza Unida in New Mexico | A dynamic Chicano party

By Arnold Weissberg

LAS VEGAS, N. M.—This town of 16,000 people is the hub of the state's Raza Unida party.

Activists here in San Miguel County have been instrumental in organizing the *partido* around the state.

The San Miguel County chapter was organized in 1972. It grew out of student struggles at New

This is one of several articles written by Arnold Weissberg during a trip he and Harry Ring made to New Mexico for the Militant Southwest Bureau.

Mexico Highlands University, located in Las Vegas.

Highlands' enrollment of 2,000 students is 65 percent Chicano. The administration is racist and Chicanos waged a long fight just to get the appointment of a Chicano president.

Pedro Rodríguez, then a professor at Highlands, was the first builder of the RUP. He had been active in the *partido* in Texas before coming to New Mexico. Rodríguez brought José Angel Gutiérrez, a founder and central leader of the Texas party, to speak at the Highlands campus.

Gutiérrez impressed many of the students, including Manuel Archuleta, who is now the San Miguel County RUP chairperson.

In an interview, Archuleta said that in 1972 some Chicano students were thinking about forming a new party independent of the Republicans and Democrats.

Birth of party

The *partido* was organized by "the more rebellious of us," he remembered. Archuleta said that the first chapter had only a handful of members because of the intense pressures on students to stay in the Democratic party. Democrats controlled many jobs in the school district, and students feared that they wouldn't get hired after graduation.

The new chapter elected Pedro Rodríguez as the first county chairperson, and Juan José Peña, now the state chairperson, became the county vice-chairperson. Peña now heads ethnic studies at Highlands.

The party began registering voters in the RUP in the Las Vegas barrios. The San Miguel chapter has had a peak registration of 440. It maintains about 300.

Although they began by looking to elections as a focus of action, several leaders soon became convinced that the party had to work throughout the year. It had to be more than just an electoral group.

"We began turning the *partido* from an election-time activist group to something that would act the year round," Archuleta said. "We started getting involved in issues that were directed against the institutions of this society. That separated us even more from the Democratic party."

Peña was an RUP candidate for Las Vegas school board in 1972. He got more than 400 votes. The winner, an Anglo, got 800.

"Considering that Raza Unida is supposed to have a radical image, we got a lot of votes," Peña said.

The 1972 convention elected Peña state chairperson. Shortly after that, he and the RUP became embroiled in the ongoing battle at Highlands.

The university regents had chosen Frank Angel as the first Chicano president of the Highlands campus. Angel, however, was not the choice of the Chicano students. Angel came into office and began attacking the Chicano studies program and the outspoken Chicanos on the faculty, including Rodríguez and Peña.

Students mobilize

Students responded to the attacks angrily. In September 1973 they occupied the administration building. They demanded an end to cutbacks in Chicano studies and student control of the program.

They also wanted Peña, already state chairperson of the RUP, to succeed Rodríguez as the head of Chicano studies. (Rodríguez, in poor health, had resigned shortly before.)

Cops arrested more than forty students. Community support for the protesters was so strong that the students were able to raise \$30,000 bail in two days.

The administration finally gave in, appointing Peña to head the department.

(Peña now heads both Chicano studies and the entire ethnic studies department. But the administration has never promoted him. Peña still holds only the rank of instructor.)

Besides its early campus activities, the *partido* has been active in Las Vegas politics.

Although Las Vegas is 85 percent Chicano, Anglos dominate the city. The official unemployment rate is 12 percent. Peña estimated the real rate is 20 percent. There are virtually no jobs for Chicano youth.

Peña said that police brutality is a problem, even though many Mexican-Americans are on the force.

Bilingual education

The San Miguel County RUP has focused much of its work on the local schools. It is involved in a fight to preserve bilingual-bicultural programs that the school board is trying to cut.

The party is organizing a boycott of board members' businesses to force a change in policies. A lawsuit has been filed to stop the cuts.

Peña and Archuleta are the principal figures in the state Raza Unida leadership. They estimated they drove 50,000 miles around the state last year in their organizational efforts for the *partido*.

Their efforts have borne fruit. There were four counties represented at the first state convention in 1972. At the 1976 convention there were delegates from seven counties. Peña said the fifty delegates at the convention this past April represented 1,000-1,200 members.

Peña is particularly proud of the party's success in southern New Mexico, traditionally the most overtly racist part of the state.

"In southern New Mexico, it was rare for anyone to lift his head. And now we have two party organizations there," Peña said. "Even establishing a chapter of the RUP and raising the consideration of an alternative party in southern New Mexico is a major victory," he added.

Union County

Another active chapter is in Union County. The chapter developed in response to repeated police brutality. An RUP campaign forced several cops to resign.

The cops retaliated by beating up the county chairperson, Anselmo González. The cop who was responsible also resigned after Larry Hill, then state chairperson and an attorney, filed suit.

Peña said that the RUP is recognized as a serious minority party in state politics. He believes the *partido* now has the job of showing that "our ideas have validity, that they're practical and applicable."

The party has ambitious plans for the November elections. Ernesto Borunda is running against U.S. Sen. Joseph Montoya. This is the first time a Raza Unida party has run a candidate for U.S. Senate.

The party has also fielded Ernesto Hill and Jesús Aragón for New Mexico's two congressional seats.

Support Camejo

Peña said that the New Mexico RUP will actively campaign for Peter Camejo, the Socialist Workers party presidential nominee. Camejo was endorsed by the state convention of the *partido* on the basis that his platform—the "Bill of Rights for Working People"—was in harmony with the Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the New Mexico RUP at its 1975 state convention.

The RUP in New Mexico schedules regular membership meetings. Each county chapter holds a quarterly general membership meeting, open to all. The central committee meets monthly. The state party holds a yearly convention.

Peña said that the quarterly San Miguel County meetings usually draw from thirty to fifty people, while twelve to eighteen attend the central committee meetings. Other counties vary, but are in the same general range.

Prospects for growth

The prospects for further growth are good. The population of New Mexico is 45 percent Chicano, and another 10 percent are Indians.

Peña said that one goal of the RUP is to use the state's resources for the benefit of the majority rather than to swell corporate profits.

"This could be one of the richest states in the nation," he said. The state has abundant natural resources, including natural gas, oil, precious metals, uranium, and timber. New Mexico also has vast stretches of rich grazing land.

But one-third of the land is owned by the U.S. Forest Service, and another third by the state. Grazing permits are expensive. Only wealthy Anglo landowners can afford them. The state's wealth is plundered by giant corporations, while Chicanos and Indians remain poor.

The New Mexico *partido* has also involved itself in the Chicano movement on a national level. Party members attend conferences around the country. Many were at the first national convention of Raza Unida parties held in El Paso in 1972. Nearly two dozen were brought by the RUP to the recent National Chicano Forum in Salt Lake City.

Juan José Peña summed up the outlook of the New Mexico RUP as he sees it: "We've had to deal with police brutality, we've had to deal with cutbacks in education, we've had to deal with the daily problems that affect people. And I don't think there will be a solution to these problems until society itself is changed. In the meantime, you raise people's consciousness by fighting. And we have been fighting, against brutality, against cutbacks, and against the denial of human dignity in general. This the *partido* will do."

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Freedom struggle on the rise

By Tony Thomas

The setback to imperialist intervention in Angola last winter sent shock waves throughout Southern Africa. Resistance to white minority rule was spurred on in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia, and —since June—in the bastion of racist oppression on that continent, South Africa.

At the Socialist Workers party national convention last month, Tony Thomas of the SWP National Committee analyzed this explosive situation in a speech on "The Revolution in Southern Africa." Thomas is coauthor with Ernest Harsch of the book "Angola: The Hidden History of Washington's War."

Two events took place this June that symbolize the deepening contradictions in southern Africa.

One was the massive rebellion that swept the Black townships in South Africa, spreading to Black universities and other sectors of the population.

The other was Kissinger's meeting with John Vorster, prime minister of South Africa. While the South African police were launching a massive witch-hunt against African militants, Kissinger and Vorster tried to make it appear as if they had a new solution for the problems of southern Africa.

In reality, they had nothing to offer except rhetoric. Nothing to offer because they had no

concessions that could hold back the mass struggle in southern Africa and still maintain the white-dominated regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia, which is called Zimbabwe by its African people.

These two events give us a picture of a growing crisis in southern Africa. This crisis is growing because of a new upsurge of the African masses. In time, the new conditions favorable to their struggle can challenge the very foundations of imperialist domination and national oppression in southern Africa.

I want to outline three of the most important factors that have led to this new situation in southern Africa.

Independence of Portuguese colonies

One of the most striking developments in the past two years has been the victory of the independence struggles in Mozambique and Angola.

Economically, these countries were intertwined with the economy of South Africa. U.S. imperialism also had some important investments, particularly in Angola. But most importantly, both the United States and South Africa supported Portuguese colonialism in Angola and Mozambique because they saw these states as a buffer zone protecting the white-dominated regimes in South Africa and Zimbabwe from independent Africa.

Independence was won in the African colonies of Portugal because of a series of worldwide factors. The most important was the strength of the nationalist struggles that had fought in Mozambique, Angola, and the other Portuguese colonies since the early 1960s. They won because they represented the political determination of the African masses to accept nothing short of independence.

A second factor was the immense strain the colonial war placed on Portugal's weak economy. This helped to bring forth big struggles by Portuguese workers and youth against the war and against the regime. These internal social and

political pressures emanating from the colonial war limited the attempts of both the Caetano regime and later the MFA (Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement) regime to try to impose solutions in Angola and Mozambique short of independence.

A third factor, which is of great importance, is that American imperialism and the other imperialist powers were incapable of directly intervening in Angola or Mozambique to back up Portugal. We can take part of the credit for this development. It was the consciousness that built up in this country because of the anti-Vietnam War movement and the growth of Pan-Africanist ideas in the Black community that stayed Washington's hand.

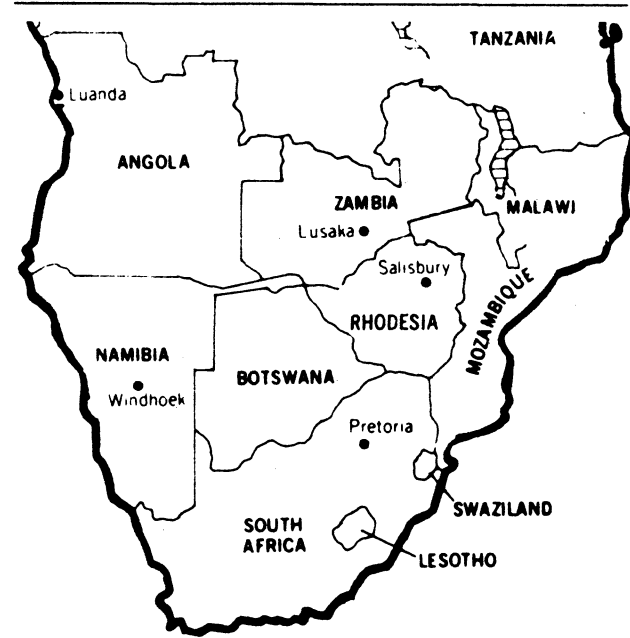
Angola

After the coup in Portugal in 1974, mass demonstrations, strikes, and other actions took place in Angola. In 1974 and early 1975, the Angolan masses showed they had the power to complete their own national liberation struggle through the class struggle for socialism.

Only the working class can lead a successful struggle for full national liberation from imperialist oppression by abolishing capitalism and carrying out the socialist revolution. Capitalist and middle-class nationalist leaderships who defend capitalist relations objectively defend imperialist domination over their countries despite their nationalist pretenses. Defending capitalism places them on the side of the foreign imperialists in the confrontation between the working class and imperialism.

It was the fact that the three middle-class nationalist groups that had led the Angolan liberation struggle maintained a procapitalist strategy that helped to divert the upsurge of the Angolan masses.

The three groups were the UNITA (União



Nacional para Independência Total de Angola—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), and the FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola—Angolan National Liberation Front).

Imperialism used the factionalism that developed among them to divert the Angolan masses from the struggle against imperialism and for their social demands.

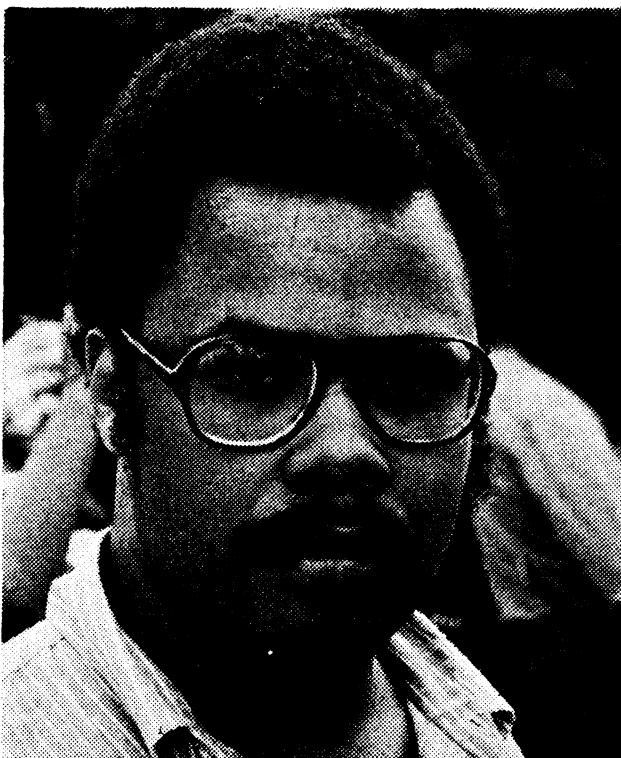
The divisions between the groups reflected many pressures on them: the different workers states, neocolonial African states, and imperialist powers that supported them, and the fact that each of the organizations was rooted in one of three main nationality and regional groups in Angola.

On thing that this factionalism did not represent, however, was the interests of the Angolan masses. Each group maintained a similar outlook, defending capitalism and imperialism against the masses. Each one was willing to subordinate the struggle for national liberation of Angola to their own needs in the factional struggle. This opened the door for imperialist intervention.

South African intervention

South Africa was able to take advantage of this situation to launch a military intervention. South Africa's aim was to control areas on the border between Namibia and Angola. This would enable them to strike at the base of the Namibian freedom fighters.

While at first resisted by the UNITA movement, South African imperialism was able to make a deal with the UNITA. In exchange for assistance and supplies, the UNITA and FNLA agreed to permit



TONY THOMAS

Militant/Nelson Blackstock

South Africa to maintain its military hold in southern Angola. They placed their own advantages in the faction struggle above the need to unite and defend Angola against imperialism.

U.S. imperialism began to give support to the UNITA and FNLA against the MPLA during the summer and fall of 1975. They saw this as a way to counter the influence of the Soviet Union and Cuba, which had given support to the MPLA. American imperialism also wanted to back up South Africa.

Meanwhile, the MPLA continued to receive support from leading sectors of the Portuguese imperialist government.

Revolutionary socialists sided with neither faction in Angola against the other. We completely opposed South African, Portuguese, U.S., and other imperialist intervention in Angola.

We sided with the Angolan liberation struggle. This means that we supported the military actions taken by the MPLA against South Africa and the imperialist-controlled mercenaries. By the same token, at an earlier stage we supported the actions by the UNITA against South Africa. And we supported the FNLA in its confrontations with the Portuguese military.

The setback South Africa suffered in Angola played a positive role in the struggle throughout southern Africa. It encouraged the masses of southern Africa—Namibia and South Africa in particular—by giving them the idea that South African imperialism could be defeated.

The MPLA regime that resulted from that victory, however, remains a capitalist state that has directed heavy attacks against workers, radicals, and national minorities. The UNITA movement retains significant support in southern Angola, where it continues to carry out armed struggle.

The MPLA regime in Angola, despite its socialist pretenses, is defending imperialist economic interests against the Angolan working masses. To go forward, the Angolan masses are going to have to go beyond the procapitalist politics of the MPLA and the other nationalist factions. They're going to have to build a revolutionary socialist workers party that can complete their struggle through socialist revolution.

But despite the neocolonial character of the Mozambican and Angolan regimes, the winning of independence of these countries and the setback South African imperialism faced in Angola is a powerful and important advance for the struggle throughout southern Africa.

Zimbabwe

The second main front in this growing confrontation in southern Africa is Zimbabwe, called Rhodesia by its white-settler government. The Rhodesian government represents 250,000 whites and it rules over more than six million Africans.

The Africans are excluded from owning all but the poorest land. They are segregated in urban areas and subject to conditions similar to those under the apartheid system in South Africa.

In 1965, the white minority regime broke away from formal British colonial rule. They feared that independence under Black majority rule would threaten their privileges as businessmen, farmers, and skilled workers and employees.

Since then a significant struggle has been waged by nationalist forces against the white settlers. Four organizations emerged: ZAPU—the Zimbabwe African People's Union; ZANU—the Zimbabwe African National Union; Frolizi—the Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe; and the ANC—the African National Council.

'Detente' strategy

Much publicity has been given in the past few months to Kissinger's claims to be trying to persuade South Africa to "separate" itself from the Rhodesian settler regime. Washington is trying to claim to be moving to a negotiated settlement in Zimbabwe that would establish a Black majority regime.

This has been pictured as a big shift toward a new policy in Africa by American imperialism. However, this "new" policy is only a new version of an old policy. For years, both South Africa and the African capitalist states near Rhodesia (Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique, and Botswana) have been trying the same strategy.

This policy—called the "détente" or the Lusaka strategy—is an attempt by the Black regimes of Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique, and Botswana to "normalize" relations with South Africa.

This is supposed to be accomplished through South African cooperation with the neocolonial states in forcing a negotiated settlement on the Zimbabwean people.

The South African regime wanted to use this type of deal to open up the Black states of southern Africa to South African trade and investment. They

wanted to be able to enlist greater cooperation from the Black neocolonialists in curbing the mass struggle in South Africa itself.

The African capitalist regimes themselves feared that a sharp rise in the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe threatened to inspire big mass struggles in their own countries. This is a big problem since the weak economies of these countries are being shaken by the impact of the world economic crisis.

On one side, South Africa pressured the Rhodesian regime to free a few African political prisoners and to launch negotiations. South Africa also withdrew its front-line troops from Zimbabwe in late 1974. However, despite their talk about a settlement, the South African imperialists continue to supply arms, financial support, and economic assistance to the Rhodesian regime.

In turn, the African capitalist regimes have attempted to curb the Zimbabwean liberation groups. For a while they appeared to have been successful in cutting off or suspending the armed struggle against the white-settler government.

Talks break down

The governments of Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana, and Tanzania forced the four Zimbabwean liberation groups to unify into one organization

liberation movements by the African neocolonial states.

The result of the new détente and negotiations strategy has been restrictions on the liberation movements by the African governments while the white-settler regime retains its control over Zimbabwe and its six million Black Africans.

The strategy that Kissinger is trying to give support to in southern Africa has been nothing but an obstacle to the freedom struggle.

Renewed struggle

Since the fall of 1975, an important upsurge has taken place in Zimbabwe. Thousands, perhaps tens of thousands of Zimbabwean youth have voted with their feet. They've gone to Mozambique and Zambia to the camps of the Zimbabwean nationalist fighters.

At the beginning of this year, armed actions by the liberation fighters were used by the Rhodesian regime as a pretext for military attacks on Mozambique. In March, following one of these incidents, Mozambique went on a war footing and cut off its borders with the Rhodesian white-settler regime.

Inside Rhodesia, the white settlers have mobilized tens of thousands of police and soldiers. They are

'Because of its white, racist character, South African imperialism is forced to strike out militarily, economically, and politically against advances in the liberation struggle in southern Africa.'



South African cops beat Black demonstrator

with the name African National Council. The liberation groups were also forced to open negotiations with the white-settler regime.

From the start, the leaders of some of the nationalist groups and the Zimbabwean masses were skeptical of the chances for success in these negotiations. They were right. The negotiations got nowhere.

A faction of the African National Council led by Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole and Bishop Abel Muzorewa broke off all participation in the talks in August 1975. Another wing of the ANC led by Joshua Nkomo broke off discussions this March after no progress was reached.

The reasons for this impasse are simple: the Rhodesian white-settler regime knows that even on a capitalist basis, Black majority rule in Zimbabwe will mean an end to white privilege. They know that imperialism fears the kind of mass revolutionary upsurge needed to overthrow their regime. They are encouraged by the material and political support they receive from South Africa. They are also aided by the restrictions placed on the Zimbabwean

increasing efforts to terrorize the African majority.

The freedom struggle has created a big strain on the economy of the white-settler regime. Some whites are fleeing the country. As one British reporter put it, they're having "second thoughts about their role in a Rhodesian version of Custer's last stand."

Now it appears that the African capitalist regimes are trying to limit the guerrilla struggles and to pressure the Rhodesian regime to resume negotiations. They fear a mobilization of the Zimbabwean masses to liberate themselves.

Given the scope of the radicalization taking place in Zimbabwe today, there is the potential for a mobilization that could not only threaten the white-settler regime, but may lead to a socialist solution to the problems of the Zimbabwean masses. Here again the question of what kind of leadership the masses need is crucial.

The sharpening conflict throughout southern Africa is also having an effect in Zambia and the other African states where the treachery of the

Continued on next page

...SOUTHERN AFRICA

Continued from preceding page

Black capitalist leaders is becoming clearer.

On January 28, for example, the Kaunda regime in Zambia imposed a state of emergency, to intensify repression against students and others who had protested the Zambian government's collaboration with South Africa in Angola and Zimbabwe.

The involvement of American imperialism in this situation could lead to direct or indirect American intervention against the freedom struggle in southern Africa. On one hand, Washington is trying to push for a negotiated settlement to prevent a bigger explosion. On the other hand, Washington is trying to ensure that such a change doesn't threaten imperialist interests or spill over into other countries.

From both angles, Kissinger's supposed "new" strategy means that Washington is getting itself more deeply involved in trying to maintain imperialist law and order in southern Africa.

South Africa

The upsurge in South Africa, ignited by the rebellion in Soweto, is the third major—potentially the most explosive—component in the crisis in southern Africa.

We have to remember what the apartheid regime in South Africa is and what its role in world imperialism is. South Africa is a country with a population of nearly twenty-five million people. It has a modern industrialized imperialist economy. It plays an important role in the world imperialist economy because of the concentration of diamonds, gold, and other minerals, and increasingly because of its manufacturing industry.

Because of its white, racist character, South African imperialism is forced to strike out militarily, economically, and politically against advances in the liberation struggle in southern Africa.

In fact, it is not surprising that the racist settler-state of Israel has good relations with South Africa.

Both regimes are alien growths defended and created by imperialism. Just as Israel must aim all its might against the whole Arab revolution, not just against the Palestinian struggle, so South African imperialism must use its might against the entire southern African revolution.

Unlike Israel, South Africa is an important center of imperialist investment. American firms had invested about \$1.2 billion there in 1975. The year before, American imperialism had \$1.2 billion worth of exports to South Africa and imported \$650 million from South Africa.

Britain has an even greater stake in South Africa than American imperialism. West Germany and France also have important investments there.

The basis for the very existence of South African imperialism is the availability of a massive supply of cheap Black labor. That is the purpose of the apartheid system of total segregation.

Some of the essential features of that system include:

1. The elimination of democratic rights for Blacks. Black political organizations are limited by government proscription, and it is illegal for African trade unions to be recognized. Conditions are created in which total police terror can be used against the African population at any point.

2. An extensive pass system is used to put Blacks totally at the mercy of police, employers, or any other whites.

3. Black workers are denied a real say over their conditions of labor by being forced to take whatever jobs are offered them by a government labor exchange.

4. To prevent the concentration of a permanent Black proletariat, attempts are made to limit the right of Blacks to live permanently in urban areas, through residency laws and the so-called Bantustan system.

5. To maintain support among the white masses, skilled jobs, professional positions, good housing, and land are exclusively reserved for whites.

So when we look at the South African investments of American imperialism, we're looking at the results of apartheid. For example, a study in 1972 found that only three American corporations out of 350 then involved in South Africa were paying their African workers above the poverty level set by the racist South African regime.

That is to say, only three American corporations were paying African workers over \$170 per month. Some American corporations were paying as low as 40 dollars per month to their African workers.

In 1974, the average wage of an African male was ninety-three dollars a month. The average white worker was making eight times as much as her or his African co-worker.

The South African imperialist economy would fall apart if it were not for this system of apartheid. Neither American imperialism nor any of the other big imperialist powers—not to speak of South African imperialism itself—will ever allow the fundamental features of apartheid to be abolished.

That task is left to the South African proletariat.

Growth of working class

With all its strictures, repression, and provisions to hold back Black labor, the apartheid system is beginning to be undermined by the very process that brought it into being—the growth of the Black working class.

In a way we see the unfolding of one of the most

basic contradictions of capitalism: as long as the capitalist system expands, it also expands the working class. The internal dynamic of the capitalist system builds up the working class, gives it greater concentration, greater confidence, and greater social power.

Since the Second World War there has been a tremendous expansion of South African industry and with it a tremendous expansion of the Black working class.

South African manufacturing production in 1972 was more than twice what it was in 1960 and nearly four times what it was in 1950. More significantly, the value of investment in manufacturing in South Africa in 1973 was *eleven times* what it was in 1950 and *seven times* what it was in 1960.

This expansion has brought onto the scene a Black working class more than six million strong. Ninety percent of the workers in agriculture, forestry, fishing, and mining are Africans; 65 percent of the workers in public utilities are Africans; 67 percent of the service workers are Africans; and 60 percent of the construction workers are Africans.

These figures do not include the growing numbers of Asians and Coloureds (people of mixed African, Asian, and white origins), who are playing an increasing role in industry. In the manufacturing industries in South Africa in 1970, more than 72 percent of the work force was non-white.

As a shortage of white labor grows, South African imperialism has been forced to place Black workers in an increasing number of skilled and semiskilled jobs. This heightens their strategic importance as well as their numerical weight.

Since the general strike in Namibia at the end of 1971 and the beginning of 1972, the Black workers in both South Africa and Namibia have been flexing their muscles in a long series of strikes and other actions. Hundreds of strikes have taken place.

Each one of these strikes has been implicitly a political protest against the apartheid system. These strikes have almost all been illegal. In some, particularly in the mines, the workers have been shot down by company guards and police.

Nevertheless, there is an important difference between the current upsurge and the one in the early 1960s around the time of the Sharpsville massacre.

South African imperialism is not able to launch the type of repression that it launched in the early 1960s that helped to stymie that upsurge.

This is not because the level of brutality of the apartheid regime has changed. Rather, it is because the relationship of class forces is now increasingly favorable to the African working class.

The apartheid regime deeply fears igniting an explosion in the Black proletariat. They need the Black workers to operate a complex industrial economy. They cannot afford to simply deport, imprison, or fire thousands of workers as they were able to do in the past.

They also face a Black population that has absorbed many of the positive lessons of the liberation of Portuguese Africa, the Angolan setback of South African imperialism, and the imperialist defeat in Indochina.

Permanent revolution

Because apartheid is an overall system that touches every aspect of the lives of South Africa's twenty million Blacks, the struggle around any specific national, democratic, or economic question can easily and quickly trigger an explosion directed against the totality of the apartheid system itself.

Such struggles can pose the question of national and class political power and the need to overturn the system of capitalism itself.

The logic of the permanent revolution—the dynamic of the national and democratic struggles going over into the struggle for socialist revolution—is probably more evident in South Africa than anywhere else.

We can see this explosive dynamic if we look at the upsurge in Soweto. It began around a limited issue that applied to only a few junior high schools—the imposition of the Afrikaans language.

A student strike started in the schools. Then a demonstration to support the strike rallied 10,000. It was attacked by the police.

Thousands of workers and youth took to the streets in rebellion against the racist regime. They tried to take control of the streets in a week of battle with the South African armed forces and cops.

The rebellion spread to Black communities across the country and to the Black campuses. White students marched with Black workers in Johannesburg in defense of Soweto. The slogan that captured the meaning of the struggle was "Power to Soweto," which was chanted by the Black masses and their supporters.

"The freedom struggle has created a big strain on the economy of the white-settler regime. Some whites are fleeing the country. As one British reporter put it, they're having "second thoughts about their role in a Rhodesian version of Custer's last stand."



Rhodesia: a white-settler state in Black Africa

They were talking about the idea of putting power where it belongs in South Africa—in the hands of the Black working masses like those who rose up in revolt in Soweto.

It turned into a generalized struggle against the entire apartheid regime. Even when leaders deemed responsible by the apartheid government met with South African government officials, they weren't satisfied with the concession offered by the government on the language issue. (The government had agreed that Black students would not have to learn and use Afrikaans in school.) They pressed demands that could only lead to doing away with the apartheid system.

They pointed out that unless the basic causes of the Soweto rebellion were eliminated, the next wave of Black rebellion in South Africa would make the Soweto rebellion "look like a Sunday school picnic." And they're right.

Since Soweto, despite the increased repression, the Black masses are continuing to struggle, demonstrate, protest, and rally.

We're seeing a new generation of youth coming onto the stage in South Africa. They're represented by organizations like the Black People's Convention, the South African Students Organization, and its high school component, the South African Students Movement.

These are just three of the groups that are identified with the new Black consciousness trend in South Africa. It is this new generation identified with the Soweto upsurge that has been the target of repression by the South African regime since the rebellion. Their Black consciousness and Black nationalism are the expression of the combination of the proletarian and national struggles—the essence of the South African revolution.

As Leon Trotsky pointed out in the 1930s, a victorious revolution in South Africa will be both a social revolution and a national revolution. It will be a revolt by the Black proletariat to wipe out white privilege and apartheid as well as against the imperialist exploitation that led to this oppression.

Program and party

The great possibilities for the struggle in southern African cannot be overestimated. The collapse of Portuguese colonialism, the failure of the so-called détente, South Africa's setback in Angola, and the upsurge by its own proletariat are indicators of the future in southern Africa.

But such mighty events in and of themselves are insufficient to bring liberation. We've seen how the struggle for national liberation in Angola and the important working-class upsurge there that followed the Portuguese coup was diverted into factional dissension and ultimately into a neocolonial state.

We've seen how across Africa, Black majority rule and independence under capitalist auspices have led to continued imperialist domination, continued poverty, and the absence of democratic rights for the working masses.

The question posed for the advance of the struggle is what kind of liberation, what kind of program for liberation, and what kind of organization is required to win it.

In other words, for revolutionists the question of the permanent revolution and the question of the Leninist party are crucial for the African masses if the new opportunities for advances in southern Africa are to be realized by the advance of the struggle.

I think we can see this in Angola and Mozambique where governments developed that had been based on liberation struggles for many years. Yet in spite of undoubted dedication to the struggles, these regimes have wound up defending imperialist property and crushing attempts by the working masses of their countries to fight back against patterns of exploitation set under colonialism.

Despite theories about African socialism, the class antagonisms between the working masses and the capitalist and middle class in these countries are *greater, not lesser* than they are in the advanced capitalist societies.

The marginal nationalist capitalist layers must in the last analysis rest on imperialism if they are to maintain any power. To do this they must inevitably curb the national liberation struggle as well as the class struggle.

We see this in southern Africa today in the attempts of the governments of Zambia, Tanzania, and Mozambique to curb and contain the Zimbabwean struggle, as well as in their repressive policies against the working class and other militants in their own countries.

With the heavy weight of the working class and its strategic position in the world imperialist economy, it would be an illusion to believe that a capitalist leadership could grow up in South Africa



Chrome mining in Zimbabwe

'The basis for the very existence of South African imperialism is the availability of a massive supply of cheap Black labor. That is the purpose of the apartheid system of total segregation.'



Namibian diamond workers



Gold production in South Africa

that could lead the liberation struggle to power.

To realize real national liberation, what is needed throughout southern Africa is a strategy of socialist revolution. When I say this, I'm not talking about socialist rhetoric and a few nationalizations like we've seen in Angola, Mozambique, or Tanzania. I'm not talking about extending the control of the bourgeois state over the masses as in the so-called people's power organs in Angola.

The struggle in southern Africa urgently needs the strategy of socialist revolution as it was successfully practiced by the Bolshevik party in the Russian revolution of 1917—a socialism based on the mobilization, power, and rule of the working class, with the support of the peasant masses and the different nationalities. Such a socialism cannot compromise with imperialism. It must eliminate imperialism's power over the economy by establishing a workers state and nationalizing imperialist and national capitalist holdings.

In southern Africa this strategy involves the urgent need of independence from the neocolonial African regimes. While at times the liberation struggle can try to pressure these regimes, no reliance can be placed upon them. Fighters for independence in Namibia and for Black majority rule in South Africa and Zimbabwe should see as their main and only real ally in Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Tanzania, and Botswana, not the governments or the ruling petty-bourgeois cliques, but the worker, student, and peasant masses who can be mobilized against those governments for both national and social demands.

Indispensable to this task is the need to construct revolutionary Marxist parties throughout southern Africa. This type of leadership is required for the titanic struggles that are required for victory. And such parties can only be built along Leninist lines, basing themselves on the power of the proletariat.

This is an important question. Many people assumed that the guerrilla character of Frelimo in Mozambique and the MPLA, UNITA, and FNLA in Angola would naturally lead to a revolutionary or even socialist regime. In the late 1950s and early 1960s many people in South Africa saw guerrilla war and terrorism as the road around the restrictions imposed by the apartheid regime.

In reality, whatever place other forms of struggle may play, the key weapon the liberation struggle in southern Africa—like those anywhere else in the world—has is the mobilization of the working masses and the mass of poor peasants for transitional, democratic, and immediate demands. This is something more powerful than any machine gun or tank.

It is this line—to which Lenin and Trotsky pointed in the Russian revolution—that can play the decisive role in winning liberation through socialism in southern Africa.

Our tasks

We have an important role to play here. We have to understand that we are part of the revolution in southern Africa. This is because of the heavy role U.S. imperialism plays through its investments in southern Africa, through its military, economic, and political support to the white-settler regimes, and through its role as main international guarantor of the imperialist order.

We can expect that any serious mobilization of the African masses will be threatened by U.S. imperialism. We saw Washington's heavy hand in Angola, in a situation where Washington did not feel that its economic or political interests were fundamentally threatened. This gives a glimpse of what we can expect when South African imperialism—a gold mine for U.S. investors—is threatened by the onslaught of African revolution.

Our job, which can be crucial for the African revolution, is to mobilize ourselves to support the liberation struggle in southern Africa. The most important thing we can do is to expose U.S. imperialist complicity with the racist and colonial regimes in South Africa. Concretely, we've got to struggle for the liberation of the thousands of political prisoners being held in South Africa's prisons. Some of them are children as young as nine years old. Others are junior high school, high school, college, and worker youth.

This is a new generation that we owe a lot to. Because this is a generation born into the confidence and power of a rising South African Black proletariat, it is a force that—along with its sisters and brothers across southern Africa—can free humanity from the scourge of apartheid and white-settler racism.

So we go out of this convention to mobilize Blacks, whites, workers, students, youth, unions, community groups, civil rights organizations, and nationalist organizations behind a campaign to free South African political prisoners and end U.S. complicity with South African imperialism.

...steel convention debates no-strike pact

Continued from back page

and sign the next contract before new officers take over next June 1. In other words, even if Sadlowski wins the election, Abel hopes to guarantee continuation of ENA for at least three years.

In his opening speech here, Abel lashed out at "shifty busybodies" who oppose giving up the right to strike. "I meet and talk to hundreds of our members every month," he said. "The consensus among our basic steel members on ENA is that it has worked wonders in solving the only problem it was intended to solve—the disastrous

This is one of several articles reporting on and analyzing the convention of the United Steelworkers of America, held August 30-September 3 in Las Vegas. More coverage will appear in future issues of the Militant.

'boom-bust' cycle in employment and earnings. . . ."

A few delegates were able to respond in discussion on the officers' report and under a resolution on collective bargaining.

Thousands unemployed

"Everything has been claimed for ENA except its failures," charged Rudy Schneider from Local 1010 in District 31. (Local 1010, with 18,000 members at Inland Steel in East Chicago, is the largest local in the USWA. A pro-Sadlowski "Rank and File Caucus" won thirty-five of the local's thirty-six delegate positions.)

"Abel claimed it eliminated the boom-and-bust cycle of employment. That has not happened," Schneider said. "Thousands of steelworkers are unemployed. ENA hasn't done anything for them.

"Abel said he's traveled around and talked to hundreds of steelworkers and they support ENA. Then why not put it up for a ratification vote? Let those people working in the mills decide."

Frank Guzzo, president of Local 1033 in District 31, voiced the same demand. "I don't know," he said, "why our great leaders are so fearful that our members back home aren't responsible."

"I think that we should never give up the right to strike," said Jim Balanoff, president of Local 1010. "That's like me keeping a watchdog in my house, and letting all the neighbors know he has no teeth."

'I believe in voting'

Balanoff explained that in Local 1010, union representatives are elected and policy decisions made by vote of



ABEL: Claims steelworkers support no-strike agreement, but refuses to put it to a vote.

the membership.

"I believe in voting on everything," he said. "And I'm going to fight—until the very last day of my life in this union—so that we get that kind of democracy for this whole international."

Also speaking against the ENA was John Barbero, delegate from Local 1462, District 26 (Youngstown, Ohio). Barbero is a leader of RAFT—Rank And File Team—a long-standing opposition group in the steelworkers union.

The discussion was dominated, however, by prepared speeches extolling the wisdom of the Abel leadership and lauding the great benefits of the ENA.

Without ENA, "we might have had even more layoffs than we do today," some speakers said. Others asserted that the right of individual locals to strike over local issues—supposedly preserved under ENA—was sufficient.

Abel had a particularly hard time justifying his refusal to let the members vote on ENA. He insisted that a vote in the industry conference—made up of presidents of

all basic steel locals—was democratic enough.

At one point Abel compared the lack of membership ratification to "the way we operate as a nation."

"Imagine if congressmen had to take a referendum each time they had to vote on legislation," he said. "We'd have a god-awful time governing this nation."

Not representative of ranks

To no one's surprise, the resolution endorsing ENA passed by an overwhelming vote of the delegates. According to Abel, this showed a mandate from the union ranks for his policies. But in reality this convention was far from representative of the union membership.

The credentials committee reported 4,262 delegates present. There were actually never more than 2,000 to 2,500 people on the convention floor.

Of those, an estimated 800 were union staff employees, often holding credentials from several small locals that couldn't afford to send one of their own members. A high proportion of the remaining delegates were top local union officers.

Thus the bulk of the delegates were either on Abel's payroll or were older, higher-paid workers.

No more than 5 percent of the delegates were Black, although the union membership is estimated at one-fourth to one-third Black. Only a sprinkling of women delegates was present, no more than 1 or 2 percent.

In a deliberate slap at Sadlowski's home local in District 31, the credentials committee refused to seat the entire sixteen-person delegation from Local 65. The committee alleged that the election of delegates in Local 65 was not properly conducted.

Caricature of democracy

The convention proceedings were a caricature of democracy. The best that can be said is that some delegates were allowed to get up and disagree with Abel without being beaten up for it. (For one exception, see story on facing page.)

No agenda was ever made available despite repeated appeals from many delegates.

The thousands of resolutions submitted by local unions were not available. Committees appointed by Abel sifted through the resolutions beforehand and reduced them to fifty "com-

posite" resolutions.

Only these committee resolutions could be voted on by the convention. Amendments or substitute motions were automatically ruled "out of order."

The same held true for changes in the constitution. The delegates' only choice was to vote yes or no on committee proposals. These were read aloud from the chair. Vice-president John Johns explained that there was "no need" for the delegates to have them in writing.

There was no provision for minority reports on disputed issues. Speakers from the floor were limited to five minutes. If Abel or Johns, who chaired most of the convention, disagreed with a speaker, they were free to interrupt and argue—with no time limit.

The greatest obstacle to a free debate of the issues, however, was the red-baiting hysteria fostered by the Abel leadership.

Red-baiting campaign

Last week's *Militant* reported on Abel's opening speech attacking "outsiders" who are "trying to undermine the United Steelworkers of America."

Abel limited himself to innuendo and insinuation. The real dirty work was assigned to a group calling itself SMART—"Steelworker Members Against Radical Takeover." SMART handed out a new leaflet every day. They accused Sadlowski and Steelworkers Fight Back of being bankrolled by "wealthy outsiders" and run by "outside radical organizers."

One leaflet carried a picture of Sadlowski with Jane Fonda, described as "an actress best known for her pro-North Vietnam activities."

"If society had listened to the likes of Jane Fonda," Sadlowski replied, "maybe we wouldn't have had 50,000 dead in Southeast Asia."

At the 1974 USWA convention the top union leadership—reportedly under pressure from the Canadian section of the union—proposed dropping the anticommunist clause from the union constitution. But Abel pressed only halfheartedly for the motion, and it was defeated.

This year the officialdom did not recommend dropping the exclusionary clause, and it rejected local resolutions proposing such action.

Instead, an amendment to *strengthen* the witch-hunt clause was proposed by James Comer, president of Local 1272 in Pittsburgh and a public leader of SMART.

"We believe that it's the duty of the international," Comer bellowed, "to find if they know of any communists, it's their job and duty to put them on trial and pay the costs."

"We've been fighting communists for as far as I can remember," Comer said. "The United Steelworkers kicked out the commies in 1946 and 1947. I think we ought to kick them out in 1976!"

Comer drew cheers from the delegates. But his amendment was not considered necessary by Abel and was not passed. Its purpose was to set a tone.

McCarthy-era tactics

Sadlowski told the convention that the red-baiting campaign was "reminiscent of the McCarthy era that literally tore the democratic principles out of our society."

Rudy Schneider from Local 1010 reminded the delegates that in the days when the CIO was founded, "anybody who was a union organizer was tabbed as being a communist."

"You cannot legislate what people think," Schneider said. "The ideas that people have should be judged by what effect they have in promoting the welfare and benefit of our union."

But objective consideration of conflicting ideas was the last thing the Abel leadership wanted to see at this convention.

'Militant' & pamphlet sales



Militant/Harry Ring

Outside United Steelworkers convention. Despite red-baiting atmosphere, eighty participants bought copies of the *'Militant'*. Forty-four bought the new Pathfinder Press pamphlet, *'The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel.'* Salespeople viewed the response as especially good considering that other political groups present—the Communist party and the Maoist October League—made no attempt to sell their newspapers but simply handed them out free.

Sadlowski delegate assaulted

LAS VEGAS, Nev.—While formally condemning goon-squad attacks against union dissidents, steelworkers President I.W. Abel is trying to blame the violence on "provocation" by his political opponents.

On the first day of the United Steelworkers convention here, delegate Cliff "Cowboy" Mezo from Local 1010, a Sadlowski supporter, was beaten up inside the convention center.

Mezo, who is editor of Local 1010's newspaper, had taken a picture of some people he thought might be forging a delegate's credentials. Mezo's camera was smashed and his face badly bruised during the assault.

Local 1010 President Jim Balanoff demanded an investigation and action against those responsible.

Abel acknowledged that "any member has the right to take pictures." He cited a letter condemning violence that he had sent to all USWA locals after Sadlowski activist Ben Corum was shot in Texas.

But Abel went on to insinuate that Sadlowski's ideas were so outrageous



Voice of the Rank & File

JIM BALANOFF: Demands end to violence against dissenters.

that some steelworkers would just naturally start swinging.

"I sometimes have to restrain myself, even at my great age," Abel said. "We steelworkers are made that way."

The next morning Abel revealed that a union staff representative had been involved in the beating. He said that the staff man—whose name he refused to give—had been "sent home."

But Abel insisted that Mezo had "provoked" the attack by snapping the picture.

Balanoff took the floor to denounce Abel's hypocrisy. "You sent my local a letter about violence," he said. "I agree with that. We want to put a stop to that in this union. We've been telling you this for as long as we can remember."

"I was at the convention when you were secretary-treasurer," Balanoff angrily told Abel, "and they beat [opposition leader Donald] Rarick down to the ground outside that convention hall! Not one of the officers up there stood up and said a damn thing about it."

As Balanoff continued to demand the name of the staff man involved, Abel ordered his floor microphone shut off.

In an interview after the beating, Mezo told me he had been a steelworker in Local 1010 for fifteen years.

"I've been in the union movement all my life. I came out of the coal fields. My parents and grandparents were coal miners."

"I remember progressive miners being shot down by the National Guard on the street."

"It's natural. There's no other side I could be on but Sadlowski." —A.R.

Drop the charges!

'Post' press operators call action

By Lee Oleson

WASHINGTON—Striking press operators, fighting criminal charges that stem from their walkout at the *Washington Post* last year, have called an October 2 demonstration to demand the charges be dropped.

Fifteen press operators, members of Local 6, Newspaper and Graphic Communications Union, were indicted in July following a nine-month grand jury investigation.

Charges range from "rioting" to "grand larceny," with penalties up to \$10,000 in fines and forty-one years in jail.

The press operators contend that *Post* publisher Katharine Graham is using the courts in her continued union-busting campaign at the paper.

The press operators are fighting back with the most effective weapon at their disposal: mobilization of community support.

In addition to the October 2 action, the Local 6 Legal Defense Committee organizes pickets at each court appearance by the indicted strikers.

When the press operators were arraigned on two different days in late July, 150 to 200 pickets demonstrated outside the courthouse. They then jammed the 100-seat courtroom.

Local 6 attorneys Joe Forer and Linda Huber told an August 5 meeting of the defense committee that the press operators were released on their own recognizance. The fact that they don't have to put up bond, the attorneys said, can be attributed to the public support demonstrated so far.

On August 24 another picket line marched outside the courthouse when defense attorneys came to make procedural motions. This time Judge Timothy Murphy delayed the hearing from 12:30 p.m. to 2:20 p.m. in order to discourage Local 6 supporters from attending the hearing.

During the July 28 arraignments, a stand-in for Judge Murphy announced that Murphy would consider lowering the sentences of any press operators who plead guilty. This public invitation for "plea bargaining" is highly unusual.

Judge Murphy scheduled two separate trials—one to begin in November and one in December. Local 6 attorneys filed a motion to have the two trials consolidated into one to open in December.

The defense is also fighting Murphy's ruling that all defendants have to appear in person for each procedural motion before the trial opens. Local 6 attorney Forer said he had never heard of such a ruling, which poses hardships for several of the indicted press operators.

Coverage of the defense campaign by the capitalist news media has been almost nonexistent. This is consistent with an expert propaganda campaign

led by the *Post* to portray the strikers as "violent." A *Post* media blitz last year charged the strikers with responsibility for millions of dollars in damage to the paper's presses at the time of their walkout. Subsequent revelations that the damage was in the thousands, not millions received little attention.

The suicide of John Clauss, a demoralized striker, received little coverage by the big-business presses.

Clearly, the press operators will not get any help from the bosses. They'll have to look to Washington's Black community and other unions, including the Newspaper Guild and the International Typographical Union.



Militant/Nancy Cole

Pickets protest indictment of 'Washington Post' press operators at July 28 court hearing. Defense committee plans support demonstration for October 2.

The case of Paul X Moody

By John Gaige

TOLEDO, Ohio—Paul X Moody, a twenty-two-year-old Black student and political activist at Bowling Green State University (BGSU), is fighting false charges of "attempted rape."

Moody was arrested April 20 in an atmosphere of racist hysteria created by a series of rapes at the majority-white campus of 15,000.

A Bowling Green grand jury changed the original charge of "gross sexual imposition" to one of "attempted rape" on June 21. The latter carries stiffer penalties—up to fifteen years in jail.

Moody is a well-known leader of the 1,200 Black students at BGSU. He is a member of the Nation of Islam, an executive council member of the Black Student Union, and chairperson of the Board of Black Cultural Activities.

He was two miles away from the scene of the attack, during the time it took place. He has witnesses to prove it.

Police arrested Moody on the night of the first regular meeting of the Muhammad Mosque on campus, Elnor X Stubbs told a Socialist Workers party campaign rally here July 16. Moody was instrumental in

organizing the mosque on campus.

Stubbs charged that the frame-up is religious persecution, as well as racist.

Forty-five Black students and other supporters packed the courtroom August 20 for a pretrial hearing. "If they get Paul X on this attempted rape, they will try to pin the others on him," said one student afterward.

The hearing established that the woman who was assaulted worked with the police the next day to assemble a "composite picture" of her attacker. She described him as a Black male, five feet six inches tall, 150 pounds.

Moody is five feet two inches and weighs 115 pounds.

He was picked up for questioning by the cops because he supposedly fit the description.

When his picture was used in a photo line-up, a height chart in the background described him as five feet seven inches tall.

The Paul X Moody Defense Fund has been formed. Daa'iyah Rashed, the fund's chairperson, knows Moody can't get a fair trial in Bowling Green. "He cannot be judged by his peers here," she told the *Militant*. "There is only one

Black family in Bowling Green. Students can't be selected for the jury. And Bowling Green is a Ku Klux Klan stronghold."

Common Pleas Judge Gale Williamson has postponed the defense's motion for a change of trial site. The trial is set to begin September 28.

Defense fund activities are moving ahead. During the week of August 22 Elnor X Stubbs spoke in Atlanta at the Nation of Islam's Spiritual Life Jubilee. She made a nationwide defense appeal by national radio hook-up.

The fund plans a rally on the BGSU campus September 24. A September 26 rally is scheduled in Massillon, Ohio, Moody's hometown.

WKLR, Toledo's largest Black radio station, discussed the frame-up August 22 in its program, "Make It Relevant." Darrell Stephens from the defense fund appeared, along with Al Duncan, SWP candidate for Michigan Board of Education, and John Gaige of the Toledo SWP campaign.

Funds and support are urgently needed. For information, write: Paul X Moody Defense Fund, c/o Sister Elnor X Stubbs, 803 Eighth Street, Apartment 6, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

Discusses jobs, S. Africa

Urban League meet draws 2,000

By Robb Wright

BOSTON—Early last month the National Urban League held its sixty-sixth annual conference here. It drew 2,000 participants. The big issues were Black joblessness and U.S. support for white minority rule in Southern Africa.

A keynote speech by Executive Director Vernon Jordan focused dead-center on the deteriorating plight of the Black community, and condemned South African apartheid and the recent killings of Black protesters in that white-settler-ruled country.

"This National Urban League conference," said Jordan, "is devoted to raising the issues that should be embodied in a new Bill of Rights extending traditional American freedoms."

Included in Jordan's proposal for a new Bill of Rights were the right to education; the right to economic security, which, he said, included the right to a decent job at a decent wage for all; the right to adequate health care; and the right to full minority representation in the political process.

Jordan charged that "no one is talking about the masses of young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four who are out of school and out of work." He said that presidential "candidates have yet to address themselves to the issues that affect America's millions who are still ill-housed, ill-fed, and ill-clad." He said a national youth employment program is being pursued by the Urban League.

"The awful facts speak for themselves," said Jordan. "The official unemployment rate for Blacks sixteen to nineteen years old is over 40 percent. The Urban League's Hidden Unemployment Index shows the true figure at 64 percent."

"A third of all Blacks, men and women, between the ages of twenty and twenty-four are jobless. Black young people have been so relentlessly excluded from job opportunities that they dropped out of the labor force in unprecedented numbers."

Jordan pointed out that "back in 1950, two out of three Black men sixteen to nineteen were counted in the



VERNON JORDAN: "Candidates are not addressing issues that affect ill-housed, ill-fed, ill-clad."

labor force. By 1975 only two out of five were in the labor force.

In the twenty to twenty-four age group, according to Jordan, the rate of employment for Black men dropped by almost ten percentage points in the past fifteen years.

"America grooms millions of Black and white youngsters for marginal existence," Jordan charged. "It fosters a future expansion of its welfare rolls, and it nurtures the smoldering fires of anger and rebellion."

The highlight of Jordan's speech—in anticipation of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's scheduled address to the convention—was a critical evaluation of U.S. foreign policy in Southern Africa.

Condemning white minority rule, Jordan called for the government to move "toward pushing South Africa to change" and to implement majority rule.

"Black Americans have a stake in

this situation," Jordan emphasized. "Our government must make it clear that it finds apartheid intolerable and that unless South Africa changes its course it can expect neither aid nor sympathy, even if it is invaded by outside forces."

Jordan called for a moratorium on future U.S. corporate investment in South Africa. He stated, however, that U.S. companies operating there now should not be pressured to withdraw because Black South Africans would lose jobs.

Through the remainder of the conference, in panels, workshops, and plenary sessions, there was discussion of Urban League positions on education, voter registration, and crime in the Black community.

Part of the conference included appearances by major figures in the Ford administration who defended, in so many words, the government's assault on Black rights. These were Secretary of Labor W.J. Usery, and Kissinger, who spoke on U.S. policy in Southern Africa.

Portions of Kissinger's speech drew jeers from the audience, particularly his remark that there are few qualified Black applicants for jobs at the State Department.

The growing racist offensive against the rights of Blacks has forced the Urban League and other civil rights organizations to shift gears in light of the new situation the crisis presents. Some of them, like the Urban League and the NAACP, have moved into the debate on how to maintain the gains Blacks have won over the years.

The Urban League was born in 1911 as a professional social work agency. It developed what its leaders saw as a division of labor with the NAACP—the Urban League would seek to advance Black interests through negotiation and conciliation and the NAACP would focus on court litigation and more direct protest.

Over the years the group has concentrated on Black unemployment. The crisis of Black joblessness today is handing the Urban League one of its stiffest tests.

Calendar

BOSTON
SOCIALIST OPEN HOUSE AND BOOKSTORE OPENING. Meet and talk with Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate, and Massachusetts state-wide candidates. Sat., Sept. 11, 2-5 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. (Kenmore Square). For more information call (617) 262-4620.

CHICAGO
WHY WE NEED A BILL OF RIGHTS FOR WORKING PEOPLE. Speaker: Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate. Sat., Sept. 18, 6:30 p.m., reception; 8 p.m., program. Discussion follows. Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: 1976 Socialist Workers Illinois Campaign Committee. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

CENTRAL-WEST ST. LOUIS
BLACK REVOLT IN SOUTH AFRICA. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Sept. 17, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland, Rm. 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

...revolt

Continued from back page

Shaw reported on September 2 that five persons had been killed by the police since the Coloured demonstrations started.

The Cape Town demonstrations have had a big impact. They have helped to push aside the fantasies of the apartheid regime that South Africa's 2.3 million Coloureds might side with whites in a conflict between Africans and whites.

These illusions were based on the fact that Coloureds have a higher living standard and are allowed a few more political rights (such as the right to participate in legally recognized trade unions) than are Africans.

Over the past few years, however, Coloured militants, particularly among the youth, have increasingly identified with the "Black Consciousness" trend associated with the big struggles in Soweto.

An example of the potential of the unity of South Africa's nonwhite peoples was shown in Durban, the country's fourth largest city. On September 2, African, Coloured, and Indian bus drivers struck, crippling the city's commuter system for hours.

In Soweto, according to a September 5 Reuters dispatch, there were reports that another nationwide Black strike had been called for September 7.

What d'you want? ERA! How d'you get it?

By Willie Mae Reid

Thirty-four states down; four to go by '79! Sounds like an easy job for Equal Rights Amendment supporters. A short distance to cover on a path straight to victory. The sentiment is there and support is growing.

At ERA rallies, women continue to stand up

AS I SEE IT

enthusiastically, responding to chants to pass it now, yesterday—200 years is too long!

Yet the path to victory is neither straight nor short because of confusion on the direction the struggle should take. This was particularly striking to me when I attended a Philadelphia pro-ERA rally on August 26.

No speaker there underestimated the importance of the amendment or the need for a unified, collective response to achieve success in this struggle.

What troubled me was the answer offered by some speakers to the naturally posed question: "What do we all do next to win the ERA?"

Representatives of both the Democratic and Republican parties explained that we had marched, rallied, and demonstrated enough. Their militant-sounding speeches urged us to move our struggle to a "higher level"—to defeat our opponents at the polls in November.

I read some similar advice in the August 27

Boston Globe, which reported on the August 26 rally in that city. Feminist writer Betty Friedan is quoted as saying at the rally, "The women's movement has built itself into American society and now must move to stage two, away from symbolic marches and into hard political action to change institutions."

C. Dolores Tucker, secretary of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, was more precise at the Philadelphia rally. "The ERA won't become the law of the land by speeches, rallies, or parades," she said. "Only votes will do the job. We must out vote anti-ERA legislators."

Tucker is a member of the National Executive Committee of the Democratic party. When she says "out-vote anti-ERA legislators" she means vote in Democrats, especially those who say they support the ERA. The direction she wants the ERA movement to take is out of the streets and into the campaigns of Democratic party politicians. Her strategy would have us stop relying on our own power and depend solely on the Democratic party for victory.

The experience of the struggle to win the vote for women demonstrates the error of this strategy. The suffragists did not win by waiting for favors from the Democrats and Republicans. They won by organizing protests that put pressure on those parties, protests that collectively involved everyone—women, men, Democrats, Republicans, socialists—in united actions. These activists had one purpose—to win the vote for

women!

Their demonstrations in no way depended on the approval or disapproval of either governing party—and often occurred in spite of these parties. That's what it took to win then, and



Willie Mae Reid

what it took in the civil rights movement, the antiwar movement, and the abortion rights movement.

The ERA will be won only by uniting everyone who supports it in demonstrations, picket lines, and speak-outs that get bigger and bigger. Too big to be

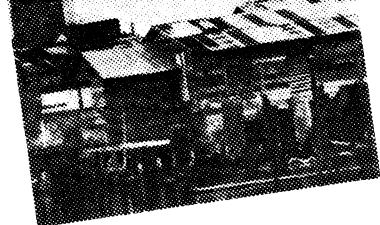
ignored. Powerful enough to win.

What should women do about the elections? Vote to amplify the demand for ratification now. Vote for a political program that doesn't subordinate passage of the ERA to getting elected to office, doesn't shrink from the task of helping build the large, independent women's movement that is the only guarantee of success.

What campaign does that? The campaign of the Socialist Workers party. Peter Camejo, the presidential candidate, and I, the vice-presidential candidate, won't just join you at the polls. We'll join you in militant actions before election day, the day after, and the next and the next until the ERA is passed and implemented.

Puerto Rico: U.S. Colony in the Caribbean

José G. Pérez



PUERTO RICO: U.S. COLONY IN THE CARIBBEAN

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

'Nothing could be more ironic for Puerto Ricans than the celebration of 200 years of American independence. . . . To understand the economic crisis and political ferment on the island, the recurring debates over Puerto Rico in the United Nations, and the maneuvers in the U.S. Congress, it is necessary to begin from one simple fact: Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States.'

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PORTLAND

Peter Camejo in Oregon

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 16. Meet Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party candidate for president. At the Oregon Socialist Workers party's new headquarters, 3928 N. Williams (between Shaver and Failing). Reception, 7:30 p.m.; program, 8:30 p.m. Donation: \$1. For more information call (503) 288-7860.

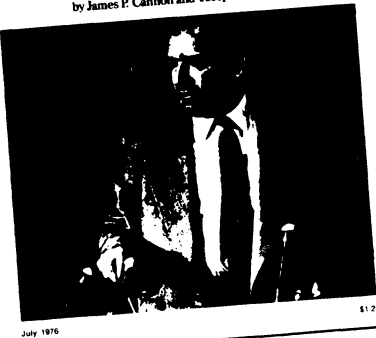
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Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 207 E. Michigan Ave., Rm. 25, Milwaukee, Wis. 53202. Tel: SWP—(414) 289-9340; YSA—(414) 289-9380.

SOUTH AFRICA: REVOLT SPREADS

By Tony Thomas
From Intercontinental Press

One week after the Soweto general strike, thousands of Africans and Coloureds* demonstrated and clashed with police in Cape Town, South Africa's second largest city.

The largest action took place on September 2, when several thousand Coloured youths were attacked by police in downtown Cape Town. This

Inside:

'Southern Africa: Freedom struggle on the rise.' Special four-page feature by Tony Thomas. See page 24.

was reported to be the first major clash between demonstrators and police in an area reserved for whites since the current wave of struggles began in June.

A series of smaller actions in segregated Coloured townships and squatter camps around Cape Town had preceded the demonstration.

In mid-August, Coloured students demonstrated at the University of the Western Cape, expressing solidarity with Blacks who had protested against the apartheid regime in their own areas.

New York Times correspondent Mi-

*The 2.3 million Coloureds in South Africa are descendants of the early Dutch settlers, Indian slaves, and native Khoi-Khoi, Bushmen, and other African peoples. Most of them live in the Cape, where they originated, and speak Afrikaans, the Dutch-based language of the Afrikaner whites.

chael Kaufman reported September 2 that a number of Coloured students as well as some "white sympathizers" were detained after the university demonstration.

Rev. Alan Hendrikse, the chairman of the Coloured Labour party, an antiapartheid group, was also detained.

Hendrikse was held under a special law that permits the apartheid regime to hold without trial persons deemed "a menace to state security." More than 850 Blacks have been arrested under this law since the Soweto rebellion this June.

On September 1, club-swinging police attacked a group of several hundred Coloured youths allegedly stoning passing cars in a Coloured township in Cape Town. That evening, four or five hundred African students marched through the main entrance for whites at the Cape Town railroad station.

"The police immediately declared that they would not have this happen again, and that they would enforce a ban on all gatherings in Cape Town with every means, especially in the central city area," Humphrey Tyler reported in the September 3 *Christian Science Monitor*.

The cops' challenge was taken up September 2 by Coloured youth from Athlone, the center of a Coloured area housing 300,000. After an attack by police in Athlone, Gerald Shaw reported in the September 3 *London Times*, "large numbers of Coloured youths boarded trains for central Cape Town, carrying their political protest right into the heart of the white community."

Tyler reported in the *Monitor* that



Demonstrators flee police charge in downtown Cape Town

"hundreds of Colored students suddenly emerged from the central city station singing freedom songs and waving banners." Kaufman reported that the youths also arrived in buses and cars, and that the crowd swelled to about 3,000.

The police kept out of the way of the marchers until they neared the city's main thoroughfare, Adderley Street. There, the cops tried to cordon off the shopping area.

"However," Kaufman reported in the September 3 *New York Times*, "the young people, some carrying placards attacking apartheid and the 'pass' laws, slipped through to mingle with white shoppers."

At that point the police attacked both whites and the Coloured demon-

strators in an effort to clear the streets. Shaw reported in the *London Times* that the Coloured demonstrators "kept forming and reforming in Cape Town throughout the afternoon and convoys of riot lorries toured the city streets, firing tear gas shells at intervals and breaking up crowds."

The police said that at one intersection a police car was pelted by stones and bricks thrown by Coloured construction workers.

The same day, South African police used shotguns to disperse crowds of Coloured demonstrators at the civic center of Hanover Park, a Coloured suburb. Police reported that one youth was shot dead at Hanover Park.

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Steelworkers debate no-strike pact

By Andy Rose

LAS VEGAS, Nev.—It was the third day of the United Steelworkers convention.

A delegate had just brought down the house with a call to "get these commies out of our good organization here."

Opposition leader Ed Sadlowski rose to reply.

"Democracy is not what this man advocates!" he said. "Democracy is the right to dissent. Democracy is the right to disagree. Don't twist the issue!"

The chorus of jeers and boos that cut off Sadlowski's remarks was a good indication of the atmosphere of red-baiting and intimidation in which the steelworkers' convention met.

The entire week-long gathering was carefully staged to serve the purposes of President I.W. Abel and the top union officialdom.

In their eyes, the task of this convention was not to defend the jobs, wages, and safety of the union's 1.4



Militant/Harry Ring

ED SADLOWSKI: Fighting for membership control over steelworkers union.

million members.

Rather, the officialdom's top priority was to safeguard its bureaucratic grip and perpetuate its policy of "teamwork" with the steel industry.

To this end, the union brass launched an all-out drive to isolate, weaken, and discredit the movement for union democracy led by Ed Sadlowski. Abel is relying heavily on a gutter-level smear campaign to brand Sadlowski's forces as "outsiders," "extremists," and tools of the employers.

Sadlowski's supporters are loosely organized into a committee called Steelworkers Fight Back. They call for membership control over the union, the right to vote on contracts, a more equitable dues structure, and militant defense of steelworkers' interests.

This battle will continue throughout the upcoming campaign for international union officers, to be elected next February by referendum vote. The bureaucracy's candidate to succeed Abel as president is Lloyd McBride,

director of District 34 (St. Louis).

Sadlowski, who defeated the machine candidate in 1974 to become director of District 31 (Chicago-Gary), is expected to announce his candidacy for president within a few days.

No-strike pact

One of the most important dividing lines between the insurgents and the officialdom is the "Experimental Negotiating Agreement."

ENA is a no-strike agreement signed by Abel with the basic steel industry in 1973. Right now it covers only the 400,000 USWA members in basic steel, but Abel says he would like to see it extended to other industries as well.

ENA provides for unresolved issues in negotiations to be settled by binding arbitration. The union pledges in advance not to strike.

A three-year contract, signed under ENA in 1974, will expire August 1, 1977. Abel says he intends to negotiate

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