

## Imperialist diplomacy unmasked

# Kissinger-Moynihan fight reveals more 'dirty tricks'

By ANDY STAPP

NEW YORK, Jan. 28—An extraordinary diplomatic cable from the office of the United States Ambassador at the United Nations to all U.S. embassies abroad appeared on the front page of the New York Times today. This 3,000-word cable was leaked (or more likely hand-delivered) to the press by UN Ambassador Patrick Moynihan as part of a war of nerves against Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, whom Moynihan obliquely accused of heading "a large faction which has an interest in our performance being judged to have failed."

The public disclosure of the contents of the classified cable comes, in words used by Moynihan himself, "at a time when we have so few allies, and so many of them are slipping into almost irreversible patterns of appeasement based on the assumption that American power is irreversibly declining."

And that, of course, is the nub of the problem for the ruling class: How to proceed, which course to follow, when U.S. imperialism is being challenged and defeated all over the world.

But for millions of people in the U.S. who have no stake in imperialist plunder,

for working people and oppressed nationalities especially, this bitter feud at the top has a different meaning. It has given the public another shocking glimpse of how imperialist politics really work.

How long have the rulers presented themselves as "wise statesmen" in their international dealings? How often have they repeated their commitment to "peace" and flaunted their great "generosity" to poorer countries? How many press secretaries and public relations firms have they hired to promote the image that the Moynihans, the Kissingers, and their ilk are all "honorable men"?

But now, so extreme and ferocious have their own inner antagonisms become that, in order to score a point in this faction fight, Moynihan has deliberately blown his cover and shown his job to be that of bully, briber, arm-twister, and blackmailer.

While Moynihan has already earned a reputation for belligerence, few were prepared for the outright admissions of national chauvinism and raw extortion that his message shows to be the true levers of U.S. foreign policy.

Entitling his "leaked" cablegram, "The Blocs Are Breaking Up," Moynihan boasts that he has "taken the war to the enemy." To Moynihan and his big business clique, the "enemy" is "the nonaligned or the group of 77" nations, and the U.S. "basic foreign policy goal" is to break up "the massive bloc of nations which for so long have been arrayed against us."

So all pretence is gone! These 77 nations comprise the vast majority of humanity, the poor people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. For them, Moynihan offers no detente, only the iron heel.

Take Puerto Rico, for example. "I was asking the Yugoslav ambassador," says Moynihan, "to try to understand our concern that the Decolonization Committee (at the UN), of which his country is a member, had seemed so determined to launch an insurgency in Puerto Rico by giving official observer status to the Puerto Rican Liberation Movement. I suggested that he certainly would not like the United States to start supporting some Croatian liberation movement in the United Nations. Well he sure wouldn't. He turned purple and started raving about fascism."

### MOYNIHAN RATTLES FASCIST SABRE

Moynihan knows very well how Hitler turned loose Croatian fascist bands (their leaders, like the butcher Anton Autukovic, are now living in the U.S.) to murder hundreds of thousands of Yugoslav anti-Nazis during World War II. Yet Moynihan threatens to unleash ultra-right terrorists on Yugoslavia to blackmail that country not to support Puerto Rican freedom—and then brags about it!

Moynihan states that some African nations feared to support the People's Republic of Angola at the recent OAU conference because he told them "U.S. aid would be decreased to those countries in Africa not sympathetic to U.S. positions."

Tanzania was denied \$28 million in U.S. "aid" because it defied U.S. imperialism. Moynihan boasts about this, too, adding that when Tanzania asked other nations to protest, "they declined to do so," fearing similar retaliation.

He talks of how he split the UN vote condemning the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, a small country where a national liberation struggle is now under attack by U.S.-armed Indonesian

(continued on page 8)

## The controversy over Angola



**Statement of Workers World Party**  
—See centerfold



## Michigan utility swindle uncovered

By DIANE BUKOWSKI

DETROIT, Jan. 20—One of the many underhanded ways that utilities rob their customers has recently been brought to light in Michigan. The Michigan Consolidated Gas Company, Bell Telephone, Detroit Edison, and Consumers Power have been allowed to charge customers a total of \$70 million to cover state taxes that these companies wouldn't actually have to pay for many years.

Now the Michigan legislature has set it up so the utilities will never have to pay those taxes. In fact, they have revised the tax system so that taxes on utilities will be permanently reduced by 89 percent!

### UTILITIES REFUSE REBATES

Asked about their plans for reimbursement to the consumers, the utilities had varying responses. Edison says it will give back the money, but has made no concrete plans to do so. Michigan Consolidated Gas wants to keep half of its ill-gotten gains, Consumer Power doesn't want to give any of it back, and Michigan Bell says it believes "an out-and-out refund approach would be counter-productive for both our customers and the company!"

Utilities all over the country collect for such "phantom" taxes, as they are known, as a matter of everyday policy. In all, the four Michigan utilities have collected \$1.867 billion for phantom federal, state, and local taxes since 1954, and there is no guarantee that that money ever really went to pay off those taxes.

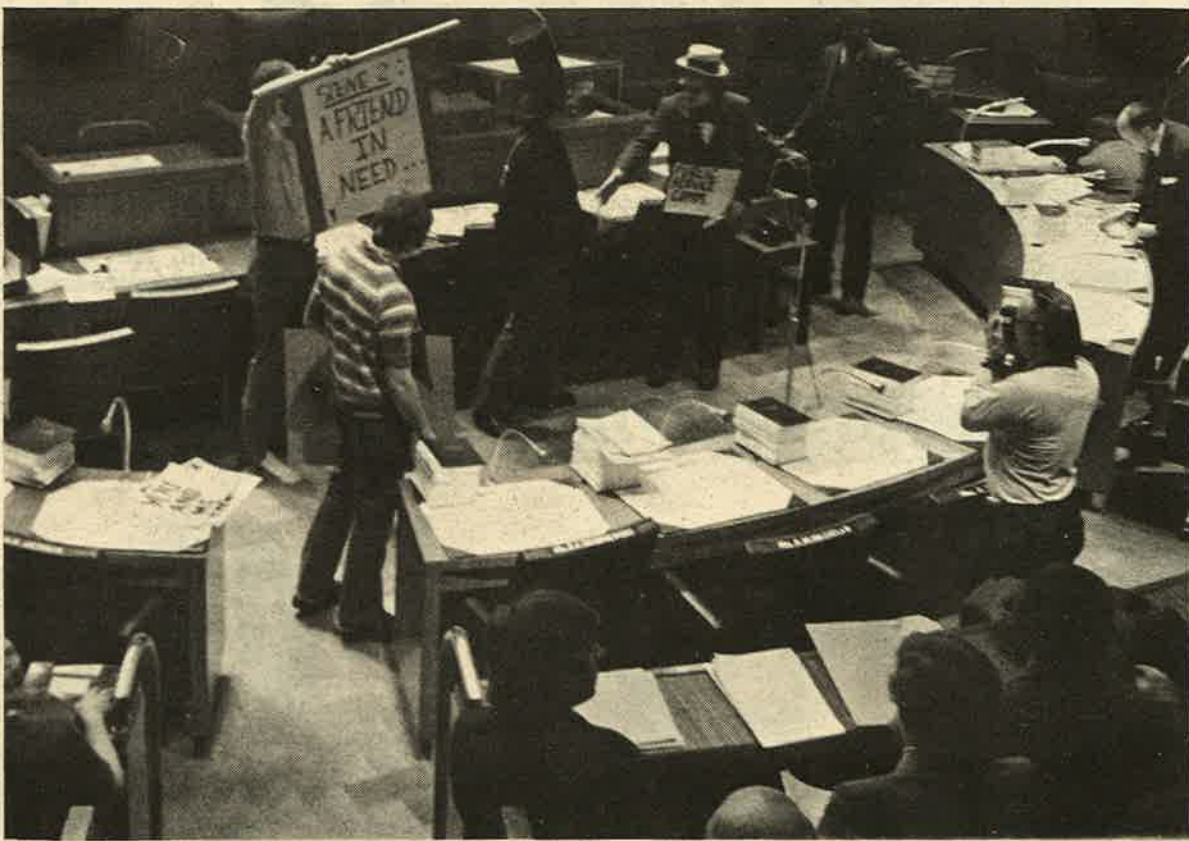
### UTILITIES "PUNISHED" WITH RATE INCREASES

The Michigan Public Service Commission (MPSC), the agency that supposedly regulates the utilities, has magnanimously promised it will get the \$70 million worth of phantom state taxes back from the utilities.

Of course, it claims the issue is too "complicated" to use direct rebates—instead, it will probably give the utilities lower rate increases.

The MPSC itself is currently being investigated by a state legislative committee on charges that it deliberately overlooked an accounting discrepancy in Michigan Bell's books. The MPSC "forgot" to take into account a tax break which Bell got on phantom federal taxes that year. This resulted in an overcharge of \$10 to \$12 million to Bell's customers in 1974.

Of course, not much else can be expected from a "regulatory"



During a public hearing, members of the Buffalo Center for United Labor Action perform skit exposing the collaboration of the Public Service Commission and the National Fuel Gas Co. which is seeking yet another rate hike. WW photo: Brad

agency which has at least ten staff members awaiting pensions from various utilities, and which is advised and largely controlled by a commission that includes Michigan Bell's president and other utility executives!

### TAX THE UTILITIES —ROLL BACK RATES!

Michigan utilities, like others around the country, are monopolies run by some of the richest families in local industry and banking—including the Hudsons, Fishers, and Kelloggs. Their cries of "poverty" are only calculated to wring more billions of dollars in profits from their suffering customers.

Instead of getting tax breaks, the utilities and the other big corporations should be taxed to the hilt to provide decent education and services for the working people. Instead of keeping the money they stole from the consumer, they must be made to give it back, both in full rebates and rate rollbacks! And eventually, they should belong to the people they are supposed to serve, not to a billionaire ruling class.

## Buffalo workers hit gas rate hike plan

By JOAN MARQUARDT  
BUFFALO, N.Y., Jan. 22—Over 250 people packed the Common Council chambers here today to voice their opposition to a proposed

\$29.3 million natural gas rate increase at a Public Service Commission (PSC) public hearing.

People from all over the city came out despite bitter cold temperatures because this rate increase will mean that many poor, both employed and jobless workers, will be able to afford little or no gas at all for cooking and heating.

The National Fuel Gas Company, which was present at the hearing, has already been granted two rate increases by the PSC in 1975—an annual increase of \$6.4 million in January 1975 and an additional \$8.8 million in May. These are on top of an increase every year for the past eight years!

The PSC is obliged to have these hearings only because the people demand them. But PSC members themselves are so contemptuous of the public that none were present at today's hearing.

### RATE HIKE TO BOOST PROFITS

These rate increases are designed to boost National Fuel Gas' stock value, as well as its annual income and profits, which were, respectively, \$354,093,135 and \$16,523,538 for 1975.

The proposed 11 percent increase for fuel gas will boost the average home heating and cooking bill by \$5.18—and will add \$29.3 million in profits to the National Fuel Gas haul.

Buffalo consumers can no more afford this rate increase than they can the continuing layoffs and

plant shutdowns. The area already has the highest unemployment rate in the state, and utility rates are among the highest in the country.

Speaker after speaker, young and old, women and men, from many national backgrounds, said that this increase cannot be paid by the average worker. While many workers may choose not to pay the rate increase, which will probably be granted to the company by the PSC, many more simply have no choice. Few paychecks, unemployment compensation, social security, welfare, or pension checks will cover it!

### PARTNERSHIP IN PROFITS

A spokesperson for the Center for United Labor Action drew the most enthusiastic response of the day from the crowd when he exposed the partnership in profit between the Public Service Commission and the utility company, and said that if workers unite to fight this rate increase they will be heard.

Members of the Center for United Labor Action also performed a skit which dramatized these ideas before everyone at the hearing.

Many Buffalo workers are seeking an alternative to banker- and business-run utilities and Public Service Commissions. The day will surely come when workers will control not only the utilities but the factories and mills and the government, and the fruit of their labor will no longer go into the pockets of a few bosses at the top.

## DECLINE AND FALL

### STAR SPANGLED SIT-DOWN

New York Post, Jan. 19:

"Nashville, Tenn.—Theater managers here have stopped playing the National Anthem before movies because of fights that broke out between patrons who stood up and those who didn't.

"Advertising executive Robert Ellis, who originally came up with the idea, said he suspected that economic factors figured in the mixed reaction to the anthem playing.

"I guess the more affluent sections of town feel a little better about the country," he said. "Maybe too many are out of work in the other parts to feel very good about it."

### WHERE YOUR TAXES GO

Moneysworth, Oct. 13:

"Dishonest businessmen are stealing billions of dollars in employee withholding taxes, the Internal Revenue Service reveals.

"During the first half of 1975, unethical employers illegally pocketed \$1,113,453,000

in Social Security and withholding taxes from employee paychecks.

"... To a corrupt businessman seeking funds, employee taxes represent a source of interest-free operating capital. IRS action against a delinquent company can often be forestalled forever through infrequent partial payments. And if the agency should press charges, in most cases the company head need only pay a 9 percent interest penalty—less than the commercial bank rate for borrowing money."

### POVERTY AND SUICIDE

Buffalo Courier-Express, Dec. 7:

"Psychology Today reports: 'In periods

such as the current recession, large numbers of people lose their jobs, or are forced to struggle along on a decreased income. The struggle to cope produces stress; failure to cope may lead ultimately to mental illness.'

"M. Harvey Brenner of Johns Hopkins University School of Hygiene and Public Health fears that if the current recession persists, it will bring a dramatic rise in mental illness, alcoholism, and suicide.

"Already there are signs that Mr. Brenner's fears are justified. A recent informal survey of suicide-prevention centers across the country indicates there is a decided increase in suicidal deaths as a result of current financial pressure and unemployment."



# Joann Little, Sen. Owens join in support of Anti-Racist 8

By DAVID OSBORNE

BOSTON, Jan. 25—Joann Little and State Senator William Owens have joined a broad group of sponsors supporting the eight East Boston anti-racist defendants. Senator Owens was a leader of the historic march against racism in Boston on December 14, 1974.

The eight defendants had participated in a citywide Black-white defense of Black families at the Maverick and Sumner St. housing projects in East Boston on Aug. 25, 1975, just prior to the opening of school under Phase II desegregation. The police arrested none of the 200 attackers, who threw stones through the windows of at least six Black families and sent one woman to the hospital. Instead, they broke into the home of a Black resident and arrested her and seven others with her.

On October 8 in East Boston District Court, seven of the eight, including the Black resident, were sentenced to an unprecedented six months in jail for "loud and abusive language." An eighth got a year for a misdemeanor assault on a police officer. They are now appealing.

Ms. Little and Senator Owens have signed a letter explaining the case and appealing to the public to support the defendants by writing the Attorney General at the State House in Boston, MA, and by sending contributions to the East Boston Anti-Racist Defense Fund, P.O. Box 8875, Boston, MA 02114.

Other signers include State Reps. Mel King, Doris Bunte, and Royal Bolling, Jr., of the Massachusetts Black Legislative Caucus; Ed Redd, executive director, Boston NAACP; Ellen Jackson of Freedom House; Leo Fletcher of United Community Construction Workers; Jim McClean, president of the Federation of Black Workers of Massachusetts; Rev. Ed Rodman, missionary to Minority Committees of the Episcopal Diocese of Boston; Chuck Turner, community organizer in Roxbury; State Rep. Elaine Noble; Prof. Howard Zinn; Profs. George and Ruth Wald; Greater Boston Tenants and Workers Against Racism; Cambridge Tenants Organizing Committee; Jamaica Plain Tenant Action Group; Somerville Tenants Union; Center for United Labor Action; and East Boston People Against Racism.

## SIGNIFICANCE OF CASE

This case grows out of over a year of anti-racist organizing in East Boston. Before school began in September 1974, people in East Boston passed out leaflets issued by the Center for United Labor Action (CULA) entitled, "Racism Hurts All Poor and Working People," and supporting equal education for oppressed people by whatever means they choose, whether busing or community control.

Assisted by CULA, East Boston People Against Racism (EBPAR) participated in the December 14 and May 17 marches against racism. In June a citywide united Black-white defense, coordinated by EBPAR and CULA under the leadership of the Black families at the East Boston Housing Projects, and with participation of several tenant unions and community organizations, successfully deterred a racist mob of over 200 from attacking.

Over the summer EBPAR led a demonstration against discrimination in public housing, and against the concession of office

space in federally subsidized housing to the racist organization ROAR.

EBPAR participated in a forum to free Joann Little. It also planned and led a welcoming committee that greeted Black children being bused into East Boston. They offered the kids and their parents donuts and coffee instead of rocks and sticks.

The attacks on the Black families in the Maverick and Sumner St. projects, which have included firebombings and attacks on isolated small children, are clearly organized by ROAR to drive all Black and Latin people out of East Boston. The defense on August 25th was preventing the racists from continuing their attacks. But the police intervened to attack the protectors and protect the attackers. Ordered by the Boston Housing Court to protect these families as a result of these events, the cops instead arrested a Black youth under attack by a gang of whites, sent the whites home, and charged the Black with felonious assault on an officer.

Defense motions on the case will be heard in Suffolk Superior Court on Thursday, January 29.

The case and court decision against the East Boston anti-

racists are an attack on Black people's right to defend themselves and their own homes and are meant to frighten progressive people who may be willing to stand with them and join in their defense. All progressive people should say no to this racist injustice!

## Chicago Conference this weekend

# Hard Times to focus on fight for jobs

By SHARON SHELTON

NEW YORK, Jan. 28—As this issue of Workers World comes out, progressive groups and individuals from across the country will be arriving in Chicago for the National Hard Times Conference to take place January 30 through February 1.

The conference is taking place at a time when working and oppressed people in the U.S. are under assault. Unemployment has virtually reached an epidemic stage. Services such as daycare, schools, and hospitals are being drastically cut back. Factories and other work places are being closed down. Wages are being frozen or

rolled back.

The rights and gains of Black people, the hardest hit by the current crisis, are being attacked daily, while capitalist rulers frantically try to whip up racism by turning working class anger and frustration against the most oppressed.

It is to these pressing problems and their solutions that the Hard Times Conference is addressing itself.

The first evening of the Hard Times Conference will be set up as a People's Tribunal, where speakers will testify before an open microphone on how the economic crisis affects them.

Saturday morning's plenary session will open with a welcoming address by Jennifer Dohrn, a member of the Hard Times Conference Board. This keynote address will be followed by workshops on a variety of subjects including struggle in the unions, organizing the unorganized, unemployment, daycare, anti-racist work, the prisons, Angola, and many others.

The afternoon has been set aside for a discussion of the Hard Times Bill of Rights which deals with topics such as unemployment, welfare, prisons, and solidarity with the Puerto Rican people in their struggle for independence from U.S. imperialism.

## SUNDAY ACTIVITIES

The next morning will again be devoted to workshops, with particular focus on discussing action programs. The last session of the conference Sunday afternoon will include a plenary session for discussion and adoption of the National Hard Times campaigns, organization and implementation of the Hard Times Bill of Rights, and other resolutions coming out of the conference.

Many organizations and individuals are sponsoring the Chicago conference. These include the American Indian Movement, Attica Now, CASA, People Against Racism in Education, Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, United Black Workers, and Youth Against War & Fascism, to name only a few.



Photo: LNS

Hard times: unemployment, inflation, racist offensives. This weekend's Hard Times Conference will seek to formulate a united struggle against these attacks on workers and oppressed.

## In Detroit

# Arab community fights closing of school

By CINDY HARGEN

DETROIT, Jan. 14—More than 150 parents, students, and community members from the largely Arab "South End" of Dearborn today at a school board meeting voiced their anger and disapproval of a proposal by the Board of Education to close down their junior high school on Salina St. and bus the students to another school across the city.

Dearborn is a largely white suburb of Detroit with a notoriously racist government. Arab community members feel they can make gains in their community school which would be impossible elsewhere.

The South End sits on the edge of Detroit, cut off from the rest of Dearborn by Ford's huge River Rouge auto complex. The community includes the largest concentration of Arabs in the U.S., along with some families of Italian, Rumanian, and southern white U.S. background. They are workers, many now laid off, from the auto plants, the docks, the restaurants, and grocery stores. The school board has always

tried to convince the students and parents that it is to their advantage to bus out of the South End. It insists that Arab students could get better facilities, a bigger variety of classes, stronger sports teams, and extra-curricular clubs in other Dearborn schools. It claims school enrollment in the South End is going down.

## ARAB STUDENTS SUFFER RACISM

But the parents reply that five years ago, when the seventh grade was moved to another school, the students faced a host of problems. Most of all, the Arab students faced discrimination in the other school.

Racist attitudes are bred in Dearborn. The mayor has hosted Ku Klux Klan and Wallace rallies and much housing is closed to Blacks. While the Arab community is beginning to win demands for Arabic teachers and classes in their present school, the junior high students would lose out on this opportunity if sent elsewhere.

In 1970, the parents reversed the school board's plans and the junior

high reopened all grades. In fact, they used the school board's exposure of poorer facilities in the school as evidence that the city owed the students better treatment.

The community demanded and won important improvements: the roof was retarred, the gym floor was refinished, classrooms were fixed up, new books were bought, and \$125,000 was spent on improving the ventilation system alone. (That's important in this school because the Ford plant's pollution makes it necessary to keep the windows closed and recirculate inside air.)

As for the school board's claim of decreasing student enrollment, a spokesperson for the Southeast Dearborn Community Council (SEDCC) blamed the city administration. He exposed that it was the city's racist "urban renewal" program, which had tried to buy up land to resell to industry, that forced out families and lowered school enrollment.

In 1973, the SEDCC organized community opposition to the plan

and won an injunction where Dearborn was found guilty on 28 counts of unfair practices. Since then, the SEDCC has mobilized people for public hearings on how to spend a federal revenue-sharing housing grant to Dearborn, winning 40 percent of the grant for rehabilitation of homes, a community center, and better services in the South End. So since 1973, the school enrollment in the Salina school has remained stable.

## THE REAL ISSUE: RACISM, NOT BUSING

This proposal to bus the Arab children, against their wishes to stay in their own community school, is equally as racist as when whites in Dearborn oppose busing because it means going to school with Blacks from Detroit.

It just goes to show that the real issue is not busing per se but racism. It should be the right of Arab, Black, Latin, and other students of oppressed nationalities, who have rarely received quality education from school systems, to go to any school of their choice.



Political solution only temporary, as...

# Lebanese left, Palestinians batter Phalangists

By BILL DEL VECCHIO

NEW YORK, Jan. 26—Decisive military victories against rightist and Lebanese Army forces have left Palestinian and anti-imperialist troops in de facto control of all of Lebanon, with the exception of the Mount Lebanon area and parts of Beirut. Police and army posts have been seized in Tripoli, Saida, and Tyre and the rightist strongholds of Zahle and Zghorta are surrounded by the leftist forces.

"We are masters of all the strategic military points and will not leave before making sure that the national demands of the Lebanese progressive forces are satisfied," said one Palestinian officer, Abu Amjad, a member of the Democratic Popular Front for

the Liberation of Palestine (DPFLP).

Forces led by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) drove off a detachment of Lebanese Army troops guarding the seaside mansion of rightist leader Camille Chamoun and put the villa to the torch. Chamoun, who is still technically Interior Minister in the enfeebled government, was responsible for requesting the intervention of U.S. Marines.

The burning of Chamoun's mansion and the seizure of the stronghold of his right-wing National Liberal Party, the village of Damur, underlined the new weakened position the pro-imperialist rulers are now in.

Palestine Liberation Army

troops are now using 30 armored personnel cars captured from the Lebanese Army to patrol areas of Beirut where they have assumed authority.

The first signs of peace have appeared in the areas under Palestinian-leftist control. The road from Saida to Beirut has been opened and civilian trucks are now transporting much-needed food and supplies.

## HOMELESS MOVE INTO ABANDONED MANSIONS

Former residents of the Karantina section of Beirut, made homeless by the barbaric Phalangist attack that burned and then bulldozed thousands of poor families' homes, are reported to be moving into luxury seaside

apartments that have been abandoned by their former wealthy owners, according to the January 23 New York Times.

With the rightist strongholds of Zahle and Zghorta facing the same fate as Damur, the Phalangists have agreed to lift their blockade of two Palestinian camps in the suburbs of Beirut. It was the encircling of these two camps and the capture and massacre of a third camp that forced the Palestinians to go on the offensive to defend their right to stay in Lebanon.

An agreement brought about through Syrian mediation with "all parties concerned" last week is now held up by rightist leaders who are demanding concessions that would once again leave the Palestinians open to attack. The

plan calls for the return to rule of the Lebanese government with a few reforms that would increase representation of the Moslem majority but would leave rightists in control of the presidency and the officer corps of the military. President Franjeh, a reactionary, said on January 26 that he wouldn't finalize the agreement until all Palestinian troops were withdrawn, according to the New York Times.

The military defeat the Phalange and rightist forces have suffered has turned the tide of the bloody civil war, and regardless of temporary political solutions that may develop, the real power of pro-imperialist reaction has been fundamentally undermined in Lebanon.

## 700 hear PLO at first meeting in U.S.

By P. MEISNER

NEW YORK, Jan. 21—Four representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) last night addressed, for the first time, a large audience within the U.S. Some 700 people from various Third World and North American progressive organizations attended the first meeting organized by the newly formed Palestine Solidarity Committee in McMillan Theatre at Columbia University on Manhattan's upper west side.

The four PLO officials were Shafik al-Hout, the PLO representative in Lebanon, Basel Aql, member of the PLO's delegation to the UN, Yasser Abed Rabbo, head of the PLO's Department of Information and member of the PLO Executive Committee, and Hassan Rahman, Deputy Permanent Observer of the PLO to the UN. The four are part of a PLO delegation taking part in the UN Security Council debate on the Palestine issue. The U.S. and Israeli governments suffered another major diplomatic blow last month when the Security Council voted 9 to 3 in favor of inviting the PLO to participate in the debate.

The meeting was chaired by George Cavaletto and an introductory talk on the history of the Palestine liberation struggle was given by another member of the New York chapter of the Palestine Solidarity Committee.

Then Mr. al-Hout opened a long discussion period by explaining that the PLO had come to the UN, not in expectation that a UN resolution would be passed with the authority to establish a secular,

democratic Palestine, but to correct on an international level the Zionist distortion of the image of the Palestinian people. Responding to a statement once made by Golda Meir, "Palestinians? What Palestinians? There are no Palestinians," he stated:

"Here are the ghosts. The Palestinian people who do not exist—here are their representatives, proving that the Palestinian people are there."

## "WE IDENTIFY WITH ALL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS"

On the political character of the PLO, Mr. al-Hout asserted:

"We are a national liberation movement. . . . We identify ourselves with all the freedom fighters all over the world, with the national liberation movements in Asia, in Africa, and in Latin America. We have had our fighters trained, and this is no more a secret, in the Vietnamese battlefield. Their nation proved to the world, to the oppressed peoples, that if you have the will, and you believe in people's war, eventually you are going to win, even if it is U.S. imperialism you are fighting."

Several questions from the floor dealt with the current struggle in Lebanon. Mr. Abed Rabbo responded:

"The mass media in the U.S. in general try to show that the struggle within Lebanon is between Moslems and Christians. And this is the game that the ruling class inside Lebanon has played



PLO representatives at solidarity meeting [left to right]: Shafik al-Hout, Basel Aql, Yasser Abed Rabbo, Hassan Rahman. "We identify ourselves with all freedom fighters all over the world. . ."

Photo: Anne Dockery

for many years, to use this religious difference in order to cover up for the exploitation by the 4 percent who are by chance mostly of one religion. . . .

"There are also several Christian minorities who are most exploited as well. And it's not by chance that some of the leftist, communist, and socialist leaders of the Lebanese people who are Christians are the most prominent leaders, and they are leading the majority of the Moslem masses. . . .

"And in this way we should clarify the nature of the struggle in Lebanon. It's not Moslems and Christians. It's the Lebanese exploited classes against the 4 percent. And for us, for the Palestinian revolution to guarantee our presence in Lebanon, the only guarantee is to take the side of the exploited masses inside Lebanon, for their interests, for their social and political interests, in order to achieve the interests of our people and of the Lebanese people."

## "CIA ROLE IN LEBANON WILL BE UNCOVERED"

Mr. al-Hout added:

"Had it really been a sectarian war, then the Phalangists missed the point when they massacred the Dbaiye refugee camp (on January 12—WW), which happens to be inhabited by Christian refugees of Palestine. So how could they be waging a sectarian war and at the same time massacring people that believe in the same faith?"

"The most important dimension of what's taking place in Lebanon is the growth of Israeli and CIA in-

volvement. In an effort to distort the image of the Palestinians, they are now waging a war against our strategy of having a secular society in the future in Palestine. They have made it so everybody will raise the question 'if you Moslems and Christians are not able to live together (in Lebanon), how can you raise such a goal (for Palestine)?' I'm sure that in three years' time Time magazine, Newsweek, and the New York Times will uncover the role of the CIA and Israeli agents in this war in Lebanon."

Another question asked the PLO's view on the stands taken by reactionary Arab regimes. Mr. al-Hout replied:

"We have differences for sure. If we didn't have our differences with maybe 80 percent of the Arab regimes, we wouldn't have been slaughtered in 1970 (by the Jordanian regime of King Hussein) and we wouldn't have been suffering for ten months of a bloody fight in Lebanon. Ten thousand people have been killed so far in Lebanon and I haven't seen a single demonstration in the Arab states. There is Arab silence. And there is more than that—there is a kind of secret collaboration with the right."

The PLO representatives were also asked what their position is on the establishment of a Palestinian state within any portion of Palestine. Mr. Aql stated:

"Our Palestine National Council in its last session has approved the transitional national program which calls for, among other things, the establishment of a Palestinian independent authority

on any part of Palestine that could be liberated from Zionist occupation. Now this is our most immediate aim. But our basic and ultimate aim remains the establishment of the non-sectarian Palestinian state, the democratic Palestinian state where Arabs and Jews could live together in peace."

## ON SUPPORT FROM USSR AND CHINA

The low point of the meeting came when a so-called "socialist" baited the PLO officials for having accepted support from the USSR and China: However, Mr. Aql brought the audience to its feet, applauding and with clenched fists, with the following reply:

"I just want to point out that, although we are a liberation movement, we are aware of the existing international structure and we are also aware that we live in a bipolarized world. We would have liked very much for the Soviet Union not to have endorsed in the first place the partition (of Palestine) recommendation of 1947. We would have liked very much for the People's Republic of China to cast a veto against UN Resolution 338. We would also have liked the Soviet Union to cast a veto of UN Resolution 242 (the post-1967 June War resolution which accepted the expanded borders of Israel with a ceasefire agreement)."

"But these are the realities of the international situation and if we are to antagonize the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, I'm afraid we're being left with no other option but to side with U.S. imperialism."

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## Statement of Workers World Party

# The controversy over Angola

Workers World Party firmly supports the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in its struggle to free that embattled country from imperialist domination. We believe that the newly formed People's Republic, led by the MPLA, is the only true representative of the Angolan people. It has developed out of the long struggle begun against Portuguese colonialism and now continuing against its would-be successor, U.S. imperialism.

We also support the MPLA's right to get material assistance from whatever sources will help it arm and prepare the Angolan people for victory. At present, this assistance comes mainly from Cuba and the Soviet Union. Were People's China to extend aid to the forces fighting against U.S. imperialism in Angola, we would wholeheartedly support that action too.

Our party's position on Angola is essentially the same as our position of unconditional defense of the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism, our support of Cuba itself, and our defense over many years of all oppressed people fighting for liberation.

Unfortunately, a great deal of confusion has been generated in the left and progressive movement about the situation in Angola. Some of this confusion was at first genuine and resulted from lack of knowledge about the role of the different organizations there. Most of this confusion, however, has dissipated with the completely open intervention of the most reactionary and racist world forces against the MPLA, using the FNLA and UNITA as their tools.

### THE DOCTRINE OF "SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM"

But there is another more

serious source of confusion which derives from an erroneous and dangerous view of the world today. It is expressed in the doctrine of the "two super-powers" or "Soviet social-imperialism." It is dangerous because it obscures the true nature of imperialism. It shields the real enemies and exploiters of the world's oppressed. It would disarm the liberation struggle in Angola militarily while setting back a large part of the anti-imperialist movement ideologically.

Adherents of this position have not only failed to support the MPLA, but have sided with the two pro-Western groups saying that, of the two "super-powers," the Soviet Union is more dangerous and that the MPLA, if victorious, will make Angola a "colony" of the USSR. This view also writes off revolutionary Cuba's heroic assistance to the Angolan people's liberation struggle as simply being dictated by Moscow.

Serious revolutionaries must be able to answer this position ideologically.

### WHAT IS IMPERIALISM?

Let's see what imperialism really is and what is meant by national oppression. Particularly, what has the Marxist movement contributed to this question?

First of all, for centuries there have been oppressed and oppressing nations and peoples. Besides the struggle going on between contending antagonistic classes in society, there has also been conquest and oppression of one group of people by another throughout all class history.

But at the turn of this century, a new kind of national oppression developed. It had many of the attributes of earlier imperialisms: the military conquest of a people, taking their land, stealing their accumulated wealth and their

resources, etc. But something new had been added. The rise of monopoly capital in the industrialized nations burst through its national boundaries and capital sought markets and sources of cheap labor abroad. A mad scramble begun among the capitalist nations to carve up the world. This was not merely a question of adding quantitatively to the wealth of the oppressing country. It was an absolute necessity for the capitalists to acquire super-profits and ever greater markets for their goods—or be defeated by the more successful, more aggressive imperialists in other nations.

This absolutely unbridled and frantic struggle among the monopolies to redivide the world led to a qualitative elevation of national rivalries: the First World War.

### DUTY OF THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT

It was Lenin himself who defined and explained imperialism in the epoch of monopoly capital, who showed how it differed from the empires of the ancient world and the feudal imperial alliances. And from this analysis, elaborated in his book "Imperialism," Lenin drew what was the duty of all in the working class movement in the oppressing countries: to support unconditionally the struggle of the colonized, oppressed peoples for their liberation. Lenin showed how the liberation of the workers of the developed capitalist world was intimately tied in with the defeat of imperialism in the colonies and neocolonies.

Lenin explained that the class-conscious proletariat should give every kind of assistance to the oppressed in their efforts to free themselves from imperialist exploitation and domination, and that no restraints or conditions should be placed on that struggle. The imperialists argued that developed capitalism would bring "progress" to the colonies, and that therefore imperialist rule was justified. But while new techniques and forms of social organization were brought to the colonial world, they were brought on the point of a bayonet, and were introduced only to facilitate the plunder of the land and the greater exploitation of the people.

### UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT FOR LIBERATION STRUGGLES

The Leninist position on the national liberation struggles which ensued was to extend unconditional support, since any struggle against imperialism would be more progressive than the continued enslavement of the oppressed nation. This was true regardless of the social character of the latter. It could be an absolute monarchy, a bourgeois democracy, or a feudal state—in any case, any real social progress could only be facilitated by the struggle for national liberation and against imperialism.

This position has since been borne out again and again. Imperialism has in country after country preserved some of the most backward and repressive features of the societies it has conquered, while overlaying them

with the most modern and efficient methods of exploiting and policing the people.

Thus, when Ethiopia, a feudal monarchy, was over-run by fascist Italy in 1935, and a struggle against Mussolini's aggression was begun, it was supported by anti-imperialist forces throughout the world despite the fact that Haile Selassie, at least nominally at the head of it, was an emperor and a feudal monarch.

Of course, when the struggle is conducted by a revolutionary liberation front, under the leadership of a workers' party as in Vietnam, then the outcome will not only be that much more favorable for ensuring genuine independence, but it will also move to root out class oppression.

With the weakening of imperialism on a world scale, the national liberation struggles have come more and more under Marxist leadership. The MPLA in Angola is part of this current, as was the NLF in Vietnam. In some countries, however, genuine movements for national liberation may arise, for a time at least, under the leadership of bourgeois class forces. Examples of this have been the Arab liberation struggle in Nasser's time and the Indonesian independence movement during the presidency of Sukarno. U.S. imperialism was murderously hostile to both these leaders, even at the same time that it tried desperately to swing them into its orbit—and partly succeeded.

Workers World was the only organization in this country to stand up and consistently support Nasser's efforts to defy the imperialists—at a time of a wild anti-Arab hysteria in the bourgeois press. And we saluted Sukarno's call for an anti-imperialist United Nations and his famous repudiation of U.S. aid—while the right wing assailed him as a communist and the liberals called him a dictator.

### NO COMPROMISE ON THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Support for the Arab liberation struggle against imperialism during Nasser's time, or for the Indonesian independence struggle, does not mean, however, support of these nationalist leaders against the left and the working classes in their own countries.

This is equally true today for the Gandhi regime in India. One of the long-standing, giant efforts of U.S. imperialism in Asia has been to try to topple the Gandhi regime. Playing a thoroughly Bonapartist role, she has attacked the CIA and cracked down on rightist elements who would serve as puppets of U.S. imperialism while at the very same time moving to suppress the workers' movement and left parties. The first is progressive; the latter must be condemned and fought.

This position on the support of the national liberation struggles, while maintaining an independent working class program, was widely understood in the communist movement in Lenin's day.

### A BACKWARD STEP

But now, once again, confusion on the question of imperialism and the national liberation movements has been reintroduced into the



A demonstration of 1,200 in New York City against U.S. imperialist intervention in Angola.

progressive movement. This unfortunate development stems from the very dangerous division on a state-to-state level that now exists between the two largest socialist countries, the USSR and People's China. The position of the Chinese leaders on "Soviet social-imperialism," which sees the USSR as the main danger in the world today, had led to debilitating confusion among many vanguard elements who ordinarily would be in the forefront of the struggle against U.S. imperialism but have now taken a backward step.

It had also had another effect here. Many in the progressive movement who are not lined up with China's leaders on this question, but who are at a loss to explain present realities in class terms, now feel a revulsion against Marxist ideology and a desire to stay away from the controversy altogether. In many ways, there has been a return to the rather superficial anti-imperialism that took root for a while in the Western countries at the end of the last century—a movement that lacked a clear class basis and that really sought to reverse the tide of history and return capitalism to its earlier, pre-imperialist stage.

It is a deep irony that it was revolutionary China itself that but a decade ago was making the greatest contributions to reviving Lenin's teachings on imperialism. In the early period of its polemics with the Soviet leadership, but before that dispute had degenerated to a national conflict, it was China that attacked revisionist doctrine on the possibility of a "peaceful" decline of imperialism, and showed how it was organic to imperialism to breed war and oppression. It was China that correctly put the needs of the world proletariat and of the national liberation struggles first on the agenda, and castigated the Soviet leaders for making deals with the imperialists at the expense of the workers and oppressed people.

But so far have the Chinese leaders departed from this position, that they today find themselves in the unfortunate and completely untenable position of supporting those forces in Angola that have become puppets of the imperialists, while in effect op-



The duty of the working class movement is to support unconditionally the struggle of the colonized, oppressed people for their liberation. Above, January 17 demonstration calls for people's victory in Angola. WW photo: Dick





York on January 17 supported the MPLA and demanded an end to Angola.  
WW photo: Fabian

posing the genuine liberation movement of the Angolan people.

## A ROTTEN "COALITION"

While the leaders of People's China have pulled back from their earlier policy of outright military and political support of UNITA and the FNLA and now advocate a "unity" government of the "three factions," this can only be seen by the MPLA as a slap in the face. And the Chinese are in the best position to understand this. Were not they themselves in a similar position during their own war for national liberation and socialism? Weren't the imperialists trying to impose on them a rotten "coalition" with the Chiang Kai-shek puppets?

Now the disastrous defeats inflicted on the FNLA and UNITA, and the worldwide knowledge that they are being directed by the most reactionary and racist forces, has made China's support so embarrassing it has withdrawn its advisors. But China's followers in this country are still vigorously pursuing the position that the struggle in Angola is essentially contention between the two "super-powers," and that the USSR is the more dangerous.

How can this view possibly be supported in light of recent history?

## U.S. IMPERIALISM THE MAIN ENEMY

All over the world there are rising struggles for national liberation. They are directed against the stranglehold of the giant capitalist monopolies, that have spread their multi-national tentacles around the globe and that are permanently fused with the state apparatus and the financial structures in the oppressing capitalist nations.

Can there be any question in the minds of the Vietnamese about who the imperialists are? Was the epic struggle of the Indochinese people directed perhaps against a lesser imperialist power? Was that war, the bloodiest struggle since the U.S. attempt to take over Korea, merely a secondary skirmish in the world struggle against imperialism?

No, the face of imperialism has been revealed too openly for there

to be any doubts. It is the U.S. that holds Latin America under its imperial sway and that tried to destroy the Cuban Revolution—which has been able to survive only 90 miles away because the courage of the Cuban people is supported militarily and economically by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

It is the U.S. which super-exploits the people of Puerto Rico and tries to crush their struggle for independence.

It is the U.S. and other capitalists who have oppressed the people of the Middle East, profited off their vast ocean of oil, and built up Israel as a garrison state in constant warfare against the Palestinian people and the Arab revolution. It is the U.S. which has sent Marines to Lebanon, Marines to the Dominican Republic, Marines to the Philippines. It is U.S. imperialism through the CIA that overthrew the regime of Arbenz in Guatemala, of Mossadegh in Iran, of Sukarno in Indonesia, of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo, and many others.

And few said this better in the early 1960s than the Chinese themselves.

## ROLE OF SOVIET UNION

To recognize the true role of U.S. imperialism, and to reject the false "super-power" theory that the Soviet Union has become a "social-imperialist" formation does not mean, however, that the USSR thereby becomes a model socialist state, or that it is then the duty of good revolutionaries to become blind followers of the present Soviet leaders. Quite the contrary. History has taken a deep toll on the first workers' state, born in isolation, war, and famine. There is much repression, much inequality in the Soviet Union, and much criticism that can be made of Soviet foreign policy, both with regard to its conciliation with imperialism and its great-power chauvinism toward its socialist allies.

But when the Soviet leaders do something progressive, when they extend aid to a revolutionary struggle, then we must tell it like it is.

Even though it may be true that the USSR tries to take political advantage of its aid, does this mean the aid itself is reactionary?

## South Africans, UNITA flee

# MPLA forces take puppet capital

By NICK DE FREITAS

NEW YORK, Jan. 28—Just one week after the U.S.-sponsored interventionist forces of the FNLA were decisively defeated in northern Angola, combined forces of South Africa and the pro-imperialist National Union (UNITA) have been forced on the run in the south by a major offensive of the national liberation forces led by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

Huambo, formerly described as the "capital" of the UNITA-FNLA puppet "government" (recognized by no one, not even their imperialist backers), was abandoned even before a tank column of MPLA and Cuban troops reached the city. South African troops are reportedly being withdrawn to the Angola-Namibia border and the UNITA troops and their mercenary officers have fled 100 miles east to Silva Porto.

The northern offensive had culminated in what Henry Kissinger himself termed "the collapse of the FNLA" in a telegram to NATO.

On the southern front, the drive of the People's Armed Forces, spearheaded by Soviet-made T-34 tanks, is aimed at expelling the South African invasion forces who entered this mineral-rich land to crush its liberation struggle. South Africa invaded ostensibly at the invitation of the puppet organization UNITA, but in reality in an agreement with U.S. imperialism. But city after city that had been occupied by racist South African troops has been liberated and a column of MPLA soldiers is now headed west towards the port cities of Benguela and Lobito where, according to New York Times correspondent Michael Kaufman in a January 26 dispatch from Luanda, "workers are said to be striking now in opposition to National Union control."

The Daily Mail of South Africa is already speaking of "a shattering defeat for white intervention in Angola that is bound to have far-reaching repercussions on the war." The Johannesburg Star said in a recent editorial, "It may be that South Africa should be

preparing itself for a humiliating pullout . . ."

## LIFE IN A PHONY CAPITAL

An armored squadron led by FNLA leader Daniel Chipenda, writes the latest Newsweek, ". . . opted out of the war and went on a rampage of looting and bank robbery in the UNITA-controlled territory." Jonas Savimbi, leader of UNITA, finally had to order his own troops to destroy the "squadron Chip," but not before several towns were engulfed in small wars.

In Huambo, wrote Henry Kamm of the New York Times on January 23 from the FNLA and UNITA "capital," "The streets are nearly deserted . . . most shops are closed . . . the banks are locked; the post office doesn't function. The city water supply stopped running a month ago. Prime Minister Jose N'dele said he was surprised to hear this, there is water in his villa."

Huambo was "producing almost nothing and consuming the fruits of its past labor, appears to be heading from crisis toward catastrophe." In the UNITA "capital," Kamm concluded, "there is no evidence of a functioning government."

In sharp contrast was a report, also in the New York Times on the same day, from Luanda, the capital of the People's Republic of Angola. Luanda "is now a self-confident city . . . There are no checkpoints. Civilian policemen in new blue uniforms direct traffic. And street cleaners with brooms far outnumber the soldiers with Kalashnikov automatic rifles."

The same Times article refers to a group of English journalists who were allowed to travel alone through the area between Luanda and Cela that had just been liberated by the MPLA. "During their three-day tour they neither heard nor saw fighting. They did see overgrown farms being tilled as people apparently returned to their villages. . . . There were no signs of hunger."

The MPLA political leader for the southern front said Cuban troops were taking an active role in the fighting. "The journalists quoting him as having said: 'Why not? But they are all under our command and respond to our orders.'"



The MPLA, now victoriously repelling the imperialists and their stooges from Angola, is the legitimate continuator of the long liberation struggle begun against Portuguese colonialism. Here, MPLA troops block the Benguela railroad during the anti-colonial guerrilla struggle. Photo: "Portuguese Africa and the West"

Of course not. It only means that revolutionary critics of the USSR should try to help the liberation movements more themselves and thus strengthen their own political position—as should all countries liberated from imperialism. Revolutionary Cuba, for instance, a small socialist country, has gained immeasurable stature with the world's oppressed through its courageous assistance to the liberation struggles in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

## WHAT DETERMINES A REAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT?

But let us consider for a moment, just for the sake of argument, that the U.S. and the USSR are two rival imperialist powers, equally voracious. And that several organizations exist in Angola, each claiming to be the genuine movement of national liberation. What then would be the criterion to distinguish which was genuine?

First of all, it would not be wrong

in principle for a national liberation movement to take aid from one imperialist in order to fight another—as long as such aid did not compromise the struggle and subordinate it to the interests of imperialism. Such a position was advanced by Lenin on the Irish question, when Irish nationalists sought aid from Germany in order to fight the British during World War I. The Germans gave it, in that situation not because they had hopes of thereby gaining control of the Irish freedom struggle, but because it would further weaken Britain, their enemy in the imperialist war. The Irish tried to exploit this contradiction.

The real question is not whether or not a movement seeks outside aid, but whether it retains its truly independent character while doing so. Does it continue the struggle for national liberation, or does it become subverted and a puppet of imperialist forces?

In the case of the FNLA and UNITA, it is clear even to the most cautious bourgeois journalists that these two organizations have

become nothing but puppets of U.S. imperialism. Without the U.S. and South Africa, they would collapse—and are doing so with their help! They are unable to organize the masses and indeed afraid to do so. Their leaders are not even directing the present war. In a devastating admission, Jose Ndele, the "Prime Minister" of UNITA, told a United Press International reporter on January 16, when asked how the war was going, "I don't know. I haven't listened to the Voice of America or Radio South Africa yet."

The MPLA, on the other hand, while getting assistance from the Soviet Union, Cuba, and other socialist countries, has organized the Angolan masses in the areas it has liberated. It has set up an efficient administration, started schools, hospitals, and clinics, and has armed the people. These reports, all confirmed by hostile Western sources, contrast markedly to the reports of demoralization and disintegration in the areas still held by the FNLA-

(continued on page 8)



## EDITORIAL

# ‘Liberal’ Pat Brown endorses S. 1

News that former California governor Edmund Brown is a strong supporter of the notoriously repressive “Federal Criminal Reform Act of 1975” (popularly known as Senate Bill Number 1, or S.1) will certainly come as a shock to those naive individuals who still believe that liberal politicians are a firm bulwark in the defense of democratic rights.

On January 27 a letter from Brown appeared in the New York Times stating that “Defeat for S.1 would be a severe blow to criminal law reform in this country.” Conceding grandly that “there are a few sections of S.1 which might be characterized as repressive,” Brown hurriedly went on to assure the reader that “95 percent of its provisions have been found acceptable by all who have really studied the legislation and they are really beyond the realm of serious criticism.”

This is a downright lie.

Civil liberties organizations, labor unions, law professors, and journalists have all demanded that S.1 be killed.

And no wonder. S.1, the brainchild of Richard Nixon and John Mitchell, is an attempt to “legalize Watergate.” Under this proposed statute the editors of newspapers who published the Pentagon Papers could have gotten seven years in jail! Moreover, S.1 revives the death penalty, legalizes wiretapping without court order, allows government officials who commit crimes to claim legal immunity on the grounds they were “following orders,” and restores the infamous Smith Act thought-control law.

For those living in the eastern part of the U.S. it might seem strange that Edmund Brown, the “dean” of West Coast liberalism, could support such a monstrosity. But people living in California must well remember that it was Brown who in December 1964 ordered the arrest of 796 Berkeley students for demanding their rights of free speech.

Now Brown eagerly applauds those who dream of using the same methods to put down the resistance of poor and working people who are being moved into struggle by the capitalist depression.

Edmund Brown is supposed to be a shrewd politician. He even established his own dynasty in California by putting his son in the governor’s mansion. But obviously he has not learned one of the truly important lessons of history. In the final analysis it is the class struggle of the working people, and not laws passed by millionaire reactionaries, that decides the outcome of events.

## —Kissinger vs. Moynihan

(continued from page 1)

troops. And he speaks of how “we” lost the Zionism vote, thus admitting that the struggle over Israel is in essence a struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Is Henry Kissinger, the target of Moynihan’s attack in this cable, opposed to this kind of “diplomacy”?

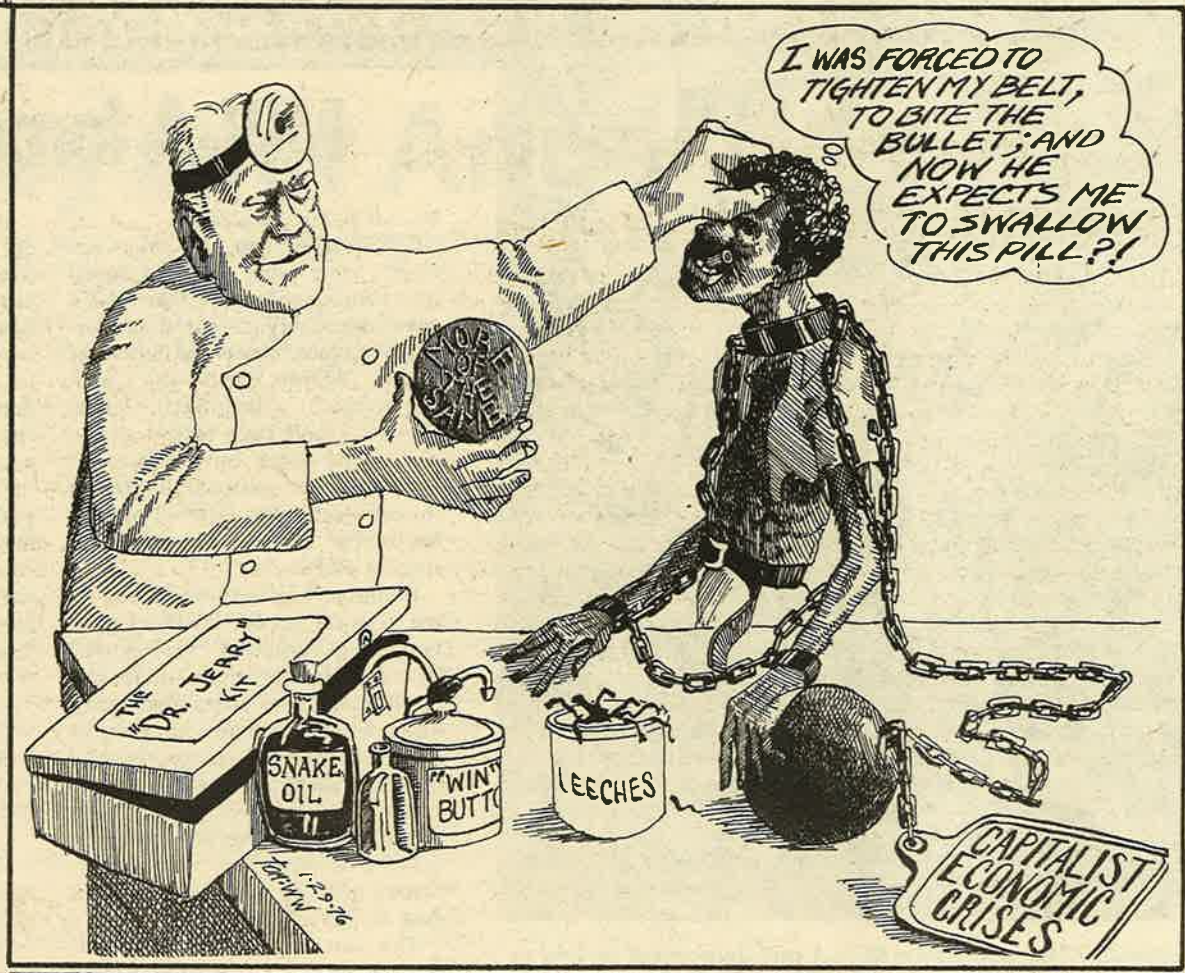
No, such a conclusion would be totally naive. Kissinger himself, a protege of Nelson Rockefeller and his Council on Foreign Relations, is a pastmaster at how to do it even more effectively than Moynihan. Charles Colson, a Watergate criminal now supposedly “reformed,” gives this charming picture of his ex-boss’s regard for Kissinger’s diplomatic talents in Colson’s new book on his White House years (Time magazine, Feb. 2):

“Nixon told his aides: ‘One day we’ll get them—we’ll get them on the ground where we want them. And we’ll stick our heels in, step on them hard and twist.’ His eyes darted to Kissinger. ‘Henry knows what I mean—just like you do in the negotiations, Henry—get them on the floor and step on them, crush them, show no mercy.’”

The imperialist factions now fighting so fiercely may have many differences between them, but a human regard for the people of the world, or for the workers and poor in this country, is not one of them!

They are all bent on the extraction of profits and more profits, and see diplomacy and international relations merely as the vehicles for menacing, bribing, extorting, subverting, coercing, and trying to reduce every country to the status of puppet and all people to slaves of the multi-national corporations and banks.

This is what imperialism is all about. This is why half the world today is in revolt. And the fact that Moynihan and Kissinger, these two arch-enemies of the world’s people, have locked horns and are braying about each other’s inadequacies only shows that the system of imperialist exploitation is in irretrievable decay.



## —Controversy over Angola

(continued from page 7)

UNITA-CIA-South African troops.

### NOT ANTI-IMPERIALIST BUT ANTI-COMMUNIST!

But is it true that the groups in Angola that the Chinese leaders have supported look on the struggle there as between two imperialists? Is this their viewpoint, or is it an ideological argument that China has provided in order to justify its position?

While Holden Roberto (FNLA) and Jonas Savimbi (UNITA) may demagogically refer to the “super-powers,” that is not their main argument. Their main objection to the MPLA—and they make no secret of it—is that they consider it communist. They say the “people’s power” program of the MPLA will lead to a dictatorship of the proletariat. It is not “social-imperialism” they fear, but genuine revolutionary socialism.

Would they support China’s revolutionary line against material incentives and in favor of greater democracy in incomes? No, they abhor China for this even more than they hate the Soviet Union.

Thus the leadership of People’s China, because of the deterioration of their dispute with the Soviet Union into an unprincipled national struggle, and the subsequent formulation of the theory of Soviet “social-imperialism,” has wound up in an embarrassing and dangerous position opposing a most significant struggle for national liberation in Africa. This can only be rejected by revolutionary communists, who hope that China’s leaders will find a way of correcting their position and come to the assistance of all the liberation movements with greater vigor than before.

### POSITION OF SWP, OTHERS

There is another current in the left that is not as strong internationally as the position answered above but that also creates confusion to the detriment of the movement. Expounded by the Socialist Workers Party and some smaller groupings, it focuses its “analysis” of the Angolan

situation on an attack on the MPLA.

While formally stating that there are no major differences between MPLA, UNITA, and FNLA, this position then goes on to expend most of its ammunition in an attack on the MPLA. The MPLA slanders the FNLA by calling it a tool of Western imperialism, says the SWP in its National Committee report on Angola published in the January 23 Militant. The MPLA is anti-working class, it states further, and “aims to break strikes, lengthen hours, and block independent organization of political action by the working class.” MPLA’s relations with Gulf Oil, which exploits the riches of Cabinda Province, “are very good,” proving that the MPLA is equivalent to the other groups in maneuvering with imperialism.

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

### WHITEWASH OF IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION

Even though the SWP then claims that it is going to organize a united anti-war movement around the slogan “U.S. out now!” its position is a complete whitewash of U.S. imperialism’s intervention in Angola. For this lengthy “analysis” completely denies the obvious: that the instruments for U.S. intervention are the two organizations that the SWP puts on a par with the MPLA, that is, the FNLA and UNITA. And that the U.S. is not merely carrying out a maneuver with the MPLA but is trying to crush it militarily!

Given the war that has been going on now for several months, and given the recent revelations that date U.S. covert support for the FNLA back to 1962, any objective observer would have to concede that whatever their origins may have been, at this point the FNLA and UNITA have become captives of imperialism, while the MPLA is leading the struggle to prevent U.S. imperialism from gaining domination over Angola.

But the SWP is not objective, however measured its phrases

may sound. It is not a critical supporter of the socialist countries and the liberation struggles, but a hostile tendency that reflects the arrogance of middle class liberalism in its pseudo-revolutionary line. It demands the impossible of oppressed people while failing to live up to the most elementary duty of the workers’ movement: genuine support in the struggle.

Not even the largest socialist countries have been able to avoid making concessions to imperialism and this is true not only because of failures of leadership but also because of material weakness, as imperialism still dominates the most industrialized and economically powerful section of the world despite the truly astonishing advances of socialist planned economies since 1917.

### SWP PLACES IMPOSSIBLE CONDITIONS ON MPLA

Yet the SWP and others demand of the MPLA that it not make any deals with imperialism in order to get their “support.” It places onerous conditions on a small African nation surrounded by enemies, conditions that even socialist countries with nuclear capacity have not been able to fulfill.

Unless they carry out complete nationalization, unless they kick out Gulf Oil immediately, unless they repudiate all deals with imperialism, they are “bourgeois nationalists.” Never mind that the MPLA is fighting a war against the imperialists on two fronts.

This may be called “critical support,” but in reality it is the most vicious kind of attack against those who are directly under the gun. It can in no way be considered comradely criticism. There is nothing constructive in it; it only serves as a cover for a no-support, no-win position when in fact all genuine revolutionaries must be for the victory of the MPLA and the Angolan people over U.S. imperialism.

This position should be familiar to all who have been through the anti-war movement in this country. The SWP never supported the victory of the liberation forces in

(continued on page 12)



# INTERNATIONAL NEWS IN BRIEF

## U.S. treaty with fascist Spain bolsters tottering regime

By SHARON SHELTON

NEW YORK, Jan. 26—The Ford administration has formally concluded a treaty of "friendship and cooperation" with the reactionary Juan Carlos regime at a time of tremendous anti-government strikes and demonstrations by Spanish workers.

The treaty, which has yet to be approved by the Congress, gives the repressive Spanish government U.S. political and economic backing in return for use of four U.S. bases on Spanish soil.

The agreement also provides for removal of ten outdated nuclear submarines from the strategic U.S. Mediterranean base at Rota by 1979. This provision, the Spanish rulers frankly admit, was inserted to stem mass opposition to the treaty.

### WORKERS WANT U.S. MILITARY OUT!

However, it's not just the nuclear presence that has so angered the Spanish population. It's also the presence of 10,000 U.S. troops and 14,000 dependents stationed across the Iberian peninsula, the training of 6,000 military personnel in the U.S., and joint exercises between the U.S. and Spanish military in putting down a hypothetical uprising in Spain—all coming as a result of a pact first signed in 1953. This is the first year that the accord was given treaty status.

The timing of the treaty, according to an article and editorial appearing in yesterday's New York Times, has been interpreted in Spain as a dramatic sign of U.S. support for the monarchy in its resistance to demonstrating workers' demands for an end to unbearable working conditions and political repression.

Last week, over 300,000 workers went on strike across Spain, in Catalonia, and in the Basque country. The Juan Carlos government reacted to workers' demands by sending in riot police to break up rallies and by drafting 120,000 railroad workers and 55,000 postal workers into the armed forces, to force them back on the job under threat of military law.

### STRIKES CONTINUE

Currently the strikes, according to the January 24 New York Times, have "only slightly abated," with coal mines in Asturias completely closed down, a militant strike by Chrysler workers continuing, and other workers still out.

Although Henry Kissinger signed the accord with Spain with the pronouncement that the Juan Carlos regime was evolving toward "liberalization," it is clear that nothing has really changed since the hated Francisco Franco died.

A discussion this weekend in the Council of Realm, the highest consultative body in Spain, reveals

the pro-fascist character of the rulers still in power. After ruling out election reforms, the group discussed a pension for Franco's widow. One deputy boasted, "Everything I have and everything I am, including my marital bliss, I owe to Francisco Franco."

At the same meeting, the chairman of the Budget Committee, Carlos Pinilla Turino, intoned, "One has only to conjure up the name, the memory, and the labors of Franco and the hearts of many Spaniards continue to bleed, their eyes brim with tears, their pulses quicken, and their throats choke up."

Of course, the speakers didn't mention the unbounded joy of the Spanish masses that greeted Franco's death last November or the growing hatred being expressed daily towards the fascist butcher's heir. The "friendship" treaty just underscores the determination of the Ford administration to prop up the infamous rule of Franco's hand-picked successor.

## Guerrillas wage battle to free Montoneros leader

By MOLLY CHARBONEAU

NEW YORK, Jan. 23—The first militant action in a campaign to free kidnaped Roberto Quieto and 20 other Montoneros took place last week in Argentina. On January 14, members of the Montoneros organization, a leftist guerrilla group that derives from the original supporters of Juan Peron, halted a commuter train and, after emptying it of passengers, set it ablaze.

The Montoneros have vowed to continue their efforts to obtain the release of Quieto, a leading member of the guerrilla organization, as well as the other kidnaped workers, union leaders, and students.

### POLICE CAMPAIGN OF ASSASSINATION

While denying knowledge of the kidnaping, the Argentine police and other "security" forces are known to be carrying out a widespread campaign of kidnaping and assassination directed against worker militants and political opponents of the regime. Quieto was seized while visiting his family on December 28 by armed thugs identifying themselves as police.

While officers of the Third Army Corps in the city of Cordoba have admitted dragging 20 workers, students, and progressives from their beds over the past week, including two union activists, they are denying knowledge of the whereabouts of Quieto. Among the 20 seized are members of the new Autentico Party, which is identified with the Montoneros, and which was outlawed in December following an armed attack on army arsenals in Buenos Aires Province.

### REGIME FEARS A WORKERS REVOLT

The People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) and the Montoneros

two-week lockout, Portuguese workers occupied a Timex assembly plant 15 miles outside Lisbon. Although bus transportation to the factory had been suspended, the 2,000 workers participating in the action were loaned cars or given rides by workers at the Lisbon shipyard and elsewhere. The workers, mostly women and teenage girls, charged that Timex and other multi-nationals operating in Portugal are trying to "recover their old profits" through mass layoffs and speedups.

## Worldwide protests demand Shah drop death sentences

By LESLIE FEINBERG

NEW YORK, Jan. 22—An AP dispatch today from Tehran, Iran, said that a military appeals court has upheld the death sentences of ten guerrillas, to be executed by firing squad. The army court also upheld the astonishing sentence of 15 years in solitary confinement for one of the women prisoners.

The ten are charged by the Shah's tribunal with having killed three American colonels and several agents of SAVAK, the Shah's U.S.-organized secret police.

News of the sentences had reached the U.S. on December 31, 1975. On January 2nd through the 6th, angry demonstrations of solidarity and hunger strikes were organized in the following major cities in North America and Europe: San Francisco, Chicago, New York City, Houston, Washing-

ton, D.C., Norman (Okla.), Montreal, Lund (Sweden), Florence (Italy), and two West German cities—Aachen and Krefeld.

The protesters are demanding that the Shah "drop the death sentences, allow international observers to investigate the atrocities against Iranian patriots now condemned to death, and to examine the conditions of the Iranian political prisoners."

The hunger strikers, who are taking only water and unsweetened tea, are members and supporters of the Iranian Students Association (ISA), member of the World Confederation of Iranian Students.

### "WE ARE NOT AS HUNGRY AS MANY IN IRAN"

After a week without food, ISA member Ali Mihanparast said, "Physically we are weakened, but we feel good about taking action to try to make the Shah back up and commute the death sentences. We are not yet as hungry as many people in Iran who never get enough to eat because of imperialist plunder of our country."

The executions come at a time when the CIA is now openly boasting about the bloody 1953 coup it engineered against the progressive government of Mohammed Mossadegh. American imperialism restored the Shah's fascist regime after the Iranian people had thrown him out of the country.

The ISA has charged that the U.S. now has 20,000 "military advisors" stationed in Iran.

Forty thousand political prisoners are being held in the Shah's prisons. For many, their only "crime" has been to criticize the Shah. Hundreds have been murdered under torture.

Every adult has forced membership in the Shah's Resurrection Party. Refusal to join means jail. Workers demanding collective bargaining are met with troops who shoot to kill. Sixteen workers were killed by troops during a textile strike at Shahi. Three students were killed when demonstrating last December 7. At Ghom, scores were killed by troops while commemorating the popular uprising of 1963.

Newsweek magazine of October 14 admitted 200 executions of Iranian workers, students, and opponents of the regime.

ISA member Bahman Ruzmandeh says, "These hunger strikes, especially when they are so widespread—Europe, Canada, the U.S.—will mean great pressure on the Iranian regime. . . . With the intensification of repression in Iran, it is our duty to intensify our efforts."

## Carvalho arrest continues turn to the right in Portugal

By SHARON SHELTON

NEW YORK, Jan. 27—Widespread arrests of leftists, the release of over 200 hated secret police and rightist leaders, and almost nightly bombings of Communist Party offices—all are indications of an ominous, rapidly accelerating swing to the right by the ruling Portuguese Council of the Revolution.

Last week Brigadier Gen. Otelo de Carvalho, a well-known leftist who formerly headed the Portuguese Armed Forces' military security and the Lisbon military region, was jailed on charges of participating in last November's ill-fated demonstration by leftist paratroopers.

Carvalho's arrest brings the number of progressive rank-and-file soldiers, officers, and others arrested recently to about 150. According to the February 2 issue of Time magazine, more arrests are scheduled.

### RIGHTISTS, SECRET AGENTS RELEASED

Just as Carvalho and others were being arrested, the Jose Pinheiro de Azevedo government released a number of infamous pro-fascists and former PIDE (secret police) agents, saying the jail space was "needed for the leftists!"

Among those unconditionally freed were Gen. Kaulza Oliveira de Arriaga, former chief of the Portuguese Air Force under the hated Salazar regime. Gen. Arriaga had headed the drive against Mozambique liberation for Salazar. He was arrested in September of 1974 for his role in a right-wing coup attempt.

Other fascists released since November include former Minister of the Interior and head of the

secret police Moreira Baptista; Adm. Henrique Dos Santos Tenreiro, head of the arch-rightist Portuguese Legion; Luis Manuel Cordovil, also connected with the legion; and Joaquim Silva Cunha, former Minister of Defense.

Also released were nearly 200 former agents for PIDE, the hated secret police who for almost 50 years maintained a climate of iron repression through torture and mass murder until they were finally hunted down by the enraged Portuguese masses.

### BOMBING ATTACKS ON CP, OTHER LEFT GROUPS

The turn to the right has been accompanied by a campaign of intimidation against the Portuguese Communist Party, which has remained in the Azevedo government through all this.

For the past three months, a total of at least 96 attacks on CP members and other leftists' homes, offices, and cars have been reported. Just last Friday, a bomb exploded under the car of well-known comedian and CP member Jose Viana. The same day, another bomb went off inside a youth center used by leftist groups in the northern city of Braga, where a number of the recent bombings have occurred.

Although the rightward shift—which has been going on since the sharp turn in November—has been accelerating rapidly in recent weeks, the rightists have not crushed the Portuguese workers. This was vividly illustrated by an article in today's New York Times about the worker takeover of a U.S. factory in the town of Charneca.

Protesting last week's dismissal of 668 workers, reduction of the work week to three days, and a



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# Ford gov't looking for scapegoat in recent execution of CIA butcher

By DEIRDRE GRISWOLD  
NEW YORK, Jan. 21—The growing hatred around the world for U.S. police agents, expressed most recently in the execution of the CIA chief of station in Athens, Richard Welch, has produced a bitter U.S. government-sponsored campaign against former agents and organizations that seek to expose the role of the CIA as an instrument of U.S. imperialist domination.

This campaign has focused most recently on charges that Counterspy, a progressive publication put out by a group in Washington called the Fifth Estate, "blew Welch's cover" by publishing his name and is therefore responsible for his death. The most aggressive right-wingers want to try and hold Counterspy in some way criminally responsible.

This will prove impossible, since it can be proven that Welch's cover was blown many times before the publication of his name in Counterspy. As Workers World pointed out in our January 2nd issue,

Welch's name appeared in the book Who's Who in the CIA, published in East Germany in 1968. (This information was picked up by the New York Times three days later in its January 5th edition.)

But has the harassment of Counterspy stopped? Not at all. "Even though Welch's cover was blown repeatedly—not only in the East German book but also in Peru—the attitude of the bourgeois media is 'Don't confuse me with facts,'" this reporter was told today by Doug Porter of Counterspy. The major news magazines and even the New York Times itself continue to treat this issue as if Welch had been a "deep cover" agent, unknown to anyone until the Counterspy exposure.

Actually, Welch was widely known as an agent and even boasted of it. The night he was killed, while attending a party at the U.S. ambassador's residence in Athens, he joked about the bloody fighting that has torn Cyprus apart for the last 15 years. "I started the whole thing," Welch told New York

Times reporter Steven V. Roberts.

In addition to his Athens assignment, Welch had spent at least four years in Nicosia, Cyprus, in the early 1960s. "He probably laid the groundwork" for the U.S.-sponsored coup there by fascist Greek officers in July of 1974," said Porter.

In fact, the House Select Committee on Intelligence has prepared a report that the CIA "may have intentionally permitted Greek militants to engineer a coup" in Cyprus, according to today's New York Times.

Porter also said he had learned that the London Financial Times is preparing an article which holds Welch responsible for CIA support of the Phalangists in Lebanon. The Phalangists are the openly fascist organization whose attacks on Palestinians and on the Lebanese left opened up the present civil war there.

One thing is clear. With such a career, Richard S. Welch was sure to have made many enemies.

# Big business: 'Kings of corruption and jacks of all illicit trades'

By ANDY STAPP  
NEW YORK, Jan. 20—Severe economic crises and political instability within the capitalist system invariably bring in their wake revelations of the gross corruption that in a thousand and one ways link the government to big business. The current period, which has witnessed a major U.S. military defeat in Indochina, the fall of the Nixon presidency, and the worst economic depression since the 1930s, has been no exception to this.

It comes as no surprise then that on January 14 the chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission announced that 30 large corporations are now under investigation for massive bribery, the payment of kickbacks, and illegal campaign contributions.

Among the huge firms cited are the American Shipbuilding Company, the Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Company, the Sanitas Corporation, the United Brands Corporation (formerly the notorious United Fruit Company), the General Refractories Company, the Phillips Petroleum Company, the Northrop Corporation, and the Ashland Oil Company.

Feigning shock at this latest scandal, even a hardened capitalist politician like Senator William Proxmire stated, "The numerous disclosures that have been made so far, involving some of the largest and most prestigious

firms in America, suggest that at least an important part of the private sector is a house of cards, composed of kings of corruption, jacks of all illicit trades, and aces of political influence."

Indeed, this is a subject on which Proxmire is very well qualified to speak since "donations" from the same monopoly groups put him and all the other senators in office.

It was, after all, only two years ago that the Watergate investigation uncovered illegal contributions to politicians from American Airlines, American Express, General Dynamics, General Electric, IBM, W. R. Grace, Firestone Tire and Rubber, Litton, Northrop, Chrysler, Ford, Lockheed, Olin Mathieson, and others. Of course none of the bribe-giving bosses of these firms was jailed.

**CHANGE THE NAME, THE GAME'S THE SAME**

A case in point is the recent forced resignation of Robert R. Dorsey, the recently fired chairman of the board of Gulf Oil. In a purely cosmetic change, the powerful Mellon family who control Gulf kicked Dorsey out last Thursday after he had been caught giving \$12 million in bribes to government bigshots.

Also dumped for his role in the scandal was Gulf general counsel Royce H. Savage, who funneled millions of the oil company's payola to various politicians, in-

cluding Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott, Senator Hubert Humphrey, and Presidential aspirant Fred Harris.

In 1960 this same Royce Savage had, in his capacity as a federal judge, dismissed an indictment against Gulf on charges of conducting a conspiracy to fix crude oil and automobile gasoline prices in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. One year after he did Gulf this enormous favor (which netted the company hundreds of millions of dollars and saved some of the firm's officials from jail terms), Judge Savage retired and immediately received the offer from Gulf to be its general counsel at 5 times the salary he got as a judge!

Now both Savage and Dorsey have been gently eased out.

The rotation in Gulf Oil management will not change this company's oily business practices, however. Dorsey, one might recall, was nicknamed "the Boy Scout" by Gulf Oil's Public Relations Department . . . until he got caught. The new "Mr. Clean" who has been sent to replace Dorsey as Chairman of the Board is Gerald McAfee, a character who while heading Gulf's Canadian operations between 1960 and 1974 okayed payment of \$1.3 million to corrupt officials in that country.

The name of the game is Monopoly. How come these guys never go "directly to jail"?

## Get in the struggle with Youth Against War & Fascism and Workers World Party!

Workers World Party and Youth Against War & Fascism are organizing and responsible for many of the struggles you read about in the pages of this paper. These groups are made up of women and men, Black, white, Latin, Asian, and Native American, young and old, straight and gay, working, students, and unemployed, who fight on all the issues that face the working class and oppressed peoples in this capitalist society.

If you would like to find out more about Workers World and YAWF, or if you would like to join them in their struggles, contact the branch nearest you from the list below.

- ATLANTA—Workers World Party, P.O. Box 424, Atlanta, Georgia 30301
- BALTIMORE—Workers World Party, 2402 St. Paul Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21218
- BOSTON—Workers World Party, 419 Boylston Street, Room 204, Boston, Mass. 02116, (617) 353-1400
- BUFFALO—Workers World Party, 730 Main Street, Buffalo, N.Y. 14202, (716) 855-3055
- CHICAGO—Workers World Party, 542 S. Dearborn, Room 310, Chicago, Illinois 60605.
- CLEVELAND—Workers World Party, P.O. Box 2576, East Cleveland, Ohio 44112, 451-9538 or 231-8456
- DETROIT—Workers World Party, 229 Gratiot, 3rd floor, Detroit, Michigan 48226
- HOUSTON—Workers World Party, P.O. Box 52115, Houston, Texas 77052
- MILWAUKEE—Workers World Party, 150 E. Juneau, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202, 224-0422
- NEW YORK CITY—Workers World Party, 46 West 21st Street, New York, N.Y. 10010, (212) 255-0352
- NORFOLK—Workers World Party, P.O. Box 7032, Norfolk, Virginia 23509, 627-0870
- PHILADELPHIA—Youth Against War & Fascism, P.O. Box 9894, Philadelphia, Pa. 19140
- RICHMOND—Youth Against War & Fascism, P.O. Box 12132, Richmond, Virginia 23219 (804) 353-9937
- ROCHESTER—Workers World Party, 171 State Street, Rochester, N.Y. 14614 (716) 546-6429
- WASHINGTON, D.C.—Workers World Party, care-of P.O. Box 1117, Washington, D.C. 20013

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# POLITICAL PRISONERS



## RALEIGH HUNGER STRIKE

By JIM HARLOW

RALEIGH, NC. Jan. 17—On January 16, prisoners at the Correctional Center for Women in Raleigh staged a hunger strike to mark the beginning of their class-action suit against the Department of Corrections.

As a gesture of solidarity with the struggles of oppressed people worldwide, the women continued their hunger strike through January 17 to coincide with a demonstration organized in New York by Youth Against War & Fascism demanding that the U.S. and CIA get out of Angola, and supporting the MPLA.

Thirty-four of the women incarcerated at Raleigh have filed a \$25-million class-action suit against Governor James Hölshouser and the entire Department of Corrections, specifically citing the State's violation of their First and Fourteenth Amendment rights to freedom of association and expression stemming from events that took place last June 15.

On that day 150 Black and white women were beaten, gassed, and placed in segregation when they refused to report for work in the

prison laundry as a protest against working conditions there. Women are still being harassed and punished for their participation in this work stoppage.

Outside the Federal Building in Raleigh on January 16, some 20 supporters of the women picketed and chanted: "Jail the governor, jail the guards! Free our sisters now!" and "Abolish the laundry! Clean up Women's Prison!" The protest was organized by Action for Forgotten Women, a prisoner support group based in Durham.

Inside, at the Federal District Court, lawyers from the National Council of Black Lawyers argued for a preliminary injunction from the court which would release 11 of the women now in segregation, provide adequate medical care at the prison, clear the women's records of any mention of their participation in the June protest, and force prison officials to come up with a plan for upgrading medical, vocational, and educational facilities within 90 days.

Marie Hill, one of the 34 plaintiffs in the suit, has had two toes amputated in the last three years due to infections contracted

from standing in water for hours in the prison laundry. Investigators from the Occupational Safety and Health Administration found 14 violations at the laundry last summer. The women are demanding that the laundry be closed down.

Although Judge Dupree refused to allow any of the women to attend the preliminary injunction proceedings, by law they can attend as witnesses when the suit comes to court. If you are interested in coming to court to support these heroic women, please contact: Action for Forgotten Women, 1601 Sedgefield St., Durham, NC 27705.

## WOODS-TODD TRIAL OPENS

By TOM GARDNER

ATLANTA, Jan. 19—Jury selection in the trial of Dessie X Woods and Cheryl S. Todd began today in Hawkinsville, GA.

The trial of Woods and Todd, two Black women charged with murder for successfully defending themselves against a rape attack by a white insurance agent, is a political event with sweeping ramifications. The State seems anxious to get it over with before it draws wider national attention, as did the case of Joann Little, a Black woman acquitted by a North Carolina jury on charges of killing a white jail guard who had tried to rape her.

Joann Little has called for national support for the Woods-Todd defense effort.

In an effort to keep the public spotlight from this trial, Judge James O'Connor dictated a massive restraining order or "gag rule" preventing principals in the case or the lawyers from speaking to the press. He even prohibited demonstrations near the court, or the distribution of literature.

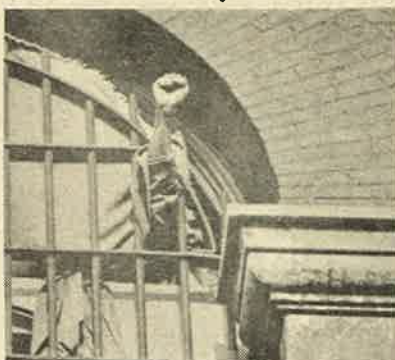
Juanita Al-Nur of the Woods-Todd Defense Committee in Atlanta declared, "This order is a result of all the letters and telegrams of support pouring into

protest rally, they singled out Bob Canney as their all-purpose scapegoat.

It seems preposterous that, long after war criminals Nixon and Johnson have stepped down with no punishment for their unforgivable crimes, anyone could be out of a job and serving two years for having said "goddam" about the war over five years ago. But in Gerald Ford's America and Rubin Askew's Florida it is happening.

Supporters of Bob Canney are planning to reenact the original demonstration in a protest on February 14 that will also focus on opposition to the U.S.-sponsored war in Angola and to the fascist S.1 bill now pending in the Senate. Like the original anti-war rally where Bob Canney was arrested, it will be held in Straub Park in St. Petersburg.

People interested in supporting Bob Canney should contact the Bob Canney Defense Committee, PO Box 1463, Gainesville FL 32602. Free Bob Canney!



## RACIST FRAME-UP

By PETE PERKINS

NEW YORK, Jan. 19—Support is being built in Colorado for Juan Haro and Antonio Quintana, victims of an outrageous police frame-up. Haro and Quintana are leading members of the Chicano-based Crusade for Justice in Denver.

On Sept. 17, 1975, Juan and Antonio were arrested by federal, state, and city police in a highly sensationalized raid. Police charge that the two defendants were part of a larger conspiracy to bomb several Denver police substations as a political act protesting the convention of the International Association of

Chiefs of Police held in Denver that month. Charges against both defendants include the felonies of unlawful use of explosives, criminal attempt to commit murder, theft, and conspiracy.

### "STAR" WITNESS

The star witness for the prosecution in this frame-up is police agent-provocateur Jose Cordova, Jr. According to the police version of the events, Cordova had worked his way up in the Crusade for Justice and had gained the confidence of its members and leadership.

But prior to the September 17 arrests, Jose Cordova was unknown to them, according to people involved in the Crusade.

Cordova's story was that he got wind of a conspiracy and went to the police about it since he feared for the lives of Haro and Quintana. The cops then made a "Fearless Fosdick-style" arrest by ramming into the car of Juan Haro allegedly only two minutes before a bomb was set to explode. This caused the bomb to vanish and upon investigation they never found it or any evidence of a "larger conspiracy."

Nevertheless, the "case" was brought before a judge who imposed a stiff bail on both defendants totaling \$170,000. Subsequent press investigations into the identity of Jose Cordova have revealed that charges against him for several recent arrests were dropped—a way of inducing him to say the "right things" in testimony against Haro and Quintana.

### POLICE HARASSMENT

Police harassment of the Crusade and other Chicano activist groups has been very intense around Denver. Juan Haro is clearly being framed for his political activities, as he was previously the Denver mayoral candidate for La Raza Unida Party.

Another prime example of harassment and repression against Chicano activists is the case of Veronica Vigil, a Chicana woman imprisoned for the life of a grand jury for refusal to testify before it. The Denver Chicano Liberation Defense Committee has been set up and is active on these cases and others pending against Chicano activists and poor people in and around Denver.

For further information, contact the Denver Chicano Liberation Defense Committee, 1567 Downing St., Denver, CO 80218.

## FREE BOB CANNEY!

Bob Canney, an anti-war and civil rights activist and former instructor at the University of Florida, has been in prison since last November serving a two-year sentence. Canney's alleged "crime" is that he said "goddam" during a speech at an anti-war rally in 1970!

An appeal of his conviction has already been taken to the Florida state appeals court, where it was turned down, and to the U.S. Supreme Court, which refused to hear it. And so, at a time when Watergate criminals are living on princely government pensions and wartime mass murderers are treated as heroes, Bob Canney, a father of three, is now serving time for his opposition to racism and genocidal war—after first losing his job.

This is what happened back in 1970.

On April 18, a large crowd had gathered in St. Petersburg for the first statewide anti-war rally in Florida. It was the first attempt to make such a protest relevant by tying it to local struggles for human liberation. In this case the local struggle was that of the Black community of St. Petersburg under the leadership of the Junta of Militant Organizations (JOMO) and its chairman Joseph Waller.

### POLICE RIOT

During his speech Bob Canney

said, "Let's bring the goddam war home and begin dealing seriously with the problems which confront us here."

Before the next speaker, Joseph Waller, could address the crowd, six plainclothes cops grabbed Canney and began beating him. As people tried to protect him, some additional police reinforcements, about 200 riot control pigs, burst out of hiding and began beating everyone in sight.

On Sept. 21, 1970, Canney went to court in Pinellas County, Florida. Verdict: guilty. Sentence: two years in jail for saying "goddam." Twenty people prepared to testify on his behalf were barred by the court on a technicality.

It took \$2,500 in cash to free Bob Canney from the Lake Butler detention center in the Everglades while the case was on appeal. He lost his job teaching at the University of Florida at Gainesville. And in November 1975 he returned to jail and is now serving out his sentence at Avon Park Prison.

### GOVERNMENT CONSPIRACY

The police riot at St. Petersburg on April 18, 1970 was an instant replay of the Chicago police riot of 1968: lots of blood and people being beaten by police. The government put eight people on trial for the Chicago events, but in the case of the St. Petersburg

People (ROWP).

The ten—Annie Sheppard, Rev. Ben Chavis, Willie Vereen, Joe Wright, Reginald Epps, Wayne Moore, Connie Tindall, Jerry Jacobs, James McCoy, and Marvin Patrick—face a total sentence of 282 years.

Lawyers for the defense plan, as of this writing, to file a writ of habeas corpus in Federal District Court in Raleigh. The Supreme Court is expected to send an order to the North Carolina District Court voiding the Wilmington Ten's total bond of \$450,000.

## WILMINGTON 10

NORFOLK, Va., Jan. 19—The U.S. Supreme Court today refused to hear an appeal of the Wilmington Ten. These Black and white women and men, all anti-racist activists, were convicted in a North Carolina court for allegedly firebombing a white-owned grocery store in February 1971.

Their arrest and conviction followed a wave of racist attacks, including firebombings and shootings, carried out against the Black community by a KKK splinter group, the Rights of White

## SOLIDARITY STATEMENT

The following is the statement of solidarity sent by the sisters incarcerated in Raleigh to the Angola demonstration and rally in support of the MPLA held in New York on January 17.

Revolutionary Greetings Brothas and Sistas,

Having read in Workers World January 9 of the Angola support rally to be held on January 17, for their struggle against U.S. and South African intervention, I-we wish to extend our solidarity and this letter of support.

Surely their struggle for liberation from imperialism is just and it's our duty to support them and at the same time educate the people.

Neither Angola nor any other government can be assured of

lasting freedom from this monster (imperialism) until we destroy its mother, originator and motivator—capitalism.

We live in the body of the monster. Our brothers and sisters across the water line live on its limbs. Once the body-brain is conquered, the limbs will be without command and also will die. The security of Angola and all such brave governments depend on the developments of our inevitable revolution!

With clenched fist we salute the courageous Angolan vanguards and people! Love, Unity and Solidarity.

Servant of the people,

Marjorie Marsh

and the Sistas

at 1034 Bragg St.,

Raleigh, NC 27610



## No news to prisoners

# Alabama prisons judged 'inhuman'

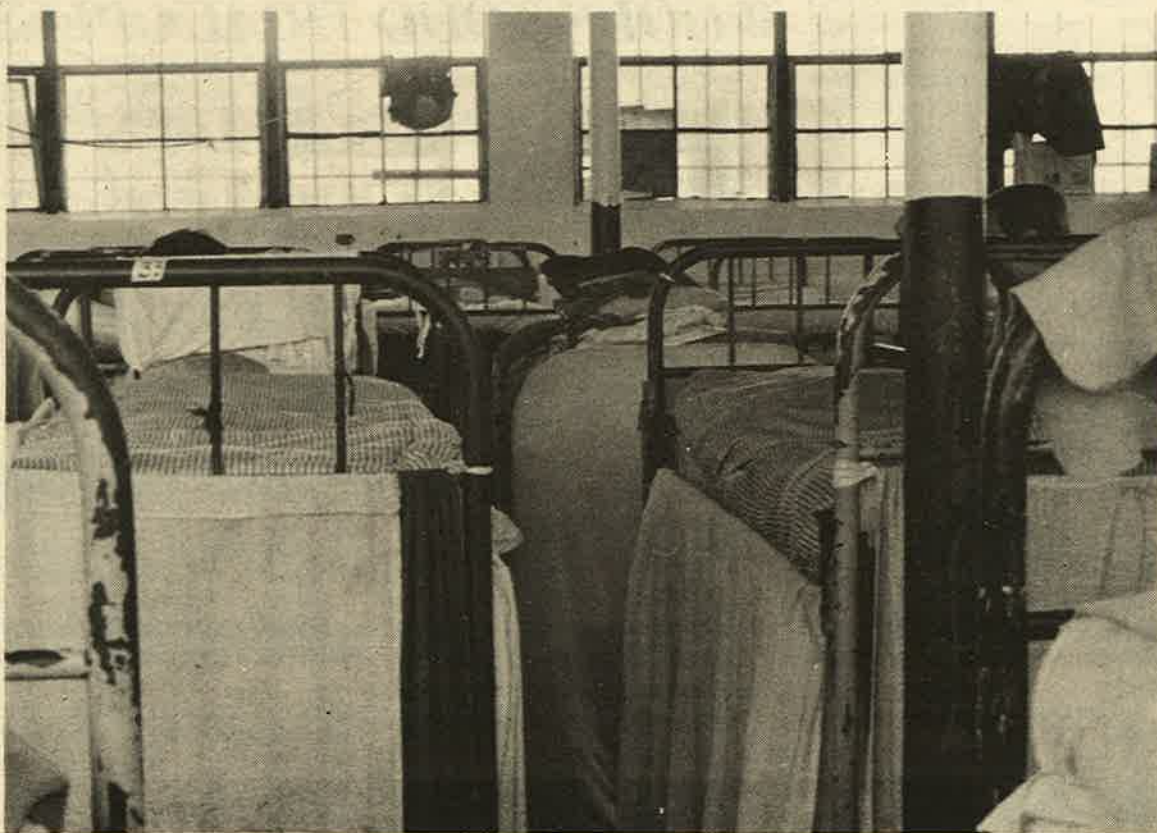
By TOM GARDNER

ATLANTA, Jan. 23—Last November, along with legal investigators working on the defense of the Atmore-Holman Brothers, this reporter was able to visit and photograph parts of Atmore prison. On our way into the iron-barred entrance of this southern Alabama prison, we overheard a guard who had just returned from a separate trial tell his superior, "Well, that was one hour spent for nothing. They found him not guilty."

That comment, natural to a prison guard, illustrates the meaning of a recent federal court decision declaring Alabama's prisons places of "cruel and unusual punishment ... (and) unconstitutional." We have heard former prisoners of Alabama's hated Atmore talk of 20 or more people being stuffed into a 5 by 8 cell, sleeping standing up, packed like sardines, teargassed for the amusement of the guards.

Much press attention has been given to federal District Court Judge Frank M. Johnson's order on January 13 declaring Alabama's prison system unconstitutional. And we're glad of it. But what about the prisoners who have died and risked death to expose these brutal conditions? Can't the press spare one column inch to mention Chagina, Yukeena, and Frank X Moore, courageous members of the Inmates for Action (IFA), who were murdered by officials for attempting to bring these illegal conditions to public light?

Shouldn't their assassins be brought to justice as well? It is now over two years since the Atmore



"The southernmost part of hell." In Atmore prison dormitory section, beds are less than two feet apart. WW photo: Tom G.

rebellion of 1974 when the first of these Brothers, IFA chairman Chagina, was murdered. While the Atmore-Holman Brothers have been convicted time after time in racist, sham trials, not one single guard or official has been even indicted for murder.

Where was the federal judge all the years that these and other prisoners were being beaten and murdered? In fact, for most of the time the IFA members have been

beaten, and the three Brothers named above murdered, there was supposedly in effect an order from the same Judge Johnson barring prison officials from carrying out "summary corporal punishment."

Was any official cited for contempt? No.

And when IFA leaders such as Mafundi sought to expose these violations through legal channels, they were dismissed as "trouble-makers" by the same liberal Judge

Johnson. The prisoners, forced to take other means to expose the violations of law by the prison officials, were rewarded by being framed up on a variety of charges, dragged through the racist courts of Alabama, and given more time on their sentences in "the southernmost part of hell."

### DECISION A TWO-EDGED SWORD

In prison, as elsewhere, political power does in fact grow out of the barrel of a gun or the handle of an ax, whichever the guard prefers. Inside the walls, a court order is just a piece of paper to be enforced selectively if at all. Surely, if enforced, Judge Johnson's order would bring some forward steps toward civilization. Three "nutritious" meals are better than

occasional gruel, a shower every two days is better than never, and a toilet that flushes is better than one that overflows on your cell floor.

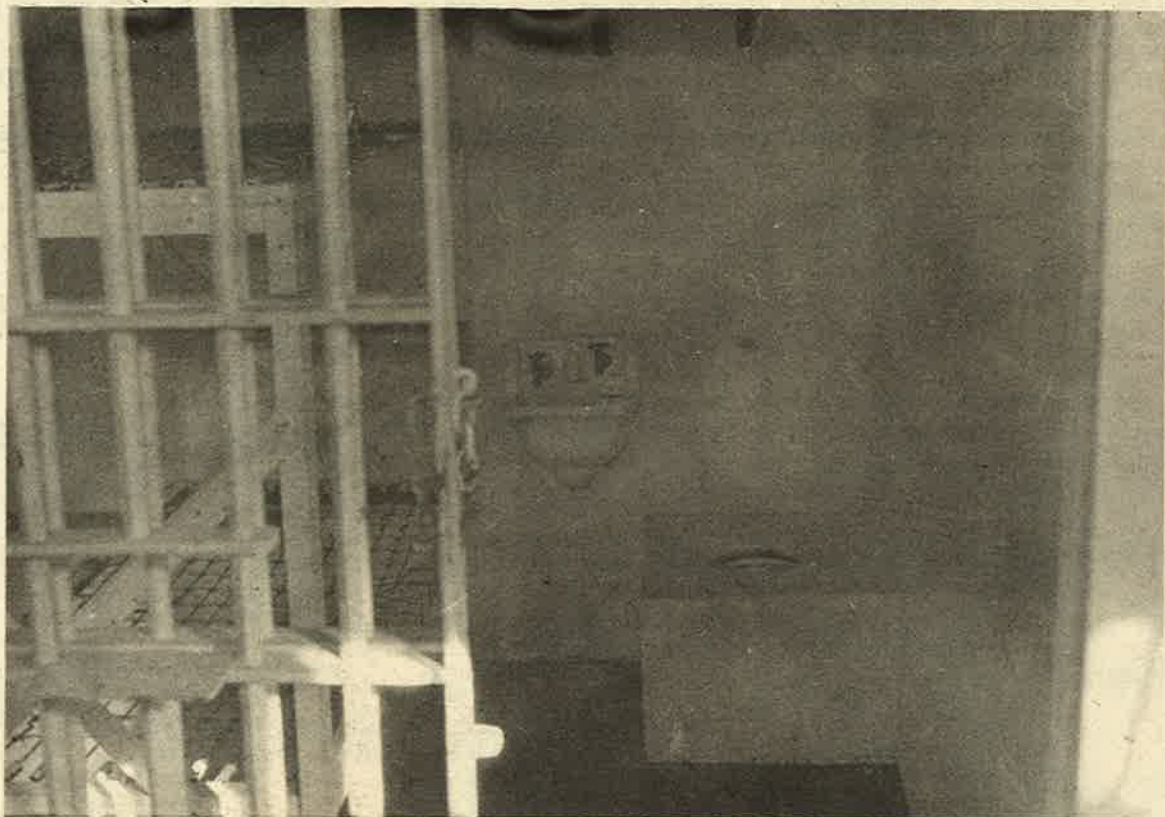
But if the judge wanted to assure enforcement of the positive aspects of his decision, he would have appointed to his overseeing commission inmates and ex-inmates.

As it stands now, we can only expect that the more repressive parts of Johnson's order will be enforced. He called for more guards, more segregation cells, and shakedowns for the "violence-prone" prisoners. The long-standing tradition in the Alabama penal system is to segregate and classify as "violence prone" those prisoners who refuse to crawl before the guards, the very prisoners who exposed these conditions in the first place. This order will not end the barbaric treatment in the prisons.

No amount of reform can make a concentration camp "fit for human habitation." A mattress, or 20 more square feet added to a slave's shack, doesn't remove the overseer's whip or abolish the slave-labor plantation system. And that is what the Alabama prison system is—whether it's making license tags at Holman or harvesting the crops they'll never eat at Atmore's vast plantation farm or earning 75 cents every three weeks from which the prisoners must buy all their necessities. And a diet of dry cornbread, noodles, gravy, and sometimes greens or potatoes, with the only variety being a choice of beans, is slave conditions whether it's cooked by a fellow prisoner or a pedigreed dietician.

As for George Wallace's concern that a "hotel-type atmosphere" is being created, the photos of Atmore on this page speak for themselves. If this is a hotel, it would seem only fitting that Wallace stay there when visiting southern Alabama.

He would then finally occupy the place in history he truly deserves.



A segregation cell in Atmore prison. This is George Wallace's idea of a "hotel or resort type atmosphere." WW photo: Tom G.

## —Angola

(continued from page 8)

Vietnam, and in fact opposed the signing of the peace treaty which not only legally ratified the military victory over U.S. imperialism but even committed the imperialists to paying reparations to the Vietnamese—a clause that the imperialists have completely ignored and that has been all but forgotten by the SWP as well.

To sum up, the struggle of the Angolan people against U.S. imperialism deserves the same kind of unconditional and militant support given the Vietnamese, the Cubans, and all other countries fighting for their liberation. We must reject the concept of "social-imperialism" as harmful to the

liberation movements and a dangerous step backward for the communist movement.

At the same time, any talk of the Angolan war being just a struggle among three equally indefensible "factions" must be condemned as a cover-up for imperialist intervention.

Long live the People's Republic of Angola! Victory to the MPLA!

Long live the national liberation struggles!

Long live the proletarian revolution!

Forward with the struggle for a socialist revolution in the United States!