

**"We shall not be moved!"**

# Striking NYC hospital workers hold mass rally

By P. COLLIGAN

NEW YORK, July 14—"Welcome to New York—But don't get sick here," was the message heard by the Democratic Convention delegates on their way to dinner here last night. They were also treated to almost continual chanting, primarily of "No contract, no work" and singing of "We shall not be moved."

Ten thousand striking hospital workers of District 1199 rallied and demonstrated outside the heavily guarded Madison Square Garden, the site of the convention. The huge number of police protecting the delegates showed how unpopular politicians are with the people they pretend to represent.

The working people who passed by immediately understood and sympathized with the hospital workers' modest demands. Several other working class organizations, including the United Farm Workers and the Center for United Labor Action, were present to support the strikers.

The striking hospital workers seemed tireless, as they kept up a punchy and rhythmic chanting to the beat of homemade drums and clanking garbage can lids.

If they listened, the police and the delegates would have heard about the issues that concern working and oppressed people today. They would have heard that people want jobs and decent wages and no cut in their living standards.

The demonstration by District 1199 was the largest of the many demonstrations and rallies that have or will take place at the Democratic National Convention, which is a focus of political attention for this week.

Other demonstrations were scheduled to support the Equal Rights Amendment; to protect a woman's right to have an abortion; to protest the ruthless cuts in social service programs, particularly daycare; to support gay rights; to stop the police state-oriented S-1 bill; and one to demand recognition of the newly united Socialist Republic of Vietnam, to force the U.S. government to live up to an earlier agreement to help rebuild the devastated country, and to demand amnesty for all Americans who resisted the Vietnamese war in any way.

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1199ers packed into the rally outside Madison Square Garden.

WW photo: Paddy Colligan.

## Palestinians, Lebanese left fight Syrian-backed rightist offensive

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Pak corruption exposed by former ROK officer

## Conference hits U.S. occupation of Korea

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By DEIRDRE GRISWOLD  
NEW YORK, July 13—A significant press conference on the Korean situation was held in Brussels, Belgium, on June 15 and attended by 100 journalists from Europe and Asia.

The conference, organized by the Socialist Party of Belgium, points up the fact that there is a growing awareness in many countries that the continued U.S. occupation of south Korea is creating an ever more dangerous situation.

**FORMER ROK GENERAL DENOUNCES PAK**

A high point of the press conference was the statement by Choe Sok Nam, a former brigadier general in the south Korean puppet army (ROK), and now president of the Democratic ROK Veterans Association in the USA. Choe told how he has been threatened by Korean CIA agents since he moved to the U.S. "The south Korean CIA is now maneuvering in every way to keep away the Koreans residing in New York from their anti-Pak, anti-dictatorship struggle by threatening, blackmailing, and conciliating them and making disruption within the Korean communities," Choe said.

Referring to the south Korean dictator, whom Choe knew well ("He was a second term fellow graduate of mine from the military training school of the ROK army"), the former general described Pak as "a cruel profiteer who has undermined the national economy and allowed comprador capitalists to swagger about by introducing foreign monopolistic capital."

Also speaking at the conference was Masaki Tachikawa, a Japanese journalist assigned to Seoul, south Korea. Tachikawa had been arrested in April 1975 because nearly two years earlier he had interviewed leaders of the student movement and had met with former presidential candidate Kim Dae Jung and national poet Kim Ji Ha—both of whom are now imprisoned because of their political stands.

**JOURNALIST TELLS OF TORTURES**

After describing his own interrogation and torture, Tachikawa turned to the present political prisoners. "A south Korean college professor who was jailed on groundless charges was wounded



Press conference in Brussels at which former south Korean general denounced the Pak regime and U.S. occupation of Korea.

all over his face and abdomen owing to the bestial tortures. . . . The Pak Jung Hi fascist regime of south Korea answers the demand of the south Korean people for democracy with ruthless repression and seeks permanent division instead of reunification. . . . The United States and Japan are coming to the aid of the Pak regime thoroughly isolated from the south Korean population."

Other speakers who called for the withdrawal of foreign troops from south Korea and solidarity with the Korean people's struggle to reunify their country were Steiner Sper, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Socialist Left Party of Norway; Eduard Hafner, Chairman of the Swiss Committee for Supporting Korea's Reunification; Marcel Tricon, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France and Mayor of Arteil; and Danish writer-journalist Ganer Petersen.

**U.S. AIR UNIT MOVED TO SOUTH KOREA**

More recently, a new ominous note was struck when the U.S. Air Force moved its Eighth Tactical Combat Air Group to south Korea, after it had been forced to leave Thailand. This aggressive move was denounced on July 12 by the Foreign Ministry of the

Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which warned, "The United States' new war provocation maneuvers against our Republic have reached an extremely grave stage and the danger of new war now existing in Korea is resulting not from the 'threat of southward aggression' from the north but

from the moves for northward invasion from the south."

The DPRK once again demanded that the U.S. government comply with last year's UN resolutions which called for the disbanding of the fictitious "UN command" in Korea and the withdrawal of U.S. forces.

**Strikers at Cambion enjoy growing support**

By TOWNSEND WILLIAMS  
CAMBRIDGE, Mass., July 9—This afternoon over 100 supporters from around the Cambridge-Boston area joined striking workers from the Cambion company at a mass picket line intended to greet scabbing management personnel as they left for the day. Advance word of the mass picketing must have reached them, however, since they all left in a group an hour early, escorted by several cops.

This show of support followed by ten days a well-attended strike benefit held at a Portuguese community center which raised over \$1,100. At the benefit, a veteran Meatcutters organizer spoke in solidarity, mentioning long strikes which his union had won in the past. This was welcome

encouragement to Cambion workers, who have been out for three months now.

The high point of the benefit was a speech by Harvard Stevens of the Third World Workers Association. Stevens drew the connection between the discrimination suffered by the third of Cambion workers who are recent Portuguese-speaking immigrants, and the even more severe repression suffered by the Black, Hispanic, and other workers of color belonging to the TWWA.

And he reminded the audience that where discrimination against European immigrants still hurts unions, the racist violence in Boston is threatening to cripple the whole workers' movement for years to come unless it is fought down by all workers.

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**DECLINE AND FALL****MORE RATS IN CITY, LESS BUGS IN SUBURBS**

The New York Times, July 5:

"Super rat is alive and well in New York City.

"The Bureau of Pest Control predicts a rise in the present population of eight or nine million regular rats, and concomitant increases in rat bites, because the bureau's budget has been cut 30 percent this year.

"Randy Dupree, director of the Bureau of Pest Control, said the cut in the rat program's \$8 million budget has already meant the layoff of about 170 people, with 270 more to go by January 1977.

"Mr. Dupree also said that the other part of his bureau, the mosquito program, had not been cut because 'that's a suburban problem, and there's clout there.' He said his usual budget of \$70,000 and equipment for the mosquito program had more than doubled this year."

Yes, mosquito bites are a nuisance, but

rat bites have killed small children and sick people. And now the ratio of one (or more) rats per person in New York City will go up to—what? In 1969, 747 people in the city reported being bitten by rats. Last year, because of the work of the Bureau of Pest Control, the number was reduced to 247.

**NO RAT BITES HERE**

The New York Times, June 9:

"The 39-story United Nations Plaza Hotel opened its 288 rooms and suites yesterday to 350 invited guests.

"For those who will pay from \$37 a night for a 'studio' to \$300 a night for a two-bedroom duplex suite, relaxing in elegant mauve and beige rooms is not the only attraction the hotel has to offer. A swimming pool is on its 27th floor, there is a tennis court on the 39th floor, and the complex also has a restaurant and a 'European' coffee shop."

**MOONLIGHTING CONGRESSMEN**

U.S. News & World Report, May 24:

"The USN&WR analysis of the reports covering 1975 reveals House members with significant holdings in these 11 special interests:

"Banks and financial institutions—76 members

"Law practice—49

"Commercial sale or rental of real estate—37

"Top defense contractors—36

"Communications—30

"Power & light companies—25

"Oil or gas—24

"Farms or ranches—18

"Insurance—12

"Transportation—11

"Drug manufacturers—10"

That's 328 of the 435 members of the House. And USN&WR list 19 congresspeople each with holdings in a number of special interests.

**BLOATED GRANDEUR**

From Harriet Van Horne's column, June 26:

"The trouble with sex scandals is that

they lead to other disclosures, a full Pandora's box of them, as a rule.

"(Rep. Wayne) Hays' impressive collection of art and antiques may have been bought abroad with government funds. Hays also goes to Europe almost as often as Henry Kissinger—21 trips in recent years.

"Under Hays' stewardship—he headed the Administration Committee—the housekeeping of the House of Representatives has assumed a bloated grandeur. . . . In 20 years, the number of House employees has quadrupled. Hays' own housekeeping committee had four employees in the 1960's, 30 in 1971 (when he took over). Now there's a staff of 260.

"Hays' sister-in-law is now on his staff payroll at \$25,624 a year.

"The stationary allowance (for Congresspeople) is \$6,500 a year, collectable in cash. The money does not have to be accounted for, and therefore becomes a cash bonus. . . . An Iowa Congressman let his fund accumulate for several years, then drew \$23,611 as a farewell gift when he retired. The heirs of a dead Congressman demanded his stationery money."



Amidst bloodiest fighting of civil war

# Lebanese leftists fight stepped-up Syrian drive

By BILL DEL VECCHIO  
NEW YORK, July 12—Once again the Syrian invaders have thrown their full weight against the Palestinian and Lebanese liberation fighters.

From the northern city of Tripoli to the southern port of Sidon, Syrian artillery and armored divisions have taken the offensive with their Lebanese rightist allies, overrunning the northern Palestinian refugee camps of Nahr el Bared and Badalsi and advancing toward Tripoli. Syrian artillery destroyed the Zahrani oil refinery in Sidon, which was one of the last remaining sources of gasoline for the popular forces. But despite the tremendous military pressure, heroic Palestinian fighters still hold the Tal al-Zaatar refugee camp, now under siege for 20 days.

According to a July 7 report from Wafa, the Palestinian press service, "Syrian troops all this morning have been engaged in offensive operations in different parts of the country, with Syrian artillery shelling Tripoli, Syrian troops continuing their advance southwards into the Hermel region of Beqaa so as to link up with the isolationist stronghold of Zghorta, and with Syrian forces participating with the fascist right-wing Lebanese forces in desperate attempts to retake the coastal town of Shakkha...."

The report continued, "On all

these and other fronts in Lebanon, heavy fighting is going on and it is expected that further major battles will take place as the day goes on. The increased role played by the Syrian army, which was to have withdrawn from the coast and mountains according to the resolutions of the Arab League, is probably a reflection of the inability of the isolationist allies of the Damascus regime to take the camp of Tal al-Zaatar and at the same time meet offensives by the joint forces elsewhere."

The recent fighting has been the bloodiest of the civil war, killing 1,500 in the past five days. An estimated 32,000 Lebanese and Syrians have died in the 15 months of fighting.

## "PEACE-KEEPING FORCE" A FARCE

The rightist and Syrian offensive has shown the peace-keeping force of the Arab League to be a farce. Mahmoud Riad, who led a fact-finding committee for the Arab League which was to have arranged a ceasefire, returned to Cairo in the face of the new fighting. According to the July 12 New York Times, the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Lebanese National Movement made an urgent appeal to Arab League members for any type of assistance, but so far have been met with only silence. The Arab



WW photo: Paula Hopkins

Demonstrators sit in and stage a hunger strike in the Boston headquarters of the International Red Cross to protest the organization's failure to provide adequate humanitarian aid to Palestinians and Lebanese civilian casualties of the civil war. See article on next page.

League is dominated by Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

Seeing the highly conscious and militant Palestinian people as a threat, both the Egyptian and the Syrian regimes have tried to suppress the Palestinian movement. During the March 30 Day of the Land general strike in the occupied territories, solidarity demonstrations were attacked by police in both Syria and Egypt. Police attacked rallies by

Palestinian students in Damascus, Cairo, and Alexandria, according to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (Bulletin 22).

The revolutionary implications of a people's victory in Lebanon have united the U.S., Israel, and the Lebanese fascists with the Egyptian, Syrian, and Saudi regimes in a conspiracy which is determined to once again crush the Palestinian revolution and drown

the Lebanese National Movement in blood. The Palestine Liberation Organization has taken a courageous stand in its defense of the Lebanese popular struggle. Although this stand has been terribly costly, the profound unity between the Lebanese and Palestinian people the war has built is laying the basis for a new, decisive struggle against U.S. imperialism's exploitation of the Middle East.

# Native Americans arrested for requesting tour of BIA office

By JOHN DICKERSON  
WASHINGTON, D.C., July 8—On July 3, several hundred Native Americans arrived in this city completing the Trail of Self Determination, which began March 24 at Ft. Laramie, Wyo. Four days later 54, mostly children, were arrested when they requested a tour of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) building.

"We see the Trail of Self Determination as an educational and spiritual experience, especially for our children," said Caleb Shields, tribal councilman of the Ft. Peck Sioux tribes in Montana. "Each night along the trail we have provided some type of educational program such as films or discussions. Since our arrival in Washington we have maintained a vigil at the White House, but also have provided a bus so that over a period of time all the children could see other parts of Washington."

On July 7 a group of 14 adults and 40 children toured the Capitol Building and the Lincoln and Jefferson memorials. Then they were going to see "our Capitol," a reference to the BIA headquarters.

## NO INDIANS ALLOWED AT BIA

As the bus unloaded in front of the BIA on Constitution Avenue, the front doors were being locked by security guards. The group proceeded to the back door where security officers were frantically fumbling with chains, keys, and locks in an attempt to secure the building.

At this point Ramona Bennett (tribal chairperson, Puyallup tribe, Washington state), Suzette Mills (councilwoman, Puyallup), and Caleb Shields presented their

IDs showing them to be legal Indian representatives. They said they wanted the children to tour the headquarters and they requested to see Commissioner Morris Thompson, head of the BIA and called "Uncle Tomahawk" by the Indians. Their request was refused.

The group returned to the front of the building where the kids took down the American flag and ran it back up the flagpole, upside-down, a sign of distress. At this distress signal who should respond but the police, who quickly saluted the inverted flag, ran it down and back up again, right-side-up. They then posted guards at the pole to protect the colors of '76.

Then the kids picked up rocks and started banging on the steps, chanting "Abolish the BIA," "200 years of your goddamned glory," "We want Morry Thompson," and "Get the FBI off our lands." Whereupon the police informed them that they must stop destroying the steps or be arrested. One man responded, "To hell with the steps! The BIA has destroyed and is destroying our lands, our resources, and our people's lives."

A further attempt was made to enter the back door and talk to Commissioner Morris Thompson. As more and more police arrived, the group sat down near the rear door of the building and remained there about an hour.

## 54 ARRESTS, BUT NO CRIME COMMITTED

As the group began to leave, the police moved in and arrested the 40 kids and 14 adults. One 17-year-old was grabbed by his hair and held with his face to the concrete by four cops. Another boy had a bloody toe, his shoe having been

stomped by a cop. One girl was apprehended with a billy club at her neck and lectured by the cop that she was young and shouldn't be involved in trouble "like this."

They were all hauled to jail. After much bureaucratic fumbling to determine who had jurisdiction to prosecute those arrested, it turned out that no one was willing to press charges. So after almost 24 hours in jail, one meal, and only two or three hours' sleep, the 54 victims were released.

The paranoia of the BIA toward Indians dates back to 1972 when the Trail of Broken Treaties caravan was in Washington. At that time 800 Indians were meeting with BIA officials about grievances concerning broken treaties. The BIA ordered the members of AIM (American Indian Movement) removed from the building, but instead the Indians removed the BIA from the building, resulting in the occupation of the BIA by AIM.

While the Survival of American Indians Association is a separate group from AIM, both groups are fighting for the same things. Both groups participated in the July 4 Coalition march. "We consider the Trail of Self Determination a continuation of the struggle begun four years ago by AIM with the Trail of Broken Treaties," said Caleb Shields of the Survival Association.

In 1924 when Native Americans were granted "full citizenship," it was a benevolent gesture to bestow upon them their full rights as Americans. First it allowed them to be drafted. It also allowed the U.S. to begin to deal with Indians more as individuals, not as nations. Thus citizenship was another step in the violation of treaty obligations. In the 1950s the policy of termination attempted to carry



This girl in front of the White House traveled the Trail of Self Determination. Later at the office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, 54 Native Americans, mostly children, were arrested.

Photo: Shia

it one step further.

As Caleb Shields said in closing, "America wants something from us: It's not the Indians they want; it's just the land." It is the goal of the Survival

of American Indians Association to secure basic rights for the Indian people. These include property rights, basic legal rights, and treaty rights which have been denied due to 371 broken treaties.





Politicians, managers, bankers try to break strike

# Hospital workers buck 'unholy alliance'

By G. DUNKEL

NEW YORK, July 12—To keep their union strong and to save the benefits and gains they have already won, 35,000 health care workers are now on strike here. The strike began Wednesday, July 7, against the voluntary (private) hospitals of New York City, and has spread to nursing homes and some municipal hospitals.

District 1199, Hospital and Health Care Employees, RWDSU, was forced into this strike, which it did not want and bent over backward to avoid, by management's refusal to negotiate. Even a federal fact-finding board admitted in June that hospital workers deserved a modest cost-of-living raise and increased employer payments into the union's benefit and pension fund. The union offered to go to binding arbitration with these findings as a basis and has stuck by its acceptance of arbitration.

(While the union may win something from arbitration, which depends on the decision of one individual, it would be better and much more democratic to rely on its strong and determined membership.)

But management rejected these findings and refused to go to arbitration, claiming that it did not have the money to pay anything more because state payments, which are mainly Medicare, Medicaid, and Blue Shield, had been frozen at 1975 levels. But this excuse was just a cover—when the state legislature froze the payments in May, the League of Voluntary Hospitals, representing management, did not make any protest.

As a union delegate from Brookdale Hospital explained to *Workers World*, "Management is out to break the strike but its hopes have been smashed by the militance of the rank and file."

## ATTEMPTS TO BREAK THE STRIKE

Over 55 workers have been arrested on the picket lines. At Columbia-Presbyterian Hospital, the cops singled out women strikers for attack.

Management is trying to keep

the hospitals operating with "volunteers" (also known as scabs)—professionals and administrators doing the struck work. Whether the scabs can work the long haul necessary to keep the money coming in remains to be seen. The hospitals are still open but the number of patients in them has dropped.

The city has also made plans for a direct attack on the strike if it grows too effective. In an interview on radio station WRB, the Assistant Health Commissioner said the city was "willing to call out the National Guard, at least the medical services." He also pointed out that the Health Commissioner has "awesome powers," for example, "he could order people (i.e. drivers) to cross picket lines."

The bourgeois press has already begun to justify the city's potential intervention. On the day the strike began, the Health Commissioner called the strikers "inhuman and barbaric." The *New York Times* has repeated this phrase in its editorials. The main thrust has been to portray the members of District 1199, who are predominantly Black and Latin, as cruel and indifferent to their patients.

## WORKERS' RESPONSE

Mrs. Frances Armstead, a District 1199 member on picket duty at Beth Israel, told *Workers World*, "We need a cost-of-living raise to take care of our families. We are responsible to the sick but we are also responsible for our families." Another worker on the picket line added, "How can we take care of the sick, if we can't take care of our families?"

A delegate from Brookdale Hospital, whose contract with District 1199 does not expire until Sept. 30, told *Workers World*, "The union is fighting for bare survival demands against an unholy alliance of management, city health commissioners, the Emergency Financial Control Board, the New York State Legislature (who froze the payments), and Governor Carey. It is part of the over-all attack on working people in New York which has been orchestrated, managed, and led by the banks."



Striking hospital workers beat their signs in rhythm to the spirited chants of 10,000 of their fellow union members at a demonstration across the street from the Democratic convention in New York.  
WW photo: Paddy Colligan

## Cops attack state workers' picketline

# Layoffs spark walkout in Chicago

By a member of AFSCME Local 1006

CHICAGO, June 10—In response to discriminatory layoffs out of seniority, several hundred state workers walked off their jobs here July 7. AFSCME Local 1006, which represents employment service

and unemployment compensation workers, called the strike to protest the layoffs of 123 workers, mostly Black and women, with up to 37 years' seniority while the state is hiring on new political patronage workers at higher salaries.

The strike began at the main office, where over half of the 2,000 workers stayed out. Picketing spread to six more unemployment offices in the city Thursday and by Friday ten offices were shut down.

This strike was called in the face of cutbacks of state and municipal workers' rights across the country. That the state is determined to crush the strike before it can spread to other state workers is evident in the role of the cops, who attacked and beat the picketers, resulting in five arrests on the first day.

In addition to demanding that the laid-off workers be rehired, the union is calling for an end to race and sex discrimination, upgrading of the lower-paid workers, an end to forced overtime of some workers while others are on a four-day work week, an end to political patronage jobs, and an across-the-board pay raise.

## UNION WILL TALK—BUT PICKETING WILL CONTINUE

The state refused to take the strike seriously at first and its effects were down-played by the media. When the strike spread to more offices in spite of threatened suspensions, Illinois Bureau of Employment Security ad-

ministrator I.L. Richardson announced Friday that he would negotiate with the union if the picket lines were suspended. The union has taken the position that it is willing to negotiate but will maintain picket lines and try to bring out even more workers.

The capitalist media are now beginning a vicious slander campaign in an attempt to turn unemployed workers against the strikers. However, this strike, if successful, could help retain many of the hard-earned rights of all workers that are being threatened. The strikers are conscious of the plight of the unemployed and are asking them in solidarity to pressure the state to settle so that the delay of unemployment checks will be minimal.

Many workers understanding the significance of the strike have shown their support on the picketline. A group of substitute teachers, Substitutes United for a Better Education, who were denied unemployment compensation for a 16-day layoff of teachers as a result of a cutback in the education budget, joined the picket line.

Workers in other unions also walked the picket lines in solidarity, as did members of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Movement, who were returning the act of solidarity Local 1006 had extended by condemning racist attacks by the Nazis last month. Acts of solidarity such as these will help the strike to be successful and will unite workers and oppressed for future struggles.

# Rubber workers stay firm despite bosses' breakup of negotiations

By TED DOSTAL

CLEVELAND, July 10—The strike of 70,000 rubber workers at Goodyear, Firestone, Goodrich, and Uniroyal is going into the 12th week with no agreement in sight. Since the strike began, a few rubber worker locals around the country have also come out because of contract expiration. This means that approximately 70 percent of all rubber production has ceased in the United States.

Labor Secretary Usery entered the picture and hoped that the workers would accept the bosses' latest offer. But the workers would have no part of it and so negotiations have broken off. The fact that the leadership is standing firm indicates clearly that the rank and file are determined to continue the struggle.

The rubber workers are demanding a nearly \$2 per hour raise to catch up with the auto workers. They had been led to believe in 1973 (during the wage

freeze) that jobs would be lost to other areas if they insisted on raises then.

The other major demands are for a genuine cost-of-living escalator clause and pensions that will care for the retirees satisfactorily. The rubber companies refuse to meet these demands.

## BIG BANKS BEHIND RUBBER COMPANIES

Why are the rubber companies so determined not to give in to the workers? Aren't they saying that there is a recovery?

The answers to these questions are several: there was much stockpiling of tires in preparation for the strike; there are many plants operating where there are no unions; the organized workers at General Tire are working even though their union contract has expired; many tires are produced in other countries and they are being delivered; tires are being allowed to be delivered to auto

plants; other unions are not supporting the strikers strongly enough, and the international boycott against Firestone is not effective enough.

But primarily, the rubber companies do not want to give up any of their huge profits. (In 1975 the four companies netted over \$300 million.) Because they are multi-national corporations and are owned primarily by the largest banks in the country, the capitalist class as a whole is supporting the fight against the rubber workers. This class knows that a defeat for rubber workers will be profitable for all the corporations.

The rubber workers' struggle is a very important one; if the rubber barons can force a substandard settlement all workers will suffer on the job when their contracts expire. The rubber workers are holding firm and with increased support of all workers, there should be a great victory.

## Despite Indonesian war in East Timor

# Fretilin holds extraordinary rally

By DEIRDRE GRISWOLD  
NEW YORK, July 12—Reports from Fretilin, the Front for the Liberation of East Timor which has been resisting Indonesian occupation for over eight months now, present a totally opposite picture of the situation in East Timor than that appearing in the capitalist press of the West.

According to the Indonesian invaders, and dutifully repeated by the press here (which is not allowed into East Timor), the small country of East Timor has been fully "integrated" into Indonesia and resistance has ended. This fits right into Washington's line, since the U.S. not only encouraged the invasion but is responsible for the right-wing military regime in Indonesia in the first place.

But the reports of Radio Maubere, a Fretilin radio transmitter hidden somewhere in the dense jungles and precipitous mountains of Timor that is monitored in Australia, tell a very different story. Giving ample details, these reports tell of continuing battles between the militant and organized population and the 30,000 or more Indonesian troops there. They tell of large-scale defections by Indonesian soldiers who are disillusioned with or hostile to the Suharto military dictatorship in Indonesia. And they tell of counter-thrusts by Fretilin forces resulting in the recapture of a number of villages and hamlets.

Most important, Fretilin and the government of the Democratic

Republic of East Timor (DRET), which unilaterally declared independence from Portugal just days before the first massive Indonesian invasion on Dec. 7, 1975, have been able to continue to organize politically in the liberated areas, which comprise about 80 percent of the country.

### AN EXTRAORDINARY MEETING OF FRETELIN

A communique from the office of Prime Minister Nicolau Lobato received here describes an extraordinary plenary session of the Central Committee of Fretilin that took place in the liberated area from May 15 to June 2 of this year.

"After detailed reports were presented by various members of the Central Committee and regional leaders from all over the national territory," the communique explains, "the assembly took note that after nearly a year of a people's war of resistance against Indonesian expansionist aggression throughout the territory, women, men, peasants and workers, students and soldiers are continuing the popular resistance in spite of the continuous massive Indonesian military operation."

The communique describes the questions discussed and debated during the meetings, many of which had to do with the general revolutionary line of the young movement thrust into the position of conducting a guerrilla war of survival. Fretilin understands its role to be "the vanguard that leads

the great masses of East Timor in their struggle against colonialism, imperialism, and all forms of domination and exploitation."

Next came a debate on "issues of a practical nature. . . . To this end, practical lines for orientation were drawn up in areas of political and military affairs, education, culture, economics, health, hygiene, justice, and production, the great school of the people, as well as the behavior and the attitudes of cadres at all levels."

On May 20, just one year after Fretilin's first mass rally which had drawn tens of thousands from all over the territory, another rally took place. Safely concealed by the rugged land and people, President Xavier do Amaral reviewed a military parade as the flags of Fretilin and the DRET flew overhead.

"Later, an exhibition center was inaugurated with displays of traditional medicine that have been adapted to meet the tragic circumstances of war. A small sugar factory was also inaugurated, that processes sugar from palm. This was followed by a rally and afterwards a luncheon was shared by the people and the freedom fighters. In the afternoon there were sports, particularly traditional East Timorese wrestling and an exhibition of simulated knife fighting by Fretilin soldiers. During the night there was a cultural show with theatrical performances, dances, and revolutionary songs."



Greeted by chants of "Long live the Socialist Republic of Vietnam," the delegation from the newly unified Vietnam arrive in New York.

## Ambassador Thi represents reunified country

# Vietnam delegation

7C

By JUDY GREENSPAN  
NEW YORK, July 10—"Long live the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV)," read the banners greeting Ambassador Dinh Ba Thi and a delegation from the newly unified Vietnam. Over 75 supporters, including a large contingent from the Association of Vietnamese Patriots in the U.S., gathered

today at Kennedy airport to welcome the representatives from the SRV.

Outside the airport terminal, Ambassador Thi expressed the willingness of Vietnam "to have friendly relations with other countries on the basis of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, and equality."

# Working class upsurge in Bolivia challenges rightist Banzer regime

By SHARON SHELTON  
NEW YORK, July 13—After five long years of rule by the harsh CIA-installed regime of Hugo Banzer Suarez, Bolivian miners have shown they never abandoned their determination to rid their country of the woes of imperialist domination.

In early June, miners throughout the country walked off their jobs in a protest which quickly developed into a general strike June 14.

Since the walkout began, at least five people have been killed by Banzer's police, a state of emergency curtailing all civil liberties has been declared, over 300 miners have been fired, many students and workers have been arrested or exiled, and the military has warned all "terrorists" will be shot on sight.

### PROTESTS IN WAKE OF TORRES' MURDER

The miners' action, which began at Bolivia's Catavi and Siglo XX mines before spreading throughout the mining industry, had been called to protest the army's seizure of the mines and the miners' radio stations, which were set up by the Bolivian Mining Workers' Union Federation (FSTMB) in 1961 as a means of politicizing and educating the workers and their families.

Banzer ordered the military occupation to quell a general outcry arising over his refusal to allow the remains of former Bolivian president Juan Jose Torres, a left nationalist, to be brought back into the country.

Torres was murdered by a goon squad in Argentina, where he had lived in exile since Banzer came to

power with the approval of U.S. imperialism in a military coup in 1971.

The Bolivian rightist had not only originally agreed to allow Torres' body into the country for burial, but had invited political exiles to return to Bolivia for services—only to arrest those who did return once they crossed the border, an action especially infuriating the politically conscious miners.

### SOLIDARITY WIDESPREAD

The miners' walkout quickly aroused solidarity among the masses of Bolivian people, sick of Banzer's repression and the poverty forced upon them as a result of the regime's close collaboration with U.S. imperialist interests.

The center of strike activity, according to the June 28 New York Times, has been Bolivia's second largest city, Cochabamba, located 100 miles south of La Paz. There workers at the huge Monaco shoe plant, the largest in Bolivia, were among those staging solidarity strikes, as were Cochabamba bank workers who walked out for 48 hours to show their backing for the miners' struggle.

Elsewhere, 13,000 students at the University of La Paz joined students all over the country in demonstrations, resulting in the closing of all of Bolivia's universities. So far, three students have been killed and many others seriously injured by the police during street fighting in La Paz, Cochabamba, Sucre, and Oruro.

Also, it is reported that even the clergy have joined the storm of protest sweeping the country, with

two bishops, Jesus Lopez de Lama and Jorge Manrique, issuing a joint statement in agreement with the miners' demands.

### WHAT THE MINERS ARE DEMANDING

The miners are demanding removal of all troops from the mines, the return of their radio stations, freedom for all jailed union leaders, the return of 28 exiled union leaders, as well as a wage increase of at least 100 percent from their present low \$22 a week.

According to the New York Times, the Banzer regime has yet to come up with a satisfactory settlement of the miners' grievances, offering only a small increase in wages and a plan which would allow miners to buy consumer goods at somewhat reduced prices.

At the same time, the reactionary regime continues to arrest and exile union leaders and has ordered occupying troops to cut off water and food supplies to strikers hidden deep in the mine shafts. Also, 300 of the miners have been fired for "subversive activities," and electricity to miners' families has been cruelly shut off in a so far futile attempt to cripple the job action.

### LIVING CONDITIONS DEPLORABLE

Besides repression and low wages, fueling the strike are the deplorable living conditions suffered by the miners and their families in the camps. In his book, *Requiem for a Republic*, published posthumously in La Paz in 1969, Sergio Almaraz described what he



Bolivian tin mine: "Hidden inside these walls are starving people who are the exiles of the miners." It was the miners throughout Bolivia who spanned against the Banzer regime.

called the miners' cemeteries.

"You have to see a mining camp to know how much a man can stand," he wrote. "Lined up with the symmetry of prisons, low, squat huts, walls of stone and adobe covered with old newspapers, roofs of zinc, dirt floors; the wind of the pampa blows in through the cracks and the family huddles together on makeshift beds—generally some old skins. When they're not freezing they run the risk of being asphyxiated. Hidden inside these walls are starving people with sick lungs. . . . This is the exile of the miner."

Conditions in the rest of the country are even worse. Bolivia

has one of the lowest standards of living in all of Latin America. Per capita income averages less than \$200 a year, even though the prices of food and other necessities continually climb. Life expectancy is only 50 years. Starvation is not uncommon.

Behind these miserable conditions lies the greed of U.S. corporations and banks that systematically exploit Bolivia's petroleum, natural gas, tin, zinc, lead, silver, and other mineral wealth, without regard for the misery and suffering their robbery creates. It was the CIA, working on behalf of U.S. corporations like Gulf Oil Company, that organized the coup that installed Banzer and





"Ambassador Dinh Ba Thi and  
WW photo: Paddy Colligan.

ntry

## n welcomed to U.S.

The delegate from the SRV spoke of his country's 30-year struggle for independence and freedom and emphasized the SRV's desire to become a member of the United Nations.

In order for a country to officially enter the UN, it must receive a unanimous vote of the five countries comprising the



with sick lungs . . . This is the  
parked a recent general strike  
Photo: LNS

thereby secured for foreign capital iron control over the Bolivian economy. Even though a large proportion of Bolivia's mining industry was nationalized some years ago, this imperialist control continues to be exercised through the financial institutions.

Up to and during the 1971 coup, however, the gains made under the progressive Torres regime were defended by the Bolivian working class, especially the miners, who fought bravely, though armed only with the dynamite used in their work. The victory of the ultra-right Bolivian capitalists and their Wall Street masters was only temporary, as the recent upsurge which has engulfed Bolivia shows.

## Ford, Kissinger couldn't save CIA-paid killers

7A

# Mercenaries get firing squad in Angola

By ANDY STAPP

NEW YORK, July 11—Last Saturday night, four white racist mercenaries, including one from Maryland, went before a firing squad in the Angolan capital of Luanda.

Upholding the death sentences imposed by the revolutionary tribunal which had presided over the nine-day trial, Angolan President Agostinho Neto said, "Every Angolan remembers the vile and cruel behavior of the mercenaries who have sown death and despair in African countries in return for pay, trying in this way to put a brake on the higher interests of a people for a few coins."

He also pointed to the continued recruitment of mercenaries against the Zimbabwean and Namibian liberation movements.

### "KILL RATIO OF 20 TO 1"

That the four condemned gunmen were cold-blooded murderers

there can be no doubt. John Banks, the head of the London-based Security Advisory Service (SAS) which recruited these free-lance killers, and who was present in Angola during much of the fighting last winter, told the Manchester Guardian (July 4), "Our guys in Angola killed over 1,000 of the enemy—actually accounted for—a maximum of about 50 of our own men killed. That's a kill ratio of 20 to 1."

Banks did not give any explanation for such a lop-sided "kill ratio" in favor of the counter-revolutionary mercenaries, but the answer is simple enough—and quite terrible. These thugs massacred a lot of people, all right, but their victims were not the MPLA freedom fighters who ultimately defeated and captured them. No, the cowardly mercenaries lynched civilians, children, the aged, and numerous unarmed peasants.

Their commander, Costas Georgiou, alias "Colonel" Tony Callan confessed in open court that this was the case, admitting that he himself had personally shot defenseless African prisoners.

One of the U.S. mercenaries, Gus Grillo, stated at the trial, "I'm sure that anybody that comes here was conscious of what he was doing. They want to tell you they were cooks, mechanics, but I don't go for this. I came here for the money."

And the money, \$1,200 a month for each of these hitmen, was provided by the U.S. government. Last December David Bufkin, a U.S. mercenary recruiter operating out of Fresno,

California, told reporters, "The money came initially from the CIA and passed through three hands."

One of these hands at the English end of the network was Major James Fulton Leonard, a former Chief of the State Department Office of Asian Communist Affairs and currently a so-called military attache in the U.S. Embassy in London. It was Fulton who funneled millions in cash to the SAS, which then arranged transportation for its cutthroats from London to Angola, via Paris and Kinshasa.

### FORD FOR EXECUTIONS HERE, NOT THERE

Predictably, the imperialist, especially the U.S. government, went into a spasm of rage when the mercenaries were put to death. Gerald Ford, a pitiless advocate of capital punishment and an enthusiastic supporter of the recent Supreme Court decision dooming over 300 people (more than half of whom are Black) to the gallows, the gas chamber, and the electric chair, pompously declared that the shooting of the four assassins whom he helped send to Angola to sow carnage among its people was "unjustified and unwarranted."

Kissinger, expressing "a deep sense of shock" most curious in a man who urged on the indiscriminate terror bombing of North Vietnamese cities, stated that "this can only be regarded by the United States as a deliberately hostile act."

But where was Ford when the south Korean dictatorship of Pak Jung Hi hung eight political prisoners in one day back in April

1975? Did he find this "unjustified"? No. Ford supported this mass hanging.

When Juan Paredes Baena and four other anti-fascists were executed by General Franco's fascist regime, did Kissinger express a "deep sense of shock"? On the contrary, he was then as now one of the most vocal champions of the Madrid butchers.

Ford's and Kissinger's "humanitarian appeals" aimed at saving the hides of the mercenaries are the crudest kind of farce. These gangsters were caught knee deep in the blood of the Angolan people. Their execution has already cooled the enthusiasm of other killers-for-hire who had thought the "kill ratio" of 20 to 1 acceptable odds for their money.

The one and only object of Washington's policy in Angola has been the promotion of U.S. big-business interests, first by arming and financing the Portuguese colonialist troops against the MPLA guerrilla fighters, and later by sending bundles of dollars and hundreds of mercenaries in a frantic maneuver to place their puppets in power.

That the People's Republic of Angola should prevail against all this and survive is an indication of the growing might of the world movement for socialism and national liberation. And that the rich ruling class was not able to intimidate the new Angolan government into letting off the CIA's paid killers is, in its own way, an even more dramatic manifestation of the deep erosion of the power of U.S. imperialism.

## July 24 concert to raise demand: 'End the U.S. blockade of Cuba!'

NEW YORK, July 12—IN CONCERT WITH CUBA: BREAK THE BLOCKADE will bring together freedom songs, jazz, folk music, salsa, and the rich Afro-Spanish music of Socialist Cuba this July 24 at the Manhattan Academy of Music.

The evening, which features percussionist Max Roach and Puerto Rican protest singer Roy Brown, will also give thousands of New Yorkers the opportunity to make a statement against the U.S. government's policy of blockade and aggression against the Cuban people.

While poor and working people in the U.S. face crisis-level unemployment, rising prices, and widespread closing of schools and daycare centers, the Ford administration in the last few months has moved to harden the government's line against Cuba—the only country in the Americas to eliminate unemployment, guarantee a living wage, and institute full and free health care, education, and care for the aged.

The U.S. people have the right to more information about these and other remarkable achievements in today's Cuba; the right to full cultural exchange and the opportunity to see Cuba for themselves. In short, IN CONCERT WITH CUBA: BREAK THE BLOCKADE will be a reminder to Washington—a reminder by thousands of New Yorkers in attendance—that the majority of the U.S. people favor an end to the blockade against Cuba.

will also be a declaration of protest against threats levelled at Cuba by President Ford and



Puerto Rican Poet Sandra Estevez will be one of the participants in the July 24 celebration, IN CONCERT WITH CUBA: BREAK THE BLOCKADE.

Secretary of State Kissinger, threats which created the climate for such terrorism as the recent bombing of the Cuban Mission to the United Nations in New York City.

At the Academy of Music on July 24 will be Max Roach, outstanding jazz percussionist; Roy Brown, well known as an interpreter of the New Latin American Song Movement; Bernice Johnson Reagan, freedom singer, poet Sandra Estevez; Teatro 4 street theater; and Witchcraft Rebellion singers.

The Committee for July 26th is a coalition of political, community, and religious organizations and individuals which has come together for the past four years to commemorate the July 26, 1953, assault on the Moncada garrison, the attack led by Fidel Castro against the Batista dictatorship which sparked the successful Cuban Revolution.

This year's event will begin at 8:00 p.m. on Saturday, July 24, at the Academy of Music, 126 East 14th Street.

(See WW editorial, page 8.)

## EDITORIAL

# Taiwan and the Olympics

The continuing threats by officials of the U.S. Olympic Committee to pull out of the games in Montreal if Taiwan is not allowed to enter its team under the name "Republic of China" demonstrate very clearly that whatever U.S. imperialism's maneuver to line up China in an alliance against the Soviet Union, policy makers in Wall Street and Washington remain basically hostile to the great Chinese revolution, to the Chinese government, and to the Chinese people.

The initial dispute over the status of Taiwan in the games could have been settled quite simply, but for the desire of the U.S. government to blow it up into a major diplomatic incident. After all, Canada was and is perfectly willing to allow the Taiwanese athletes into the country as long as they do not masquerade as representatives of China, which they are not. The team from Taiwan was given the option by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the government of Canada of either marching under a Taiwan plaque or under the Olympic flag, a most generous offer considering that other fascist regimes like Rhodesia and South Africa have been barred from the games.

But egged on by Gerald Ford, who on Monday "deplored" the IOC decision to continue the games rather than let Taiwan wreck them by forcing a total cancellation of the entire Summer Olympics, spokespersons for the Chinese rump state have vowed "no compromise."

Nor is it just arch-conservatives like Ford who are determined to make a "principle" out of upholding the Taiwanese quislings' insistence on calling themselves the government of China, even when the real China—the People's Republic—has been recognized as such by over 100 countries.

Twenty-seven years after the socialist revolution in China drove the traitors off the mainland, the liberal New York Times is still rushing to the defense of these puppets, demanding editorially on July 13 that if the Taiwanese decide to quit, then "United States participation in the Olympics should be reconsidered, even at this late date." It also reverted to calling Taiwan "the Republic of China" in this editorial, a most remarkable resurrection of cold war claims on China that cannot possibly be overlooked in Peking. As the outstanding organ of U.S. finance capital, the New York Times speaks for a substantial section of the U.S. ruling class. Such a loud show of favoritism toward the Taiwanese "government," with its concomitant display of enmity to the People's Republic of China, underscores once more the deep class antagonisms that exclude any convergence of truly fundamental interests between the world's number one imperialist power and the world's most populous socialist state.

One cannot help but wonder after such a provocative slap in the face from Ford, from the big-business media, and from the rest of the capitalist establishment here, how the leaders of China can possibly regard the USSR as their main enemy.

## Celebrate July 26!

Every year since 1959, when they succeeded in overthrowing the brutal dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, the Cuban people have added new lustre to the cause of socialism, showing by their example how a small country can make great strides in overcoming the curse of economic underdevelopment imposed by imperialism on so much of humanity.

In eradicating such dread diseases as polio and malaria, in wiping out illiteracy and the scourge of racism, in abolishing prostitution and unemployment, in building decent housing and recreation areas for the workers and farmers, Cuba has inspired all the other peoples of Latin America.

Having achieved so much at home in such a small amount of time, Cuba could hardly be faulted if it sought the easy road in international relations, giving first consideration to its own immediate national interests.

But, as everyone knows, Cuba has matched her remarkable feats at home with equally inspiring exploits in defense of the liberation struggles of oppressed people in other parts of the world, despite the escalation of threats from Washington that has accompanied every advance for the oppressed. Cuban aid to the heroic revolutionaries of Angola and Cuba's unwavering championship of the rights of Puerto Rico against Yankee colonialism immediately come to mind. It is natural, then, that progressive people in the U.S. feel strongly about defending Cuba, after it has done so much to promote proletarian internationalism.

Fortunately they'll have an excellent opportunity to express these feelings by attending "In Concert with Cuba," a commemorative celebration of the beginning of the Cuban Revolution, sponsored by the Committee for July 26th and scheduled for Saturday night, July 24, at New York City's Manhattan Academy of Music. The theme of this event is a call to end the imperialist blockade of Cuba.

Be there.



## Chu Teh, 1886-1976

On July 6 Chu Teh, the Chairman of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, died in Peking at the age of 89.

Revolutionaries throughout the world salute Chu Teh at the end of his life's journey, for he was both a dedicated communist and a great soldier. Recognized by his capitalist and imperialist opponents as a military genius (they once offered \$250,000 reward to anyone who could kill him), Chu Teh fought in thousands of battles for the national and social liberation of the Chinese people, winning victory after victory over the class enemy.

Reported slain in combat over ten times by the bourgeois press, Chu's political life spanned the entire epoch from the overthrow of the corrupt Manchu monarchy in 1911 (an event he participated in as a youthful rebel), to the great socialist revolution in 1949.

In 1946 when the final civil war began between the Kuomintang dictatorship and the Chinese communists, Chu Teh's 1.3 million Red Army soldiers seemed hopelessly outnumbered by the 10 million U.S.-armed troops at the disposal of the fascist Chiang Kai-shek. But a combination of Chu's brilliant military stratagems and, even more decisive, the revolutionary determination and self-sacrifice of the Chinese masses, gave the future to communism in China and accelerated the drive toward revolution all over the globe.

### THREE CAMPAIGNS THAT CHANGED THE WORLD

Although Chu Teh's life was not untouched by suffering, as in 1929 when his wife, Wu Yu-tan, was captured and beheaded by reactionaries, it was illuminated by the most stirring accomplishments. His and Mao Tse-tung's leadership in the famous Long March of 1934-36 saved the Chinese Revolution from destruction; his unorthodox but masterful campaign mangled the Japanese colonialist occupation army in northern China during the Second World War; and, of course, he was an indispensable architect of the final triumph of the poor and laboring people of China over the landlord-merchant-

banker regime and its U.S. imperialist overseers, a shattering defeat for the "American Century" at the very moment of its birth.

Thirty years ago, on the occasion of Chu Teh's 60th birthday, he received a letter from a number of workers in the city of Shanghai. Although three decades have passed, this letter still describes

those things that will always be remembered about Chu Teh.

"Honorable Elder," the letter began, "You have saved the Chinese people from the iron hoof of the enemy. You led the Chinese people to emancipate themselves from a thousand years of slavery, you have helped them clothe and feed themselves. . . ."



## The deadly Lockheed curse

TOKYO, Japan, June 24 (PNS-NAN)—Lockheed is becoming a deadly word in Tokyo. Eight persons connected to the scandal have died suddenly since it broke in February, leading some observers to suspect foul play. Most recently, Taro Fukuda, president of Japan PR Co., an important link in the Lockheed bribe network, died of cirrhosis of the liver in a hospital that is tied to Yoshio Kodama, the rightwing "godfather" who received the bulk of the Lockheed money.

Other deaths include two suicides—Lockheed Vice-President Robert Waters and a Tokyo police superintendent investigating the case. Two businessmen with Lockheed contacts have died of heart failure, two journalists covering the story have died suddenly of undisclosed causes, and a tax investigator looking into Kodama's tax records died of a stroke.



Significance for the proletariat in

# The conference of European CPs

By SAM MARCY

JULY 12—Marxism differs from bourgeois sociology not only because it is a superior method of social analysis. It differs from all other ideologies in that it is a doctrine of the revolutionary struggle. As such, it is fiercely partisan in the presentation of its viewpoint—the viewpoint of the proletariat. It of necessity must defend the proletarian view of all social phenomena and in particular its view of political struggle the world over. In doing so, it defends its view as against the prevailing view, relentlessly pushed by the bourgeoisie.

Because bourgeois ideology is centuries old and has inherited a great deal from previous possessing classes, and since the mode of bourgeois production is still the prevalent mode, the working class outlook has an uphill struggle in gaining ascendancy even over vanguard elements of the working class. In an era such as we are passing through now, which is characterized by widespread defections from revolutionary Marxism, and in which reformism and revisionism have regained considerable ground, it is all the more necessary to be on guard, not to be taken in tow by the sweep of the new reformism—and, of course, by the assiduous efforts of the bourgeoisie to ideologically capture newly awakening sectors of revolutionary workers.

Viewed in this light, the Conference of European CPs is of special importance to the world working class movement and oppressed people everywhere. The bourgeois press everywhere have poured scorn upon it. They have shown a malicious delight in the "break from Moscow" of some of the West European CPs (the Italian, Spanish, and to a lesser extent the French).

## JUBILATION IN BOURGEOIS CAMP

The jubilation in the camp of the bourgeoisie over this event should really surprise no one, least of all the class-conscious workers of the world. The imperialists are dead set against the USSR because it is a workers' state, or a socialist state, as it is most frequently called. Any break from the USSR, anything that would hurt the USSR, the imperialists welcome with open arms. They have never been reconciled to the USSR and never will be unless counter-revolution is completely triumphant there, a very, very unlikely prospect, based on present conditions.

Of course, it matters a great deal to the bourgeoisie what the character of the Soviet leadership is—whether it is reformist or revolutionary. In the final analysis, however, their estimate of the USSR as a class formation hostile to imperialism and in competition with the capitalist system has never varied greatly.

The fact that the bourgeoisies welcome what amounts to the formal defection of the Italian, Spanish, and some other CPs is based on what they regard as their best interests. Does the split help them or hurt them? Does it advance their interests or the interests of the proletariat of the countries they represent? That's the way the ruling classes look at it. They're not confused by semantics, changes in phraseology, or flexibility in tactics. That's strictly for popular consumption by the masses.

How should the European CP

conference be viewed in the light of proletarian class interests?

## AN INDEPENDENT PROLETARIAN VIEWPOINT

The first thing is to establish the complete independence of the viewpoint of the proletariat as against that pushed by the bourgeoisie. The proletariat must make its own appraisal in the light of its own independent class interests, free from the clichés, the slogans, and the subtle influences of bourgeois journalism.

A proletarian party should first of all pose the question: What was the nature of the split? Was the split from the Soviet leadership a revolutionary one? Was the break away from the reformism and revisionism of the Soviet bureaucracy a move in the direction of proletarian policy? Obviously the answer to that is no.

A break should not in and of itself be hailed by the vanguard elements in the camp of the working class. To do that is to echo the bourgeois line, the line of

root" over the revisionist bloc for some 20 years now. Whatever truth there is in this headline is at least two decades behind the times.

Silber characterizes the role of the Soviet leadership in the conference as "superpower hegemony." The term superpower, which was invented by the bourgeoisie, serves its purposes very well. It conceals the class character of the Soviet Union and also hides the predatory character of imperialism, putting the USSR and imperialism on an equal footing. Employing this terminology not only confuses the reader but makes it impossible to put forth a clear-cut analysis of an important social phenomenon.

Palmiro Togliatti, former head of the Italian CP, in 1956 put the finishing touches on any real dominance by the Soviet leadership over the Italian CP. At that time the Khrushchev report denouncing Stalin was utilized by the Italian CP leaders, not to establish a line of revolutionary demarcation between themselves

fortunately ended tragically) and adopted the bourgeois reformist line of seeking seats in a bourgeois parliament where the bourgeoisie holds power. The PCI rejected the "Greek line," Segre says, for reasons which have more to do with the brazen British imperialist intervention backed politically and militarily to the hilt by the U.S., than with the mistakes of the Greek CP or the reluctance of Stalin and later Tito to really support the struggle of the Greek people for independence from imperialism and for their right for a new system.

It should not be thought, however, that the Italian preference for the bourgeois parliamentary road was all of its own making. The haste with which Stalin immediately extended diplomatic recognition to the Badoglio regime in Italy after the war was a tip-off as to what the Soviet leadership's preference was, too. Badoglio had been Mussolini's Minister of War and as much a fascist criminal as Mussolini

the Soviet bureaucracy. What is completely left out in the literature of the radical left, and in particular in this article in the Guardian, is the severe and unrelenting pressure of world imperialism. To this day it is the fundamental factor (from the point of view of the objective world situation) which is holding back, stifling, and where possible destroying even by means of genocide (in Vietnam yesterday and Palestine today), the revolutionary struggle of the masses.

## AMERICAN CAPITAL'S ONSLAUGHT IN EUROPE

The conference of European CPs has to be viewed in the context of the ferocious onslaught of American finance capital in its European theater of operations and the struggle of U.S. imperialism against the USSR, as well as, of course, the reformist and revisionist policies of the Soviet bureaucracy. But in all the commentaries in the bourgeois press, and in the radical press as well, this main point regarding the defection of some of the Western CPs is either deliberately left out or not understood.

Why did they break at this particular time? Is it because the Brezhnev leadership is so much more domineering than that of Khrushchev or Stalin? Is it due to a renewed desire to be independent? Not really. The answer to it must be sought mainly in imperialist pressure, particularly on the very large, mass CPs.

The Italian CP, for example, embraced the doctrine of the "historic compromise" (a new phrase for an old idea of collaborating with the bourgeois government either with or without a cabinet post) only after the defeat of the Chilean revolution, only after the bloody coup which exterminated hundreds and thousands of progressives, workers, students, and peasants by the hand of Wall Street-Pentagon imperialism.

Instead of drawing the revolutionary lesson from the Chilean tragedy, the lesson of preparing for armed resistance, they drew an opportunist one. In plain words, it frightened them. The Italian leaders offered this "historic compromise" to ward off a Chilean experience. Demonstrating independence from Moscow in this way, in fact attacking the USSR, is a way of showing allegiance to the bourgeois order in Italy and obeisance to imperialism.

## CPs FEAR ANOTHER CHILE

The basic truth to emerge from the so-called independence of the Western CPs is that they are "running scared" in the most literal sense of the word, particularly in the light of the prospect that they may become part of a bourgeois coalition government and become subject to the kind of treatment handed out to the Chileans.

Segre points specifically to the Chilean experience in his Foreign Affairs article. Nor has the Portuguese development been lost on the other CPs. In fairness to the communist parties of Italy, France, and Spain, it should be added that from the point of view of a revolutionary struggle for power, none of them are prepared for it. The French and Italian CPs dissolved the partisan armies after

(continued on page 11)



*"The Italian CP embraced the doctrine of the 'historic compromise' only after the defeat of the Chilean revolution. Instead of drawing the revolutionary lesson from the Chilean tragedy, the lesson of preparing for armed resistance, they drew an opportunist one." Above, Chilean President Salvador Allende and his aides on the day of the coup.*

imperialism. A revolutionary break with reformist policies is one thing. But a break which deepens the reformism of several of the parties, which is in effect not so much a break with the policies of Breznev, Khrushchev, and Stalin, but is also a break with the USSR as a workers' state and a break with Leninism—that is something entirely different. It is not only deplorable, but should be denounced. This should be done in a way that does not rubberstamp in any way whatever the policies of the Soviet leadership. It is vital that this be done in such a way that it can't possibly be confused with bourgeois anti-communist or anti-Soviet propaganda.

It is unfortunate, but all too true, that in the literature of the radical left in this country, the break is hailed and sounds very much like an echo of the bourgeois line, even if it's not meant to be. Take the Guardian of July 14, 1976. Its headline on this subject reads, "Soviets no longer rule roost—Revisionist bloc crumbling."

While the headline is to some degree at variance with the accompanying article by Irwin Silber, it nevertheless is a fair representation of what the reader will gather from the view presented there. In the first place, the "Soviets" have not "ruled the

and the Soviet leaders, but to deepen reformism in the Italian CP and hostility to the Soviet Union and Leninism (not to Khrushchev or later the Brezhnev leadership).

## ORIGINS OF ITALIAN CP'S "INDEPENDENCE"

If we are to believe the Italian CP leaders themselves, their "new independent line" started much earlier, immediately after the Second World War. "Ever since the Party's (PCI) first post-war congress in January 1946, the Communists, firmly rejecting all prospects of the sort unfolding in Greece, indicated . . . their preference for Italy's future (to be) a democratic republic 'founded on a representative parliamentary system, (with) the fundamental rights of citizens, freedom of speech, of conscience, of the press, of religion, of association and expression. . .'" So says Sergio Segre, head of the International Department of the Italian Communist Party and a member of its Central Committee, in an article in the July 1976 Foreign Affairs (the journal of the Rockefeller-dominated Council on Foreign Relations!).

What Segre is saying here is that the PCI rejected the revolutionary struggle for proletarian power in 1946 (as in Greece, which un-

himself. Nevertheless, the diplomatic recognition extended to this western imperialist-imposed regime was a challenge to the Italian anti-fascist resistance movement, led by the PCI. The anti-fascist movement was, of course, an armed movement and at its height had tremendous popular support from the broad mass of the working class, peasantry, and urban petty-bourgeoisie.

What has happened now is a mere continuation and deepening of a process that began long ago, not only in the Italian but in other CPs. It is not only improper, but altogether false, to pin it all on Brezhnev, as does the Guardian, which carried a New York Times cartoon of Brezhnev in the form of a chicken with cracked eggs below the chicken's feet, and the legend, "Have Brezhnev's chickens flown the coop?"

Every communist has a right to regard this as nothing but a veiled form of red-baiting, borrowed from the New York Times.

Nor is it right to pin it all on Khrushchev, or even altogether on Stalin. The break from the Leninist line came during the era of Stalin, who fashioned the politics of the Comintern in his day. But the false policies were not the product of Stalin's own doing alone or even of

# Rigged elections 1876-1976

## 1940—War and the third term

By VINCENT COPELAND  
The election campaign of 1940, although it involved an unprecedented third term for Franklin Roosevelt, was noticeably less vituperative than that of 1936.

The capitalist class, including the top bankers, relaxed their hostility, although they seem to have preferred a gilt-edge utility president and wonder-boy banker named Wendell Willkie, whom they ran on the Republican ticket.

Here again, those eloquent if not infallible figures—the “official” Presidential campaign funds—throw their golden light on the subject. The Republicans raised more slush than the Democrats, but this time only 24 percent more. And the total figures on both sides were much lower, reflecting Wall Street's basic equanimity about the outcome.

The comparison of 1936 with 1940 figures is given below:

### REPUBLICANS DEMOCRATS

1936	\$8,892,971	\$5,671,118
1940	3,451,310	2,783,654

But after digesting this glaring difference, the fact remains that Roosevelt won again, although not so heavily as in 1936.

### BUT WHY DID HE WIN?

The fact is that there was still an element of semi-Bonapartism (see last week's explanation of this) about his administration. The working class and oppressed generally still hailed him as a leader of the masses and an enemy of capital, when he was in reality only reflecting and utilizing their own mighty strength in a very small way in order to regulate capital—in capital's own ultimate interest.

To some degree this working class affection was already a

memory on the part of the masses. But the masses are always loyal to those they think have befriended them—and long, long after the event, unless other events and other leaders dramatically intervene.

It was this factor, even more than that of semi-Bonapartism itself, that made a number of capitalists see the value of keeping FDR for a third term. They realized they were going to enter the Second World War, which had already begun in Europe, and would need a good “war leader.”

On the other hand, a large number were just as stupid about recognizing FDR's value to them in wartime as they had been in peacetime.

### APPEASING THE “ECONOMIC ROYALISTS”

As early as September 1939, Roosevelt had appointed Edward R. Stettinius, the Morgan-anointed chairman of U.S. Steel, to be head of the War Resources Board (later the War Production Board).

And in May 1940, he appointed William Knudsen, president of GM (Morgan and duPont), to be in charge of armaments production. Knudsen was the same man who two years earlier had praised General Goering, head of Hitler's Air Force, and said Hitler himself had worked a “modern miracle.”

On May 16, 1940, FDR made his “Arsenal of Democracy” speech before both houses of Congress calling for tremendous increases in government spending for steel, airplanes, guns, ships, tanks, etc.

The spending on “defense” was now several times the spending on “useless work projects” and “leaf-raking welfare bums” of the previous period. But of course the outcry against “government spending” was suddenly silenced.

The real conflict among the tops of the capitalist class after Aug. 30,

1939, was no longer over how many crumbs to give to the oppressed, but over the question of the coming U.S. role in the widening war.

### ISOLATIONISTS AND INTERVENTIONISTS

One distinct section called the Isolationists said it was against entering the war altogether.

This section was led by a combination of capitalists doing a profitable business with the Nazi capitalists—and usually with the British capitalists as well. It also included a large group who yearned to take over China, Indochina, Indonesia, etc., which might entail a war with imperialist Japan, so they didn't want a war with imperialist Germany, which was regarded as the main enemy by the other faction.

Lastly there was the rapidly-diminishing number who thought Hitler only wanted to kill all the communists (with the emphasis on Jewish communists) and why shouldn't he be allowed to go ahead and do so?

By and large, the Isolationists opposed Roosevelt in 1940.

The other section, the Interventionists, was spearheaded by those very bankers to whom Roosevelt had been so opposed in his first term and who had so opposed him—the Morgans in particular.

Hitler had repudiated the U.S. banks' loans to imperialist Germany openly and often. So the bankers had no love for him in spite of his value to them as a crusader against communism.

These same bankers looked upon the butcher Franco, for instance, with much more sympathy. Franco, you see, was more than willing to co-operate with U.S. big business, banks and all. Thus the hypocritical “Neutrality Act” was passed in 1936 keeping U.S. supplies away from the legal Spanish

## 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. (404) 523-8990.

BALTIMORE—Workers World Party, 2402 St. Paul Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21218. (301) 366-3713.

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. (713) 224-2842.

MILWAUKEE—Workers World Party, 150 E. Juheau, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53202. 224-0422

NEW YORK CITY—Workers World Party, 46 West 21 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, 930 F Street, North West, Room 720, Washington, D.C. 20004. (202) 783-7079 (evening).

government, enabling Franco to win, and it was only repealed in 1939-40 when it was time to intervene against Hitler.

In addition, Hitler, unlike Franco, insisted upon extending his domain and breaking the rules of the imperialist status quo.

The Interventionist capitalists were in reality patching it up with Roosevelt—and especially vice versa—all through 1940, and this explains to a large degree, along with his working class support, the comparative ease with which FDR

secured the historic third-term victory.

### THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST CANDIDATE

The other important candidate in 1940 was Earl Browder, chairman of the Communist Party, who campaigned from a prison cell along with James W. Ford, a leading Black Communist, and received 46,251 votes by the capitalist count.

This at-first-sight small and even tiny tally had at least as much significance as Eugene Debs' 920,000 votes when he ran from prison in 1920. It was a conscious anti-war and anti-imperialist vote against the most popular U.S. President of the 20th century and perhaps of any other century.

The Communist Party had labeled the war between Britain and Germany as an imperialist war—which it was. The party had lost much of its membership as a result of its courageous stand. And Browder, who has generally been identified with the soft, class-collaborationist policies of the preceding—and following—periods, sturdily refused to go along with the Roosevelt war drive.

Of course, when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, every class-conscious worker in the world instinctively realized that the Soviet Union must be defended. But the Communist Party and Browder decided that U.S. imperialism would also be fighting a progressive war merely by virtue of an enforced, grudging, and very temporary alliance with the USSR.

So Browder was freed from prison to play a “respectable” role somewhat similar to that of Roosevelt himself, but on a smaller scale—i.e., that of calling upon the working class to stop the class struggle since such a struggle was incompatible with “winning the war.” And Browder's remarkable 1940 election campaign has been either covered up or forgotten.

(Next: The War Deal and a Fourth Term.)

## Gold save the Queen!!

By BEVERLY SLAPIN

It would have been undeniably crass of Gerald Ford to throw a lavish banquet for visiting royalty on the same day that he vetoed a public works employment bill that would have created some 300,000 jobs.

So he did it the next day.

The glittering state dinner in honor of Queen Elizabeth II was held in a flower-decked, white-canopied pavilion in the White House Rose Garden. Inside the tent, according to New York Post reporters (this reporter wasn't invited), “a scene like the Arabian Nights... presented itself.

“The circular tables for eight were covered with magnificent silk cloth, designed with daisies and pink trellis work. Each table was centered with masses of the most exotic greenhouse flowers—Oriental lilies of several sorts and lilies of the Nile and ornamental aliums, and common field flowers like butterfly weed and cow parsley. Nothing seemed studied, but as if a prince had wandered about and cut a few blossoms with a generous hand.”

Actually, everything was both studied and generous—designers were flown in from New York to “do” the flowers, and the tablecloths and china, like the tent, were specially made for the occasion. Outside, topiary trees of



In Boston, formerly a colonial city, the Queen pretends to ignore signs demanding freedom for Northern Ireland, a present British colony.

bright pink roses lined the driveway from the White House to the tent.

And everybody who was anybody was there. Besides the Fords, the Queen, and the Royal Consort, the guest list of 224 included such dignitaries as Secretary of State Kissinger, Vice President Rockefeller, British Foreign Secretary Anthony Crosland, Alice Longworth, Lady Bird Johnson,

and Telly Savalas.

The food was nothing to sneeze at either. The main course was roast stuffed saddle of veal, served with rice croquettes in baskets woven of noodle dough, with broccoli Mornay, and Trappist cheese. Then there were giant, 4-pound lobsters, glazed and garnished with black truffles, surrounded by a vegetable salad with a remoulade sauce, in turn topped

with the meat of boiled baby lobsters.

(The veal alone cost \$1,000, according to White House spokespeople, who apparently were too embarrassed to reveal the price of the whole meal, let alone the entire festivities.)

For those who absolutely weren't going home to cook dinner afterward, there was dessert of peach ice cream bombe with wreaths of fresh raspberries and ruffles of whipped cream. And finally, to wash it all down, there were Sterling Shenin Blanc (1972), Beaulieu Vineyards Cabernet Sauvignon (1968), Schamberg Blanc de Blancs (1973), and an assortment of cordials and liqueurs.

So that all the people without jobs could see what they were missing, the whole bash was televised “live,” with French chef Julia Child oohing and aahing at the culinary techniques of White House chef Henry Haller.

After the banquet, Her Royal Highness listened with apparent rapture as Ford bumbled through a long and boring toast, in which he said that he and the Queen were “working for a better life for all humanity.”

Although their table chatter was not recorded, it is rumored that as the President and the Queen clinked glasses, one of them said, “Let them eat cake.”



# POLITICAL PRISONERS



## Harrises accuse prosecutor of racism in jury selection

NEW YORK, July 11—With the selection of a jury on July 9, defendants Emily and William Harris accused the prosecutor of "systematically excluding Third World people" from the jury, and sought unsuccessfully to obtain a mistrial or dismissal of the charges brought against them.

Emily and William Harris are accused, with Patricia Hearst, of assault, armed robbery, and kidnaping in connection with an incident that occurred at Mel's Sporting Goods Store in Inglewood, Cal., on May 16, 1974.

The cases of Emily and William Harris have been severed from that of Patricia Hearst, who was convicted in a federal bank robbery trial in San Francisco last February, at which time she denounced the Harrises.

Within hours after the sporting goods incident in May 1974, six other SLA members were murdered when upwards of 500 cops and FBI agents attacked the house where they lived, turning a Black neighborhood in Los Angeles into a bloody battlefield. Hundreds of neighborhood people, many of them small children, huddled on the sidewalks or scrambled to safety as the cops began shooting without warning. The house was burned to the ground. In the ashes were the bodies of four women and two men. This was certainly one of the most vindictive and uneven battles in recent history.

Emily and William Harris are now in reality on trial for the same

reason that these six other SLA members were murdered and cremated by the police: because they forced a millionaire to part with some of his money to feed poor people.

However, many poor and oppressed people have different feelings about the SLA. When the remains of SLA leader Cinque (Donald De Freeze) were returned to his home in Cleveland after the shooting, over 2,000 persons, predominantly Black, attended his funeral. A wreath on his coffin read, "He fed us."

The Harrises have contended that Samuel Mayerson, the chief prosecutor in their case, has been motivated by racism in using seven of the nine peremptory challenges at his disposal to discharge four Blacks and three Chicanos from the jury and the alternate panel.

Judge Mark Brandler refused to discharge a prospective juror who had been accused by another of prejudging the guilt of the defendants. The juror was overheard to say that he did not approve of "groups like that," meaning the SLA. He said he "wanted to be one of the jury" because he "knew which way he would go."

On June 30, the accused juror elaborated on his views to the court, saying he was against all revolutionaries, not just the SLA, because they seek to overthrow the government. A motion to dismiss him and another prospective juror who had

previously expressed hostile views toward the SLA was denied by Judge Brandler.

The defense also charged that security measures ordered by Judge Brandler indicated he was afraid for his safety and therefore would not preside fairly over the trial. Measures include a bullet-proof glass and steel mesh barrier that separates the defendants and other participants in the trial from the spectator section.

The judge refused to disqualify himself or transfer the trial from the bulletproof courtroom.

## National director of AIM, two others get prison terms on phony charges

HOT SPRINGS, S.D., June 17—Last week Herb Powless, Phil Bautista, and Mark Powless were sentenced to prison terms in Sioux Falls State Prison on concocted charges stemming from an illegal search of a van in March 1975. Herb is a national director of the American Indian Movement (AIM) and executive director of the Native American Alcoholism Center in Milwaukee, Wisc. Mark and Phil are staff members at the center.

They were found guilty on a series of explosives charges by an all-white jury. Herb was sentenced to four years and Mark and Phil to three years each. Herb was also hit with a 2½ year federal sentence to be served concurrently.

Hot Springs is a small, all-white community near the Black Hills

## Oglala 4 defense forces FBI head to testify on govt. terror campaign

By LESLIE FEINBERG

NEW YORK, July 10—Last week, under threat of contempt, Director of the FBI Clarence Kelley was forced to testify in the trial of the Oglala 4 about FBI programs of harassment and repression against the Indian movement. Bringing Kelley to the stand against his will was a victory in a case the American Indian Movement views as pivotal. This week the prosecution has begun final arguments in the trial.

Four Indian men, now known as the Oglala 4, are being charged with the murder of two FBI

agents. The four are Bob Robideaux, Dino Butler, Jimmy Eagle, and Leonard Peltier. The state of South Dakota is asking for the death penalty in the current trial of Brothers Robideaux and Butler.

Jimmy Eagle is currently being held in California and will go to trial at a later date. Leonard Peltier is fighting extradition in Vancouver, Canada, while imprisoned there on death row.

The case stems from a shoot-out last June 26 in Oglala, a small village on the Pine Ridge Reservation. At that time the FBI had an occupation force of over 100 on the reservation. Two FBI agents and an Indian man, Joe Stuntz, were killed. On the same day, right-wing former tribal chairman Richard Wilson gave one-eighth of the Oglala land to the U.S. government.

### FBI ALERT JUST HARASSMENT

Testimony by Clarence Kelley revealed among other things that the FBI had ordered a nationwide alert over the July 4 weekend saying that Native American people might "cause violence." Without any proof that any violence was planned, this terror campaign could have provoked great violence against Indian people.

"Is it not a fact that there is not one shred of evidence in the hand of the FBI?" defense attorney William Kunstler asked in reference to the July 4 alert.

"None that I know of," Kelley replied.

## —European CPs

(continued from page 9)

the Second World War. They voluntarily gave up their arms to the class enemy, disarmed the proletariat, while the bourgeoisie remained armed to the teeth!

A proletariat disarmed is not altogether helpless. If it is armed with revolutionary doctrine it will find ways and means to arm itself militarily. But because the proletariat is disarmed is no reason for dissolving revolutionary doctrine, abandoning Marxism and Leninism, and renouncing the class struggle in all but words.

Of course, the Soviet bureaucracy is not for a revolutionary armed struggle. It certainly has not promoted one and it is not about to change its policy. But as President Giscard d'Estaing was forced to admit in an interview recently with U.S. News & World Report, "the Soviet leaders didn't encourage an armed struggle in Portugal, but neither did they discourage it." This is an absolutely correct statement. Whatever one may think of this policy, it is a long way from domination, or imposition of a political line.

This is not to defend the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy but to define its role in the context of the current state of the European class struggle. It is necessary to state this clearly and explicitly so that the movement doesn't fall captive to the bourgeois version of the European CP conference or join in the false and scurrilous attacks on the USSR and on communism as a whole. The fact of the matter is that the Soviet leadership is not only not dominating the Western CPs, but it has willingly accepted their reformism and is merely trying to ward off anti-Soviet attacks.

What is totally being lost sight of in all the jubilation with the "revolt

of the Western CPs over the domination of Moscow" is that it has in effect put the Soviet bureaucracy in the position of being to the left of the Western CPs and has improved the political position of the Soviet leadership in the underdeveloped world, in the lands of oppressed people. Revolutionary elements in the Third World countries will veer closer to the Soviet leadership as a result of the European Communist conference. They will see the Soviet leadership as being more revolutionary than the Western CPs. They inevitably will think in terms of Angola, in terms of the aid to Vietnam and Cuba. This weighs, on a historical scale, much more in their eyes than does the so-called independence of the Western CPs. Independence in a revolutionary direction, in the direction of independent working class politics, is one thing. Independence to deepen reformism is something else.

### CPs BANK ON CAPITALIST STABILITY

The principal hope of the Italian and other reformist CPs in Europe is based on the illusion that European capitalism will become stabilized and that a new era of reformism is possible, especially with their participation in the bourgeois governments.

If the Italian CP leaders were serious in their discussion about their real perspective, they should be raising in a principled manner for political discussion this question: is there a materialist basis for a new reformist period for European capitalism?

In an article in the Monthly Review of June 1976, the question of the character of the new reformism is dealt with and described in terms of the electoral

means it seeks to base itself on. The MR likens it to the old reformism of the German Social Democratic Party before the First World War. The analogy, of course, is to a large extent accurate, as anyone familiar with the history of the old pre-World War I Social Democratic Party of Germany can easily see.

### MATERIAL BASIS FOR PRE-WWI REFORMISM

But there are fundamental differences not dealt with in the Monthly Review which are extremely important if one is to put the new reformism in the proper historical context.

The old reformism grew up spontaneously on the basis of the expansion of the capitalist system and the conversion of competitive capitalism into monopoly capitalism. The material basis for the growth of reformism in Britain, in Germany, and elsewhere on the European continent was to be found in the predatory and unhindered imperialist expansion of European capital into Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

On this basis the labor aristocracy obtained some crumbs. It acted as a means of putting a brake on the revolutionary class consciousness of the working class and put the proletarian revolution into the distant future. It was the day when European capital was supreme over the world and when the United States was a debtor nation and

Europe was its creditor.

Such were the world conditions which constituted the material basis for the growth of reformism and the erosion of revolutionary class consciousness. Furthermore, there was not yet a truly revolutionary working class party, in the Leninist sense of the word, on the European continent, the lesson of the Paris Commune notwithstanding.

### TODAY'S REALITY

The picture today is altogether different. Europe is today a continent semi-colonized by the U.S. The multi-national corporations dominated by the U.S. in truth control the destiny of West European capital. The expansion of European capitalism, such as it experienced in the period following the Second World War, cannot be repeated. The advance of the worldwide struggle of the oppressed people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America is an over-riding obstacle.

Moreover, U.S. imperialism is more intent than ever of wringing out of the European economy (that is, out of the sweat and blood of the workers) every cent that it can in its unrestrained lust for superprofits. Even when it comes to small things, really picayune when one considers the mammoth size of U.S. imperialism, American finance capital is utterly unrestrained.

Recently, the European Common Market tried to put a small

tax on imports of soybeans and soybean oil to ease the overproduction arising out of the capitalist economic crisis. This would have slightly infringed on U.S. exports. The U.S., through Ford's special trade counsel, Frederick B. Dent, immediately delivered an ultimatum: "If the EEC adopts this measure . . . the U.S. will move immediately and firmly to defend its trade interests." (New York Times, July 12.)

This is not on a multi-billion dollar plane and munitions contract—it's on soybeans! What would the U.S. not do on larger matters and on the broad political issues, such as concern Italy, Spain, France, and others?

Is this the materialist basis for a stable new reformism? On the contrary, the fears of the Italian CP are based on the possibility of a fascist coup more than their hopes are based on the success of the new reformism.

The prospect for European capitalism is one of growing deepening economic crisis in spite of the short-lived economic recovery now said to be in progress. The prospect is one of heightening inter-imperialist antagonisms among the European capitalist countries and ever more aggressive inroads by American finance capital. All of this will surely engender acute class antagonisms from which revolutionary struggles of the proletariat for power are sure to emerge.

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Read how New York City managed to find \$1.6 million for the Democratic Party's convention but nothing for the poor. Page 4.

## Jobless rate up as recovery bogs down

# Ford: Unemployment just a statistical problem

By T. GRENDL

NEW YORK, July 12—The New York Times of July 3 reported that the number of employed workers in this country fell by about 197,000 from May to June, so that the total of unemployed rose to about 7,143,000 persons out of an official labor force of 94.6 million—or an increase in the jobless rate from 7.3 to 7.5 percent. This decline in the number of employed workers follows the two-month period of April and May when a total of one million workers lost their jobs.

The Ford administration has reacted to these Bureau of Labor Statistics figures by laying the blame on "faulty seasonal adjustment figures." Workers are being prepared for further layoffs when Ford goes on to say that "statistical problems would probably cause the jobless rate to rise again in July." However, workers are supposed to be heartened by his promise that the jobless rate will be "below 7 percent by the end of the year"—that is, after the elections.

The acting commissioner for the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Janet L. Norwood, said upon release of the new figures that the unemployment picture has remained basically unchanged since February when the jobless rate was 7.6 percent—despite Ford's contentions that the economy has been improving. Ms. Norwood states further that there are "other signs of economic softness," including:

a) For the second consecutive month payrolls for nonfarm companies have shown no gain.

b) For the second consecutive month payroll data for manufacturing declined.

c) The number of persons unemployed 27 weeks or longer rose by 130,000 in June to a total of 1.3 million, so that the average duration of unemployment increased by nearly 2 weeks to 16.9 weeks—equal to the recession high of last December.

d) The gross unemployment rates of 7.3 and 7.5 percent for May and June, because of "rounding," only reflect a two-tenths of one percent rise—yet, before "rounding," the actual rates of 7.255 and 7.547 percent reflect a rise closer to three-tenths of one percent.

### FIGURES STACKED TO BEGIN WITH

The controversy between Ford and the bureau about the accuracy of these statistics is not the central point here (except insofar as it reveals the lengths to which Ford will go to improve his election chances), since the figures in no way take into account the total number of workers who have been out of work for such a long time that their unemployment benefits have run out, thereby disappearing from official view. Also ignored are high school and college graduates who have just come onto

the job market without any prospects, thereby never being entered on the official rolls. These figures are mainly indicators of relative changes.

When the figures are further broken down, however, they begin to give a clearer picture of the workings of the capitalist system. In June, the jobless rate for all adult men workers rose to a total of 6 percent while that for all adult women workers rose to 7.1 percent. When all unemployed Black workers are compared with all

unemployed white workers, the rates are 13.3 and 6.8 percent, respectively. Black teenagers have an unemployment rate of 40.3 percent as compared with a rate of 16.1 percent for whites in the same age group.

Compounding the plight of Black teenagers unable to get jobs is the fact that virtually all the special programs designed to teach Blacks job skills—which were the direct result of pressure from rising militancy and rebellion in the communities—have all but

disappeared through being strangled and sabotaged by inadequate funding.

The capitalist system, as revealed in its own bureaucracy's statistics, has continually used the divisive tactics of racism and sexism to cause workers—Black, Latin, Native American, Asian, white, men, women, gay, straight, young, old—to view each other as competitors for a few jobs. But really we are all members of the same working class—employed or unemployed—who have the same

basic interest in overthrowing the capitalist bosses, since they need massive unemployment to increase profits, to drive down wages, and to have a ready army of unemployed for wars of imperialist expansion.

The July 4 counter-bicentennial march of 50,000 people in Philadelphia demonstrated against national oppression and sexism and for jobs, showing that the divisive tactics of the bosses are not working as well as intended.



Despite figure-juggling by the Ford administration, millions are still feeling the effects of high unemployment. Here, angry Atlantans march on Jan 15 to demand full employment. WW photo

## More workers lose jobs as

# Run-away shops leave Buffalo

By JOE HARRISON

(This is part one of a series of articles on unemployment in Western New York.)

BUFFALO, N.Y., July 12—Corporations in search of bigger profits are creating a severe unemployment crisis in the Buffalo area. Between 1958 and 1972, 218 plants closed and many more have locked their doors since then.

In 1975 alone, in the Buffalo area, 5,200 women and men lost their jobs when 17 companies closed and left town. This year may be even worse, since Western Electric (2,000 workers), Sperry Rand (200 workers), International Paper (450 workers), and a few more companies have already announced closings or are threatening to close.

The number of jobs in area manufacturing plants has dropped to 139,000, the lowest level since 1947, when record-keeping began.

According to the U.S. Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics, in the last 28 years this area has lost 56,000 manufacturing jobs. (Those 56,000 do not include all the support jobs also lost, such as restaurant workers, construction workers, maintenance workers, etc.)

### MASSIVE UNEMPLOYMENT

The official jobless rate for the Buffalo area (those actually receiving unemployment checks) averaged 13.3 percent or 72,000 workers, through 1975.

Unemployment benefits were extended to 65 weeks in 1974; even so, in West New York alone about 200 persons every week exhaust their benefits. Most of them are forced to apply for welfare, since jobs are so extremely hard to find. Between July 1975 and April 1976, 156,383 workers ran out of unemployment benefits in New York

State. And since April, just in the Buffalo area, 2,200 more persons have exhausted their unemployment benefits.

To illustrate how Buffalo-area unemployment has risen compared to the rest of the country, in 1963 the official national unemployment rate was 5.7 percent and in Buffalo it was 5.9 percent. At the end of May 1976, the national jobless rate was 7.6 percent compared to the Western New York rate of 12.1 percent.

Workers from the Black and other oppressed communities are suffering from an unemployment rate that runs as high as 50 percent. Inflation has made the problem of being without a job even more painful. Since 1972, for example, food prices have risen 45 percent, and gas and electric bills have increased by 45.5 percent since 1973.

This epidemic of plant closings has not only hurt those directly affected, it has also struck those still working.

Strikes are being defeated, and even prevented, by the threat of closing. A six-month-long strike of Buffalo Forge production workers, and a seven-month strike at the Manzel Unit of Houdaille Industries' Lubriquip Division both suffered defeat this spring when the companies announced plans to close unless the workers accepted their "final" offers.

But will the sacrifices by the women and men at these and other factories really prevent "plant runaways"? Only four weeks after the Buffalo Forge strike was ended, the company announced that a new plant would be built in Virginia. Will this new plant replace the old Buffalo plants? The company's response to this question was significantly vague.