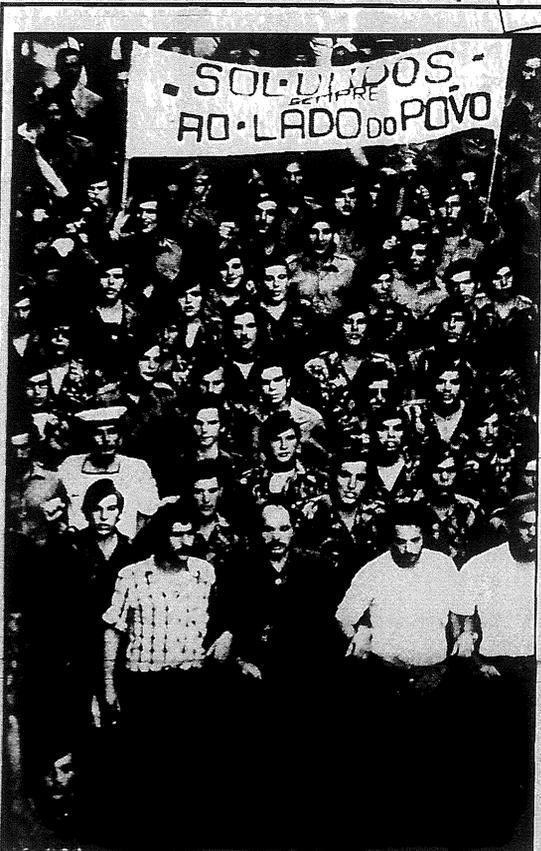


Reconstruct the Fourth International!



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PORTUGAL:

Portugal has moved closer to civil war. The new Sixth Provisional Government moved sharply against soldiers and workers in late September in an attempt to settle the intensifying economic and political crisis. The Popular Front government, which includes Communist Party, Socialist Party and bourgeois representatives, declared that it was out to impose "order" and put an end to anarchy. But the massive resistance to these moves on the part of revolutionary workers and soldiers showed that whole sections of the army cannot be relied upon to dismantle the gains won by workers since April 1974. Thousands of soldiers will stand with the workers.

This split in the military means that the ruling Armed Forces Movement (MFA) and its new government under Premier Admiral Pinheiro de Azevedo will be unable to enforce its will without new

elite security forces and right-wing vigilantes. The clash between worker and soldier militants and the increasingly o-

BULLETIN . . .
As we go to press, an artillery regiment in Oporto is rebelling against the Portuguese junta's attack on the ranks. An armed clash between left-wing supporters of the regiment and right wingers led by the bourgeoisie's Popular Democratic Party left 100 wounded. This underlines the growing class polarization in Portugal and the looming prospect of civil war.

vert right wing will increase as the government moves further right, escalating the threat of civil war.

cers diverted arms shipments to left-wing parties. The army's unreliability was driven home to Azevedo on September 25, when the semi-clandestine "Soldiers United Will Win" movement (SUV) organized a mass demonstration and then seized a fleet of buses and drove to Trafaria prison outside Lisbon to demand the release of two SUV corporals. The demonstrators forced COPCON General Carvalho, the military security chief, to free the two prisoners, who had been held on charges of "engaging in propaganda and distributing pamphlets inside the barracks for an organization outside the MFA." This was a direct challenge to the MFA's monopoly of politics in the military, and indicated widespread support for democratic rights in the barracks and the recognition by many soldiers that the MFA represents bourgeois interests, not their own.

In September, junior offi-

Cont'd. p. 5

SOLDIERS VS. GENERALS

Build the Defense Committee Free the Livernois Five!

Five young black men are being framed by Detroit police on charges of first-degree murder in the aftermath of last July's street confrontations in the Livernois-Fenkell area in the heart of Detroit's black Northwest side. The five are James Henderson, 26, a laid-off Ford worker, Raymond Peoples, 20, also on layoff from Ford; Ronald Jordan, 20; Butch Young, 16; and Douglas Lang, 16. The Livernois Five Defense Committee is actively building

support and working to publicize the case. The Livernois-Fenkell events got national publicity last summer. They began on July 28 when Andrew Chinarian, 39, shot black teenager Obie Wynn in cold blood behind Chinarian's Livernois Avenue bar. Chinarian and his bar were long-festering sores in the Livernois community. Chinarian has a history of shooting at people he doesn't like. He was arrested on October 9,

1969 for felonious assault with a gun and on October 3, 1971 for shooting three white motorcyclists. On June 10, 1964, Chinarian was arrested in an incident almost identical to the Wynn murder: he fired shots at a man he claimed was burglarizing a car. That time he missed. Chinarian's place, Bolton's Bar, caters almost exclusively to whites despite its ghetto location. Customers can only get in by first ringing an

Cont'd. p. 6

Build NYC General Strike



Portuguese
Revolution at Turning
Point

p.12

p. 7

Editorial

Franco Executes Revolutionaries

At dawn on September 27 the Spanish dictatorship of Generalissimo Francisco Franco executed five of its revolutionary opponents. The executed revolutionaries were: Juan Paredes and Angel Otaegui of the Euzkadi Ta Azkatasuna (Basque Nation and Freedom—ETA) and Ramón García, José Luis Sánchez and José Baenz of the Frente Revolucionario Antifascista y Patriota (FRAP). The men were convicted of killing Franco's fascist policemen and executed for this "crime."

These men were fighters for the national liberation of the long-oppressed Basque country and for the freedom of the Spanish people from the hated Franco dictatorship. This is the real reason they were caught, tried and killed. In murdering these revolutionaries, the Franco regime sought to demonstrate firmness, solidity and its intention to be around for a long time. In fact, the executions demonstrated that behind the veneer lies a corrupt and rotting regime. Rather than shoring up the tottering structure, the executions pushed the regime closer to the edge of the abyss, increasing the Spanish masses' hatred of the government and aggravating the international isolation of Franco.

The executions reveal the crisis of the regime. They are a statement that the regime has nothing but brutal repression to offer the Spanish people. But even in the executions, Franco had to bend to the overwhelming popular hatred of him. Seeking to assuage popular sentiment, the government felt obligated to forego the traditional garrote (which kills the victims through strangulation and/or by breaking the spine at the neck) in exchange for the more "dignified" firing squad. As a further capitulation, the government commuted the death sentences of six other condemned prisoners.

This indecisiveness reflects the growing polarization of Spanish society between the overwhelming majority of the people and the increasingly narrow and nervous base of the dictatorship. To satisfy the latter the regime chose to murder the revolutionaries, all the while remaining fearful of the growing fury of the Spanish masses.

This fury revealed itself in the protests that shook Spain in the wake of the executions. Thousands of Spaniards demonstrated their hatred of the regime in strikes and demonstrations. This movement reached its highest expression in the 48-hour general strike in the Basque provinces in which 300,000 workers took part. The widespread support for the martyrs is part and parcel of the determination of the Spanish people to overthrow the fascist dictatorship. This deep hostility cannot be long suppressed.

Accompanying the protests in Spain were demonstrations throughout Europe and the world. These actions and the general hostility of the working class to Franco forced the European governments in particular to take steps to demonstrate their dissatisfaction with the executions and the brutality of the Franco regime. Even the Pope, long-time ally of the Generalissimo, was forced to express disapproval of the executions.

Franco's main pillar of support has been and is the United States. Busy negotiating a military pact which would maintain U.S. military bases on Spanish soil, and anxious not to alienate its old friend, the United States refused to say anything about the executions except that they were the internal affair of the Spanish government.

Grieving the loss of these fighters should not lead us to lose sight of the tactical differences between ourselves and the executed men. We, as Leninists, are opposed to the tactics of individual terrorism—that is, assassinations of police or other government officials, kidnappings, bombings, etc., that are carried out apart from the struggle of the masses. This opposition is not based on moral considerations. Revolutionaries who understand the realities of the class struggle do not and cannot reject such tactics in principle. In fact, when tied to and controlled by the mass struggle, such methods have a useful although secondary role to play. But they can never be a substitute for the organization and mobilization of the masses.

This is for two reasons:

1) Individual terrorism implies that the individ-

uals towards whom the terrorist acts are directed are the ones responsible for the injustices and brutalities being fought. They imply that the real problems to be eliminated are the individual policemen, ministers, individual institutions (say, such and such a bank), etc. This is the objective impact of terrorist acts on the minds of the majority of workers and oppressed people. Proclamations stating otherwise do not overcome this. The individuals and specific institutions are not the basic problem; removing the individuals but leaving the system intact fundamentally changes nothing. What needs to be done is to overthrow the entire system and replace it with the revolutionary rule of the workers in alliance with the other oppressed people of society. Terrorism focuses attention away from this goal, despite the terrorists' intentions.

2) Individual terrorism often confuses and disorients the masses. This occurs in two ways. Acts of individual terrorism often provoke a heightening of repression for which the workers and the oppressed are unprepared. This is much less the case, for example, if such escalation is the direct result of the mass struggle itself. Terrorism thus often gives reactionary regimes the excuses they are looking for to crack down on their opponents' leaders when the movements are least able to protect them.

Second and most important, terrorism tends to instill and reinforce the feeling of powerlessness on the part of the masses. This feeling is one which all reactionary societies work hard to instill in their oppressed classes. As long as the people feel that they cannot struggle, all but a few will not struggle. Individual terrorism works to reinforce this feeling since it appears to the masses as a struggle that is going on apart from and above them, as a fight of individual heroes who are usually seen as separate from the masses. Revolutionaries, however, strive to convince the masses that they can fight back, that only they themselves can win their freedom, and to organize them and show them how to do this. Individual terrorism, despite the desires of the terrorists, helps to teach the masses the wrong lesson.

There is another serious social cost of individual terrorism. Small groups operating in a conspiratorial manner are often easily caught, tried and convicted. The exchange of a dedicated revolutionist, aware and prepared to sacrifice his life for freedom, for a lowly police official, corrupt and without vision, or other government officials of similar character, is a poor one indeed. No number of such individuals, mere cogs in the wheels of capitalism, are worth the life of one heroic revolutionary.

The aftermath of the executions confirm a related tenet of revolutionary Marxism. The protests, particularly the general strike movement in the Basque country, the smaller strike actions elsewhere in Spain and the action of the workers throughout Europe, demonstrate the validity of the theory of the Permanent Revolution. They demonstrate that the proletariat is the class with the size, strength and capacity for organization and consciousness that can overthrow the Franco regime and all fascist dictatorships. They also demonstrate that as capitalism decays the only real and fundamental alternative to the Franco regime or some other dictatorship is the revolutionary rule of the workers. In their struggle the workers, leading the peasants and other oppressed sectors of society, cannot merely stop at the "democratic stage" but must make the revolution permanent, securing the democratic gains with their own class rule, in Spain and throughout the world.

The five executed revolutionaries are to be mourned by the entire revolutionary movement. That they will not see and fight in the coming revolution is a loss to the Basque, Spanish and international working class. So that the goal for which they fought and died may be achieved, revolutionaries must learn the lessons of their mistakes.

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©1975 by The Revolutionary Socialist League Publishing Company

Editor: Jack Gregory
Managing Editor: Derek Hirst

Correspondence and subscriptions to: P.O. Box 562, Times Square Station, New York, N.Y. 10036
Subscriptions: (including Canada and Mexico) 12 issues (one year) for \$3.00; supporting, \$5.00; foreign seairmail, \$4.50; foreign airmail (unsealed), \$10.00
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Auto Workers Need International Union



Woodcock on Protectionist Merry-Go-Round

Leonard Woodcock has joined forces with George Meany and Senator Henry Jackson in pushing a program of "protectionism" as their solution to the crisis in auto and the crisis of capitalism. Woodcock's proposal calls on congress to limit the number of cars that could be imported. His theory runs that Americans would then be forced to buy Pintos and Chevettes, auto plants in the U.S. would increase production and U.S. workers would be put back to work. Under the guise of protecting American jobs, this proposal protects only the profits of the American bourgeoisie. Under the cover of defending the interests of American workers, this proposal dismantles workers' defense weapon—international solidarity. By disorganizing and dividing the working class along national lines, protectionism lays the basis for crushing the resistance of all workers.

Less aware elements of the working class who feel the effects of the crisis but see no alternative are responding to Woodcock's appeal. Class conscious auto workers must counter this by explaining the real nature of the crisis in auto.

The crisis in auto is one of the clearest expressions of the crisis of capitalism. Although the industry has made a shallow recovery and workers are being recalled, 90,000 American auto workers are still on layoff. The causes of the crisis continue to work behind the scenes and will reappear with greater strength.

CRISIS OF PROFITS

Capitalism offers no solution to the crisis in auto. It can only propose stop-gap measures which shove the crisis off on one section of the working class in an effort to buy more time. The crisis is a crisis of profits. For the capitalists to breathe new life into the auto industry, huge amounts of money are required. The whole apparatus of auto production needs to be overhauled. On the most minimal level the decaying plants need massive repairs. Hi-Lo drivers have to swerve around holes in the floor in production plants, and presses have to be covered to prevent them from getting wet when the rain leaks through the roof.

The auto industry as organized under capitalism can barely lift a finger toward meeting these needs.

Auto is a consumer industry—one of the hardest hit in times of economic crisis. As the price of a car approaches the average annual wage of American workers, buying a new car becomes a luxury. The auto market is shrinking and profits are not to be had through increased sales. Neither can the auto companies raise prices enough to accumulate the profits they need, for each price increase cuts more people out of the market, or drives buyers into the arms of foreign competitors.

While the crisis is hitting auto corporations throughout the world, U.S. companies are particularly squeezed. UAW wages are considerably above the world average. Decaying American factories have resulted in low productivity and rebellion

against miserable working conditions in the form of wildcats and absenteeism. All of these factors further cut into the profits of U.S. corporations, and make them increasingly unable to compete on the world market. The growing sales of imports is merely an expression of this inability.

The auto corporations are left with no choice but to increase the exploitation of workers, to drive down wages and increase the line speed. This is the real crisis for auto workers, and it is this attack which must be countered.

DIVIDING WORKERS

The key tactic for the corporations is to divide the working class—to prevent it from uniting against the capitalist offensive. The interests of capitalism dictate the encouragement of racism and increased hostility toward immigrants. In this country, Arab, Haitian, Mexican and West Indian workers are being deported. In Europe immigrants from Southern Europe are being sent home from auto plants in Germany and France, told to starve in the country of their birth because Volkswagen no longer needs them. The corporations, with union encouragement, hope to line up the most backward workers against their fellow workers of different skin color or nationality, to shift the blame for the crisis from capitalism to immigrants. Protectionist policies extend these divisive tactics on an international scale.

At the same time, the low wages paid to auto workers in underdeveloped countries are used as a club to beat down the working conditions of American workers. GM boss Thomas Murphy dismissed the UAW's pitiful call for a slightly shorter work week by saying it would destroy GM's ability to compete internationally.

The protectionist scheme of Woodcock plays right into this "divide and conquer" tactic. The effects of Woodcock's proposed legislation would cause massive layoffs in other countries. Volkswagen in Germany at one time sold one third of its total production to the United States. If German imports were cut off, VW would be sent into a tailspin and VW workers would bear the brunt of the suffering.

The most criminal illusion of the UAW plan is that American workers can make it on their own. Protectionism encourages workers to betray our brothers and sisters in auto plants all over the world. It sets us up to be shot in the back by the board room generals. The same corporations who are waving the flag and singing about "apple pie and Chevrolet" have been letting U.S. operations rot while searching the world for more profitable investments. In 1973, for example, 43 percent of Ford cars and 46 percent of Chryslers were produced in foreign countries.

The automakers increasingly look to their foreign divisions for their profits. When they are struck in one country, they can increase production in others. There is talk of shutting down Chrysler in Great Britain entirely. Ford is going to produce its new



Workers occupying Ford plant in Swansea, Wales last March. Auto workers struggle is

international, requires international solution. Woodcock's protectionism divides workers along national lines.

subcompact, the "Bobcat," in Europe. It is clear that the fate of the American auto workers cannot be separated from the fate of the international working class any more than the fate of Chrysler can be separated from the fate of Chrysler operations in other countries. Those nationalisms for the American working class are supporting a plan to crush the workers country by country.

The UAW prides itself of being an international union. This is a sham. The UAW refuses to intervene in behalf of struggles of the international working class. In November, 1973, when the counter-revolutionary Chilean junta outlawed the central trade union federation, the UAW editorialized that the "principle victims of the coup were the workers." The UAW bureaucrats wanted to get that on record, to note the defeat of the working class country by country. But did the UAW do anything in support of the Chilean workers? Did they initiate a hot-cargo of military supplies to the generals? Of course not.

BOSSSES' INTERNATIONALISM

What "internationalism" the UAW bureaucrats do exhibit is an international alliance with the bourgeoisie. The UAW holds \$800,000 worth of bonds from the mini-imperialist state of Israel. When Arab workers shut down Dodge Main in Hamtramck, Michigan to protest their dues money going to bomb their families, Doug Fraser expressed his solidarity with Israel and the state-dominated Israeli trade union federation, the Histadrut.

He told the Arab workers that what they really needed was not war (to regain their homeland) but bourgeois democracy, Israeli-style.

Any serious opposition force within the UAW must take a clear and firm stand against protectionism. The United National Caucus however capitulates to the UAW bureaucracy on this vital question. Right-wing caucus members have complained in meetings about "cheap foreign labor." Local 600 (Ford Rouge Complex) Tool and Die Unit, where a prominent member of the UNC works, took this sentiment to its logical extension when they held a demonstration against Ford contracting work out to the Budd Corporation in Philadelphia. (Budd workers are also UAW members.) The demonstration's theme was that the solution to the auto crisis is to keep the jobs in Detroit! Instead of condemning this blatant expression of privilege and contempt for working class solidarity, the UNC supported the demonstration "in the context of jobs for all."

Building international solidarity and defeating national protectionism is the key to the successful defense of auto workers and the working class internationally. The conditions are ripe. The crisis in auto is worldwide. Auto workers speaking a dozen languages are facing the same misery and bleak future. The crisis in auto is forcing autoworkers' common interests to the foreground, burying national differences.

In Europe, permanent layoffs in the industry are going over 14 percent.

Cont'd. p. 14

THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN ANGOLA

The battle for Angola has entered a momentary lull. The MPLA forces remain in control of Luanda, the port city of Lobito and the central sections of the country, as well as the oil-rich Cabinda enclave. The FNLA and UNITA are entrenched in the northern and southern sections respectively. All sides appear to be waiting for November 11, the scheduled date of independence from Portugal. A new outbreak of civil war, or on the other hand the pasting together of a paper unity to last until November 11, are both possible.

The fundamental issues of the national liberation struggle are unchanged. Recent revelations of major CIA financing and control of the FNLA and UNITA (see article on opposite page) underline the fact that these "nationalists" are imperialist stooges. The independence of Angola can only be gained through the victory of the MPLA.

The approach of independence—assuming that Portugal does not find a way to renege on its promises—opens up the question of the class nature of an independent Angolan regime. The FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) and UNITA are both essentially rural-based armies, with little urban support. This facilitates their neo-colonial orientation, which is made clear both by FNLA's ties to the United States' client regime in Zaire and by the explicit pro-imperialist statements of UNITA's Jonas Savimbi. Speaking of the need for free enterprise and foreign investment, Savimbi last February called for following "the example of that great African statesman, President Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast."

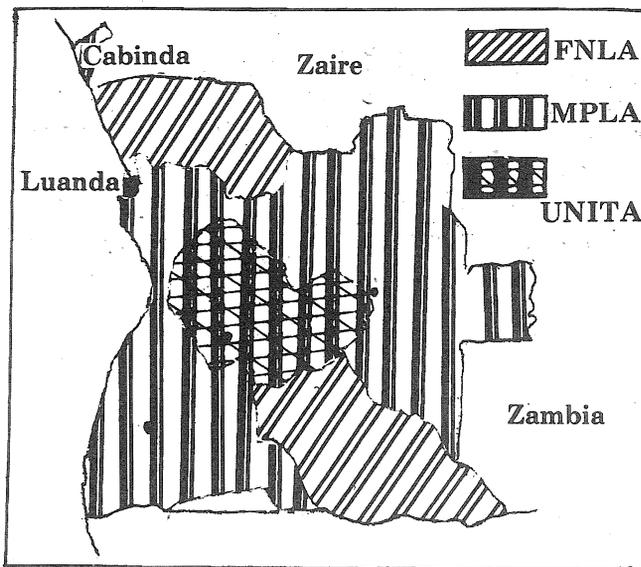
This is a code-word for neo-colonialism. Of all of black Africa's presidents, it is Houphouët-Boigny who most decisively and earliest engineered the complete subordination of his economy to foreign investment, intentionally fostering the growth of a tiny bloated African bourgeoisie and the impoverishment of the urban and rural masses.

URBAN SUPPORT FOR MPLA

The MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) is mainly urban-based, unlike the FNLA or UNITA. Since the mid-1960's it has been strengthening its organization in the muceques (shanty-town slums) of Luanda, Lobito and other towns. The relative support of the three groups in Luanda as of a year ago can be gauged from the rallies held to welcome their delegations last autumn. The FNLA delegation, arriving October 30, 1974, was greeted by 4-5,000 people. The MPLA delegation, on November 8, was met by 30-50,000 people and the UNITA delegation, two days later, by about 20,000.

The large degree of support for the MPLA among workers and dwellers in the muceques reflects more than painstaking organization. It reflects the illusions of the urban masses fostered by the MPLA's socialist and populist rhetoric. Although the MPLA's President, Dr. Agostinho Neto, defines himself as "not a Communist, not a Socialist, but a nationalist," the MPLA has always used radical rhetoric. "Our struggle is not an isolated struggle in the world," runs a typical statement by Neto. "It is part of a global struggle by Humanity to bring an end to the exploitation of man by man." A program calling for agrarian reform, eradication of illiteracy, equality for women and creation of a pan-Angolan (non-tribal) culture fills out the message.

Part of the MPLA's radical appeal is its denunciation of imperialist



domination of the economy. "Who exploits the iron ore in Angola?" asked Neto in another speech. "The Germans! Who exploits the petroleum? The Americans and the Belgians! And to whom does the Benguela Railway belong? To the English!" Such statements reflect the radical bourgeois nationalism of the MPLA (as opposed to the neo-colonialism of the FNLA and UNITA). These expressions of an anti-imperialist, state capitalist minded orientation have their effect on the urban masses, who are more nationally and socially conscious than the scattered peasants.

MPLA: STATE CAPITALISM

The MPLA in power will claim to be a socialist regime, using this claim to justify dictatorial measures such as control of the unions. In reality, the MPLA is a radical bourgeois-nationalist liberation movement, aiming at curbing the direct imperialist control of major sections of the Angolan economy and probably aiming at a large degree of state ownership. These aims, which will create a new African bourgeoisie centered in the state bureaucracy and management of the plantations and state enterprises, are covered over by socialist rhetoric.

However, it is not just rhetoric and attention to organization which are responsible for the MPLA's large degree of urban and working class support. The MPLA's organizing has benefited from a mass awakening of the urban populace since the Portuguese coup of April, 1974.

ANGOLAN WORKERS FIGHT

The Angolan workers, comprising miners, plantation laborers, workers in small-scale industry and (most importantly in an export-oriented economy) dockers, railway workers and other transport and communications workers, began acting on its own after the Portuguese coup. Dock workers in Luanda struck for higher wages, followed in December, 1974 by dockers in Cabinda. In Luanda, Lobito and Mocamedes ports, job actions by stevedores, mainly for economic gains but sometimes with nationalist overtones, caused bottlenecks in shipping waiting to be handled. The Benguela Railway and the construction industry were also hit by strikes.

In the spring of 1975 Luanda dockers struck again, demanding that all dockers receive parity with raises which had been granted to high-seniority workers. Bank employees, following the example of Lisbon's bank workers, called for an assembly to vote

on transferring the assets of nationalized Portuguese banks in Angola to the Angolan government and for a voice in choosing new bank administrators.

Together with these actions of the proletariat has occurred a mobilization of the urban masses generally. This was initially sparked by vigilante attacks on the African quarters by white settlers in June and July of 1974. In response, self-defense groups were formed in the muceques, while a general strike of African civil servants and a march to the governor's palace helped stop the attacks. After the attacks, given the departure of white shopkeepers from the muceques to safer quarters, "people's committees" were organized by the MPLA both for self-defense functions and to carry out food distribution and other functions. The MPLA has since called for a wider role for these committees, while the FNLA has called for them to be disbanded.



Admirers of Zaire's CIA-backed ruler Mobutu Sese Soko listening to him speak in Kinshasa stadium last November: Holden

generally successful general strike concluding with a rally attended by 15,000 persons.

However, the MPLA is not interested in mobilizing the class struggle of these elements.

The MPLA has taken an anti-strike line, both in an effort to ease the way to independence by keeping things quiet and out of its own bourgeois concern to keep the economy running smoothly. In February, Agostinho Neto appealed for obedience to the anti-strike policy of the Transitional Government. In the same month, MPLA troops occupied the Lobito harbor to end a dock strike and in May the MPLA-affiliated dock union, SINTAPA, condemned the Luanda port strike and called on the government to "take adequate measures" to suppress it.

The MPLA is thus setting itself up as the future bourgeois ruler of Angola, treading a narrow line between the necessary mobilization of mass support to force the imperialists to negotiate, and on the other hand the assurances of moderation required to forestall an open imperialist intervention. At the same time, however, the awakening of the masses and their illusions in the MPLA means that an MPLA victory—unlike a victory of the more overtly right-wing FNLA and UNITA—may open up the class struggle in Angola. It is thus critical to support the MPLA's victory while exposing its anti-proletarian role.

MAOISTS, SWP "NEUTRALITY"

This is a test which most of the revolutionary groupings in the United States and Europe have failed badly. On the one hand, given Chinese backing for FNLA, U.S. Maoist organizations have tended to steer clear of the whole Angolan question; one example is the Guardian newspaper, long an uncritical supporter of the MPLA, which now lamely justifies Mao's line by pointing to China's official recognition of all three Angolan parties. A similarly evasive role has been played by the Socialist

The 1974 events thus brought the working class and urban masses onto the scene.

MPLA STRIKEBREAKING

The MPLA remains the strongest force among the Luanda masses, including the organized proletariat. For example, as a show of strength last May the MPLA-affiliated union federation, UNTA (National Union of Angolan Workers) was able to call a

Roberto [FNLA], Jonas Savimbi [UNITA], Mario Soares of the Portuguese Socialist Party and Daneil Chipende, renegade from Mpla now supporting FNLA.

Workers Party which, as part of its general softness toward the Portuguese Social Democrats, has leaned toward the FNLA, dismissing as "slanders" the reports of FNLA ties with the CIA which were corroborated by Washington a few weeks later (Intercontinental Press, July 7). Such neutrality between the liberation forces and the CIA amounts to a pro-imperialist line.

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OLA

successful general strike with a rally attended by thousands.

The MPLA is not interlizing the class struggle elements.

It has taken an anti-strike effort to ease the way once by keeping things out of its own bourgeois camp the economy running.

In February, Agostinho demanded for obedience to the policy of the Transitional Government. In the same month, the MPLA occupied the Lobito dock strike and in May affiliated dock union, condemned the Luanda government and called on the government to take "adequate measures" to

is thus setting itself up as the bourgeois ruler of the country by imposing a narrow line of necessary mobilization of the masses and on the other hand, a policy of moderation required to open imperialist interference at the same time, however, the MPLA means that an anti-imperialist victory of the right-wing FNLA may open up the class struggle. It is thus critical of the MPLA's victory while anti-proletarian role.

VP "NEUTRALITY"

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Jonas Savimbi (UNITA), the Portuguese Socialist leadership, renegade from the FNLA.

which, as part of its policy toward the Portuguese, the FNLA, dismissing as reports of FNLA ties which were corroborated a few weeks later in the Press, July 7. Such news of the liberation of Angola by the MPLA and the CIA amount to a

Soldiers vs. Generals

Cont'd. from p. 1

In response, the Azevedo government set up a new security force, the Military Intervention Group (AMI) to replace COPCON. Its first test came on September 27, when a demonstration protesting Franco's execution of five revolutionaries sacked and burned the Spanish embassy. The AMI soldiers made no move to stop them.

On September 29, the government tried another test of strength with the militants on the left. It declared a de facto state of emergency and sent troops to occupy several radio and

television stations in Lisbon which are influenced by the Communist Party and the far left. The troops again fraternized with the workers and in some cases refused to carry out the order to broadcast Premier Azevedo's decree. The occupation of nearly all of the stations was later called off, but at one station the soldiers refused to leave until Carvalho assured them that no other troops or police would be sent in their place.

Carvalho, once the hero of the centrist groups that backed the "left wing" of the MFA, was the officer in charge of implementing Azevedo's

occupation of the radio stations. After his responsibility became known, he was besieged at the Ministry of Information by a crowd of several thousand mobilized by the Maoist UDP (which had hailed Carvalho uncritically until a few weeks ago) and the United Revolutionary Front of six other centrist groups. Workers denounced him as a traitor, and contemptuously rejected his resignation when he offered it. The crowd chanted, "Choose your class! Down with the government of the bourgeoisie!"

Carvalho's embarrassment did not

prevent other defenders of the government from acting. Leftist units in Oporto were disbanded, and Communist Party units in the stronghold of Beja were ordered to the Azores. The orders were enforced in Oporto by commandos of the AMI, now referred to as the "new PIDE." (PIDE was the secret police organization under the Salazar-Caetano regime.)

RIGHT-WING REFUGEES

The Socialist Party was also mobilizing. On September 30, it rallied 25,000 people along with the bourgeois Popular Democrats and organizations of repatriated Angolan whites, who represent the most reactionary force in Lisbon. They marched to the national radio station where barricades had been set up by hundreds of wounded veterans demanding higher pensions from the government. A stonethrowing confrontation followed between the SP-led mob and the veterans and their supporters from the left groups. Thus the SP continued its role of stalking horse for the right, allowing the reactionaries to parade under a "socialist" banner.

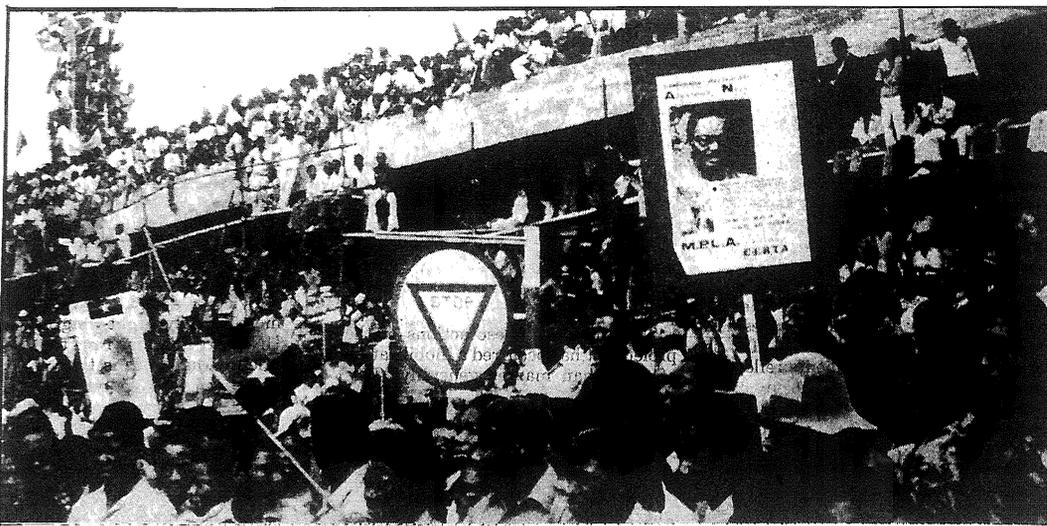
The Communist Party has attempted to keep one foot on each side of the fence. It has a member in the Azevedo cabinet, but it objected to the seizure of the radio stations on the grounds that it hadn't been consulted. Rank and file CPers participated in the defense of the stations. Nevertheless, the CP denounced "the demagogic and activities of irresponsible leftist elements." The CP's fundamental loyalty to the bourgeois MFA had its effect on the navy, which had once been regarded as the left wing of Portugal's armed forces. Under the influence of the CP, the sailors were noticeably absent from the SUV demonstrations, and their spokesmen also denounced the SUV as "extremist" and "irresponsible."

Despite the pressure from the left and its own members, the CP stays in the government for two reasons. Its allies in Moscow prefer to see Portugal take a "moderate" course that will not antagonize Western imperialism. And, the interests of capitalist stability in Portugal demand that working class revolutionaries appear to be represented in the government. The CP's job is to keep the working class quiet and to make it take the responsibility for capitalism's failures. In a New York Times interview, Labor Minister Tomas Rosa made the CP's role clear. He stated that a major problem facing Portugal's economy was that many workers believe that "the revolution means higher wages and shorter hours," and added, "The government, including the Communist Party which has joined it, will have to accept the need to be unpopular."

The economic crisis is the strongest weapon that the right wing possesses. Six provisional governments since the overthrow of Caetano have been unable to deal with mounting unemployment, inflation and trade deficits. Even the long-sought aid from the Common Market, which is expected to be announced shortly now that a "moderate" government has been installed, will not stabilize the economy enough to insure the profitability of capitalist investments. The Popular Front government's weaknesses increase the sentiment among the petty bourgeoisie for strong action—and only the fascists have offered a decisive program.

CENTRISTS MANEUVER

The "far left" (centrist) organizations are scurrying around, hurriedly trying to make their past support for the MFA mesh with the present situation. One of the strongest of these groups, the PRP, issued a communique that said: "In view of this turn to the right by the political-military authorities, there is



MPLA demonstration with portraits of its leader Agostinho Neto. MPLA victory in Angola is challenged by rival FNLA and Unita organizations which are funded by CIA and led by imperialist-paid agents.

CIA Backs Right in Portugal, Angola Solidarity Committees Formed

Following a call by the Revolutionary Socialist League, Portugal Solidarity Committees have been formed to mobilize against U.S. aid to the Portuguese counter-revolution. So far the International Workers Party, the Trotskyist Organizing Committee and the Postal Action Committee have joined these united-front committees, which are open to all who agree with their specific demands, regardless of other differences. The first public action by the Portugal Solidarity Committees, a demonstration in Times Square, New York, is planned for October 14. It will demand:

Smash the Counter-revolution!
CIA-NATO Out of Portugal and Angola!
No U.S. or NATO Intervention! No Aid to the Counter-revolution!
Independence for Angola! Portugal Out! Withdraw all Portuguese troops!
Victory to the MPLA!

In view of the present crisis situation in Spain, the demonstration will also demand:

Free all Spanish political prisoners!
Self-determination for the Basques!
Smash the U.S.-Spanish military pact!
Down with Franco!

The importance of this anti-imperialist campaign was underlined last month when the New York Times confirmed that the CIA is actively aiding right-wing forces in both Portugal and Angola.

The Times' leak from "official sources in Washington" confirmed persistent rumors that the CIA funnels millions of dollars a month to the Portuguese Socialist Party through Western European Social Democratic parties and trade unions. The report was denied by the chairman of the Portuguese SP, Mario Soares, but confirmed by a State Department official. U.S. Senate leaders have been sitting on the secret since March.

Senator Frank Church, who heads the committee investigating the CIA, said on television October 5 that CIA support to the Portuguese right is justified by the need to defend democracy. But an eyewitness article in the October 2 Village Voice confirms in detail what has been obvious to all political observers: the "democratic" Portuguese Socialist Party is used by right-wing forces as their legitimate front. These reactionary forces include the fascist "Portuguese Liberation Army" headquartered in Spain. All U.S. aid to Portugal is imperialist intervention and must be stopped!

ANGOLAN CIA AGENTS

The same situation prevails in Angola. Last month's Torch described the anti-MPLA forces in Angola—the National Front (FNLA) and UNITA — as serving "the interests of Western imperialism." This description, based on the groups' political role, was

dramatically confirmed by the State Department leak. The U.S. has channeled millions into Angola to aid these two groups.

According to the Times story, FNLA head Holden Roberto "was selected as a future leader for Angola" in 1962 by President Kennedy, supplied with money and arms for seven years by the CIA, and then "deactivated and put on retainer." Roberto was "reactivated" sometime in the last two years. Aid to Roberto was sent through Zaire, whose ruler, Mobutu Sese Soko, was put in power by the CIA and is Roberto's brother-in-law.

At the same time, the U.S. has supplied arms and money to Jonas Savimbi's UNITA, a split from the FNLA which now tends to collaborate with it against the MPLA. The FNLA also receives military supplies from France and benefits from 200 Chinese military "advisers."

Colonial nationalists are entitled to take aid wherever they can get it, but U.S. backing for the FNLA and UNITA represents the direct financing of imperialist stooges who have been bought and paid for by the CIA for years. In Portugal, the CIA's millions are obviously a crucial factor in the mounting campaigns of the immediate enemies of the Portuguese proletariat, the SP and the fascist forces hiding behind it. A mass mobilization is needed to stop CIA aid to counter-revolution and neo-colonialism.

Free the Livernois Five

Cont'd. from p. 1

outside buzzer, and blacks are nearly always barred. Cops are regular customers; one of Chinarian's neighbors estimated that half the cops in Detroit know Chinarian personally.

So when Obie Wynn was shot, black youths in the area knew that this was no case of self-defense. News of the killing spread like wildfire, and hundreds of blacks gathered in front of the bar. Their rage at the shooting was multiplied by accumulated anger at the racist Chinarian and by the conditions of nearly universal unemployment of the area's young men and women.

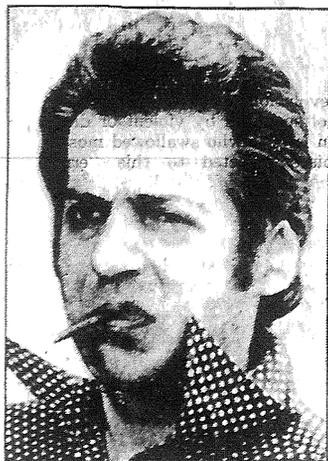
"BUSINESSMAN AND CITIZEN"

The crowd demanded that Chinarian and the bar be turned over to them. Squads of police arrived quickly but not to arrest the murderer. They were there to "control" the crowd. They smuggled their friend Chinarian through the crowd by disguising him in a police shirt. Shortly thereafter, Chinarian was released by Detroit Police Lieutenant Ray Smith, who later explained, "I released the man because he's a bar owner, a businessman and a citizen of the area." It apparently didn't matter that Chinarian is a mad-dog killer.

When the crowd got word of Chinarian's release, their rage burned white-hot. They reacted by stoning and burning police cars and by taking over the streets.

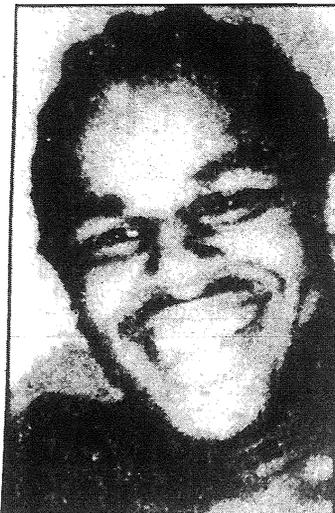
By now it was past 11 P.M., nearly three hours since Wynn was shot. The angry black youths grew more and more livid over the "even-handed justice" they had seen—the white racist Chinarian could apparently go scot-free after murdering their friend. At about this time, A 54-year-old white man, Marian Pyszko, apparently got out of his car at the corner of Fenkell and Quincy (five blocks from the bar) to yell at the crowd in the street. According to reports, Pyszko was hit over the head with a brick; he died the next day.

The five men accused of murder were picked up for this incident. They were arrested as part of a random pick-up by the cops; Detroit's black



Barowner Andrew Chinarian, racist murderer released from custody by friends in the police force.

mayor Coleman Young had vowed to punish "irresponsible elements" for the riots. Rather than starting with Chinarian, and with the cops who even Young admitted exhibited racist brutality (Young's car was hit with a tear-gas cannister by cops because they saw a black face inside), Young called for arrests of black youths. 51 were pulled in on July 28, dozens more



Murder victim Obie Wynn, 18 years old, whose death kindled mass rage on Detroit's black Northwest side.

bail was raised to \$25,000. Chinarian quickly met this and was again released.

Contrast this with the treatment of the five young blacks. Peoples, Henderson and Jordan are being held on \$100,000 bond, a figure dozens of times higher than they can possibly afford. The police and courts are quite eager to protect trigger-happy Chinarian, but the victims of racists like him they isolate from society. Young and Lang are out on \$1,000 bond only because they are minors.

THE MISSING SCREW-DRIVER

The cops and courts are ready to believe Chinarian's alibi that he caught Wynn trying to steal a car, and that Wynn came at him with a screw-driver. This mysterious screw-driver has never been found. Two teenagers who were with Wynn state that they were just standing behind the bar and that Chinarian came out waving a gun and shot Wynn when he ran. The parents of one of Wynn's companions, Michael Brown, came running when they heard two shots

Please send funds and requests for further information to:

Livernois Five Defense Committee
P.O. Box 503
Detroit, Michigan 48221

the next day.

We do not condone Pyszko's death. But the responsibility for it does not rest with the black youths. The responsibility lies with the Detroit Police and Lieutenant Smith for releasing Chinarian immediately and for their typical "law enforcement" (brutality towards blacks). It is Coleman Young's, for going after the black youths instead of Chinarian, and for not having moved on Chinarian years before (Young's family owns the restaurant just next door to Chinarian's bar, and he was well acquainted with the racist's practices). It is the responsibility of the capitalist system for forcing the working class, and especially blacks, to endure the misery of permanent unemployment, poverty and ghetto life. These conditions breed the kind of anger that was set loose by Wynn's murder. The capitalist social system and the enforcers of its racist law and order are the ones that should be convicted and condemned.

If the events of July 28 didn't already make this clear, it was spelled out just as sharply in the days that followed. The next day, Tuesday, Chinarian was arrested and set loose on \$500 bond. Judge Donald S. Leonard, who set the bail, defended this disgustingly low figure by saying he didn't want to send to Chinarian to County Jail because "that could possibly have resulted in personal injury or loss of life." The next day, after city politicians had pressured Leonard to raise bail in order to pacify the enraged reaction of Detroit blacks,

and saw Chinarian pistol-whipping their son. But Chinarian must be "protected" from jail by his cop friends.

In contrast, every trick in the book is being used to manufacture a case

against the five black men. One witness was threatened with ten years in jail if he didn't testify for the state. Another, Jimmy Bates, was arrested without a warrant and held in a motel for two days. He testified at Jordan's bond hearings with a string of pat answers. Bates is being held 150 miles away in Lansing so that this star witness's rehearsed story can't be confronted. He's scheduled to go into the army and get as far from Detroit as possible when the trial ends.

Henderson, Jordan, Peoples, Young and Lang need support badly. They need money for legal defense—their lawyer, Charles Campbell, has been jailed for contempt of court and won't be released until after jury selection. Virtually no legal defense work has yet been done on the case.

They need publicity for their case. These victims of capitalist racism must not be abandoned by left organizations and the working class. Yet apart from the RSL left groups have been conspicuous by their absence from this case.

BUILD DEFENSE COMMITTEE

The Livernois Five Defense Committee formed to take up their cause. Ronald Jordan's parents, James Henderson's wife Vicki and eleven black youths from the area participated with RSL supporters in a meeting that planned for a mass meeting in the community on Saturday, October 25 to be followed by a demonstration on Saturday, November 1. Future plans include informational pickets throughout the trial, which begins on November 3, and a demonstration in downtown Detroit on November 8. High schools will be leafletted. The Revolutionary Autoworkers Committee in the UAW and the Postal Action Committee in the National Association of Letter Carriers will be publicizing the case and raising motions for support in their unions, as will many community residents in their unions.

The Livernois Five Defense Committee needs your support. It needs people to help build the Defense Committee; it needs publicity; it needs funds for legal aid and to spread the word. Joan Little's acquittal shows that mass support can have a decisive impact.

Please send funds and requests for further information to: Livernois Five Defense Committee, P.O. Box 503, Detroit, Michigan 48221

**Maoism
and the
Soviet Union**



How the R.U. Supports State Capitalism

Has capitalism been restored in Russia? When and how was this accomplished? Is Maoism truly an alternative to Khrushchev-Brezhnev revisionism, or its left face? These are questions every advanced worker must answer. The Revolutionary Union, one of the more left-sounding Maoist groups, pretends to expose the process by which capitalism was restored in Russia, but actually covers it up—in order to cover for Chinese state capitalism. The RU's distortions of Leninism are exposed in this pamphlet, which originally appeared as a series of articles in The Torch.

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Eyewitness



Portuguese Revolution at Turning Point

The new government sworn in by the ruling Armed Forces Movement (MFA) this September symbolizes the first major shift to the right in Portuguese politics since the overthrow of the former fascist regime in April, 1974. This brought to an end the period of concessions to the aroused proletariat by a divided and weakened bourgeoisie, a period that began when workers smashed the attempted military coup by Spínola and other right-wing generals on March 11.

Responsibility for this setback to the proletariat lies with the opportunist parties that led it. The treacherous roles played by the imperialist-backed Socialist Party and the bureaucratic Moscow-oriented Communist Party are already well known to readers of The Torch. This report will take up as well the acts of the self-styled revolutionary organizations to the left of the CP who played a central role for the first time in the crisis that developed over the summer months. These groups' vacillations, their capitulations to one wing of the bourgeoisie after another, their sectarian abstention from joint activity with the ranks of the CP followed by the grossest adaptation to the policies of the CP leaders—in brief, their total inability to provide revolutionary leadership in a crisis situation—endangered the entire Portuguese proletariat. Only by learning the lessons of this crucial period will the proletariat avoid a defeat on the scale of Chile.

In the aftermath of the March 11 putsch there was an eruption of militant working class actions. The day after the attempt, bank workers shut down the banks and locked their employers out. The government was forced to intervene and expand its nationalization program—all the Portuguese-owned banks were then taken over. Likewise, factory occupations on a mass scale forced the MFA's hand,

so that today about 60 percent of the country's industries are nationalized. Over 100 factories (no precise figures are available) are under some form of workers' control by workers' committees; neighborhood and tenants' commissions have taken over buildings and institutions; in the southern part of the country, where large agricultural estates predominate, many have been seized by the agricultural workers.

ECONOMIC CRISIS

All of these conquests by the workers took place under a cloud of crisis, the world economic crisis that hits the backward economy of Portugal with special severity. Unemployment is at a level of 10 percent or higher, and it is rising rapidly as tens of thousands of refugees enter the country from Angola. The \$2 billion trade deficit is growing as the multinational corporations withdraw their capital and halt further investment. The balance of payments deficit is widening, and the country will be bankrupt within a year or two if the pace keeps up. Industrial production is declining at the rate of 6 percent annually. Inflation rates are at 35 percent or higher per year. Under these circumstances, clear and decisive political programs are a necessity. The workers' takeovers of bourgeois property raised the question of socialism directly, and every faction in Portuguese politics must give its answer.

The reactionary bourgeoisie gave the loudest and clearest response. Supported by its imperialist allies in the United States and the countries of the Common Market, the right wing demanded that "stability" be restored as the price for international economic aid—that is, that the workers' upsurge cease and the capitalists' property be restored. With

the aid of the Church and the acquiescence of many military officers, violent attacks against the working class were begun. Headquarters of the Intersindical (the CP-led trade union federation), the CP and other parties were assaulted; from mid-July through August over 50 party offices were destroyed in the North under the cry of "Death to the Communists!" (meaning both CP members and revolutionaries and other militants as well). Several deaths resulted from the attacks. The CIA was active in support of the "Liberation Army" made up of former fascists in exile in Spain, who reportedly made several raids across the border.

SP: STALKING HORSE FOR THE REACTION

The program of the reaction was plain: restore the bourgeois order. The danger of civil war loomed throughout July and August. The reactionary threat was provided with a left cover by the position of the Socialist Party, whose leader Mario Soares defended the attacks on the left by claiming that the rightist violence was really a legitimate reaction against bureaucratic maneuvers by the CP. Thus the SP set itself up as a stalking horse for all the reactionaries, including those who would restore fascism. There was indeed logic to the SP's position: in talking about defending "democracy" Soares really meant defending capitalism, and restoration of capitalist order required the suppression of working class militancy. In taking the logic of its bourgeois politics to the end, the SP played a criminal role.

Another wing of the bourgeoisie was not prepared to confront the working class at the moment, and indeed tried to use the working class upsurge to transform Portuguese capitalism in the direction of a centralized, state-run economy (and for some, into a state capitalism of the Eastern European kind). This wing expressed its solution to the crisis in "socialist" terms. It did this through the medium of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA), the officers' movement whose power and prestige stem from its overthrow of the hated colonialist Caetano regime in April, 1974.

In response to the mass upsurge, the MFA on June 21 issued its "Political Action Plan" calling for the construction of a socialist society, "a classless society, obtained through the collectivization of the means of production, eliminating all forms of exploitation of man by man . . ." The MFA promised to allow "popular participation" in decision-making, a concession to the workers' actions that were already taking place. But these fine words were belied by the document's insistence that socialism was only "the final and faraway stage," and that capitalism would have to do for the present "period of transition." Portugal would stay in NATO, the imperialist military alliance; the working class would have to accept a "policy of austerity in consumption," including the "restriction of unrealistic wages rises"; and a "firm, though not necessarily repressive authority" would be maintained by the military to ward off not only the counter-revolution, but also what the document called "certain manifestations of pseudo-revolutionary leftism."

SOCIALIST REVOLUTION REPUDIATED

The document made clear that even the "final aim" of socialism was a fiction, by denying the need for socialist revolution: "The MFA repudiates the implantation of socialism by violent or dictatorial means." When leftists who swallowed most of the MFA's promises objected to this "error" in overlooking the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the MFA issued a revised implementation on July 8. This called for People's Assemblies, which "will be supported by the MFA and organs of the state apparatus, which will exercise control over them . . ." and naturally maintain the status quo whereby "the Revolutionary Council (of the MFA) is the supreme organ of national sovereignty."

Thus the reality of the MFA's program was that it called for state-run capitalism thinly disguised as "socialism" or the transition to socialism. It is no surprise that the Communist Party supported the documents, since the "socialism" they support in Russia and elsewhere is in fact state capitalism. And the MFA's program should have been no surprise to the Portuguese workers, since it just codified the policies of the MFA governments, backed by the CP (and until June, the SP), had been following all along: suppression of strikes, holding back wage gains, permitting NATO maneuvers, stalling on independence for the colonies, etc. The "repressive authority" has been used in May against Maoist militants who had tried to organize a demonstration against NATO in Lisbon: 500 were arrested by the MFA's security force, COPCON (led by General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, who later became the hero of the left); earlier, Maoists had

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been arrested for defeating the CP in trade union elections.

The fundamental difference between the programs of the reactionaries and of the MFA was not that one was socialist and one capitalist, but that the MFA tried to use the promise of progress towards socialism along with "revolutionary" military force to control the workers, rather than mob action. Both aimed to strengthen capitalist order.

THROTTLED PRODUCTION

The CP not only endorsed the MFA line and helped spread the slogan of the "MFA-People Alliance" (meaning the MFA in power), but extended it to the "battle of production." Workers were urged to demand less and produce more, and the MFA's suppression of militant workers was applauded. The CP aided in breaking strikes and cheered the arrests of militant leftists. Because of such activities, as well as its eagerness to advance its own bureaucratic interests in the unions, the press and local government bodies—with the armed assistance of the MFA—the CP lost much of the prestige that it had won in the years of underground struggle against dictatorship.

When elections to the Constituent Assembly were held in April, 1975, the CP agreed in advance (along with the SP and the bourgeois parties) that the Assembly would support MFA rule for several more years. The CP also accepted the MFA's ban on the left parties who would not accept this deal. In the elections the CP ran a poor third (with 12.5 percent of the votes), losing much working class support to the SP and to the extreme left. After its electoral defeat, the CP continued using its intimacy with the Goncalves government to maintain its bureaucratic posts, and found itself increasingly isolated in the working class.

Throughout the summer there were clear signs that advanced workers were looking beyond the CP for revolutionary leadership. Demonstrations organized by the extreme left, chanting slogans that even included "the dictatorship of the proletariat," drew a few thousand workers in June, about 10,000 in mid-July and over 50,000 in late August. Workers' councils set up by the left groups, around programs that included revolutionary demands, began to displace, in some regions, the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution that the CP used to back the "MFA-People Alliance." When the rightist attacks on the CP headquarters started, the CP itself turned to the parties on its left for assistance.

This was a crucial moment for the Portuguese revolution. The depth of the economic crisis, the inability of the bourgeoisie to put together a government that would last more than a few months, the renewed fascist threat, the blatant capitulations of the major working class parties to bourgeois rule—all added up to a critical test for the parties that stood for socialist revolution. The extreme left had an unrivaled opportunity to win the allegiance of tens of thousands of the most advanced workers, and at the same time an obligation to show the way out of the crisis by fighting for a revolutionary solution.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM

A revolutionary leadership would have met the test in the following ways:

1) It would have stated clearly that the MFA and all of its Provisional Governments were governments of the bourgeoisie, whose overthrow must be the goal of the proletariat. Only the working class in power can solve the economic crisis of capitalism and guarantee the democratic rights that the workers and peasants seek. The workers' state, or dictatorship of the proletariat, that the advanced workers demanded cannot be reached by evolution from capitalism; it requires the socialist revolution. A policy of uncompromising hostility to the bourgeoisie and its collaborators, a policy of no support to MFA rule, was (and is) required.

The workers' state means the rule of the working class through its own institutions: the revolutionary party, workers' councils (soviets), factory committees, etc. The formation and centralization of workers' councils, with all working class parties free to compete for influence and leadership, is vital; equally important was the struggle to keep the workers' councils independent of the bourgeoisie and its MFA—especially since the MFA had announced its intention of controlling the workers' organizations that existed.

2) Revolutionaries had to call for and organize armed workers' militias to defend working class institutions and parties, including the CP, from the fascist bands. Since the right-wing threat could easily have taken the form of a civil war against the Goncalves government, a policy of united military



Banner of the United Revolutionary Front, a coalition of six leftist organizations that used revolutionary phrases to mask its support for continued military rule.



United Revolutionary Front meeting in Lisbon on September 12. The main banner reads "People's Power,"



Marchers with PRP banner. The PRP originated as guerrilla group under the Salazar-Caetano regime.

defense against the reaction, by all who were willing to fight, was called for. Military defense of the government against the right implies no political support. In Russia in 1917, when Czarist General Kornilov turned his troops against the Petrograd proletariat, the Bolsheviks fought along with the Kerensky-Menshevik government against the reactionaries, at the same time combatting all illusions by warning the workers that the overthrow of Kerensky would be next on the agenda. The parallel to the Portuguese situation today is exact.

Defense against the fascist threat would also have included stopping the immigration from Angola. The displaced Angolan whites are a strong and growing base of vicious anti-proletarian sentiment, blaming the loss of their colonial position on the "Communists." Many arrive in Portugal armed and swearing to kill every revolutionary. No democratic right requires the proletariat to open the door to those who have sworn to destroy it.

3) To prove to the workers and the petty bourgeoisie that the workers' state is a vital necessity, revolutionaries would have fought for the measures that the working class in power would take: nationalization under workers' control of all industry, including the foreign imperialists; public works programs to support the unemployed; cancellation of the peasants' debts and the extension of cheap credit; confiscation of Church lands and their distribution by the peasants, etc. These are some of the needed economic steps which would be raised not only for the future, but demanded of the existing rulers to prove to the masses that the bourgeoisie is unwilling to solve the crisis in the only way possible, despite its socialist rhetoric.

4) Revolutionaries would have been the champ-

ions of democratic rights, in order to show that the aspirations and hopes raised by the "Revolution of the Red Carnations" could be fulfilled only through socialism. Freedom of the press and of speech (except for those actively engaged in counter-revolution), freedom of assembly, immediate withdrawal of troops from Angola and remaining colonial outposts without conditions, freely elected workers' councils, trade union officials, etc. The completion of the democratic revolution through the socialist revolution is the method of Permanent Revolution, the program of the revolutionary party. All democratic rights had to be fought for by the revolutionaries and demanded of the bourgeois government, in order to expose the bourgeoisie's hesitations before the masses and counteract the influence that the right wing was gaining around its slogans of "democracy."

5) A revolutionary leadership would have sought to break the revolutionary soldiers from their officers and the MFA. The MFA's revolutionary pretensions could have been exposed by campaigns for the election of officers by the ranks, the elimination of officers' privileges, freedom of organization and agitation in the barracks (not permitted by MFA rules for anyone but itself), etc. Only by splitting the armed forces, testing the soldiers and especially the officers to see who stands with the working class could the proletariat be confident of support from the soldiers when the armed conflict came.

6) Revolutionaries would have stressed the importance of international solidarity. Breaking all ties with imperialism (NATO first of all) and denouncing the non-aggression pact with Spain that permitted Portuguese fascists full freedom of operation across the border but hindered Spanish revolutionaries in Portugal were primary tasks. The

survival of the Portuguese revolution depends on the convulsions of the proletariat through the lessons learned by Portugal with the Bolsheviks: the formation of the revolutionary party today, the reconstruction of the party. Instead, the Portuguese "heroic" state capitalism and North Korea, and the Third World."

7) A revolutionary program to win the workers from their misleaders could have demanded a coordinated defense of a defense of all working party offices, strikes leaders could have had a "battle of production" with workers, or else discipline compromisers and disempower. Such united front and precise slogans, and developments, could have worked against the servants. With such a could have been won and trained for the liberation.

None of the left parties of the summer filled the air, proletarian power could but none of them could. All the left, despite the bourgeoisie in on this, any possibility of unambiguous slogans.

The first major "República incident," politically affiliated to by its printers. The Democratic Union) had printers. The guerrilla Revolutionary Action also represented. The working conditions are also hostile to the SP, demanded the right to which had almost unified workplaces, supported the SP, in line with its After a struggle with owners and the workers insisted that the militia the most militant workers keys to the building.

This act was widely mistakenly, because it a paper carrying SP via SP and the reactionary freedom of the press, a MFA the right to democratic control. Revolutionaries the MFA as arbiter the accepted now when República to its form.

An opportunity was revolutionary attitude of class as a whole, not just decide what gets published whole is to be allocated the Russian workers' demonstrate in practice and it does not mean that currents in the working themselves saw through line, acted as if the error same understanding. O República with the aid alienated large number bourgeois and drove the and the reaction.

A second great test against the climate of the República incident by the fronted for. The left party the PRP (Proletarian Revolutionary Brigades, a syndicate linked to the International in Britain and the U.S. workers from workers' as well as several army reform National Assembly calling their demands also in Alliance," according to left groups took responsibility of the MFA and its when the lack of any reform absence of any reform in



anner. The PRP originated as the Salazar-Caetano regime.



class distinction between the proletariat and bourgeois rule.

survival of the Portuguese workers' revolution depends on the convictions and active support of the proletariat throughout the world, and the lessons learned by Portuguese revolutionaries (as with the Bolsheviks after 1917) could be a spur to the formation of the world revolutionary party—today, the reconstructed Fourth International. Instead, the Portuguese leftist groups relied on "heroic" state capitalist models like Cuba, China and North Korea, and on an undifferentiated "Third World."

7) A revolutionary leadership would have used its program to win the workers of the SP and CP away from their misleaders. For example, revolutionaries could have demanded that the CP join in a united, coordinated defense against the right-wing violence, a defense of all working class institutions including party offices, strikes and workers' councils. The CP leaders could have been forced to abandon their "battle of production" line, a clear victory for all the workers, or else discredited as collaborators and compromisers and driven from their positions of power. Such united front campaigns, raising clear and precise slogans, acting on and foreseeing political developments, could have mobilized the advanced workers against the bourgeoisie and its reformist servants. With such a policy, thousands of workers could have been won to the revolutionary banner and trained for the life and death battles to come.

None of the left parties in Portugal withstood the test of the summer events. Revolutionary words filled the air, programs for proletarian unity and proletarian power could be picked up by the dozens, but none of them came close to what was needed. All the left, despite their great variety, supported the bourgeoisie in one form or another. And with this, any possibility of clear-sighted leadership and unambiguous slogans was lost.

REPUBLICA

The first major challenge for the left was the "República incident." The newspaper República politically affiliated to the SP, was occupied in May by its printers. The Maoist UDP (Popular Democratic Union) had the most support from the printers. The guerillaist LUAR (League for Revolutionary Action and Unity) and the CP were also represented. The workers were protesting their working conditions and the loss of jobs, and were also hostile to the SP's pro-bourgeois policies. They demanded the right to control República. The CP, which had almost uniformly opposed occupations of workplaces, supported this one in order to weaken the SP, in line with its drive for bureaucratic power. After a struggle within the MFA between the SP owners and the workers' committee, in which the SP insisted that the military allow the owners to fire the most militant workers, COPCON handed the keys to the building to the workers.

This act was widely applauded on the left—mistakenly, because it resulted in the suppression of a paper carrying SP views and therefore allowed the SP and the reactionaries to pose as champions of freedom of the press, and also because it granted the MFA the right to decide the question of workers' control. Revolutionaries should not have accepted the MFA as arbiter then, any more than it should be accepted now when it is threatening to return República to its former owners.

An opportunity was lost to demonstrate the revolutionary attitude towards the press: that the class as a whole, not just the printworkers, should decide what gets published and how the press as a whole is to be allocated. This was Lenin's policy for the Russian workers' state. Revolutionaries must demonstrate in practice what socialism will mean, and it does not mean the silencing of other political currents in the working class. The left groups, who themselves saw through the SP's pro-bourgeois line, acted as if the entire working class had the same understanding. On the contrary, the seizure of República with the aid of the MFA's state power alienated large numbers of workers and petty bourgeois and drove them into the arms of the SP and the reaction.

A second great test for the left was to mobilize against the climate of reaction created after the República incident by the SP and the bourgeoisie it fronted for. The left parties, notably the UDP and the PRP (Proletarian Revolutionary Party-Revolutionary Brigades, a syndicalist and guerillaist group linked to the International Socialist organizations in Britain and the U.S.), mobilized thousands of workers from workers' and tenants' committees, as well as several army regiments, to march on the National Assembly calling for workers' power. But their demands also included the "MFA-People Alliance," according to the Lisbon press. Thus the left groups took responsibility for the programs and actions of the MFA and its bourgeois rule, at a time when the lack of any answer to unemployment, the absence of any reform measures in the countryside

and the general inability to find solutions to the crisis except at the workers' expense were exhausting the MFA's revolutionary credit. The time was overripe for clear challenges to MFA rule and firm exposure of the government's ability to act. The left groups did come to the military defense of the CP in the North, but they did not use the opportunity to challenge the CP to stop its attacks on the workers' militancy.

THE MELO ANTUNES DOCUMENT

By early August the right wing was ready to move politically to cash in on the chips that its show of strength in the North and the divisions in the working class had won for it. A group of nine MFA officers led by former foreign minister Ernesto Melo Antunes issued a program opposing the takeovers of the banks and monopolies, supporting extended ties to Western imperialism, and calling for an end to anarchy and the restoration of order—all in the name, naturally, of "a left political objective that includes building a socialist society." The Melo Antunes document gained support in the MFA (and in the bourgeoisie throughout the world), and looked like the solution that the ruling class needed: a combination of the right wing's restoration of order (with military force strongly implied) and the liberal bourgeoisie's false socialist rhetoric.

The left responded in kind. Led by the PRP, a group of junior officers published what became known as the "COPCON document," a program that all the far leftist parties (except the Maoists) hailed as revolutionary. Again, even though this document was filled with more revolutionary slogans than any previous MFA program, the COPCON document stood at bottom for bourgeois rule: "A revolutionary program for solving the situation has to involve first of all achieving the plan for an alliance between the Armed Forces Movement and the people..." For a while, General Carvalho (known affectionately as "Otelo" by his PRP and UDP admirers) worked on merging the COPCON and Melo Antunes documents. Many on the left were outraged by this "betrayal," under the misimpression that the COPCON document was socialist—but the PRP, Carvalho's closest allies, announced at a press conference that "Otelo's stand is wise." The merger fell through because of the right's intransigence, not the left's.

A left alliance, led by the PRP, the UDP and

The major slogan, although it was hidden well down the official list of demands, stood out as the one slogan that addressed the question of state power: "Immediate Application of the COPCON Document." But other slogans and maneuvers showed the leftists' misleadership as well. The slogan "Against both Superpowers" was a diversion. U.S. imperialism stands as an immediate threat to Portugal; the CIA and NATO have been ready for action. Russian imperialism, however, was not threatening to intervene in Portugal militarily; on the contrary, its policy was to hold Portugal aligned with the West in order to maintain international detente. The slogan was in fact a device for keeping the Communist party out of the demonstration, and the demonstration leaders urged publicly that the CP not attend. Instead, every effort should have been made to win the support of the CP ranks. The CP allowed its ranks to participate in any case; and at the price of a slight embarrassment at some of the slogans, the CP challenged the left's sectarianism and expressed its desire for unity. Certainly this was the desire of thousands of rank and file CP members.

Meanwhile the CP-led Intersindical had called a half-hour "paralysis," or general strike, "against the reaction" for August 19th. Most of the left the reaction" for August 19th. Most of the left opposed this strike on sectarian grounds. The therefore the strike needn't be supported. Some unions argued that since the CP had opposed their strikes in the past there was no need to back the CP. The Lisbon subway workers' union opposed the strike on the grounds that the "battle of production" had to continue. Tragically, the CP's sellout line had sunk roots.

CENTRISTS' ABANDON LEADERSHIP

The left should have supported the strike call, and gone further. Again, the CP should have been asked to support all workers' strikes. Serious preparations for a general strike against the fascist threat should have been demanded: demonstrations to mobilize support, the organization of armed defense guards for factories and neighborhoods, the formation of strike committees, etc. The left could have taken the initiative from the CP with such a strategy. At a MES news conference, its spokesman was asked by a Torch reporter about the possibility of any left group calling for a general strike should



Portuguese Socialist Party demonstration in June demanding the return of the newspaper República to SP owners. The Socialists used the República affair as a front

for right-wing attacks on the working class. In September the Socialist Party approved the military seizure of Lisbon's radio and TV stations.

including the MES (Movement of the Socialist Left, a centrist group not far from the CP) and the LCI (Internationalist Communist League, affiliated to the majority wing of the "Trotskyist" United Secretariat), built a mass demonstration on August 20th of between 50,000 and 100,000 people in support of the COPCON document. The march was overwhelming: militant, organized contingents of soldiers, agricultural workers, delegates from the Lisnave and Setenave shipyards and other industries were in the lead. The size and spirit of the mobilization reflected the desire for revolution among the proletariat, but the political content of the slogans that the leadership raised was a betrayal of these aspirations.

the fascists attack. He replied that MES had position, and he didn't think the other groups either. They all thought it best to "leave strikes to the workers and the unions." The abandonment of leadership by the centrists had reached epidemic proportions.

The next week the left made an about-face. Instead of challenging the CP to a united front revolutionary terms, on August 25th six left groups signed an agreement with the CP (the United Popular Front or the United Revolutionary Front, depending on whether one talked to the CP or leftists) on the CP's program. The groups were PRP, the LCI, the LUAR, the MES, the F (Popular Socialist Front, which had been an e-

split to the left out of the SP) and the May 1st Movement (a little-known group). The new agreement called for mobilizations in support of not only the COPCON document, but also the Goncalves government and its recently-issued Action Plan. The Action Plan had not been published in full, but press reports indicated that it included an austerity program to hold back workers' struggles and an end to nationalizations of bourgeois property.

Even on this thoroughly capitulationist basis, the unity was spurious. That night two demonstrations were held in Oporto, Portugal's second largest city, against the reaction: one by the CP, one by the other left groups. They marched 200 yards apart, each bitterly accusing the other, and quite correctly too, of dividing the working class.

The Front did organize a mass march to the Presidential Palace on August 27th. In order to agree on the slogans, the CP and its "allies" exchanged concessions. The left had to accept slogans in support of Prime Minister Goncalves, and the CP in turn agreed to the slogan "Down with the Constituent Assembly." (This means that the left called for overt military dictatorship by Goncalves alone, instead of calling for all power to workers' councils.) At the demonstration, "Down with the Constituent Assembly" was mysteriously missing from the official list. The PRP led its contingent off the line of march. The marchers went on to the Palace where Vasco Goncalves graciously appeared, to the cheers of the crowd. The left had been outmaneuvered again, because of its inability to steer a course clear of the bourgeoisie. The CP, by the way, dropped Goncalves shortly thereafter and agreed to participate in the new right-wing cabinet under Admiral Pinheiro de Azevedo.

The left groups expelled the CP from their Front, and issued a new manifesto on September 10. This document showed that the left had learned nothing. Again, it supported the COPCON document with its insistence on military rule for the present. In addition, it denounced elections as bourgeois, and suggested that social democracy is inevitably equivalent to fascism. This approach has the effect of cementing the MFA's military rule, and it also rules out any attempt to appeal to the workers attracted to the SP because of their illusions in bourgeois democracy. The Front's sectarian policy will tend to isolate it just as the CP was isolated before.

The entire history of the left's unsuccessful maneuvers throughout the summer, as well as their unprincipled politics, proves them to be not revolutionary but centrist parties: they vacillate, compromise, conciliate with the bourgeoisie, despite their revolutionary phrases.

THE MRPP

Other groups on the left played a different role notably the MRPP (Movement for the Reconstruction of the Proletarian Party). This is perhaps the most well known of the left groups outside of Portugal, because of the arrest of hundreds of its leaders by COPCON and its general militancy. The MRPP is the only left group that tries to present a serious image to the Portuguese workers: it takes care to have an impressive public presence; it now publishes a daily newspaper; its paper all along—even when weekly—dealt with concrete events and offered clear solutions (many of the other centrist groups went for weeks during the crucial summer months without publishing a new issue). The MRPP stands in opposition to the MFA, but for the wrong reasons. It considers the MFA "fascist" because of its tie to the "social-fascist" Communist Party. Since the MRPP believes that the task of the present state of the Portuguese revolution is to fulfill the bourgeois democratic program, it would not object to the regime if it were merely bourgeois.

As a result of this notion, the MRPP took a criminal position on the right-wing attacks against the proletariat. It supported the SP against the CP in the press and in the union elections. But worst of all, it mobilized a march of the unions it influences (mainly white-collar) to the Intersindical headquarters in Lisbon, on the night of August 19th. The marchers stoned the building and broke windows. This event was reported internationally as the first right-wing foray into the capital city—but it was in reality the "leftist" MRPP straying across the class line.

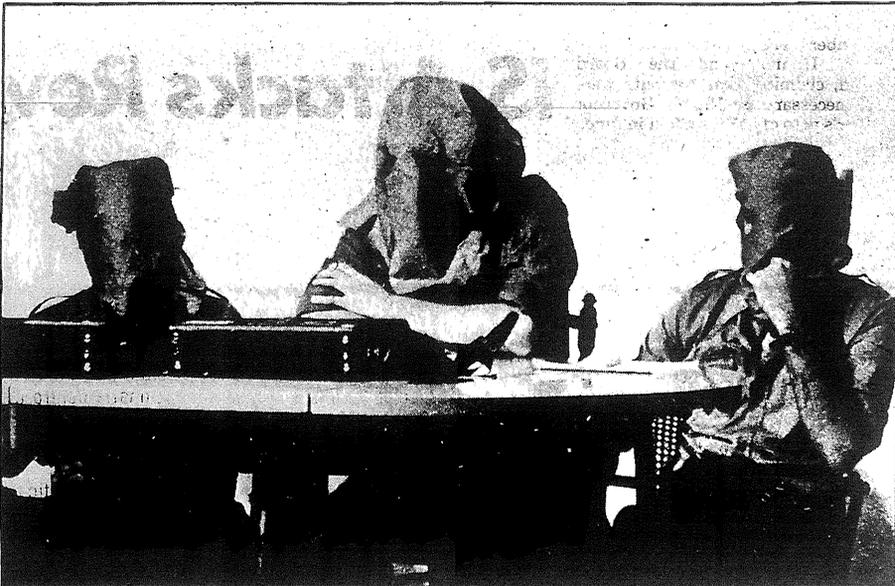
Some leftists (including the U.S. International Socialists) claim that the MRPP is CIA funded because of incidents such as this. No proof has been offered and the charge serves as a cover for COPCON's repression of MRPP militants. MRPP's actions can be explained politically. Their Maoism teaches that the USSR is the main enemy in the world, so like China itself and other Maoists, they turn to U.S. imperialism as a bulwark against Russia. Within Portugal this takes the form of

calling the CP the main enemy ("social fascists"), and thus siding with the SP and the right against it.

The MRPP has played a leading role in the movement of soldiers refusing to be sent to Angola. In part this is out of internationalist intentions: Portugal has no right to rule Angola or even keep troops there. But the MRPP also raises the slogan, "No troops to Angola to aid U.S. and Russian imperialism." As The Torch has shown, the MPLA of Angola, although supplied with Russian arms, is the only legitimate national liberation force in the country. The others are imperialist puppets financed and tied directly to the CIA in order to save Angola's labor and natural resources for the West. The MRPP's slogan implies neutrality between the MRPP and its rivals; that is, neutrality between a national liberation movement and the CIA.

Why does such a large current on the left attach its hopes to the MFA? One reason is revolutionary romanticism: the workers are in motion, so revolutionaries must not be critical, and are therefore reduced to the role of cheerleaders. This failure to challenge the workers' present leaderships (the CP, SP and MFA) with revolutionary ideas is no concession to the workers, but rather to the bourgeoisie.

Some leftists (notably the PRP) argue that the MFA is the only force that can stave off fascism. They point to the revolutionary soldiers and officers in the army, and claim that to oppose the MFA means to oppose them. This is the most dangerous reasoning of all. The MFA must be split so that the allegiance of the revolutionary soldiers to the "moderate" officers can be severed. The left's



Hooded spokesmen for the semi-clandestine "Soldiers United Will Win" movement presenting their manifesto at a September 21 press conference in Lisbon. The

slogan of the "MFA-People Alliance," on the contrary, tells the soldiers to rely on their officers.

Some argue that the MFA is not in fact bourgeois: it is divided into several camps and is fundamentally petty bourgeois. This line of argument has been carried further by some Pabloist tendencies. Since the petty-bourgeois guerilla leaders Fidel Castro was able to achieve what they consider the proletarian revolution, why shouldn't the MFA do the same thing, especially since the radical wing of the MFA is led by such a charismatic figure as Fidel's friend Otelo? But for Marxists there can be no doubt that the MFA is bourgeois. Those radical officers who have renounced their allegiance to capitalism as they see it have nevertheless identified themselves with the state apparatus of MFA rule. The MFA regime has proved by its programs and actions that it defends Portuguese capitalism even when it expropriates individual capitalists. This is true of every wing: Carvalho and Goncalves as well as Melo Antunes. Carvalho's attempt to reconcile the COPCON and Melo Antunes documents in August was based on the correct perception that they represented the same class point of view.

The new right-wing cabinet in Lisbon is the result of the "MFA-People Alliance." By its vacillating and compromising throughout the crisis, the left proved that it could not unite the working class nor win the petty bourgeoisie to the workers' side. The initiative passed over to the right wing. In the

absence of revolutionary advances, there was a considerable measure of demoralization among the proletariat.

But in the ebb and flow of the intense Portuguese situation, this demoralization can be rapidly transformed and the right-wing tide can be reversed. Tens of thousands of class-conscious Portuguese workers and soldiers will not stand by idly and allow their gains to be taken away without a fight. The workers at the Lisnave and Setenave shipyards, together with class-conscious workers in many other factories in Lisbon, can be mobilized to fight under the revolutionary banner. Rank and file soldiers can be broken from their illusions in the MFA, especially as the MFA moves into direct opposition to the interests of the Portuguese working class. The final words have not yet been spoken. Already the government's right-wing provocations have brought on a shift to the left among the masses.

THE SUV

Despite the failure of the centrist groups to take the lead, there are signs of revolutionary activity. A new soldiers' movement called SUV (Soldiers United Will Win) was formed in September and led a demonstration of over 10,000—including 1,500 soldiers in uniform—in Oporto on September 10, demanding democracy in the barracks and link-ups with workers' and village committees. The SUV calls for "organs of power of workers in uniform, elected and recallable at any moment by the general assembly in the barracks." At a September 21 press conference the SUV issued a manifesto which said in part:

"SUV opposes the successive governments and the MFA is a sign of revolutionary soldiers' and workers' awakening consciousness that the centrist parties have failed to offer revolutionary leadership.

"SUV opposes the successive governments which neither can, nor wish to, defend the just demands of the workers and peasants. The soldiers have already made concessions to the bourgeoisie, notably in deferring their struggle to the alliance with the MFA, an officers' movement which because of its contradictions and hesitations in the past, now finds itself in the hands of counter-revolutionaries. This has cost us the desertion and hostility of important layers of the population, the demoralization of many fighters and the absence of a response to the reactionary offensive."

This statement was the first sign that Portuguese revolutionaries recognize the error of the "MFA-People Alliance." It is not yet clear who the leadership of the SUV is (Le Monde reports that the LCI and MES are involved), but its statements reflect an awakening consciousness that the leftist groups have not done their job. The manifesto's assessment of the workers' situation is a sharp change from the cheerleading that the left offered during the summer. Revolutionary workers' and soldiers are behind such statements, whether or not they are the leaders of the SUV. They are the key to the Portuguese revolution. They will have to struggle not only against the class enemy, but also against the betrayers within their own class—the leaderships of the SP and CP and the centrist leaders as well. Through such a struggle the revolutionary party, the Fourth International in Portugal, will be built.

Chica

This fall the Union (CTU) and College Teachers came under assault. Both unions struck. CTU ended in stalemate. The CCCTU results...

The strikes of CCCTU were provoked. Upon entering Chicago Board demanding the following of class size by the of 1,525 teaching approximately 1,000 (custodians, teaching large cutbacks in playground funds. Board wanted to freeze wages, eliminate annual longevity duce rates for summer school a released time of ment chairpeople the faculty's controlling of their depart...

The Board of superintendent Johnson out to weaken President Robert extend the old 1975 September while ceded. Hannon refused, claiming made necessary by Walker's veto of \$4 million for the Chicago school slanderous campaign union designed to it.

The CTU voted margin, the largest strike was militantly effective during its. Moreover, the community support—former scab-advocates...

Despite the teaching CTU bureaucracy the strike. In response of bankruptcy that the Board had. But if the Board was the crisis it claimed would have accepted...

Around the beginning Governor Walker, a democrat, ordered an increase Board's budget. Walker "discovered" that indeed been paid Hannon to back...

SL SII

"A revolutionary black liberation is the any program for proletarian in the U.S." In Revolutionary Socialist July 3 challenged League to a debate and the Proletarian...

The SL neither declined the challenge answer it. After six letter was sent Aug reply. Nearly four leading New York July 3 letter had been ago—a claim the exposed when they September 19:

"This is to acknowledge your letter of 7-3-7 challenge us to a liberation. Because priorities were the defeat on this matter until Apparently the SL

Chicago Teachers' Strike Ends in Standoff

This fall the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) and the Cook County College Teachers Union (CCCTU) came under assault by the ruling class. Both unions struck. The strike of the CTU ended in stalemate. The strike of the CCCTU resulted in a minor defeat.

The strikes of the CTU and the CCCTU were provoked by the ruling class. Upon entering negotiations, the Chicago Board of Education was demanding the following: an increase of class size by three, the elimination of 1,525 teaching positions and approximately 1,000 other positions (custodians, teachers aides, etc.) and large cutbacks in the textbook and playground funds. The City College Board wanted to raise class size, to freeze wages, eliminating even the annual longevity increments, to reduce rates for substituting and summer school and to reduce the released time of the elected department chairpeople (which would lessen the faculty's control over the functioning of their departments).

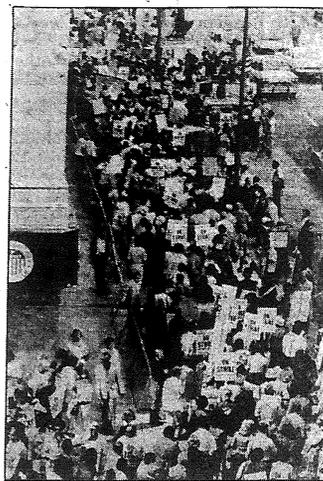
The Board of Education and its superintendent Joseph Hannon were out to weaken the union. CTU President Robert Healey offered to extend the old 1974-75 contract into September while negotiations proceeded. Hannon and the Board refused, claiming that the cuts were made necessary by Illinois Governor Walker's veto of \$47.2 million in funds for the Chicago schools. Hannon ran a slanderous campaign against the union designed to weaken and isolate it.

The CTU voted to strike by a 10-1 margin, the largest in its history. The strike was militant and 97 percent effective during its 11-day duration. Moreover, the strike received community support—such as that by former scab-advocate Jesse Jackson.

Despite the teachers' militancy, the CTU bureaucracy worked to sell out the strike. In response to Hannon's plea of bankruptcy, Healey charged that the Board had padded its budget. But if the Board was in fact faced with the crisis it claimed, then Healey would have accepted the cutbacks.

Around the beginning of the strike, Governor Walker, an anti-Daley Democrat, ordered an investigation of the Board's budget. Walker's commission "discovered" that the budget had indeed been padded. This forced Hannon to back down from his

demand to raise class size and reduce staff. He was now willing to extend



Mass teachers' picket line at Chicago Board of Education on September 11.

the old contract.

On September 18, the day the strike ended, the Chicago Tribune reported:

"The sources revealed that Healey was 'forced by circumstances' to tell the mayor last week that he had been convinced that the board did not have the money to meet his terms, as he had been insisting for weeks.

"Daley was reported livid with anger at Healey. When the union leader said he could not get his teachers back to work for less than \$55 million more than the \$424 million the Board had offered, the mayor reportedly replied: 'You ———! You got them out, and it's up to you to get them back in. And you do it for half that amount.'"

Healey would have liked to comply, but the teachers would not have listened. Daley finally realized this. He intervened directly on September 16. Within a day, the union bureaucracy accepted an agreement which called for a 7 percent pay increase, a reduction of one in class size and an extension of health benefits to include dental care. High school substitutes will receive nothing.

Given the deterioration of the Chicago public schools and the high

rate of inflation, this settlement can hardly be considered a victory. However, the Chicago teachers did succeed in beating back an attack the likes of which had not been heard of for years.

The attack on the Cook County College Teachers was even more vicious. Rather than negotiate, City College Board President Shabat attempted to break the CCCTU. Shabat brought an injunction against the union which resulted in a \$38,000 fine against the union as well as a five month jail term for CCCTU President Swenson.

A settlement was finally reached which restored the annual pay increments, pay rates for substituting and summer school and departmental release time. Class size will go up to what the Board wanted after a year. The agreement gave the teachers virtually no pay increase. The outcome was a defeat. A contract which does not grant a wage increase matching inflation means a decline of real wages. Moreover, the fines and jail sentence against the CCCTU and its president still hold. Finally, over the past few

Cont'd. p. 13

IS Attacks Revolutionaries

The International Socialists (IS) last month sponsored a series of meetings in several North American cities designed to pass off its centrist line on Portugal and that of its "fraternal" group, the Portuguese Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP), as revolutionary. Hundreds of people attended these forums to hear a first-hand account of the critical Portuguese events. Although, through opportunistic politics and bureaucratic organization of the meetings, the IS did its best to exclude revolutionary ideas, it failed in these efforts.

There was, to be sure, a good deal of revolutionary rhetoric dished out by the IS's "National Chairperson" Joel Geier, the main speaker. Geier's rhapsodic descriptions of Portuguese workers "in the saddle" was combined with class-collaborationist support for the programs of the military rulers who actually hold state power and are maneuvering to isolate and defeat the

Portuguese workers. In the New York meeting that opened the tour, the hall was festooned with posters proclaiming: "MFA—Sentinel of the People," "People-MFA: The Revolution on the March," and "The People are with the MFA."

Both the PRP and IS promulgate the fraud that the MFA's "workers' councils" under military control "leave the ground of parliamentary democracy for the ground of workers' democracy," as Geier claimed. His devotion to fake workers' democracy in Portugal was mirrored by his handling of the meetings in the U.S. and Canada. In New York, speakers from the floor were prohibited from making political statements and were restricted to brief questions. Even this proved too hot for the IS and PRP to handle (one Revolutionary Socialist League sympathizer demanded to know why the IS supported the MFA, so the format was changed to written questions only. The purpose of this was to rule out any challenge to the PRP's treacherous class collaborationist strategy in Portugal (see the centerfold article in this issue) and to the IS's cynical cheerleading from afar).

In Chicago, a supporter of the RSL took the floor after the speeches to object to the procedure and moved that members of the audience be allowed to speak. He pointed out that he had fought for the right to speak at union meetings and that discussion of strategy for the Portuguese revolution had to be held democratically. Another RSL supporter charged that the IS ran its meetings in this bureaucratic fashion in order to hide its counter-revolutionary politics. This was too much for Geier, who seized the microphone and yelled, "Get out! We don't want you disrupting our meeting!" Geier then called on his goons to eject the RSL supporters from the hall. One of Geier's "men" jumped one of the League supporters, provoking a fight in which the goon got bloodied. When things subsided, the RSL supporters re-entered the forum, unopposed by the IS.

Subsequently the IS decided not to permit RSL supporters from entering their forums in Detroit and Toronto, on the grounds that the RSL was out

to deliberately provoke fights. This claim is absurd. In the first place when two RSLers attend an IS meeting with an audience of 100 or more, it is not physical but political confrontation that the IS fears. In the second place, the IS goons assaulted League supporters for exposing the politics behind IS's bureaucratic tactics. In Toronto Geier went so far as to claim that the RSL were "police agents" because the Chicago affair had raised the danger of police coming to a meeting where a foreign revolutionary was speaking. But the only ones who would have called the police were the IS. It is clear that Geier chose to escalate his cheap and irresponsible charges out of political cowardice, his inability to defend the traitorous politics of his group and the PRP.

This account of the Chicago affair is based on reports from RSL supporters and others who were present. (Supporters of the Spartacist League announced that they would not remain while people were denied the right to speak and walked out of the meeting when the RSL was attacked.) In Toronto they also left the hall when the RSL was excluded. If the IS insists on its claim that the RSL is responsible for the physical attacks and does not withdraw its public charge of police agency, the RSL demands that the question be brought before a commission of inquiry.

The RSL and other groups have called for united-front Portugal Solidarity Committees to mobilize against imperialist intervention in Portugal (see the September 15 Torch). Leaflets describing the Solidarity Committees were distributed at the IS-PRP forums. The IS has refused to participate and has chosen to call demonstrations on its own. This policy is in sharp contrast with that of left organizations in several European countries, who have planned joint marches and other actions in support of the Portuguese revolution. IS's desire to grab the U.S. franchise of the Portuguese revolution only weakens the support that the left can give. To the IS, however, the defense of the Portuguese workers and peasants is less important than using the Portuguese revolution to cover its counter-revolutionary practice.

SL SIDESTEPS RSL CHALLENGE

"A revolutionary perspective for black liberation is the cornerstone for any program for proletarian revolution in the U.S." In these words, the Revolutionary Socialist League on July 3 challenged the Spartacist League to a debate on Black Liberation and the Proletarian Revolution.

The SL neither accepted nor declined the challenge. They failed to answer it. After six weeks, a second letter was sent August 21. Again no reply. Nearly four weeks later, a leading New York SLer claimed our July 3 letter had been answered weeks ago—a claim the SL themselves exposed when they finally wrote on September 19:

"This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of 7-3-75 in which you challenge us to a debate on black liberation. Because of organizational priorities we are deferring any action on this matter until the fall." Apparently the SL's "organizational

priorities" make it impossible to write a two-sentence note in less than 11 weeks.

Actually, the SL leadership wants to avoid the debate because they're afraid that they'll fare no better than they have in debates with the RSL on other questions. They want to convince the SL membership and supporters that the SL has "better things to do" than to put their analysis of black liberation to a public test.

The SL leadership prefers to make announcements to their membership that the RSL is about to "with away" rather than engage in combat over Leninist perspectives. We doubt that the SL membership will long continue to buy this cynical shuck.

The SL has "deferred any action until the fall." Comrades, the leaves are now falling. We repeat our challenge openly. We demand political confrontation, not lame excuses.

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Build NYC General Strike!

OCTOBER 9—Leaders of New York's public employee unions are threatening to call a general strike against a three-year wage freeze and additional layoffs proposed by Mayor Beame to the Emergency Financial Control Board. This comes one day after the Financial Control Board rejected the new UFT contract as "too costly."

Barry Feinstein, head of Teamsters Local 237, said, "We've come down this road with the Mayor but we feel we can no longer deal with him. He can no longer lead the city the way he wants to." Feinstein continued, "In my view I'm in favor of a general strike in the city at this time."

Albert Shanker echoed these sentiments. New York AFSCME head Victor Gotbaum chimed in, "The Governor and the Mayor are trying to destroy collective bargaining."

For months, Gotbaum, Shanker and Co. set the stage for this by keeping the unions divided and selling out the ranks one at a time. The city and state have used every concession as a lever to wrest ten more. Now the bureaucrats are pressed against the wall by Beame's going back on his August pledge to allow minimal wage increases and make no further layoffs. To maintain their own positions, they have to propose something. They must be put on the spot: no more idle threats, back up your words with action.

United strike action is needed right

now, but it can't be left to the longed strike for what they initially see as something concerning public employees. Through mass demonstrations of the entire labor movement held on working hours, it would be possible to quickly convince massive numbers of workers to join the strike. At this point, the full-scale general strike should be called. If the bureaucrats were serious, they would take these steps at once. They must be forced to do so.

First of all, clear goals must be set. The unions must build for a general strike with the strength to stay out until all funds are restored—No Cuts, No Layoffs, Break the Wage Freeze and Cancel the City Debt.

An emergency delegated conference of the New York labor movement should be called at once to plan a strategy for action and to get binding commitments. This conference should set up a central strike committee with representatives from elected strike committees in every local in the city.

The public employees should set a date for an immediate strike of all municipal unions. This strike, judging from the UFT strike, would be extremely strong internally and would have support from other New York workers. Its strength would give valuable time to build for the general strike.

The strike committees should be explaining to the workers in each union and to unorganized workers why it is in their interest to join the strike—many non-public workers will at first be hesitant to engage in a pro-

longed strike for what they initially see as something concerning public employees. Through mass demonstrations of the entire labor movement held on working hours, it would be possible to quickly convince massive numbers of workers to join the strike. At this point, the full-scale general strike should be called. If the bureaucrats were serious, they would take these steps at once. They must be forced to do so.

It is certain that if a general strike is not sold out by a bureaucratic "compromise," the government will come down on it full force. Part of the necessary plans include immediately establishing workers' defense guards to protect the strike.

Feinstein is right to say that Beame has no control over the city, wrong to imply that he ever led it except in the interests of the banks and corporations. The strike action in New York is essential, but at the same time it must be generalized to the need to eliminate the capitalists' political control throughout the country. The workers cannot get to the heart of the bourgeois attacks in one city; this requires taking on the capitalists' national strategy as implemented by both Ford and the Democrats. The struggle of New York workers must be broadened by the New York unions taking the lead in fighting nationally for the formation of a labor party to lead the political struggle.

Free Delbert Tibbs

Delbert Tibbs was convicted of rape and murder and sentenced to death in the electric chair—but on September 20th, 800 people gathered in Chicago to show they know that Tibbs speaks the truth when he says, "I'm guilty only of being black and poor, neither is a condition of which I'm ashamed."

Joan Little and Angela Davis spoke at the rally. Tibbs was accused of raping a white woman and killing her boyfriend. Little pointed out that some people think of her case and the Tibbs case as opposite. But the issue in both cases, she said, was that the police and courts are tools to enforce the oppression of blacks.

Tibbs is a Chicago poet who went South in the winter of 1974 to gather material for a novel. In February he was in Florida, hitchhiking west toward Shelby, Mississippi, his birthplace. On February 1, he stayed at the Salvation Army Mission in Daytona. "One night and out" is the policy at the Mission, so Tibbs slept the next four nights on the Daytona beach. On February 6 he left town and was picked up for hitchhiking in Leesburg. He continued on his way but on February 7 was again picked up for hitchhiking, in Ocala. He was photographed, questioned and released. Tibbs went to Mississippi, but in Mississippi he was arrested and sent back to Florida. The reason?

On February 4, a murder had been committed in Fort Myers, 225 miles from Daytona. Cynthia Nadeau and Terry Milroy were running away from Nadeau's former companion when Milroy was killed. The 16-year-old Nadeau claimed that a black man in a blue-green truck had given them a ride, shot Milroy and raped her. Delbert Tibbs was accused of the crime.

The police never found the blue-green truck or tried to explain where and when Tibbs got it. They never found the murder weapon or tried to explain where or when Tibbs got that. Soon after the murder, a sheriff

said the murderer-rapist must have known the area well to find the secluded field where the crime was committed. How did the Chicagoan Tibbs know the area? No answer. How did Tibbs travel the 250 miles from Daytona to Fort Myers? No answer. Soon after the crime, Nadeau described the attacker as very dark, with a pock-marked face. Tibbs is sand-colored with a smooth complexion. How did the state explain the discrepancy? They claimed Tibbs had changed colors.

The only evidence against Tibbs was Nadeau's identification, the testimony of his cellmate and a surprise document introduced at the end of the trial.

Nadeau's identification was done by looking at the Ocala police picture of Tibbs—by itself, not in a group of other pictures. Sylvester Gibbs, Delbert Tibbs' cellmate, claimed that Tibbs had confessed to him, but on the stand he dated this confession two weeks before Tibbs was arrested. The surprise document was a registration card from the Salvation Army Mission in Orlando, dated February 4 and bearing the name Delbert Tibbs. This was an attempt to discredit Tibbs and his testimony. Handwriting experts reported that the signature was forged, but the judge refused to hear their testimony in post-trial hearings.

On December 14 the all-white jury found Tibbs guilty and recommended death. The judge agreed and now Tibbs, who had never been arrested before, is fighting for his life on death row.

The Delbert Tibbs Defense Committee is circulating a petition to free Tibbs and is urging workers to bring up the issue in labor unions, social clubs, community organizations and anywhere support might be found. A spokesperson for the Revolutionary Steelworkers' Caucus at Chicago's U.S. Steel Southworks plant told The Torch that they are publicizing the Tibbs case in their newsletter and

will be circulating the petition.

The arrest and trial of Tibbs is part of a familiar pattern, a pattern that must be broken. For a hundred years and more the wanton arrest and execution of black men accused of rape has been used to intimidate the black population. At the rally for Tibbs, Joan Little reminded the crowd that it was "the people that set me free," that the growing movement for Little was threatening enough that the bourgeoisie backed down. To follow this victory with another, to build a strong movement now to free Delbert Tibbs, would be an inspiration to thousands of workers who believe the lie that they have no power to change things. The **Torch** urges all its readers to join us in organizing to **Free Delbert Tibbs**.

For more information, write to The Torch or: Delbert Tibbs Defense Committee, 3245 S. Calument Ave., Chicago, Illinois 60616

Portugal

Cont'd. from p. 5

no longer any chance for revolutionists to carry out a transformation within the present structures. The only way to assure a seizure of power by the workers will be to arm the working class and the peasantry, and at the present moment this must be the essential task of all revolutionaries."

Arming the workers is indeed a central task. But the rest of this is all wrong. It was not the regime's right turn that made a "transformation within the present structures" impossible. There was never any chance of this, no more than there was a chance to make Chile socialist while relying on the bourgeois state and military. The PRP's support for the bourgeois military, the MFA, was always wrong. It sowed illusions and left Portuguese workers unprepared for the latest turn of events.

Furthermore, the PRP leaves the door open for once more tail-ending the generals if they make a temporary zig-zag to the left. The workers must be told clearly that the bourgeoisie

LETTER

Masses Rule a Main Street in Kingston

Dear Comrades,

On the 11th of September, workers, unemployed youth and revolutionaries, 2,000 strong, marched from Half-Way-Tree to the residence of the Governor General one mile away on Hope Road. The march was a protest demonstration against the proposed hanging of Michael Bernard, a Rastafari youth from the ghettos of Kingston. However, it was more than that. It was a protest against the entire capitalist class way of justice and the fact that there is no justice for the black unemployed youth, workers and small farmers in this system. Bernard was the spark. The fire was the system of capitalism and the domination of our country by imperialism.

All people who got through when traffic was stopped by marchers, if they did not sign the petition to free Bernard, were called capitalists—black or white.

For the first time, police—remembering 1968 and the aftermath of their attacks on students and youth who were protesting the banning of Walter Rodney, who taught revolutionary history to the youth of the ghettos—stood by while the masses directed traffic, shouted and sang "Free Bernard!" "Down with Capitalist Justice!" One radio station had a blackout on the event. The most reactionary daily reported 300, clearly afraid of what an accurate report would do.

For the first time in 1975 the masses of Kingston showed forcefully that the bourgeois system is a class one and acts only in the capitalist interest. Bernard is a Rastafari youth. He was picked up in the usual sloop of the police in the ghetto. Eight days after he was charged with murder.

On September 12th, Michael Bernard's sentence was commuted. However, the struggle is on to free him and to show that he is innocent and that he was framed because of his Rastafarian views, and for being black and unemployed.

Comradely,
(Name Withheld)
Kingston, Jamaica

cannot be overthrown, that socialism cannot be established, so long as the workers take responsibility for bourgeois (including MFA) rule. But this is what the PRP (along with the other "far left" groups) did, and by continuing to defend that line they prove that they have learned nothing.

Revolutionaries can still win the leadership of the Portuguese workers. Immediately, the CP leadership must be confronted with the demand that it get out of the Azevedo government and join in a united military defer the proletariat, its rights and conquests. Revolutionaries must take the lead in building united front defense against the counter-revolution. But the same "far leftists" who opportunistically tailed Carvalho and the MFA for so long exhibit typically symmetrical ultra-leftism towards the CP ranks, abstaining from the need to appeal to these workers (see this issue's centerfold). The need for a government of the workers and peasants must be counterposed to the Azevedo government, the MFA and their institutions. A clear class line on the political crisis is the only way to build the revolutionary party that Portugal desperately needs.

Shar

Teacher strikes in the United States fought back against city and state government public employees financial crises. The strikes have occurred in Delaware, Boston, New York City. Despite militancy in every city have ranged from disastrous sellout in

In Delaware, the state AFL-CIO a one-day general strike support of striking teachers. This did not pressure authorities from arranging the 1,000 strikers. The month-old strike losing settlement, with 15 percent wage hike in years.

In Boston, despite strike, teachers were 6 percent in salary inflation. Even this by a 45-minute increase week.

But the most came in New York conditions which made possible starting-point counteroffensive by to the attacks by governments: The crisis imposed layoffs and contract concessions municipal union viciously.

OVERWHELMING

For the first time the United Federation overwhelming support ranks, throughout the among other unions. of sharp divisions between and the community, which Shanker fuel and Latin parents was UFT focused its fight in education.

The 60,000-member strongest teacher local and the most powerful union in beginning in the summer to prevent and restore and layoffs for public UFT could have led by all public employee attacks. This was a sary. Partial strike actions have been unoffensive because the isolated. Instead the one by one have knuckled bourgeoisie's assault into the New York intending to lose.

According to his reported in the New September 30, Shanker's walkout but had not control of his union to one point he lost executive board and ker's demagoguery that absolutely the best gained, the 10,651 membership vote 1 contract revealed a d ranks over the sellout.

Shanker had to fight sellout. What he following: thousands ers remain laid off. Education plans to release 9,600 laid-off teachers representing salaries the one-week strike imposed by the repression amounting to two days on strike. This day eted as a victory! In ef

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Shanker Leads UFT to Defeat

Teacher strikes broke out all over the United States this fall as teachers fought back against the attempts of city and state governments to make public employees pay for the cities' financial crises. The most significant strikes have occurred in Wilmington, Delaware, Boston, Chicago and New York City. Despite the teachers' militancy in every case, the results have ranged from standoff in Chicago (see article on page 11) to a disastrous sellout in New York.

In Delaware, the 105 unions of the state AFL-CIO affiliate staged a one-day general strike September 24 in support of striking Wilmington teachers. This did not prevent Wilmington authorities from arresting over 500 of the 1,000 strikers. As we go to press the month-old strike is reported near a losing settlement, which would grant a 15 percent wage hike spread over three years.

In Boston, despite a two-week strike, teachers were able to gain only 6 percent in salary, far less than inflation. Even this was partly offset by a 45-minute increase in the working week.

But the most disastrous defeat came in New York City, despite conditions which made New York the possible starting-point of a nationwide counteroffensive by municipal unions to the attacks by local and state governments. The New York budget crisis imposed layoffs, a wage freeze and contract concessions on every municipal union virtually simultane-ously.

OVERWHELMING SUPPORT

For the first time in over 10 years, the United Federation of Teachers had overwhelming support within its own ranks, throughout the community and among other unions. Despite a history of sharp divisions between the union and the community, the deep distrust which Shanker fueled among black and Latin parents was receding as the UFT focused its fight against the cuts in education.

The 60,000-member UFT is the strongest teacher local in the country and the most powerful public employee union in New York. By beginning in the summer a campaign to prevent and restore all budget cuts and layoffs for public employees, the UFT could have led a united response by all public employee unions to the attacks. This was absolutely necessary. Partial strikes and local job actions have been unable to repel the offensive because they have remained isolated. Instead the municipal unions one by one have knuckled under to the bourgeoisie's assault. Shanker went into the New York contract fight intending to lose.

According to his own testimony, reported in the New York Times of September 30, Shanker "opposed the walkout but had not been in sufficient control of his union to prevent it." At one point he lost control of the executive board and, despite Shanker's demagoguery that his contract was absolutely the best that could be gained, the 10,651 to 6,695 UFT membership vote to accept the contract revealed a deep split in the ranks over the sellout.

Shanker had to fight to achieve this sellout. What he "gained" was the following: thousands of school workers remain laid off. The Board of Education plans to rehire 2,400 of the 9,600 laid-off teachers with \$30 million representing salaries forfeited during the one-week strike and the fines imposed by the repressive Taylor Law, amounting to two days' pay for each day on strike. This has been trumpeted as a victory! In effect, Shanker is

paying for his "gains" out of his members' pockets.

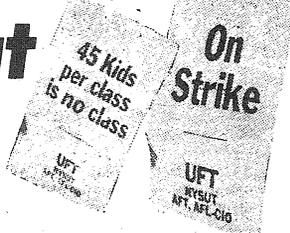
But even this disgusting maneuver doesn't save the jobs of 7,200 teachers, 3,000 paraprofessionals, 500 guidance counselors and 500 secretaries who are still laid off. And the lost salaries and Taylor Law penalties are a one-shot proposition. They won't be available next year to employ the same workers.

The rest of the contract is no better. Class size has not been raised, but to achieve this the contract reduces the school week by 90 minutes for students and eliminates 90 minutes in preparation time for teachers. If these cuts remain, there will be less time to plan lessons, confer with parents, attend to special problems, organize trips and special activities. The UFT leadership has settled for the deterioration of education as well as the

still employed will abandon the unions. Why pay dues for nothing? Already, many UFT members ask this question.

The present leadership has nothing to offer except continued and worse setbacks. At the Delegate Assembly where he rammed through the sellout contract, Shanker informed the UFT that "there's nothing that can be done in the present depression conditions" except to sacrifice jobs, wages and working conditions. In response to a pointed question, Shanker admitted that he had no guarantees that the city wouldn't break the contract and impose even harsher cuts to satisfy the Emergency Financial Control Board. Shanker's method, like the method of the entire labor bureaucracy, is to roll over and play dead.

The fight for a revolutionary



Albert Shanker (above) and other N.Y. bureaucrats now threaten a citywide general strike. SEE P. 12.

deterioration of its members' working conditions.

Shanker now claims that this cut is "temporary," since public pressure will force restoration of the cuts. Shanker expects the working class parents whom he has sold out to fight his battles for him!

Finally, the contract supposedly won an across-the-board \$300 cost-of-living bonus, as well as extra bonuses for teachers with 10 to 15 years' seniority. But the \$43 million allotted to pay for this is locked up by the wage freeze imposed by New York State's Emergency Financial Control Board. This contract cost the city nothing! In hailing the settlement, Mayor Beame noted that the package recognized "the clear limitations that I had specified earlier—that there is no new money available for this contract settlement and that the wage freeze would have to be respected in any agreement."

HOLLOW SHELL?

In sum, the strike of the country's most powerful teacher local has ended in disaster, not because of the members' lack of determination—as the 6,695 "no" votes indicate—but because of Shanker's leadership. A few more settlements like the present one and the UFT will be a hollow shell. The same prospects face the other public employee unions. If the trade unions cannot maintain wages and fight unemployment, their membership will fall away. Through layoffs and demoralization, as many who are

employees, demanding immediate preparations for a citywide public employee strike to fight for No Layoffs—No Cutbacks—Jobs and Decent Public Services for All—Cancel the Debt! All New York workers are attacked by the slashed public services—a fight against the cuts is in the interest of all. The public employees must demand that the entire New York labor movement demonstrate the importance of the fight by organizing mass rallies and work stoppages against the cuts, by building to be able to call out all New York workers to back a citywide public employee strike.

As important as strike action is, it is not enough. Workers need a political alternative. A mass revolutionary party to organize and lead struggle, to unite all sectors of the working class, is needed badly. Today, there is no such party. But political struggle is needed right now. The public employees, and in fact all New York workers, must break the stranglehold imposed by the banks and corporations with the active compliance of Beame, Governor Carey and the rest of New York's Democratic Party machine.

Tens of thousands of New York workers, workers who do not yet accept the need for socialist revolution, do accept this. They understand the role of the Democrats, although they do not see the need for a mass revolutionary party. Revolutionaries must appeal to these workers and show that there are steps that can be taken right now. We cannot ask workers to abstain from struggle until a mass revolutionary party is built—a party will never be built apart from struggle. This is why we call for a workers' government and a labor party to fight for it. If the trade union movement is to even hold the line, it must immediately counterpose itself to the capitalist class. At the same time, through the struggle for a labor party, revolutionaries can fight to win workers to the revolutionary program in practice.

We call on advanced workers to take up the struggle for united class action and for a labor party to demonstrate the strategy for the workers to defend their interests against the capitalist attacks. The passive, anti-struggle approach of Shanker, together with his support for the Democrats, has led to defeat and will lead to disaster. Class struggle, not class collaboration, is needed.

Chicago Teachers

Cont'd. from p. 11

years the Board has gotten around the released time provision by merging departments. Nothing in the contract stops the Board from whittling this down further.

CCCTU President Swenson bears responsibility for this defeat. Like Healey, he refused to mobilize the working class in defense of the strike. Rather, he criminally called for the reduction of the Adult Education program to pay for benefits for college teachers.

In both strikes, what was "won" (i.e., avoiding disastrous defeats) was due to the strength of the strike. This strength was limited by the bureaucrats. At a minimum, the two strikes

should have been linked: neither union should have gone back to work until both won decent contracts. Vigorous efforts should have been made to mobilize community support—these attacks against the entire class hit hardest the black and Latin communities. Finally, after Swenson was jailed, Healey (President of the Illinois Federation of Teachers) should have called a statewide teachers' strike. Swenson's jailing was an attack on the right of all public employees to strike. Teachers all over the state of Illinois were striking against budget cuts. To call for a statewide strike for the right of public employees to strike against the budget cuts would have met with a positive response.

Detroit: Lessons of the P.O. Contract Fight

Large sections of the work force in the Detroit Postal Service understand that the national contract ratified in August represents a sellout by the union bureaucrats. They know that it sets postal workers up for a serious attack in the areas of wages, working conditions and job security. But different moods among the ranks of postal workers reflect different levels of understanding of the lessons of this contract fight.

Many advanced workers are demoralized and cynical. They are hoping they can keep their heads low and hold on until "things get better."

On the other hand, a growing section of postal workers realize that a fight is the only defense against a concerted attack by USPS. A clerk at the General Post Office who has never belonged to the postal unions because of their leadership's warm relations with management told Torch representatives, "I guess it's time to join the union." Several young carriers said, "We've got to start going to union meetings." After just being criminally sold out by the union bureaucrats, these statements indicate that important lessons have been learned during this contract round by these increasingly class-conscious postal workers. More importantly, some of these workers see a leadership developing which can direct this fight, a revolutionary leadership cohering around the Postal Action Committee. Revolutionaries can gain important insights from understanding the development of this sentiment.

SOLIDARITY

Back in March, when the letter carriers threatened a strike over the implementation of the Kokomo Plan,

excitement spread through the ranks of Detroit Postal Workers. Mail clerks and handlers at the GPO voiced strong support for the carriers, despite the fact that the APWU bureaucrats carefully avoided any mention of the attack on the carriers. One clerk at the GPO remarked, "If they can do it to the carriers like that, they'll do the same thing down here next." APWU rank and filers expressed admiration of the carriers' union which they saw as strong and willing to fight. The talk quickly got too hot for the union leaders. Carriers' union officials, who made no attempt to build support among the other crafts, backed down on the strike threat, giving management a chance to "repent" on Kokomo.

With the axing of the fight against Kokomo all talk among the ranks of postal workers of a struggle around the contract ceased. A general demoralization set in, representing the understanding that the union bureaucracies had no intention of organizing a fight against USPS. But the anger of the workers was not far below the surface and began to boil over at awkward times (for the union hacks). An "informational picket" at the GPO organized by APWU officers in late March drew much support in spite of such revolutionary demands as: "The big rip-off" (?) and "No long lines for postal patrons"! Local President Doug Holbrook understood the situation and warned picketers that, "There's a potentially explosive situation in there (the GPO). We have information that there are 3-4 hundred clerks ready to walk. We don't want to see this thing get out of hand."

The day after the picketing a union leaflet hailed the event as representing the beginning of "a new and closer relationship between labor and the

work force"—the union hacks obviously see these as different elements—and announced that there would be more demonstrations to come. They held only one more, and it took place in a distant suburb.

The workers' anger surfaced again when the national head of the maintenance craft visited the local APWU meeting in April. He was dragged over the coals by maintenance personnel from the new Bulk Mail Center who have been left to fend for themselves by the unions. A further indication of the volatility of the situation was the interest shown by postal workers in the leaflets of the Postal Action Committee.

Sensing the mood, officials of both the NALC and APWU proposed to cancel monthly meetings of their locals until September. While the carriers' union hacks got away with this maneuver, the clerks forced the local officials to hold the July meeting. This meeting took place just one week before the contract expiration. 20-30 angry subs arrived at the meeting to complain about working conditions on the ZMT machines. The subs got nothing but "sympathy" from union officials.

On the basis of a Postal Action Committee proposal for elected strike committees, one APWU steward put forward a motion at the July meeting for "contract committees." President Doug Holbrook ruled the motion out of order and hurriedly acted to stifle the proposal.

Holbrook had scheduled another informational picket for the day following the July meeting of the local. The demonstration was called to prepare the ranks for the coming sellout. Slogans were to focus on maintaining the previous provisions of

the no-layoff clause and the cost-of-living allowance. But with the militancy developing at the union meeting, Holbrook got cold feet and cancelled the demonstration.

SOLD DOWN THE RIVER

By the weekend of July 19-20, the mood of Detroit postal workers was strongly in favor of a strike. When stewards came in on Saturday announcing that there would be no strike, rank and filers responded with anger and disgust. "It means we got sold down the river—again," was the general understanding of what the hacks were doing. This anger came through loud and clear to the president of the carriers' union local. At a citywide meeting to "explain" the contract, speaker after speaker picked the contract apart and attacked the official for his sellout of the ranks. When a PAC supporter moved to have the local recommend rejection of the contract, the motion was immediately ruled out of order, and the president refused to allow the meeting to consider any resolutions regarding the contract.

As a result of their betrayals during the course of the contract round, postal union officials exposed themselves to many workers as management's lackeys. But even advanced postal workers do not yet fully understand that only those who refuse to accept the choking limits of a dying capitalist system, only revolutionary leadership, can defend the working class. They do not yet understand that all other leaderships will sell out at one point or another during the struggle of the working class against the capitalists. There are the lessons which the Postal Action Committee is drawing out of the contract struggle.

Delegates to this emergency conference must be democratically elected by locals and regions. The conference must take steps to become a permanent struggle council to coordinate the fight against the continuing crisis.

The struggle to defend auto workers internationally oversteps traditional economic struggle. A section of the bourgeoisie led by Woodcock's ally Henry Jackson sees the salvation of American capitalism in strict economic nationalism. This wing of the ruling class will be the bitterest foe of auto workers moving toward international solidarity. Jackson and his kind must be defeated, not by the more "enlightened" liberal wing of the imperialist bourgeoisie, but by representatives of the working class. The UAW must take the lead in forming a labor party based on a revolutionary program which will counterpose the international interests of the working class to the narrow national chauvinism and imperialism of the bourgeois parties.

The crisis in auto is the clearest example of the crisis in capitalism. The defense of auto workers and the working class cannot be separated from an offensive against capitalism itself. Revolutionary auto workers must join in building the international revolutionary party necessary to resolve the crisis in auto by overthrowing capitalism. Millions of workers from Portugal to South Africa to Detroit are being driven by capitalism to the consciousness that revolution is necessary. What is lacking is the means to pull this consciousness together. What is lacking is revolutionary leadership.

Protectionist Merry-Go-Round

Cont'd. from p. 3

Sales are down 22 percent in Germany, 13 percent in Italy. An international campaign is being conducted to drive down wages.

Outbursts against the attacks are developing internationally. In Spain and Argentina, auto workers are in the forefront of general strike activities. Last spring Renault workers in France conducted the longest strike in the company's history. British Chrysler workers have brought Chrysler-Great Britain to its knees. UAW Local 510 in Quebec has been on strike for 16 months, including a plant occupation that sparked a Quebec general strike for a day in support.

Consciousness of the need to overcome international divisions is growing among autoworkers in the United States. The Lordstown workers attempted to set up a conference with Japanese auto workers to discuss productivity drives and other common problems. In 1970 a congress of Latin American auto workers was held representing 90 percent of the unionized auto plants in South America. This conference issued a call for international solidarity, especially among international employees of Chrysler, Ford and GM.

The 1974 UAW convention unanimously passed a resolution declaring "all workers strive toward the day when collective bargaining with the

multinationals is international." We call on the UAW bureaucracy to implement this resolution. They have no plan or strategy, for they have no intention of moving this resolution off the paper it's written on.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST PROTECTIONISM

The struggle to build international solidarity among auto and all workers must begin now. The bureaucrats' arguments that this is "impractical" are phony. Steps can be taken immediately which can lead to broader and more powerful actions. For example, a campaign can be waged in the UAW to publicize the struggles of auto workers in other countries and to build for sympathy strikes in support of them. The union can sponsor and organize international conferences in which delegates representing auto workers throughout the world can meet and plan their counterattack. Using these conferences as launching points, the UAW must take the lead in a worldwide struggle for wage parity at the rate of the highest paid workers. The auto companies must not be allowed to maintain themselves through the super-exploitation of workers in the underdeveloped countries. The resources and influence of the union must be channeled to support organizing drives in auto plants around the globe.

The UAW's paper policy of international solidarity can be made real by supporting all struggles against imperialist intervention in Portugal or wherever with strikes and other kinds of labor action. Auto workers must take the lead in extending these struggles to the entire working class, such as organizing "hot cargoes" of military goods being shipped to puppet governments.

These actions and many more are possible and necessary. They point the way to higher levels of united struggle. The Revolutionary Auto-workers Committee (RAC), a committee in the UAW in political solidarity with the RSL, points the way in its September bulletin: "UAW members must move their union into the mainstream of this international resistance, must use the size and resources of the UAW to help pull these nationally isolated actions into an international autoworkers' strike which will defend all autoworkers against the international capitalist offensive."

RAC has proposed that the pre-contract bargaining convention reaffirm and implement the 1974 resolution repudiating the protectionism of Woodcock. RAC has called on the bargaining convention to set up an emergency international conference to deal with the international crisis, and build for an international auto strike at the next contract expiration.

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—Goon-Squad Attack in P.O.— Defeat Biller's Thuggery!

Moe Biller, President of New York Metro (the New York local of the American Postal Workers Union, the union of postal clerks) called out his goon squad against supporters of the Postal Action Committee (PAC) in an attempt to squelch opposition. The PAC members were handing out a leaflet calling for defense of members of Outlaw, a postal opposition group influenced by the Revolutionary Union, from management harassment.

We reprint below PAC's response to Biller's actions:

On September 17, two supporters of the Postal Action Committee were brutally assaulted by Biller's goons while handing out leaflets outside the N.Y. Metro union meeting.

The leaflet dealt with the firings and suspensions now going on at the Bulk Center in New Jersey. Those fired and suspended include shop stewards and Metro's highest elected official at the Bulk, Kenny Leiner. In response to this Outlaw has circulated a petition at the Bulk and workers there are now waging a slowdown campaign. PAC called on Metro and the other postal

unions to wage a serious battle to smash the management offensive.

Biller would have none of this. Instead of defending union members against management, he ordered his goon squad to assault PAC's supporters for daring to oppose management and defend the workers.

How come? Since last spring Biller has been waging an all out struggle against militants in Metro who have opposed his class collaborationist policies. Outlaw has been the main focus of this attack. He has rebaited, invited Finnegan of the N.Y.P.D. Red Squad to a union meeting and accused Outlaw members of being government agents. This year he illegally pushed through a series of by-law changes in the constitution designed to let him throw militants out of Metro.

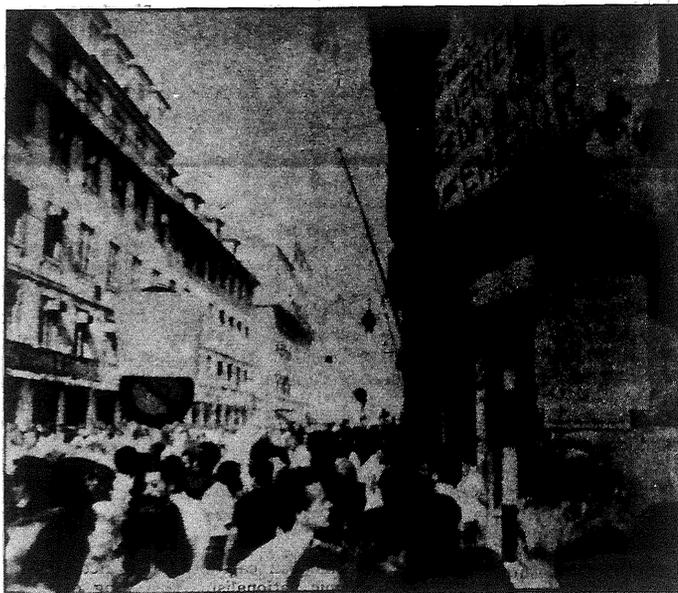
To management the message has been loud and clear. With Biller himself acting to destroy Metro militants, he sure as hell wouldn't lift a finger to defend them if management moved in for the kill.

This is the background for Biller ordering an attack on PAC supporters. While Biller is determined to smash all opposition and is more than willing to collaborate with management to do so, he must be particularly anxious to smash PAC. PAC is the only organization in the P.O. which has clearly exposed the way Biller and other bureaucrats have sold out the union ranks. In the face of a massive assault by the capitalists on the working class, these hacks have told workers that they can't fight back because the bosses can't afford it.

For Biller and his kind the interests of the banks and corporations come first. They are more than willing to stab the working class in the back so that the capitalists can continue to rake in profits from our labor. This is why we call them class collaborationists. PAC has said this clearly and has called for removing these bastards from leadership and replacing them with a leadership committed to fighting for what the working class needs and not for what the bosses can afford.

Biller's turn to vicious physical assault further exposes the nature of his leadership. But it also means that any and all militants in Metro will have to take steps quickly to defend themselves from Biller and his goon squad. PAC has sent a letter to Outlaw proposing that a meeting be held by PAC, Outlaw, and all other militants to plan a strategy for defending all workers from assault at union meetings. Outlaw, which in recent months has been retreating from Biller's attacks, has not responded as of this writing. For them to continue retreating will only prove suicidal. It will only serve to encourage both Biller and management to further escalate their attacks on all postal workers.

Management's offensive must be stopped. To do this the union must be freed of the fakers who stab us in the back rather than fight. PAC is committed to building the leadership we need, and Moe Biller and the goons will not stop us from burying them in the grave they are digging for themselves.



Repatriated white Angolans, demonstrating form right-wing force against both Portu-
in Lisbon against loss of colonial privileges, guese revolution and liberation of southern
Africa from imperialism.

Struggle in Angola

Cont'd. from p. 4

The extreme left wing of the pro-imperialists in regard to Angola is the centrist Spartacist League. The September issue of the SL's youth organ Young Spartacus, while recognizing the neo-colonial character of the FNLA and UNITA, as well as the MPLA's urban base, refuses to support the victory of any of the contenders over the others. This position is rationalized by references to the "possibility of tribalist genocide" and the "peripheral" role of the Portuguese troops. The SL thus apes the imperialists' analysis of the Angolan three-way struggle as primarily a question of tribalism, and ignores in one paragraph what it recognizes in the next, the massive imperialist backing for the FNLA and

UNITA.

On the other hand, most of the groups which have correctly supported an MPLA victory have capitulated politically and cover up the MPLA's bourgeois character. The most dangerous example of this trend is represented by the seemingly left wing line of Inprecor, the magazine of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" led by Ernest Mandel. Inprecor is "convinced that a class line passes through" the MPLA. It says "an authentic communist leadership" should be constructed, but not necessarily independently of the MPLA. Logically, therefore, Inprecor raises the demand "All power to the MPLA," which wipes out the class line it claims to see in Angola. When Inprecor claims that the class line

passes "through" the MPLA, it is saying that most of this party is on the workers' side of the line, that the MPLA is a "deformed" revolutionary organization. Inprecor already accepts the MPLA as the ruler of Angola, and seeks to reform it, rather than seeing the Angolan working class as the only class capable of bringing socialism to Angola.

PERMANENT REVOLUTION

The mass awakening has brought onto the scene a new force which represents the real hope of socialism in Angola—the proletariat. The idea that African states have no working class or a tiny working class is a convenient myth of imperialists and bourgeois apologists like the editors of Inprecor. A large number of black African states, and especially Angola with its relatively rich economy, have sizeable proletariats. Moreover, Angola is not alone—as Agostinho Neto recognizes in words. Across the wasteland of Namibia (itself waging a struggle for national liberation) is South Africa—a developed, modern capitalist state where the urban workers are the great majority. The black proletariats of southern Africa are a mighty potential revolutionary force, which can and must be mobilized by Leninist-Trotskyist parties organized on a subcontinent-wide basis.

The tasks of the southern African proletariat are those of the Permanent Revolution. In South Africa itself, the struggle against apartheid is completely continuous with the class struggle of the black proletariats. In Angola, the national struggle has occurred as a discrete stage, but its tasks cannot be completed without a struggle by the proletariat for both democratic and class demands which the MPLA, taking power as a bourgeois leadership, will try to deny.

The central demands necessary to complete the conquest of national freedom and safeguard the interests of the masses include the formation of workers', farmers' and soldiers' committees as well as democratic demands for the right to strike, the right to form political parties and associations, the right to free publication and assembly and the election of a

constituent assembly by secret ballot with full rights for all political groupings. Modernization and urbanization, including universal literacy, breakdown of tribalism, construction of roads and railways and equality for women must be fought for. The imperialists must be completely expropriated. Industry, banks and plantation agriculture must be owned by the state under workers' control. These demands require the arming of the workers and peasants to fight for a workers' and peasants' government.

Finally, it is necessary to fight for a foreign policy opposed to U.S.-British-South African imperialism and its local satellites, committed to the struggle for immediate majority rule in the white-ruled territories and to proletarian revolution throughout the continent. Such revolutions are not just abstractly desirable—they are the only salvation of a workers' and peasants' regime in Angola.

These demands can be propagandized and fought for today, though not all in the same way. The democratic demands have the most immediate character, the others require long preparation for a decisive struggle. This preparation, however, is necessary. The nationalization of industry by the MPLA, as we have pointed out, will mean the rise of a new African bourgeoisie. It will be necessary to defend the right to strike and organize and other democratic rights, as well as to fight against the inevitable collaboration of an independent bourgeois Angolan regime (trapped within the world market) with world imperialism and even with the odious Mobutu.

The task is to begin building the leadership for these struggles—to educate the cadres, forge links with the masses and form solid organizations of revolutionary struggle. This must be done on an international basis, and an inseparable part of this struggle is the defeat of the pro-bourgeois theories of the Maoists and fake-Trotskyists.

The conquest of national freedom can only be made secure by socialist revolution, which, wherever it begins, must spread to several countries of southern Africa, including South Africa itself. This is the perspective of Permanent Revolution.