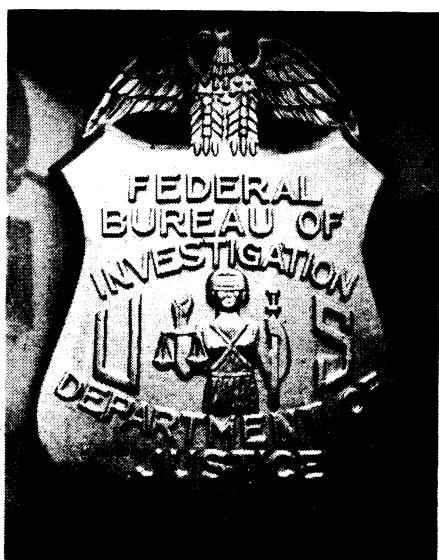


THE MILITANT

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

SECRET POLICE EXPOSED WATERGATE REVELATIONS



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for the FBI': how gov't
planted terror bombs**

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**New light on FBI plot
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ANTIOCH EXPELS STRIKING STUDENTS: A strike at Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, has shut down most of the campus for more than a month. The strike began on April 20 in protest of the administration's decision to cut financial-aid programs for minority students as a result of federal cut-backs on loan programs for college students.

Students begun occupying the buildings when the administration threatened to end the strike. On May 21, Dean Ewell Reagin issued an ultimatum saying that strikers would be expelled and then arrested if they continued to occupy college buildings. The following day, expulsions began after several hundred students succeeded in blocking Reagin when he attempted to enter the campus for the first time in two weeks.

BRANDEIS STUDENTS FIGHT CUTBACKS: On May 21, five Puerto Rican student leaders of a struggle against racist cutbacks in financial aid at Brandeis University were brought before a judiciary committee. The Brandeis administration attempted to frame the five students—Nami Vega, John Vega, Carmen Vega-Acruz, Muriel Medina and Samuel Stubbs—for their alleged role in the occupation of the administration building last April 2.

Upon being denied their right to have a lawyer conduct their defense, the defendants walked out of the hearing and organized a picket and press conference to demand their constitutional rights. The committee gave in and the hearing resumed.

The witnesses for the administration were three security guards. Their stories were so contradictory that the judiciary committee had to dismiss all charges. John Vega, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, stated that the five were being "victimized for our political ideas, not for any specific crimes. We stopped them this time, and we'll continue to fight against these racist attacks."

OAKLAND TEACH-IN ON AFRICAN LIBERATION: A day-long program sponsored by the Merritt College African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) drew 350 people at the Oakland, Calif., college May 17. The Black Student Union, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the Ethnic Studies department helped build the event, which was held to publicize the May 26 African Liberation Day demonstrations and to celebrate the birthday of Malcolm X. The program theme was "Malcolm X and the Freedom Struggle in Africa."

A panel discussion included Don Davis, faculty adviser for Merritt ALSC; Fred Price, a Merritt student active in ALSC; and Joseph Kakai, a history instructor who detailed U.S. complicity in suppression of the freedom struggle. The film "A Luta Continua" was shown. James Lewis, coordinator of the Merritt ALSC, chaired the day's activities.

IRANIAN STUDENTS HIT SHAH'S REPRESSION: The Iranian Students Association in New York sponsored a public meeting at Queens College May 18. The meeting, attended by 40 people, protested the deaths of 28 students who were gunned down by police in Tabriz and other towns in Iran while demonstrating against the Shah's regime. Among the speakers was Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York and National Committee member of the Young Socialist Alliance. Oliver brought a message of solidarity from the YSA.

JOURNALIST WINS CIVIL LIBERTIES VICTORY: A victory for civil liberties was won when the Los Angeles County Superior Court overturned the conviction of journalist Ron Ridenour. He had been convicted of "interfering with police" for photographing cops beating a paralyzed Vietnam veteran during a police attack on an antiwar protest in May 1972.

Ridenour was covering the demonstration for the Los Angeles Free Press, an underground weekly.

The court stated that the trial judge had erred in failing to instruct the jury that it was obliged to weigh the defense contention that Ridenour had been the victim of discriminatory law enforcement. The court ruled that Ridenour had been singled out among other journalists present because he was representing the Free Press.

Ridenour's attorney, Neil Herring, said, "This is the first appellate court ruling that a defendant claiming to have been discriminatorily prosecuted is entitled to have that decided by the jury, and that the trial judge must give the jury—on his own initiative—proper legal instruction relating to that defense."

PROTEST HELD TO DEFEND IRISH ACTIVISTS: More than 125 people gathered in pouring rain at the statue of John Barry, a famous Irish patriot, behind Independence Hall in Philadelphia May 20. The demonstration was held to protest the harassment of four members of the Irish Northern Aid. The four Irish activists have been subpoenaed before a grand jury to give testimony to determine whether funds raised by the group are being

sent to families of internees or spent to run guns to Ireland.

Owen Rooney, the main speaker at the rally, called for freeing the Fort Worth Five, a group of Irish-Americans imprisoned in Fort Worth, Texas; an end to U.S. complicity with Britain; and an immediate end to the grand jury investigations in Philadelphia.

Picketing is held at the court house each day the grand jury is in session. The next session will be June 4, and picketing will begin at 9 a. m.

ANTIWAR PROTESTS 'REALLY UPSET' LBJ: A two-year controversy over a regulation limiting the size of demonstrations in front of the White House has shed additional light on the impact that mass antiwar mobilizations had on the government.

The regulation was challenged by the American Civil Liberties Union as a violation of the First Amendment rights of free speech and assembly. The ACLU maintained that the regulation, adopted in 1967, was politically inspired by Johnson and aimed at minimizing the visibility of antigovernment sentiment.

In the course of the trial, former Interior Secretary Stewart Udall confirmed the ACLU's contention. He admitted that President Johnson appeared to get irritated by antiwar demonstrations and that he "was behind the pressure to change the regulation."

Another witness, Jerry Bruno, political adviser to both Kennedy and Johnson, testified that LBJ would "really get upset" at anti-Johnson posters at political rallies. In fact, he said, Johnson canceled many public appearances in the late 1960s because of the increased "antiwar mood" in the country and the threat of antiwar demonstrations.

CHARGES AGAINST 'CHE' VELAZQUEZ DROPPED: A victory was won by Puerto Rican activist Jose "Che" Velazquez when the case against him for refusing induction ended with charges being dropped. The judge dismissed the case on the technicality that Velazquez was justified in not reporting for his physical since he had not received the proper notification.

Velazquez, a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, was the first in this country to put to the test the PSP's policy of refusing to serve in the United States armed forces.

Velazquez called the decision "a great success," but also pointed out that the dismissal of the case on technical grounds was "an attempt by the government to avoid the political motions we were going to present at the trial."

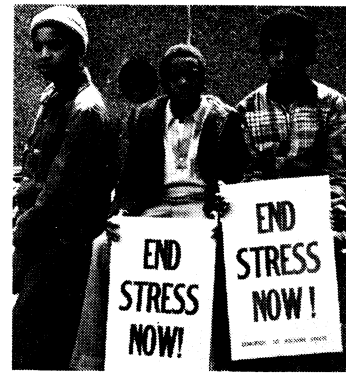
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—MIRTA VIDAL

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W'GATE SCANDAL EXPOSES SECRET POLICE

By PETER SEIDMAN

MAY 22—Seymour Hersh, writing in the May 21 *New York Times*, revealed that: "The White House established a secret intelligence unit in 1970 to collect and evaluate information about radical and antiwar groups, sources close to the Watergate investigation said today."

Hersh's report confirms an earlier one prepared by *Washington Post* reporters Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, which appeared May 17. According to the *Washington Post* reporters, "the Watergate bugging and the break-in into the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist were part of an elaborate, continuous campaign of illegal and quasilegal undercover operations conducted by the Nixon administration since 1969, according to highly placed sources in the executive branch. . . .

"The clandestine operations, the sources said, were at various times aimed at radical leaders, student demonstrators, news reporters, Democratic candidates for President and Vice President and the Congress, and Nixon administration aides suspected of leaking information to the press."

Double standard

The use of secret police against leading Democrats and Republicans upsets the hypocritical politicians in Washington. But these methods are perfectly "acceptable" to them when used against radicals.

As Hersh puts it: "Undercover intelligence activities against radical and antiwar groups are legal and have been routinely utilized by Federal and local police agencies. The Nixon Administration has been linked, however, to a number of illegal activities against Democratic candidates. . . ." (Emphasis added.)

Although the report in the *Washington Post* concentrates primarily on Watergate crimes against the Democrats, it does reveal some of the crimes committed by the government against the antiwar movement:

● The use of paid provocateurs to encourage violence at antiwar demonstrations early in the first Nixon ad-

ministration, and again in the 1972 presidential campaign.

● Undercover political activities against persons regarded as opponents of the Nixon administration. The activities were conducted by 'suicide squads' in the FBI—a bureau term for teams of agents engaged in sensitive missions which, if revealed, would be disavowed by the FBI and the White House.

● The use of paid-for-hire 'vigilante squads' by the White House and Justice Department to conduct illegal wiretapping, infiltrate radical organizations for purposes of provocation and engage in political sabotage."



FBI provocateur led this takeover of stage at Aug. 9, 1969, antiwar rally in New York.

Other information, although far from complete, that has become available over the last few years demonstrates the wide scope of these government activities.

Among the first rationales given by the Watergate bugging team, for example, was that the Democrats were linked to plans by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) to violently disrupt the Republican Party convention in Miami.

Leaders of the VVAW, however, have asserted that these charges against them, which led to conspiracy indictments being brought against seven members of their group, were based on the phony testimony of an FBI informer, William Lemmer. They claim to have a tape in which Lemmer "documents that 95 percent of his testimony to the FBI and the Justice Department is false and was given to them in order to raise his own income as an informant."

Many other recent examples of the use of government spies and informers are known. Among them are: Boyd F. Douglas, the principal witness against the Harrisburg defendants; Arto Williams, a key witness against Martin Sostre; Horace Parker, an FBI informer on the Seattle 8; and John Huffman, a government plant among GIs United Against the War at Fort Jackson, S.C.

The use of federal agents to spy on radical organizations is frequently tied in with their use as provocateurs. Often the person in a radical or antiwar organization most insistent about using violence or carrying out some illegal act is doing this not out of political conviction, but rather as a paid government agent.

Eustacio (Frank) Martinez, a self-

confessed agent for the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Enforcement Division of the Treasury Department, became a prominent leader of both the Brown Berets and the National Chicano Moratorium Committee in Los Angeles in 1970.

Martinez engineered the ouster of Moratorium leader Rosalio Muñoz from his position as cochairman by raising charges that Muñoz was "too soft" and "not militant enough."

Another self-confessed FBI agent, Robert Wall, revealed that FBI agents had forged a letter in the name of Washington, D.C., Black United Front leader Reverend Douglas Moore to

Ichord, a Democrat from Missouri, used his House Internal Security Committee to attack the massive April 24, 1971, demonstration in Washington, D.C., for example.

In an attempt to keep masses of people away from the demonstration, Ichord accused the National Peace Action Coalition, which initiated the action, of being a "front" for the Socialist Workers Party. A government informer was even surfaced to reveal that one SWP leader, Fred Halstead, "controlled" the key to the office Coke machine!

A common theme of the government red-baiters is that because there are socialists and radicals in antiwar demonstrations, these actions will be "violent." The truth is, however, that the most aggressive advocates of terrorism and other violence within the movement are not revolutionaries who genuinely want to mobilize the masses, but provocateurs paid by the violence-baiting and red-baiting government.

Government officials often hold up the granting of march permits, hoping to create an atmosphere of confrontation and illegality around demonstrations.

The American Civil Liberties Union is currently suing the government on the grounds that it administers its permit procedures unfairly against "anti-establishment" political demonstrations.

Philip Hirschkopf, an attorney who frequently works with antiwar organizations seeking to demonstrate in Washington, testified in this case. He said that Watergater John Dean, then an associate deputy attorney general in the Justice Department, delayed issuance of permits for the massive New Mobilization Committee Nov. 15, 1969, march on Washington for two days by going "duck hunting."

Only tip of iceberg

This list of government infiltration and provocation of the antiwar movement is only the tip of an iceberg. Despite the Watergate revelations, the vast majority of such actions are still secret. For both Democratic and Republican party politicians, this clandestine activity against the antiwar movement or other protest movements will remain perfectly "legal" and acceptable.

The Democrats and Republicans' bipartisan commitment to defend imperialism in Vietnam and elsewhere means that both these parties share a desire to isolate, intimidate, and repress an antiwar movement capable of involving in action a population overwhelmingly opposed to their foreign policy. The extent of their efforts to do this to the antiwar movement are a tribute to the depth of that antiwar sentiment and to the potential power of mass-action movements against U.S. imperialist wars.



Militant/Harry Ring

Government agent Martinez: accused others of not being 'militant enough.'

A KIND WORD FOR NIXON

While working people in the U.S. are outraged at the government corruption exposed by Watergate, former Teamster President James Hoffa has courageously come to Nixon's defense. He hasn't had much company in doing so, but that doesn't seem to bother him.

The televised hearings on Watergate, says Hoffa, are merely designed to "instill a feeling of public insecurity," and are being used "for the sole purpose of those individuals who will be actors."

Hoffa's kind word for Nixon at this lonely time is no doubt an installment on the debt he incurred when Nixon ordered him released from prison last year.

But Hoffa, like Teamster President Fitzsimmons, may also be afraid of what the current flood of disclosures might show about corrupt deals between the White House and the Teamsters. (Fitzsimmons was recently linked to an underworld scheme to raid the union's pension fund.) Are there secret documents in somebody's White House safe linking Nixon to the current Teamster campaign to destroy the Farm Workers Union?

Gov't agent planted terror bombs

'I was a Weatherman for the FBI'

By CAROLINE LUND

The Watergate scandal is now bringing into the open some of the murderous methods used by the U.S. government to try to discredit and destroy those fighting for social change in this country.

Most of the publicity surrounding Watergate has highlighted the Republicans' attacks on the Democrats. But it is now being revealed that in recent years the most vicious and widespread spying and sabotage has been carried out by both Democratic and Republican administrations against the antiwar movement, the Black movement, and the socialist movement.

An article in the May 20 *New York Times* by Seymour Hersh, the reporter who first broke the story of the Mylai massacre, documents the activities of an FBI agent who worked inside the Weatherman organization. This grouping originated in a split from Students for a Democratic Society. Operating underground, it took credit for a series of bombings and other terrorist attacks in late 1969

and early 1970. These bombings were used by the rulers of this country in a major attempt to discredit the entire radical movement.

According to Hersh's sources, the agent-provocateur, Larry Grantwohl, became one of the most active and outspoken members of the Weatherman organization. Throughout his undercover work inside the Weathermen, Grantwohl was in direct contact with Guy Goodwin, the Justice Department official in charge of hunting down, investigating, and prosecuting members of the Weathermen.

After setting up two New York Weatherpeople for arrest, Grantwohl has spent the past few years giving testimony against Weathermen in grand jury hearings. He is now preparing a book entitled *The Bombers: I Was a Weatherman for the F.B.I.*

Grantwohl provided the Weathermen with the technical knowhow for performing illegal acts. He had had demolition and munitions training while serving in the Army. According to the *Times* account, "Sources said Mr.

Grantwohl immediately began giving lessons in bomb-making and the use of delayed fuses to his Weathermen associates, and—utilizing a special munition he manufactured—participated in the bombing of a public school in a suburb of Cincinnati in the fall of 1969."

The informer's method was to urge the Weathermen on to perform acts of greater violence in the name of "militancy." Robert Burlingham, a former member of the Weathermen, told the *Times*, "I can remember one meeting in Cincinnati where there was a discussion going on about the question of armed political resistance and the various bombings that had occurred. Grantwohl took the initiative as was his wont and began castigating people for talking about the destruction of bombings. 'True revolutionaries,' he said, 'had to be ready and anxious to kill people.'"

Grantwohl reportedly traveled around the country, always in the center of Weathermen activities. The *Times* sources said "he participated in the planning for the bombing of a police facility in Detroit, took lessons in strategic sabotage in Madison, traveled to Cleveland with Mark Rudd and Linda Evans, two Weathermen leaders, and eventually appeared in Buffalo, Washington and New Haven."

According to Grantwohl's father-in-law, the agent-provocateur was in New York in March 1970, when a building serving as a Weatherman bomb factory was blown up, killing three members of the group.

At the time of the Weathermen bombings *The Militant* was explaining why police agents advocate such acts, and how they encourage radicals to engage in such self-defeating

tactics. An article explaining the Marxist view of terrorism in the March 6, 1970, *Militant* said, referring to several recent bombing incidents:

"Whether these actions were carried out by police agents, provocateurs, or ultraleft adventurers, they are devoid of political content and independent of the mass struggles, and they play a thoroughly reactionary role. Individual terrorism provides the ruling class with a 'legitimate' cover to repress our movement. In addition, it lends credence to the ruling-class myth that it is those who want to change society who are responsible for violence. It is no accident that the most common tactic of police agents infiltrating the radical movement is to urge radicals on to terroristic acts. They are well aware of the non-revolutionary consequences these acts produce."

The revelations coming out now around Watergate not only confirm this view, but are illuminating the enormous scope and deadly effects of police-agent activity on the left.

Did Grantwohl or other still undisclosed agents-provocateurs plan and execute the "accidental" explosion in the New York townhouse that killed three Weatherpeople?

Did agents execute the bombing at the University of Wisconsin in August 1970 in which one graduate student was killed and for which Karlton Armstrong is presently being framed-up?

Did agents carry out the bombing of the Capitol restroom in March 1971, the pretext the government used to hold Leslie Bacon and to try to force her to inform on other antiwar activists?

Continued on page 22

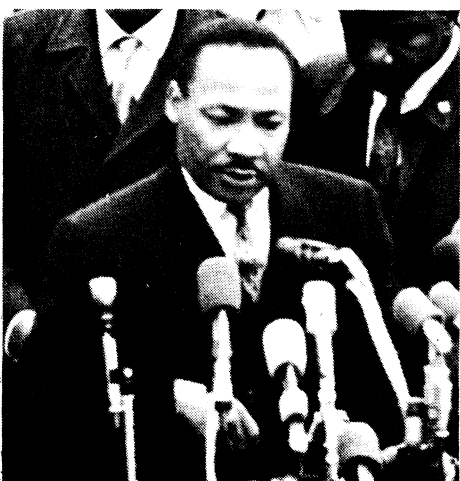


Government used ultraleft actions like Weatherpeople's 'Days of Rage' demonstration in Chicago in 1969 in attempt to discredit entire radical movement.

Did gov't murder King, Malcolm X? FBI plot to silence Rev. King revealed

Taking courage from the growing waves of the Watergate scandal, some minor officials in the government apparatus are beginning to come forward with their own accounts of government secret police spying, sabotage, and terror. A former FBI agent from Atlanta, Arthur Murtagh, has revealed to the *New York Times* that the Black liberation movement, and particularly Dr. Martin Luther King, has been a prime target for such efforts by the FBI.

Murtagh described a "get King" campaign by the FBI. Its purpose, he said, was "to destroy the civil rights leader and silence his criticism of the bureau's alleged failures to investigate the complaints of Negroes against white law enforcement officers in Albany, Ga., from 1961 to 1963."



FBI organized 'get King' campaign

The campaign included a massive network of wiretaps to spy on King's personal life, which lasted up to his assassination in 1968; the feeding of derogatory stories about King to the newspapers and to white financial backers of the civil rights movement; and a network of undercover agents who operated in all Black organizations of any significance in the Atlanta area.

While wiretaps on King were disclosed back in 1968, Murtagh's report for the first time indicates the huge scale of the taps. "... telephones all over the United States were tapped," reports the *Times* account, and "it was not uncommon for the Atlanta bureau to discover that it had monitored a call, and that the other end of the call had been monitored by a different listening post."

The electronic surveillance moved when King moved, with taps set up in all the hotels he stayed in.

"The surveillance was massive and complete," stated Murtagh. "He couldn't wiggle. They had him."

Permission to install these taps on Dr. King came in 1963 from Robert Kennedy, then U.S. attorney general in the Democratic administration of President John Kennedy.

This is another proof that, contrary to the current statements of Democratic politicians, Democratic administrations are just as responsible as the Nixon administration for the police-state system revealed by Watergate.



Malcolm X: did secret-police agents arrange his assassination?

Last June syndicated columnist Jack Anderson revealed an FBI list of 5,500 Black activists whom it labeled dangerous or "a threat to the President of the United States." The list included such figures as Roy Wilkins, head of the NAACP. This list was obviously compiled by the FBI to justify wiretaps on these people. Where was the outcry of protest from Democratic politicians then?

The capitalist politicians in this country have a different attitude to wiretaps on Black activists than to wiretaps on representatives of their own ruling class.

The Watergate revelations and Murtagh's disclosures about the extent of

FBI agents working inside Black organizations shed new light on questions that have never been satisfactorily answered.

Who killed Martin Luther King? Was James Earl Ray hired by someone in the Kennedy administration as part of the effort to "get King"?

Who killed Malcolm X? In 1966, three persons were convicted of the murder of Malcolm. But one of them, Talmadge Hayer, denied that the other two were his accomplices and refused to name the actual accomplices. *The Militant* reported at the time the numerous holes and signs of a cover-up in the prosecution's case.

In the course of the New York Black Panther trial of 1970, it was revealed that a police agent, Gene Roberts, had previously infiltrated into the top leadership of Malcolm X's organization, the Organization of Afro-American Unity. Did the New York secret police send agents into the Black Muslims too, encourage the formation of a gang to kill Malcolm, provide all the technical assistance needed for the job, and then provide police protection for the murderers who got away?

And what about the coordinated campaign by police and the courts across the country to destroy the Black Panther Party in 1970-72? Can anyone now deny that these multiple frame-ups and shoot-outs, in which many Blacks were killed, were instigated and carried out by Nixon's police agents?

W'GATE: LATEST LEAKS

This summary of Watergate events occurring between May 16-23 covers aspects of the scandal not reported in our regular news coverage.

WHITE HOUSE:

- Nixon issued a statement May 22 conceding that there had been a White House attempt to cover up the scandal. He said, however, that this cover-up went far beyond the "legitimate national security" limits he set for it. He said his underlings abused this legitimate cover-up in order to protect themselves.

- It has been admitted that Nixon lied when he said that John Dean had given him a report in August clearing the White House staff.

- A new charge was made that Nixon bought his California estate with leftover 1968 campaign funds.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY (CIA):

- Testimony at the Symington Senate Committee showed that Halde- man, Ehrlichman, Dean, and Gray were all involved in White House at- tempts to involve the CIA in the Wa- tergate cover-up. Former CIA director Helms says he felt the requests were improper but that he didn't tell Nixon. Helms says he was removed as CIA head because of his refusal to go along. Symington says he finds it "hard to believe" Nixon could not know about all this.

- The CIA lied about severing its ties with Hunt. He was given access to CIA files at least twice after date of claimed separation.

- In 1971, the CIA illegally admin- istered lie-detector tests to State Depart- ment employees suspected of leaking secret documents.

SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION (SEC):

- It was charged that under SEC director William Casey, who is now a State Department official, the SEC improperly dropped a probe of an ITT deal involving the Hartford In- surance Company.

- Former White House aide Charles Colson sought to get an agent of his law firm planted in the SEC.

- Bradford Cook, chairman of the SEC resigned, tainted by the Vesco scandal.

SUPREME COURT:

- In 1969, Justice William Brennan and then Chief Justice Earl Warren agreed to a secret meeting with Justice Department officials to discuss revers- ing a wiretap disclosure decision made by the court.

SENATE WATERGATE HEARINGS:

- McCord says Nixon set Watergate cover-up in motion; that he was offered money and "rehabilitation" for his silence; that his life was threatened if he talked.

- McCord says that while working for the Committee to Re-Elect the Pres- ident (CREEP) he received secret gov- ernment "internal security" reports.

OTHER DISCLOSURES:

- John Connally is now implicated. A client of his law firm gave \$100,000 to CREEP, which later turned up in Bernard Barker's "laundered money."

- Henry Kissinger lied about having no knowledge of wiretaps on his aides. In fact, he had ordered the taps installed.

- Haldeman unsuccessfully sought help from North Carolina Republicans in preparing a smear job on Senator Ervin.

ERVIN SETS NARROW LIMITS ON SENATE WATERGATE PROBE

By MURRAY CONRAD

MAY 23 — In opening the proceedings of the Senate Watergate investigating committee, which he heads, Democratic Senator of North Carolina Sam Ervin said, "We believe that the health, if not the survival, of our social structure and of our form of Government re- quires the most candid and public investigation of all the evidence and of all the accusations that have been leveled at any persons, at whatever level, who were engaged in the 1972 campaign."

And the newly nominated special federal prosecutor in the Watergate scandal, Archibald Cox, when asked if he would follow all leads, "even though that trail should lead, heaven forbid, to the Oval Office of the White House itself?" answered yes, "Wherever that trail may lead."

The truth is, however, that the Senate Watergate committee and the special federal prosecutor are *not* interested in exposing the whole truth about Water- gate.

A concession

The May 28 issue of *Time* published a survey showing that the U. S. people are evenly divided as to whether they believe that Nixon knew in advance of the Watergate bugging and ap- proved it. (*Time* says 41 percent be- lieve he did, 41 percent believe he didn't, and 18 percent have no opin- ion.) *Time* also says that 58 percent of the population believe that Nixon knew of the cover-up operation that followed.

The Watergate probes are conces- sions to this massive public skepticism. They are being used to create the illu-



Senate Watergate committee in session: bipartisan inquiry would prefer to cover up illegal secret police operations against Blacks, antiwar and radical groups.

FBI and other secret-police agencies have the right to violate the civil lib- erties of these groups.

And, second, the Senate committee has made it clear that it will do all in its power to prevent Nixon himself from being dragged down and ex- posed as the liar and criminal that he is.

When James McCord charged under oath that the president had set the cover-up operation in motion, he was immediately interrupted by Ervin. "I would like to state at this point," Ervin interjected hastily, "that the testimony of Mr. McCord . . . would not be ac- cepted in a court of law. . . ."

Ervin was followed by Senator Ed- ward Gurney (R-Fla.), who also

tors. His experience taught him that something was legal if it was ap- proved by the attorney general, he ex- plained.

The senators obviously agreed that McCord would have been correct if his acts of wiretapping had been used against radicals. They are upset be- cause McCord tapped the *Democrats*. But rather than make this distinction before a TV audience of 35-million people, the senators went on to other subjects.

Timid

What explains the narrow investiga- tion being carried out by the Ervin committee is the fact that it is com- posed of Democrats and Republicans. These defenders of the capitalist gov- ernment have no interest in having its normally secret functioning ex- posed, even partially, to public view.

The Republicans on the committee, not surprisingly, are working to min- imize any damage that might be in- flicted on the administration.

According to Joseph Kraft, in the May 22 *Washington Post*, Senator Baker, the ranking Republican on the committee, "is believed to be in regular touch with the White House."

Baker appointed Fred Thompson as the chief Republican counsel for the committee. Thompson, according to the May 22 *New York Daily News*, "had talked privately with attorneys representing former White House aides still loyal to President Nixon." He is, the *News* says, cooperating with a White House-inspired effort by pro- Nixon forces on the committee to dis- credit McCord's testimony, and pre- sumably anyone else's that embar- rasses the administration.

Democrats

From the point of view of the cap- italist ruling class, the committee's Democrats play an even more valu- able role than the Republicans. As ostensible opponents of Nixon's Re- publican Party they appear to be more critical and less willing to cover up for the president.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The Democrats place their loy- alties to the stability of the capitalist government ahead of any partisan advantage they might gain in the short run through exposing Nixon. As Ervin himself put it, when asked by reporters why his fellow Democrats were "talking down" the issue of im- peaching Nixon, "I am right proud that Democrats have refrained from making any comments on the matter."

The investigation carried out by
Continued on page 22



Ervin (left) hobnobbing at dinner party with former attorney general Kleindienst. Senate committee aim is to restore trust and confidence in capitalist government.

sion that a thorough investigation is being carried out, that the real crimi- nals will be brought to justice. The *Time* figures show that this conces- sion must be made in order for the capitalist ruling class to restore con- fidence in the government.

Ervin committee

And there is no doubt that the Senate hearings will turn up damning evi- dence against a number of lower-level government employees—those who will be thrown to the dogs by their employers. Many may even have to spend time behind bars. But, as the first few days of hearings make clear, the limits to the investigation have been sharply drawn.

First, there will be no serious in- quiry into the mammoth government secret-police operation against the anti- war movement, the student movement, the Black struggle, or other opponents of government policy. There is com- plete bipartisan agreement that the

sought to diminish the impact of Mc- Cord's statement. And Gurney was followed by Senator Howard Baker (R-Tenn.), who did likewise by noting the need to call another witness to cor- roborate McCord's charges.

And so it goes throughout the pro- ceedings whenever Nixon's name is raised: "Allegations!" "Hearsay!" "This would never be admitted into evidence in a court!"

Questioning

The senators have also been notice- ably lax in questioning witnesses when the answers might go beyond the nar- row limits of what the Republicans did to the Democrats. They pretended, for example, to be unable to understand why McCord, with such a distin- guished "law enforcement career," al- lowed himself to be drawn into illegal Watergate activities.

McCord told them he carried out these acts because he was told to by the attorney general's close collabora-

Nixon's cover-up

After a full year of categorical denials, President Nixon has finally been forced to admit a part of his role in directing and attempting to cover up the worst of the Watergate-related crimes that have been revealed over the past weeks.

In his written statement to the press May 22, Nixon acknowledged that his 1972 election campaign committee had carried out "unethical" and "illegal" activities. He also admitted directing "wide-ranging efforts" to conceal information relating to the Watergate and other scandals.

In this statement Nixon tries to separate the Watergate break-in case—which he admits was illegal—from the government operations dealing with "national security"—which he feels the American people have no right to know about and should be concealed.

But the Watergate bugging is just a minor incident in the picture of secret police spying, provocations, and violence that has emerged from this scandal. And it is precisely the big-time secret espionage and sabotage carried out by the government in the name of "national security" that the American people must demand to know the truth about.

In his statement Nixon cited two main reasons for ordering greater "national security" measures—including bugging, burglarizing, sabotage, and use of agents-provocateurs. One was the release of the Pentagon papers and other earlier leaks such as the 1969 revelation by a *New York Times* reporter that the U.S. was secretly bombing Cambodia. The second reason he gave was the May 1970 explosion of protests against the invasion of Cambodia and the shooting of the Kent and Jackson students.

Nixon said: "In the spring and summer of 1970, another security problem reached critical proportions. In March a wave of bombings and explosions struck college campuses and cities. . . . Rioting and violence on college campuses reached a new peak after the Cambodian operation and the tragedies at Kent State and Jackson State. The 1969-70 school year brought nearly 1,800 campus demonstrations, and nearly 250 cases of arson on campus. Many colleges closed. . . . Some of the disruptive activities were receiving foreign support."

Nixon would have us believe that this "threat" justified wire-tapping and infiltrating the radical and student movement, planting government agents inside these organizations to promote terrorist acts, and framing up dozens of antiwar activists—from Daniel Ellsberg and Father Berrigan to the Camden 28.

But the picture Nixon paints about these protests is as false as his lies about Watergate. Virtually all of the May 1970 protests against the U.S. invasion of Cambodia were peaceful demonstrations. They were not characterized by "rioting and violence." They spread beyond the campuses and involved millions in cities and towns across the country.

These massive protests had nothing to do with the spurt of bombings that occurred earlier in the year. And recent revelations have shown that Nixon's own undercover agents organized and executed many of these bombings that he is now trying to use to discredit the antiwar movement. (See story, page 4.)

Nixon tries to resurrect anticommunism—the very same argument used to justify U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia—by his reference to mysterious "foreign support." But the only "foreign support" to the protests was the solidarity of the worldwide antiwar movement, expressing the revulsion of people throughout the world at the bloody U.S. role in Southeast Asia.

What Nixon means by "national security" is the security of the ruling class in carrying on secret foreign policy and imperialist aggression behind the backs of the American people. The U.S. rulers need this secrecy because their wars and foreign policy—as in Vietnam—are carried out in the interests of a tiny minority of capitalists, not in the interests of American working people.

Nixon's speech makes clear that what concerned the government was the tremendous outpouring of opposition to government war policy—an outpouring so massive that it called into question the ability of the U.S. to continue the war without major social and political upheavals at home.

The essence of Nixon's statement was to try to justify further cover-up of the criminal methods used by both capitalist parties against all dissenters. It was to justify continued war-making against the wishes of the American people.

This whole pack of capitalist politicians—Republicans and Democrats alike—has to be thrown out and replaced by a government representing the majority, the working people, who have no interest in imperialist wars and domination of the rest of the world.

Watergate

This is the second time I have seen your paper (May 4 issue). Your views on Wounded Knee and Watergate I found were unsurpassed in honesty and wit. This is the first, of all the news media, that is not in fear to investigate the things that some would have us know little about.

Please send *The Militant* to my home for one year.

D. C.

Houston, Texas

Palestine

The Militant's championing of the rights and aspirations of the Palestinian people demonstrates this paper's exceptional courage and tenacity. I wish only to suggest that periodically a systematic presentation of this case be made in order to make *The Militant's* attitude more beneficial to its readers and to the forces of liberation for Palestine.

H. B.

Kokomo, Ind.

Lebanon

The Arab Students on the East Coast of the United States deplore and condemn the criminal actions of the Lebanese ruling clique. Those actions range from the bloody repression of the Lebanese national movement to the physical liquidation of our Palestinian sisters and brothers and their vanguard revolution. We appeal to the progressive elements in the Lebanese army to be alert and foil this reactionary imperialist conspiracy that aims at smashing the Arab national movements.

We fully support the Palestine resistance movement and urge it not to succumb to the reactionary demands dictated by the Lebanese government.

The Regional Convention of the Arab Students on the East Coast
Washington, D. C.

STRESS

I would like to continue my subscription to *The Militant*. It has kept me up to date with the courageous struggles being waged by the oppressed people of the world and it has contributed immensely to the struggles of the oppressed masses by reporting facts as they are, without any fabrications.

Perhaps with the aid of *The Militant*, the masses will be able to see that the Detroit STRESS (Stop The Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets) "gestapo" squad is aimed at the ultimate liquidation of all progressive people in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities. It takes tightly knit organization and solidarity among the masses to defeat this type of execution squad.

A prisoner

New York

Leftovers

Your readers may be interested to note that the *Guardian* newspaper is clearing out the "few sets left" of their three-volume biography of North Korean President Kim Il

Sung. The book, described as a "fascinating account of [Kim Il Sung's] life and work," is being offered free of charge to anyone who will cart them away.

The *Guardian* describes Kim Il Sung as "one of the foremost revolutionary leaders of our times." But he is perhaps better known as "the beloved and respected leader," the stock phrase that invariably precedes any mention of his name in the North Korean press.

The *Guardian* has also announced it will be happy to send the book to a friend or library of your choice (\$1 for postage and handling). A bargain, you might say, considering it was offered at \$5 a set as recently as last fall.

Perhaps to ensure that the few remaining sets are rapidly distributed, the *Guardian* editors are inviting inquiries about "reduced postage rates" for bulk orders.

M. B.

New York, N. Y.

From Attica

As an Attica political prisoner, I'm grateful for your overwhelming involvement in our struggle and the support that you, along with many other progressive people, have been extending to all of us.

The Militant does what many people seem unable to do: you recognize oppression and you work to mobilize the peoples' energies for constructive action, which is what the struggle is all about.

A prisoner

Attica, N. Y.

New subscriber

A few months ago I ordered a subscription to your newspaper in the name of my (then) codefendant. Since that time he received about four issues and then went out on bail.

That he is now testifying for the "state" shows he didn't learn too much from reading the paper. But I did, and would like to continue receiving the subscription.

A prisoner

New York

Ukrainian political prisoners

The Militant has carried a couple of fine articles on the Ukrainian prisoners in Russia. At Styling (now known as General Motors Design Staff) we have many Ukrainian people working in the sanitation department, and they thought the articles were very informative and well written. *The Militant* seems to be the only paper willing to bring this issue to the attention of the public.

It is hard for me to explain in writing the feelings and thoughts of the Ukrainian people here at Styling. Their political awareness is much greater than most of the men in the shops because many of them have lived under Socialist or Communist governments, and they clearly understand the principles of the systems. Their opposition is to the resumption of Stalinist terror in the Ukraine, not to the political system of Socialism.

The Styling membership as well



National Picket Line

Marvel Scholl

as the Executive Board and membership of United Auto Workers Local 160 have endorsed the following resolution on the Ukrainian prisoners in Russia:

"That the U. A. W. members of G. M. Design Staff go on record opposing the imprisonment of Ukrainian Political Prisoners in the Soviet Union.

"As members of the American Labor Movement we most strongly protest the imprisonment of political prisoners in any country.

"We ask the Executive Board of Local 160 to support our protest concerning the Ukrainian Political Prisoners in the Soviet Russia.

"We further ask the international leadership of the U. A. W. to assist in our endeavor to free Ukrainian Political Prisoners."

Again, I would like to stress that this struggle is not against the Socialist movement, but against the imprisonment of people who believe in free speech.

Ken Wizinsky
Shop Committeeman
Design Staff
UAW Local 160
Warren, Mich.

Labor coverage

Though I don't agree with all the positions taken by *The Militant*, I still think it is worthwhile reading. So I am renewing my subscription for six months.

The articles I find most interesting are your editorials, coverage of socialist campaigns, and coverage of strikes and union activities. I would like to see a weekly column on the radical labor movement in this country.

R. K.
Brockton, Mass.

Best source

I'm moving out of the state within the next month, but as soon as I establish residency I'll subscribe. In the meantime, I'll keep up with each issue. *The Militant* is the best source of information I've read yet.

T. V.
Scranton, Pa.

The most informative

I would like to order a subscription to your newspaper. I came across an edition the other day and was amazed. It's the most informative piece of news I've ever seen.

A prisoner
New York

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

Housecleaning at the UMW

Members of United Mine Workers District 4 have voted in their first election in the 84-year history of the union.

In the balloting, which began on May 2, District 4 miners have ousted the Boyle-appointed leadership of the district by margins as high as 3 to 1. John DiBiase, who runs a locomotive in a mine, defeated Alfred Cavalcant, a Boyle appointee, by 1,910 to 612. John Kelley, an appointee of the new Miller international executive board, won his election over Walter Suba, Boyle's man, by 2,180 to 725. And Ed Bytnar swamped Marion Antonnelli by 1,806 to 982.

District 4 is one of the seven districts held in receivership by the Lewis-Boyle regimes over most of the life of the union. Elections in the six other districts are scheduled to take place before June 30. District 4 encompasses southwest Pennsylvania; District 6, Ohio and the West Virginia panhandle; District 25, eastern Pennsylvania anthracite; District 17, southwest West Virginia; District 23, western Kentucky; District 30, eastern Kentucky; and District 31, northern West Virginia.

The election in District 4 and the forthcoming elections in the six other districts came as a result of two things—the Miller ticket's decisive victory over the Boyle slate in the international executive board elections, and a decision handed down by a U. S. district court in May 1972, ruling that Boyle had acted illegally in maintaining trusteeships.

Miller campaigned for the lifting of all receiverships (or trusteeships) within the union and promised to give the members the right to elect their own officials.

● There is still no news as to whether the new UMW leadership plans to eliminate another vicious practice carried on since the union was founded—the denial of the membership's right to vote to accept or reject contracts arrived at between the union's negotiators and the bosses.

Under Boyle, proposed contracts were submitted only to a union advisory board of handpicked district leaders. Since these bureaucrats owed their jobs to Boyle and the company, they always went along.

After Boyle lost his best friend in the White House—Lyndon Johnson—the coal bosses took advantage of all the legal trouble the government had involved Boyle in and set up a larger negotiations body. Nixon used the Yablonski killings as well as many formal complaints filed by various opposition groups within the union to pay Boyle back for the latter's loyal financial and political support to the Democratic Party and its candidates.

● There is another encouraging sign from the coal field—an organizing drive among the thousands of unorganized coal miners has begun. The concentration in this drive will be on the eastern coal fields where most of the large nonunion mines are located.

In 1970, according to the *Mine Workers Journal*, 135 million tons of soft coal were mined in these unorganized pits. Ironically, much of this "nonunion" coal was dug by former members of the UMW—men who dared raise their voices against the Boyle machine, and who had paid the penalty—expulsion.

The UMW, under the Boyle misleadership as well as under John L. Lewis, has a long history of ups and downs. During the last 20 years, despite the increase in coal tonnage since the early '60s, the union membership has gone down drastically.

In the last union election it was revealed that more than one-third of the present membership of about 200,000 are retirees. These pensioners, who retain their rights to vote in international elections, were the main source of Boyle's strength. Few of them dared join any opposition group. Boyle had a vicious method of keeping their "loyalty"—a sudden stop in their pension checks and a quick pickup of their medical cards.

We watch with great interest to see how this new UMW regime operates to make the union what every union should be—the instrument of its membership to fight its own battles against the employers.

There remains a big housecleaning job to be done within the UMW. But that job belongs to the membership itself. The Augean Stables that Boyle and company left behind need the mighty river of total membership concentration to do that job.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Angola and the Gulf Oil boycott

Following African Liberation Day, the African Liberation Support Committee, which has spearheaded May 26 nationally, plans to undertake a nationwide boycott of Gulf Oil to demand that it get out of Angola. Boycotting Gulf is one way we can solidarize ourselves with the liberation struggle in Portuguese Africa.

Gulf Oil is the eleventh largest U. S. corporation. In 1972, it landed gross profits of \$447-million—its lowest in five years but still a healthy sum.

In 1966, Gulf began its operations in Angola, after discovering oil-rich fields in the Cabinda district. Gulf officials termed the Cabinda discovery "one of the major growth areas of the corporation."

Today, with Angolan investments of close to \$200-million, Gulf has more than twice as much invested in Portuguese Africa as the next 29 U. S. corporations combined.

According to Gulf's 1972 annual report, the Cabinda fields accounted for 127,000 barrels per day of high-quality, low sulphur petroleum. These fields are Gulf's fourth largest source of oil. By contrast, Gulf pumped 561,000 barrels per day from U. S. fields and almost two million from Middle East fields. Even at this rate of production, the Cabinda fields have a 40-year life expectancy.

The Angolan government holds a 20 percent stock interest in the Cabinda fields and Portugal itself has a fat contract that taxes Gulf for surface rent, monthly barrel production, and other items.

Prior to 1969, Gulf paid \$3-million in tax money to the Portuguese government. In 1969, the figure

jumped to \$11-million. And in 1970, it rose to \$16-million. The Corporate Information Center (CIC), a division of the National Council of Churches, estimates Gulf's payments to Portugal in 1972 at somewhere between \$33-million and \$50-million.

Over the past few years, various organizations have been pressuring Gulf to cease its operations in Angola. Gulf has refused and argues, according to CIC, that "real progress for Angolan people lies in more, rather than fewer jobs." Yet out of five million Blacks in Angola, Gulf, as of August 1972, directly employs a mere 33.

Gulf claims to play a neutral role in Angola's internal affairs. It claims that oil, a vital necessity for the "free world," is "where God put it," and the search for oil should not be influenced by political issues. But in 1970, Gulf pumped \$20-million directly into the Angolan economy. And in 1971, Angola's "defense" allocations totaled \$68-million. The taxes received from Gulf's operations are a major factor in supporting the Portuguese war against Africans fighting for independence from Portuguese colonialism.

In 1971, Gulf joined with a group of Japanese firms "to investigate the petroleum potential of South Vietnam." The project eventually got bogged down, and B. R. Dorsey, chairman of Gulf's board of directors, claimed the investment was a "poor political risk" anyway because the "government may or may not be around a year from now."

As the struggle grows, perhaps Gulf will soon decide that Angola, too, has become a "poor political risk" and pull up the stakes. Until then, we'll have to campaign to get Gulf out.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



For whom the gate slams—Current Washington buttons, bumper stickers, and barroom witticisms include: "Don't Bug Me," "Nixon's the One," "Four More Years—Or Maybe 5 to 20," "Jail With Honor," "Impeach Bebe Rebozo," "Free the Watergate 500." The new White House password: "Pardon me."

Freudian slip—The New York Police Academy put on a George Bernard Shaw play, and the first tickets issued are now reported to be collector's items. The tickets listed the play as "Pigmalion."

Penal problems—California dental health consultants said possible use of dental floss to saw through prison bars should not be a deterrent to promoting better teeth among prisoners. Officials argued that when coated with

an abrasive the floss could be as effective as metal blades in cutting through bars. Not to mention that with better teeth, they might chew their way out.

Die-in deal?—Two Minneapolis mortuaries offer their services on tastefully inscribed gold and black match boxes. We wondered why they chose this particular medium for advertising, but then we realized it's probably a tie-in with the coffin-nail industry. Maybe next they'll buy space on the back of cigarette packs.

Seat of power—Donovan Kiplinger of Eaton, N.D., bought a \$250 sit-down birthday present for his father, who collects coins as a hobby. It's a transparent toilet seat inlaid with coins and \$1 bills. Now, says the son, his father can "feel like a millionaire for 15 minutes a day." To

round out the symbolism, though, we'd have the seat tinted red, white, and blue.

High-powered peddlers—Drug companies invested \$800-million in advertising to push their products last year and achieved satisfactory results—sales of \$6.4-billion, with markups as high as 200 percent, according to Dr. William Nolen, author of *The Making of a Surgeon*.

The deepening radicalization—A headline in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* declares: "Nonsmokers Grow Militant."

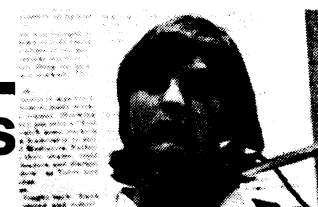
Tuna daquiri?—As if there wasn't enough woe in the world, a U.S. freighter was listing heavily in the Caribbean with its cargo of 100,000 gallons of rum leaking into the sea.



© 1973 by NEA, Inc. *John Berry*
"This is the story of Pinocchio. His trouble was, his nose grew longer every time he made statements that were 'inoperative'."

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



'Law and order' on rape?

There are an estimated 175,000 forcible rapes committed each year in the United States. Statistics show that 85 out of every 100,000 female residents of major cities are the victims of rape, and at least 75 percent of these rapes go unreported.

Most rapes go unreported because of the humiliation that women rape victims are subjected to by the cops, the courts, and the hospitals. The cops sneer, "Howdja like it?" and the jurors usually think, "She was just asking for it."

The women's liberation movement has begun to expose the problem of rape and to challenge society's attitude toward it. Feminists have also helped clarify the source of rape—a society that is sexually repressive, that creates a warped, sick sexual morality, a society that objectifies women.

In response to the increased concern about rape, the National Organization for Women (NOW), the Women's Political Caucus, and several other feminist groups are calling for revision of the rape laws to make convictions of rapists easier to obtain. New York's law, for example, provides that every material element of a rape must be corroborated by evidence other than the victim's testimony. NOW and the Women's Political Caucus claim that the high number of rapes is partially

due to the rape laws themselves.

It is true that rape laws do not protect women, but that's because they were never designed to. A look at the history of the rape laws in Georgia, for example, shows that the laws were primarily used to enforce the oppression of Blacks.

Before slavery was abolished in Georgia, the rape of a white woman by a Black man was punishable by death; the rape of a white woman by a white man, by two to 10 years; the rape of a Black woman by a white man, by a fine and imprisonment at the discretion of the court. The law made no provision for the rape of a Black woman by a Black man.

It's only "hard to get a conviction for rape" if the man is white. Black men have often been convicted, guilty or not. Since 1930, 455 men have been executed for rape; 405 of these were Black.

Rape laws are enforced to protect the racist, sexual fantasies of white men and to frame up Black men. The Scottsboro frame-up case is perhaps one of the most famous, but this is still happening today. In response to several rapes committed on the University of Pennsylvania campus recently, the cops invaded the campus and rounded up 100 Black men, mostly students.

Many feminists in NOW and the Women's Political Caucus would agree that reinstituting the death penalty for crimes like murder would not mean fewer murders. They would agree that if people who steal were convicted in greater numbers it would not mean fewer thefts. Murders and thefts are products of economic, social, and psychological conditions; their solution lies not in "cracking down on crime" but in changing the conditions that cause them. But many women fall into the "law and order" trap when it comes to rape.

Stricter rape laws would in no way help women. They would only mean more Black victims of the capitalist courts and prisons. Rape, or violence of any kind, is not going to be solved by more laws, more convictions, or through any other repressive measure.

Does that mean that we should just ignore the sexual abuse that women are subjected to? Of course not. We must build a powerful movement of women that can restore our dignity and pride and that can challenge the attitudes that cause men to be violent toward women. We must fight to restructure this society so that it will no longer need to pit men against women and white against Black.

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



Reign of terror in Guadalupe's schools

Physical abuse of students is a relic of the Middle Ages, one that has almost been eliminated in the United States. Almost, that is, except for Chicanos and other oppressed nationalities.

Take Guadalupe, a small farming community of about 3,000 in Santa Barbara County, about 130 miles northwest of Los Angeles. There a small minority of gringos has been holding Chicano school children under a virtual reign of terror for years.

The truth finally came out when the California Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights held hearings there on the subject of education for Chicanos. The commission got more than it had bargained for when hundreds of parents, pupils, and former pupils poured out to testify about the brutal practices in the Guadalupe school district.

Witnesses reported that on more than one occasion students required medical treatment for injuries inflicted by teachers. These included a choking incident, an incident where a student had two front teeth knocked out, and two incidents where

students were cut severely enough to require stitches.

The most common abuses cited were that teachers banged children's heads against the wall, used paddles in classrooms, and taped up students' hair and mouths. It was also reported that a teacher put a student's head into a fishbowl, that a girl was thrown out of a window by a teacher, and that another girl sustained a head injury when a book was thrown at her.

Chicano parents who had complained to authorities about the treatment their children were receiving told the civil rights panel that they were threatened with physical violence, loss of jobs, arrest, and deportation.

The commission's report has the people who run Guadalupe a bit hot under the collar. They are so accustomed to having things their own way that they never thought the truth about "their" town would ever come out.

The wealthiest people in Guadalupe are growers—people who have made themselves rich by working Chicano farmhands long hours in the sun

at starvation wages. These are the types that have been trying to destroy the United Farm Workers Union.

Local authorities responded with racist arrogance to the commission's report. School officials wrote a counterreport of their own in which they claim that they cannot answer the charges against teachers because they are "too vague."

They also claim that Guadalupe is "markedly ahead of its time" because there are a couple of "minority" (meaning Chicano) members of the city council and school board. "Minority!" In Guadalupe Chicanos are about 75 percent of the population!

The racist counterreport states that "Guadalupe might be looked upon as the model of achievement for the Mexican-American in the state of California." It has also characterized the protests of Chicano parents as a "witch-hunt" by a "small vocal minority of Mexican-American persons."

Now that the facts are out, the real "small vocal minority" has been exposed in Guadalupe. It's the same kind of people that rule this country.

Wanted to join defendants in saying 'no' to war

Jury votes freedom for 17 of Camden 28

By CINDY JAQUITH

MAY 22 — The antiwar movement won a major victory yesterday when a jury in Camden, N.J., freed 17 defendants charged with conspiracy in a 1971 raid on the local draft board. The jury's action was a powerful repudiation of the U.S. government's role in Southeast Asia and its Watergate-style use of police provocateurs within the radical movement in this country.

On the night of Aug. 21, 1971, a group of antiwar activists were arrested by the FBI while destroying files at the Camden draft board. A total of 28 people, mostly religious pacifists and draft-resistance activists, were indicted. Following the arrests, a statement by former Attorney General John Mitchell, now under indictment for Watergate crimes, and the late FBI head J. Edgar Hoover triumphantly declared that the government had "broken the back of the East Coast conspiracy" with the Camden arrests.

The trial of 17 of the defendants began in February 1973. One of the original 28 pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor charge, and the other 10 were awaiting separate trials. The government now will drop all charges against these ten defendants.

All 28 defendants have freely admitted their participation in the draft-board raid.

The government had hoped to prove that these antiwar activists were "crim-

inals" and "conspirators" through the testimony of an FBI informer, Robert Hardy. However, the prosecution's case fell apart on March 15, 1972, when Hardy filed an affidavit in federal court admitting that he had functioned as an agent provocateur in the raid. From the witness stand he later testified that the raid "wouldn't have happened without me."

When Hardy joined the group planning the draft board action, "it is quite possible that they had totally given up on this project," he said. But his participation "reinvigorated" the activists.

With FBI funds, Hardy provided "90 percent of the tools necessary for the action." It was Hardy who also figured out the entire strategy for carrying out the raid. During this time, he was paid \$60 a day by the FBI (he received a \$5,000 bonus after the arrests).

The most damning evidence Hardy revealed was the link between the Camden provocation and the White House. "I was promised by the FBI many times that they would stop our activities before they actually happened," he said. For example, the FBI told Hardy they would arrest everyone Aug. 14, the night the group planned a trial run of the raid. But the arrests didn't happen and when Hardy asked his FBI contact why, "I was told that . . . 'someone at the little White House in California' . . . wanted it to actually happen."

During the trial the prosecution made virtually no attempt to refute Hardy's basic assertions concerning the FBI's role in the raid. In particular, the government's attorneys refrained from calling as witnesses the two FBI agents who were Hardy's contacts.

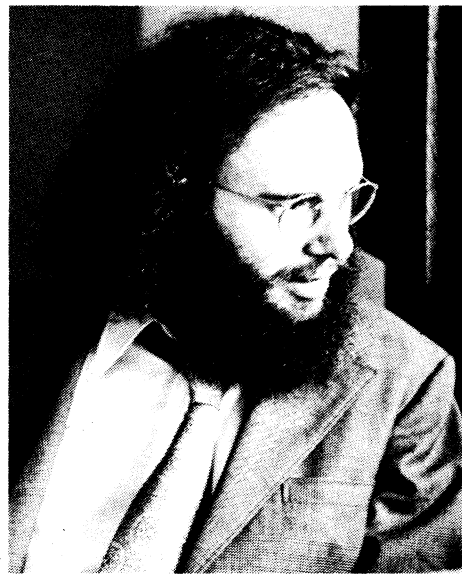
The proof of government provocation was so striking that Judge Clarkson Fisher, in an unprecedented move, instructed the jury that it could find the defendants innocent on the basis that the government had played a role that was "offensive to the basic standards of decency and shocking to the universal sense of justice."

Fisher also granted the defense permission to ask for a "not guilty" verdict if the jury believed that the defendants' action was justified. According to defense attorney David Kairys, judges rarely allow a request of this nature.

The impact of the case in revealing the corrupt role of the U.S. government was clear in the jury's response. Juror Samuel Braithwaite, a cab driver from Atlantic City, N.J., sent a congratulatory letter to the defendants at the end of the trial.

"Well done," it said, "for trying to heal the sick, irresponsible men who were chosen by the people to govern and lead them . . . men who failed the people by raining death and destruction on a hapless country."

Another juror, Anna Bertino, explained, according to the May 22 *New*



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Defense attorney David Kairys

York Times, that "the jurors felt the Government had gone too far in setting up the crime, and wanted to join the defendants in taking a stand against the war."

In a telephone interview with *The Militant*, defendant Gene Dixon said the "not guilty" verdict "does reflect a general feeling of the people, especially in a community like this, which is really conservative. To get 12 people who could acquit everybody, in spite of the fact that we did it, has some indication as to which way the country is leaning right now."

Nixon's hand weakened by Watergate, antiwar sentiment

Congress widens challenge to bomb raids

Popular disgust with the bombing of Cambodia, public relief at what is commonly assumed to be permanent U.S. withdrawal from Indochina, and the "crisis of confidence" triggered by the Watergate morass have driven Congressional support for Nixon's Indochina policies to an all-time low.

On May 10, the House of Representatives voted 219-188 to withhold funds to carry on the bombing of Cambodia by denying the Defense Department authority to transfer funds between different accounts.

On May 14 the Senate Foreign Relations Committee adopted the Case-Church amendment, which would cut off use of any funds for military action in Indochina that had not been specifically authorized by Congress.

Then on May 15 the Senate Appropriations Committee passed a measure stipulating that no funds ever appropriated by Congress could be used, directly or indirectly, to finance the bombing of Cambodia.

The amendment, proposed by Senator Thomas Eagleton (D-Mo.), passed by a vote of 24-0, with former Nixon supporters like Milton Young, Roman Hruska, and Norris Cotton concurring.

Nixon had previously announced his intention to circumvent the House bill. The Senate action, however, if passed and approved by the House, would have been harder to work around. Nixon would consequently be put in the position of having to veto the measure, simultaneously depriving himself of needed funds and triggering a major confrontation with Congress just at the height of the Watergate mess.

The administration reacted by resorting to delaying tactics. By making use of a formal right to prepare a minority report, Hugh Scott, ranking Senate Republican, managed to stall

floor debate on the appropriations bills. On May 25 Congress will recess for four days. It is therefore unlikely that the Congress could get the bills passed and forwarded to the White House before the middle of June. Thus, whatever the outcome of the parliamentary wheeling and dealing, Nixon has gained the ability to continue the Cambodian bombing for at least a month after the Senate's two rebuffs to his policy were voted.

With the ruling class divided, the Watergate case sapping popular confidence in the regime, the American public against the bombing, and the U.S. ground troops out of Indochina for the most part, Nixon is in a weaker position than ever before in his attempt to extract further concessions from Hanoi leaders—not only on the question of Cambodia, but on questions relating to southern Vietnam as well. On May 16, Nixon's mouthpiece, Ronald Ziegler, accused Congress of "action that could severely undermine" Washington's attempt to impose its interpretation of the Vietnam cease-fire



Nixon has less leverage to blackmail Hanoi in current Kissinger-Tho talks in Paris.



Indiscriminate U.S. bombing of Cambodia is producing destruction like this scene in North Vietnam.

accords. Ziegler complained that the Congressional measures were especially damaging "on the very eve of negotiations to achieve compliance" (sic) with the Paris accords.

The negotiations Ziegler was talking about were the secret meetings in Paris between Henry Kissinger and Le Duc Tho, which began on May 17.

There is no sure information on what Nixon is seeking in these talks, and, as usual, no reports on what took place in them have been released. "Presumably," *New York Times* correspondent Flora Lewis wrote May 20, "he [Kissinger] was trying to persuade Hanoi to cut the flow [of personnel and equipment] into South Vietnam to the agreed limit of one-for-one replacements and to get the North Vietnamese to push the Vietcong toward a political settlement."

It may be assumed that Kissinger was negotiating with Tho about Cambodia as well—with the aim of extorting a "settlement" that would preserve

the Lon Nol regime.

The question was, What sort of leverage does Kissinger have, given the precarious state of Nixon's clique and the Congress's reluctance to approve an extension of the Cambodian bombing? Writing in the May 17 *New York Times*, Flora Lewis suggested an answer:

"The key to the United States hopes of obtaining an agreement by Hanoi to at least reduce the level of fighting in South Vietnam and to support a halt in the fighting in Cambodia was reported to be an understanding Mr. Kissinger is said to have achieved in his talks in Moscow last week."

"It was rumored authoritatively that the Russians had promised to tell North Vietnam that it could not count on replacement of any military supplies that would be used in any new offensive in the South."

In the meantime, the bombing goes on. May 19 marked the seventy-fourth consecutive day that American planes, including B-52s, struck in Cambodia.

¡VIVA LA CAUSA!

Rank & file Teamsters support UFWU United Farm Workers fight to survive, get AFL-CIO aid

By MIGUEL PENDAS

A major breakthrough for California farm workers occurred May 9 when the executive council of the AFL-CIO voted to give \$1.6-million over the next three months to the United Farm Workers Union and, as AFL-CIO President George Meany put it, to "do anything to keep that union alive."

The UFWU, which has struggled since the early 1960s to organize the

weapon against the bosses until now.

Support for the UFWU has also come from the board of directors of the 1.4-million-member United Steelworkers Union, which voted unanimously to condemn the grower-Teamster union-busting drive.

Chicano students and other activists in the cities have been organizing food drives to assist the farm workers on strike against the grape growers and have been joining picket lines around the vineyards and rallies in the small farm towns.

Bishop Joseph Donnelly, spokesman for U.S. Catholic bishops on farm labor questions, has joined Chávez's call for elections by secret ballot to take place in the grape fields so that the workers may decide for themselves which union they want. The call has also been endorsed by the *Los Angeles Times*. Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons has flatly rejected the proposal.

Meanwhile, there are allegations that Teamster officials have funneled funds to the Committee to Re-Elect the President and have been involved in a scheme with gangsters to steal millions of dollars from union funds with the knowledge of members of the Nixon administration.

The *New York Times* has asserted that Richard Kleindienst, who resigned recently as attorney general because of the Watergate scandal, joined in impeding a Justice Department investigation into a mobster scheme to siphon off millions of dollars in Teamsters union pension and medical funds.

According to the *Times*, government sources told them that the FBI had learned of meetings between Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons and

And, in a report published in the conservative *Manchester, N.H., Union Leader*, it was charged that Murray Chotiner, a longtime friend and fund-raiser for the president, had funneled \$875,000 to the Nixon campaign from Teamsters union officials and Las Vegas gambling interests.

The Teamsters are claiming that they have already destroyed the UFWU. In the *Southern California*



Militant/Harry Ring

Farm Workers organizer in Coachella, Calif., urges grape workers to work slowly in preparation for all-out strike when crop is ready to harvest.

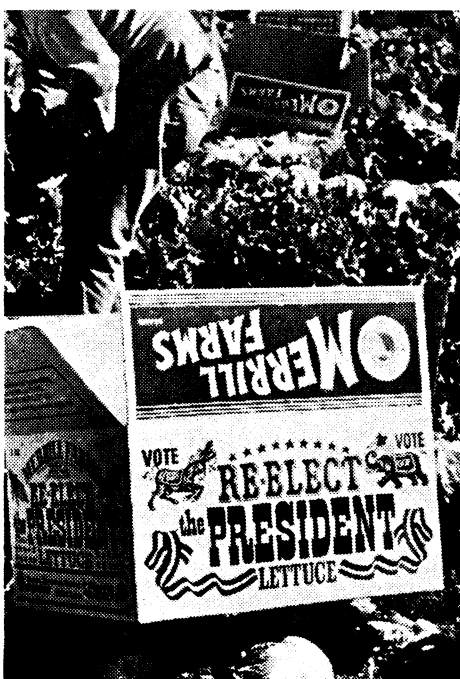
downtrodden field hands in California's grape fields, is now under the heaviest attack it has ever faced. The growers have made a deal with the bureaucrats of the Teamsters union to smash the Farm Workers Union. They refused to renew their UFWU contracts and have been signing sweetheart contracts with the Teamsters.

If successful, this move would deprive the grape workers of genuine union representation. They would be "represented" by racist Teamster bureaucrats whose only interest is extracting dues and initiation fees from them and collecting payoffs from the employers. The gains the workers have won through the United Farm Workers would be lost.

The decision of the AFL-CIO to contribute \$1.6-million to the Farm Workers does not mean the strikers are no longer in need of money and food. Paying increased benefits to a larger number of strikers, this money can be used up in a matter of weeks, and additional funds are still urgently needed.

Contributions of money and canned or dried foods should go to United Farm Workers Union, 1014 Building 11, 6th and Highway 86, Coachella, Calif. 92236.

The new pledge of aid from the AFL-CIO will enable the UFWU to have a "real strike" for the first time, according to union President César Chávez, because they will be able to receive strike benefits. The impoverished UFWU has had to rely on the boycott of table grapes as its main



Teamster bureaucrats joined growers in supporting Nixon in 1972. Watergate revelations show Teamster officials funneled more than \$800,000 to Committee to Re-Elect the President.

mob leaders in California to arrange for the funds to be channeled into a gangland front, People's Industrial Consultants. After this meeting, Fitzsimmons is alleged to have flown to Washington with President Nixon in the presidential plane.

The *Times* said Kleindienst halted the probe because it might prove damaging to Fitzsimmons, the Nixon administration's biggest supporter in the labor movement.



Militant/Len Goodman

Supporters of United Farm Workers Union picket Seattle Safeway on May 5.

Teamster, the newspaper of Teamster Joint Council 42, one headline proudly proclaims, "The Blackbird's a dead bird in Coachella Valley." The "Blackbird" referred to is the black eagle, the symbol of the UFWU inspired by the Mexican revolutionary symbol of the eagle killing a serpent. To thousands of farm workers, the black eagle is a symbol of the dignity and respect they have won for the first time through the UFWU.

Unease and discontent with the reactionary conduct of the Teamster bureaucrats is beginning to express itself within the ranks of the union itself. *El Malcriado*, the official UFWU newspaper, reported that there is a rank-and-file group in the San Francisco Bay Area called Teamsters Opposed to the Raids Against the Farm Workers, which offered a resolution on the floor of Teamster Cannery Workers Local 679 in San Jose supporting the UFWU and condemning the sweetheart contracts. The resolution is being circulated among members and will be presented on the floor of all Bay Area locals.

Branches One and Six of Statewide Teamster Local 896 (Bottlers and Brewers) have passed the same resolution unanimously. In San Jose a contingent of Teamsters helped the Farm Workers picket a Safeway supermarket, a major carrier of scab lettuce and grapes.

In Los Angeles at the Militant Labor Forum May 4, two Teamster dissidents, Jim Dycus from Local 208 and Mauricio Terrazas from Local 598, joined UFWU spokesman Ray Ortiz in denouncing the union-busting Teamster officials. Dycus and Terrazas said that most rank and filers in their unions support the UFWU. A large percentage of the Teamsters in Los Angeles are Chicanos.

Chicanos have 'no part' in Teamsters union

The thoroughly racist attitude of the Teamster officials toward Chicano farm workers was strikingly revealed when a graduate student at the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley obtained an interview with a leading Teamster hack.

Writing a doctoral thesis, Jane Kiely interviewed Einar Mohn, head of the Western Conference of Teamsters. According to the April 28 *Los Angeles Times*, Mohn told her that farm workers will not be able to take part in union meetings for two years, when there will be more whites and fewer Chicanos (according to him) in California fields.

Kiely asked Mohn, "What role do you see the farm workers playing in the Teamsters union which represents them?"

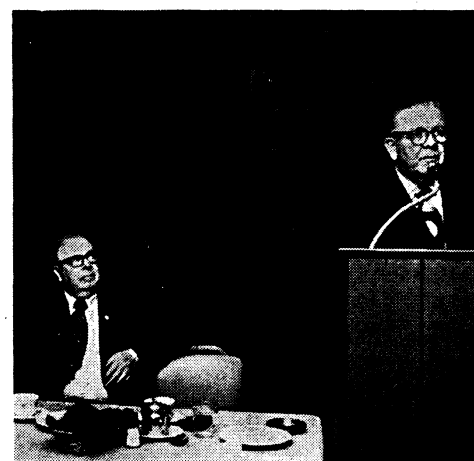
Mohn answered, "We have to have them in the union for a while. It will be a couple of years before they can start having membership meetings, before we can use the farm workers' ideas in the union."

"I'm not sure how effective a union can be when it is composed of Mexican-Americans and Mexican nationals with temporary visas."

"Maybe as agriculture becomes more sophisticated, more mechanized, with fewer transients, fewer green carders (aliens), and as jobs become more attractive to whites, then we can build a union that can have structure and that can negotiate from strength and have membership participation."

Kiely asked Mohn if Teamster contracts will protect farm workers displaced by mechanization. He replied, "No, that isn't a problem to solve in this way. I don't know what will happen to the Mexican-Americans. After all, you can't expect whites (who often operate machines now) to step aside and let Mexican-Americans and Negroes have the (machine) jobs they have had for years."

In contrast to the Teamsters, United Farm Workers Union members hold regular membership meetings to decide union policy, and the union has a policy of defending those threatened to be displaced by mechanization.



Western Teamster bureaucrat Einar Mohn listens attentively to Teamster President Fitzsimmons. Mohn says farm workers cannot take part in Teamster union meetings until there are more whites and fewer Chicanos in the fields.

UFWU preparing all-out grape strike

By HARRY RING

COACHELLA, Calif. — It's 7:30 in the morning and the sun is already blazing hot in this Mojave desert area. Some 40 striking members of the United Farm Workers Union are lined up on a dusty dirt road that runs alongside a grape grower's ranch.

Across the street is a pickup truck sporting an American flag on each side of the cab. Lounging around the truck is a burly, menacing crew, looking like characters out of a movie about the Hell's Angels.

One of them is wearing a T-shirt. On the back is the emblem of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. They are goons hired by the Teamsters to "protect" those still working in the vineyards. They draw \$50 a day plus \$17.50 expenses. About 125 of these thugs are operating in the area.

At each end of the line of strikers there's a Riverside County sheriff's car. Two cops at each car wait for anything that looks like a legal infraction by the strikers so they can make an arrest. Several hundred UFWU strikers or supporters have already been arrested on trumped up charges.

In the vineyard, workers are pruning the vines and doing other jobs in preparation for the harvesting, which will begin around June 5.

The workday in the desert vineyards is from sunrise until about one in the afternoon. After that it's too hot for anyone to keep going.

The strikers picket schedule conforms to the workday. They meet outside their union hall in Coachella at 4:30 a.m. By 5:30 they're out at the major grape ranches in the surrounding valley.

Despite the oppressive physical conditions and despite the power of the forces arrayed against them—wealthy vineyard operators, Teamster bureaucrats, and local police—the strikers' morale is high.

They are almost all Chicanos. There are men and women ranging in age from the teens to mid-sixties. Several of the women carry infants with them.

Miguel Pendás and I are there to get a firsthand picture of the strike, and the pickets welcome reporters who want to tell the strikers' side of the story.

The United Farm Workers strike began April 15 in this area, where in 1970 the first union contracts were signed with the grape growers. Those historic contracts had been won after a five-year battle brought to a successful conclusion by a grape boycott that assumed international proportions.

Those contracts expired in the Coachella Valley April 14. On April 15, the growers announced they had signed new contracts with the teamsters. The Farm Workers responded by declaring the strike.

Coachella is one of four principal table grape areas in California. The others are the Arvin-Lamont area, Delano, and the Lodi-Fresno area. Delano is the biggest, accounting for some 50 percent of the total crop. Coachella is the smallest of the four areas but produces three million boxes of table grapes and is a high-profit area for the growers.

Coachella is also the first area to harvest. The others follow in close succession.

The collusion of the Teamster bureaucrats with the growers to smash the United Farm Workers is, as George Meany correctly observed, one of the most disgraceful chapters in American labor history.

The contracts the Teamsters signed are classic examples of sweetheart agreements. They were signed behind the backs of the workers and offer no meaningful improvements for them. It's simply a crooked stunt to keep the workers from being represented by the union of their choice—the United Farm Workers Union.

The UFWU did win new contracts with two companies in Coachella, the Freedman ranches and K. K. Larson. They represent about 15 percent of the grape industry in the valley. The rest have signed up with the teamsters.

David & Goliath

The relationship of forces in the fight truly seems like that of David and Goliath. The Farm Workers Union has some 70,000 members. The two-million member Teamsters is one of the biggest, richest unions in the country.

There are about 1,800 workers now preparing the harvest in the Coachella Valley. About 300 workers are actively involved in the strike.



California farmworkers lose hiring hall under new sweetheart contracts between growers and Teamsters. Hated labor contractor system is revived.

In Coachella, we visited the strike headquarters, where we talked with John Bank, the union's director of information. A well-informed and obviously hard-working young man, we learned later he is a Catholic priest on leave from the Church.

Bank said the union has not tried to pull all the workers out during the period of harvest preparations. He explained that the union did not have the necessary funds at the outset to provide adequate strike benefits for a large number of people and that the situation would be particularly difficult for many of the permanent workers involved in the harvest preparations. They live in the area and have payments to meet on homes, televisions, cars, etc.

However, he said, many of these workers support the UFWU, and when the harvesting begins they can be counted on to walk out.

Meanwhile, he said, the union is encouraging them to slow down on production. Strikers go out in the late afternoon and evening to visit those still working. They go to their homes and talk to them about the strike and why they should slow down now and be prepared to strike at harvest time.

The union's position was enormously

strengthened when the executive council of the AFL-CIO voted to contribute \$1.6-million to strike support for the next three months. Previously, the UFWU had been receiving a meager \$10,000 a month from the labor federation, which it is affiliated to.

With this \$1.6-million, the farm union will be able to offer more adequate strike benefits. Now they are able to give only up to \$35 a week. When the harvesting begins, they will be providing benefits of up to \$75 a week. This will mean that many more workers will be able to join the strike.

On May 27, a week before the harvesting begins, a mass rally will be held in Coachella to launch the drive for a major walkout.

In addition to plans for extensive mass picketing to block harvesting, the union already has activity underway to stymie the recruitment of strikebreakers from Mexicali, Tijuana, and other Mexican border towns, which are a principal source of harvest

A & P stores in the East and Safeway in the West. These are the two major chain buyers of scab grapes and scab lettuce.

The UFWU has every reason to expect wide support among the fieldworkers. When it began organizing in 1965, the base wage was \$1.25 an hour. The contract signed in 1970 established a minimum of \$2 an hour plus fringe benefits and production bonuses. The new UFWU contracts that have been signed provide a \$2.40 minimum plus fringe benefits. The Teamster pacts, on the other hand, only give \$2.30 plus "participation" in the union retirement plan.

Hiring hall or labor contractor

The strongest arguments for the Farm Workers is the union hiring hall, which they established with the 1970 contract. This is canceled in the Teamster agreement, which returns the workers to the mercy of the hated, superexploitative labor-contractor system.

Under this system, contractors recruit workers and then contract to harvest a crop for a particular grower. To get maximum production the labor contractor takes on only the fastest, most able-bodied workers.

Under the union hiring hall system this kind of discrimination is ended, along with the brutal speedup.

Also ended are the labor contractors' practices of gouging for transportation and housing, rental of tools, and even the selling of drinking water.

While the Teamsters operate like a company union under a contract that the workers never see and that is not enforced, the UFWU functions on the basis of elected ranch committees, which participate in negotiating the contracts and in enforcing them.

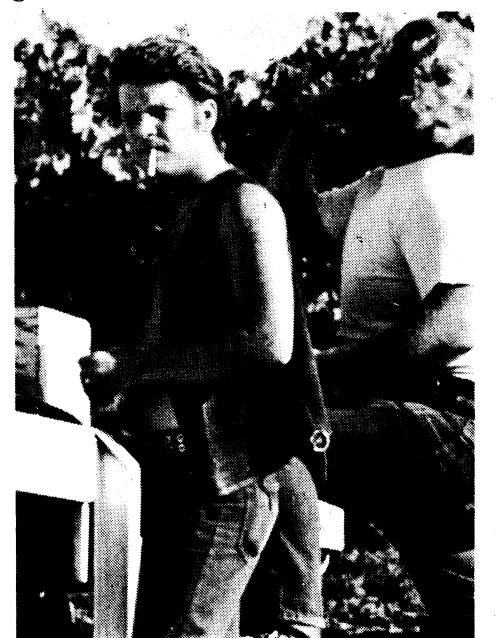
The union's drawing power was evident when we joined the pickets. One of the strikers stood in the roadside and, using a bull horn, spoke to the people working in the fields.

Addressing them in Spanish, he said, "Brothers, workers, this is the real *mexicano* union—where they speak perfect Spanish. Work slow. Don't fill the Teamsters' pockets. They're millionaires already. Work slow, get a drink, go to the bathroom. Take your time."

Periodically he would tell the workers, "If you support us, throw your hat in the air."

Each time he did, hats, clumps of grapes, and tools would fly into the air.

The Teamster goons stood and glared.



Militant/Harry Ring

Coachella, Calif. goons, hired by Teamster bureaucrats, get paid more than \$60 a day to aid drive to smash United Farm Workers Union.

Farm workers say: 'We strike because this is our union'

By MIGUEL PENDAS

COACHELLA, Calif. — Each day striking members of the United Farm Workers Union follow a routine. At 3 p.m., following picket duty, there is a common meal served at a church near the union hall; around 5 p.m., the strikers go out leafletting and visiting nonstrikers.

After the meal, some gather in the park across the street from the union hall to relax and talk.

I took this opportunity to talk to some of the strikers and asked them what life is like for the farm workers and why they were out on strike. We talked in Spanish, which made for a free discussion.

COACHELLA — The United Farm Workers Union is urging that its supporters make a special effort to speak with members and local officials of the Teamsters and urge them to protest the antilabor role of their top officials. In many areas, the UFWU notes, there is already significant opposition within the Teamsters to what the Fitzsimmons gang is doing. In California, for example, where the union includes canneries and food processing workers and nearly half its members are Chicanos, there is already strong sympathy for the Farm Workers.

One of the workers said he had been working in the fields for 50 years. He recalled when he had worked for as little as 15 cents an hour in 1931 and how the wages had gone up slowly over the years. Life is so much more expensive now, though, he said, that even though wages are more than \$2 an hour, it is still impossible to make ends meet.

He is old now and works only irregularly, but is nonetheless a staunch supporter of the union. He wants his children to be able to go to school and have a better life than he has had.

Another striker said that he first came to the U.S. in 1956. He earned only 50 cents an hour. Conditions had bettered little by little over the years, he said, but things changed



dramatically in 1965 when César Chávez began organizing the grape strike. The growers raised wages from \$1.05 an hour to \$1.65 an hour in Salinas, where he was working at the time, in order to keep the workers from being attracted to the Farm Workers Union.

He also explained how in the old days "illegals" without work permits were brought in along with the *braceros* because the bosses could more easily cheat them out of wages and

hours, threatening them with deportation. They never got an honestly computed check, he said.

The corrupt Teamsters union began to organize with the help of the bosses where he worked in an effort to ward off the militant UFWU. "If we didn't sign with the Teamsters," he said, "We'd be fired."

He showed me a large scar on his left arm from an injury received a few years back. The Teamster contract he was working under at that time included an insurance policy that provided \$20,000 for medical expenses. But the union refused to even file a claim for him. They told him that while he was being operated on he had lost his job and union membership and therefore they couldn't help him!

Conditions have definitely changed since the United Farm Workers Union forced growers into signing contracts, a young striker who has been working in the fields for five years said.

Before the contracts, the growers paid whatever they could get away with. He recalled when he was working in Salinas that many times the bosses would not tell the workers how much they were going to be paid until after the work was done. Being in a desperate position, the workers had to accept this robbery.

All of this changed when César Chávez's union came in, he said. "He was the first one who confronted the bosses to help the *mexicano* and all farm workers. This is when we began to organize and went on strike and started to make progress."

Not just wages, but also working conditions have changed since the UFWU entered the picture, another striker said. "Before the foremen treated us very badly. They harassed us, fired anybody they didn't like."

"But now under the union contracts we like it very much because we don't have problems with the foremen. They provide everything we need on the job and if they don't, we can enforce the contract and demand these things."

"Before the contract, they wouldn't even bring us water, or else they would put it very far away. But now they have to bring it right to us."

Beyond the material benefits the farm workers have won with the UFWU, other things were won for the first time. "We never had the respect

before that we have now by being in the union," I was told.

I asked another one of the younger workers why they went on strike. He replied, "It's a very simple matter."

"We went on strike because we believe that this is the union that really belongs to the farm workers. Aside from that the majority of those of us who work in the field are *mexicanos* and we are very glad to have a leader who is also a *mexicano*."

I asked what it was like to be on strike. "It's very difficult," he said, "because going out on strike is not just running around shouting '*huelga*' [strike]. You're also going to suffer, along with your family. We have problems like paying rent. We have many children [there are 11 in his family]."

"It's a situation where you have to be decisive and have courage. If you don't have it, then don't go out because you will not be able to face up to the difficulties. *La huelga* is not easy."

"Some people are paying off a car or a TV and are hesitant to go out on strike," he went on. "If you're going to go on strike to fight for a just cause for you and your family, you have to be ready to let that TV set go to hell."

To him the car and TV don't mean much, he explained. He is willing to make sacrifices. "I have spent quite a few years in the fields, exploited by the labor contractors and the growers," he said. "But I have lots of children and what I am doing now will be a benefit for them. I am thinking of their future."



Militant/Harry Ring

Striking members of the United Farm Workers Union talk to Militant reporter Miguel Pendas.

Houston Shell workers ratify new contract

By CHIP JEFFRIES

HOUSTON, May 20 — On May 18 the members of Local 4-367 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) voted 3 to 1 to end their historic strike for control over health and environmental conditions on the job.

The 1,200 workers voted to accept a package presented by the union leadership after a 114-day strike against Shell Oil Company, which lived up to its reputation for inflexibility and antiunionism during the strike.

The workers were demanding a health and safety committee and a clause in the contract giving the union access to company records on mortality and morbidity. (Oil workers suffer a high incidence of chemically induced illness.) For three and a half months, Shell said "no" to these demands, insisting that the workers

wanted "too much control" over their jobs.

The new contract empowers a committee of six, with three union and three company representatives, to advise Shell on health and safety measures. The committee has no power to enforce its recommendations, however.

In addition, the contract states that Shell will provide annual statistics on illness, injury, and death, or make such statistics available upon 60 days' notice.

The contract calls for a pay raise of 30 cents an hour, or 6 percent, in 1973, and a smaller increase, 27 cents, in 1974.

In the course of the strike, Shell resorted to union-busting tactics. Local 4-367's hall was riddled with bullets on April 23, for example. Pickets were often harassed, and a suspicious group calling for a company union

and a break with the OCAW cropped up.

To counter these moves, OCAW launched a campaign for public support. Eleven national ecology groups endorsed the strike, and a nationwide boycott of Shell products was initiated. The Women's Auxiliary of Local 4-367 organized its own campaign to win support for the strikers, and representatives of more than 16 local unions joined a demonstration here April 26 at the Shell stockholders' meeting.

Roy Barnes, secretary-treasurer of Local 4-367, and a spokesman for the negotiating committee, attributed Shell's decision to finally negotiate to the union's ability to win outside support. "Shell thought the strike was tarnishing its image," he explained in an interview with *The Militant*. Barnes also felt that the campaign by the Women's Auxiliary of Local 4-367

was "one of the crucial elements" in pressuring Shell.

"Although I don't know if it's because of our strike or not," he added, "I've noticed that the UAW is planning to make plant environmental control a primary item in their next negotiations."

"One thing we got which we didn't expect was the 6 percent pay raise," Barnes said, "although that sure doesn't look like as much now as when we first asked for it."

Unfortunately, the new contract has no cost-of-living clause to increase wages every time prices go up. Without such a clause to help protect Shell workers from inflation, prices will inevitably catch up with and overwhelm the wage gains they have just won.

Strikes against Shell, involving 2,000 OCAW members, are continuing in Los Angeles; Denver; Anacortes, Wash.; and New Orleans.

World Outlook

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

JUNE 1, 1973

Opposition machine-guns demonstrating workers

New right-wing offensive in Chile

After a brief respite following the March 4 elections in Chile, the anti-Popular Unity forces have again taken the offensive. Political polarization is deepening and the class struggle has reached a level of intensity not seen since the capitalist strike last October.

"The bourgeoisie is less disposed than ever to give up the economic, ideological, and political power that it still holds," wrote Pierre Kalfon in the April 18 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*. "The working-class parties and the popular masses, on the other hand, are far from having abandoned their intention to win this power. But Mr. Allende must, therefore, struggle from now on not only against an opposition that is stepping up its offensives, but also against a far left that is taking to the streets."

In mid-April, the opposition parties, the Christian Democrats and the right-wing National party, announced their intention of bringing charges of violating the constitution against Allende's entire cabinet. In the past, it has brought charges against only a few individual cabinet members.

In the weeks since the announcement was made, the situation has grown considerably more tense. Should the charges be brought now and approved by the Chamber of Deputies, the entire cabinet would be suspended pending a vote by the Senate. (The opposition controls both houses.) Such a move, in the present context, could provoke a crisis.

A number of issues are serving as pretexts for the opposition's current offensive. The threatened charges against the cabinet are reportedly based on a decree, signed by all cabinet members, that would transfer forty companies to the state-run "social sector" of the economy.

In addition, the right wing is challenging the Escuela Nacional Unificada (ENU—Unified National Education), a plan to rationalize the educational system. Implementation of the plan, originally scheduled for June of this year, has been put off for another year. The postponement, however, has not deterred the opposition.

"The opposition, which usually shows more imagination," observed Kalfon, "is also continuing to stir up public opinion around the 'holy war of the church against Marxism.'"

The Christian Democrats appear to have hardened their stance. They have decided to again bring out their proposal for a constitutional reform that would annul any state take-overs that have occurred since October 14, 1971. According to an Associated Press dispatch from Concepción May 5, it jointly organized a demonstration with the



Fascist band assembling in Santiago during conflicts in December 1971.

fascist group, Patria y Libertad (Fatherland and Freedom), in which thousands of demonstrators engaged in a two-hour battle with police to protest the killing of a Patria y Libertad leader the night before. And they have brought very young supporters out into the streets on a daily basis for weeks. These protests have been joined by elements of the lumpen-proletariat.

On April 26, the demonstrations reached a new level of intensity. In what appeared to be a synchronized operation, numerous headquarters of the Communist and Socialist parties were pillaged in several cities. In addition, attacks were carried out against the homes of leaders of leftist groups (among them the former Communist minister, Mireya Baltra), the socialist paper *Ultima Hora*, and the leftist *Puro Chile*, where all the office windows were broken.

In downtown Santiago, demonstrators stopped traffic and broke windows. "For the first time probably in the history of the country," wrote Kalfon in the April 28 *Le Monde*,

"the Moneda palace, the seat of the government, which is located in the center of town, was the target of the demonstrators' anger. A Molotov cocktail bomb exploded there and a rain of rocks broke many windows, including those in the offices of Mr. Allende's personal staff. Allende appeared on his balcony a few moments later to respond to the shouts of solidarity of other groups of students—supporters of the government."

On April 27, the opposition escalated its methods. In the afternoon, the CUT (Central Unica de los Trabajadores—Workers Central Union) brought some 10,000 workers in from the industrial suburbs to march through the center of Santiago in support of the Allende government. As they passed by the six-story modern building housing the Christian Democratic party, shots rang out from the roof of the building, killing one worker and wounding at least seven others.

Humberto Diaz, an upholstery worker, described the scene: "Of course we jeered. They threw rocks at us. We threw rocks at them too, but we

could barely reach the third floor. Then they started machine-gunning us from the roof. I picked up the cartridge cases. They came from an Argentine Marcati machine gun, 22 caliber. I know what I'm talking about. I was an armorer in the army."

The Christian Democrats tried to blame the government for the cold-blooded killing by accusing it and its backers of "aiming to destroy the Christian Democratic party because it constitutes a barrier against the totalitarians and the fascists of both the right and the left." It claimed the demonstration was an "organized attack" on its headquarters.

The far left is also mobilizing in response to the mounting rightist threat. "During the past week," wrote Kalfon in the April 18 *Le Monde*, "the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left] has rallied rank-and-file activists of the Socialist party and MAPU [Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria—Movement for United Popular Action] and persons with no party affiliation to organize 'popular mobilizations' in the industrial belt of the poor suburbs of Santiago."

In the face of the deteriorating situation, Allende appears determined to stick to the norms of bourgeois legality. In his May Day speech, he urged the workers to increase production: "Only the devastating force of the people can detain this fascist threat by producing more, working harder, and showing greater total effort."

And in an interview published in the April 19-26 issue of *Chile Hoy*, he said that the "strict application of the constitution and the law" were the "best defense" of his government: "I think that we have to use all constitutional means against the right in order to defend the popular government. And if they break with the constitution and the law, we will answer with the law, with the forces of order, and, if necessary, with revolutionary forces."

On May 5, Allende decreed a state of emergency in Santiago Province to combat "the climate of social agitation in the province." The following day, the army revoked all civilian gun permits and banned unauthorized public meetings. □



The Coming Confrontation

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Interview with a Spanish Trotskyist leader

Growing militancy seen in workers' struggles

[The following interview with one of the leaders of the underground Trotskyist movement in Spain was obtained recently by a correspondent of *Intercontinental Press*.]

Question. Could you briefly summarize the events that occurred in Barcelona early in April?

Answer. The construction workers who were building a thermal-electric plant, about 1,700 in all, held an assembly and decided to elect a committee to fight for some immediate demands like higher pay, a forty-hour week, sick pay, and so on.

The government, which is following a policy of trying to bring the labor movement under control, sent a representative of the CNS [Central Nacional Sindicalista—National Union Federation, the "union" set up by the Franco dictatorship] to offer the workers the right to elect two representatives of the CNS to process their demands through "legal" channels.

Workers belonging to reformist organizations wanted to accept the proposal. The Communist party, which is the largest reformist workers organization, went along with the government move. The Trotskyists of the LCR [Liga Comunista Revolucionaria—Revolutionary Communist League] opposed it. They called on the workers to maintain the committee they had elected and to begin organizing picket squads for self-defense in case the police attacked them. The workers rejected the government proposal overwhelmingly.

The bosses responded with a lock-out and the police attacked the workers. A fight with the police lasted four to five hours. One worker was killed and another wounded.

Instead of dispersing, which is what usually happens when the police open fire, the workers continued to battle. They marched through Besos, where the thermal-electric plant is being built. Others joined them and the strike spread through the whole area. In the following days there were demonstrations of solidarity, including strikes of varying length. In all, as many as 100,000 or 200,000 persons participated to one degree or another.

Q. How would you compare the events stemming from the Besos action with previous demonstrations of the workers in Spain?

A. This struggle was at a higher level than previous ones. As in previous struggles, the workers bypassed the CNS apparatus and set up their own committees, and they resisted when attacked. But this time their resistance was more determined, and the defense squads, instead of being composed of only vanguard elements, became massive. Also, as the solidarity strikes developed, the workers began to occupy their factories on a broader scale than before. The solidarity strikes tended to last longer. The development of the vanguard in the factories reflected a general broadening out. The demand for unity was more pronounced. On top of that the slogans raised by the workers tended

to be at a higher level. They moved rapidly in the direction of calling for the downfall of the Franco dictatorship.

In the SEAT plant, for instance, workers from several sectors of this huge complex, which employs 28,000 persons, began marching from one area to another, shutting down other sectors and shouting, "Down with the dictatorship."

Q. Was unity achieved during these actions?

A. The underground workers movement in Barcelona is divided into three currents. Workers commissions, that is, committees of workers' leaders in each factory, are affiliated to a coordinating council. Unfortunately there are three such councils. The largest is dominated by the Communist party; it is called "Local." The next in size is dominated by a centrist grouping, Red Flag; it is called "Sectors." The smallest—dominated by centrists and syndicalists—is called "Platform."

The Trotskyists participate in all three and call for unifying them into one coordinating center.

During the April struggle, the mass pressure for unity resulted in the formation of a single coordinating body.

Q. Did the central coordinating committee agree generally on what to do during these actions?

A. At times common agreement was reached; but there were also some sharp conflicts. When the mass demonstrations broke out and the sympathy strikes began, we proposed that Friday, April 6, be set as a date to unite all the spontaneous outbursts into a unified outpouring of the masses.

At first the Communist party delegates accepted under pressure from the ranks. Once the CP had accepted, the Red Flag delegates followed suit. That was at a meeting on Tuesday, April 3.

But Wednesday, April 4, after the CP delegates had consulted with their national leadership, they made a switch and opposed any united action on Friday. Instead they argued for a later date.

The CP is following a line of trying to prove to the bourgeoisie that they can keep the mass movement under control. They hope to bloc with sectors of the bourgeoisie in a bid for a peaceful evolution from fascism to bourgeois democracy.

In our opinion they became frightened at the perspective of a united mass confrontation in the streets. They decided to try to de-escalate the struggle under cover of radical-sounding verbiage.

For instance, they put out leaflets saying that we must wait until we are ready for a nationwide general strike. The call for a general strike in the abstract becomes nothing but a cover for blocking the mass movement from developing in the concrete forms required at the moment.

Other groups, the Lambertists for instance, followed a similar line, counterposing a general strike sometime

in the future to the concrete possibilities open as of now.

For us, the proposed action on Friday was one more step towards the goal of a revolutionary general strike.

Under the pressure of the CP, the Red Flag delegates wavered; and the demonstration had to be postponed until Wednesday, April 11, that is, after the movement had begun to decline. In one area, however, in spite of hesitation and attempts to hold the movement back, a massive confrontation did develop on Friday, April 6.

In Cerdanola a factory of 800 workers held an assembly early in the morning of April 6 and marched out to other factories. They occupied these

Q. Did the solidarity actions spread throughout Spain?

A. No, except among the students. Actions by the workers were limited to Catalonia, that is, the area around Barcelona.

Q. What were the overall results for the Trotskyist movement in these actions?

A. Besides supporting the immediate demands of the striking workers, the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria raised the following slogans: "Police out of the factories, universities, and neighborhoods"; "Free the political



Students at the University of Madrid flee an attack by Franco's police.

factories, held assemblies, and got the workers to vote to join them. Before the day was over, 8,000 workers marched through Cerdanola, battling the police and closing down the entire town.

Q. On forming defense squads to protect the demonstrations—was there agreement on that?

A. No. This is one important area of differences. The CP is quite opposed to it and agrees to do so only at the level of the vanguard. That is, they are against making a call generally for the organization of defense squads. They also opposed the demand to dissolve the special repressive units of the police. However, under the impact of the events the proposals of the Trotskyists on the question of defense squads carried during this period in the central coordinating committee and even more so at the factory level.

One of the problems we faced was that after the central coordinating committee reached agreement, the CP would sabotage carrying out the decision where their influence was dominant.

Q. Did the students support the workers struggles?

A. Yes. But the demonstrations were primarily composed of workers until the final demonstration of Wednesday, April 11. The proportion of students was quite large in that one.

prisoners, especially Camacho" [Camacho is a leader of the workers commissions now facing trial]; "Against any sanctions, for rehiring the strikers"; "Dissolution of the special repressive forces"; and "Down with the dictatorship."

We emphasized the need for unity in action; we opposed trying to bypass the united front expressed in the workers commissions, as various sectarian and ultraleft groups have attempted to do.

We tried to set a clear target and a specific date for the actions in order to maximize their impact and to take preparatory steps toward a general strike.

We called for the formation of self-defense squads.

We also called for the formation of rank-and-file committees, with the right to recall delegates at any time, to provide leadership in the mass struggles.

The contribution made by the Trotskyists to the April struggles was important; but we have to get better coordination among the workers who follow our party so that we can react to events faster at the factory level. We have made some headway in recruiting more workers as a result of what we did.

Of course, we have suffered some arrests. This is one of the most difficult problems. Once workers become known in their plants as militants the danger always exists that they will be arrested after the strikes are settled and the mass movement temporarily subsides. □

Czechoslovak penal code 'reformed'

The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly adopted a sweeping "reform" of the penal system on April 25, according to a report in the April 27 *Le Monde*. Part of the change is the institution of a new system of "postprison surveillance" that was apparently adopted somewhat earlier.

Not all the details on the new penal code are available yet, since they have not been published in the official legal journal. But statements by parliamentary reporters and articles appearing in the Czechoslovak press have allowed for a general determination of the content of the latest bit of "normalization."

The "postprison surveillance" law is a fascinating piece of work. It is aimed, according to the Czechoslovak press, at persons insufficiently "re-educated" by their stay in the hole and at persons about whom "doubts persist" as to their inclination to lead "a serious life of work."

Postprison surveillance will be imposed, according to the law, after a public trial. (Perhaps in anticipation of violation of this aspect of the reform, the law states that those subjected to postprison surveillance without trial have the right to file a complaint.) The surveillance may be effected for one to three years, the court that imposed it having the power to rescind it at any time.

Those subjected to surveillance will be required to furnish complete details on their income, present themselves to the police at regular intervals, inform the police (in advance) of any change of residence, and allow the police to enter their home at any time, with or without warrants.

The government explained that these police entries are not to be considered "searches," but rather will simply be means for the police to determine if the person is really at home, or if not, where else he or she might be, and also to determine whether the person "is complying with the correction process."

The police will also keep an eye on the subject's workplace and will make sure he or she is not frequenting "meeting places of antisocial elements."

One additional wrinkle in the system is that in cases in which the execution of sentence is delayed past three months for any reason, postprison surveillance can become preprison surveillance, with a view toward "guaranteeing the continuity of influence on the offender, very important for his reeducation."

The past three issues of *Intercontinental Press* contain a series of articles of particular interest. The series, written by Dick Roberts, takes up the economic theories of the sectarians in the Socialist Labour League in Britain and the Workers League in the U.S.

The articles appeared in the May 7, May 14, and May 21 issues of *Intercontinental Press*, and may be ordered by sending 50 cents for each issue to: *Intercontinental Press*, P.O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

There were several other changes made in the penal system as well. The maximum sentence was raised from fifteen to twenty-five years. Violations of "state secrecy," desertion abroad, and attempts to hijack airplanes will be punished more severely. (*Le Monde* reported that, according to indications in the press, the latter crime may carry a death penalty.)

The law concerning "distribution of false information abroad" was also amended. Previously it covered only "false information" relating to the domestic situation; now it will cover information on Czechoslovakia's international position and foreign policy as well.

Penalties were also upped for "crimes" committed by prisoners. These include pretending to be sick, going on hunger strikes, refusing to carry out work assignments, or committing self-mutilation.

The labor-discipline law, up to now applicable only in factories, will be extended to agriculture. □

World news notes

French A-bomb tests stir wide protest

The Pompidou government remains adamant in its intention of carrying out a series of nuclear bomb tests in the South Pacific despite a mounting protest campaign. The French program of atmospheric testing at Mururoa atoll has been bitterly denounced by the Labour party governments of Australia and New Zealand. Both governments charge that the tests will endanger the environment and population of the South Pacific and have brought suit in the World Court to prevent the tests. France, however, has announced that it will disregard any World Court decision.

The Pompidou government complains that the U.S. carried out 188 explosions in the atmosphere and the USSR 142. Why should France be forced to cut off after only two dozen blasts?

One reason was given May 10 when thirty-five Australian trade unions agreed to boycott all French aircraft, ships, goods, and communications as a protest against the bomb tests. Robert Hawke, president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, indicated that the ban would include telephone contact despite an appeal by Prime Minister Gough Whitlam to leave phone links open. Only letters protesting the tests and communications between the Australian embassy in Paris and Canberra were exempted.

Both the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Federation of Trade Unions have denounced the tests and threatened strike action against French interests.

It remains to be seen whether New Zealand Prime Minister Norman Kirk will carry out his plan of sending a Navy frigate into the test area with a cabinet member aboard.

Mexico: governor resigns over massacre

The first nationwide student strike since 1968 was staged in Mexico May 8. Twenty universities, including the National Autonomous University in Mexico City, took part.

The purpose of the action was to protest and commemorate the deaths of four students in the city of Puebla May 1. They were shot by police during a May Day demonstration sponsored by the ruling Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI—Institutional Revolutionary party).

The incident reportedly occurred when some 300 students attempted to join the official march. According to an Associated Press dispatch published in the May 3 issue of the New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario-La Prensa*, "the police had received orders not to allow the students to take part in the demonstration. . . ."

In addition to the four students who were killed, some twenty persons were injured.

According to a report in the May 5 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinion*, the funeral for the four dead students was attended by some 20,000 persons. Following the burial, a fifth student was killed by police. "Doctors who viewed his body said that his death was the result of a beating with pipes or some other blunt object that destroyed his insides."

The dead student was identified as Gilberto Chavez Avila, a leader of the student struggle committees.

A week after the May Day massacre, the governor of the state of Puebla, Gonzalo Bautista O'Farril, gave in to mounting pressures and resigned.

Israeli occupiers follow 'liberal policy'

One result of the Israeli commando raid into Lebanon April 10, in which at least 40 people died, was a sharp reaction among the Arab population of the occupied territories. Yehuda Litani reports in the May 2 issue of *Ha'aretz*, a major Israeli newspaper, "After the Beirut action, the West Bank and East Jerusalem were seized with heavy mourning, the like of which they had not seen for years."

Israeli authorities responded to the outpouring of editorials and articles proclaiming sympathy and solidarity with the Palestinian commandos with a pointed warning. On April 18 Joe Nasser, the publisher of the Arab weekly *Al Fajar* (The Dawn), and its chief editor, Jamal Hamad, were arrested.

Litani reported in an April 20 article that "the two editors were arrested on charges of incitement and violation of the censorship laws. . . ."

"Evidently the charge of incitement refers to the lead editorial which . . . ended with the words 'Kamal and his friends have not died, for the sorrow accompanying their deaths has raised in our hearts hopes and cries for battle.'"

Litani explains that "the decision to arrest the two editors was made on the cabinet level and is evidently a warning for other Arab papers. The government has ignored similar articles written in the past. For a long time a policy of restraint, consonant with the liberal policy in the territories, was adopted."

The two newspapermen were released on April 25.



Claridad/Miguel Rivera

Juan Mari Bras, general secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), addresses a May Day rally in Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico. Claridad estimated that more than 12,000 people attended the event, organized by the PSP, including some eighteen unions. "This is the first time," said Mari Bras, "that a crowd of the magnitude of the one gathered here tonight celebrates May 1 alongside the workers of the world."

Millions in Britain strike on May Day

London

More than 2 million workers joined May Day strikes throughout Britain to protest the Tory government's wage control policies and the soaring cost of living. The strike, which had been called at a special congress of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) in February, hit the railways, auto factories, mines, docks, newspapers, and engineering factories.

Large demonstrations were held in many cities. One of the largest was in London, where more than 20,000 marched, including large contingents of printworkers, who had completely halted publication of the major national daily newspapers. Major speakers at the London rally included the leader of the recently elected Labour party majority on the Greater London Council, Sir Reg Goodwin, and Mineworkers General Secretary Lawrence Daly. Daly attacked the Heath government not only for its assaults on the living standards of the British working class but also for its slavish support for the United States in Indochina at a time when the Nixon

regime was carrying out unprecedented bombing raids over Cambodia.

One of the largest turnouts for May Day occurred in Birmingham, where more than 500,000 struck and 20,000 marched through the city center. In Scotland a third of the workforce stopped work; 10,000 joined a march through Glasgow, including contingents of auto workers, miners, construction workers, and shipyard workers.

In South Wales, all 51 coal mines were on strike and miners made up a large part of a demonstration of 8,000 in Cardiff. Some 1,000 of the Cardiff marchers came from the giant East Moors steelworks, which is threatened with closure by the Tory government. Heading the march were contingents of workers who have been occupying the Aberdale Cable factory.

Some 12,000 marched in Liverpool. At the concluding rally, Jack Jones, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, was heavily heckled by the marchers for his refusal to break off discussions with the Heath government and lead a militant fight against the Phase 2 wage

controls. Disapproval of the record of the union leaders ran through many of the May Day marches. It was well known among those who demonstrated that these leaders had been trying for several days prior to the strike to reenter negotiations with the government and downplay the May Day strike.

Only a week before May Day Victor Feather, TUC general secretary, practically told union members not to participate in the strikes and rallies that the TUC itself had called only a few weeks previously. Feather said the day of action would be one of "reluctant acquiescence" in the government's wage control program and that the TUC was not calling a general strike but would leave it up to individual sections of the labor movement to decide whether they wanted to take part. Many major unions refused to support the strike. In some instances this led to widescale flouting of the union leaders' decisions not to participate. This was particularly noticeable among the miners who closed down 133 of Britain's 281 coal mines in defiance of their union executive's refusal to support May Day.

But in many other industries the union leaders' scabbing on the strike led millions of workers who would have joined the protest if they had been given real leadership to stay at work. A well-orchestrated press campaign whipped up against the May

Day protests added to their demoralization. Many workers saw little point in striking and losing a day's wages when their own leaders had told them not to strike or that participation in the strike was a matter of individual choice. This mood of demoralization led some workers who had earlier voted to strike to report for work as normal. This was shown by the London bus drivers, almost all of whom ended up working, and by many subway workers who kept about half of the London subways running.

Those 2 million or more workers who did strike put up a tremendous display of opposition to the Tories and their wages policy. They did so without any real support from the union leaders.

Clearly the top officials of the TUC never had any real intention of taking its May Day "day of action" seriously. They originally called the protests to try to convince angry union militants that they would be willing to put up a fight against the Tories; but they were determined not to turn the "day of action" into a mass strike and mobilization. Feather, in a May Day statement, denied that the unions were confronting the government and indicated his desire to reopen talks with the government and find a settlement that accepted an amended form of state interference with wages. □

Quebecois workers in massive May Day march

[The following article is abridged from the May 7 issue of *Labor Challenge*, the newspaper of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the Canadian section of the Fourth International.]

By Alain Beiner
and Phil Courneyeur

Montréal, May 2

Yesterday evening more than 30,000 workers and students took to the streets to demand the immediate and unconditional liberation of Québec's jailed trade union leaders and to mobilize opposition to Bill 89—the notorious strikebreaking law which the Bourassa Liberal government threatens to bring in next fall.

In the old capital of Québec, some 3,000 workers and students demonstrated at the same time as their brothers and sisters in Montréal and in other smaller Québec towns.

The Montréal demonstration got under way at Viger Square following the spirited arrival of some 2,000 students who had formed their own contingent earlier. Buses brought late arriving workers from Montréal's south shore and from other smaller centres—such as Sorel's shipyard workers.

The demonstration was peaceful—order being assured both by the clear political focus of the action and the several hundred unionists who formed the marshalling squad. The Montréal cops, long known as the main source of violent provocations in Québec demonstrations, attempted to stay out of sight.

At Parc Lafontaine demonstrators heard speeches by union leaders

Michel Chartrand and Norbert Rodrigue of the Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux (CSN), Fernand Daoust of the Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec (FTQ), and André Therrien of the Centrale de L'Enseignement du Québec (CEQ—Québec Teachers). From Parc Lafontaine the demonstrators headed to a mass rally called by the PQ [Parti Québécois, a capitalist party] and to the Palais du Commerce where the union common front held a festival-dance.

The size of the May Day demonstration clearly surprised many of the union leaders themselves. *La Presse* carried a banner headline saying that "The May 1 March Surpassed All the Hopes of its Organizers." Asked beforehand in a press survey what turnout would constitute a success, most observers, from unionists to press reporters, suggested between five and ten thousand.

Estimates of the turnout vary. Montréal police say 10,000; the FTQ says 20 to 25,000; the CSN estimates the crowd at 35,000, while the newspaper *La Presse* says 18,000. What is significant is that the action was so big, especially in view of the factors which militated against it. The weather was bad; May 1 is moving day in Montréal when many tens of thousands change apartments; it was also the night of the Stanley Cup finals hockey game at the Montréal Forum—few could fail to note that, in its own way, the May 1 demonstration made history as more workers demonstrated in the streets than went that night to the Montréal Forum.

The slogans of the demonstration—for immediate and unconditional release of the three jailed leaders; against Bill 89; and union solidarity slogans were complemented by na-



Part of the Montreal May Day demonstration

tionalist chants—Le Québec aux Québécois, Québécois dans la rue (Québec for the Québécois, Québécois in the streets) and others.

The Montréal demonstration was officially organized by the Comité Régional Intersyndical de Montréal (the Regional Inter-union Committee of Montréal), which included the Montréal Central Council of the CSN; the Montréal Labor Central Council of the FTQ; the Teachers Alliance of Montréal and several other teachers (CEQ) units. This united action took the union movement beyond the recent period of inter-union raiding and

rivalries that followed the common front strike wave last spring.

The Trotskyists of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO) and the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes (LJS) marched under banners demanding the freeing of the trade union leaders as well as the building of a labor party by the trade unions. The LSO proclaimed the solidarity of the Fourth International (to which it is affiliated) with the Québec workers struggle. They sold more than 500 copies of the socialist and independentist newspaper *Libération*. □

'Continue African Liberation Day activities'

End U.S. support to S.Africa, Portugal

Continued from page 24

in African countries—all these struggles run directly or indirectly into conflict with U.S. imperialism's political, military, and economic role in Africa.

We should have no doubt that when a major struggle threatens to overturn one of the neocolonialist, colonialist, or white-settler regimes in Africa, U.S. imperialism will not hesitate to intervene directly if the Nixons, Kennedys, Rockefeller, etc., think they can get away with it.

One very important factor limiting the ability of Nixon or his successors to intervene in such a situation will be the extent to which mass opposition in this country is mobilized. The African liberation support movement is helping to lay the basis for such opposition. This movement points out that the actions of the U.S. government and the corporations that invest in Africa are not in the interests of the masses of people in this country, Afro-Americans in particular.

While the government gives hundreds of millions of dollars to Portugal in order for it to wage wars in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique, Nixon is cutting back on child care, welfare, old-age pensions, and other social services. Nixon's economic policies mean our wages are held down while prices and profits soar.

The government's aid to the Rhodesian and South African regimes, which practice the most brutal forms of racist oppression, must be related to the struggles in this country against racism and segregation. In a country where there is so much government hypocrisy concerning "freedom" and "democracy," we can turn the prodemocratic sentiments of the masses of people against the government by calling for solidarity with the struggles of African people for democracy and independence.

In a country where many people are now struggling for better working conditions, defense of unions against the big corporations and the government, we can expose how the government and the big corporations are deeply involved in the Portuguese colonies and South Africa, where it is illegal for Africans to organize and defend their rights as workers.



PAIGC militants in Guinea-Bissau

We can show that it is in the interests not only of Afro-Americans but of the majority of people in this country to oppose the U.S.'s reactionary role in Africa.

Currently the central focus of activity in defense of the African revolution is centered on the U.S. role in southern Africa and Guinea-Bissau. That is for good reason.

Africans deprived of rights

The African peoples of these countries are deprived of all basic rights. In Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Namibia, Africans are demanding independence. In South Africa and Rhodesia, they are demanding that Black Africans be given full political and economic rights.

The different colonial and "apartheid" systems the white settlers and colonialists use to govern these areas are aimed at ensuring extreme exploitation of African labor. Under these conditions, focusing on the U.S. role in propping up these regimes can have important consequences.

Under the colonialist heel African workers receive a pittance. In Durban, South Africa, African workers average \$30 per month (white workers average \$475). In Namibia—in 1966 before the South African regime stopped publishing statistics—Black workers were averaging between \$5 and \$15 per month. And these figures are higher than those prevailing in the Portuguese colonies.

The peoples of these countries have resisted their oppression. In Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Guinea-Bissau, and Angola, armed struggle is being waged for independence. Massive actions have periodically broken out against the South African and Rhodesian settler regimes.

Mass demonstrations and boycotts shook South Africa in 1959 and 1960 against the imposition of the pass laws, culminating in the Sharpeville massacre. Last year thousands of Ovambo miners struck and demonstrated in Namibia.

In February of this year, dockers and other Black and Asian workers in Durban and in other South African cities launched a massive wave of illegal strikes that the apartheid regime has been unable to crush. And the sisters and brothers in South Africa are continuing these actions to this day.

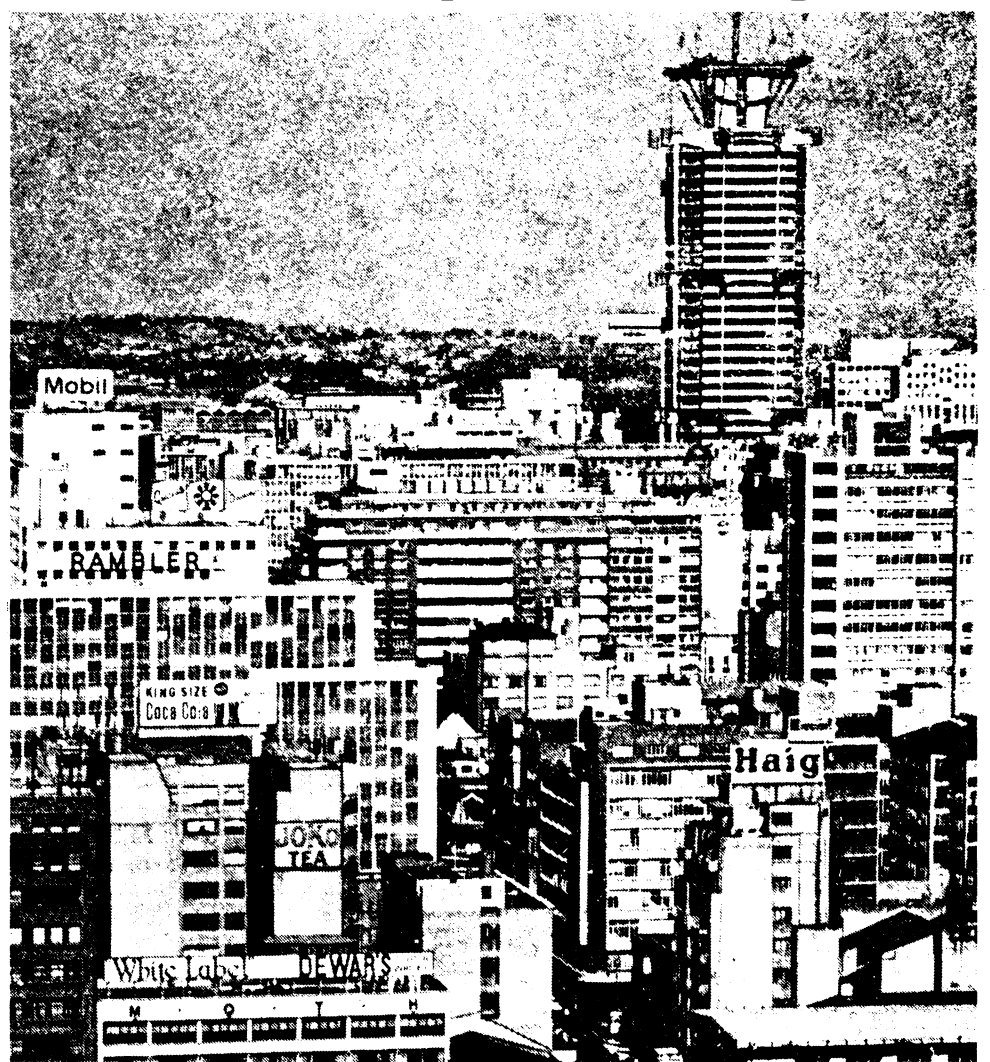
We have to show the masses of people in this country how U.S. imperialism has given full support to the Portuguese colonialists and white settler regimes in their efforts to crush the liberation struggles.

U.S. dollars to Portugal

We have to show how Washington has poured hundreds of millions of dollars into the war machine of the Portuguese government. We have to show how this aid has been crucial to the ability of the Portuguese to carry out their wars in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau as well as to preserve their repressive internal regime in Portugal itself.

Portuguese officers and soldiers have even received military training in the U.S. at "Green Beret" facilities at Fort Bragg, N.C. Military equipment given to Portugal as a member of NATO is being used in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. Defoliation chemicals and napalm developed and produced by the U.S. for use in Indochina have been put to similar use in these colonies.

The U.S. military communications base at Kagnew station in Ethiopia



Johannesburg skyline shows U.S. corporate involvement in South Africa.

is being used to spy on the anti-Portuguese freedom fighters.

U.S. support for South Africa and Portugal is linked to the heavy U.S. investment in southern Africa. It is also linked to the fear that the germ of revolution will spread throughout Africa.

There are 292 U.S. corporate subsidiaries or affiliates in the Republic of South Africa—not including chiefly South African and foreign-owned firms with U.S. investment—according to the July 1972 *Fortune*. "Their direct investment," *Fortune* reported, "is close to \$900 million, and their returns on that investment have been romping home at something like 10 percent a year, after taxes (\$171-million)."

Fortune also reported a poll showing that three-quarters of U.S. and Canadian businessmen involved in these firms openly support the apartheid system of racial discrimination. This is only natural as they share in the superprofits that result from the extreme exploitation of Black South African workers.

Fortune's poll lays to rest the myth that these firms are more liberal than local firms and thus are capable of helping South African workers, as has been alleged by Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and other apologists for capitalism.

We have to expose the massive U.S. exploitation and investment in Portuguese Africa. Three years ago in its July-August issue, *Africa Today* listed scores of American firms involved in Angola and Mozambique. They include Allis Chalmers, American Cyanamid, Caterpillar Tractors, Caltex Oil, Chase Manhattan Bank, Firestone Rubber and Tires, General Electric, Gulf Oil, Holiday Inns, Mobil Oil, IBM, National Cash Register, Singer Sewing Machines, Standard Oil of California, ITT, Tenneco Oil, Texaco Oil, and Union Carbide. These are the cream of the U.S. financial crop benefiting from the denial of self-determination to the peoples of Angola and Mozambique.

One of the biggest operations in Por-

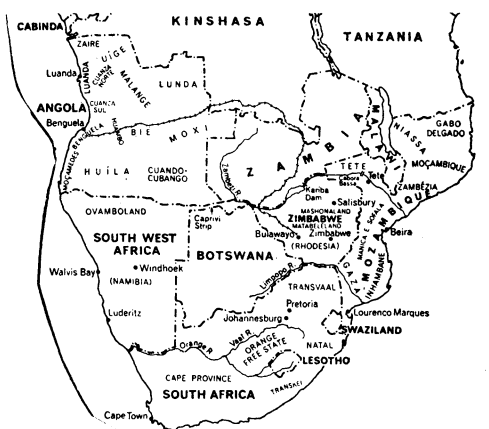
tuguese Africa is that of Gulf Oil in Cabinda province in Angola. In 1969, according to *Africa Today*, Gulf had invested \$130-million in Angola, and planned to invest \$76-million more in its oil fields there. Like most of the U.S. firms in Portuguese Africa, Gulf pays substantial subsidies and "taxes" (including 50 percent of all profits) to the Portuguese colonialists.

Publicizing these facts lays the basis for building a mass movement that can expose and oppose U.S. involvement in Africa. This movement could unite around the demands:

Independence for Mozambique, Namibia, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau;
End white-settler rule in Zimbabwe and South Africa;

End all U.S. corporate trade, investment, and cooperation with Portugal, Rhodesia, and South Africa;
End all U.S. government military and financial aid to Portugal, Rhodesia, and South Africa.

The most significant step in this direction has been the call for the May 26 African Liberation Day activities by the African Liberation Support Committees. These activities should be continued after May 26 in a series of teach-ins, meetings, demonstrations, and other actions that can reach out to Afro-Americans and other potential supporters of the African liberation struggles.



Southern and Portuguese-occupied Africa is the focus of liberation struggle.

Bobby Seale: from Panther to Democrat

By RICK CONGRESS

OAKLAND—Black Panther Party chairman Bobby Seale was defeated in the Oakland mayoral runoff election held here May 15. The Republican incumbent, John Reading, received 77,476 votes (64 percent), while Seale captured 43,719 (36 percent).

Seale's campaign for mayor marked a deepening of the rightward evolution of the Black Panther Party, an evolution that has led it straight into the mire of Democratic Party politics. The Black Panther Party has abandoned any semblance of political independence from the Democratic Party in favor of cozying up to liberal politicians.



Ron Alexander

Bobby Seale abandoned militant Black Panther Party image to become 'respectable Democrat.'

At the same time, the Panthers have rejected the perspective of independent mobilizations of the Black community. Instead, they favor social-work type programs that present no threat to the capitalist politicians and the system they represent.

This direction was evident in the Black Panther Party's support to Democratic Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm's campaign for the Democratic Party presidential nomination in 1972, and in their support to Democratic Congressman Ron Dellums.

Because of the previous reputation of the Black Panther Party as a militant, activist organization, it enjoyed considerable support from Black youth. Seale was widely known and



admired, to a great extent because of the New Haven murder trial and "Chicago Seven" conspiracy trial—attempts by the federal government to frame up him along with others.

The opening of the Seale campaign, in conjunction with the candidacy of Elaine Brown for city council, generated enthusiasm among many Blacks and radical whites.

The candidacy of Seale and Brown, as first projected, was tied to the party's "survival programs," through which several mass rallies were held to distribute free bags of groceries and clothing. Seale and Brown identified themselves as the Black Panther Party candidates in Oakland.

But as the campaign progressed, they moved rapidly away from association with militant Black action and political independence. They started to deny that they were running as Black Panther Party candidates, or that they were running a Black campaign. Instead, they talked of running a "people's" campaign and emphasized that they were Democrats.

Seale's competition for Democratic votes, stemming from his orientation of trying to get elected even at the expense of sacrificing principles and program, led him to tie his candidacy politically to the Democratic Party.

He put a strip reading "a Democrat" over previously nonparty posters. He put out a new brochure, entitled "Elect Bobby Seale, the Effective Democrat."

UPI quoted Seale as saying, "I've gone beyond the Panther Party. We're building a stronger Democratic party. I see the name of the Black Panther

party phasing out, and I'm developing a new community organization which has never before existed in Oakland—a Democratic party structure on a broad-based grassroots community organization."

Seale thus totally subordinated his campaign to the party of racists like George Wallace and Lester Maddox; the party of Edward Hanrahan—who murdered Black Panthers in Chicago; and the party that, along with the Republicans, protects the interests of the racist, capitalist class that rules the United States.

The effect of Seale's campaign was to lead Black people who looked to the Panthers as a real alternative to the Democrats back into the dead-end road of Democratic Party politics. The Seale campaign registered tens of thousands of Blacks into the Democratic Party, strengthening that party and strengthening illusions about its ability to improve the conditions faced by Black people.

Seale's opportunism was reflected in his campaign program. Not once in any campaign appearance, interview, or written statement did he raise issues such as support for the May 26 African Liberation Day actions scheduled for Oakland and around the country. He didn't support the Wounded Knee militants, nor did he demand freedom for political prisoners (David Hilliard, a Black Panther leader, is still in San Quentin).

During the campaign, a massive Chicano school boycott broke out

Continued on page 22

Israel & S. Africa: partners in oppression

By BAXTER SMITH

One of the biggest myths propagated by the Israeli government is that it is a friend and ally of developing nations. It carefully cultivates relations with a handful of African nations to "prove" this notion.

One of its goals is to win allies among Black nations and isolate the Arab nations north of the Sahara. Its support to nations such as Chad, Ethiopia, the Ivory Coast, and others consists largely of military training and assistance in counterinsurgency operations. The goal is to use these regimes to thwart the growth of revolutionary forces threatening capitalist rule in Africa.

Revolutionary socialists who point out the true role of Israel have been slandered and termed anti-Semitic.

Israel, however, has another friend in Africa it values more than any other—the racist white-settler regime ruling South Africa. The relations between Tel Aviv and Pretoria, though little known, are quite involved.

Anti-Semitic

South Africa and Israel have many similarities. Both are settler states in a hostile environment. Both the Zionists in Israel and the Europeans in South Africa view themselves as "chosen people" and inheritors of the "promised land."

The ideological identity of the two countries is so strong that C. L. Sulzberger, writing from South Africa in the April 30, 1971, *New York Times* stated, "The only two battles given major attention in this country's maneuver [military] schools are Tobruk, where a South African unit was defeated in World War II, and Israel's Six Day War in 1967."

Despite their ideological similarity, the South African government has a

long anti-Semitic record, predating the creation of Israel.

In 1942, the present prime minister of South Africa, John Vorster, in defining the philosophical foundation of apartheid stated, "we stand for Christian nationalism which is an ally of National Socialism . . . in Italy it is called Fascism, in Germany, National Socialism, and in South Africa, Christian Nationalism."

The present government policy toward South African Jews has changed only somewhat; they are still subject to vicious anti-Semitism.

In attempting to befriend Black African nations, Israel, on occasion, has had to denounce apartheid. These occasions have led to a bitter reaction against Jews in South Africa.

Diamonds and arms

South Africa is Israel's largest trading partner in Africa. In recent years trade between the two countries has been on the rise, despite several United Nations resolutions condemning trade with South Africa.

South Africa buys approximately one-quarter of Israel's exports to Africa while supplying approximately one-third of Israel's imports from Africa. Israel's next largest trading partners supply less than half this amount.

The cornerstone of Israeli-South African trading interests, according to the pamphlet *South Africa and Israel*, compiled by the Madison [Wis.] Area Committee on Southern Africa, centers in the industrial area, particularly the diamond industry. South African diamond firms, led by de Beers Consolidated Mines, Inc., produce some 80 percent of the world's rough diamonds.

Diamond and gem polishing is Israel's largest export industry. Israel is the world's second largest exporter of polished diamonds. Each year since

1949, diamonds have accounted for between one-third and one-half of its total export of industrial products.

In 1968, Israel obtained 52 percent of its rough diamond supply from the South African-dominated Central Selling Organization. Israel's total diamond imports in 1969 totaled some \$219-million.

Another central aspect of the relationship between South Africa and Israel is the arms agreements. These have increased particularly since the June 1967 Israeli-Arab war. Sulzberger, in the *Times* article cited earlier, states that he received an unofficial report "that a South African mission flew to Israel during the Six Day War to study tactics and use of weapons."

These arms agreements are reciprocal. South Africa manufactures the Uzi assault-submachine gun, an Israeli-designed weapon. In addition, South Africa exports tanks, of their own design but patterned after the

British Chieftain model, to Israel. Israel, in return, has reportedly supplied South Africa with the blueprints for a late model French Mirage jet.

Because of the United Nations arms embargo, South Africa has begun to develop its own military production. A few years back, it began producing a variety of small-caliber ammunition and rockets. Now, South Africa is virtually independent in this field, including even heavy-caliber ammunition. It has even developed its own military fighter-jet, though it obtains most military aircraft from Britain and France.

South Africa uses its military might to maintain a close check on liberation forces within its borders and other parts of southern Africa, including Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies.

And Israel, despite all rhetoric, remains a staunch ally of white supremacy in southern Africa and an enemy of African liberation.



Israel's support to South African apartheid helps maintain severe exploitation of diamond miners and other Blacks.

IGNORES OPENING PROVIDED BY W'GATE SCANDAL

CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS RETREATS FROM FIGHT AGAINST NIXON'S RACIST DRIVE

By DERRICK MORRISON

Ever since Nixon got into the White House in 1969, he has tried hard to roll back the Black liberation struggle. He has promoted catchwords like "benign neglect," "the work ethic," "an end to permissiveness," and especially "law and order." This was part and parcel of his general reactionary assault on all social movements that challenge the status quo.

In his first administration, Nixon retreated from the rhetoric of the "Great Society" and announced the policy of "benign neglect." Throughout 1969 and 1970 the federal government organized and promoted police raids on the Black Panther Party. Several Panther leaders and activists were killed. Others were indicted on a variety of phony charges. A modern-day bounty hunt was conducted for Angela Davis. And in the following year,

that elected it.

Nixon tried to mend some fences in his April 30 Watergate speech. He denied that his "New Year's Eve resolutions" were to freeze and curtail housing, welfare, and other social services. Instead, he said, they were to "make this country more than ever a land of opportunity—of equal opportunity, full opportunity—for every American; to provide jobs for all who can work and generous help for those who cannot. . . ."

All this means is that Nixon is now playing fox rather than wolf—but he's still out after the sheep.

The biggest mistake Black people could make at this point is to think any more highly of the Democrats. They are just as mired in corruption as the Republicans. Their social program is basically the same.



Congressional Black Caucus in 1971. These Democrats claimed to represent all Black people in fight against racist oppression.

1971, Nixon publicly applauded the way New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller put down the Attica prison rebellion.

At the same time that he organized this repression of the militants, Nixon began to gnaw at the gains wrung from President Johnson through the mass civil rights campaign and the ghetto rebellions. There was lax enforcement of Black voting rights in the South, and the government entered several court cases to try to turn back the tide of desegregation. The most glaring example of the Nixon administration's racism—masked as the purported "Southern strategy"—was the issue of busing students to achieve school desegregation.

With the same determined effort, he began this year by announcing a freeze of federal subsidies for low-income housing, a cutback in funds for hospitals and general medical care, and a phase-out of the antipoverty programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity. This came on top of his New Economic Policy, an effort to hold down wages despite the spiraling inflation that is sapping the purchasing power of Blacks and other working people.

But the Watergate scandals have taken a considerable amount of steam out of Nixon's racist offensive. These revelations of government crime and conspiracy render hollow Nixon's catchword of "law and order." The scandals reveal him and all his underlings as the criminals they really are. The government has lost credibility even among the majority of voters

The insurmountable antagonism between the Democratic Party and Black liberation is sharply reflected in the gyrations of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC).

The CBC was formed back in 1970 to oppose the Nixon administration's attacks on the rights of Black people. It drew its momentum from the massive Black awakening, and at first it gave the appearance of taking up an active role in the struggle in the streets and in the community. But it has now definitively retreated into the hallowed halls of Congress.

For Ohio Representative Louis Stokes, the chairman of the CBC, it seems as though the escalation of Nixon's racist offensive and the Watergate scandals never occurred. He announced in an article in the May 2 *New York Times* that "We tried a number of things and made some mistakes and learned that we couldn't be all the things everybody wanted us to be. . . . We now feel we can best serve black America through our legislative efforts so that will be our thrust henceforth."

'We weren't prepared'

And Missouri Representative William Clay added, "We weren't prepared for the reception we got from the black community. . . ."

When the CBC was formed by the nine Black Democrats then members of the House of Representatives, it claimed to speak for all Black people—not simply the Black residents in Caucus members' districts. The Caucus demands presented to Nixon in

early 1971 outlined the CBC's proposed solutions to the problems of the national Black community.

The enthusiasm of many Black people for the CBC stemmed not only from the Caucus effort to create a sense of Black unity within Congress, but from activities the Caucus launched outside Congress as well. CBC members endorsed various struggles in Black communities across the country. The Caucus also held a variety of public hearings on the problems resulting from racial oppression.

One such hearing dealt with Blacks in the U. S. Armed Forces, and Caucus members went to military bases to hold inquiries into the plight of Black soldiers.

CBC 'copped out' on Gary

The high point of such CBC activity was its call for the National Black Political Convention, which took place in Gary, Ind., in March 1972. But right after they called it at a conference of Black elected officials in Washington, D.C., in November 1971, they began to beat a hasty retreat.

As Imamu Amiri Baraka revealed in the October 1972 issue of *Black World*, "The Congressional Caucus, as a body, copped out on the convention completely from the very inception. They were reluctant about it when it was mentioned early in '71 and at the November conference in D.C., even though the call went out over their signature; the main movers in the Caucus, who are Louis Stokes and Bill Clay, never felt comfortable with the idea of the convention. . . . And they tried, I am now convinced, on several occasions, and in several ways, to sabotage it."

The CBC feared that a convention, even if rigidly structured, could get out of hand. They were afraid that the proposals coming out of such a convention would breach the boundaries of Democratic and Republican party politics. So true. The Gary convention produced the National Black Political Agenda, a program demanding Black control of the institutions in the Black community. This program proved to be indigestible for the two parties of war, racism, and capitalism.

The CBC couldn't really act on the Black Agenda. That would have required a break with the Democratic Party, a declaration of political independence, and a motion toward a Black party. (Sentiment for a Black party was much in evidence at the Gary meeting.) So, after playing with fire and getting slightly singed, the CBC retreated pell mell back into its legislative ivory tower.

Despite the evolution of the CBC, Baraka and some other advocates of an independent Black party continue to hang on to the coattails of the Democratic Party. They're still pushing the illusion that the power of Black people can be built within a racist and capitalist party.

If Watergate means anything, the CBC and the Democratic Party notwithstanding, it means that it is time for Blacks and other working people to take the offensive against the Nixon government.

It is time to build mobilizations independent of the Democratic and Republican parties. Mobilizations like the May 26 African Liberation Day demonstrations, like the May 5 actions

against high prices, like the April 28 San Francisco trade-union action against Nixon's economic policies, and like the protests in Detroit and other cities against police terror squads in the Black community.

Broad-based mass actions build the power of Blacks and other working people, cutting across the ingrained notion that people should sit back and rely on the politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties to solve their problems. Actions like this in the Black community are key to generating independent organizations, the type of organizations that could become the basis for a mass Black party.

Socialist Workers Party

It is toward this end that activists of the Socialist Workers Party helped build the African Liberation Day demonstrations, protests against high prices, support to striking Black workers in Atlanta, and other actions of Black and working people.

The SWP, through its 1972 presidential ticket of Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, and through the many municipal campaigns it is running across the country this year, champions all movements for social change. It promotes Black and working-class political organization independent of the capitalist parties—a prerequisite in the fight to abolish the capitalist roots of racism, sexism, and imperialist wars, and to establish a socialist America. This, not the Democratic Party machinations of the CBC, is a perspective for building an effective alternative to Nixon and all he stands for.



Black Democratic politicians now say they won't lead struggle for decent housing or other necessities of Black masses.

DEBATE OVER ERA: WHAT EQUAL RIGHTS FIGHT MEANS FOR WOMEN



Passage of Equal Rights Amendment will encourage struggles by women against discrimination on the job and in other areas.

By CAROLINE LUND

After a spurt of quick approvals in many states, the ratification process of the Equal Rights Amendment ground almost to a halt earlier this year in the face of an organized, well-financed campaign to defeat it.

This campaign has been spearheaded by such right-wing forces as the American Independent Party, the John Birch Society, members of the Catholic Church hierarchy, Goldwater supporter Phyllis Schlafly, and anti-feminist women's groups such as "Happiness of Womanhood" (HOW).

A serious countereffort is needed, involving women's groups, trade union women, and the radical movement, to answer this right-wing, anti-women's-liberation offensive.

Defeated this year

The ERA was approved by Congress in March 1972. It must be ratified by 38 states within seven years in order to become law. This year it was ratified by only 30 and thus has been defeated until the opening of the next legislative sessions.

The amendment says, "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied on account of sex."

Among the immediate results of the ERA would be to bar discrimination against women in education; to require equal pay for women teachers, school administrators, and professors (categories not covered under the 1967 Equal Pay Act); to prohibit the exclusion of women from juries, which is practiced in several states; and to abolish laws allowing for longer jail terms for women than for men who commit the same crime.

The greatest impact of the ERA, however would be in its broader implications rather than in its narrowest legal meaning. Strictly speaking, the amendment would only affect actions by state and federal governments. But constitutional backing of the principle of equal rights for women would encourage and legitimize struggles by women against discrimination in all spheres.

Unfortunately this struggle for full citizenship for women has not won the support of all sections of the women's movement, the labor movement, or groups that consider themselves socialist.

Opponents of ERA

Opponents of the ERA include the AFL-CIO officialdom, the Communist Party, a California-based organization called Union Women's Alliance to Gain Equality (Union WAGE), and the Maoist-oriented Revolutionary Union.

The AFL-CIO bureaucrats have allotted considerable resources to their campaign to defeat the amendment. The Communist Party has opposed the ERA because, they assert, "the amendment would repeal existing protective labor legislation and subject women to military service." The CP echoes the position of the national AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which also objects to the ERA on the grounds that it would supposedly eliminate all the "protective laws" pertaining to conditions of work for women.

Also citing the threat to the protective laws, the Revolutionary Union sees the ERA as "part of the U.S. ruling class' current attack on the people's working and living conditions." They cite President Nixon's endorsement of the ERA as proof of its nefarious purpose, and reason enough for radicals to oppose the ERA.

Union WAGE, on the other hand, says it would support passage of the ERA only "contingent upon extending the state protective laws to all workers."

In considering the arguments of these groups, which center on the protective labor laws, it is first necessary to note that the ERA only stipulates that the laws *must treat men and*

women equally. While the employers and state governments may attempt to use the ERA to eliminate all protective laws, working people can and must fight for extension of truly beneficial protective laws to cover men as well as women.

As the Communications Workers of America wrote in their resolution supporting passage of the ERA, "we see the Equal Rights Amendment as a means of asserting not an equal right to be abused, but equality of the right to protection."

Some state laws are beneficial to women workers, such as those requiring rest breaks, adequate ventilation, etc. Others are clearly detrimental to women in the guise of "protection," such as those prohibiting women from doing night work or from entering certain occupations such as bartending, metal molding, mining, working in blast furnaces or smelters, and many others.

Maternity benefits

These laws have done nothing to "protect" women from their status as one of the lowest-paid, superexploited sections of the working class. In the one area in which women do need special protection—maternity leave rights and benefits—not one state has laws to require paid maternity leave or the right of a woman to keep her job with no loss in seniority after having a baby.



Another type of protective law stipulates the maximum number of hours women can work per week, thus excluding women from all jobs involving either forced or voluntary overtime work.

Jacob Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union, declared that these hours laws were "the heart of the matter" while testifying at Senate hearings against passage of the ERA. The elimination of maximum hours and prohibition of night work for women, he said, might make it "impossible [for women] to meet their home responsibilities and might force them to become unemployed."

Potofsky's view implies *keeping* women tied to "their" home responsibilities. Maximum hours laws for women alone are based on the reactionary view that women are specially suited to taking care of the home and should not even be given a choice of working for overtime pay or working at night. Such laws also enable the employers to keep women out of higher paying jobs by saying that overtime or night work is necessary.

At the same time, Potofsky's position is designed as a cover for the AFL-CIO bureaucracy to continue its abdication in the struggle against forced overtime and for shorter hours for all workers. Male workers are just as interested in doing away with forced overtime and long hours as women are.

Equality on job

Thousands of working women have brought suits against employers under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, charging use of these "protective" laws to keep them out of higher paying jobs.

The widespread impact of women's liberation consciousness has encouraged women to take advantage of every legal opening to fight for equal pay, promotions, and the right to enter any and every field of work they feel capable of.

Passage of the ERA would give a tremendous impetus to all such efforts.

In addition to the predominantly female Communications Workers union, other unions that have endorsed the ERA, despite the national AFL-CIO's opposition, are the majority-female Retail Clerks union, United Auto Workers, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Teamsters, Amalgamated Meat Cutters, the Newspaper Guild, and others.

The forces opposing the ERA in the labor and radical movements have blown the issue of protective laws way out of proportion and lost sight of the significance of the principle of equal rights for women, especially working women. They in essence tell women workers to settle for the few "protections" they have rather than fight for equal rights across the board and extension of good protective laws to men also.

Ruling class attack?

When the Revolutionary Union sees the ERA as "part of the U.S. ruling class' current attack on the people's working and living conditions," they only show they are out of touch with reality. The ERA's growing popularity is a reflection of and part of the progressive, deepgoing changes in women's view of themselves as full human beings.

The ERA is not part of a reactionary offensive, despite Nixon's endorsement of it. The reactionary offensive is rather *against* the amendment.

Even some members of the Communist Party have been forced to recognize this, and to question their party's stand against the ERA. In the March 31 issue of the *People's World*, West Coast publication of the CP, Judy Baston writes:

"Ms. Schlafly and the entourage of people going around from state to state to lobby against the ERA have all been identified as Rightists. . . . Defeat of the ERA as a result of the current campaign would be a victory for the most extreme forces of the ultra-Right—and a defeat for women in general."

What the CP refuses to admit is that the opposition to the ERA by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy also stems basically from a reactionary view of "women's place" as in the home, despite their lip service to concern for the "protection" of working women. They think women need "protective" laws as a form of special legal recognition of their role in the home. The corollary to this view is that women are less suited to community and political affairs than are men.

The task before supporters of women's rights is to help mobilize the power of working women in support of the ERA. We must answer the arguments of reactionaries like Phyllis Schlafly, who say women are only suited for the home and that "being on a pedestal" is better than having equal rights.

Most working women know they are on no pedestal, and they are taking the lead in challenging unequal treatment on the job, despite the abdication of much of the union movement in this fight.

Rather than objectively taking the side of the reactionaries, all supporters of women's rights should be in the forefront of the fight for the ERA. This struggle will open the way to forcing the unions to fight for a revamping of the protective laws, their extension to men, and the revival of the struggle of the labor movement for a shorter workweek.

30,000 demonstrate in Milan in international antiwar protest

From Intercontinental Press
Milan

More than 30,000 young people marched through the streets here May 12 in the first Europe-wide Vietnam demonstration since the February 1968 Berlin antiwar protest.

The call for the demonstration was issued by Vietnam solidarity groups from nearly every country in Europe, and the action was hosted by the Milan Comitato Vietnam (Vietnam Committee). The major demands of the demonstration were: free the political prisoners in South Vietnam, end the bombing of Cambodia, withdraw all U.S. forces from Indochina, and end Saigon and U.S. violations of the Vietnam accords.

The crowd gathered at the Plaza of the Duomo, Milan's central cathedral. As the different groups formed contingents for the march, "The Internationale" blared from loudspeakers, and banners, flags, and placards engulfed the square.

Chanting "Nixon Boia!" (Nixon Executioner!), "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh," and "L'Indocina Vincera!" (Indochina Will Win!), the demonstrators started off on the two-hour march through downtown Milan to the Vigorelli bicycle stadium.

Most of the participants marched in contingents organized by Italian far-left and Maoist groups. The largest contingents were led by Avanguardia Operaia [Workers Vanguard], Movimento Studentesco [Student Movement], and Partito Comunista (Marxista-Leninista) Italiano [Italian Communist party (Marxist-Leninist)], followed by smaller contingents from Lotta Continua [Struggle Continues] and Il Manifesto.

About 2,000 persons marched in the contingent of the Fourth International, including members of the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari [Revolutionary Communist Groups], Italian section of the Fourth International, and



Milan demonstration was first Europe-wide antiwar action since February 1968

delegations from the French, Austrian, German, Swiss, and Swedish Trotskyist organizations.

The Front Solidarité Indochine [Indochina Solidarity Front] organized the largest non-Italian delegation with more than 2,000 French activists marching in its contingent.

The Italian Communist party denounced the demonstration as "irresponsible and adventuristic" and the Italian Socialist party echoed the CP's charges that the action was "divisive."

The demonstration, however, was marked by a spirited sense of unity. Unfortunately, one minor incident did occur when Maoists of the Partito Comunista (Marxista-Leninista) Italiano unsuccessfully tried to rip down banners carried by members of the Fourth International as the Trotskyist contingent entered the Vigorelli stadium rally site.

The program at the stadium consisted of speakers, films, and music, and the rally lasted late into the night.

Speakers from the major Maoist groups and from the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari addressed the rally. Other speakers included representatives from the revolutionary forces in Indochina, Vernon Bellecourt from the American Indian Movement, and Sid Peck from the U.S. People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. A message of solidarity was read from the U.S. National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee.

The following morning, May 13, the Fourth International sponsored a lively meeting attended by 800 people. Daniel Bensaid of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International, and Livio Maitan, representing the Fourth International, gave the major speeches. Talks were also presented on the recent workers struggles at Renault in Paris and at Fiat in Turin, and on the Italian immigrant workers movement in Switzerland.

Seattle groups denounce NCLC attacks

By SCOTT BREEN

SEATTLE—On May 14 the Black Panther Party (BPP) sponsored a meeting here to condemn the campaign of physical attacks and disruption the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) is carrying out against radical organizations. Present were members of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), Fanshen Bookstore, Revolutionary Union, Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), Socialist Workers Party, International Socialists, and Progressive Labor Party.

The meeting followed several weeks of NCLC harassment of people selling the BPP newspaper. On May 14 there was a scuffle between several members of NCLC and BPP at the University of Washington.

On May 11, 15 NCLC members came to a YSA-sponsored panel on African liberation struggles. The meeting was well protected by a defense guard, however, and the NCLC goons made no attempt to disrupt.

About 20 NCLC members, some armed with clubs, attempted to disrupt a conference of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ) on the weekend of May 12-13. After knocking down a minister they departed, and the meeting continued.

All groups at the BPP meeting denounced the NCLC's policy of violence and agreed on the necessity of defending themselves against the NCLC's hooligan attacks. Elmer Dixon of the BPP said the Panthers will come to the defense of anyone in the movement attacked by the NCLC.

A broad list of individuals has endorsed a statement urging "all supporters of democratic rights to repudiate these hooligan tactics and come to the defense of all groups . . . threatened with NCLC hooligans."

Signers include Lyla Foggia, University of Washington Associated Students Women's Commission; UW YSA; Mary Stone, Third World Women's Coalition; Giovanni Costigan, UW professor and longtime antiwar activist; Rick Rosales, councilman for the American Indian Student Association; Ike Alexander, former student body vice-president; the BPP; the VVAW; and many others.

The National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) has scheduled a conference in Seattle for May 23-26. In response to their request a number of groups, including the CP, Young Workers Liberation League, YSA, BPP, NWRO, and PCPJ, met May 22 and agreed to a united defense of the conference.

NEW YORK—On May 18 a letter was left at the Upper West Side offices of the SWP. The letter, dated May 19 and addressed to the Political Committee of the SWP, says in part, "The recent activity of the Seattle Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, namely the menacing of NCLC members at a meeting set up for scab support of the Communist Party, U.S.A., deserves only the fate appropriate to the crime. . . ."

"The SWP has six days from the date of this letter to communicate to the National Caucus of Labor Committees your repudiation of the scurrilous activity of your Seattle appendage, NCLC."

NPAC, SMC urge support

Antiwar rally set for D.C. June 16

WASHINGTON, D.C., May 21—The National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee announced today that they are joining the call for a national demonstration in Washington, D.C., June 16, to protest the war in Southeast Asia.

The date was originally proposed by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice. Abe Bloom, a national coordinator of NPAC, stated, "We welcome the People's Coalition's initiative in calling the demonstration, and we look forward to building a united action with them."

NPAC will build the demonstration on the basis of the demands, "End the Bombing of Cambodia Now! U.S. Entirely Out of Southeast Asia Now!" It is urging all its local affiliates to begin organizing immediately to bring people out on June 16.

Bloom pointed out that more than 100,000 tons of bombs have been dropped on Cambodia since the "cease-fire" was signed. Reconnaissance flights have been resumed over Hanoi. Minesweeping operations have been suspended, and more than 20,000 U.S. military personnel disguised as civilians are stationed in South Vietnam.

Bloom stated, "Nixon has no legal or constitutional right to bomb the people of Cambodia. But he doesn't

care. His Watergate mentality leads him to believe he can commit the most flagrant crimes against humanity to maintain the most corrupt and degenerate regimes—and get away with it.

"The American people," Bloom said, "want an end now to the U.S. war against the peoples of Indochina. And they want an end now to the inflated high prices and cutbacks in spending for social needs, caused by military spending."

Chuck Petrin, national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee, underscored the importance of the June 16 demonstration in the context of the Watergate scandal. He detailed the government's harassment of the antiwar movement in its attempt to turn back the tide of opposition to the war, noting the attempt to railroad Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo to jail.

Petrin said, "As the Pentagon papers revealed, the antiwar movement has been a constant and powerful—and at times terrifying—factor in the minds of the warmakers."

"Accordingly, Watergate conspirator and ex-White House aide John Dean's main job was to keep an eye on radical groups. Undercover agents and provocateurs were readily hired to spy on and disrupt the antiwar movement. G. Gordon Liddy was reportedly paid

\$100,000 to infiltrate demonstrations at the Democratic and Republican conventions."

He also pointed to Nixon's distortion of public reaction to the mining of Vietnamese ports and the bombing of North Vietnam through the use of bogus telegrams and phone calls declaring support for Nixon's policies.

For further information contact NPAC at 1346 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Room 1122, Washington, D.C. 20036. Telephone: (202) 293-3855.



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Issues in New York mayoral campaign

Is Badillo a 'lesser evil' candidate?

By DOUG JENNESS

NEW YORK, May 20 — As the June 4 Democratic and Republican Party primaries draw near, the news media here is focusing its attention on the Democratic contenders. The Democratic candidates for mayor are:

City Controller Abraham Beame, who is backed by the city's Central Labor Council and is considered to be the front-runner;

Congressman Mario Biaggi, an ex-cop whose campaign has been plagued with scandals;

State Assemblyman Albert Blumenthal, who is backed by the New Democratic Coalition (the most influential reform group in the party);

Congressman Herman Badillo, the highest elected Puerto Rican official in the U.S.

Badillo has not received much backing from the established Democratic clubs, not even the reform clubs. However, he has been endorsed by the editors of *The Amsterdam News*, a prominent Black weekly published in Harlem. Many news commentators have referred to Badillo as the "radical" candidate in the race.

During an interview this week with Norman Oliver, who is running a

man in city hall."

Oliver went on to explain that any Democratic administration — whether it is run by a Black mayor like Kenneth Gibson in Newark or a Puerto Rican like Badillo in New York — will conduct its affairs in the interests of the banks, insurance companies, construction companies, real estate companies, and other big businesses.

"As long as politicians like Badillo operate inside the Democratic or Republican parties, they can make promises from now until doomsday but the big moneyed interests will be tied to city hall by hundreds of threads. That's because these parties are financed and controlled by these interests.

"But what about the specific planks in Badillo's platform?" I asked. "Don't they include suggestions that would improve the conditions in the city?"

"No," Oliver insisted. "His speeches and literature are carefully tailored to the needs of a person who wants to present himself as a 'responsible' leader.

"For example, his main piece of campaign literature, entitled 'Yes, we can save New York City,' places the demand for more cops first."

Oliver showed me the brochure. I read through the section advocating ways of reforming the police force in order to get more cops into the communities. The last paragraph of the section declared, "I am also not afraid to question why we spend more in New York City on retirement benefits for city employees than we do on police protection."

"Badillo's position on the cops isn't much different from the law and order statements the other Democratic mayoralty candidates are making," Oliver said. "Who does he think the cops protect? Certainly not Blacks or Puerto Ricans. Not strikers demanding higher wages.

"Just a few weeks ago a cop in Queens gunned down a 10-year-old Black youth. And that was only one of many incidents of police brutality in this city. What kind of police protection is this?"

"But the cops do protect somebody," he added. "They protect the private property owners, especially the ones who own lots of property. The badges cops wear ought to bear the inscription: 'I solemnly pledge to protect private property.' At least that would be honest.

"We don't need any more of the present kind of cops. To end police brutality in Black and Puerto Rican neighborhoods we have to get rid of the present cops, select our own, and supervise them ourselves."

"What does Badillo say about inflation and unemployment—the key problems facing working people in New York and throughout the country?" I asked.

"There's nothing in his literature about inflation," Oliver replied. "But you can see for yourself what he says about jobs in this brochure.

"His only plank on the question calls for ending the training programs for unemployed workers, which he considers too expensive, and hiring graduates directly from high schools into civil service jobs.

"This is more of a cruel joke than a serious proposal to fight unemployment. There are tens of thousands of unemployed in this city who are in neither high school nor college and need jobs now. What does he propose for them?"

"One way he may be counting on



Militant/John Lauritsen

Norman Oliver at funeral of 10-year-old Clifford Glover, who was gunned down by New York cop. Badillo's position on police is the same as 'law and order' rhetoric of other Democrats.

to create more jobs is if the Lyons bill is adopted. This bill, supported by Badillo, would bar workers in the suburbs from holding civil service jobs in New York City. Unlike Badillo, I'm totally opposed to this law. I think it's narrow-minded and provincial. It's not an effective way of combating unemployment.

"My party's program for unemployment calls for a crash public works program that would provide thousands of jobs by building socially necessary projects such as hospitals, schools, parks, and low-income housing. The required funds would come from increased corporate taxes and state and federal funds.

"We also call for a shorter workweek, with no reduction in pay, in order to help spread the available work around.

"I would like to add" Oliver said, "that Badillo's platform doesn't include anything on education. This is particularly revealing because one of the most prominent struggles of Puerto Ricans in the city during the past year has been for better education.

"Last December Puerto Rican parents joined Black parents in East Harlem in a boycott to protest budget cutbacks. This spring, Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents joined together in a struggle to try to reelect a school board on the Lower East Side. The program of the parents' slate called for a substantially larger budget, greater control by parents in the community over supervisory personnel, and more bilingual and bicultural programs.

"Badillo hasn't had anything to say about this widely publicized and important struggle against racist education. If he wants to help Puerto Ricans, he should support this struggle for greater community control over Puerto Rican schools."

I asked Oliver where Badillo stands on the question of independence for Puerto Rico. "He opposes independence. He has the active support in this election campaign of the present Commonwealth government, which favors continuing the present colonial status. This government has also jailed pro-independence fighters.

"On several occasions I have heard him say that Puerto Rico has solved most of the problems that plague New York City. And because he is from Puerto Rico, he says, he is therefore especially qualified to solve problems here. This is pure bunk.

"A person doesn't have to be an expert on Puerto Rico to know that it has very serious economic and social problems, which are caused by U.S. domination. These include a very high unemployment rate and skyrocketing inflation."

"Do any radical organizations back Badillo?" I asked.

"The U.S. section of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party strongly opposes Badillo," Oliver answered, "on the grounds that he is the candidate of a capitalist party. An editorial in the PSP paper *Claridad* states that they will only support socialist candidates.

On Saturday, June 2, Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for mayor of New York, and other SWP candidates will be speaking at street rallies around the city. If you would like to help, contact the central campaign office at 982-4966. The schedule of meetings is:

BROOKLYN

11 a.m.: Albee Square (Fulton and Bond St.)

UPPER WEST SIDE MANHATTAN

11 a.m.: 110 St. and Broadway

12 noon: Amsterdam Ave. and 105 Street

12:30 p.m.: 125 St. and 7th Avenue

LOWER MANHATTAN

1 p.m.: 6th Ave. and 8th St.

1:30 p.m.: Delancey and Clinton Sts.

We, of course, hope they will endorse our ticket.

"The Puerto Rican Independence Party group in New York City also opposes Badillo.

"As far as I know, the only radical organization giving support to Badillo is the Communist Party, even though it announced a ticket of its own a couple of months ago.

"In wrapping up this interview, I'd like to say that any working person—Black, Puerto Rican, white, male or female—who compares my program to Badillo's, will see that mine speaks far more to their needs and concerns, and supports their struggles to improve their lives."



Herman Badillo



The Democratic Party is financed and controlled by the people who profit from slum housing like this.

vigorous campaign for mayor on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, I asked what he thought about the Badillo candidacy.

"If Badillo is as radical as some reporters say," I asked, "why don't you support him in the primaries?"

"Before explaining why I don't think his campaign is at all radical, I'd like to give Badillo a little credit where credit is due," Oliver answered. "When my party's presidential ticket was ruled off the Ohio ballot last year, Badillo protested this undemocratic move by the Ohio officials.

"If attempts are made (and they usually are) by New York City officials to challenge the SWP's ballot rights in this fall's election, we'll call on him again to add his voice to the protests."

"But why don't you think his campaign is radical?" I asked.

"The central problem with Badillo is that he has hitched his political career to the Democratic Party. As the Bronx Borough president from 1965 to 1969 and as a congressman since 1969, he has served as a Democratic Party officeholder. Now he wants to be the Democratic Party's

Chicano candidate wins place on Illinois ballot

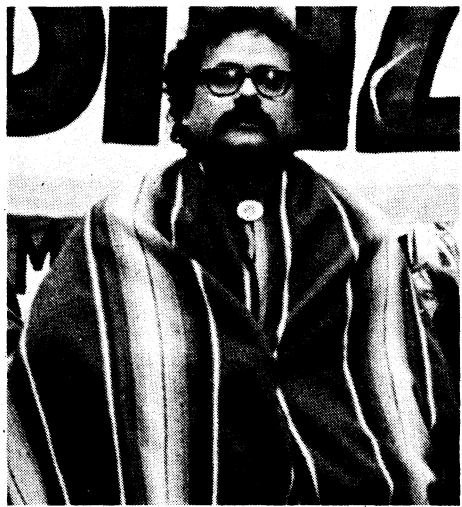
By TONY DeLEON

CHICAGO—Angel Moreno, an independent Chicano candidate for Congress in Chicago's 7th C.D., has been informed that his name will be on the ballot here in a June 5 special election.

Moreno, chairman of the Illinois Raza Unida Party, termed his ballot status "a victory for all independent candidates."

Chicago election laws, under Democratic Mayor Richard Daley, make it extremely difficult for an independent candidate to get on the ballot. For example, in this special election (called to fill a vacancy caused by the death of Democratic incumbent George Collins) Moreno needed to submit nominating petitions bearing signatures of 5 percent of the district's registered voters, or 6,700 names, to be on the ballot. His Democratic and Republican party opponents, however, faced almost insignificant signature requirements to be on the ballot.

Although 200,000 Chicanos live in the 7th C.D., the highest number of Chicanos living in any of Chicago's congressional districts, many do not speak English. Many are not citizens. And only 13,000 are registered voters.



Paul Obis

Angel Moreno marching in Jan. 20 anti-war demonstration in Chicago.

These facts mean that Daley's election laws make it doubly hard for an independent Chicano candidate to meet all the requirements for ballot status. On March 5, Moreno filed the petitions his supporters were able to collect—which included the names of 596 qualified voters.

Attorneys for the DePaul Law Clinic, with assistance from the Committee for Democratic Election Laws, prepared a law suit against the Cook County clerk, Stanley Kusper, and the Chicago board of elections commissioners. The suit challenged the signature requirement as unconstitutional.

Just as the suit was about to be filed, Moreno's attorneys were told it was unnecessary because Moreno had been granted ballot status.

The reason given by election officials was that despite the self-evident failure to meet signature requirements, Moreno's petitions had not been challenged within the five-day period allowed by law.

The attorneys felt the city had taken this action to avoid a challenge to existing statutes. Last year, two lawsuits on behalf of Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party candidates invalidated the Illinois loyalty oath and an Illinois "distribution" requirement for signatures.

Moreno's campaign has received the endorsement of the Organization of Latin Students (OLAS) on several campuses, El Cuadro at the University of Illinois Circle Campus, and the Latin American Defense Organization (LADO). Moreno says he will use the expanded campaign opportunities his ballot status gives him to organize support activities for the United Farm Workers Union and the boycott called by striking workers against Farah pants. In addition, he is using his campaign to expose the discrimination against Spanish-speaking Chicanos in Chicago.

'Pancho' Cruz: victim of government frame-up

Eduardo "Pancho" Cruz was sentenced Dec. 14, 1971, to seven years in a maximum-security prison for alleged possession of an "explosive substance." The evidence used against him consisted of a white powder, three empty packs of cigarettes, and some watches. Cops found these items in Cruz's car and claimed they were materials for constructing a bomb.

The prosecution never proved that the powdery substance was an explosive. Instead, according to the Eduardo Cruz Defense Committee, the state focused its case mainly on the Puerto Rican activist's advocacy of independence for Puerto Rico. Cruz was accused of belonging to a Puerto Rican "terrorist" organization called MIRA (Movimiento Izquierda Revolucionaria Armada—Movement of Armed Left Revolutionaries).

Cruz, a former prelaw student at the City College of New York, was a founder of PRISA, a Puerto Rican student organization, and a leader of the City College student strike in 1968. The charges, brought against him by Assistant District Attorney John Fine, are strikingly similar to those in the case of the Puerto Rican nationalist Carlos Feliciano, in which Fine was also involved.

Cruz is now being held in the Great Meadows maximum-security prison in

New York. In February of this year, following a two-day prison protest by fellow inmates, he was placed in solitary confinement as a "ringleader" of the action.

While in prison Cruz totally lost sight in one eye after being denied adequate medical treatment. It has now been disclosed that he has been singled out for a transfer to the Dannemora "treatment center" in upstate New York. At Dannemora, prisoners are subjected to experiments with drugs that may damage the brain. They also receive electric shock treatments supposedly aimed at accelerating "rehabilitation."

Defense attorney Mark Amsterdam filed an appeal of Cruz's sentence on May 8, charging that prejudicial tactics employed by the prosecution had prevented a fair trial. Among these was Fine's illegal wiretapping of phone conversations between one of the defense lawyers and several witnesses.

According to *Claridad*, newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, 200 people demonstrated at the Manhattan court, demanding that Cruz be freed, when Amsterdam presented the appeal.

Those interested in helping with his defense should contact the Eduardo Cruz Defense Committee, Box 71, Peck Slip Station, New York, N.Y. 10038.

Campaigning for Socialism

YOUNG SOCIALISTS JOIN FIGHT FOR STUDENT CONTROL OF CAMPUS NEWSPAPER:

Students at the University of Washington in Seattle are demanding the firing of Bryan Tagas, editor of the *Daily*, the campus newspaper. During three hours of testimony at Board of Student Publications hearings May 14, Tagas was charged with racism and incompetence.

Young Socialists for Honts, supporters of SWP mayoral candidate Craig Honts, have issued a statement calling for student election of the news-



Craig Honts

Militant/Shelby Harris

paper editor and the publications board, and urging that Tagas be fired.

The type of campus newspaper needed, the statement says, is one that "students can turn to and use as a tool in fighting for student-faculty control of the University, in struggling against sexism and racism, in fighting the cutbacks in education and rising tuition."

Among the charges against Tagas listed in the Young Socialists statement are the following:

"During Chicano Week, an ad appeared in the *Daily* attacking the lettuce boycott and slandering Cesar Chavez. Tagas refused to allow Chicanos, unable to pay the \$120, to reply. . . .

"Did the *Daily* in any way attempt to defend the Indians occupying Wounded Knee? No.

"Did the *Daily* help students organize to get the ERA passed? No. In fact it printed an ad attacking the ERA by the Young Americans for Freedom . . . and refused the Women's Commission space to refute it, so that the Commission was forced to raise \$200 for an ad."

SAN DIEGO SOCIALIST BLASTS EDUCATION CUTBACKS:

Holbrook Mahn, SWP candidate for San Diego school board in District C, spoke before 800 students, parents, and teachers at an open school board hearing May 15. Most of those present had come to protest the firing of 134 teachers as part of federal and city cutbacks.

Before the hearing, 150 teachers gathered in Martin Luther King Park for a rally and then marched three blocks to O'Farrell Junior High School. They picketed in front of the school and then marched inside for the hearings.

Representatives from Morse High School's United Students of Asian Heritage and the Associated Student Body president spoke against the firing of one Black teacher and one Asian teacher.

In a statement distributed at the hearings by SWP campaign support-

ers, Mahn blasted the school administration for the racist nature of its firings. He pointed out that "at Morse High School, which is 52 percent Black, Chicano, or Asian, only nine out of 116 teachers are Black, Chicano, or Asian."

The statement called for "student, parent, and teacher control of the hiring and firing" and for preferential hiring to increase the number of Black, Chicano, and Asian teachers.

DETROIT MEETING SAYS, 'LET DIXON SPEAK!':

An attempt to exclude Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Detroit, from a candidate's meeting May 17 failed after an appeal by Dixon to the audience.

The North Detroit Coalition (NDC), a group of liberal Democrats, had called the meeting to "politically inform the community" of the views of prospective candidates. But when the NDC received a request from the SWP campaign committee for Dixon to speak, the group said it "had decided not to invite any 'minor' candidates."

Just before the meeting began, Dixon approached Al Fishman, the chairman. Fishman again refused to let him speak, despite the fact that Dixon is an officially certified mayoral candidate. Instead, he said Dixon could participate in the question period.

Dixon then stood up on a chair and addressed the audience, saying, "I am a candidate for mayor and it is my democratic right to speak and your democratic right to hear."

Fishman appealed to a custodian to "throw him out," but the custodian refused. Shouts of "Let him speak!" and "He's a candidate, let him speak!" came from the audience.

Fishman backed down and Dixon was allowed to participate in the panel. Other mayoral candidates speaking included Democrat Coleman Young, attorney Ken Cockerel, and Republican Ed Bell.

Earlier in the week Dixon spoke to 300 students at Grove High School. Thirty people signed up to be on the campaign mailing list, and four asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

SCHERR KEYNOTES CAMPUS WOMEN'S LIBERATION CONFERENCE:

Two hundred people came to a conference on "A Woman's Space, Not A Woman's Place," called by Oxford Women's Liberation at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, on May



Roberta Scherr

Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

19. Roberta Scherr, SWP candidate for mayor of Cleveland, delivered the main address.

Scherr also led a workshop on "Feminism and Socialism" at the conference. Three women at this workshop decided to join the YSA.

—PETER SEIDMAN

American cities in decay

International Socialist Review. New York. June 1973. 50 cents.

Urban life in America, most city dwellers will agree, is a continual offense to the optical, auditory, and (especially) olfactory nerves. Most Americans—about three-fourths of the total population—are directly exposed to the deteriorating quality of life in the cities on a day-to-day basis. Urban conditions are steadily growing worse in the world's wealthiest society, and even the most brazen public officials cannot claim to perceive a "light at the end of the tunnel." Small wonder, then, that the "urban crisis" is such a major focus of American domestic politics.

The *International Socialist Review* has devoted its June issue to an in-depth examination of this monumental social problem. The lead article, "Cities in Decay" by Ernest Harsch, provides a historical background to the urbanization process, a detailed accounting of present conditions, and—most significantly—a Marxist analysis of how the impending catastrophe

Magazines

can be averted. Harsch covers every important aspect of the crisis: housing, pollution, unemployment, crime, the police, poverty, education, drug addiction, transit, health care, and more.

In the same issue, Dick Roberts, Socialist Workers Party candidate for New York controller, provides an excellent exposure of the fraudulent claim that the cities are "going broke." He shows the relatively new techniques that the masters of high finance—under cover of "public" corporations—are using to squeeze tremendous profits out of the "bankrupt" cities. Using New York City as a case study, Roberts also demonstrates that the city's elected officials act very much like American variants of the *Lon Nol* species; that is, as puppets for the powerful financial institutions.

Since municipal elections are scheduled for the fall in many cities, socialists and others who wish to challenge the capitalist candidates will find this special issue of the *ISR* timely and helpful.

Copies of the *ISR* are available from International Socialist Review, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. —JIM CUMMINGS



Striking workers in Durban, South Africa, in February 1973.

African liberation

Pan African Notes. Vol. 3, Number 1, summer 1973. Published by Pan African Students Organization in the Americas. 50 cents each.

Pan African Notes is the quarterly magazine of the Pan African Students Organization in the Americas (PASOA). PASOA is a New York-based group composed largely of African students studying in the U.S.

In the summer edition, Eshetu Chole writes about "The Myth of African Socialism." In his well-documented article, Chole thoroughly debunks this nonmaterialist concept.

"African socialism" denies the existence of economic classes in African societies. By this "logic," since there are no classes, there is no class struggle, and so scientific socialism, or Marxism, is dismissed as a "European ideology." "African socialists" favor recreating "traditional African values and ways of life."

Another article, "Revolutionary Struggle in Africa: An Overview" by Alem Habtu, an African student studying in New York, also

Magazines

discusses aspects of "African socialism" and a complementary, but lesser known theory of the "African personality." This "theory" holds that Africans have a "naturally cooperative and communal" personality.

Both Chole's and Habtu's articles prove that these "theories", held by some Pan-Africanists and African leaders, are false.

According to Habtu, by the eleventh century, "Africa was already divided into two major classes: first, the privileged class comprising the politico-military rulers, the priests and priestesses, and the merchants; second, the oppressed class of peasants, herdsmen, craftsmen, mine workers, and slaves. It is precisely this undeniable fact of class differentiation, class antagonism, class contradiction which made the European slave trade a practical proposition. . . . How can the 'personality' of these traitors be mystically equated or liberally lumped together with that of the African peasants and workers who waged a heroic resistance against the European slavers and their home-grown accomplices?"

Chole points out that the logic of "African socialism" leads its supporters into capitulation to capitalism and "little or nothing is said that would smack of the usual socialist hostility to free enterprise and private ownership."

Both writers conclude that African leaders, pursuing "African socialism," "have not significantly changed the structures they inherited [from colonialism], structures which were essentially capitalist."

Also in this issue is a speech given by Owusu Sadaukai, national chairman of the African Liberation Support Committee, in which he outlines the attitude that Afro-Americans should have toward the African liberation struggle, and our responsibilities to the struggle of Afro-Americans.

"Our second responsibility," Sadaukai points out, "is to tie in concretely for the masses of our people the relationship between the developing war in Africa and the rampant oppression against our people here in this country. We must move not just because we are brothers and sisters, we must move because in a real way what is happening in Africa is also happening to us here. . . . in a very real way, when you spent 475 million dollars so that the Portuguese can drop bombs on our people in Angola and in Guinea-Bissau and in Mozambique, and you reach over with the other hand and cut the school lunch program that our children depend upon, that is a real connection."

Copies of the summer and other issues of *Pan African Notes* can be obtained by sending 50 cents per copy to: P. O. Box 1192, Manhattanville Station, New York, N.Y. 10027. —BAXTER SMITH

'Stalin': hatchet job on Russian revolution

Stalin. Produced by the British Broadcasting Company and KCET-TV.

It's not hard to move an audience to hatred and disgust while presenting a reasonably factual account of the Stalin regime. You start out with shots of fireworks, parades, athletic exhibitions, artillery salutes, tumultuous ovations, children strewing flowers—all in honor of Stalin—while someone reads some poetry.

"O great Stalin . . .

"Thou who fructifies the earth . . .

"O thou sun reflected by millions of hearts."

You wind up with the narrator reading from Communist Party resolutions about the need for "peace among all peoples based on mutual trust," the duty of strengthening "the bonds between the peoples of the democratic camp," and the cooperation among "the brotherly peoples of the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia," while flashing scenes of the struggles for socialist

Television

democracy in these countries, and the use of Soviet troops to crush these struggles.

The two-and-a-half-hour documentary "Stalin," shown on TV May 14 and again on May 20, makes you realize how many arguments against socialism Stalin handed to the capitalist ideologists.

Like most documentaries of this type, "Stalin" lays claim to "objectivity." And the truth is that it does present two sides of the argument—Stalin's side and that of the capitalists. Stalin and his retinue of sycophants tried to present their rule as the continuation of the regime of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party in order to wrap themselves in the authority of the revolution. The propagandists of capitalism do exactly the same thing in order to discredit the revolution.

The combination of these procapitalist and pro-Stalinist falsifications of history results in a sickening production, complete with quotations taken out of context, and further falsified by the accompanying visual material.

In the process of smearing the revolution and its authentic representatives, the documentary informs us that for Stalin, "the aim of the revolution was to create a better life for those umpteen millions who some of his fellow revolutionaries didn't even regard as people."

Lenin and Trotsky are portrayed as totalitarians. In fact, we are assured that "Stalin's sole contribution to Lenin's police apparatus" came in 1934 when he engineered the repeal of the statute protecting members of the Soviet Communist Party central committee from being interrogated by the secret police.

There are some good film sequences in this latest hatchet job on the Russian revolution, but it's not worth the bad taste you're left with.

—DAVE FRANKEL

All out effort urged for final week of drive

Militant tops sales quota for second time

By NANCY COLE

MAY 23—For the second week in a row, *The Militant* sales campaign has surpassed its goal of 7,000 street sales. The total was 7,461, a new record for the drive.

Highest on the scoreboard this week is Boston, where 59 members of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party participated in sales. Their total of 708 is their highest during the campaign and the second highest record nationally. Last week they also sold 137 *Young Socialists* and 20 copies of the *International Socialist Review*.

One of their regular sales places now is Harvard Square, which accounted for 116 of last week's total. "It's one example of the spirit of our campaign," comments SWP sales director Jane Roland, "that anyone who is around Harvard Square during rush hours will inevitably see *The Militant*—we're always there."

Lower Manhattan excelled again this week with sales of 584. SWP sales director Ron Wolin reports the main selling features are Watergate and inflationary prices, and their main selling technique

is team sales centered around SWP campaign tables outside grocery and department stores.

Detroit supporters surpassed their quota by 40, and they indicate that people were extremely receptive to coverage on the African Liberation Day actions. One African student, who just recently arrived in this country, bought two *Militants* and wanted to become active in the ALD building activities.

Sales at plant gates and other work places continue to go well. At the Republic Steel and Alcoa Aluminum plants in Cleveland last week, four supporters sold 50 *Militants* in one-half hour. Disgust with the Watergate debacle and interest in *The Militant's* analysis of it accounted for the speedy sales. Oakland/Berkeley supporters added three new plants to their early morning factory sales, for a total of 101 sold at plant gates last week. Twenty people now participate in those sales each week.

San Diego supporters sold 57 at a united demonstration of teachers and high school students protesting budget cuts and the firing of teachers. They also sold 13 at an American Federation of Teachers workshop on women's rights.

As the weather warms up excellent new opportunities arise for sales. While Seattle made their quota last week with 274 sold, they are doing even better this week having already sold 335 at a street fair. San Francisco sold 50 last week at a Latino cultural parade. And Twin Cities supporters sold 100 *Militants* a couple of weeks ago at events organized for high school students to raise money for charity.

With only two weeks left, most areas are going all out to wind up the campaign with their biggest sales ever. To spur this effort on, three areas have challenged all others to sell the most of the current issue—dated June 1—the last one in the campaign. They are Boston, Lower Manhattan, and Oakland/Berkeley. Individual sales pledges from supporters in the Oakland/Berkeley area already total 835, and incentives in Lower Man-

hattan include a challenge from one salesperson to outsell everyone else. All three of these areas agree that the way they plan to make their goals is to have as many supporters as possible out selling all week.

Let's go all out in this final week of the sales campaign!

Militant scoreboard

AREA	SOLD LAST WEEK	WEEKLY GOAL	SOLD PREVIOUS WEEK	%
Boston	708	500	142	(554)
Lower Manhattan	584	450	130	(528)
Brooklyn	408	325	126	(340)
Phoenix	50	40	125	(50)
Philadelphia	326	275	119	(312)
Detroit	390	350	111	(325)
Denver	247	225	110	(240)
San Diego	275	250	110	(295)
Seattle	274	250	110	(229)
Chicago	543	500	109	(505)
Cleveland	325	300	108	(337)
Washington, D. C.	265	250	106	(173)
Atlanta	315	300	105	(365)
Austin	153	150	102	(150)
Oakland/Berkeley	509	500	102	(618)
Central New Jersey	32	32	100	(*)
Nashville	40	40	100	(40)
St. Cloud	20	20	100	(*)
Storrs	15	15	100	(15)
Upper West Side	360	400	90	(400)
San Francisco	403	500	81	(340)
Twin Cities	285	350	81	(399)
Houston	400	500	80	(500)
Los Angeles	350	450	78	(452)
Portland	145	200	73	(170)
Hartford	15	35	43	(19)
Long Island	18	45	40	(*)
Waterbury	6	20	30	(*)
TOTAL SOLD LAST WEEK	7,461			
GOAL	7,000			
(* no report)				



Picasso's opposition to socialist realism

By DAVE PRINCE

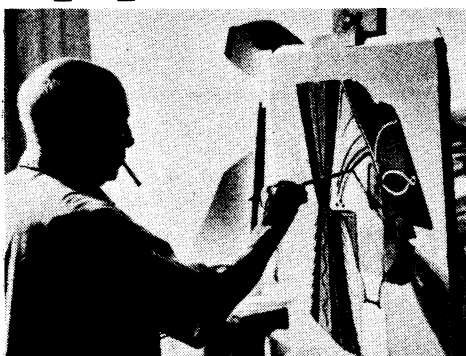
Pablo Picasso, one of the most significant and controversial artists of the twentieth century, died April 8 at his home in Mougins, France. During his long and productive life he experimented with and used virtually every medium and technique. With Georges Braque, he was a creator of cubism.

Picasso found inspiration in the traditions of Greek, Roman, and African art. In subject matter he ranged from mythology, fantasy, and dreams, to bull fights, still lifes, faces, and the human figure. His famous painting "Guernica," and other works, protested the horrors of modern war.

In 1944 Picasso joined the French Communist Party, which he remained associated with until his death. However, the relationship was not always an easy one. While the Stalinists were always happy to call attention to his membership, they were often hostile to his art, which violated the dictates of "socialist realism."

Françoise Gilot, in her book *Life With Picasso*, relates an incident that took place during the Peace Congress held in Wroclaw, Poland, in 1948. At the end of an embassy dinner, Picasso told her, "one of the Russian delegation stood up and said he was pleased to see I had come to the Congress but he went right on to say it was unfortunate that I continued to paint in such a decadent manner representative of the worst in the bourgeois culture of the West."

Picasso rose to answer this attack. "I told him that I had been reviled in Germany by the Nazis and in France during the German Occupation as a Judeo-Marxist painter, and that that kind of talk, whatever the exact terms, always cropped up at



bad moments in history and came from people nobody had much respect for."

Picasso opposed the crushing of the 1956 Hungarian revolution by the Soviet army. Following the invasion he, together with a number of French writers, artists, and actors, signed an open letter of protest to the Communist Party.

'Guernica'

Even "Guernica" embarrassed the Stalinists. Phillip Bonosky, assessing a retrospective Picasso show in the March 3, 1972, *Daily World*, a paper reflecting the views of the Communist Party USA, wrote, "the man-in-the-street . . . felt at a loss to understand ["Guernica"]. That Picasso wanted to indict the fascists for the destruction of the Spanish village of Guernica was obvious. But how, by these apparently disjointed symbols of bulls' heads, electric lights, disembodied eyes, heads of horses and of women, was he doing it?"

Picasso's death apparently has somewhat softened Bonosky's opinion of "Guernica." In a tribute to Picasso in the April 10 *Daily World*, he writes: "When the fascists attacked Spain, he

made his herculean efforts to bridge the gap between the assumptions of 'modernism,' which he found severely limited, to the demand of life upon the artist to intervene directly in life.

"Guernica" was the result." It is a 'remarkable work.'

What before he disliked because it was "modern" he now likes because it is an attempt to reject "modernism."

Of course, Bonosky has a right to his opinion and to change it. But he is a supporter of bureaucratic control over art—the school of "socialist realism." The attempt by this Stalinist, and others of his school, to give now the appearance of tolerant acceptance of Picasso's art, with explanations, is just another example of their crudity.

This "liberal" attitude toward Picasso, who has become a symbol of experimentation in art, is a weak anti-

dote for the redoubled efforts of the Kremlin to stamp out all artistic expression that doesn't suit the Soviet bureaucracy's taste.

Picasso's work has always excited partisan and passionate opinions—about his role in the history of art; about the value of one period of his work as compared with another; about the quality of a particular piece. In his many and varied creations one can always find things that strike a responsive chord. The spirit of experimentation that has permeated Picasso's art will be a good one for the artists of the socialist future.

Without the straitjacket of the Stalinist bureaucracies, and of moribund capitalism and imperialism, we can expect that the free, critical atmosphere of socialist society will open new and as yet unimagined vistas in the development of culture.



At Picasso's home actor Yves Montand (left) argues with Georges Tabaraud, representing Le Patriote, an official French CP newspaper, about the 1956 Soviet invasion of Hungary. Montand, actress Simone Signoret (second from left), Picasso (right), and others had signed an open letter to the CP protesting the invasion.

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...agent

Continued from page 4

All the evidence points to a conspiracy of violence and frame-up against the antiwar and radical movements of far greater proportions than shown by the partial disclosures so far.

These disclosures also indicate, however, the ways in which the antiwar and radical movements can frustrate the efforts of these agents. It was easy for police agents to take over and destroy groups, like the Weathermen, committed to individual terrorist actions. However, despite repeated efforts, these agents were helpless to seriously discredit or disrupt the massive antiwar demonstrations that have had such an impact on this country.

Through *political* actions involving large numbers of people, such as the antiwar movement, it was possible to clearly put the blame for violence—both in Vietnam and in this country—on the U.S. ruling class, where it belongs.

Such actions as bombings, on the other hand, play into the hands of the ruling class and its police. They open the movement to repression and alienate the masses of the American people.

...W'gate

Continued from page 5

Archibald Cox will become another important forum for shoring up confidence in the government's ability to reform itself and drive out the sinners. He can be expected to play a role similar to that of Sam Ervin in keeping faith in the two-party system alive.

However, Cox is already terribly compromised. While he declares his intention to "get to the bottom" of the Watergate crimes, he has repeatedly stated that he has no intention of questioning the number one suspect—Nixon!

Furthermore, according to the May

23 *New York Post*, Cox "has conceded that he may have to isolate himself from some phases of the investigation because of his brother's attorney-client relationship with billionaire Howard Hughes.

"Cox's brother Maxwell is a New York attorney who said last night he has represented Hughes for 12 years."

The involvement of Hughes in the Watergate affair has recently come to light. A Hughes representative wrote out a blank check as a donation to the Committee to Re-elect the President. Shortly thereafter, a White House burglary team tried to steal records from the safe of a Las Vegas publisher. The records, it has been reported, were damaging to Hughes. McCord has testified that Hughes even offered to supply the burglary team with a getaway airplane. (Needless to say, the Ervin committee sleuths were reluctant to follow up with questions on this matter.)

According to the *Post*, Cox said "that he was not previously aware that Hughes, who now lives in London, had been a long-time supporter of Nixon or that his money had figured in his campaigns."

Elliot Richardson is Cox's boss. Richardson is Nixon's new attorney general, the country's top "law enforcement" officer. He too has been caught lying in this scandal.

He knew about but failed to expose White House aide Egil Krogh's cover-up of CIA involvement in the burglary of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office. Richardson neglected to mention this in a statement he prepared for Pentagon papers trial judge Matthew Byrne.

Baker, Ervin, Cox, and Richardson—these are the investigators! These men are supposed to be the most impeccable and honest figures the government can find to impartially "get to the bottom of things!" Clearly these men are corrupt. But they are no more corrupt than the system of capitalist minority rule they are working to protect.

...Seale

Continued from page 14

around the demand for Chicano control over Chicano schools and for education relevant to La Raza. Seale remained totally silent on this development.

The reason for his silence was that he had concluded that identification with militant protests would not help him in his quest to rid himself of the image of a Black militant. He feared that campaigning in support of community struggles would lose him votes, so he did not let the considerable resources of his campaign be used to aid such struggles.

Seale was out to prove that he was a "perfectly respectable Democrat," and "respectable" capitalist politicians don't organize demonstrations and boycotts.

The Seale campaign had tremendous potential to mobilize and organize the Oakland Black community to defend its own interests and build its own political power. This potential was not used. The "program" Seale advanced was indistinguishable from the rhetoric of many other capitalist politicians. He pushed some local tax and revenue ideas, and toward the end of his campaign put great stock in a scheme to bring more business to Oakland by building an international trade and cultural center.

Despite his defeat, Seale demonstrated his capacity to win support for the Democratic Party, and he is certain to win a permanent place for himself in that party. Dick Groulx, a union official and a Democratic Party power, commented in the May 8 *Oakland Tribune*, "I'll have to say he can get out the votes. We don't really have any beef with him."

And Reading himself said he hopes Seale will "continue working within the system after the election; that's one reason I have been somewhat conciliatory toward the Panthers. Seale can be a positive force in the community."

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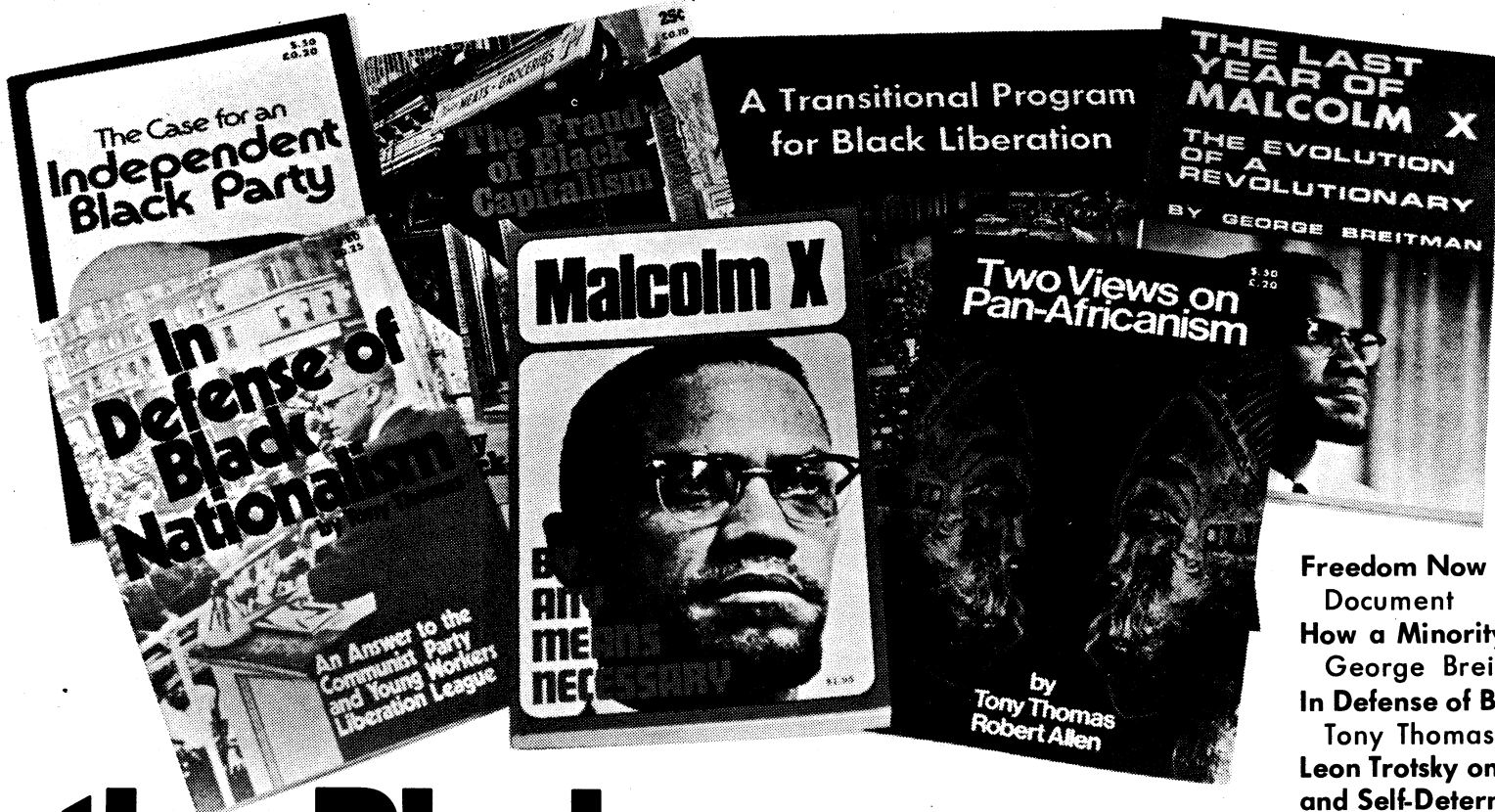
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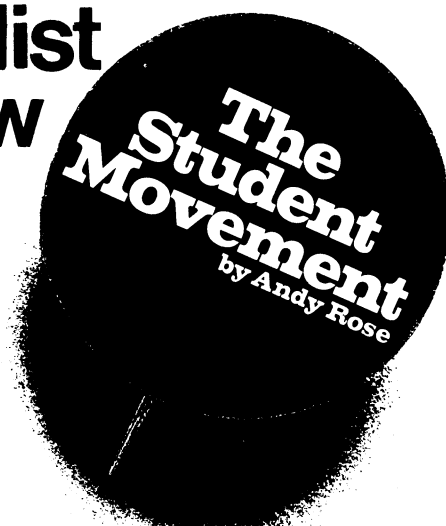
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End all U.S. support to South Africa, Portugal



Demonstrators in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) forced British to end attempt to recognize Ian Smith regime last year. Struggle against this racist white-settler state continues.

The following are major excerpts from a speech by Tony Thomas, a staff writer for *The Militant* and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party. The speech was given at the Pan-African Conference and Third World Symposium held May 3-6 at Brandeis University.

In the past few years a new wave of interest in the African revolution has spread across the Afro-American community. The African Liberation Day demonstrations and rallies set for May 26 in over 20 cities are a focus of this interest.

On one hand, this new interest was spurred by the post-World War II upsurge of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Mass struggles for national independence swept the African colonies. The goal of self-determination was achieved only in a partial and distorted form. The imperialists of Western Europe and the United States continue to dominate—both economically and politically—the nominally independent African countries.

On the other hand, the origin of the new interest in the African revolution has come out of the Black liberation struggle in this country. Afro-Americans began to take pride in their cultural and historic roots as a defense against the psychological and cultural genocide the capitalist system has attempted against our people.

The liberation struggles in Indochina helped to internationalize the struggle in the eyes of the Black community. We saw that the government we were fighting against at home was playing a similar reactionary role around the world.

U.S. imperialism was taking our tax dollars and making big cutbacks in the already meager social services in our communities in order to pay for the war against the Indochinese peoples. Blacks were sent to Vietnam to die. We began to recognize that the U.S. government's role in this country and its role abroad could not be separated.

So it is not surprising that part of the liberation struggle of Afro-

Americans, part of the response to the rise of national liberation struggles in Africa, part of the recognition of the international role of U.S. imperialism, part of the growing recognition of the African roots of Black people would be a desire to defend the African revolution and oppose U.S. complicity in the effort to stop that revolution.

The necessity of such actions can be made even more clear by reviewing the role of U.S. imperialism in Africa.

U.S. investments in Africa have mushroomed since World War II as the U.S. became the dominant imperialist power. Between 1937 and 1949, for instance, Tanzania's exports to the U.S. increased by 850 percent, those of Zambia by 3,000 percent, those of Zaire, Rwanda, and Burundi by 1,500 percent, those of Kenya and Uganda by 400 percent, those of Angola by 4,300 percent, and those of Mozambique by 1,300 percent. And these figures have continued to climb since then as the U.S. has displaced the European colonial powers in many parts of Africa.

Washington plays a politically reactionary role in Africa as it does elsewhere in the world, giving political assistance and military and economic aid to every government in the world that is threatened by revolutionary overturns.

The U.S. government—whether under Republican or Democratic administrations—has used its resources to help prop up regimes like the Haile Selassie dictatorship in Ethiopia, which is now engaged in a savagely repressive struggle against the Eritrean liberation fighters as well as against its own people. It has also given aid to the remaining colonial powers and white-settler regimes:

Spain, Portugal, Rhodesia, and South Africa.

The phenomena we call the African revolution—the desire of the peoples of Africa to throw off foreign economic domination whether it is expressed through colonialism or neocolonialism; the struggle of Africans to modernize their societies and solve pressing problems such as land reform and literacy; the desire of African workers and peasants to throw off their exploiters both African and imperialist; the struggle of oppressed nationalities for national liberation with-

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U.S. vetoes UN sanctions

NEW YORK, May 22—The United States and Great Britain today vetoed a United Nations Security Council resolution to extend the UN trade embargo to South Africa and the Portuguese colonies in Africa. At present, the embargo applies only to the white-settler state of Rhodesia.

The U.S. delegate, John Scali, argued that "to pass resolutions which are clearly unenforceable would seriously damage the reputation and credibility of the United Nations and further erode public confidence in the United Nations to act in any meaningful way." The British delegate concurred with Scali's reasoning.

The cynicism of the U.S. and British delegates' remarks is reflected in the fact that both the U.S. and Britain are chief violators of the UN sanctions.

This was the fourth time in the history of the Security Council that the U.S. has vetoed a resolution. Today's vote, however, will not affect the present sanctions, which were imposed against Rhodesia in 1965.



Robert F. Van Lierop

FRELIMO fighter in Mozambique