

THE MILITANT

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

ON-THE-SCENE REPORT

PORTUGAL IN REVOLT



Part of massive May Day rally in Lisbon. For account of demonstrations and occupations of workplaces, see page 4.

Behind Peking campaign to 'criticize Confucius'

— See World Outlook section



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SUPREME COURT VOIDS WIRETAP INFO: In a unanimous decision on May 13, the U. S. Supreme Court upheld the dismissal of a narcotics indictment against Dominic Giordano of Baltimore because evidence was gathered through illegal wiretaps. The court decision will affect some 60 other cases involving 626 defendants.

According to a 1968 law, approval of wiretap requests by the Justice Department must be made by the attorney general or a specially designated assistant attorney general. The cases in which the Supreme Court ruled that prosecution evidence could not be used are all situations in which former attorney general John Mitchell failed to do this. Mitchell had instead designated his executive assistant for the task. The court ruled that this was in violation of the law.

INDIANS PROTEST THREAT TO RELIGIOUS PRACTICES: Fourteen Indians were arrested last month in 11 Oklahoma towns by agents of the Fish and Wildlife Service. Also arrested were 14 white Indian curio dealers.

The agents seized 40,000 feathers from the defendants and charged them with breaking the Migratory Bird Treaty Act of 1918 and the Bald and Golden Eagle Protection Act of 1940. These laws make it illegal "to buy, sell, barter, or trade in migratory birds and their parts, including eagles."

Several Indian groups have expressed fears that these arrests mean the federal government is seeking to suppress the religious culture of Indians. Bird feathers play an important role in the religious life of the Indian tribes.

The National Indian Youth Council is helping to plan the defense of the 14 Indians. Six of the 14 whites have pleaded guilty to the charge, which has penalties of fines up to \$500 and imprisonment up to six months.

CHICANOS PROTEST RACIST BAR EXAMINATION: The recent Colorado Bar Association examinations have caused quite a furor in that state. The statistics show that while 61 percent of the white law students who took the test passed, only 22 percent of the Chicanos passed—and no Blacks.

On May 10, nearly 200 people, mostly Chicanos, protested the racist results of the exams in a march from the University of Denver Law School to the state capitol building. There law students and lawyers submitted a petition to the State Supreme Court demanding that the Chicanos who were flunked be admitted to the Bar.

The demonstration then proceeded to the federal building, where a suit was filed in federal court against the Bar Association and the Supreme Court. The suit charges the defendants with institutional racism and cites the results of the Bar examinations as an example of this.

At an open-mike rally following the march, a number of people spoke about the right of the Chicano community to choose for themselves who should represent them in court. Among those speaking were Ernesto Vigil, the Raza Unida Party candidate for state senate, and Nora Danielson, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Colorado.

YALE SUSPENDS SHOCKLEY PROTESTERS: Yale University suspended 11 students recently for their participation in an April protest against Dr. William Shockley. The incident occurred during a debate between the Stanford University physicist and William Rusher on Shockley's racist ideas on what he terms the "hereditary basis of intelligence." Rusher publishes the *National Review*.

The 11 students were suspended for one semester and placed on probation for the following semester.

MICHIGAN AFL-CIO HEAD BACKS STEELWORKERS: In the May 9 issue of *Michigan AFL-CIO News*, the column written by Michigan AFL-CIO President William Marshall is headlined "Dow Is Threat to All State Labor." In his column Marshall says there is a meeting scheduled for this month to map out plans "to organize a permanent organization not only to deal with the Dow situation but also to meet any future attempt by any state employer who tries union-busting tactics."

United Steelworkers Local 12075 has been on strike against Dow's Midland, Mich., plant since March. Dow officials have responded with a union-busting drive to the workers' just demand for an unlimited cost-of-living escalator clause. More than 100 union pickets have been arrested in the strike.

Commenting on the support of the state AFL-CIO, USW Regional Director Charles Younglove said, "it is high time the labor movement made up its mind that every segment of it has to stand shoulder to shoulder when any company decides to break a union."

WOMEN STUDIES DEGREE OFFERED: "It is necessary for women to study themselves as they are, to investigate the society's traditional roles for them, in order

for them to change their lives," commented Professor Barbara Rubin of Jersey City College. She is codirector with Katharine Speicher of the women's studies department in the school, which offers a degree.

Jersey City College is the first four-year college to offer such a degree, according to Professor Rubin. Students may also take a double major with a concentration in women's studies.

THOUSANDS PROTEST NIXON IN ARIZONA: While Nixon was speaking to a rally at the Veteran's Memorial Coliseum in Phoenix May 3, three thousand people were outside protesting his presence. The action was organized by a coalition of groups in the Phoenix area, many of which support Nixon's impeachment.

Following the picketing, there was a rally at which a number of Democratic Party politicians spoke. Also speaking were people from MECHA, a Chicano student organization; the United Farm Workers; and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Steve Shliveck, the YSA speaker, received a good response from the rally for his exposure of the hypocritical positions of the Democratic Party in regard to Watergate, corruption in government, and the "defense" of democratic rights. Shliveck tied the real source of corruption not to the acts of one man, one administrator, or one political party, but to the capitalist system in general.

CENSUS OFF ON SPANISH-SPEAKING PEOPLE: We've pointed out many times how suspiciously low the Census Bureau's figures are for Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other Spanish-speaking people.

Now, the Civil Rights Commission has confirmed our suspicions. In a 112-page report, they charge that the Census Bureau was negligent in 1970 in its efforts to count persons of Spanish-speaking background. The commission estimates that the Spanish-speaking population in 1970 was one-third higher than the bureau's figure.

The Census Bureau reported that there were 9.1 million people of Spanish-speaking background in 1970.

The Civil Rights Commission report says that "there is strong evidence that the Spanish-speaking background population was substantially undercounted." The report cites inadequate methods of data collecting and the lack of Spanish-speaking employees as the cause of the bureau's low figures.

UFW SUPPORTERS RALLY BEHIND BOYCOTT: Marching through Chicago's Chicano community, 500 people, mostly Chicanos, demonstrated in support of the United Farm Workers boycott of grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wine May 4. A number of the participants in the march were from Chicago's surrounding suburbs, such as Waukegan. Called by the UFW, the action was supported by other groups, including the Raza Unida Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

—NORMAN OLIVER

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Protests say: Free Chile prisoners!

By DAVE FRANKEL

Demonstrations across the country May 11 demanded an end to U.S. aid to the Chilean junta and the release of all political prisoners in Chile. The actions were part of a Chile Action Week called by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), Non-Intervention in Chile (NICH), the Medical Committee for Human Rights, Chileans for Democracy, and the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA).

In San Francisco, former U.S. senator Ernest Gruening spoke to 500 people following a spirited march through the downtown area. Many foreign students participated. Chants of "Chile Si, Junta No!" dominated the march, which began in front of the Chilean consulate.

Other speakers included Frobén Lozada, head of Chicano studies at Merritt College, representing USLA, and Gino Alfredo of NICH. Representatives of the United Farm Workers, NACLA, and International Long-

shoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 6 also spoke.

Nearly 300 people picketed the U.S. State Department offices in New York and then marched to LAN-Chile Airlines to join the Living Theater Collective in a dramatic presentation attacking the junta's bloody rule. A rally at Bryant Park was cochaired by Sam Myers, president of United Auto Workers Local 259, and Linda Wine, an Amalgamated Clothing Workers organizer and leader of USLA.

Speakers at the New York rally included Martin Garbus of the National Lawyers Guild, who had just returned from Chile, where he was an observer at a court-martial currently going on. Featured in addition were Jovelino Ramos, director of the Commission on Justice and Liberation of the National Council of Churches; Peter Camejo of the Socialist Workers Party; Henry Foner, president of the Joint Board, Fur, Leather and Machine Workers; and a representative of Chileans for Democracy.

El Grupo, a proindependence Puerto Rican entertainment group, performed at the rally, and messages of solidarity were received from Allard Lowenstein, Democratic Party candidate for U.S. Senate from New York; City Council President Paul O'Dwyer; and Congresswoman Bella Abzug.

On May 9 a New York benefit concert for Chilean refugees drew about 4,500 people and raised more than \$29,000.

In Seattle, on the previous day, about 400 people picketed the annual meeting of the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation to protest its intervention in Chilean politics.



Militant/Jon Flanders

Philadelphia, May 11. Demonstrations across country demanded release of Chile political prisoners and end to U.S. aid to junta.

About 225 people participated in a picket line at the Chilean consulate in Los Angeles, followed by a rally at Pershing Square. The demonstration was sponsored by the Coalition for the Restoration of Democracy in Chile; USLA; the Los Angeles Group on Latin American Solidarity; and NICH.

In Chicago, 200 people picketed the federal building to protest U.S. aid to the junta. A rally following the picket line was addressed by Ernest DeMaio, president of United Electrical Workers District 11.

A May 9 USLA rally at the University of Illinois Circle Campus drew 50 people to hear Hilton Hanna, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters; Marcos Muñoz, Illinois director of the UFW; and Father Gerard Grant of the Citizens Committee to Save Lives in Chile. Actions in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia,

Detroit, and Boston all drew 75 to 100 people. In Philadelphia demonstrators handed out more than 2,000 leaflets describing the repression in Chile. In Detroit the Metro Council of the Detroit AFL-CIO passed a resolution condemning the repression in Chile, especially of trade unionists, and calling for freedom for all political prisoners and an end to U.S. involvement.

Also in Detroit, the president of UAW Local 78, Angelo Adidos, spoke at a press conference May 8 on the repression in Chile, along with representatives of USLA and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Demonstrations also took place in Atlanta, Washington, D.C., St. Louis, Portland, and other cities. A demonstration is scheduled for May 18 in Cleveland.



Pickets in Detroit

N.Y. Dist. 1 school bd. race

Why activists backed community slate

By NORMAN OLIVER

I spent the afternoon of May 13—the day before the District 1 school board election—at the campaign headquarters of the Por Los Niños (For the Children) ticket on the Lower East Side of Manhattan.

The converted bar was bustling with campaign activity. There were many young people, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chinese, and whites doing volunteer work. There were also a number of teachers in the office.

I was able to speak to a number of Por Los Niños supporters and find out why they support that slate.

John Wilson, a young Black man who's been a longtime community activist and is currently unemployed, is a member of the Por Los Niños campaign staff. During a brief lull in activity, I asked him why he thought so many people in the community were becoming active in this campaign.

"Most of the people working for this campaign," Wilson said, "have a sense of making history, of being involved."

"People are more conscious. They see that this campaign has national and, in that sense, international importance because of the question of..."

"Self-determination," another campaign worker interjected.

I asked Wilson what he thought would happen if the Por Los Niños slate lost. He said, "We'd start all over again. History dictates we will

win." With that he went back to work.

"Hey folks, it's 10 to three! Time to leaflet the schools," shouted Wayne Barrett, a teacher not in a current teaching position.

A number of us in the office hopped into one of the many sound cars of the Por Los Niños campaign, which have been driving around the Lower East Side day and night drumming up support for the candidates, and went off to PS 20.

At PS 20, I asked Lus Rios, who was there to pick up her children, who she was going to vote for in the next day's school board election. My Spanish is very poor and she couldn't speak English so her nine-year-old daughter, Lus, acted as translator.

"I'm voting 'Por Los Niños,'" she

said. When asked why, she replied, "So there will be more Spanish-speaking teachers and administrators in the school. No one here speaks my language."

Lus Rios, whose husband works in Puerto Rico because he can't find a job in the States, is typical of many parents of school children in this district. They and their children, whose first language is not English, are faced with school personnel who speak only that.

One of the main campaign planks of the Por Los Niños slate is the pledge of instituting bilingual programs in the schools. The central theme of their campaign is that the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese communities have the right "to participate in the selec-

tion and evaluation of school personnel, use of funds, and selection of curricula and programs."

Screened and selected by parent organizations, the five Puerto Ricans, two Blacks, one Chinese, and one white who make up the Por Los Niños ticket are an example of this community involvement.

The "Brotherhood" slate, which opposes them, was selected by the racist Shanker gang in the United Federation of Teachers (UFT). The eight whites, one Black, and one Chinese who comprise this ticket have run a campaign of vicious slander against the Por Los Niños candidates.

The predominantly white slate, acting as a mouthpiece for UFT President Albert Shanker, has made removal of District Superintendent Luis Fuentes from his post their campaign theme.

However, because of the consistent campaigning of the Por Los Niños supporters, not all District 1 teachers have followed Shanker's racist lead.

An example of this is a letter being distributed to teachers in the district signed by more than 60 teachers and paraprofessionals, who are members of the UFT and support the Por Los Niños slate. They say that although they don't agree with all the views of the candidates, they feel their actions and program speak to the needs of both teachers and students.

One of the campaign planks these



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Shankerites disparagingly labeled pro-community-control forces 'the Fuentes band.' When supporters of 'Por Los Niños' slate wanted musical accompaniment for campaign march, they organized their own 'Fuentes Band.'

Continued on page 22

Lisbon exults at liberation from detested

From Intercontinental Press

By Gerry Foley

Lisbon

"The explosion of joy that swept the entire country yesterday has no parallel since the demonstrations at the end of the war marking the liberation of nations occupied by fascism-Nazism." That was the way *Diário de Lisboa*, the first paper to come off the press following the May 1 demonstrations, described the massive outpouring in celebration of the fall of the fascist government of Marcello Caetano.

It was a fitting analogy in more ways than one. Although the Cuban demonstrations in Havana's Plaza de la Revolución may have been bigger in absolute numbers, the joyfulness in Lisbon May 1 certainly matched it in universality. Such demonstrations can be seen only when an entire nation is liberated from a universally detested regime. The Portuguese May Day also resembled the liberation demonstrations following World War II in its political character. It was marked by the spirit of the "national democratic front," with the Communist party, apparently gaining an immediate mass following as it emerged from the underground, calling for inclusion of "all democratic forces in the government."

As in the mass movements that followed the liberation in France and Italy, the Communist party seemed clearly the politically dominant force in the May Day celebrations. The prevailing chant on the march was "O povo unido, jamais será vencido" (the people united can never be defeated), the same slogan as the one used by the Popular Unity government in Chile in the last mass demonstrations before the military coup. It was put across to the crowd in Lisbon by apparently well-coached CP cadres.

The second strongest force in the march seemed to be the Socialist party. Its members could easily be distinguished because they usually carried red flags, instead of the Portuguese national flags and the "Democracy and peace" slogans of the CP.

As for the SP, it seems to have chosen to define itself in terms like those of the left-wing of the Chilean SP, whose coalition experiment it apparently hopes to repeat. For example, point No. 5 of the SP statement of principles published in the April 29 issue of *República* said:

"Considering the Soviet socialist revolution as a fundamental turning point in the history of humanity, and taking account of the importance of the socialist revolutions carried out in China and Yugoslavia, among other countries, and also of the originality of the Popular Unity experiment in Chile, the Partido Socialista proposes a kind of socialism that would welcome and develop pluralism, with respect for human dignity, freedom of criticism, civil rights, and the organization of a state based on the rule of law."

The SP is working together with the CP and "progressive Catholics" in the MDP (Movimento Democrático Português—Portuguese Democratic Movement, sometimes called the Democratic Electoral Commission).

There was a sprinkling of other tendencies in the march—student radicals carrying banners calling for workers power, some anarchists.

The Maoist MRPP (Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado—Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian Party) covered the Praça de Rossio with placards and leaflets calling for a rally there at 7:30. Their main slogans were "Red May" and "Immediate independence for the colonies."

I noticed at the University of Lisbon in the morning of May 1 that the Maoists had put up a lot of slogans attacking the CP as "social chauvinist" for not taking a strong enough position on colonial independence. But there were no concrete slogans or demands relating to the situation in Portugal itself.

Many spontaneous, apolitical elements also participated in the march. Some young women carried posters covered with hearts and flowers calling on God to bless General Spínola.

On the other hand, also apparent-



May Day, Lisbon

ly spontaneously, some people raised the slogan "Bread, Peace, Land," in an analogy much more hopeful than *O Diário's* evocation of the post-liberation euphoria. The Russian analogy gained force, moreover, because the assembly point for the march was in a square under a huge movie theater advertising Eisenstein's "The Battleship Potemkin," the classic film commemorating the first Russian revolution, the dress rehearsal for 1917.

The march started off at 3:00 and reached the rally point, a football stadium on the outskirts of the city, at about 5:30. I waited inside the stadium grounds for an hour, but the marchers outside still stretched as far as I could see. And the march was tightly packed; the route was like an endless New York subway car in rush hour. Most participants were swept along uncontrollably. The route was lined with six-story concrete apartment buildings, most of them quite shabby-looking, with their pastel coloring faded and soiled. People were hanging out of almost every window. Most, it seemed, had draped the most beautiful piece of cloth they had from the window sill, usually what looked like fancy bedspreads.

The most popular slogans in general were peace slogans: "Peace, yes. War, no!" "End the colonial war!" and "Mozambique!"

The most deeply felt slogan was one word. The packed crowd always concentrated entirely on it when it was chanted: "Vitória, vitória!" Thousands upon thousands raised their fingers in the sign of victory.

As I watched the marchers file into the stadium, I saw many more banners and slogans. One said: "Better to die defending the truth than live spreading the lie." Another reminded: "10,000 patriots still in prison in Angola." One said: "Down with the concordat [with the Vatican]." There were many calling for the right to strike

and for democratic education.

As the sun started going down and the crowd kept coming in endlessly, I decided to leave early so as not to be trapped indefinitely by the crowd.

The sidewalks all around were almost as crowded, and the streets were jammed with cars bumper-to-bumper, all sounding their horns with a code for "o povo unido, jamais será vencido." The whole city seemed caught up in an enormous cacaphony that I could hear from my hotel until 3:00 a.m.

Very few of the crowd could have heard the speakers at the rally. They said some things, according to the report of the May 2 *O Diário de Lisboa*, that were true enough. Francisco Pereira de Moura of the MDP warned of the possibility of fascism returning, because "the basis of fascism is capitalism."

After forty years of fascism, the cosy relationship between the fascist government and big business is obvious to most Portuguese. The demand for an end to capitalism arises as naturally as it did in other European countries after the defeat of fascism. But there is no indication, despite occasional oratorical flights by CP and SP speakers, that any visible force intends to fight for socialism by calling on the workers to organize independently on a political basis to fight for their interests, to trust only in their strength and not in any bourgeois savior.

For example, the CP leaflet that was distributed to publicize the demonstration said:

"— Let us affirm our support for the Armed Forces.

"— Let us affirm our support for the democratic transformation in progress."

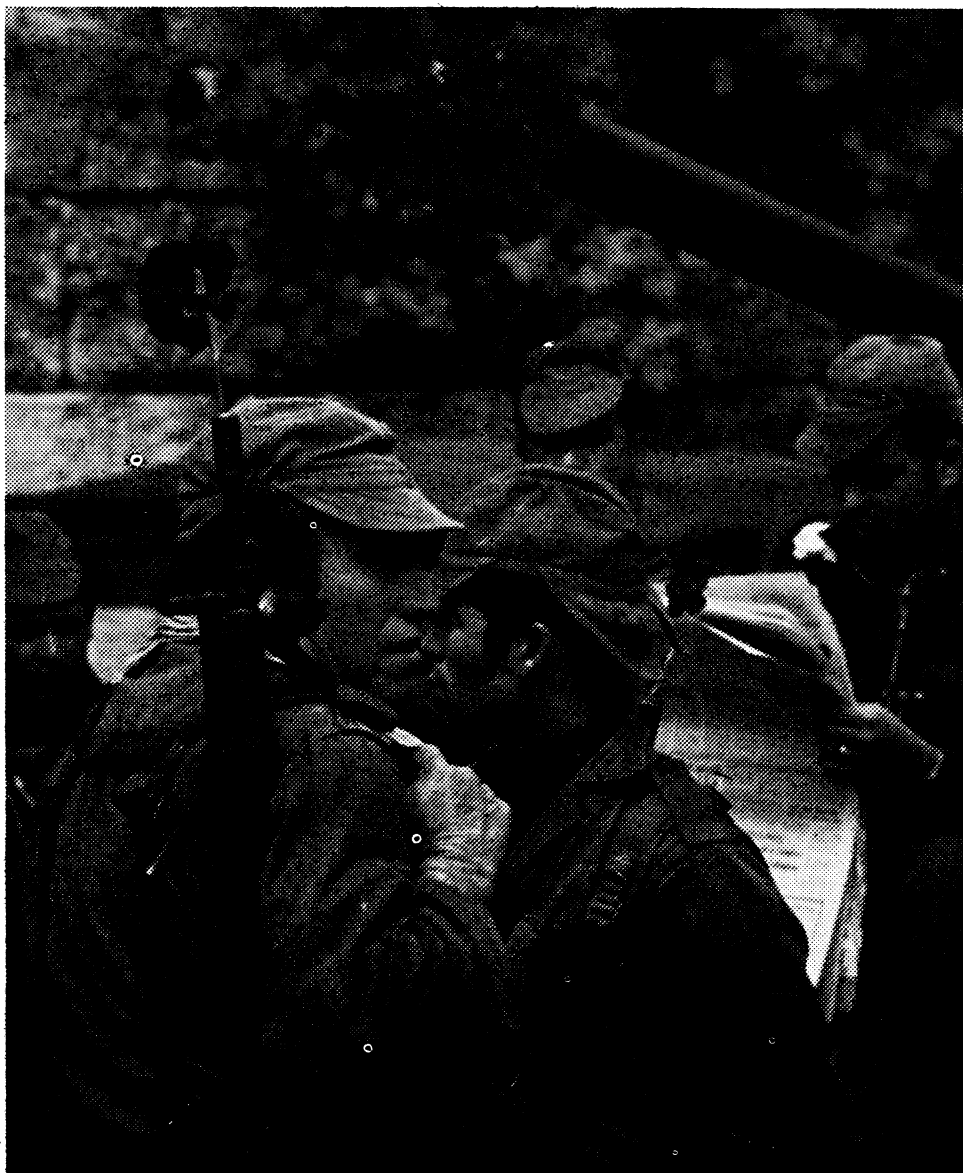
In fact, the head of the CP, Alvaro Cunhal, speaking to the crowd that welcomed him back from exile April 29, said that the greatest challenge now was "to be able to unite the Armed Forces Movement and the popular masses." He also indicated that the CP was anxious to be included in the government: "The best guarantee of genuinely free elections would be the formation of a government representative of all democratic forces." The assembled party faithful echoed: "Take Cunhal into the government, Cunhal into the government." (*O Diário*, May 2.)

Portuguese Trotskyists

The Liga Comunista Internacionalista (Internationalist Communist League), Portuguese sympathizing group of the Fourth International, released a statement expressing its support for the central May Day demonstration as "symbolizing the chance for uniting the working class in action."

The statement said the LCI "marched behind a banner that raised the call 'Workers and toilers to power,' and behind this banner were others, which said: 'Down with capitalist exploitation,' 'Free trade unions,' 'Right to strike,' 'Bring the soldiers home, Bring the deserters home,' 'Immediate independence for the colonies,' 'Socialist revolution.'"

The LCI called for "unity in action by all the workers, soldiers, and sailors of all workers organizations and revolutionary groups in order to respond strongly to all attempts to continue the capitalists' war, the colonial war."



regime

The Socialist party's official position has not yet been expressed in such an openly opportunistic way, but the essence is pretty much the same:

"The Socialist party, conscious of its responsibilities, solidarizes with the struggle of the Portuguese people and hails the Armed Forces Movement and the junta de salvação nacional [junta of national salvation] as its expression.

"It considers the implementation of the Armed Forces Movement Program, a body of measures that must be carried out in this phase of transition to democracy, to constitute a first and important step in the march that,

...and in Spain

"Long live Portugal's revolt!" was the cry of thousands of Spanish students inspired and encouraged by the downfall of the Portuguese dictatorship to take to the streets against the dictatorship in their own country.

On May 9 and 10, according to Associated Press dispatches, police attacked students at the University of Madrid for holding mass meetings to discuss the Portuguese coup as well as university issues.

In the law school, students had reportedly put up a large poster warning Spanish secret police to remember what happened to their counterparts in Portugal. The Portuguese secret police were special targets for the wrath of the people, who hated them for their widespread use of torture and brutality.

Thousands of students also demonstrated in Barcelona. In addition to hailing the Portuguese coup, students were protesting a new student selection plan designed to exclude leftists.

under the impulse of the class struggle, must lead to the establishment of a socialist democracy in our country." (First Socialist party communiqué, *República*, April 29.)

A similar line was taken by a prominent figure in the LUAR (Liga de União e Ação Revolucionária—League for Revolutionary Unity and Action) guerrilla group, Herminio da Palma Inácio, a veteran anarchist militant, in an interview in the May 2 *Diário de Lisboa*:

"I judge things by their results. At this moment, I don't know for sure what is going to happen. We must be vigilant and on our guard. I confess that the Armed Forces Movement communiqué startled me at first, but then it seemed quite progressive. I felt satisfaction at seeing many officers show a desire to achieve national renewal. As for what the junta de salvação nacional is going to do, it is premature to offer any hypotheses.

"Still I hope the junta will prove capable of achieving everything in its manifesto. And we must make its path easier."

One thing the massive outpouring of May 1 did seem to create was an atmosphere in which it will be hard for the junta to turn quickly to repression. It gained some time, perhaps, for a process of political discussion in Portugal, for starting the process of building a leadership that can assure that the exuberant hopes of the long-oppressed Portuguese people will not end in the disillusionment that followed the postliberation "national democratic" governments or the slaughter that followed the downfall of the Popular Unity in Chile.

Portuguese workers press forward to form unions, protect freedoms

From Intercontinental Press

By Gerry Foley

Oporto

In downtown Lisbon May 3 as I went from place to place trying to change enough money to buy a train ticket (the money exchanges had been closed since April 25), I suddenly got a clear impression of how explosive the demands for free unions could be in a country where all working-class organizations have been banned for forty-eight years.

I was just coming out of the national tourist center on the Praça de Restauradores when I heard chanting in the distance.

A few minutes later, a banner came into view with a couple of hundred people marching behind it and giving, it seemed, clenched-fist salutes. It really looked like a demonstration of the student left.

I tried to catch up with the rapidly moving demonstrators. But as I was on my way to the railway station, I was carrying two rather heavy suitcases and could not close the gap. Then, fortunately, the marchers slowed momentarily. The participants were all wearing uniforms. Some were carrying big leather bags. It was the "democratic postmen"—a couple of hundred of them.

The banner at the head of the march said: "The letter carriers demand a free union." Behind the banner, pumping their right fists up and down, and chanting militantly, the demonstrators marched on in doubletime.

There were other placards denouncing the "parasitic fascist unions."

When I got to Oporto the next day, I noticed that the papers reported some cases of workers organizing and demanding the removal of repressive bosses and fascist union functionaries, as well as reinstatement of workers fired for their political beliefs and union activities. The fascist vertical union apparatus was a special target.

For example, the May 4 Oporto *Jornal de Notícias* reported that twenty-four unions in this northern Portuguese city had formed an União dos Sindicatos do Porto (Oporto Union Federation) and that this new body had decided, as one of its first acts, to occupy the offices of the fascist union agency, the INTP.

Shortly after the occupation began, an army unit arrived; and the officer in charge informed the unionists that the INTP was a state body and that although the ministry of which it was a part had no head, it was continuing to perform its functions.

The leader of the union delegation then read the União dos Sindicatos resolution:

"Considering that the fascist state machine must be destroyed, because its sole activity was to repress the workers; considering that maintain-



People burn pictures of dictator Caetano

ing this machine with the same fascist teams in control would mean leaving a field open to reaction; considering that within this machine are the delegations of the INTP, representatives in the districts of the Ministério das Corporações and centers of repressive activity against workers and the unions; considering that the dismantlement of the apparatus of the fascist state is an essential point in the program of the Armed Forces Movement; considering that the president of the Junta de Salvação Nacional said that it was necessary to speed the liquidation of the corporative structures, the undersigned decided to oust from office the delegates and sub-delegates responsible for repressing the workers and to begin to administer the INTP directly through a committee chosen by all representative unions."

The union representatives went to the military command headquarters to discuss the situation. According to *Jornal de Notícias*, the outcome was an agreement on temporary coadministration of the INTP by a trade unionist and a military officer.

The problem of workers rights took an acute political character immediately for press workers. The decree abolishing official state censorship was only a starting point in winning real freedom of information. The workers of the Lisbon *Diário de Notícias* set up a committee after April 25 to eliminate internal censorship on the publication by the editors and publishers. Finally, a special committee was set up among the typesetters to check whether stories were altered or not. This led to a further step. On

May 1 the committee noticed a remark in an article in another paper published in the *Diário de Notícias* printing plant that they considered offensive to the May Day marchers. They informed the workers, who refused to print it.

On Saturday afternoon, the May 5 *Diário de Lisboa* said, a committee of workers at the *Diário de Notícias* met to discuss, among other things, the links of the administrators and editors to fascism.

This explosive process of the Portuguese working class reorganizing itself and tending to move toward directly solving its problems obviously poses a grave threat to the bourgeois junta and its objective of finding a "political solution" to the chronic decline of Portuguese capitalist society.

On May 5, the junta issued a warning: "The Junta de Salvação Nacional, which feels that it has been accorded recognition in view of the exuberant support given by the people and political and trade-union movements to the Armed Forces Movement, informs the nation that it cannot allow its authority—the guarantee of maintaining sound democratic principles—to be impaired by actions not receiving prior sanction from the state power that it has taken into its hands and exercises."

Already the junta seems to be trying to use the political support given it by the Stalinists, Social Democrats, and other currents of the left on May 1 to block the dismantling of the repressive fascist apparatus and reorganization of the working class.

Three Marias: 'This is only the beginning'

From Intercontinental Press

"United women shall never be vanquished," was the slogan that rang out in a Lisbon courtroom May 7 when three women's liberationists were acquitted of the "pornography" charge that had been hanging over them for more than a year.

Maria Isabel Barreno, Maria Velho da Costa, and Maria Teresa Horta—the "Three Marias"—were actually on trial for having written *Novas Cartas Portuguesas* (*New Portuguese Letters*), an anthology of feminist letters, essays, and poetry.

The case had been widely reported and protested internationally. Shortly before the April 25 military coup, the government prosecutor had recommended dismissal of the charges.

The women told a *New York Times* reporter, "Today's decision is only the beginning." They announced plans to start a women's movement in Portugal. They will work to legalize abortion. At present, Barreno stated, thousands of women are forced to resort to illegal abortions "under deplorable conditions."



Militant/Tom Vernier

Trial of the 'Three Marias' had generated international protests.

Popular front policy: threat to rising



'Prices are rising and so is the anger of the workers,' says sign, with Mitterrand symbol of rose in fist. Mitterrand campaign is a trap, not a way forward, for workers struggle.

By CAROLINE LUND

The upsurge of workers struggles over the past few years in France, and the mass mobilizations following the recent coup in Portugal, have captured the attention of radicals throughout the world.

The newspaper of the U.S. Communist Party, the *Daily World*, has been hailing the Union of the Left campaign of François Mitterrand in France and the projected coalition government of General António de Spínola in Portugal. The *World* claims that governments headed by Mitterrand and Spínola would be a step forward for working people.

In reality, the CP-supported Union of the Left in France, and the CP-backed coalition government in Portugal, are obstacles to the successful unfolding of the workers struggle in those countries. Both of these formations are variations of the Stalinist popular front policy, which has led to defeats of the workers movement throughout the world.

In the pages of the *Daily World*, those who do not go along with this popular front policy are denounced as "ideological hoodlums, disrupting the unity of the people."

On May 19 Mitterrand faces conservative Valéry Giscard d'Estaing in the second round of the French presidential elections.

Let's look at the character of the Mitterrand campaign. Is it really a "united front slate" of the workers parties, as the CP refers to it? A close look shows it is the polar opposite—a popular front coalition between mass reformist parties of the working class and capitalist political parties or formations.

Union of the Left

While the ballot lists Mitterrand as the candidate of the Socialist Party, he is also the common candidate of the Union of the Left.

The Union of the Left was formed prior to the 1973 legislative elections. It is an electoral bloc including the SP, CP, and the Left Radicals, a splinter group that came from the capitalist Radical Party. The CP and SP saw the Union of the Left as a means of putting together a broad enough coalition to win a majority in the legislative and presidential elections. From the start, the perspective was to include capitalist parties, since this was seen as the only way to win.

Even though the Left Radicals are not a capitalist political grouping of significant weight, their presence in the Union of the Left is symbolic of the place left open for the stronger capitalist parties the Union of the Left hopes to attract.

The Common Program, on which the Union of the Left is based, does not support workers' interests down the line in opposition to the capitalists. Rather, it is based on the maintenance of capitalist rule through the formation of a coalition government involving capitalist parties or figures and working-class parties.

Talk of a future goal of socialism is thrown in for cover. The *Daily World*, for example, says the aim of a Union of the Left coalition government would be "to move France into a stage of 'advanced democracy' which would be a possible take-off point for socialism."

But Mitterrand and other figures in the Union of the Left are quite explicit that their goal is limited to enacting a few reforms while maintaining and defending all the basic institutions connected with capitalist exploitation and oppression.

If Mitterrand is elected—given the pressure of the rising class struggle in France today—he will probably implement some measures that would be beneficial to working people. But these concessions would be restricted by the limits of French capitalism.

In fact, even the minimal reforms contained in the Union of the Left's Common Program have been dropped unceremoniously as Mitterrand caught a whiff of the smell of victory in the current campaign.

He is now campaigning around a "presidential charter" of five generalities: "more human freedom," "a juster society," "a stronger currency," "greater cooperation," and "a more involved France."

Mitterrand's overture to the right is also reflected in his formally running on the SP ticket rather than that of the Union of the Left. This is an attempt to make his campaign more palatable to potential supporters who shy away from too close an association with the CP.

The CP has welcomed this tactic, consciously keeping a low profile during the campaign. CP official Georges Marchais has offered to give the Gaullist party some of the six or seven cabinet posts the CP has claimed, if

the Gaullists help elect Mitterrand.

A vote for Mitterrand is not a vote for a candidate of a working-class united front. It is a vote for a coalition between workers and capitalist parties.

The simple idea that workers should vote only for their own parties—not capitalist parties or coalitions with capitalist parties—used to be generally adhered to in the working-class movement around the world.

In this country, for example, labor leader Eugene V. Debs and the early Socialist and Communist parties held the position that there was a class line in elections just as there is in a strike. Class-conscious workers would only vote for their own parties, toward the goal of a workers government. They would not think of going over to the camp of the bosses' candidates and parties any more than they would think of crossing a picket line.

But this concept of independent working-class political action was progressively subverted in the process of degeneration of currents in the working-class movement. The French social democrat Alexandre Millerand was the first socialist to enter a capitalist government cabinet in 1899, and with World War I, "Millerandism" spread through the parties of the Second International.

The Bolsheviks under Lenin fought against this policy, and made the Russian revolution by overthrowing the popular-front-type government of Kerensky. But with the rise of Stalinism, the parties of the Third International reverted to the discredited policy of Millerandism. At the seventh congress of the Comintern in 1935, this class-collaborationist policy was codified and renamed the policy of the popular front.

'Classless' politics

Thus the social democratic and Stalinist misleaders aid the capitalist rulers in attempting to convince the working masses that there is no class line in electoral politics; that it is okay to support whichever candidate promises more reforms; and that workers should often subordinate their own struggle against exploitation in order to support or bloc with more "progressive" capitalist parties against the more reactionary ones.

This obliteration of the class line in politics is the most poisonous of

Pentagon plots to defend white regimes in Africa

Top U.S. military officials have been conducting secret negotiations with South African military brass and with NATO officials over plans to defend the white supremacist regimes in southern Africa in face of the rising independence struggles in the Portuguese colonies.

Black freedom fighters in Mozambique, Angola, and the independent nation of Guinea-Bissau have stepped up their actions against the occupying Portuguese troops. The rebels have rejected proposals from the new Portuguese government headed by General António de Spínola to lay down their arms and accept continued domination in the form of a "federation" with Portugal.

The *Christian Science Monitor* reported May 10 that the chief of staff of South Africa's armed forces, Admiral Hugo Biermann, has been holding secret meetings with Admiral Thomas Moorer, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, with Acting Secretary of the Navy J. William Midden-

dorf II, and with members of Congress.

Biermann entered the U.S. on a tourist visa so as to keep the talks secret. But his visa was authorized, according to a state department official, "very likely" by Secretary of State Kissinger.

The *Monitor* reported that the military chiefs were thought to "have been brought together by common concern about the effects on security in the Indian Ocean of the recent coup in Portugal."

The article added, "The coup has raised questions about the future of Portuguese territories in Africa, particularly Mozambique, which occupies a long strategic position along the western shore of the ocean."

South Africa lies to the south of Mozambique along the Indian Ocean, and Rhodesia lies to the west, blocked from the Indian Ocean by Mozambique and from the South Atlantic by Angola.

Furthermore, the May 10 *New York Post* reported that "American and NATO military officials are actively engaged in secret contingency planning that could turn into a commitment to defend the white minority regimes of southern Africa against both internal and external threats."

These plans are described in a report prepared for the United Nations decolonization committee.

The secret contingency plans are formally justified as protection of the shipping route around the Cape of Good Hope, which is used to transport oil to the West. But the real reason for the NATO schemes, according to the UN report, is "to relieve the pressure on the white regimes," and "to go to the aid of our potential allies in southern Africa if the need should arise."

According to the *Post*, the UN report makes clear that the pretext of protection of sea routes "is a 'smoke-screen' designed to hide from the public of the Western nations an evolving

alliance designed to sustain the rule of a South African government that practices the racist system of apartheid, repugnant to majority public opinion in most NATO nations."

In addition, the report "details the flow of American (as well as British and French) military items to the Portuguese colonies, including large quantities of the defoliants the U.S. used with such devastating effect in South Vietnam."

Meanwhile, the Portuguese junta has vowed to continue and if necessary intensify its wars of aggression in Africa if the rebels don't accept its cease-fire terms.

Francisco Mendes, an official of the independent government of Guinea-Bissau, declared: "What the new leaders in Portugal are proposing is a pure and simple surrender. . . . We have not battled for 11 years just to lay down our arms in response to a simple appeal from the new regime in Portugal."

class struggle in France, Portugal



Portuguese CP won't support self-determination for African colonies.

all the false ideas that are used to sidetrack the mass struggles of the working class. Popular frontism has time and again diverted mass workers upsurges from taking the crucial step of carrying the class struggle from the economic plane to fight for the workers' interests on the political level as well.

Some supporters of the Union of the Left and their echo in the American Stalinist party point to the rising workers struggles and expectations in France today to try to motivate support for Mitterrand as an immediate way to take advantage of the opportunities before the workers movement.

But it is precisely *because* of these great opportunities that the Stalinists' diversion of the workers into coalition politics is such a betrayal. It is just at the high points of the struggles of the masses that the question of a governmental program and solution becomes the most crucial. Then, more than ever, a workers government must be counterposed to the government of the bosses or a coalition with the bosses.

A popular front government of so-called "advanced democracy" may grant some reforms initially, but it is committed to blocking the growing struggles of the workers in order to defend capitalist institutions.

And it is precisely because the workers have hopes and illusions in such political formations, and have been taught to trust them by the Stalinist and social democratic parties, that popular fronts are able to play their pernicious role, so valuable to the capitalist rulers. Thus Mitterrand today campaigns on the basis that only his victory can bring "social peace" to the capitalist class.

This logic of popular front politics has taken on flesh and blood in the experience of the French working class. The Popular Front government of the 1930s broke a general strike, sent the Mobile Guards against strikers, blocked the sending of aid to the Spanish workers during the war against Franco's fascists, passed laws restricting freedom of speech and assembly and instituting compulsory arbitration, and continued French colonial regimes that repressed and tortured workers and peasants.

Later, following World War II, the CP entered the government of De Gaulle. In this way the Stalinists diverted a massive workers upsurge from going over into a socialist revolution. In the face of massive strikes and occupations, when the Resistance movement—made up largely of workers—was the only armed force in the country, the CP helped the capitalist rulers turn around the situation, disarm the workers, and take all the steam and confidence out of the workers struggle.

Repetition in Portugal

The situation in postwar France has parallels with the situation now in Portugal. Again, the CP is asking to join a capitalist coalition government with Spínola, rather than giving class-struggle leadership to the spontaneous uprising of the masses, who are demanding radical change.

The counterrevolutionary logic of popular frontism is most apparent in Portugal on the question of the African colonies. Because of its orientation to joining and upholding the Spínola capitalist government, the CP does not call for an immediate and unconditional Portuguese cease-fire and withdrawal of troops from Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau.

Rather, according to the May 7 *Daily World*, the Portuguese CP "favors a nationwide discussion on the question of the colonies, 'toward the goal of immediately ending colonialism.'"

What right do any Portuguese have to discuss and decide the fate of the African peoples of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau?

Popular front, united front

Opposition to *popular front* blocs—that is, to electoral and governmental blocs between workers parties and capitalist parties—does not mean opposition to *united fronts* of working-class parties, including the CP and SP. United fronts of all workers parties are crucial for maximizing the strength of the working class and putting up the strongest possible fight for the needs of working people on all levels.

On the level of the elections, if the revolutionary forces are too small to be able to run their own candidates, they sometimes call for a vote for CP or SP or labor party candidates as against the capitalist candidates. It is a means of concretizing a class-against-class line in a particular election.

For example, in the French legislative elections last spring, if revolutionary socialist candidates had been eliminated in the first-round vote, they could have urged the French workers: "Since you can't vote for us, vote for the candidates of the CP and SP in the second round because and only because they are parties in the workers movement. But don't vote for the Left Radicals, and don't support the Union of the Left."

Such a stand counterposes a class political front of workers parties, and a workers government, to any coalition with capitalist parties. In this way, despite the false programs of the CP and SP, revolutionary socialists could have *educated* about the need for independent working-class political action even though the workers only had the choice of the CP and SP.

However, in this election, calling for a vote for Mitterrand, the sole candidate of the Union of the Left, on the basis that he is the candidate of the SP, a workers party, only stands in the way of explaining the real char-

acter of the Union of the Left as a class-collaborationist bloc—the polar opposite of united workers' action.

Furthermore, this is an election for president only, not legislative elections. Thus it is not a question of calling for a vote for a slate of candidates of a working-class party, in which even a Mitterrand might be included. In this election, Mitterrand is running for the position of chief executive of a capitalist state, pledging to bring capitalist political formations as well as the CP into his government.

A supporter of the Union of the Left in France might respond, "These are fine words, but you will be isolated—all the workers in France today support Mitterrand, and your votes may be just the few that mean he wins or loses."

But if it is true that class struggle, and not class collaboration, is the only way forward for the working

class, then it is no less true because few people are saying it. The forces who have the courage of their convictions to stand against the stream will hasten the time when the masses of workers will no longer be fooled by the trap of popular frontism.

The fact that the election is a close one only highlights and focuses public attention on the views of any who say "no" to a vote for Mitterrand from a revolutionary class-struggle perspective, thus aiding this necessary process of education.

The counterposition of class struggle to popular frontism is the only *realistic* way forward and the only stand in consonance with the revolutionary aspirations of the masses. This fact was proved in the historic Russian revolution of 1917, the first time the oppressed succeeded in throwing off their oppressors and still the model for the workers today.

Exiles return: a comparison

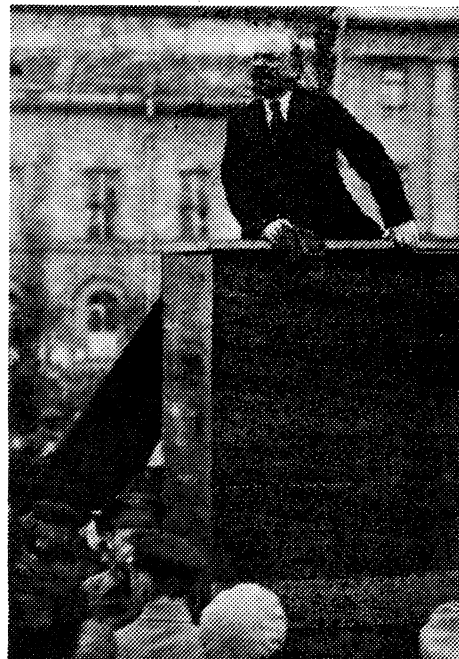
When Portuguese Communist Party leader Alvaro Cunhal arrived in Lisbon after 12 years in exile, he was met by a large and enthusiastic crowd of his supporters. His first words were to make a bid to join in a coalition government with the forces headed by General António de Spínola. He stated, "The Communist Party is ready to assume its responsibilities in the present political juncture."

The crowd shouted back, "Cunhal in the government!"

From the airport, reported the May 1 *New York Times*, Cunhal "rode triumphantly into the city where he paid a call on General Spínola."

Virtually the same scenario had taken place in a Lisbon train station April 28, when Socialist Party leader Mario Soares returned from exile in Paris. Soares also went immediately to consult with Spínola on forming a government.

It is instructive to contrast this behavior with that of Lenin when he arrived from exile in 1917 at Petrograd's Finland Station. He too was met by a large and enthusiastic crowd, including several thousand sailors and workers, as well as by leaders of the Executive Committee of the Soviet. These officials from the Executive Committee were Mensheviks, who considered themselves socialists but were backing the capitalist provisional government that had issued from the Feb-



LENIN: Do not trust capitalist Provisional Government.

ruary revolution in Russia.

One of these Menshevik officials, Chaidze, greeted Lenin as follows: "Comrade Lenin, . . . we welcome you to Russia . . . but we consider that at the present time the principle task of the revolutionary democracy is to defend our revolution against every kind of attack, both from within and from without . . . We hope that you will join us in striving toward this goal."

To the astonishment of Chaidze and others, Lenin turned his back on the official delegates, to face the workers and sailors who were gathered to meet him.

"Comrade sailors," he said, "I greet you without knowing yet whether or not you have been believing in all the promises of the Provisional Government. But I am convinced that when they talk to you sweetly, when they promise you a lot, they are deceiving you and the whole Russian people. The people need peace; the people need bread; the people need land. And they give you war, hunger, no bread—leave the landlords still on the land. . . . We must fight for the social revolution, fight to the end, till the complete victory of the proletariat. Long live the world social revolution!"

The contrast between these scenes in Lisbon and Petrograd dramatizes how far the Portuguese CP of today stands from the politics of Lenin.



CP's CUNHAL: All hail to capitalist coalition government with Spínola.

SWP candidate says 'retarded' Chicano children are victims of racist education

By MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

LOS ANGELES—A recent report revealed that the percentage of Black and Chicano children in classes for the "mentally retarded" is two to three times their proportion in the school population as a whole.

Responding to this disclosure, Mariana Hernández, Socialist Workers Party candidate for California superintendent of public instruction, called it another strong proof of the need for Chicano control of Chicano education.

"These children are victims of the racism in our society and educational institutions," she said. "Why are they branded as 'retarded'—a stigma that will follow them through life?

"Is it because they did not speak English when they entered school and therefore couldn't understand what was going on?

"Is it because they were unfortunate enough to start out with a racist teacher who didn't think it was possible to teach Black or Brown children much?

"Almost a quarter of the 'mentally retarded' children are Chicanos," she continued. "Every time that Spanish-speaking children are retested in Spanish—and this was done on a wide scale in the Río Grande Valley in

Texas back in the 1930s—their IQ scores rise an average of 10 to 12 points. This is in spite of the fact that the translated tests are still unquestionably biased against the Chicano."

The socialist candidate drew upon her own experience to illustrate the humiliation and ridicule of Chicano children. She explained that, after beginning her education at a segregated Chicano school in Texas, she then entered the schools "de los Americanos."

"There we were punished for speaking Spanish. All sorts of indignities were heaped upon us. For instance, all the Chicanos would regularly be marched out of the room to be checked for lice. And when you are laughed at every time you mispronounce a word, you begin to wonder whether there isn't something wrong with you, whether you aren't slightly retarded."

"The situation hasn't improved much since then," Hernández added. "Here in Los Angeles, the parents at the Magnolia Avenue School have just formed a group, Padres Unidos [United Parents], to protest beatings of children."

"Children who speak Spanish in school have had their mouths taped shut. The teacher's aide who exposed these practices was fired, and only rehired after parents supported her."

"Even more insidious was the proposal by the Center for the Study of Violence at UCLA to 'study' violence at two L.A. junior high schools—one a Chicano and the other a Black school. This center has come under considerable attack because of its attempt to use behavior modification techniques, among them psychosurgery, to 'cure' violence."

The socialist nominee gave another example of how young children are victimized by the racism in society.

"The federal government has spent \$55-million, most of it in California, in a pilot program for 'predelinquent' children. These are special programs for children, from toddlers on up, who have never so much as swiped a pack



Children are still punished for speaking Spanish in school.

of gum, but who are judged by the police to be potential delinquents because of their 'environment.'

"Detailed records are kept on these children, and these records and the label of 'predelinquent' will follow them around throughout their schooling and from job to job."

Hernández's major opponent in the June 4 race is Democratic incumbent Wilson Riles, a Black educator with a liberal reputation. He claims to be sensitive to the needs of Black and

Chicano schoolchildren.

Hernández said: "Riles has never spoken out against the brutality at schools like Magnolia. He didn't add his voice to those denouncing the proposed experimentation on Black and Chicano youth by the Violence Center."

"He never told us that 50,000 migrant children in California receive no education at all, as the press has confirmed. I don't call this 'sensitivity.'"

"Riles claims to have an answer to the crisis in education. He says: 'The city's top leadership—leaders from business, labor, and elsewhere—have to get together—they have to lay out goals, objectives, and procedures to get there.'"

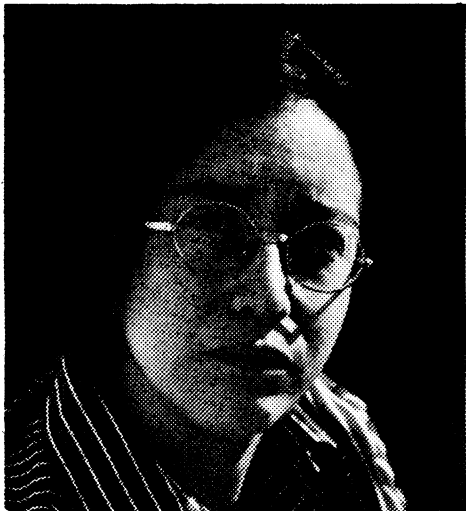
"But the ruling class that Riles politely describes as the 'top leadership' is the problem, not the solution. They see education solely in terms of how it produces profit."

"They especially want to keep Chicanos, Blacks, and Asians uneducated as a prime source of surplus labor to help keep wages low for everybody. It is no accident that farm workers, who have the highest rate of functional illiteracy (in English), also have the lowest wages."

"Improvement won't come by having the 'top leadership' get together, but by having the Black, the Chicano, and the Chinese communities each get together and decide how schools can begin to meet the needs of their children."

"This means the right to hire and fire school personnel, to institute bilingual and bicultural programs, to remove trigger-happy cops from the schools."

Hernández concluded: "I am campaigning in support of the right of the Black, Chicano, and Chinese communities to control their own schools; for a crash program of state and federal funds for Chicano and Black education controlled from top to bottom by Black and Chicano faculty, students, and community; and for a full program of bilingual education at all levels for Spanish- and Chinese-speaking students."



Militant/Walter Lippmann

Mariana Hernandez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for California superintendent of public instruction.

Campaigning for socialism

WEINSTEIN DENIED BALLOT STATUS: The California Supreme Court has rejected a suit by Socialist Workers Party candidate Nat Weinstein asking the court to order Secretary of State Edmund Brown Jr. to place his name on the ballot for the June 4 special election in the 6th Congressional District.

Weinstein had gathered the required number of signatures on nominating petitions to appear on the ballot as an "independent." Brown, however, refused him ballot status because he did not pay a \$425 filing fee.

Weinstein's suit contended that Brown's attempt to collect filing fees was illegal since a federal district court had declared in March that the sections of the California election code on filing fees were unconstitutional and void.

Weinstein denounced as a "cowardly maneuver" the Supreme Court's ruling that his suit had been "untimely filed." He pointed out that he received a letter from Brown's office on April 23 informing him he would not be on the ballot, and that by April 26 a 50-page suit had been filed with the court.

He stated that while the courts would probably rule in his favor eventually, "by the time I am proven correct, the special election will be history." Weinstein will also be the SWP candidate in the 5th C.D. in the November general election.

FEDERAL PANEL TO HEAR MASSACHUSETTS SWP BALLOT SUIT: Federal Judge Frank Coffin has ordered the convening of a three-judge federal panel to hear the Socialist Workers Party's suit demanding ballot status and legal recognition as a political party in Massachusetts.

Granting the three-judge panel represents recognition by the court that substantial questions of federal constitutional law are raised in the case. Saul Shapiro, an attorney for the suit, called the action a "significant step forward."

The suit challenges the sections of the Massachusetts election code that discriminate against smaller parties. It was brought by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws on behalf of the SWP and seven voter-plaintiffs, who allege that their right to vote for the candidate of their choice is

abridged by the state's election laws.

Among the recent endorsers of the suit are four members of the Black Caucus of the state legislature. In addition, Representative Mel King, a member of the Black Caucus, is one of the voter-plaintiffs.

KOLIS HITS 'NATIONAL SECURITY' FRAUD: Salm Kolis, SWP candidate for Congress from California's 41st C.D., was a featured speaker at a campaign banquet in San Diego May 4.

She blasted the government's harassment, spying, and other illegal attacks on socialists, antiwar activists, and Black militants. Now Nixon's transcripts prove, she said, that the excuse of "national security" offered by the government to justify these attacks is a complete fraud.

Dan Styron, socialist candidate for U.S. Senate from California, also spoke. He pointed out that the contrived energy crisis has led to greater support for nationalization of the oil monopolies under workers control.

"During my tour of California," Styron said, "an occasional conservative

will protest, 'But if you nationalize the oil industry, why not nationalize everything else?' To which I reply, 'Why not?' It's an increasingly popular answer."

In response to an appeal for funds by Maceo Dixon, cochairman of the SWP 1974 National Campaign Committee, the 50 people present at the banquet contributed more than \$420 to the socialist campaign.

—ANDY ROSE



Militant/Ernest Harsch

Salm Kolis, SWP congressional candidate from San Diego.

Socialists campaign in N.Y. high schools

By JANICE LYNN

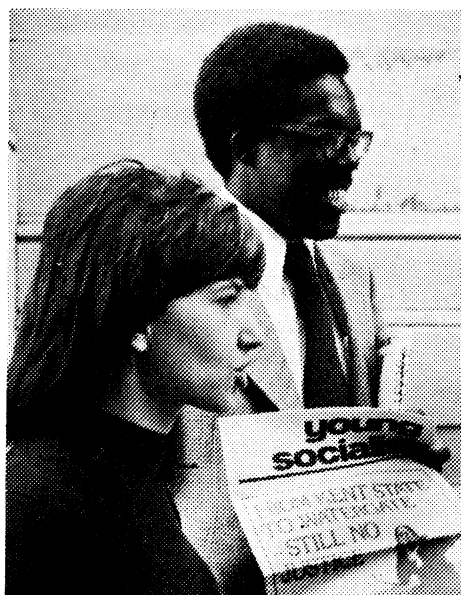
NEW YORK — The Socialist Workers Party candidates here— Rebecca Finch for U. S. Senate and Derrick Morrison for governor—have been actively campaigning both inside and outside the New York high schools.

Outside means early morning street meetings. Typical of these was a recent meeting at predominantly Black Central Commercial High School.

By 7:30 a.m. a literature table had been set up on the sidewalk outside the school. Campaign supporters were distributing brochures and selling *The Militant* and the *Young Socialist*, newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Finch and Morrison talked to many of the arriving students. "You can't really win, so why are you running for governor?" one asked Morrison. "Aren't you just wasting your time?"

"Many people are becoming open to socialist ideas," he replied. "They are finding that the Democrats and Republicans have no solutions to their problems. I think my campaign can help expose these crooks and liars and also bring the socialist program for changing society to more and more



Militant/Janice Lynn
Rebecca Finch and Derrick Morrison campaigning outside Central Commercial High School in Manhattan.

people."

"They've really messed up our education," said one young woman as she bought a copy of the *Young Socialist*.

"Who do you mean?" asked a cam-

paign supporter.

"Why, the government, just like they mess everything up," she said.

Finch and Morrison have also campaigned outside Stuyvesant High School and Seward Park High School, both on Manhattan's Lower East Side.

Laura Quintano, a senior at Stuyvesant, has been organizing support for the socialist candidates at her school. She regularly sells the *Young Socialist* newspaper both outside the school and in the hallways. Five other students have signed cards endorsing the SWP candidates after reading the *YS*.

"They were disgusted with both the Democrats and Republicans, and Watergate especially convinced them that our socialist campaign was the only real alternative they could support," she explained.

Quintano herself first came in contact with socialist politics when a friend convinced her to attend an after-school meeting to hear Andrew Pulley in 1972. Pulley was then the SWP candidate for vice-president.

Stuyvesant has a history of participation in the Black, women's liberation, and antiwar movements, she

noted.

Quintano helped organize a student boycott of the school last January in support of school maintenance workers who were on strike. Students picketed the school, chanting, "Support the strike! Close the schools!" Student support was so great that the principal was forced to shut the school on the first day.

"Students here were quick to connect the attack on the wages of school employees with the overall budget cuts by the New York board of education," Quintano said. Budget cuts have been the target of a number of demonstrations, although so far these have been sporadic.

"Last month about 80 of us marched down to city hall and demonstrated for more money for the city school budget," she continued.

"We want more money for supplies, especially for the labs, and we don't want to lose our bus and subway passes. We also called for more teachers, better hot lunches, and decent bilingual programs."

Dorothy Imperiale, a senior at Seward Park High School, has helped

Continued on page 22

D.C. bus drivers fight to keep escalator clause

By ANNE SPRINGER

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Nan Bailey issued a statement May 3 declaring her support to striking transit workers and condemning a federal court back-to-work order. The strikebreaking order, Bailey said, demonstrated "how the government is working hand in hand with the administration of the Metro system to attack the standard of living of the Metro workers."

Amalgamated Transit Union Local 689, numbering 3,200 drivers, mechanics, and clerks of the Washington area Metrobus system, struck May 2 to defend their cost-of-living escalator clause.

The Metro transit authority is seeking to curb or eliminate the escalator, which has meant an average additional 60 cents an hour for Metro workers over the last 16 months. With inflation at record levels, workers were outraged at this attempt to deny them protection against rising prices.

U.S. District Court Judge George Hart issued the first back-to-work order within minutes after the strike began. The courts later held the union in contempt, fined it \$25,000 a day for

the duration of the strike, and ordered the escalator issue submitted to binding arbitration.

At a stormy meeting of the Local 689 membership on May 3, union officials tried to call off the strike, but were vehemently opposed by the rank and file.

As one angry Metro driver told *The Militant*, "We're not going back to work because somebody tells us we have to work. Hell, slavery went out a long time ago!"

The meeting ended with several hundred workers, mostly young and Black, leading a chant of "Wildcat!"

For several days afterward rank-and-file drivers kept up picket lines and refused to work, while the streets of the capital were snarled with the cars of a quarter of a million regular bus riders.

Finally, though, the court-ordered arbitration, loss of pay (with no strike benefits), and suggestions by union officials that the mounting fines would be paid by individual assessments of \$8 for every day the wildcat continued, combined to pressure the Local 689 members back to work. By May 8, as a result of the complete default of the union leadership, most workers

were back on the job.

In a later statement, socialist candidate Nan Bailey noted, "Despite the treachery and cowardice of the Local 689 officials, the Metro workers have demonstrated their determination to fight to preserve their standard of living."

She pointed to the importance of the escalator clause for all workers, and said that union leaders who really represented the workers' interests would be in the forefront of struggling for this demand.

Another major issue in the Socialist Workers Party campaign is home rule for the District of Columbia. The SWP has been explaining that the "home-rule" charter passed by Congress is a fraud, leaving legislative, budgetary, and judicial power in the hands of Congress and the White House.

In a May 7 referendum, the charter was approved by an 84 percent majority. Voter turnout, however, was extremely low—only 35 percent.

In recent months the socialist candidates debated a number of Black Democrats on whether the charter provided a means for the 70 percent Black

population of D.C. to gain self-determination.

In a debate before 75 members of the Black Employees of the Library of Congress, Nan Bailey received cheers and applause when she challenged Marion Berry, president of the D.C. school board, to prove his statement that the charter would give the D.C. government more power than any city government in the U.S.

After the debate a number of the library workers endorsed and offered to work for Bailey's campaign.



Socialist mayoral candidate Nan Bailey condemns government strikebreaking.

Adachi proposes plan to meet needs of elderly

By CARLA HOAG

PITTSBURGH — In the past, capitalist politicians have paid little or no attention to older people, election year or not.

But now, a number of protests by the elderly have made them another "trouble spot" in the campaign strategies of the Democrats and Republicans.

In a pretense of concern for the problems of older people, a "Senior Citizens Fair" was held here May 6 in an effort to drum up support for candidates running in the upcoming primary.

Speakers at the fair included Governor Milton Shapp, a Democrat who is running for reelection, and Peter Flaherty, Democratic mayor of Pittsburgh and candidate for U.S. Senate.

Neither Shapp nor Flaherty offered the 1,500 older people at the fair any solutions to the inflation, poor medical care, and high rents that are burning problems for the elderly.

But there were lines of older peo-

ple standing in front of volunteers who were passing out a statement from the Socialist Workers Party campaign. The SWP is running Roberta Scherr for governor and Christina Adachi for U.S. Senate. Adachi attended the Senior Citizens Fair to discuss her campaign with the elderly.

"It is not surprising in this society that the needs of older people are ignored," the socialist statement began. "They are no longer members of the labor force and do not produce profits for big business."

To meet the immediate needs of the elderly, the socialists called for pensions equivalent to union-scale wages; escalator clauses in all pensions and Social Security payments; free public transportation; free, quality medical care; and no rents higher than 10 percent of a person's income.

SWP campaign supporters also participated in a recent United Farm Workers rally here at which UFW Vice-president Dolores Huerta was the

featured speaker. The 200 participants in the rally received copies of an SWP statement scoring the scab role played by Governor Shapp.

"Shapp's professed support to the farm workers' movement rings with hypocrisy," the statement said. "Since Pennsylvania is the only state to purchase wine for sale to its state liquor outlets, the Democratic administration of Governor Milton Shapp is the largest purchaser of Gallo wine in the country. . . ."

"If Roberta Scherr were elected," the statement noted, "she would issue an executive order banning the sale of scab products by the state. Governor Shapp has this power; we demand that he use it."

The SWP statement also urged "a major public campaign to force Gallo and other scab products out of the state liquor outlets. . . . Taking Pennsylvania off the list of Gallo's customers would be an important victory for the UFW."

World famine

The threat of severe malnutrition or even starvation faces 400 million to 500 million children in the colonial world, according to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).

UNICEF estimates that at any given time there are some 10 million children around the world suffering from severe malnutrition and in danger of dying. That's under "normal" conditions.

Today's spiraling inflation, however, means that the poorest "underdeveloped" countries, especially in Africa and South Asia, cannot afford the food imports they are dependent on. Mass starvation may be the result.

How has this situation come about? "Sub-Sahara drought . . . bad harvest . . . overpopulation (the natives breed too much, you know) . . . terrible shame," mumble the statesmen of the big capitalist powers. This is a cynical cover-up.

Imperialist exploitation of the "underdeveloped" countries has so warped their economies that areas once self-sufficient in food (even if at subsistence levels) must now rely heavily on imports. In Sri Lanka, to cite just one example, lush potential farming land was taken over by the British and turned into tea and rubber plantations.

At the same time, despite all the promises of a "green revolution," imperialist domination has consistently proved to be a roadblock to modernization of agriculture in these countries. And to the extent that chemical fertilizers are used, the oil monopolies' contrived energy crisis and skyrocketing prices of all petrochemical products are a further threat to food production.

The U.S., because of the great technological advances and high productivity of agriculture here, has the capacity to feed a large part of the world. But for decades farm production has been artificially restricted to keep prices up. The meat shortage last year showed the efficiency of this system—for the agribusiness trusts, whose profits are booming.

Now agribusiness has a "profit incentive" to step up production. But Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz cautions that he will be a hard bargainer in supplying food to needy countries. "Hunger is relative," he states with typical arrogance. "If your larder is empty, you cut back some." In a blatant attempt to pit the workers of this country against the oppressed masses of the world, we are warned that food aid to other countries will mean still higher prices here.

While pocketing their millions, the food profiteers piously advise us to give a few pennies to UNICEF. But these paltry aid projects are hopelessly inadequate when the basic problem is the anarchy of production for private profit.

Agribusiness should be nationalized and run under workers control to provide cheap, healthy, and plentiful food. A workers government in the U.S. would extend massive aid to the colonial nations, both in needed food supplies and in helping to rapidly modernize their economies on the basis of cooperation, not exploitation.

When millions die in a famine because of some natural disaster beyond society's control, it is tragic. But when children starve to death because of the callous irrationality of the capitalist profit system, that is murder.

Vietnam charade

You can tell when election time is coming. The politicians in Congress, whom Mark Twain called America's only naturally criminal class, begin to get twinges of conscience. Nothing so serious as to really affect anything, of course, but enough so that the voters take notice.

In April Congress virtuously voted down an administration request for an extra \$474-million in military hardware for the Thieu dictatorship. These pious legislators didn't want to take responsibility for carrying out the hated war in Indochina during an election year.

They got another chance to show how much they oppose aid to Thieu when the Pentagon announced an "accounting error." It seems that \$266-million was available for the Thieu regime after all. The Pentagon had supposedly stashed it away and forgotten all about it.

On May 7 the Senate voted 43 to 38 against using this money. But the next day the Pentagon revealed the existence of an arms stockpile worth \$525-million that was set aside in 1972 and 1973 for U.S. puppet regimes in South Vietnam, Thailand, and South Korea.

These types of charades have been going on ever since the mass sentiment against the war in Vietnam developed. If Congress really wanted to end the war it could do it—especially with the situation Nixon is in now. But it wants to maintain the imperialist foothold in Southeast Asia just as much as Nixon, and Johnson, and Kennedy before him.

'Boss' job

I am writing to tell you that I like your publication *The Militant*, and that I think you're doing a "boss" job of informing the people as to what is happening—how the government is abusing their votes and their hard-earned tax dollars.

I am sorry I cannot afford a subscription to *The Militant* (I cop one each time my friend cops it); but I just thought I'd write and say, "Right On!" to you for doing such a "together" job.

*A prisoner
Pennsylvania*

Best wishes

The Militant is a valuable asset in learning the truth. I extend sincere best wishes to each of the workers bringing the effort to reality.

*W.P.
Mason, Ky.*

Claudia Ross

A recent article in a local Buffalo newspaper reported that a young American reporter named Claudia Ross, who had been living in Thailand for several years, had been stabbed to death by unknown assailants while she slept. The paper reported that she was murdered shortly after an article she wrote—purported to be hostile to a small religious sect—was printed in a Bangkok newspaper, and that Thai officials speculated that she had been murdered by members of the religious sect who were angered by her article.

A few days later, the *New York Times* printed an article which suggested that she might have been murdered because of her close ties with the rebellious Thai students.

I knew Claudia Ross when she was a student at New York University in 1971, when she helped put out a newsletter called *South-east Asia Reports*. At that time she also joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

She left the YSA shortly before she left this country to go to Indochina as a free-lance reporter.

Given her background and ideological beliefs, I have no doubt that she was murdered because of the threat that her commitment to truthful, investigative reporting represented to those in power—both in Thailand and in the USA—and because of this, it is they who must bear responsibility for her tragic and untimely death.

*David Strong
Buffalo, N.Y.*

An owner-operator

I am writing to say I appreciated the article written by Farrell Dobbs in regards to the truckers' situation.

I was particularly pleased that he made reference to specific points such as equipment service payments which are lacking in contracts between large carriers and the owner-operators with whom they sign lease agreements.

I would like to point out a graphic example of owner-operators being ripped off. Toll fees are tremendous when trucking on the East Coast, not to mention turnpike fees in the Midwest. Yet many trucking corporations, which includes all the major carriers, stipulate in their lease agree-

ments with independents only to pay mileage tax. This amounts to two cents a mile in my case, but does not have to be paid when a toll fee is involved. Thus the owner-operator is burdened with an additional expense that comes directly out of his percentage, cutting heavily into his revenue.

I also think the reference to owners of more than a single unit was important. I intend to see that this distinction is made at CIT (Council of Independent Truckers) meetings which I will be attending in the coming months. Keep up the good work.

*Gilbert Kudrin
Lorain, Ohio*

Automation in printing

Management at the New York *Daily News* claims a \$2-million loss in advertising revenue for the recent 19-day slowdown of printers. During those 19 days the *News* did not lose money. It only failed to gross as much as it otherwise would have if printers had hustled and got together all the ads the boss wanted run.

This means, if the claimed "loss" is anywhere near accurate, that the *News* must make a weekly profit of almost \$1-million, or about \$50-million annually. One thing for sure, the whole operation is a big money-maker. It is Big Business.

The New York Publishers Association boasts of a \$30-million war chest to fight the printers for the right to control automated printing equipment that will eliminate thousands of jobs in the publishing industry.

Printers are not fighting to stop the use of better and more efficient equipment. They are fighting to keep their jobs. This means that the hours of work will need to be shortened and wages raised so that each and every worker in the industry will benefit from automation instead of the publishers hogging all the benefits in the form of more profits for themselves.

*S.L.
New York, N.Y.*

Racist murders

The recent murder of Eleuterio Lázaro García, a migrant farm worker in Austin, Ind., brings to four the number of farm workers murdered in Austin in the last two years.

The violence against the Chicano community in Austin is widely believed to be the work of a gang called the Prophets. Unhampered by local police, these goons have terrorized Latinos and poor whites.

Benny López, regional director of Associated Migrant Opportunities Service, has been investigating the slayings, which have included an 18-year-old woman found dead in the trunk of a burned car. Upon contacting the Austin police, López was told to find the killers himself and was "deputized" to do so!

At his request, an Indianapolis television station, WRTV, began investigating the murders. López immediately received threats on his life if the investigation was not called off.

When the investigation began, 56 migrants were deported to Mexico as "illegals," many of them former victims of the Prophets and many willing to testify against them.



The fraud of pension 'reform'

A new fraud is being perpetrated against the American working class: federal "reform" of the private pension system. Bills have now been passed by both the House and Senate, and it is expected that they can be reconciled in committee, signed by the president, and become law this year.

Private pension plans now have funds of nearly \$170-billion and cover 31 million workers. This includes both plans won by collective bargaining and those offered by individual employers as a carrot-on-a-string to keep their workers out of unions.

While payments into the pension fund are claimed by the company as "labor costs," the money itself remains in the hands of the corporation to be invested for its own profit. Some industries, such as coal and the painting trade, put the funds into escrow and administer them by joint boss and union boards.

Every year millions of workers lose or change their jobs. They also lose their share of the pension fund unless their plan provides for "vesting"—that is, guaranteeing a worker some pension rights even if he or she leaves the company before retirement. Roughly 20 to 25 percent of all pension plan participants have no vesting rights at all.

Even in most of the union-won plans, a worker must have 10 or 15 years unbroken service with one company or one multi-employer plan. A Senate labor subcommittee found that 92 percent of employees who separated from plans requiring 15 years for vesting, and 73 percent of those separated from plans requiring 10 years, had *nothing to show* for their pension participation.

Nonunion companies can simply announce the termination of their pension policy or declare that the pension fund has gone "bankrupt." Or the firm may go out of business or merge with another company.

This multimillion-dollar thievery from older workers has become such a public scandal that finally, after *five years* of study, Congress has come up with two bills. Here is the extent of the "reform":

- The federal government would require minimum funding standards for all programs and tighten moni-

toring procedures to prevent fraud.

- The government would administer an employer-paid insurance program to protect workers against loss of benefits if a business fails or terminates its fund.

- Federal standards would be set requiring vesting of workers after a certain time.

Even if these less-than-halfhearted measures are enforced (which is certainly questionable), most workers will still never see a pension comparable to the money paid into pension funds supposedly in their behalf. The bills do not provide "portability"—that is, the ability of the worker to carry over accumulated benefits from one job to another. And the vesting provisions are hopelessly inadequate.

Under the Senate bill, an employee who leaves a job after five years of accredited service would be vested to the extent of 25 percent of the regular retirement benefit. For each additional year, vesting would improve by 5 percent, until it reached 50 percent after 10 years.

Merton Bernstein, professor of law at Ohio State University and a former government consultant on pension policy problems, has calculated that this plan would give a typical blue-collar worker who, leaves a job after five years the sum of \$6.25 a month, or a great big \$75 a year!

You can bet that between now and the time these standards take effect in 1976, millions of older workers will find themselves "separated" from their employment.

"For cause" (in nonunion plants) will not be the real reason for the firing. The real "cause" will be economic. The fired workers will be too close to retirement and hence their pensions. Besides, with their seniority, they probably cost the employer far more than new, young workers brought in to replace them.

Industrialists claim they are "youth oriented." But their "youth orientation" is not altruism. Just like everything else under capitalism, it is profit motivated.

Eleuterio García, a tomato picker, had a family of five in Mexico. Since his death they have received no death benefits, nor has his body been returned to his home.

David Ellis
Indianapolis, Ind.

'Zebra' in Chicago

The article on the "Zebra" killings that appeared in the May 3 issue of *The Militant* is ever so factual.

However, as a Black ghetto resident of Chicago, I see much of what goes on in San Francisco right here in Chicago, but on a smaller scale. A good example of this is how police here in Chicago stop young Black men for no apparent reason whatever and then detain the "suspect" for failure to identify himself (which usually consists of presenting three or more I.D. cards). Such things as passports or student I.D. cards are not acceptable.

Every week I purchase *The Militant* and love it. It is worth a thousand times the 25 cents it costs.
Sam Casimir Jr.
Chicago, Ill.

Profits & poverty

On May 4 I had the opportunity to debate an executive of Sun Oil Company for the Detroit Area Coalition on Environment. Unlike many speakers on this question, the official, William Harpster, defended the capitalist system of private profit from start to finish in his presentation.

Harpster admitted that without higher profits the oil companies could not invest in the development of U.S. oil resources. "You don't invest unless the uncertainties are ironed out," he said.

The sentence speaks volumes. In fact it is a one-sentence explanation of the poverty of two-thirds of the capitalist world. For it is precisely because capital cannot see a long-range profit certainty in the underdeveloped countries that it doesn't invest in these countries and perpetuates their economic underdevelopment.

Once Harpster had let this slip, it is not an exaggeration to say that he lost the support of virtually the entire Wayne State University audience of about 175 people.

Dick Roberts
New York, N.Y.

Throw the key away

I wonder what Nixon's doing leading a country. He belongs in the cell next door to me! Bring him here, he deserves it more than I do.
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.

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



RUP & political action

Two articles by Richard Santillán in the April *La Gente* underscore why La Raza Unida Party should confront the Democrats and Republicans in the political arena in California.

La Gente is published by Chicano students at the University of California at Los Angeles. It has made its pages available to many points of view within the movement. Santillán, a Chicano studies instructor at Cal State Los Angeles, is a Raza Unida activist and has recently published a book on the *partido* titled *La Raza Unida*.

"The Democrats point to the newly-elected [California] state senator Ruben Ayala and to Manuel Aragón, vice-mayor of Los Angeles, as excellent examples of Chicano progress within the framework of the Democratic Party," writes Santillán.

"But the community should not be appeased by these elections or appointments," Santillán continues. "Instead of being content with one state senator, we should demand the six which we are entitled to." And representation by Democrats or Republicans is not the solution, he says. "Texas and New Mexico have many Spanish-surnamed politicians, and yet conditions have not changed for the poor Chicano."

Los Angeles Chicanos recently succeeded through the petition process in forcing racist city councilman Arthur Snyder, a Republican, into a special recall election. A Mexican-American college professor, David Lopez-Lee, spearheaded the recall effort. Five Mexican-American Democrats tried unsuccessfully to unseat Snyder, with Lopez-Lee and Richard Calderón getting the most votes in the "nonpartisan" race.

Both Lopez-Lee and Calderón received support from Chicanos associated with the movement. The Communist Party, for example, was among those supporting Calderón.

"Many of these individuals profess to support La Raza Unida Party," writes Santillán, "yet their ac-

tions contradict their rhetoric. The list of Chicano 'activists' supporting the various Democratic candidates is alarming because these individuals should have realized by now how the two-party system oppresses our people."

Their main excuse for doing this, he says, is that there was no RUP candidate in the election. "If they want to vote for a LRUP candidate," Santillán points out, "they should redirect their physical and financial support in developing a La Raza Unida Campaign."

Some give the excuse that they are just supporting the individual and not the party. "To do this," Santillán explains, "is like trying to separate Nixon and Reagan from the Republican Party and George Wallace and Edward Kennedy from the Democrats."

If a Mexican-American wins the race, Santillán argues, this will only be used to further the illusion that meaningful change can come about through the major parties. Police harassment, the high dropout rate, poor health services, drugs, and *la migra* will still be around, he adds. "Social and political changes develop from struggle against the political parties."

To those who say they are against the two-party system, but want to give it one more chance, Santillán has some closing advice: "These people must ask themselves questions such as: Who gerrymanders the barrios? Why did so many Chicanos die in the Korean and Vietnam wars under Democratic administrations? Who was the president during the Bay of Pigs?"

"Who supported Nixon's reelection? And why did Democrats introduce the Rodino-Kennedy [deportation] bills? These and many other questions should be asked, and once the answers are found, they must make a choice: Either support the two-party system and the rich, or struggle with our people who are struggling to bring political and social justice to their lives."

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Indecent exposure?—A Portland attorney was arrested on a downtown street as he left a party wearing a mask bearing the likeness of President Nixon.

Progress reports—People may have medical care problems, but the situation for animals is improving. The pet divisions of the major drug firms are selling \$500-million a year in medical supplies. There are contraceptives for female dogs and diet foods for pets with heart conditions, kidney ailments, and allergies. And if Fido has a problem with bad breath or gasiness, there are tablets for that.

Philosophical approach—At a meeting of American Electric Power stockholders, one of them addressed himself to the pollution problem, observing, "You can't get milk unless you also get manure." The same probably holds true for stockholders' speeches.

Wrong sex and profession—A New Jersey court upheld the Brick Township firing of Kathleen Pietrunti, a teacher, for use of "abusive rhetoric," and uttering "unladylike and unfeminine" remarks in public places, such as referring to William Bell, president of the school board, as "Ding Dong

Bell." Apparently Pietrunti didn't realize you have to be president to talk that way.

The march of civilization—With real estate values zooming, famed old coffee houses in Vienna's business district are being replaced by bank buildings.

Well-balanced budget—To trim operating costs, the Los Angeles board of education eliminated such extravagances as health benefits for substitute teachers. The board also voted to reject a "stupid" proposal to eliminate their chauffeur-driven limousines.



'It is with deepest regret we have to announce a phenomenal increase in profits to shareholders.'

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Portugal out of Africa now!

The following guest column was written by Andrew Pulley, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance.

For the last two years May has been designated African Liberation Month. On African Liberation Day, which has been on or around May 25, tens of thousands of Afro-Americans have protested U.S. aid to the Portuguese war against the people of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau.

This year, local demonstrations will be held around May 19, Malcolm X's birthday, and a national demonstration has been projected for May 25 in Washington, D.C., to be preceded by a two-day conference.

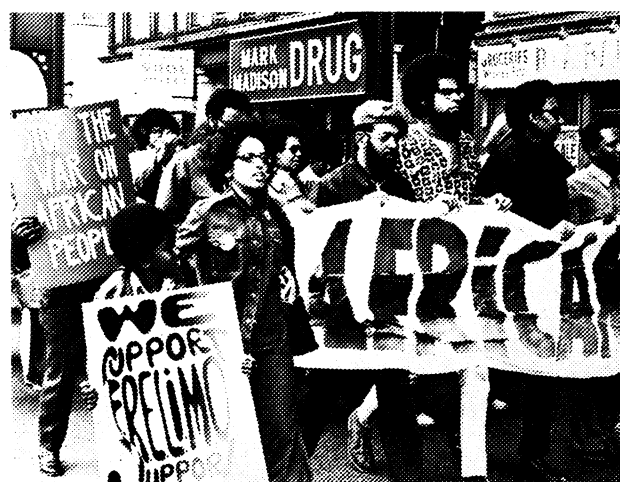
In Atlanta, a demonstration is planned for May 18. The African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) at Atlanta University and the Black Alliance at Georgia State are building the action.

A march and rally are also set for May 18 in Detroit. The Pan African Congress, the Reverend Albert Cleage's Black Christian Nationalist Church, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Young Socialist Alliance are among the groups building the action.

Other activities are also planned in cities across

the country. But so far no action has been projected for New York and other cities that have had important demonstrations in previous years. This means that the organized events are likely to be smaller in turnout than in the last two years.

This is unfortunate because now, with the recent developments in Portugal, more people than ever



African Liberation Day in Boston, 1973

Militant/Dave Wulp

are aware of the struggle against Portuguese colonialism in Africa. This is the time to yell louder than ever that Portugal must get out of its African colonies now!

The new Portuguese regime of General Spínola is masquerading as a champion of self-determination for the colonies; but Spínola refuses to pull the troops out of the African colonies, and he refuses to grant them independence.

Thus it is more important than ever to demand that Portugal withdraw its forces unconditionally and immediately from Africa. It is also a special obligation for those in the U.S. today to demand an end to Washington's complicity with Portuguese imperialism.

The anti-Vietnam war movement demonstrated that masses of people engaged in militant action can affect the outcome of the war by limiting the options of the imperialist aggressor.

In order to give aid to the African freedom fighters, which is the most valuable aid American opponents of Portuguese aggression are capable of giving, we must involve in action everyone who is an opponent of Portugal's denial of self-determination to the people of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



The right to maternity benefits

On April 15 a federal judge found the General Electric Company guilty of sex discrimination for failing to provide disability benefits to pregnant employees.

The decision came in a suit filed by the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers on behalf of seven female workers at GE's Salem, Va., air-conditioner plant.

"There is no rational distinction to be drawn between pregnancy-related disabilities and a disability arising from any other cause," ruled Judge Robert Merhige.

The decision, if upheld on appeal, will be a big step forward for millions of working women and men. As it now stands, a woman who becomes pregnant must take unpaid leave, is often ordered to stop working much earlier than is physically necessary, and loses her seniority upon return—if allowed to return at all. The result is often economic disaster.

This new ruling places pregnancy in the same category as other temporary disabilities in terms of insurance policies, job protection, and paid leaves.

General Electric bosses plan to appeal the decision, and the *Wall Street Journal* has rushed to their defense.

The *Journal's* editors assure us that—of course

—they are not against the principle of equal economic opportunity for women. But this is going too far! This is a "public policy measure . . . that might further weaken the family unit as a basic foundation for our society."

The *Journal* argues that procreation is a "joint venture of both man and woman, usually conducted within the legal bonds of marriage. . . . The economic cost involved is not usually borne solely by women but by man and wife. Thus, the failure of an employer to bear that cost does not strictly discriminate against women."

The *Journal* editors conveniently ignore some very well established statistics, which even they have printed. One-third of all working women (more than 10 million!) are the sole breadwinners for themselves and their children.

Twenty-two million working women are single, divorced, widowed, separated, or have husbands whose earnings are less than \$7,000 a year. For any of these women, the loss of income during a pregnancy is disastrous. Whether or not they share the disaster with a husband is irrelevant.

It's true that many couples jointly bear the cost of childbirth and child-rearing. It's the woman, however, who loses the job, or pay, or seniority. How about when a husband breaks his leg play-

ing a game of football? The husband and wife also jointly bear the burden of that temporary disability. But the man is not fired. He usually gets paid sick leave, and there is no threat to his seniority while he's absent.

What's the difference? The difference is sex discrimination. The difference is the sexist idea that a woman's job is not as important or necessary as a man's and that women should not work and be mothers at the same time.

Finally the *Journal* editors get around to their real worry. This is not a sex discrimination question, they write, but "a question of public policy towards the family as a basic social unit."

"If the family unit is to go—it has been disintegrating already to an alarming degree—what is to take its place? The state, perhaps?"

In other words, they are worried that the maternity-pay ruling may strengthen the concept that society, not the individual woman or family, should bear the cost of raising children. The *Wall Street Journal* thinks that working people should not only provide the labor power to make profits for the rich, but that they should carry the economic load of raising the future generation of workers for companies such as General Electric.

Mouth hypocritical 'moral outrage'

Capitalist politicians 'find out' Nixon's a rat

By ELAINE MITCHELL

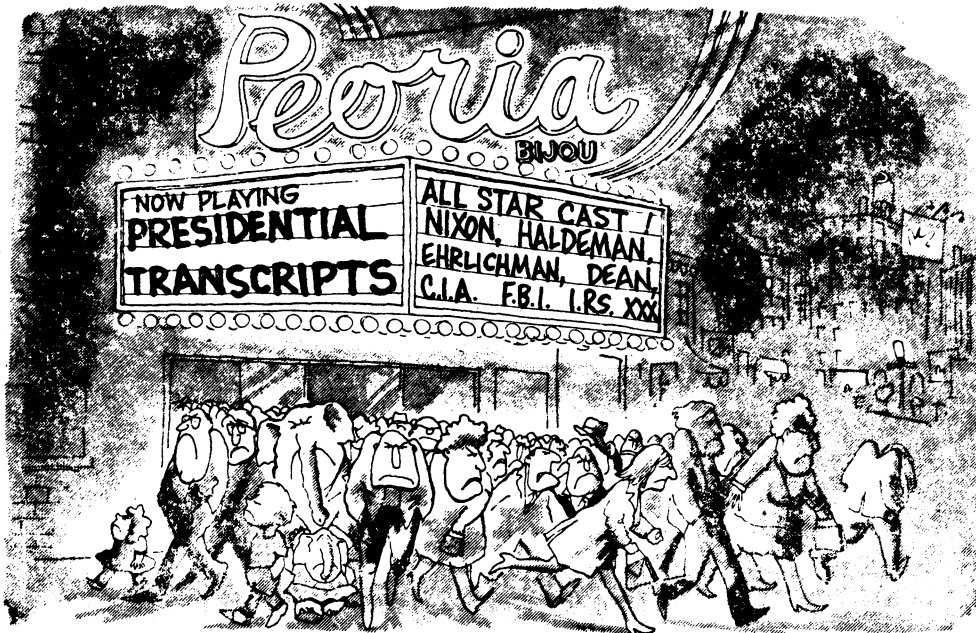
In the wake of the publication of the White House transcripts, the American people have been subjected to a flood of sanctimonious "moral indignation" from the capitalist politicians and editorial writers who claim to have suddenly discovered what a rat the president of the United States is.

If there is anything more repulsive than the true character of what goes on in the Oval Office, it is the hypocrisy of the charlatans of the Democratic and Republican parties who claim to be shocked at the "real Nixon."

Once these tricksters saw the dimensions of the mass reaction to the White House transcripts, they began falling all over each other in their haste to put distance between themselves and the totally discredited man the capitalist rulers picked to serve as president less than two years ago.

Public reaction to the conspiratorial, cynical world of Nixon's high command came quickly. The May 20 *Newsweek* reported:

"The White House had mistakenly guessed that nobody Out There would read the quarter-million words of tran-



to denounce Nixon's immorality during the bombing of Vietnam, or during the murderous wave of police attacks on the Black Panther Party. They never demanded his resignation or impeachment when he froze workers' wages, or brought the world to the brink of nuclear war over the Mideast in October 1973, or had students gunned down in cold blood at Kent and Jackson State.

Their frantic statements now are geared to convincing the American people that it is Nixon's dishonest personality that is the problem. The truth of the matter is that what Watergate has uncovered is the true nature of the government and capitalist methods of rule.

The *Chicago Tribune*, formerly a staunch defender of Nixon, played on this theme of Nixon's "character" in a recent editorial. "... we have seen the private man, and we are appalled," said the editorial, urging Nixon to resign.

Real motive

The *Tribune* also spelled out its real motive for getting rid of Nixon. They want to sacrifice Nixon in order to restore confidence in the institutions of capitalist society, so the government can carry out business as usual again:

"... it is equally important for the future of the Presidency itself that it be separated from the man who now holds it," the editors wrote. "We must return to the day when people can shiver with pride instead of shudder with embarrassment when they see the flag or hear 'Hail to the Chief.' Many of the prerogatives of the Presidency are essential to the country, including secrecy when properly justified for reasons of national security or executive privilege. ... The longer this goes on, the more likely these prerogatives are to be forfeited—in the public mind if not by act of Congress."

There seems to be agreement by most of the U.S. ruling class that Nixon must go. The question now being debated is which method of throwing him out will do the most to repair the shattered credibility of the two-party system and the government.

As the calls for Nixon's resignation began flying fast and thick, it was the Democrats in Congress who took the lead in saying "let's cool it." Among those opposing the resignation idea, and proposing impeachment instead, were Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) and House Speaker Carl Albert (D-Okla.), who noted that it's better for "the consti-

tutional process to run its course."

Senate Democratic Whip Robert Byrd (D-W.Va.) articulated the fear of his colleagues in a speech on the Senate floor May 13. According to the May 14 *Washington Post*, Byrd "warned that the U.S. constitutional system isn't a parliamentary system where a government can be swept from office by a 'flashfire of public opinion,' and said that if Mr. Nixon were forced out before charges against him were proved, 'this would change our system from one of fixed tenure to one in which a President would remain in office only by popular approval.'"

In other words, it might encourage the idea that the American people themselves can bring about change by mass pressure, instead of going through the "proper channels."

'Cleansing process'

Vice-President Ford has been sounding out a similar theme. In a speech at Eastern Illinois University in Charleston, Ford pointed to some of the advantages of impeachment: "There will be some pluses from the very operation of this cleansing process—a recognition that the law applies to holders of high office as well as to the citizen who elects the officeholder."

Nixon's transcripts, of course, prove exactly the opposite—that the only rules observed by capitalist politicians

are those that protect the profits of the bankers and big businessmen who put them in office.

Ford, and other Republicans and Democrats, see the impeachment and trial of Nixon as the best way of convincing the American people that the American system of "checks and balances" actually does work and there's no need of seeking political alternatives outside the two-party framework.

Nixon himself, it should be noted, has some good reasons for not resigning—at least not until he's done some plea-bargaining with the capitalist class. If he is no longer president, he will lose the protection of his office in relation to criminal and civil action for his role in Watergate.

Suits against Nixon

And, as the May 20 *Time* magazine noted, he also faces other legal problems, including "civil suits by various individuals who were bugged on presidential orders." Prominent among these is the suit of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, which demands \$27-million in damages and a halt to all illegal surveillance and harassment by the government.

Although played down by the mass media, new developments related to government secret-police activity will strengthen the cases of groups such as the SWP and YSA. The Senate Watergate committee, for example, has finished its draft report, which includes the fact that it was unable to find any evidence that Nixon ever canceled the 1970 Huston spy plan, as he has claimed.

Added to this is Nixon's recent letter stating that the Ellsberg burglars were operating under a general order of presidential authority—the same "authority" cited by the government in the SWP case. Both developments add new weight to the socialists' charges.

But the White House attacks on socialists, Black activists, antiwar groups, and other dissenters have been scarcely mentioned in the declarations of "shock" by self-righteous Democrats and Republicans. These violations of democratic rights are bipartisan. As the *Chicago Tribune* put it, they are among the "prerogatives" of capitalist rule.



SCOTT: Needs a little something to restore his 'battered credibility.'

scripts. In fact, two dozen major newspapers printed the lot verbatim, and two paperback publishers spilled 3 million copies onto an insatiably hungry market in the space of a week; a driver delivering a shipment to one Washington bookstore sold 57 copies from his truck."

It was the public reaction to the devastating picture of capitalist government at work that started longtime Senate leaders like Hugh Scott (R-Pa.) squealing like stuck pigs about the "shabby" and "immoral" conduct of the president.

Scott, after all, had gone out on a limb several months ago to publicly state he had seen some of the transcripts and that they upheld Nixon's side of the story. Now, all of a sudden he was changing his tune.

Scott was in fact a bit peeved that the White House had deleted from the transcripts one reference to himself as "a sniveling, whining son of a bitch."

"I wish you had let it stay in," Scott told White House lawyer James St. Clair. "It would help restore my battered credibility."

Hypocrisy

Scott's unabashed cynicism shows the self-serving nature of these proclamations about the "immorality" of Nixon.

The shysters in Washington who are speaking out now never felt compelled

'God has his own tape recorder'

Nixon's not the only one who's been bugging unsuspecting citizens, Billy Graham informed the world last week. "The Lord is listening all the time," the evangelist warned. "The Lord has got his tape recorder going from the time you're born until you die."

But those who are now worried about that big Sony in the sky can take heart in the spiritual advice of another man of the cloth, Dr. John McLaughlin, the White House Jesuit-in-residence.

McLaughlin, a speechwriter for the president, held a news conference May 8 to set the record straight on Nixon's moral character.

The White House priest said the public has simply failed to grasp the therapeutic value of presidential indulgence in expletives, characterizations, and inaudibles.

McLaughlin called it a "form of emotional drainage." He didn't say whether Nixon finds it more "drain-

ing" to complain about "those Jew boys" or to call Judge Sirica "that wop."

At any rate, the Bible teaches that "the essence of morality is charity," the priest pointed out. And who has been more "charitable" than Richard Nixon? "... I would say to you that he has more than any leader of this century reduced violence, aggression, insurgency, militarism and war in the twentieth century by a thousand percent."

If that doesn't seem to quite jibe with the Nixon most people know, it might have something to do with McLaughlin's previous White House assignment in Southeast Asia. There, reports the *New York Times*, he defended Nixon's genocidal bombing of North Vietnam and the mining of Haiphong harbor "as moral and necessary to bring about a lasting peace in the world." After all, it was the only "charitable" thing to do.

'Internationalism is the central principle of our entire movement'

The following message to the tenth anniversary celebration of *Intercontinental Press* was sent via tape by James P. Cannon, national chairman emeritus of the Socialist Workers Party.

This celebration of Joe and Reba Hansen's tenth year as the producers of the great international publication *Intercontinental Press*, combined with the celebration of their forty years of active work—and I mean work—in the movement, should make it clear from the start that this movement was not born yesterday.

Then, if we add to these two momentous events the fact that we are also celebrating the forty-sixth year of *The Militant*, it sets the theme for the whole celebration, which might be properly called "Where We Started and Where We Are Going."

We started with the conception, which we learned from Trotsky, that the central principle of all revolutionary activity in this epoch must be the conception of internationalism—as opposed to the nationalist theory of Stalin and his gang of "socialism in one country." We have stuck firmly to this principle throughout all the intervening years. And that is the reason, first of all and above all, why we are still here and still going forward.

On top of all their other work since they joined the movement in 1934, Joe and Reba have been consistent upholders of the principle of internationalism and have promoted this idea, as they promote everything they believe in, by active work for its fulfillment. For that, we honor them above all tonight, and the Tenth Anniversary of *Intercontinental Press* is a good time to say it out loud.

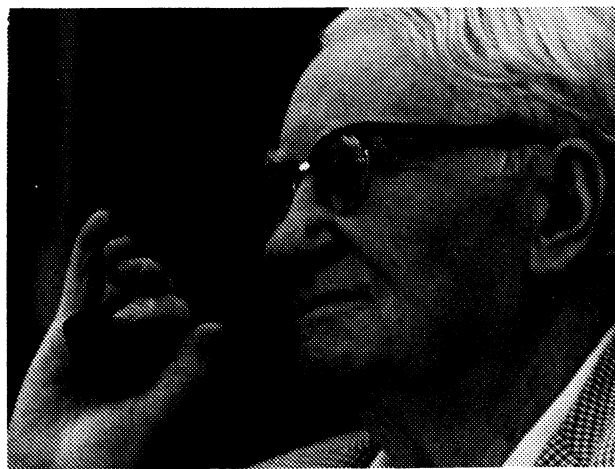
The world we live in is formally divided up into all kinds of countries great and small, but in reality this nationalism is an obsolete idea. In reality, we live on one planet, and all the countries and all parts of it are joined together in mutual interdependence. And what is done by one country affects all the others as the part affects the whole. This requires that they all find a way to work together as one—until eventually they actually all become one single country. Or if you want to express it another way, one single planet, each part contributing its share to the whole, and the whole affecting the lives of each single unit.

The whole system of capitalism, with its exploitation of the many who do the useful and productive work by a very small minority who produce nothing and contribute nothing, has long been obsolete. Just as the division of the world into national states belongs to the past and has no rightful place in the present and will be done away with entirely in the future.

'We believe in socialist future'

We believe in the socialist future and are confident that it will be realized. But this will not happen by itself. The perpetuation of capitalism can lead to nothing but destruction in economic crises, wars, and eventual destruction of the entire human race, if it is allowed to go its own course. But we firmly believe it will not be allowed to do that. The working class of the world, whose power is unlimited, will act in time to avoid such a catastrophe by eliminating capitalism and inaugurating the socialist society of the future.

But even this historical process will not take place automatically. It requires the intervention of those who are conscious of the great historical necessity



Militant/John Gray

Taped message from James P. Cannon stressed that internationalism 'means first of all and above all, international collaboration.'

and are capable of explaining it to others, until a sufficient number of the workers acquire the same consciousness and act accordingly in a socialist revolution.

We begin our movement with the recognition that internationalism is the central principle of our entire movement, and that internationalism means, first of all and above all, collaboration of those people in all countries who recognize the international character of our historical problem.

International collaboration

International collaboration means that those who understand the historical problem, and agree on the basic principles which must guide the movement towards its solution, must learn how to work together, exchange ideas, think together, learn from each other—and learn how to solve all the problems which arise in the course of historical development by this collaboration of each and every individual in our movement, in all countries and on all continents.

This indispensable collaboration on an international scale will not happen automatically any more than the abolition of capitalism and its replacement by a socialist order will happen automatically. Both require deliberate thought and conscious effort to solve the problems of working together, of collaborating in this great historical task. This holds true also in the present national fields in each and every country. People must learn how to work together and think together so that the work and thought of each individual becomes a contribution to the whole.

Lessons of Russian revolution

The great lessons of the Russian revolution, which marked the historic turning point from capitalism to socialism on a world scale, were accomplished by the collaboration of many people of different abilities, of different talents and different capacities, who had combined their efforts in a revolutionary party. And this party, in turn, supplied the leadership to the working class which alone has the power to make the revolution and transform society.

The two comrades whom we honor tonight are models of this capacity to work together, not only as a team of two but as a part of a larger team in this country and, especially in the last ten years, have made their great contributions to the development of the international movement as models of collaborators and team workers. They have contributed mightily to the dissemination of this idea to comrades around the world through the magnificent publication which they started, and have continued to publish and reach ever wider circles of readers, *Intercontinental Press*.

Among the many contributions that Joe and Reba have made in national and international collaboration has been the understanding, and the application in practice, of the fundamental idea that every person in the movement is important; and that everyone's contribution, in whatever field it may be, makes up a part of the whole which makes the movement possible.

I believe this celebration tonight will be another contribution to the great idea that everyone's work for the party is important; and as Trotsky expressed it once, that each of us carries on his shoulders a particle of the fate of humanity, and that thereby our lives are not lived in vain.

Role of Inter at tenth anni

By CINDY JAQUITH

NEW YORK—An inspiring tribute to the international revolutionary socialist movement was held here May 5, as more than 400 people gathered to celebrate the tenth anniversary of *Intercontinental Press*, and to honor Joseph Hansen and Reba Hansen on their fortieth anniversary of work in the Trotskyist movement.

Joseph Hansen is the editor of *IP*, an international news magazine, and Reba Hansen is its business manager.

The banquet and rally was not simply a celebration of past achievements, however. It was also a pledge to expand the work of *IP* in the future, highlighted by the collection of \$8,100 to help finance the regular appearance in *IP* of articles and documents in Spanish.

The rally was hosted by the New York Socialist Workers Party and chaired by Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *The Militant*.

IP supporters came from as far away as Pittsburgh, Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, Boston, and several cities in New York and New Jersey.

Indispensable source

In its 10-year history, *IP* has become an indispensable source of information on struggles in every corner of the globe. Its coverage ranges from reports on revolutionary upsurges such as the May-June 1968 events in France, to the fight for socialist democracy in the Soviet bloc countries, to efforts to free political prisoners in countries such as Iran, Chile, and Sri Lanka. Particularly valuable are *IP*'s translations of key articles and documents that are otherwise unavailable in English.

IP reflects the views of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization.

In his speech to the rally, George Novack described some of the precursors to *IP* in the workers movement. Novack is a contributing editor to *IP*, along with Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, and Ernest Mandel.

In its early period, Novack said, *IP* was pub-



Militant/Jean Vertheim

Reba Hansen explaining how economic hardships facing *IP* in early days were overcome.

lished in Paris under the name *World Outlook*. "World Outlook" was patterned after *Inprecorr* (short for *International Press Correspondence*) that was started in 1921 on behalf of the Third International as an organ of information on foreign affairs, economics, and the labor movement," he said. "Inprecorr played an important role in educating and guiding the newly formed sections of the Third International under Lenin and Trotsky," he explained.

Novack read a quote from Leon Trotsky on the tenth anniversary of the *Bulletin of the Opposition*, the voice of the Soviet Left Opposition, which Trotsky edited until his assassination in 1940.

"There remain quite a few left philistines who turn up their noses loftily at our small publications and their small circulation," Trotsky wrote. "But we would not swap our *Bulletin* for the Moscow *Pravda*, with all its rotary presses and trucks. Machines may and will pass from one hand to another under the influence of ideas that sway the masses. . . ."

Novack read a message to the rally from Pierre

a labor press service

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Cover from an early issue of *IP*, then called *World Outlook*.

Continental Press hailed versary celebration in NY

Frank, which was one of many messages and greetings sent from *IP* readers and sections and sympathizing groups of the Fourth International (see box).

These messages in themselves were testimony to the growth and expanding influence of *IP*.

In his speech, Joseph Hansen stated: "In my opinion, *Intercontinental Press* today represents a big achievement for the world Trotskyist movement as a whole. Without being tied to the Fourth International organizationally, it is nonetheless the weekly news magazine of international Trotskyism. . . .

"As the weekly magazine of the Fourth International, the outcome of a collective undertaking of comrades all over the world over a 10-year period, *Intercontinental Press* stands today as a publication worthy of the Trotskyist movement as a whole."

Hansen said that "the launching of *Intercontinental Press* was one of the steps forward made possible by the Reunification Congress of the Fourth International, which was held in June 1963," ending a 10-year split in the world Trotskyist movement.

"The key developments," Hansen explained, "on which the two factions had reached common positions—despite the important differences on other questions—included the following:

"First was the upsurge in the Soviet bloc countries that pointed toward a political revolution. This upsurge took dramatic form in Poland and Hungary in 1956, when the workers rebelled against the bureaucratic caste and sought to establish proletarian democracy."

Cuban revolution

"The second big development was the victory of the Cuban revolution," he continued. "Both factions in the Fourth International recognized that the Cuban revolution had begun as a struggle for democratic demands and had ended in the abolition of capitalist property forms and the establishment of a workers state.

"And the third big development was the ongoing Algerian revolution. This gave promise of following the pattern of the Cuban revolution. At a certain point, however, it fell back, so that the revolution remained uncompleted, achieving only political independence for Algeria."

Hansen explained that "the defense of the Cuban and the Algerian revolutions, and the struggle for a political revolution in the Soviet bloc countries, constituted one of the main themes of *World Outlook* after it was launched. It was the reunification of the Fourth International that made production of this news service a realistic possibility."

The decision to include articles in Spanish as a regular feature, Hansen said, will greatly aid the work of revolutionists in Latin America and other Spanish-speaking parts of the world.

This Spanish material will also be important for Chicano and Puerto Rican readers in the U. S., Norman Oliver, 1973 SWP mayoral candidate



Militant/Mary Hendrickson
Joseph Hansen tells audience that *Intercontinental Press* 'represents a big achievement for the world Trotskyist movement.'

in New York, pointed out in his appeal for funds to launch the new project.

Each contributor of \$20 or more to *IP* received a beautiful volume of drawings by *IP* artist Copain, prepared especially for the anniversary celebration.

The \$8,100 collected would have seemed like a fortune back in 1963, when the original *IP* staff began its operations on 375 francs (\$75). Reba Hansen, who has been the *IP* business manager since its inception, told in her speech how the economic hardships of the early years were overcome.

"When you pick up a copy of *Intercontinental Press*," she said, "you probably notice that it's very professional-looking. . . . The fact is that *Intercontinental Press* has been professional-looking from the very beginning."

She described how *IP* was published in a cramped office on a second-hand Royal typewriter and a borrowed mimeograph machine. The staff, consisting of herself, Joseph Hansen, and Pierre Frank, worked as a team to carry out all the tasks of producing *IP*—from translating and writing, to typing, mimeographing, collating, addressing envelopes, and mailing the finished product.

In those early days, she said *IP* was sent to 27 countries. The majority of subscribers were in North America. "Today we mail to 65 countries," she noted. "On circulation, too, the balance has shifted a little. Forty-seven percent of our circulation is now in North America, while 53 percent is in other countries. This is a significant shift."

The rally concluded with a taped message from James P. Cannon, national chairman emeritus of the SWP (printed on opposite page). Cannon's message received a standing ovation.

International greetings to *IP* banquet

Among the greetings sent to the banquet and rally for *Intercontinental Press* was a message from Pierre Frank, a leader of the Fourth International and a contributing editor to *IP*. Frank wrote:

"I could not be present at the celebration of the tenth anniversary of *Intercontinental Press* for reasons quite independent of my will. In writing these lines, I recall particularly the beginnings of *Intercontinental Press*, then called *World Outlook*. Joe, Reba, and I were in charge of its weekly publication in Paris, in a tiny headquarters, with extremely limited material means. This was a very important period for our movement. The Fourth International had just been reunified, and the publication contributed enormously to strengthening that reunification. I send my best wishes for the future of *Intercontinental Press*."

Other messages were sent from Hugo Blanco, Peruvian Trotskyist leader; Charles Michaloux, an editor of *Rouge*, the French Trotskyist newspaper; and Peng Shu-tse and Chen Pi-lan, two of the founders of Chinese Trotskyism.

Messages were also received from the Sattar

League, Iran; Tamara Deutscher; Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, Argentina; League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Canada; and Revolutionary Communist Group, Finland.

Also from Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, Venezuela; *Bandiera Rossa* and Revolutionary Communist Groups, Italy; Pathfinder Press (British distributor of *IP*); and Dr. Mohammed Mehdi, secretary-general of Action Committee on Arab-American Relations.

Also, Israeli Socialist Organization (Matzpen-Marxist), Israel; Revolutionary Marxist Group, Ireland; *Socialist Action*, New Zealand; Roman Kupchinsky, secretary of the New York-based Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners; and Bohdan Futala, Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the Soviet Union, located in Chicago.

Also, Gruppe Internationale Marxisten, Germany; Espartaco, Colombia; Chitta Mitra, veteran Indian Trotskyist; Socialist Workers League, Australia; and Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire, Switzerland.

Miners reveal bribery plot to break Kentucky strike

The United Mine Workers has exposed a plot on the part of the Duke Power Company and the Southern Labor Union (SLU) to bribe striking Brookside, Ky., miners into returning to work.

The May 16-31 issue of the *United Mine Workers Journal* contains transcripts and photographs of a secret meeting May 3 between SLU officials and two striking Brookside miners. The SLU officials offered the Harlan County miners several thousand dollars each if they could get their fellow workers to end the 10-month-old strike.

The walkout began in July 1973 when the Eastover Mining Company, a subsidiary of Duke Power, refused to recognize the national contract terms of the United Mine Workers at its Brookside mine. This was despite the fact that the miners had voted 113 to 55 to be represented by the United Mine Workers after experiencing three years of corruption under the SLU, a company union.

Since the strike began, Eastover has refused to budge on key contract demands, including the miners' right to a safety committee and increased royalties for a better welfare fund.

In early April, Brookside strikers Carl Noe and Ron Curtis were approached by SLU field man Noah Harris, who offered money if they could convince a sufficient number of miners to return to work so that the strike would be broken.

In cooperation with the United Mine Workers, Noe and Curtis played along with this offer and met several times with Harris and SLU President Paul Byrge. The miners received a total of \$680



UMW Journal/Earl Dotter
Company union agent Noah Harris (left) counts out bribery money for striking miner Ron Curtis, unaware that United Mine Workers photographer is recording transaction.

in payoffs, along with the promise of another \$2,500 each after the job was done.

According to transcripts of the May 3 meeting, SLU President Byrge told Noe and Curtis: "Yes sir, when you guys get them fellers back to work that 5,000 will be waiting on you just like I had this \$280 waiting on you today."

Harris said that "it would be best for us to pick out a motel somewhere just across over on the Virginia side" for the \$5,000 to change hands.

In addition, the SLU officials promised the two miners they would have no trouble getting a job after the strike ended, despite the Harlan County tradition of blacklisting union activists.

In response to this evidence, the United Mine Workers has filed 11 charges of unfair labor practices with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). Duke Power is charged with conspiracy to form a "company-dominated union" at the Brookside mine and with "a systematic program of intimidation, coercion and discrimination aimed at persuading [Brookside] employees to abandon their commitment to the United Mine Workers of America."

"We worked for three years against our will under the Southern Labor Union with no safety protection, miserable medical care, and union officials you couldn't tell apart from the bosses," said Ron Curtis. "If they think any amount of money could get the Brookside miners to go back under the SLU, they're crazy."

The following is excerpted from a presentation by Harry Ring to a May 7 memorial meeting held by the Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party for Duncan Ferguson. Duncan Ferguson was a veteran member of the SWP who died April 29.

By HARRY RING

I believe that it can be considered a tribute to the political merit of our movement that it has been able to win to its ranks so many exceptional, gifted individuals. And there can be no question that Comrade Duncan Ferguson was a very exceptional and a very gifted individual.

Duncan joined the Socialist Workers Party back in 1941, and he was 41 years of age at the time. He was already an established sculptor. His

the Louisiana racist demagogue of the 1930s, decided he wanted to improve his image. He invited a whole number of prestigious figures in the academic world to join the faculty at LSU, with generous remuneration.

Duncan was invited to come down to organize and head a fine arts department at the university. So, it seemed that Duncan had it made. He had the opportunity to work, to teach, and to be free of the problem of economic survival. But all this proved relatively short-lived.

Personal crisis

In later years Duncan described a deepgoing personal crisis which then gripped him, a psychological crisis involving his art. He had apparently turned out a prodigious amount of work prior to that. But he developed what he described as a "blockage." He

can accepted another important assignment. Following the 1940 assassination of Leon Trotsky, Trotsky's companion Natalia continued to live in their household in Coyoacan, Mexico. Duncan took charge of the household. He spent a year and a half there carrying out that assignment. It was during that time, working from photographs, that he did his bust of Trotsky.

Duncan returned to New York after completing that assignment and became manager of Pioneer Publishers, predecessor of Pathfinder Press.

He held that responsibility for a number of years and was at the same time active in the New York local of the SWP, serving as a member of the party's city committee.

In the early '50s Duncan became a carpenter. And again this marvelous ability with his hands very quickly

artist nor humanity could be free under capitalism. To achieve that freedom for the artist, and for humanity, required a socialist revolution and the construction of a classless society.

What is most important of all about Duncan is not only that he understood this but that he acted upon it and devoted his entire life to the realization of it.

This was no easy matter. It's not easy generally to be a revolutionary. And, in my opinion, it was particularly difficult for an individual like Duncan.

Throughout the entire period he was a revolutionary he considered himself an artist as well. He never decided that he wanted to be a revolutionary socialist instead of a sculptor. He wanted both. And that is a difficult problem.

Duncan discussed the problem of the conflict that faces the serious artist who is also a revolutionary. Fortunately some of his thoughts on this are on tape. In 1965 he went to Chicago to participate in a party summer school there and led some discussion on the relationship of the artist to the revolutionary party.

I listened to that tape the other day. Duncan was, of course, very knowledgeable in matters of art. But, interestingly, he wasn't particularly concerned with theories of art or one or another school of art. As he put it in opening that class, "Art is primarily not to be talked about but to be looked at."

Materialist conception

He was deeply concerned with the materialist conception of art. He was deeply influenced by the contributions of Trotsky on this subject. In the class, he stressed the point that Trotsky's great work on this question, *Literature and Revolution*, was written in 1922 and 1923, one of the most difficult periods of the Russian revolution.

Duncan said that the very fact that Trotsky wrote a book on this subject at that time underlined the great importance Trotsky attached to it. He quoted from Trotsky, who said that the development of art is the highest test of the vitality and significance of each epoch.

Duncan thoroughly and angrily rejected the reactionary Stalinist notion of "socialist realism." Under this "theory" the artist is reduced to the servant of the bureaucrat, assigned to depict not reality, but the bureaucrat's chosen version of it.

Against the Stalinist bureaucrats who would dictate to the artist, Duncan insisted, with Trotsky, that there is no such thing as a Marxist "position" on art.

"A work of art," he quoted Trotsky as saying, "should, in the first place, be judged by its own law, that is, by the law of art. . . . Art must make its own way and by its own means." And Duncan pointed out with obvious relish Trotsky's statement that the artist does not seek and cannot tolerate orders.

It was in the framework of this approach to art that Duncan discussed the relationship of the artist to the revolutionary party.

In that 1965 discussion he said this was an important question, but not a major one. The reason it was not a major problem, he said, was because there unfortunately were not many artists in the party, and in his opinion, this side of the revolution there were not likely to be.

The root of the problem, he said, was inherent in the conflict that exists between being an artist and a revolutionary.

One side of the problem, he said, is that "to express oneself in images, in metaphors, is such a huge and demanding task that in order to meet it you have to devote most of your

Duncan Ferguson: artist & revolutionist

work was on exhibit in the Metropolitan Museum, the Whitney, the Museum of Modern Art, and numerous others.

At the time he joined the Socialist Workers Party, Duncan left a professorship at Louisiana State University. He was the head of the fine arts department there. He had decided that he wanted to be an active member of the party, and he packed his bags and came to New York so he could get right into the center of the movement.

He came into the movement as a full-time revolutionary, and he remained one until his death.

Duncan was born in China. His father was the head of a Protestant college there. Duncan left China in his early teens and came to the United States. He studied at Harvard, graduating with degrees in both music and literature.

After he left Harvard, with careers open to him in music and literature, he became involved in sculpting and decided to devote himself to it.

This was an extremely difficult period for Duncan financially. Sculpting, in the overwhelming majority of cases, is not a very good way of making a living.

Then Duncan got that one-in-a-thousand break for an artist. Huey Long,

no longer could sculpt.

His attempt to cope with that problem led him to consider not only his own personal problem but the problems of society as a whole, the problem of the artist in relationship to this particular society.

During this time he met people around our movement and became acquainted with our ideas.

He delved deeply into these ideas and became persuaded they were correct. And even though it did not solve his personal problem, in terms of getting him back to his sculpting, he decided that this was in fact what he had been searching for. He made the decision to join the SWP and came to New York.

When he arrived in New York in 1941, during World War II, there were many job openings in industry. At the time we had a group of comrades working at the big Crucible Steel plant in Harrison, N.J.

Duncan wanted in on this. He got a job in the tool and die shop. Here was this art professor working at Crucible Steel. But his marvelous hands made it possible for Duncan to very quickly integrate himself into the labor force. In short order he was operating lathes, grinding machines—all the equipment in the department.

After working at Crucible Steel, Dun-

made him a skilled craftsman. He became a member of the Carpenters union and worked with other comrades in that union.

It was also during the '50s that Duncan's long siege of ill health began. He suffered arthritis, bronchial problems, and other difficulties.

In the mid-'50s he was offered a job at a large community center in Cleveland. It meant he would be able to work part-time teaching sculpting, have some time for his own work and for political activity, and get paid enough to scrape by on.

Duncan took the job, and Cleveland was his principal place of residence from then on. He remained, of course, a politically active person. He was elected to the national control commission of the SWP, a body charged with safeguarding the welfare of the organization. In electing members to it, delegates to the party's convention consider loyalty to the movement and tested integrity as key qualifications.

When he developed cancer a number of months ago, arrangements were made for him to live here in Los Angeles and receive the care he needed.

And fortunately, before he spent his last days at the hospital, he was able to enjoy a week in the desert.

Artist & revolutionist

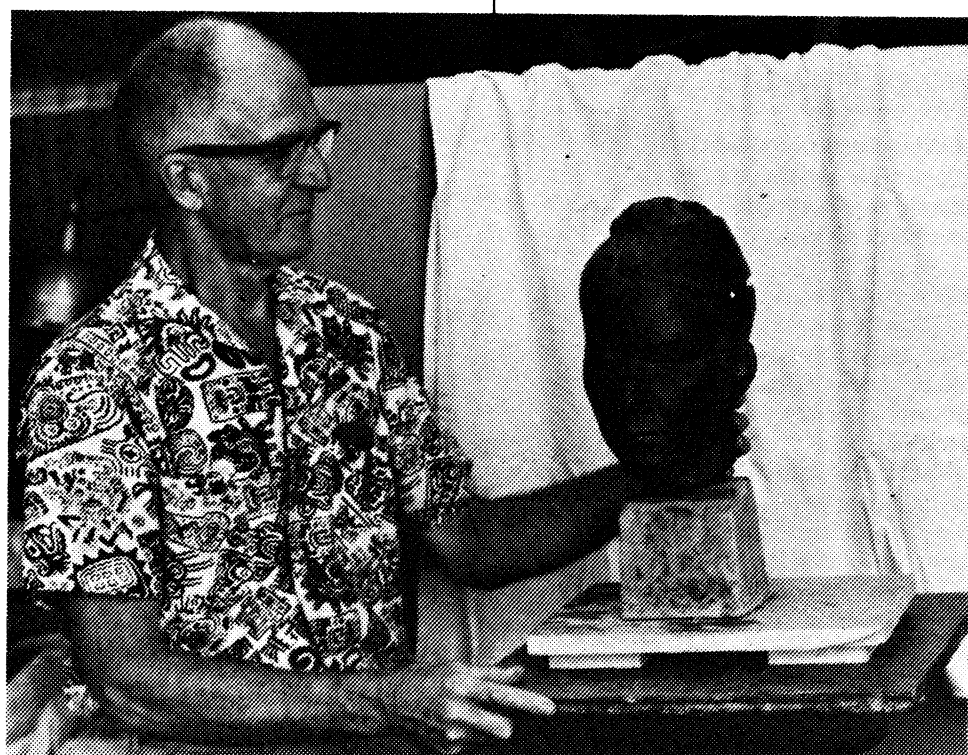
What was Duncan like personally? It's customary to deal with this in memorial observations of this kind.

Milt Alvin made the appraisal, and I would tend to agree with it, that Duncan probably had more personal friends than anyone else in the party.

I think it can also be said that if Duncan's virtues were unique, his vices were of the common garden variety. It's my own estimate that in personal relations he could be subjective and occasionally overly sentimental. He could be extraordinarily stubborn. That can be a limitation in personal relationships, but it was also a manifestation of his strength as an artist and a revolutionary.

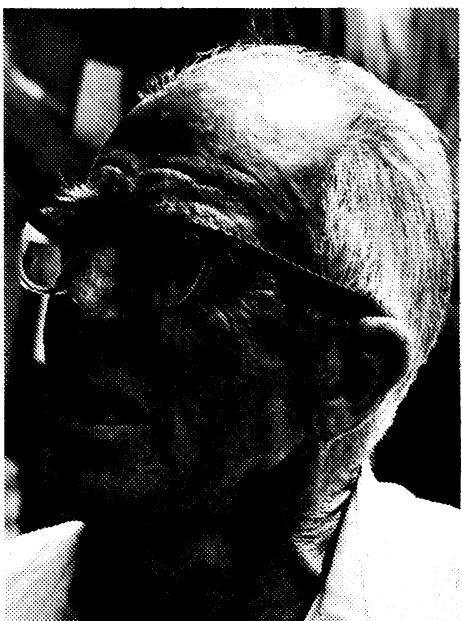
But what was of special significance about Duncan was his character as a revolutionary artist. Duncan was deeply concerned with the state of the arts and with the state of humanity. And he developed a profound understanding of the relationship between the two.

Duncan became convinced to the marrow of his bones that neither the



Militant/Al Hansen

Duncan Ferguson was an established sculptor when he joined the Socialist Workers Party in 1941. He is shown here in a photo taken about 10 years ago in Cleveland.



Militant/Howard Petrick

'Duncan was deeply concerned with the state of the arts and with the state of humanity.'

time to it."

The other side, he explained, is that the main task of the revolutionary party is to make the revolution. And, understandably, the party seeks to utilize to the maximum the energies and abilities of each of its individual members.

Is there then a place for the artist in the revolutionary movement?

Duncan said Yes.

He said two conditions must be met to make it possible. Primarily, he said, the artist must recognize that he or she cannot play any significant revolutionary role outside the revolutionary movement.

And secondly, Duncan said, the party must recognize the problem of the artist. He said it is a simple problem. It is a problem of time. An artist is not an artist unless he or she is able to devote a major amount of time to the work.

"It's a very rough road for the artist in the party," Duncan said. "All I'm asking is, 'Let's not make it any rougher than necessary.'"

Duncan did not say that joining the movement represented in some way a sacrifice for the artist. I know he never considered that he sacrificed in any way by devoting his life to this movement. I'm sure he would have subscribed fully to the statement of Daniel De Leon that the only revolutionaries who sacrifice are the ones who compromise their principles.

Duncan knew the real problem of the artist in this society, and he knew the real solution.

The British novelist, Joyce Carey, portrayed a wonderful obsessed artist who was driven by a simple problem—to find a wall to paint on.

'A wall to paint on'

That's the essence of the problem of the artist in this rotten, decadent society—to find a wall to paint on, to have the opportunity to reach out and find or create an audience for the work.

Duncan understood it will take socialism to provide the artist with a wall to paint on.

When I talked with Jim Cannon about Duncan, Jim talked generally about the problem of the artist in this society. I was interested particularly because I knew Duncan had a high regard for Jim's views not only on political matters but on the relationship of art and revolution. He felt Jim had a particularly rich appreciation of this.

Jim said this the other day: "The artist and the worker need each other and should be related in the struggle for a new society where the artist can get a real chance to flourish."

"I speak," Jim said, "of artist in the broader sense. Not merely painters and sculptors, but all people who have

Continued on page 22

N.Y., Boston, Chicago

Rallies demand 'Free Grigorenko!'

The fifth anniversary of the arrest of former major general Pyotr Grigorenko was marked by demonstrations in Boston, New York, and Chicago May 7.

Grigorenko, one of the central figures in the Soviet dissident movement, was punished for his struggle against bureaucratic abuses by confinement in a psychiatric hospital, where he remains imprisoned to this day.

A petition circulated by Soviet exiles in Boston pointed out that Grigorenko is now being tormented with false promises of release: "The doctors, after declaring him sane, confess they have no authority to discharge him."

The petition was addressed to the Soviet ambassador to the U.S., Anatoly Dobrynin. It demanded freedom for Grigorenko and the release of Semyon Gluzman as well. Gluzman, a Kiev psychiatrist, was arrested and himself confined in a psychiatric hospital for writing a report declaring Grigorenko sane.

The petition was circulated at a rally of 100 people in Boston's Government Center. The rally was chaired by Yuri Glazov, an émigré Soviet dissident now teaching at Boston College.

Speakers included Aleksandr Yesenin-Volpin and Naum Korzhavin, both

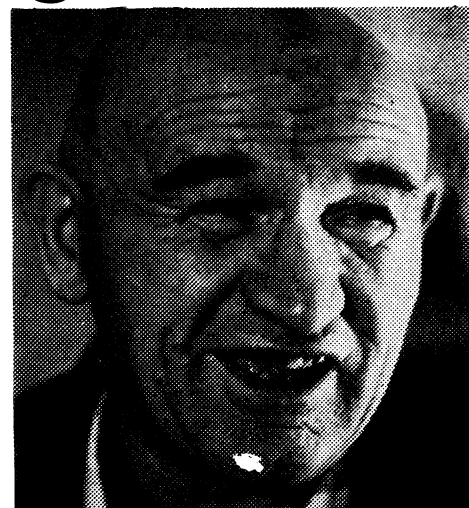
recent Soviet emigrants, and Pavel Litvinov, the Soviet physicist who was given the choice of exile or imprisonment.

The rally was organized by the Committee for Civil Rights in the USSR.

Yesenin-Volpin, who has spent a number of years in Soviet prisons and mental institutions for expressing "unorthodox" views, and engaging in "anti-Soviet agitation," also spoke at a second rally, attended by 70 people.

The second meeting, held at Harvard University, also heard Karel Kovanda, who was active in the student movement in Czechoslovakia during the "Prague Spring" of 1968; Oleh Il'nytskyj, a Ukrainian student; and George Saunders, editor of the book *Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition* and a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

In New York 50 people, including Dr. Daniel Ellsberg, the defendant in the Pentagon papers case, picketed the Soviet airline offices. The picket line was organized by the ad hoc American Solidarity Coalition, which included representatives of the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, Amnesty International, the Socialist Workers Party, International



Grigorenko in a picture taken last year. The 67-year-old dissident has nearly lost the sight in one eye, and his health is deteriorating.

Socialists, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

A news conference to publicize Grigorenko's case was held earlier in the day. Speaking were Ellsberg and Professor Ivan Morris, executive director of Amnesty International. The news conference was covered by both television and radio.

Also present at the news conference and picket line were several Soviet émigrés who had been active in the dissident movement. They passed out a leaflet and held up signs demanding freedom for Grigorenko and all Soviet dissenters.

In Chicago 50 people attended a rally at the University of Illinois Circle Campus. The rally was cosponsored by the YSA and the Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the Soviet Union.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party election campaign in Denver, Colo., leafleted a Soviet Youth Art Festival there on May 7 in support of Grigorenko. Unfortunately, one of the participants wrote to *The Militant*, "we were immediately chased by about 13 people from the State Department, the KGB [Soviet secret police] (or so it seemed), and rent-a-cops. We're getting ready to call the press right now to let them know we'll be back tomorrow."



Daniel Ellsberg (left) joined New York picket line in defense of Pyotr Grigorenko

400 demonstrate in Boston

Blacks protest housing conditions

By SUSAN LAMONT

More than 400 people—mostly residents of the predominantly Black Mission Hill public housing project—gathered at Boston's city hall on April 29 to protest against the conditions that led to the tragic death of nine-year-old Alfonso Johnson the previous week.

The youth was killed April 25 when he and his four-year-old sister were trapped in a malfunctioning elevator. This elevator had passed an "inspection" on Jan. 15.

Responding to the cries of Alfonso's sister, a neighbor had called the fire department, which sent over several men who opened the elevator and took the little girl out. The firemen never inspected the elevator shaft.

Later that evening, Alfonso's mother, Barbara Guy, called the police department to report that she couldn't find her son. She was told, however, to wait 24 hours before filing a missing person report.

She also called the fire department, but received no help. The next morning, Barbara Guy pried open the doors of the elevator with a screwdriver and found Alfonso's body on top of the elevator cage.

A news release put out by residents of Mission Hill explained the purpose of the city hall demonstration: "We, the tenants of Mission Hill and other concerned citizens, do demand that Mayor White surrender himself to the proper authorities whereupon he should be fingerprinted, mugged, and arraigned on charges of manslaughter of the first degree."

After a brief rally outside, the demonstrators went inside city hall to the city council chambers to demand that Mayor White meet with them.

After two hours, Mayor White finally appeared, only to announce that he had set up two committees—one to inspect the elevators at Mission Hill and one to establish whether Barbara

Guy had ever actually called the fire department and the police department!

Supporters of Don Gurewitz, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Massachusetts, participated in the demonstration. A statement released by the socialist campaign said in part, "The desperate need for upgrading the conditions in Boston's public housing projects has been made tragically clear by Alfonso Johnson's death. In addition, there is tremendous need for more quality, low-cost public housing for Boston residents. . . ."

"The Socialist Workers Campaign demands that priority funds be made available immediately to complete the necessary renovations of all of Boston's housing projects to make them safe—beginning with Mission Hill. The tenants themselves should have control over these funds and supervise all renovation to insure that tragedies such as the death of Alfonso Johnson will not happen again."

Thousands say, 'Drop Wounded Knee charges!'

By GREG CORNELL

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Hundreds of petitions containing thousands of signatures have poured into the offices of Federal Judge Fred Nichol, demanding that the charges against Wounded Knee defendants Dennis Banks and Russell Means be dismissed.

Some 3,000 Indians belonging to the Peton Nation have signed petitions, Clyde Bellecourt, a leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM), told *The Militant*.

Judge Nichol, who is presiding at the Wounded Knee trial, told the *Minneapolis Star* May 14 that he has received at least 10,000 signatures on petitions asking that the case be dismissed.

Nichol told the *Star* that the mail and petitions have "no influence whatsoever" on the way he conducts the trial.

Nichol's comments aside, the public outcry against the prosecution of the Indian leaders has continued to mount since the trial began in January.

A major factor in the eventual out-

come of the trial will be the amount of public pressure that can be brought to oppose the frame-up of Banks and Means and the other Wounded Knee defendants.

The two men face charges for their leadership role in last year's 71-day seizure of Wounded Knee, S.D., which dramatized the plight of American Indians in the U.S. today.

Nichol told the *Minneapolis Star* that he estimated that his mail from South Dakota was divided 50/50 on the question of dismissal, but that letters from Minnesotans were running 2-to-1 to throw the case out. The *Star* reported: "The mail nationally and worldwide, Nichol says, rises nearly to 20-to-1 for dropping the charges."

One letter, from an eight-year-old in St. Albans, N.Y., began: "I am worrying very much about Russel Mean [sic] and Dennis Banks. Why can't they have their land. I think this is wrong." The petitions have come from as far away as Alaska and Germany. One petition, the *Star* reported, was signed by 93 employees of Selig Manufacturing Company, Monroe, La.

A variety of petitions are being cir-

culated. But in general, they call for dismissing the charges and support of the 1868 Sioux treaty, which set aside a large section of land in South Dakota to the Sioux Nation. It is considered a key defense in the trial.

Many petitions also advocate the formation of a treaty commission to examine all the Indian treaties broken by the U.S., repeal of the Indian Reorganization Act, and the removal of the Bureau of Indian Affairs from the U.S. Department of Interior.

Petitions are being circulated by the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee. Copies can be obtained by writing the committee at 333 Sibley Ave., Room 605, St. Paul, Minn.

In other developments:

The prosecution in the Wounded Knee trial May 13 released a letter written by President Nixon that indicates he discussed Wounded Knee with members of his staff.

The Nixon letter is expected to strengthen a subpoena signed by Nichol, which orders the White House to turn over tapes of any presidential conversations about Wounded Knee.

The president must hand over the tapes May 28.

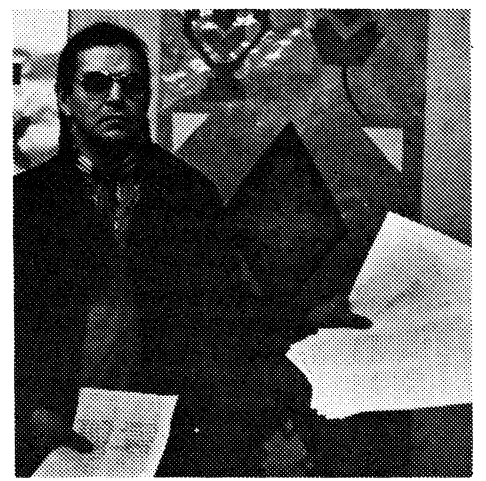
The Nixon letter, addressed to Assistant U.S. Attorney General Harlington Wood Jr., says that "my staff has told me of the restraint and patience shown by all of the representatives of our federal government who have participated in the arduous task of achieving a peaceful settlement of Wounded Knee."

Wood headed the U.S. government's work during the seizure. The Nixon letter is dated May 21, 1973, shortly after the seizure ended.

Despite the release of the letter, a large number of documents have still not been handed over to the defense by the prosecution, in violation of a court order of last October.

That order said that any material that would tend to prove the defendants' innocence and might be useful in the defense must be released.

"They are not furnishing us with large amounts of material," defense



Militant/Greg Cornell

AIM leader Clyde Bellecourt holds up petitions demanding charges against Indian activists be dropped.

attorney Douglas Hall told *The Militant*.

The defense has filed a motion asking the government to turn over many specific items, and during a session May 13, the prosecution agreed to release some files.

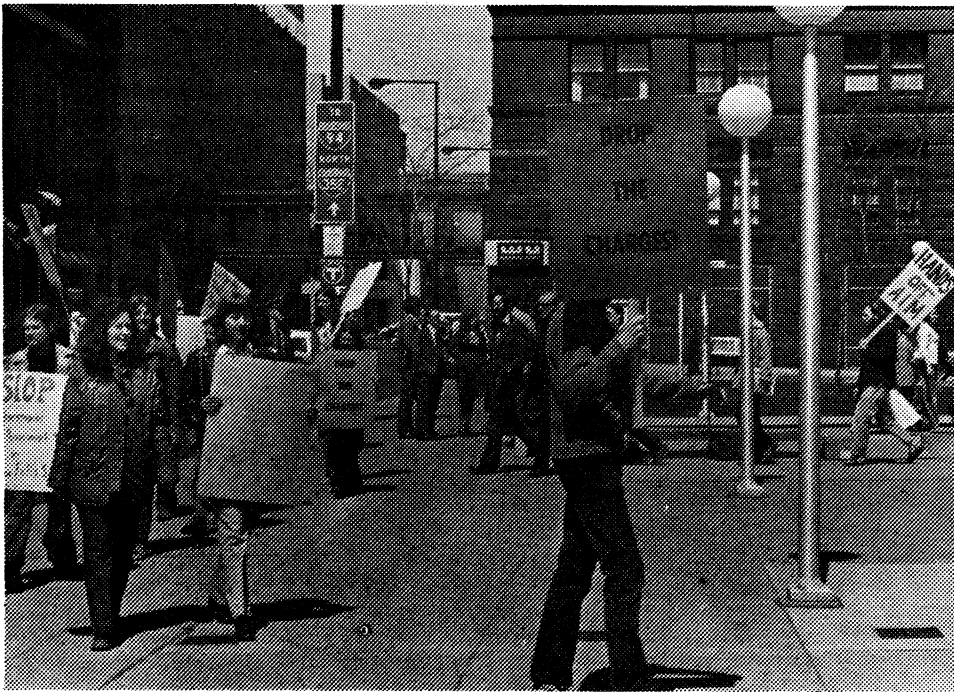
Nonetheless, U.S. Attorney R.D. Hurd told Judge Nichol last week that the prosecution might resist releasing some files—a development that could bring the issue of continual government misconduct to a head.

MINNEAPOLIS—Protests this week were scheduled in Minneapolis and St. Paul in support of the Wounded Knee defendants.

A rally is planned outside Coffman Union at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis Wednesday, May 22, at noon.

Scheduled speakers include defense attorney William Kunstler; John Trudell, national chairman of the American Indian Movement; and Larry Cohen, mayor of St. Paul. Sponsor is the University of Minnesota Wounded Knee Defense Committee.

A demonstration is set for noon, Friday, May 24, at the federal building in St. Paul, where the trials are in progress.



Picket line in St. Paul protests victimization of Indian militants

Militant/Mark Allen

Rheingold workers 'victory': the truth slips out

When the Rheingold brewery in Brooklyn reopened last month under the ownership of Chock Full O'Nuts, some thought the workers there had won a great victory.

But the real story is not so simple.

It's true that the workers called a halt to the plot by the former owner, Pepsico, to shut down the plant and throw all of them out of work. In a militant sit-in action last February, they oc-

cupied the brewery and stopped the dumping of thousands of gallons of beer into the New York sewers.

The American Way of Life

The workers and their families demonstrated until the bosses and politicians decided something had to be done about this embarrassing situation.

New York City Council President Paul O'Dwyer, who likes to pose as a "friend of labor," rushed in to set up negotiations with various capitalists and see if someone would buy the brewery and "save the workers' jobs."

When the Chock Full O'Nuts deal came through, the politicians toasted each other with 16-ounce

paper cups of Rheingold. Listening to them boast about the "rescue," you'd think the workers never had it so good.

But then a few details began to slip out. It was reported that one-third of the brewery workers would not be called back to work. Those who did keep their jobs would each give \$20 out of their pay packets each week until the end of the year for those out of work.

To find out what really happened to the Rheingold workers, I decided to call George Goldstein, a 54-year-old brewer who was a shop steward and one of the leaders of the sit-in.

Before I could ask my first question it was answered. George said he was out of work and had not yet received the \$25 a week due to workers not called back, for which his fellow workers were paying \$20 a week.

He said that out of 174 brewers, only 120 had been called back, and that at least 350 drivers were still out. More than one-third of the Rheingold work force was still out of work. These men are in their fifties for the most part, an age at which capitalism considers their minds and bodies too old for retraining and speedup.

George explained how the bosses have been speeding up production at the plant. For starters, by using only two-thirds of the work force they have a big speedup right there.

The bosses are on the backs of the men all the time now, not giving them a chance for a smoke or a breather. One thing to keep in mind is that

in the brewery, temperatures vary from 34 degrees to more than 100 degrees from room to room. Coming out of these rooms the workers often took a breather in order to adjust. That is all over. Today the only rest they get is 15 minutes in the morning and a 20-minute lunch period.

George also pointed out that since early 1973 the Rheingold workers had been making concessions to the bosses. That year Pepsico, a billion-dollar outfit, claimed poverty and told the workers the plant would be closed unless they gave up part of their salary.

This took two forms. First, the workweek was extended from 35 to 40 hours with no increase in pay.

Second, the 1972 salary of \$253.25 a week, which might have been a living wage then, was extended until 1976.

When Chock Full O'Nuts came to the "rescue" they demanded even more blood. On top of the no-holds-barred speedup, they extended the old contract to 1978. That means no pay raise for six years, in this age of runaway inflation.

The bosses did consent to a vague cost-of-living increase tied to profit-sharing, but no one believes this will amount to money in the pockets of the workers.

You see, those who cheered for O'Dwyer's deal forgot one little detail: Under capitalism, plants are only run if there is profit to be made. There is no column in the bosses' account books for human needs.

—JAMES MENDIETA

World Outlook

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

MAY 24, 1974

By Les Evans

Since the second week of February, a massive campaign has been waged in the People's Republic of China to "criticize Confucius and Lin Piao." The necessity to "defeat" two men who are already dead was quite obscure at first. The connection between the ancient sage and Lin Piao was even harder to discern. Things are now becoming clearer.

The dead are being utilized as object lessons; and the obscurantist denunciations filling the Chinese press are directed at some specific targets, all very much alive. The regime's foremost target is the group of high-ranking

This list of attributes anticipated the more general themes of the anti-Confucian campaign in its stress on the repressive functions of the militia and on the use of military units to speed up workers in industry.

The most dramatic move came in January, when all of China's senior military commanders were transferred from their traditional regional command—and organizational base—to different regions. Many of these commanders exercised power on a governmental as well as military level, holding posts as chairmen of the provincial Revolutionary Committees set up in the course of the Cultural Revolution as the nonparty civilian arm of government.

Some of these officers had been stationed in the same place since the troops under their command defeated Chiang Kai-shek during the civil war of 1946-49. These were generally not personal fiefs, but the centers for groupings within the military, represented by the officer corps of each of the five field armies that compose the PLA. The transfer of these men to new regions, cutting off old clique ties, reduced the ability of the army or a sector of it to claim power or prerogatives at the expense of the party center, now under Mao's exclusive control.

Whether the regime intends to carry out a deepgoing purge of the army hierarchy remains to be seen. It is significant that the "criticize Lin and Confucius" campaign began only a few weeks after the shift in the regional commanders had been completed. Moreover, a new slogan has begun to appear in the Chinese press: "Criticize Lin Piao and other swindlers."

Coming barely six months after the public admission that the phrase "Liu Shao-ch'i and other swindlers" really referred to Lin, the appearance of the new label sounds ominous.

Some candidates for a new purge seem to have been designated through wall-poster attacks put up by local Maoist stalwarts. The most prominent official to be publicly condemned is Li Teh-sheng, who was reassigned in January from the post of chief political commissar of the PLA to commander of the Shenyang Military Region



Educated youth are supposed to get 'proletarianized' by the peasantry.

in Manchuria. Western reporters have been shown wall posters in Li's home province of Anhwei calling for his removal.

Li, who is associated with the Second Field Army, rose from obscurity in the course of the Cultural Revolution to become one of the five deputy chairmen of the CCP. He was placed on its all-powerful nine-member Political Bureau Standing Committee at the Tenth Congress.

A single "egalitarian" note—hailed as a sign of socialist democracy by the New York Maoist weekly *Guardian*—was included in a veiled attack seemingly directed against yet another high military figure, Chung Hsueh-lin, described by Hsinhua (January 28) as "a leading cadre in the Political Department of the Foochow units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army." In January, the Peking

Continued on next page

Behind Peking's campaign to 'criticize Confucius'

officers of the People's Liberation Army who rose along with Lin to unequalled power in the course of the Cultural Revolution of 1966-69.

Since the fall of Lin Piao in September 1971, the Communist party hierarchy around Mao and Chou En-lai has systematically whittled away at the power and prerogatives of the army, particularly the group closest to Lin in the PLA's Fourth Field Army. The caution with which the regime has moved suggests that important military-bureaucratic cliques with significant organizational bases in the provinces and in the army high command survived the purge of Liu Shao-ch'i in the Cultural Revolution and the subsequent disappearance of Lin and a number of other high military figures in 1971.

Tenth Party Congress

For a year prior to the Tenth Party Congress, held in August 1973, Lin was denounced in the most vitriolic terms by the Chinese press, but with no mention of him by name. The code phrase was "Liu Shao-ch'i and other swindlers." At the Tenth Congress Chou En-lai himself, who usually assigns such dirty work to subordinates, delivered the first public anathema against Lin. This congress, called on short notice without any of the usual pre-congress publicity, was limited to opening the campaign against Lin and to redrafting the party constitution, the constitution adopted by the Ninth Congress in April 1969 having named Lin as Mao's heir and successor.

It was shortly after the close of the Tenth Congress that the first articles appeared in which Confucius was made a target along with Lin. The objective was to link the hidden supporters of Lin in the army with the discontented to be found among the eight million "educated youth" and intellectuals deported to the countryside after the forcible suppression of the radical sections of the Red Guard students in 1967-68.

Unlike the egalitarian demagoguery of the first period of the Cultural Revolution, the themes of the anti-Confucian campaign have been for more discipline and the use of force against any and all political opponents or critics of the regime. The propaganda has been virulently anti-cultural and anti-intellectual.

After the Tenth Congress, in a move aimed against the regular army, the militia was given a boost. A September 29, 1973, *Liberation Army Daily* editorial accused Lin Piao of having opposed militia-building, adding:

"Experience shows that the militia can be an important factor in the socialist revolution in ideological, political and economical spheres, in suppressing reactionary classes at home, thwarting enemy sabotage, safeguarding public security, and protecting state property and the people's interest. It is a shock brigade in production that can actively contribute to socialist construction."



CONFUCIUS

...behind Peking's campaign to 'criticize Confucius'

Continued from preceding page

People's Daily gave front-page treatment to a letter from Chung's son, Chung Chih-min, who confessed that his father had used his influence to get him into college while most of his generation were being sent to the countryside. On being found out, Chung Chih-min dutifully gave up school and returned to laboring in the service of Mao Tsetung Thought.

While his father must have looked rather bad, Chung Chih-min was made something of a hero and given a further opportunity to denounce his parents through the guise of a strictly personal self-criticism. In a January 30 interview, also front-paged by the *People's Daily*, Chih-min castigated himself for his former wastrel ways, saying: "I did not mind a bit when I lost a watch worth more than four hundred yuan. My family later bought me another watch worth 180 yuan. I live a lavish life and do not aim high politically. If I do not mend my ways, I shall become a renegade to our revolutionary forefathers!"

This attack on privilege is remarkable because it has become so rare in the Chinese press. It is, of course, directed at a high-ranking member of the army.

The average peasant, for whom 400 yuan is a year's pay, or a skilled worker, for whom it is six months earnings, is bound to appreciate the scale of privileges indicated by the watches the military elite can supply to their children. Questions about the pay scales and privileges of other sectors of the party and government bureaucracy are today denounced as "ultraleftism."

'Elitism of the youth'

Next to the suspected supporters of Lin Piao in the People's Liberation Army, the most prominent targets of the "anti-Confucius" campaign now being waged by the Maoist regime in Peking are the millions of "educated youth" and intellectuals deported to the countryside at the end of the Cultural Revolution. The need to silence intellectual dissenters underlies the government's choice of Confucius, the classical prototype of a Chinese intellectual, as a convenient symbol in the present campaign against the alleged elitism of the youth.

In 1966, when Mao Tsetung sought to dislodge and destroy the sector of the Chinese Communist party leadership around the then head-of-state, Liu Shao-ch'i, he opportunistically appealed to the student youth to "make revolution" against the party apparatus in the name of socialist democracy and egalitarianism. This resulted in the closing of all Chinese universities and the creation of the millions-strong Red Guard organizations, which began their political life as instruments of the Mao faction of the bureaucracy. Many of these young people, however, sought to practice what Mao preached and turned their fire on Maoists as well as Liuists in what had begun as a purely intrabureaucratic struggle. Mao called on the army, then commanded by Lin Piao, to ensure maintenance of bureaucratic control. The army took charge and finally dissolved the Red Guard groups. From mid-1967 to the end of 1968 the hundreds of different Red Guard organizations were demobilized and their radicalized members deported en masse to remote areas of the countryside to be "reeducated" by the peasantry. But the massive numbers involved have not proved easy to control. Youths want to return to their homes after four or five years of

rural labor; their relatives in the cities, including within the party, are a further source of resentment and discontent.

The scope of the alienation of the youth from the regime can be gauged from the numbers sent to the countryside, and the concomitant cutbacks in higher education. A December 22, 1973, Hsinhua dispatch reported: "More than eight million educated young people have left Chinese cities and towns to settle in the countryside during the past five years."

Some analysts in the West have sought an explanation for this massive shift in population—5 percent of the total urban population—in a lack of employment opportunities in the cities. This interpretation is belied on several counts. At the present time Chinese heavy industry is expanding at a rate of about 9 percent a year, while population is growing at about 2 percent; industry is growing at about twice the rate of agriculture, which should mean a faster increase in urban employment over the countryside, which has been traditionally overpopulated in relation to jobs. Moreover, this measure has been used by the regime before for similar purposes, in 1957-58 and again in 1963 when massive shifts to the rural areas were ordered. In both previous cases the shifts came at a time of strong industrial growth but on the heels of a repressive campaign against intellectual dissent (the "anti-rightist" campaign of the fall of 1957 and the crackdown that followed the slight intellectual thaw of 1962).

The Maoist press makes hardly any effort to veil the repressive function of the deportations. No claim is made that the educated youth are being sent to the countryside to raise the cultural level of the rural areas, as was done in Cuba in the campaign against illiteracy. It is claimed instead that the students represent a danger to the regime and a threat of "capitalist restoration." A February 3 Hsinhua dispatch, for example, gave the following explanation of the deportations:

"Student Sun Hai-yan of the Physical Engineering Department of Tsinghua University said: 'Chairman Mao calls on the educated young people to go to the countryside and integrate with the workers and peasants. This is a measure taken against the outmoded conceptions of the exploiting classes that prevailed for thousands of years, and a critique of Confucius and Mencius. Lin Piao, an out-and-out disciple of Confucius, looked down on the workers and peasants and manual labour and said the educated young people were doing "forced labour" in the countryside, in an attempt to disrupt Chairman Mao's fundamental measure against revisionism and for bringing up successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Lin Piao wanted to poison our revolutionary young people and tried to pull us back to become his tools for restoring capitalism.'"

'Proletarianization'?

Thus on the one hand, youth who protest going to the countryside are accused of looking down on workers and of being "tools for restoring capitalism," while those who submit are granted the dubious title of "successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat." But after years of "proletarianization" by the "poor and lower middle peasants," the regime does not seem to have found many of the deported millions trustworthy enough to enter the bureaucratic apparatus that will constitute the "succession" when Mao dies. The December 22 Hsinhua dispatch cited above revealed that out of the 8 million deportees, only 60,000 have been admitted to the Chinese Communist party. The CCP has about 32 million members, or roughly one out of every 18 adult inhabitants of China. Among the "revolutionary successors" sent to the countryside, only one out of every 133 have been reeducated enough to qualify.

The universities, which were closed in 1966, reopened only in 1970, with drastically reduced enrollments. The course of study was then cut from four or five to three years, with one of the three years devoted to productive labor in installments of four months each.

The new crop of students, although described in the press as "workers, peasants, and soldiers," also happen to be selected almost entirely from within the Communist party or are tested members of the Young Communist League. A March 29, 1974, Hsinhua dispatch revealed that 70 percent of the 1974 graduating class at Tsinghua University in Peking were party members (45 percent were members when they enrolled; the rest were admitted while at the university). This compares to 0.7 percent of party members among the deported youth. Today all applicants to colleges are required to complete at least two years of productive labor before being eligible for consideration. They must then be recommended by the party unit where they work and approved by party units at the university where they apply. The most important single criterion for acceptance is political orthodoxy.

A December 30, 1973, Hsinhua dispatch reported that



Scene during Cultural Revolution, 1967. Targets of crowd have dunce caps on. When Red Guards' attacks came too close to home, Mao had them deported to countryside.

'...this attack on the youth is an admission of the bankruptcy of the Maoist regime'

the total number of college students who graduated in China in 1973 was 29,000. This compares to 200,000 for the 1962-63 school year or only 14.5 percent of the number ten years ago.

A case can be made for the usefulness in a workers' state of intermixing study with productive labor to prevent study from becoming abstract and divorced from life. But this proposition has little in common with banishment to a lifetime of rural toil of the great majority of the best and the brightest of the young generation. The attack on the youth, as it was in the Soviet Union under Stalin, is a sure sign of the inability of the authoritarian bureaucratic caste to win over or assimilate the young rebels of the new generation.

To suggest that "capitalist" ideas find their most fertile ground among youth who were not even born when capitalism was overthrown would be, if true, an admission of the bankruptcy of the Maoist regime.

"Elitism," as a separate question from capitalist restoration, also flows from real material privileges and power, not from "learning." It is not the students in China who command high salaries and wield power over others, it is the aged officialdom of the CCP. Here the Chinese press, which discerns capitalists and spies everywhere, is noticeably silent.

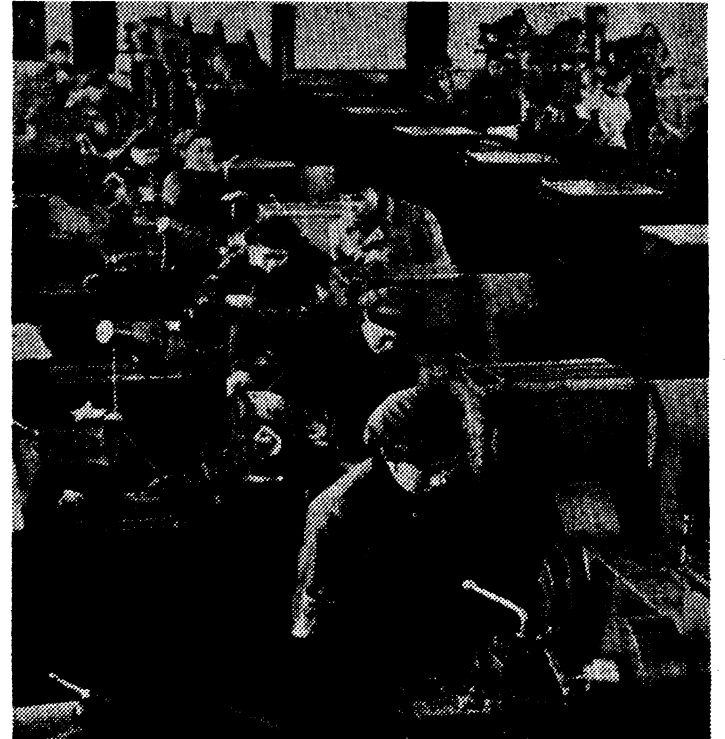
While the Maoist regime claims it wants to teach the youth the virtues of hard work, it opposes allowing them to become industrial workers. This is a principal indicator of the repressive function of the movement to send the youth to the countryside. The peasantry historically, despite its proven revolutionary qualities in the struggle against foreign imperialism and for land reform, is the purveyor of self-interested localism and of the mentality of small proprietors, not socialism. This is one of the most profound problems and difficulties in administering a workers' state in an underdeveloped country and one of the sources of bureaucratic degeneration when, as in the Soviet Union under Stalin, the backwardness and limited cultural horizons of the peasantry are exploited by the bureaucracy as a weapon against the cities with their proletarian base and intellectual ferment.

Fertile fields

An October 27, 1973, Hsinhua dispatch describes how 400 middle school graduates sent out from Shenyang in 1970 "have built a new village on an uninhabited seashore in Northeast China's Liaoning province and turned the saline land there into fertile fields." Although the area is uninhabited, the youths are not completely isolated, being visited occasionally by their new instructors: "Old peasants often educated them in class struggle by recalling their sufferings in the old society in contrast with the happiness of today." The article added that "Some of the more advanced have been admitted into the Communist Party of China or the Communist Youth League."

One of the most frequent accusations against Lin Piao is his alleged description of the deportation movement as a disguised form of "forced labor." This suggests that this opinion is sufficiently widespread in China for the regime to feel the need to attribute it to the most prominent villain of the day in order to discredit others who raise the charge.

Evidently Mao's opponents on this score include not only the youth themselves, but a growing number of their parents, who understandably object to the bleak future their children face and to the long separation that the peasantization campaign has imposed. The regime has responded by giving a particularly ingenious twist to the anti-Confucian propaganda. Confucius, it is pointed out, was a staunch upholder of the family and a pro-



Factory workers in Shanghai. Do factories foster 'old ideas' based on private ownership?

ponent of filial piety; hence, objections to separating families are a sign of dangerous Confucian tendencies.

Despite the repeated references to "integrating" the former Red Guard youth with the "workers and peasants," in practice the aim seems to be to keep them as far from the workers as possible. While there are hundreds of articles in the Chinese press about educated youth settling in the countryside, there are virtually none about such youth who have become factory workers in the cities. Instead, a great play has been given to a few cases of youth sent down to the communes who have rejected offers by their parents to find them factory jobs and thus arrange for their return to the urban centers. The January 5 Peking *People's Daily*, for example, published on its front page a letter from an educated youth, Chai Chun-tse, in reply to a letter from his father, under the headline, "Daring to Break with Traditional Ideas." The Hsinhua account ran as follows:

"In August, the young man received a letter from his father, in which his father told him that some factories were going to recruit new workers and asked him to return to the city and apply for a job. In his reply, the young man criticized his father's idea and reiterated his determination to stay on and help build up the socialist countryside." In his letter to his father, Chai Chun-tse wrote:

"Our aim is to eliminate private ownership and break with old ideas. Such ideas as attaching greater importance to industry than agriculture, to the city than to the countryside and looking after only one's own interests are based on private ownership."

The father is reported to have confessed his error and to have encouraged his other children to follow in the footsteps of Chai Chun-tse. In an accompanying editorial, the *People's Daily* said:

"We hope to see more revolutionary young people giving challenges to older revolutionaries and more older revolutionaries accepting the challenges and leading the young people in marching along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line."

The implications of a workers' state touting the idea that becoming a factory worker is an example of a mentality wedded to "private ownership" need hardly be elaborated.

Behind the mystification about "private ownership" in a country that abolished private ownership twenty years ago is the need to clamp down on party cadres who are using their influence to arrange to bring their children home. Since such moves are not voluntary but depend on approval from party units at both ends of the transfer, this campaign suggests a good deal of discontent among lower ranks of the bureaucracy itself. Educated youth without influential parents are in no position to return to the cities, whatever their subjective desires.

One of the most ominous turns taken in the anti-Confucius campaign is the insistent lauding of the "revolutionary correctness" of the ancient Legalist philosophers and of the first Chinese emperor, Chin Shih-huang, who suppressed dissenting Confucian intellectuals by burying hundreds of them alive and burning their books.

Under a Stalinist regime that rewrites history to order for the purpose of finding analogies for its current policy, the favorable recalling of book-burnings and executions of intellectuals under an ancient tyrant can only be taken as a dire threat to any of the young dissenters who continue to assert their opinions.



Government bureaucrats at their leisure. Questions about high pay and other privileges for bureaucrats are denounced as 'ultraleftism.'

Argentines demand release of Vitale by Chile junta

A rally on behalf of Trotskyist leader Luis Vitale, currently imprisoned by the Chilean junta, was held April 10 in the prisoner's hometown of Pehuajó in the province of Buenos Aires.

Vitale was arrested in Chile after the military coup in September 1973 and is currently reported held in the concentration camp in the northern city of Chacabuco. A prominent intellectual and trade-union leader, Vitale now is in mortal danger as a result of torture he has suffered since his arrest.

The Pehuajó rally, as reported in the April 18 *Avanzada Socialista*, weekly of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International), was organized by the Coordinadora de Juventudes Políticas (Coordinating Committee of Political Youth) of the city, as the result of a proposal from the PST, one of the committee's member organizations.

Other groups represented on the committee are the Juventud Peronista (Peronist Youth), Unión Cívica Radical (Radical Civic Union), Movimiento de Integración y Desarrollo (Movement for Unity and Development), and the Communist, the Intransigent, and the People's Christian parties.

The rally also had broad support from the city's civic leaders and union officials.

Speaking for the meeting organizers at the rally, Marta Brachetti de Galarza of the Radical Civic Union stated:

"The political youth of this coordinating committee are not concerned with Vitale's political ideology. They are concerned about just one thing: that he is a human being whose dignity must be respected. By respecting the dignity of others, we respect our own, and that is fundamental for all democratic regimes.

"Luis Vitale is to the children of Pehuajó the symbol of every person suffering any form of imperialist op-

pression. We don't care what kind. What matters to us is that there are oppressors and oppressed and that there is no reason why there should be even one victim of oppression among this peace-loving people. We don't know Luis Vitale, because he is from a different generation and doesn't live here, but there is no reason this type of man should suffer oppression."

A declaration by rally organizers was quoted by *Avanzada Socialista* as saying in part:

"The Coordinating Committee of Po-



LUIS VITALE

litical Youth of Pehuajó expresses its repudiation of the indescribable deeds that took place in our sister country, Chile. Once more imperialism and its native agents, in an open mockery of democratic institutions and the desires of the people, have carried out genocide on a scale almost unprecedented in Latin American history."

In assessing the rally, the PST stated: "This is the first step in what must be an ongoing campaign. That's why our party is proposing the formation of a broad commission for the repatriation of Luis Vitale, to develop publicity on his case and collect thousands of signatures and to request an interview with the foreign minister to present this demand."

...postscript on Confucius

The editors of the New York weekly *Guardian*, the retailers of Mao Tsetung Thought in the United States, seem never at a loss in defending the latest innovation from Peking.

Carl Davidson in his eagerness to join in condemning Confucius seems to have really put his foot in his mouth; or perhaps (who knows?) he may be a capitalist-roader like those unmasked so frequently in China these days, waving the red flag in order to oppose the red flag. In any case, his February 27 article "What's Behind the Struggle Inside China?" seems to have slyly included, despite all its apparent Maoist orthodoxy, a sinister attack on no one less than the Chairman himself.

In the best style of those "sham Marxists" who always seem to be worming their way into high positions of leadership in the Chinese CP, he begins his account with feigned innocence by quoting the first two lines of one of Chairman Mao's poems, which he tells us is "now being publicized":

"I care not that the wind blows and the waves beat.

"It is better than idly strolling in a courtyard."

Breaking off in midstanza, he then slips in a quote from a 1967 issue of *Peking Review*:

"Chairman Mao has observed, 'Invariably, remnants of old ideas reflecting the old system remain in people's minds for a long time and they do not easily give way.' The bourgeoisie makes use of precisely this trash to corrupt the masses and the younger generation, to try to conquer the hearts of the people and to fight against the proletariat."

Davidson then cunningly returns for a moment to "orthodoxy" to call our attention to the "trash" particularly likely to corrupt the masses and the youth today: Confucianism. Confucius, he says, "is not only a reactionary now, but he was a reactionary in his own time as well."

Surely by now any Chinese reader will have remembered the whole of Mao's poem:

"I care not that the wind blows and the waves beat.

"It is better than idly strolling in a courtyard.

"It was on a river that The Master said: 'This is the whole of Nature flowing.'"

The final line, of course, is from Confucius, whom the Chairman addresses, as the ancient sage's disciples did, as The Master.

Didn't Davidson used to write articles praising Lin Piao, too? Maybe somebody in Peking should look into this.

World news notes

Paris abortion march

Four thousand people marched in Paris April 20 under banners calling for free abortion on demand. They charged that most of the candidates in the May 5 presidential elections had ignored the question of women's right to abortion. The demonstration was organized by the Movement for Freedom of Abortion and Contraception.

In neighboring Germany, the impact of the abortion rights movement was reflected in an April 26 vote by the Bundestag, the lower house of parliament, to legalize abortion during the first three months of pregnancy. However, the opposition Christian Democratic party opposes the measure, and it has a majority in the upper house.

Philippine priests protest repression

Catholic priests in all fifteen dioceses on the island of Mindanao in the Philippines read a protest letter from their pulpits on Easter Sunday, April 14. The April 22 *Far Eastern Economic Review* printed the letter in full. It stated, in part, that the priests deplored the fact:

"That our people are groaning under the effects of spiralling prices of basic commodities.

"That the position of workers has been greatly weakened by the curtailment of the right to strike or picket.

"That a climate of fear still prevails preventing the growth of effective farmers' and workers' organisations, despite assurances of freedom in this regard. . . .

"That freedom of speech, press, expression and communication has been substantially curtailed. . . ."

The priests also charged the Marcos regime with the use of torture and with brutality toward refugees from the government war against the Muslim independence movement in the Sulu Islands. The statement ended by calling on Catholic priests to use their pulpits to give voice to "the voiceless victims of injustice."

Rally hits repression in Bangladesh

A crowd of about 100,000 attended the first public rally of the All-Party United Front, in Dacca, Bangladesh, April 23. The Front is composed of six parties opposed to the Awami League regime. Speakers attacked the regime's repressive actions, the widespread corruption and smuggling, subservience to the Indian government, and the spreading famine conditions in the country.

According to the April 21 Dacca weekly *Holiday*, the parties participating in the Front are the National Awami party, Bangladesh National League, Communist party of Bangladesh (Leninist), Worker-Peasant Socialist party, Bengali National League, and the National People's Liberation Union.

The largest of all the left parties opposed to the regime, the National Socialist party, has not entered the Front.

At the end of the rally, organizers of the Front called for a nationwide day of protest May 12 and a nationwide strike on May 21.

Arrests of revolutionaries in Greece, Spain

In an April 15 statement, the Diethniko Kommounistiko Koma (Internationalist Communist party, Greek section of the Fourth International) reported that two of its members have been arrested. The two, Yannis Felekis and Yannis Nikas, were picked up following the upsurge of students and workers last November. Also arrested was Sofronis Papadopoulos, who belongs to a different Trotskyist group.

Among the other far-left groupings, fifteen members of the International Workers Union, which is associated with the Workers Revolutionary party in England, have also been reported arrested.

Meanwhile, Franco's police have arrested seven persons accused of being members of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria/Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (VI), Spanish sympathizers of the Fourth International.

Two of them were arrested in the Basque country simply for being in a car found to contain some "propaganda material" bearing the signature of the LCR-ETA(VI). Others were arrested following recent demonstrations against the dictatorship.

Swiss CP youth quit over Chile

A section of the youth group affiliated to the Parti du Travail (Party of Labor), the Swiss Communist party, has left the Stalinist organization and applied to join the Trotskyist Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire (LMR—Revolutionary Marxist League, Swiss section of the Fourth International). The grouping contained a third of the active membership of the CP's youth group.

The main factor the group cited in explaining its rejection of Stalinist politics was "the lessons of Chile"—where the CP's popular front policies disarmed the workers and peasants in the face of the rightist coup.

The LMR itself originated in a split from the Swiss CP in the late 1960s.

Berrigan tours Boston to win support for the Political Rights Defense Fund

By CONNIE PIPER

Antiwar activist Philip Berrigan visited Boston on May 11 on a tour arranged by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF). The purpose of the tour was to solicit support and raise funds for the suit filed by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance aimed at putting a halt to illegal government acts against groups that dissent from government policies.

Berrigan spoke to 275 students at Northeastern University here. His appearance capped a prolonged free-speech dispute on the campus in which the school administration had tried to bar Berrigan's talk because he is "too controversial."

He told the audience that the initiative taken by the SWP and the YSA

hosting the benefit.

Other recent PRDF sponsors in Boston include Rexford Weng, vice-president, Massachusetts State Labor Council, AFL-CIO; Dr. Kenneth Arrow, Nobel Laureate; and Robert and Michael Meeropol, sons of witch-hunt victims Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

In another PRDF tour, John Ratliff of the PRDF staff recently spoke at three campuses in the Denver area.

Ratliff described the legal developments in the case. The government has thus far been forced to admit it initiated an FBI "SWP Disruption Program" in 1961, that it conducted electronic surveillance of the SWP back to 1945, and that it maintained a mail cover on the SWP headquarters in New York City.

The government claims the "Disruption Program" was discontinued in April 1971. The *Denver Post* quoted Ratliff as saying that "there is every indication these tactics still occur. . . the government is arguing that even if it did use these tactics, it has the legitimate right to do so. This is a gross violation of the First Amendment."

Several Crusade for Justice activists attended Ratliff's talk at Metropolitan State College in Denver. During the discussion, they endorsed the PRDF because, as they put it, the suit can help fight the relentless police harassment against the Chicano movement. They cited the murderous police attack on the Escuela Tlatelolco in March 1973.

Among the 70 students attending Ratliff's talk at the University of Colorado at Boulder were participants in a class titled "Watergate and the American Political System."

Ten law professors and students endorsed the suit after Ratliff spoke at the U. of Colorado Law School.

In another part of the country, Texas, PRDF supporters took advantage of a speaking tour by Leonard Boudin, chief attorney for the socialists' suit, to organize two successful fund-raising events. Boudin attended cocktail parties in both Houston and Austin, where he explained recent legal developments in the case.

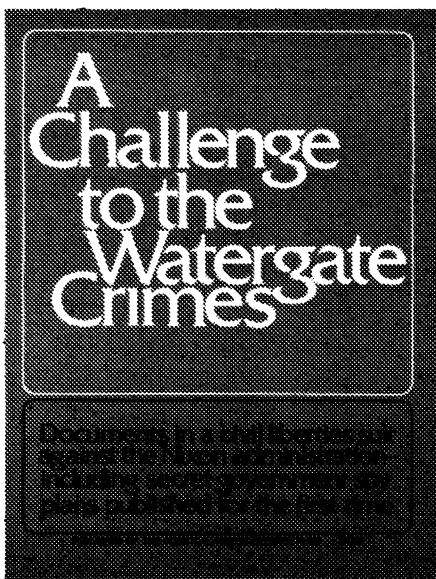
Boudin was joined at both events by John Henry Faulk, a well-known Texas civil libertarian, who urged those in attendance to support the PRDF. "There are enough charges in the SWP suit to keep the government lawyers busy for 15 years," quipped Faulk.

Important new support for the PRDF has also been obtained as a result of activities by volunteers at several re-

cent national conferences.

For example, a table set up at the Washington, D.C., gathering of the American Association of University Professors got an enthusiastic reception. Sixty-five copies of the PRDF booklet *A Challenge to the Watergate Crimes* and 88 PRDF buttons were sold in only a few hours. Professors from across the country signed cards endorsing the suit, many expressing particular concern about the need to defend academic freedom from government attack.

In Detroit, 13 Black union officials who were attending the convention of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists endorsed the suit. The unionists represented locals from the Teamsters union, the United Auto Workers, and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).



Clip and mail to Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.

() Enclosed is \$_____to help cover expenses.

() Enclosed is \$_____for _____booklets *Challenge to the Watergate Crimes*. (\$1 each or 75 cents each on orders of five or more.)

() Enclosed is \$_____for _____Feiffer buttons. (\$1 each or 30 cents each on orders of 10 or more.)

() Please send me more information on the suit.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

...CBTU

Continued from page 24

tions affecting Blacks.

A woman from New York City spoke on the District 1 school struggle, where Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese parents are fighting for control of the schools. To the approval of workshop participants, she said that Black unionists should become involved in such struggles.

A resolution expressing "displeasure with the effect, Albert Shanker, President of the United Federation of Teachers of New York State has had on the educational system of the City of New York," submitted by the outgoing CBTU executive committee, was referred to the incoming executive committee.

Shanker has consistently opposed the right of Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese parents in District 1 to determine how their schools are run. The resolution warned that Shanker "through his position as a member of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO has begun to spread his influence to all parts of the country." It said CBTU members across the country should fight Shanker's "polarizing and demoralizing tactics. . . ."

Independent political action

A CBTU pamphlet on organizing the unorganized spells out some of the challenges facing Black unionists. It says:

"Today, blacks occupy key positions in the political machinery of the labor movement and hold a critical portion of political power in the nation. The responsibility to constructively harness and use the expertise and power of this vast political resource rests with black trade unionists. . . ."

It continues: "Considering the current spiritual and moral lethargy of sections of organized labor, black trade unionists can set a new tone and provide some new answers as to what labor's responsibilities are in this period in history."

Despite this goal, the CBTU leadership promoted a resolution urging the election of a "veto-proof" Congress "able to override any potential veto by the Nixon Administration."

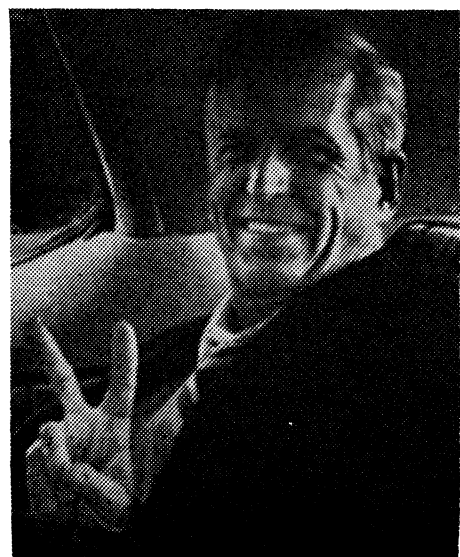
This call is not unlike Meany's orientation for 1974, which is to elect congressional "friends of labor," mostly liberal Democrats. It stands out in sharp contrast from the CBTU's stated aim of organizing the power of Black unionists to fight for their interests and the interests of other Blacks.

Reliance on Democratic and Republican party congresspeople will not "set a new tone and provide new answers" for Black unionists and the broader Black community. (The same, of course, is true about supporting a McGovern for president as opposed to a Nixon.)

The Democrats in Congress, along with the Republicans, are some of the worst enemies of working people. The Democratic majority in Congress was instrumental in the passage of the Economic Stabilization Act, wage controls, and other antilabor legislation. Moreover, the recently passed minimum wage bill is a thumb of the nose at unorganized and Black workers—especially Black women who are household workers—many of whom are paid at the lowest scales.

One of the resolutions that was adopted condemned the antilabor actions of the Democratic and Republican parties and called for "independent political action by labor," and "the election of trade union members to public office."

If the CBTU were to pursue the spirit of this resolution, it would be several strides closer to realizing its goal of achieving "dignity, decency and a better standard of living for all people."



PHILIP BERRIGAN: Hails socialist suit as 'pioneer legal move' against government repression of left.

in bringing their lawsuit is "a pioneer legal move against the government's 'put down' of the left."

The suit seeks an injunction against a broad range of government secret-police tactics, including bugging, burglarizing, mail tampering, infiltration, provocation, and harassment—all of which have been used by the government against the socialists.

After the meeting, students crowded around the PRDF table and bought \$25 worth of literature about the suit.

Later, Berrigan was the featured speaker at a PRDF cocktail party in Cambridge. John Kerry, former leader of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War, expressed his endorsement for "this important suit" and introduced Berrigan to the 40 guests.

Noam and Carol Chomsky and Massachusetts State Representative Barney Frank joined Kerry in co-

Mpls.: 'British troops out of Ireland!'

By MARY HILLERY

MINNEAPOLIS—British royalty visited Minneapolis recently and received an appropriate response: chants of "British Troops Out of Ireland!" and "Free All the Political Prisoners, Free the Price Sisters!"

Forty demonstrators confronted Princess Margaret May 9 as she left the "Royal Suite" of her hotel to make a brief speech in the hotel courtyard.

The princess and her husband, Lord Snowdon, have been on a goodwill tour that included stops in Winnipeg, Canada, and Winnipeg's "sister city," Minneapolis.

About 1,000 onlookers were present as the pro-Irish demonstrators chanted, sang rebel songs, and handed out an informational leaflet.

Demonstrators were also present later in the day when the royal couple

attended a luncheon at the governor's mansion in St. Paul.

One of the demands of the action was the freeing of the Price sisters. Marion and Dolours Price are two of four republican prisoners who have been on a hunger strike since last November to demand that they be allowed to serve their prison sentences of life plus 20 years in Irish jails.

They are being subjected to the inhuman torture of force-feeding and other degrading treatment.

The demonstration here was able to call this scandal and the continuing internment of Irish political prisoners to the attention of people in the Twin Cities.

The action was planned by an ad hoc committee that included the Irish Northern Aid and the Socialist Workers Party.



Pro-Irish demonstrators confront British Princess Margaret in Minneapolis.

AMERICAN LABOR STRUGGLES

American Labor Struggles 1877-1934 by Samuel Yellen. Monad Press, New York, 1974. Distributed by Pathfinder Press. New York. 398 pp. Paper \$3.95.

In 1877, the governor of Pennsylvania invaded Pittsburgh with a Gatling gun mounted on the front of a train to rout the "enemy." The "enemy" was the working people of Pittsburgh, led by the railroad workers, who had staged a general strike and literally taken over the city.

The 1877 railroad uprisings—which swept the country—are the subject of the first chapter of this fascinating book on the early history of the U.S. labor movement.

American Labor Struggles, first published in 1936, remains one of the best sources on pioneering trade-union

Books

battles in this country. Samuel Yellen, the author, is currently a professor of literature at Indiana University.

The book is divided into 10 chapters, ending with the San Francisco general strike of 1934. Each chapter takes up one famous confrontation between labor and capital. The other eight battles are Haymarket (1886); the Homestead steel strike (1892); the Pullman strike (1894); the anthracite coal strike (1902); the Lawrence textile strike (1912); the Ludlow massacre (1914); the steel strike of 1919; and the Southern textile strikes of 1929.

Industrial unionism

The events in the book as a whole fall into place in the period in U.S. labor history that led up to the rise of industrial unionism and the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations) in the 1930s. This second period is the topic of *Labor's Giant Step* by Art Preis (Pathfinder Press, \$3.95).

Read together, these two books contain valuable lessons from labor history that remain extremely relevant for the struggles of working people today.

Each of the battles Yellen describes was led by low-paid, downtrodden workers, often immigrants, who had been cast aside by the narrow-minded craft union bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Because they were among the most exploited, these workers were the most combative in the fights for the eight-hour day, against cuts in pay, and for the right to unionize.

They were the Polish women, whose walkout sparked the 1912 textile strike in Lawrence, Mass.; the semiskilled and unskilled immigrant workers who led the 1919 steel strike; the "lint-heads," whose revolt produced the first cracks in the nonunion South Carolina textile mills.

What support the AFL gave to the organizing drives of these workers was offered begrudgingly, since the craft-union leadership viewed them as a threat to their own relatively privileged positions. The concept of one union representing all the workers in one



'Bloody Thursday,' San Francisco, July 5, 1934. Cops murdered striking longshoremen. Trade unions responded by calling general strike.

industry was anathema to the bureaucratic leaders of the AFL.

The Pullman strike was one of the milestones in the fight for industrial unionism. The strike broke out in 1894 in the company town of Pullman, Ill., where railroad sleeping cars were built and repaired. The bosses had slashed wages so ruthlessly that some employees were bringing home paychecks of four cents, after rent for company-owned housing had been deducted.

To defend themselves against this attack on their living standards, the Pullman workers began joining the American Railway Union (ARU), led by Eugene V. Debs. Unlike the craft unions in the railroad industry, the ARU was not afraid to include in its ranks workers who did not work on the rail lines themselves.

As Yellen explains, "The American Railway Union believed firmly that the interests of each of the 850,000 railroad workers in the United States were the interests of all, and that one united organization was essential in the struggle for better working conditions."

"It was no longer to be possible for the employers to foster the division of labor into crafts and to use one group against another. . . . The growing concentration of railroad capital and administration required a strong union of the workers for mutual protection."

The power of the industrial union was demonstrated when ARU members across the country went out on strike in solidarity with the Pullman workers. They tied up rail transportation so severely that the capitalists even resorted—unsuccessfully—to importing 2,000 scabs from Canada.

The solidarity of the ARU members stood in stark contrast to the way the railroad craft unions had helped break the strike of fellow workers during the 1877 rail uprising.

But the Pullman strike was eventually defeated, through a combination of the use of federal troops, court injunctions, and the refusal of the AFL

to come to the aid of the embattled ARU.

Debs and other leaders of the strike were imprisoned. It was in his prison cell that Debs began to study socialism. He soon emerged as a leader and main agitator of the Socialist Party.

Capitalists foster racism

In addition to encouraging divisions along craft lines, the capitalists also sought to break the back of labor by sowing racial divisions. Yellen describes how Blacks were brought in as scabs in several key strikes in an effort to kill two birds with one stone: break the strike with cheaper labor, and foster racism against Blacks on the part of white workers.

The bosses' exploitation of divisions between nationalities was scarcely concealed in these early battles. One private detective agency hired to infiltrate the workers' ranks in the 1919 steel strike spelled it out clearly in orders to its undercover men:

"We want you to stir up as much bad feeling as you possibly can between the Serbians and Italians. Spread data among the Serbians that the Italians are going back to work. Call up every question you can in reference to racial hatred between these two nationalities. . . . Urge them to go back to work or the Italians will get their jobs."

Since many of the leaders of these strikes were radicals—members of the Industrial Workers of the World, anarchists, socialists, or members of the Communist Party—the bosses also used crude red-baiting appeals in an effort to isolate them from the masses of workers. Typical was the campaign of the steel corporations in 1919 to brand the strike a "red plot" by "foreigners." Thus one anti-strike leaflet warned:

"It is becoming more and more apparent that the strike is merely the diabolical attempt of a few Radicals to seize industry and plant Bolshevism in this country. . . .

"There is a strong possibility that

the Huns had a hand in fomenting the strike, hoping to retard industrial progress in America."

Yellen also points out how the errors made by radicals aided the bosses in their smear campaign. Ultra-left rhetoric and support for individual terrorism on the part of anarchists, for example, was used by the authorities not only to crush anarchist groups but to suppress the entire trade-union movement.

In the aftermath of the Haymarket bombing of 1886, for instance, the Chicago police launched raids on union offices and workers' homes all over the city, claiming to be rooting out terrorists. Yellen explains that several years later the Chicago chief of police exposed the role of Police Captain Schaack, one of those who had headed the raiding operation.

The police chief stated: ". . . Capt. Schaack wanted to keep things stirring. He wanted bombs to be found here, there, all around, everywhere. . . . After we got the anarchist societies broken up, Schaack wanted to send out men to again organize new societies right away."

The chapter on the San Francisco general strike of 1934 will be of particular interest to San Francisco municipal workers who staged a major strike this past March. Begun over the issue of union hiring halls for longshore workers, the 1934 strike not only brought most San Francisco workers out on strike but also paralyzed the entire West Coast shipping industry. Yellen's account describes how the longshore workers outflanked conservative union leaders, united other workers in a joint strike committee, and organized public services during the walkout.

Like the other chapters in this book, this concluding chapter is written in such a way as to capture the excitement of the strike, and to inspire the reader with the power of organized labor.

— CINDY JAQUITH

BOSS BENT ON RUIN.

Debs' Strikers Begin a Work of Destruction.

WRECK ON ROCK ISLAND.

Switch Thrown Open and a Train Derailed.

DIAMOND SPECIAL DITCHED.

Men Who Attempt to Work Are Terrorized and Beaten.

DICTATOR AFTER THE MANAGER.

Continued and menacing lawlessness marked the progress yesterday of Dictator Debs and those who obey his orders in their efforts at coercing the railroads of the country into obeying the mandates of the American Railway Union. The Rock Island was the chief sufferer from the mob spirit which broke loose the moment its men struck. It

How capitalist press viewed Pullman strike of 1894.

12,000 sold in April

Young Socialist sales drive surpasses goal

By GINNY HILDEBRAND

The Young Socialist Alliance has scored an early victory in its spring sales drive for the monthly *Young Socialist* newspaper.

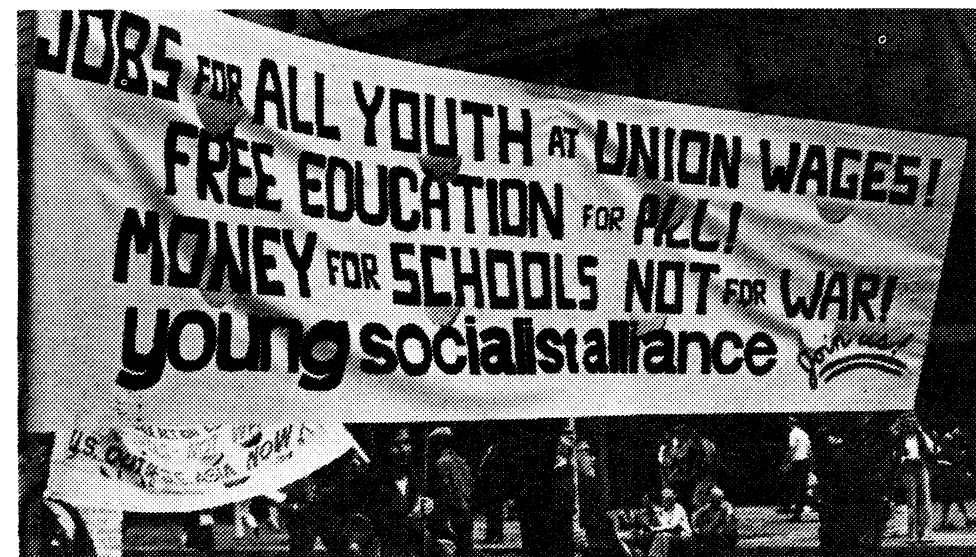
In April, a full month before the scheduled end of the drive, YSA chapters around the country sold 12,000 copies. This is well over the sales goal of 11,000 copies per month set at the YSA national convention last December.

In addition, thousands more YSs were sold by Young Socialist traveling teams and by individual YS subscribers who order bundles of the paper to sell.

As one Minneapolis YSA member commented, "I've never run into such a diverse group of people willing to listen to our ideas. Football players, fraternity and sorority members—all types of students have been deeply affected by recent events."

The success of the YS sales drive is an indication of the deep discontent felt by many young people today and their willingness to read about the socialist alternative.

Two developments that have had a powerful impact are the energy crisis and the unraveling of the Watergate affair. This spring the YS has featured articles explaining what these devel-



opments show about the irrationality of the profit system and the lack of democracy under capitalism.

The sales campaign got off to a good start when 9,565 copies of the February issue, with the front-page headline "Behind Energy Crisis," were sold.

Selling at high schools has been a special emphasis of the drive this spring. Twenty YSA chapters are now carrying out weekly high school sales. They report a friendly response. In Los Angeles more than 100 copies were sold at high schools in April, and in Philadelphia 105 were sold in two weeks at 13 largely Black high schools.

Fourteen Young Socialist teams carried the YSA's spring sales offensive far beyond the cities and campuses where there are YSA chapters. In March these teams sold 4,644 YSs, bringing the total sold that month to 15,000. During the same period the teams sold 5,794 copies of *The Militant* and obtained hundreds of new *Militant* subscribers.

Throughout their activities the teams publicized and won support for the Socialist Workers Party 1974 election campaigns. In several areas SWP candidates accompanied the teams for part or all of their tours.

In addition to speaking directly to hundreds of students, the candidates were able to reach thousands more through the media. For example, while Carol Knoll, SWP candidate for

attorney general of Ohio, was touring the state's campuses with a Young Socialist team, she was interviewed by four campus newspapers, three campus radio stations, two major dailies, a magazine, and a women's newspaper.

The teams found that the distrust and disgust with capitalist politicians that has been spurred by Watergate is not limited to the Nixon gang. At Tulane University in New Orleans, team member Bill Rayson spoke from the floor at a meeting of 800 students to hear Senator Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.) and Frank Mankiewicz, a prominent liberal Democrat.

Rayson explained that both the Democratic and Republican parties are capitalist parties, and that both have been responsible for Watergate-style attacks against the working people of this country and around the world. When he commented, "LBJ is Nixon's biggest rival for number one liar and war criminal in American history," the students responded with overwhelming applause.

International events were also found to be major topics of interest among students. The *Young Socialist* has highlighted the struggles of students and workers in Thailand, Greece, Indonesia, and Puerto Rico, and has

helped expose the role of U.S. imperialism in propping up white racist regimes in southern Africa.

One of the most important aspects of the internationalism of the YS has been its defense of political prisoners around the world, from Chile to Iran to the Soviet dissidents. The paper has been well received at meetings and picket lines to protest repression in these countries.

The YS has also been active in defense of victimized militants here at home, especially the Attica Brothers and the Indians on trial because of the Wounded Knee struggle. The paper has interviewed leaders of these defense efforts and carried consistent coverage of the trials.

Another important focus of the YS this year has been the developing fights against tuition hikes, financial aid cutbacks, and attacks on special Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican programs. It has reported on struggles like the one at Brooklyn College against cuts in stipends for Black and Puerto Rican students and a proposed slash in fall enrollment.

Robb Wright, a YSA member active in the Brooklyn College struggle, is running for student government president there. In reporting on his and other Young Socialist election campaigns, the YS has sought to explain the role a fighting student government could play to unite and lead students in actions to defend their rights to a decent education.

Militant salespeople fight for right to sell

By ROSE OGDEN

The *Militant's* campaign to reach street sales of 10,000 a week in addition to newsstand and subscription circulation moves ahead.

Early reports on sales of the May 17 issue indicate that the national goal is well within reach. Some areas have topped their goals already, and they plan to continue selling. Next week we will have a complete report and a final scoreboard on sales of the May 17 issue.

The *Militant's* steady progress in expanding circulation is greeted with enthusiasm by supporters throughout the country.

However, this enthusiasm is not shared by government authorities whose interests run counter to the struggles of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, women, and other working people publicized and defended by *The Militant*.

Salespeople in various cities have reported attempts by city and campus police to restrict sales of *The Militant*.

Two salespeople in Los Angeles face trial for carrying out their constitutionally protected right to sell *The Militant*.

L.A. supporters also report that those selling *The Militant* face harassment on local campuses. The large L.A. community college system has begun throwing *Militant* sellers off campus and threatening them with arrest. Preparations are now being made to take legal action against the colleges to stop this harassment.

At the private university Loyola-Marymount, *Militant* sellers were told to stop selling because of an order by the dean that said only "agents of the *Los Angeles Times* could sell on campus." The West Side L.A. Young Socialist Alliance is working with the student government and Black and Chicano student organizations to overturn this ruling.

Members of the St. Louis YSA recently waged a successful campaign against a similar ban on sales at the University of Missouri at St. Louis.

The YSA involved professors and campus groups in an ambitious campaign in defense of their right to sell *The Militant* and the *Young Socialist*, newspaper of the YSA. In the face of the broad support won on campus, when the YSA publicly announced that they intended to resume sales, the authorities made no attempt to enforce the ban.

Militant salespeople are often told



Militant/Eric Simpson

to leave airports and other transportation centers. Sometimes the excuse is given that the commercial newsstands have a monopoly on newspaper sales. In most cases these stands will not place *The Militant*. These attempts to limit sales to the capitalist press are being fought by *Militant* salespeople in several cities.

Bill Scheer of Washington, D.C., arrested for selling at National Airport, was prepared to defend his First Amendment rights. The authorities backed down and dropped all charges the day before trial was scheduled.

This past year of Watergate has exposed to millions of Americans the undemocratic and illegal methods used by the capitalist rulers against those who oppose their policies.

The goal of our spring campaign is to get *The Militant* into the hands of as many of these people as possible. Any attempts to limit our democratic right to do this should be challenged.

The scoreboard printed below is for sales of the May 10 *Militant*, headlined "Why Portuguese dictatorship fell."

If you can help sell *The Militant* in your city, just send in the coupon on page 23.

Scoreboard

AREA	GOAL	SOLD	
		LAST WEEK	%
Austin	40	50	125
Milwaukee	25	30	120
St. Louis	325	378	116
Detroit	450	494	110
Cleveland	350	379	108
Pittsburgh	375	406	108
L.A. (Central-East)	350	365	104
Philadelphia	400	410	103
Nashville	70	71	101
Amarillo	5	5	100
Athens, Ga.	35	35	100
Bowling Green, Ohio	50	50	100
Chicago	700	700	100
Ossining	25	25	100
Santa Barbara	20	20	100
Toledo	20	20	100
Tucson	50	50	100
Wallingford, Conn.	30	30	100
Logan	30	29	97
Oakland/Berkeley	800	752	94
Upper West Side (N.Y.)	475	411	87
Atlanta	500	426	85
Lawrence, Kans.	13	11	85
Madison	50	42	84
Portland	325	262	81
Washington, D.C.	400	325	81
Seattle	425	326	77
Dallas	20	13	65
Lower Manhattan	500	299	60
San Diego	325	196	60
L.A. (West Side)	350	186	53
San Francisco	525	260	50
Brooklyn	450	200	44
Denver	450	179	40
Geneseo, N.Y.	5	2	40
Bloomington	100	35	35
Houston	500	150	30
Twin Cities	350	100	29
Boston	700	80	11
TOTAL SOLD			
LAST WEEK	10,000	7,802	78

FBI memos on Black mov't

Due to the broad interest in the recently released FBI documents on "disrupting" and "neutralizing" the Black movement, *The Militant* has made available a reprint of material from our March 22 issue.

The reprint includes the article "FBI memos detail government plot to crush Black movement" and the partially censored FBI documents outlining the COINTELPRO operations against Black leaders and groups such as the Black Panther Party.

The reprint is four *Militant*-sized pages. The cost of bulk orders is:

- 4¢ each for 500 or more
- 5¢ each for 100 to 499
- 6¢ each for 50 to 99
- 7¢ each for 10 to 49
- 10¢ each for 5 or less

Send orders to Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014. Telephone: (212) 929-3486.

Calendar

ATLANTA

WHEN IMPEACHMENT COMES—WHAT THEN? Panel Discussion. Fri., May 24, 8:30 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum Series. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

BOSTON

THE DOWNFALL OF RICHARD M. NIXON. Speaker: Larry Seigle, editorial staff, The Militant. Fri., May 24, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.), Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

BROOKLYN

THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM IN THE BUILDING TRADES. Speakers from Black Economic Survival and the Black and Puerto Rican Coalition. Fri., May 24, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

CLEVELAND

THE SELLING OF MARILYN MONROE: THE DESTRUCTION OF A WOMAN BY CAPITALISM. Speaker: Melissa Singler, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 24, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

DENVER

THE COUP IN PORTUGAL AND THE STRUGGLE FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION. Speakers: Tom Kincaid, Socialist Workers 1974 Campaign Committee; representative from the Black Student Alliance. Fri., May 24, 8 p.m. 1203 California. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

DETROIT

TEACHER ACCOUNTABILITY. Panel discussion. Speakers: Helen Moore, Black Parents for Quality Education; Cliff Schrupp, director, Northwest Interstate Center for Racial Justice; John Elliot, executive vice-president, Detroit Federation of Teachers; Lee Arts, Socialist Workers Party candidate for state board of education. Fri., May 24, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) TE1-6135.

HOUSTON

THE SECOND AMERICAN REVOLUTION: THREE-PART CLASS SERIES, MAY 20-22. Speaker: Peter Camejo. Mon., May 20, 8 p.m.: Civil War I; Tues., May 21, 8 p.m.: Civil War II; Weds., May 22, 8 p.m.: Civil rights movement and the Black liberation movement today. 3311 Montrose, Second Floor. Donation: 75 cents per class. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1974 Campaign Committee. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

SHOULD HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS CONTROL THEIR NEWSPAPERS? Speakers: Doug McColloch, editorial editor, Hunters Call, student newspaper of Canoga Park High School; Mariana Hernandez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for superintendent of public instruction. Fri., May 24, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

THE NEW YORK PRINTERS' STRIKE. Speakers to be announced. Fri., May 24, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near

4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

THE KISSINGER TRIP AND THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION: DOES THE MIDDLE EAST DETENTE MEAN PEACE? Speakers: Hasan Kader, Palestinian Liberation Organization; Jack Lieberman, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., May 24, 8 p.m. 2726 Broadway (near 104th St.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

CAMPAIGN WEEKEND, MAY 24-25. Fri., May 24, 8 p.m.: Nixon: My favorite enemy. Speaker: Fred Halstead. 160 Kroeber Hall, Univ. of California at Berkeley; Sat., May 25, 11 a.m.: Panel discussion on trade-union movement; 2 p.m.: Panel on repression in the Black community. Unitas House, UC Berkeley.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN BANQUET. Speakers: Olga Rodriguez, Dan Styron, Peter Camejo. Sat., May 25, 5 p.m., refreshments; 6 p.m., dinner; 7 p.m., program. 1849 University Ave., Berkeley. Donation: \$6.50 for entire weekend. Ausp: Socialist Workers California 1974 Campaign. For more information call (415) 548-0537 or 431-8918.

PORTLAND

VOTE SOCIALIST WORKERS: THE SOCIALIST CANDIDATES PRESENT THEIR PROGRAM FOR OREGON. Fri., May 24, 8 p.m. 208 S.W. Stark St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum Series. For more information call (503) 226-2715.

SAN DIEGO

ETHIOPIA: THE ROOTS OF REVOLT. Speakers: Getnet Alebel, Ethiopian student; Dennis Scarla, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 24, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd., Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

SEATTLE

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON. Speakers: Fernando E. Perez Pena, attorney; Eugene Green, cochairman, Minority Law Students Association. Fri., May 24, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

...Dist. 1

Continued from page 3

UFT members felt was important enough to single out was "the right of parents with children in the schools—which in District 1 are 93 percent Puerto Rican, Black and Chinese—to select school personnel, allocate funds, and select curricula and programs."

One of the most exciting things about the Por Los Niños campaign is *los niños* themselves. They're some of the hardest workers. On Mothers Day, May 12, 10 of these children rode on a float in a parade through the Lower East Side campaigning for the Por Los Niños slate.

Speaking in English, Spanish, and Chinese, they urged the thousands of Sunday strollers to "Vote for us! Vote 'Por Los Niños!'" The campaign supporters accompanying the float distributed tens of thousands of leaflets. They also passed out nearly 40,000 fortune cookies with a fortune that read: "Vote 'Por Los Niños.'"

I asked one of the young campaign supporters, 12-year-old Jeannie Mullgrav, why she supported the Por Los Niños ticket. "I believe in what they say," she answered.

"They are going to hire teachers that represent the community."

While walking uptown to catch a bus, I passed the District 1 office. There Luis Fuentes, who was standing on the steps, called me over and asked what was going on. I told him about the intense campaign activity of the Por Los Niños ticket. After a long pause he said, "You know, I don't want to sound too optimistic, but I think we're going to win it this time."

"And if you lose?"

"We'll continue to fight," Fuentes replied.

...schools

Continued from page 9

organize outdoor campaigning there. She said a number of students at Seward Park are interested in socialism, but that parental pressure has kept them from becoming active.

In her case, although her parents didn't like her learning about socialism, they didn't prevent her from joining the Young Socialist Alliance. Her father is a construction worker, and she mentioned that lately she has had some good discussions with him about her ideas.

The socialist candidates have also had some opportunities to campaign inside the high schools. Recently Rebecca Finch spoke to more than 1,000 students at Lakeland High School in Shrub Oak, N.Y.

"I was invited to address several classes in the civics department," Finch said. "But by the second period other teachers in the school heard how much discussion my talk generated and they brought their classes together to hear

me. I ended up giving eight 20-minute speeches between 7:40 in the morning and 2:30 in the afternoon."

The teacher who invited Finch to speak first came in contact with the SWP campaign when he met a *Militant* salesperson in front of a supermarket. He thought a socialist candidate would be a welcome addition to this suburban school. At the end of the day he was pleased to find so many students who agreed with what Finch had to say.

Many of the high school engagements have been arranged by young teachers who were involved in radical politics as students and are open to having socialist candidates speak in their classes.

At Julia Richman High School, a predominantly Black school in New York City, Sam Manuel, SWP candidate for comptroller, recently addressed five classes. He was met with a friendly and sympathetic response.

An after-school meeting for Debby Bustin, cochairwoman of the SWP 1974 National Campaign Committee, was held May 2 at Music and Art High School. The socialist campaign is well known at this high school. Last fall two members of the Upper West Side YSA, Andrew Towbin and Gary Stone, ran for president and vice-president respectively of the student government. About 30 YSs are sold here each month.

"The Democratic and Republican candidates are nowhere to be seen around the high schools," commented Gary Stone. "We're trying to organize a gubernatorial debate later this month. We've sent invitations to all the candidates, and we're anxious to hear what their response will be."

...memorial

Continued from page 17

a special talent—painters, sculptors, dancers, poets. I think they will really flourish in a free society.

"Time devoted to art will not be considered leisure or entertainment, but as part of the real purpose of living and part of the closer integration of the human family."

I am entirely confident that Duncan would have subscribed to those thoughts.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

Tucson: YSA, S.U.P.O. 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-1512.

Los Angeles, West Side: SWP and YSA, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

Los Angeles—City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

Riverside: YSA, c/o University of Calif. Riverside, 1134 Library South, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Glenda Horton, 1253 S. 7th St. #70, San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 292-3289.

Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.-7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101. Tel: (203) 523-7582.

New Haven: YSA, c/o Jon Kegger, 1563 Chapel St., Apt. 3, New Haven, Conn. 06511.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, Box U-6014, Tallahassee, Fla. 32306.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

HAWAII: Honolulu: YSA, c/o David Hough, 447 Seaside Ave. #186, Honolulu, Hawaii 96815

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428

S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737, YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Dave Ellis, 1309 E. Vermont, Indianapolis, Ind. 46202.

IOWA: Iowa City: YSA, c/o IMU, Univ. of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa 52240.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, Dept. of Entomology, Univ. of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans. 66045

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

Louisville: YSA, P.O. Box 8026, Louisville, Ky. 40208.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, 2103 Belair Rd., Baltimore, Md. 21213. Tel: (301) 732-8996.

College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, R.S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111.

Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers' Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

Worcester: YSA, P.O. Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103 Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 668-6334.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Kalamazoo: YSA, c/o Gail Altenberg, 728 S. Burdick St., Apt. 3, Kalamazoo, Mich. 49007.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, P.O. Box 98, Warriner Hall, CMU, Mt. Pleasant, Mich 48858.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781

St. Cloud: YSA, c/o Alwood Center, St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud, Minn. 56301.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4660 Maryland, Suite 17, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW JERSEY: New Brunswick: YSA, Box 445, Woodbridge, N.J. 07095. Tel: (201) 634-3076.

Paterson: YSA, P.O. Box 1532, Paterson, N.J. 07509.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Wiloughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Long Island: YSA, 20 John St., Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (615) FR9-0289.

New Paltz: YSA, c/o Diane Phillips, 36 Plattekill Ave., New Paltz, N.Y. 12561. Tel: (914) 255-1871.

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA and Merit Bookstore. 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 2726 Broadway (104th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

NORTH CAROLINA: Charlotte: YSA, c/o Gene Phil-yaw, 1023 Darm '73 UNCC, Charlotte, N.C. 28213. Tel: (704) 537-3235.

OHIO: Bowling Green: YSA, Box 27, U. Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-9043.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553. YSA—(216) 391-3278.

Columbus: YSA, c/o Margaret Van Epp, 670 Cuyahoga Ct., Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 268-7860.

OREGON: Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh: SWP and YSA, 304 S. Bouquet St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8476 University Station, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 524-8967.

Memphis: YSA, c/o Maryrose Eannace, 3681 Winchester Pk. Cr. #7, Memphis, Tenn. 38118. Tel: (901) 365-2528.

Nashville: YSA, P.O. Box 67, Station B, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 37212. Tel: (615) 383-2583.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, SWP, Militant Bookstore, Harriet Tubman Hall, 1801 Nueces, Austin, Texas 78701. Tel: (512) 478-8602.

Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, 546 Blaze Dr., San Antonio, Texas 78218.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

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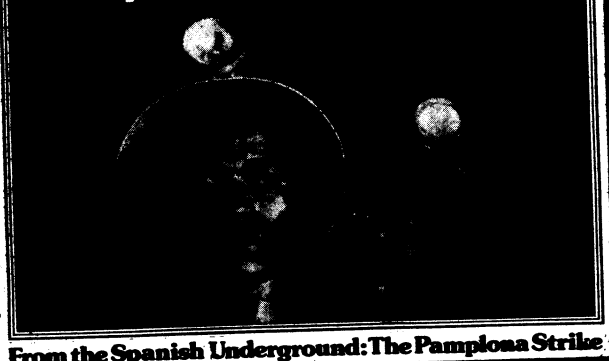
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RACIST FRAME-UPS FIGHT THE SYSTEM THAT BREEDS THEM



Attica, Wounded Knee—these are only two of the names that symbolize the government's racist drive against Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Native American activists. The Young Socialist Alliance is building broad support for these frame-up victims and is helping to organize protest meetings and demonstrations. Ultimately, the sure way to end these victimizations is to abolish capitalism, the system that breeds them. A socialist society would be free of racism, discrimination against women and the exploitation of working people. It would put human needs above private profit. If you believe this kind of society is worth fighting for, join the YSA.

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Black trade unionists say: 'Organize the unorganized!'

By BAXTER SMITH

DETROIT— This city's Cobo Hall was brought alive the weekend of May 3-5 with talk of discrimination against Blacks on the job, in the labor unions, and in society as a whole.

The occasion was the third annual convention of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU). The 1,250 delegates, who included two vice-presidents of international unions, local union officials and staff, and a sprinkling of rank and filers, came from across the nation and from 40 unions to speak their minds on the problems facing Black working people.

The CBTU was founded in September 1972 to muster Black support for George McGovern's presidential bid. This was in opposition to the Meany leadership of the AFL-CIO, which gave backhanded support to Richard Nixon.

Since its founding, the CBTU has gone on record in support of the United Farm Workers union, and it backs the Equal Rights Amendment. In 1973 it held a series of meetings in cities across the country to organize opposition to Nixon's budget cuts.

Last September the CBTU held a meeting in Pittsburgh to discuss how the energy crisis affected Blacks and how to fight it. In addition, CBTU members were active in building the September 8 price protest demonstration of 8,000 in Chicago.

At this convention, one focus of the CBTU leaders was on the need to organize the unorganized. A resolution on it read in part: "The Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, at its Third Convention in Detroit, Michigan hereby resolves that the organization of unorganized masses of American workers must be the top priority task of all American labor. . . ."

Currently, of the 89 million men and women in the U.S. work force, less than 20 million are in trade unions.

Power of Black unionists

The convention showed the potential power of Black trade unionists in the fight against racist oppression.

Indications of the delegates' resolve can be seen in the 40 resolutions that were presented for adoption. The resolutions ranged from attacking the problems Blacks face on the job to measures that grappled with broader social and political questions.

Some of the resolutions approved included:

- Condemning U.S. support to South Africa and demanding U.S. recognition of the independence of Guinea-Bissau from Portugal.

- Calling for the ouster of the Chilean junta and restoring democratic rights in Chile. It urged support to the recent Chile protest demonstrations.

- Calling for refunding and extension of various Office of Economic



Militant/Baxter Smith

1,250 Blacks from 40 unions meet in Detroit to discuss problems facing Black workers

Opportunity programs that have been eliminated through budget cutbacks.

- Condemning the consent decrees in the recently approved steel industry agreement concerning certain Black and women workers. The agreement provides for meager back pay to those Blacks and women who have suffered discrimination by the steel companies and the Steelworkers union.

But to be eligible for back pay, the affected individual must first sign a waiver, or consent decree, stating that she or he will not sue the company or union for damages suffered as a result of discrimination.

Most of the resolutions never made it to the convention floor. Many of these were approved by the resolutions committee and were referred to the incoming executive committee.

One such resolution called on the CBTU to "support the continuation and strengthening of Black Studies programs in all educational institutions throughout the United States."

Two resolutions called for a condemnation of Shankerism, the racist policies of the New York Teachers union chief, Albert Shanker. One urged that a child-care provision become a part of union contract demands, and another urged CBTU women to join and participate in the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

The convention rally was addressed by Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), Mayor Coleman Young, Representative John Conyers (D-Mich.), and Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers (UAW).

Woodcock said that the UAW wel-

comed the formation of the CBTU, as it did CLUW. He said the formation of these organizations would not divide the labor movement but strengthen it.

The incoming executive committee consists of William Lucy, secretary-treasurer of AFSCME; Charles Hayes, vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; Nelson Jack Edwards, vice-president of the UAW; Cleveland Robinson, president of the Distributive Workers of America; Alzada Clark of the United Furniture Workers; and William Simons, president of American Federation of Teachers Local 6.

A 12-member executive council was also elected. In addition, each of the 11 local regions of the CBTU is to elect or select one rank-and-file member to serve on the executive council. The council is slated to meet once every four months, and the executive committee will meet once each month.

In an attempt to win rank-and-file membership, the CBTU has set dues for rank-and-filers at \$5 a year. For union staff dues are \$25 a year, and for union officials dues are \$50 a year.

Need for struggle

At the opening plenary session May 4, Lucy explained the need for an organization of Black trade unionists. "We need the formalization of an institution to begin to deal with our problems," he said.

He added that change would not come through petition or requisition, but through struggle, and as an example, he referred to the civil rights movement.

He explained that the CBTU should

support community struggles. He said this would brighten the image of trade unions in the eyes of the Black community, a subject that other speakers referred to.

At the same time, Lucy said, Blacks must be vigilant and fight against discrimination on the job. In this light, the resolution supporting the struggle of Black and women steelworkers—if parlayed into action—would go a long way toward fighting discrimination Blacks suffer at the work site.

Blacks and women make up 71,000 of 350,000 workers in the steel industry, and the recent steel pact will affect many of them. The pact, which has the backing of the federal government, was reached behind the backs of the affected Black and women steelworkers. While pointing this out, the resolution also warns:

"... This type agreement may become the pattern for the country, and the CBTU should call for a national mass mobilization of all blacks and minority group workers to police such voluntary agreements."

Unfortunately, one subject that was not treated at the convention was the discrimination against Blacks in the building trades. No resolutions on it appeared from the floor, and although the CBTU executive committee authored resolutions on other matters, it left this crucial area untouched.

Community support

A workshop on community participation was held that discussed the need for Black trade unionists to become involved in community struggles over control of schools and other institu-

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