
THE MILITANT

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

Ferment in Portugal

Africans demand: Free colonies now!



Freedom fighters in Mozambique. African students in Lisbon are backing struggle against Portuguese colonialism. See on-the-scene reports from Portugal, pages 4-6.

New Israeli terror raids hit Lebanon/8
Militant sales drive shoots over goal/13
Printers confront automation issue/14

In Brief

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Gov't spy plan against Indians revealed
- 9 2,000 Blacks protest cop brutality in Oakland
- 15 Criminal code 'reform': attack on civil liberties
- 16 SWP petitioners launch drives in Mass., Mo., Pa.
- 17 Socialist rally kicks off campaign for ballot status in Texas
- 18 Calif. campaign reform exposed as fraud
- 19 Colo. socialist campaigns across state
- 20 Can a Black party be built by backing Democrats?
- 21 NY parents slate wins 4 of 9 school board seats
- 24 Protests hit LA police rampage

- 2 In Brief
- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 11 National Picket Line La Raza en Accion
- 12 Great Society American Way of Life By Any Means Necessary
- 16 Campaigning for Socialism

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 1 Italian divorce vote: victory for democratic rights
- 2 Chilean workers movement under the junta
- 3 U.S.-Soviet detente: why both sides see it as good business
- 4 World News Notes

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MORE DEPORTATIONS TO COME: During the last year the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service has increased the number of apprehensions and deportations of so-called illegal aliens. Chicanos, Mexicans without papers, and Haitians are among those who have been denied their rights by the Immigration Service.

On May 15 General Leonard Chapman Jr., the agency's commissioner, announced that the department plans to increase the number of deportations by 50 percent in the next year. During the last year, his agency has deported 670,000 people at a cost of \$45-million.

STEELWORKERS CALL BOYCOTT OF ALADDIN PRODUCTS: Representatives of United Steelworkers Local 4802 in Nashville announced May 16 that a national boycott of Aladdin products has been endorsed by the executive committee of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and the executive council of the AFL-CIO.

Local 4802 has been on strike against Aladdin Industries for 17 weeks. It is seeking a new contract that

New demands to free Pyotr Grigorenko

An official commission of Soviet psychiatrists has ruled that dissident communist Pyotr Grigorenko "no longer needs psychiatric treatment," according to the New York-based Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners. Grigorenko's case has now been referred back to the Soviet courts, although it is unknown precisely when and under what conditions they will consider it.

This development points up the need for an on-going defense effort in Grigorenko's behalf.

Since his arrest in May 1969 for activities in defense of the Crimean Tatars and other oppressed nationalities unjustly deported by Stalin during World War II, Grigorenko has been confined in mental hospitals and psychiatric prisons.

In February 1970 he was tried under a charge of "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation," and sentenced to compulsory psychiatric treatment for an indefinite term. The "diagnosis," carried out at the Stalinist bureaucracy's notorious Serbsky Institute, found that Grigorenko suffered from "reformist ideas . . . of an obstinate character."

Because of the harsh conditions of his confinement and the refusal of the Stalinist regime to provide the necessary medical attention, Grigorenko's health has deteriorated considerably. He has become blind in one eye and has suffered three strokes, the most recent on April 5. His wife, Zinaida, reports that he is now too weak to write. Previously, he had been denied pencil and paper.

Grigorenko's case was the focal point of demonstrations on May 7, the anniversary of his arrest.

His release was also demanded in protest activities on May 20 and 21 sponsored by the Union of Crimean Tatars for Total Rehabilitation. These demonstrations, in front of the United Nations headquarters in New York, also demanded the immediate release of Crimean Tatar activist Reshat Dzhemilev, who is currently imprisoned by the Kremlin bureaucrats as well.

The demonstrations marked the thirtieth anniversary of Stalin's mass deportation of the Crimean Tatar people from the Crimea to Central Asia, and the abolition of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. The Crimean Tatar people, who were falsely accused of collaborating with Hitler, are still denied the right to return to their homeland.

would include more job security, a wage increase, and a cost of living increase. The striking USW local feels that a nationwide boycott will add needed pressure to Aladdin, helping the steelworkers win their demands.

An Aladdin Workers Solidarity Committee has been established to mobilize support for Local 4802. The committee is building community and local trade-union support for the striking steelworkers through leafleting, producing bumper stickers, fund raising, and publicizing the boycott of Aladdin products.

NEW BRUNSWICK RALLY SUPPORTS UFW: A May 4 rally, attended by 350 people, was held at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, N.J., in support of the United Farm Workers. Speakers at the event included Richard Chavez of the UFW national executive board. There were also speakers from the International Union of Electrical Workers, the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees District 1199, and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

The day's activity was the high point of a week of solidarity actions with the UFW. Both local and state government bodies had declared April 28 through May 4 as United Farm Workers Support Week.

Following the rally, more than 150 people participated in a picket line at a nearby Pathmark Supermarket that carries scab lettuce and grapes.

SUPREME COURT REFUSES TO HEAR WANSLEY APPEAL: The U.S. Supreme Court has refused to review the conviction of Thomas Wansley, a 28-year-old Black man serving a life sentence on a framed-up rape charge. The May 12 court decision closes all legal channels for Wansley's freedom until he becomes eligible for parole in three-and-a-half years.

The Prisoners Solidarity Committee, in a statement released May 13, said the conviction of Wansley was "a classic case of the selective prosecution, conviction and punishment of a Black young man in Southern states accused of sex crimes against white women."

VETERANS DEMONSTRATE FOR UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY: Marching through West Point to neighboring Highland Falls, N.Y., 150 people demonstrated May 18 for unconditional amnesty for draft resisters. The action was sponsored by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization.

Speaking at the rally following the march were Al Hubbard, a leader of the VVAW/WSO; Bob Macfarlane, a draft resister and a member of the VVAW/WSO; and Irma Zigas, chairwoman of the War Resisters League.

WASHINGTON STUDENTS BUILD UFW BOYCOTT: After a May 7 rally at which UFW Vice-president Dolores Huerta spoke, UFW supporters at Washington State University in Pullman presented university President Glenn Terrell with 3,000 signatures demanding that the university back the UFW boycott.

During the months of April and May, the UFW Support Committee on the campus had waged a campaign to remove scab lettuce from the dining halls and cafeteria. The committee held rallies, leafleted, and carried out an extensive petition drive.

Terrell and the board of regents refused to take sides on the boycott, saying that a university stand in favor of the boycott could decrease financial support from wealthy alumni and the state legislature.

In response to this, UFW supporters on campus began an educational drive aimed at the student body. Pickets were held in front of the student union during lunch hour, dining halls were leafleted, and the major dormitories were canvassed by petitioners. Rallies were held to win support for the boycott.

Under pressure from this activity, the campus dining halls began serving both romaine and head lettuce. Sales of head lettuce declined by 60 percent. The student newspaper and the student body president Paul Casey endorsed the boycott.

At the May 7 confrontation with UFW supporters, Terrell reiterated his position of "neutrality" and said that even if the student body voted to remove head lettuce from campus, he wouldn't authorize it.

The UFW Support Committee is mapping out plans to continue its campaign against the scab lettuce for the next semester.

—NORMAN OLIVER

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Wounded Knee trial

Gov't spy plan against AIM uncovered

By GREG CORNELL

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Evidence accumulated so far in the five-month-old Wounded Knee trial indicates that a massive "counterintelligence" operation has been conducted by the U. S. government against the American Indian Movement (AIM) since before the Wounded Knee seizure.

The central question is, Will the details of that secret police operation be brought to light?

There have been a number of developments along that line in the trial of Dennis Banks and Russell Means this week. A Justice Department memo, accidentally obtained by a reporter, proves that the FBI has engaged in systematic surveillance of AIM.

The memo, apparently written in March 1973, was given to a reporter by the prosecution by mistake. It includes the following paragraph:

"By memorandum dated November 21, 1972, Ralph E. Erickson, Deputy Attorney General, directed the Federal Bureau of Investigation to intensify its efforts to identify violence-prone

individuals or organizations involved in American Indian activities, particularly the AIM organization. The Federal Bureau of Investigation is collecting and disseminating information of an intelligence nature and is conducting an investigation regarding possible violation of federal statutes out of the occupation of Wounded Knee, S.D., and similar situations in Custer and Rapid City, S.D. The overall purpose of the Federal Bureau of Investigation intelligence investigations is to develop detailed advance information concerning planned demonstrations and disorders by organizations and individual Indian militants."

That memo prompted a demand by defense attorneys to see any and all "counterintelligence" programs launched by the government against AIM.

At the same time, Judge Fred Nichol asked to see the FBI's COINTELPRO documents that were released by the Justice Department earlier this year. Those documents outline a massive government disruption program of



FBI agents parked in front of Indian defense office in Rapid City, S.D.

Black and radical organizations. The memos specified several groups as FBI targets, including the Black Panther Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

"There may be a whole section on Indians that we haven't got," defense attorney Mark Lane told *The Militant*. "There may be a whole COINTELPRO on Indians."

Another indication of FBI surveillance was a photocopy of a legal defense committee agenda that the government handed over to the defense this week. Under a court order issued last October, the prosecution has been slowly and grudgingly turning over documents.

An FBI agent submitted an affidavit stating that he had searched a Rapid City, S.D., motel room where Russell Means had been staying last summer and found the agenda in a wastebasket.

The FBI also obtained from the motel owner a list of all the phone calls that Clyde Bellecourt, an AIM leader, made from the motel.

The FBI's gestapo-like tactics emphasize the fact that the U. S. government rather than the two AIM leaders should be on trial here.

Indications of how "fair" a trial the Indians are getting were shown on May 20, when the defense sought without success to introduce the Sioux treaty of 1868 into evidence.

A government witness, the Reverend Sam Rouillard, testified that he had entered Wounded Knee during the 71-day seizure last year to negotiate with AIM leaders. According to Rouillard, Means had told him during the seizure that the Indians were in Wounded Knee to make the U.S. government live up to the 1868 treaty. Rouillard said he had carried a copy of the treaty with him when he entered the South Dakota hamlet.

Nevertheless, Judge Nichol said he would not allow the treaty entered as evidence at this time.

Neither Nichol nor the prosecution is anxious to see the trial become a court case to determine the validity of the hundreds of Indian treaties the government has broken during the last century.

The 1868 treaty, for example, which sets aside large portions of South Dakota for the Sioux, states:

"No white person or persons shall be permitted to settle upon or occupy any portion of the territory, or without the consent of the Indians to pass through the same."

The Sioux never did give their consent, but the land was taken from them anyway.

Since the capitalist court is primarily concerned with "law and order" rather than justice, it is not a question that a capitalist judge like Nichol wants to discuss.

Means and Banks win right to cross-examine witnesses

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Russell Means and Dennis Banks will be allowed to question some of the witnesses in the Wounded Knee trial here, Judge Fred Nichol ruled last week.

The judge made his decision after the two Wounded Knee defendants announced their intention to fire their attorneys. Means told *The Militant* that he wanted to be able to cross-examine the witnesses in order "to bring out the racism of the judge."

Means said that the judge's decision to let the defendants act as cocounsel was "the best of both worlds," since it lets them keep their attorneys, who Means says are regarded highly by the defendants.

Under the judge's ruling, if one of the defendants cross-examines a witness, his attorney will not be allowed to do so.

The controversy arose when Means was arrested in Sioux Falls, S.D., on May 14 on charges stemming from a police riot there two weeks earlier.

Means was flown to St. Paul in handcuffs and was not freed until he posted \$2,000 bail. Later in the day, in court, Means and then Banks said they were firing their attorneys. Nichol said he would refuse to allow them to do so, even after Banks's and Means's attorneys urged the judge to allow their clients to defend themselves without lawyers.

The issue appeared to be stalemated until Nichol agreed to allow Banks and Means to question witnesses on a "temporary basis." Nichol observed that some defendants in the Gainesville, Fla., trial last year did their own cross-examinations.

Campaign builds for child-care centers in S.F.

By CAROLE SELIGMAN

SAN FRANCISCO — Several hundred adults and young children gathered in Golden Gate Park here May 11 to demand child care. The rally and picnic were sponsored by Child and Parent Action (CAPA).

The rally was the latest in a series of activities sponsored by CAPA demanding that Proposition M be implemented. Proposition M, a referendum calling for the city of San Francisco to establish child-care centers for all the children of the city, passed overwhelmingly in last November's elections.

The San Francisco board of supervisors—to whom Proposition M was directed—has failed to act on the referendum. Instead, board president, Supervisor Dianne Feinstein, has sponsored a resolution that would direct \$30,000 of federal revenue sharing funds to conduct a study of the "need" for child care.

CAPA representatives are campaigning for the city to immediately begin to expand its child-care programs through the use of school facilities. This proposal has been presented by

CAPA spokespeople to community organizations and unions and at numerous school board committee meetings.

The fight to extend the use of school

facilities for child care is part of the broader struggle to improve the schools. The board of education is besieged with criticism from parents throughout the city.



The poor quality of the schools and the lack of bilingual education for the thousands of Chinese, Chicano, Filipino, and other students for whom English is a second language, are being attacked. Also being challenged is the failure of the board of education to implement a desegregation plan that could help remedy the grossly unequal education minority students face.

Speakers at the rally included CAPA cochairwomen Patricia Crawford and Sylvia Weinstein; Dave Clisham, San Francisco Federation of Teachers; Kay Witcher, president of the Children's Council; Gretchen Mackler, Coalition of Labor Union Women; Vilma Mendoza, St. Patrick's Family Center; Christian Vázquez, Mission Child Care Consortium; and Shirley Boccacio, National Organization for Women.

Entertainment was provided by three- and four-year-old children from Chinatown Community Children's Center, who sang in Mandarin. It was also provided by seven- and eight-year-olds from the Community Children's Theatre, a Black cultural group, who performed a poetry-dance interpretation of Langston Hughes verse.

African students demand freedom for

From Intercontinental Press

By Gerry Foley

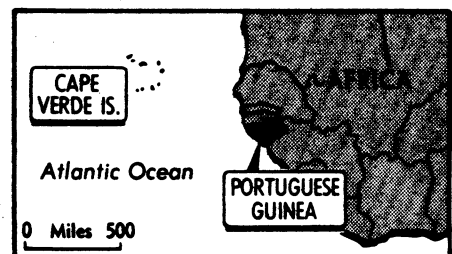
Lisbon

While most of the political talk in Portugal is about the composition of the provisional government, the fundamental political question remains what the new regime will offer the peoples of the colonies.

In his book, *Portugal e o Futuro* (*Portugal and the Future*), General António de Spínola, the head of the Junta de Salvação Nacional, clearly excluded independence as a possible solution to the wars of liberation in Portugal's colonies.

The general's position, as set forth in his book, is bourgeois-nationalist. It has two sides: the first is that Portugal cannot continue to support the burden of its colonial wars. The drain on the national economy puts the country at too great a disadvantage vis-à-vis the Common Market countries.

In particular, the extensive emigration resulting from this growing disadvantage threatens to produce social explosions by bringing an active layer of the Portuguese working class into contact with a standard of living their mother country "cannot



Christian Science Monitor

match." Therefore, the drain of the colonial wars must be stopped.

But the second side of General Spínola's argument is that Portugal also cannot afford to give up the colonies. The country is so weak vis-à-vis the other European powers and the United States that without its African dependencies, Portugal's independence would be threatened.

The only way out of this dilemma is to find African allies willing to accept some concessions within the framework of a "Lusitanian Community."

In order to create the conditions for a neocolonial settlement in the parts of Africa under Portuguese rule, General Spínola and the junta have had to take a great risk. They have had to scuttle the system of police-state repression that stood in the way of any concessions to the African peoples and that ruled out attracting any popular support for political initiatives.

The most lucid sector of the Portuguese bourgeoisie, represented by Spínola and the junta, apparently felt they had no choice but to take this risk. Spínola lays out the reasons clearly enough in his book. But the dangers of this choice for the Portuguese bourgeoisie have been quick to appear.

One of the first results of the "democratic opening" is that hundreds of African students, formerly condemned to total silence by heavy police surveillance, have begun to speak out and express directly their aspirations and those of their peoples.

Loud and clear

What they have had to say does not fit in with Spínola's scheme of a great Lusitanian confederation. They have spoken out loud and clear for

immediate independence for the colonies, and by doing so imposed themselves as a key political force in the present situation in Portugal, a force the junta clearly fears.

This new force emerged abruptly. On May 6, the newspapers in the northern city of Oporto, where I was at the time, reported a demonstration of several hundred African students in Lisbon demanding immediate independence for the colonies.

Next, they reported that the students had seized the premises of the government agency for colonial students, the Procuradoria dos Estudantes Ultramarinos [Procurate for Students from the Overseas Provinces]. The students had renamed the rooms, the Casa dos Estudantes das Colónias [Colonial Student House].

This action fitted into a pattern of many occupations aimed at destroying the apparatus and institutions of the corporate state set up by António Salazar. In the case of the African students, this action took on a powerful political momentum.

The junta's representatives complained that if the government so much as accepted the name "Casa dos Estudantes das Colónias" it would "destroy the unity of the Armed Forces Movement." That is, some elements in the junta would not accept any name other than "overseas provinces."

I went out to the ex-Procuradoria to talk with the occupiers. The premises were on the sixth and seventh floors of a modern office building on the Avenida da Republica in an outlying section of Lisbon.

On the front door of the building there was a sign "Casa dos Estudantes das Colónias" and the floor number. The sign had obviously been up several days but had not been defaced. The neighborhood was covered with slogans of the far-left groups, as it seems every neighborhood in Lisbon is, even the medieval labyrinth of the Alfama district.

I took the elevator to the sixth floor. Some Portuguese cleaning women asked me what I wanted. I said that I had come to talk to the students. They called one of the student representatives. The staff seemed to be working together with the students, but it was apparent that there were material difficulties in running the facility under student control.

A Cape Verdian student, Scapa, ushered me very politely into what must have been the director's office. Later a young man in uniform, a junior officer of some kind, poked his head into the room. Scapa explained that the officer was a representative of the junta sent to check into the material problems, to see how the fa-

cility was operating, and to ascertain—if possible—what had happened to the money that was supposed to be on the premises before the coup.

The young officer was very polite and did not inquire about the presence of a foreigner in the former director's office.

'Neocolonial solutions'

Scapa told me that the African students understood perfectly well that the junta did not intend to grant independence to the colonies, and that



Soldiers arrest secret-police agent. African students protest continued use of hated secret police in Portugal's colonies.

the group occupying the ex-Procuradoria was determined to oppose any "neocolonial solutions."

The students also knew, Scapa said, that because of the junta's political needs of the moment, the Africans at the University of Lisbon had considerable leverage. He said he thought it was unlikely the junta would try to oust them by force from the rooms they were occupying, at least for some time.

Scapa proved to be right. Later on he came into the room carrying a copy of an agreement the junta had just made with the students. The text was as follows:

"1. The Delegate of the Junta supports the democratic operation of the Institute by a board elected democratically in a broad assembly.

"2. The Delegate of the Junta supports the election of a Comissão Directiva Provisória [Provisional Management Board] to manage the facility and considers that it was correct for representatives of this Comissão Directiva to participate in the liquidation of the former P.E.U. [Procuradoria dos Estudantes Ultramarinos]. . . .

"5. Scholarship payments will be guaranteed from Monday, May 13."



Portuguese colonial army. Spínola thinks Portugal 'can't afford' to grant independence to colonies.

Scapa was smiling broadly. It was a great victory, because there could be no doubt that the occupation and the activities of these African students were and remain a great embarrassment to the junta and General Spínola's plans for a "Lusitanian community."

One of the first acts of the Estudantes das Colónias was to denounce a pro-"Lusitanian community" statement of a group of "moderate" African students, a statement of some importance for the junta's plans. The reply of the Estudantes das Colónias, dated

May 7, said, in part:

"We denounce the opportunist, demagogic, and neocolonialist character of this position and make it clear that it does not represent the liberation movements, the vanguard of the fighting peoples of the colonies.

"We proclaim (based on documents that we have in our possession) the fact that the elements who signed this communiqué were linked to the abolished Circulo dos Estudos Ultramarinos, a fascist and colonialist body.

"We reaffirm our position that there can be no real solution of the problems of the peoples in the colonies except in the framework of total independence of the respective colonies. We reaffirm our repudiation of all colonialist and neocolonialist positions. We declare our solidarity with the positions assumed by the PAIGC, the MPLA, and FRELIMO [liberation groups in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique]."

Abolish political police

The Estudantes das Colónias also raised some demands that were embarrassing to the junta in an even more immediate way. For example, they called for the abolition of the old political police, the PIDE, in the colonies, thereby highlighting the fact that this hated force, which has been abolished in Portugal, has been left intact in the territories Portugal controls overseas. In the colonies, the government has said, it intends to reconvert the PIDE into a "military intelligence force."

The African students also called for the release of all prisoners in the colonies. The junta has released what it considers to be prisoners of conscience, but it has refused to release persons it claims are "prisoners of war." As long as this last category is maintained, however, it is clear that the colonial war is continuing.

Another embarrassing subject for the junta has been raised by the Estudantes das Colónias. The students have appealed to the 20,000 Cape Verdian workers in Portugal to assert their dignity by fighting for the

colonies

independence of their homelands and for equality for themselves in Portugal.

The Cape Verdian workers are the most brutally exploited section of the working class in Portugal, Salomé, one of the student spokespersons, told me.

They live almost entirely on rice and potatoes. In addition to their economic impoverishment, they are subject to racial prejudice. None of the African students I talked to believed the stories about the lack of race prejudice in "Lusitanian civilization."

Long-term effects

Most of the African student activists, as well as the immigrant African workers, are Cape Verdians. The politicalization and mobilization of this layer, as a result of the process going on in Portugal, can have important long-term effects for the struggle in the colonies.

The most extensive assimilation has occurred in Cape Verde; and, the Cape Verdian students explained to me, their people have been used by the Portuguese as intermediaries. The struggle against colonial rule has tended to lag in Cape Verde, and this unevenness has created tensions within the liberation movement.

The activation of the Cape Verdian students has been a very rapid process. Salomé told me that the police supervision was so heavy before the fall of the Caetano regime that all political discussion was impossible. The students were so carefully screened that there were no representatives of the national liberation movements among them and they were quite ignorant of these groups' activity and program before the coup.

While the African students formerly could not even whisper about the liberation struggle in their countries, the main room of their center is now named after Amílcar Cabral, and the walls are covered with pictures of the nationalist leaders and the camps of the various forces.

These newly active students seem to be a critical lot, far removed in temperament and political outlook from the sentimental young followers of the Communist and Socialist parties who sang praises to the junta in the May Day demonstration.

On May 16 I watched the investiture of the provisional government on TV in the student center. When the incredibly pompous General Costa Gomes gave his speech, sagging under the weight of his braid and medals, the students howled, especially as he coughed, adjusted his glasses, and turned another page of the seemingly huge sheaf of papers in his hand. It was a long, boring speech about civic responsibility and how freedom does not mean "anarchy," etc.

Salomé told me that the African students were disgusted with the Communist and Socialist parties for their servile attitude toward the junta. As for them, they were determined to maintain their revolutionary principles at all costs.

The colonial question is absolutely vital for the junta, and so this relatively small group of African youth is likely to be drawn into the very center of Portuguese politics and subjected to the strongest political and material pressures. They will need the clearest possible political perspective and the most advanced tactics to win out against the combined forces of the "modernist" bourgeoisie and the reformist parties that dominate the scene here at the moment.

New Spinola gov't moves to curb deepening workers revolt

By CAROLINE LUND

The revolt of the Portuguese working masses, unleashed by the overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship, has quickly gone over to raising demands for social justice that could only be fully satisfied by a socialist revolution.

All that holds back this process of deepening of the revolt is the counter-revolutionary role being played by the Communist and Socialist parties, and the lack of a revolutionary Marxist party in Portugal.

New York Times correspondent Henry Giniger described in a May 16 dispatch the spread of "the rebellious mood of hundreds of thousands of industrial workers eager to improve their economic lot and throw over all old authority."

"Ignoring a plea for order and work by Gen. António de Spínola, who took office yesterday as President," writes Giniger, "8,500 workers of Lisbon's biggest shipyard, Lisnav, occupied the sprawling plant along the Tagus River last night with demands for a doubling of wages and for worker control."

Giniger described the "revolutionary scene," with "banners proclaiming 'we want to own our country' and 'down with the useless lackeys. Up with the workers.'"

Hundreds of thousands of textile workers were also threatening to strike. According to the May 17 *Washington Post*, "Hundreds of firms, large and small, are facing not only strikes, but demands that personnel associated with the ousted government be dismissed."

The Spínola government's headquarters "has been besieged daily by laborers petitioning for better conditions and pay," says the May 20 *Time*.

"Suddenly there are meetings everywhere," writes *New York Times* correspondent Richard Eder. Workers hold union meetings and political discussions during working hours. Students at the university have requested that one day a week be set aside for political meetings.

Bus and train conductors were al-



CP's CUNHAL: Vive Spínola! Vive the armed forces!

lowing the public to ride for free as a protest demanding better working conditions.

The depth of the social upheaval was also indicated by the emergence of actions and demands for freedom by women and by gay people.

Feminists have demanded that the junta provide them with a headquarters to launch a women's liberation movement. Their first goal will reportedly be the legalization of abortion. On May 9, 2,000 women workers at a Timex plant near Lisbon occupied their factory demanding the removal of six supervisors they accused of being "fascist tools."

Gay rights supporters, defying the deepgoing prejudices against homosexuals, marched behind a banner in

the May Day demonstration. The Movement for Revolutionary Homosexual Action issued a statement demanding abolition of a law against "vices against nature" and urging an end to prejudicial teaching about homosexuality in the schools.

Meanwhile, in Portugal's African colonies, the Spínola regime's first cease-fire proposal of May 6 was rejected by all the guerrilla forces in Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Angola. The May 10 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported, "Some strikes by African workers have begun in certain sugarcane plantations and in some factories in Beira [in Mo-



Women on May Day action in Lisbon. Spirit of rebellion continues to spread.

zambique]." Dockers in the same city had successfully struck for a wage increase.

This is the context in which General Spínola has moved to bring leaders of the Communist and Socialist parties into his government. "Spínola was expected to use the presence of Cunhal and Soares to restrain labor and to try to influence the African guerrillas to lay down their arms and negotiate a cease-fire," wrote *Washington Post* correspondent Miguel Acoca from Lisbon.

Spínola named CP leader Alvaro Cunhal as minister without portfolio; Socialist Party leader Mario Soares as foreign minister; and another CP member, Avelino Pacheco Gonçalves, as labor minister.

The day after his appointment as foreign minister, Soares was dispatched to Africa to try to convince leaders of the guerrilla fighters in Guinea-Bissau to negotiate a cease-fire with the junta.

Neither the CP nor SP have come out for immediate withdrawal of Portuguese troops from Africa and unconditional independence for the colonies. The CP favors "negotiations" and a referendum in which Portuguese citizens would vote on the fate of the colonies.

While announcing his cabinet appointments, General Spínola also announced his intention to maintain the constitution left over from the Caetano dictatorship. And, wrote Giniger in the May 17 *New York Times*, Spínola's constitutional decrees "made it clear in several ways that the military was still in command despite the appointment of 14 civilian ministers. . . ." One of the decrees states that "the structure of the armed forces is totally independent from the structure of the Government."

These guarantees of capitalist rule

stand ready to be used, if the demagoguery of the Spínola government proves inadequate.

The May 20 *Time* reports that "Portugal's wealthy industrialists and the oligarchic '100 families' who virtually own the economy have been desperately maneuvering and power-broking to keep the junta from making concessions to restive workers."

This is where the CP is performing an invaluable aid to the junta. *Newsweek* reported May 20: "When the junta issued a stern warning last week against 'mini-revolutions' by workers, the Communists backed up the government quickly. The party issued a

no-nonsense statement foreclosing 'adventurist' seizures of property, businesses or political institutions. And when workers in the semipublic steel industry threatened a strike—which could have caused grave damage to Portugal's fragile economy and would certainly have provoked an open clash with the junta—Cunhal ordered the workers to stay on their jobs."

José Magro, a member of the CP central committee, summed up the Stalinists' position: "We want no provocation. 'Vive the armed forces,' we say, 'Vive Spínola.'"

The role of the Stalinists is—as it has been in countless other countries in prerevolutionary situations, and most recently in Chile under Allende—to block the workers from fighting for their economic and political demands, and lull them into placing their trust in the capitalist government and army of the Nazi-trained Spínola.

The CP-USA, and its *Daily World* newspaper, have been basking in the publicity being given the Portuguese Stalinists. An article by William Pomeroy, for example, in the May 17 *World*, hails "the leading role of the Communist Party of Portugal in the eradication of fascism and the restoration of freedom."

These panegyrics become more and more sickening as the reality of the CP's role unfolds in Portugal. Once again, the struggles of the masses of workers are posing the need for a workers government and the abolition of capitalist rule. And once again, the Stalinists are consciously acting to prevent such a social revolution.

A revolution in Portugal could have the most profound repercussions. It could inspire similar revolutionary upsurges throughout the world—especially in Africa and Europe—and hasten the shattering of the whole edifice of capitalist oppression and exploitation.

Lisbon march backs newspaper strike

From Intercontinental Press

By Gerry Foley

Lisbon

The city spreads across steep hills overlooking its harbor. In most neighborhoods, streets are narrow and precipitous. Offices and shops mingle with old apartment buildings flying the family wash from innumerable balconies.

As I turned the corner of one such street today (May 10) in an area in which many newspapers have their offices, I found the tight passageway clogged with a crowd carrying red carnations and banners.

For a long time, perhaps an hour, the crowd stood chanting. And they must have been there for at least an hour before that. They were gathered outside the offices of *O Seculo Ilustrado*, a picture magazine apparently connected with the daily *O Seculo*.

The occasion for the demonstration was a strike by the *O Seculo* workers. They had been locked out by the bosses after the paper's editors demanded codetermination and an end to censorship. The owners are known to have been supporters of the Caetano government.

Most of the banners were political: "O Seculo is still fascist" and "Free press!" The most common slogan was "A free press in Portugal"

At the same time, there were many strictly trade-unionist slogans: "The people at *Seculo* are fighting for their bread." "A free union!"

Then the crowd started to march; it kept walking for about forty-five minutes through the steep, narrow streets. I wondered why the leaders had chosen this route, why they didn't lead it into an avenue. But after a while the demonstration stopped in front of a newspaper office. The chant went up: "Down with the lackeys of the bosses." It must have been an affiliate of *O Seculo* or another striking paper.

After standing and chanting a while, the crowd moved on through similar narrow, winding streets. After a time, it came to a stop facing a street on a higher level. From the street above, speakers addressed the crowd.

One man, apparently in his mid-thirties, with long hair and a mustache, had a radical style of oratory. He took up the slogan "The people will win," explaining that the people had not yet won. Struggle, he said, was not won in offices but in the street.

The point that the people had to fight for themselves seemed to draw approval. But the implied criticism of the junta, contained in the statement that the people had not yet won, drew murmurs. I had the impression that his approach seemed too abstract and negative to many of those listening.

The radical speaker was generally correct in what he said. But in a situation as complex as that in Portugal, with the enormous illusions about the junta that exist, this type of "sloganizing" is not likely to get very far. Furthermore, unless the revolutionists can find formulas that can capture the imagination of the people, they can



Portuguese masses are 'not willing to sit back and let the junta solve their problems.'

easily be pushed aside by the reformists of the Communist and Socialist parties. In particular, the Stalinists have a very strong popular influence at the moment.

(Only a few minutes after leaving the demonstration, I talked with a Communist party sympathizer connected with one of the big papers here. She explained to me that the struggle at *O Seculo* was being "ruined" by an ultraleftist on the shop committee. It was because of this "ultraleftist" and the "too advanced" demands put forward under his influence that the junta was backing the owners. "Some people don't understand that the revolution wasn't socialist," she said. "You have to take things in stages.")

The crowd was obviously enjoying

the demonstration. It marched for hours in a soaking drizzle. It didn't seem willing to sit back and let the junta solve its problems. And the on-lookers, the people who threw flowers from the windows, obviously like to see people demonstrating. They did not think, apparently, that people should stay at home and let the junta do it.

But in this demonstration at least, no revolutionary leaders were present who could crystallize the aspirations of the marchers into powerful concrete slogans and demands. There was no leadership that could give a conscious form to, and put to use, the vague rejection of the whole capitalist system that bred half a century of police-state rule.

Stalinists denounce factory occupations

From Intercontinental Press

By Gerry Foley

Oporto

"The junta says it cannot sanction disrespect for duly constituted authorities," Oporto's major daily *Jornal de Noticias* said in a headline May 5.

In response to a wave of both spontaneous and union-organized actions aimed at destroying the fascist institutions, ousting bosses with a record of brutality or links with fascism, and punishing the repressors of workers, the junta issued a harsh warning:

"It has come to the attention of the Junta de Salvação Nacional that the normal functioning of various public

services has been impeded by meetings held during work hours. Moreover, in the course of these meetings persons holding leading positions have been illegally removed. This clearly harms the national interest and the public order. Therefore, this junta makes it known that it will not sanction any disrespect for the constituted hierarchies. If need be, disciplinary hearings will be held to determine responsibilities.

"We repeat that all interference in the conduct of public affairs, which is the function only of the duly constituted authorities, will be considered acts of insubordination and crimes against the Armed Forces Move-

ment and as such will be vigorously investigated."

Immediately under the headline proclaiming the junta's threat, *Jornal de Noticias* ran a headline about a Communist party statement. In fact, the two statements were perfectly complementary, like "hard cop" and "soft cop."

The headline over the text of the CP statement said: "Occupations obstruct the process of democratization." This was followed by a subheading: "Salutes the alliance of the Armed Forces with the Popular Forces."

The statement was full of uncritical praise for the junta:

"The PCP, conscious of the decisive role played by the Armed Forces Movement in changing the political situation considers that the maintenance of this movement [in power] at least until the elections for the Constituent Assembly is an essential condition for consolidating and broadening the results achieved and for successfully warding off counterrevolutionary conspiracies and attempts. . . .

"All of our people understood immediately that the depth and breadth of the process of democratization begun April 25 would depend on a vital, fraternal, and active alliance with the Armed Forces."

Since the interest of the ranks of the army and navy, like that of the workers, is to directly assure the dismantlement of the old regime, so as to be able to begin building a new democratic system based on their own action and forms of organization, it is clear that what the CP meant by "Armed Forces" was essentially the ruling junta. And what they meant by "alliance with the Popular Forces" was the subordination of the masses

to the junta, the subordination of the masses' aspirations to the junta's program of "democratization." That is, the masses should stand back, in a disciplined way, and let their heroes get on with the job. The popular movement should exercise only a gentle pressure.

The PCP statement said: "Equally dangerous are opportunism of the right, which is manifested in a tendency to abandon the fundamental objectives of the democratic movement; and ultraleftism, which is expressed above all in a lack of patience that fails to take account of the relationship of forces as well as engaging in divisionist and disruptive actions. The PCP, fully conscious of its responsibility, disapproves of actions for which the conditions have not been created, actions that do not correspond to the existing relationship of forces. Initiatives in occupying city departments, for example, do not facilitate, but rather create grave obstacles to, the process of democratizing Portuguese life in general, except in very special cases."

The Communist party statement did say, however, that it would have still more confidence in the Armed Forces Movement on one condition: "The participation in the Provisional Government of all representative democratic parties and sectors (including the PCP) would be a guarantee of the democratization continuing and free elections being held."

That means that, in the view of the PCP, positions in the government would be a fitting reward for the party's "responsibility." That would formalize the kind of alliance between the "Armed Forces and the Popular Forces" they have in mind.



'Public trials for the fascist criminals,' demands banner. Junta, and CP backers, want to limit participation of masses in economy, politics.

Portugal and the African liberation support mv't.

The following is based on a speech by Malik Miah to the Upper West Side (New York City) Militant Forum on May 17. Miah is a member of the national executive committee of the Young Socialist Alliance and author of *The U.S. Role in Southern Africa* (16 pp. 35 cents, Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014).

Also speaking were Robert Van Lie-rop, producer of *A Luta Continua*, a film about the liberation struggle in Mozambique, and director of the African Information Service; and Maina-wa-Kinyatti, chairman of the Pan African Student Union.

By MALIK MIAH

The oldest colonial power in the world suffered a dramatic change of government on April 25.

The overthrow of the Caetano regime by military officers led by Spínola occurred primarily because of Caetano's inability to defeat the national liberation struggle in the African colonies. This failure to win the colonial wars in Guinea-Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique has caused many economic and political problems within Portugal.

This is much like what began to occur in this country as U.S. imperialism continued to wage war against the Vietnamese people. Millions of Americans became radicalized and opposed to the warmakers in Washington. The Vietnam war also spurred on inflation, which continues to run wild to this day.

In Portugal a similar process began. Last year alone, the war-primed inflation was 20 percent, one of the highest in Europe. Another fact: 40 percent of Portugal's national budget



The New York Times/April 28, 1974

goes for defense—that is, to pay for its African wars.

Most Portuguese don't want to fight and possibly die in Africa in a war they don't support. At least 100,000 draft resisters leave the country each year, while thousands more draftees have never shown up when they're supposed to.

All these factors—the most important one being the inability to militarily defeat the African liberation forces—led the Portuguese imperialists to end their police-state rule.

This is the meaning of Spínola's book, *Portugal and the Future*, published last February. Spínola claims that Portuguese colonialism and the metropolitan capitalist economy were gravely threatened by the strains caused by the African war. Spínola

did not and does not advocate giving up the military conflict, nor does he advocate independence for the African territories.

Instead, he proposes that the Portuguese make concessions to the African and Portuguese masses as a means to undercut the African liberation struggles. His plan is to keep the colonies within Portugal's domain, within a "commonwealth" relationship that would be similar to Puerto Rico's colonial status.

So despite talk of "self-determination," it is quite clear that the Spínola government has no intention of granting the Africans their true self-determination.

And the Communist Party (CP)—recognized as the best organized and largest party since the coup—and the Socialist Party (SP) have joined this government that denies the African colonies their independence.

Both the SP and CP have issued equivocating statements on the question of independence for the colonies. In the May 18 *New York Times*, Communist Party Secretary General Alvaro Cunhal was quoted as calling the colonial wars "a very complex question" and saying that "the essential thing at this moment is to negotiate, to listen and to find a common basis for a solution."

The SP and CP aren't demanding Portugal get out of Africa now, or complete independence for Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. Instead, both parties are pressuring the African liberation fighters to "negotiate" a cease-fire. The CP's and SP's participation in the government is a treacherous betrayal.

Immediately after the overthrow of

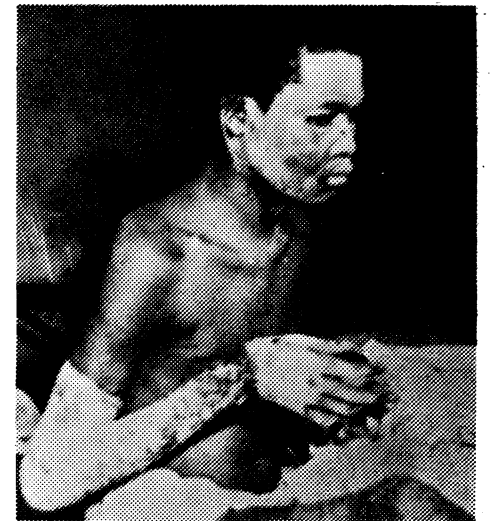
Caetano by Spínola, all the various guerrilla groups issued statements. All have pledged to continue their struggle for complete self-determination and national liberation. "We are not fighting just to become Black Portuguese," stated the declaration by Frelimo (Mozambique Liberation Front).

But although the different liberation organizations have vowed to continue their battle for complete liberation, the new coalition government of the capitalists, its military, and the Communist and Socialist parties, has begun to exert tremendous pressure on the guerrilla fighters to lay down their arms and negotiate.

These new developments in Africa make it all the more important for people in the U.S.—and around the world—to demand that Portugal get out of Africa NOW!

The present maneuvers of the Spínola government require that we be

Continued on page 22



Afrique-Asie

Victim of Portuguese napalm in Guinea-Bissau.

General Spínola: A policy 'of smiles and blood'

The following is from an interview given by Amílcar Cabral in Havana, Cuba, in late 1972. He was answering a question about the role of General Antonio de Spínola, then governor of Guinea-Bissau and now president of the new Portuguese government.

Cabral was the founder and leader of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC). He led the Guinea-Bissau liberation fighters in opposing the Portuguese troops led by Spínola.

A few months after this interview, on Jan. 20, 1973, Cabral was assassinated. His assassination was most probably engineered by Spínola.

Cabral's evaluation of Spínola helps make it clear why the African liberation fighters have been unwilling to lay down their arms and trust in the "self-determination" demagoguery of this war criminal and his new government in Lisbon.

This article is reprinted from the May 8 issue of *Tricontinental News Service*.

By AMÍLCAR CABRAL

Spínola is no new element in Portuguese politics; he was formed in the Nazi schools of Hitler's Germany together with such other Portuguese officials as General Schultz, who was Salazar's Minister of the Interior and also governor in our country.

Spínola was, in the same Portugal, the principal figure in the so-called National Republican Guard, the greatest instrument of fascist repression that Salazar created against the workers and particularly the peasants; it has to its credit the death of many work-

ers in the cities and fields of Portugal.

Later he was named commander of the cavalry in Angola and became a colonial hero for the crimes he committed against the people of Angola, above all in the north of that country, where with his tanks he razed hundreds of towns.

When General Schultz failed in his effort to liquidate our armed struggle, Spínola was named military governor of Guinea-Bissau and promised that within six months that would be accomplished: later he said two years, and after four years had passed under his rule, he announced that the fight had ended.

In the meantime we, after attacking all other cities in the country, attacked Bissau, the capital, the airport, and we lay in ambush more powerful each day in places where the Portuguese could still pass with their cars and trucks.

Then we asked: "The rule of Spínola is over, who could Marcelo Cae-

tano put in his place? There is no Portuguese leader who wants to inherit Spínola's rule, he must be placed there again. He is re-assigned for two years; it could be four; it could be one; the fact is that it is impossible to find today in Portugal a leader who will come fight us.

This is why Spínola stays on, the man whose plans consist, above all, in physically liquidating the leaders of our party, and particularly myself, with the intention of sabotaging the party from within; but we are vigilant and will not fall into any maneuvers that can destroy the party.

Spínola forms part of a group of Portuguese officials, right extremists like Kaulza de Arriaga, racist, fascist, who are attempting to seize the leadership of Portugal. We know that Spínola, like Kaulza de Arriaga, is trying to be president of the republic, or a president, other government chief, etc. They are the "ultras" of Portuguese colonialism, but if Spínola hopes to

conquer the position of President of Portugal or of chief of the Portuguese government by destroying the struggle in my country, it will never be.

In my country, Spínola has practiced a policy that we call "of smiles and blood." Smiles, affect, demagoguery, for the Africans that he still continues to control. Napalm bombs, the most barbarous crimes, terrorist assaults from helicopters, the destruction of towns, the burning of cultivated fields, the killing of children, women, methods of irrigating our land with chemical poisons, is the part that we call "of blood."

But the policy of smiles and blood of Spínola, the representative of Portugal that came to Africa to christianize it, has not had any result in our country. On the contrary, last July Spínola himself had to admit, in a radio speech, that there is no security in the zones he controls, particularly in the urban centers of Bissau, Bafata, and others, and he threatened the population of those areas that if anything happens to endanger security, they would be repressed in the most violent way possible.

Only Spínola has reason to despair; and we—whatever his maneuvers might be, and there have been many without result—can guarantee that we will develop the struggle more every day, punching the Portuguese colonialists harder each time and will expel them once and for all from our country. Spínola will not obtain his objectives of political hegemony in Portugal with the crimes he carries out, on the contrary, we will carry him to the greatest infamy and without doubt to military defeat.



Amílcar Cabral (right) with liberation fighters

Afrique-Asie

Massive Israeli terror raids leave 60 dead

By DAVE FRANKEL

The death of 20 Israeli teen-agers at Maalot May 15 evoked frenzy in the capitalist press.

The *Washington Post* spoke of an "outburst of Palestinian savagery" in its May 16 editorial.

The same day the *Christian Science Monitor* wrote that the Palestinian terrorists were "beyond the pale of the human race."

The editors of the *New York Times* said, "The Palestinian lunatic fringe has committed the most abominable yet of its long series of cowardly, murderous outrages."

No such epithets were heard, however, when Israeli Phantom jets supplied by Washington bombed and rocketed Palestinian refugee camps and Lebanese villages and apartment buildings. The toll in the Israeli air attacks, and a later naval attack, exceeded 60 dead and 200 wounded, including children.

This massacre was viewed by the *Times* in its May 17 editorial as "understandable in fury and frustration," the result of Arab "provocation." The only objection that the *Times* editors could see was that the Israeli massacre might "make more difficult than ever the already difficult mediation mission of Secretary of State Kissinger. . . ."

Apparently the *Times* would have no quarrel with dropping thousand-pound bombs on Palestinian refugee camps inhabited by tens of thousands of people, if only it didn't interfere with U. S. diplomacy.

But the fact is that the "provocation" behind the whole Arab-Israeli conflict was the establishment of a Jewish state on land taken from another people. The foundation of Israel was made possible by the expulsion of 750,000 Palestinians. In 1967 another 500,000 Arabs were made homeless by the Zionist state. These crimes are the basis for the subsequent conflicts in the Middle East.

The "understandable fury and frustration" is that of the Palestinians, and it has led a few to desperate and self-defeating acts of individual terrorism in an attempt to fight the mass governmental terror used by Israel. In this sense, the responsibility for the deaths at Maalot as well as those in Lebanon lies with the Israeli state.

Racist logic

The racist mentality engendered by the Israeli state was illustrated once again in the aftermath of the Maalot attack. "Terrorist" became a code word for "Arab," and all Arabs became fair game. *New York Times* reporter Terence Smith, writing of the state funeral



DAYAN & MEIR: Did they intend to sacrifice hostages from the beginning?

held for 18 of the students killed at Maalot, told how "demonstrators ripped the microphone away and chanted over and over: 'Death to the terrorists! Death to the Arabs!'"

Charles Mohr quoted one Israeli politician in the May 16 *Times* who asked, "These are the people we are supposed to permit to move closer to us?"

The same argument, of course, is made by white settlers in Rhodesia and Mozambique against the possibility of living together on an equal footing with the Blacks they are now oppressing.

The idea that all Arabs are the enemy is not confined to small right-wing circles in Israel. This was made clear when Palestinian refugee camps holding tens of thousands of people were identified as "terrorist concentrations" by the Israeli government. Mohr described how "roadblocks, almost exclusively aimed at checking Arab motorists, were increased."

The same racist logic extends to supporters of Israel in other countries. Arnold Forster, associate director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, stated at a New York rally May 16 that "the terrorists are sub-human, mindless savages who must be stamped out." The speaker of these racist words has the gall to style himself an authority on prejudice!

Israel: a trap for Jews

Although Golda Meir pledges to "cut off the hands" of the terrorists, and Forster urges that they be "stamped out," the three million Palestinians won't go away so easily.

As one Palestinian explained to journalists who came to view the ruins of the Ein al Helweh camp, which had held more than 20,000 Palestinians, "Even if all the Arab governments sign a peace with Israel, we will have to

go on fighting until we get back what is ours."

As long as the Israeli Jews confront the Arab peoples of the Middle East as allies of imperialism and oppressors in their own right, their future is the same as that of the whites in Rhodesia and South Africa.

The real perspective offered by Zionism is one of growing international isolation, increasing economic burdens, erosion of democratic rights, and continual wars. This will not be changed by Henry Kissinger's so-called peace proposals any more than the basic reality of the civil war in Vietnam was changed by the Paris accords.

The racist arrogance of the Zionist settlers was jolted by Israel's setbacks in the October war. This has resulted in a shake-up in Israeli politics. As the Israelis become more conscious about their position, but insist on maintaining their own separate state, they are pushed inexorably to the right.

The only way out of this vicious evolution is for the Israeli settlers to reject the idea of maintaining an exclusive settler-state. They must accept the idea of living together with the Arabs in a democratic Palestine. The

Maceo Dixon, cochairman of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee, issued a statement May 17 on behalf of more than 100 candidates running on the SWP ticket this year. Dixon condemned the Israeli terror raids, pointing out that "The Maalot incident is being used to create a racist anti-Arab hysteria. . . ."

"We consider Israel to be much the same as the white colonial-settler states in southern Africa," he continued. "It is no accident that these states all have close military and economic ties. . . ."

"We condemn the heinous theory of collective guilt and punishment that is used against Blacks in southern Africa and against Palestinians in the Middle East.

"We reaffirm our support to the Palestinian struggle for self-determination and pledge to step up our activity in publicizing the truth about that struggle."



Rescue workers carry away child killed in Israeli terror raids on Lebanon

Zionist thugs attack Arab spokesman in N.Y.

NEW YORK, May 18—Dr. M. T. Mehdi, the head of the Action Committee on Arab-American Relations, remains in Bellevue Hospital with a fractured spine as a result of an attack on him by Zionist thugs in front of the Israeli mission May 16.

The attack occurred as Mehdi and a co-worker were on their way to the mission to hold a press conference protesting Golda Meir's decision to storm the school at Maalot and the subsequent Israeli terror bombings of refugee camps in Lebanon.

In an interview at the hospital, Mehdi explained that the 10 thugs jumped him after recognizing him, pushed him to the ground, and stomped on him.

"A mounted policeman broke up the attack, and we went inside to

hold the press conference," he said. "As we got inside, this whole horde surrounded the building, tried to break in the windows to get at me, screaming, 'Mehdi blood.' I could not help but think how much they looked like the Nazis."

Mehdi was escorted from the building by police and taken to Bellevue. He and his companion identified one of the attackers from police photos.

"The real responsibility for the murders of the students in the school at Maalot lies with Golda Meir and Moshe Dayan, who made the decision to attack rather than meet the demands of the three Palestinians," said Mehdi. He pointed out that the Zionist government uses these incidents to continue its war against

the Palestinian liberation forces.

Mehdi commented on Kissinger's diplomatic maneuvers in the Mideast and the proposed settlement between Israel and Syria. "It is no settlement," he said. "It will not bring peace. Ultimately, any settlement that is negotiated must be between Israel and the Palestinians. Until then, the struggle for a democratic Palestine will go on."

"We are not excited about Kissinger jumping from city to city in the Mideast. The real problem is in Washington, not in the Mideast. Continued economic and military aid from the U. S. to Israel will only encourage Golda Meir and the Zionists to keep trying to obliterate the Palestinian people."

Mehdi expects to be released from the hospital in a few days.



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Dr. M. T. Mehdi, head of the Action Committee on Arab-American Relations, suffered fractured spine.

in Lebanon



Israeli bombs hit this working-class housing development in Lebanon.

national demands of the Palestinians, combined with the economic and social demands of both Jewish and Arab working people, will be the basis for the socialist revolution and the construction of a new society in Palestine.

Maalot: another Attica?

One thing is obvious: the Israeli government's decision to storm the school at Maalot where the guerrillas were holding 85 students hostage represented a death warrant for at least some of the Israeli teen-agers. *Newsweek* pointed out in its May 27 issue, "No one knew for sure how many were killed by the Arabs—and how many by Israeli bullets."

Unlike at Attica, the bullets were never examined to find out.

The Israeli propaganda machine has been working overtime to absolve the government of responsibility in the Maalot incident. However, reports from Israeli sources and the testimony of French ambassador Jean Herly have raised the question of whether the Israeli government had intended from the beginning to sacrifice the lives of the hostages.

The guerrillas had demanded that a group of Palestinian prisoners be flown to Cyprus or Damascus—both within one hour's flying time of Israel—in return for the release of half the hostages. The other half would be released in Damascus when the guerrillas got there.

Yuval Elizur reports from Jerusalem in the May 21 *Washington Post* that "by noon all the prisoners were ready to be shipped out of the country."

The Israelis claim they did not know that the prisoners had to arrive in Damascus or Cyprus before they could receive a code word that would allow negotiations with the guerrillas to proceed. But the French ambassador, wrote Jim Hoagland in the May 18 *Washington Post*, disclosed "that he had communicated the significance of the code word to the Israeli Foreign Ministry at 2 p.m. on Wednesday, four hours before the deadline."

"In an interview in Israel with Agence France-Presse, Herly also said that Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan and Chief of Staff Mordechai Gur refused to meet with him at Maalot and that the Israelis refused to allow him to try to negotiate with the three terrorists when he offered to do so shortly before Israeli troops shot their way into the school."

Hoagland wrote, "The guerrillas here claim that Israel never intended to release the 26 prisoners and manufactured a cover story to lull the guerrillas and to mislead Israeli public opinion over the decision to risk the

lives of the Israeli hostages by storming the school."

Golda Meir insisted that the Israeli policy of never giving in to the demands of terrorists had been reversed because "the Cabinet decided that one doesn't conduct wars on the backs of children." However, Terence Smith wrote in the May 21 *New York Times*, "Reliable Israeli sources reported today that Mr. Dayan had proposed storming the schoolhouse as early as 9:30 A.M."

The impression that the Israeli government purposely dragged out the negotiations—a feeling that is widespread in Israel—is further reinforced by Dayan's remarks at a news conference May 16.

"If the terrorists believed that they could get what they wanted without paying with their lives," Dayan said, "they would come back again and again. The only way we can deal with them is to make it quite clear that they will be killed."

The Israeli army has been killing Palestinians for 26 years now without stopping them from coming back "again and again." However, since Dayan was in charge of military operations at the scene, his views were implemented.

To the parents of the dead students, Dayan gave the same assurance that capitalist governments always give to the victims of their war policies: "The children who died at Maalot will have saved with their own lives the lives of many, many other children."

For the Palestinian children, of course, he had nothing to say.

Stalinists join the lynch mob

The liberation of the oppressed can only be accomplished through the power of masses of people, not through the actions of a handful of individuals, no matter how self-sacrificing or courageous they may be. For this reason, Marxists have always opposed individual terrorism.

Not only does terrorism counterpose individual action to mass struggle, it also allows the oppressors to put the blame for violence on the oppressed.

However, when terrorist actions are used by the capitalist rulers in a campaign of slander designed to discredit a just struggle, the first duty of revolutionists is to expose the hypocrisy of these rulers—of people like Richard Nixon or Golda Meir. These bloody-handed cynics never raised any outcry over the hundreds of thousands of people murdered by the U. S. war machine in Vietnam or the tens of thousands tormented and killed by the torturers in Chile.

The Stalinist American Communist Party has fallen right in step with the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times*. Like these capitalist journals, the May 17 issue of the CP's *Daily World* condemned the Palestinian guerrillas as "fanatical criminals" and their actions as "an outrage against humanity."

As far as the *Daily World* is concerned, the desperate acts of resistance undertaken by oppressed and dispossessed people are on the same plane as the incomparably more brutal repressions that Israel employs against them.

2,000 Blacks protest cop brutality in Oakland

By JEFF POWERS

OAKLAND, Calif.—"We are here to put an end to murders of Black people by the police," said Vera Silverman, head of the Coalition to Save Our Schools. She was addressing a rally of more than 2,000 people, mostly Black, who gathered here May 18 to demand justice for Tyrone Guyton.

Guyton, a 14-year-old Black, was killed by three Emeryville cops on Nov. 1, 1973. The police claim they had been chasing Guyton because he was driving a stolen car. When they forced him off the road, and the youth began running toward his home a few blocks away, he was shot in the back.

Since Guyton's death there have been a series of protests organized by the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton. This coalition of groups includes the Black Panther Party, Pan African People's Organization, Black Student Alliance, and the Socialist Workers Party.

The May 18 rally was the largest action so far in the committee's campaign for prosecution of the three killer-cops. Despite widespread outrage in the Black community over the shooting, an Alameda County grand jury has twice refused to indict the three police officers.

The rally was chaired by Bob Jones, a disc jockey from KDIA radio, and James Lewis, who represented the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton.

Speakers at the rally included Vera Silverman; Oba Simba-Tshaka, from the Pan African People's Organization; Frobén Lozada, head of Chicano studies at Merritt College and a member of the Socialist Workers Party; Dan Seigel, the defense committee's lawyer; Fania Jordan, Angela Davis's sister; Bobby Seale, from the Black Panther Party; Mattie Shepherd, Tyrone Guyton's mother; and a representative from Congressman Ron Dellum's office.

Tshaka spoke at length about the recently revealed memos that detail the FBI plot against the Black movement. He said, "Black people have been subjected to 400 years of terror from the oppressor white nation. Black people need to organize themselves to fight this oppression."

In his speech, Lozada noted that "a short while ago a Chicano, Albert Terrones, was gunned down by the police not far from here in Union City. Why? Because he stole a piece of ham. The police—every one of them—protect the interests of the rich—the Rockefellers, the Du Ponts, the Morgans, and the Vanderbilts."

Dan Seigel reported new facts to the rally about Guyton's death. Previously, the police claimed that Guyton was armed and shot at them, although the cops were never able to produce a gun. The city coroner is now prepared to testify that this would have been impossible, since tests show no powder burns on the youth's hands.



Militant/Joseph Ryan

'We want our money!' say DC Black students

By JIM McCAFFREY

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The struggle here against budget cuts at Federal City College (FCC) is continuing, as students and faculty protest the slashing of \$1-million in funds for education courses. The budget cut, announced more than a month ago, resulted in the transfer of the teacher education and health departments to D.C. Teachers College.

Militant demonstrations of 100 to as many as 1,000 angry students and faculty at this predominantly Black school have demanded that the money be restored.

Several hundred FCC activists marched to the district building May 10 for a scheduled city council meeting. The meeting had been called the previous week, when council members were confronted with another demonstration of FCC students and faculty.

However, on May 9, the city council released a news statement cancel-

ing the May 10 session, citing lack of a quorum. The students responded by calling all city council members to inform them that FCC students and faculty planned to show up anyway, and that they expected city council members to do the same.

On May 10, while waiting for the city council to arrive, the demonstrators chanted: "We want our money back!" When the city council did not show up, the demonstrators selected 13 students and professors to form an "ad hoc city council." This body then voted unanimously to restore all funds to FCC and to add \$1-million more to all Black colleges in the city.

The FCC budget is slated for discussion during the current hearings on the Washington, D.C., budget by the House District Appropriations Subcommittee. Congress has invited only government officials to speak at the hearings, however.

20th anniversary of ruling on Jim Crow

This month marks the twentieth anniversary of the Supreme Court decision in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education*. The court ruled racial segregation in the schools unconstitutional and ordered desegregation "with all deliberate speed."

The decision did not come about because of any commitment on the part of the white capitalist rulers of this country to the achievement of genuine equality for Black people. The main factor influencing them was their fear of the colonial revolution, which was on the rise following World War II. In the face of increasingly powerful struggles of colonial peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the ruling class felt the need to improve the image of the U.S. abroad by making it appear that racial oppression was being ended here. In addition, they were reacting to the pressure generated by Black people in this country demanding equal rights.

The Supreme Court decision did not bring an immediate end to the dual school systems, nor did it knock down other Jim Crow laws and practices. But it did give impetus to actions against Jim Crow in the South and the more subtle de facto segregation in the North. Within a few months after the decision, the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott launched what was one of a long series of mass mobilizations, strikes, and boycotts by southern Blacks against segregation laws. It was the pressures of such mobilizations by Black people themselves that began to break down the most blatant Jim Crow practices.

The Supreme Court decision and the various civil rights laws that have been passed by the government during the past 20 years were not intended to bring about real economic, political, and social equality for Afro-Americans. Today, two decades after the Brown decision, the racist oppression of Black people continues.

In 1954, Black family incomes were 56 percent of white incomes. Today they are 59 percent of white incomes. At this rate—"with all deliberate speed"—Blacks would reach the same income level as whites in roughly 270 years. Moreover, the Black community continues to suffer from miserable conditions in terms of housing, health services, and schools. Unemployment and inflation hit Black people and other oppressed nationalities the hardest.

On the school segregation front, many commentators have noted that the Brown decision has not demonstrably changed the inability of Black children to get a decent education. Most Black children continue to attend inferior schools, which are segregated on the basis of segregated housing patterns.

Even in Topeka, Kans., around whose school system the Brown decision was reached, the Black community is engaged in a struggle to end what remains a largely segregated setup.

In the so-called integrated schools racist practices continue. Black students are usually pushed away from academically oriented courses through racist "tracking" and "aptitude" tests. Racist actions by school administrators and the inferior education meted out to Blacks force hundreds of thousands of Black youth to drop out of school before high school graduation.

The battle for a decent education for Black students continues. This struggle includes not only winning the right of Black children to attend the schools of their choice but also the struggle for adequate funding for schools in the Black community and the end of racist practices in all schools. It includes the fight for the right of Black people to control the schools in the Black community.

The lessons of the 20 years of struggle since the Brown decision are clear. Only independent mass struggle and not reliance on the government and its courts can solve the problems facing Black people.

The capitalists who profit from the oppression of Black people have in the past and will continue to fight against any real attempts to end discrimination in education, housing, and jobs. And they can be expected to continue to perpetrate racist ideas, which serve to rationalize the superexploitation of Black people. Black liberation can only be won by mass struggle, which can place in the hands of Black people control over their lives and which can replace this racist system with a socialist order based on human needs and genuine equality for all.

Press hypocrisy

A point of recent interest among most of the capitalist news media is the increasing number of newspapers now calling for the removal of Nixon from the presidency. After the acceptance of Nixon's Southeast Asia massacres and the total denial of civil liberties via wiretaps and break-ins, these current revelations appear badly retarded.

However, *The Militant* consistently attempted to make the people aware of the brutality and clandestine features of Nixonism.

The initiation of ideas and questions that have eventually led to the truth has been a function of *The Militant*. I hope it continues to perform such an important function for the people.

Lawrence H. Campbell
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Labor & Ohio primary

The upset in the Ohio Democratic senatorial race has created a great deal of comment. Howard Metzenbaum, newly appointed to the Senate by Governor John Gilligan, lost to political upstart John Glenn.

Metzenbaum was endorsed by a strong coalition of unions and the Democratic Party machine. After pouring more than \$100,000 and thousands of leaflets into the Metzenbaum campaign, the labor leaders were shocked but not "distressed," according to the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, when he was defeated.

After the tally, Frank King, Ohio AFL-CIO president, made the astute comment: "The labor leaders were for Metzenbaum, but they couldn't carry their own people."

Only 45 percent of eligible voters cast ballots.

Without a doubt, Metzenbaum's defeat can be attributed to Watergate. Fearing a scandal, he revealed early in his campaign that he paid no income taxes for 1969 and that he is fighting an Internal Revenue Service claim for more than \$118,000.

The political pundits are now predicting Glenn's victory in November. We can expect the labor bureaucrats to switch their endorsement to the "wholesome as fresh milk" candidate of the Democratic Party, John Glenn, who has not been identified yet by the public with crooked politics.

Learning nothing from the past, the union leaders will attempt to foist another businessman as a pro-labor candidate deserving labor's vote.

Herman Kirsch
Cleveland, Ohio

Support farm workers

Field conditions for farm workers are still much like the ones John Steinbeck wrote about in his novel *The Grapes of Wrath*. The AFL-CIO, to which the United Farm Workers belongs, has shown reluctance to support the UFW boycott even though it finally did, but with conditions attached. *The Militant* ran a good article about this and other problems facing the UFW in the April 19 issue.

Agribusiness is the largest industry in America, with corporations like Tenneco, which owns an amount of land in California larger than the state of Rhode Island.

The U.S. government is acting in its usual way, with the military

buying huge amounts of scab grapes and then letting most of them rot.

It seems that the only real friends the United Farm Workers movement has are the working people of this country, and they must not let the farm workers down.

Chris Fusillo
Verona, N.J.

Arch-criminals

I was sorry to see no convictions of arch-criminals Stans and Mitchell.

A prisoner
Kansas

Tired of Watergate?

You reported that 10,000 attended an "Impeach Nixon" rally in Washington, D.C. At the same time, 150,000 attended a "Save Soviet Jewry" rally in New York.

People are tired of Watergate, figuring all politicians are the same. There is more hatred for Nixon because of inflation, unemployment, and high prices than there is over Watergate, which didn't surprise as many as the Left thinks.

P.H.
New York, N.Y.

Valuable source

I am into the second week of a political science and economics class we have started here at this prison. The class is titled "Dynamics of Developing Nations." After a great deal of diplomacy we were granted authorization to begin and run for five months, at which time, if things go smoothly, an extension may be granted.

The Militant is not only informative, to the point, and reliable, but it will also prove to be a valuable source for study material in our class.

A prisoner
Pennsylvania

Kent State

Students here in Amarillo expressed quite an interest in the back-page feature on Kent State in the May 10 issue of *The Militant*. This well-written and excellently organized story is basically what we owe our success to in meeting our sales goal that week.

J.E.
Amarillo, Texas

Teaching Watergate

High schools around the country seem to be having a lot of trouble combating the impact of Watergate on their students. A recent article in Denver's *Rocky Mountain News* bears this out.

The *News* interviewed both teachers and students in local high schools. "Like Richard Nixon's lawyers, teachers of history and social studies have been logging overtime because of Watergate and related scandals . . . Throw into the bargain the fact that teachers view themselves and are viewed by others as the molders of minds and attitudes, duty-bound to see that today's idealistic adolescent isn't tomorrow's cynic, and the difficulty of the teachers' assignment becomes crystal clear," the *News* commented.



A new kind of women's club

The Brookside Women's Club is about as far as the moon from a typical women's club. These 100 women are fighters. They have joined the picket line of their men in Brookside, Ky., who have been on strike since last July for the right to form a local of the United Mine Workers.

Formerly the miners had been captive members of a company union known as the Southern Labor Union. The company, the Eastover Mining Company, is a subsidiary of the powerful Duke Power Company, the sixth largest utility in the country.

The strikers knew the history of "Bloody Harlan County," and its dreaded "gun thugs" who were hired by the coal barons to terrorize the miners. Like the Coal and Iron Police, the Pinkerton detectives, and the equally infamous Burns detectives, these scabs were armed with both guns and dynamite. The current crop of "miners" trying to scab at Brookside are their blood brothers.

In addition to scabs, a friendly judge helped the company by handing down an injunction limiting the pickets to three at each mine entrance.

It was at this point that the women decided to act, testing to see if there was enough chivalry left in eastern Kentucky to keep scabs from "whopping women." They soon learned differently, so they began whopping back. The scabs found out that the hard life of a coal miner's wife or mother had taught her how to fight without the genteel rules of Queensbury.

The women were charged with violating the injunction, and many of them went to jail. They took their small children with them to keep the kids out of the hands of the welfare department, which would have put them in foster homes.

Seventy-year-old Minnie Lunsford explained to Judy Klemesrud of the *New York Times* about the time a fink told her to "go to hell."

"I told him, 'That's where you'll go if you cross that picket line.' Then I hit him with my walking

stick. You bet your pretty that he went away."

Lois Scott said, "I even whopped a gun thug once, right as he was pulling his gun out."

The women got their inspiration to get involved by watching "all those women libbers picketing" on television. "... we didn't see why we couldn't, too," said Nannie Rainey, who took three of her children to jail with her last winter.

Klemesrud describes an interview with Rainey in a four-room coal camp house—the town is "a wretched collection of company-owned shacks housing miners and their families. The Rainey's pay \$10 a month rent and \$10 a month for electricity. There is no indoor plumbing, and water comes from an outdoor spigot a half block away." The Harlan County Health Department recently found this water to be "highly contaminated" with fecal bacteria.

These women want their men in the UMW for very specific reasons. They want the free hospitalization; the \$150 monthly pension when the miner retires; the union safety committee; and the benefits to the widows of miners provided by the Welfare and Retirement Fund.

The strikers believe that the women's activities have helped the strike greatly. The Brookside UMW president said, "After they beat up a few scabs, it kind of made the [the strikebreakers] ashamed to come back."

Although there have been no confrontations between the women and the strikebreakers since February, these women still take their turns at picketing.

When the *Times* asked Barbara Callahan, 23, if the club supported women's liberation, she said, "Right on!" adding, "except that I'm all for families and motherhood."

Then she proudly said that among her two-and-a-half-year-old daughter's first words were: "Norman is a scab." (Norman Yarborough is the company president.)

That kid's got the makings!

The head of the social studies department at one high school, which has a 40 percent Chicano enrollment, told the *News* "that Watergate has seemed to 'reinforce the feeling that a lot of minority people have: That the 'system' will always get you and Watergate bears this out.'"

The social studies head noted also that many Anglo students now "look at politicians with raised eyebrows."

"Most teachers," wrote the *News*, "feel it is their most important task to snap their students out of these post-Watergate blues, to tout political involvement as the first step toward curing the political system of its ills."

And I suspect a growing number of teachers are having problems themselves churning out the lies about American "democracy" to their students. Watergate has had a radicalizing effect on some of them too.

P.S.

Denver, Colo.

Donates tax return

Upon receiving my meager tax return in the mail today, I thought, "Who needs this money?" I figured that *The Militant* could use some cash. Therefore, you will find enclosed a check for \$5. Please apply this in any way you can to defray some of the expenses of publication. You can use it for the prisoners' subscription fund if you need money there.

D.P.

Bloomington, Ind.

Know your enemy

To struggle effectively one must know against whom one is struggling and for what one must struggle. And it is in this area that *The Militant* and Pathfinder Press give their greatest aid. Without your publication and its analysis and information on the true enemy we would be struggling in the dark and lashing out at one another.

Unfortunately there are not more of us who can see the true nature of our imprisonment, but with publications such as *The Militant* we who can see will be able to open our brother's eyes.

A prisoner
California

Come again?

I agree that you offer news about incidents and actions the common press does not actively cover. I also agree that while the common press claims objectivity, you freely admit that you are completely biased. I am much interested in hearing the truth about these neglected news stories. Unfortunately, since no one else will cover them, and it is your editorial policy not to print all the facts on these issues, I don't feel that *The Militant* can provide the objective news coverage that I seek.

John Clavadtcher
California

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.

¡La Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



A case of political repression

Henry B. Gonzales is what you might call a militant *vendido* (sellout). Like all *vendidos*, the Texas congressman makes a career of trying to hoodwink the Chicano people into thinking that the racist two-party system is working in their favor. But Gonzales, unlike some of his more sophisticated colleagues, is crude and arrogant in doing his job.

While most *políticos* were feebly objecting to the slaughter of Chicanos in Vietnam, Gonzales was telling us it was our patriotic duty to die for Yankee imperialism.

Perhaps his political outlook and understanding of his people can best be summed up by his eloquent support on the floor of Congress for a motion to create a "National Taco Week," in recognition of the contributions of Chicanos to the culture of the United States. Here is a man who obviously does not desire to be called a *tio taco* (a Chicano Uncle Tom) lightly. He wants to earn the title.

Officials at the University of Colorado in Boulder invited Gonzales to speak on campus last August. Many Chicano students protested his reactionary views. Chicano students disrupted one of Gonzales's meetings.

Authorities then launched a racist attack on the Chicano militants. University President Frederick Thieme called them "animals" and suggested they be caged. Several days after the incident, Boulder authorities apparently tried to implement this suggestion by issuing warrants against José Calderón, state chairman of the Raza Unida Party, and Jess Vigil, a leader of the Chicano campus group, United

Mexican-American Students. They were charged with interfering with a lawful assembly.

Vigil was quickly acquitted, but the charges against Calderón are still being pressed.

This is a clear case of political repression. Calderón is being singled out for his role as a Chicano activist and LRUP leader.

The authorities couldn't be more hypocritical in their defense of Gonzales's "free speech." They have never manifested any inclinations toward defending the right of free speech for Chicano activists. The *gringo* rulers of America and their flunkies are in favor of democracy and free speech for themselves and nobody else.

Indications are that they are planning to lower the boom on Calderón, if they can convict him. The president of the University of Northern Colorado in Greeley, where Calderón is an instructor, has said publicly he would like to fire him. A conviction would give him the excuse he needs.

Calderón, who was born in Mexico, is concerned that if convicted, immigration authorities may try to deport him.

It will be up to the Chicano movement to take the lead in defending José Calderón. For this purpose, the Free Speech Committee to Defend José Calderón has been established. Although the charges may appear to be minimal, the consequences could be serious for Calderón and for the Colorado Chicano movement. To find out how you can aid the defense effort, contact the committee at 919 "A" St., Greeley, Colo. 80631. Telephone: (303) 356-1388.



Award-winning free enterprisers—The legendary Florida real estate sharks who sold underwater lots would doff their hats to a Colorado outfit now being sued for \$2-million damages. Eighteen homeowners allege they paid premium prices for lakefront locations and then the lake was drained to make room for new construction.

Theology dep't—John McLaughlin, the Jesuit priest on the White House staff, says: "The fact that he did not continuously apply, in an immediate sense, a moral definition or a moral standard should not be interpreted to

signify that the president was not thinking in moral terms." He merely has difficulty articulating, right Father?

How could that be?—"The poor were hit the hardest by price rises in March, federal government figures show." — Los Angeles Times news brief.

Relax, boss, relax—A psychiatric researcher says the ambitious, hard-driving young executive is the victim "of the American myth that hard work, dedication, and self-sacrifice automatically lead to happiness and joy."

"It just isn't true," says Dr. Bruce Ogilvie. "More often it leads to severe

depression, heart disease, impotence, and premature death."

Fewer but better—Growing consolidation of the Great Silent Majority was indicated with a Harris poll finding that 13 percent of the people feel the president "personally inspires confidence in the White House."

Thought for the week—"And I hope that, should I win this election . . . that whenever any mother or father talks to his child, he can look at the man in the White House, and whatever he may think of his politics, he will say, 'Well, there is a man who

maintains the kind of standards personally that I would want my child to follow.'" — Richard Nixon, Oct. 13, 1960.

Changing forms—Senator William Proxmire charged the Nixon administration is trying to block an inquiry into the use of Navy personnel as White House servants. Those so assigned are all Filipinos (they're restricted to the mess department in the Navy). Proxmire said the White House claimed that the practice "goes back to 1951 and in an earlier form back to 1880." And, in still another form, prior to the Civil War.

The American Way of Life

Nuclear power: grave dangers

The anarchy of production for profit is dead serious when it comes to nuclear power.

The U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) estimates that \$8-trillion will be spent in the next 50 years developing a breeder nuclear-reactor system. The profit motive, bolstered by AEC's record to date, guarantees that a minuscule part of that budget will go into safety precautions.

In the AEC's first 25 years, it spent billions to develop the production side of the nuclear industry, but only \$50-million on the problem of what to do with the radioactive waste that is produced.

Such radioactive waste is one of the most hazardous, long-lived substances on earth. The waste contains many radioisotopes, including plutonium. Plutonium 239 has to be contained for at least 250,000 years before it becomes harmless.

If inhaled, plutonium 238 causes almost instant death. One scientist estimated that once in the lungs it is 100,000 times more toxic than cobra venom or potassium cyanide and 10,000 times more poisonous than nerve gas.

Is it just a question of a gallon or two of this waste sitting around for us to worry about? Unfortunately not. Right now there are 87 million gallons in storage, with 60 million gallons more expected by the year 2000.



(translation) 'Presumably a shrine for one of their primitive religious cults.'

Have the government, industrialists, and profiteers figured out how to safely handle this radioactive waste before plunging ahead? Of course not. For a buck they will do anything, up to and including the most heinous destruction.

For instance, although scientists know that the waste must be contained for many centuries before losing its destructive capacity, it is currently held in tanks that will last only about 30 years!

Last week radioactive plutonium leaked out of the AEC's weapon factory in Miamisburg, Ohio, into two ponds near the Erie Canal and into part of the Erie Canal itself. The AEC spokesman said,

"We have no idea how the plutonium leaked out of the factory into the mud. This comes as a complete surprise."

If they really have "no idea" what caused the leakage, they better get one fast. And they should certainly stop producing it until the absolute safety of society is guaranteed.

The *Wall Street Journal* recently bemoaned the growing opposition to "the push for U.S. nuclear power." The *Journal* contended that "the only danger posed by nuclear reactors is the possibility of radioactivity leaking into the atmosphere in the event of accident. . . even the worst conceivable nuclear reactor accident wouldn't take more lives than the crash of a large airplane." In other words, what are 300 or 400 lives in a single accident compared to some money? (Let alone the fact that some scientists think "the worst conceivable accident" would involve tens of thousands of lives.)

The scientifically sound, rationally planned and safe development of nuclear power could be a tremendous boon to humanity. That can only be done, however, when the motive for producing it is human need and the common good of society. As long as our scientific and technological skills are in the hands of the private profiteers, nuclear power production holds grave dangers.

— LINDA JENNESS

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



In defense of Black studies

The following is a guest column by Robb Wright, a member of the Brooklyn Young Socialist Alliance.

A subject of rising controversy across the country is the value of the various Black studies programs that were instituted at predominantly white universities because of massive Black student protests in the late 1960s.

Some educators, the federal government, and a few misleaders in the Black community have begun a sustained attack on the concept of Black studies. These attacks have resulted in cuts in the budgets of Black studies programs and legal maneuvers by state agencies and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to eliminate some Black studies programs.

Cornell University has been the target of some of these attacks. It has been five years since the 1969 take-over of the main student union building by Black students there.

The Cornell action occurred in the midst of student protest against racism in Cornell's administration and curriculum. The student demands included a separate Black dormitory and an autonomous Black studies department. Another demand

was for the reversal of a reprimand to three Blacks involved in a previous demonstration.

Because of the Black students' occupation and the support of the more than 6,000 white students, the administration was forced to meet the demands.

The New York state board of regents has launched an attack against the gains made by Black students at Cornell, under the guise of protesting "segregation" in residential housing facilities. The regents are backed up by Bayard Rustin, the Black cochairman of Social Democrats, USA, and its youth group, the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL).

Claiming that Cornell's "Ujamaa Residential College," an all-Black dorm, is a segregated housing facility, the regents have attempted to dismantle it. Rustin and YPSL have taken this occasion to attack autonomous Black studies and Black-controlled university facilities.

Past actions of Rustin and YPSL have included all-out support to the settler-colonial state of Israel as well as opposition to the community-control struggle being waged by Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents in New York City's school District 1.

Rustin said in a column appearing in a recent *Amsterdam News*, "The YPSL, whose national

organization has a lengthy tradition of support for racial progress and integration . . . , have launched a campaign to abolish segregated black facilities as well as racially exclusionary white fraternities."

What is evident here is the age-old trick of making the victim appear to be the criminal. By attempting to equate the issue of Black-controlled dorms and autonomous Black studies with segregated white facilities, such as white fraternity houses, Rustin and YPSL obscure the real issues at stake. Those issues are the right of oppressed national minorities to control their education and to determine what that education will consist of. This cannot be equated with racism or segregation.

Students and faculty of the oppressed nationalities should be allowed to determine their own educational destinies. Autonomous Black studies departments, which were won through mass struggles by Black students and the Black community, are a step toward that end.

Rustin and YPSL, rather than fighting against segregation and racism as they claim, are lining up with the greatest perpetrators of racism—the federal government. They are aiding it in its attempts to roll back Black studies programs across the country.

Sales of Militant top 150% of national goal

By ROSE OGDEN

Last week more *Militants* were sold on the streets than at any time since the mass antiwar upsurge in May 1970. More than 15,000 single copies of the May 17 issue (headlined: "The true face of capitalist rule exposed") were sold by hundreds of supporters.

This figure represents 150 percent of our weekly goal to sell 10,000 *Militants*. These street sales—combined with subscriptions, newsstand distribution, and sales not reported on the scoreboard—represent a total circulation of 31,000 for the week!

Twenty-eight areas met or surpassed their weekly sales goal—the most outstanding being the New York Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. In addition to New York, areas that took special sales goals for the week include Atlanta, Chicago, Detroit, Houston, Nashville, Oakland/Berkeley, St. Louis, Twin Cities, and Washington, D.C. Many had the highest sales week on record for their area during the spring sales campaign.

In addition to sales of *The Militant*, supporters participated in many other political activities. Several kicked off the national target week to reach 10,000 with SWP campaign rallies. Upper West Side (N.Y.) supporters sold



Militant/Duncan Williams

Militant sales were combined with socialist campaign activity as supporters across country mobilized. Here Tony Austin, SWP candidate for Congress from Philadelphia's 2nd C.D., sells papers from literature table.

200 papers at a socialist campaign rally at Herald Square; Boston held a rally in the Black community; and Twin Cities campaign activists held rallies on street corners where they combined sales with distribution of thousands of pieces of SWP literature.

Supporters report selling 500 at picket lines and rallies held in defense of Chilean political prisoners on May 11. Salespeople sold to other demonstrators and to passers-by.

Many areas report that sales of the *Young Socialist*, newspaper of the YSA, were also high. Detroit, for example, sold 284 YSs; Washington, D.C., 230; St. Louis, 214; and Portland, 105.

Thirty-three percent of the total sales took place in Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, and Haitian communities. In addition, thousands more were sold to Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans throughout many downtown areas.

The coverage of the Portuguese coup and the District 1 school board elections in New York's Lower East Side enhanced these sales. Portland sales director Robin Mace reports that "people would stop to find out more about District 1. It's a concrete example of people fighting back."

Cleveland supporters found that there was considerable interest in the Black community in *The Militant's* analysis of the Nixon transcripts. "The whole government should be im-

peached" was a common response, according to sales director Jim Saarsgardt.

Although campuses were already closed in some cities, campus sales comprised 20 percent of total sales, or 3,000. Sales were particularly brisk to Black students who were interested in coverage of the African independence movement. Detroit supporters fanned out to sell at 12 different campuses during the week, for a total of 240.

Special credit goes to the Nashville local of the YSA. They took on a special goal of 180, and the six YSA members averaged selling 30 *Militants* each. This is the highest per capita sale in the country. On top of this they also sold 50 YSs.

Nashville YSA sales director Sandy DeMott reports, "It is very encouraging to meet more and more people every week who have enjoyed reading *The Militant*. The lessons we've learned during the drive should help us maintain good sales throughout the summer."

Although many areas are now beginning extensive petitioning campaigns to place SWP candidates on the fall ballot, others report they are making a special push to meet or surpass their goals for the final two weeks of the spring sales campaign.

Philadelphia and Seattle, for example, ordered large bundles for special sales of the May 24 issue.

Detroit reports that their biggest

problem during the week of May 17 was not having enough papers. They have ordered 1,000 copies of the May 31 *Militant* for a big sale of the final issue of the campaign.

Readers and supporters around the country are encouraged to help sell *The Militant* during the final week in May. Also, supporters are now planning out their summer sales. If you can take a bundle to sell this summer—on your job, in your neighborhood, or at parks and beaches—just send in the coupon on page 23.

Scoreboard

AREA	GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	%
Brooklyn	450	1,425	317
Upper West Side(N.Y.)	475	1,469	309
Lower Manhattan	500	1,427	285
Nashville	70	181	259
St. Louis	325	603	186
Oakland/Berkeley	800	1,355	169
Atlanta	500	799	160
Milwaukee	25	40	160
Houston	500	705	141
Detroit	450	600	133
Washington, D.C.	400	509	127
Austin	40	50	125
L.A. (West Side)	350	425	121
Twin Cities	350	407	116
Chicago	700	805	115
Portland	325	350	108
Boston	700	750	107
Cleveland	350	375	107
Philadelphia	400	423	106
L.A. (Central-East)	350	352	101
Amarillo	5	5	100
Athens, Ga.	35	35	100
Bowling Green, Ohio	50	50	100
Indianapolis	10	10	100
Louisville	15	15	100
Santa Barbara	20	20	100
Seattle	425	425	100
Wallingford, Conn.	30	30	100
San Diego	325	315	97
Toledo	20	18	90
Ann Arbor	35	31	89
Pittsburgh	375	334	89
Tucson	50	43	86
Albany, N.Y.	20	17	85
San Francisco	525	425	81
Logan	30	24	80
Denver	450	355	79
Ossining	25	15	60
Geneseo	5	2	40
TOTAL SOLD LAST WEEK		10,000 15,219	152

Victory for right to sell

A victory for the right to sell *The Militant* was won in Santa Monica municipal court on May 20. Saleswoman Jane Harris had been given a citation for selling a "newspaper from car to car in [a] gas line" without a license. Later a charge of "walking in a roadway" was added.

The judge found her not guilty on both counts. *Militant* supporters report they have experienced no further harassment from Santa Monica police since the trial.

The courts have ruled consistently that selling a newspaper in a public area is protected by the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and cannot be restricted by city or state ordinances. *Militant* sellers plan to defend their right to sell whenever it is challenged.

Celebration caps sales blitz in New York

"Over 4,000 New Yorkers read *The Militant* this week," proclaimed the banner decorating the hall where members and supporters of the New York Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance gathered Saturday night, May 18. The occasion was a victory celebration of New York's highest sales week since May 1970.

A total of 4,321 *Militants* and 784 *Young Socialists* were sold city-wide.

The Brooklyn, Lower Manhattan, and Upper West Side SWP and YSA had challenged each other to sell the most papers during *The Militant's* national target week to reach 10,000 street sales.

Upper West Side supporters won the competition by selling the largest number of *Militants* and YSs in proportion to their membership. They sold 1,751 altogether.

Awards were presented to the top 10 sellers, who received a round of applause as their names and sales totals were called out. A standing ovation followed the announcement that Jack Lieberman had sold the most

Militants and the most YSs—a total of 274 papers.

Later Lieberman explained his success in selling so many copies: "I sold the May 17 *Militant* predominantly on the basis of coverage of the Watergate transcripts. People wanted a radical perspective on the tapes."

Lieberman added that the key to his high sales is to carry *The Militant* and YS everywhere he goes along with a pocketful of change and to ask everyone to buy.

The second highest seller, Ike Nahem, sold 210 copies of *The Militant* and YS. He took advantage of the time spent traveling back and forth across town on the subway to sell a good portion of his papers. He remarked that "although there is usually too much noise to say anything about *The Militant*, when you show people the paper, it speaks for itself."

Throughout the week, sales were combined with other political activities New York supporters are involved in.

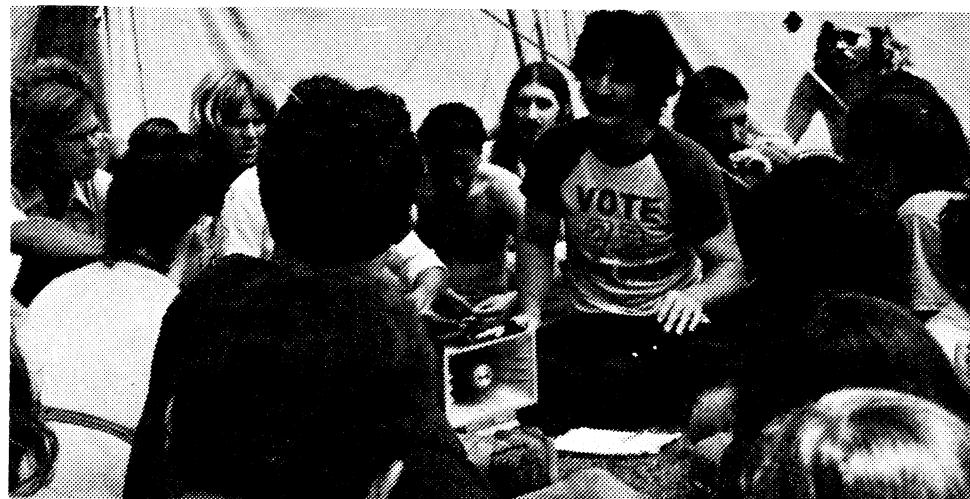
One of the most important events taking place in the city was the school

board elections in District 1. *The Militant's* call for support to the 'Por Los Niños' slate was warmly received in the Lower East Side, where 353 papers were sold.

The important victory achieved by

Militant supporters in New York City has helped broaden the influence of the socialist movement in that city and will enhance sales and SWP election campaign activities planned for the future.

— R. O.



Militant/Laura Miller

Honor for highest individual sales went to Jack Lieberman, shown here explaining SWP program outside 1972 Democratic Party convention. Lieberman sold total of 274 copies of *Militant* and *Young Socialist* last week.

Promised 'model contract' remains secret

NY printers and publishers continue negotiations

By FRANK LOVELL

When the scene of negotiations in the New York newspaper settlement shifted to Colorado Springs, Colo., Bertram Powers, president of Typographical Union No. 6, said that an agreement could be reached in an hour. But that hour extended into the second day on May 21 with no details on a forthcoming agreement. Union members remain uninformed of what the protracted negotiations entail.

The printers were forcibly ejected from the New York *Daily News* in the early morning hours of May 7 when they refused to handle a photo-engraved plate produced on automated equipment. Loss of job security through the introduction of automation by the publishers is a key issue in the current dispute.

The *News* printers had maintained around-the-clock picket lines for nearly two weeks when the mediator, Theodore Kheel, issued the following extravagant announcement on May 18:

"The New York printers and publishers are on the threshold of a major breakthrough in collective bargaining. When achieved, this agreement will be a model for productivity and job security throughout the United States. If copied by other companies and unions, as I believe, this agreement will stimulate the economy, enhance job opportunities, stabilize employment and advance collective bargaining. Scholars will study this for years to come."

The Publishers Association, representing the *New York Times*, *Daily News*, and *New York Post*, made no comment on Kheel's announcement.

'Landmark' agreement?

On May 19 Powers told a *Times* reporter that he agreed with Kheel's assessment of the new agreement-in-the-making. "When achieved," he said, "it will be a landmark that can be copied everywhere. It will contain things that were never done before."

Pickets at the *News* building in New York thought an agreement of some kind was likely but preferred to see it before cheering.

Events for the *News* printers had followed in rapid succession after the picket lines were established.

● The *News* was able to publish with automated equipment that does not require printers. The newspaper is reduced in size and of poor quality, but it gets out. The May 19 Sunday edition had only 68 pages, instead of the usual 160.

● Eight other craft unions that have signed contracts with the publishers voted not to honor the printers' picket lines. Members of those unions, which include the ITU mailers, the Pressmen, and the Newspaper Guild, were advised to stay on the job.

● International officers of the printers union refused to sanction the Local No. 6 action. However, three top members of the International executive council warned the publishers on May 10 to "take no comfort" in their delay and promised that they would determine "what action may be authorized."

● When negotiations resumed after printers were ejected from the composing room of the *News*, mediator

optimism."

● Powers left the negotiations in New York on May 14 to confer with ITU officials in Colorado Springs, national headquarters of the union.

● At a membership meeting of Local No. 6 on May 16 Powers answered questions on his trip to Colorado, expressed confidence of support from the International, and said an "extraordinary" agreement was being negotiated that he could not then explain because of his commitment under the imposed "news blackout." The local voted to pay \$137.91 weekly strike benefits.

● Picketing continued through the second week at the *News* and into the third. On May 17 printers at the *New*

The pace and scope of negotiations indicate that the publishers' strategy is designed to keep wages within the range already negotiated for other crafts in the industry, closely hewed to the government's 5.5 percent guidelines under the formally expired controls program.

Printers in New York have been without a contract since March 30, 1973. They have been offered retroactive annual increases of \$13.85 a week, bringing weekly pay for day shift workers to \$290 before tax and other deductions.

Local No. 6 is demanding an additional raise commensurate with the 14 percent jump in prices during the period of no contract.

Automation issue

The more complicated issue in dispute is control of jobs under the new computerized printing processes that have made obsolete the old Linotype machine and thousands of jobs once under the jurisdiction of the International Typographical Union.

The settlement in New York is expected to establish a pattern for other cities where the union has contracts with major papers. In Washington, D.C., the *Post* and the *Star-News* have severed contract relations with Columbia Typographical Union Local 101.

Whether the Washington publishers will accept the terms agreed upon by their New York counterparts remains to be tested, but that is certainly one of the hopes of ITU's International officials in Colorado.

Union negotiators at this stage are asking that those workers currently in the industry be retained at printers wages until retirement. This leaves the publishers free to determine job classification, size of work force, and production schedules.

These are issues that will not be resolved for all time or for the majority of workers in the newspaper publishing industry in this contract, whatever its terms.

Regardless of mediator Kheel's claim that "scholars will study this for years," any new contract in this day and age that is handed down to workers in the printing industry will be studied carefully by them in the next few weeks and months with an eye to improving their conditions of work.

If the new contract is so good for the publishers in the way of increased productivity, it can only mean fewer jobs and more intensive labor.



Printers tear up copies of *Daily News* on picket line

Kheel imposed a "news blackout." This was accepted by union negotiators even though the papers continued to publish daily "progress reports."

● Thomas Van Arsdale, business manager of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 8, the only other craft in the newspaper industry that has not signed a contract, joined the negotiations as an observer at the invitation of the printers. Electricians stayed on the job at the *News*.

● On May 11 there were rumors that the national office of the International Typographical Union would support Local No. 6, and that the New York Central Labor Council (AFL-CIO) would too, if no settlement was reached by the weekend. There was no settlement. The *Times* reported "voices of

York Times began turning down overtime work, considered a move in support of the pickets and to put pressure on the publishers for a settlement. During the week a contingent of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) joined the picket lines in a demonstration of solidarity.

● On May 17 negotiators announced that they would continue their talks in Colorado Springs at the invitation of the executive council of the International Typographical Union.

About 1,000 printers are maintaining the 24-hour picket lines at the *News* while negotiations continue. Not one of them knows what is being negotiated. What are these "things that were never done before" that Powers referred to?

CHICAGO—Despite serious opposition among International Association of Machinists (IAM) members here and in San Francisco, a new 26-month agreement with United Air Lines has been accepted by a vote of 7,156 to 5,616.

The new agreement narrowly missed a strike deadline of May 15. In April, members of the IAM rejected a settlement with the company by more than 5 to 1, thus forcing company and union officials to renegotiate the proposal. This provided for a wage increase of about 15 percent over a 28-month period. The new contract grants base-pay increases of 15.8 percent over 26 months and two cost-of-living adjustments that could bring this increase to 18.8 percent over the life of the agreement.

While the IAM national leadership urged ratification of the pact, leaders of the two largest locals, in Chicago and San Francisco, in response to rank-and-file sentiment, urged rejection.

Out of 5,000 votes in San Francisco, the contract was approved by a margin of only 150, while in Chicago, with a vote of 2,000, it was rejected by a margin of 100.

A major bone of contention was the fact that the company retains the right to keep part-time workers on the job, even while full-time workers are being laid off. This practice will continue under the new contract.

In a last-minute bullying tactic, Ed-

ward Carlson, president of United, wrote a letter to employees stating that the company wouldn't negotiate further if the revised agreement were rejected. Carlson hypocritically stated the company had "sweetened" the contract as much as it could, and now it was the IAM's turn to compromise by ratifying the contract.

Carlson's plea, however, had a hollow ring for many of the workers, since "sweetened" profits for the airline in April soared to \$6.8-million.



United's profits for April soared to \$6.8-million

Machinists accept new United Air Lines contract

Criminal code 'reform': attack on civil liberties

By LARRY SEIGLE

Under the guise of "reforming" the criminal laws of the United States, the Nixon administration is working to get Congress to approve sweeping new restrictions on democratic rights. The "reform," known as the Criminal Code Reform Act of 1973, is working its way through hearings before the U.S. Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures.

Despite the drastic curtailments of civil liberties contained in the bill, there have been practically no public statements on it from the liberals in Congress, and the press has virtually ignored the major provisions of the bill. As a result, few people are familiar with its contents, including those groups and individuals who would be directly threatened if the bill were to be passed as it now stands.

Among the more important provisions are the following:

- **Revival of the Smith Act.** The bill restores life to the thought-control provisions contained in the Smith Act.

The proposed code declares a person "guilty of an offense if, with intent to bring about the overthrow or destruction of the government of the United States, or any state or local government, as speedily as circumstances permit, he:

"(1) incites others to engage in conduct which then or at some future time would facilitate the overthrow or destruction by force of that government; or

"(2) organizes, leads, recruits members for, joins, or remains an active member of, an organization which has as a purpose the incitement de-

scribed" in the preceding paragraph.

The penalty for violation of this section is 15 years or a \$100,000 fine.

The Smith Act was first used against members of the Socialist Workers Party in 1941. Later, it was employed in the government's campaign to outlaw the Communist Party during the McCarthy era. Major provisions of the Smith Act were subsequently declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, and the law has fallen into disuse.

The effect of this new code would be to once again make it a crime to belong to an organization like the Socialist Workers Party, which the government has declared is "subversive" and is included in the attorney general's list of so-called subversive organizations.

- **Strengthening of presidential power to wiretap.** The new code would reaffirm the president's authority to wiretap domestic activities, by allowing the "President to take such measures as he deems necessary to protect the United States against the overthrow of the Government by force or other unlawful means, or against any other clear and present danger to the structure or existence of the Government."

Evidence obtained by such wiretaps, the code provides, would be admissible in court. The code also allows 48-hour "emergency" taps without court order and forces telephone workers and landlords to cooperate with the secret police wiretappers.

- **Restoration of death penalty.** The new law would nullify the 1972 Supreme Court ruling on the death pen-

alty by making capital punishment mandatory for a series of crimes including treason, sabotage, and espionage, if—to cite one criterion—"the defendant, in the commission of the offense, knowingly created a grave risk of substantial danger to the national security."

The death sentence could also be imposed for murder and for kidnapping, hijacking, arson, or other crimes resulting in death.

- **Enactment of 'official secrets' law.** The code would make disclosure of "classified" information a crime. A federal employee would be subject to a

three-year sentence for communicating "classified information" to an unauthorized recipient "even if the information was improperly classified at the time."

A person could also be found guilty of espionage for communicating "information relating to the national defense" if the person had "knowledge that it may be used, to the prejudice of the safety or interest of the United States. . . ." and relays it to a foreign power or releases it "with knowledge that it may be communicated to a foreign power."

The proposed new law also contains numerous abrogations of democratic rights, including in the areas of "obscenity," possession of marijuana, the right to demonstrate, and many others.

When he submitted the "Criminal Code Reform Act" to Congress in March 1973, Nixon declared: "There are those who say that law and order are just code words for repression and bigotry. This is dangerous nonsense. Law and order are code words for goodness and decency . . . the only way to attack crime in America is the way crime attacks our people—without pity."

But it is not crime that is being attacked by the "reformers" of the criminal code.

After all, it is the "reformers" who are the biggest criminals of all.

No, what this proposed law attacks "without pity" are the democratic liberties won by the American people through struggles against all attempts to narrow or take away those rights.

Such a struggle will be necessary to defeat this totally reactionary "reform."



San Quentin's gas chamber. Criminal Code Reform Act would reinstitute death penalty.

SWP suit gains support among Black leaders

By CONNIE PIPER

The April issue of the *Black Scholar* magazine features a full-page appeal signed by 11 Black leaders, urging support for the socialist suit against government secret police tactics as "an important first step in halting attacks on the right to dissent."

This appeal is indicative of the growing support among Black groups and individuals for the suit and for the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is organizing support and raising money to cover the costs of the case.

The suit, brought by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, seeks a court injunction against government use of wiretapping, bugging, mail tampering, infiltration, and acts of violence against Black organizations, socialists, and other working-class groups.

The signers of the *Black Scholar* appeal declare, "Victims of Watergate and those concerned with defending civil liberties now have an opportunity to fight back by becoming sponsors of PRDF. Our support does not necessarily imply agreement with the ideas of the plaintiffs—the YSA and SWP—but with their right to express those beliefs free from government sponsored harassment and terrorism."

The signers of the appeal include Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton; Margaret Sloan, National Black Feminist Organization; Audrey Colom, vice-president, National Women's Political Caucus; Congressman Ron Dellums; Bobby Seale, Black Panther Party; and *Black Scholar* editors Robert Chrisman and Robert Allen.

The PRDF is circulating their appeal widely in a special effort to gain sup-

port for the socialist suit from Black activists and organizations.

As the Black leaders' appeal points out, "the real victims of 'Watergating' are those engaged in protest."

Black activists have been among the victims of the worst government harassment. The recently released and highly censored FBI "Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO)—Black Nationalist-Hate Groups," dated Aug. 25, 1967, instructed agents "to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities" of Black groups.

One of the government's goals, as stated in a later FBI document, was to "prevent the rise of a 'messiah' who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement." That paragraph contains apparent—but censored—references to Malcolm



John Conyers (D-Mich.) is among five members of Congressional Black Caucus who have endorsed suit.

X, who had already been murdered by that time, and to Dr. Martin Luther King, who was murdered one month after the initiation of this "disruption program."

In response to the socialist suit, the government has admitted initiating another COINTELPRO, the "SWP Disruption Program," in 1961, conducting electronic surveillance of the SWP back to 1945, and maintaining a mail cover on correspondence addressed to the SWP national headquarters in New York.

Many Black leaders and activists have recently endorsed the PRDF. Congressional Black Caucus members Ron Dellums (D-Calif.), John Conyers (D-Mich.), Parren Mitchell (D-Md.), Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), and Andrew Young (D-Ga.) are sponsors. Rangel, chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, called the PRDF's drive an effort "to assure all people the rights guaranteed to them in the Constitution of the United States."

Also, the Reverend Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Georgia state legislator Julian Bond have endorsed.

Fourteen activists in the Colorado African Liberation Support Committee endorsed a resolution supporting the PRDF at a recent meeting because "the SWP and YSA . . . should exist without intimidation from the government."

Well-known Black women who have endorsed the suit, besides those mentioned previously, include Josephine Hulett, president, National Committee on Household Employment; the Reverend Willie Barrow of Operation PUSH; and attorneys Florynce Ken-

nedy and Margaret Burnham.

Important new support for the suit has been obtained as a result of activities by PRDF representatives at recent national conventions. Among those who endorsed at the Black Political Convention in Little Rock, Ark., were journalist Chuck Stone; Malcolm Suber, chairman, Georgia Black Assembly; and Irv Joyner, Commission for Racial Justice.

Thirteen Black labor union officials signed up as sponsors at the recent convention of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. They were delegates representing locals of the Teamsters, 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 _____

SWP petitioners launch signature drives in Massachusetts, Missouri, Pennsylvania

By CINDY JAQUITH

Hundreds of Socialist Workers Party campaign volunteers are throwing their energies over the next month into winning ballot status for the SWP candidates in Massachusetts, Missouri, Pennsylvania, and Texas. Their goal is to collect a staggering 200,000 signatures of registered voters on nominating petitions.

Unlike the Democrats and Republicans, who get on the ballot automatically, socialists, independent Black or Chicano parties, and other independent candidates have to overcome huge obstacles in order to have their names appear on the ballot. The capitalists hope that by setting astronomical signature requirements and exorbitant filing fees, no one but themselves will be able to qualify for ballot status.

The SWP candidates in Massachusetts, Missouri, Pennsylvania, and Texas, however, intend to see that

voters have the right to choose the socialist alternative at the polls next November. The ballot drives in these four states (see article on Texas campaign on opposite page) will soon be followed by petitioning campaigns on behalf of socialist candidates in several other states.

In Massachusetts, the petitioning drive is well under way, with 33,664 signatures already in. The requirement is 37,360, but campaign supporters are shooting for 66,500 by June 1 to be assured of a spot on the ballot for the socialist ticket, which is headed by Donald Gurewitz, candidate for governor.

Petitioners have already completed the canvassing for two candidates, Randy Dolph, who is running in the 8th Congressional District, and Jeanette Tracy Bliss, running in the 9th Congressional District.

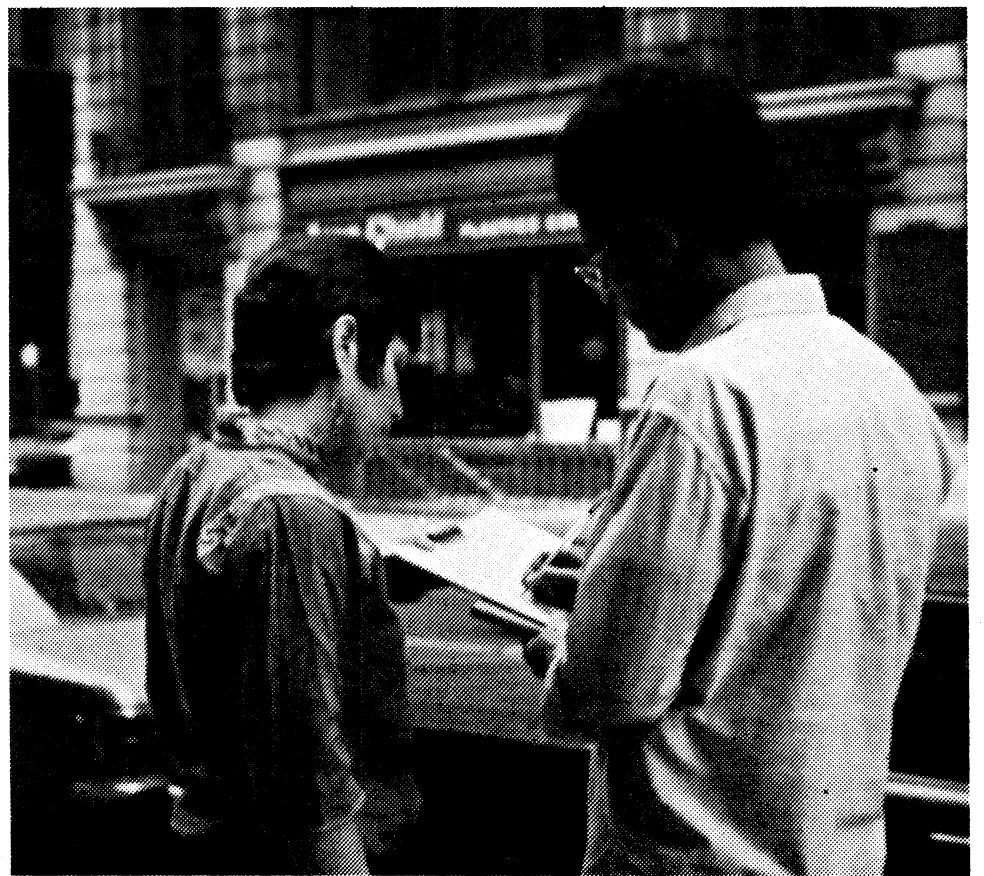
Pennsylvania socialist campaign workers will launch their drive with a news conference on May 29. They plan to surpass the requirement of 44,000 signatures by collecting 65,000 for Roberta Scherr, SWP candidate for governor, Christina Adachi, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, and Fred Stanton, candidate for lieutenant governor.

Petitioning on campuses in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh earlier this spring has already brought in 10,000 toward Pennsylvania's goal. The drive is scheduled to end the last week of June.

In Missouri, the SWP is petitioning for ballot status for the first time. The socialists aim to collect 25,000 signatures between May 25 and June 15 to place Barbara Mutnick, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, on the ballot. Eighteen thousand are required.

"We are also filing suit against the blatantly undemocratic Missouri election law," campaign director Norton Sandler told *The Militant*. "Our suit will demand abolition of the distribution requirement that forces independent parties like the SWP to collect a huge proportion of our signatures in the least populated parts of the state."

The Massachusetts SWP is also challenging the undemocratic election laws



Socialists are forced to petition for ballot status because of laws designed by capitalist parties to exclude all independent candidates from elections.

Help put SWP on the ballot

Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters are currently on an ambitious drive to place the SWP candidates on the ballot in Massachusetts, Missouri, Pennsylvania, and Texas. Volunteers are needed to help collect the more than 200,000 signatures necessary to meet the restrictive ballot requirements in these four states.

If you can help, contact the SWP campaign committee in your state:

MASSACHUSETTS: 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston 02111. Telephone: (617) 482-8050.

MISSOURI: 4660 Maryland, Suite 17, St. Louis 63108. Telephone: (314) 367-2520.

PENNSYLVANIA: 1004 Filbert St., Philadelphia 19107. Telephone: (215) WA5-4316.

304 S. Bouquet St., Pittsburgh 15213. Telephone: (412) 682-5019.
TEXAS: 3311 Montrose, Houston 77006. Telephone: (713) 526-1082.

in the courts, through a suit demanding ballot status and legal recognition for the SWP.

One of the ways the Massachusetts capitalist parties try to make it impossible for independent candidates to get on the ballot is a requirement that signatures must be collected on separate sheets for each separate city.

"There are 352 cities and towns in the state," explains Margaret Scott, Massachusetts ballot coordinator. "It's not unusual for a petitioner to collect names from as many as 40 or 50 different places in one day."

Many voters are outraged at these antidemocratic measures used to keep the socialists and others off the ballot. One woman approached by a petitioner in Boston decided to volunteer to help in the ballot drive after learning of the stiff election law requirements.

Coinciding with the ballot activities, special campaign activities and social-

ist educational series are planned in each state. In Massachusetts, for example, campaign street rallies were held simultaneously with petitioning on May 11 in Boston's Black community and in Harvard Square.

Pittsburgh campaign supporters are sponsoring a talk by Harry Ring, of *The Militant* Southwest Bureau, on June 18. Ring will speak on "Socialism and Individual Freedom."

In Philadelphia, socialist summer school classes will begin on June 10.

A petitioning victory rally will be held for Massachusetts petitioners on June 1 in Boston. Featured speakers are Peter Camejo, a member of the SWP national committee and former socialist candidate for U.S. Senate from Massachusetts, and Jeannette Tracy Bliss.

Windup celebrations are also planned for Philadelphia on June 29 and Pittsburgh on June 30.

Campaigning for socialism

N.Y. CAMPAIGN ENDORSER DRIVE: New York Socialist Workers Party campaign workers are busy gathering endorsers for a statement supporting the 1974 statewide socialist ticket as a positive alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.

Among the signers of the statement thus far are Burton Bollag, coordinator of the United Farm Workers Support Committee at Queens College; Daouda Modelo, Umoja Society at Brooklyn College; and Maina-Wa-Kinyatti, president of the Pan African Student Organization of the Americas.

Other signers include Elizabeth Krug, chairwoman of the Women's Rights Committee of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1930; and Gilsia Pujadus, president of the Dominican Students Movement at Brooklyn College.

The statement will be published with the list of endorsers as an ad in New York campus newspapers and other

publications.

VOTE FOR LEMON AND MACE MAY 28: Oregon Socialist Workers Party supporters are winding up the last week of campaign activity on behalf of John Lemon, SWP candidate for superintendent of public instruction, and Robin Mace, SWP candidate for Portland city council, Position 3. Both Lemon and Mace are on the ballot for the state's May 28 "non-partisan" primary election.

In the past two weeks, 70 people have signed up to endorse the Oregon socialist campaign, which is also fielding a slate of candidates for the November elections, headed by Stacey Seigle for governor.

Young Socialists for Seigle recently organized a statewide tour for Lemon, who spoke to meetings in Corvallis, Eugene, Salem, and Portland.

A celebration to wrap up the Lemon and Mace campaigns is scheduled for May 24.

'SERIOUS ABOUT HIS CANDIDACY': "He is 20 years old and the Georgia constitution prohibits anyone under 30 from being governor. He is black, and no black has been elected governor. He is a Socialist Workers Party Candidate, and no member of that party has been elected to statewide office.

"Still, Vince Eagan is serious about his candidacy and what it stands for," wrote Jim Houston in the April 21 *Ledger-Enquirer* in Columbus, Ga.

Houston was reporting on Eagan's visit to Columbus as part of a statewide campaign speaking tour. Eagan is the SWP candidate for governor of Georgia.

Houston quoted Eagan as saying, "The Democratic and Republican politicians give us empty promises of 'ending crime,' 'lower taxes' and ending poverty." The real causes of these problems, the socialist said, is "this capitalistic society, which is based on corporate profits instead of human needs."

MICHIGAN STUDENTS HEAR MAISEL: Fifty students attended an impromptu dormitory meeting for Robin Maisel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Michigan, while he was on tour at Michigan State University in East Lansing recently.

The *Michigan State News* quoted him as saying, "The Democratic party is the party of Eastland, Stennis and Ervin. It is racist and sexist. The Republican party is the party of Nixon, Haldeman, and Ehrlichman."

"They ask you to vote for them as the lesser of two evils. That gets you only one thing — evils."

The campus paper reported: "Maisel accused (Michigan Governor William) Milliken of calling out the state police to beat heads in Midland where about 1,500 Dow Chemical steel workers are on strike. He also said the Michigan courts and legislature have consistently restricted workers' rights to strike." — ANDY ROSE

Texas rally kicks off campaign to win ballot status for socialists

By NELSON BLACKSTOCK

HOUSTON—On May 18 the Texas Socialist Workers Party kicked off its drive to gather the 50,000 signatures needed to place the party on the ballot in the November elections. The first day of all-out petitioning by campaign supporters brought in a total of 5,578 signatures.

That evening more than 130 people turned out here for a campaign banquet, where a record \$5,847 was pledged to finance the ballot drive. Seven people decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

At a news conference held the day before at the Houston Press Club, Sherry Smith, SWP candidate for governor, announced the official opening of the campaign to get on the ballot. Texas law requires the socialists to collect 34,095 valid signatures of voters; the SWP plans to shoot for 50,000 to be assured of a spot on the ballot.

Undemocratic election laws

"Because of the undemocratic election laws written by the Democrats and Republicans aimed at giving themselves exclusive control of the ballot," said Smith, "supporters of the socialist campaign will be forced to spend thousands of hours petitioning to put the SWP on the ballot."

"Teams of my campaign supporters will be on the streets in Houston, Austin, Dallas, Fort Worth, and San Antonio, because they are convinced, as I am, that whatever the obstacles placed in our way, the Socialist Workers Party must be placed on the ballot again in 1974 to offer the people of this state a real choice in November."

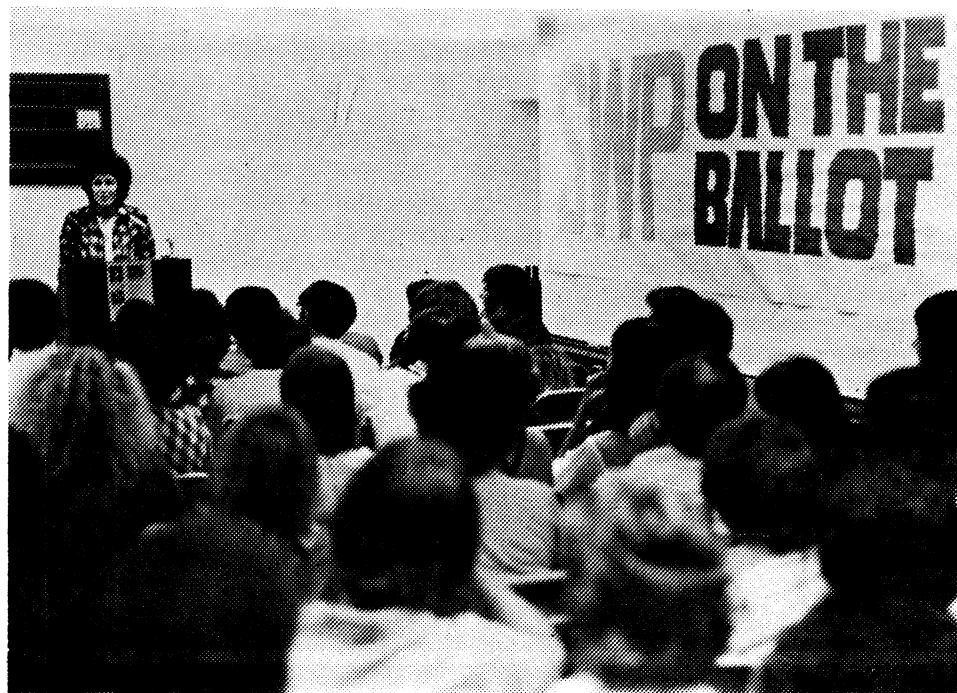
"Our petitioning campaign to get on the ballot comes at a time when Watergate and the energy crisis have proven that both the Democrats and Republicans work in the interests of a handful who control the overwhelming majority of wealth in this country and nearly half that of the world. Watergate has shown that this government will stop at nothing in its effort to ensure the monopolists of their profits."

Smith appeared at another news conference in San Antonio May 20 and the following day was scheduled to announce the ballot drive to the media in Dallas. Don Sorsa, SWP candidate for state representative in the 90th District, and Sas Scoggins, candidate for comptroller, were slated to



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Socialist candidate for Texas attorney general, Pedro Vázquez, blasts Mexican-American Democrats.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Sherry Smith, SWP candidate for governor, explains how getting on ballot will aid Texas socialists in fight against government Watergating.

hold a similar news conference in Austin May 22.

Teams of full-time volunteer petitioners are centering their efforts to gather signatures in the next three weeks in these three cities.

In her speech at the May 18 kick-off banquet in Houston, Smith described the government harassment encountered by the SWP in Texas. She explained how this underscored the importance of the SWP getting on the ballot.

"The candidates of the SWP have the program to put an end to Watergate," Smith told the audience. "People are fed up with the 'Tweedledum, Tweedledee' parties of capitalism, and they are looking for a socialist alternative."

"That fact is something the FBI understands. That is why the SWP has been singled out for special attack by government agents across the nation."

"The Hoover memorandums that were recently made public outline a program to disrupt, disorient, and otherwise neutralize organizations of Blacks, socialists, and others seeking change. A special 'Socialist Workers Party Disruption Program' authorized illegal activity against my party, such as the acknowledged infiltration of the SWP by the Houston police department."

"One memo on this disruption program reads in part: 'The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has, over the past several years, been openly espousing its line on a local and national basis through running candidates for public office. . . .'

"What this means is that the capitalists see our campaigns as a challenge to the racism, sexism, and exploitation that people face in this society. They fear our being on the ballot."

'We intend to be on ballot'

"But we intend to continue running socialist candidates for public office," Smith said, "and telling the truth to the American people. And we intend to be on the Texas ballot on Nov. 5 so that the people will be able to vote for a socialist candidate for governor and for a socialist program."

Peter Camejo, a member of the SWP national committee, was another featured speaker at the rally. He explained how the U.S. capitalists uphold their rule by lies and deception. "The importance of Watergate," Camejo said, "is that the American people are beginning to see that the U.S. is not really a democracy."

Pedro Vázquez, SWP candidate for

attorney general in Texas, blasted the Mexican-American Democrats. "Their message to Chicanos is: 'Stay away from yourselves; stay away from each other. Don't depend on your own power, and by all means, stop embarrassing us with all your questions about the Raza Unida Party and the Socialist Workers Party.'"

The audience cheered when Andy Gonzales was introduced. Gonzales recently lost by one vote his race as the Young Socialist candidate for president of the San Antonio College student body.

Sas Scoggins, a member of the Graphic Arts International Union and an activist in the Coalition of Labor Union Women, spoke about the office of state comptroller.

"The comptroller is the tax collector," she said.

"Among the things I would do if elected is to tax corporations 100 percent if they did not stop polluting our air and water, and open the books of the oil corporations so the public can see in black and white the fraud of the energy crisis."

Celia Estrada, past chairwoman of the Harris County Women's Political Caucus, read a resolution officially adopted by the caucus backing the SWP's effort to get on the ballot.

The final speaker of the evening was Maceo Dixon, national cochairman of the SWP 1974 National Campaign Committee, who appealed for contributions for the ballot drive.

Good response

The initial response to the petitioners has been excellent, according to Susan Ellis, state ballot coordinator. "Dan Fein, our candidate for lieutenant governor, collected more than 300 signatures in one afternoon, for example."

"This indicates to me that Watergate has had its impact. People are fed up with the Democrats and Republicans and they like the idea of having the socialists on the ballot."

Jean Savage, state campaign director, explained that "on weekends, petitioners are concentrating on grocery stores, shopping centers, and parks. During the weekdays, we are focusing on the downtown area. We also got more than 1,000 signatures on the campuses in Houston and Austin before this weekend."

The SWP expects to wrap up the petitioning effort by the first week in June. Campaign activists will then tackle the huge amount of paperwork necessary to prepare the petitions for filing.

Mitterrand fails in popular-front bid

By TONY THOMAS

In France's second-round presidential elections, conservative Finance Minister Valéry Giscard d'Estaing defeated François Mitterrand by a slim margin: he got 50.7 percent. Mitterrand, 49.3 percent.

Giscard d'Estaing was the candidate of the Independent Republicans, one of the parties that made up the "Gaullist coalition" which has dominated French politics since 1958.

Although he had differences with Chaban-Delmas, the "orthodox" Gaullist candidate who was eliminated in the May 5 first-round elections, Giscard d'Estaing received the support of the Gaullist bloc. He was supported by most other capitalist parties in France, including the liberal Radical Party led by Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber.

Mitterrand, first secretary of the Socialist Party, was the candidate of the Union of the Left. The Union of the Left is a class-collaborationist coalition launched in 1972 by the Communist and Socialist parties together with the capitalist-party splinter group, the Left Radicals. Its aim is to form an alliance between the two reformist working-class parties and capitalist parties and formations with the aim of forming a "popular front" government.

The second round of Mitterrand's campaign was marked by attempts to gain more support among capitalist politicians and to make clear that a Mitterrand government would be a faithful defender of capitalism.

The Union of the Left even tried to wrap itself in Gaullist banners. One of Mitterrand's attacks on Giscard d'Estaing was for "betraying" De Gaulle by opposing his views in a referendum in 1969.

Georges Marchais, the head of the Communist Party, told a TV audience May 5: "There are men and women in our country who are Gaullists because for them De Gaulle embodied France's greatness, its independence, and its prestige in the world [in short, French imperialism — T. T.]. Are they so different from us? We share in common that passion for France, for its sovereignty, and its influence."

Marchais also appealed for the Gaullists and other capitalist politicians to take posts in a government of "national union" led by Mitterrand.

Throughout his campaign, Mitterrand stated that he would carry out a foreign policy faithful to the interests of French imperialism. He stated that if he were elected France would not withdraw from the Atlantic alliance, nor would it cut back on its nuclear force. He also added that the presence of U.S. troops in Europe is necessary, at least until they are replaced by nuclear arms in the hands of West German imperialism.

Mitterrand's campaign to build a coalition government with sections of the French capitalist class was a disorientation of the millions of French workers and youth who supported him. It was not a campaign of independent working-class political action. Instead of posing a class against class program aiming at a government of workers parties, his campaign was oriented toward lining up support for capitalist control of the government through coalitionism.

Calif. campaign reform plan exposed as fraud

By DAN STYRON

"We can take our state back from the oil companies, back from the power companies, back from the land developers, back from the big money. . . ." All this can be achieved, says the powerful "citizens' lobby," Common Cause, by pulling the "yes" lever for Proposition 9 in California's June 4 election.

Supporters of the initiative claim that Proposition 9, the Political Reform Act, will "cleanse the political system in California," produce "independent government at every level," and mean

Dan Styron is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from California.

that "the officials we elect will have to support people instead of power."

In fact, the passage of Proposition 9 will do none of these things. It represents, to the contrary, an attempt by a host of liberal organizations to rebuild confidence in the political institutions that are so discredited as a result of Watergate.

The stated purpose of Proposition 9 is to force public disclosure of campaign contributions and expenditures, and the regulation of lobbyists. In addition, it would limit the amount to be spent by candidates for public office. But far from eliminating the influence of the rich over California's politics, this law would create only

the possibility of visits to his or her boss, landlord, relatives, or neighbors by government agents.

The same intimidation would be faced by donors to the Raza Unida Party or the Communist Party. But contributors to the Republicans and Democrats experience no such harassment if their names are publicized.

The provisions of Proposition 9 also impose a heavy financial burden on smaller parties in terms of the bookkeeping and legal work required to file accurate reports. This is no obstacle for the capitalist parties, which can afford to hire as many accountants and lawyers as needed.

In addition, Proposition 9 can be used to entrap independent parties or candidates in technical violations that will open them up to prosecution. At a recent SWP campaign engagement in San Diego, for example, a stranger gave a \$100 bill to a campaign supporter and disappeared, refusing to give his name.

Campaign workers viewed this "contribution" as an attempted setup, where the SWP would subsequently face charges for accepting an anonymous donation. To prevent such a frame-up, the \$100 was turned over to the state treasurer's General Fund.

We have already seen in practice how the Democrats and Republicans get around the restrictions of campaign disclosure laws. Such laws were in effect in 1972, for example, but they simply resulted in both capital-



Militant/Andrea Baron

California's Proposition 9 would create new obstacles for smaller parties and strengthen stranglehold of Democrats and Republicans.

small inconveniences for those who now own and run the state.

Proposition 9's real purpose is to further strengthen the stranglehold of the Democratic and Republican parties, while intensifying the difficulties faced by the smaller parties that participate in California elections.

The Raza Unida Party, Socialist Workers Party, and Communist Party are active political parties in the state. But all three are denied ballot status by the Democrats and Republicans who control the state government. Nevertheless, these smaller parties would be liable for prosecution in the event of a violation of the provisions of Proposition 9.

The campaign reporting provisions require that the name, address, occupation, and employer's name and address of everyone who contributes \$50 or more to any candidate be made public. Anonymous contributions are specifically prohibited.

If someone wished to contribute \$75 to my campaign, for example, under Proposition 9 their name, address, and employer would be made public. The FBI has made no secret of the fact that it considers supporters of the SWP to be fair game for harassment and surveillance. So any contributor to the SWP would have to be prepared for

ist parties finding new ways to camouflage the sources of their millions in contributions.

One of the chief fallacies of the campaign funding reforms, in fact, is that ultimately they rely on the crooks to police themselves.

Proposition 9 is a classic example. Who appoints the "nonpartisan" commission that enforces its provisions? Governor Ronald Reagan—hardly known for his devotion to driving moneyed interests out of California politics—will appoint two members.

Edmund Brown Jr., secretary of state, will appoint one member. He recently ruled Nat Weinstein, SWP candidate for Congress in the 6th C.D., off the ballot, using a filing-fee law that had been declared unconstitutional.

The attorney general and the controller appoint the remaining two members of the commission.

We have every reason to believe that big money will have decisive control over the enforcing mechanism of Proposition 9. If passed, this measure will be used to further the interests of the two capitalist parties, and as a weapon against any independent party or candidate that challenges their dominance.

Socialists urge vote for San Jose CP nominee

By TOM TOMASKO

SAN JOSE, Calif. — One hundred people turned out here May 4 to hear Olga Rodríguez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California.

"We are celebrating three important events tonight," said Rodríguez. "This meeting is the opening event of the 1974 SWP campaign in this city."

"This event occurs at the same time the celebrations of two important holidays are taking place around the country—May Day and Cinco de Mayo [a Mexican holiday]. These holidays are symbols of united and independent struggle of the toiling masses around the world against their oppressors. And this is also what our party and program represent."

Also speaking was Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for Congress from the 8th C.D. He blasted his opponent, Democrat Ron Dellums, for being silent on the attacks on the Black community by the San Francisco police in their search for the so-called Zebra killers.

Jim Beller, a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance in San Jose, spoke about the deteriorating environment in the city.

Several people at the meeting endorsed the Socialist Workers Party campaign and expressed interest in joining the Young Socialist Alliance.

While the SWP statewide campaign is gaining new adherents in San Jose, there is another campaign outside of the two capitalist parties that is taking place on a local scale.

Jack Kurzweil, a member of the Communist Party, is running for the "nonpartisan" post of tax assessor for Santa Clara County. The election is June 4.

The San Jose Young Socialists for Rodríguez (YSR) is distributing a statement urging a vote for Kurzweil "as a way of registering a vote against the three capitalist candidates he opposes, and for the principle of independent working class political action against the capitalist parties."

Despite disagreement with Kurzweil's program, the Young Socialists for Rodríguez is calling for people to vote for him because he is the candidate of a party in the working-class movement. A vote for him is in this sense a repudiation of the capitalist candidates.

The YSR statement explains, "While urging a vote for Kurzweil, we do not support the policies of the Communist Party in this election. It is around the very question of the need for independent working class political action that our differences with the Communist Party are the sharpest."

"The fact is, the Communist Party for many decades has been supporting Democrats. In the current California elections, the Communist Party is giving backhanded support to Democrats, from the governor's race on down."

Kurzweil is running for a minor post, the YSR statement points out. "The Communist Party intends to utilize Kurzweil's campaign as a cover for their basic policy of supporting Democrats for all the major posts. . . . This pernicious policy leads away from working people breaking with the parties of the bosses, and traps many who consider themselves to be socialists into supporting capitalist candidates."

The Socialist Workers Party, by contrast, is running a full slate of candidates for governor, senator, other state offices and congressional seats, as well as local posts.

The Young Socialists for Rodríguez also point out that Kurzweil does not



SWP candidate for governor Olga Rodríguez spoke to socialist campaign rally in San Jose.

present a socialist program to solve the problems facing working people. "He instead promises to 'use the power of the office' but remains silent on using the power of the organized masses to fight the problems caused by capitalism," the YSR statement explains. Examples of such independent political action are the "San Francisco city workers, Los Angeles county workers, independent truckers, farm workers, and antiwar activists."

Nor has Kurzweil spoken out against the undemocratic and brutal treatment of Soviet dissidents, such as Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and Pyotr Grigorenko. The Communist Party has in fact wholeheartedly endorsed this suppression of democratic rights. The YSR statement attacks this aspect of Kurzweil's campaign, noting, "It is incumbent upon all those who claim to be socialists to speak out against crimes perpetrated in the name of socialism by Stalin's heirs."

"Finally," the statement goes on to say, "nowhere does Kurzweil call for the creation of a socialist society as the only system under which we can begin to solve the problems of humanity. He instead says [in his brochure], 'There will not be money to meet our urgent social needs as long as Nixon remains in office.'"

"Kurzweil implies that Nixon is the main obstacle to social change. But what about Ford, who will take Nixon's place if Nixon is impeached and convicted? What about the liberal capitalist politicians like Kennedy? Are any of them the answer to our problems? No! All the defenders of the capitalist system, whether liberal, conservative, or even 'radical' are the problem because they defend the system which can never meet the needs of the majority of Americans."

"What must be built is a *working class alternative* to all these capitalist politicians and the capitalist parties."

In the 1974 elections, the statement concludes, "a vote for independent working class political action and for socialism can be cast in California—for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party." The Young Socialists for Rodríguez urge a vote for Mariana Hernández, endorsed by the SWP, in the June 4 race for superintendent of public instruction, and they call for a vote for Kurzweil.

"And in November, vote for the only candidates in the state elections who stand for the interests of working people and for socialism, Olga Rodríguez for governor, Dan Styron for U.S. Senate, and the full Socialist Workers slate."

World Outlook

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

MAY 31, 1974

Defeat for fascists, church officials

Italian divorce vote is victory for democratic rights

[The following are excerpts from an article in the April 10 issue of *Bandiera Rossa*, journal of the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (Revolutionary Communist Groups, Italian section of the Fourth International).

[On May 12 Italian voters went to the polls and decisively defeated the referendum to repeal the Fortuna-Baslini divorce law. The law, which was passed in 1970, loosens the historic ban on divorce in Italy by permitting dissolution of a marriage after five to seven years of legal separation.

[With 88.1 percent of the electorate voting, Italians supported the right to divorce by a 3-to-2 majority. Since women voters outnumber men by 1.7 million, the female vote was seen as contributing heavily to the prodivorce outcome.

[The results of the referendum were a stinging defeat for both the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy and for Italy's ruling party, the Christian Democrats. The only other political party besides the Christian Democrats to support repeal of the divorce law was the neofascist Italian Social Movement—National Right Wing. Pope Paul had come out publicly for repeal only days before the vote.

[The church hierarchy's stand against divorce generated significant opposition from priests, nuns, and rank-and-file Catholics. Many priests participated in rallies for the right to divorce, circulated petitions on the

issue, and engaged in heated debates at church functions.

[The May 5 *New York Times* reported that in the city of Mantua, "a large part of the congregation silently walked out during mass recently when a pastoral letter by the local bishop urging Catholics to vote against divorce was read from the pulpit."

We have to vote "no" first of all because the reactionaries, the Christian Democrats, the MSI [Movimento Sociale Italiano—Italian Social Movement, the neofascists], and in general all of right-wing public opinion wanted this referendum so that they could use the campaign to constitute a "bloc for order," to lay the bases for a "firm-handed" solution to the crises the country is experiencing. By abolishing the Fortuna-Baslini law, the reactionaries want to take the first step toward a more general assault on democratic rights, on the right to strike, the right of political activity in the schools, freedom of the press—in short, all the liberties the mass movement has won by its struggles from 1968 until today.

Of course, we know perfectly well that a reactionary attack can never be blocked by a vote. We are well aware that in this society elections are only a distorting, very distorting mirror of the needs and aspirations

of the various social classes.

We are convinced that in this election especially the results cannot accurately mirror the relationships among classes in the society, the relationship of forces, for the simple reason that the prodivorce front includes a little bit of everything: the PLI [Partito Liberale Italiano—Italian Liberal party, the classical secular right], the PRI [Partito Repubblicano Italiano—Italian Republican party, petty-bourgeois liberals], the PCI [Partito Comunista Italiano—Italian Communist party], the PSI [Partito Socialista Italiano—Italian Socialist party], extraparlimentary left groups, and even the three most influential bourgeois papers in Italy (*Corriere della Sera*, *Messaggero*, and *Stampa*).

Moreover, the bourgeoisie gives the right to vote to nuns, to seventy-year-olds, to priests, etc., but it denies it to youth under twenty-one, thereby excluding from the contest an extensive social stratum that by its dynamism and political awareness can influence the outcome of the confrontation.

So, these elections will have definite limitations. We are going to vote No along with forces we want nothing to do with, capitalist forces like the PLI or the PRI. But we will vote No so that, on the electoral level also, a clear rejection of fascism is expressed, as well as a commitment to defend the liberties won by the mass movement.

But in the election campaign and after May 12 we will have to say some things very different from what many of those who happen to be voting No along with us (PRI, PSI, etc.) are saying.

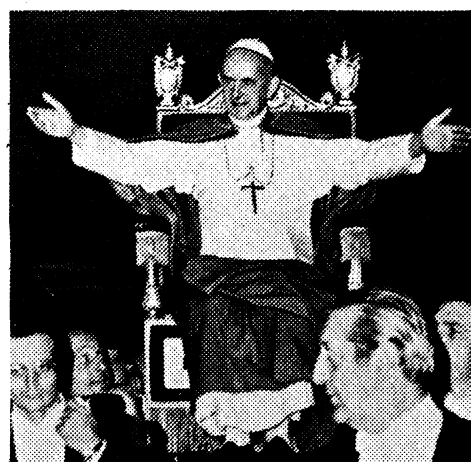
We want to say clearly that this system—along with the political force that forms its backbone (the Christian Democracy), with its institutions (e.g., the parliament), and with its state—has shown in recent months its complete inability to solve the most pressing problems of the society (rising prices, unemployment). We want to speak out clearly and say that in these last months the system has shown all its rottenness, shot through as it is with corruption and power struggles. We want to say that once again the government has shown itself under this system to be a servile instrument in the hands of the capitalists, the big oil companies, and the raw materials hoarders.

The only real alternative to this political system is workers power, is opening up the books and the accounts of all the companies and government agencies and putting all these things under direct supervision by the workers.

Never have the pressures for an "iron-fisted" solution been as heavily

felt as in the last months.

We know very well that as the internal crisis of the system and its government increases, the more the determinedly reactionary forces will take the initiative to push, or to try to push, the entire bourgeois front into unleashing a vast repression, into beefing up the powers of the state repressive bodies, and into using the weight of the army to shift the political axis in the country to the right and to intimidate the weaker social strata.



POPE PAUL: Opposed democratic freedom of divorce. Most Catholics rejected his advice.

A victory for the Christian Democracy and the MSI in the vote would be a victory for repression. Defeat of this referendum, accompanied by a strong mass response and a struggle in defense of democratic rights, would be a defeat for the forces that are most determinedly seeking a "strong state."

There is no question but that if the reactionary bloc wins on May 12, it will feel that it has greater backing from public opinion and will have less hesitations about openly defending the interests of the bosses, about allowing prices to rise more easily so as to guarantee the capitalists their profits.

In all capitalist societies, women are forced into a subordinate role, the role of domestic slaves and of sex objects for advertising purposes when they are young, to be rejected when they get old.

In Italy in particular, the ideological dominance of the church has nourished the ideal of "the home," of woman as the "faithful and silent companion of man," while for decades a penal code has existed imposing a mild sanction for "crimes against honor" committed by men, while punishing these same infractions much more severely in the case of women. This is to say nothing of a whole set of beliefs and superstitions about male superiority in every field, from the sexual to the cultural, the political,

Continued on next page



Supporters of right to divorce celebrate at outcome of referendum

The Chilean workers movement under the junta

[The following interview with a nationally known leader of the Chilean labor movement appeared in the March 13, 1974, *Avanzada Socialista*, weekly organ of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International). For obvious reasons the name of the labor leader is not given. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

Question. What is the current state of the workers movement?

Answer. There are no mass movements because they are forbidden. Any attempt in that direction is ruthlessly repressed. As a result, the labor movement is passive, temporarily on the retreat. But there is some fighting spirit.

Q. How is this manifested? Have there been any struggles?

A. There have been several strikes—among the Santiago subway workers, among construction workers in the Pincoya and La Bandera shantytown districts, and in the El Teniente mine, at Antofagasta, and at the Compañía de Tabacos (state-owned tobacco company).

Q. Who led these strikes? For example, the one at El Teniente, where we know some people were killed?

A. It's Christian Democrats at El Teniente. Some of them died when the government broke the strike be-

cause the repression was indiscriminate. The strike took place for the same reason as the one during the Popular Unity government—for a sliding scale of wages, which Allende wanted to get rid of. It was on this issue precisely that the right was able to take the leadership of the workers there.

Q. What is the policy of the junta toward these conflicts? Does it show any willingness to make some concessions?

A. In general they take a repressive line. But on a certain level the government has an interest in showing that it is open to dialogue. For example, in the tobacco workers strike there was no repression. The strike was for a wage increase, and the government granted it, although it also raised the price of cigarettes. Another case was with the Asociación Nacional de Empleados Fiscales [ANEF—National Association of State Workers]. There the government granted a uniform salary scale for all public workers, which was a concession because it meant raises, above all for the lowest grades of state workers and civil servants, who are most poorly paid.

Q. What's happening with the unions? Who chooses the leadership?

A. The unions are tolerated insofar as they accept the policy of the government. But in fact union activity is almost nonexistent, since there is no right to assemble, nor to present demands.

With regard to the election of leadership, formally it is the same as before the coup. A list of fifteen candidates is nominated at an assembly and then there is a vote by secret ballot—one man, one vote. The top three in the voting get the posts.

Of course, something is happening here: The leftist workers are either dead, have been thrown out of work, or can't show their faces. So the only ones who can come forward are the rightists, like the Christian Democrats or leaders of the National party or "independents"—but independents who lean to the right.

Q. From what you say, it seems the junta does not have a policy of liquidating all workers organizations and forming corporative-fascist type unions in their place.

A. No. Now that it has gotten rid of the Central Unica de Trabajadores [CUT—United Federation of Workers], the junta has taken on the job of creating its own union federation. It is basing itself on rightists for this. Christian Democrats; Radicals—the Radical party was in the UP [Unidad Popular—Popular Unity]. One thing is very clear: Since there is no possibility for leftist elements to put forward their positions, the government has a free hand to organize unions led by rightists. These aren't corporative unions combining workers and bosses, but rather labor unions led by a rightist bureaucracy loyal to the military government.

Q. But isn't that a double-edged



El Teniente miners. They struck for escalator clause.

sword for the government? Because, on the one hand, the Chilean labor movement has a strong democratic tradition; and, on the other, this kind of bureaucracy is going to be very weak. If there are struggles it will blow apart...

A. The Chilean workers movement has never been under state control, nor has it ever accepted the idea of state tutelage over the working class. So the present state of affairs cannot continue for very long. This is not a strong bureaucracy, like the one in Argentina with a whole crew on its payroll. In Chile they don't have all that apparatus.

Q. On what issues do you think dissatisfaction might explode and produce mobilizations?

A. In order of importance, I think the main issues will be the right to hold meetings, the right to petition, the right to strike, and the restoration of all the civil rights taken away by the junta. If the economic crisis persists, I think struggles will break out. There have already been several strikes, and there could be more—especially if the repression is relaxed a little.

Even assuming that the present situation continues for a while, if a new vanguard arises that can focus all the discontent brewing among the ranks, then I think things are going to change.



Leftist workers have been arrested, killed, or thrown out of work

...divorce

Continued from preceding page etc.; or about the subtle division that is already at work in elementary school between male and female, between men's work and women's work (or "lady's work," as was written on report cards under the fascist regime).

In their long march toward emancipation, women cannot fail to revolt against the church and its ideology. But neither can they fail to realize that they can achieve real liberation only in a completely different political

and social context. It has to be a context where the conditions have been achieved for liberating humanity in general, with the disappearance of the patriarchal-type bourgeois family that assigns the husband the role of undisputed family head and women the role of domestic slaves, and condemns children to economic bondage and sexual and ideological oppression. That is, women can achieve liberation only in a socialist society where a whole set of tasks are taken over by the collectivity (such as education, training, etc.) and in which a whole set of domestic chores can be abolished or replaced (automatic laun-

dries, etc.).

But right now, by our struggles, we can lay the groundwork for the socialism of tomorrow, by fighting for the extension of free social services (from child care to laundries and schools) and putting all of this under workers control, by fighting to win and consolidate the right of women to control their own bodies, by fighting for free abortion on demand. We can move toward this goal also by fighting to have centers set up in the factories, in the schools, and in the neighborhoods for sex education and the free distribution of contraceptives.

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U.S.-Soviet detente: Why both sides see it as good business

By Dick Roberts

On April 25, Senator Edward Kennedy returned to Washington from a six-day visit to Moscow. The Massachusetts Democrat was immediately asked whether he intended to run for the presidency in 1976. According to some reports, Kennedy said, "No." The April 26 *New York Times* said that Kennedy "would not decide until late 1975."

Kennedy's decision to meet secretly with high Soviet officials was not necessarily part of a campaign to gain publicity. There are matters that Kennedy, as a leading Democratic senator and a member of the American ruling class, may have wished to discuss in Moscow: specifically, the possible obstacles to widened trade relations between the United States and the USSR that have arisen in Congress.

On December 11, 1973, in two separate votes the House of Representatives decided by margins of 319 to 80 and by 296 to 106 to deny the Soviet Union lower tariffs and export credits, on the grounds of Moscow's emigration restrictions, particularly on Soviet Jews. These votes were cast on amendments to trade legislation that has not yet been acted on by the Senate. Moscow has subsequently made it unmistakably clear that export credits are essential to further trade agreements between the two superpowers.

A campaign has been launched in the Stalinist press around this issue. For example, the January 5 *Daily World*, newspaper of the U.S. Communist party, describes Senator Henry M. Jackson, the leading proponent of measures to restrict trade with the Soviet Union, as a "representative of the military-industrial complex." In the same article, Gus Hall, CPUSA general secretary, declares that "the movement to obstruct the trade bill is a flank attack. It is a calculated effort to return United States' policies to the days of Cold War aggression. What is frozen in the committee rooms is détente."

It is true that Henry Jackson represents the state of Washington, whose biggest city, Seattle, is the headquarters of the giant bomber-making corporation, Boeing. Jackson is often dubbed the "junior senator from Boeing." It is also true that Jackson is a leading contender for the 1976 presidential elections. Further, it is certain that the pretense of supporting Soviet Jews in their desire to emigrate to Israel is a vote catcher for the Democratic party.

But to jump from these truths to the conception that a sector of the U.S. ruling class, the so-called "military-industrial complex," with Senator Jackson as its standard bearer, opposes the Washington-Moscow dé-

tente is far-fetched and obscures a number of issues.

The desire of the Soviet bureaucracy to expand trade with the West (especially the United States because of its capacity to extend credit) is well known to Washington. U.S. foreign-policy experts consider this to be the driving force in Moscow's approach to détente. Thus, Marshall D. Shulman, Director of the Russian Institute at Columbia University, writes in the October 1973 *Foreign Affairs*: "The condition of the Soviet economy is clearly the primary determinant of present Soviet foreign policy. The current Five-Year Plan, begun in 1971, projected widespread modernization of technology, improvements in productivity, and large increases in consumer goods, but the performance of the Soviet economy has fallen far short of expectations. Poor harvests have created substantial shortages of both food and feed grains, compounding the effects of low agricultural and industrial productivity and a shortage of industrial manpower. Rather than face the politically painful choice of instituting substantial economic reforms, the Soviet leadership has opted for a massive effort to overcome its shortcomings by increasing the flow of trade, advanced technology and capital from abroad."

The poor Soviet harvest in 1972 gave special impetus to Moscow's wish for increased trade. But this desire is also rooted in a long-range pattern, the declining growth rate of the Soviet economy. From a growth rate of 6 percent a year in the Khrushchev era, the rate dropped to 5.5 percent a year during the 1966-70 period, and to 3.5 percent in 1971. The wheat-crop failure drove the rate below 2 percent.

For a time the Kremlin attempted limited economic reforms to spur production. Named after the University of Kharkov professor Yevsei Liberman, who formed these ideas in the early sixties (and who has subsequently "modified" his views), the "Liberman reforms" were essentially aimed at decentralizing economic authority to the level of the enterprise. Managing their own investment funds, the local administrators would use sales profits, and "capital charge" techniques of bourgeois economics to rationalize production. These reforms have apparently been shelved in the main.

Productivity Gap

One of the arguments that has demagogically been used by congressional opponents of expanded trade with the Soviet Union is that it will tend to produce the conditions in which, as Nikita Khrushchev used to say, the Soviet Union will bury the United States econom-

ically. These are frivolous assertions.

In the February 1973 issue of *Fortune* magazine, Herbert E. Meyer described some of the differences between the economies in "Why the Russians are Shopping in the U.S.": "In general, the degree of mechanization in Soviet industry is considerably lower than in the West. Partly as a result, there is a relatively high ratio of auxiliary production workers to basic production workers. The auxiliary workers are engaged in such activities as maintenance or loading and unloading, and do not directly help produce the goods. There are about eighty-five of these auxiliary production workers for every hundred basic production workers in Soviet industry, as compared to thirty-eight per hundred in the U.S. Obviously, that high proportion of auxiliary workers holds down productivity. The productivity of basic workers in the Soviet Union runs between 60 and 70 percent of the basic-worker level in the U.S., while Soviet auxiliary workers are only 20 to 25 percent as productive as their U.S. counterparts."

Although Kremlin spokesmen often proclaim a policy of increasing consumer-goods production and of satisfying the rising consumer demand of the populace, the bulk of trade measures with the West already under way are in capital goods, and the gap in consumption remains great between the United States and the USSR. Meyer gives the following table for 1971:

Stocks of Consumer Durables (units per 100 persons)		
	U. S.	USSR
Radios	171	20
Television sets	48	16
Automobiles	45	1
Refrigerators	31	10
Vacuum cleaners	29	4
Washing machines	28	15
Sewing machines	14	16

Meyer attributes the large number of sewing machines in the USSR to the very high price of new clothes.

The most backward sector of the Soviet economy is agriculture. Since Stalin's time the bureaucracy has proved largely incapable of utilizing the advantages of nationalized and planned production to advance production on the land. It is true that the need for massive grain imports in 1972 reflected particularly bad weather conditions, but this also has a background—the widening gap between city and countryside that has developed under bureaucratic mismanagement.

"No sector of the Soviet economy," says Meyer, "is in greater need of technological help from the West than agriculture. Farm output accounts for about 25 percent of the Soviet G.N.P. [gross national product], a much larger percentage than in other advanced countries, and a bad harvest can have disastrous effects on overall economic growth. Agriculture employs about one-third of the Soviet labor force, compared to 5 percent in the U.S. But one Soviet farmer can feed only seven people, while his U.S. counterpart can feed forty-six. The Soviet Union cultivates 70 percent more land than the U.S., but has only 40 percent as many tractors and trucks, and 75 percent as many combines. Agricultural productivity in the U.S.S.R. comes to 11 percent of U.S. farm productivity."

Yet agricultural needs have occupied a relatively minor place in Soviet trade with the United States so far.

Rarely have the decisive sectors of U.S. capital displayed such unanimity as on the need for, and promise of, increased business with the Soviet



Chase Manhattan Bank's representative in Moscow, Alfred Wentworth.

Union. Despite the show of opposition in Congress, this business is rapidly increasing. "Trade between the United States and the Soviet Union has been on a sharp upward spiral," *Washington Post* staff writer Laurence Stern reported October 6, 1973. "In 1971 it was \$225 million; in 1972 nearly \$900 million. This year it is expected to go to nearly \$2 billion. The multinational corporations—GE [General Electric], Occidental Petroleum, Xerox, IBM—have been the quickest to seize upon the new religion."

U. S. Business

Stern described an October meeting in the New York Hilton Hotel. "On hand . . . were representatives of America's most powerful corporations, Russian trade representatives and U.S. government liaison men."

"For three days the assemblage of corporate vice presidents and international business-getters heard of the vast and uncharted profit prospects beyond the frontiers of what was once commonly called the Free World. There was a generous sprinkling of down-to-earth advice on how to get ahead in the Soviet Union: 'Wining and dining your Soviet business contact is a must.' . . . 'Your Moscow office is no place for boys—it takes a senior man.' . . . 'A cheerful wife is a great asset.'"

The January 12, 1974, issue of *Business Week* magazine listed the major U.S. corporations doing business with the Soviet Union and the "area of cooperation":

Bechtel—Construction methods, planning.

Continued on next page

...U.S.-Soviet detente

Continued from preceding page

Boeing—Civil aviation, air transport technology.
Brown & Root—Oil and gas development.
Control Data—Computers, peripheral equipment, systems design, software.
Dresser Industries—Oil and gas exploration.
General Dynamics—Shipbuilding, aircraft construction, telecommunications, computers.
General Electric—Power and electrical engineering, atomic power plants.
Hewlett-Packard—Medical electronics, measuring equipment, minicomputers.
ITT—Communications technology, electronic components.
Joy Mfg.—Coal mining equipment.
Litton Industries—(Not available).
Monsanto—(Not available).
Occidental Petroleum—Oil and gas drilling, refining, agricultural chemicals.

The prevailing view in U.S. ruling-class circles was expressed among other places, in the editorial column of the *Wall Street Journal*, December 10: "The question of Soviet emigration has very little to do with the U.S. national interest. . . .

"While we have our own suspicions about the Soviets, we do not think that the United States ought to take the initiative in torpedoing detente with this sort of unlimited demand. If a break must come, let it come over SALT, or the Middle East, or something that bears on the security of the United States. So long as our security is not threatened, it seems to us that Mr. Nixon and Mr. Kissinger should have a chance to exploit their strategy of weaving a web of interde-



Ad for Russian vodka on New York bus. U.S.-Soviet trade has climbed sharply.

Singer—Computers, electronic instruments, textile equipment.
Stanford Research Institute—General science and technology.
Tenneco—(Not available).
Texas Eastern Transmission—(Not available).

The second of the corporations listed above is Senator Jackson's "own" Boeing. Not only are the bureaucrats in Moscow dealing with that major "bastion of the Cold War." Five of the seventeen U.S. corporations listed are among the top U.S. military-goods industries: Boeing, General Dynamics (the largest of all U.S. bomber and missile manufacturers), General Electric (missiles), Litton Industries (bombers), and Tenneco (fighter planes). Moscow allows no notions about a "military-industrial complex" affect its positions—except where propaganda is concerned. The December 12, 1973, *Izvestia* denounced "cold-war advocates" who had "steam-rolled" the House amendment opposing Soviet-American trade.

The truth of the matter is that a "military-industrial complex" apart from and in disagreement with the major sectors of U.S. capital does not exist. The biggest U.S. corporations, like General Electric, make military equipment. The lesser bomber and missile manufacturing corporations are owned—as are virtually all major U.S. corporations—by the same financial sectors. The Rockefellers' Chase Manhattan Bank, in fact, holds 8.7 percent of the common stock of Boeing.

Senator Jackson is not standing up against his ruling-class backers. He is angling for votes in the far-off 1976 presidential campaign.

pendence to smooth Soviet-American relations. In the long run, we see no viable alternative."

This editorial also expressed an opinion on how to get around the problem that the House of Representatives did adopt troublesome amendments. "We feel strongly enough, indeed, that we would be willing to forego any trade bill at all."

In other words, they suggest that the Senate not take up the trade bill passed by the House and consequently allow it to die. That would allow congressmen to tell their electorate in the upcoming 1974 elections that they voted "for Soviet Jewish emigration" and "for the rights of Soviet dissidents" without posing the problem of their having to actually pass such a law. (And this in all likelihood was one of the niceties of U.S. parliamentary democracy that Senator Kennedy explained in Moscow last week.) As of April 14, the *New York Times* reported from Washington, "there is a distinct possibility that Congress will not enact the sweeping new trade bill this year. . . .

"Work on the bill would have to start all over again in a new Congress next year."

Unlike Moscow's, Washington's great interest in the detente is not primarily economic; it is political. Washington seeks to gain Moscow's help—as it did in the Paris settlement of the war in Indochina—to maintain the imperialist status quo against the advance of world revolution. To these ends the imperialists are willing to pay something in the way of trade and credits. If this quid pro quo is dragged out at times, it is only to put greater pressure on Moscow to come through with concessions.

World news notes

'Chronicle' defies KGB

Three new issues of the Soviet dissident publication, the *Chronicle of Current Events*, have appeared in Moscow, despite an intense campaign by Kremlin secret police to stamp out the underground journal.

The samizdat (self-produced and circulated) publication had not appeared for 18 months. A forward to the new issue, number 28, explained the lapse as due to "the repeated and unmistakable threats of the KGB organs to answer each new issue of the *Chronicle* with new arrests, with arrests of people suspected by the KGB of publishing or distributing new or previous issues."

The anonymous compilers of the journal wrote that they finally decided to resume publication because "continued silence would have indicated a support, even if indirect and passive, of 'hostage tactics,' incompatible with the right, morality, and dignity of man."

The *Chronicle* began in 1968, appearing approximately bimonthly. It served as an important central source of information and inspiration to dissidents throughout the country.

Two dissidents victimized

The Kremlin's dragnet has victimized another dissident, Gabriel Superfin, who is accused of helping to publish the *Chronicle of Current Events*. Superfin, a former researcher for exiled author Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, was sentenced last week to five years in a labor camp plus two years exile in a remote region of the Soviet Union.

Earlier this month a professor of literature, Yehim Etkind, was dismissed from his job and expelled from the Soviet Writers Union. He was reportedly accused simply of having read the manuscript of Solzhenitsyn's history of Soviet labor camps, *Gulag Archipelago*.

Ban on Mandel upheld

The ban by the West German government against Fourth International leader Ernest Mandel has been upheld against an appeal by Mandel. Mandel has been banned from entering West Germany since 1972. He was also banned by the U.S. government in 1969, and an appeal by prominent university figures on his behalf was defeated in a ruling by the Supreme Court in 1972.

The German court ruling upholding the ban accused the Trotskyist leader of attempting to "intensify dissatisfaction" on the part of German workers and students. Mandel answered that he was not being, and could not be, accused of any illegal deed or action, "only of propaganda, education, and agitation by written and spoken word."

He told the court: "When mass dissatisfaction develops, it will have its causes in the contradictions of this society. I give the representatives of the Federal Republic, and above all the bourgeois class of the Federal Republic, the good advice to try to reduce these contradictions; then they would undoubtedly so limit this dissatisfaction that agitators like me couldn't get started. But if they can't build a better economic order, then they themselves should take the blame for dissatisfaction and not try to put it on the shoulders of agitators."

Morgentaler acquittal overturned

On April 26 the Québec Appeals Court overturned the earlier acquittal of Montréal doctor Henry Morgentaler on the charge of performing an illegal abortion. Immediate demonstrations took place across Canada protesting the ruling on this case, which has been a focus of the abortion rights movement in Canada.

Morgentaler is appealing the ruling to Canada's Supreme Court. If convicted, he could face life imprisonment.

Dr. Morgentaler, an outspoken opponent of Canada's anti-abortion laws, was brought to trial last fall. He admitted performing the abortion in question, but argued in his defense that it was justified. The acquittal by the twelve-person Québec jury reflected the widespread opposition to the abortion laws in Canada.

The Toronto *Globe and Mail* condemned the recent Appeals Court ruling as "An affront to the people."



Demonstration in Toronto following Appeals Court ruling.

Colorado socialist campaigns across state

By NORA DANIELSON

DENVER—As the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Colorado, I recently made a fact-finding tour through the thinly populated southern and western parts of the state.

To the south in the San Luis Valley and on the Western Slope of the Rocky Mountains there are no large cities. The small towns are spread far apart, often separated by high mountain passes.

The plans for developing oil shale, however, will be bringing thousands of workers and their families to the Western Slope.

Our first stop was Alamosa, in the center of the San Luis Valley. Every summer hundreds of migrant farm workers come to the valley to work in the lettuce and potato fields. Last year the United Farm Workers organized a strike against one of the largest lettuce growers, but the struggle was defeated.

Leroy Maes has been active in efforts to organize the farm workers for many years. He is one of a group of people who run the *Ahora* Bookstore in Alamosa and put out the *Ahora* newspaper for farm workers in the valley.

The key problem the farm workers are confronting, Maes said, is the hated labor contractor system, which allows the growers to control hiring. They can bring in many more workers than they intend to provide jobs for, creating unemployment and forcing wages down.

Under UFW contracts, Maes pointed out, hiring would be through a union hiring hall.

Now, the workers who do get hired are forced to live under subhuman conditions in camps provided by the growers. The corrugated steel "houses" with cement floors are often used for grain storage in the winter. Some camps have only one shower for every 50 workers.

For their backbreaking stoop labor, Maes estimated that most workers' wages average \$15 a day. They are pushed to continually move faster by crew leaders, who hand out "speed" and beer to keep them going. "By the time most workers are 25, they are burned out," he said.

Maes also described the harassment faced by those who are trying to organize to fight back against the growers. Since he became known as an



Militant/Frank Lord

Nora Danielson, SWP candidate for governor of Colorado.

activist, he said, he has been forced to move nine times.

The night before, walking a picket line with UFW boycott activists from Adams State College, I got a picture of the type of harassment Leroy Maes was talking about.

After successfully forcing threeliquor stores in Alamosa to remove Gallo wines from their shelves, the students were concentrating their forces against the Brown Jug Liquor Store.

We had picketed peacefully for about two hours, when four young Anglo thugs came strutting out of the Alamosa Inn next door, which is owned by the same man who owns the liquor store.

They began shouting racist taunts at the Chicano picketers and tried to provoke a fight. When a reporter from the campus paper took a picture of the goons harassing the picketers, they grabbed his camera and ripped out the film.

The police were nowhere to be seen.

Then the thugs tried a new tactic. After disappearing for awhile, they returned in their car and careened through the picket line. A dead skunk was hurled at the picketers as the goons screamed, "Viva la raza!"

The next day we set up a socialist campaign table on campus and talked to students about the campaign.

Through an interview on the campus radio station, we urged students to come out to the picket line called for that night. This time 35 people turned

out, and the evening passed without incident.

After returning to Denver, I learned from Judy Lujan, one of the boycott organizers, that they had been victorious in forcing the Brown Jug to remove Gallo wines.

The next stop of the tour was Durango, which is just north of the Southern Ute Indian Reservation. In 1971 a struggle took place on the Fort Lewis College campus there to force the school to live up to treaty agreements to allow free tuition for Native American students. The fight was victorious, and the school now has 200 American Indian students.

In Ignacio, a small town on the Ute Reservation, we met with Hank Howell, director of the local chapter of the American Indian Movement (AIM).

Howell described the degrading conditions on the reservation: high unemployment, racism in the schools, alcoholism, and the high rate of suicide.

He said AIM was built on the reservation through local struggles against harassment, especially around a successful fight to return his younger brother, Delos "Chief" Howell, to school after Delos was suspended for refusing to cut his hair.

According to Howell, last year's struggle at Wounded Knee "brought new awareness to Indians here" and

helped build support for AIM.

We also visited the oil shale territory on the Western Slope and found out more about the destruction that development-for-private-profit will bring to this area.

One of the tracts will contain a 700-acre open pit mine a thousand feet deep. Before the mining even begins, it will be necessary to pump the underground water table dry. Since this water is highly saline, it can't be dumped into the White River, a tributary of the Colorado, which is widely used for irrigation.

The oil companies are planning to build a huge reservoir that will cover much of the valuable agricultural land in the county, and just leave the water there to evaporate.

In the course of my tour, I spoke at meetings at Fort Lewis College, Rangely College, and Mesa College, as well as having many informal discussions at literature tables and picket lines.

I found that many people far from the urban centers of Colorado are open to a socialist solution to the problems they are facing. People were more concerned with questions such as whether socialism is possible and how to achieve it, rather than disagreeing with its desirability.

Thirty people signed cards endorsing the Colorado SWP campaign as a positive alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.



Militant/Suzanne Camejo

Lettuce workers and supporters in San Luis Valley. Struggle to organize farm workers in this area has been going on for years.

Scherr denounces proposed school budget cuts

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS

PHILADELPHIA—Parents, students, and community leaders here are engaged in a struggle to stop cutbacks in the Philadelphia school district budget for 1974-1975.

The \$479-million proposed budget, prepared by Superintendent Matthew Costanzo, anticipates a \$42.5-million deficit. Democratic Mayor Frank Rizzo has been on a campaign of manipulation and threats to force the school board to eliminate the deficit and come up with a balanced budget.

The Philadelphia school district is a victim of inadequate funding from every level of government—federal, state, and local. Hardest hit are Black and Puerto Rican students, who constitute 60 percent of the students in Philadelphia public schools.

When the budget was first presented to the school board on March 28, it was twice voted down by Rizzo loyalists. After continued angry presenta-

tions and arguments by 125 parents and community leaders, the board reversed itself and adopted the budget.

Philadelphia Inquirer education writer Paul Taylor observed, "It was one of those rare meetings in which a group of citizens all but bullied a public body into adopting a course of action it had not intended to take."

Since then public hearings have been held by both the school board and the city council. One of the first speakers at the April 29 school board hearings was Roberta Scherr, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Pennsylvania.

Scherr declared her opposition to any cutbacks in the proposed budget. "Even without the cutbacks, however," she stated, "the budget will not meet the needs of the schoolchildren of Philadelphia."

"The Socialist Workers Party calls for a crash program, funded by the

government, to construct new schools, provide more educational services, reduce class sizes, and provide quality education for all young people in the public schools."

Scherr called for giving top priority to upgrading the quality of education for Black and Puerto Rican students through constructing new schools and funding bilingual and bicultural programs.

"More teachers should be hired," she said, "to make class sizes smaller. Teachers should have an escalator clause written into their contract to provide wage increases to keep up with the cost of living."

When hearings opened in the city council, Council President George Schwartz told the school board to "cut the fat" out of the budget. There is fat in the budget, but it is certainly not in the expenditures for education.

Nearly \$60-million is budgeted for

repayment and interest on school district bonds. These bonds are held by wealthy investors and banks who are reaping a hefty, tax-free profit.

Scherr counterposed a more reasonable method of funding in her April 29 statement: "Instead of allowing the wealthy to make money by purchasing bonds, I propose an end to such bond issues and a direct tax on the profits of banks and corporations."

The socialist candidate also declared her opposition to funding education through real estate taxes, which fall most heavily on individual homeowners, or through sales or wage taxes, which also tax the workers and not the rich.

Pointing out that less than \$6.9-million for the school budget is coming from the federal government, Scherr called for eliminating the \$100-billion federal war budget and using it for social services such as education.

By TONY THOMAS

Over the past decade many people in the Black liberation movement have supported the idea of building a Black political party independent of the Republican and Democratic parties.

Black leaders such as Malcolm X have pointed to the need for Blacks to break with the Republican and Democratic parties. As Malcolm X explained, "both parties are criminal. Both parties are responsible for the criminal condition that exists." He said, "We won't organize any Black man

held in Little Rock, Ark., in March. Delegates from Georgia, Wisconsin, and other states proposed that the convention go on record for an independent Black party. Convention organizers succeeded in tabling the proposal.

Ron Daniels, chairman of the Ohio delegation and a leader of the Congress of African People (CAP), took the lead in the move to table the Black party resolution. Daniels argued: "We in Ohio are willing to explore the idea of a Black political party concept. However, we feel the best way to explore it is to go home and start building a base for a Black party."

Participants in the Little Rock gathering took this to mean continuing to

in 1972, Baraka again claimed to support the idea of a Black party but put off until the indefinite future the building of such a party. He, along with other convention organizers, blocked a proposal by Louisiana delegates in support of a Black party. They claimed that the necessary base had not been assembled.

In arguing for the perspective of continuing to support Democrats, Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher went so far as to say, "We are through trusting in the two major white American political parties. Hereafter, we shall rely on the power of our own Black unity." But then he added that the Democratic Party should be given one "last

headway because their perspective was to support Democratic politicians rather than to build independent struggles of Black people. In working for the Black Democrats, the leaders of the Black Assembly had to compromise with them. They had to tone down their militancy. They had to refuse to take clear positions on controversial issues.

The strategy followed by the Black Assemblies not only weakened the ability of Black activists to explain the need for a Black party, it also cut across their ability to build the independent struggles of Black people. The logic of such a strategy is that it will *always* be "premature" to launch a Black party.

Can a Black party be built by supporting Democrats?

to be a Democrat or a Republican, because both of them have sold us out."

Organizations such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Black Panther Party, the Congress of African People, and the Youth Organization for Black Unity have at one time or another called for the building of an independent Black party. And the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance have been firm supporters and popularizers of the idea of a Black party.

The idea of a Black political party has struck the imagination of many Black people as a way of implementing in the political arena the concept of Black Power.

Rather than voting for parties controlled by the capitalist ruling class, Black people would have a party based on the struggle against the racist status quo. This party would not have to be limited to electoral actions; it could use its participation in the electoral arena to build mass struggles. Demonstrations, strikes, boycotts, educational campaigns—these and other independent efforts could be given impetus by a strong Black party.

Yet to be launched

Despite the attraction of the idea of a mass Black political party, such a party has yet to be built.

One of the obstacles to constructing such a party has been that many who claim to be supporters of a Black political party say now is not the time to launch one. They argue that Black people should remain with the framework of the Democratic Party; this will lay the basis for launching a Black party in the future.

This argument was raised at the National Black Political Convention

work for Democratic Party candidates.

Imamu Baraka, cochairman of the National Black Assembly and chairman of CAP, echoed the same sentiments. He stated after the convention that the delegates had shown "remarkable maturity in declining to launch a Black party." Baraka said, "The delegates realized that they needed organizations at the state and local level before embarking on a project of this magnitude."

Doomed to failure

At first glance this idea of working to build a base before launching a Black political party appears to have some validity. After all, an effective Black party cannot simply be proclaimed by a handful of militants isolated from the Black community. Such a momentous task will take time and preparation.

But Baraka and other leaders of CAP are dead wrong when they advocate *working through* the Democratic Party to lay the basis for building a Black party. Baraka tells us we should support Democratic candidates today and sometime in the future this will lead people to reject the Democratic Party.

The opposite is the case. By supporting Democratic politicians, you help build the Democratic Party—the party that, along with the Republicans, is responsible for the oppression of Black people. The only way to lay the basis for building a Black party is by exposing these Democratic Party politicians and the Democratic Party itself and educating people about the need for an alternative.

Not a new idea

Baraka's concept of "waiting" to build a Black party and supporting Democrats in the meantime is not a new one. He has carried out this strategy for some time, and the results clearly show that instead of laying the basis for a Black party, such a strategy stands in the way of building one.

In 1970 and 1971 Baraka—speaking as a Black nationalist—came out for organizing "African Nationalist" caucuses within the Democratic Party. Such caucuses, he said, would cement links with Black Democratic politicians. This would provide a base for nationalists within the Black community. Ultimately this base would be utilized to launch a Black party. Such a party, according to a position paper distributed by Baraka in 1971, would be launched at a national conference to be held in 1972.

But at the first National Black Political Convention held in Gary, Ind.,



MALCOLM X: 'Both Democratic and Republican parties are responsible for criminal condition that exists.'

clear chance" in the 1972 elections.

Hatcher remains a Democratic politician, even though he has acknowledged that the Democrats betrayed the interests of Black people in the 1972 campaign. He also remains cochairman of the National Black Assembly, along with Imamu Baraka.

At the Gary convention Baraka raised the idea of building a National Black Assembly as an alternative to building a Black party. The National Black Assembly was to be composed of one-tenth of the total number of delegates at the Gary convention. It was to be composed of 50 percent Black elected officials, all of whom are Democrats or Republicans. Local and state delegations were to organize local and state Black Assemblies as units of the national organization.

Baraka predicted that these assemblies would unite Black politicians and political activists and would be a chief focal point of Black politics.

As could be expected, Baraka's prediction did not come true. The Black Assemblies still exist in some areas, but they are very narrowly based and are not effective organizations, let alone the chief focal point of Black politics.

The Little Rock convention reflected the narrowing of the Black Assemblies between the first and second Black political conventions. Little Rock attracted far fewer people than did the Gary gathering two years earlier, and there was less discussion of how to build a powerful independent Black movement. Instead, much of the discussion and most workshop sessions were directed toward electing more Black officials in the two capitalist parties.

The Black Assemblies failed to make

Role of Black Democrats

Very few Black elected officials bothered to show up at Little Rock. Some thought the Gary convention with its nationalist tone and thrust was too militant. Others didn't see much point in a national gathering in a nonpresidential-election year.

There was much criticism at Little Rock of the Black Democratic politicians who didn't attend. But there was no discussion of why they had declined to come, nor was there any discussion of the negative role they played in the Black Assemblies and the Black struggle in general.

The record of these officials since Gary has provided further proof of the impossibility of bringing about fundamental change through supporting Republicans and Democrats.

The Watergate revelations have shown some of the ways big business manipulates and dominates the capitalist parties, using them to safeguard its interests in the U.S. and elsewhere.

Any official elected as a Democrat or Republican will be unable to give effective leadership in the struggle to end racism, because these parties are controlled by the very people who profit from racist oppression.

Even the most radical-sounding of the Democratic elected officials have a negative effect on the struggle. They cover up for the Democratic Party, helping to give it the appearance of being "responsive" to Black people. And they undercut, whenever they have the chance, the independent struggles of Black people.

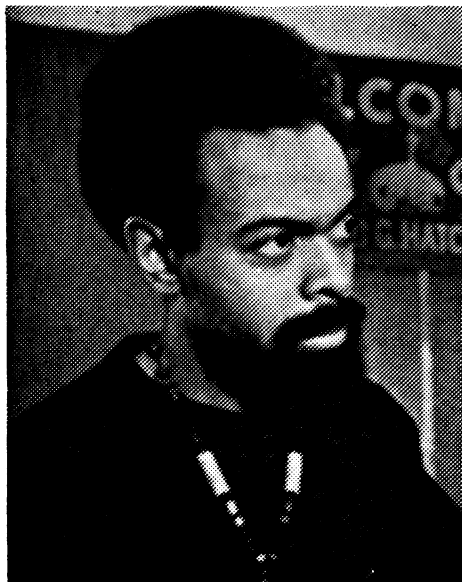
The dampening effect of the Black Democratic politicians on the struggle was evident at Little Rock, where the idea was put forward that the Black struggle has gone "beyond" actions in the streets to a "higher" level of politics. What was meant by this was that Black people should give up independent struggles and put their faith in the Democrats.

'Makers of history'

At Little Rock, Owusu Sadaukai, one of the leaders of the National Black Assembly and a leader of the African Liberation Support Committee, correctly pointed out that the real "makers of history" in the Afro-American community are those involved in struggle. They are the workers struggling in the plants and fields, Black students struggling in the high schools and campuses, rent strikers, welfare rights protesters, and all those Black people struggling against the racist oppression meted out by capitalism. It is such struggles as these that have brought about whatever gains Black people have won.

Yet—despite the fact that much of the Little Rock conference was devoted to electing more Black Democrats—none of the conference organizers, including Sadaukai, acknowledged the fact that the Democratic Party was a force in opposition to the very struggles he was referring to. The only people who explained this were the supporters of the Black party proposal.

If the strategy of working in the



BARAKA: Claims Black political power can be built through Democratic Party.



Militant/Norman Oliver

Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson (speaking) and other Black Democratic politicians at Little Rock convention. Many others were criticized for not attending.

Democratic Party is an obstacle to building a Black party, what then is the correct way to go about bringing such a party into being?

There are many things that can be done now to help lay the basis for a Black party. The most obvious of these is to simply begin to educate people on the need for such a party. The climate produced by Watergate offers new opportunities to do this. Recent Watergate revelations, including the release of previously secret FBI documents, have provided proof that the Black movement has been "Watergated" by both the Republicans and the Democrats. Liberal Democrats such as John and Robert Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson as well as Republicans such as Richard Nixon have used illegal means to sabotage the Black liberation movement.

One way to expose and fight against what these parties are doing is to call for an independent investigation into the activities of government agencies in regard to the Black movement. Investigations should be launched into the killings of Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, and the Black Panthers.

Building the independent struggles of Black people will help lay the basis for a Black party. Actions like the demonstrations in defense of the African liberation movements, strikes and other struggles by Black workers, struggles for the right of the Black community to control its schools, and defense of Black political prisoners such as the Attica Brothers, should be actively supported by Black party advocates.

It is these types of struggles that can politicize and involve broader layers of the Black community and give Black people the confidence that it is their own power, not that of Democratic politicians, that is needed to advance Black liberation.

The united front

In carrying out struggles for demands of the Black community, united fronts of all those who can support a particular struggle can and should

be formed. In doing this, the support of Democratic and Republican politicians should be solicited.

Such a united front is totally different from the strategy advocated by Baraka of hustling votes and support for Democratic politicians. Involving such politicians in united action independent of the capitalist parties means that instead of asking the Black community to vote for them, you are forcing them to support actions that benefit the Black community.

Another step that can be taken by groups who support the idea of a Black party is to run election campaigns against candidates of the capitalist parties. Such campaigns can be used to educate on the need for building a Black party and to explain the bankruptcy of supporting the Republicans and Democrats.

In a few states, an independent Chicano party, La Raza Unida Party, has shown that a political impact can be made even with limited forces when campaigns are mounted. Supporters of independent Black political action can take heart from this example and should support Raza Unida's efforts.

The election campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party provide another example of independent political action. Socialist candidates in 15 states and the District of Columbia are speaking out with a program to fight inflation, unemployment, economic exploitation, and racial oppression. The SWP candidates use their campaigns to publicize and support struggles such as the District 1 school fight in New York.

And they explain how the problems of the people cannot be solved by the political parties of the rulers. They explain the need for the labor movement and the Black community to take the road of independent political action.

Unlike Baraka and his Democratic colleagues, the Socialist Workers Party campaigns are fighting against the Democratic Party *now*. And for a Black party *now*, not in some indefinite future. These campaigns deserve the support of all Black party advocates.

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District 1 elections

New York parent slate wins four of nine seats

By ETHEL LOBMAN

NEW YORK—Although the Por Los Niños slate in the District 1 school board election did not win a majority of seats, the coalition of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents turned out an unprecedented number of parent voters and won four seats on the nine-person school board.

The Por Los Niños (For the Children) slate was committed to the needs of the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese children, who make up most of the students in District 1 schools, and to the right of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents to gain more control over the education of their children.

Running against the Por Los Niños slate was the so-called Brotherhood slate, backed by the racist leadership of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) headed by Albert Shanker.

The number of voters in this election was 14,783 as compared with 12,596 in 1973. And, more significant, the vote for the parents' slate jumped from 4,500 in 1973 to 6,200. The "Brotherhood" slate gained about 500 votes, going from 7,100 to 7,600.



Janice Wong, Henry Ramos, Georgina Hoggard, Elroy Jones, and Edwina McLaughlin of the Por Los Niños slate.

Henry Ramos, reelected on the Por Los Niños slate, told reporters, "It's a tremendous victory for us. This vote is a clear mandate from the district parents to continue the policies begun under Mr. Fuentes's administration." Fuentes is the school superintendent in District 1 and a supporter of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese community control of the schools.

Ramos pointed out that about 80 percent of the "Brotherhood" slate's votes came from the middle-income co-ops. Only about 100 children from these predominantly white co-ops attend District 1 schools. The more than 6,000 votes for the Por Los Niños candidates, on the other hand, came largely from Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents in the low-income projects and tenements whose children make up 93 percent of the school population.

The other candidates elected from the Por Los Niños slate, in addition to Henry Ramos, are Georgina Hoggard, Carmen Barreto, and Janice Wong.

The Shankerites offered free taxi service, wheelchairs, and walkers to get their elderly white supporters to the polls set up in the schools. (A federal court ruling held that for this special election no polling places could be set up inside the middle-income co-ops, as was the case last year. This

practice was ruled discriminatory, since polling places were never set up in the low-income housing projects.)

The UFT leadership outdid its past years' performances in putting out racist literature attacking Puerto Rican Superintendent Luis Fuentes and the children and parents of District 1.

One scandalous "Brotherhood" leaflet, for example, read, "Every meeting of our community school board erupts into violence . . . racists scream and shouts, fists, knives and guns . . . with ambulances hauling off victims after each meeting."

"Gangs of young toughs invade our schools. . . ."

"Narcotics peddlers, finding a welcome from the Fuentes Band, make the entire Lower East Side their haven."

In an election-eve move to intimidate the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents, Albert Shanker threatened that if the Por Los Niños slate won a majority, this could lead to "a city-wide confrontation with the board of education and the union," including a strike by the UFT.

As in last year's election, there were many irregularities in voting procedures and discriminatory treatment of parents. Many polling places did not have the required interpreters for Spanish-speaking parents. But supporters of the Por Los Niños slate, despite limited resources, aided many Puerto Rican and Chinese voters.

District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, whose members include lunchroom workers and other school workers, mobilized more than 200 union members to help in poll-watching and getting out the vote for the Por Los Niños slate on voting day.

Last May a community slate won three seats to the Shankerites' six in an election that was subsequently ruled illegal because of discrimination against Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parent voters. The *New York Times* characterized the 5-to-4 outcome of this election as "a tactical victory for the Por Los Niños" slate.

At the end of the voting day, as some 300 people gathered at the Por Los Niños headquarters, spilling out into the street, the mood was one of high enthusiasm at the success of the campaign and the unity achieved among community activists. The biggest applause greeted Georgina Hoggard when she vowed, "We will continue the struggle!"

Calendar

ATLANTA

WATERGATING THE BLACK MOVEMENT—A GOVERNMENT CONSPIRACY. Speakers from Atlanta Voice, Socialist Workers Party, others. Fri., May 31, 8:30 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum Series. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

BOSTON

SOCIALIST BALLOT STATUS VICTORY CELEBRATION. Speakers: Peter Camejo, former Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Mass.; Jeannette Tracy Bliss, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 9th C.D.; Kelly Erwin, Young Socialists for Gurewitz candidate for SGA president at U. Mass Amherst; others. Sat., June 1, 7:30 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.), Third Floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialists for Gurewitz, Socialist Workers Campaign '74. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

BROOKLYN

LESSONS OF THE PRINTERS' STRIKE. Speaker: Frank Lovell, labor editor, The Militant. Fri., May 31, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

CHICAGO

RALLY TO SUPPORT SOCIALIST WORKERS FIGHT FOR BALLOT STATUS. Speakers: Peter Camejo; Ed Heisler, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois; Willie Reid; Marcos Munoz, state director, United Farm Workers; Walter Chesser, chairman, Milwaukee Black Masses Party; Jack Walker, vice-president, American Federation of Government Employees Local 1395. Sat., June 8, 8 p.m. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Illinois Socialist Workers Party Campaign. For more information call (312) 939-0756.

CLEVELAND

WOMEN IN CHINA. Speakers: Carol Knoll, Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general of Ohio; Mary Waxman, editor, What She Wants. Fri., May 31, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

DETROIT

THE FLIGHT OF VETERANS. Speakers: Tony Caruthers, director, Veterans Interested in Sociological and Economic Progress; Jack Beach, Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Fri., May 31, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

HOUSTON

IMPERIALISM AND BLACK PEOPLE. Speaker: Gene Locke, African Liberation Support Committee; Film: 'A Luta Continua.' Fri., May 31, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose, Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

STOP THE FRAME-UP OF GARY LAWTON. Speaker: Gary Lawton. Fri., May 31, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

AFRICA: NEOCOLONIALISM OR NATIONAL LIBERATION? Speakers: Pete Mhurzi, editor of Osagyefo,

Black student newspaper at Cal. State L.A.; Omari Musa, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 28th C.D.; Michael Lofchie, UCLA political science prof. and assistant director, African Studies Center. Fri., May 31, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

NASHVILLE

SUMMER CLASSES ON THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM. First class: Foundations of the transitional program. Thurs., May 30, 7:30 p.m. 1907 Beechwood Ave. Ausp: Nashville Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (615) 383-2583 or 383-1337.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

'KENT STATE: MAY '70, GETTING AT THE TRUTH.' Film and speaker: Peter Davies, author, The Truth About Kent State. Fri., May 31, 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

NIXON AND IMPEACHMENT: A MARXIST VIEW. Speaker: Larry Seigle, editorial staff, The Militant. Fri., May 31, 8 p.m. 2726 Broadway (near 104th St.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

SAN DIEGO

SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY, ZIONISM, AND THE PALESTINIAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE: LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Speakers: Mohammed El Assal, Arab Student Assoc.; Dennis Scarla, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 31, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd., Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

SEATTLE

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE: AMERICAN POLITICS 1974, MAY 31-JUNE 1. Fri., May 31, 8 p.m.: Will America go socialist? Speaker: Dan Styrone. Sat., June 1, 11 a.m.: The labor movement in 1974. Speakers: Members of Business Service Employees Local 6; Coalition of Labor Union Women; Seattle City Light; United Farm Workers of America; 2 p.m.: Watergate and Black America. Speaker: Laura Moorhead. All sessions at Univ. of Washington, HUB 309A. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

...Portugal

Continued from page 7

clear on our *unconditional support* of the full self-determination of the colonies. We say the Portuguese have no right to negotiate anything about the fate of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau.

We must also demand that Washington cease aiding Portugal's war machine, because without this continual aid flowing into their coffers from Washington and NATO, Portugal could not continue its wars.

But should we fight to win these demands? At the present time there are many different views on how best to advance the struggle for Black lib-

eration in America and the African revolution internationally. But we can all join together, despite our differences, in actions to support our brothers and sisters in the Portuguese colonies. Actions demanding "U.S. out of Africa NOW!" "Portugal out of Africa NOW!" and "Independence for the Portuguese colonies!"

All who agree with these demands should be encouraged to march and demonstrate in actions such as the May 25 African Liberation Day action in Washington, D.C., against U.S. complicity in carrying out the colonial wars. Such united actions can have an effect, as was shown by the impact of the movement against the Vietnam war.

...LA cops

Continued from page 24

ished the show of force they were staging in a Black neighborhood. Prior to the beginning of the shoot-out, they said, as cops arrived some of them "playfully" pointed their weapons at youngsters in a nearby playground to scare them.

A number of people said that 24 hours later their eyes were still irritated from the tear gas that drenched the area.

To them, police indifference to the safety of their community was underlined by the failure even to evacuate children from the nearby playground.

Several people contrasted the way the SLA members were handled with the kid-glove treatment of the Watergate gang.

Just about everyone agreed with the statement of one resident who bitterly said, "If this had been Beverly Hills or North Hollywood, the police never would have done what they did here!"

City officials said they have not decided on their liability to those whose homes and cars were damaged in the fire and the hail of bullets.

Mayor Thomas Bradley ordered city departments to file reports with him on this matter. But his spokesman emphasized that this was merely "routine" and there was "no urgency aspect to this request."

After the first wave of sensational coverage, even the commercial media are now beginning to question if such

an incredible police army had no lesser means of flushing six people out of a house with no escape route.

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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.

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Protests hit L.A. police rampage

By OMARI MUSA and STU SINGER

LOS ANGELES—Representatives of Black church and community groups joined with the American Civil Liberties Union in assailing actions of the Los Angeles police in the assault on the entrapped Symbionese Liberation Army group here May 17.

Their stand echoed the general sentiment we found in the South-central Los Angeles Black community in interviews the day after the police attack.

Branding the police action an "immoral holocaust," the Reverend Edgar Edwards declared, "The police must not be allowed to act as prosecuting attorney, jury of peers, sentencing judge, and executioner all in one."

Reverend Edwards is pastor of the Emmanuel Church of Christ, which is near the locale of the shoot-out. A press conference was held at the church May 21 by the ACLU along with representatives of the AME ministers conference, a Baptist ministers conference, and several local community groups.

Noting press reports that the various police agencies had a force of as many as 500 in the area, Edwards attacked their failure to evacuate people from the danger zone.

He added that with a ratio of about 100 police to 1 suspect, "We believe a more humane solution could have been found than burning people to death."

The bodies of six alleged members of the SLA were found in the burned-down house after the shoot-out. The SLA suspects were sought in connection with the Patricia Hearst kidnapping. According to the coroner's report, the six dead are Donald DeFreeze, Patricia Soltysik, Nancy Ling Perry, William Wolfe, Angela Atwood, and Camilla Hall.

Compounding the cold-blooded killing of the entrapped suspects, Edwards said, was "the vast destruction of property. As you travel through that block you see many, many houses showing the marks of fire and violence. One reporter on the scene said that to him the thing that stood out was the stark terror in the eyes of children during that holocaust and the fear in the face of the adults in that community.

"As we looked at the live television coverage on the screen," Reverend Edwards continued, "we felt shock and moral outrage as we saw men, women, and babies caught in the cross fire of this unbelievable assault."

He added, "We had reports of children of working mothers being at home alone and the police failing to remove them to positions of safety."

Commenting on reports that this was said to be the biggest police mobilization of its kind in the country's history, Reverend Edwards branded it an "immoral overreaction." He said, "We intend to be assured that it will not happen again in Los Angeles."



Residents of South-central L.A. neighborhood caught in cross fire during cop slaughter of SLA suspects.

Southern California ACLU director Ramona Ripston said, "When the risk to human life is so grave, when potential damage to homes and neighborhood is so severe, it is difficult to understand why other law enforcement procedures should not have been attempted.

"One wonders," she continued, "if the behavior of the law enforcement officers would have been the same had the home been located in a white suburb and if the innocent hostage held captive had been white instead of Black."

Stating that the ACLU had no desire to hamper what it sees as legitimate law enforcement efforts, she added, "We are morally outraged at the burning to death of six people and the real danger to the Black community."

People in the area who we talked to

were angered that the police held back the fire engines and allowed the target house and those on either side of it to burn down.

They also saw it as plain luck that

none of the residents were hit during the massive and incredibly reckless police attack. People were also angered by the way the police obviously rel-

Continued on page 22

Black reporters demand probe

LOS ANGELES—Members of the Black media have announced they will challenge the official version of the recent police assault here.

Three Black journalists say they have already drawn up an extensive list of contradictions in the police version of events based on eyewitness accounts and other material. The three are Jahid Ashley of National Black Network News; Earl Ofari, radio commentator and contributor to the *Black Scholar*; and Emily Gibson of the Los An-

geles *Sentinel*.

Ofari told *The Militant* that while the police had sufficient time to give advance notice of the attack to the media, they apparently lacked the time to evacuate people of the area. A compilation of the facts gathered by the Black reporters was slated to be presented over station KPFK May 23.

Ofari said they will demand a full coroner's inquest into how the victims of the police attack died and a congressional probe.