

# THE MILITANT

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

## Protest police riot

# Atlanta Blacks: 'End cop terror!'



Militant/George Basley

Atlanta cops attack demonstration protesting police terror in Black community. See page 7.

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**Talks fail to end Portuguese colonial rule/4**  
**Black leaders see plot in new King killing/6**  
**East L.A.: The fight for Chicano control/17**

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## THE MILITANT

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**BLACK WOMEN'S CONFERENCE:** A news conference announcing an African Women's Conference was held June 28 at the headquarters of the Newark Congress of African People (CAP). The conference will take place in Newark over the July 4 weekend.

Brief statements were read at the news conference by some of the slated workshop participants. They included Tsehai Yeshi of the Ethiopian Students Union; Maxine Williams of the Socialist Workers Party; Bibi Amina Baraka of the Congress of African People; Dorris Innes of the Congress of Racial Equality; and Muminina Jaribu of CAP.

According to Bibi Amina Baraka, a national organization of Black women is to be formed out of the parley.

**ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY ENDS DRIVE TO BAN TOXIN:** For the last few years, the Environmental Protection Agency has been carrying out research on a highly toxic defoliant used in Vietnam and now being used here. Pointing to a lack of sufficient evidence to prove the harmfulness of the herbicide to humans, the agency has withdrawn legal motions to ban its domestic use.

Dow Chemical Company originally produced 2, 4, 5-T, containing the highly toxic dioxin, for use by the U.S. war machine in Southeast Asia. The infant mortality rate in areas where this defoliant was used was extremely high, and many of those infants who did survive were deformed.

Dow, the sole producer of the herbicide, claims it presents no danger in domestic use. The company makes this statement despite the fact that dioxin has been found to kill laboratory animals in concentrations of less than one part per billion.

**CHAVEZ IN BROOKLYN:** A spirited picket line of 250 greeted Cesar Chavez, president of the United Farm Workers, in front of a Brooklyn, N.Y., supermarket still carrying scab lettuce and grapes. Chavez, in New York on a national tour to build the boycott of scab produce, addressed the June 29 picket line and answered questions of UFW supporters.

Other speakers included Dolores Huerta, vice-president of the UFW, and George McCartney, a vice-president of the Seafarers' union.

**PRISONER RIGHTS:** The Supreme Court has ruled that prison inmates who face disciplinary action from prison authorities are entitled to "some, but not all" constitutional rights. The constitutional rights "guaranteed" by the court were the right for the prisoner to be informed in writing of charges and to have an explanation of the action. Other rights were termed by the court as "useful" but not mandatory.

Justice Byron White, writing for the court, said, "At least the Constitution, as we interpret it today," does not require that inmates received "the full panoply of rights."

Prison authorities themselves, according to the Supreme Court, are to determine whether a prisoner has the right to call witnesses on his or her own behalf, the right to know the identity of his or her accuser and to confront and cross-examine them, and the right to counsel.

In another decision, the court ruled that ex-felons who have served their prison sentences can still be barred from voting in state and local elections.

And to make sure that prisoners have as little opportunity as possible to inform the rest of the population about their plight, the court also ruled that prison inmates don't have any right to demand interviews with reporters.

**PUERTO RICAN WOMEN MEET:** The second annual National Conference of Puerto Rican Women was held in New York City for three days beginning June 27. The conference was attended by 70 Puerto Rican women who belong to chapters of the National Organization of Puerto Rican Women in New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Illinois, and Washington. The membership is mainly composed of "first-generation professionals."

Workshops and discussions centered around the role of Puerto Rican women in community and political life throughout the United States. The keynote speakers were Dr. Hilda Hidalgo, who expressed the need to fight for the liberation of all Puerto Rican women, and Dr. Isabelita Pico de Hernandez, who gave a history of the struggle of women in Puerto Rico.

**COURTS ATTEMPT TO BLOCK KOLIS APPEAL:** The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in California is continuing the effort begun by San Diego County authorities to railroad Salm Kolis to jail on trumped-up perjury charges.

Kolis was a Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council in San Diego in the 1973 municipal election. She

was convicted last December on a frame-up charge of falsifying her residence on filing papers.

During her trial the judge denied defense motions to force the prosecution to reveal the illegal surveillance used against Kolis. Between the time of Kolis's arrest and the trial, an FBI informer who had been privy to defense discussions was discovered in the San Diego branch of the Socialist Workers Party.

Now, the courts are trying to prevent Kolis's lawyer, Peter Young, from raising the issues of illegal surveillance in the appeal. In a highly unusual move, the appeals court upheld the action of the Superior Court in deleting from the official record all defense motions, arguments, and court decisions pertaining to surveillance. The effect of this action is to deny Kolis the right to appeal her conviction on the grounds that it was based on illegally obtained evidence.

Attorney Young is preparing an appeal to the California Supreme Court.

**WOMAN SYMPATHETIC TO AMNESTY DENIED VFW AUXILIARY POST:** Betty Grecco, of Johnstown, N.Y., has been barred from taking the office of president of the Ladies Auxiliary of the New York State Veterans of Foreign Wars. State VFW President Wolfgang Nauke gave the order after Grecco was quoted in a Binghamton, N.Y., newspaper as saying, "The world will not come to an end" if amnesty is granted to those who refused to serve in the U.S. armed forces during the Vietnam war.

Nationally, the VFW has taken a reactionary stand against amnesty.

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**SAN QUENTIN SIX SUE PRISON OFFICIALS:** Last January a California state judge dismissed the case against the San Quentin Six because the grand jury that indicted them was racially imbalanced. The six—Johnny Spain, Fleeta Drumgo, Hugo Pinell, Willie Tate, David Johnson, and Luis Talamantez—petitioned to be moved out of solitary confinement. They remain there today. All six are Black except Talamantez, who is a Chicano.

The six inmates have filed suit against the San Quentin prison officials challenging their right to keep them in solitary. The inmates point out that solitary confinement is unconstitutional as it violates the Eighth Amendment's prohibition of cruel and unusual punishment.

The case is now before District Court Judge Alfonso Zirpoli.

Meanwhile, the state has appealed to have the indictments reinstated against the six. They had been charged with conspiracy, murder, and assault after an alleged escape attempt in which "Soledad Brother" George Jackson was murdered.

—NORMAN OLIVER

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# Food prices soar, people eat dog food --and capitalists announce 'beef glut'

By DAVE FRANKEL

When people are hungry enough they can be made to eat just about anything. The result of this fact has been the opening of a new market for manufacturers of pet food. It seems that in the richest country in the world, one-third of the dog and cat food being sold in the ghettos and barrios is being eaten by people too poor to afford decent meals.

The capitalists cashing in on these sales don't have to eat their own dog and cat food, but their hunger for profits enables them to swallow things that would make starving people choke. In a report made public recently by the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, it was noted that advertisements for pet food appear to be "more and more directed at possible human consumers."

Moreover, the opportunities are increasing for entrepreneurs in this field. In the last six months more than seven million Americans have been added to the poverty lists, primarily because of soaring food prices. The total of those living below the government's poverty line is about one-fifth to one-quarter of the American people—between 37 and 50 million people.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) suggests that the poor live on what it calls its "economy food plan." This plan, explains the USDA, does not provide adequate nutrition over an extended period of time.

The Senate report revealed that the cost of food in the "economy food plan" jumped 41.7 percent between December 1970 and March 1974. Average welfare allotments over the same period rose less than 15 percent.

During the last year alone food prices have climbed almost 20 percent overall. But for those who have to rely on cheaper staples, the inflation has been much worse. Prices for flour and potatoes rose 60 percent; bread prices went up 34 percent; rice, 103 percent; milk, 27 percent; and dried beans, 182 percent.

## The 'beef glut'

People in the U.S. may be eating dog food, and millions in Africa and Asia may be threatened with outright starvation, but as far as the capitalists are concerned the real problem is different. As *Newsweek* explained in its

July 1 issue, "there's a crisis because there's too much beef."

Senator Roman Hruska (R-Nebr.) complained in a recent speech that "market prices for cattle have reached almost intolerable levels. The price of cattle on the hoof in my home city of Omaha has dropped more than 25 percent since January."

Of course, consumers have yet to witness the miraculous beef glut or the intolerably low prices that are being decried by capitalist politicians and economists. What is happening is that the food monopolies are working a double squeeze against farmers and consumers.

Meat prices at the supermarket today are about where they were right before they sparked the angry consumer boycott movement in the spring of 1973. But the price farmers have been getting for food has been falling each month since September 1973. The cost of beef and pork at the wholesale level has fallen 30 to 50 percent since early 1974.

In 1973 nearly three-fifths of the money spent by consumers on food went to processors and distributors standing between the farmer and the consumer. According to USDA statistics, a farmer in 1973 got six cents for a chicken that sold for \$1.50 retail!

Jim Hightower wrote in the June 16 *Washington Post*, "The Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago reported on March 8 that food middlemen increased their take from consumers by 6.5 per cent in 1973. That is an increase exceeded only once (in 1970) in the last 20 years. And the Department of Agriculture reports that these firms will increase their share in 1974 at a rate that 'may be more than double the 1973 increase.'"

A recent USDA study revealed that the spread between farm and retail prices had widened 16 percent between April 1973 and April 1974.

In the first three months of 1974, the largest food retailers raked in profits that were 59 percent higher than the year before, although their sales were up only 14 percent.

## The gov't steps in

Cattle ranchers claim they are now losing as much as \$150 or \$200 on each steer sold for slaughter. Many smaller concerns and family farms



"First The Good News —"

are being driven to bankruptcy by rising costs and declining wholesale beef prices.

The government has now stepped in and announced a series of measures to force up meat prices. Import restrictions on meat were lifted last year as a result of consumer protest against soaring beef prices. But on June 20, Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz demanded that exporting nations impose "voluntary" restrictions on shipments to the United States. Otherwise, he said, "we may be forced into a retaliatory posture."

Butz insisted, "We are not going to stand by alone and be the dumping ground for excessive supplies of world meat imports."

At the same time, he also demanded that Canada reopen its borders to U.S. meat exports. These had been stopped after cattle-feeders in the U.S. won a court order allowing them to continue using diethylstilbestrol (DES), a chemical that makes cattle gain weight faster and that also happens to cause cancer in laboratory animals.

Also, the government has announced it will buy an additional \$100-million worth of beef for school lunch programs.

These steps to drive up meat prices will surely be welcomed by dog food manufacturers as well as by the food monopolies. Although supposedly designed to benefit ranchers, the lion's share of the increase will go to the same capitalist giants that reaped superprofits out of last year's inflated food prices. This is especially true since many food distribution chains

are owned by conglomerates that also own their own farming operations, slaughterhouses, and food-processing factories.

## An irrational system

The Alice-in-Wonderland logic of capitalism was exemplified by Butz's speech about how the U.S. couldn't become a "dumping ground" for meat. The result of the profit system is famine amidst plenty. People all over the world don't have enough to eat, but as far as the capitalists are concerned, there is too much meat because those who need it can't pay for it.

Rather than produce needed food, the capitalists are cutting back on production to drive prices up. *Newsweek* reports, "The industry's current woes are cutting down the number of new cattle being raised, and this could lead to another shortage in a few months."

George Watts, president of the National Broiler Council, told the House Agriculture Committee that millions of chickens have been destroyed by poultry producers in recent weeks because of low wholesale chicken prices.

Industries that hundreds of millions of people depend upon for their very existence should not be run on the basis of what will produce the greatest profit for a handful of giant corporations. If these industries were run according to a rational plan designed to increase production while taking into account ecological needs, they could feed the entire world. The only thing standing in the way of this is the ugly system of private profit and public misery.



Looking for food in Manhattan



## Church and landowners challenged

# Portugal: radicalization seen in new areas

By DAVID RUSSELL

General António Spínola—with the help of his governmental partners in the Portuguese Communist and Socialist parties—appears to have succeeded in reimposing censorship over the communications media and in stemming the massive strike wave that threatened to go beyond the bounds of capitalist property relations.

But the revolutionary process unleashed by the overthrow of the old dictatorship has broken into new areas, taking new forms and drawing new layers of the population into struggle.

One example is the growing challenge to the role of the Catholic church. In May, a meeting of 500 Roman Catholics in Oporto, for example, urged all bishops to resign.

They charged that "with rare exceptions, the present Portuguese bishops have collaborated with the former regime, both by carrying out its orders or defending its ideology, and by deciding not to denounce its many insults to human dignity. . . ."

The Vatican itself had negotiated a concordat with the Salazar regime in 1940, similar to the ones it signed earlier with Hitler and Franco. But when a nationwide television program satirized the role of the Catholic hierarchy June 10, Spínola ordered the show off the air. Four days later he announced that the government was taking control of television broadcasts.

However, Spínola's displeasure with the protests against the church hierarchy has not prevented the establishment of a group known as the National Pro-Divorce Movement. Henry Giniger reports in the June 27 *New York Times* that a rally called by this group in Lisbon drew 8,000 people.

Francisco Salgado Zenha, the So-

cialist Party minister of justice, reacted to the divorce movement, according to Giniger, by saying that "the matter was being studied and that if it were up to him he would modify the law. He indicated, however, that other members of the new Government did not agree and that to preserve unity during this transition period a solution would have to be delayed."

This is the same argument the Stal-



Portuguese workers in France. Conditions that force them to leave Portugal in search of work put continuing pressure on Spínola regime.

inists and Social Democrats give to justify all the reactionary policies of the Spínola regime. The African colonies cannot be given immediate independence, the workers cannot be given adequate wage increases, elections cannot be held until Spínola says so, divorce cannot be allowed—all in the interests of preserving "unity." What they mean by "unity" is the subordination of the working class to the capitalist class; it is the workers who make all the concessions in the interests of this "unity."

While the generals refuse to countenance the right to divorce, 13 years of colonial war and emigration to other European countries by hundreds of thousands of men in search of jobs have broken up thousands of marriages.

Another explosive aspect of the continuing radicalization in Portugal is the awakening of the rural population. One-third of Portugal's population of nine million still lives on the land, but 50 percent of the arable land is concentrated in 1 percent of the agricultural holdings.

A United Press International dispatch in the June 24 *Washington Post* described how Aguas de Moura, a village of 1,200, "has just had its first strike and its first political arrest. It also has heard the first demands that the land be distributed to the laborers who work it."

"I used to be a person of great authority," the village school teacher said. "My job was to teach and order the children what to do. Now the classes often resemble a discussion. The children tell jokes. They ask me lots of questions. It's all so different."

The UPI correspondent also talked to Emanuel Gomes Nunes, an agricultural laborer. "My problem is to

find work," Nunes told him. "See that land all the way to the horizon? It belongs to three or four senhores. . . ."

"My problem is land. If the revolution is to be any good, they got to give us land. They got to split up the big estates and give them to the people who work them. Until this happens, I'm nothing but a slave."

The mayor of Aguas de Moura also stressed the economic demands of the population. "To many people the revolution means that they will be paid better wages and that prices will stop climbing. We've had a shocking amount of inflation in the past months."

The expectations of the Portuguese workers for decent wages and an end to the inflation that has been eating into their standard of living was obviously on Spínola's mind when he met with President Nixon at the Azores June 19. Spínola said that he and Nixon had discussed "the technical, economic, financial support which would enable Portugal to be economically on a par with other countries in Europe."

Nixon said that he had assured Spínola that "he will have not only the understanding of the government of the United States but, to the extent we are able, our support in meeting the challenge."

The topic of economic aid to stabilize Spínola's government and take some of the edge off the working-class unrest was raised again by Portuguese officials June 27 at a meeting with representatives of the European Common Market. The *New York Times* reported, "The Portuguese stressed that immediate aid and cooperative accords were needed to stabilize the country's economy and reinforce efforts to establish a democratic system."

## 'New Portuguese Letters' and the three Marias

From Intercontinental Press

By CANDIDA BARBERENA

Among the hundreds of books banned by the old Portuguese dictatorship was *Novas Cartas Portuguesas* (*New Portuguese Letters*). It had been classified as "pornography," a charge that led to confiscation of the book and a long trial for its authors, the "Three Marias"—Maria Isabel Barreno, Maria Teresa Horta, and Maria Velho da Costa.

In an interview with the Spanish weekly *Triunfo*, Maria Teresa Horta spoke about the origins of the controversial work and its significance for a growing feminist consciousness in Portugal.

"In 1971 I was editing the literary supplement of the newspaper *A Capital*, and when Maria Velho da Costa published *Maria Mendes*, I interviewed her. I also interviewed Maria Isabel Barreno on her work *De noite as arvores são negras* [*Dark Trees at Night*]. Our conversations revealed that we shared many of the same problems. I had already published *Minha senhora de mim* [*Mistress of Myself*], which, as usual, was confiscated by the police. We were all subjected to smear attacks—insulting letters, mockery, slander—mainly by men.

"At this point, Maria Isabel remarked that if a book written by one woman had created such a stir in Portugal, 'Why don't the three of us write a book about women in Portugal?' That was how *Novas Cartas*

*Portuguesas* came into being.

"When publishers got wind of what we were doing, they were all anxious to acquire the manuscript. After reading it, however, they rejected it, one by one. Finally, a woman, Natalia Correia, took the risk."

As Maria Horta explains, the precarious life of *Novas Cartas Portuguesas* had only begun: "Halfway through composition, a linotype operator refused to continue setting the type, stating that the book was 'obscene and pornographic.' However, 3,000 copies were actually printed and on the market for a month before the printer himself denounced the book and the police confiscated it. Later, the printer would be the prosecution's only witness although, pleading illness, he never appeared in court. The police were able to confiscate only 112 copies. We were accused of indecency and perverting public morality."

"In an attempt to humiliate us and prevent left-wing support for our case, we were not tried as political prisoners. But the authorities misjudged the situation. The left rallied around the book; a letter of support was clandestinely circulated when the book was confiscated. Signed by more than 300 intellectuals and professionals, it was sent to [Premier Marcello] Caetano, Minister of National Education Vega Simões, and to the minister of justice. That we were being harassed was evident—a vice-squad officer, whose specialty was arresting prostitutes, was

appointed to interrogate us."

On May 5, the three Marias were acquitted. Their acquittal and the relaxation of censorship has spurred the Portuguese publisher Futura to bring out a second edition of *Novas Cartas Portuguesas*. Editions are also being prepared in France, Italy, the United States, Great Britain, and Brazil, and subsequent editions are expected in Japan, Holland, Belgium, Spain, and West Germany.

"Although the regime has changed," Maria Horta told *Triunfo*, "it will be a long time before the situation changes for women. We still have to face family problems and do the tremendous amount of work family life entails. Moreover, official statistics do

not always reflect the serious discrepancy in the wages of men and women. So, one of the many tasks before us will be to ascertain the correct figures. Official statistics indicate that only 20 percent of all women work, but this does not include peasants, translators, housewives, and so forth."

"We maintain contact with feminists in France, Italy, and the United States, because we realize that we share many of the same problems. And then, we have special problems in Portugal. Personally, I am a democrat who is aware of the situation in Portugal; my particular situation as a woman makes me a feminist. This is what compels me to continue writing, which is my form of political participation."



The three Marias after their acquittal on charges of 'perverting public morality.'



# Talks fail to end Portuguese colonial rule

By BAXTER SMITH

The "peace and liquidation of colonialism" that Portuguese Foreign Minister Mario Soares claimed were his government's goals in Africa after the opening round of talks with rebel leaders from Mozambique have yet to be realized. The Spínola regime continues to wring maximum economic advantage from the colonies while denying them independence.

Soares's words came in early June. By mid-June, following General Spínola's speech declaring his hope that Portugal would retain control of the colonies, all talks with the rebels toward ending the 13-year-long wars had broken down.

"Immediate independence," Spínola said in his June 11 speech, "would be a loud negation of the generally accepted democratic principles" of the Armed Forces Movement, the organization of officers responsible for the April 25 coup. He said that "federation, confederation, [or] commonwealth" were the best alternatives.

Spelling out his concept of "self-determination" within these alternatives, Spínola, during the early negotiations, told Soares, a leader of the Socialist Party, what concessions he could offer.

These concessions included, according to the *Washington Post*, allowing the colonies to "sell their products at world market prices rather than to Portugal at low preferential rates." And allowing them to "retain their earnings instead of turning them over to Portugal's bank."

### No cease-fire

The talks produced no cease-fire, but some reports in the capitalist press have tried to paint a picture that the fighting and hostilities by Portuguese troops have ended entirely.

In Mozambique, a flare-up in fighting between Frelimo and the Portuguese troops was reported near the end of June. And on June 25, a group of Black miners returning from a contract-labor assignment in South Africa was fired on when Portuguese troops said the miners balked at opening their luggage for inspection. Seven were slain and at least six were wounded after the troops said they became "disorderly."

Low morale in the ranks of the Portuguese army has produced a sort of informal cease-fire, however, in Guinea-Bissau. Fraternization between Portuguese troops and the rebels has been the result, reports *New York Times* correspondent Henry Kamm.

One Portuguese colonel termed it a gentlemen's agreement. "We can now go anywhere in Guinea without



Luanda, Angola. Striking dock workers discuss demands.

having to fight or finding the roads mined," he said.

Kamm reports that friendly encounters between the armies have become daily occurrences.

In one encounter in a small town northwest of the capital, Bissau, liberation fighters stepped from the forest and were greeted by Portuguese troops in a warm display of friendship. Joyful townsfolk offered beer and cigarettes to the troops and trained cameras on them for pictures.

In the town of Bula, north of Bissau, Portuguese soldiers and officers recently drove through the streets "arm in arm with rebel soldiers and were cheered by the populace."

### Aroused population

Just as the April 25 coup has deeply stirred the democratic aspirations of the people in Portugal, the coup has aroused the hopes of the Africans in the colonies.

One news report tells of Africans who, fearing reprisals by the Portuguese, had taken no part in the struggle. They were now expressing open support for the liberation movements. One man had "take your feet off my chest—Guinea is ours" written over the outline of a foot on his T-shirt. Buildings in many of the towns have slogans on them proclaiming support for the rebels.

The Luanda, Angola, weekly *Noticia* recently ran reports of striking African dock workers who defied a ban on demonstrations and protested,

demanding wage increases and better working conditions.

The coup has also deepened the fears of many of the whites.

In Mozambique, white train crews on the Beira-Tete line staged a work stoppage in June, claiming their trains have been raked with gunfire and are easily vulnerable to guerrilla attack. They demanded more protection.

Reports also tell of whites who have become jittery over the prospect of Black rule and have fled the colonies for Portugal. In Mozambique, between 20,000 and 30,000 whites out of an estimated white population of 180,000 have fled. Reports of long lines at airline ticket counters for seats to Lisbon are common.

Other whites who have become fearful that majority rule will mean the resultant loss of their investments have been emboldened to acts of violence.

A report from Mozambique told of a grenade attack on a liberal lawyer who is a well-known leader of a group of Frelimo sympathizers. The lawyer escaped unharmed when the grenade exploded under his car.

In another incident, a Mozambique journalist was attacked and left unconscious on a sidewalk in the capital, Lourenço Marques, apparently in reprisal for his political commentaries.

Commenting on similar acts in Angola, Henry Hayward, writing from Luanda in the June 17 *Christian Science Monitor*, tells of one African who cried, "Viva Spínola!" in a bar.

"Without a word," Hayward reports,

"a white Angolan drew a pistol and shot him fatally."

Angola is the largest, richest, and most profitable of the Portuguese colonies. It exports more than seven million tons of iron ore and 2.2 million carats of diamonds a year. Other main exports are coffee and oil.

Last year, oil from the Cabinda district fetched almost twice the earnings of the previous year. By 1978, earnings are expected to gush to about 10 times that amount.

There has been talk in Angola that the whites there may attempt a unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) from Portugal, much like Rhodesia's breakaway from Britain in 1965, when the whites there refused to allow majority rule. A move toward UDI might well win the backing and military support of Rhodesia and South Africa.

In a related development, a five-member United Nations commission has recently substantiated that "many hundreds" of unarmed villagers in Mozambique were killed by Portuguese troops. The most recent mass slaying, it found, occurred about a month before the April 25 coup.

The charges were substantiated through interviews the commission conducted in Europe and Tanzania.

"The commission chairman, who has just returned from Africa, criticized the new Portuguese Government of Gen. António de Spínola," wrote Kathleen Teltsch in the *New York Times* June 28. "He said it had not cooperated with the inquiry and had not permitted the commission to enter Mozambique or to interview military authorities."



SOARES: 'Socialist' foreign minister informed rebels of concessions Portugal would allow.

## London: 3,000 back African liberation fighters

From Intercontinental Press

By Tony Hodges

London

"No aid to Portuguese colonialism!" "Total independence Now!" "Full support for FRELIMO, MPLA and PAIGC!" "Recognise Guinea-Bissau!" These were the demands of a 3,000-strong march through London June 16, called by the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea, and the Portuguese Workers Coordinating Committee.

The demonstration, which was backed by the International Marxist Group (IMG—British section of the Fourth International), the Communist

party, the Labour party Young Socialists and the International Socialists, ended with a rally in Trafalgar Square addressed by Mariano Matsinha, a member of the central committee of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Frelimo—Mozambique Liberation Front).

Matsinha called for the total independence of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau, and denounced the manoeuvres of the Portuguese military junta. Other speakers included Jack Collins, a member of the national executive committee of the National Union of Mineworkers, and António Martins dos Santos, a leader of the Portuguese metalworkers union.

Dos Santos attacked the neocolonial

plans of the Spínola regime. "Five hundred years of colonial exploitation has shown beyond all doubt that the independence of a people cannot be negotiated; that the referendums and pseudo-self-determination proposed by the Portuguese junta of bourgeois salvation, supported by a choir of turncoats, hide behind an attempt to perpetuate exploitation, oppression, humiliation, poverty, disease, and slavery."

Many demonstrators opposed the continuing collaboration of the British Labour government with the junta and its colonial wars. Wilson and Foreign Secretary Jim Callaghan have tried to use the "progressive" image of the new Portuguese government, with its

Communist and Socialist ministers, to justify Britain's political, military, and economic support for Spínola.

Over 25 percent of foreign investments in Portugal are British-owned. More than 20 percent of Portugal's exports come to Britain. Now, with the change in regime in Lisbon, the British government is working to facilitate Portuguese capitalism's entry into the Common Market. And Britain, along with the other NATO powers, continues to allow the supply of war materials to the colonial regime. The British government still refuses to recognise Guinea-Bissau, even though eighty-four other governments have decided to do so.

## Alberta King slain in Atlanta

# Black leaders charge plot behind killing

By BAXTER SMITH

Who is Marcus Wayne Chenault Jr., the accused murderer of Alberta Williams King?

What sent him on a shooting spree in Ebenezer Baptist Church the morning of June 30?

Is he part of a conspiracy to murder Black civil rights leaders and Black ministers, as some Black leaders say?

Or was his deed the act of a lone, desperate, and possibly deranged man on a "mission for God," as he claims?

These and other questions have been asked by many Blacks since the Sunday service in the famed Atlanta church was shattered by a half dozen shots that took the lives of Alberta King, the mother of slain civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and Edward Boykin, a church deacon, and wounded a member of the congregation.

Alberta King was at the organ in the church where her husband is the pastor. Suddenly, Chenault arose, cursing and shouting:

"I'm tired of all this. I'm taking

over."

When the firing stopped, several worshippers wrestled Chenault to the ground and took two pistols from him. During the tussle, he reportedly cried:

"The war made me like this."

Chenault, who is a 23-year-old former Ohio State University student, was arraigned July 1 and his case was bound over to a grand jury.

The judge entered pleas of not guilty to two counts of murder, two counts of carrying concealed weapons, and one of assault.

"My name is Servant Jacob. I'm a Hebrew," Chenault told the judge. "I was sent here on a purpose and it's partly accomplished."

Friends of Chenault around the Ohio State University campus told reporters he was a quiet person but had an extreme hatred for Christianity, which they said has deepened in the past seven or eight months.

"He just didn't see why Black people would want to get into the Christian belief and that whole bit," one acquaintance said.

Police found that Chenault, a resident of Columbus, Ohio, had taken a room at the Downtown Holiday Inn in Dayton a couple of days before the shooting.

Hotel employees reported that he had visitors, and they told of hearing voices in his room. They said he had a tape recorder when he checked in and refused to let the maid clean the room the day prior to the shooting.

According to press reports, Chenault caught a Greyhound bus to Atlanta the evening before the shooting and checked into an Atlanta hotel.

Upon hearing news of the murder, employees at the hotel where Chenault stayed in Dayton protested. A *New York Times* dispatch from Dayton reported:

"Hotel employees here, angered over the death of Mrs. King and thinking that a white man had occupied Room 813 and had been responsible, went on a brief strike Sunday morning, according to several workers. They resumed work after word spread that Mrs. King had been killed by a black man."

Reverend Ralph Abernathy, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the organization founded by the late Dr. King, visited Chenault in his cell.

After his visit, Abernathy told reporters he believed Chenault was acting as part of a conspiracy.

Abernathy said Chenault recognized him and his first words were "Oh, there's Abernathy. If you want to live you better get that Rev. off your name."

Abernathy took this to mean that since he is a minister, he is targeted.

"I told him he was in jail," Abernathy said, "but he said there was a group that could get me."

Abernathy said Chenault told him "I was on the list, that there was a conspiracy to get us all . . . to get all the civil rights leaders."

A "list," apparently the one Chenault was referring to, was earlier found by Columbus police in Chenault's apart-

ment there, near the Ohio State campus.

The list reportedly contained the names of 10 civil rights leaders, including Abernathy; Hosea Williams, head of Metro Atlanta SCLC; and the Reverend Jesse Jackson, head of Operation PUSH. Dr. Martin Luther King Sr., husband of the slain woman, reportedly topped the list.

"I think he is part of a conspiracy that dates back to prior to John F. Kennedy's death," Abernathy said. "I do not think a loner killed Martin Luther King Jr. I do not think a loner killed Robert Kennedy or Mrs. Martin Luther King Sr."

Abernathy said he thought "people in high places" were behind the conspiracy.

Meanwhile, according to the *Chicago Sun Times*, Jesse Jackson "is not willing to concede" that the slaying of Mrs. Martin Luther King Sr. was "the work of a lone, deranged gunman."

The *Sun Times* reported that Jackson didn't accept the lone gunman theory for the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., either. Jackson is calling for an investigation of Chenault "and his associates."

The facts surrounding the murder of Alberta King and the motivation—and possible backing—of Chenault have yet to come to light. However, the Atlanta police immediately asserted that there was no conspiracy.

Police and the FBI also denied that there was a conspiracy behind the slaying of Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968. But James Earl Ray, his convicted assassin, has now said that two rich white Southerners backed him. The facts on this murder have been kept hidden to this day.

The "findings" of the cops and the FBI on these cases carry little weight in the Black community. In light of the revelations of government plotting to destroy the Black movement, who can believe anything they say about the murders of Blacks?



Alberta King (left), with her son, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Coretta Scott King

## NY Dist. 1 parents protest Shankerite cutbacks

By ETHEL LOBMAN

NEW YORK—The struggle to prevent the racist majority of the community school board in District 1 from cutting back on educational programs continues.

On June 25, 500 Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents and community activists crowded into Public School 19 on the Lower East Side to express their views at a special school board meeting.

The board is divided, 5 to 4, with the all-white majority doing the bidding of Albert Shanker and the racist officialdom of the United Federation of Teachers. The five pro-Shanker members had walked out of a regularly scheduled monthly board meeting the week before, after protests from community activists blocked the majority from voting on a series of motions they had prepared.

The Shankerites wanted to:

- Remove Janice Wong, the community-supported Chinese member of the board, on the spurious charge that she was not a registered voter.

- Fire teachers who had been hired through the district superintendent's office—mainly Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese teachers in the bilingual and bicultural programs.

- Remove 14 supervisors who had been chosen by parent screening committees.

As the June 25 meeting convened, uniformed police surrounded the building, and security cops crowded the aisles in front of the hall. Plainclothes cops lined the back of the stage where the board members sat.

In spite of this attempt at intimidation, however, the audience vigorously backed up the four board members who had been elected on the Por Los Niños (For the Children) slate: Carmen Barreto, Georgina Hoggard, Henry Ramos, and Janice Wong.

As their first order of business, the five Shankerites elected themselves as the executive committee, with the hated Adolph Roher as chairman. The notion of an all-white executive committee in a district where 93 percent of the schoolchildren are nonwhite infuriated the audience. Shouts of "racist, racist, racist!" and "Heil, Adolph!" filled the hall.

In spite of the fact that the board of elections had disproved the charge that Janice Wong had not been a registered voter when she ran for the board, the majority refused to remove this item from the agenda. The attempt to unseat her was instead tabled over the objections of the four community board members and the chanting audience.

Parents, teachers, and community supporters took the floor at every opportunity to explain that the Shanker-

ite majority was not only racist, but was antiteacher as well. Speakers pointed out that Roher and Company were not going to fight the budget cuts, and that they had already decided to let a number of young teachers get the ax.

When the motion to fire the teachers hired through the district office came up, Luis Fuentes, the superintendent supported by the parents, was asked what the ethnic breakdown was of those who would be fired. Roher tried to prevent Fuentes from answering, saying he would be out of order.

Fuentes replied, "This isn't the first time I've been out of order." He went on to report that 76 teachers would go: 67 Puerto Ricans, five Blacks, two Chinese, and two Jews. That would mean, he told everyone, the virtual end of bilingual programs in District 1.

As this point was being discussed, there was a commotion in the audience, instigated by a man well known as a leader of the right-wing Jewish Defense League. While the audience's attention was turned away from the stage, Adolph Roher proceeded to read through a speakers' list of 40 names. Over the objections of the board minority, he proceeded to call for a vote. However, the meeting was abruptly halted by the outraged response of the audience and the four

board members.

The meeting concluded with Henry Ramos explaining from the stage that the disturbance in the audience had been planned in order to get quickly to a vote. The legality of the meeting and of the vote, if it was actually taken, is being contested by the community-supported members of the board.



Militant/Michael Baumann

Parents in N.Y.'s District 1 are continuing fight against racism in the schools.



# Protest police riot

# Atlanta Blacks: 'End cop terror!'

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA—Five hundred demonstrators marched through downtown Atlanta in a torrential afternoon thunderstorm June 27, completing the memorial procession that had been attacked and broken up by cops 24 hours earlier.

Only minutes before the march was scheduled to begin, Mayor Maynard Jackson announced that he had issued an executive order granting a parade permit, and that Police Chief John Inman had agreed to comply with the permit.

Earlier, the police had threatened to stop the march, while Jackson, a Black Democrat, tried to use his authority to have it called off. But the city officials were forced to back down because of the widespread anger over the previous afternoon's police riot and the broad support the march had drawn from Black community leaders.

The front line of march included City Councilman Arthur Langford; John Lewis of the Voter Education Project; Bernard Lee, a national leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Tyrone Brooks, also of SCLC; Willie Bolden, an organizer for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; and Vince Eagan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia.

The march began at Dr. Martin Luther King's grave-site on Auburn Avenue and concluded at Central City Park. Proceeding without harassment by the cops, it was quite a different scene from the afternoon before.

## Memorial for slain youth

At that time, 500 people had assembled in a memorial procession for 17-year-old Brandon Gibson. Gibson was the twenty-second person killed by Atlanta cops in the last year and a half. Like all but one of the other victims, he was Black.

Many of the marchers were young people from the Bowen Homes community where Gibson had lived and where, unarmed and held by two cops, he was shot point-blank in the head by a third cop and killed.

Marchers carried signs reading, "Convict Brandon's killer," "Abolish the Stakeout Squad," and "Fire Police Chief Inman."

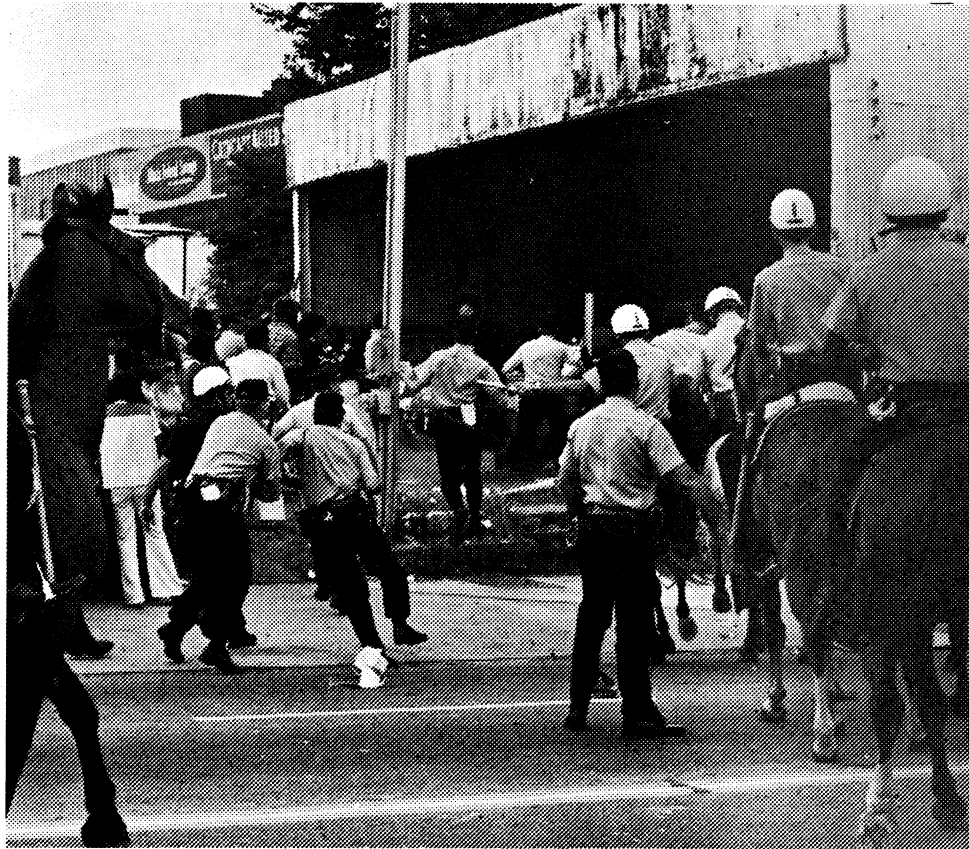
Several were dressed in dark funeral attire, having come straight from the service for Brandon, where 200 had packed into a tiny church and hundreds more had to be turned away outside.

Brandon's mother, Idella Gibson, had decided earlier in the week to allow her son's casket to be placed on the memorial train, atop the same mule cart that had carried Martin Luther King's body after his assassination six years ago.

As the marchers gathered, the mule cart was present, but not the casket. Hosea Williams of SCLC climbed onto the mule cart and explained that the bereaved mother had been pressured by representatives of the mayor, the governor, and the U.S. Department of Justice to remove her son's body from the procession.

She was warned of "violence" if she permitted the marchers to carry the coffin.

The procession left Martin Luther King's grave-site and moved briskly along Auburn Avenue, following the route traversed in 1968 by the memorial march for Dr. King.



Club-swinging cops chase peaceful marchers

Militant/George Basley

It was led by Williams and other activists in the People's Coalition to Get Rid of Inman, including the Reverend W.J. Stafford of the Free For All Baptist Church, Vince Eagan, and socialist congressional candidate James Harris.

At first there were no police to be seen. Meanwhile, 400 other protesters had already gathered at Central City Park, waiting for the march to arrive.

## Cops block route

As the mule cart approached the corner of Auburn and Courtland streets, only three blocks from the park, a line of cops from the elite SWAT (Special Weapons and Tactical) squad stood shoulder-to-shoulder blocking the march route, clubs poised at chest level.

The march halted at the line of cops. Williams asked to speak to the commanding officer, and raised his arm as a signal that the march had stopped.

Suddenly the cops pushed the mule cart back, lifting its front end up in the air and dumping Williams off his feet.

Twelve cops dragged Williams off, punching him in the ribs and stomach.

One cop said, "Motherfucker, I've been waiting to get you for a long time," and drew his revolver before he was restrained by other cops.

Next arrested was Reverend Stafford. Then a phalanx of club-swinging cops stormed past the immobile cart, knocking demonstrators beneath it. Several young Black men were beaten while pinned to the ground by four or five officers.

## Mounted cops attack

Police horses suddenly galloped into the crowd. The 400 people waiting at the park tried to link up with the marchers on the other side of the police line. The horse patrol rushed up and down the sidewalk, clubbing demonstrators and bystanders caught on both sides of the police.

Reba Williams, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, saw one of the cops on horseback knock an old man to the ground, screaming, "Nigger! Nigger!" She ran to the man's aid and the cop cracked his club

across her back.

There were 14 known arrests, and police admit that seven of the injured required hospitalization. Witnesses saw many additional beatings. Several of the injured were children from Bowen Homes.

The police riot stunned Atlanta. A former mayor had boasted during the civil rights struggles of the 1960s that Atlanta was a "city too busy to hate." And Atlanta's rulers, it is true, managed to reconcile themselves to the end of Jim Crow segregation with less police violence than was used in most other Southern cities.

But Police Chief Inman felt he had a free hand after court rulings that city officials had no power to fire him. Mayor Jackson obligingly interpreted the rulings to mean he "could not guarantee the safety" of marchers, and urged people not to demonstrate.

The final green light for Inman's cops was the array of forces opposed to the funeral march, from the mayor's office to the federal Justice Department.

## Right to demonstrate

After the attack, Jackson cut short his meeting at the U. S. Conference of Mayors in San Diego. "I urge people to think before they act," he said, "because I am enjoined by the courts from protecting the citizens of Atlanta. There should be no, I repeat, no action."

The next morning, however, Black activists Willie Bolden, Tyrone Brooks, and Vince Eagan spoke at a news conference called by the People's Coalition to Get Rid of Inman. Asserting the right to demonstrate, they announced an attempt would be made to complete the memorial march that afternoon.

Speaking on the radio the same morning, Eagan said that if Jackson were concerned about his lack of control over the police, it would be better for him "to be out there today demonstrating with us, because they wouldn't touch him."

Eagan also emphasized that observers from the American Civil Liberties Union would be present to help protect the demonstrators' right to assemble.

The same morning, Black and white Democratic Party state legislators held a "unity" news conference to urge "everyone" to "cool it."

However "unity" broke down quickly when Fulton County Commission Chairman Shag Cates declared that the police "acted with as much restraint as they could."

Black legislator Julian Bond replied, "The police rioted. Yesterday puts Atlanta right up there with Selma and Birmingham." Bond went on to announce his support for the afternoon march.

Black City Councilman Arthur Langford, a minister and civil rights activist, announced that he would be out there marching. He said if there were any more arrests, the cops would have to send a city council member to jail.

## Jackson backs down

Finally Mayor Jackson, who had been meeting all day with Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter, Police Chief Inman, and other officials, backed down, and the march took place without incident.

On June 28, Jackson extended his executive order permitting marches for three more days, and the People's Coalition to Get Rid of Inman organized another protest. This time 250 participants marched to police headquarters, where Hosea Williams is still being held in jail, with bail set at the exorbitant figure of \$10,000, on charges of "inciting to riot," "marching without a permit," and "causing a turmoil."

In a statement to *The Militant*, Vince Eagan called the success of the demonstrations June 27 and 28 "a victory for the Black community's right to assemble, to march, and to protest racist assaults."

"This was won because people who disagree on many things were able to get together and agree to march in the streets to protest Brandon Gibson's death and the police riot," Eagan said.

"I hope all those who took part in this action will continue to work together and try to unite the entire community in mass protests demanding an end to police terror in Atlanta."



Militant/George Basley

VINCE EAGAN: 'Unite the community in mass protest.'



## An answer to the 'Daily World'

# CP tries to split Chile defense effort

By LARRY SEIGLE

In a column in the June 15 issue of the Communist Party's newspaper, the *Daily World*, Joseph Carver calls on the CP and its followers to split the movement in defense of political prisoners in Chile. Carver urges that those who criticize the policies that were followed by the Popular Unity government of Allende be excluded—even physically barred—from movement meetings.

"It is time for the Trotskyites who feed on our dead heroes, on the bodies of the people, to be isolated from decent healthy forces in the movement," Carver proclaims.

"It is time that progressives . . . tell them they are not welcome and don't allow them into meetings of movement groups."

The primary targets of this exclusionary drive are the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. But the list of individuals and groups that Carver would like to outlaw is broader than just the Trotskyists. It includes anyone who has the temerity to raise questions about the strategy of the Popular Unity government in Chile.

This strategy was based on subordinating the struggle of the working class to a political bloc with a section of the bourgeoisie, rather than relying on the power of the masses organized independently of, and in opposition to, the ruling class. It was this policy that paved the way for the bloody defeat in Chile.

The defeat has led to many questions being asked by radical-minded people throughout the world. This is inevitable, and very healthy. All honest socialists want to understand *why* the Allende experience led to failure, in order to avoid a similar catastrophe in the future.

But to the CP, raising such questions is to "feed on our dead heroes."

Carver's hyperbole of bloodsucking "Trotskyites" who glory in the deaths of revolutionary fighters may sound irrational, but the vitriol is there for a purpose. The CP would like to in-



Stalinists demand that everyone who disagrees with CP's analysis of Allende regime be barred from movement to defend Chile political prisoners.

oculate its members and followers against all criticism of the Stalinist policy in Chile. CP leaders try to close the ears of all those over whom they hold influence, by spreading the most absurd and vile slanders they can dream up about the SWP and the YSA.

This method of political "education" is, of course, self-defeating. Any activist who can be persuaded, by arguments such as those used by Carver, to ignore the political debate on Chile isn't going to be of much use to any party, including the CP. And those who believe in the value of critical thinking will simply ignore Carver's slanderous column and debate the issues.

How Carver chooses to "educate" the readers of the *Daily World* is the CP's problem. But when the CP adopts a policy of disrupting and dividing the movement in defense of political prisoners in Chile, as Carver proposes, then that is a problem for the entire radical movement, and for all those who believe in the most elementary human rights for victims of the Chilean junta.

By what distorted logic does the CP believe it can dictate that only those who *politically endorse* the CP

line on Chile can be allowed to participate in united actions to defend Chile's political prisoners? This is not a formula for uniting all forces that can be mobilized around the urgent task of defending the lives of those in Pinochet's prisons. It is a formula for splitting the defense efforts.

Carver declares that "the political work we are doing affects lives, is often a matter of life and death." Quite right—and nowhere is this clearer than in Chile. Defense work in the United States and around the world can help stay the already bloodied hands of the junta's torturers and executioners. But does Carver deny that broad, united actions, drawing together forces of different political views, are far more effective than isolated, separate actions?

This approach of united actions is also applicable to building support for the demand that Portuguese troops get out of Africa. Supporters of the African independence struggle have an obligation to express their support for an end to Portugal's colonial wars.

A step in this direction was a united picket line June 22 in New York, demanding immediate independence for the Portuguese colonies. A number of

Black and African groups, along with the YSA, the SWP, and the CP's youth group, the Young Workers Liberation League, joined together in sponsoring that demonstration.

Had the leaders of the YWLL followed Carver's approach and decided not to participate in an action along with groups that oppose the CP's counterrevolutionary policy of supporting the Spínola government, they would have excluded themselves from an important demonstration of international solidarity.

The perspective of united-front actions should be put into practice in organizing future protests, both around Portugal and Africa and around Chile. The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has initiated a call for activities in as many cities as possible on or around Sept. 11, the first anniversary of the right-wing coup in Chile. Hopefully, all groups who support the Chile defense efforts will participate.

But unity in action will be impossible if the CP insists on trying to impose a gag rule on discussion of the lessons of the Chile defeat. Such a debate must—and will—be held.

## Benefit party in Phila. raises \$1,000

# Movement activists urge support to PRDF

By CONNIE PIPER

One hundred and twenty-five people attended a successful benefit party in Philadelphia June 29 where Philip Berrigan, Elizabeth McAllister, attorney Harry Levitan, and political cartoonist Tony Auth urged support for the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF). Levitan is director of the Philadelphia National Lawyers Guild; Auth's cartoons appear daily in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and often in other newspapers across the country.

The PRDF held the "Evening for Civil Liberties" to raise funds for the suit against the U.S. government by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. The benefit raised more than \$1,000.

Many of those who sponsored the party are political activists familiar with government attacks on protest groups. Hosts included Kay Camp, former president, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Jack Levine and David Kairys, who were attorneys for the Camden 28; and Mike Sletson, president, Philadelphia SANE.

Len Lear, a reporter for the *Tribune*, Philadelphia's Black newspaper; Bill Davidson, RESIST; and Ethel Taylor, Women Strike for Peace, also participated.

The socialists' suit, filed by attorney Leonard Boudin, seeks a permanent injunction against government infiltration, wiretapping, mail tampering, burglary, and other Watergate-style harassment against those who disagree with administration policy.

At the benefit, Harry Levitan said that the case "has such great importance because it can help protect our right to differ and speak out on things that go to the heart of the existing social order in this country."

Elizabeth McAllister linked her activities against the continuing war in Southeast Asia to her support for the SWP and YSA suit. She said, "It's clear that the operations of secrecy exposed and opposed by this Watergate suit are but the domestic policy of our foreign policy."

John Ratliff of the PRDF national staff described the suit's progress thus

far in forcing the government to admit secret and unconstitutional operations against the SWP and YSA. The government has admitted that it initiated an "SWP Disruption Program" in 1961, conducted electronic surveillance of the SWP dating back to 1945, and monitored correspondence addressed to the SWP national office in New York.

Philip Berrigan called the suit "a courageous act of resistance to the most massive spy operation in history."

"The large turnout here tonight to support this suit is personally a great source of hope for me. . . . we have to continue," urged Berrigan.

Cartoonist Tony Auth donated two of his recently published Watergate cartoons to a fund-raising raffle at the party. He also narrated an entertaining slide show, which included several of his cartoons not published because, in the words of his editors, they were "too extreme" in their criticism of Richard Nixon.

In other developments, support for

the suit has also been obtained as a result of activities by PRDF volunteers at several recent national conferences.

A number of officials of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) stopped by the PRDF table during the ACLU's recent convention in Milwaukee. Evan Shirley, executive director, Hawaii ACLU; Isidor Ziferstein, board member, Southern California ACLU; and local ACLU officials from seven states endorsed the PRDF.

In Honolulu, delegates to the international convention of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) voted to instruct the incoming international executive board to consider a resolution of support for the PRDF.

Other recent prominent endorsers of the PRDF include Carey McWilliams, editor of *The Nation*; Patrick Gorman, international secretary-treasurer, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL-CIO; and authors Merle Miller and Albert Maltz.

# Boston abortion-rights forces rally to defend women, doctors

By ROSALIE MAJKA

BOSTON—"What we have before us is a fight common to all women. Tonight we are issuing a call to action," stated Carol Henderson Evans, a coordinator of the Ad Hoc Committee to Defend Abortion Rights.

She was speaking to an enthusiastic meeting of 250 people at Faneuil Hall June 26. The teach-in and protest rally, sponsored by the committee, was called in response to Massachusetts legislation that would restrict the availability of abortions and severely limit research and experimentation on fetal tissue.

A bill introduced by State Representative William Dellahunt would allow abortions after the twentieth week of pregnancy only for therapeutic reasons. The U. S. Supreme Court ruled

last year that states could not impose such restrictions on a woman's right to choose until after the twenty-fourth week.

Another bill, which was signed into law the very evening of the rally, restricts research on fetal tissue.

Dr. Leonard Berman, one of four doctors recently indicted under an 1814 "grave-robbing" law for using fetal tissue in a research project, spoke at the Faneuil Hall rally. He stated his opposition to the fetal research law, explaining that such research has led to the discovery of vaccines against German measles as well as means of diagnosing birth defects. Improved health care for both women and children, he stated, will be adversely affected by the law.

Jeanne Lafferty, a member of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and the Socialist Workers Party candidate for state attorney general, said that "these new restrictions are part of a vicious campaign to roll back the gains women have won in recent years—a campaign aimed at returning us to the barbarism of illegal back-alley abortions."

Other speakers at the teach-in included Elaine Noble, gay-rights activist and candidate for the Massachusetts legislature; William Homans of the American Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts and attorney for Dr. Kenneth Edelin, a Boston City Hospital doctor indicted for manslaughter after performing a legal abortion; Neil Chayet, attorney for Dr. Leonard Berman.

Also, Carolyn Schneider of the Massachusetts Organization for the Repeal of Abortion Laws, and Ellen Shriver of the Governor's Commission to Improve the Status of Women. A statement of support was read from State Senator Jack Backman.

The ad hoc committee proposed to the meeting that a picket line be held the next day at the statehouse and that a telegram be sent to the Canadian government protesting the indictment of Dr. Henry Morgentaler for performing abortions. Both proposals met with unanimous approval, and about 70 people turned out for the picket line the following day.

The ad hoc committee is planning future activities. "We need to unite as many organizations and people as possible to participate in this fight," said Carol Henderson Evans. "Working together in unified activities we will make a powerful voice. We will carry out more teach-ins and educational programs, rallies and demonstrations until we have clearly won."

## Anti-abortion law thrown out

In March the governor of Minnesota signed into law a bill prohibiting abortions in Minnesota after 20 weeks of pregnancy, except to save the life or health of the woman. The law also required that the physician attempt to deliver a live fetus, a provision that made most abortion techniques illegal.

This law was declared unconstitutional on June 28 by a three-judge panel of the U. S. district court. The judges ruled that the state law "interfere[s] with the right of a woman to secure an abortion free of state interference."

The only requirement for a legal abortion now in Minnesota is that it be performed by a licensed physician.

# California nurses end strike, win demands

By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

SAN FRANCISCO—Northern California nurses ended their three-week strike in victory June 27 when they ratified an agreement with Kaiser Foundation hospitals and other private hospitals.

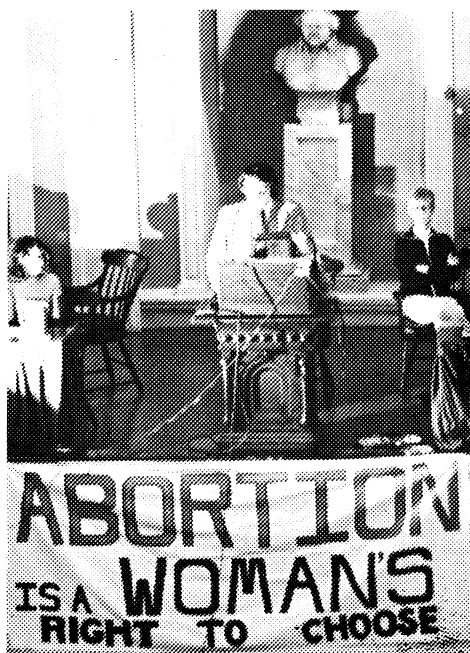
The strike, reaching from Sacramento to the San Francisco Bay Area, involved 4,400 members of the California Nurses Association at more than 40 hospitals.

One of the major demands won by the nurses is the right to have some say in the quality of care that patients receive as well as in staffing procedures. At each hospital professional performance committees will be established, composed of both nurses and administrators, to determine staffing and assignments of nurses to specialty units, such as the intensive care units.

The nurses also won a \$100-a-month pay raise beginning this month, with \$60 to \$65 of the raise retroactive to Jan. 1, 1974. The right of each nurse to have every other weekend off was also won, with a committee to be set up in each hospital to work out the arrangements.

Other provisions include an increase of up to 80 percent in dental care; pay increases for shift differentials, such as night shifts or weekend shifts; and improved pension and medical plans.

The two-year contract will expire Dec. 31, 1975, but it can be reopened Jan. 1, 1975, for salaries, retirement, and one other item of the nurses' choosing.



Faneuil Hall meeting launches fight against anti-abortion forces.

# NEA rally greets striking teachers

By CINDY JAQUITH

CHICAGO—A spirited rally of several thousand teachers greeted a walking caravan of striking teachers from Timberlane, N.H., here at Grant Park June 30, as the national Representative Assembly of the National Education Association (NEA) opened its first day of business.

Participating in the rally were teacher delegates to the assembly from all over the country, who had come out to march in support of Timberlane and Hortonville, Wis., strikes by NEA affiliates.

Outgoing NEA President Helen Wise, in her speech to the rally, said, "Teachers, driven to strike to win the very basic, ordinary gains that educators want and need, have been threatened, jailed, hounded, and harassed." Her pledge that "the NEA will never abandon striking teachers" met with a roar of approval from the crowd.

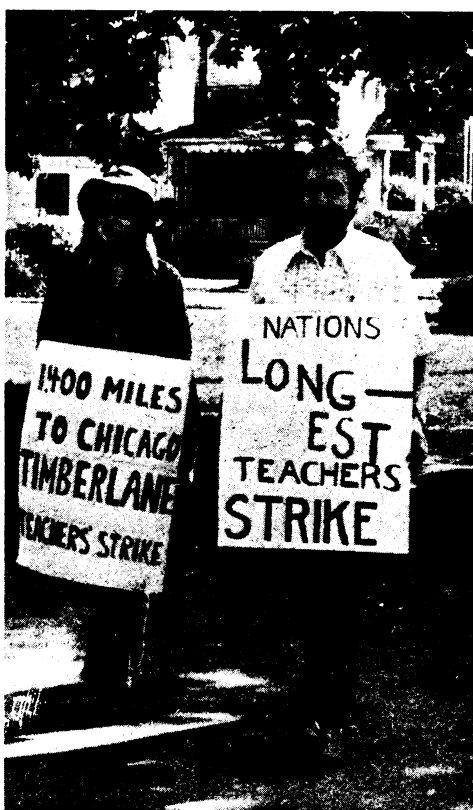
The Hortonville and Timberlane strikes are symbolic of the growing militancy of NEA teachers as they face the problems of layoffs, inflation, and oversized classes.

The Timberlane strike, begun Feb. 26, has already become the longest teachers' strike in U.S. history. A group of Timberlane teachers walked more than 1,000 miles here to the assembly to dramatize their fight.

The Hortonville teachers went out March 18. In both struggles the issue of whether teachers have the right to strike has been a key focus of debate.

Ellen Farrelly, 31-year-old president

of the Timberlane Regional Education Association, sharply denounced those opposed to teachers' right to strike in a speech that drew the best response from the crowd. She explained that as recently as a year ago, she was unsure whether teachers as "professionals" should use the strike weapon and demand collective bargaining. All that has changed, she said, as a result of the Timberlane experience.



Teachers from Timberlane, N.H., walking to NEA convention.

The crowd cheered when she said, "They tell us if you're 'real professionals,' you wouldn't be on strike. Well, that just means that if you're a 'real professional,' you work for nothing!"

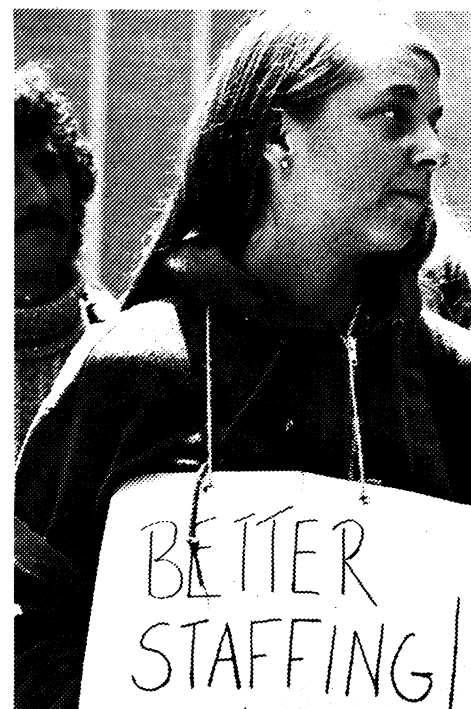
Farrelly said the Timberlane fight could be an important milestone in knocking down the idea that teachers, or other public employees, should not have the right to strike. The sentiment of the Timberlane teachers, she said, is that "public service is not the same as public servitude."

She urged teachers from other parts of the country to pay close attention to the strike, because "no matter what state—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania—school boards are doing the same thing they're doing to teachers in Timberlane and Hortonville."

Mike Wisnoski, president of the Hortonville NEA affiliate, described the issues in that strike, in which 84 of the 87 teachers went on strike. All 84 strikers were promptly fired.

In an interview with *The Militant*, Wisnoski said that support from other unions has been key to the ability of the Hortonville teachers to keep up their fight. Union parents refused to allow their children to go to school once scab teachers were brought in, he said, so an alternate school was set up for the duration of the school year in cooperation with the NEA teachers and union parents.

The NEA meeting here began June 28 with a two-day "Critical Issues" conference. Ten thousand delegates are expected to attend convention business sessions.



Militant/Howard Petrick

The nurses' strike was noted for its militancy and for the nurses' efforts to reach out to the public and to other sectors of the labor movement with the issues of their struggle.

Through this strike the nurses established their union as a solid instrument to defend their living conditions. The strengthening of the union, and the confidence gained by the nurses on the picket lines, will prove to be powerful factors on their side in future struggles with their employers.

## Racist offensive

A general offensive is under way against the gains made by Blacks and women in the area of education.

Preferential admissions programs were challenged before the Supreme Court in the DeFunis case, and this issue is sure to come before the Court again. In New York the City University's open admissions program has been challenged—ostensibly because it "lowers educational standards," but in reality because it enables many Blacks and Puerto Ricans to get into college.

Albert Shanker, the head of the United Federation of Teachers, has led the pack in the racist attack on the "quota system," most recently backing a lawsuit against the National Education Association's quotas that ensure minority representation in leadership bodies.

Recently the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, convened in 1967 to study ways to deal with the student radicalization, issued a report attacking preferential hiring of women and oppressed nationalities by colleges.

The hiring of more Black and women professors, says the commission report according to the *New York Times*, "is lowering standards and undermining faculty quality. . . ."

The author of the report, in an interview with the *Times*, explained that preferential hiring was fine for "the hiring of typists, bricklayers or punch press operators." These are the jobs for Blacks and women in his view—certainly not professorships!

The investigators declare that there are not enough qualified Blacks and women to fill open teaching places. Even if this were true, the solution would be to train more Black and women educators, not to scrap the affirmative action programs. But the reality is that there are tens of thousands of Blacks and women who have graduated college and taken advanced degrees. They have been channeled out of academic jobs by the institutionalized discrimination that pervades the American educational system, as well as the society as a whole.

This is why quotas or preferential admissions and hiring are necessary: to begin to compensate for past and present discrimination and make real equality possible. The racist and sexist arguments such as those advanced by the Carnegie Commission should be exposed and the offensive against preferential hiring should be met head on.

## The air kills

Two New York scientists commissioned by the state Department of Environmental Conservation did a study of the 900,000 people who died in New York City between 1963 and 1972. They came to the astounding conclusion that 108,000 of them, 12 percent, died because of the city's polluted air.

That is 28 deaths a day!

Or we could, more precisely, call them murders. They were legalized murders by the industrial magnates, the auto monopolies, and the Democrats and Republicans in Albany and in Washington, who do everything in their power to protect the profits of the rich.

Just last month Congress passed a bill euphemistically called the "Energy Supply and Environmental Coordination Act." This bill uses the "fuel shortage" pretext to motivate "postponing" auto-emission limits until 1977. It also encourages power plants to switch over from gas or oil to the dirtier process of burning coal. This bill will mean an even higher death toll in cities throughout the country.

Pollution is worst in the ghettos and slum areas, where landlords are even less willing than usual to install pollution controls in their dilapidated tenements. The elderly, who cannot afford good medical care, and people with respiratory diseases, suffer doubly from having to breathe the foul air.

This legalized homicide through air pollution is just one example of the criminal irrationality of the capitalist profit system.

If this country has the technological know-how to send people to the moon, it certainly could have long ago developed methods of eliminating air pollution. An obvious step—if people came before profits—would be to build a nationwide system of clean, efficient, mass public transportation.

A socialist in Congress would fight for pollution control standards with teeth, and enforcement of these restrictions with a 100 percent tax on all profits of the polluters.

### Five to go

I am doing natural life and have been in prison ever since I was 16 years of age (an age in which one is not responsible enough to vote for the rulers that make the laws, but in which one is responsible enough to go to prison!).

I have already served 15 years of my time and have five more to go before I am eligible for parole consideration.

I came into contact with your paper about two and a half years ago and have been receiving it ever since. I am proud to be on your list of readers. Though I did not think much of your analysis of the SLA thing, I maintain that you have the absolute right to express your opinion.

*A prisoner  
New York*

### Wants own copy

I am an avid reader of your paper, and I am in total agreement with your ideology. Sorry I can't join in on what you are trying to do. Hopefully I will someday when I am on the other side of these walls.

How about placing my name on your mailing list for the newspaper? A couple of my comrades get it and pass it on to me. But I would appreciate having a copy of my own to pass around for others to read.

*A prisoner  
Wisconsin*

### Trotskyism needed

I am very impressed by your publication and your programs. A growing awareness of Trotskyist viewpoints is especially necessary in today's world, which sees the spectacle of Stalinist parties joining hands with bourgeois parties to preserve capitalism.

Keep up the good work.

*M. S.  
Lincoln, Nebr.*

### Israeli terror raids

On May 16 the Israeli Air Force raided villages and camps for Palestinian refugees across Lebanon. The strikes continued for five days, including shellings from Israeli gunboats. Estimated casualties were 150 killed and more than 300 seriously injured.

Israeli Chief of Staff Mordechai Gur and then-minister of defense Moshe Dayan claimed that only "commando bases" were destroyed, but this is absolutely untrue. In the Nabatieh camp, which had a population of a little more than 3,000, the day after three waves of Israeli bombers struck at 75-minute intervals I saw devastation such as occurred in the U.S. terror bombings of Hanoi and Haiphong in December of 1972. Row upon row of simple cement-block wall and tin-roofed shelters had ceased to exist.

The refugees at Ein-el-Hilweh, the largest camp in Lebanon, with 20,000 inhabitants, were subjected, in addition to the bombing, to the terror of repeated machine-gun and cannon strafing, and rocket fire. Explosively rigged toys and time-delay antipersonnel devices, said to be dropped by the Israeli pilots, were

displayed to members of the press.

The effect of these raids, more so than in the past because of their viciousness and the number of Lebanese victims, has been to push the Palestinians and Lebanese into closer defensive cooperation.

*Frederick G. Samia  
Beirut, Lebanon*

### To avoid brainwashing

Enclosed please find a \$15 money order. \$5 for a one-year subscription to *The Militant*, as I can't let U.S. brainwashing reach me yet! Also \$10 for the Prisoners Fund so our people in jail can get your really fine paper.

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

### International students

We've been selling *The Militant* at the airport.

We found that many of the cab drivers at the airport are international students from Africa and the Caribbean. A large number of them now read *The Militant* regularly.

The immigration department is attempting to prevent them from driving cabs in D.C. We sold the paper at a meeting they held to discuss how to respond to this attack. The Socialist Workers Party campaign committee put out a statement in support of the students, which we now pass out at the airport when we sell.

*L. P.  
Washington, D. C.*

### Lettuce price-fixing

The Federal Trade Commission recently filed charges against 23 growers in California for price-fixing. All of those charged are lettuce growers being struck and boycotted by the United Farm Workers (UFW).

This should help refute the notion that unionization is what forces up prices. This price-fixing hurts the farm workers' struggle because one of the principles behind the boycott of iceberg lettuce is that if demand is reduced, prices will go down. The price-fixing not only hurts the consumer but is aimed at the UFW as well.

Farm workers are paid 43 cents a box for lettuce (each box contains 24 heads). That 43 cents is divided between three workers. For a head of lettuce now being sold at 49 to 59 cents a head, less than a penny a head goes to the farm workers.

*H. R.  
Chicago, Ill.*

### Prisoners Labor Union

In prisons around the country prisoners work for pennies a day. Whole industries depend on prison labor, as do federal and state governments and the military. The prisoners' working conditions are worse than the sweatshop conditions working-class people fought so hard to change. Long hours, no ventilation or breaks, combined with a lack of nourishing food and inhuman conditions make these prisons slave labor camps.

In response, prisoners at Attica have begun an organizing drive





to form a Prisoners Labor Union, Attica chapter. In spite of harassment and repression and placing men in solitary confinement, the organizing committee has been collecting signatures to file for certification and union representation with the Public Employees Relations Board. This board has the authority to give us collective bargaining powers with the state as state employees under the Taylor law.

*Prisoners Labor Union  
Attica, N. Y.*

### The Militant gets around

I've recently seen two reprints from *The Militant* that you might like to know about. One was in the *Third World News*, published at the University of California at Davis, Calif. They reprinted Baxter Smith's article titled "FBI memos detail government plot to crush Black movement."

The other was in *El Renacimiento*, Michigan's largest Spanish weekly. Reprinted there was Miguel Pendas's column of May 31 titled "A case of political repression."

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

### S. African coal

Plans of the Southern Company, a utility headquartered in the South, to import 2.5 million tons of South African coal have been strongly protested by the United Mine Workers in Alabama.

The Alabama UMW, which includes many Blacks, has objected because under the apartheid system, Black miners are paid starvation wages, much less than whites performing comparable jobs. Black miners unions, in addition, are not recognized by the government.

The miners also object because they say the coal will rob U. S. miners of jobs.

This is the argument of the coal barons, who, like other bosses, always see foreign imports as a threat to their profits.

Protests against imports from the white-ruled states of South Africa and Rhodesia are encouraging, and they strengthen international union solidarity. However, the Mine Workers should confront any attempts by the bosses to cut jobs with the demand for a shorter workweek at no loss of pay.

The first shipment is due to arrive July 15 in Mobile, Ala., and the UMW is urging the International Longshoremen's Association not to unload it.

*Karari Nkomo  
New York, N. Y.*

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.

## A new threat to Black colleges

Black colleges and universities have long been beleaguered by molehills. Now they face a mountain.

The newest challenge to their survival began in 1969—by a quirk. The NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund filed suit against the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, claiming that it allowed federal money for higher education to go to 10 states that ran segregated colleges in violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Grudgingly, HEW ordered the states to submit desegregation plans but said that Black colleges must be included too.

Eight states—Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, and Virginia—submitted what HEW described on June 21 as "acceptable" plans.

Mississippi, which was under the original order, submitted what one government official called a "good" plan for desegregating its white four-year state colleges but failed to submit one for its two-year colleges. As a result, it will be sued.

Louisiana, also under the original order, defied it several months ago and has been sued by the Justice Department. It faces the loss of about \$20-million in federal funds.

Desegregation for Black colleges can mean dismantlement or merger with the predominantly white state schools.

Merger usually results in raising admission standards, meaning fewer Blacks are accepted; loss of Black faculty and administrators; loss of funding and scholarships; and loss of these schools' identity as Black institutions.

One Black college that was merged in the recent period was Arkansas AM&N, now the University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff. Dr. Lawrence Davis, a former president of Arkansas AM&N, said the school

now has a mostly white faculty and student body.

Black colleges have educated 75 percent of all Black PhDs, 85 percent of all Black doctors, and 85 percent of all Black college graduates.

In the states affected by the HEW ruling, approximately 74.6 percent of the Black undergraduates attend Black colleges. For the bulk of that 74 percent, a Black college probably provided the only opportunity for Black students to obtain a college education.

Florida A&M University (FAMU), for example, the huge Black college in Tallahassee, is one of the few Florida colleges that accept freshmen who score under 300 on Florida's twelfth Grade Aptitude Test. Given the racist character of public education in Florida, many of those scoring under 300 are Black.

Part of the Florida plan accepted by HEW includes "relocation incentives" to any of FAMU's Black professors who volunteer to move to a predominantly white state college.

HEW officials claim that the states' desegregation plans won't eliminate Black colleges, but will "strengthen their attractiveness to students of all races," according to the June 24 *Wall Street Journal*.

Miles Fisher, executive director of the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education, an organization of Black college presidents, retorted, "You can't integrate white students where they don't want to go. It's only important that everyone has an opportunity to go where they want to go."

And Pete Rawlings, who heads the Maryland Black Coalition for Higher Education, said, "HEW has chosen to accept plans which a year ago it said were unacceptable. The federal government has abandoned its responsibility, and once again Blacks have been deceived."

## Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



## July 4 belongs to women, too

Preparations for an orgy of celebrations on the two-hundredth birthday of the United States have begun. It's not that there's anything wrong with celebrating the first American revolution. Quite the opposite—it holds a special place in the revolutionary tradition of the American people. The revolution opened a new era of promise, and the insurrectionary spirit of 1776 is held dear by all who oppose tyranny.

But if the opening shots of the American Bicentennial are any indication, the current rulers of America are going to escalate their twisting and distortion of history. They plan to usurp the Fourth of July and claim for themselves the heritage of the struggle for independence from Britain. We are in for a disgusting display of lies, national chauvinism, racism, and sexism.

On July 4 this year, for instance, CBS-TV has scheduled to begin a series of one-minute specials that are to run between now and July 4, 1976. They are called "Bicentennial Minutes" and supposedly describe bits of American history. The "Minutes" will include Richard Crenna explaining the impact of a "fuel crisis" on Boston in 1774, Charlton Heston describing George Washington's reaction to the Boston Tea Party, and Jean Stapleton revealing *Martha Washington's secret recipe to prevent cherries from spoiling*.

Now it's true that women of the revolutionary period discovered new and better ways to preserve food—not in order to make cherry pies for George, but as a matter of survival. When salt became scarce, for instance, women discovered that meat could be preserved in a lye made from walnut ashes. That's hardly the whole picture, however, nor the most significant part.

One out of five women in 1776 was Black, and most Black women were slaves. Is CBS going to tell their story?

American women, both Black and white, in addition to doing domestic tasks, made guns, spied on the British for the revolutionary forces, smuggled

supplies to the Army, rode cross-country carrying intelligence, and captured British scouts. They were also the main source of medical knowledge and help.

One of the most outstanding—and most forgotten—revolutionary intellectuals of the time was a woman, Mercy Otis Warren. She was the only participant in the American revolution to write a history of the struggle, and one of the very few to stand in opposition to the wars against the Indians.

After the revolution Mercy Otis Warren, along with Sam Adams, James Warren, and others, demanded that a bill of rights be included in the proposed American Constitution.

Mercy Otis Warren's intellectual stature was exceptional, but political activity among women at the time was not. Several political associations of women existed. Groups of women identified themselves as Daughters of Liberty and organized activities in support of the patriot cause.

The Daughters of Liberty in New York City appropriated the statue of George III and melted it down for ammunition.

And there were the Molly Pitchers who fought on the battlefields, and others who disguised themselves as men and entered the Army.

In 1840, Charles Francis Adams, grandson of Abigail and John Adams, wrote: "The heroism of the females of the Revolution has gone from memory with the generation that witnessed it, and nothing, absolutely nothing, remains upon the ear of the young of the present day."

You can bet that the "ear of the young" will not hear the true story of women in the American revolution from the businessmen and bankers who are organizing the American Bicentennial celebrations. That story will have to be told by the revolutionary-minded forces on the scene today—the women and men who are today's counterparts of the Mercy Otis Warrens and Sam Adamses.

The bicentennial is a good time to begin.



**How appropriate can you get?**—Such corporations as U.S. Steel, Procter & Gamble, and Standard Oil have been peddling mini-courses to high schools to help improve the student image of big business. Exxon has produced some teaching guides with the help of Isaac Asimov, the science fiction writer.

**Maybe their brains are looser**—"Fifty-four percent of the men and 22 percent of the women were able to move their ears. That the figure is twice as high for men can possibly depend on the fact that men are even in child-

hood more interested in sports."—Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress on Genetics.

**As long as there's crooked laws anyway**—"There will always be crooked lawyers."—Chesterfield Smith, president of the American Bar Association.

**How suspicious can you get?**—"The chairman of the House Judiciary Committee said that President Nixon's dismissal of Archibald Cox last fall and his continuing refusal to give White House evidence to Congress and the courts raised doubts about whether

the Watergate cover-up had ever ended."—Washington news dispatch.

**Safe for safecrackers**—A Japanese scientist studied the effects of furyl acrylamide, an additive that assures food won't rot. He found that food handlers develop severe dermatitis from the stuff. "In the worst cases," he said, "the skin on people's hands peeled off like gloves, nails became deformed, and even fingerprints disappeared."

**American standards**—Until recently a family of four was officially regarded

as poor if their income was under \$82.50 a week. But what with inflation, the Labor Department has decided that a family of four can enjoy an income of as high as \$87.50 and still be considered poor. Eighty-eight dollars, however, and you're part of the Affluent Society.

**Balanced diagnosis**—"He is not ill in a clinical sense."—Dr. Berthold E. Schwartz, psychiatric consultant to the Essex County, N.J., Hospital Center, after reading the transcript of the presidential tapes.

## National Picket Line

### Frank Lovell



## For workers control of Postal Service

Capitalism works in devious ways, sometimes to the detriment of the most elementary needs of the capitalist system. Mail delivery is a glaring example of this.

The old U.S. Post Office Department performed a necessary social function for almost a century of capitalist expansion in this country. It delivered the mails efficiently at a low cost, subsidized by the federal government. It satisfied the needs of business and financial establishments for rapid and reliable delivery of parcels and communications.

It did not pretend to be a profit-making institution. It was a modest form of "social planning," a kind of capitalist "socialism" in a small way.

Because of its public character the Post Office was available to all, with the result that anyone could send a note to a friend or relative for a nominal price.

In accordance with the dog-eat-dog nature of their system, there were sectors of the capitalist class that took selfish advantage of this system. Railroads charged exorbitant rates and got special grants from Congress for carrying the mails. Politicians got kickbacks when they could get an appropriation to build a new post office in their home district. And each new administration in Washington exercised the option of appointing thousands of new postmasters. This was all part of the system of political rewards and was chalked

off as overhead expense.

The men and women who sorted and delivered the mails received average rates of pay, and a job with the Post Office was considered pretty good because it was steady. But this changed after World War II, and by 1970 the pay for postal workers was so far below average that a strike was called in New York City, which spread rapidly across the country.

Congress then decided that something drastic had to be done. On July 1, 1971, the old Post Office was turned into the new U.S. Postal Service under private management. The idea was to use the techniques of modern business, including the profit motive, to get the mail system functioning properly.

A corporation was set up, subsidized with federal money, and a board of directors appointed.

The new postal corporation is authorized to issue up to 10 billion dollars in bonds to expand its operations, and part of the expansion is to pay dividends to the bondholders. This satisfies the profit motive.

The performance of the U.S. Postal Service after three years shows that the new private managers know how to look after themselves but are not so good at delivering mail. Most letters take longer to reach their destination today than they did in 1971.

The first thing they did was cut the work force by 21,000, reducing the total number of postal workers to about 700,000. The wages of these workers remain below average.

The price of a first-class postage stamp was boosted from eight cents to a dime and income rose to \$10.8 billion a year. But the annual loss is running at \$415 million, more than double what it was in 1971 before the private managers put their hands in.

Postal workers in New York recently protested the low wages and inefficiency of the Postal Service. Their central slogan, addressed to all who use the mails, was, "It's time to get angry!"

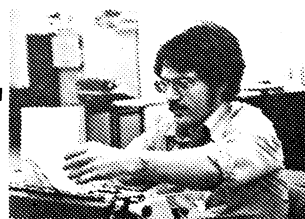
Getting angry won't deliver mail, but it could force a few changes. The record shows it's time to kick out the profit system. That would help.

It would also be a good idea for postal workers to take control of the postal system. They will know how to unsnarl the tangled delivery schedules and get the bugs out of some of the high-priced letter-sorting machines that have been introduced.

There can be no return to the old-time Post Office, but the system of capitalist "socialism" was vastly better than the new forays of free enterprise. Workers control of production, and their management of necessary social services, will be a long step forward in the direction of real socialism.

## ¡La Raza en Acción!

### Miguel Pendás



## Local cops aid 'la migra'

The Immigration department is rightly despised in the Chicano community for its racist treatment of *la raza*.

Not only does *la migra* abuse and deport our brothers and sisters who don't have documents, but they use their authority to harass all of *la raza*. They stop anyone who looks or sounds Latin and ask them to prove their citizenship. This has resulted in *mexicanos* with visas and even citizens being jailed and deported.

It was recently revealed that Social Security applications are being secretly coded to tip off *la migra* to suspected undocumented workers. In other instances school officials, teachers, and welfare workers have been pressured to act as cops for the government.

Among the more willing accomplices of the Immigration service are local police. Chicano activists in San Diego, Calif., have exposed some of the ways in which the local cops help the border patrol.

Chicanos in this border city are under a constant reign of terror by *la migra*. There are 250,000 Chicanos in San Diego; last year there were 157,000 deportations.

Herman Baca, a spokesman for the Ad Hoc Committee on Chicano Rights, tells me that in

September 1972, San Diego County Sheriff John Duffy ordered all cab drivers to turn in anyone who by their "mannerisms" or "dress" appeared to be an "illegal alien." Duffy threatened to revoke the permit of any cabbie who was caught not cooperating.

This use of police-state methods outraged many citizens in the Chicano community, and protests led by the committee forced Duffy to withdraw his order.

However, other forms of harassment continued. One instance was reported in which San Diego cops barged into a church in the Chicano community, stopped the service, and checked everybody's papers. Those who couldn't produce proof of citizenship were hauled away.

These same kinds of practices are carried out in other cities as well. In Los Angeles, both the city police and the county sheriffs claim that they do not actively seek to apprehend people without papers. They say that if they happen to pick someone up on some other charge, such as a traffic violation, and discover the person to be here "illegally," only then do they hold them for Immigration. But antideportation activists say this is a lie; local cops here too, when they can't think of any better excuse to hassle Chicanos, stop them

in bars, on the streets, and at sports events and demand they prove their citizenship.

San Diego activists have filed a lawsuit in an attempt to block the illegal use of local cops to enforce immigration laws. Charles Nabarrete of the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund, which is a sponsor of the suit, maintains that local cops do not have the right to ask for proof of citizenship at any time. According to the law, this function can only be performed by the Immigration service.

Reacting to the Chicano protests, local authorities reasserted their right to "enforce immigration law"; that is, to use immigration law as a cover for harassment of Chicanos. California Attorney General Evelle Younger and the department of justice have both replied to the committee by supporting the right of local cops (indeed, the "duty," says Younger) to interrogate people about their immigration status.

If we can put a stop to the use of local cops in *la migra's* reign of terror, it would be an important victory for the antideportation movement. Of course, we know from experience that legal rulings aren't enough to accomplish this. Only by building a mass movement based in the barrios can we really stop the racist abuses.

By JEAN WALKER

"The American Dream' going, going . . ."

This was the headline appropriately chosen by *Cleveland Press* editors for their story on the recent survey of young people's attitudes by pollster

believe that 'special interests' run the political machinery of the nation, with little true participation by the mass of American citizens."

- "Four out of five are critical of the nation's foreign policy, and predict that involvements similar to Vietnam are inevitable."
- "More than 90 per cent of all

youth felt that abortion, relations between consenting homosexuals, and premarital or extramarital sexual relations were all wrong. In 1973 only extramarital sex is clearly disapproved. Condemnation of abortion dropped among working youth from 63 to 48 percent, among college youth from 36 to 32 percent. Disapproval of

released last month. It proclaimed that "isolationism" has jumped to a new high since World War II, while "internationalist views" among Americans have plummeted to a new low.

But then you read on and find out that what they mean by "isolationism" is 1) that 42 percent think it is not important for the U. S. to be "Number One, 'the world's most powerful nation'"; 2) that more than half feel military spending is too high; and 3) a majority would not want the U. S. to use military force to "help" Japan or Europe.

### Confirms SWP analysis

But despite such distortions, polls like the Yankelovich survey, together with the manifestations of growing combativity of young workers, confirm the analysis made by the Socialist Workers Party of the potential and dynamic of the youth radicalization that began in the 1960s.

The political resolution passed by the party's 1971 convention contrasted the SWP's view of the importance of this radicalization to the views of the other radical and socialist currents:

"Our opponents tend to believe that if the unions have not been radicalized, or if the radicalization is not yet reflected in consciously radical union struggles, then there is no real radicalization."

"This view leaves out of account the fact that the radicalization in the 1930s did not begin with the existing



Young workers: Not awed by authority.

union movement, but outside of it. It did not begin with the radicalization of the industrial workers, but with the intellectuals, the students, the veterans, the unemployed, and the farmers. . . .

"Neither the reformists nor the sectarians can grasp that today's radicalization is already the biggest, deepest, and broadest in American history — and that it points toward the radicalization of the only social force that can wrest power from the hands of the rulers, a decisive sector of the working class. Neither can they grasp the optimistic conclusions concerning the American revolution that flow from this fact."

# Young workers dissatisfied with jobs, politicians, business

Daniel Yankelovich.

The conclusion of the survey, says the *Cleveland Press*, "is that today's young, blue-collar Americans are becoming as frustrated as collegians were during the Sixties. They are souring on business, patriotism and traditional values."

Numerous polls and studies in recent years have confirmed the spread of radical attitudes to broader layers of the American people, but the Yankelovich survey is the broadest so far. It is based on 3,522 one-to-two-hour interviews with Americans from 16 to 25 years old. Since it was conducted in the spring of 1973, the results can be assumed to understate the degree of radicalization, since they do not reflect the full impact of Watergate or the experience of the energy crisis.

The Yankelovich survey begins by saying, "These first few years of the decade of the 1970's point to vast changes in the complexion and outlook of an entire generation of young people. Indeed, so startling are the shifts in values and beliefs between the late 1960's when our youth studies were first launched and the present time that social historians of the future should have little difficulty in identifying the end of one era and the beginning of a new one."

The survey attributes the underlying causes of this shift to 1) the impact of the Vietnam war; and 2) "the diffusion of a set of new values that incubated on the nation's campuses in the 1960's and have now spread out to the entire present youth generation."

Here are some of the most significant findings of the Yankelovich survey:

### Politics, business, democracy

- "... more than six out of ten young adults today believe that the society is democratic in name only. They



Black workers: See a society of 'rampant racism.'



Militant/Flax Hermes

Students of the 1960s. Now many young workers think along same lines.

young people hold that business is too concerned with its own profits, and insufficiently concerned with serving the public."

- In 1969 only 24 percent of non-college youth felt that big business needed fundamental change. Today 45 percent think big business "needs reform or elimination."

- "In 1969, 44 per cent of the non-college group believed that our political parties needed fundamental change. Today 64 per cent hold this belief."

- In 1969, 60 percent of noncollege youth felt patriotism was an important personal value. In 1973 the figure was only 40 percent.

### Black youth

- Among Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican youth, "the prevailing view is that this is a sick society (55 percent) and not democratic (76 percent)." These youth feel this is a society of "rampant racism."

### Religion & sexual freedom

- The percentage of noncollege youth who feel "religion is a very important value" has gone down from 64 percent in 1969 to 42 percent in 1973. Among college youth it went from 38 to 28 percent.

- Sixty-one percent of students want more sexual freedom, as do 47 percent of young workers, which puts them where college youth were in 1969.

- In 1969 a majority of working

homosexual relations by working youth dropped even more sharply, from 72 to 47 percent.

### Work

Attitudes of young people toward their jobs are summed up by Yankelovich as: "They want interesting and challenging work but they assume that their employers cannot—or will not—provide it. By their own say-so, they are inclined to take 'less crap' than older workers. . . . Nor are they as awed by organizational and hierarchical authority." He says that the higher expectations and new values of working youth "inevitably clash with the built-in rigidities of the traditional work place."

### Interpretations

The results of these types of surveys always have to be looked at very closely. The surveys are carried out by agencies of the ruling class (the Yankelovich study was sponsored by five foundations including the John D. Rockefeller III Fund and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation), and the questions and interpretations are formulated from the point of view of the capitalist class.

For example, Yankelovich explains the desire of young workers for self-fulfillment as "a greater preoccupation with self at the expense of sacrificing one's self for family, employer and community."

Fred Hechinger of the editorial board of the *New York Times* wrote a column about the survey that went further. He called the new values of working-class youth "disturbing" and a revival of "hedonistic individualism." For the ruling class, when workers strive for a better life, it is "hedonistic individualism," but when the capitalists grub for private profits it is the height of civic responsibility!

A similar use of words to disguise reality could be seen in a Gallup poll

## Youth wants Bill of New Rights

One of the most significant findings of the Yankelovich survey is that youth have developed what the pollster calls a "Bill of New Rights" they think the American people deserve. These are:

- "To be able to send children to college whether or not they can afford to do so."

- "To participate in decisions that affect their work."

- "To enjoy a secure retirement."

- "To have access to the best medical care whether they can afford it or not."

Stated in other words, these "new rights" are: universal, free education through the college level; workers control of production; social

care of the aged; and socialized medicine. All these goals run counter to the private property and profit system of capitalism. And all of them are part of the platforms of the Socialist Workers Party candidates running for office in 15 states.

Just as it took mass struggles by working people to win such rights as free public education through high school, and Social Security, so it will take struggle to win these additional social rights. The fact that masses of young people consider these things rights and are willing to fight for them bodes well for the socialist movement and for the struggle to transform this society into one where human welfare comes before profits.



# SWP leaders discuss state of radical

By CAROLINE LUND

The national committee of the Socialist Workers Party met in New York last month for four days of discussions covering the international political situation, strategy and tactics of the world Trotskyist movement, and the state of the radicalization and the class struggle in the United States.

The national committee of some 50 members is the elected leadership of the SWP between its conventions. Organizers of party branches across the country were also present.

A particularly rich discussion took place on developments in the U.S. It was an exchange of experiences by participants and leaders in the broad range of struggles occurring today—from the fight for Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese control of the schools in New York's District 1, to the building of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and from the San Francisco Sears and municipal workers' strikes, to the protests against police murders of Blacks in various cities, to the defense of the victims of the Wounded Knee frame-up.

The meeting decided to mobilize the membership of the SWP for a socialist Activists and Educational Conference this summer. At this gathering, experiences will be shared and discussions held on many aspects of the class struggle in this country.

The meeting opened with reports and extended discussion on international questions. Reports were given by Gus Horowitz and Mary-Alice Waters on the international political situation and on the discussion in the world Trotskyist movement over strategy and tactics (see article on next page).

In his political report, SWP national secretary Jack Barnes moved from these international developments to the two-sided offensive of the U.S. ruling class: against its imperialist com-

ficialdom to provide any leadership in these protests.

The other side of the U.S. ruling class offensive is the crackdown on labor that was at the heart of Nixon's wage-control "New Economic Policy" launched in August 1971.

Barnes listed some of the manifestations of this multifaceted attack that is eroding the standard of living and quality of life of the masses of working people: the rising cost of living—of food, rents, medical care, mortgages, transportation; cutbacks in education and child-care programs; the hidden cutbacks, due to inflation, in welfare, food stamps, unemployment benefits, and pensions; and the cutbacks in job training and upgrading programs for women, Blacks, and Spanish-speaking people.

This attempt by the capitalists to put a lid on concessions and put an indirect squeeze on living standards has had a contradictory impact on the labor movement.

On the one hand, the capitalist offensive has exposed the weakness of the union movement under its current leadership. The present union officials have proved incapable of fighting for the needs of the working class as a whole in the face of such challenges as automation, government wage controls, and the use of racism and sexism to keep broad sections of workers in poverty and insecurity.

Barnes noted that this weakness of the union movement stems from the white, male job-trust attitude of the union officialdom, combined with their subordination of the unions to the Democratic Party.

But on the other hand, the capitalists' attack on living standards has resulted in growing rank-and-file initiatives to fight back. This combativeness is related to the changing composition of the work force—with the influx of more women, oppressed na-



Militant/Howard Petrick

Striking San Francisco nurses. SWP leaders see newly formed Coalition of Labor Union Women as big step forward for working women.

wage increases to benefit the lowest-paid workers, and preferential hiring and upgrading of women, Black, and Spanish-speaking workers have all come to the fore in recent struggles.

A major development in this regard is the formation and growth of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. Linda Jenness, the coordinator of the SWP's women's liberation activities, remarked in the discussion that "CLUW obviously meets a long postponed and burning need of millions of working women, and we want to do everything we can to help build it."

Barnes noted that the new combativity of women workers, of the San Francisco municipal workers, the Los Angeles County employees, and the teachers are not exceptions, but rather harbingers of the struggles to come.

At the same time, he said, there has not been any progress toward independent political action on the part of either the labor movement or the Black movement. The independent Chicano parties, La Raza Unida parties, have, however, continued to survive as examples of independent political action, although these parties face significant problems.

## Spreading radicalization

Despite the decline in struggles on the campuses and the absence of national demonstrations as during the antiwar movement, the reporter pointed out that local struggles have been breaking out in many areas.

In addition to the union struggles already mentioned, protests have taken place in the Black community against police terror squads such as STRESS in Detroit and SWAT in Atlanta. San Francisco Blacks fought back against Democratic Mayor Alioto's racist "Zebra" police dragnet and "Death Angel" frame-up.

He pointed to the exemplary struggle for control of the schools in New York's District 1 waged by the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese communities. New York SWP leader Dennis Richter emphasized that the District 1 struggle is the most important community struggle in the past few years and a model for revolutionists to learn from.

It was noted that struggles by women have permeated virtually every institution, and women are also moving into leadership roles both in the Black struggle and in the fight to

transform the unions. Protests by Vietnam veterans, prisoners, Native Americans, and gay people also continue.

All of these areas of struggle and ferment are reflections of a deepening radicalization, said Barnes. What began as the "credibility gap" during the Vietnam war has broadened under the impact of inflation, Watergate, and the energy crisis into a deeper questioning of capitalist institutions and politicians, and doubt of the possibility of further progress under this system.

The three main instruments that the ruling class has traditionally used to confuse and derail the American people from struggle—patriotism (and "national security"), anticommunism, and racism—have been progressively undermined.

The radical moods that many in the 1960s thought would be limited to



Oakland, California. Protests against cop terror in Black community have occurred in many cities.

petitors in Europe and Japan, and against the American working people.

## Sudden breakdowns

Through the energy crisis, U.S. monopolies dealt a blow to European and Japanese capitalism. But the fuel shortage also had the effect of highlighting the irrationality and weakness of the capitalist system—its vulnerability to sudden breakdowns, its inability to provide for the needs of the masses, and its production of inflation and unemployment for working people while the monopolies and speculators reap superprofits.

Barnes pointed to the meat boycott in the spring of 1973, the truckers' strike, and the West Virginia miners' walkout last spring as examples of spontaneous explosions of protest by working people over these monopoly-created shortages—despite the incapacity of the current trade-union of-

ticalities, and young workers, including a significant number from off the campuses—as well as to the changing attitudes and values of young workers.

The broader questions that labor is faced with today have been raised in teachers' strikes across the country. These struggles have posed the union movement's need for allies—in particular, the need to win the support of the Black community.

Developments as diverse as the San Francisco municipal workers' strike and the American Federation of Teachers-National Education Association merger discussions have posed the need for united labor action. Several teachers spoke in the discussion under the political report on the increased discussion among teachers in the light of their experiences in struggle over the past few years.

Questions of safety on the job, the escalator clause, across-the-board

## Solidarity with Argentine PST

The following telegram was sent from the Socialist Workers Party national committee to the Socialist Workers Party of Argentina (PST), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. In recent months, four members of the PST have been assassinated by rightist goons for their role in building an anti-Peronist left wing in the trade unions.

The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party sends revolutionary greetings to our sister party, the PST, and voices its solidarity with the struggle against the growing repression. The consistent active participation of the PST in the Argentine workers movement and its dedication to the battle for a socialist Argentina has made it a target for terroristic acts by those benefiting from the oppression and exploitation of the working class.

We hail your efforts to form a united front of all workers organizations and tendencies in defense of the democratic rights won by the Argentine workers through their mass struggles.

Long live the PST!

Long live the Fourth International!

# ization, growth of struggles

the campuses are more and more characteristic of young workers. But the new moods among young workers are not simply a remnant of the radicalization of the 1960s; they are the product of an ongoing process of critical evaluation. These new attitudes have been shaped by the impact of the radicalization that began in the 1960s combined with the impact of inflation, the deteriorating quality of life, Watergate, and experiences on the job.

Barnes pointed to the recent survey of attitudes among youth by pollster Daniel Yankelovich as further confirmation of the spread of the radicalization to the working class and of ruling class concern with it (see article on page 13). Plenum participants testified to this change in mood with examples from on the job and community struggles.

## Misjudgments

The U.S. ruling class has repeatedly misjudged the depth of this radicalization—from their miscalculation of the degree of antiwar sentiment in the 1960s, to their misjudgment in thinking Watergate would somehow go away.

Another example of their misjudgment of popular mood was the attempt by San Francisco Mayor Alioto to whip up a racist frenzy over the so-called "Zebra killings." This racist campaign just didn't go over, and Alioto ended up looking ridiculous as he was answered by the Black community and the Muslims.

The rulers are looking to, and preparing even today for, the 1976 elections, said Barnes, as the hope for recouping some of their losses and propping up faith in their rule. One of their ploys will be to hold up the phony election "reform" laws as the way to clean up the Watergate mess. More important, he predicted, will be to search for a "new FDR" that could reinspire confidence in the capitalist government and "bring the people back together."

But the situation of U.S. imperialism—faced by the colonial revolution, inflation, and the growing competition with its imperialist rivals—does not allow for a new long period of stability or prosperity with the capitalists able to grant enough concessions to working people to answer their expectations.

"We see a perspective of the deepening of antireactionary trends in U.S. politics," said Barnes, "a perspective of spontaneous explosions, of bigger struggles to come, and no fundamental reversal of the radicalization process."

The discussion that began under the political report carried over to the report by Socialist Workers Party organization secretary Barry Sheppard. The report dealt with how the SWP is relating to the spread of the radicalization, with the party's work in building the wide range of struggles occurring today, and with the prospects for building the revolutionary party.

A supplementary report followed by Larry Seigle on the SWP's fight for democratic rights in the context of the Watergate revelations. He noted that the SWP's suit against government spying and intimidation, together with the party's challenge to the antidemocratic campaign "reform" laws have put the SWP in the center of the fight against Watergate-style harassment of the socialist movement, Black movement, and labor movement.

"We are the only party that has campaigned to get out the truth about the FBI's secret 'COINTELPRO' operations and disruption programs

against the Black movement and socialist movement," Seigle stated.

These two reports, and the discussion that followed, projected the importance of the SWP's initiatives and the national scope of the party's involvement in organizing struggles on the local level. Sheppard pointed especially to the increased potential for class struggle actions in the labor movement and for struggles by the Black community.

National committee member Maceo Dixon spoke on the distrust and hatred for the cops in the Black community, which can mean wide support for protests against police brutality and murder of Blacks. In several cities the SWP has been key in helping to initiate these struggles and in draw-



Militant/Maceo Dixon

SWP plans to help build united actions demanding immediate independence for Portugal's African colonies.

ing others into united action. SWP leaders described how this was done in the current fight against police spying and terror in Atlanta; in building demonstrations against the cop murder of Tyrone Guyton in Oakland; and in organizing a rally in the Los Angeles Black community against the police massacre tactics at the alleged Symbionese Liberation Army hideout.

National committee members Jeff Mackler of the Hayward, Calif., Federation of Teachers and Nat Weinstein of the Painters union in San Francisco discussed the lessons of the Sears and municipal workers' strikes there and the role of the party in encouraging the mobilization of the whole labor movement behind those strikes.

National committee member Elizabeth Stone described the inspiring ex-

perience of socialist women who participated in the founding of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and then found an enthusiastic response in taking back word of the new organization to women on their jobs.

What emerged from the discussion was the scope and diversity of the SWP's activity. These include defense activities for victimized militants such as SWP member Salm Kolis and Black youth J.B. Johnson; support for the women's Equal Rights Amendment and protests around infringements of the right to abortion; defense of the rights of Haitian immigrants and of undocumented Mexican workers; building of the United Farm Workers boycott; fighting for child care and against cutbacks in education; work in defense of political prisoners in Chile; activities in solidarity with the African revolution; and an intensifying campaign in solidarity with the workers of Portugal and the peoples of the Portuguese colonies.

## Socialist campaigns

SWP leaders pointed out that the party has promoted these struggles on another level as well: through its socialist election campaigns in 15 states and the District of Columbia, and through its recent successful drive to increase and regularize street sales of *The Militant*.

The SWP candidates have provided leadership for struggles of the labor movement, Black movement, and Chicano movement by speaking out in their defense, answering the lies and attacks of the ruling class, and explaining the lessons of these struggles. In addition, the socialist campaigners are able to explain the basic ideas of Marxism and the vision of a socialist society to broad layers of the American people.

Other gains in spreading the ideas of socialism and the lessons of today's struggles have been registered through the SWP's summer school programs, public forums, and sales of revolutionary books and pamphlets.

This national committee meeting was seen as part of an ongoing discussion in the SWP on the state of the radicalization in the United States and strategy and tactics of the revolutionary party.

The meeting slated a Socialist Activists and Educational Conference in collaboration with the Young Socialist Alliance for mid-August in Ohio at which these questions will be discussed further. The conference will include special meetings where participants in trade-union struggles, Black community struggles, and other movements can exchange their experiences, as well as lectures on each of the major aspects of the radicalization.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

SWP gubernatorial candidate Sherry Smith confronts Houston Mayor Hofheinz, demanding end to local police-FBI infiltration and disruption of socialist and Black groups.

# Debate on questions of world revolution

A large part of the recent meeting of the Socialist Workers Party national committee was devoted to discussion of international questions.

A report on the international political situation by Gus Horowitz centered on an evaluation of the results of the détente policy in Southeast Asia and the Mideast and an assessment of the growing economic problems in the advanced capitalist countries.

Horowitz pointed to the developments in Southeast Asia and the Mideast over the past year as confirmation of two of the main points made by the SWP in assessing the meaning of the détente at its national committee meeting a year ago. One was that the détente would not mean an end to the class struggle—as the imperialists would like—but rather its unfolding in a new context. The second point was that the détente would not mean an era of peace, but rather would embolden the imperialists and increase the danger of war.

He cited the October Mideast war as stemming primarily from the determination by the Arab masses to resist Israeli aggression. It offers an example of how the struggle of the oppressed will continue to break through, and of how Washington is still willing to bring the world to the brink of nuclear war when its interests are threatened.

"And U.S. imperialism's latest diplomatic successes and investment in the Arab East are rooting it even deeper in the Middle East powderkeg," said Horowitz, "increasing the chances that it will take even greater risks of war in defense of its interests there."

In regard to the situation of the advanced capitalist countries, Horowitz discussed the increasing rivalry between the capitalists of the United States, Europe, and Japan, although U.S. imperialism remains "top dog" in this scramble for markets and control over raw materials.

The reporter took note of the growing synchronization of economic downturns in the imperialist countries, the spread of "double-digit" inflation, balance-of-payments deficits, and political instability. What this means for the workers is increasing attempts by the capitalist rulers to cut back the living standards of the masses.

This occurs at a time, however, of greater combativity of workers in the advanced capitalist countries.

Horowitz pointed to the upsurges in Ethiopia and Portugal as examples of the explosiveness and rapidity with which the class struggle can break through in unexpected areas.

Several important questions of strategy and tactics of the world Trotskyist movement were also debated, with the presentation of two differing positions. These included questions relating to the Portuguese revolution, developments in Spain and Argentina, and the recent French presidential elections.

In addition to continuing the party's work in defense of Latin American political prisoners, especially in Chile, the meeting projected a campaign in solidarity with the workers' struggles in Portugal and the fight for independence of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau.



# Court declares Boston schools segregated, orders busing plan

By JOAN PALTRINERI

BOSTON—A new stage has opened in the decade-long battle over school desegregation here.

Just hours after schools closed for the summer June 21, federal judge Arthur Garrity Jr. ruled on a suit brought by the NAACP 15 months ago against the all-white Boston school committee.

Garrity's 152-page decision completely upheld the plaintiffs' charges of racial discrimination in the Boston public schools. He ruled the entire school system "unconstitutionally segregated" and ordered the city to "dismantle the dual system" forthwith.

School officials, the judge wrote, "have knowingly carried out a systematic program of segregation affecting all of the city's students, teachers and school facilities. . . ."

The court's admission of the crimes of the school committee is a victory for the Black community and a serious blow to the racist demagogues who have been whipping up hysterical opposition to "forced busing."

It proves that the outcry over "forced busing" and "neighborhood schools" has merely been an excuse for maintaining a segregated system in which



Boston racists have mobilized against school desegregation. April 3 march drew 20,000.

Blacks are relegated to the worst schools.

Now the Democratic and Republican politicians who pose as "friends of the Black community" are bending to racist pressure to appeal the ruling. Mayor Kevin White, who in the past has claimed to support the 1965 Massachusetts law against school segregation, pledged at a June 25 news conference to use city funds to back the school committee's appeal.

Several weeks ago Governor Francis Sargent also abandoned support for the antisegregation law and proposed that desegregation be made "voluntary"—that is, subject to the veto of racist whites. Now that his position has become inoperative, Sargent says only that he will obey the law even though he doesn't necessarily agree with it.

Democratic gubernatorial hopefuls Robert Quinn and Michael Dukakis have remained silent since the ruling was announced as they jockeyed for the racist vote.

Garrity's ruling brings to the fore the question of how and under whose direction the school system should now be reorganized. Garrity's solution to the racist discrimination he so

forcefully condemns is to have the same bodies he has just pronounced guilty, the school committee and the state board of education, decide how desegregation shall be carried out.

While the judge set guidelines for a long-range desegregation plan involving all schools, he ordered compliance with the state board's more limited plan for this fall. This plan would reduce the number of majority-Black schools from 68 to 44 by busing 6,000 to 20,000 students.

Left up to the school committee and the state board, integration per se is no guarantee of a decent education for Black students. Black parents have tended to support integration, seeing in it the possibility for their children to attend better schools, but feelings are mixed about the state board of education's busing plan.

As 15-year-old Ernest Hurd, a student at all-Black English High School, told a reporter, "I want to go to high school, but I'll quit before I go to South Boston and get killed." South Boston is an all-white community where racist sentiment is particularly deep. There is a genuine fear on the part of Black parents about busing their children to school in "Southie."

A group of Black ministers recently issued a statement condemning the proposed state plan. They say the entire burden for desegregation has been placed on the Black community, and they call for Blacks to boycott the state plan in September.

Donald Gurewitz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Massachusetts, stated in an interview with the *Boston Globe*, "It is the Black community, and the Black community alone, that has the right to decide these questions."

Gurewitz's position is that it is up to the Black community to decide whether Black children shall be bused, and if so to which schools, or whether all-Black schools should be maintained and improved.

He calls for a massive crash pro-

*Continued on page 22*

# NY student leader quits Democrats to support SWP slate

By SCOTT COOPER

WHITE PLAINS, N.Y.—The Westchester County campus coordinator of Democrat Howard Samuels's campaign for governor publicly resigned at a news conference held here June 26.

Stating that she found working with the Democrats to be like "banging my head against the wall," Lydia Vanacoro of Yonkers has thrown her support to the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor Derrick Morrison.

Vanacoro, a student at Westchester Community College (WCC) for the past two years, had served as vice-president and as president of the WCC Democratic Club. She had been an active Democrat since she traveled to New Hampshire to canvass for the McGovern campaign.

One of the main reasons for Vanacoro's switch to the SWP campaign is Howard Samuels's "hypocritical sexism." Citing incidents in which the campaign asked her and other women to dress up as cheerleaders while Samuels took a walking tour, she stated that "coming from a man who publicly advocates women's equality, his hypocritical sexism was blatantly exposed."

Derrick Morrison, who also appeared at the news conference, welcomed Vanacoro's support, observing that her "disillusionment with Democratic Party politics was reflective of the growing disgust with the two parties of the ruling rich in this country." "In my campaign," he added, "I am explaining that neither Howard Samuels nor Malcolm Wilson, nor any other Democratic or Republican party politician, will ever be able to solve the problems facing the people of New York."

Referring to Samuels's many ties to big business and the oil companies, Morrison declared, "In contrast, my campaign stands on the side of working people and students."

He cited the examples of his campaign's support for the United Farm Workers; the District 1 school struggle; the defense of the Attica Brothers, Martin Sostre, and the Wounded Knee militants; and the defense of the Black students almost expelled from Ossining High School this spring. He called for "the immediate repeal of the new law in New York that only further limits the right of a woman to abortion."

When asked what would make the Morrison administration any different from the present one, he stated, "I am campaigning for a socialist government that would take the factories, the schools, and other social institutions out of the hands of the bankers and businessmen and place them under the democratic control of the majority of the American people."

Vanacoro said she has decided to support the SWP campaign "because they are fighting for complete change in society. With the Socialist Workers Party there is hope for an end to Watergate politics."

The news conference received coverage in the 10 major Westchester County daily newspapers and on a local radio station.



Militant/Betsy Waldheim

SWP candidate Donald Gurewitz: 'Black community has the right to decide desegregation plan.'

# Socialist testifies for welfare rights

CHICAGO—When the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights held hearings on women's rights here recently, the main topic of discussion was the welfare system.

Among those testifying was Willie Reid, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Illinois's 1st C.D. She pointed out that although the treatment of welfare recipients has always been inhuman, it has been getting even worse in the past two years.

In Illinois there has been no cost-of-living increase for welfare recipients since September 1972, even though prices have gone up 30 percent since that time. Allowances for furniture, clothing, and other needs have been eliminated.

Numerous eligibility reviews and questionnaires, accompanied by threats of case closings, come from Springfield. In day-to-day practice, welfare clients are presumed ineligible for aid unless they can prove otherwise.

"I can remember growing up on welfare myself 20 years ago," Reid said, "and I remember the humiliation that my own family experienced when the welfare investigators came to visit and check up on us. The testimony of the last three days tells me that nothing has changed in all these years."

Reid focused on one eligibility review in particular that requires all Aid to Dependent Children recipients to show their birth certificates. If citizenship can't be proved, the case will be closed and most likely reported to the Immigration department, raising a real threat of deportation.

Several Chicano welfare-rights organizers spoke at the hearings and pointed out that the welfare department is unable to communicate with Spanish-speaking recipients. All communications from Springfield are written in English, and very few Spanish-speaking personnel are hired by the department.

Nezarine Houston, an organizer for American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 2000, pointed out that there is also discrimination against women inside the public-aid department. There is a pay differential of several hundred dollars a month between case workers who have college degrees and case aides who don't, even though they do the same work. The case aides are predominantly Black women.

In addition, Houston pointed out that the pay scale of the department is so low that 15 percent of the employees, again mostly Black women, are themselves on welfare.

Willie Reid also pointed to the lack of day-care facilities. Without such fa-

cilities, women on welfare are unable to get jobs or participate in training programs to acquire the necessary skills to get a job.

Finally, Reid said that the racist discrimination and persistent unemployment fostered by the capitalist system are responsible for the plight of welfare recipients. She called for creating jobs for all through a massive public-works program and by shortening the workweek with no loss in pay.



Militant/Terry Quilico

Willie Reid, socialist candidate for Congress, denounces harassment of welfare recipients.



## Socialist stand on incorporation

# East LA: the struggle for Chicano control

The following is based on a recent speech by Manuel "Tank" Barrera, who was the Socialist Workers Party nominee for Los Angeles County sheriff in the June 4 "nonpartisan" election. Barrera received 77,744 votes.

On June 13, after this speech was given, the county board of supervisors voted unanimously to place on the Nov. 5 ballot the issue of incorporating East Los Angeles. The boundaries for the proposed city include all of unincorporated East L.A. All registered voters in the area can vote on the measure.

By MANUEL "TANK" BARRERA

Malcolm X used to say that you can organize everybody else, but when Black people start organizing, then everybody starts raising hell.

What Malcolm said back then in the 1960s is very much true today. It is also true for Chicanos, and is especially apparent in the present fight for the right of East Los Angeles to become a city.

"East Los" is at present an unincorporated area of Los Angeles County and is run by the county government. It has no form of self-government.

Converting unincorporated areas of Los Angeles County into self-governing municipalities is nothing new. And generally there is nothing unusual about it. But what was a routine operation for places like Beverly Hills, Pasadena, Glendale, and Burbank becomes a very controversial process for East L.A. There have been hot debates on radio and television and lengthy articles in the newspapers examining the pros and cons.

Why? Because East L.A. would be the largest predominantly Chicano city in the country. Eighty-three percent of its 105,000 residents are Chicanos.

### 'Mexico's second capital'

East L.A. is at the center of Chicano life in Los Angeles. This is where the massive 1970 Chicano Moratorium against the Vietnam war was held. Los Angeles County has the largest single concentration of Chicanos and *mexicanos* in the entire Southwest. East Los is thus sometimes called the "second capital of Mexico."

Over the years, portions of East L.A. have either been incorporated as part of new, predominantly Anglo cities, or they have been annexed to existing predominantly Anglo cities. This has had the effect of reducing the potential power of a single, large Chicano community.

In some cases, this was done so that Anglo businessmen and bankers could carry out urban renewal. Chicanos call it "urban removal" because the new housing that is built in those areas always costs too much for the former occupants to move back into. In addition, the industrial, commercial, and better-off residential areas of East L.A. have been annexed, leaving behind the poverty-stricken core.

The oppression that Chicanos face in this society is found in its most acute form in East L.A. It is estimated that the average resident over 25 has only 7.8 years of education. By the time Chi-



Militant/Henry Snipper

In Maravilla section of East Los Angeles, 46 percent of the population must subsist on welfare.

canos get to the sixth grade, they are already two years behind the average in reading skills. This is one reason why the area's lone high school, Garfield High, has the highest pushout rate in California. At times it is more than 50 percent.

One government study in 1968 concluded that only 27 percent of all housing in East L.A. could be considered "sound." The rest was either "dilapidated" or "deteriorating." Sixty-five percent of all housing is owned by absentee landlords.

The Maravilla district of East L.A. represents Chicano oppression and poverty at its worst. Here the Chicano population is 98 percent. Forty-six percent are subsisting on welfare or some other form of public assistance. Almost 20 percent of all families live on an income below the official poverty level.

### Gerrymandering

The political development of East L.A. is no accident either. East L.A. is gerrymandered into five state assembly districts, three state senatorial districts, and three congressional districts. None of these has a Chicano majority.

East L.A. is ruled by the all-white county board of supervisors. Chicanos cannot even elect one token supervisor because the supervisorial district in which East L.A. lies stretches all the way to the west side of town to include an Anglo majority.

Because East L.A. is unincorporated, Chicanos are cheated out of state tax rebates used for funding municipal services. The same is true for much federal funding.

Rule by the board of supervisors is complete with an occupation army—the sheriff's department.

Thus by keeping East L.A. unincorporated, disenfranchised, and intimidated, the rulers hope to keep the Chicano community from exercising a united, independent political voice.

The Socialist Workers Party supports the demand for incorporation wholeheartedly. The right to self-government is a fundamental democratic right long denied the Chicano community of East L.A. Winning this right would be a big step forward, helping to lay the basis for further struggles for genuine Chicano control of the Chicano community.

But incorporation alone will by no means alleviate the poverty and degradation of the barrio. So long as the new city is run by the Democrats and Republicans, whether they be Anglos or Mexican-Americans, no fundamental change will be accomplished. Chicanos would still not have control over the institutions that affect our lives.

This is because the Democrats and Republicans are beholden to the landlords, bankers, and big growers. They never have and they never will serve the interests of Chicanos and other oppressed people.

### Independent political action

It is only through political action independent of the Democrats and Republicans that Chicanos can wage an effective fight against their oppression. For example, in 1970, the Raza Unida Party in Crystal City, Tex., challenged the Democrats in the local elections. The independent Chicano

party won some seats, and eventually gained control of the school board and city administration.

As a result of this victory, Chicanos in Crystal City won some important gains: bilingual education was introduced into the schools, racist teachers were fired, taxes were levied on the Del Monte packing plant to provide funds for housing and schools.

Crystal City gives just an inkling of what could be done in East L.A. under real Chicano control.

Spanish could be made an official language on a par with English, and bilingual education instituted in the schools. No longer would Chicano children be penalized for speaking their own language.

As I advocated in my campaign, the hated sheriff's department—which is used to brutalize and intimidate Chicanos—could be removed and replaced with a police force drawn from and controlled by the Chicano community.

Laws could be passed making it illegal to discriminate against Chicanos on the job, in the schools, in housing. Preferential hiring could be introduced to help Chicanos make up for past discrimination.

The city administration could outlaw the selling of scab lettuce and grapes.

The complicity between city officials and *la migra* [Immigration authorities] could be ended and harassment and deportation of *mexicanos* without papers halted.

Laws could be passed instituting rent control, making it illegal to charge more than 10 percent of the tenant's income for rent.

Child-care centers could be built so that women who want to work or go to school would be free to do so.

A crash program could be instituted to build low-income housing, mass transportation, hospitals, and schools in the barrios.

### Who would pay?

How would all this be paid for? Business and homeowner opponents of cityhood have argued that a city of East L.A. would not have the economic resources to accomplish anything.

The truth is that the only way the needed reconstruction of the Chicano community could take place is if the commercial and industrial businesses that make huge profits from Chicanos' labor were taxed to pay for it. Chicanos are an oppressed people. Most of us work for a living. We should not be the ones to bear the burden. The federal and state governments should provide priority funding for housing, medical and recreational facilities, transportation, and child care.

The government uses \$100-billion for its war machine. This "defense" budget should be abolished and the money used for East L.A. and other oppressed communities.

Who would run the city? In my opinion, genuine Chicano control of East L.A. would mean democratically elected councils of barrio residents deciding how much rent people should pay and how federal and state funds should be used.

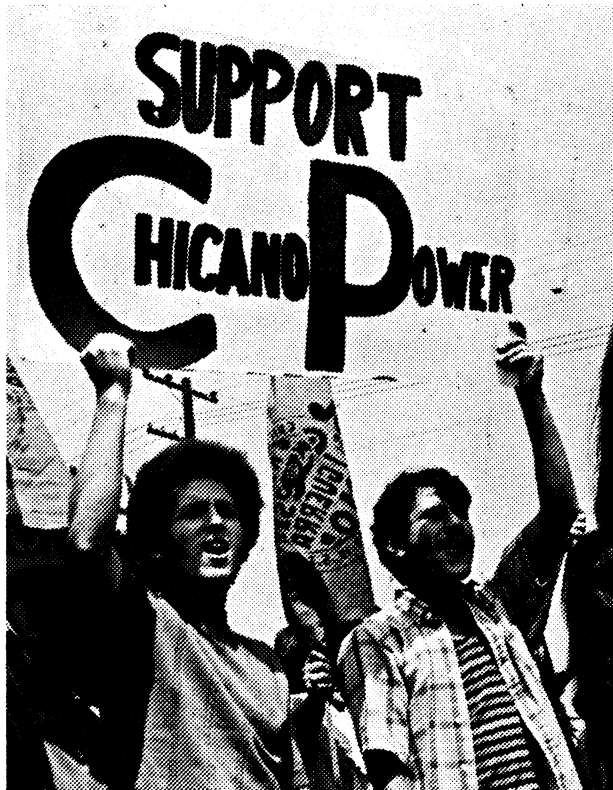
It would mean committees of residents organized to stop price-gouging merchants and to run the housing, parks, and other facilities in the interests of Chicanos. The schools would be run by committees of students and parents with control over the hiring and firing of teachers, over curriculum, textbooks, and all aspects of administration.

Such a Chicano city would be a center for organizing the Chicano liberation movement all over Aztlán and would be a source of inspiration to all who are fighting against racial injustice.

But the Mexican-American Democrats now leading the incorporation movement do not have such a perspective. They are interested mainly in establishing a power base in East L.A. for themselves, in order to be better able to bargain for positions in the Democratic Party. For example, to demonstrate their "responsiveness" to their Anglo higher-ups, they have proposed that the sheriff's department be maintained in East L.A. even after incorporation.

As long as East L.A. remains in the control of the two capitalist parties, Chicanos will continue to face police brutality, rotten housing, unemployment, and run-down schools.

What is needed is a massive, independent struggle to wrest control of the institutions in East L.A. from our oppressors. Such an independent struggle is the road to true liberation for the Chicano people.



Militant/John Gray

Chicano Moratorium, August 1970. Only massive, independent struggle can win Chicano control of East L.A.

## Victory for Soviet dissidents

# Grigorenko freed from psychiatric prison

By DAVE FRANKEL

The movement for democratic rights in the Soviet Union won a major victory June 26 when former major general Pyotr Grigorenko was released after more than five years of confinement in Soviet psychiatric prisons.

Grigorenko had spent the first four and a half years of his imprisonment in virtual solitary confinement. He suffered two heart attacks while confined for his political views, and although cataracts threaten his vision, no medical treatment was provided for his eyes.

*New York Times* correspondent Christopher Wren reported from Moscow that "Grigorenko thanked those who had supported him 'for securing my release and for prolonging my life.'"

A revolutionary Marxist, Grigorenko founded the Union of Struggle for the Revival of Leninism in the fall of 1963. This group distributed leaflets protesting bureaucratic abuses of the Khrushchev regime, with the aim of conducting "an explanation of Leninist tenets among the people, and to spread Leninist principles."

In the eyes of the Soviet bureaucrats, this was a crime. Grigorenko was arrested on a charge of "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation." But rather than try a Soviet army general on the basis of his call for a return to Soviet democracy, the authorities chose a different course. They decided that he was "mentally ill," a victim of "reformist ideas," one whose interest in politics was "linked with an overestimation of his own personality [and] messianic ideas."

On the basis of this "diagnosis" Grigorenko spent eight months in a psychiatric institute. But he did not give up his activities.

After his release he joined with Aleksei Kosterin, an old Bolshevik who had spent 17 years in Stalin's prison camps, and together they carried on an outspoken defense of democratic rights in the USSR. They were especially active in demanding that the Crimean Tatars, the Chechen and the Ingush people, as well as the Volga Germans, be allowed to return to their



Pyotr Grigorenko with wife, Zinaida, after release from Stalinist prison hospital

homelands. These peoples—whole nations—had been unjustly deported by Stalin during World War II.

Grigorenko and Kosterin were also in the forefront of those who spoke out against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. In November 1968, when Kosterin died, Grigorenko organized a funeral for him, which turned into an opposition demonstration of more than 400 people—the first of its kind in some 40 years.

In May 1969 Grigorenko was arrested in Tashkent, where he had been invited to appear on behalf of the defendants in a trial of Crimean Ta-

tars. The main factor in his release was undoubtedly the worldwide publicity generated in his behalf, as Grigorenko himself pointed out.

The fifth anniversary of his arrest, May 7, saw demonstrations demanding his release in Boston, New York, and Chicago, and in other countries. His case was singled out by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn in August 1973, and he was one of 95 "prisoners of conscience" mentioned by Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov in a June 24 appeal to Nixon and Brezhnev.

The immediate timing of Grigorenko's release is probably due to the bu-

reaucracy's fear that he would become an even more powerful symbol were he to die in prison, along with their attempts to appear "liberal" in conjunction with Nixon's trip. The facade of liberalism has recently led to a number of artists being granted the right to emigrate. These include the dancers Valery Panov and Galina Ragozina, and the poet and songwriter Aleksandr Galich.

At the same time, about 50 Jewish activists have reportedly been arrested in Moscow and Kishinev alone in preparation for Nixon's visit. Detentions were also reported in Leninograd, Odessa, and Kiev.

The Nixon visit coincides with the beginning of a hunger strike by Valentin Moroz, a Ukrainian historian being held in Vladimir convict prison. An inkling of the conditions under which he is held is given by the fact that his wife had to beg for his transfer to solitary confinement because he was attacked and seriously injured by inmates egged on by the guards.

Convicted "for propaganda directed at separating the Ukraine from the USSR," Moroz was sentenced to six years in prison and eight years in a prison camp. The authorities have been adding mind-destroying drugs to his food, and he has announced that he will continue his hunger strike until either the prison regime is improved or he is transferred to a labor camp.

Moroz's case was singled out by Sakharov, who announced his own hunger strike on June 28 "against the illegal and brutal repression of political prisoners." Also singled out by Sakharov was Vladimir Bukovsky, who is serving a 12-year sentence for accusing the Stalinist regime of silencing dissenters by incarcerating them in mental hospitals.

The release of Grigorenko proves the effectiveness of international protests in helping the Soviet oppositionists. Hopefully this victory will be followed up by others in cases like those of Moroz and Bukovsky.

## Moscow talks promote counterrevolution

By DICK ROBERTS

JULY 1—As *The Militant* goes to press, the third summit meeting between President Nixon and Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev is taking place in Moscow. No significant pacts have yet been announced.

Nor are they likely to be. The most important agreements between Washington and Moscow are made in secret.

It is important to keep this in mind as the capitalist press focuses on one particular aspect of the third Nixon-Brezhnev summit—possible agreements in SALT II, the second round of "Strategic Arms Limitation Talks," concerning the deployment of nuclear weapons.

The SALT talks (for background article see facing page) are described, particularly by Moscow, as preparation for "nuclear disarmament." The Stalinists use the pretense that they can win gradual disarmament of the imperialist nuclear arsenal as a justification for "peaceful coexistence" and as a cover for the secret deals behind the détente.

In reality, disarmament is not a purpose of the secret nuclear talks. Generally agreeing to limit the production of defensive nuclear missiles,

Washington and Moscow have essentially agreed to promote the production of offensive weapons. A former president of the Institute for Defense Analysis, Jack Ruina, described the results of SALT I in the *New York Times Magazine*, June 30:

"To agree to support the SALT I agreements, the [U.S.] Joint Chiefs of Staff insisted on assurances that the U.S. would pursue 'aggressive improvements and modernization programs' to 'maximize strategic capabilities within the constraints of the agreement,' and research and development programs to 'maintain weapons systems' technological superiority.' The net consequence has been that, since SALT, existing strategic programs have actually been intensified and many new developments started. A comparable process in the Soviet Union may well account for the intensification of its missile development and testing programs."

The SALT agreements hinge on highly technical understandings, and it is apparent that for some months (the SALT II negotiations have been under way off and on since November 1972) these talks have been deadlocked.

At issue is the production and de-

ployment of MIRVs, "multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles," which permit a single missile to carry several nuclear warheads. Washington is far ahead in the development and production of these weapons, and Moscow is undoubtedly seeking concessions from the Pentagon to close the gap.

But it is unlikely that any such concessions will be forthcoming. President Nixon has bipartisan support for the drive to improve Washington's nuclear striking force.

Just three weeks ago, on June 11, the Senate voted 84 to 6 for the administration's \$21.9-billion budget for weapons purchase and research. These include the Pentagon's cherished B-1 bomber and Trident nuclear submarine programs.

Significantly, in the same bill, the Senate voted to water down an amendment sponsored by Senator Henry Jackson (D-Wash.), which would have given the secretary of defense the power to veto trade agreements with the Soviet Union. As modified, the amendment only authorizes the Pentagon to make recommendations on such action.

The gradual withering of congressional threats to limit U.S.-Soviet

trade was an important process in preparation for the present summit.

Much of the brouhaha in the American press over SALT II has been stirred up by Jackson, whose preparations for the 1976 presidential elections have made news now for over a year. Jackson pretends to believe that Nixon is going to give something away in SALT II in order to get a dramatic agreement that will help to relieve the Watergate pressure on the White House.

But Nixon isn't going to give anything up for U.S. imperialism, and Jackson knows this as well as the next capitalist politician.

Jackson is billed as an opponent of expanded trade with the Soviet Union and a supporter of Soviet dissidents. But the Boeing corporation, which is headquartered in Seattle (Jackson has long been dubbed the "junior senator from Boeing"), is involved in negotiations with Moscow that could lead to the "biggest commercial deal in the history of air transport," reported the *Christian Science Monitor* June 20.

"According to Tass," said the *Monitor*, "a 'cooperation agreement' has been signed with Boeing covering the

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# World Outlook

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

JULY 12, 1974

## On the road to World War III

# The SALT talks--cover for nuclear arms race

By Dick Roberts

For some time the question of the balance of nuclear power between the United States and the Soviet Union has seemed to play a secondary role in world politics. Attention to the arms race declined in the U.S. press, especially following the Washington-Moscow détente in early 1972. Even when President Nixon took the world to the brink of nuclear holocaust during the October War in the Arab East last fall, many did not take the threat seriously.

Recently signs of disagreement between Washington and Moscow policy makers have appeared, and they have been picked up by certain U.S. politicians as possible items for electioneering.

When Henry Kissinger visited Moscow in late March, he promised to bring back a "conceptual breakthrough" on nuclear policy. He evidently did not succeed. "The United States and the Soviet Union failed to come even remotely close to an agreement to limit nuclear warheads in their Moscow talks, raising great doubts about the chances of concluding such an accord at a summit conference this summer," the *Washington Post* reported March 29.

Beneath these somewhat superficial developments is the complex question of the real nuclear balance of terror between the two world superpowers. A closer look at U.S. nuclear policy helps to shed light both on the danger of nuclear war that continues to face humanity and on the limitations of the U.S.-Soviet détente, which is billed in some circles as a way of supposedly eliminating the nuclear-war danger.

### SALT I

In November 1969 the first round of "Strategic Arms Limitation Talks" (SALT I) between the United States and the Soviet Union opened in Helsinki. They continued for thirty months and in May 1972, at the Moscow Nixon-Brezhnev summit, accords were signed.

No operations of the U.S. and Soviet governments are shrouded in more secrecy. "Most international negotiation is conducted behind a veil, but superpower talks on weaponry are particularly sensitive to light," wrote John Newhouse, an expert on U.S. foreign policy, in *Cold Dawn: The*

*Story of Salt* (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1973).

According to Newhouse the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff were kept in the dark on initial SALT developments.

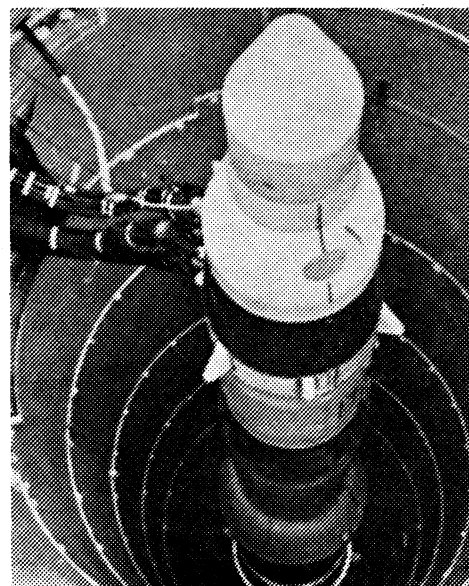
Why did Washington and Moscow enter into these highly secretive negotiations in the first place? The answer cannot yet be definitively known but Newhouse's opinion is rather weighty. He stresses two factors:

"The talks were launched, not from a common impulse to reduce armaments, but from a mutual need to solemnize the parity principle—or, put differently, to establish an acceptance by each side of the other's ability to inflict unacceptable retribution in response to nuclear attack."

And, "For all kinds of reasons traceable to internal politics, foreign policy, and competing defense priorities, both great powers want to stabilize spending on arms."

Newhouse also reveals that Washington did not view Moscow's 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia as an impediment to SALT. Four days after that invasion, the Johnson administration put together its formal SALT presentation.

"The decisive turn in Soviet policy and in Soviet-American relations came in the early months of 1971," wrote Marshall D. Shulman, the Columbia University Sovietologist. "It was then that Brezhnev took personal charge of relations with the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany, and of the Soviet position in the SALT negotiations. A channel of confidential



Underlying reasoning of SALT I accords is 'mutual assured destruction' (MAD).

communications was opened between Brezhnev and Nixon, which was to lead to the May 1971 agreement that broke the impasse in SALT. Vietnam was, in its own dialectical way, beginning to wind down." (*Foreign Affairs*, October 1973.) Thus Moscow's willingness to toast Nixon while U.S. bombs poured down in Vietnam, along with Washington's acceptance of the Kremlin's grip on Eastern Europe, made it possible for the SALT representatives to reach a tentative and temporary agreement on nuclear arms limitations. Nixon signed it in Moscow in May 1972 at the heralded summit.

The underlying reasoning of the SALT I accords has been appropriately nicknamed by its opponents, MAD, "mutual assured destruction." If one side has enough nuclear power to absorb a "first strike" by the other side and retaliate with devastating force, the other side will not attack.

SALT I consequently put limits on defensive weapons. If one side were to attempt to completely safeguard its cities, that could be interpreted as an abrogation of MAD, a preparation for a first strike. An agreement for an indefinite period of time restricted defensive antiballistic missiles to 200 on each side.

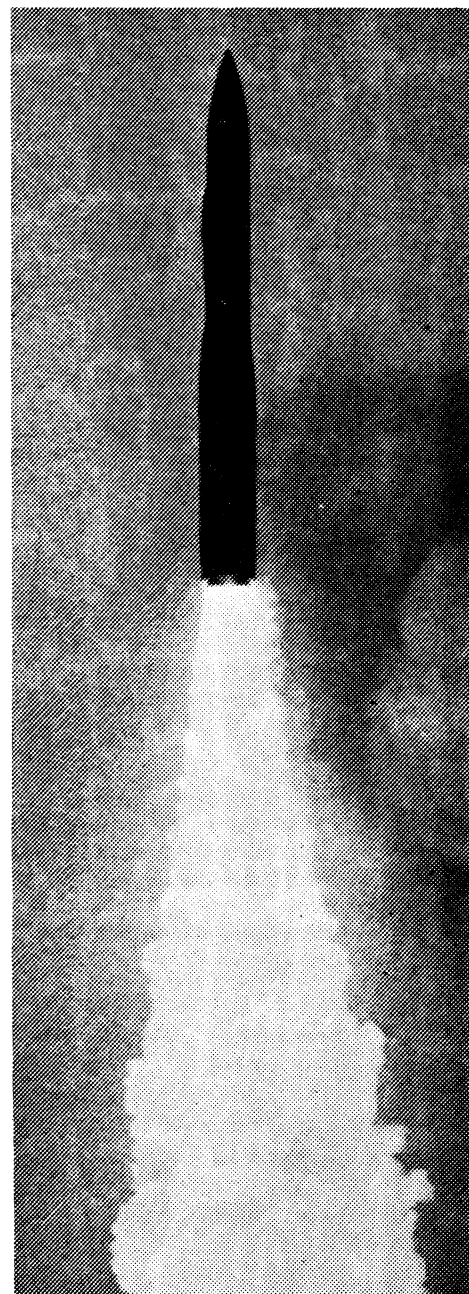
SALT I also put a five-year ceiling on the number of offensive missile launchers that could be built, giving each side the potential land and sea power to destroy the other several times over. The United States was permitted 1,000 land-based launchers and 710 sea-based launchers. The Soviet Union was allowed 1,410 land-based launchers if it built up to 950 sea-based ones.

The reason launchers were selected rather than missiles is the virtual impossibility of detecting how many missiles are hidden away, while the satellites can easily photograph how many launching pads and submarine missile ports there are. The Soviet Union was permitted a higher potential ceiling because at the time of the agreement Soviet offensive missile technology lagged behind the United States.

### SALT II

The SALT I agreements, consequently, not only did not in any way "disarm" the opposing sides, they virtually necessitated from the military standpoint an escalation of the race to develop offensive nuclear missile technology. Here the race centers around MIRVs, "multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles." These are the part of the missile containing nuclear warheads that can be aimed at individual targets once the missile arrives over a target area. A single missile can carry several MIRVs and is more accurate if it carries more than one warhead.

The United States is far ahead in this race. As of March 1974, U.S. war secretary James Schlesinger disclosed that the U.S. total of nuclear weapons deliverable by air, sea, and land is 7,940 compared to 2,600 for the So-



'If one side has enough nuclear power to absorb a first strike by the other side and retaliate with devastating force, the other side will not attack.'

viet Union. The United States plans to have about 10,000 MIRVs on its 1,710 missiles by the time the temporary five-year SALT I accord runs out in 1977.

Moscow did not test its first MIRV until August 1973. Political jingoists have made much out of the event as supposed evidence of the proverbial Moscow conspiracy, but the development of a Soviet MIRV was not only anticipated by SALT I, it was guaranteed by that treaty. Worth noting was the response of the *New York Times* editors to the Soviet MIRV test, August 18, 1973: "The only thing unexpected about the announcement was its timing," they said. "For several years the big question among American strategists has been, not whether the Russians would develop MIRVs but why it was taking them so long. The United States made its first flight tests of MIRVs in 1968; nearly 600 of these sophisticated warheads are already deployed on land-based Minuteman III missiles and Poseidon submarines."

The *Times* editors also noted that "At their summit meeting in Washington last June [1973], President Nixon

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## 'Nobody can predict that the fatal accident or act will

Continued from preceding page

and Soviet Communist party leader Brezhnev set the goal of achieving by the end of next year a permanent agreement limiting offensive arms. Both sides envisaged curbs on MIRV's as a desirable—indeed, necessary—component of such a new treaty."

The technicalities are being worked out in SALT II, which opened in Geneva in November 1972, and has continued off and on since then.

Meanwhile there have also been new developments in the U.S. nuclear arsenal and Pentagon policy. These have been associated with the name of the war secretary, but they were in the works before Schlesinger took office. U.S. war experts began to ask themselves, Couldn't a "limited" nuclear war be conducted after all? Suppose a first strike were aimed at a few military targets, would the other side necessarily plunge the world into suicide in retaliation? MAD was called into question.

By December 1973 Schlesinger was publicly asking for weapons that could strike at certain Soviet military targets rather than "just cities or industrial centers," according to the December 1 *Washington Post*.

Juan Cameron described Schlesinger's policies in the December issue of *Fortune* magazine: "As Schlesinger figures it, the Russians will need at least seven more years to rid such complex weapons [as MIRVs] of bugs, and then build a combat-ready force of them. But in the years after that, the overall balance between the two countries could turn against us. . . ."

"Schlesinger hopes to avoid any such eventuality by concentrating on new weapons whose development can be speeded or slowed according to the U.S.S.R.'s success at perfecting its own new nuclear hardware. At the top of this 'menu of options,' as he calls it, is the Trident submarine. Faster, quieter, and twice as large as our present nuclear-missile subs, the \$1-billion [milliard] Trident—i.e., \$1-billion per vessel—would carry twenty-four MIRVed missiles capable of traveling 6,000 miles, about twice the range of our Polaris and Poseidon missiles. Thus a Trident could use most of the world's oceans as a launching pad, and an enemy would face an almost insuperable problem of detection. Schlesinger also supports development of the \$42-million B-1 bomber to replace our dwindling fleet of B-52's."

### A Predictable Show

In fact Congress has already approved both the Trident and B-1 programs and they are well under way. *New York Times* reporter John W. Finney described the predictable show of opposition by liberal Democrats when the war bill passed Congress last September. "The annual Senate debate on the defense budget had been billed by the Democrats as the great battle over spending priorities," Finney wrote September 30. "It turned into more of a rout, proving once again that when it comes to weapons, Congress was neither willing nor prepared to challenge the judgment of the military or the President. . . ."

"Almost routinely, and usually before a virtually vacant Senate chamber, a Democratic Senator would call up an amendment to kill or cut this

or that multi-billion-dollar weapons program. Just as routinely his amendment would be rejected. 'Nobody is listening,' complained one Democratic Senator . . . a comment that could apply to his liberal colleagues as well as the Senate as a whole."

In a joint hearing of two Senate Foreign Relations subcommittees April 4, 1974, Schlesinger said that Washington needed "greater flexibility" in its nuclear arsenal.

"By flexibility, the Administration seems to mean all or some of the following elements," explained *New York Times* strategic policy expert Leslie H. Gelb: "Ability to strike at a variety of targets other than Soviet cities, programmed computer plans for targeting, plans to fire different numbers of missiles, command and control procedures to make sure orders are carried

about the U.S. military than most senators. If SALT II is actually bogged down on military questions, these are likely to concern the intricacies and not the plans of the Pentagon to build new and more sophisticated weapons—something the Pentagon has been routinely doing since its inception.

It is also possible that SALT II might be blocked for completely different reasons. For example, Washington may be delaying it in order to put further pressure on Moscow for a settlement in the Arab East acceptable to the imperialists. In any event, it is a certainty that the October war, with its passing threat of a nuclear showdown, had a big influence on the military strategists on both sides.

Washington's plans for nuclear world war go well beyond the MIRV,



U.S. Secretary of Defense Schlesinger (right) reviewing troops. He's not satisfied with missiles that can destroy 'just cities or industrial centers.'

out, missiles that can survive a Soviet first strike and missiles with increased accuracy and yield."

Schlesinger told the senators that the retargeting part of the new plan had, in large part, already been carried out.

Some Democrats once again made a show of distancing themselves from these projects. Senator Stuart Symington, Democrat of Missouri, said that these policies "lower the nuclear threshold and increase the probability of war." Senator Edmund Muskie, Democrat of Maine, said that the moves were making nuclear weapons "more usable, more respectable."

But these remarks are purely for public consumption to gull voters. The Senate might just as well not meet on imperialist war-policy measures at all. These are secretly worked out by the experts in the Pentagon and other bureaucracies (the State Department, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the National Security Council, the three military services). They are rubber-stamped by Congress.

The Kremlin's criticism of Schlesinger is of the same stripe as the liberal "criticism." As a cover for its own secret dealings with Washington, Moscow is forced to make a show of opposition to U.S. military policies. The Kremlin pretends, along with its followers around the world, that there are "lesser evil" sectors in the imperialist ruling class. It publicly caters to liberal Democrats like Kennedy and attacks Schlesinger in the press.

That's for the record. In secret, Moscow's experts deal with Schlesinger's staff and they probably know more

about the Russian region. Satisfied that a mini-nuke blast there will cause minimal civilian casualties, he sends out the signal to launch a single ICBM. Then, on a TV screen in front of him, he watches as the hydroelectric plant is destroyed."

"Impossible?" *Newsweek* asks. "Not at all. By the 1980s, the U.S. will have a network of stationary communications satellites, relay space stations and the Survsatcom (Survivable Satellite Communications) system capable of beaming back live television pictures to the President from any corner of the globe."

*Newsweek* describes the next stage beyond MIRV. "\$20 million is being budgeted this year for a conceptual study of the next breakthrough step—MARV's (warheads with propulsion systems giving them the ability to maneuver during re-entry)."

### World War III

The military strategists sometimes pretend that their permanent quest for more sophisticated weaponry is designed to undercut the danger of accidental war. But this is false and patently impossible, a point the experts themselves occasionally admit in soberer moments. Fred Charles Iklé, a former Rand Corporation specialist, recently appointed by Nixon to head the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, wrote in the January 1973 *Foreign Affairs*: "Nobody can predict that the fatal accident or unauthorized act will never happen. The hazard is too elusive. It is inherent not only in the ineradicable possibility of technical defects, but also in the inevitable vulnerability to human error of all command and operational procedures. . . . So exceedingly complex are modern weapons systems, both in their internal mechanisms and in their intricate interactions, that it seems doubtful whether any group of experts could ever ferret out every unintended ramification, discover every lurking danger."

Iklé gives an example. "Drastic shortcomings in the Defense Department's worldwide communications came to the attention of a congressional subcommittee after the Israeli attack in 1967 on the American ship *Liberty*. At the beginning of the Six-Day War, the Joint Chiefs of Staff decided to order the *Liberty* into safer waters. Over a period of 13 hours prior to the Israeli attack, they sent their order in at least four messages. Two of the messages were misrouted to the Philippines and one of these was thence sent to the National Security Agency in Maryland, there merely to be filed. Another message was routed over two paths to be doubly sure; in the first path it was lost in a relay station, in the second delayed until many hours after the attack. This failure in emergency communications occurred under almost perfect conditions: no facilities had been disabled, there was no enemy jamming, and no restrictions on the use of available communication modes had been imposed."

Washington's drive to perfect its weaponry and to expand its military power is as "ineradicable" a consequence of imperialism as the danger of accidental nuclear war is an ineradicable consequence of the imperialist military system. The protection and extension of worldwide invest-

ment, and B-1 programs that have already been mentioned. In an article entitled "Visions of the next war," the April 22 issue of *Newsweek* indicated some of the possibilities. "To an American public spiritually drained by a decade of inconclusive fighting in Vietnam," *Newsweek* declared, "the idea of a 'next war' in the not-too-distant future seems unthinkable. Yet the Defense Department is now planning to spend a mind-numbing trillion [million million] dollars over the next ten years getting ready—just in case—for its next military involvement. A quarter of that will go for developing and buying new and more deadly weapons."

*Newsweek* suggests the following cleaned-up scenario. (Of course, the Soviet Union attacks first; everyone knows the United States would do no such thing.)

"It is sometime in the early 1980s. The President sits tensely at his command console in the underground Situation Room at Fort Ritchie, Maryland. The Soviet Union, in a 48-hour blitzkrieg attack, has seized West Berlin. One thousand Allied soldiers have been killed. Now, the Kremlin has turned the wounded and POW's over to West Germany—and notified the United States that as far as it is concerned, the episode is dead. The President demands that the Soviets withdraw. The Kremlin refuses. The President is determined to impress on the Russian leaders that he means business—that they are risking nuclear war. He orders up a television picture of a hydroelectric plant in a re-

# never happen'



Nagasaki after it was atom-bombed by U.S. forces. 'Detente tends to increase danger of nuclear war.'

ments requires a global police force, and in the nuclear age, confronted by postcapitalist societies, this means a global *nuclear force*. The concept of "limited war" is deeply rooted in the realities of the world class struggle and is a key aspect of the détente itself.

Washington has learned in Korea, in Southeast Asia, in the Arab East and elsewhere that it can conduct a limited war if necessary in its attempts to counter the tide of world revolution. "War by proxy," in which the United States and the Soviet Union both contribute weapons to each side, is not a figment of the Pentagon's imagination. That is what happened in Southeast Asia for over a decade.

Moscow's deliberately restricted doling out of military aid to Hanoi while the United States mounted the most massive attack in history was crucial to the ability of three successive administrations in Washington to stabilize the dictatorship in Saigon at such bloody cost. It convinced the White House that détente with Moscow served, not hindered, the cause of world counterrevolution.

The October War was also a "war by proxy." But in this case it nearly became unlimited. Nixon was ready to push the nuclear button.

Again, the facts are shrouded in secrecy. A Congressional subcommittee attempting to investigate the reasons for Nixon's military mobilization was persuaded by the White House that such an investigation jeopardized national interests.

Nevertheless, this much is known: Washington and Moscow were in continual contact throughout the crisis. Henry Kissinger had been in Moscow directly before Nixon's decision to alert global U.S. forces for a massive military intervention in the Arab East.

Nadav Safran, an Arab East specialist at Harvard, speculates that in Moscow "Kissinger agreed to have the fighting stop before the Israelis utterly defeated the Egyptians, but he insisted upon, and obtained in exchange, Soviet, and ostensibly Arab, agreement to the negotiation clause. . . .

"As Kissinger left for home by way of Tel Aviv, the Soviets learned that fighting was continuing beyond the ceasefire deadline and that the Israelis had completed the encirclement of the Egyptian III Corps. . . .

"The Soviets suspected at this point either that Kissinger had deceived them, or that the United States was un-

able to control Israel." (*Foreign Affairs*, January 1974.)

Whether Safran's speculation is correct or not, it suggests the fundamental fallacy of the Kremlin's rationale for détente. The détente cannot eliminate the world class struggle. The imperialist status quo cannot be imposed on oppressed peoples and nations. In fact the October war was inevitable, as even the Israeli government, which seemed to have been "caught by surprise," was ultimately forced to admit.

But when a war breaks out that draws in the superpowers, there can be no guarantee that it will remain limited. Neither Washington nor Moscow can in the last analysis control all the forces involved. Surely this is the most important lesson of the October war.

Consequently détente not only cannot protect humanity from nuclear war, it tends to increase the danger of nuclear war because it fosters and, indeed, it is founded on, the illusory concept of "limited war." Moscow's covert invitation to Washington to continue to exercise its counterrevolutionary police roles, provided only that these do not infringe on Soviet "spheres of influence," in effect helps pave the way to nuclear war.

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# World news notes

## Burmese workers take over factories

Burma was shaken by massive protests and a strike wave in May and June.

According to John Sharkey in the June 28 *Washington Post*, forty-two government mills and factories were in the hands of striking workers by early June. "To their original demands for more rice and higher pay," he wrote, "the strikers also added amnesty for themselves and dissolution of the workers' councils, the agency through which the government controls the country's union."

On June 6, twenty-two people were killed and sixty wounded when government troops opened fire on demonstrators in Rangoon.

## India: massive antigovernment protests

About 500,000 persons marched through the streets of Patna, the capital of Bihar state, on June 5 to demand the dissolution of the Vidhan Sabha (state legislative assembly). The demonstrators presented the governor with a petition containing 2 million signatures supporting the dissolution demand.

Bihar has been experiencing mass unrest for three months. In March, students inspired by the mass upsurge that brought down the state government in Gujarat initiated protests over the hoarding of scarce commodities, corruption in the state government, rising prices, inadequacies in the educational system, and unemployment. The protests, led by the Chhatra Sangharsh Samiti (Students Action Committee), quickly drew in other layers of the population and spread throughout the state. More than eighty persons died in March after the army, the police, and the paramilitary Border Security Force moved in to crush the demonstrations.

Since that time, the students have been waging a campaign for the dismissal of Chief Minister Abdul Ghafoor and the dissolution of the state assembly.

The student actions even pressured some Bihar Congress party legislators to call on Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to change the corrupt leadership of the state party. Gandhi refused, however, during a meeting with the disgruntled legislators in New Delhi May 24.

Prominent among the pro-Gandhi elements in favor of maintaining the state assembly under the present Congress party leadership has been the Communist party of India. According to the May 4 *Statesman Weekly*, the secretary of the state council of the CPI, Jagannath Sarkar, described the calls for dissolution of the assembly as "sinister" and charged that the goal of the agitation was to establish a "reactionary dictatorship."

## Racist population-transfers in S. Africa

The racist South African regime has forcibly removed between 300,000 and 400,000 Blacks from white-owned areas since 1970, according to a study conducted by the African Publications Trust and reported in the June 17 *Christian Science Monitor*. This figure reached an estimated 3 million over a ten-year period.

Entitled "Uprooting a Nation: The Study of Three Million Evictions in South Africa," the report used statistics collected from official South African sources and from estimates of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The author, Alan Baldwin, noted that between the census years of 1960 and 1970, the South African regime—implementing its policy of forcing the African populations onto "bantustans" (settlement areas designated by white rulers)—removed 340,000 tenants and 656,000 "squatters" from white-owned farming areas, 97,000 from "Black spots" (Black enclaves within white-dominated areas), and 400,000 from urban areas. This mass displacement pushed at least 1.75 million more Africans into the already overcrowded and impoverished bantustans.

## Israeli occupiers destroy Arab homes

The Israeli army has destroyed 9,000 Arab homes in the occupied territories since 1967, according to a memorandum sent to United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim in April. The May issue of *Israel & Palestine* reported that the demolitions, a reprisal against those "suspected of being the relatives of terrorists," had increased considerably since the October war.

## Niugini women protest inflation

About 100 women broke away from a larger demonstration in Port Moresby, Niugini, June 12, and charged through the government administrative center in search of Chief Minister Michael Somare. Windows were broken and furniture damaged as police forced the women to rejoin the larger group, a 2,500-strong demonstration against rising prices.

Somare later appeared behind a police cordon and attempted to address the demonstrators, but was repeatedly shouted down by the angry protesters.

Demands of the demonstration included an immediate price freeze, wage increases for low- and medium-income groups, a 50 percent reduction in parliamentary salaries, and a reduction of privileges of government ministers.

Niugini is scheduled to become independent of Australia later this year.



## Workers face attack on living standards

# Economic and social crisis shakes Italian capitalism

By Dick Fidler

Italy's governmental crisis was temporarily patched up June 19, when leaders of the four parties that had originally supported Premier Mariano Rumor's ministry reached agreement on a program of economic austerity. But the underlying financial and economic crisis, which had led the Rumor cabinet to submit its resignation nine days earlier, remains, and the wide-ranging attack on workers' living standards that is on the government's agenda ensures continued social instability in the months ahead.

"There are deep divergencies on how to govern a country that is profoundly ill," said Luigi Preti, a Social Democrat who was transport minister in Rumor's cabinet. "This isn't just a government crisis. The real danger is the discredit and breakdown of our democratic institutions."

His comments reflected the profound unease of the Italian bourgeoisie, confronted with a deepening social, economic, and political crisis.

The immediate cause of the government's fall was the deepening differences between the two main partners in the coalition, Rumor's Christian Democrats and the Socialist party, over how to deal with the serious economic and financial crisis confronting Italian capitalism.

With a trade deficit running at a rate of US\$13,000 million a year, Italy's economy is on the verge of bankruptcy. The already chronic deficit in the country's balance of payments has been enormously aggravated by the oil crisis. Italy imports 95 percent of its petroleum needs, and the bill for these imports is expected to be about \$10,000 million this year, a fourfold increase since 1972.

To finance the growing deficit in its balance of payments, the Italian government has been borrowing heavily abroad.

Moreover, the rate of inflation in 1973 was 12.4 percent, compared with 6 percent the previous year, and prices are now rising at an annual rate of 20 percent, seriously undermining the competitive capacity of Italian goods and drastically lowering the real wages of the working class.

The extensive loans from foreign banks and governments have put heavy pressure on the lire, which is today worth 18 percent less than its international value in February 1973, when it started to float; there are widespread rumors that the lire will soon be devalued by about 20 percent—cutting still more deeply into the masses' living standards.

Today's economic and political crisis is the latest phase of a prolonged process of continuing economic difficulties and governmental instability that began in the late 1960s, when a slowing of the country's rapid economic growth in the postwar period coincided with a massive upsurge of the labor movement. While the bourgeoisie survived the prerevolutionary crisis of 1969, the growing strength of the workers' movement seriously undermined the stability of the "center-left" formula of government that had been utilized since the beginning of the 1960s.

The Italian bourgeoisie adopted a two-pronged strategy. On the one hand, it made increasing efforts to integrate the trade-union bureaucracy into a "democratic perspective" of collaboration in incomes policy and at-

tempts to "rationalize" the economy. At the same time, a growing offensive by right-wing elements was tolerated and even encouraged, with the complicity of sections of the bourgeoisie and state institutions (in the first place, the army intelligence service).

Bomb attacks by the extreme right wing were used to intimidate less radicalized, weaker sections of the workers' movement, to demoralize militants, and to provoke a massive reaction among the petty bourgeoisie in support of capitalist "law and order."

But although evidence has accumulated that sectors of the bourgeoisie were even toying with the idea of a Greek-style coup and the establishment of a right-wing authoritarian regime under military control, such a project would have been made extremely dangerous by the continued mobilizations of the masses. Each successive government, whether "center-right" or "center-left," came to grief as the workers repeatedly mobilized in massive numbers—usually without any national leadership—to defeat concerted plans by the government and employers to implement an incomes policy or wage guidelines.

Following the formation of a previous government headed by Rumor in July 1973, the leadership of the Communist party (Italy's second biggest), seeing its chance to play a role in resolving the problems of Italian capitalism, advanced a proposal for a "historic compromise"—advocating a bloc (its exact nature was left unspecified) between the CP and the parties of the governing coalition. This class-collaborationist perspective was passed off by the CP leaders as "opposition of a different type."

This proposal looks increasingly attractive to the Italian bourgeoisie today, as it searches for ways out of the growing crisis.

There are two extreme options being debated today by the Italian ruling class. Confronted with the declining usefulness of parliament as an instrument to mediate class conflicts, and the urgent need to carry out a rationalization of the economic infrastructure, it may decide to move to install an authoritarian regime. On the other hand, faced with the continuing mobilization of the masses, it can attempt a different approach, by concluding an alliance with the traditional workers' organizations, including the Communist party—that is, accept the "historic compromise" and try to repeat the same kind of operation that existed through the bloc of workers' parties and bourgeois parties that governed Italy between 1944 and 1947. Either option includes obvious risks.

The results of the May 12 divorce referendum indicated the obstacles confronting the bourgeoisie if they attempt the first course of action. The right wing had hoped to use the struggle for repeal of Italy's three-year-old divorce reform as a means of constructing a bloc of conservative forces with a mass base, to show the viability of a right-wing alternative. But the attempt failed miserably, with over 60 percent of the population voting against repeal. The pro-divorce vote was highest in the urban working-class centers, underscoring the radicalization of the workers' movement and the weakening of the Catholic church's influence—and with it, the



Demonstration of auto workers in Milan in February. Labor movement has refused to go along with attacks on wages.

influence of the Christian Democracy, which had thrown itself into the struggle for repeal of divorce.

The only other major party campaigning against divorce was the neo-fascist Italian Social Movement (MSI).

Another indication of the lack of popular support for a right-wing authoritarian solution was the huge turnout of hundreds of thousands of workers in demonstrations across Italy, to protest the fascist bomb attack at Brescia May 28.

In a three-hour speech to the Central Committee of the CP on June 3, the party's general secretary, Enrico Berlinguer, described as "premature" the proposals by some leading members of the CP that the party ask to participate directly in the government, but stated that "it is absurd to think that the economic situation can seriously be confronted without the contribution of the Communists."

[The June 13 issue of the *Daily World*, newspaper of the American Communist Party, spelled out the offer of its Italian sister party to the Italian capitalist class. "The ICP," it said, "Italy's second-biggest party, with a huge following among Italian working people, obviously could be an important element of stability in any government coalition."

[Since the "government coalition" referred to would be a capitalist government, the Italian CP is offering to use its influence among the workers to promote capitalist stability—that is, the unchallenged right of capitalist exploitation.]

Italy's crisis has aroused great concern within the international bourgeoisie because of its possible ramifications. "Their situation is, of course, anything but unique," wrote Leonard Silk in the June 12 *New York Times*. "They are the first major casualty of the oil crisis because their balance of payments was weak even before the oil crisis. However, such other coun-

tries as Japan (with an estimated oil deficit this year of \$18-billion), France (\$12-billion), Britain (\$12-billion) and the Netherlands (\$8.5-billion) also appear vulnerable to the oil threat."

Silk suggested that Italy's economic crisis "could be only the first in a series of disasters that might rip through Europe and the world economy."

"If the Italian economy (earlier viewed as a postwar 'miracle' almost on a par with West Germany's 'miracle') were to founder, this could be a blow at the soft underbelly of Europe. George Ball, former Under Secretary of State, notes that the entire Mediterranean tier of Europe—Italy, Portugal, Spain and Greece—is on the verge of economic and political upheaval."

The Italian bourgeoisie gained a slight, temporary reprieve this month when the "Group of 10" finance ministers, with the Italian crisis uppermost in their considerations, decided to let any nation in need of foreign exchange borrow currency from other governments or banks, by using its gold stocks—at whatever value the lender will accept—as collateral on the loan. This opened the way for Italy to help finance its debts with its gold reserves, which are valued at \$3,500 million at the official rate of \$42.22 an ounce but worth \$16,000 million at present prices in the free market.

However, in the longer term, such measures can only aggravate an already serious inflation problem, resulting in a further drop in the masses' living standards.

Whether the Italian bourgeoisie chooses at this time to accept the CP's offer of a class-collaborationist "democratic turn," or whether it falls back on some new variant of class-collaborationist coalition with the Social Democratic parties, it is clear that the working class faces an intensified attack on its living standards and rights in the next immediate period.



## Interview with Trotskyist leader

# Strategy of socialists in Canadian elections

By CAROLINE LUND

Twenty-eight-year-old Kate Alderdice is an unusual candidate in the Canadian federal elections scheduled for July 8. As the candidate of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSA/LSO), she is running in the Toronto-Eglinton riding (election district) against Mitchell Sharp, the minister of foreign affairs and deputy prime minister in the Liberal Party government.

Alderdice, who was formerly an activist in the Canadian Union of Postal Workers and a shop steward in the United Electrical Workers in Toronto, has also been a participant in the Canadian anti-Vietnam war movement and women's liberation movement.

In contrast to all the other candidates, she is running on a program of struggle in defense of the interests of working people, the right of self-determination for Québec, and a socialist Canada.

In a recent interview, Art Young, organization secretary of the LSA/LSO, discussed the goals of Alderdice's campaign and its relationship to the campaign of the New Democratic Party (NDP), Canada's labor party. Young explained that the LSA/LSO is calling for a vote for the NDP candidates in ridings other than the one Alderdice is running in, and

and is growing. Here we pose the need for a shorter workweek—32 hours work for 40 hours pay—to spread the available work around."

"Another question posed in this election," Young continued, "is the right of self-determination for Québec. That is, the right of the Québécois—who are an oppressed nation within Canada—to decide their own fate, and for an end to all forms of federal oppression and interference in the affairs of the Québécois."

"None of these solutions are being raised by the NDP in its campaign," he stated.

Young felt that the Alderdice campaign could generate significant interest among working people because her program on these key issues speaks to the same problems the unions are beginning to raise in their own struggles.

### Rise in union struggles

"Over the past period," Young said, "there has been a marked rise in labor struggles in Canada, and in general the demand for the cost-of-living escalator clause has become a very popular one. Recently," he said, "there was a cross-country walkout of the postal workers against a government attempt to cut the work force through imposing automation. Members of the LSA participated on the strike com-

tions. Alderdice was one of the speakers at a rally last month in Toronto in defense of Morgentaler.

Young said that while the NDP is on record in favor of repeal of Canada's anti-abortion laws, the party has tended to downplay or neglect this issue. "We are trying to bring forward the Morgentaler case as one of the major election issues, together with the other demands of the women's liberation movement," he said.

Summing up, Young stated that "the NDP has no solutions to these major problems confronting working people. Nor does it put forward any alternative international program to Canadian imperialist policy."

### Class character

Why, then, is the LSA/LSO calling for a vote for the NDP?

Young answered, "We are giving critical support to the NDP because of its working-class character, not because of its program, which does not answer the needs of Canadian working people. It is the sole mass expression of independent working-class political action in Canada at this time. And we think that it represents a step forward for working people on the road toward breaking with capitalist politics and setting out to take power in their own name."

Young explained that the NDP was formed in 1961 on the initiative of the Canadian Labor Congress, which is the Canadian equivalent of the AFL-CIO in this country. Today, he said, the party has about 350,000 affiliated union members, out of the approximately 1.5 million trade unionists in English Canada. All the key industrial unions are affiliated to the NDP, and union members pay 10 cents a month out of their dues to the party.

"So," Young continued, "the NDP is fundamentally led, controlled, and financed by the union movement. By running against the capitalist-controlled Liberal, Conservative, and Social Credit parties, it poses a working-class alternative. Despite the wrong program of the NDP leadership, we urge a vote for the NDP candidates as a way for workers to cast a class vote against the capitalist parties."

I asked why the LSA/LSO had picked Mitchell Sharp's district in which to run.

"For two main reasons," said Young. "First of all, Sharp is minister of foreign affairs, and we think international questions are very important in this election. We're raising the scandalous role of the Canadian government in Chile, for example. The Canadian ruling class was part of the international conspiracy and blockade against the Chilean economy that laid the basis for the rightist coup. And now the Canadian government is turning away refugees who are fleeing the terror in Chile—they have refused 94 percent of the refugees who have applied for asylum in Canada."

"Another important question is the Mideast, where Canada has sent so-called peace-keeping troops whose function is basically to enforce Israeli occupation of the Palestinian lands. Also, we are demanding the withdrawal of Canada from the aggressive military pacts of NATO and NORAD [North American Air Defense Command]."

The second reason for choosing Sharp's district, he explained, was that the NDP had virtually no chance of getting elected there, judging from previous low vote totals. "We want to make clear that we are running in



Labor Challenge

Kate Alderdice, socialist candidate

order to get a hearing for our program from Canadian workers, but that at the same time we are firm advocates of an NDP government."

### Debate in Quebec

In Québec, Young went on to say, the NDP is seen differently than among English-Canadian workers because of its defense of the Canadian federal state and its opposition to many of the key demands of those who are fighting for the national rights of the Québécois.

"There is a big debate over the NDP in Québec at the present time," Young said. "There is a completely understandable revulsion among many left Québécois for the NDP's federalist positions. And for this reason many Québécois are hesitant to support it. This is why the NDP has failed since its founding to win any seats in Québec or any large-scale support among the masses of Québécois workers."

"In this election, the bourgeois nationalist party, the Parti Québécois, has called for abstention in the feder-

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al elections. But there are significant layers of worker militants, and even among the union leadership in Québec, who have opposed this position openly and say that despite the NDP's rotten position on Québec's national rights, the NDP should be supported in this election as a class alternative. And we take a stand in this debate in Québec in favor of that position."

Despite the LSA/LSO's support to the NDP in the elections, the NDP leadership does not look kindly on the LSA/LSO or any other forces who attempt to fight within the party for positions to the left of the leadership. In fact, LSA/LSO members have been the victims of waves of expulsions from the NDP throughout the 1960s and 1970s, as the leadership attempted to silence opponents on the left.

"From time to time," said Young, "the NDP leadership has also moved against people who circulate our newspapers *Labor Challenge* and *Libération*."

**Continued on page 22**



Liberation/Daniel Martin

Montreal, May Day. Quebec workers raised demand for cost-of-living escalators.

that it also calls for an NDP government.

But, he said, "we're running our own candidate to present a revolutionary socialist alternative on a series of crucial issues in this election to which the NDP is presenting no answers."

Young described these major issues that Alderdice is campaigning around. "One is the question of inflation, which is more than 10 percent a year and climbing steadily. We are explaining the need for a sliding scale of wages—the escalator clause—to make wages go up with the cost of living."

"We think escalator clauses are necessary not only in all union contracts, but for social security, welfare, and other social benefits. Also, social security and welfare should be raised to union scale."

"A second key issue is unemployment, which is about 5.5 percent now, according to government statistics,

mittee of the Vancouver postal workers, where the workers succeeded in instituting forms of democratic decision-making involving the whole membership and also posed the question of reopening the contract to fight inflation."

"In Québec," Young continued, "the entire trade-union movement has united in a struggle to reopen contracts in order to gain unlimited cost-of-living clauses in the contracts of all workers; to win catch-up wage adjustments; and to extend cost-of-living protection to all unorganized sectors of the population, the unemployed, etc."

Another issue that Alderdice expects will generate interest and support in her campaign is that of women's rights. In particular, she is speaking out in defense of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, the Montréal doctor who is being persecuted for performing abor-

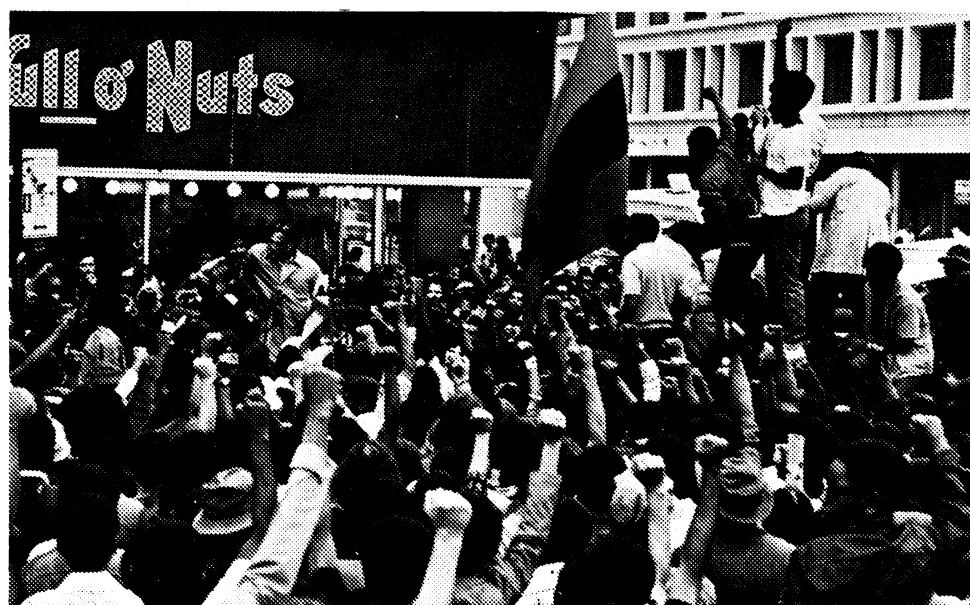
## Socialism & the fight for Black liberation

**Black Liberation & Socialism** edited by Tony Thomas. Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. 1974. 208 pp. Paper \$2.45.

Black people fought and died in the American War of Independence, but the slave system remained intact.

During the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln issued his "Emancipation Proclamation" to win the support of the Black masses against the Southern slavocracy. Black people provided crucial aid to that second American revolution—again, after the Northern capitalists' counterrevolution against Reconstruction, Black people failed to achieve complete liberation.

The fight for full human and civil rights for Black people continued. After years of struggle—especially with the explosive rise of the Black liberation movement in the 1960s—important gains against de jure segregation were made. Discrimination was



olutions and mounds of civil-rights legislation have failed to free Black America?

*Black Liberation & Socialism* takes up these questions, answers them, and provides a program for winning Black self-determination.

The authors of this anthology show how racism is a cornerstone of American capitalism. Racial discrimination is built into every institution in American society—political, economic, and social. To eliminate racism means a total restructuring of this country—a fundamental social change.

To achieve Black liberation, a third American revolution is needed. This revolution will have to combine the fight for Black self-determination with the fight for socialism—for workers control of the banks, industry, and land.

The authors, Black leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and activists in the Black liberation movement, provide convincing arguments that the main obstacle in the road to Black freedom is the adherence of most Black leaders to the Democratic or Republican parties. To be effective, they write, Black people must organize independently of the two capitalist parties, for these parties are controlled lock, stock, and barrel by the very same forces that profit by the misery of Black America.

The more than 100 years of their existence have shown that the twin parties of racism are unwilling and incapable of wiping out Black oppression.

One-half of *Black Liberation & Socialism* is devoted to taking up this point in detail. Two of the contribu-

tions to this section of the book are resolutions adopted by the Socialist Workers Party—"The Case for an Independent Black Political Party" and "A Transitional Program for Black Liberation."

The first exposes the role of the Democratic and Republican parties and points out the need for an independent political party for the Black liberation struggle. The latter is a model program based on the needs of the Black community, and it provides concrete ideas of how to fight for these demands.

One of the most important problems facing the Black community is the special oppression that confronts more than half this oppressed nationality—Black women. One of the contributions to this collection, "Why Women's Liberation Is Important to Black Women" by Maxine Williams, explains the relevance of women's liberation to Black women and the Black community as a whole.

Five of the articles in the volume, written by the editor, take up the relevance of Marxism to the fight for Black liberation. This question is being discussed by growing numbers of Black people as they come to see the intimate connection between racism and capitalism. These articles should aid radical-minded Black people in analyzing the situation of Black America and charting a correct course toward liberation.

This volume is a practical guide for fighting racism in the United States. It is must reading for Black activists and all others interested in social change. —NORMAN OLIVER

## Books

made "illegal."

However, for the masses of Black people, racist oppression remains a frightening reality. After two revolutions and decades of struggles for civil rights, Black America finds that nothing has basically changed in its plight. It brings to mind the old West Indian saying: "Even though the cock be crowing, it don't have to be morning."

Why is there still no equality for Black people? Why is it that two rev-

## 'The Palestinians': an oppressed people speaks

**The Palestinians** by CBS News. Executive producer Perry Wolff. Written by Howard Stringer. News correspondent Bill McLaughlin. Broadcast June 15, 1974.

A CBS Reports special titled "The Palestinians" was shown recently on home TV screens. CBS correspondent Bill McLaughlin left no doubt as to the importance of the Palestinians and their demands, saying:

"It is all quiet on the Israeli-Egyptian front. It is all quiet on the Israeli-Syrian front. It is all quiet on the Israeli-Jordanian front. It is almost all quiet in the Middle East. And yet these men could shatter the

tempt at objectivity. During the June 1967 Mideast war the tone in the capitalist media was indicated by a full-page advertisement in the *New York Times* taken by *Life* magazine. The ad declared that the Israelis were "patriotic, brave and skillful soldiers," while it asked, "Was there ever a people so bellicose in politics, so reckless and raucous in hostility—and then so unpugnacious in pitched combat—as Nasser's Egyptians?"

The program's tone is explained by the growing realization among broad layers of people that Israel is not really the persecuted underdog it has pretended to be. Moreover, Nixon's attempt to establish friendly relations with the Arab regimes has also necessitated a less biased treatment of the Palestinians by the capitalist media since the October war.

Of course, CBS is hardly a supporter of the Palestinians' right to self-determination. The moderator passed this over in one sentence, saying, "Ramez [a guerrilla fighter] and his comrades are fighting for an impossible cause, a socialist Palestine made up of Arabs and Jews."

The solution the moderator obviously had in mind was the establishment of a Palestinian mini-state carved out of the territory Israel took from Jordan in the 1967 war. An interview with Yasir Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization and of Fateh, the largest guerrilla group, focused on the possibility of such a mini-state.

As McLaughlin viewed it, "Arafat walks the thinnest and longest tight-rope in the Middle East. Now, as leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, he is trying to unify all the guerrillas and control the extremists. As a politician attempting to appeal to all Palestinians as well as the great powers, he is trying to appear moderate. Arafat is trapped in the middle."

McLaughlin, urging his view that a Palestinian mini-state would settle the conflict, says, "History is made of compromises."

Another concept was advanced by 85-year-old Hussein Yamani, who fought the Turks when they occupied

Palestine, and later fought the British and the Zionist settlers. "We were fighting because of the British mandate, which was in charge of the country," Yamani explained. "To us it was dishonest and disloyal. What could we do? We tried all ways possible, until we found the way of the gun. As long as it is in our hands, we will continue fighting until we perish, all of us."

"But as long as it is in our hands," he said, "we will continue fighting, me, myself, and my son, and my grandsons as well, my daughters and their children, and all the Palestinians. We Palestinians cannot accept a piece of our own land as charity from another country." —PAUL EIDSVIK



Palestinian refugees. Their determination to fight for their rights came through despite CBS editing.

## Television

calm, destroy the peace, and start the war up again—Palestinian guerrillas, men without a country for Henry Kissinger to shuttle to. . . ."

McLaughlin interviewed Palestinians ranging from members of guerrilla organizations to a wealthy businessman. The misery of life in the refugee camps and the hope and extraordinary determination embodied in the resistance movement came through clearly. For these Palestinians, the only thing to live for was the return of their homeland.

The CBS documentary was surprising in the degree of sympathy it accorded the Palestinians and in its at-



# Pa. utility workers fight for escalator clause

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS  
PHILADELPHIA—A cost-of-living escalator clause is the key issue in a strike by the Employees Independent Association against the Pennsylvania Power and Light Company, based in Allentown.

The strike, which began May 20, is the company's first in 54 years. The Employees Independent Association represents 5,000 of the company's 7,100 employees, including linemen, clerks, and plant workers.

Earl Wenner, president of the union, told *The Militant* in a telephone interview that "no progress has been made" toward a settlement.

The company has refused to consider the cost-of-living clause being demanded by the union. According to Wenner, the union is seeking a clause similar to that in the steel industry: one cent an hour for every 0.3-point rise in the Consumer Price Index.

"Last year our wages went up 6.5 percent, but this was completely swallowed up by the rise in the cost of living," Wenner told *The Militant*. Earlier, he told the press, "The company goes to the utility commission for rate increases, which are usually granted; it has an automatic fuel-adjustment clause to cover its cost increases; but it isn't willing to give the same protection to its employees."

The company has made a big effort to maintain service during the strike by using supervisory personnel. "They're maintaining, but that's about it," said Wenner. "They haven't taken care of any of the backlog of work, not to mention new services or construction. If a line goes down somewhere, they could have a lot of problems."

The company has also sought and won several injunctions against mass picketing by the union, falsely claim-

ing that the pickets were causing violence.

At the Hazleton plant, 10 pickets were injured by cars driven by supervisory personnel. The union was successful in winning an injunction against the company to end such harassment.

# St. Louis mayor breaks city employees' strike

By PAT HAYES  
ST. LOUIS—A 10-day "illegal" strike by city workers here, members of Teamsters Local 610 and Water Department Employees Local 675, was broken over the June 22 weekend.

The city employees began returning to work despite rejection of the city's offer by a 5-to-1 margin among Teamsters and a 2-to-1 margin among Water Department workers.

At issue in the strike were a wage increase and vacation benefits. The striking workers, many of whom are Black, are among the poorest paid in the city.

They demanded an across-the-board raise of \$40 a month. Mayor John Poelker, who personally participated in the negotiations, countered with an offer of \$29.03 a month. He claimed the city could not pay more because a recently discovered "error" of several million dollars left the city budget unbalanced.

Among the factors forcing the workers back were an injunction wielded by Poelker, a 26-to-2 mandate by the board of aldermen for Poelker's "get tough policy," and the announcement by AFL-CIO officials that they would not honor "illegal" picket lines once the injunction was granted.

The result of this stab in the back is that the 800 workers in the two unions, many of whom earned less than \$7,000 last year, will fall even further behind inflation.

In the rush to condemn the workers'

"illegal" action, one of the few people to voice support for the strikers was Barbara Mutnick, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate.

"I fully support the demands of the city workers for a living wage," Mutnick said. She condemned the role of the courts and city government in making outlaws of the workers for wanting a decent standard of living. "My campaign demands recognition of the right to strike for all workers, including government employees," she said.

"The final irony," Mutnick added, "was the signing by Missouri Governor Christopher Bond of a whopping pay increase for St. Louis cops—who make \$2,000 a year more than the strikers—on the same day the city workers began returning to their jobs. This clearly shows where the priorities of the Democrats and Republicans lie."

# Protest set by Houston nurses coalition

By NELSON BLACKSTOCK  
Judy Stroud, a member of the National Organization for Women and a registered nurse, and Sherry Smith, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Texas, appeared June 27 before the Jefferson Davis Hospital board of managers.

The two demanded the immediate reinstatement of nine nurses on behalf of the Coalition to Defend the Nurses. The nine were fired for leading a "sick-out" of 44 hospital employees protesting the extremely unsafe conditions in the labor and delivery room of the hospital.

The previous day Quentin Means, chairman of the Harris County Hospital District board of managers, announced that a "blue-ribbon group of community medical leaders" would be appointed to investigate conditions.

His statement was denounced as an attempted cover-up by Judy Stroud.

"There's little difference between the people on the board, who have been sitting on top of this situation, and the kind of people they're talking about appointing to this commission," Stroud told the press.

Means denied any connection between the announcement and the coalition's demand for an investigation of the hospital by the fired nurses and coalition members. The hospital maternity facilities and records are closed to the public.

Meanwhile, plans moved ahead for a July 6 demonstration called by the coalition to back its demands. Evidence of support in the Black community for the nurses, most of whom are Black, grew June 23 when one of them spoke before the Wheeler Avenue Baptist Church. The nurses were given more than \$300, the entire "second collection."

Jefferson Davis Hospital, named for the president of the Confederacy, is located adjacent to a Black community, and its patients are 70 per-



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Nurses attend meeting of Jefferson Davis Hospital board of managers.

cent Black and 20 percent Chicano.

Judy Sterling and Nancy Roberts, two of the fired nurses, spoke along with Sherry Smith at a Militant Forum June 25. Roberts described dilapidated equipment and the extreme shortage of personnel in the maternity section of the hospital, and refuted a hostile administrator's assertion that births outside delivery rooms and in hallways are a rarity.

# ...strikes demand pay hikes, cost-of-living clause

Continued from page 24

such clauses—and others that had them once but gave them up—are putting forward this crucial demand.

The gains won by some unions have already prompted howls of outrage by the employers. Capitalist economists are again busy denouncing "inflationary" wage settlements, in utter disregard of the fact that wages still lag far behind prices and that the average worker's purchasing power is still (by government figures) 4.6 percent less than a year ago.

The Labor Department asserts that average hourly earnings rose at a 10.8 percent annual rate in May. If accurate, this would be twice the 1973 rate of wage increases. But it would still be less than the rate of inflation, which stood at 13.2 percent in May!

The capitalists and their government are as determined as ever that workers shall be the ones who bear the burden of inflation. That is why they have launched a propaganda offensive against escalator clauses and substantial wage increases as "inflationary."

For the same reason, the threat of renewed wage controls is always present. Prominent Democrats like Congressman Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.)

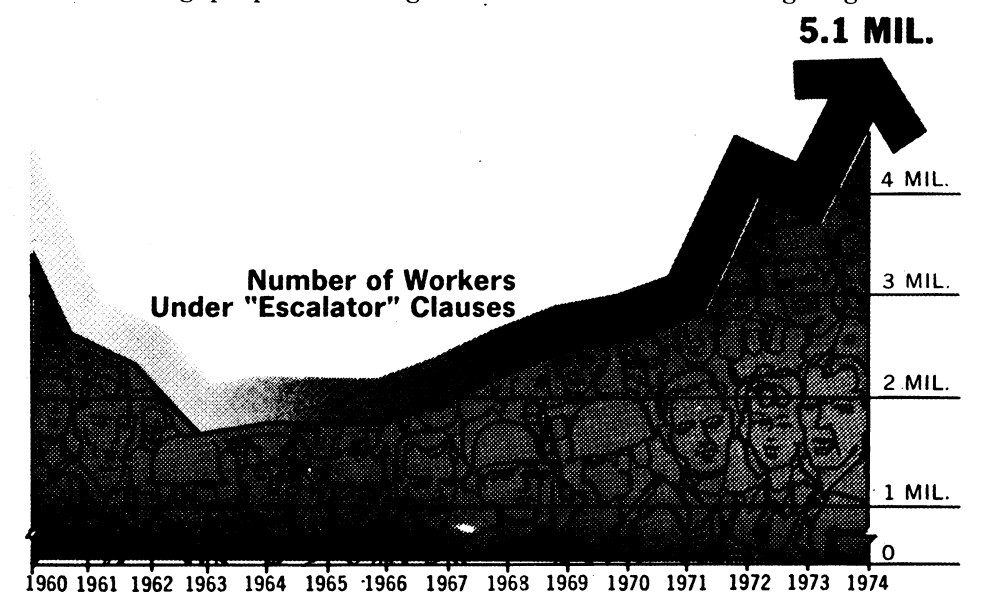
are publicly urging this course. Even without mandatory controls, the government is sparing no effort to keep wages down—for example, through pressure by federal mediators.

In addition, both the administration and Congress stand ready at any moment to pass "emergency" laws against strikes in vital sectors of the economy such as the railroads or coal mines.

Inflation is not the only front on which working people are being as-

saulted. The government is following deliberately recessionary policies aimed at increasing unemployment and thereby dampening workers' militancy. The current high rate of unemployment—officially given as 5.2 percent—has so far failed to stop the drive for higher wages. But it has meant untold hardship for millions of unemployed workers and their families.

In the name of "fighting inflation"





# Calendar

## HOUSTON

**WHY NIXON'S TRIP WON'T BRING PEACE TO THE MIDEAST.** Speaker: Rick Congress, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., July 12, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose, Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

## LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** The history of the Russian revolution: its lessons for today. Wed., July 10, 8 p.m. and Sat., July 13, 10 a.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: 25 cents per session. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information or to enroll call (213) 483-1512 or 483-2581.

## LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

**THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BRITISH IMPERIALISM IN IRELAND AND BRITAIN.** Speakers: Stiofain MacGeough, president, Cumann Roger Casement Irish Republican Club; Hayden Perry, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 12, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

## NEW YORK CITY

**PORTUGAL IN REVOLT: ON-THE-SCENE REPORT.** Speaker: Gerry Foley, special correspondent to Intercontinental Press. Fri., July 12, 8 p.m. Eisner and Lubin Aud., Loeb Student Center, New York Univ., 566 La Guardia Place. Donation: \$1. Ausp: New York Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-8214.

## PHILADELPHIA

**REVOLT IN PORTUGAL AND THE STRUGGLE FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION.** Speakers: Maceo Dixon, co-chairman, Socialist Workers Party 1974 National Campaign Committee; representative of Angola Student Union; representative of Mozambique Student Union. Fri., July 12, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

## ST. LOUIS

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** Cannon's Speeches to the Party—Wed., July 10, 7:30 p.m.: The character of the Cochranite opposition. Black liberation and socialism—Fri., July 12, 7:30 p.m.: Lenin and the national question. Sat., July 13, 3 p.m.: American socialists and the Black struggle. Sun., July 14, 1 p.m.: Strategy and tactics for Black liberation. 4660 Maryland (at Eudid), Room 17. Donation: \$3 for entire series or 50 cents per class. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**SEXISM AND THE LAW.** Speakers: Nancy Polikoff, Center for Women Policy Studies; Frank Kameny, president, Mattachine Society; Anne Powers, Socialist Workers Party candidate for D.C. city council. Fri., July 12, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

**SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SERIES.** The roots of Stalinism. Wed., July 10, 7:30 p.m.: Women, nationalities, youth, and culture in the Soviet Union; Sun., July 14, 6:30 p.m.: The class nature of the Soviet Union. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. Donation: \$3 for entire course; 50 cents per session. Ausp: Socialist Workers campaign committee. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

# ...Boston

*Continued from page 16*

gram of federal funds to upgrade Black education. To begin with, the federal government withheld more than \$16-million from Boston schools in 1973 because they were found to be segregated. This money and millions of dollars more, Gurewitz says, should be released and placed under the control of democratically elected councils in the Black community to implement their own desegregation program.

"So long as the education of Black children remains in the hands of racist Democratic and Republican politicians, no progress will be made," the socialist candidate says. "Only the organized strength of the Black community itself, uniting in action everyone willing to oppose the racists and fight for quality education for Black children, can bring to bear the power necessary to win their just demands."

# ...summit

*Continued from page 18*

design and development of a new passenger aircraft and possible construction of a Boeing plant in the Soviet Union. . . .

"Moscow's cooperation agreement with Boeing is certain to come up in President Nixon's talks next week with Soviet leaders."

Considering Boeing's long-standing financial problems, it is a certainty that Jackson's biggest concern right now, whatever he tells the public, is the success of Boeing's Moscow venture.

It is also probable that further trade agreements, like the deal with Boeing, are high on Brezhnev's list of priorities for the present summit. While Nixon was in Moscow, June 28, the Occidental Petroleum Corporation signed four contracts with the Soviet Union "activating a mammoth, 20-year, \$20-billion chemical barter, the largest commercial transaction ever made between the Soviet Union and the United States," the *New York Times* reported June 29.

On June 30, the editors of the *Times* approvingly reviewed the origins of the détente: ". . . the Kremlin's primary motivation . . . was to obtain American technology, trade, credits

and managerial skill to advance the Soviet Union's lagging economy and living standards. President Nixon offered economic exchanges as the *quid pro quo* for détente—and for the Soviet cooperation that détente implied in such matters as ending the Vietnam war."

It is, above all, the Kremlin's aid in turning back the tide of world revolution that Washington seeks in return for trade and credit. Next to this the SALT talks are secondary.

Moscow's help in pressuring Hanoi to agree to a compromise settlement of the Vietnam war was the main propellant of the détente two years ago.

Today, Moscow's help in pressing a status quo agreement on the Arab East and blocking the Palestinian liberation movement has taken its place beside Southeast Asia as a key aspect of the détente. The editors of the *Christian Science Monitor* acknowledged as much, June 25: "To those who argue that only the Russians have gained something from detente," they said, "we see decided advantages for the West. So far the Soviet Union has not been obstructionist in efforts to bring peace to the Middle East, even though it is piqued by the ascendancy of American diplomacy there."

The words are liberal cant but the meaning is plain enough.

On one side is Moscow's policy of "peaceful coexistence." On the other side is U. S. trade and credit.

Congressional pretense of sympathy for Soviet Jews and for dissident intellectuals, its show of opposition to trade with the Soviet Union and to some aspects of SALT—these are merely political ballyhoo that disguise the main purpose of the secret negotiations in Moscow.

# ...Canada

*Continued from page 19*

*tion.* And in 1972 they proscribed a rather large left-wing caucus, the Waffle Caucus, when it started to pose a challenge to their control of the party."

But such persecution has not deterred the revolutionary socialists of the LSA/LSO from continuing to participate in the NDP, as they have since its founding, and fighting for a revolutionary program within it. The so-

cialists have found the greatest interest in their program among the youth, said Young.

"In the 1960s, for example, we helped to lead in the process of building a youth movement in support of the NDP. It was called the New Democratic Youth (NDY). And at various points we won substantial minorities and even majorities in local NDY clubs. For this reason, the NDP leadership moved particularly hard against the youth, with wholesale expulsions—as part of their struggle against the Trotskyists and other left-wing currents.

"This campaign was carried to the point that the leadership has now virtually dissolved the youth wing of the party, because they fear they can't control the youth. Out of that struggle, many young people were won to the revolutionary socialist movement—the LSA/LSO and the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes."

# ...escalator

*Continued from page 24*

today just to keep even.

Under the Mansfield wage formula, most workers would not be here in 1980.

In a congratulatory letter to Mansfield the United Electrical Workers said, "your bill addresses itself to a major aspect of the inflation problem as it affects working people." It may address itself to the problem, but it is hardly a solution.

Aside from the other limitations of the Mansfield bill, it has a very slim chance of passing this or any other Congress made up of representatives of the employing class—unless the union movement launches an aggressive campaign for a national wage escalator that will keep wages fully abreast of rising prices.

This cannot be done by writing letters (even congratulatory ones) to Republicans and Democrats in the government. It will require massive demonstrations, strike actions, and the termination of the union movement to break with the political parties of the employing class and to elect working men and women to public office at all levels of government.

We badly need a national wage adjustment law. But don't trust "a veto-proof Congress" to enact one.

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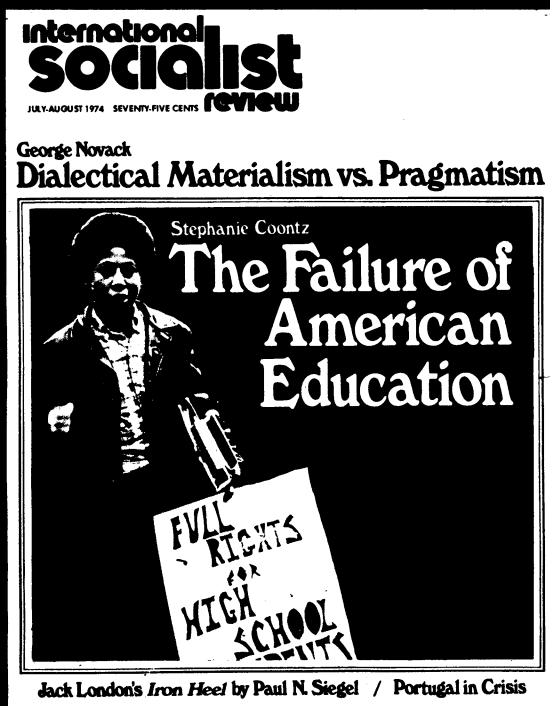
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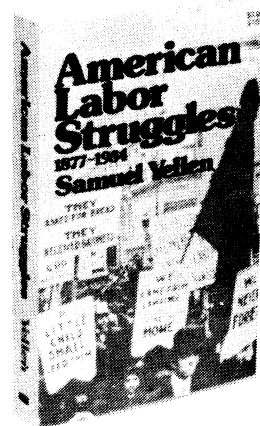
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## Upswing in strikes

# Unions: 'Wages must match soaring prices!'

By ANDY ROSE

Workers across the country are demanding wage increases and cost-of-living escalators to match skyrocketing prices, and they are backing up their demands with strike action.

While prices and profits have soared to astronomical heights, the average wage increases for workers in unions have fallen from 8.1 percent in 1971 to 6.4 percent in 1972 to 5.2 percent in 1973.

This gigantic payroll robbery was called "wage-price controls" and was enforced by the government.

Despite the battering workers were taking from inflation, in 1972 and 1973 the number of workdays lost to strikes dropped to the lowest point since 1966.

But with the lifting of government controls April 30, unions are reasserting their most basic weapon in an attempt to defend their living standards and win back what has been lost.

By the first week of June, federal mediators were trying to settle 523 strikes involving 308,600 workers—the highest total for that week in 15 years. This does not count hundreds of smaller strikes as well as strikes of public employees.

Construction workers, who had been under wage controls longer than anyone else, are now in the forefront of efforts to catch up. Major shutdowns by building-trades unions have taken place in Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Denver, Syracuse, Memphis, and other cities. Right now tens of thousands of carpenters and other construction workers are on strike throughout California.



Harper & Row picket line. Upsurge in strike activity includes new groups of workers not previously known for trade-union militancy.

At the beginning of June, 110,000 members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers staged their first nationwide strike in 53 years.

White-collar employees not previously noted for trade-union militancy—such as the nurses in Northern California—have organized and struck for better wages and working conditions. Office and editorial workers at Harper & Row are now in the third week of their walkout—the first in the book-publishing industry since the 1940s.

So far the garment workers' strike has been the only industrywide action; others have been local. National contract negotiations still lie ahead, though, in telephones, railroads, aerospace, nonferrous metals, coal, and oil refining.

Underlying the rash of strikes is a new and angry mood on the part of American workers. When Nixon first announced the "wage-price freeze" in August 1971, most people were willing to go along, and had some faith that the government really would limit

prices. Bitter experience has shown otherwise.

Disillusionment and distrust of the government are all the greater because they are not limited to economic policies. First the Vietnam war and now the Watergate exposures have opened the eyes of millions to the capitalist government's fundamental corruption and criminality.

Today there is little inclination to sacrifice on behalf of the "national interest" of Nixon and ITT, or to trust the government to aid working people. On the contrary, the government is seen as a coconspirator with the corporate profiteers.

In a recent Harris poll, 60 percent of those surveyed thought the government's economic policies "are doing more harm than good," up from 23 percent in September 1971.

Commenting on the strike resurgence, an official of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service said, "What's reflected here is a general frustration on the part of working people in terms of not being able to effectuate anything substantial on a lot of our national and international problems. . . .

"The shortages of gasoline, grain, it seems to keep the state of mind of the working people constantly disturbed."

Everywhere protection against rising prices is the central issue. The demand for a cost-of-living escalator clause has been taken up by millions of workers.

At the beginning of this year only 4.1 million workers had any form of escalator clause in their contracts. Now many unions that never had

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## The fight for cost-of-living escalators

By FRANK LOVELL

Hardly any union that goes into negotiations these days fails to demand a cost-of-living clause.

Some escalators, like those in the auto and steel contracts, are based on the government's Consumer Price Index and provide a quarterly adjustment in wages as the CPI rises. On June 1, USWA aluminum workers got a 13-cent-an-hour raise for the first three months of their new contract. Steelworkers got a 15-cent-an-hour adjustment May 1.

In the new USWA contracts, adjustments are calculated at the rate of one cent an hour for each 0.3-point increase in the CPI. In the auto industry the escalator formula is set at a penny for each 0.35-point CPI rise. At present rates of inflation, wages under these escalators will show

an annual increase of about 60 cents.

In any case, the wage increase always lags at least three months behind rising prices and never fully compensates for the rise in prices.

Other escalator clauses are so weak they don't even merit the name. The one inserted in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' contract signed in June does not become effective until next year and is limited to an annual 10-cent-an-hour increase.

Now comes a bill in the U.S. Senate, introduced by Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.), that would establish an automatic cost-of-living increase for every worker covered by the Social Security laws. An excellent idea. It is titled "The Wage Adjustment Act of 1974," and would require employers to give all these workers (an estimated 79 million) a cost-of-living raise compa-



Militant/Mike Kelly

Detroit teachers' strike in 1973. Cost-of-living escalator clause is now demanded by millions of workers.

able to the government statistics on price rises for the previous year.

The Mansfield bill as drafted has some obvious defects. Government statistics are rigged to underestimate the real rate of inflation in those commodities that workers must buy. Besides this distortion the law provides only for *annual* wage adjustments. This serves to keep wages down for a whole year while costs of adequate food and clothes skyrocket.

Mansfield reminded the Senate, in introducing his bill, that in the first quarter of this year the annual inflation rate was 14.2 percent and for the past 12-month period it was 10.2 percent.

According to Mansfield, if present trends continue, by 1980 workers will need twice what they are making

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