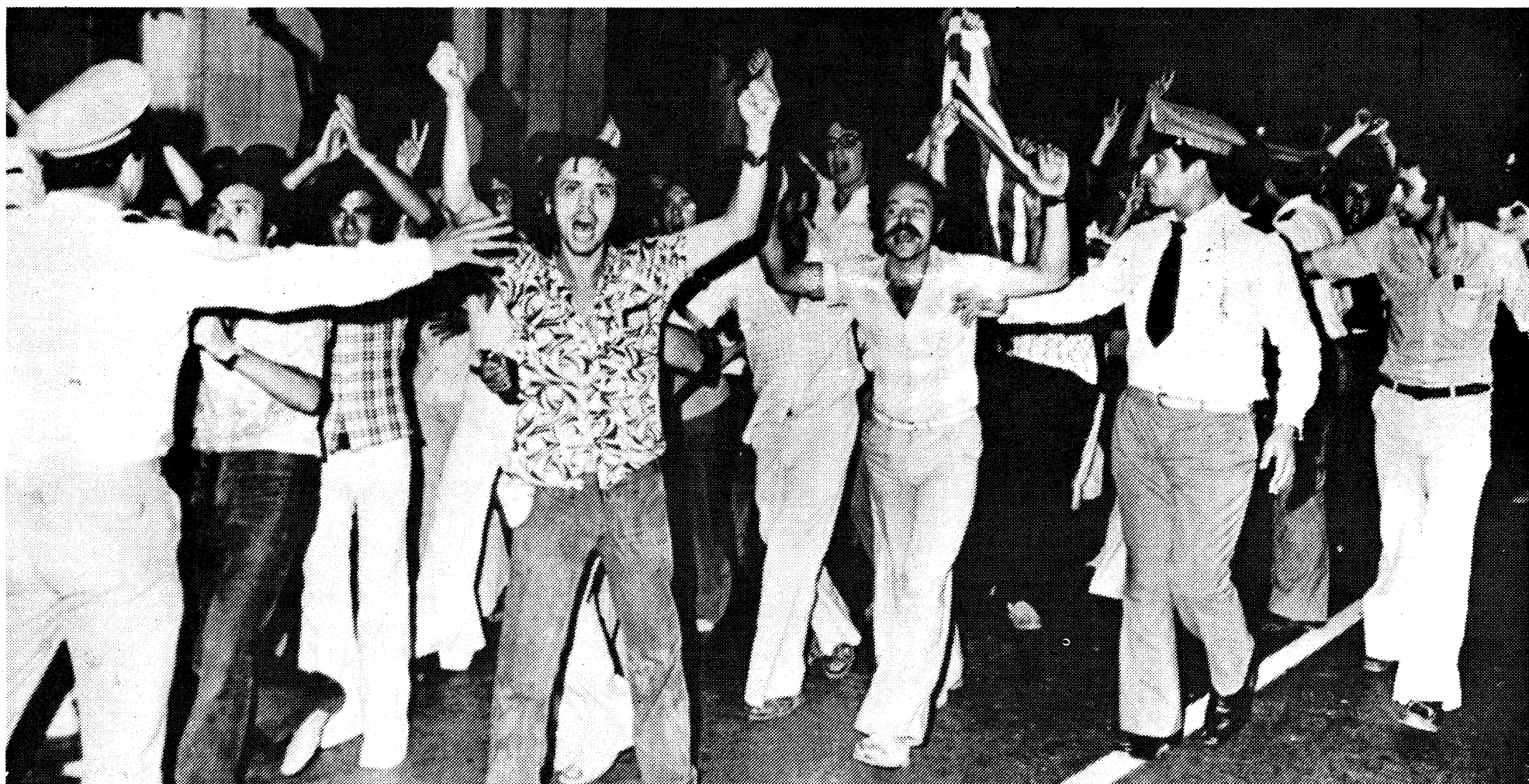


THE MILITANT

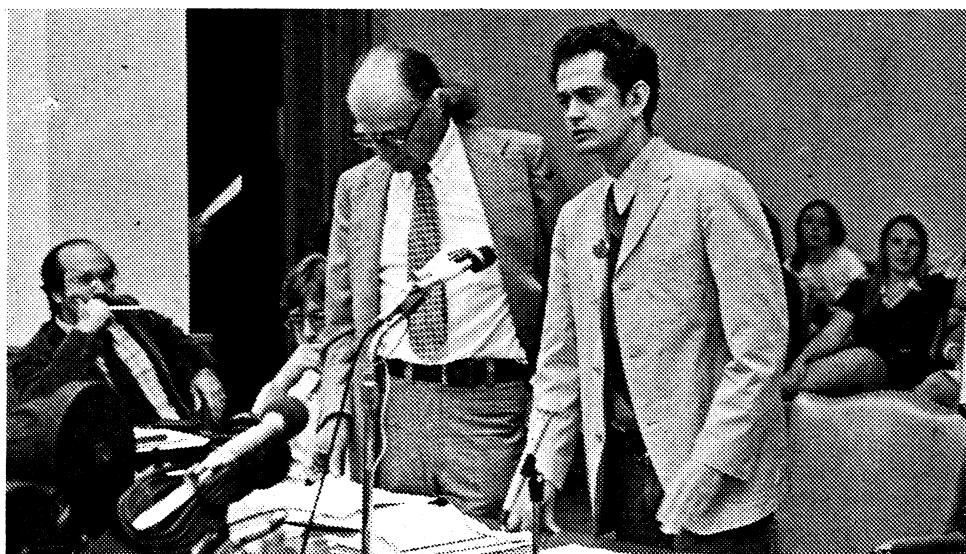
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Cyprus coup backfires

Behind downfall of Greek junta



Athenians express joy at end of military dictatorship. For news and analysis on developments in Greece and Cyprus, see page 10.



Peter Camejo, treasurer of Socialist Workers Party National Campaign Committee, testifies before Minnesota Ethics Commission. See pages 3, 4, and 5.

FBI records on socialists subpoenaed in Minnesota

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME 38/NUMBER 30
AUGUST 2, 1974
CLOSING NEWS DATE—JULY 24, 1974

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Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Telephone: (213) 483-2798. Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: domestic, \$5 a year; foreign, \$8.50. By first-class mail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$30; all other countries, \$51. By airmail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$40. By air printed matter: Central America and Caribbean, \$38; Mediterranean Africa, Europe, and South America, \$50; USSR, Asia, Pacific, and Africa, \$60. Write for foreign sealed air postage rates.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly to Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe: L1 for eight issues, L2.50 for six months, L5 for one year. Send banker's draft or international postal order (payable to Pathfinder Press) to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

HUSTON ORDERED TO REVEAL TARGETS OF 1970 SPY PLAN: Former White House aide Tom Huston is one of the defendants in a suit against government harassment filed last October by antiwar activist Jane Fonda. When Huston gave a pretrial deposition to Fonda's attorney recently, he refused to provide certain information, including the names of groups and individuals who were targets of the 1970 secret spy plan he authored.

On July 23 U.S. District Court Judge Malcolm Lucas ruled that Huston must turn over this information within 30 days, or refuse to do so on the grounds of "executive privilege."

A heavily censored version of the Huston plan has been released by the House Judiciary Committee as part of its impeachment evidence (see page 6). The plan called for stepping up illegal attacks on antiwar, Black, and socialist groups, through intensified use of burglary, police infiltration, wiretapping, and mail tampering.

IRS SUED FOR HARASSMENT: The Black Panther Party has filed suit against the Internal Revenue Service and the First Enterprise Bank for harassing members and financial supporters of the party.

On May 14 the IRS delivered a summons to the First Enterprise Bank asking for all records in the name of Huey P. Newton or the Black Panther Party Community Programs, reports the June 22 Black Panther. The Panther suit points to the fact that Newton is on Nixon's enemies list and that the FBI's "disruption program" was used against Black organizations to show that government agencies such as the IRS have conspired to deny the Black Panther Party its democratic rights.

The Public Citizen's Tax Research Group, an organization associated with Ralph Nader, is also suing the IRS. The tax group is demanding all memos and documents relating to the IRS's "Special Services Staff," which was set up in 1969 to harass White House enemies and political organizations. Although the staff was supposedly disbanded last August, IRS harassment of Black groups, socialists, and other political organizations continues.

If you subscribe to The Militant and plan to move soon, don't forget that the post office does not forward newspapers. Send your old address label and your new address into The Militant business office at least two weeks before you move to ensure that you will not miss any issues.

ANOTHER CITY PASSES GAY RIGHTS BILL: The city council in St. Paul, Minn., passed an amendment to the local human rights ordinance July 16 prohibiting discrimination against homosexuals. In a 5-to-1 decision, the council said that the rights of equal opportunity in employment, education, housing, and public accommodation applies to all regardless of "affectional or sexual preference."

Similar gay rights legislation has been passed in four other major cities—Washington, D.C.; Seattle; Detroit; and Minneapolis.

BOSTON RALLY SUPPORTS UKRAINIAN DISSIDENT: A picket line and rally of more than 150 people was held at Government Center in Boston July 16 to express solidarity with Valentyn Moroz, a Soviet dissident. A Ukrainian intellectual, Moroz is serving a nine-year prison sentence for speaking out in defense of Ukrainian national rights.

Moroz, who is very ill, went on a hunger strike July 1, demanding a transfer to a labor camp, where conditions would be more humane.

At the picket line, sponsored by the Boston Committee Against Repression in the Soviet Union, a petition demanding Moroz's release was circulated and many signatures were collected.

Speakers at the rally were Aleksandr Yesenin-Volpin, an exiled Soviet dissident; George Saunders, editor of Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition; Roman Kupchinsky, speaking for the New York Committee to Defend Soviet Political Prisoners; Karel Kovanda, a leader of the Czech student movement in 1968; and Kendall Green, of the American Coalition Against Repression in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The Boston committee plans another action on Nov. 27 in defense of two Czech dissidents now in prison, Jaroslav Sabata and Jiri Muller.

GAPS IN GOVERNMENT RECORD: Ever since its passage in 1935, the Federal Register Act has required that all presidential proclamations and executive orders be published in the Federal Register. Now it has been discovered that there are gaps in the record.

For example, presidential directives dealing with major steps in the U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia are missing. The gap was discovered by the Senate Special Committee on the Termination of the National Emergency.

A comparison of the Pentagon papers to the Federal Register showed that key presidential directives regarding Vietnam were missing. The same is true with the more recently disclosed secret B-52 raids on Cambodia in 1969.

Rather than list their directives in the register, presidents have taken to simply calling the directives by other names. For example, "national security action memoranda" has often been used to keep presidential orders secret.

MARIJUANA ARRESTS UP: While the crooks and political scum of Nixon's Watergate gang receive mild taps on their wrists for attacking democratic rights, hundreds of thousands of people are being arrested for smoking pot.

Figures compiled for the FBI Uniform Crime Report show that 420,700 people were arrested on marijuana charges in 1973. This was a 43 percent increase over the 292,179 arrested in 1972.

California led the way with 95,110 arrests—one-fourth of the felony arrests in the state!

CHICAGO WOMEN PUSH TO END JOB DISCRIMINATION: Militant correspondent Jeanne FitzMaurice reports that more than 100 people attended a hearing in Chicago recently on discrimination against women in the insurance industry. The hearing was held by the Illinois Insurance Law Study Commission at the urging of Women Employed (WE), an organization of women working in Chicago's downtown area.

At the hearing women described their personal encounters with unfair job treatment and demanded that companies comply with equal opportunity laws. Women spoke of being hired for jobs below their experience and education, being paid less than men doing the same work, and being denied promotions.

WE presented recommendations directed at the Fair Employment Practices Commission, including a proposal that the FEPC require all insurance companies to have affirmative-action plans for upgrading women workers. WE also proposed that maternity be treated as any other disability covered by insurance.

COURT RULES QUAKERS NOT 'DECEPTIVE' ENOUGH: Lyle and Sue Snider were convicted in 1972 of giving their employer "false or fraudulent" tax information. The two anti-Vietnam war Quakers had claimed three billion exemptions on their W-4 form because of "our responsibility to our three billion fellow human beings all over the world." The Fourth Circuit appeals court has just recently overturned the conviction, calling the Sniders' action "symbolic speech."

The appeals court said "a claim of 'three billion' could deceive no one. It is purely symbolic." The court also threw out 16 contempt citations against the Quakers for not rising when the trial judge entered or left the courtroom.

—NORMAN OLIVER

YOUR FIRST ISSUE?

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The 1970 Huston spy plan to bug, infiltrate, and burglarize radical groups—who were its targets? The Militant is reprinting the original documents of this secret plan now—don't miss an issue!

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SWP refuses to list contributors

Board subpoenas FBI to answer harassment charges by socialists

By FRANK BOEHM

ST. PAUL, Minn.—The Minnesota State Ethics Commission, in an unprecedented action, voted July 23 to subpoena top officials of the police and the FBI to answer charges of harassment and illegal spying on members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party.

The ruling came at a hearing held to determine whether or not the Socialist Workers campaign committee in Minnesota should be exempted from the disclosure provisions of the new state campaign financing law.

The commission decided to grant the socialists' motion for the subpoenas after listening to extensive testimony. The evidence heard proves that the government carries out a sweeping policy of surveillance and attempted intimidation against supporters of the SWP, using such tactics as burglary, mail tampering, job discrimination, and other illegal acts.

Peter Camejo, treasurer of the SWP's national campaign committee, testified that the committee could not turn over to the state names and addresses of contributors because such information would only facilitate government harassment of the individuals listed. "We intend to protect our contributors as best we can," Camejo declared.

Major victory

"The commission's subpoenas represent an important victory in the campaign of the SWP and other victims of Watergate-style police tactics to uncover and put a halt to the illegal and unconstitutional operations against the opponents of government policies," declared Jane Van Deusen, the SWP's nominee for governor of Minnesota.

The cops and FBI agents will be ordered to appear at a hearing Aug. 1 at 6:30 p.m. They will be cross-examined by attorneys for the socialist campaign committee.

The commission also voted to subpoena files on political surveillance maintained by the police agencies.

Those named in the subpoenas are the following:

The agent in charge of the Minnesota office of the FBI; the chiefs of police of Minneapolis and St. Paul; the sheriffs of Hennepin and Ramsey counties; the head of the 525th Military Intelligence Group at Fort Snelling; and officials from the state highway patrol, the state crime bureau, and the University of Minnesota police department.

The FBI and local cops may try to have the subpoenas quashed in order to avoid having to answer questions in public about their illegal practices. If they adopt this tactic, attorneys for the socialists are prepared to fight in the courts to have the subpoenas enforced.

Campaign 'reform' law

The July 23 hearing was held to examine the SWP's contention that its campaign committee falls under the exemption section of the state's new law. This section provides for exemption from the disclosure requirement if such disclosure would subject contributors "to economic reprisals, loss of employment, or threat of physical coercion."

Nearly 100 supporters of the socialists' appeal for the exemption jammed the hearing room at the state capitol here to listen to the presentation of



Testifying before Minnesota ethics board, Socialist Workers Party spokesman Maceo Dixon shows commissioners documents on FBI disruption of SWP and Black groups. To force socialists to turn over list of contributors, Dixon explained, would subject SWP supporters to government attacks.

the case. Among those present were Dennis Banks, a leader of the American Indian Movement, and William Kunstler and Mark Lane, defense attorneys in the Wounded Knee trial in progress here.

The commission heard several hours of testimony from Camejo, Van Deusen, and from Maceo Dixon, co-chairman of the national campaign committee.

The six commissioners listened as Douglas Hall, attorney for the campaign committee, questioned the SWP leaders.

"We are requesting this exemption," Camejo explained, "because we cannot meet the requirement of submitting the names of our contributors without violating their constitutional rights and the rights of our party and our candidates."

"Unlike the Democrats and Republicans, our party faces systematic, illegal harassment and spying by the FBI and city and state police. Individuals who support our campaigns are considered fair game for attempts at intimidation under the FBI's admitted program of 'disruption' of our party."

Camejo explained that the socialists are refusing to comply with the federal disclosure law and with the various state laws. The American Civil Liberties Union is representing the committees in their challenge to the federal law.

'SWP Disruption Program'

Reading from the recently released text of the 1970 secret spy plan, and from the FBI's "SWP Disruption Program," Camejo explained that they constitute a blueprint for political repression.

Initiated in 1961, the "SWP Disruption Program" stated that the SWP "has, over the past several years, been openly espousing its line on a local and national basis through running candidates for public office and strongly directing and/or supporting such causes as Castro's Cuba and integration problems arising in the South. . . ."

"The 'line' the FBI is referring to," Camejo said, "is, of course, the program we run on. The FBI amazingly refers to two of the reasons for disrupting us as our positions on

Cuba and on integration. On Cuba, our position has simply been that, as in Vietnam, we oppose the invasion of these countries by the United States government. We participated very actively in the campaign to win the right of Black people to vote and to end segregation. Certainly there is nothing 'illegal' about these views. Many, if not most, Americans would now agree with us on these questions."

"But the FBI refers to these political activities as justifications for their plan to 'disrupt' our party. In essence what is involved here is persecution for our views. There is no indication that the FBI believes that any law is being violated by us. Yet they target us for a special 'Disruption Program.'"

Watergate

"It is ironic," Camejo added, "that at this very moment that we are having this hearing the entire country is faced with the possibility of the impeachment of the president of the United States, in a case that began around a break-in at the Democratic Party campaign headquarters."

"The majority of people believe that it was illegal to break into the Watergate, but this is exactly what is being done to us. At this very moment, this disruption policy, which the vast majority of the people abhor, is being applied to the SWP and its campaign committees around the country."

"And now, after doing this to us, they say that we have to help them by submitting new lists of people to harass and new addresses to burglarize! We refuse to submit names until this practice ends."

Maceo Dixon, who testified next, described the FBI's COINTELPRO ("Counterintelligence program") program aimed at Black groups and radical organizations, and described in detail the pattern of harassment that supporters and members of the SWP have been subjected to. He told of the government's own admission that it had been conducting electronic surveillance of the SWP for 30 years, and that it has maintained a "mail cover" on the SWP's national headquarters in New York City.

Jane Van Deusen also provided the commission with specific instances of government attempts to intimidate her supporters. She told of one donor to the SWP campaigns in Minneapolis who had decided to give only \$90 this year, since if she gave more than \$100, her name would have to be turned over to the government.

Van Deusen went on to outline a history of illegal surveillance and attempts at intimidation that have occurred in Minnesota in recent years (See page 5).

The presentation of witnesses on behalf of the campaign committee will continue when the commission resumes its hearing July 30.

At its session on Aug. 1, the commission is scheduled to hear the testimony from the police and FBI and examine the documents they have been directed to produce. The *Minneapolis Star* reported July 24 that "Commission members said the heads of police agencies subpoenaed would be asked about any possible surveillance and harassment of the party in recent years."

However, the *Star* said, "in separate interviews, spokesmen for the Minneapolis Police Department and the Minneapolis office of the FBI denied that they had harassed members of the Socialist Workers Party."

"Asked about the disruption program the FBI has admitted using against the party, an FBI agent said he did not know about other FBI districts but no disruptions had been carried out against socialists in Minneapolis," the paper said.

"We will show at the hearings next week," said Van Deusen, "that these denials are about as credible as Nixon's proclamations of innocence about Watergate."

An appeal for support

The Socialist Workers Campaign Committee is stepping up its campaign to gather statements of support in its fight for exemption from the disclosure provisions of the Minnesota campaign "reform" law. Prominent individuals and organizations concerned about this crucial fight for democratic rights are being asked to make their views known to the Minnesota State Ethics Commission by telegram.

Messages should be sent to the commission, 74 State Office Building, St. Paul, Minn. 55155, with a copy to the socialist campaign

headquarters at 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls., Minn. 55414.

The commission has set two dates for further hearings: Tuesday, July 30, and Thursday, Aug. 1. Both hearings are set for 6:30 p.m. in Room 107 at the state capitol in St. Paul. Leaders of the socialist campaign committee are urging that all Minnesota supporters of the campaign, as well as supporters of the exemption fight, turn out for the hearing as a demonstration of support.

For further information in the Twin Cities, call the SWP campaign headquarters, (612) 332-7781.

St. Paul editorial takes up socialists' case

The fight being waged by the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee in Minnesota for an exemption from the state's disclosure law has gotten a good deal of publicity, much of it sympathetic. Following is an editorial, entitled "Danger in Disclosure," that appeared in the daily St. Paul Pioneer Press on July 23.

An unusual provision in the new Minnesota campaign disclosure law is being tested by the Socialist Workers Party.

The law, which requires detailed campaign record keeping and public disclosure of the name, address, and place of business of anyone contributing \$100 or more to a political party or candidate, contains a provision allowing the State Ethics Commission to exempt "any association or any of its members or contributors if disclosure would expose any or all of them to economic reprisals, loss of employment, or threat of physical coercion."

The Socialist Workers Party has asked for exemption under this provision and will present its case at a commission hearing today. The party claims to have evidence of 50 instances of political harassment of its members in Minnesota, ranging from police surveillance of meetings to loss of jobs. The result of the hearing is important nationally, since some other states also have exemption provisions in their campaign disclosure laws.

The campaign disclosure law was written in an attempt to prevent individuals or special interest groups from making large anonymous political contributions, thus exerting undue influence on candidates. The problem is that such a law can have a chilling effect on a person who contemplates contributing to a small political party that is out of favor with the established government, such as the Socialist Workers Party. Minnesota's legislators apparently considered that when they put in the exemption provision.

Although Socialist Workers candidates have campaigned openly for public office since 1938, the party was designated as a subversive organization on the recently abolished attorney general's list. Party officials, in their petition to the State Ethics Commission, are claiming that there still is a "systematic and sweeping official government program" of surveillance and harassment against the party, and that compliance with the law's campaign disclosure requirements would help the government intimidate potential contributors.

The Ethics Commission has the difficult task of balancing the public's right to know who is making political contributions against the need for protecting minority political parties. If the Socialist Workers can convince the commission that the threat is real, the exemption provision would seem to be applicable.

Mpls. rally launches fight for exemption from disclosure law

MINNEAPOLIS— Leaders of the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee told a rally of supporters here July 20 that they will refuse to comply with new state and federal laws requiring them to hand over the names of campaign contributors to the government.

"Somebody has got to fight this law," Peter Camejo, treasurer of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee, told the audience. "We're standing up. They say it's the law and that you have to turn in the names and we say that law is unconstitutional and we won't do it."

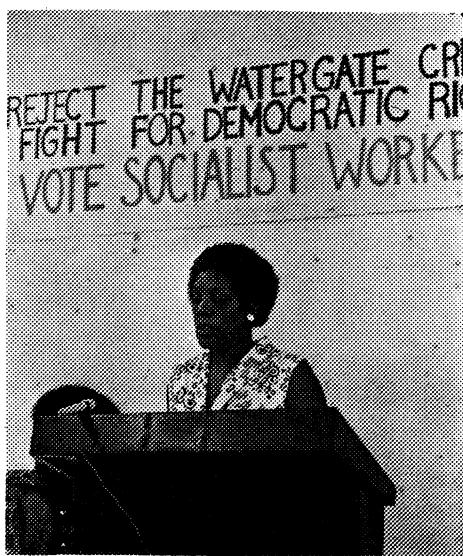
Ninety people filled the SWP hall to hear Camejo; Maceo Dixon, cochairman of the national campaign committee; and Jane Van Deusen, SWP candidate for governor of Minnesota.

The SWP is waging a major fight here, mounting support for its request that the Minnesota State Ethics Commission exempt the party's campaign committee from disclosing the names, addresses, and places of employment of its contributors. The party is seeking an exemption on the grounds that disclosure would subject its supporters to harassment by the FBI and other secret police agencies of the government.

Camejo said the campaign committee would continue to mobilize support for the "constitutional right of freedom of association, without having to give the government a list of all our supporters."

Camejo appealed for a massive, united display of support for the SWP in this battle, from all supporters of civil liberties and all opponents of government harassment of those who oppose its policies.

"The fight here in Minnesota around the disclosure law is of national im-



Militant/Mark Allen

Avis Foley of Women's Political Caucus spoke in support of socialists' fight against disclosure laws.

portance," Maceo Dixon told the rally.

"What's happening here," Dixon said, "will affect the campaign against disclosure laws in states throughout the country."

A fund-raising speech by Dixon raised \$850 in cash and another \$2,300 in pledges, the largest fund collection in years by the Minneapolis SWP.

The money will help finance the Minnesota SWP campaign and the expenses involved in fighting to get the exemption. Campaign organizers said that more than half the money raised has already been spent to pay the cost of travel, phone bills, and literature and publicity in the effort to win exemption from the Ethics Commission.

Telegrams and statements of sup-

port were read to the meeting from a wide range of supporters of the SWP case.

Avis Foley, chairwoman of the Minority Women's Task Force of the Minnesota Women's Political Caucus, also spoke, declaring she backed the campaign committee's fight for the exemption.

Foley said that the exemption provided for in Minnesota's law, which says a party can be exempted if it faces reprisal, "most certainly should be granted the Socialist Workers Party."

"America needs the voice of the Socialist Workers Party, which seeks to make it possible for life, liberty, and happiness for all citizens — not just a few," Foley said.

Jane Van Deusen told the audience that the new state law serves to discourage "any other political party struggling for change from engaging in independent political activity and election campaigns."

She said that the claim that these laws are going to "end big business control of the capitalist parties is a complete hoax."

The Democratic and Republican parties "can't be transformed into instruments representing the majority of Americans—least of all by some new regulatory laws that the capitalists themselves will enforce," Van Deusen said.

"This new law in effect instructs us to turn over names and addresses of our supporters who will only become new targets of unconstitutional spying and harassment. They want us to give them a ready-made enemies list," Van Deusen said.

"But we refuse," Van Deusen said. "We refuse to give them those names."

Notables back SWP exemption

By GREG CORNELL

MINNEAPOLIS— The Socialist Workers Campaign Committee is amassing broad national and local support in its drive to get exempted from the new state election law that forces parties to reveal the names of campaign contributors.

Endorsements of the campaign committee's request for exemption have



Militant/George Basley

Reverend Hosea Williams, of Metro Atlanta Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

come from two members of Congress, Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.) and Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.); Mayor Warren Widener of Berkeley, Calif.; Norman Mailer; Noam Chomsky; Gloria Steinem; and Sanford Gottlieb of SANE.

In a telegram to the Minnesota State Ethics Commission, Congressman Dellums said, "I strongly urge that the

SWP be exempted from disclosing names of financial contributors to their campaigns because of the wealth of evidence . . . that such contributors are potentially subject to government harassment."

Several times on July 23, a major Minneapolis radio station broadcast an interview with Hank Fischer, state chairman of the Minnesota Democratic Farmer-Labor (DFL) central committee, who backed the SWP's request for exemption.

Robert Chrisman, editor of *Black Scholar* magazine, said in a message to the Ethics Commission that he strongly backed the SWP case for exemption. "Until the government ceases and desists from its unfair and prejudicial harassment of minority parties, it cannot demand their compliance with the law," Chrisman said.

A number of Minnesota political figures have supported the socialists' request. Among them are: Phyllis Kahn, state representative; Allan Spear, state senator; Earl Netwal, Minneapolis alderman; and Nellie Stone Johnson, Minnesota DFL central committee.

Other local backers of the fight include University of Minnesota professor Mulford Sibley; Paula Giese; Tim Campbell, a gay rights advocate; and Vincent Hawkinson, pastor of Grace Lutheran Church.

Support from around the country has come from many prominent figures, including: Reverend Hosea Williams, Metro Atlanta SCLC; J. L. Ware, editor of the *Atlanta Voice*; Gene Guerrero, executive director of the

Georgia Civil Liberties Union; attorneys Charles Garry and Howard Moore; and Steve Edwards of the Houston, Tex., Black Panther Party.

Also, Florence Isbell, Washington, D.C., American Civil Liberties Union; Buzzy Gibson, director of the Colorado Civil Liberties Union; Gertrude Barnstone, Women's Equity Action League, Houston; and Julius Hobson, Washington, D.C., Statehood Party.

Also, Leon Despres, Chicago Alderman; Ed Sladowski, staff member, District 31, United Steelworkers; Neal Bratcher, director American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District 19, in Chicago; John Hill, Chicago Alliance to End Repression; Michigan State Representative Perry Bullard; Bishop Alvin Ward, Cleveland; and Abe Bloom, National Peace Action Coalition.



Congresswoman Bella Abzug

SWP compiles proof of gov't harassment

By GREG CORNELL

MINNEAPOLIS — Supporters of the Minnesota Socialist Workers Party have been systematically harassed by the government, police agencies, and employers, evidence turned over to the Minnesota State Ethics Commission reveals.

The evidence includes burglaries and thefts of political files, police surveillance, infiltration, threats of violence, eviction from an apartment, interrogations, job firings, and right-wing denunciations of the SWP, encouraged by government authorities.

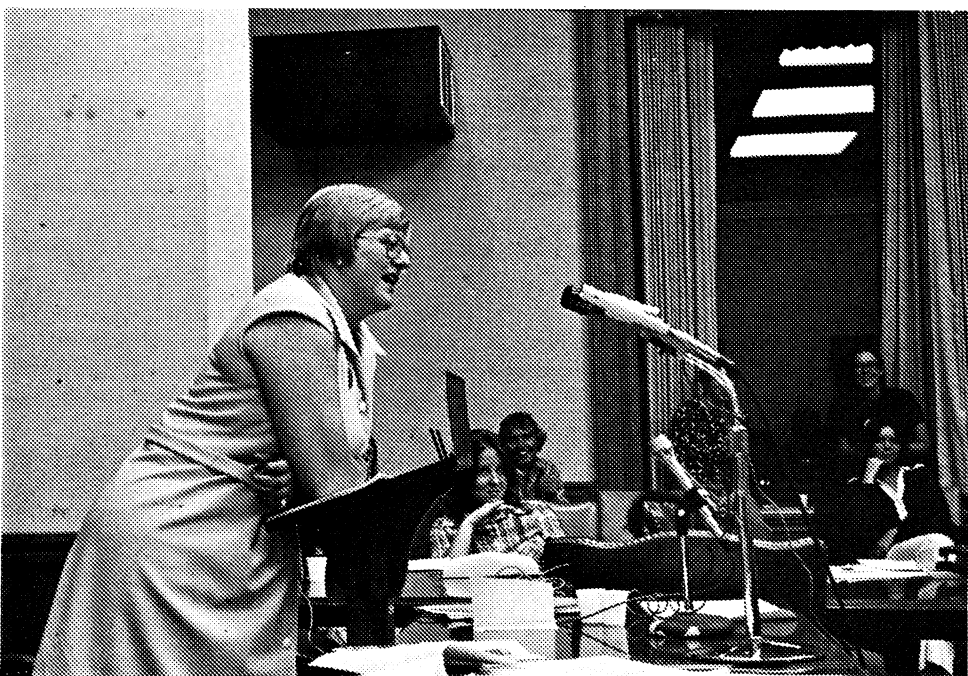
In some 50 sworn affidavits turned over to the commission, the SWP presents a powerful case for its request to be exempted from a new state law requiring political parties to disclose their financial contributors.

The Minnesota law includes a provision that allows parties to be exempted if they can prove that "disclosure would expose any or all" of

unusual due to the fact that items of value had not been stolen."

● **MILITARY SURVEILLANCE:** On March 4, 1970, it was disclosed that Lee Warren Smith, former chairman of the Minnesota Young Socialist Alliance and a member of the Minnesota Socialist Workers Party, was included in a file of individuals who had been under surveillance by the 113th Military Intelligence Group, Region V, headquartered at Fort Snelling, Minn. According to an official at the University of Minnesota, the individuals in the file were spied upon by agents who "engaged in extensive photo surveillance on campus and would routinely follow demonstrations in unmarked cars, photographing persons engaged in perfectly lawful activity."

● **SPYING ON PROTESTS:** A 1971 report prepared by the administration of the University of Minnesota listed some details of spying on political activists by various government agen-



Jane Van Deusen, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Minnesota governor, testified at Ethics Commission hearings on government's campaign of harassment against her campaign supporters.

the contributors "to economic reprisals, loss of employment, or threat of physical coercion."

The evidence amply demonstrates that SWP members have faced and continue to face heavy harassment.

Here is a summary of some of the affidavits of harassment submitted to the ethics commission, which will rule on the campaign committee's exemption request:

● **POLICE RAID:** On May 10, 1970, police raided an antiwar party for allegedly selling liquor. According to an FBI memo, the police called the FBI. The memo states: "The Minneapolis police department advised that along with beer and liquor seized were some pamphlets having references to the Socialist Workers Party and inquired if the FBI desired these individuals held for the FBI. The Minneapolis Police Department was advised that the FBI did not desire the individuals arrested held for the FBI."

● **BURGLARY:** Ed Jurenas, 26, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 5th C.D., says in his affidavit that in January 1974, his apartment was broken into and "files of a political nature had been thoroughly rifled." Jurenas said in the statement that "the break-in struck me as

cies in the Twin Cities. For example, intelligence summaries prepared by the 113th Military Intelligence Group listed a planned peace demonstration to be held in Minneapolis on Oct. 31, 1970.

The SWP and YSA were prominent in and active supporters of the coalition planning this march. Among those helping to compile information for the military intelligence summaries were the Minneapolis police department, the Ramsey and Hennepin county sheriffs' offices, the Minnesota Highway Patrol, the state crime bureau, the University of Minnesota police, and the FBI.

● **POLICE SURVEILLANCE:** Mary Hillery, organizer of the Minnesota Socialist Workers Party states in an affidavit that both marked and unmarked police cars have been positioned outside the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party in Minneapolis during the past several years. On occasion, photographs would be taken by the police of all those entering the headquarters, Hillery said in a sworn statement. The police cars would usually be present at those times when public meetings were taking place.

6,000 at rally back miners in Kentucky

By JOEL ABER

HARLAN, Ky. — On July 22, one day after 6,000 miners and supporters rallied here in solidarity with the United Mine Workers (UMW), Kentucky Governor Wendell Ford announced he would withdraw state troopers from the picket lines at the nearby Highsplint mine.

Ford's move represents a partial victory for the UMW, which called the July 21 rally to protest police and company violence against pickets at Highsplint.

Miners traveled from as far away as Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Michigan to attend the rally. The featured speakers were UMW President Arnold Miller, Vice-President Mike Trbovich, and Secretary-Treasurer Harry Patrick. Two pickets who were recently beaten by police flanked the speakers platform.

"We want a UMW contract at every mine in Kentucky," Miller told the rally. The UMW has been on strike at Harlan County's Brookside mine for an entire year. Several weeks ago, the strikers began picketing at the Highsplint mine, which like the Brookside mine is owned by the Duke Power Company.

Ford sent in state troopers, who cordoned off the mine entrance and conveyed 40 carloads of scabs into the mine each day. One UMW retiree was shot by a scab, and two other pickets were beaten, prompting the UMW protest.

Before the cops moved in, the strikers had shut down the Highsplint mine. A strike organizer told *The Militant* that about 125 Highsplint miners had joined the strike, while another 75—reluctant to cross the picket lines—went to work at other mines. It is expected that once the cops are removed, the mine will again be closed down.

The miners at Highsplint are represented by the Southern Labor Union (SLU), a company union that has contracts with several other eastern Kentucky and Tennessee coal operators. The Brookside miners also belonged to the SLU until last July, when they voted 113 to 55 to join the UMW.

The Brookside strike began when Duke Power refused to recognize the national contract terms of the UMW, balking at safety provisions and increased royalties for health and welfare.

Duke Power's most recent move against the Brookside strikers was to fire 40 of them for "illegally" picketing at Highsplint. Three of the 40, who live in company-owned housing, were also served eviction notices.

"We are putting the Harlan County coal operators on notice that the UMW is here to stay," Miller said at the rally. He also directed his fire at the U.S. Bureau of Mines for not enforcing safety regulations, and at "politicians who say they're for us, but scab on the miners," a reference to Governor Ford.



ARNOLD MILLER: 'United Mine Workers is here to stay.'

Miller announced that he plans to call out miners for a "memorial day" strike to focus public attention on the Harlan County struggle and on the issue of mine safety. The UMW contract allows for 10 memorial days a year. These periods are traditionally used to commemorate those killed in the mines.

UMW representative Phil Sparks told *The Militant* that such a strike could last more than a day. It would focus on the right of miners to organize and on the UMW's opposition to James Day, interim head of the U.S. Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration, who faces confirmation hearings in the U.S. Senate soon. Miners are fed up with "the inability of the federal government and the coal operators to enforce safety," Sparks said.

If Miller does call for a nationwide walkout, it will give an important boost to the Harlan County strikers, as well as being a prelude to the upcoming UMW contract negotiations with the soft-coal operators. Because the bosses are adamantly opposed to the miners' wage and safety demands, a major strike over the contract is predicted for the fall.

By DENNIS CARMAN

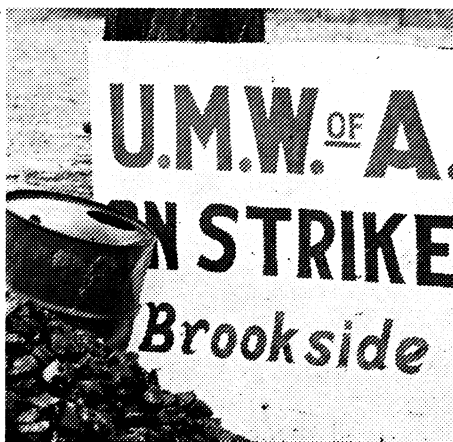
EVARTS, Ky. — The day before the main UMW rally in Harlan, supporters of the miners held another rally here. A caravan of 60 cars arrived for the meeting, plastered with signs reading: "Solidarity with striking mine workers," "Harlan County strikes again," and "No coal without control."

The contingents came from Cincinnati, Dayton, and Yellow Springs, Ohio; Tidewater, Va.; and Louisville and Pineville, Ky. The caravan and rally was organized by the Brookside Mine Workers Support Committee.

Three hundred people attended the rally to hear the miners declare their intention to continue the strike until they win.

In an interview with *The Militant*, strike organizer Houston Elmore described the harassment of Brookside miners. "We've had dynamite thrown at our pickets; they've been shot at from the mountains and ambushed," he said. "Those miners who live on company property and in company-owned houses have had their water and electricity cut off for four days at a time."

Elmore blasted the use of state troopers against pickets at Highsplint. "Experienced, handpicked men" is what the commander of the state police called them. What he meant by that was that these men have been used to break strikes before in other areas!"



Militant/Vicki Griffiths

Documents from Nixon's 1970 secret spy plan

More than a year after former presidential aide John Dean made the document available to Congress, a heavily censored version of the 1970 Huston spy plan has finally been made public. The document, published July 18 as part of the impeachment evidence collected by the House Judiciary Committee, confirms that Nixon specifically approved illegal spy operations against the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Black Panther Party, Communist Party, and other Black, antiwar, and student groups.

These groups are all named and described in the first part of the plan, titled "Summary of Internal Security Threat." Portions of this part of the Huston plan are reprinted here; future issues of *The Militant* will reprint additional parts of this document and comment further on the significance of these new disclosures.

This plan, drawn up by White House aide Tom Huston and approved by Nixon in July 1970, was the government's reaction to the massive May 1970 upsurge against the invasion of Cambodia.

The government feared a recurrence of the May explosion, which began with student strikes but began to spill over into the population as a whole. As the "Summary of Internal Security Threat" itself points out, "Increasingly, the battlefield is the community with the campus serving primarily as a staging area."

The final version of the plan approved by Nixon called for intensifying government attacks on the left by stepping up the use of police infiltration, mail tampering, burglaries, and electronic surveillance. Nixon has claimed that the plan was rescinded shortly after he approved it, but the newly released list of target groups adds increased weight to the charge that the plan was in fact implemented.

Many of these groups—including the SWP, YSA, and Black Panthers—were the victims of vicious government attacks after the summer of 1970.

For example, the SWP and YSA experienced bombings, burglaries, mail tampering, and increased FBI harassment at this time. Last year the socialists filed suit against the government, charging that these attacks were in part the result of the Huston plan. Release of the plan represents a major breakthrough for this suit.

In light of the socialists' charges, it is significant that Senator Lowell Weicker (R-Conn.), a member of the Senate Watergate committee, has himself conceded that "events took place which closely parallel the recommendations in the 1970 plan."

"In contrast with the evidence that the plan was approved, there is no documentary evidence that the plan was at any time officially withdrawn," he added. Weicker's comments—ignored by the capitalist media for the most part—were appended to the Senate committee's final report, published June 27.

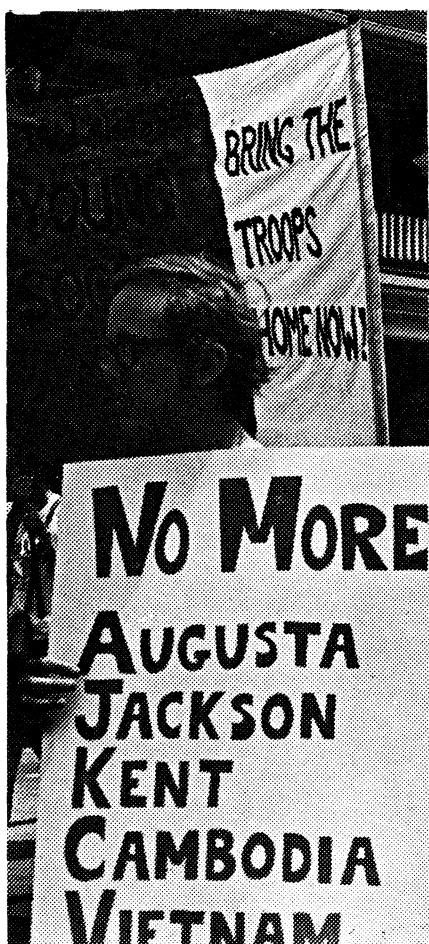
The Senate Watergate committee as a whole, however, steadfastly refused during its entire investigation to release its copy of the Huston plan. The official excuse was that the document "relates in substantial part to foreign intelligence." Now that the document has been published, however, it is clear that this was a lie.

The Huston plan is not about "foreign intelligence," but about curbing the growing opposition to the war and racist oppression *within* the United States. In addition to the groups already mentioned, the report discusses such organizations as the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War, Students for a Democratic Society, the Weathermen, and the Nation of Islam.

The House Judiciary Committee is also helping keep the wraps on the use of the Huston plan. Extensive portions of the plan were deleted before the committee released the documents.

These deletions, indicated by the blank spaces in the documents, frequently appear where there is a discussion of the extent of government spying against a particular group, such as the deletions following the section on the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, and Puerto Rican groups.

Nevertheless, the final page dealing with these three organizations makes it clear that they were targets for increased government attack: "The selective use of electronic surveillances would materially enhance the intelligence coverage of the policy-making levels of these organizations," the document states. It concludes by suggesting that "through the establishment of additional informant coverage on college campuses, the involvement of these organizations in the radicalization of students could be assessed with increased accuracy."



Militant/Meg Rose
Huston spy plan was part of ruling class's answer to massive May 1970 antiwar upsurge.



1970 postal workers' strike. Capitalists feared role of SWP and other groups in 'creating dissatisfaction in labor organizations.'



'Black student extremist activities at colleges and secondary schools have increased alarmingly,' Huston plan said.

Target: 'Black extremist' organizations

Reprinted here are the sections from the 1970 Huston spy plan on the "Black Extremist Movement" and "Other Revolutionary Groups." These documents are part of the "Summary of Internal Security Threat," a list of groups targeted for wiretapping, burglary, mail tampering, and infiltration. The large white spaces that appear are the result of censoring done by the House Judiciary Committee.

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II. BLACK EXTREMIST MOVEMENT

A. Assessment of Current Internal Security Threat

1. Black Panther Party. The most active and dangerous black extremist group in the United States is the Black Panther Party (BPP). Despite its relatively small number of hard-core members—approximately 800 in 40 chapters nationwide—the BPP is in the forefront of black extremist activity today. The BPP has publicly advertised its goals of organizing revolution, insurrection, assassination and other terrorist-type activities. Moreover, a recent poll indicates that approximately 25 per cent of the black population has a great respect for the BPP, including 43 per cent of blacks under 21 years of age.

The Panther newspaper has a current circulation of approximately 150,000 copies weekly. Its pages are filled with messages of racial hatred and call for terrorist guerrilla activity in an attempt to overthrow the Government. The BPP has been involved in a substantial number of planned attacks against law enforcement officers, and its leadership is composed in large part of criminally inclined, violence-prone individuals.

Weapons are regularly stockpiled by the Party. During 1968 and 1969, quantities of machine guns, shotguns, rifles, hand grenades, homemade bombs, and ammunition were uncovered in Panther offices.

2. New Left Support for BPP. The BPP has received increasing support from radical New Left elements. During 1970, the BPP formed a working relationship with radical student dissenters by injecting the issue of Government "repression" of Panthers into the antiwar cause. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) supported the BPP in a 1969 "united front against fascism." The probability that black extremists, including the BPP, will work closely with New Left white radicals in the future increases the threat of escalating terrorist activities. It would be safe to project that racial strife and student turmoil fomented by black extremists will definitely increase.

3. BPP Propaganda Appearances. Despite its small membership, the BPP has scored major successes in the propaganda arena. In

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1969, BPP representatives spoke at 159 colleges throughout the Nation, while in 1967 there were only 11 such appearances. Although no direct information has been received to date indicating that the BPP has initiated any large-scale racial disorders, the year 1970 has seen an escalation of racial disorders across the Nation compared to 1969. This fact, coupled with an increasing amount of violent Panther activity, presents a great potential for racial and civil unrest for the future.

4. Appeal to Military. The BPP has made pointed appeals to black servicemen with racist propaganda. High priority has been placed on the recruitment of veterans with weapons and explosives training. The BPP has also called for infiltration of the Government. These activities, should they achieve even minimum success, present a grave threat.

5. BPP Philosophy and Foreign Support. The BPP relies heavily on foreign communist ideology to shape its goals. Quotations from Mao Tse-tung were the initial ideological bible of the BPP. Currently, the writings of North Korean Premier Kim Il-sung are followed and extensive use of North Korean propaganda material is made in BPP publications and training. The Marxist-oriented philosophy of the BPP presents a favorable environment for support of the Panthers from other communist countries.

BPP leaders have traveled extensively abroad including visits to Cuba, Russia, North Korea, and Algeria. International operations of the BPP are directed by Eldridge Cleaver, a fugitive from United States courts.

Radical white students in Western Europe and the Scandinavian countries have organized solidarity committees in support of the BPP. These committees are the sources of financial contributions to the Party and provide outlets for the BPP newspaper.

6. Other Black Extremist Groups. The Nation of Islam (NOI) is the largest single black extremist organization in the United States with an estimated membership of 6,000 in approximately 100 Mosques. The NOI

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preaches hatred of the white race and advocates separatism of the races. The NOI as a group has, to date, not instigated any civil disorders; however, the followers of this semi-religious cult are extremely dedicated individuals who could be expected to perform acts of violence if so ordered by the NOI head, Elijah Muhammed. When Muhammed, who is over 70 years of age, is replaced, a new leader could completely alter current nonviolent tactics of the organization. For example, Muhammed's son-in-law, Raymond Sharrieff, now among the top hierarchy of NOI, could rise to a leadership position. Sharrieff is vicious, domineering, and unpredictable.

There are numerous other black extremist organizations, small in numbers, located across the country. There is also a large number of unaffiliated black extremists who advocate violence and guerrilla warfare. One particular group, the Republic of New Africa (RNA), headquartered in Detroit, Michigan, calls for the establishment of a separate black nation in the South to be protected by armed forces. These groups, although small, are dedicated to the destruction of our form of government and consequently present a definite potential for instigating civil disorder or guerrilla warfare activity.

7. Black Student Extremist Influence. Black student extremist activities at colleges and secondary schools have increased alarmingly. Although currently there is no dominant leadership, coordination or specific direction between these individuals, they are in frequent contact with each other. Consequently, should any type of organization or cohesiveness develop, it would present a grave potential for future violent activities at United States schools. Increased informant coverage would be particularly productive in this area. Black student extremists have frequently engaged in violence and disruptive activity on campuses. Major universities which made concessions to nonnegotiable black student demands have not succeeded in calming extremist activities. During the school year 1969-70, there were 227 college disturbances having racial overtones. There were 530 such disturbances in secondary schools compared with only 320 during the previous school year.

8. Foreign Influence in the Black Extremist Movement. Although there is no hard evidence indicating that the black extremist movement is substantially controlled or directed by foreign elements, there is a marked potential for foreign-directed intelligence or subversive activity among black extremist leaders and organizations. These groups are highly susceptible to exploitation by hostile foreign intelligence services.

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Currently the most important foreign aspect of the black extremist movement is the availability of foreign asylum, especially with regard to black extremists subject to criminal prosecution in the United States. Some foreign countries, such as Cuba, provide a temporary safe haven for these individuals. Information has been received that

Communist intelligence services are capable of using their personnel, facilities, and agent assets to work in the black extremist field. The Soviet and Cuban services have major capabilities available.

B. Assessment of Current Intelligence Collection Procedures

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1. Other Black Extremist Organizations. Informant coverage of the NOI is substantial, enabling its activities to be followed on a current basis. Coverage of militant black student groups and individuals is very limited because of the sensitive areas involved. An effective source of such coverage would be reliable, former members of the Armed Forces presently attending college. Live informant coverage, particularly with respect to the activities and plans of unaffiliated black militants, needs to be increased. More sources both in the United States and abroad in a position to determine the amount of foreign involvement in black extremist activities need to be developed. Maximum use of communication interceptions would materially increase the current capabilities of the intelligence community to develop highly important data regarding black extremist activities.

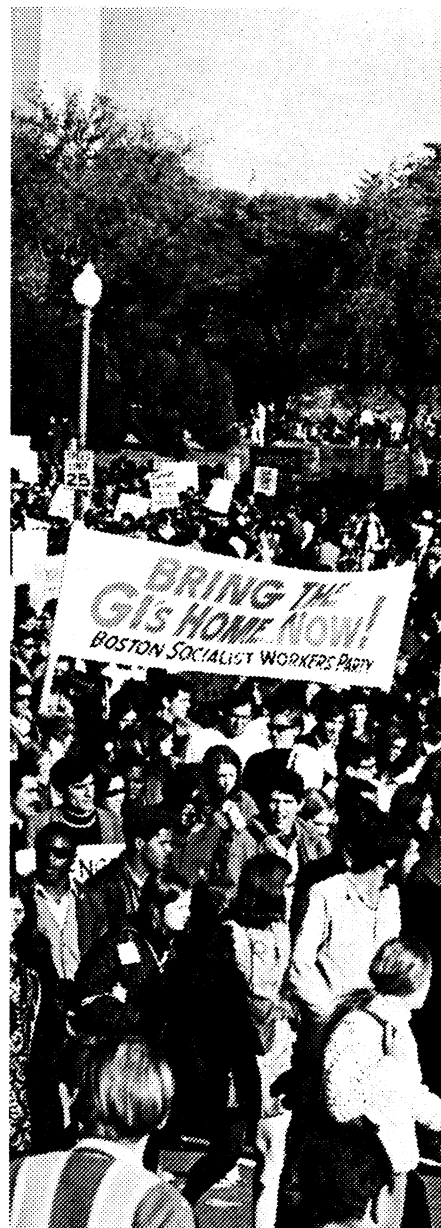
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THE MILITANT/AUGUST 2, 1974



1970 demonstration of GIs. Huston plan warned that growing support for Panthers among Black GIs posed 'a grave threat.'



Militant/Flax Hermes
Government was concerned about 'influential role in antiwar movement' played by Socialist Workers Party.

Target: SWP, CP, Puerto Rican groups

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IV. OTHER REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS

A. Assessment of Current Internal Security Threat

1. Communist Party. The Communist Party continues as a distinct threat to the internal security because of its extremely close ties and total commitment to the Soviet Union. There are many thousands of people in the United States who adhere to a Marxist philosophy and agree with the basic objectives of the Communist Party although they do not identify themselves specifically with the organization. The Party receives most of its finances from the Soviet Union, adheres to Soviet policies explicitly, and provides a major outlet for Soviet propaganda. The Party will without question continue to implement whatever orders it receives from the Soviets in the future.

There is little likelihood that the Communist Party, USA, will instigate civil disorders or use terrorist tactics in the foreseeable future. Its strong suit is propaganda. Through its publications and propaganda it will continue its efforts to intensify civil disorders, and foment unrest in the Armed Forces, labor unions, and minority groups. The Party is on the periphery of the radical youth movement and is striving to strengthen its role in this movement and to attract new members through a recently formed youth organization, but it does not appear this group will achieve any substantial results for the Party in the future.

2. Socialist Workers Party and Other Trotskyist Groups. These organizations have an estimated membership of . . . The major Trotskyist organization, the Socialist Workers Party, has attained an influential role in the antiwar movement through its youth affiliate, the Young Socialist Alliance, which dominates the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and which has more than doubled its size on college campuses in the past year. Trotskyist groups have participated in major confrontations with authorities both on and off campuses and have consistently supported civil disorders. At this time they do not pose a major threat to instigate insurrection or to commit terrorist acts. The propaganda of these groups, while emphasizing student unrest, is also aimed at creating dissatisfaction in labor organizations and in the Armed Forces. The Trotskyist organizations maintain close relations with the Fourth International, a foreign-based worldwide Trotskyist movement.

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4. Puerto Rican Nationalist Extremist Groups. The radical Puerto Rican independence movement has spawned approximately ten violently anti-American groups committed to Puerto Rican self-determination. Revolutionary violence is a major aim of the estimated members of these groups and if sufficiently strong, they would not hesitate to mount armed insurrection. Since July, 1967, some 130 bombings in Puerto Rico and in the New York City area have been attributed to these extremists. American-owned businesses have been the main targets, but there has been a recent upsurge of violence against U.S. defense facilities in Puerto Rico.

B. Assessment of Current Intelligence Coverage

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3. Possible Measures to Improve Intelligence Collection. The selective use of electronic surveillances would materially enhance the intelligence coverage of the policy-making levels of these organizations. A particular benefit of electronic surveillance in the Puerto Rican field could be the development of information identifying persons involved in terrorist activities. Communications intelligence coverage and travel control measures could be improved to provide greater awareness of the travel and other activities of individuals of security interest. Through the establishment of additional informant coverage on college campuses, the involvement of these organizations in the radicalization of students could be assessed with increased accuracy.

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Behind the rulers' impeachment

Third of a series

By LARRY SEIGLE

The Watergate revelations exposed to public view part of the corruption, lies, and secret-police methods through which the capitalist class maintains its rule. The sordid political deals, the conspiracies to deny the great majority of Americans their democratic rights, and the plots to protect the profits of the giant corporations that came to light, are not unique to the Nixon administration. They are standard operating procedure for the rulers of this country.

What is new is the degree to which they have become exposed. And the reaction to these disclosures by the American people has produced a new problem for the capitalist class, one that it has yet to resolve: How to prevent the reaction to Watergate from growing into an even deeper rejection, on the part of the masses of people, of the institutions of bourgeois rule.

The Watergate scandal has been a highly corrosive acid, eating away at some of the main underpinnings of the illusions in bourgeois democracy, including: the myth of free elections in this country; the "democracy" of the two-party system; and the notion that the government represents the citizenry as a whole, rather than serving the interests of those who command the wealth, and thus the real power, in America.

The capitalist class rules through a combination of deception and repression. But the more effective the deception, and the less open the repression, the more efficient it is for the rulers. So long as working people continue to believe that American capitalist society is essentially democratic, the repressive weapons are used only selectively.

In the United States today, the main props of bourgeois rule are these illusions in "American democracy." That is why preserving these illusions is so important to the rulers.

Thinking the unthinkable

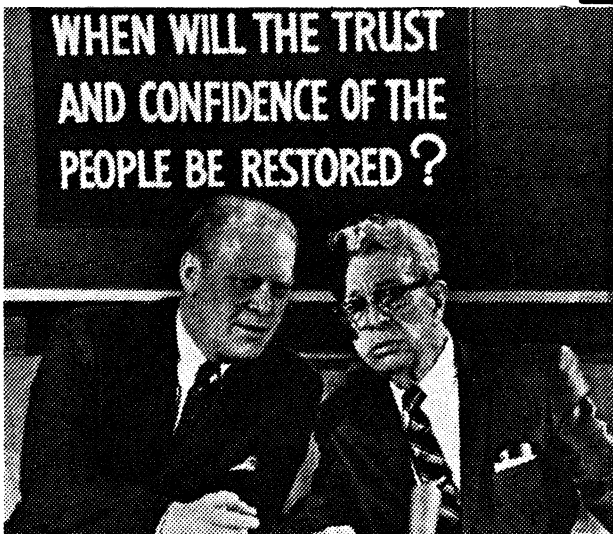
As we showed in an article last week, the first response of the ruling class to Watergate was to participate in the cover-up. But by the middle of 1973, the maintenance of the cover-up became impossible. During the next months the capitalist class began to discuss what had previously been unthinkable: ways to remove Nixon from office before his term was up. A debate opened up in the ruling class over whether impeachment or resignation would be the best device to use.

Compelling arguments on both sides of this controversy were raised.

The chief argument for resignation was that it would have fewer negative side effects for the ruling class than an impeachment trial. The reactionary New York senator, Conservative-Republican James Buckley, in his public appeal for Nixon to step down, expressed the patrician dread with which a section of the ruling class faces the possibility of impeaching the president:

"Public opinion would compel the proceedings to be televised. . . . The most sordid dregs dug up by the Watergate miners would inflame the passions of the domestic audience and provoke the guffaws, prurient curiosity, or amazement of the outside world. The audience would hear those magical tapes in full—that could not be avoided."

But powerful voices were also raised in favor of impeachment rather than resignation. A dangerous precedent would be set by Nixon's resigna-



Gerald Ford with late senator Dirksen. Politicians hope impeachment process can be used to restore 'trust and confidence' in capitalist institutions.

tion: working people might think that any president whose popularity sank below a certain point should resign if the population demanded it. Rather than Congress deciding whether or not to remove a president, the workers might think they had that right.

And impeachment has one very clear advantage over resignation. If staged correctly, it could be used to help generate renewed confidence in the institutions of the Republic provided by the U. S. Constitution.

Speaking on the floor of the U. S. Senate on May 13, 1974, Democratic Majority Whip Robert Byrd summed up this point of view:

"If a president of the United States should be drummed out of office by intense pressure from the media, members of Congress, indeed, by public opinion itself . . . I fear the impact such an event would have on the constitutional bedrock of our system. . . . I recognize the concern for the agony the country may endure through an impeachment proceeding in the House and a possible trial in the Senate, which has prompted many to call for the resignation of the president so that the nation may be spared such an experience. I submit however, that in the highly charged atmosphere that now exists throughout the country, nothing is more important to the nation than the exercise of sober judgement. . . .

"An impeachment proceeding is a constitutional remedy of last resort. As agonizing as it may be in its use, the country will survive its application. So, I speak—not in the defense of the president, but, rather, in defense of the constitutional system. . . ."

Newspapers such as the *Wall Street Journal*, house organ of Eastern finance capital, endorsed this point of view. Even the *New York Times*, which had earlier called for Nixon's resignation, reversed its position and urged impeachment instead.

Missed timing on resignation

Had the ruling class moved quickly and decisively at an earlier stage of the Watergate scandal to force Nixon to accept retirement and some kind of deal barring prosecution, they might have succeeded in defusing Watergate, even if at a certain price. But they let Watergate drag on to the point where simply letting Nixon resign and giving him immunity would be difficult, if not impossible, to pass off on the American people as a satisfactory resolution of the Watergate affair.

They missed the timing on resignation, failing to act decisively to cut their losses early, before an even more drastic move was needed to give the appearance of clearing the decks. The longer the rulers deferred action to "end Watergate," the more difficult their situation became.

It now appears as though the majority of the ruling class is prepared to go through the impeachment procedure, however painful it may be. Whether they have the resolve to carry it all the way to the end, and remove Nixon from office, remains to be seen.

As the Congress gets closer to impeachment, the problems of staging the event in such a way as to advance their goal of restoring confidence in themselves loom larger. The long arguments and partisan bickering in the House Judiciary Committee are reflections of this process.

They are grappling with the difficulty of drawing

up articles of impeachment that will include enough of the multitude of crimes of which Nixon is guilty to justify impeaching him, while at the same time keeping the indictment narrow enough so as not to include as "impeachable offenses" those policies that every president carries out, with bipartisan support, in the interests of the capitalist class.

The absence of tried and commonly accepted procedures for dealing with the situation have compounded the rulers' problem. The precedents for the removal of a chief executive under such circumstances don't exist. (The impeachment of Andrew Johnson more than a century ago under completely different circumstances is hardly a reliable guide.)

A capitalist class in a period of growth and expansion, self-confident and decisive, can dispose of many problems of leadership with relative ease. But the titans of American imperialism, in a period of historical decline and decay, agonize at length over every step along the road to removing Nixon.

They view impeachment not as a desirable alternative, but as the best way out of their dilemma, a situation in which none of the alternatives looks very attractive.

They view impeachment as the best way available to restore some measure of trust and confidence in the institutions through which they rule. They hope they can use impeachment to restore the myth of the capacity of the capitalist government and political parties to represent the popular will.

Impeachment in no way goes beyond the framework of the bourgeois democratic forms decreed in the U. S. Constitution. It is not an extraparliamentary solution to the problems confronting the rulers. On the contrary, it is *the* constitutional and legal method available to the rulers for getting rid of a president who no longer serves their purposes.

'Send Congress a message'

The way sections of the ruling class view impeachment can be seen from the liberals' response to the so-called impeachment movement. Last April, *The Nation*, a liberal magazine, sent a reporter to talk to staff workers of the National Campaign to Impeach Nixon, which was organizing proimpeachment demonstrations at the time.

The account in the April 20 *Nation* was enthusiastic: "The purpose of all this energy is to send Congress a message in the belief that it will respond. Thus, for the moment at least, impeachment strategies seem to rest on a basic faith in the vitality of the country's democratic institutions. . . .

"At the moment, the fate of Nixon's Presidency lies with those who are determined to make the system work. . . . Indeed, the demeanor of both the friends and enemies of the President demonstrates the fatuousness of those who warned—on the basis of no evidence—that the attempt at impeachment would tear the country apart.

"Just the opposite may be true."

The magazine then approvingly quotes Carl Albert, Democratic Speaker of the House, as saying, "I think impeaching the President without sufficient grounds would tear the country apart. But I think the failure to impeach, if the grounds are sufficient, would also do damage to the country."

The impeachment procedure is being presented to the American people as proof of the "vitality" of the U. S. Constitution and the ultimate guarantee of a free and democratic society.



Anti-Nixon protesters. Watergate scandal is eroding illusions in American 'democracy.'

Socialist view on Watergate

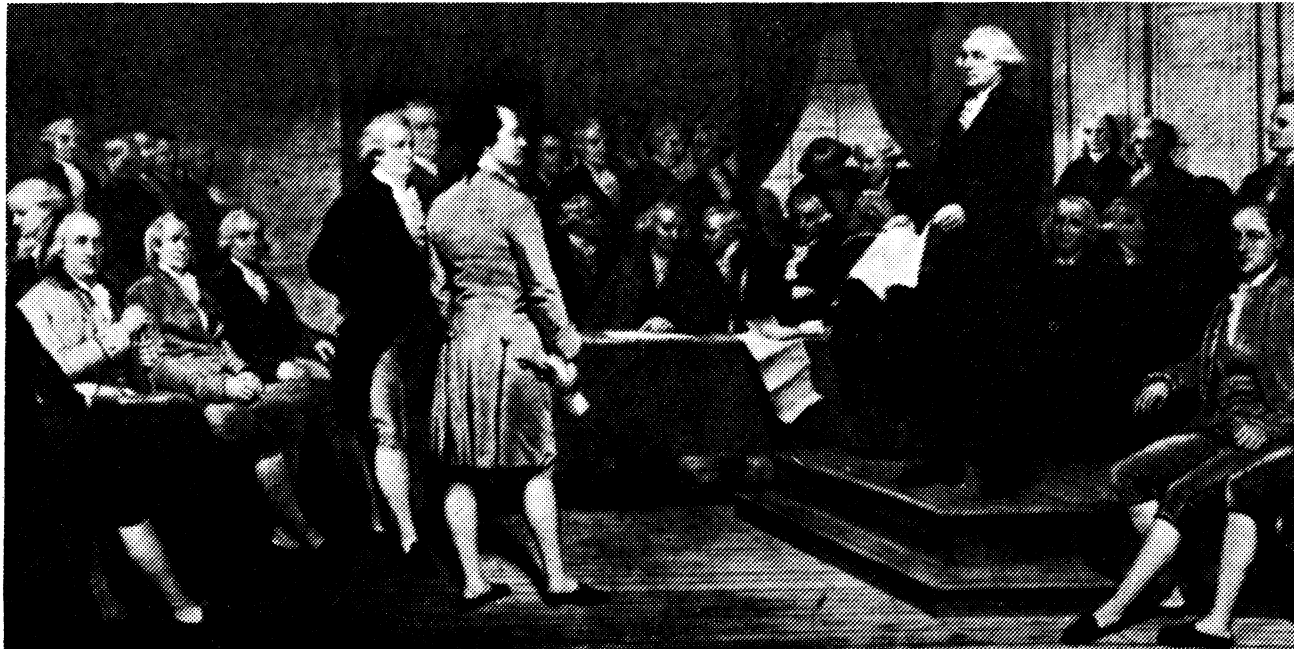
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'solution' to Watergate



'Founding Fathers' signing Constitution. They gave representatives of ruling class, not the masses of people, right to remove a president before the end of four-year term.

But a look at the Constitution itself, and the origins of the impeachment mechanism, shows clearly that impeachment is no more democratic than the other "institutions of the Republic" that form the basis for capitalist rule in America.

The American Constitution, which went into effect in 1789, set up a federal government founded on the twin principles of protection of private property and rule by the wealthy minority. With the exception of the Bill of Rights, which was appended only after mass pressure from the American people, there is precious little democracy in the Constitution.

The complicated system of "checks and balances," of which impeachment is one device, was created not to guarantee majority rule, but precisely to prevent it. The progressive liberal historians Charles and Mary Beard in their book, *The Rise of American Civilization*, summed up the views of the delegates to the constitutional convention in Philadelphia:

"Almost unanimous was the opinion that democracy was a dangerous thing, to be restrained, not encouraged, by the Constitution, to be given as little voice as possible in the new system, to be hampered by checks and balances."

'Perils of majority rule'

The Beards report that James Madison, "discussing on the perils of majority rule," stated that the object of the Constitution was "to secure the public good and private rights against the danger of such a [majority] faction and at the same time preserve the spirit and form of popular government."

The "Founding Fathers" were divided between the merchants of the North and the slavocracy of the South. To rule together they had to devise a system that would allow them to share power through flexible forms of government. At the same time, they needed to guarantee that the majority of the population, the small farmers, would be excluded from the decision-making body. (Women were given second-class status by the Constitution; slaves and Indians were denied all citizenship rights.)

But how were the ruling classes to consolidate their power, while maintaining the "spirit and form of popular government"? The small farmers constituted 90 percent of the population. They had fought a revolutionary war against British colonial tyranny only a few short years before. How were they now to be excluded from political power?

The delegates to the Philadelphia convention first proposed imposing stiff property qualifications, so only the wealthy could vote and run for office. The Beards report:

"Though the suggestion was warmly received a number of capital obstacles were pointed out in the course of the debate. If each voter or officer was required to possess a large amount of personal property, such as stocks and bonds, then the existing voters, two-thirds of whom were farmers, would not ratify an instrument that disfranchised them."

"A landed qualification was, therefore, the only alternative but bitter experience had showed that it was the farmers who sent radicals to the state legislatures and waged the war on money lenders,

merchants, and other holders of personal property.

"After tossing about restlessly for several days, the delegates gave up the idea of entrenching property in the Constitution by specific restrictions on voting and office holding."

Origin of three branches

"Finding that course barred, the delegates chose another way of dissolving the energy of the democratic majority. They broke its strength at the source by providing diverse methods for electing the agencies of the new government and threw special barriers in its path by setting those agencies, with their several ambitions, prerogatives, and insignia, at cross purposes.

"In short, the Fathers created a system of 'checks and balances,' dividing the power of the government among legislative, executive, and judicial branches with confused and uncertain boundaries. All the world has marveled at their dexterity."

The three branches preserved, as Madison had explained, "the spirit and form of popular government," but not the essence. At the same time, the Constitution provided mechanisms, including the impeachment provision, for mediating and resolving competing interests among the rulers.

Thus impeachment was carefully written into the Constitution as an alternative to any form of popular recall or democratic expression of popular will.

It was not by accident that the "Founding Fathers" gave the population no voice in the decision of whether to remove a president from office before the end of four years. Jealously reserving for themselves the right to resolve such questions, they had no intention of sharing this powerful weapon.

In the course of the massive expansion of U. S. imperialism and the growth of the powers of the executive branch, the ruling class has since refined the procedures for choosing successors to the presidency in the event of a vacancy in the office. These have included constitutional amendments and presidential succession acts passed by Congress. But not a single one of these refinements has given the American people any say in the matter.

James Reston, vice-president of the *New York Times*, recently wrote a column emphasizing that impeachment is up to the Congress, not the people, to decide. This may be "undemocratic," Reston concedes, but "it was the assumption of the Founding Fathers that the people were sovereign in deciding between candidates for President and Congress [picked for them, of course, by the ruling class through its monopoly of the political parties] but that most things were too complicated in a vast continental country to be decided by referendums or popular vote."

Impeachment is a possible "solution" for the bourgeoisie to a problem its government is facing. If Nixon is impeached, he will be impeached by one branch of the capitalist government in an attempt to solve a problem for the ruling class as a whole.

Revolutionists have an entirely different framework for viewing the question of impeachment and Watergate. They view it from the point of view not of the ruling class but of the working class. In our next article we will look at how the revolutionists in the United States, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, have responded to Watergate.

Activists discuss Chile defense; Sept. protests gain support

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Sept. 11 marks the first anniversary of the bloody coup in Chile. The coup toppled the Allende regime and brought to power the hated military junta whose rule of terror has become notorious throughout the world.

This date will be the focus for a wide variety of protest activities planned by organizations involved in defense of the victims of repression in Chile.

In early July the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) issued a call for activities centering around three demands: 1) Free all political prisoners in Chile, 2) End the ban on political parties and trade unions, and 3) End U.S. aid to the junta.

USLA and many other groups—including the New American Movement, War Resisters League, Emergency Committee to Save Chilean Health Workers, and the New York Medical Committee on Human Rights—are organizing local activities throughout the country around Sept. 11. These will include pickets, rallies, and cultural events.

The National Coordinating Committee for Solidarity with Chile (NCCSC) has also called for actions for Sept. 4–Sept. 11. At its national continuations committee meeting held here July 13 the NCCSC called for protest activities along with a national petitioning campaign. They also made final arrangements for the National Legislative Conference that took place July 14 and July 15.

The legislative conference was attended by some 200 people from Chile solidarity groups, peace groups, church organizations, and some trade unions. Among the speakers were Congressman Ron Dellums (D-Calif.) and Abe Feinglass, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union.

In some of the conference workshops activists spoke in favor of continuing actions and protest meetings to demand an end to U.S. complicity with the junta and to educate people about the anti-democratic, antiunion character of the military junta.

Conference delegates discussed informally the USLA campaign to expose the atrocities committed against women political prisoners in Chile.

Plans for actions around Sept. 11 were also discussed by the conference participants.

Pickets: 'End torture of women in Chile'

A picket line demanding an end to the torture of women political prisoners in Chile was held July 19 at the offices of the Organization of American States (OAS) in Washington, D.C.

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has documented in detail some of the military junta's crimes against women, including sexual torture, mutilation, and rape.

USLA sent a delegation to the OAS asking them to include a female doctor among the fact-finding team the OAS is sending to Chile. The delegation was told that the decision could not be made until after the team arrived in Chile. Stating that that answer was unsatisfactory, USLA called the picket line.

Picket signs said, "Include a Woman Doctor," "End Torture of Women," and "End U.S. Complicity."

Among those participating in the picket line were representatives from the Common Front for Latin America, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, D.C. Council of Churches, Young Socialist Alliance, National Organization for Women, and Lawyers Guild.

Cyprus and the fall of the Greek

By DAVID RUSSELL

Caught up in the coils of its own intrigues around the eastern Mediterranean island of Cyprus, the already-discredited Greek dictatorship was forced to turn for help July 23 to more experienced representatives of capitalism. Announcing that they had decided to return the nation to civilian rule, the military junta brought conservative former premier Constantine Caramanlis back from exile in Paris and swore him in as head of a new "government of national union."

"As reports of the government's resignation spread through the capital," reported the *New York Post* July 23, "people poured into the streets cheering. Horn-honking cars raced down the main boulevards. . . .

"The spontaneous outpouring of joy was similar to the scenes in the streets after the liberation of Athens by the Allies in World War II.

"People hugged and kissed each other. Others ran out waving their arms and shouting 'Unity and democracy.'"

Other chants, according to *New York Times* reporter Charles Mohr, included "No more blood."

Washington was more restrained in its reaction to the new turn of events. "United States officials . . . noted with surprise that the civilian politicians called in today included representatives over the pre-junta political spectrum, from left-center to far right," reported David Binder in the July 24 *Times*.

As the primary backer of the increasingly isolated and unpopular junta, the Nixon administration was understandably miffed at its collapse. However, Washington's military bases appear safe—at least for the time being—in the care of the handpicked successors to the Greek colonels. Among them were a former governor of the Bank of Greece, a former foreign minister, and three former premiers. An indication of their political predilections was given when they asked the junta's figurehead president to stay on as a sign of continuity.

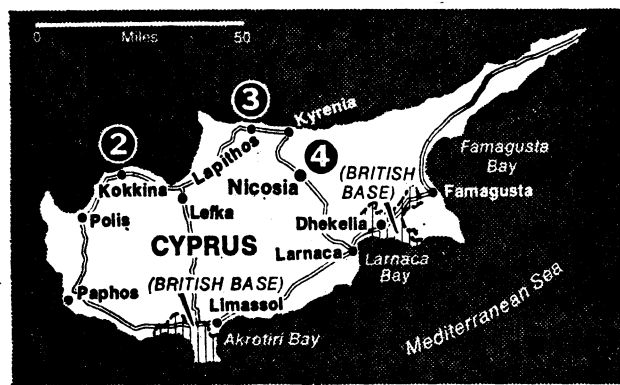
Unanswered questions

New York Times reporter Alvin Shuster wrote July 24, "The future political system remained one of the unanswered questions today. . . .

"Another question was how active the military would be in the background."

A third question, not posed by Shuster but certainly in the minds of the imperialists in Washington, was whether the shake-up in Athens would result in a mass upsurge similar to the one that has shaken Portugal in the past three months.

Certainly demands for the opening of the junta's jails and the release of the hundreds of political prisoners in them, for an end to censorship and the right of free speech, and for the abolition of the secret police and punishment for their crimes,



will soon be addressed to the new government.

The end of the line for the Greek junta came with the failure of its adventure in Cyprus. The crisis touched off July 15 by the coup of the Greek Cypriote National Guard, led by officers of the Athens junta's army, had "terrified" the people of Greece, *Le Monde* correspondent Marc Marceau cabled on the day of the putsch.

The move to overthrow the Makarios regime on Cyprus and replace it with one led by former right-wing terrorist Nikos Sampson, one that would carry out a policy of "enosis" (union) with Greece, was a desperate gamble. The colonels hoped to remove a center of opposition to their shaky regime, while presenting the country with a foreign-policy triumph that could be used to broaden their base of support. They failed on both counts.

Makarios's regime had been an irritant to the junta for years. It issued an ultimatum in 1972 demanding that the archbishop include right-wing nationalist supporters of the junta in his cabinet. A year later it directed a move against him by the synod of the Cypriote church. The latest and most desperate attempt to unseat Makarios was no doubt spurred by the worsening economic situation in Greece.

With the highest rate of inflation in Europe and a worsening financial situation as a result of the fourfold increase in oil prices late last year, the junta was in deep trouble. It felt that it couldn't afford to leave Makarios a free hand on Cyprus

in this situation.

Charles Foley described the complaint of one figure close to the junta in the Oct. 29, 1972, issue of the *London Observer*. "Under this man Makarios," Foley's informant said, "Cyprus is a focus of opposition in the Greek world. His people abuse and insult us—they even talk of welcoming a Greek government-in-exile and 'bringing back democracy to the mainland.'"

When the Turkish government responded to the coup by invading Cyprus July 20, the reaction in Greece was summed up by *Times* reporter Alvin Shuster. "There was no sense of rallying around the flag," he wrote. "Rather, the mood was fear and uncertainty and, in many cases, anger, that the rulers had allowed the dispute with Turkey to reach this point.

"'It was just stupid,' said a young waiter as he left for military service. 'Any other Government would have figured out some way to avoid it.'"

Role of imperialism

Cyprus, only 40 miles from the coast of Turkey and 100 miles from Lebanon and Syria, has been a pawn on the imperialist chessboard for 100 years. The Turkish Ottoman Empire ruled the island from 1570 until 1878, when the British took over in order to keep the Russian tsar from getting a foothold in the Mediterranean.

The strategic location of Cyprus made the British reluctant to part with it. They encouraged and exacerbated the old rivalries between the Greek and Turkish communities on the island, and then pointed to the communal strife as the reason why they were needed to keep peace there.

Finally in 1960, after a prolonged struggle, Cyprus was recognized as an independent state. Its independence, however, was of a peculiar type. Under the 1959 agreements forced on the Cypriote people, Turkey was granted the right to bring troops onto the island for the first time since 1878.

The Turkish minority was granted special privileges such as they had never known in the past, even under Turkish rule—a provision insisted on by the British, which served to further poison the relations between the two communities.

In addition, the British maintained sovereignty over two major military bases, which they retain to this day. The British armed forces have the "right" to use the harbors, airports, and roads in time of war, and the United States uses the island as a major link in its intelligence network.

Besides the Zurich-London agreements just described, Archbishop Makarios, as head of the republic, signed additional agreements with the imperialists that have never been made fully public. Aside from this, Cyprus is "neutral" in relation to the Soviet bloc.

Despite Makarios's proven reliability as a capitalist politician, he has been viewed with distaste by Washington because his large following on Cyprus enables him occasionally to stand up to the U.S. This has been a particular thorn in Washington's side because of Makarios's refusal to join NATO.

A U.S.-backed move?

Washington made no attempt to hide its satisfaction with the removal of Makarios immediately after the coup. The *New York Times* reported July 17, "High American officials said that Secretary of State Kissinger had rejected the appeals of departmental specialists on Greek-Turkish-Cypriote affairs that the United States stand by President Makarios and assert that Greek forces had intervened illegally on the island.

"For years, the officials said, the Nixon Administration has viewed Archbishop Makarios as the 'Castro of the Mediterranean,' who turned too readily toward Communist states for assistance."

The likelihood that American intelligence was unaware of the impending coup, given the strategic importance of Cyprus and its close ties with the Greek junta, seems remote indeed. John Cooley, writing in the July 24 *Christian Science Monitor*, confirms that "President Makarios's senior aides wrongly felt that Washington would not permit the Athens officers, who depend on the U.S. for their military supplies to strike at the Archbishop."

The imperialists even had their successor lined up. "In the view of American and British officials," wrote Alvin Shuster in a July 19 dispatch from Athens, "the elevation to the presidency of Mr.



Greek Cypriote National Guardsmen take cover in Nicosia following coup directed from Athens

junta: the coup that backfired



Turkish paratroopers at landing zone in Cyprus. Turkish government is using Cyprus as a pawn in hopes of taking over Aegean oil fields.

[Glaftos] Clerides, who is constitutionally next in line of succession, would help ease the crisis, convince the Turks that moderates were in charge and give the new Cyprus government an appearance of legitimacy."

However, with the fall of the Greek junta it appears as though Washington had to pay a higher price for its man in Cyprus than it had bargained for. To add insult to injury, David Binder wrote of the new Greek regime in the July 24 *New York Times*, "Nor was there any certainty whether the new leadership would play a constructive role on the Cyprus problem. It was noted that Mr. Caramanlis had called for the return to power of Archbishop Makarios."

The Turkish invasion

Although the Turkish regime gave as justification for its July 20 invasion of Cyprus a concern for the lives of the Turkish population there, the reality is more mundane. Turkey is flanked by many Greek islands, some only a few miles from its coast.

Its interest in asserting a claim to the waters off Asia Minor was originally military, but it has been increased considerably by the discovery of oil under the Aegean Sea. Even before the current crisis, relations between Athens and Ankara were deteriorating and the situation on Cyprus was heating up.

"... most analysts here think that Cyprus is a secondary issue for the moment," Steven Roberts cabled from Athens April 15, "and that Mr. Ecevit [the Turkish premier] stirred things up mainly to strengthen his bargaining position on oil."

On July 18, taking advantage of the crisis in Cyprus, Ankara extended its territorial waters to include a wide area of the Aegean Sea over which Greece claimed sovereignty. This move was fol-

lowed by the invasion of Cyprus.

The Cypriote population is about 650,000, out of which some 130,000 is of Turkish descent. Fighting following the overthrow of Makarios and prior to the Turkish invasion had been between different Greek factions—no claims had been made of any attacks on the Turkish communities.

Instead of helping the Turkish minority, the invasion acted to unite the Greek population behind the putschist regime, and fighting between the two communities began. U.S. radio and television correspondents claimed that the Greek Cypriote commanders admitted they were carrying out reprisals against the Turkish community and were seizing hostages. On the other hand, the Greek leaders in Cyprus and Athens complained that Turkish armed forces were blanketing Hellenic communities with napalm.

Describing the Turkish "peace mission," Holger Jensen wrote in a July 21 Associated Press dispatch from Nicosia, "The shelling and bombing seemed indiscriminate, with no regard for civilian areas or casualties. Bodies littered roadsides beside wrecked civilian vehicles as well as trucks and armored personnel carriers of the Greek Cypriote National Guard. . . .

"Entire mountainsides were engulfed in flames from forest fires started by bombs and napalm."

Moscow's response

One of the main props of the Makarios regime was the Communist party on Cyprus, known as AKEL. The largest and best organized party on the island, AKEL also dominates the labor movement. Its support to Makarios was based on his refusal to join NATO—while allowing the British to hold their two bases on the island.

The Soviet bureaucracy lost no time in coming to the defense of Makarios, even endorsing the Turkish invasion. Ironically enough, while Brezhnev and company repeatedly blamed "aggressive NATO circles" and "certain NATO governments" for the coup against Makarios, threatening to "draw appropriate conclusions," they never mentioned the fact that the only NATO government that was willing to even hint support for the coup was that of Richard Nixon—Brezhnev's partner in détente.

The truth is that it was the détente that enabled the Cyprus crisis to reach the proportions it did. In the days of the cold war the Turkish capitalists would hardly have indulged in such an adventure as moving militarily against Greece. Now the possibility of a war between two of Washington's satellites introduces a new explosive factor in a region where both the Soviet bureaucracy and the U.S. imperialists believe their vital interests are

at stake.

As U.S. and Soviet warships rushed towards the eastern Mediterranean—only two weeks after Nixon returned from the Moscow summit, proclaiming that the chances for peace were "the brightest" in generations—the editors of the *New York Times* expressed obvious fright at the turn of events. On July 16 they wrote:

"Clearly the first goal of American, allied and United Nations diplomacy must be to prevent war between Greece and Turkey. Unless that can be headed off, the whole volatile eastern Mediterranean could blow up. . . ."

But despite the risks, shown by the alert of thousands of Soviet airborne troops, Washington is continuing to deepen its role in this area. Symbolic of the shift of influence was the fact that the announcement of the cease-fire on Cyprus was made in Washington, not in London.

What solution?

One thing is certain, whatever the outcome of this crisis: There will be no progress towards peace in the eastern Mediterranean through a war in which the Greek and Turkish workers continue to be led by their imperialist and native bourgeois manipulators. The only power that can offer any hope for eventual peace in the area is a force genuinely independent of imperialism and the rival bourgeois interests, a party really representing the Greek and Turkish workers and poor who are the principle losers in the present conflict.

None of the peoples directly involved can gain by a war. This elementary truth has seldom been clearer. Greece is more advanced than Turkey, but it has one-fourth the population of its neighbor and little basis for a war industry or for building a military machine.

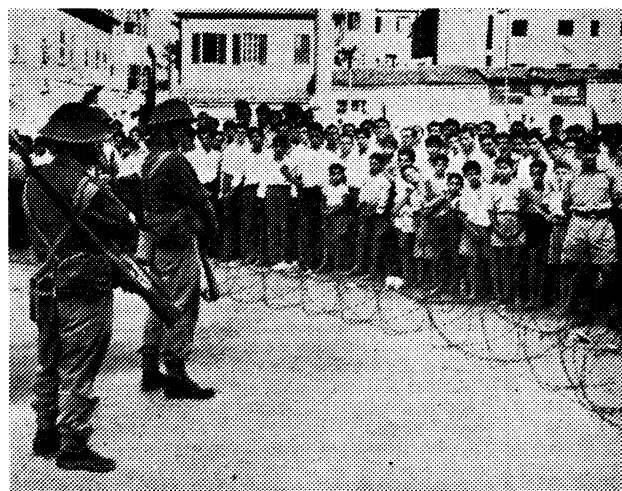
Even if it is able to defeat Greece militarily, Turkey is still a backward country and will remain subject to imperialist domination no matter how badly it mauls its small neighbor.

As for the Cypriotes of both communities, they have nothing to hope for from a Greek-Turkish war but a new round in an endless civil war in which they will remain the pawns of outside forces that are utterly indifferent to their fate.

Nor would the restoration of Makarios offer any hope of peace. While he did win some relative independence, he was always essentially tied to Greek bourgeois forces. It was he who brought the 650 Greek officers who led the coup against him to Cyprus in the first place, calling for them after the 1963 communal crisis. Even in demanding their removal just prior to the coup, he asked Athens to send 100 replacements.

Moreover, in the long run U.S. imperialism will not tolerate in this area any regime it does not firmly control. Because of his unwillingness to push beyond the limits of the capitalist order, to call on the Cypriote people to unite against imperialism and their local exploiters, and to really become "the Castro of the Mediterranean," Makarios led the Cypriote people into a deadly trap.

Finally, no intervention by any of the regimes that have helped to create the present situation can bring any real benefit to any section of the Cypriote population. Complete freedom to determine their own destiny is the first thing the Cypriote people need to begin to solve the problems that the power conflict in the eastern Mediterranean has created for them. For them, the first demand must be, "All Foreign Troops Out of Cyprus!"



British troops during Cypriote independence struggle. Imperialism is to blame for sharpening communal antagonisms.



MAKARIOS & KISSINGER: In Nixon's eyes the archbishop is another Castro.

Rights of socialists...

The Socialist Workers Party has won an important opening round in its fight to defeat the new laws that require the party's campaign committees to turn over the names of contributors to the government. These provisions pose a serious threat to the democratic rights of all radical parties by forcing them to release to the government a ready-made "enemies list" of people to harass.

The Minnesota State Ethics Commission, which is holding hearings on the SWP's request for an exemption from the state disclosure law, has agreed to subpoena every police agency from the local FBI down to campus security police. The subpoenas were sought by the SWP to provide further evidence that the Watergate tactics of disruption, spying, and attempted intimidation of radical groups are still being used today.

Until such practices are halted—and people are free to engage in socialist activity without having to fear bugging, mail tampering, or having a file opened on them in Washington—the government has no right to require lists of contributors from the SWP or any other group that has been victimized by the Watergate gang.

The fact that the Ethics Commission felt compelled to grant the SWP motion for the subpoenas was in good measure because of broad support of the civil liberties issues communicated to the commission through letters and telegrams.

Now the hearings will continue for at least another week. The commission will be under intense pressure to either withdraw or water down its subpoenas. The issue of whether or not the SWP and other groups should have the right to examine the police files may have to be fought out in the courts.

What is needed now is an expansion of the efforts to mobilize support throughout the country for the Minnesota challenge. Messages backing the exemption fight, and demanding the complete disclosure of political files maintained by the police and FBI in Minnesota, should be sent to the commission by all those who support the right to engage in political activity without interference by the government.

...and of unions

The threat that the campaign "reform" movement poses to the democratic rights of the union movement is becoming clearer with every passing day. Under the guise of "ending corruption," the capitalist backers of this drive are really aiming at tying the hands of the trade unions in the political arena.

The June 24 issue of "Memo from COPE," published by the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, outlines some of the limits on union activity contained in state laws that have been enacted or are being considered:

"They run the gamut: Prohibiting labor officials from being both a lobbyist and political activist; reporting requirements so stringent no union could live up to them without devoting full time to it; bans on pooling of funds such as COPE does; requirements that two-thirds of the membership vote for an endorsement to make it legal. . . ."

Among the most ominous new restrictions being proposed, COPE points out, are those regulating "contributions" by unions in the form of volunteer workers, office space, and the like.

"Backed up on the outside by the National Right to Work Committee," COPE reports, "congressional mossbacks have launched a concerted attack on so-called 'in-kind' political services by the labor movement that help labor's endorsed candidates. . . ."

"On the one hand is the 'right to work' committee lobbying big bombs at the labor movement only. On the other are Common Cause and similar reform-minded groups in such a hurry to see reform enacted they haven't fully considered the consequences of their proposals."

This capitalist crusade to weaken labor's political power by restricting "in kind" donations was picked up by the *Wall Street Journal* on July 17. "It's already obvious," wrote the editors of this labor-hating sheet, "that ignoring the value of services in a political campaign is a clear violation of the spirit of election reform."

Some of the practices the *Journal* wants regulated, if not outlawed entirely, are "releasing union members to man telephones and get out mailings, conducting door-to-door registration drives, paying for opinion polls and campaign literature, and assigning officials to campaign staffs."

COPE is entirely correct when it concludes that the real aim of such "reforms" is, quite simply, "Putting labor out of business politically." These "reforms," like the unconstitutional disclosure laws being challenged by the SWP, must be opposed and defeated.

Rosenberg case

I read recently *The Militant's* article on current efforts to reopen the Rosenberg case. I am interested in aiding such efforts but have misplaced the address of the committee concerned. I would much appreciate your sending me the address and any relevant information. Thank you for your cooperation.

L. T.

New Orleans, La.

In reply — The address of the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case is 156 Fifth Ave., Room 505, New York, N.Y. 10010.

Yesteryear's Ma Bell

At the same time that the consumer reads that food prices are still going up, one also learns that farm prices are going down—cattle feeders losing from \$85 to \$200 per steer when sold. The irrationality of capitalism's social behavior is no better now than in the distant past.

In the depth of the Great Depression, a group of 13 farmers presented a demand for lower rates to a countrywide, privately owned telephone monopoly. The rates were \$18 a year, a high rate to pay for telephone service during that period. Just across the Minnesota River, for instance, in a like rural community, a patron-owned telephone company charged only \$9 a year.

Much the same as other members of this community, I was part of what made the patron-owned company tick. When called upon I'd grab a small hunting ax to cut away tree branches, a Cee Tee pair of pliers to splice broken telephone lines, a few glass insulators to replace the ones we kids had used for target practice, and go service the line for \$2 a day.

The \$9 as against the \$18 they were paying seemed unfair to these 13 depressed farmers. So they got together and sent a delegation to present a demand to the owner of the local telephone monopoly. They had agreed, they told him, that only two subscribers would stay on as patrons unless the rates were cut to \$12 a year.

The farmers felt that the choice was an obvious one for the local monopolist—to choose between the \$165 (all 13 at \$12 a year) or the \$36 (2 at \$18 a year). "No," he said, "I cannot afford to cut the rates."

John Enestvedt

Sacred Heart, Minn.

Property relations in USSR

Through my reading of *The Militant* my understanding of the Soviet Union has grown much clearer, and I fully support your position on the making of a "political" revolution in the Soviet Union. But the issue of property relations in the Soviet Union that you so steadfastly support is not clear at all.

Randy Vealey

S. Charleston, W. Va.

In reply — Socialists have always counterposed the need for a planned economy to the anarchy of capitalism. The nationalization of the economy in the Soviet Union, the state monopoly of foreign trade and banking, and the process of economic

planning, were not introduced by the Stalinist bureaucracy. They were conquests of one of the greatest social revolutions in human history.

Although these conquests have been misused and distorted by the Soviet bureaucracy, their very existence has enabled the USSR to progress from the most backward of European countries to the point where it is the second industrial power in the world.

Because of the character of their economic system, the advanced capitalist countries *must* pursue a policy aimed at the economic domination of other countries. This is true no matter what leaders stand at the head of these states; it can only be changed by a social revolution. In contrast, the Soviet Union has no *economic necessity* to dominate other states, although its Stalinist leadership sometimes chooses to follow this course for political reasons.

So revolutionary socialists support the Soviet economic system, while opposing the undemocratic and inefficient way in which it is administered.

For further reading on this subject, see *The Revolution Betrayed* and *In Defense of Marxism* by Leon Trotsky. Both are available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Support for labor party

An indication of the new moods and ideas affecting the trade-union movement could be seen from an incident at the recent conference of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) District 38. The 400 delegates there represented some 96,000 USWA members from 265 locals in 14 states.

Reporting on the conference, the USWA newspaper *Steel Labor* mentions that a resolution for the formation of a labor party failed by a "slim margin." Here's what happened:

The resolution for a labor party was presented to a meeting of USWA Local 1304 in Oakland, Calif., and passed with 100 percent of the vote. The local president was sent as one of our three delegates to the District 38 conference, where he presented the motion from the floor.

A great deal of discussion followed until district director Frank McKee spoke against the motion. When the vote was taken, more than 25 percent of the delegates voted for the labor-party motion.

According to old-timers in our union, this is the most support such a resolution has gotten in years from one of these conferences.

J. W.

Berkeley, Calif.

Why not 'MASH'?

Dave Salner's review of the "Mary Tyler Moore" show does not do justice to the character of Mary Richards.

Salner depicts Mary as a one-dimensional personality who is career-oriented and "never chases after men or seems to have the slightest dependence on them. She seldom has dates, and couldn't care less." Mary is a much more complex character whose interests and activi-



History of union women-II

ties bring out some very important aspects of relations between women and men precisely because she *does* date and *does* care a great deal about her relations with men.

Of particular interest was the show in which an old boyfriend comes back into her life. He had stopped dating her because he didn't want to get too involved but has now decided he is ready to marry. At first Mary is overjoyed to be with this man again, but when he proposes she is torn between her need for him and her desire to lead an independent life. She finally tells him *she* is not ready to give up her freedom. If Mary really seldom dated and couldn't care less, the show would lose a great deal of its power to deal with the changing relationships between the sexes.

It's difficult to understand the omission of "MASH" from a review of Saturday night shows that "reflect the impact of the 1960s on TV." "MASH" is far more political than the "Mary Tyler Moore" show and much more acid in its satire than "All in the Family." "MASH" is belligerently antiwar and mercilessly exposes the racism in America's interventions in Asia. The only villains in "MASH" are two majors portraying super-John Wayne types. In their harassment of these two unsympathetic characters, the two heroes (Hawkeye and Trapper John) attack all gung-ho army brass, flag-waving patriots, and those who put property rights above human rights.

Evelyn Sell
Los Angeles, Calif.

Newark Taxi Organization

Recently more than 200 Newark taxicab drivers voted in favor of forming an independent taxi organization, the Newark Taxi Organization.

NTO stated clearly the importance of the role of the taxicab driver during the recent 17-day strike, which was just the initial struggle toward eliminating the economic exploitation and racial discrimination against Newark cab drivers by the twin enemies, the Taxi Board of Trade and the Port Authority.

The Newark Taxi Organization is planning a major court suit against the monopoly capitalist Port Authority, which has continuously denied Newark cab drivers access to Terminal A at the Newark International Airport.

Newark airport cab drivers must be allowed to work at the new airport at all terminals—otherwise it is economic exploitation and discrimination. Behind it there lurks the ever present menace of racism, since there are more Black drivers among Newark airport drivers (60 percent) than the Elizabeth crew.

Congress of African People
Newark, N.J.

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.

When the American Federation of Labor held its annual convention in Boston in 1903 a new dimension was added to the labor movement—the National Women's Trade Union League. Although not officially affiliated with the AFL, the League was closely allied with it.

By 1909 the League had worked out a platform consisting of the following main planks: organizing the unorganized, equal pay for equal work, an eight-hour day, a minimum wage scale, and full citizenship to women.

The backbone of the League was made up of the many women's unions, or unions with predominantly female membership, that existed at that time. In addition, the League established what was called "ally membership." Through the ally membership women, and men, who were not workers could participate in the League. It was through this structure that the League was able to involve women's clubs and auxiliaries, housewives, suffrage organizations, and some wealthy individuals in various campaigns.

The first opportunity for the League to prove its worth came with the big strikes of 1909–1911. At that time, according to Gladys Boone in *The Women's Trade Union Leagues in Great Britain and the United States of America*, there were six million women workers in this country. Their average wage was less than \$270 a year and half of the six million were under 21 years of age.

The strikes of 1909–1911, beginning with the "Strike of the 40,000," were primarily revolts among the garment workers of the large cities in the East and Midwest. Most of the workers were women, and most were foreign born.

Alice Henry, in *The Trade Union Woman*, summed up the League's role this way: "In New York it was the League which made possible the large organizations which exist today [1915] among the cloak-

makers, the waist-makers and other white-goods-workers. The League support . . . first showed the public that there was power and meaning in this new development, this new spirit among the most oppressed women workers. The attitude of the League also convinced labor men that this was no dilettante welfare society, but absolutely fair and square with the labor movement."

Through experience in that period the League learned how an organization of its type could be most valuable. Mobilizing public support, joining the pickets and patrolling the streets, raising funds from unions and allies, defending victims of the cops and the courts, and organizing the unorganized were among their most valuable contributions.

The headquarters of the League chapters became organizing centers, open around the clock. Most of the chapters, in addition to their regular business meetings, had lectures, classes, and social events. Later on the League initiated a special school to train women as trade-union organizers.

The League also promoted legislation to benefit working people. They were prime movers in the campaigns for better fire protection in the factories, a shorter workweek, and minimum-wage laws.

In 1913 the League passed a resolution in support of women's right to vote. Their voice was a powerful addition to the suffrage movement. They campaigned for suffrage on the basis that the condition of women workers was "an individual and social menace; and because working-women as an unfranchised class are continually used to lower the standards of men."

The National Women's Trade Union League continued to exist into the 1940s. It was in the pre-World War I period, however, that the League made its most noteworthy contributions. It is that stage to which the Coalition of Labor Union Women could look for example and inspiration.

¡La Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



Bilingual education

LOS ANGELES—Bilingual programs for Chicano students are under attack in California and Texas.

California Governor Ronald Reagan recently proclaimed, "I am opposed to any expansion of bilingual programs until they can be evaluated to determine their effectiveness." With these words, Reagan slashed the \$8-million budget for the state's bilingual program in half. An expenditure to train bilingual teachers was completely eliminated. "Not needed," said the racist governor.

And in Dallas, 16 secondary schools have had to cancel their bilingual programs. *El Sol de Texas*, a Spanish-language weekly published in that city, reports that the federal government refused to continue funding the program.

By sacrificing the program, which provided a measure of bilingual education for 2,000 Chicano junior high and high school students, the government will save \$1.2-million. That is less than one-tenth of what the government spends to build one new F-14 fighter-bomber.

Bilingual programs are no "cultural nicety" where Chicanos are concerned. Studies have shown that, for perhaps half of all preschool *chicanitos*, Spanish is their main language. Yet when they enter the gringo-controlled school system, their native tongue is suppressed.

This would be bad enough. But to add insult to injury, little effort is made to really teach English. Therefore, most Chicanos grow up limited in their ability in both languages.

Chicano studies programs have been under attack too. Funding is being cut back and administrators are increasingly trying to impose their control on the remaining programs. Preferential admissions for Chicanos, Blacks, and women are also under attack.

It has been pointed out how inadequate the bilingual programs are, and it is certainly true. The Dallas program now getting the ax represents a token effort at best. In most Texas schools not only is there no bilingual teaching, but Chicanos are actually

punished for speaking Spanish.

In situations where Chicano studies are controlled by the administration, they have deteriorated, often quite badly. In some cases the departments have developed into job trusts for a handful of Chicano bureaucrats. Many such classes are about as appetizing as a cold tortilla.

This has led some to argue, mistakenly, that Chicano studies and other such programs are nothing more than a government plot to brainwash Chicanos and pull the wool over their eyes. They contend that Chicano studies should not be defended.

But the problem is not that simple. Bilingual programs and Chicano studies must be seen fundamentally as conquests of the Chicano movement. They were wrenched from the hands of the gringo authorities as a result of mass struggles.

The government did not hatch any plot to give us these gains. They would rather there were no Chicano studies or bilingual programs at all. Every chance they get, they try to take them back, as they are doing now.

Because these programs are gains of the Chicano movement, the movement should defend them. But we must not stop there. We have to also fight to make these programs meaningful. We have to fight for adequate funding. The bilingual programs should be bicultural. Free admissions for all Chicanos should be demanded.

The key to having programs that truly serve the Chicano community is through Chicano control. The Chicano community must control the bilingual programs. Chicano students and faculty must control the Chicano studies departments. Only in this way can the abuses be eliminated.

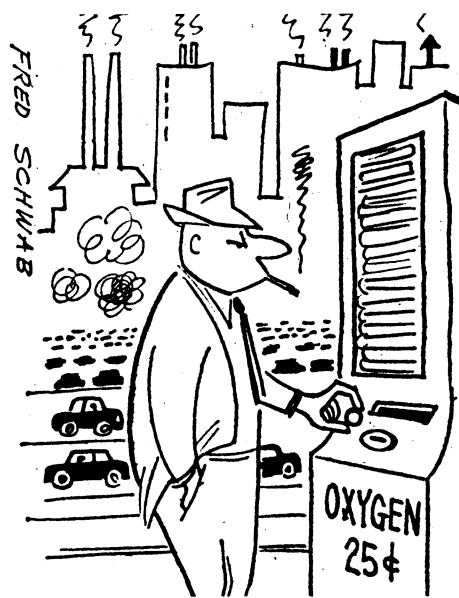
And the very process of involving the community in the struggle for such programs contributes to the necessary deepening of Chicano self-awareness. Self-identity is indispensable in the movement of an oppressed people for its liberation.



Pol sci dep't—Former presidential aide Lyn Nofziger says his ex-boss is "a miserable s.o.b. I don't say that derogatorily. Almost anybody who gets to be president is a miserable s.o.b. because he's got to go over an awful lot of bodies to get there."

Progress report—We don't know about other states, but it's now the "Ms. California Contest."

Chief inspector—We were intrigued that the president and Bebe Rebozo made a secret helicopter trip to check out the Palm Beach estate willed to the government by Majorie Merriweather (Post-Toasties) Post. Right now it would be difficult for the president to sell it, or even take a tax deduction.



What with the semitropical climate, maybe they were just checking for bugs.

Belches to burn—Texas officials reportedly cite findings that cows burp 50 million tons of hydrocarbons into the air annually. If this could be bottled, the gas produced by 10 cows would fuel a small home for a year.

Like, for instance, the president?—One of President Nixon's economic advisers said he's strongly opposed to any cuts in the military budget but does favor cutting the welfare budget. One reason for doing so, he said, is because a growing number of people are getting accustomed to being supported by the taxpayers.

Eh?—A Brazilian urban planner warned that if the noise level continues to increase at its present rate, by the year 2000 the residents of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo will be totally deaf. New Yorkers and residents of other major U.S. cities needn't be concerned however. Odds are that even if it happens they won't hear about it.

Center course—Categorically denying reports he was trying to shake himself clear of the president, Houston Flournoy, Republican candidate for governor of California, explained he was neither associating nor dissociating himself from Nixon. Then there was the fellow who was against inflation, against deflation, and for flation.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



New memo on Fred Hampton murder

Memo says 'TAKE NO CHANCES'—A recently released memorandum, with instructions to the cops who carried out the murderous Nov. 4, 1969, raid on a Chicago Black Panther Party apartment, contains information that conflicts with previous testimony.

The memo further underscores the need for a Black commission of inquiry into the savage attack that ended in the slaying of Mark Clark and Fred Hampton—Hampton while he slept.

The memorandum was released as a result of a \$3.5-million damage suit filed by the parents of Hampton against Edward Hanrahan, former Illinois state's attorney, and 12 of the 14 police raiders. Other memos—one containing a sketch of the apartment with a notation indicating where Hampton slept—were released earlier.

The new memo is signed by Sergeant Daniel Groth of the state's attorney's office, which conducted the raid. It was released by the FBI, which had infiltrated the Panthers and was engaged in a campaign to "disrupt and neutralize" the group.

Admonishing the cops to "TAKE NO CHANCES!" Groth details what each one was to

do. Warnings to be "leery of booby traps," and the "entire raid could be a trap," no doubt helped to hype up the already-edgy, battle-armed cops.

The alleged purpose of the raid was to round up illegal weapons that an informant said were there. The informant was William O'Neal, who was then Panther chief of security.

"Informant advised that he observed three sawed-off shotguns at this location on December 2, 1969," Groth writes in the memo, dated Dec. 3, 1969.

This, however, conflicts with what Roy Mitchell, the FBI agent who hired O'Neal, wrote in a Dec. 12, 1969, memo. In that memo he said there were only two illegal weapons, a sawed-off shotgun and a stolen police shotgun. Mitchell, moreover, said that O'Neal told him of the illegal weapons' presence on Dec. 1, not Dec. 2.

More importantly, O'Neal has testified that after October 1969 he never told Mitchell about any legal or illegal guns being in the apartment.

New threat to Kawaida Towers—A carnival magician couldn't pull as many tricks as opponents of Kawaida Towers—the beleaguered Black-spon-

sored housing project in Newark, N.J.—have managed to pull.

The latest fast one is the contractor's claim that rising costs, due to inflation, are keeping him from going through with construction of the \$6.4-million low-to-middle-income project that has been stalled for more than a year.

A lawyer for B.J. Builders, the contractor, says that another \$2-million is needed and says he will ask the state for the amount. If he cannot get the money, he says he will ask the state to relieve the company of the construction obligation.

A lawyer for Temple of Kawaida, the spiritual organization headed by Imamu Baraka that is the sponsor of the project, however, said that the contractor is under a performance bond for the original amount.

A number of court battles have already been won by supporters of the Towers. But, as a Temple of Kawaida statement points out, despite "the victory of Kawaida in the courts, the forces of political repression and economic exploitation have come out to reveal their real intentions."

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



The struggle against rising prices

An editorial on inflation in the July 11 issue of the *Machinist*, official weekly paper of the International Association of Machinists, states that wages are 7.7 percent higher than a year ago and the Consumer Price Index is 10.7 percent above May 1973. The difference is what workers have lost, and the question is what to do about it.

"The only hope we see is to tie wage rates to a cost-of-living escalator and try to ride along with the inflation," says the *Machinist*. "If there's another way, nobody in Washington has discovered it."

The escalator clause can provide protection for workers against the concealed wage cuts of inflation, providing it is adjusted to keep wages fully abreast of rising prices. Since the basic idea of a cost-of-living allowance has become widely accepted, it now remains for workers to find ways through their unions to ensure that all wages are geared to rising prices and do not slip behind. This is not an easy matter.

It requires that the validity of the government's Consumer Price Index be challenged, that a new basis of measuring inflation by what workers must buy with their weekly paychecks be found, and that a running adjustment of wages be made at short intervals.

Many unions are seeking some kind of escalator formula as immediate protection against rising prices, but there is also talk (very little action) about the need to bring prices under control. Some union publications carry articles about the need to "roll back" prices. The AFL-CIO has raised this slogan timidly—something they say Congress ought to do.

The past three-year experience with government controls proved again that all such official struggles with high prices are only sham battles to divert attention from attacks on wages. There is a better answer for the worker to the problem of high prices. This is different from and in addition to the escalator clause.

When workers confront the problem of rising prices, they do so directly as consumers—not as producers. In both capacities, they rely upon their unions and act through their unions. But when it comes to dealing with prices on the retail store shelves, workers can seek alliances.

We saw an embryonic example of an alliance of consumers in the meat boycott in the spring of 1973. That alliance never developed beyond the initial actions, partly because the unions, with few exceptions, failed to support it.

Professional people, small store owners, house-

wives, and the great mass of workers—including the unorganized and the unemployed—can all join, in their capacity as consumers, in committees on prices.

The aim of these committees—made up of delegates from unions, factories, offices, and various community and consumer groups—would be to demand *their own* policing of prices, since government control is a proven fraud.

The effort to police prices can be made meaningful and effective only by demanding that the supermarkets and chain stores open their books. The committees should trace prices back from the retailer to the wholesaler, processor, or manufacturer, and on to the big monopolies themselves, demanding in each case that their books be opened to reveal their true financial operations and profits. Such an investigation will conclusively prove that the real reason for high prices is not wages, but big business profiteering.

Price committees are no substitute for the fight on the wage front, but they can be a parallel means of struggle. The struggle to defend the workers living standards in the face of rising prices is necessarily related to the urgent need for jobs in these times of increasing unemployment. That will be the subject of next week's column.

Boudin slandered as 'Soviet agent'

Ellsberg lawyer was target of gov't smear

By CINDY JAQUITH

The revelations surrounding the Pentagon papers trial of Daniel Ellsberg have said a great deal about justice in capitalist society. Not willing to rely on slandering Ellsberg in the news media, the U. S. government embarked on a campaign to wreck his defense. They went to such lengths as burglarizing his psychiatrist's office, sending a gang of Cuban exiles to attack him, and offering his trial judge the directorship of the FBI.

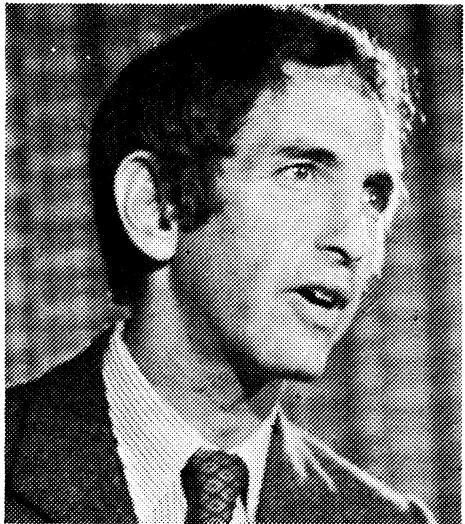
New evidence just released by the House Judiciary Committee now shows that the White House also tried to interfere with Ellsberg's right to counsel of his own choosing, by conducting a smear campaign against his chief attorney, Leonard Boudin. A prominent constitutional lawyer, Boudin is currently representing the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in a suit against illegal government attacks on the two organizations.

Nixon himself ordered his aides to dig up material on Boudin to discredit the lawyer and his client. One apparent product of that order was a red-baiting biographical sketch of the attorney, drawn up in 1971 by White House plumber E. Howard Hunt.

'Strange Affinities'

The sketch, titled "The Strange Affinities of Attorney Leonard Boudin," was designed for release to the news media. Former Nixon aide John Ehrlichman sent it to Charles Colson on Aug. 24, 1971.

"Daniel Ellsberg stated, and con-



Militant/Harry Ring

Pentagon papers defendant Daniel Ellsberg was accused of being Boudin's dupe.



Genocidal war in Vietnam, not psychological disorders or secret agents, prompted people like Ellsberg to turn against U.S. war aims.

tinues to maintain, that Americans have a right to know," Hunt wrote. "If this is truly his profound belief, then Ellsberg should let America know why he retained an attorney who is both famous and notorious for his career-long defense of the Communist Party, Castro Cuba, assorted spies, perjurers, fellow travelers, conspirators, agitators and violent revolutionaries."

Hunt cites as examples of these "agitators" and "conspirators" such clients as Judith Coplon, a witch-hunt victim; Philip Berrigan; the Cuban government; and the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, of which Boudin is general counsel.

Boudin also defended the Fort Jackson Eight, a group of antiwar GIs, and three members of the Bloomington, Ind., Young Socialist Alliance framed up on charges of trying to "overthrow the government" in the early 1960s.

As Hunt himself bitterly notes, Boudin has a good "track record"—many

of the "spies" and "perjurers" he has defended have been acquitted of those very charges.

But the most slanderous assertion in this sketch is the charge that Boudin is an agent of the Czechoslovak and Soviet secret police. "The art of espionage, of course, is seldom conducted in the open," Hunt wrote, "for its very success depends upon those involved remaining hidden from public view."

"Nevertheless, it has been said with some certainty that over the years Leonard Boudin has been a contact of both the Czech and Soviet espionage organizations, the latter best known by its initials, KGB." That is, while he's not in Cuba, "where he enjoys the revolutionary amenities of the 'Havana Libre' (formerly Hilton) Hotel, as an honored guest."

Ellsberg a dupe?

Hunt then carries his smear attack one step further by accusing Ellsberg of being Boudin's dupe—"just one more client of a man and a law firm whose dedication over the years to the interests of our foreign and domestic enemies has remained unwavering and absolute."

According to this kind of McCarthyite logic, it's therefore no wonder that Ellsberg revealed "so many of the nation's most sensitive secrets to America's citizens—and enemies."

The White House apparently hoped that this collection of lies and distortions would discredit Boudin and Ellsberg's case. This was not the first time such a slander campaign had been launched against political defense cases. At a news conference in New York July 19, called by Boudin to refute the Hunt charges, the attorney also released some correspondence he has had with Charles Colson. One letter from Colson admitted that the smear attacks such as those on Boudin "had become something of a standard practice for the F.B.I. and other Government agencies."

But the fact that the media did not pick up Hunt's "background paper" on Boudin shows how little impact such anticommunist propaganda has today. Such attacks on the right of attorneys to defend their clients without interference are more likely to provoke anger today, just as the attacks on Ellsberg himself provoked such widespread opposition that the case was thrown out of court.

In the wake of Watergate, those who are considered the "spies" and "conspirators" are people like E. Howard Hunt—a convicted burglar—and Richard Nixon.

Psychiatric profile

The House Judiciary Committee has also reprinted another example of the White House attacks on Ellsberg—a psychiatric profile done of the scientist by the CIA. In its study, the CIA tried to find some explanation for Ellsberg's behavior buried deep in his past.

The CIA psychiatrists argue that Ellsberg was motivated by "feelings of jealousy toward his father." His decision to turn against the war in Vietnam was a product of "anger and frustration engendered by his hepatitis," combined with the death of his



Militant/Flax Hermes

White House attack called attorney Leonard Boudin 'notorious' for defending 'spies' and 'perjurers.'

old commanding officer in Vietnam, the study explains.

Nevertheless, Ellsberg's CIA "analyst" did hold out some hope for recovery. If Ellsberg got proper care, the study concluded, "it is possible that his destructive energy could be contained and even used to affect some change in his repetitious behavior."

This attempt to convince the American people that Ellsberg released the Pentagon papers because he was psychologically disturbed never got any further than the effort to portray him as the dupe of "foreign agent" Boudin. The American people refused to believe that it was either "sick" or "subversive" to tell the truth about the war in Vietnam.

Attica Brothers press to have charges dropped

By REBECCA FINCH

BUFFALO—"I wasn't born in prison. I wasn't raised in prison. I was raised in a community. The Attica struggle is the same as other struggles, just a different front," Frank "Big Black" Smith, national director of the Attica Brothers Legal Defense, said here recently. He was urging support for a memorial demonstration that has been called here for Sept. 14 in defense of the Attica Brothers.

"The demonstration commemorates the third anniversary of the Attica massacre," Smith told *The Militant* in an interview in the committee's new offices. He said the demands would include: "Free the Attica Brothers. Dismiss All Indictments. Free All Political Prisoners, Free the People."

The demand to drop the indictments has become more important as the government steps up efforts to get some of the Brothers to plead guilty to lesser charges.

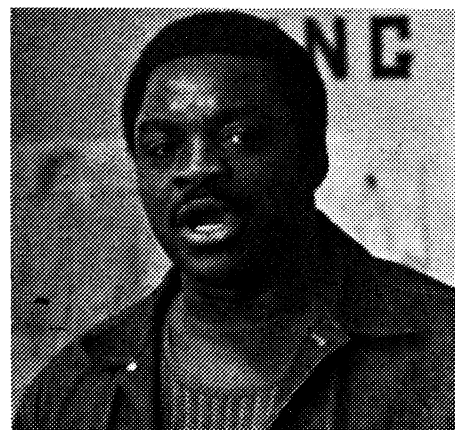
"We have nothing to negotiate. Justice is not something to bargain for," Smith said of these offers. "You know the pressure this puts on some of the Brothers. Some of them are out, and with 'time served' provisions, they could get off without spending any more time in prison by pleading guilty. But so far, we are united on this."

Offers of plea bargaining are not the only method used by the government to try to divide the defendants and harm the defense effort. The Brothers have evidence that provocateurs and agents have been sent into the defense. Moreover, the telephone at the old office was found to be tapped. Also, the Erie County sheriff testified at one hearing that he had assigned people to attend open defense meetings.

Despite the government's obstruction of the pretrial discovery process, trial dates have been set for Sept. 3 for most of the Brothers. But "our case

is not ready," Smith said. "They have not given us the materials and evidence we have requested."

The defense won a partial legal victory two weeks ago when a judge ordered 110,000 names taken off the jury pool listing. The judge found there was systematic exclusion of



Militant/Robb Wright

Frank 'Big Black' Smith, director of Attica defense committee.

women and students from the listing, but not Blacks, as the defense had also claimed. Three thousand names are left from which jurors will be chosen for the September trials.

Expenses for the defense have been massive. The office costs between \$7,000 and \$10,000 a month to run. Court costs are phenomenal. Although the state legislature appropriated \$750,000 for the defense, so far the committee has received none of it. By contrast, an estimated \$3-million is being spent by the state for this frame-up.

The defense committee will be conducting tours to build the Sept. 14 demonstration. Speakers are available along with a movie that can be shown to help raise funds. Supporters can order materials from the committee, including *Attica News*, its biweekly newspaper.

The address is Attica Brothers Legal Defense, 147 Franklin St., Buffalo, N.Y. 14202.

In reply to Chavez's attacks on 'illegals'

Why UFW should solidarize wi

By MIGUEL PENDAS
and HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—United Farm Workers President César Chávez has mounted an escalating attack on "illegal" Mexican aliens.

His demands for wholesale deportations of undocumented Mexican workers is intended to relieve the critical situation of the beleaguered farm workers' union. But if his attempt to pit "American citizens" and "legal residents" against "illegals" continues, it could deal a costly blow to the union and its efforts to organize agricultural workers.

On July 19 Chávez sent a telegram to the U.S. Border Patrol in Fresno, Calif., assertedly documenting the presence of more than 2,000 "illegal" aliens in the area and demanding that they be deported.

According to a United Press International dispatch in the July 20 issue of the Los Angeles Spanish-language daily *La Opinion*, Chávez provided the Immigration Service with the names and home addresses of the undocumented workers in the area.

For some months previous, Chávez had been demanding action by the Immigration Service—*la migra*—against undocumented workers. At first he generally limited himself to demanding deportation of those actually being used as scabs at ranches and vineyards where there was an actual strike in progress.

Chauvinist theme

Relying on border cops to rid the fields of scabs, rather than on the strength of the movement, was a bad



Militant/Howard Petrick

Chavez's attack on 'illegals' will hurt, not help, the UFW.

enough mistake. But now Chávez is calling for deportation of all undocumented workers in the fields. Chávez echoes the all too familiar chauvinist theme that they are taking jobs from "domestic" workers, increasing the welfare rolls, lowering wages, and—spreading venereal disease!

In a July 1 statement to the media, quoted in the July 13 *People's World*, Chávez reportedly declared:

"Illegal aliens are . . . costing American taxpayers \$115 million in lost taxes annually and increasing taxes for welfare and food stamps."

Chávez cited the word of a Fresno area doctor that with the presence of the undocumented workers there was a big increase in gonorrhea.

He quoted the doctor as saying: "Prostitutes around here are running wild. They are brought in by the busload from Fresno. It is impossible



Relying on 'la migra' to get rid of strikebreakers is like expecting Ronald Reagan to join a farm workers' picket line.

to control infections with this situation. Prostitutes will come into camps and in one night take 20 men apiece."

Such scurrilous references to alleged promiscuity and venereal disease on the part of Mexicans echoes a theme often used by racists in smear campaigns against a racial or national minority—including against Chicanos, whether they have documents or not.

Making clear that Chávez is not limiting his deportation demand to actual strikebreakers, the UFW is now circulating a petition that states:

"We respectfully request that the Congress of the United States exercise its power over the Justice Department's Immigration and Naturalization Service by enforcing immigration laws and removing the hundreds of thousands of illegal aliens now working in the fields. These illegals are breaking farm workers' strikes, displacing domestic farm workers from their jobs, and depressing agricultural wages."

Working-class means

One thing should be clear—the UFW has the right to rid the fields of scabs by any means necessary, and it doesn't matter whether a scab is white, brown, legal, or "illegal." But it is necessary to use effective working-class means of dealing with the problem of strikebreakers. No union in history ever solved the problem by calling the cops.

It is a fact that many impoverished Mexican workers slip across the border without U.S. "authorization" to obtain desperately needed work in the fields and urban areas of the Southwest.

It is also a fact that the Border Patrol closes its eyes to this practice when the agricultural and urban employers need a big supply of cheap labor (the mass deportations generally coincide with a "surplus" of undocumented workers).

It is also a fact that the powerful agribusiness interests exploit and abuse the undocumented workers in the cruelest way and they have not hesitated to use them as strikebreakers against the UFW.

Nor is there any question that this is an enormous problem for the union both in terms of organizing inorga-

nized field workers and in conducting strikes. Because they are transient workers from another country and in a very vulnerable position because of their "illegal" status, it has unquestionably been difficult for the UFW to organize extensively among the undocumented workers.

In the early years of its organizing efforts, the Chávez leadership tried to deal with the problem by joining in the cry to keep the undocumented workers out of the country.

A few years back the union leadership initially supported the Dixon Arnett bill in the California legislature. Supposedly designed to penalize employers hiring undocumented workers, the bill actually would have further victimized them. The bill was passed but struck down by the California courts before it could be applied.

Divide and rule

During this period there was a growing recognition within the Chicano movement that the pitting of "illegal" Mexicans against their Chicano sisters and brothers was one more example of the old employers' game of divide and rule.

There developed a growing solidarity with the undocumented workers.

The point was driven home particularly sharply because the presence of undocumented workers is so widespread. Almost every barrio resident has a relative or friend who is branded an "illegal."

With this growing sense of solidarity with the undocumented workers, the antideportation movement gained ground. Organizations such as CASA in Los Angeles and others began campaigning against the Dixon Arnett law and its congressional counterpart, the Rodino bill. National conferences have been held on the issue and demonstrations organized.

One such demonstration to demand a halt to the gestapolike activity of *la migra* is being planned for Aug. 31 in Los Angeles under the banner of "Raza Si, Migra No."

As the UFW worked to win support for the boycott movement, it came to recognize that it was out of step with the rest of the Chicano movement on the deportation issue and it made

a very welcome turn in its policy.

UFW support for the Dixon Arnett bill was withdrawn and a statement released opposing the Rodino bill.

That statement, issued March 26, 1973, declared in part:

"We feel that the Rodino Bill is not the answer to our problems in the fields, nor the answer to our brother workers in the city. . . . Harassment and the breaking up of the family will not protect our jobs from management-oriented schemes to insure that their profit margin will not be affected by human needs. . . ."

'Aliens are our brothers'

"We are not opposed to aliens coming into this country, because they are not aliens; they are our brothers. . . ."

"Finally, we must never lose sight of our purpose nor our mutual sharing of injustices. We suffer and sweat together, not only as brothers in blood, but as workers. And as workers, we must never allow the wholesale destruction of our movement, nor placate the very interests that seek to destroy us: the employer, the labor contractor and the strikebreaker."

But now under the pressure of an extremely critical situation for the union, Chávez has abandoned any notion of solidarity with the super-exploited undocumented workers and is helping to whip up the hysteria against them. This will harm the union, not help it.

For a number of reasons—including the nature of the agricultural industry, the Teamster bureaucrats' strikebreaking, and lack of adequate support from the powerful AFL-CIO—the union has been unable to halt production in the struck fields. In this situation it had to turn to the boycott of scab grapes and lettuce and Gallo wine to bring the growers to terms.

But the boycott movement has been limited too, first by the treacherous refusal of the top AFL-CIO leadership to give more than token support to the movement, and secondly by the failure of the UFW leaders themselves to systematically promote the most visible kind of mass boycott pickets and demonstrations.

(A disquieting note in this regard was introduced this past June 17 when Chávez suggested at a Los Angeles news conference that mass boycott activities may be a thing of the past. "Support today is an effective low-key support," he said, "not demon-

Stalinist duplicity

The opportunism of the Communist Party leads it to commit unending acts of duplicity against progressive struggles.

When César Chávez made his July 1 attack on undocumented workers—including the shameful charge of bringing gonorrhea into the country—the July 13 *People's World*, West Coast voice of the CP, featured the story approvingly on page 2. It described the Chávez statement as a "scathing expose" of the Immigration Service.

Meanwhile, the same issue of the *PW* did carry a story on plans for the Aug. 31 antideportation demonstration being built in Los Angeles and other cities. That story was buried toward the end of the issue.

— H.R.

th undocumented workers

stration, banner-waving support.")

Faced with mounting difficulties, the UFW leaders are apparently gambling that by raising a hue and cry about importing "illegals" they can somehow save the situation. They could not be more mistaken.

To begin with, *la migra* does what it does because it is there to serve the interests of agribusiness. Calling on the border cops to rid the struck fields of strikebreakers is about the same as calling on the sheriff's deputies to function as though they were hired security guards for the union.

And calling on *la migra* to close off the ranchers' supply of supercheap labor is like calling on Ronald Reagan to join a farm workers' picket line.

The need to stand in solidarity with so-called illegals is not a matter of some abstract principle to be put con-

veniently aside at a critical point in the struggle.

Solidarity with the thousands of undocumented Mexican workers is one of the keys to victory for the union.

Why do the rulers maintain the whole category of "illegals"? They could easily give papers to everyone who wants to come here and work and if they really didn't want them here, the government possesses the personnel and technical resources to shut down the border so tight that no one would be able to slip through.

The government permits the border passage of undocumented workers when and as it sees fit because that suits the needs of the employers.

"Illegals" are at the mercy of the employers. They have to take the worst jobs at the lowest pay under the most rotten conditions. And if they

complain? A bosses' phone call to *la migra* is sufficient to deal with the problem.

And with many of the undocumented workers truly desperate for work they can be used as strikebreakers. (Many also are often brought into strike situations without knowing it, and the union has been able to persuade them to either slow down production or leave the struck fields.)

Reactionary logic

But can this problem be solved by a campaign demanding that the hated *migra* "enforce the law"? Such demands have a logic to them and it is a reactionary logic that puts the unionists in a bad situation indeed.

Chávez's latest declaration, which adapts to the racist propaganda against the undocumented workers, is scandalous enough. Least of all can the Chicano victims of U.S. racism afford to yield even a fraction of an inch to racist smears on anyone.

Today, Chávez says get rid of the "illegals" who take jobs from "domestic" workers. What will happen tomorrow as unemployment rises and white racist union officials point to the Chicanos and say get rid of the "Mexicans" who take jobs from white American workers?

Even now, in one form or another, Chicanos are told, "Go back to Mexico!" Can anything be more suicidal than to point a finger at brothers and sisters and say, "No, send them back to Mexico!"

The only principled, realistic course open to the UFW is to stand in full solidarity with the undocumented workers and to become their foremost champions.

Employers can use undocumented workers to drive down wages and break strikes because *they are denied*

all rights.

It is up to the UFW to join and, yes, help lead the fight for full civil rights for undocumented workers. They must put the spotlight of public opinion on the disgraceful conditions under which undocumented workers are compelled to work and live.

The union should be leading the demonstrations demanding a halt to the racist persecution of the undocumented workers by *la migra*. These workers must have the right to join the union and strike without fear of being deported!

Nor is it only a matter of long-range damage to the union. Shouting about "illegals" won't force a single grower to sign a union contract, but it will turn off many supporters of the union right now—especially supporters whose backing is vital.

Harmful policy

And in the union itself such a policy will be harmful. There are many union activists and staff members who understand the need not to be pitted against the undocumented workers. Their efforts will suffer. Supporters of the UFW have an inescapable responsibility to continue to actively promote the boycott of scab produce. They also have a responsibility to persuade the union that in this matter it is making a serious, costly mistake.

Pitted against powerful agribusiness interests, the United Farm Workers gained ground because it was seen by the field hands and by tens of thousands of supporters in the cities as *la causa*—a social movement of an oppressed people struggling for the right to a union, decent wages, better conditions, and human dignity.

The attacks on the undocumented workers will badly compromise that rightfully won image.



Militant/Harry Ring

UFW gained wide support as 'la causa,' a social movement fighting for human dignity

New support for 'Stop deportation' action

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—The campaign to build the Aug. 31 antideportation demonstration here has moved forward with the endorsement of the Mexican-American Labor Council and the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California.

The Mexican-American Labor Council, composed of Chicano unionists, is an official arm of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO.

The demonstration, billed as a Moratorium Against La Migra (the Immigration Service) is sponsored by the National Coalition for Fair Immigration Laws. The central demand of the action is "Stop Deportation." A widely distributed leaflet explains that undocumented workers are not the ones to blame for unemployment and other economic ills, but rather the wealthy corporations that control the economy.

Weekly mobilizations to build the protest are scheduled every Saturday at 10 a.m. On Saturday, July 20, nearly 40 activists turned out. Organized into *brigadas*, they fanned out into the Chicano community, distributing more than 15,000 leaflets to shoppers and passers-by in one afternoon. Brigades also go out leafleting and pasting up during the week.

Among the principal organizers of the Moratorium are CASA-Her-

mandad General de Trabajadores and the National Committee to Free Los Tres.

Groups of rank-and-file Chicano workers at several factories in the Los Angeles area are actively supporting the demonstration. Weekly meetings of the coalition have involved Chicano students of the Cal State at Los Angeles MECHA as well as groups of antideportation activists from Long Beach and Santa Ana. In addition, Chicano groups from San Diego, San Jose, Oakland, Fresno, and Modesto are publicizing the action.

CASA spokesman Bert Corona is touring the state to build the Moratorium and reports that there is growing interest among Chicanos and trade unionists.

On the day of the action marchers will assemble at 10 a.m. at Belvedere Park. After a march through the Chicano community of East Los Angeles, filing principally down the commercial area of Whittier Blvd., there will be a rally at Salazar Park at 1 p.m.

CASA is serving as an organizing center for Aug. 31. Those wishing to help are encouraged to pick up leaflets, attend the weekly meetings Thursday at 7:30 p.m., and join in the Saturday leafleting mobilizations. The address is 2671 West Pico, Los Angeles, Calif. 90006. Telephone: (213) 487-4171 or 487-4336.



Antideportation demonstration in Los Angeles last year

Militant/Walter Lippmann

Strikes sweep across country as Growing militancy of union ranks

By ANDY ROSE

In mid-July, government mediators announced, the number of strikes in progress hit 588, the highest total since they began keeping count 15 years ago. Almost a quarter of a million workers were on strike.

The reason was not hard to find. Despite all the government's rosy predictions, prices are still shooting upward at record-breaking rates.

The Consumer Price Index jumped a full 1 percent in June, cutting the real purchasing power of the average worker's paycheck another 0.2 percent.

At the same time, the stagnation of the economy was confirmed by Commerce Department figures showing that real output of goods and services dropped at an annual rate of 1.2 percent in the second quarter of 1974, following a 7 percent rate of decline in the first quarter.

Administration spokesmen hastened to state that this was not a recession. Whatever you call it, at least 4.8 million workers are unemployed even by government reckoning.

The number of strikes has escalated rapidly ever since government wage controls expired April 30. In addition to the struggles described in other articles on these pages, National Airlines was shut down by 1,600 members of the machinists union, and General Motors plants in St. Louis, Mo. (5,700 workers), and Lordstown, Ohio (7,800), were closed down by strikes over working conditions.

The current round of strikes is an indication of the pent-up anger of working people and their determination to defend themselves against the ravages of inflation. According to figures compiled by government mediators, rank-and-file unionists are turning down 12.3 percent of all negotiated settlements, compared to 9.6 percent a year ago.

In spite of laws banning strikes by

most public workers, low-paid state and city employees are striking in larger numbers. And there is growing trade-union militancy among many white-collar employees—teachers, nurses, office workers—who formerly tended to view themselves as "professionals" rather than as workers. Women are playing a major role in many strikes.

Particularly significant is the growing popularity of the cost-of-living escalator clause, which is the key issue in a number of strikes. Instead of relying on price controls or any other palliative offered by Congress, workers are demanding the right to automatic wage increases that match price increases. Workers reject any notion that they are responsible for the economic mess and should sacrifice to "bring inflation under control."

The experience of the wage controls and the Watergate revelations about government collusion with big business have left few working people inclined to trust the government to safeguard their interests.

The latest Louis Harris survey found that 83 percent of those polled gave the administration a "poor" or "only fair" rating on its economic policies. According to the Associated Press, "The households questioned showed negative feelings about the ability of the Federal Government to control recessions or prevent a great depression."

Those polled declined, by 49 to 29 percent, to accept the view that "inflation can be controlled by raising interest rates, thus making it harder for people to buy such things as houses and automobiles."

Some capitalist newspapers have compared what is happening now to the mighty strike wave that followed the end of World War II. This, however, is a great exaggeration.

Most of the current strikes are small; only 42 involve 1,000 or more workers. Most have been settled relatively quickly, with unions often winning wage increases around 10 percent.

For two and a half years the fight for higher wages was put on ice because of the union officials' refusal to stand up against Nixon's wage controls. With the lifting of controls, a test of strength was inevitable. But so far this testing has been limited almost entirely to local strikes between individual unions and employers.

Neither the top union officials nor the corporations want a national confrontation, and so far they have avoided one. The union officials, firmly committed to the capitalist profit system and tied hand and foot to the capitalist political parties, fear that such a struggle might go beyond their bureaucratic control. The monopolists know they cannot defeat the major industrial unions in a head-on battle without bringing to bear the power of their government—that's what wage controls were all about.

Settlements that provide very poor wage increases were reached in auto, steel, aluminum, can, and East Coast longshore without strikes, and in men's clothing with a short walkout. The AFL-CIO executive council is hailing the no-strike "Experimental Negotiating Agreement" in the steel industry as the model for strikeless bargaining in the future.

The Communications Workers of America, which represents 500,000 workers in the giant Bell telephone system, is now engaged in industry-wide bargaining for the first time. The



Columbus, Ohio. State employees demonstrate at legislature for wage increase.

CWA executive board did not even authorize a strike vote until after contracts expired July 17, then ordered a mail ballot that takes two weeks to complete.

CWA members were reported to have walked out spontaneously in several areas when their contracts expired. The contracts are being extended on a day-to-day basis, though, and a settlement is rumored to be near.

Major unresolved talks still lie ahead. In September and October, contracts end between 60,000 workers who are members of the United Auto Workers and the International Association of Machinists, and the major aerospace companies, McDonnell Douglas, Lockheed, Boeing, and Rockwell International.

The unions have announced that the McDonnell Douglas aircraft division will be their pattern-setting target.

A nationwide coal strike is widely predicted for November, and railroad contacts expire in December.

Despite the limitations of the current strike upsurge, it is an indication of heightened militancy among workers in this country, and a herald of greater struggles still to come.

22,000 copper miners still out

By BETSY McDONALD

TUCSON, Ariz.—Twenty-two thousand copper workers remain on strike against three of the "Big Five" U.S. copper producers—American Smelting and Refining Company (ASARCO), Phelps Dodge, and Magma—as well as two smaller companies.

A total of 32,000 workers walked off their jobs July 15. Two days later a tentative settlement was reached with Kennecott, the largest company, which employs 10,000 workers.

The workers are represented by a 26-union coalition dominated by the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). Their previous contracts with the struck companies expired June 30.

Stated goals for the new contracts included common contract terms and expiration dates throughout the industry, improved fringe benefits and cost-of-living clause, and wage increases to bring wages closer to those in the aluminum and basic steel in-

dustries.

Steel and aluminum workers, also USWA members, now make about \$1 an hour more than copper workers.

A large proportion of the copper workers are Chicanos—60 percent at Magma. Recently some women have been hired as miners.

Anaconda Copper, which employs 6,000 workers in three states, narrowly avoided a strike by settling June 30. The terms were almost exactly the same as in the basic steel contract negotiated by the USWA last spring: tiny wage increases of 28 cents an hour now, 16 cents next year, and 17 cents in the third year.

The cost-of-living clause, to be paid quarterly, gives a one-cent-an-hour raise for every 0.3-point increase in the Consumer Price Index. This is also the same formula as in steel.

As the July 1 contract deadline neared, rank-and-file miners were keyed up for either a new contract or a strike. Copper negotiations are not bound by the no-strike deal signed earlier this year between USWA President I.W. Abel and the steel trust, though Abel no doubt hopes for such a strike ban in copper in the future.

A strike authorization vote showed 94.3 percent of the workers in favor of strike action.

When the deadline passed, workers walked off the job at ASARCO's smelter in Hayden, Ariz., and Kennecott's Chino mine in Silver City, N. Mex. The union ordered them back to work, however, and announced it had granted the company officials a two-week extension.

When time ran out again without a settlement, the unions struck.

Although Kennecott workers were back on the job by July 21, neither union officials nor the company have released details of the settlement. It is unofficially reported to provide higher wages than the Anaconda contract, plus improved benefits and a \$100 bonus for each worker.

Union leaders are holding up the Anaconda and Kennecott deals as models for settlements with the other companies.

Working conditions and job safety are being negotiated as "local issues." The pace of work is intense as the companies demand around-the-clock operation of the mines and smelters, with three shifts daily.

In addition, Magma and Phelps Dodge work virtually a six-day week, and paid vacations are only for one week after the first year of work. One issue in the deadlocked Phelps Dodge negotiations is the company's refusal to schedule fewer than 12 days work out of 14.

A woman in the machinists union



Baltimore. Sanitation workers walked out despite antistrike law.

workers battle high cost of living

told *The Militant* they are often forced to work on what are supposed to be paid holidays. "But if we don't work, we don't get paid," she said.

Perhaps because of such conditions, strikers interviewed by *The Militant* were more interested in benefits—sick pay, better vacations, earlier retirement—than wage increases. "The government just takes the money," said the wife of one striker.

"Our life expectancy is short," a Chicano underground miner said. "Most of us are dead before we're 65. We never get to enjoy retirement benefits."

As though to emphasize the problem of safety, just one week after the strike began a supervisor at Magma fell 300 feet down a mine shaft to his death.

Union negotiators are asking that their safety representatives be allowed to investigate accidents and unsafe conditions, and accompany state mine inspectors on their tours.

The workers' power to enforce safety regulations is nullified, though, by contract provisions barring strikes over grievances.

This no-strike clause was invoked by Magma a month ago to fire 73 workers after a short unauthorized strike.

One of the greatest problems besetting the copper workers has been the multiplicity and divisiveness of unions representing them in the face of a handful of giant copper companies owned by corporate conglomerates.

In 1967 the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers merged with the USWA, which went on to spearhead formation of the 26-union nonferrous bargaining council. Some of the other unions involved are the Teamsters, United Transportation Union, Painters, and International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

A nine-month strike ensued in 1967-68, the longest copper strike in U.S. history, but failed to win the key demands of uniform contract terms and expiration dates. To this day the companies refuse to negotiate in the same room or even in the same city.

The current uneven patchwork of strikes and inadequate settlements shows that copper workers urgently need not just a bargaining alliance of union officials, but fighting unity of the ranks to win better wages and conditions.

Builders threaten carpenters union

By ROBERT WEST

SAN FRANCISCO—Representatives of the 15,000 carpenters on strike in Northern California have reportedly come to agreement with the Associated General Contractors (AGC).

However, negotiations between the AGC and the Southern California carpenters broke down July 17, and a spokesman for the employers warned they are now "developing plans to go nonunion."

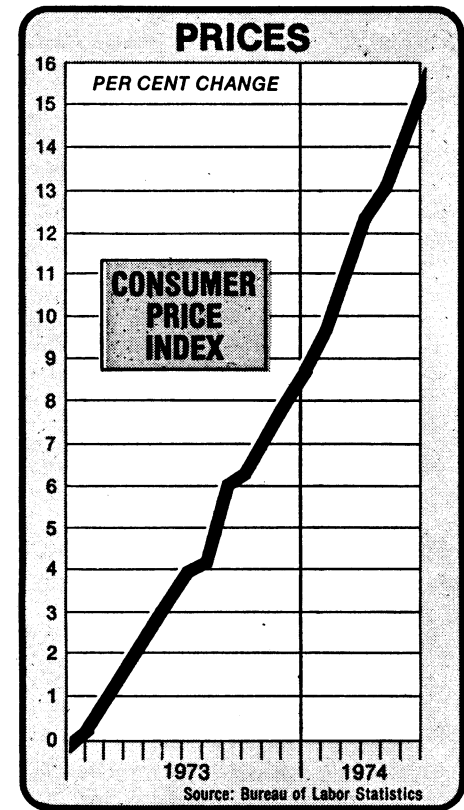
Sixty thousand carpenters, cement masons, and laborers had walked off their jobs in Los Angeles and 10 other Southern California counties on July 1, demanding substantial wage increases.

When union officials labeled the open-shop threat a bluff, the AGC spokesman elaborated: "The plans are now being made. We have problems about such matters as our pension funds, with millions of dollars in them, which have to be solved, but we are going ahead with plans to run non-union."

He admitted that while it will be "very difficult to get skilled nonunion craftsmen to replace those on strike, we expect thousands of union people will just put their union cards in their boots while they come to work for us."

The head of the Southern California carpenters threatened that "if they try to go through with it, it is going to be one mess."

However, Joseph Seymour, head of Operating Engineers Union Local 12, said his members will work alongside nonunion workers so long as Local



Government's Consumer Price Index rose in June at 12 percent annual rate. Many workers see cost-of-living clause as only possible protection against inflation.

12's agreements are maintained. "We have our own contracts and intend to honor them," Seymour said.

Local 12 officials had announced June 18 that they were withdrawing from Southern California building-trades councils and that engineers would not honor picket lines of striking carpenters.

Several Teamsters locals are also ready to work alongside nonunion workers in cooperation with Local 12 and the contractors.

In Northern California, the carpenters' settlement with the AGC is reported to be virtually the same as an earlier pact reached with the Homebuilders Association.

These events bring home the worsening position of building-trades workers. Employers' mouthpieces inside the unions will point to the "fruitless" strike of carpenters as an argument against fighting back. Union bureaucrats will seek to justify their policy of capitulating piecemeal to the employers by pointing to the contractors' threat of operating non-union.

These latest developments underline the disastrous consequences of the antiquated craft divisions in the building trades, compounded by the union officials' failure to mobilize the ranks against the employers' attacks.

San Diego nurses in militant walkout

By MARK SCHNEIDER

SAN DIEGO—The militancy shown by Northern California nurses in their victorious three-week strike last month has inspired hospital employees throughout the state.

On July 11, 600 nurses, technicians, and other workers struck three Kaiser medical facilities in San Diego.

The workers are members of Office and Professional Employees International Union Local 443. They want a 15 percent wage increase; premium pay for intensive care, operating, and emergency room workers; a fully paid dental plan; two additional holidays; and a 10-cent-an-hour raise for each year over four years on the job.

Kaiser administrators have offered only a 5.5 percent wage increase, and union president Naomi Parsons reports "no progress" in negotiations.

Most members of the union are in the three lowest-paid job categories, such as maids, who get \$481.52 a month, and nurses' aides, at \$508.65.

This is the first strike in Local 443's history, and for nearly all the workers it is the first time they have ever walked a picket line. Most are young and enthusiastic about the strike.

They scorn the argument that strikes are "unprofessional." "I've been in nursing 22 years," Parsons said, "and all those years I've had to eat and pay bills. I know there's nothing 'unprofessional' about striking."

Also at issue is the quality of patient care. The union points out that the patient load at Kaiser has nearly doubled in the last year, while staff size has hardly increased.

Three-fourths of the strikers are women. Several pointed out that women in other fields have begun to



San Diego. Hospital workers stage their first strike.

fight for their rights, and said this had an effect on their decision to strike.

One woman said the hospital administration often promotes male employees over female workers who are more qualified.

So far the strike is solid, and culinary workers, operating engineers, and pharmacists, who are in the retail clerks union, are respecting the picket line.

In a related development, nurses at the Stanford, Calif., Medical Center struck for 11 days at the beginning of July and won a pay increase of 15 percent the first contract year and 8.5 percent the second year. It was the first such strike in the hospital's history.

Bay Area transit workers hold rally

By JOE WARD

OAKLAND, Calif.—One thousand striking transit workers held a march and rally July 19 to demand that the Alameda-Contra Costa Transit District (AC Transit) participate in meaningful negotiations with their union.

The central issue in the strike, which began July 1, is the union's right to keep a cost-of-living clause won in the previous contract. The workers also want fringe benefits improved to match those of other transit workers in the Bay Area.

On strike are 1,600 bus drivers, mechanics, and office workers, members of Amalgamated Transit Union Division 192. They hit the bricks after negotiations for a new contract broke down due to AC Transit's refusal to consider the cost-of-living demand.

AC Transit has consistently tried to cheat its employees out of the cost-of-living money owed them. In 1972 it simply refused to pay the cost-of-living raise specified in the contract.

The dispute was submitted to arbitration and the union won. Management still refused to pay the increase, and the union took them to court. On June 14, as a result of a court order, the transit workers were awarded about \$1,000 each in back pay, the largest arbitration award in Bay Area history.

Now AC Transit is trying to turn public sentiment against the union by accusing the strikers of inconveniencing the 200,000 Bay Area commuters who normally use the bus service.

It is clear, however, that the responsibility for any inconvenience caused by the strike falls entirely on AC Transit. Its representative walked into the first negotiating session and declared its contract offer to be its first and final proposal.

One striker told *The Militant* this offer would mean "we would go back to work under our old contract with no cost-of-living clause."

The union has offered to return to work under the old contract while negotiations are conducted. AC Transit has arrogantly refused, insisting the workers must first give up the cost-of-living clause. In the meantime the strikers are standing firm.

Voters opposed to wage controls

Why Liberals were reelected in Canada

From Intercontinental Press
By DICK FIDLER

The Liberal government headed by Pierre Elliot Trudeau was reelected in Canada's federal election July 8, winning 141 seats in parliament, 32 more than in the 1972 election. They gained in seven of the ten provinces and swept most of the major cities.

The Progressive Conservatives or "Tories" slipped from 107 seats in the last parliament to 95, smashing their hopes of replacing the Liberals in government.

The Social Credit party, based in Québec, dropped from its previous 15 seats to 11, losing some 200,000 votes in Québec, mainly to the Liberals, who took all but three of the remaining seats in the French-speaking province.

The biggest loser in the election was the New Democratic party (NDP), Canada's labor party. Its parliamentary representation was halved, dropping from 31 to 16 seats, and its share of the total vote declined by 2.5 percent to 15 percent. NDP leader David Lewis lost his own seat to a little-known Liberal candidate. In British Columbia, a traditional stronghold of the NDP, it dropped from 11 seats to 2. Its representation was also reduced in the other two western provinces where it holds office, Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

Ironically, the main factor in Trudeau's victory was inflation—over which he claimed he had no control. Prices are rising in Canada at a yearly rate of more than 10 percent, and the high cost of living was the dominant election issue.

According to Peter Regensreif, a pollster, "Personal interviews showed that in some areas of the country concern about inflation was running as high as 80 per cent. In the history of polling in Canada, no issue has ever registered so strongly."

Wage controls

The Conservatives centered their campaign on a promise to impose "controls on prices and incomes"—i.e., wage controls—if elected. The electorate reacted sharply against this proposal. "By the end of the campaign," Regensreif said, "close to half the electorate was against the proposal and barely one-third was in favor." The election became, in effect, a plebiscite on the issue of wage controls, with the Liberals opposing such controls as unworkable, while carefully refraining from committing themselves to any alternative proposal. In fact, Trudeau argued that the government was powerless to combat inflation, that national measures could not counteract an escalation of prices rooted in world conditions.

The NDP ought to have challenged this line and advanced an anticapitalist alternative program around such demands as a cost-of-living clause in union contracts, reopening of collective agreements to provide for immediate wage increases, and sliding-scale increases in pensions and other forms of fixed incomes. All these demands have been advanced by workers in recent strikes and other labor struggles.

But the NDP, a party largely financed by the trade unions, offered no clear alternative to the demagoguery of the Liberals and Tories. The NDP advocated "selective price controls" and a nationalistic "two price" system under which basic export commodities, chiefly natural resources, would be sold at world market prices abroad

but at lower, subsidized prices in Canada. In practice, such a system would benefit Canadian manufacturers, while Canadian consumers continued to pay world prices on manufactured products.

The NDP was seriously compromised, moreover, by the fact that for the past twenty months—during which prices have shot upward with no response from the government—it has voted consistently with the Liberals in Ottawa to keep the Trudeau government in office. In fact, the NDP leaders were in the peculiar position during this election of favoring reelection of a Liberal government.



Inflation was major issue in election. Above, Canadian railway workers during 1973 strike.

Much of their campaign was spent in boasting of "concessions" they claimed to have wheedled from the Liberals in return for their parliamentary collaboration. This tended to appear as praise for the accomplishments of the Liberals at the expense of the NDP. To many voters, it must have seemed that the NDP differed but little from the Liberal party.

Above all, the NDP leaders campaigned—as always—as responsible parliamentarians, with "making parliament work" their highest priority. A major theme in their campaign, aside from *pro forma* calls for the election of an NDP government, was the advantage of minority government by one of the capitalist parties (the Liberals, it was implied) with the NDP providing helpful advice—and needed parliamentary support.

If a minority government is elected, Lewis told a television audience, "it will be our duty to look for ways to

keep parliament functioning." And "not for eighteen months—but perhaps for two, three, four years," he told an interviewer.

According to the Canadian revolutionary-socialist fortnightly, *Labor Challenge*, one NDP leader, Edward Schreyer, the premier of the province of Manitoba, declared his support earlier this year for "a frank and open coalition" with one of the capitalist parties, if another minority government were to be elected. When Lewis was asked during the election campaign if he would favor a formal coalition with the Liberals in the next parliament, he refused to comment.

The NDP leadership's attack on the corporations (for "excess profits") was more populist than anticapitalist. Lewis called for wresting decision-making power away from the corporations and placing it in a parliament and government purged of corporate influence.

In the wake of its election debacle, the NDP is almost certain to face an internal crisis. Even before the election, its membership was dropping, and there was considerable demoralization in party ranks as a result of its parliamentary collusion with the Liberals.

The Canadian bourgeoisie was elated with the election results. The Liberals' parliamentary majority relieves them of the necessity of relying on the support of the NDP for the next four to five years, the length of their electoral mandate. This is only the second time in the six elections since 1962 that the governing party has enjoyed

an absolute majority in parliament.

U.S. capitalist circles, which own about half of Canada's manufacturing industry, were no less exultant. "Canada has given the world an impressive demonstration of the health and vibrancy of its democratic institutions and practices," wrote the editors of the *New York Times* on July 10.

"At a time when democratic institutions are in retreat or under heavy pressures almost everywhere," they wrote, "and when weak, minority governments are the rule rather than the exception throughout the Western world, the significance of the decisive outcome in Canada's general election can hardly be exaggerated."

Behind Liberal 'mandate'

In reality, the Trudeau government's "mandate" resulted more from popular opposition to wage controls than from anything the government has done or proposes to do. Two days after the election, Ottawa released the latest statistics on inflation, showing that consumer prices have risen 11.4 percent in the past year, the largest annual increase in twenty-three years. The editors of the *Toronto Star* noted Trudeau's admission that the Liberals have their own "contingency program of income and price controls." The editors added regretfully, "Having campaigned so adamantly against controls, however, Trudeau has made it immensely more difficult to gain the vital element of public acceptance and co-operation in a program of economic restraint."

Despite the claim of the *New York Times* that "with this election, the Canadians have sharpened their identity as a united people and nation," the Québec national question was not a big issue in the election. No major party supports the self-determination of the Québécois nation (almost one-third of the Canadian population).

A traditionally high abstention rate in federal elections has reflected the alienation of the Québécois from the Canadian confederation. This year, the Parti Québécois, a mass petty-bourgeois party that advocates an independent Québec, called for Québec voters to spoil their ballots as a protest against the oppression of Québec by Ottawa. Federal authorities refused to report how many ballots were spoiled in Québec; but in 1972, it was some 5.8 percent of the total, far more than in any other province.

The revolutionary-socialist alternative in the election was advanced by the Trotskyists of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the Canadian section of the

Continued on page 30

Socialist candidate debates foreign minister

During the recent election campaign in Canada, Kate Alderdice, candidate of the LSA/LSO, debated her opponent, Canadian External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp.

Alderdice used her time to denounce Canada's imperialist foreign policy and to challenge Sharp on his responsibility for it. Referring to Sharp's role as host to the NATO foreign ministers' conference in Ottawa a few days earlier, Alderdice stated: "I was glad to see the conference greeted by a demonstration demanding that NATO be disbanded. I believe it should be disbanded, and Canada should withdraw immediately."

"Far from maintaining peace or

protecting democracy, alliances like NATO and NORAD [North American Air Defense Agreement] are designed to protect Canadian and other big business interests around the world. NATO in fact includes some of the most undemocratic regimes in the world—like the regime of the Greek colonels and the dictatorship in Portugal, recently replaced by a military coup. Canada doled out \$81-million in military equipment to Portugal through NATO, which has been used to carry out its colonial wars. This is not where Canada belongs—we should be on the side of the African freedom fighters, not the Portuguese colonialists."



KATE ALDERDICE: 'Disband NATO.'

Wounded Knee judge jails defense att'y

By GREG CORNELL

ST. PAUL, Minn.—U.S. District Judge Fred Nichol attacked the defense in the Wounded Knee trial last week, jailing defense attorney Mark Lane and threatening to jail defendant Russell Means.

The judge's actions had even neutral courtroom observers shaking their heads in disbelief.

Nichol cited Lane for contempt of court and ordered him jailed for an hour and a half during the noon recess July 20.

Lane had been cross-examining a government witness in the trial of Dennis Banks and Russell Means, who face a ten-count indictment for their leadership role in last year's seizure of Wounded Knee, S.D. Lane was trying to show that the witness, Nancy Hussman, was fabricating testimony against Banks and Means to avoid prosecution herself.

Under cross-examination by Lane, Hussman admitted that she feared prosecution for participating in a roadblock set up by a goon squad on the Pine Ridge Reservation, just outside Wounded Knee last year. She also conceded that she feared prosecution of her husband, John Hussman, who the defense says was a goon-squad leader. The goon squad, organized by tribal president Richard Wilson, has been conducting a terror campaign against the American Indian Movement members and supporters for nearly two years.

Throughout the cross-examination of Nancy Hussman, Nichol sustained a series of government motions objecting to Lane's questions. After one such objection by Richard Hurd, chief prosecuting attorney, was sustained by the judge, Lane said: "I have no further questions in view of the court's ruling. It's very difficult to proceed,

Your Honor."

This remark was considered "most contemptuous" by Judge Nichol and Lane was cited for contempt and jailed!

Lane emerged from the jail cell noting that Nichol's actions were designed to intimidate defense counsel from pursuing an aggressive defense of their clients. The contempt citation could lead to disbarment proceedings against Lane by the New York Bar Association, Lane said. He plans to appeal the contempt charge.

Dennis Banks told *The Militant* that the judge's actions will be added to a motion for dismissal "on grounds of judicial bias shown by this court."

Earlier in the day, Nichol had blasted Russell Means during a heated courtroom exchange. He accused Means of a "contemptuous gesture" for merely pointing at prosecuting attorney Hurd. He then cited other alleged activities by Means and threatened to jail him overnight for any future "incidents." "I give you fair warning," Nichol said.

It is difficult to tell what effect the jailing of Lane and threatening of Means will have on the jury of nine women and three men who have watched Nichol berate the defense on a nearly daily basis for seven months.

Nichol's job is to make this frame-up look like a showpiece of justice, but it isn't working. His attitude appears to be that Banks and Means are guilty until proven innocent.

But the real guilt lies on the shoulders of Nichol and the U.S. government for pursuing the prosecution of this case.

Elementary justice demands that Banks and Means be freed and the charges dropped against all Wounded Knee defendants.

SWP: 'Drop the charges!'

ST. PAUL—Three leaders of the Socialist Workers Party met with Dennis Banks and Russell Means July 18 and pledged continued support to the Wounded Knee defendants.

"Every charge should be dropped against all the defendants in the Wounded Knee cases," the SWP leaders said in a joint statement issued after the meeting.

"The government is out to destroy the American Indian Movement. A victory for the government in this case would be a vicious blow to AIM and a defeat for the entire movement, including the Black and Chicano struggle, socialist activists, and all radical groups. We can't let that defeat occur."

Meeting with Banks and Means were Maceo Dixon, national chairman of the SWP election campaign committee; Frank Boehm, national secretary of the SWP national campaign committee; and Jane Van Deusen, SWP candidate for governor of Minnesota.

Dixon said later it was critical that "everyone who believed in basic civil liberties should rally to the cause of the Wounded Knee defendants."

"This trial is just the extension of a process that has been going on for centuries," Dixon said. "I'm referring to the genocidal warfare against the Native American population by the government and the systematic breaking of Indian treaties."



Defense attorney Mark Lane (right) with defendants Banks (left) and Means

Brighton, Colorado Chicanos protest cop attack

By JOEL HOUTMAN

DENVER—Chicanos in Brighton, a small town near here, are protesting a brutal cop attack July 13 on a peaceful social gathering of Chicano youth in the town's Veterans' Roadside Park.

At least 10 people were injured, including two cops who were bitten by their own dogs. Twenty-nine people were arrested after the vicious attack in which the cops had reinforcements from six surrounding police departments.

In the wake of the protests from Brighton's Chicano community, Brighton police chief Don Jarvis has admitted it was "quite possible" some of his officers "overreacted" to an alleged incident of a youth pushing a cop who had asked him for identification.

The attack was the result of care-

ful police planning, according to Chicano witnesses. Police said the cop who was "pushed" was acting on complaints from nearby residents about unnecessary noise made by the young Chicanos. However, more than 30 Brighton cops, the entire force, were kept on special duty that night, before the attack.

When word came from the park, the cops, wearing riot gear and armed with billy clubs, police dogs, and mace, moved into action against the approximately 40 young people.

The cops removed their name tags to make it impossible for the Chicanos to identify them. After the attack in the park, the cops ran through parts of the community, attacking people sitting on their front lawns.

The rest of the night, roving bands of cops stopped and demanded identi-

fication of anyone who looked like a Chicano.

The attack was met with an angry response by the Chicano community. At a July 17 meeting of 350 people, it was announced that charges were being filed against five cops, including Jarvis. A petition is being circulated demanding the suspension of all the cops involved. A march and rally were set for July 27.

The city council has responded to the protests by calling for the formation of a committee to investigate the attack and racial problems between Anglos and Chicanos in the town.

The committee is to be chaired by the mayor and is to include a priest; someone from Head Start; a member of the city council; someone from the *Brighton Blade*, the local newspaper; an advisor from the Justice

Department; and two representatives from the Chicano community.

Many Chicanos fear that the committee will whitewash the attack.

In a statement condemning the cop attack the Colorado Socialist Workers Party candidates said:

"The obviously premeditated assault . . . shows that violence in this society is organized by the cops to protect the system that oppresses Chicanos and other working people—and not by those in the Chicano movement and others struggling for an end to racist oppression.

"We stand in support of the right of young people to peaceably assemble without fear of racist attacks. We demand the dropping of all charges against those arrested."

Heading up the SWP slate are Nora Danielson for governor and Jack Marsh for U.S. Senate.

Cleveland printers impeach union president

CLEVELAND—In an unprecedented action, members of Cleveland Typographical Union Local 53 impeached local president Kenneth Ramella at the July 21 regular membership meeting.

An overwhelming majority of the 300 members present and voting by secret ballot found Ramella guilty of seven specific charges of violating local union laws and depriving them membership of rights provided in the union constitution and bylaws.

The charges included denying the members their right to elect delegates to a conference, failure to print a financial statement, failure to publish

the March edition of the local newspaper, and using obscene and abusive language toward members.

A five-person union trial committee had found Ramella not guilty of two of the charges, but the membership disagreed. They sat through a four-hour meeting and voted separately on each charge, then on the penalty for each charge.

The trial committee recommended that Ramella be fined \$50 for each charge on which he was convicted. Seven times—once for each charge—the membership, on motions from the floor, amended the penalty from fine to impeachment. And seven times Ra-

mella was shown by votes of more than 3 to 1 that the membership did not want him as president.

The members then set July 28 for a special meeting to accept nominations and Aug. 14 for a special election of a new president.

Ramella had been elected president of Local 53 three times by the same membership that removed him a little less than a year before completion of his third term in office.

As one member commented after the meeting, "When a man begins to think he is the union, it's time for us to show him who is."

Young Socialist leaders discuss the

By STEVE CLARK

NEW YORK—One hundred leaders of the Young Socialist Alliance met here in early July and mapped plans to extend the YSA's base on the campuses, participate in protest actions on a wide variety of issues, and launch a campaign to win youth to revolutionary socialism.

The occasion was a meeting of the YSA's national committee, the highest leadership body of the YSA between its conventions. Organizers of local YSA chapters from around the country were also invited to participate.

The meeting heard reports on national and international questions, the student movement, the Black struggle, and strategy for building the revolutionary youth movement.

In addition, supplementary reports were presented on Watergate and the YSA's fight for democratic rights, the successful completion of the YSA's spring fund drive for \$36,000, and the *Young Socialist* newspaper.

YSA national secretary Rich Finkel reported to the meeting on the political situation facing young people in the United States, placing it in the context of the deepening economic crisis of world capitalism and the unfolding of Washington's detente with Moscow and Peking.

Student movement

"The political situation on campus is contradictory," Finkel said. "There is less political activity among students today than at the height of the antiwar movement, but this does not at all signify the 'return to the fifties'

that has been portrayed by some commentators in the capitalist media.

"Students have moved into action in the 1960s and 1970s around the most fundamental issues facing society—war, poverty, racial oppression," Finkel said.

The modern student movement began with the involvement of Black students in the massive civil rights movement and with actions of some white students in support of the Black struggle. The peak of campus actions was in response to the U.S. escalation of the Vietnam war.

The climate of political discussion and struggle brought about by the Black and antiwar movements also fostered actions around other issues, such as student rights and student control of education.

Other oppressed groups in society, notably women and Chicanos, radicalized and initiated struggles around their own demands. The campuses were centers of activity for these movements.

The withdrawal of U.S. ground troops from Vietnam and the signing of the Paris accords in February 1973 comprise the main reason for the current relative decline of campus protest activity. In addition, Nixon's "winding down" of the war broadly coincided with a decline in the Black liberation struggle. These developments, combined with the continued political quiescence of the masses of workers and the racist, reactionary positions of the trade-union bureaucracy, have had a disheartening impact on students. They have fostered a tendency

among many students to retreat from political involvement.

At the same time, the process of radicalization sparked by U.S. imperialism's role in the Indochina war continues to spread. The Watergate revelations, the contrived "energy crisis," and rampant inflation have increased the distrust of government and big business among young people, reinforcing their rejection of many of the norms, values, and institutions of capitalist society.

Recent polls and studies—especially a major survey by Daniel Yankelovich—confirm that radical attitudes toward foreign policy, capitalist politics, big business, religion, and sexual freedom "have now spread out to the entire present youth generation." Far from dissipating, the youth radicalization has broadened to include masses of young workers as well as students. "As a result," Finkel stated, "more young people today are willing to listen to our ideas, to consider socialist solutions and seriously discuss them with us."

New developments in the class struggle on a national and international scale continue to find a quick response on campus. In the past year, significant activities have occurred around the right-wing coup in Chile, the Mideast war, and the liberation struggles in Africa.

Students have also moved into action in support of the United Farm Workers and against tuition hikes, educational cutbacks, inadequate child-care facilities, and the presence of speakers peddling racist theories on campus.

Finkel stressed the importance of the YSA taking the initiative to contact other campus groups and build joint demonstrations, teach-ins, and picket lines around such issues. "It is through our role in united struggles around particular issues," he said, "coupled with our socialist election campaigns, forums, and distribution of the *Young Socialist* and *The Militant*, that we will win the best student rebels to the YSA and prepare for the bigger struggles that lie ahead."

Finkel said that the financial crisis affecting public and private education in this country is part of the offensive that has been launched by the American ruling class against the living standards of working people.



Militant/Greg Cornell

YSA chapters around country are active in defense of Wounded Knee militants, Attica Brothers, and other frame-up victims.

The price of an education, like all other prices, has skyrocketed. Higher costs have made university education less and less accessible to poor and working-class youth.

"This crisis has affected Blacks and other oppressed nationalities the most," he said. "Black student enrollment, for example, declined from 8.7 percent of the first-year college students in 1972 to 7.8 percent in 1973. The statistics for Chicanos, Asians, and American Indians show a similar decline.

"We can expect these attacks on higher education to continue. Already two major ruling-class studies, prepared by the Carnegie Commission and the Rockefeller-financed Committee for Economic Development, have recommended steep increases in tuition at public universities."

The financial crunch has taken its toll on secondary and elementary education as well. There is growing discontent about overcrowding, deteriorating buildings, and cutbacks in school programs.

Finkel continued, "The YSA should take the lead in mobilizing students to defend their right to free, high quality secondary and university education."

Campus orientation

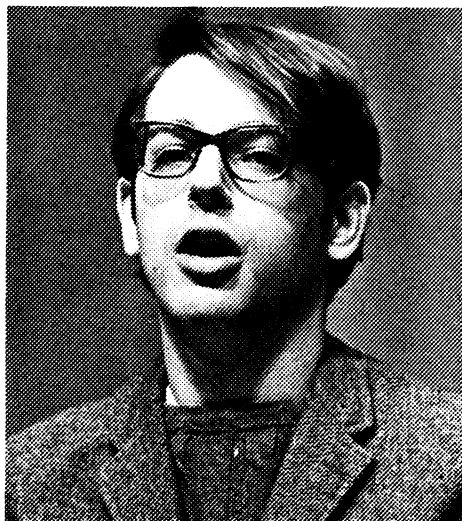
Finkel reaffirmed the YSA's position that the greatest opportunities to win young people to socialist ideas lie on the college and high school campuses.

"The 10 million students on the college campuses and the 20 million more in the high schools and junior high schools are our main constituency," he said.

"The student movement today has greatly increased social weight and political impact as a result of the expansion of higher education since World War II, the concentration of students on huge campuses, and the higher working-class, Black, and Chicano composition of the university population," Finkel said.

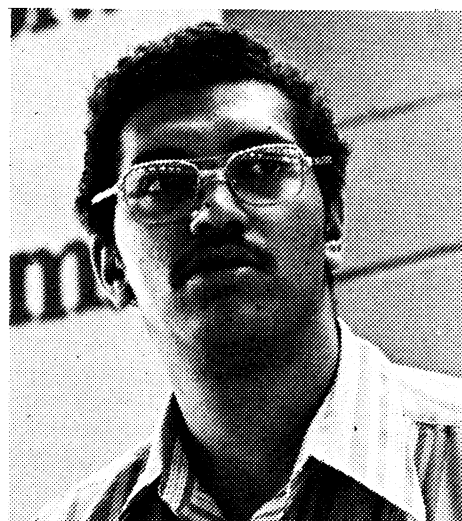
"The YSA's goal is to become a mass revolutionary youth organization firmly based in the student movement."

Finkel pointed out that the students who join the YSA today will play an indispensable leadership role in the campus, community, and workers'



Militant/Mark Satinoff

FINKEL, MIAH: Reported on YSA perspectives in student movement, Black struggle



Solidarity with international struggles

Internationalism was a central theme of the YSA national committee meeting. The first session was set aside for a full debate on events in Portugal, the recent French elections, and other questions of revolutionary strategy and tactics around the world.

YSA national chairman Andrew Pulley reported to the gathering on the international political situation. He pointed to the recent outbreak of mass struggles in Ethiopia and Portugal as a confirmation of the YSA's position that the class struggle on a world scale cannot be decisively turned back by the detente that U.S. imperialism has engineered with the Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking.

Pulley noted the important role that students and youth have played in all of the recent upsurges around the world.

The YSA leaders decided to actively build the protest actions

planned for Sept. 11 to demand the release of all Chilean political prisoners, restoration of full democratic rights for Chilean trade unions and political organizations, and an immediate halt to U.S. aid to the military dictatorship in Chile. They also mapped out plans to initiate picket lines, teach-ins, and other activities around the demand: Portugal Out of Africa Now!

Greetings were received from the YSA's sister organization in Canada, the Young Socialists/Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes, and a telegram of solidarity was sent to the revolutionary youth organization in Argentina, the Juventud Socialista de Avanzada (JSA—Young Socialist Vanguard). Argentine revolutionaries have recently faced a series of murderous attacks from right-wing thugs. The telegram hailed the JSA's efforts in mobilizing broad campus and high school protests against these attacks.



Militant/Baxter Smith

New York demonstration demands 'Portugal Out of Africa Now!'

student mov't, plan campus actions

struggles to come. Many of them will decide to join the Socialist Workers Party, which the YSA supports and helps to build as the future mass revolutionary part of the American working class.

With a strong base on campus, the YSA can play an important role in supporting workers' and community struggles going on right now. Steve Wattenmaker, organizer of the San Francisco YSA, gave examples of this from the YSA's activities during the labor upsurge that shook San Francisco this spring.

During the winter, the YSA carried out campus support activities to aid the striking Sears workers. Then, last March, in the midst of the big city employees strike, the San Francisco State College YSA helped build a rally of 500 students on less than two days' notice to support the strike.

The main lesson the San Francisco YSA learned from these experiences "was how much more effective our strike support activity could have been with more YSA members on campus," Wattenmaker said. "We now see the specific role that a youth group like the YSA can play as new struggles begin to develop in the trade-union movement."

John Linder from Minneapolis-St. Paul YSA reported that the Twin Cities chapter, in helping to defend the Indian militants framed up for their participation in the Wounded Knee struggle last year, had focused its activities on the University of Minnesota campus. The broad defense actions that were built there attracted from 1,500 to 4,000 people and were the largest support activities in the area.

Other speakers reported on the YSA's involvement in a wide variety of struggles, among them support for the Equal Rights Amendment; United Farm Workers boycott activities; the struggle in New York City's school District 1 for Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese control of education; and protests against the deportation of Haitian refugees and undocumented Mexican workers.

Black struggle

The report on the Black struggle was given by YSA national executive committee member Malik Miah. Miah emphasized the many opportunities this summer and fall for the YSA to take the lead in initiating activities around important issues in the Black struggle. He singled out the openings posed by the April coup and subsequent workers upsurge in Portugal for stepped-up activity demanding immediate independence for Portugal's African colonies.

Sam Manuel, Lower Manhattan YSA organizer, reported on the success of the New York City picket line at the Portuguese tourist bureau June 22. This action, which the YSA helped to initiate, won support from the Pan African Student Organization in the Americas, the Ethiopian Student Union, the South African Committee, and the Young Workers Liberation League, among others.

Miah also stressed the importance of establishing consistent sales of the *Young Socialist* newspaper at Black high schools and arranging speaking engagements in classrooms and before assemblies for SWP candidates and YSA spokespeople.

Miah pointed out that many of the struggles currently arising in the Black community develop on a local level.

Mac Warren and Betsy Soares reported on the role that the Atlanta



Students protest cutbacks at Federal City College in Washington, D.C., this spring. Militant/Eric Simpson

YSA has played in a series of demonstrations against the police slaying of several Black youths and for firing the racist police chief.

Speakers reported on the YSA's participation in the struggle this spring against cutbacks at Federal City College in Washington, D.C.; in defense activities for victimized Blacks such as J.B. Johnson, Gary Lawton, and the Attica Brothers; and other actions.

Miah concluded his report by taking note of the growing interest in Marxist ideas among many Black activists, especially from the African liberation solidarity movement. He said that the YSA is actively participating in these discussions about the relationship of the national liberation struggle to socialism, while at the same time urging continued united actions with the broadest possible forces around specific issues on which there is agreement.

Socialist campaigns

The report on building the YSA, given by national executive committee member Ginny Hildebrand, reviewed the wide range of struggles the YSA has been involved in during the spring. She emphasized the importance of combining this work with sales of *The Militant* and *Young Socialist* and other activities aimed at winning people to a socialist perspective and to joining the YSA.

An important part of this is building campus and high school support this fall for the Socialist Workers Party candidates in state and local elections. In New York City and Los Angeles, young socialist supporters of the SWP campaigns have organized impromptu rallies at the high schools before and after school hours to hear SWP candidates.

During the discussion, Bob Cubana from the Worcester, Mass., YSA reported on the success of that campus-based local in building support for the campaign of Don Gurewitz for governor. The SWP campaign received coverage in almost all the local newspapers and over local radio stations, and the Worcester YSA chapter built a successful campaign rally on campus, which was publicized throughout the city.

Several YSA leaders spoke about the student government election campaigns that the YSA has carried out. At Brooklyn College, 14 activists from the Ad Hoc Committee to Fight the Budget Cuts, most of them Black or Puerto Rican, joined with YSA members Robb Wright and Magdalena Chabriel in running a slate that focused its fire on recent financial aid

and curriculum cutbacks by the administration.

The slate also organized a rally to hear New York SWP gubernatorial candidate Derrick Morrison speak about his campaign and that of Rebecca Finch, the New York SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. The Brooklyn College slate adopted the name Young Socialists for Finch and Morrison.

Hildebrand highlighted next fall's YSA campus traveling teams as a way of gathering new support for the socialist candidates. "These fall teams will be SWP campaign teams," she said. "They will give the socialist campaigns a statewide scope, with activities on as many campuses as the teams can visit."

Hildebrand pointed out that many of the 14 spring teams this year had candidates traveling along with them. These teams sold 9,000 *Militants* and 7,800 *Young Socialists*, and they recruited 56 members to the YSA.

A special presentation on the struggle for democratic rights was given by Maceo Dixon. Dixon explained how the YSA was taking advantage of the Watergate revelations to wage an educational campaign in its press and through its support to the SWP election campaigns exposing the fundamentally undemocratic nature of capitalist society.

In addition, the YSA is participating with the SWP in a fight to extend democratic rights. The two groups have filed a lawsuit demanding an immediate halt to government surveillance and harassment of the YSA and SWP. Publicity and fund raising for the case are being coordinated by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

The PRDF plans to initiate a campaign this fall to get support, endorsement, and financial contributions from professors and student groups. The YSA will actively support this project, while seeking out opportunities to set up campus speaking engagements for YSA and SWP spokespersons and PRDF representatives.

YSA convention

Hildebrand noted the importance of YSA educational activities in winning new members to the YSA. After her report, speakers from Nashville, Twin Cities, and other areas reported on the success in organizing campus class series on Marxist theory and on the socialist approach to current topics such as Watergate, the energy crisis, women's liberation, and the Black struggle.

The culmination of YSA educational activities this summer will be the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference scheduled for mid-August in Ohio. This national gathering will feature classes and lectures on both current and historical topics and will provide an opportunity for YSA members and other activists from around the country to share their experiences.

The last order of business on the agenda of the four-day meeting was the call for the fourteenth Young Socialist Alliance national convention. The national committee voted to hold the convention next December in St. Louis, Mo. Before the convention, the YSA will carry out a full discussion of the most important issues facing young people in this country and around the world. A printed bulletin will be open for written contributions from any YSA member, and each chapter will organize extensive oral discussion sessions where all points of view can be aired and debated.

A major focus of all the YSA's activity this fall will be to publicize and build the national convention.

Young Socialist sales drive

In the two years since the monthly *Young Socialist* newspaper was relaunched in a new format, it has become one of the YSA's most important tools in winning young people to socialist ideas.

During a highly successful four-month sales drive this spring, YSA chapters, individual subscribers, and the 14 young socialist traveling teams sold a grand total of 53,000 copies of the paper.

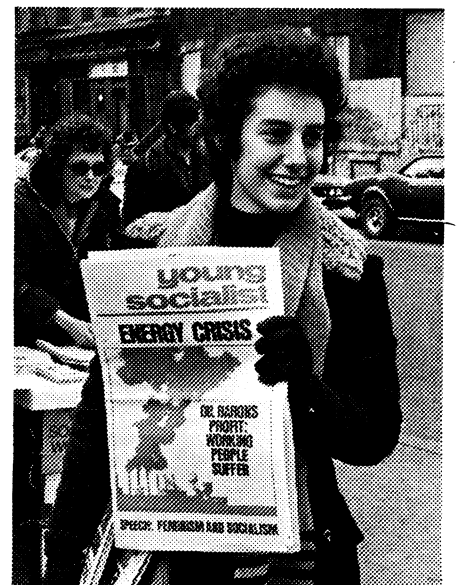
In April, a full month before the end of the sales drive, the YSA surpassed its original goal of selling 11,000 copies a month. April sales totaled 12,346. During the course of the campaign, average monthly sales rose to 10,500—an all-time high for the *Young Socialist*.

This was accomplished while YSA members were actively participating in the spring *Militant* sales drive as well.

Almost half of the YSs were sold on college and university campuses. YSA chapters made a special effort to expand their distribution at high schools and predomi-

nantly Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican community colleges.

The success of the spring sales campaign maintained the position the YS has achieved in the past two years as the most widely read socialist youth newspaper in the United States.



Militant/Phil Reed

Blitz to collect 56,000 signatures

N.Y. socialists plan two-week ballot drive

By DOUG JENNESS

NEW YORK—The Socialist Workers Party in New York State has set a goal of obtaining 56,000 signatures to place eight candidates on the ballot for the November elections.

Reporting to a party city-wide membership meeting here July 17, state campaign director Janice Lynn outlined the perspective of meeting this objective in a two-week effort beginning Aug. 2.

Included in this drive are two all-day mobilizations—Aug. 3 and Aug. 10—during which members of the SWP, the Young Socialist Alliance, and other campaign supporters will turn out in full force.

Lynn explained, "We are required by law to obtain 20,000 signatures on independent nominating petitions for our statewide slate of five candidates: Rebecca Finch for U. S. Senator; Derrick Morrison for governor; James

Mendieta for lieutenant governor; Ray Markey for attorney general; and Sam Manuel for controller. Three thousand five hundred signatures each are legally required for congressional candidates Katherine Sojourner, from the 18th C.D.; Claire Moriarty, from the 20th C.D.; and Maxine Williams, from the 12th C.D."

She said the party and its supporters will collect 35,000 signatures for the statewide slate and 7,000 for each of the three congressional candidates in order to be sure that more than enough valid signatures are collected.

The election law also requires that 100 valid signatures be collected in one-half of the state's 39 congressional districts. Lynn reported that supporters in Buffalo, Albany, Binghamton, Ossining, and New York City will participate in the two-week petitioning effort.

Lynn also reported on the accomplishments of the SWP campaign in New York since it was launched in February. "So far, 125,000 pieces of printed campaign material have been distributed as well as tens of thousands of mimeographed leaflets," she said. "Five hundred fourteen people have signed cards endorsing the campaign. These endorsers live in 28 cities in the state and include students from 48 high school and college campuses. They also include militant inmates from three prisons."

Another set of figures shows the scope of the candidates' activity in the past six months. They participated in 55 different protest meetings and demonstrations, spoke at 24 campus meetings in New York City to a total of 600 people, and spoke inside 10



Militant/Sam Manuel

SWP gubernatorial candidate Derrick Morrison addresses street rally outside a New York high school.

high schools to a total of 1,860 and to rallies outside six high schools. Nearly 50 high school students signed up as campaign supporters as a result of these rallies. The candidates have also spoken to 20 meetings in eight cities upstate.

Articles on the campaign have appeared in 41 newspapers, including campus papers, and the candidates have had 13 radio interviews and several cable-TV interviews.

"I think among the most exciting aspects of our election campaign have been our outdoor street rallies," Lynn stated. "Every supporter who has participated in the rallies (and this is one of the campaign activities every supporter can participate in) can testify to the impact we have had by regularly holding these rallies."

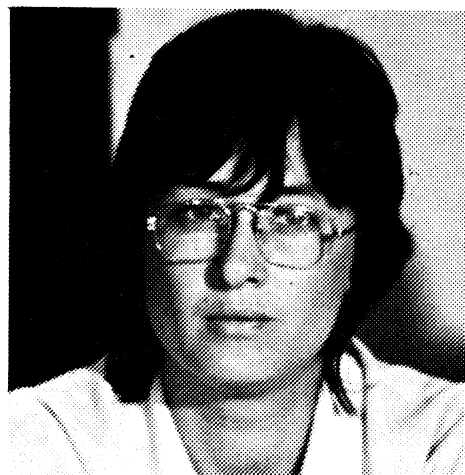
She explained that sales of *The Mili-*

tant and pamphlets, distribution of campaign literature, and signing up supporters are part of this impact. "We are also increasing the visibility of our campaign. People see us at the same street corners week after week, whether it is in Harlem, Wil-

If you can help petition to get the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in New York, call (212) 982-4966 or write to the New York SWP State Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

liamsburg, the Lower East Side, or Bedford-Stuyvesant."

Lynn said that the candidates have also spoken at street rallies in Buffalo, Albany, Binghamton, and Yonkers.



State campaign director Janice Lynn outlined petition drive, accomplishments of socialist campaign so far.

Illinois SWP petitioning reaches 55,000 goal

By DAN CAINE

CHICAGO—The Illinois Socialist Workers Party campaign topped off its six-week petition drive for a place on the November ballot by collecting 3,700 signatures in the 1st Congressional District on July 20.

The final day of petitioning brought the total number of signatures gathered to 55,000.

The Illinois election law required the SWP to gather 25,000 signatures for its statewide ticket, headed by senatorial candidate Ed Heisler, and 9,000 signatures for Willie Reid, the party's nominee in the 1st C.D.

Socialist campaign supporters went far over these requirements, collecting 40,000 signatures for the statewide slate and 15,000 in the 1st C.D.

Half the signatures for the statewide ticket had to be collected outside Cook County, which includes Chicago. Petitioning director Ken Edwards com-

mented, "Although the state instituted this law to make it more difficult for independent parties to win ballot status, in the process of meeting the requirement we brought the socialist campaign to thousands of people in East St. Louis, Rockford, Elgin, and many other cities."

Reid's opponent in the 1st C.D. is incumbent Ralph Metcalfe, a Black Democrat. As part of Mayor Richard Daley's corrupt machine, Metcalfe plays an important role in keeping the district, which has a very high percentage of Blacks, under Daley's control.

"Our 15,000 signatures represent 8 percent of the registered voters," said SWP campaign director Bruce Bloy. "They are an indication that growing numbers of people in the Black community are fed up with Nixon, Daley, Metcalfe, and the entire crew of Democrats and Republicans, who are re-



Militant/Dave Wulp

Socialist nominee Willie Reid is challenging Democratic Party Congressman Ralph Metcalfe in 1st C.D.

sponsible for Vietnam, Watergate, inflation, unemployment, and police brutality."

One petitioner reported that people were initially skeptical about signing a petition for any candidate, saying, "What have they ever done for me?" But on hearing that these were socialist candidates offering an alternative to the misrule of the capitalist politicians, many gladly signed.

The Illinois SWP will celebrate the petitioning victory with a meeting Aug. 3. Featured speakers will be Maceo Dixon, cochairman of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee; Ed Heisler; and Dennis Brasky, SWP candidate in the 9th C.D. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

All the petitions will be filed with state offices during the week of July 29-Aug. 2.

Bailey campaigns among Virginia prisoners

By TOBA SINGER

LORTON, Va.—Nan Bailey, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Washington, D.C., recently visited Lorton Reformatory here at the invitation of five prisoners who are supporters of the SWP campaign.

The five are active in efforts to expose the Lorton Master Plan, a prison "reform" plan devised by the D.C. Department of Corrections.

The prison administrator, Salanda Woodfield, preferred that Bailey and this reporter learn about the prison from him instead of talking to the prisoners and hurried us into his office. He claimed the reason the prison does not offer many of the programs demanded by inmates is that the prisoners are "not really interested in their own rehabilitation."

Prisoners are paid \$36-\$50 a month to make license plates, chairs, and prison garments. Woodfield believes that the prisoners, whose average age is 22, are "too old" to learn more skilled trades. That was his explanation for the low enrollment (only 150 out of 1,500 inmates) in trade programs in auto mechanics, electrical work, typewriter repair, and brick-laying.

The prisoners have a different view of life at Lorton. They told Bailey they want additional trade programs, and they cited the administration as the biggest obstacle to prisoner enrollment in the existing programs.

They also fear that the Federal City College Program, which allows prisoners to attend courses at FCC, may be eliminated. To the prisoners, the

Lorton Master Plan means no more than increased repressive measures and cutbacks in programs.

All five of the prisoners signed cards endorsing Bailey's campaign as a positive alternative to the Democrats and Republicans. One of them had drawn up a leaflet that they plan to circulate at Lorton in support of Bailey's campaign. Its final paragraphs read:

"Other candidates' programs for D.C. Mayor emanate from a capitalist platform and if elected would continue to serve but the interests of the few big businessmen.

"Brothers, inform your families, friends and visitors to vote for Nan Bailey for D.C. Mayor. The power is in our hands to change our miserable situation."

Workers their main problem

Stalinists for 'discipline' in Portugal

By DAVE FRANKEL

"The political life of the country is going to go through a new phase of discipline," promised General António de Spínola in a July 17 television broadcast to the Portuguese people.

After nearly 50 years of "discipline" under the Salazarist dictatorship, many Portuguese must have had misgivings. As he swore in a new cabinet composed largely of officers from the Portuguese armed forces the next day, Spínola insisted, "Responsibility implies that somebody has the power to rule and to impose respect, and that somebody is the state."

Declaring, "If the silent majority does not wake up to defend its liberty, the twenty-fifth of April will have been in vain," Spínola announced the formation of a new security force, COPCON (Commando Operacional do Continente), which in the words of *Time* magazine, "will have the power to intervene to maintain order."

A July 18 Associated Press dispatch from Lisbon explained: "The new Cabinet is expected to take a harder line against labor, for example, to reduce the strikes and other work disorders that have plagued the country since the April coup against the rightist regime of Marcello Caetano."

Military men were appointed to the key posts of minister of the interior (police) and minister of labor. Spínola emphasized in his remarks at their swearing in, "We cannot blame just reactionary forces for the excesses that have been taking place in the streets, the businesses, and even in the civil government."

This student of Hitler and Franco, who got his military training with the fascists in Spain and with the Nazis in Stalingrad, never condemned the butchery perpetuated by Portuguese troops in Africa or the tortures by the secret police as "excesses." In fact, he led the colonial army for five years. But when it comes to strikes for higher wages and peaceful street demonstrations against Portugal's colonial wars, he speaks out loud and clear. "This must be stopped at once, for the prestige of the Portuguese people is at stake," he complained.

If sensible people—listening to Spínola's violent rhetoric and watching as the Portuguese military tightened its grip on the government apparatus—had misgivings, the Portuguese Stalinists and their allies around the world did their best to reassure them. The new cabinet was hailed as a shift to the left!



SPÍNOLA: Calls on 'silent majority' to wake up, while organizing new 'security force.' Communist Party says this is shift to left.

The *Daily World*, newspaper of the U.S. Communist Party, claimed in its July 19 issue that the new premier, Colonel Vasco Gonçalves, had once been "known for his left political views and associations," and assured its readers that "U.S. and other capitalist news media accounts generally described the new cabinet as being 'more left' than the previous one."

For the Portuguese CP, the overthrow of the Salazarist dictatorship by its own army was not a chance to help deepen the mass movement, win increasing concessions in the interest of the working class, and eventually lead the workers to power and the construction of a socialist society. They saw the military coup as a chance to open up collaboration with the "progressive" Portuguese capitalists.

A treacherous policy

Thus, the CP jumped at the chance to serve in the provisional government set up to maintain Portuguese capitalism while modernizing its political form. This treacherous policy was papered over with slogans about the need for an antifascist front with the army, which had been the primary bulwark of the old dictatorship.

Under the dictatorship, the Stalinists told the workers it was necessary to subordinate their demands to the program of the liberal capitalists in order to gain their cooperation in the fight for democratic rights. Now that the dictatorship has been overthrown they tell the workers that they still have to subordinate their program to the needs of Portuguese capitalism, because otherwise the bosses will turn back to the dictatorship.

But the policy of telling the workers to behave as if they were still living under the dictatorship in order to avoid its reimposition has not been sufficient to stop the upsurge opened up by the fall of Caetano. The past month has seen the reintroduction of censorship, the dispersal of left-wing demonstrations by armed troops, and now the governmental shake-up.

Stalinist strikebreaking

At the end of 1973 and the beginning of 1974 the Portuguese CP itself was among those raising the demand for a minimum monthly wage of 6,000 escudos (about \$250). Inflation in Portugal has been running at a rate that may reach 70 percent in 1974, making this demand more urgent than ever.

But when postal workers struck for the 6,000-escudo minimum wage, the Portuguese CP wrote in the June 20 issue of its newspaper, *Avante!*: "The objective (of the strike) is this: to oppose the workers to the provisional government and to bring on an atmosphere of discontent and revolt that benefits fascism and reaction."

In the eyes of the CP, the problem was the workers. They, not the miserable conditions created by capitalism, were generating "an atmosphere of discontent and revolt." According to the CP, these troublemakers were actually helping out the fascists by not accepting their lot!

"Today it is the fascists and reactionaries of all stripes who want more strikes," Portuguese CP leader José Vitoriano said in the June 21 *l'Humanité*, the French CP paper.

In keeping with this outrageous approach, the Portuguese Stalinists have even appealed to the immigrant workers not to return to Portugal because the capitalist economy can't absorb them, and they would create new

problems for the provisional government.

Masses of people have been awakened and brought into political activity by the fall of the old regime in Portugal. The message of the Stalinists to these workers, peasants, and students is: Roll over and play dead.

Instead of urging them to raise the demands closest to their hearts and organize in defense of their interests, the Stalinists tell the Portuguese people to rely on General Spínola and Colonel Gonçalves. But it is the workers, not the generals and their capitalist government, who hold the future of Portugal in their hands.

Nowhere is the Stalinist betrayal of revolutionary principles more apparent than in their continued participation in the capitalist government that is still refusing independence to its African colonies. Apparently the



Demonstration in Lisbon demands independence for African territories, return of Portuguese troops. Spínola denounced such actions, along with workers' strikes, as 'excesses.'

Stalinists have been feeling increasing pressure in this regard. In typical fashion they tried to dissociate themselves from some of the more unsavory aspects of their own policy.

The July 11 *Daily World* reports, "The Portuguese Communist Party has criticized the cabinet government for being too slow to carry out its own program (published May 15), especially on the question of ending the colonial war, but it has not criticized the government as such." (Emphasis added.)

By blaming its capitalist partners in the government, the Stalinists seek to avoid responsibility for the maintenance of the Portuguese colonial army in Africa. But without their cooperation, the colonial policy—and Portuguese capitalism itself—would be untenable.

The extent of the CP cover-up was shown in the July 20 *Daily World*. In an article on Angola the Stalinists tried to make it seem as if the Portuguese troops in Luanda had intervened in a recent incident to stop a white lynch mob. "With 200,000 whites and 300,000 Africans in Luanda's population," the *World* writes, "a small-scale civil war could have erupted."

"President Antonio de Spínola, therefore, was correct in ordering the Portuguese military to use every means to restore order."

Unmentioned is the fact that following the murder of several Africans by white taxi drivers, Portuguese troops "restored order" by firing on

two demonstrations of Blacks, killing up to 20 people and wounding many more. On July 15, in response to these murders, 30,000 people turned out under the leadership of the liberation organizations demanding total independence for Angola, and Luanda was shut down by a general strike.

The problem is not, as the Stalinists claim, that elements in the capitalist provisional government are dragging their feet on carrying out their program for independence for the colonies. The problem is that the real program of the government the CP is participating in is to hold on to the colonies if possible, or at least to give up as little as possible.

Maoists chime in

Although the main responsibility for the betrayal in Portugal lies with the pro-Moscow Stalinists, their cousins

who look to Peking have made it clear that they would do the same thing if only given the chance.

Echoing the CP line in every particular, the July 24 *Guardian* explained that the meaning of the recent shifts in the provisional government was that "the right-wing trend in the cabinet which most opposed complete independence for the colonies was rebuffed."

Longtime Stalinist hack Wilfred Burchett expanded on the supposed shift to the left, and in another article he elaborated the theory that foreign monopolies (as opposed to the progressive national bourgeoisie of Maoist mythology) were behind the recent strike wave in Portugal.

His argument is worth repeating. He admits, "If any workers in Europe needed to struggle for better working conditions, it was Portuguese workers. Living standards, with the possible exception of Spain and Greece, were the lowest in Europe."

But in Burchett's view, the workers fell into the trap set by the monopolies, which hoped "to create the sort of economic chaos which provided the climate for the anti-Allende coup in Chile." Again, the theory is advanced that the workers are to blame for reaction because their struggles against the status quo frighten the middle class and the liberal capitalists.

The idea of leading the masses in struggle, and when necessary of arming them in order to defend their rights, is replaced with the idea of pla-

Continued on page 30

'The New Anti-Semitism': racist,

The New Anti-Semitism by Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein. McGraw-Hill. New York, 1974. 356 pp. Cloth, \$7.95.

By Dave Frankel

Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein swing a wide brush. To hear these two tell it, the world's Arab population, almost all Black nationalists, Puerto Rican militants fighting for community control of the schools in New York, and practically every group on the American left are anti-Semites.

Ironically enough, these self-styled exposers of racism throw around phrases like "the xenophobic Russian mind" without a hint of embarrassment. More significant than this type of prejudice is that they have been in the forefront of the campaign against preferential hiring for Blacks and other oppressed nationalities. They try to smear the participants in a number of major struggles carried out by the Black and Puerto Rican communities as anti-Semites. The purpose is to smear the struggles as a whole.

In addition to the racism that runs through their book, Forster and Epstein have taken it upon themselves to attack the radicalization of the 1960s from a novel angle. They write, "The Radical Left, comprising elements of the New and Old Left, poses a threat to the Jewish people. It is committed to the liquidation of Israel. And in attempting to fulfill that commitment it has turned its fire on those who support Israel's existence as a Jewish state—principally Jews—while it warmly acclaims and is virtually allied with those seeking Israel's demise—Arabs, their friends in the communist world and others espousing the cause of 'Third World' peoples . . ."

Finally, in advancing a false analysis of American society and the conflict in the Middle East, *The New Anti-Semitism* also advances a false analysis of what the danger facing Jews really is and how to fight that danger.

Arab-assassin?

Forster and Epstein are top officers of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith, and they assume in their book the same racist theory that was advanced in an ADL report issued in October 1972.

This report argued that Arab guerrilla actions were basically irrational, "part of an Arab history and tradition of extremism and violence which has contributed the word 'assassin' to international lexicons."

According to the ADL, "Arab extremists do not

Books

seek merely to eradicate Israel; they want to destroy world Jewry which stands behind Israel. It will be tragic if Jews—and the rest of the world—are led to believe that Arab extremists are a tiny minority in the Arab world and that they do not reflect the real feeling of the Arab masses."

This picture of the Arabs as a nation of Hitlers, bent on the destruction of world Jewry due to irrational hatred, would be ludicrous if it were not intended seriously. Its purpose is to equate support for the rights of the Palestinians and anti-Semitism. Thus, Forster and Epstein write, "Anti-Jewish attitudes in Italy emanate from the Radical Left as well [as from the right]. Trotskyists and Maoists in Rome disseminate pro-Arab propaganda."

Since Jews have lived among Arabs throughout history without being exterminated, we can only surmise that this alleged mass psychosis of the Arabs is of recent origin. A more sensible way of trying to find the basis for enmity between Arabs and Israelis in the Middle East would be to look at the history of the conflict there, rather than attributing it to some mythical trait of the Arab mind.

This, however, would bring out the point that Israel was established at the expense of the Palestinian people, who were driven off their land and deprived of their livelihood. Those who oppose the maintenance of this colonial-settler state are



Bob Adelman
An early civil rights demonstration. Authors supported first stage of fight for civil rights, but when Black people fight for control of their own communities, Forster and Epstein say they are a threat to Jews.

no more anti-Jewish than are the Blacks in South Africa antiwhite, or the Catholics in Northern Ireland anti-Protestant. In every case the issue is the oppression of a subject nationality and the struggle against the oppression.

Guilt by association

The technique used by Forster and Epstein to pin the tag of anti-Semitism on opponents of the Israeli state in the United States is that of guilt by association. For more than 300 turgid pages they make an amalgam between right-wing hate material and straightforward political critiques of Israel and Zionism.

Forster and Epstein think they have a strong argument when they produce a few examples in which criticism of Israel by some people is combined with outright anti-Semitism. But it is just as easy to find staunch supporters of the Israeli state who are also anti-Jewish, beginning with Richard Nixon and going on to not a few members of Congress. This line of argument proves nothing.

The second technique used by Forster and Epstein in trying to establish that those who oppose the existence of a Jewish state in Palestine are anti-Semites is to arrogate to themselves the right to speak in the name of world Jewry.

"Statements and propaganda manifestoes calling for the destruction or dissolution of Israel," they write, "or equating Israeli defense with Arab assault, are seen by Jews as attacks against themselves and world Jewry and, along with other activities supporting those sworn to destroy Israel, are perceived as the ultimate anti-Semitism."

Jews and Zionism

But the perceptions of Jews have changed in the past and will do so again. Throughout most of its history Zionism was a minority movement among Jews; the vast majority of the Jewish people originally wanted nothing to do with the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. After World War II most of the Jewish refugees wanted to come to the U.S. or Britain, but the doors of these countries were closed to them. Jews embraced Zionism because they saw no other alternative.

As it becomes clear to the masses of Jewish people inside Israel and around the world that the creation of the Israeli state at the expense of the Palestinians has done nothing to solve the scourge of anti-Semitism, but has instead presented them with additional problems, they will reject the Zionist state and its ideology.

The real question—one that Forster and Epstein are incapable of dealing with—is not the perceptions of the majority of Jews at any given instance in history, but whether this perception is in accord with the actual interests of the Jewish people. By attempting to stifle debate on this vital point, they

do a disservice to Jews everywhere.

Is it really in the interests of Israeli Jews to carry on an endless war with the Palestinians instead of accepting the idea of living together with them in a unitary Palestine?

The authors of this book admit Israel's total reliance on Washington. Is it really in the interests of Israeli Jews to serve as the foot soldiers for imperialist interests in the Arab East?

And is it in the interests of Jews elsewhere in the world to support Israel?

Such questions are simply dismissed by Forster and Epstein. These uncritical admirers of Israel and its militarist government go so far as to attack pro-Zionist Jews who are attracted to "leftist groupings."

A right-wing book

The radicalization that began in the 1960s is the prime target of *The New Anti-Semitism*. This is not because the radicalization has led to a new upsurge in anti-Jewish outrages—it hasn't. The hatred that Forster and Epstein show towards the radicalization stems from their politics; they are die-hard anticommunists of the George Meany variety.

For example, writing of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in terms that would make Congressional witch-hunters proud, they say: "H. Rap Brown succeeded Carmichael in May 1967, and within a few months he likewise began to attract nationwide headlines by urging Negroes to get guns, to 'burn this town down,' and by voicing approval of rioting and looting. In this period, SNCC showed clear signs of ideological orientation toward Havana, Peking and Hanoi."

While extolling American democracy, Forster and Epstein are only too ready to support violations of democratic rights when it suits their purposes. Thus, in an amalgam borrowed from the French government they write that "buttressing their [French Jews] optimism was the announcement on June 28, 1973 that the French government had banned two extremist groups, one the neofascist New Order, whose anti-Semitism had long been overt in the pages of its publication, *Minute*, and the other, the (Trotskyist) Communist League."

The authors don't bother to mention that the banning of the French Trotskyists was due to a police provocation that resulted in violence during a demonstration called to protest racist attacks by New Order against immigrant workers.

Perhaps these champions of democracy would have their optimism further buttressed if the capitalist rulers here in the U.S. moved to legalize the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. After all, according to their view, the left today represents a danger to world Jewry

anticommunist smear

at least equal to the danger on the right." Moreover, they say, "Spearheading the Radical Left's anti-Israel, anti-Zionist campaign in America and unflagging support to the Palestinian guerrillas is the Socialist Workers Party. . . ."

'Danger on the Left'

The section in *The New Anti-Semitism* on the American left singles out the SWP and YSA for special attention. It is a rehash of an ADL "fact sheet" issued in November 1972 titled "Danger on the Left." The slanderous charges asserting that the SWP had "crossed the line into outright anti-Semitism" made in this document were answered at length in *The Militant* by Peter Seidman. Seidman's articles have been reprinted in a 32-page pamphlet, *Socialists and the Fight Against Anti-Semitism* (Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. 25 cents).

Forster and Epstein, however, don't even mention this pamphlet, preferring to repeat their slanders on the theory that if a lie is told often enough some people will begin to believe it. These mendacious reactionaries even repeat some of the identical misquotes and factual distortions exposed by Seidman.

Of particular interest is their claim that "although its spokesmen have been careful to avoid the use of crude anti-Semitic phraseology [Could it possibly be because they are not anti-Semites?—D. F.], the SWP's program and activities, as they relate to American Jewry, have been totally hostile."

However, the specific instances of this "hostility" turn out to be things like the SWP's opposition to the racist 1968 teachers strike in New York led by Albert Shanker. This was a strike by white teachers against the right of Black and Puerto Rican parents to have a say in hiring and firing in the schools and in school programs and curricula. The fact that many of those involved in the strike were Jewish didn't make it any less racist.

Similarly, Forster and Epstein label as "discriminatory" a proposal adopted by the community school board in New York's District 1 calling for the hiring of "teachers and supervisors in such a way as to develop 'an ethnic distribution among the staff that is more nearly representative of the student population in the district.'"

Of Black nationalism in general, they write: "From racial pride to racism proved to be a short step and one after another the leaders of Black nationalism, with but a few exceptions, began to espouse anti-Semitism. Sometimes it was veiled as anti-Zionism, but the camouflage was transparent since more often than not the target was not Israel but American Jews, viewed now as 'exploiters' of the ghetto. . . ."

Self-serving demagoguery

The attempt to label the SWP anti-Semitic because it has been in the forefront of supporting struggles for the right of Blacks and Puerto Ricans to control their own communities is clearly a piece of self-serving demagoguery by people who oppose the *politics* of these struggles. Forster and Epstein also use the "outside agitator" argument in attacking the District 1 struggle in New York, implying that it has been inspired by sinister and

alien forces and that the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents involved in that struggle are too stupid to know what it's all about.

Thus, they say of the appointment of Luis Fuentes as school superintendent in that district that "it helped to perpetuate a hoax on those thousands of Lower East Side parents who aspire to an education for their children and who instead found themselves at the vortex of a dispute that had nothing to do with education and everything to do with a grab for power by a militant few."

For Epstein and Forster it's "a grab for power" when a school district whose student body is 93 percent Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese tries to hire some nonwhite teachers. They don't talk about power grabs when whites control the school systems in Black and Puerto Rican communities.

Anyone familiar with the political ideas of the SWP and its activities will not be taken in by the venomous charges of anti-Semitism made in this book. But the attempt to identify as anti-Semitic those who side with the Black and Puerto Rican communities in their demands for preferential hiring and school admissions, and for control of the institutions that affect their lives, has another dimension. *It implies that these struggles are a threat to Jews as a whole, that their basic thrust is anti-Semitic.*

The same method

The method used by Forster and Epstein to besmirch the community struggles they mention with their ubiquitous charge of anti-Semitism is the same one they use in relation to the debate on Israel. They dig up a few quotations of participants in these struggles that they deem anti-Semitic. Using this method you could probably "prove" that the American and French revolutions were "anti-Semitic."

Leaving aside the truth or falsity of their charges in each specific case—although there is enough material on that subject for a separate article—the key point that is deliberately ignored by Epstein and Forster is the nature of the struggles they discuss.

These struggles are not aimed against Jews. They are aimed at alleviating the racist oppression faced by Blacks and Puerto Ricans. By trying to characterize them as anti-Semitic, *The New Anti-Semitism* distorts the entire process that has gone on in the ghettos and barrios of the U.S. during the past 10 years. It amounts to a rationale in support of oppression.

The game of playing off the most recently—or most precariously—established ethnic group against others who are portrayed as challenging its modest acquisitions is an old one. During the early 1900s the victims were Jews from Russia and Eastern Europe.

The same thing is happening today in many American cities. But instead of seeing the parallel, organizations such as the ADL have taken the lead in attacking the gains made by oppressed minorities and women in the areas of hiring and school admissions. Charging "racism in reverse," they have backed numerous court suits aimed at reversing these gains.

Instead of demanding that there be enough jobs



Anti-Nazi picket line in 1938. Socialists have long tradition of combating anti-Semitism.

for all and enough space in the schools for all, they insist on perpetuating the existing privileges of the whites, including Jews, *at the expense of* Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos. This is not only morally wrong, but against the interests of Jews themselves.

The threat to Jews

For all their talk about exposing anti-Semitism, Forster and Epstein do a dangerous disservice to this fight. On the one hand, they paint a false picture of the real situation facing Jews in the U.S. right now. On the other hand, they are completely off the mark in identifying the forces that pose a danger to the Jewish people and those that can be allies in the fight against that danger.

Reading *The New Anti-Semitism* one would think that the situation of Jews in American society is no different from that of Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans. This is false. While Jews in America today do face anti-Semitism, they are not an oppressed nationality. Their wages and housing, as a group, are not inferior to the wages and housing of other whites. Statistically, rather than being barred from professions such as medicine, science, and law, they play a disproportionate role in these areas relative to their size in the population. They face no language discrimination comparable to Spanish-speaking people. Police don't regularly come into the Jewish communities to brutalize the residents.

The opposite is the case with Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans. They face much more than bigotry and prejudice. They face the translation of these ideas into action in every area of their lives, and on a daily basis.

But Jews, although they are not singled out for special oppression in the U.S. today, are not in the same position as Italians, Irish, or Ukrainians. As the crisis of American capitalism deepens, all the loathsome bigotry and hatred engendered by this system will be brought swirling to the surface. It will be directed against Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Asians, Indians, and Chicanos with multiplied barbarity. And, inevitably, it will be directed against Jews as well.

Anti-Semitism will enter the mainstream of American politics just as surely as socialism will. And when that happens the Henry Jacksons, Edward Kennedys, and other liberal politicians that Forster and Epstein think Jews should rely on will either be helping out the anti-Semites in order to divert people from the real problems of capitalism, or else scurrying for cover.

The vision of a liberal, tolerant, democratic America—an America that never existed for many—surviving unruffled in the midst of a deepening world crisis is a utopian fantasy. Forster and Epstein propose that security for Jews lies in aligning themselves with this dreamworld against the rising radicalization of the oppressed. It is a reactionary road to disaster. For Jews in America, as for everybody else, the real choice will be socialism or barbarism.



Palestinian refugee camp after recent bombing by Israeli planes. Forster and Epstein call Arab peoples anti-Semitic for struggling against their Zionist oppressors.

Right-wing group poses as socialist

'Labor Committee' joins forces with cops

By DAVID JAMES

More than a year ago the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) launched a series of hooligan attacks against members and meetings of the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party, the Congress of African People, and other organizations. These goon-squad tactics were condemned by many groups and individuals, and effective defense measures helped discourage further attacks.

During the past year, the NCLC, which still claims to be socialist, has continued to move to the right. It now is clearly a right-wing organization. This is well illustrated by its reactionary views on cops, oppressed minorities, and unions.

Courts cops

Recently the NCLC announced that "it is the ordinary cop who, for the moment ironically has taken the lead in opposing the establishment of a police state."

This amazing piece of logic is found in a May 1 editorial in the organization's twice-weekly newspaper *New Solidarity*, under the heading "Cops and Robbers." The editors explain, "In several cities around the nation this week, representatives of police patrolmen's organizations are taking the lead—in uneasy collaboration with the Labor Committees and others—against an attempted fascist takeover through the CIA's domestic arm, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA)."

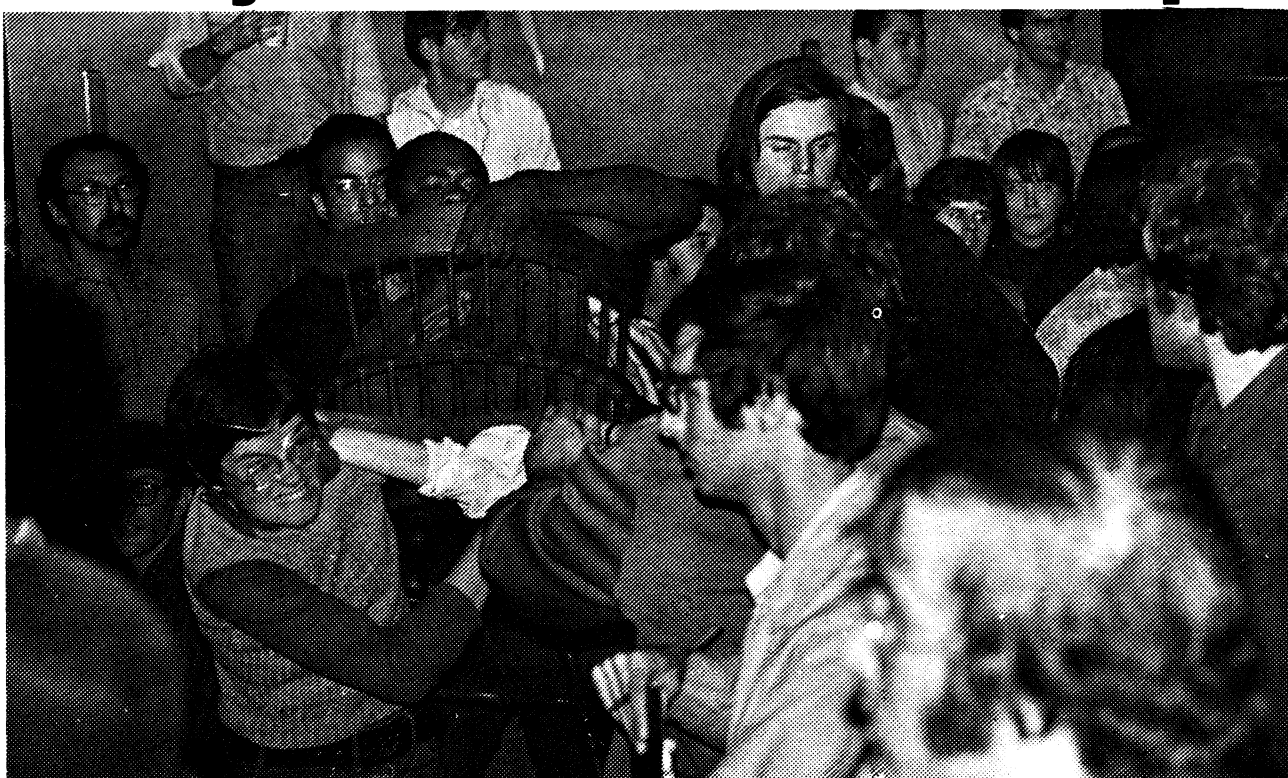
The NCLC sees frictions between city cops and the federally financed "human relations" cops and is attempting to form a bloc with the local flatfeet against the federal cops. "It is not surprising that the old-style patrolman enjoys an impulse or two to fight back against this takeover," they write. "He may not see himself as consciously fighting fascism as such. He may be more immediately enraged at the knowledge that LEAA gunrunners are setting him up to be gunned down by a dope-confused, brainwashed, ghetto youth—in order to create a 'need' for more LEAA takeover."

In Boston the NCLC joined forces with city councilman "Dapper" O'Neil and the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, who are waging a campaign to oust police commissioner Robert DiGrazia for being too "liberal." As part of this campaign O'Neil initiated public hearings in May in which the NCLC participated. A report in the May 6 *New Solidarity* describes this as a "tenuous tactical alliance between the Labor Committees and other LEAA opponents, especially police officers and old-line politicians like O'Neil."

"These right-wing forces are willing to make a temporary bloc with socialists because the LEAA's plans for creating a streamlined Gestapo-like police force threaten their own lives."

The reporter goes on to boast, "So far heads of policemen's associations in Boston, Cleveland, Philadelphia and Newark have been sympathetic to the Labor Committees' campaign; some agreed to testify at the hearings but have backed out at the last minute."

The day before the hearings began Black community activists and members of several radical organizations, including the Socialist Workers



Columbia Spectator

'Labor Committee' goons attacking 1973 mayoral candidates' meeting in New York City. Many groups and individuals joined together to help discourage these violent attacks.

Party, occupied the city council chambers to protest the death of a Black child in an elevator accident in a public housing project. The NCLC said this action of 400 was an LEAA plot to divert attention from the hearings. Those who participated "let the class know where they stand—squarely behind the fascists."

When Blacks in Queens, New York, recently protested the acquittal of a white cop who shot a 10-year-old Black, the NCLC condemned the demonstration as LEAA-provoked.

The paranoid charge that every protest by Blacks and Puerto Ricans is engineered by the CIA and the LEAA is a demagogic way of attacking every progressive struggle. There is no doubt that the LEAA, established a few years ago by the Omnibus Crime Bill, serves the interests of big capitalists like the Rockefellers. But city cops are paid to serve the same capitalist class and defend the same private property interests.

The NCLC's courtship of them has nothing to do with fighting fascism. It is an attempt to bloc with the most backward and openly racist cops—that is, the cops who are fed up with antipolice sentiments in the ghettos and barrios and resent the "mod squad" techniques of the LEAA cops.

Virulent racism

The NCLC's overtures to the cops are related to their racist views toward oppressed minorities. A recent leaflet distributed on New York City's subways reveals their attitude toward Blacks. Titled "Zombie Killers Out of Control," the leaflet begins, "You could be white. You could be black. You could be Hispanic. This summer you will be walking down the street with your family and a cruising car will pull up beside you. A group of young black men will jump out of the car and surround you."

"As they close in on you, you may notice that their eyes show no emotion, their pupils are pinpoints. Your throat will be slashed, your wife will be stabbed, your children's heads will be smashed against the pavement. The attackers will be grinning or laughing."

This familiar racist hysteria about Blacks, so often used by right-wing politicians, is embellished by the NCLC with the notion that ghetto youth are strung out on methadone and brainwashed by the LEAA. What does the LEAA "brainwash" them with? According to the NCLC, the evil potions are "black nationalism" and "cop-hatred." To the NCLC then, Black nationalism and cop-hatred are not a legitimate and expected response by Blacks to decades of racial oppression, but rather simply a question of "brainwashing." This amounts to a denial that racial oppression even exists.

Their blatantly racist position is also shown in an article on the NCLC in the June 6 *Village Voice*. One white member of the organization, speaking about Blacks, is quoted as saying, "The problem with gang kids is the agony of transition from jungle bunnies to self-conscious class leaders."

While Blacks are labeled "jungle bunnies," Puerto

Rican liberation is referred to as "impotent fantasies of capitalist society" in a leaflet distributed on New York's Lower East Side. Luis Fuentes, Puerto Rican superintendent of community school District 1, is characterized as the "head faggot of Rockefeller's mop-up operation against the United Federation of Teachers (UFT)."

Against strikes

Since the 1968 New York teachers strike against the struggle of Black and Puerto Ricans to control the schools in their communities, the NCLC has supported the racist Shankerite leadership of the UFT against the oppressed communities. But when unions strike for higher wages and working conditions, the NCLC opposes them.

The recent Amalgamated Clothing Workers strike, for example, "was not a strike at all but a complete charade, a militant cover for a Rockefeller-ordered lockout," according to an article in the June 26 *New Solidarity*. This is part of a "calculated strategy designed to quietly send workers to their deaths in Auschwitz-style work projects, workers are being systematically confused and isolated by a series of provoked strikes."

Commenting on the increased number of strikes in the construction industry, the article claims, "The construction unions have not become more militant; if anything they have become more docile, showing a willingness to swallow almost anything to hold onto contracts. It was therefore necessary to do a little 'outside agitating' to get these 'strikes' going."

Who are these "outside agitators" that gave the construction bosses a helping hand? They are: "the counterinsurgent carpenters union"; "critical Teamsters in allied trades (especially the suspicious cement drivers)"; and "CIA-controlled countergangs such as the Revolutionary Union," which was active in "helping to push workers out into the streets." The NCLC is a right-wing enemy of the labor movement. Needless to say, it vehemently opposed the militant truckers' actions last winter and the founding of the Coalition of Labor Union Women in March.

For further reading on

Degeneration of Labor Committees

"Against Violence Within the Workers Movement," a new Education for Socialists Bulletin, describes the degeneration of the Labor Committees as reflected in their "Operation Mop-Up" directed against the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party. The collection of articles also includes material detailing hooligan attacks by the Progressive Labor Party and other groups.

To order send 50 cents to: National Education Department, Socialist Workers Party, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.



LNS

Asbury Park, N.J., cop shoots Blacks. NCLC collaborates with these racist forces.

Frelimo advances; colonial troops 'war-weary'

Troops of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Frelimo—Mozambique Liberation Front) captured the town of Morrumbala in the northern part of the country July 12. Morrumbala is located in Zambezia district, not far from the Malawi border.

Several days earlier, Frelimo leader Samora Machel had announced that the liberation fighters would open a new front in Zambezia.

The continuation of the fighting in Mozambique appears to be accompanied by a growing war-weariness among Portuguese colonial troops, who had hoped that the April 25 coup in Lisbon would bring a quick end to the war. In a July 12 dispatch to the *Washington Post* from Cape Town, South Africa, Peter Younghusband wrote:

"Portuguese military informants tell about soldiers meeting guerrillas informally in the Niassa district adjoining Rhodesia in the past week—having drinks and playing soccer with them.

"At the strategic town of Vila Gouveia, on the way to Tete from the Beira-Umtali road, an entire battalion refused to go into action, unofficial military sources said.

"The battalion sent an officer, a sergeant and a conscript to the regional

military headquarters in Beira to pass on the message that they did not wish to fight and wanted peace negotiations speeded up so that they could return to Portugal."

There are indications that the Spínola government, increasingly unable to rely on its own troops in Mozambique, has been clandestinely involved to some extent in aiding the sudden appearance of a new, right-wing guerrilla group opposed to Frelimo. The new organization presumably could pose as a rival for power, providing a pretext for Lisbon to set itself up as arbitrator between the two groups.

In a July 14 dispatch from Beira, Agence France-Presse reported that the new group had been sighted not far from Vila Pery. It is believed to be led by Jorge Jardim, a businessman from Beira.

"A military communiqué from Lourenço Marques," AFP reported, "confirmed that insurgent forces had been sighted and that troops in the Vila Pery area had been placed on the alert.

"The communiqué did not specifically identify these forces, but implied that they might be linked to a movement instigated by Jardim, whose arrest had been ordered by Portuguese authorities on June 17 after he es-



Frelimo column in Mozambique

caped from Portugal. . . ."

After the April 25 coup, Jardim went to Lisbon, where he took refuge in the Malawi Embassy.

"A month ago," according to AFP, "Jardim, heavily disguised, slipped out of the embassy and drove across the Portuguese border to Spain, where he was seen at the Ritz Hotel in Madrid.

"At the time, he sent a telegram to

the newspaper *Noticias de Beira*, in which he had an interest, saying he was upset at the manner in which matters were being handled with Frelimo by the new military leaders."

The news agency said that Jardim is believed to command about 1,000 "crack paratroopers—mainly Frelimo deserters—who were loyal to him personally under the previous government."

Boston forum protests Portuguese rule in Africa

BOSTON—One hundred people at the Militant Forum here July 19 heard an appeal to "get the word out" that the Portuguese government continues to refuse independence to its African possessions.

The calls for protesting Portuguese colonialism and the continuing U.S. aid to it came from Salah Mateos of the PAIGC National Support Committee; José Aica, an exiled Portuguese draft resister active in the Portuguese Committee for Democratic Action; Richard Loben, a writer for *Southern Africa* magazine; and Sam Manuel, a national leader of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The PAIGC is the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau, which has been waging a national liberation struggle against the colonial army of Portugal.

Describing the strategic position of the Cape Verde Islands off the coast of Africa, and attempts by the regime in Lisbon to separate the fate of Cape

Verde from that of Guinea-Bissau, Mateos insisted, "We are not about the business of compromising Cape Verde."

He cited Nixon's meeting with Portugal's President António de Spínola just before the latest Moscow summit, and said, "Regardless of the shenanigans being played by the big powers and all the talk of détente, we are not going to take a back seat."

Mateos said that demonstrations of thousands of people in support of independence have broken out in Cape Verde in spite of the strict control exercised by the Portuguese government. Citing the example of the anti-war movement, Mateos urged demonstrations in the U.S. for the independence of the African colonies. "Demonstrations that demand Portugal out of Africa now are very important," he stressed.

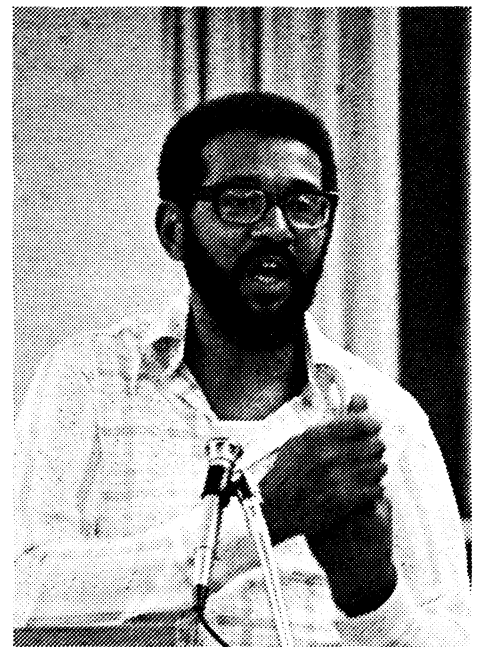
Aica described the neocolonial proposals of the Spínola regime, and

noted that "there has been no revolution in Portugal, only a coup . . . and the coup was like taking the lid off a boiling pan."

Sam Manuel described the role of the Portuguese Stalinists in propping up the capitalist system. He said that their attempts to defuse the revolutionary upsurge and to help stabilize the Spínola regime are "a knife in the back of the struggle of the colonies for self-determination."

Echoing the calls of Mateos and Aica for protest actions, Manuel said, "We should demand: No U.S. aid to Spínola, and Portugal out of Africa."

Such a demonstration has been organized in Boston for Aug. 1 at the Portuguese state tourism (TAP) offices. Sponsors include the PAIGC National Support Committee, the Portuguese Committee for Democratic Action, the Socialist Workers Party, the New American Movement, and the Middle East Research and Information Project.



Militant/Rich Cahalane

Salah Mateos of PAIGC National Support Committee said, 'We are not going to take a back seat.'

William Gregory: a dedicated revolutionist

William Gregory, a member of the Detroit branch of the Socialist Workers Party, died of leukemia June 23. The following are excerpts from a talk by Mike Kelly, Detroit SWP organizer, at a memorial meeting for Gregory.

William Gregory was a materialist. Even knowing he faced certain death from leukemia in the near future, he rejected any retreat into mysticism, any retreat from the ideas he had come to accept and love.

I remember that on two of the occasions I visited him in the hospital, Gregory—as he liked to be called—complained to me about this preacher his sister sent from Buffalo to convert him to Jesus. It was bad enough having to lie in the hospital bed for months, he said, without having to

listen to that mumbo jumbo for hours on end.

Gregory radicalized a lot later in life than most who are joining our movement these days. I think he was 46 when he first came up to our hall here last August. But this fact is only one of a series of remarkable facts about his life.

We know little about his early years, but perhaps enough. He was born Black in Buffalo, N.Y., with nine sisters and five brothers, into a poor family. He was born into a society that systematically oppresses Black people. He was no exception.

Like many suffering from oppression, he was driven to acts for which he was jailed. He spent 13-and-a-half years of his adult life in various prisons, including the Ohio "pen."

It was in the 1960s, while in pris-

on, that he began to reject the ideology of the oppressor. He began to understand his oppression and to fight back. He was affected by the radicalization taking place around him. Prison walls couldn't prevent its penetrating to the most oppressed, the victims of capitalist society and capitalist "justice."

He didn't travel a straight line to revolutionary consciousness. There were detours. As with Malcolm X and others, he first looked to the Black Muslims for the answers. He became a Muslim.

But this was not enough for him. He once explained to me how he had found this movement wanting, even within the prison walls. While there was a need for struggle inside the prison and solidarity among the pris-

oners, the Muslims were refusing to unite in action with others in prison and making it easier for the authorities to continue dividing the prison population into hostile groups.

He read some Marxist literature for the first time while in prison. He realized that socialism was the answer. It was at this point that he decided to dedicate his life to fighting for a socialist society.

It was probably no accident that at a time Gregory was breaking out of the mental straitjacket of decades he also turned to art. He began drawing in prison and found a hitherto hidden creativity. He even received recognition for his art work from Rutgers University. Later, while here in Detroit, he was to draw for the *Spear*, the newspaper of the Association of

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Calendar

ATLANTA
BEHAVIOR MODIFICATION—MIND CONTROL IN GEORGIA PRISONS. Speakers: Gene Guerrero, executive director, Georgia ACLU; Richard Rathes, vocational rehabilitation counselor and socialist; others. Fri., Aug. 2, 8:30 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

BROOKLYN
SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. Chinese Stalinism—Maoism in power. Part I: Tues., July 30, 8 p.m. Part II: Thurs., Aug. 1, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: 50 cents per session. Ausp: Brooklyn Socialist Summer School. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST
SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. The history of the Russian revolution: its lessons for today. Wed., July 31, 8 p.m. and Sat., Aug. 3, 10 a.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: 25 cents per session. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (213) 483-1512 or 483-2581.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE
'ATTICA'—Film by Cinda Firestone. Fri., Aug. 2 and Sat., Aug. 3. Location to be announced. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

PHILADELPHIA
FBI PLOT AGAINST THE BLACK MOVEMENT. Speakers: Reggie Schell, chairman, Black United Liberation Front; Tony Austin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 2nd C.D.; others. Fri., Aug. 2, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

PITTSBURGH
POLICE IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY. Speakers: Sala Udin Saifalam Salaam, Congress of African People; Vince Eagan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia. Sat., Aug. 3, 8 p.m. Graduate School of Public Health, Fifth and Desoto, Univ. of Pittsburgh. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

SAN DIEGO
WHY NIXON IS MY FAVORITE ENEMY. Speaker: Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Aug. 9, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

SEATTLE
DEBATE ON PUBLIC DISCLOSURE LAWS. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Aug. 2, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

TWIN CITIES
SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. History of the Russian revolution. Wed., July 31, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

WASHINGTON, D.C.
SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN PETITIONING VICTORY CELEBRATION. Speakers: Debby Bustin, cochairwoman, Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee; Nan Bailey, SWP candidate for mayor of Washington, D.C.; other SWP candidates. Sat., Aug. 3. Refreshments and music, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m. 1345 E Street N.W., Fourth Floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Municipal Campaign Committee. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

...Canada

Continued from page 20

Fourth International, and the Revolutionary Marxist Group, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International.

The LSA nominated Kate Alderdice, a woman worker and staff organizer of the League, to run in a Toronto constituency against External Affairs Minister and Deputy Prime Minister Mitchell Sharp.

Alderdice focused on Canada's complicity with the Chilean junta in refusing asylum to the majority of political refugees who have applied. She called for Canadian withdrawal from the imperialist alliances NATO and NORAD (North American Air Defense Agreement). Other major themes in her campaign were the need for anticapitalist measures to fight inflation and unemployment, defense of the national liberation struggle of the Québécois, and full support of the demands of the women's liberation movement.

The RMG presented three candidates in Toronto, Winnipeg, and Peterborough. The three candidates stressed what they termed "a program of direct and immediate action: objectives which can broaden the scope of workers struggles and improve the relationship of class forces in favor of the proletariat; methods of struggle which unify the working class and give it experiences in self-organization and proletarian democracy."

Both organizations called for a vote for the NDP where there was no revolutionary candidate. The LSA also gave critical support to the RMG candidates.

According to incomplete election returns issued July 9, Kate Alderdice of the LSA received 109 votes. The RMG's results were as follows: Linda Peever (Peterborough), 207; Bret Smiley (Toronto), 40; and Murray Smith (Winnipeg), 78. Smiley and Smith ran in constituencies held by the NDP.

...Portugal

Continued from page 25

cating the capitalists in the hope that they will grant a few concessions. However, it was not the combativity of the Chilean workers that resulted

in the rightist coup there, but the inability of the Stalinists and Social Democrats to lead the workers in a struggle for power.

Burchett's second argument is also advanced by the pro-Moscow Stalinists. He explains that the monopolies, "by suddenly spear-heading the drive for high wages . . . would accelerate the process that decades of fascism had provided: the gobbling up of the medium and small enterprises."

This process, which has gone on very well in the United States even without "fascism," is viewed as a disaster by the Stalinists. The heads of "the medium and small enterprises" are supposed to be the "progressive" wing of the capitalists, the ones who the CP can collaborate with. Therefore, Burchett and other Stalinists propose that the workers sacrifice in order to keep them in business. The one thing that the Stalinists—whether pro-Moscow or pro-Peking—cannot imagine and refuse to support is the idea of a socialist revolution in Portugal.

...Gregory

Continued from page 29

Black Students at Wayne State University.

Upon leaving prison Gregory met his first Trotskyist. It was in Baltimore, I think, in 1970 or 1971. This was when he was introduced to *The Militant* too. He began selling it there and continued this later in Buffalo. I think *The Militant* was what he loved most about the party. It explained so many things to him.

That was how we met him here in Detroit. I remember him coming up to the hall. He asked if he could sign out some papers to sell. We said of course. I remember how excited we were. It's not every day that someone comes in off the street and asks to sell *The Militant*. He sold 25 of that issue, as I recall.

He enjoyed selling immensely. He had a lot of time—being on a medical disability because of his leukemia—so he would just stroll about the Wayne State University campus, hawking *The Militant*. We would often run across him with a crowd of 10 or 15 Black students around him hotly debating. He would be defending Marxism and our party's political positions.

While in the hospital he wasn't able to do a lot of reading, but there was

one book he was working his way through. It was *Leon Trotsky on Literature and Art*. He described to me in detail what he'd learned. He was very excited by it. The desire to educate himself was constantly with him.

Just a few weeks ago I told him about our plans to sell a specially large bundle of 1,000 *Militants* that week. He said, "Oh, I wish I could be out there with you." He was so proud of our sales record.

It's a tribute to his firmness of conviction that, having only a short time to live, he should dedicate himself to making the socialist revolution. That was his commitment to the very end.

...rampage

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innocent until proven otherwise.

COPS is looking into possible legal action, including a damage suit and injunction against the cops and a defense fund and defense committee if the three suspects are apprehended. It also favors an independent investigation by the Congressional Black Caucus, the National Black Assembly, and other groups.

A COPS rally at Bethesda Church heard Adams; Fala Udin, of the Congress of African People (CAP); a representative of the NAACP; Black Lemington Heights residents; and Naomi Jones and Catherine Story, the mothers of two of the hunted men.

One Lemington Heights resident described a police assault on a Lemington Heights apartment complex. She said the cops descended with rifles and tear gas, and without warning or warrant. People were forced to identify themselves in their own homes. Apartments were ransacked and money was stolen.

The speakers expressed concern for the safety of the hunted men. Jones and Story expressed bitterness at the way their sons had already been pronounced guilty. They were convinced that their sons had no chance of either fair treatment or a fair trial.

In another development, 70 prisoners at the Allegheny County Jail held a sit-in and refused to go to court for sentencing. They said the judges were handing down stiffer sentences and demanding higher bonds since the July 3 shooting.

The prisoners won the right to meet with criminal court judges and to have observers attend the meeting.

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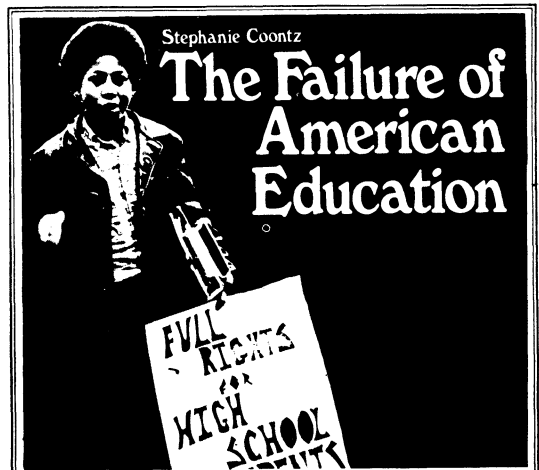
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End cop terror!

Boston killer cops: 'mistaken identity'

By MARGARET SCOTT

BOSTON—A predominately Black rally of 500 was held in Roxbury July 18 to protest the most recent in a series of killings by Boston cops.

The event that sparked the protest occurred a week earlier when James Wilds, a Roxbury store owner, was shot and killed in what the cops termed a "case of mistaken identity."

Two cops, Patrick Connolly and Peter Jerome, each fired twice as Wilds ran across the street after they pulled up to the car in which he was sitting. They said they saw Wilds raise his arm as if he was going to shoot at them.

The cops said they thought the car Wilds was in belonged to a man who was sought for escaping from prison. They also claimed they thought Wilds was the prisoner but they made no effort to determine his identity.

A witness who saw the shooting said, "The cops were about 15 feet from him. There's all the light in the world here. If he had a knife or gun they could have seen it."

No disciplinary action has been taken against the two cops. Instead, they were promoted to desk jobs!

The rally was organized by various groups including the African Liberation Support Committee, the Community Coalition Against Repression, the Black Ecumenical Commission of Massachusetts, the Union of Community Construction Workers, and members of the Massachusetts Black Caucus.

A speaker at the rally, Dinizulu Seit, listed demands including suspension of the two cops, a public investigation, bringing the cops to trial on charges of first degree murder, and abolition of the Decoy Patrol, an undercover unit. He announced a meeting to map



Militant/Rich Cahalane

Part of crowd at July 18 rally

out further plans.

Ollie Bivins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor, said in a statement: "This is not the first time a Black person has been shot down in Boston, nor will it be the last. It is essential that the Black community unite in actions such as today's to bring about an end to police violence."

"This racist police force must be removed from the Black community."

A month and a half ago, another Black Roxbury man, Walter Robey, was shot allegedly in a scuffle with two white cops from the tactical squad. One of the cops fired a bullet that passed through Robey's abdomen and grazed the other cop's leg. The cop was taken immediately to Massachusetts General Hospital, but Robey was put in a jail cell.

Several hours later, Robey was found dead in a pool of blood in the cell.

Blacks blast cop brutality in Ga. towns

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA—In the wake of a struggle against racist police terror here, Black communities in rural Georgia have begun to mobilize against the police.

Two towns in which struggles have erupted are Woodland and Barnsville, both in middle Georgia.

Tiny Woodland in sparsely populated Talbot County has been the scene of the biggest actions. Woodland police chief Doug Watson shot and killed Willie Jean Carrecker June 28. Watson and James Mallory, Woodland's other cop, claimed that a struggle ensued after they arrested Carrecker for allegedly driving under the influence of alcohol.

The county coroner refuses to make public the results of the inquest, but the undertaker says Carrecker was shot through the heart while in a sitting position. Powder burns indicate he was shot at close range. Photographs of the body taken by Tyrone Brooks of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) show that Carrecker had been badly beaten.

The day after the killing, Carrecker's widow called on SCLC in Atlanta to help organize protest activities, and Brooks went to Talbot County. Since then, militant marches and rallies of up to 1,000 people out of a total county population of 6,600—65 percent Black—have occurred.

The Woodland city council has suspended the two cops but has refused



to dismiss them. The central demand of the mobilizations is the firing and conviction of Watson and Mallory. But demands such as for paving the streets in the Black community, recreational facilities, and more jobs for Blacks were also raised.

Justice Department officials and FBI agents appeared on the scene. "With any degree of justice they will have to bring criminal indictments against the two cops," Brooks told reporters.

A boycott of white stores in Talbot County was initiated. After two weeks of demonstrations and boycotts, county and town officials said they were willing to negotiate.

A June 16 meeting of 200 at the Friendship Baptist Church in Woodland heard a report on the concessions the officials were willing to offer. The officials promised more social services and a county human rights commission. But they refused to budge on the firing of Mallory and Watson. After thorough discussion the meeting rejected the officials' offer.

Vince Eagan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, received loud applause when he addressed the meeting "to express my solidarity with you. Whenever I campaign around the state, I'll be telling of your struggle against racist police terror."

Brooks noted that Eagan had been one of the central leaders of the recent demonstrations against police terror in Atlanta. "Keep that in mind when you cast your ballot," he added.

Another struggle is taking place in Barnsville. On one side of the railroad track that divides the town is its poor, crowded Black community. On the other side is its once prosperous white section with spacious antebellum homes and magnolia tree-lined streets.

Barnsville's Black community exploded July 9 after Dwayne Johnson, a young Black man who walked into a white poolroom, was beaten by white thugs. During the beating, a white cop, Rex Johnson, drew his gun on the Black youth.

Spontaneous anger in the Black community resulted in two nights of rebellion. Windows of many white-owned stores were smashed. Fires were set and the city hall was damaged. The mayor imposed a dusk-to-dawn cur-

few and called in state troopers.

Barnsville's city council at first suspended the white cop, but later reinstated him.

Pittsburgh Blacks hit police rampage

By CHRISTINA ADACHI

PITTSBURGH—Protest continues against a police "manhunt" in the Black community here following the recent killing of a white cop.

Pickers marched in front of the home of Mayor Peter Flaherty carrying signs reading: "Cops out of the Black community," "End racist police terror," and "Flaherty, how does it feel to be surrounded?"

The picket took place after a series of fruitless meetings with Flaherty during which he claimed the manhunt was not a "racial thing," and the police were acting in a "professional manner."

Flaherty's cops have stopped and harassed Black people in the streets and invaded and ransacked their homes. Some have robbed, beaten, or tear-gassed their Black victims.

A committee of Black groups and activists, which has been meeting since the police rampage began, held a news conference to announce the formation of an organization called Citizens Opposed to a Police State (COPS).

Richard Adams, a COPS spokesman, emphasized that the slain cop's partner is supposed to be the only witness to the shooting. That cop has identified Lafayette Jones and Stanton Story as two of the three Black suspects being sought.

Adams expressed the organization's anger that the three men are being referred to publicly as "murderers." He said that COPS considers the men

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