

# THE MILITANT

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

## Eleven wounded

# Grower guns down Texas UFW strikers

By Lupe Cásares

HIDALGO, Texas—Melon grower Chesley Miller declared "open season" on a group of striking farm workers here May 26, wounding eleven with pellets fired from an automatic shotgun.

The shooting came as a strike against cantaloupe melon farms in Starr County spread to this and other parts of the Rio Grande Valley, an important agricultural area adjacent to Mexico in the southernmost part of Texas.

I was in the crowd of farm workers

### Eyewitness account

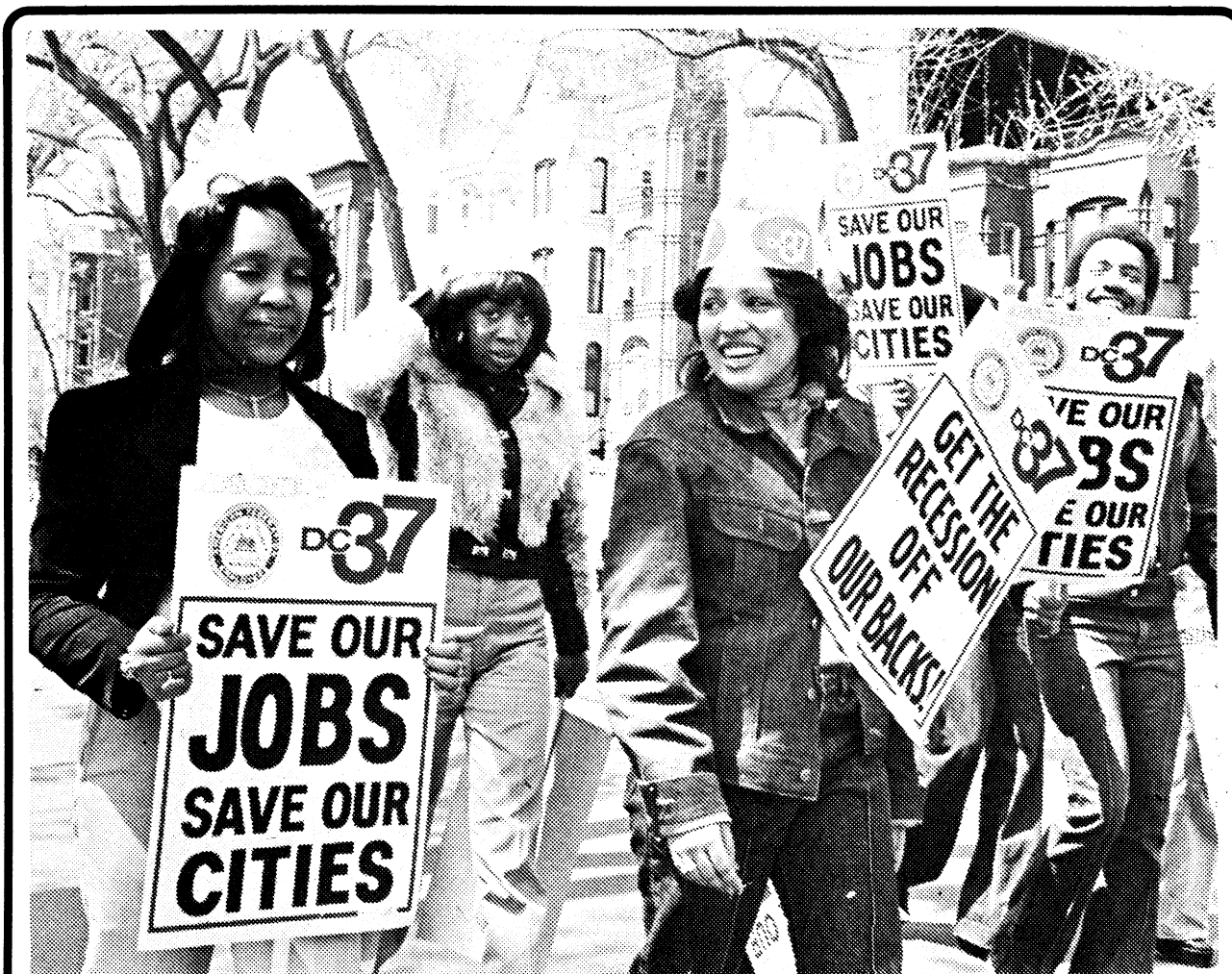
when the murderous attack occurred, and this is how the day's events unfolded:

At about 3:00 a.m. in the morning, myself, Benigno Peña, and Jesús Luna, two others working with the UFW in this area, went to the international bridge that spans the Rio Grande between Hidalgo and Reynosa in Mexico.

We were there to encourage the several thousand Mexicans who cross over each day to respect the UFW strike, which has been under way since May 19 against growers in Starr County, just west of Hidalgo.

At about 4:00 a.m. the workers from Mexico started coming over. They were

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**DEMAND COPS ARREST BOSTON NAZIS:** "Stop Nazi attacks on prodesegregation forces." "Refusal to arrest equals official complicity with Nazi violence." "Equal protection for all parties." So read the picket signs that greeted city workers and downtown shoppers in front of Boston's city hall during lunch hour on May 23. Twenty pickets were there to demand that Mayor Kevin White take immediate action to arrest and prosecute the four uniformed Nazis who tried to break into the Boston Socialist Workers party campaign headquarters during a celebration on the evening of May 17.

The picket line was joined by representatives of the SWP, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Political Rights Defense Fund, and the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

They distributed copies of an open letter to Mayor White signed by a number of prominent Bostonians, including Dr. Salvador Luria, Dr. George Wald, Noam Chomsky, Massachusetts State Representatives Barney Frank and Elaine Noble, AFL-CIO official Rexford Weng, Doug Butler of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and women's rights leader Florence Luscomb. The letter linked the attack on the SWP campaign offices to right-wing violence and threats instigated by the racist antibusing movement.

Although a representative of the SWP campaign committee had called the previous day to set up a meeting with the mayor, White was "not available" when a delegation arrived. One of the mayor's aides did meet briefly with Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for mayor of Boston, and accepted a copy of the open letter to pass on to the mayor.

## New assault by rightist terrorists at UCLA

LOS ANGELES, May 27—Liquid Mace was thrown in the entryway of the Latin American Studies Department at California State University at Los Angeles this morning. The attack came several hours before a scheduled noon meeting sponsored by the department to hear a report by two visitors to Cuba. The meeting itself proceeded without incident, hearing Raul Ruiz and Charon D'Aiello, members of the recent Raza Unida party delegation to Cuba.

The Mace attack on the Latin American Studies Department was the second in recent months. The previous one, on February 13, was made at a showing of the Cuban film *Lucia*.

At the noon meeting Ruiz announced the slated June 20 rally sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund to protest the ongoing wave of terrorist attacks in Los Angeles and urged participants in the meeting to support that rally. (See story, page 28.)

**IF THE SHOE FITS, CHANGE THE IMAGE:** At a hush-hush meeting with 100 corporate moguls recently, former Commerce Secretary Frederick Dent unveiled results of a federally funded survey of public attitudes. The findings are "disturbing top U.S. business executives and Ford administration officials," according to the May 14 *Wall Street Journal*:

"The study says that a 'great majority' of Americans express negative attitudes toward the U.S. free-enterprise system. . . . 18% said big business was the chief culprit [for inflation] in that it 'creates shortages, obtains political tax advantages and tends to be monopolistic.'"

Still more alarming, "About half of those surveyed said the economic system requires more than minimal changes . . . the changes 'appear to be demands for action' on a wide range of issues, from halting inflation and eliminating unemployment to revising taxes, big business and welfare programs."

The problem, the study concluded, isn't the crisis of capitalism—it's that the public's economic knowledge is "incomplete and fragmentary." The answer? You guessed it—the business executives decided to launch a three- to five-year advertising campaign, with \$500,000 seed money, "to help create a better understanding of the American economic system."

**. . . AND FEEL FREE TO LIE:** The Madison Avenue hucksters will be happy to know the Federal Trade Commission has decided that they can keep right on producing those lying advertisements about how the oil monopolies are trying to stop pollution and lower the price of energy.

Six members of Congress had complained to the FTC that so-called corporate-image advertising by various giant corporations, particularly in the fields of pollution control and energy exploration, were actually unfair and deceptive, because the companies weren't telling the public the whole story.

The commission's staff did a study that showed this kind of image-polishing advertising was increasing rapidly. The staff also demonstrated that the FTC had the legal authority to act in the area, a conclusion with which the FTC concurred.

Nevertheless, the commission decided to take a hands-off stance on corporate-image advertisement, purportedly because this "may involve substantial questions under the first amendment."

**ANTILESBIAN RULING REVERSED:** A Los Angeles area woman won reversal of a court order denying her custody of her two daughters because she is a lesbian. The American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California won a reversal for Lynda Mae Chaffin after the daughters, aged twelve and fifteen, ran away from their legal guardians to live with their mother. The ACLU also presented evidence from three psychological experts that living with their mother would not be detrimental to the daughters.

**EDELIN CONVICTION UPHELD:** Judge James McGuire has refused to reverse the manslaughter conviction of Dr. Kenneth Edelin for performing a legal abortion in Boston. McGuire was the judge in the original trial, and his May 5 ruling upholding the conviction of the Black doctor by an all-white jury came as no surprise. Edelin's attorney is appealing the decision to a higher court.

**STRANGE CIRCUMSTANCE:** Recently, a critic of the Warren Commission's report on the assassination of President Kennedy used provisions of the Freedom of Information Act to obtain a previously suppressed transcript of a commission discussion of the possibility that Lee Harvey Oswald was an FBI agent. According to the transcript, commission counsel J. Lee Rankin opened the session by relaying a report from the attorney general of Texas that "the word had come out . . . that Oswald was acting as an FBI undercover agent."

After stating that this information appeared to have originated with a member of the press, Rankin referred to the difficulty of verifying the report. "I assume that the FBI records would never show it, and if it is true, and of course, we don't know."

Rankin said that both he and Earl Warren agreed that "if that was true . . . then you would have people think that there was a conspiracy to accomplish this assassination, that nothing the commission did, or anybody, could dissipate."

"You are so right," said Rep. Hale Boggs.

"Oh terrible," said former CIA Director Allen Dulles.

During speculation over why the FBI might have hired Oswald, our current president, who was a commission member, displayed a characteristic sharpness of intellect. "He was playing ball, writing letters to both elements of the Communist parties. I mean, he was playing ball with the Trotskyites and with the others," Ford noted. "This was a strange circumstance to me." —Nelson Blackstock

## YOUR FIRST ISSUE?

## SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT



Municipal workers in New York and cities around the country are facing layoffs, and we all face a deterioration of the services we depend on. To find out how people are fighting back and socialist answers to these problems, subscribe to the *Militant*.

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# ...striking farm workers gunned down

Continued from page 1

excited to learn that something was being done about the miserable conditions they face. After discussions were held, they decided to strike all the farms in the area.

Workers were saying, "Let's go to the farms and pull everybody out," and, "We can do it!" Over a period of several hours, 3,000 workers gathered by the bridge and none had gone to the fields.

But there was only one pickup truck available. The crew leaders, who also had trucks, refused to let the farm workers use them to go picket the ranches.

At about 9:00 a.m. word spread that some workers were in the fields at El Texano ranch, which is near the bridge. Some 200 of us went from the bridge to El Texano to talk with those in the fields about joining the strike.

The workers in the fields were split up into different crews, and it took a while to get to talk to all of them. But within an hour we had pulled everyone out on strike and were walking back to the bridge at the border along a dirt road.

Then suddenly we saw Miller coming toward us very fast in a pickup truck. He drove into the crowd and almost ran over several people, but we all jumped to the side of the road.

## Fired without warning

He went past us for a few yards, stopped, opened the door, and stepped out with an automatic shotgun. Without any warning, he began firing, wounding eleven workers.

The wounded lay bleeding in the road. We scattered to avoid getting hit, but refused to leave the wounded. Miller was near the wounded people, threatening to shoot anyone who got close.

Despite pleas to let us get the wounded to doctors, Miller would not let anyone approach. Miller yelled, "If you come near here, I'll kill you bastards."

Finally, I had to run all the way back to the bridge to call ambulances. Then I returned to the road.

When the police arrived, they went first to talk to Miller, then came back and talked with the workers. Although we told them what had happened they refused to arrest Miller. They did not even disarm him.

But we were able to get to the wounded and took them in pickup trucks to the nearest hospital in McAllen, Texas.

At the hospital, the injured were treated and released. Juan Reyes, a



Shooting of eleven farm workers is most recent incident in long history of violent attacks aimed at crushing efforts to organize farm workers union.

striker from Reynosa who had worked at Miller's ranch for five years, was hit with fifteen shotgun pellets in the leg. Jesús Luna, who works for the UFW's office in this area, was hit in the head. Ismael Ibarra, also from Reynosa, suffered an eye injury. Eight others were also treated.

After visiting the hospital, ten of the eleven went to Justice of the Peace Dario García of McAllen to file aggravated assault charges against Miller, since the cops who had been on the scene had refused to initiate any action.

García signed ten warrants for the rancher's arrest. Miller turned himself in later that afternoon and was quickly released on \$15,000 bond.

Miller told a television reporter he had "opened season" on us because we had come into his fields, "trying to run off my workers."

## 'I shot 'em'

Asked if he had been shooting at someone, Miller said, "No, I haven't been shooting at them, I shot 'em. The police told me I was in my rights."

"They were carrying those red flags. They'll be easy to recognize. The leader ran at me with a club and I shot him full-face with my shotgun," Miller added, in a reference to Jesús Luna, who had tried to disarm him.

Miller also told reporters he would shoot farm workers again if they went into his fields.

Although Miller has claimed that the

road we were on is his property, there are no signs posted on that road indicating it is private, and it is used by the public.

Also, Miller opened fire without any warning, but the law says you can only use force against trespassers after having asked them to leave and having warned them. And we were leaving, going back to the bridge.

That night the union also had a news conference, which drew 300 people and was widely covered by newspapers on both sides of the border. There was also a meeting of fifty farm workers in Starr County.

On Tuesday, May 27, many more people joined the strike. A rally was held at a parking lot near the bridge, and then 700 marched to the house of

one of the owners of El Texano. From there, we went back to the melon farm, where we picketed for the rest of the day because Miller still had a small group of people working for him.

There were police cars everywhere—county sheriffs, cops from various towns — and the word went around that even the Texas Rangers, the notoriously racist elite state force, were coming, although they never did put in an appearance.

## Melons stopped

Nevertheless, because of our picket line, trucks full of melons sat in the hot sun until about 5:30 in the afternoon. Usually, melons are moved into storage immediately after being harvested because heat damages them.

On Wednesday, May 28, organizers and supporters of the UFW went to the three main bridges that mexicanos use to come to work in the valley. These are here in Hidalgo; in Progreso, which is about twenty miles east of here; and in Brownsville, about fifty miles east.

Since most of the workers come from Mexico, the bridges are the best place to talk to the compañeros. So far, the receptivity to the UFW has been tremendous. Many have signed union cards. Mexican workers have been the backbone of the strike, making up about three-fourths of the total number of strikers.

When we went to the bridge in the morning we thought we would just inform people about the strike in Starr County and win their support. We believed we would have to wait until later to pull everyone out. But it just happened that people were ready.

The field hands are not afraid because of what Miller did; they are determined to win a victory. The fact that so many people are on strike makes us think we are strong enough to do it.



SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo (right) visiting Hidalgo County UFW office last March. Upon learning of shooting, Camejo sent message calling it 'an outrage' and pledging 'fullest solidarity' to strikers.

## UFW lawyer explains strike background

By José Pérez

Jim Harrington, attorney and spokesperson for the United Farm Workers office in Hidalgo County, told the *Militant* in a telephone interview that the union is planning a major organizing campaign in that area and that the strikes undertaken so far are just initial steps in the drive.

He explained that in 1966, the ranchers and the special elite state police force called the Texas Rangers had violently broken a strike centered at La Casita farm in Starr County. Since that time there had been no major effort to organize workers.

However, on May 19 the UFW kicked off a new unionization drive in the Rio Grande Valley by once again throwing up picket lines around La Casita ranch, which was in the middle of its cantaloupe harvest. Other farms in Starr County have also been struck.

La Casita bosses responded by

flooding the public road where the picketing was taking place, claiming their irrigation system was malfunctioning. Union organizers countered by getting to the workers before they had arrived at the ranch.

Many of the farm workers in this border area who permanently live in the United States migrate north during the summer. Most of the cantaloupe is harvested by Mexicans who have government permits to cross the border to work. These workers are the majority of those now on strike.

Talking about the response the UFW has received in the first week of its organizing campaign, Harrington said, "We viewed this as an organizing step at this point. We never really thought it would skyrocket into a general strike as it has."

The union lawyer added, "This indicates the support that the union has and the fact that the people are fed

up with the wages and conditions."

He noted that cantaloupe is one of the relatively better-paying harvests because field hands can get up to sixty or more hours of work a week. With many other harvests the average number of hours a week is more like twenty to thirty.

"The fact that they're walking out of a relatively good crop," he said, "is indicative of their feelings."

The official minimum wage rate for field labor is set by state law at \$1.80 an hour. However, growers often break that law by intimidating farm workers, and they usually get away with paying as little as \$1.30 an hour.

Now, Harrington reported, growers trying to break the strike are offering at least \$2.10 an hour, and some have gone as high as \$2.50, a previously unheard-of rate. But the higher wages offered haven't lured the farm workers back into the fields, he said. They are

standing firm because they want union conditions and a union contract.

Asked about plans for the future, Harrington responded: "We're not intimidated. We're going to continue picketing and keeping people out of the fields."

He added that pressure on the growers will intensify quickly because the cantaloupe harvest has to be completed within the next two to three weeks or the fruit will rot.

The UFW's middle-term goal in the area, he said, is to have a series of well-organized strikes in the fall. Eventually the union hopes to have all farms in the valley under contract.

Harrington reported that the union is asking for support to its Texas organizing campaign. Food and checks made out to the Texas Strike Fund can be sent to: United Farm Workers, Route 1 Box 149 B, Alamo, Texas 78516.



## How to stop Beame's axe

# Action program for N.Y. public unions

By Ray Markey

NEW YORK—There is a crisis in New York, an emergency that demands the attention of every union member in this city.

Our problem is not how Mayor Abraham Beame can get more loans, or whether the state legislature in Albany will pass his new tax package, or what secret deals he can make to "save" the city budget in a way that satisfies the bankers.

Ray Markey is a member of AFSCME Local 1930 and a delegate to the District Council 37 delegate assembly.

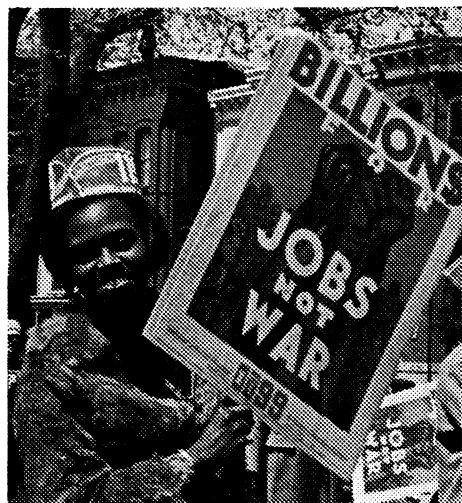
No, the emergency for working people is this: how to stop the wealthy rulers of this city from driving down the living standards of all of us by slashing wages and wiping out vital social services.

That is their avowed aim. City hall is pressing ahead with layoffs and drastic cutbacks to balance the budget on the backs of working people.

### What is at stake

The jobs and wages of city workers are on the line—that's obvious.

So are the futures of thousands of young people who will be denied a decent education in the city's public schools and universities, and with it any hope for a better life.



Militant/Flax Hermes

April 26 mobilization for jobs in Washington, D.C., showed willingness of workers to take action.

So are the well-being and the very lives of the sick who must depend on public health care.

So are the incomes of working women who will be forced to quit their jobs as public day-care facilities are closed down.

All these people and more have a stake in fighting together with the municipal unions against any cutbacks or layoffs.

But "divide and conquer" is an old tactic, and this is precisely how the city bosses are now seeking to impose their ruthless "austerity plan." They aim to exploit every possible division among their victims—public employees versus workers in private industry, employed versus unemployed, unions versus the communities—in order to pit worker against worker and stymie any resistance to their schemes.

Day after day the mass media churn out propaganda branding city employees as the culprits in the "budget crisis," portraying us as overpaid and underworked, as parasites living it up on the taxes of our fellow workers.

"If they [the unions] had any concern other than bleeding New York for bigger salaries and fringe benefits, the city wouldn't be in its present fix," jeers the union-hating *Daily News* in an editorial entitled "Okay, Abe, swing the ax."

The *New York Times* editors, usually

less crude but no less scurrilous, denounce "arrogant civil service unions" who they claim "turn thumbs down on budget economics essential to the city's survival."

The city's survival? No! The only survivors of Beame's plan will be the banking profiteers.

City hall says there is "no money" to provide services, keep us all on the job, and honor our contracted wage raises. But they have \$2 billion available off the top of city revenues next year for "debt service"—tax-free interest payments to the banks and wealthy bondholders.

This scandalous giveaway to the rich takes up 17 percent of the city budget. It is twice the amount the city pays for the entire public hospital system.

This "debt service" is now listed as the first priority in the city budget. We say it should be last.

"We regard it as profits versus people," said Victor Gotbaum, executive director of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 37, in calling for the June 4 rally on Wall Street. That is precisely the issue.

The *New York Times*, shamelessly turning the victim into the criminal, claims that "38,000 workers . . . will have to walk the plank because of the refusal of their fellows to share the work or to postpone for one year a promised 6 per cent pay raise. By and large, the ousted workers will be the newest hired, many of them black, Puerto Ricans and women."

If they care so much about the plight of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and women, why not declare a moratorium on all interest payments to the banks and to the millionaires who own municipal bonds?

That would more than fill the budget gap for this year and next and avert any layoffs whatsoever.

If there has to be "austerity," then let it fall on those who can afford it—not on city workers making \$8,000 or \$9,000 a year; not on minorities, the poor, the sick, the unemployed, and the elderly.

If the *New York Times* and the banks and corporations it speaks for are so "economy minded," why don't they advocate terminating all war spending right now? Why shouldn't we take the \$100 billion that the government spends each year for instruments of death and destruction and divert it to meet the burning needs of the people of New York and other cities around the country.

### A social movement

The threatened cutbacks and layoffs are more than just a bread-and-butter issue for the municipal unions—they are a social crisis affecting every working person in New York City.

To stop them will take more than just routine union methods of collective bargaining—it will take a social movement that can involve all the victims of Beame's "austerity plan."

The forces potentially on our side include the overwhelming majority of people in New York City:

- other unions, especially those like the hospital workers and distributive workers (District 65) with a tradition of involvement in struggles for social justice;
- organizations of Black and Puerto Rican workers, such as Fight Back in Harlem and Black Economic Survival in Brooklyn;
- community groups from the ghettos, where the reductions in city services are hitting the hardest;
- the Chinese groups that have recently staged big demonstrations

against police brutality and racist discrimination;

- college and high school students, who have already taken to the streets to protest cutbacks;

- parents groups like those in Community School District One who are fighting for better schools, bilingual programs, and a voice in their children's education;

- unemployed youth, tenants, welfare recipients—in short, everyone who agrees with us that human needs should be put before the profits of the banks.

A public appeal to all these forces to join the June 4 rally would strengthen it both by swelling its numbers and by making it broadly representative of the working people of this city. The protests that have already occurred in this city, as well as the inspiring mobilization for jobs on April 26 in Washington, D.C., are signs of what is possible.

### Beyond June 4

We should be looking beyond June 4 to what other action we can take to stop the layoffs.

I believe serious consideration should be given to organizing a city-wide conference of all the groups affected by the cutbacks. The purpose would be to discuss our mutual problems and goals and begin to forge an alliance for common action.

Urgently needed is a vast educational effort to counter the lies in the mass media, to explain that there is a realistic alternative to layoffs, and to put forward our proposals. A broad, united conference of the labor movement and our allies among all the oppressed could begin this process.

It could authoritatively call for a gigantic, united demonstration by the working people of New York to save and improve the quality of life in our city—a mass demonstration that would tap the immense reservoirs of anger against the cutbacks and bring hundreds of thousands of people into the streets.

That is the kind of action that will be required to stop Beame's plans.

Participation in the June 4 rally will



American Teacher

Students and teachers protest cutbacks in city university system.

necessarily be somewhat limited by the midweek date and the short notice on which it was called. And as we saw on April 26, a mass march can be far more successful as a show of force and militancy than a rally alone.

### Powerless?

The city's bosses try to drum into our heads the notion that we are powerless. Here's how the *New York Times* put it in a May 22 "news analysis:"

"The union's stance is to protest loudly while knowing they cannot stop layoffs should they be imposed. . . . The position of the unions is essentially passive in the face of city action. Under the budgetary exigencies, they can do little else."

This is poison, intended to sap our will and undermine our determination to fight for what is just.

We do face powerful enemies: the banks, stockbrokers, slumlords, and corporation executives. They have the money, the mass media, and the bought-and-sold politicians in city hall, Albany, and Washington.

Our strength lies in our numbers and in our strategic position as the people who keep this city running.

We all remember what happened to this city when the bridge operators, in conjunction with a strike by District Council 37, exercised their right to withhold their labor. We remember how powerful strikes by the transit workers in 1966 and the sanitation workers in 1968 proved that the city cannot ride roughshod over their just demands.

The stakes today are even higher.

Fragmented, we can only lose.

Together, we have the power to truly "save New York City"—not for the banks, but for the working people.



City spends twice as much on interest payments to the rich as on entire hospital system.



## June 4 N.Y. labor rally

# 'Protest banks profiting off city's misery'

By Andy Rose

NEW YORK, May 28—"On June 4th we say, 'Enough! We've given up enough, we want someone else to start giving now!' Be sure you're there! *It's our biggest priority today.*"

That is the conclusion of a leaflet issued by District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, calling for participation in a rally against layoffs of city workers and cutbacks in city services.

The rally will be held outside the First National City Bank offices at 111 Wall Street on Wednesday, June 4, beginning at noon.

"Let's have a tremendous, unified, citywide show of strength—from all our unions at the June 4th rally," the leaflet urges.

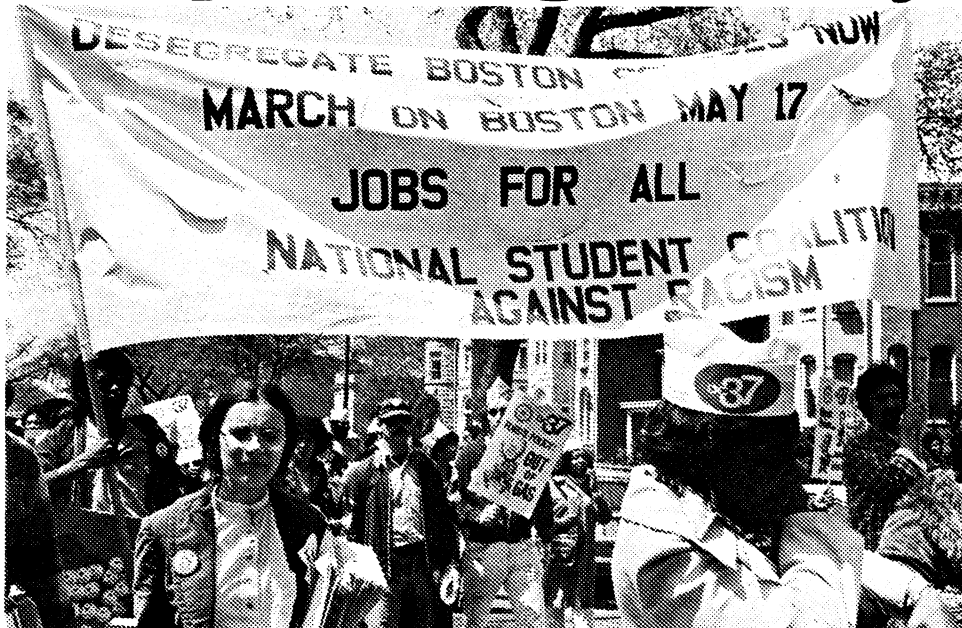
The action is sponsored by the Municipal Labor Committee, a coalition of city unions that includes District Council 37, Teamsters, Communications Workers, Sanitationmen, Uniformed Firefighters, and others.

"The bankers are trying to put the burden of this crisis on the backs of workers," says District Council 37 Executive Director Victor Gotbaum. The rally will protest the fact that the banks, which collect millions of dollars in interest on city bonds, "are profiting off the city's misery."

"This union," Gotbaum states, "cannot and will not tolerate a policy where the Rockefellers and the banks extort their pounds of flesh from city workers. We will resist layoffs with all our might."

The Wall Street protest is seen as a follow-up to the April 26 demonstration for jobs held in Washington, D.C., which drew some 60,000 workers, about half of them from New York City.

The unions have placed advertisements in the *New York Times* and



National Student Coalition Against Racism banner at April 26 jobs demonstration in Washington, D.C. NSCAR is mobilizing students for June 4 protest in New York.

*Daily News* explaining the purpose of the rally and pointing to the swollen profits of the banks. Spot announcements on radio are also planned.

Support for the rally has also come from the New York Student Coalition Against Racism, which is distributing a leaflet "urging high school students, college students and unemployed youth to turn out in massive numbers for the June 4 demonstration."

The student coalition leaflet states: "Already over 250,000 Black and Puerto Rican Youth cannot find summer jobs. And what will happen upon high school graduation? Jobs will be more and more difficult to find especially for Black and Puerto Rican Youth and with the elimination of the SEEK Program and open admissions the City Colleges will also be closed to us."

"We must stop Mayor Beame and the

banks from implementing these racist cuts by demonstrating on June 4.

"The Student Coalition says: No to racist cutbacks and layoffs. Not one penny to the bankers at the expense of Black and Puerto Rican Youth."

The student coalition is distributing this leaflet at early morning rallies outside high schools, at the City College SEEK dormitory, and at Harlem Youth Corps and other centers where young people apply for summer jobs.

Meanwhile, frantic negotiations continue behind closed doors between Mayor Abraham Beame, state legislators, federal officials, and the top bankers, with a May 29 deadline (already postponed three times) for unveiling the city's 1975-76 budget.

The main elements of the "budget crisis" are as follows.

Beame has already announced cut-

backs that include firing some 14,000 city workers; closing schools, hospitals, and libraries; and reducing garbage collection and other services.

After these cuts, he says the budget is still \$641 million in the red. If new taxes and state aid are not approved to close this gap, Beame says 38,000 more employees will have to be laid off.

Beame was turned down by city unions when he proposed they accept wage cuts to make up the deficit.

On top of that, the city is about \$1 billion short of cash to meet expenses between now and June 30. *Most of this money is needed to pay off the banks for earlier high-interest loans.*

So far the banks have refused to provide new loans, and state and federal officials have refused to provide either loans or the new aid requested—until Beame makes still more cuts in the budget.

On May 23, Beame ordered plans drawn up for still another \$341 million in cutbacks.

The delegate assembly of District Council 37 met on May 27 and discussed plans for the June 4 rally and the union's response to the new threats.

Delegates unanimously approved a resolution rejecting any further infringement of contract terms as a way of balancing the city budget. Gotbaum explained that the union had made such concessions earlier in the year, but found they only whetted the city administration's appetite to demand more.

When asked if District Council 37 would still uphold its earlier policy that no layoffs were acceptable either, Gotbaum insisted that was the case.

If the union stands firm on these positions, a major confrontation between the unions and city hall seems unavoidable in the weeks ahead.

## The socialist solution to cutbacks, layoffs

The following statement on the New York City "budget crisis" was issued May 28 by Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president in 1976.

The Socialist Workers party believes that every person has the right to a job, an adequate income, a secure retirement, and such essential social services as education and medical care.

The wave of cutbacks and layoffs in New York and other cities is part of an all-out assault against these basic human rights, an attempt to roll back even the modest level of services now available.

The Socialist Workers party is completely opposed to any cutbacks, any layoffs, or any reductions in wages and benefits of public employees.

We wholeheartedly support the June 4 rally on Wall Street called by New York municipal unions to protest the banks' demands that the working people of New York pay for the city's budget crisis.

Our supporters are helping to mobilize support for this and other anticut-back demonstrations in their unions, on the campuses, and in the communities. We believe that only such independent actions by working people can stop the assault on our standard of living.

To resolve the present crisis of inflation, unemployment, and cutbacks, the Socialist Workers party is

campaigning for the following measures:

1) **Halt all U.S. military spending.** Both the White House and Congress refuse to provide the massive financial aid needed in New York and other cities, but they pour out \$100 billion a year for the Pentagon.

The worldwide military apparatus of the United States has no other purpose than to police the world for U.S. corporate interests—spying, subversion, counterrevolutionary wars like in Vietnam, and propping up client dictatorships from Spain to South Korea.

*These mammoth expenditures for war—not "unreasonable expectations" by working people—are the primary cause of inflation and of the crushing burden of taxation.*

The social waste represented by the war budget is so vast it almost defies comprehension. A few comparisons will illustrate what this society's resources are being used for:

The \$840 million approved May 20 by the House of Representatives for partial research and development costs of the B-1 bomber would more than cover the New York budget deficit for next year.

The price tag for just one C-5A transport plane at \$62 million would about match this year's cut in the City University of New York budget.

The initial construction funds for a Trident submarine (\$560 million) would pay the entire CUNY budget for almost a year.

2) **Halt all government interest**

payments to the rich. "Debt service" takes up \$37 billion in the federal budget and \$2 billion in the New York City budget. There should be a complete moratorium on these payments so long as the needs of the poor are unmet.

These two steps alone would provide plenty of funds to create useful jobs and vastly increase social services.

3) **Launch a massive, emergency public works program to provide millions of jobs.** These should not be degrading make-work schemes, but useful projects to meet society's needs: building low-cost housing, more and better schools, child-care centers, medical facilities, and efficient public transportation, and cleaning up polluted

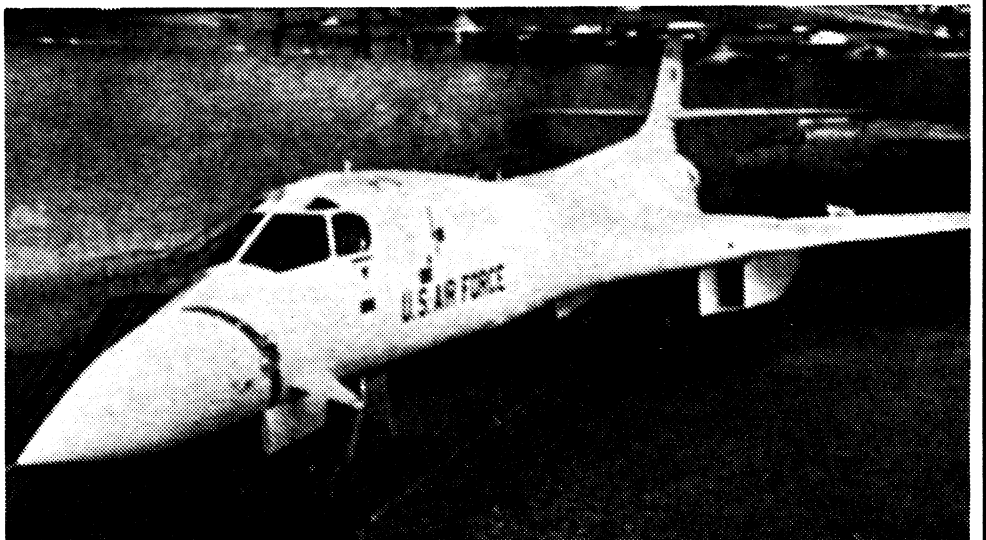
lands and waterways.

Top priority should be given to rebuilding the ravaged ghettos and constructing needed facilities in the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese communities, with all funds and programs controlled by those communities.

All jobs should be at union-scale wages, not the starvation minimum now paid for public service positions.

4) **Shorten the workweek with no cut in pay.** When the corporations say there is not enough work for everyone, that which is available should be spread out among all who need jobs. But this must not be done—like present "four-day-week"

*Continued on page 30*



Money spent this year by federal government for B-1 bomber alone would more than cover New York's deficit.

# N.Y.: front line of nationwide assault on public workers, social services

By Dick Roberts

A concerted effort is being made by the capitalist media and politicians to blame the high costs of New York municipal services on the working people of this city. Residents, they say, expect "too much" from the city government, and the municipal workers get paid too well and work too little.

But the financial crisis in New York is taking place while the United States is in its most deepgoing economic slump since the Great Depression.

In reality, the enormous financial problems of the city are a direct result of the national and international economic crisis.

They are also problems facing working people and minorities in all the major cities in the United States, problems rooted in the contradictions of the capitalist economic system and in the racist character of American society.

## World crisis

In the most immediate terms, New York is faced with a sharp decrease of tax payments relative to mounting expenses and debts that it must repay. *The sharp fall off of tax payments in the last few months is a direct result of the decline in the American economy.*

In fact, world capitalism is in its sharpest downturn since the 1930s. A May 21 report by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, comprising the twenty-four major capitalist nations, finds that world capitalist output will show

which it must repay the debts. New York is caught in a dizzying upward spiral of interest rates on municipal bonds. But this is the center of a national storm.

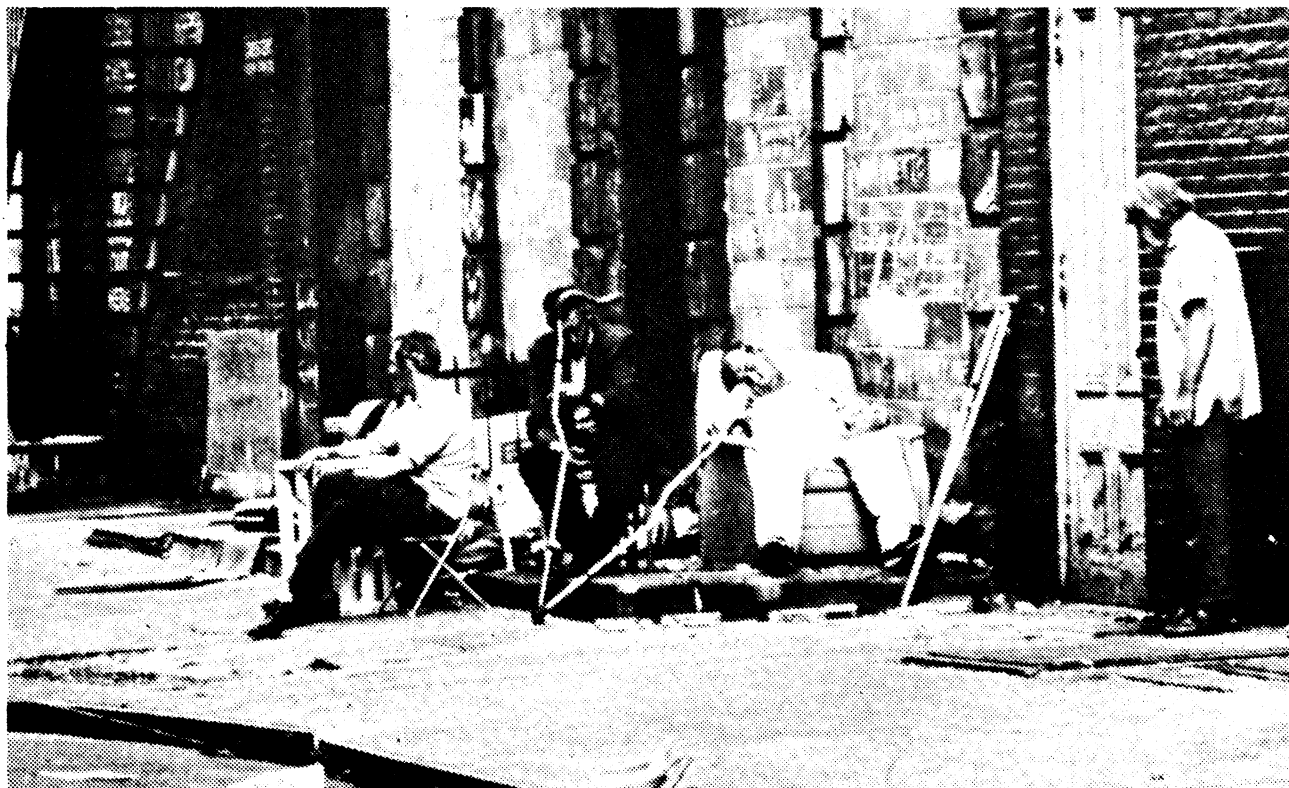
## 'New Economic Policy'

The current world economic crisis did not catch the rulers of this country by surprise. To a large extent, in fact, it is a consequence of the deliberate intensification of world trade and financial warfare by the American multinational monopolies since the late 1960s.

The main outlines of this offensive became clear in 1971 when Richard Nixon announced the "New Economic Policy." NEP represents not only an escalated drive by U.S. monopolies to capture world markets. *It is also an escalated attack on the American working class.*

The main intent of the owners of U.S. industry is to build a trade-war machine. They want to further retard American wage increases in comparison to those of foreign workers and to "trim" the labor force on the job so that production can be sped up and productivity increased. Their purpose is to improve their competitive position on the world market in relation to their capitalist rivals in Europe and Japan.

One aspect of their master plan now being implemented in New York is cutting back college education and increasing the student population in trade schools. Peter Peterson, Nixon's top economic adviser in 1971, spelled this out:



Capitalist rulers exclude any prospect of meaningful economic advancement for ravaged central cities

a decline of 3 percent in the first half of 1975, the biggest decline ever recorded by the organization, which was set up in 1948.

New York Times correspondent Clyde Farnsworth wrote from Paris that "industrial production in the O.E.C.D.'s five largest countries—the United States, West Germany, Japan, France and Italy—would show a drop of 10 to 20 per cent, with unemployment doubled to 14 million."

Declining production means greater joblessness, especially in a city that has a high proportion of oppressed minorities, who are in fact the last hired and first fired.

New York unemployment is two percentage points above the national average. It stands at 11.5 percent, the highest in the city for the post-World War II period. As more and more workers lose jobs, and as corporations are consequently able to sell fewer and fewer goods, personal and corporate incomes decline. Tax payments decline.

The other side of the immediate fiscal crisis is that the expenses of the city are rising because of inflation, the rate of which in New York is among the highest of any U.S. metropolitan center.

But the roots of inflation are in deficit spending by the federal government with its massive, and rising, war budget and in monopoly pricing by U.S. multinational firms.

Inflation drives up both the prices of services that the city must purchase and the interest rates at

"The mis-match of technical skills to opportunities and what might be the current and perhaps continuing excess supply of college graduates is compounded by an apparent shortage of appropriate vocational training in high schools. . . ."

Thus the free tuition and open-admissions policy of the City University of New York, won through struggle by students and the Black and Puerto Rican communities, is viewed by the ruling class as a wasteful frill that must be cut back.

Beame's attacks on the SEEK (Search for Education, Elevation and Knowledge) program, for example, which provides special help to college students from poverty backgrounds, is part of this offensive.

## Cities in crisis

The assault against American labor takes place within the context of the crisis facing the ghettos and barrios in cities across the country. Here it is useful to recall the conclusions drawn by America's rulers following the 1966-68 Black ghetto uprisings. These were spelled out in the 1968 *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, headed by Illinois Governor Otto Kerner (who subsequently landed in jail for taking graft in a racetrack scheme).

The important thing about Kerner's report was that it virtually excluded any prospect of meaning-

ful economic advancement for ghettos or their residents. "... the decay of the central city continues—its revenue base eroded by the retreat of industry and white middle-class families to the suburbs, its budget and tax rate inflated by rising costs and increasing numbers of dependent citizens and its public plant, schools, hospitals and correctional institutions deteriorated by age and long deferred maintenance," the Kerner commission stated.

Since this process could not be easily reversed, the commission advocated electing Black city officials, especially mayors, to cool the situation. "As leader and mediator, [the mayor] must involve all those groups—employers, news media, unions, financial institutions and others—which only together can bridge the chasm now separating the racial ghetto from the community," Kerner's report declared.

And so the ruling class put forth Black Democratic party mayors—in Cleveland, Gary, Newark, Los Angeles, Detroit. *But since 1968, all of the conditions the ghettos rose up against—deteriorating housing, racist and unequal education, inadequate health care, rotten mass transit, few and lousy jobs—have worsened.*

The 1974-75 downturn finds whole sections of cities (New York's South Bronx, the north and east sides of St. Louis, and the east side of Detroit are some examples) that are literally wastelands. Unemployment levels reach to 50 and 60 percent.

In every case, not only New York, the city halls respond to the crisis in the same way, by slashing services and firing workers. Eileen Shanahan gives some examples in the May 26 *New York Times*:

- Cleveland—1,120 city workers laid off, 10 percent of the total.
- Milwaukee—The city's director of the budget predicts "massive layoffs" of municipal workers next year.
- Detroit—"Some 1,980 workers, 10 per cent of the city payroll, will have been laid off between February and the end of the fiscal year, June 30. In addition, the city is trying to cut its payrolls by another 1,200 by not filling vacancies." This is Black Democratic Mayor Coleman Young's territory.
- Buffalo—layoffs totaling 16 percent of the payroll have been made during the last four years.
- Boston—The city has reduced payrolls by 10 percent during the last two years.

## Test case

One of the things that distinguishes New York from this list is that so far the percentage of layoffs is considerably less—as of May 26, one-half of 1 percent. This fact is a clue to why New York is so pivotal in the ruling-class drive against workers: New York is a stronghold for public-employee unions, which have made pace-setting gains in wages and benefits.

In 1966, the city transit workers tied up the subways in a strike that helped to break the national "wage-price guidelines" of the Johnson administration.

In 1970, New York postal workers brought the vital mail of U.S. corporate headquarters to a halt. Nixon ordered in the National Guard.

Gains have been won by New York workers over the decades that go beyond most other American cities. There is a free university system. Hospital care, although woefully inadequate, is available to the poor. There is some public assistance available to the hundreds of thousands who need it.

It is these social necessities that the ruling class wants to strike down. Drastically reducing the social welfare system that is more advanced than in many other places would set back the working-class struggle everywhere.

And defeating the New York public unions would weaken and demoralize public-workers unions everywhere.

The monopolists want to soften up the workers of New York to bolster the world profit drive of their monopolies, right in the international headquarters of finance capital.

That is their game.

It gives plenty of good reasons why the municipal workers of this city and all their allies should plunge ahead in the struggle against Beame's cutbacks and against the bipartisan forces of capitalist rule Beame is fronting for.



## A bad omen

# Freedom of the press attacked in Portugal

The following article is from the News Analysis section of Inter-continental Press.

The government of the Armed Forces Movement took a major step toward "institutionalizing" a populist military dictatorship May 20 when it took advantage of a Communist party power grab to silence *República*, the Lisbon daily most closely linked to the Socialist party leadership.

The paper had been a center of conflict between the two reformist parties for some time. The Communist party-controlled printers union refused to print two articles in the May 2 edition criticizing the CP-dominated union federation Intersindical for trying to exclude the SP from participating on an equal footing with followers of the Stalinists in the May Day demonstration.

On May 19, the printers union ousted the editor, Raul Rego, an SP minister in the first provisional government. The new editors published a statement saying: "We reject partisan deviations." Rego refused to leave his office, and a Socialist party mass demonstration surrounded the building. The government then ordered the paper shut down and sent troops to evacuate the premises. Clashes occurred be-

*A challenge to freedom of the press, similar to the current one in Portugal, occurred in Mexico in 1938. For an article by Leon Trotsky on that situation see the International Socialist Review, our monthly magazine supplement, in this issue.*

tween the military and the SP demonstrators, in which the troops fired into the air.

It is not yet clear what provoked this move by the CP-controlled union. *Le Monde's* correspondent mentioned the coverage given May 16 to the return of an AOC (Aliança Operária Camponesa—Workers and Peasants Alliance) delegation from China. The CP has said on several occasions that it regards this Maoist group allied with the SP as "counterrevolutionary." AOC was one of the groups banned by the military government from participating in the Constituent Assembly elections.

The other Lisbon daily identified with the SP, *Jornal Novo*, published an article in late April claiming that Peking had recognized AOC as the official Maoists because of their alliance with the SP. The author claimed that the Chinese leaders realized that the SP was the only effective alternative to the pro-Moscow party.

The *New York Times* editors said that the move against *República* came "after Mr. Rego had published a secret Communist party document that urged the military to carry out yet another



Lisbon postal workers discuss issues in strike last year. Attack on freedom of press is a blow against right of working class as a whole to freely hear and discuss political ideas.

purge of Socialist employees in the state radio and television system."

The information media were singled out as one of the three areas for an offensive by the SP after its April 25 electoral victory. In the period since the fall of the old regime, the CP has used its apparatus plus its privileged position as the military's most reliable political agent to win overwhelming predominance in the press and broadcasting.

Furthermore, the CP has used its influence in the mass media in a crude and arbitrary way. Popular resentment against tendentious Stalinist reporting has been on the rise for some time. The Portuguese people remember too well what a "directed press" sounds like.

### CP & SP compete

In his news conference May 5, following the May Day clashes between the CP and the SP, Socialist party leader Mário Soares told reporters that his party intended to cut "minority" forces down to size in the press; the unions; and in the local government bodies, where the Movimento Democrático Português, the CP democratic front for the "progressive petty bourgeoisie," has gained many positions.

Of these three areas, the unions were obviously the most important and potentially the most explosive. It is in this field that CP dominance is the strongest and it is here also that the CP has proved most useful to the military government. It has not hesitated to denounce strikers as "provocateurs" and "agents of fascism," and even to mobilize its members to break strikes in order to defend the government's economic policy.

On the other hand, the Socialist party obviously cannot make good its claim to be the best political transmission belt for the government unless it can win a strong organized base in the unions. In Portuguese conditions, a purely electoral party is at a great disadvantage. The Socialist party demonstrations May 2 were designed to show that the SP was not a normal Social Democratic party but a "mass party" able to mobilize tens of thousands of persons in the streets. Even such limited shows of force, however, can quickly get out of hand, as the confrontation at the *República* offices has again shown.

It was obvious after the May Day clashes that the Intersindical congress scheduled for the end of May would entail a major confrontation between the two reformist workers parties. The

SP offensive in the mass media is also linked to an offensive in the journalists union. It was equally obvious that the CP intended to preserve its bureaucratic positions in the unions at all cost. This was what led the Stalinists to provoke a sectarian clash with the SP in the May Day demonstration.

The Stalinist Intersindical leaders apparently feared that the SP contingents would take the occasion to protest the military government's confirmation of Stalinists in posts seized by them in the union movement.

Of the pro-Moscow Stalinist parties, the Portuguese CP has earned a reputation as the most dogmatic in Western Europe. It is the only one on the continent other than the "exterior" Greek CP that has driven out the liberal wing that exists in most of the others. The tens of thousands of new recruits that have flooded into the party since April 25, 1974, have been trained in a "tough" sectarian spirit reminiscent of the Stalinist parties in their ultraleft "third period."

However, material factors also promote sectarianism on the part of much of the CP membership. Since April 1974 the CP has been virtually the government party. As the only apparatus for mass organization, it has offered a path to advancement for thousands of new members in many areas of the society. Obviously they would react violently against any force that threatened such perspectives, even without specific directives from the party leadership.

### Resentment against CP

At the same time, because of the role it has played as the main political instrument of the military government, the CP has tended to become the focus of resentment among widening sections of the population. Its unprincipled policy of class collaboration and subordination to the bourgeois military regime has put it in the position of taking responsibility for repression, censorship, and austerity, without holding the real power in the society. Its subordination to the government and its goal of serving as the privileged political partner of the regime has led it to split the working class and drive the SP ranks, infuriated by Stalinist methods, toward the right.

These tactics have also enabled the voice of U.S. imperialism, the *New York Times*, to present the conflict as one between an "anti-Communist majority" and a Communist "minority" imposing its control by intrigue and infiltration. The *Times*, of course, is

preparing a democratic cover for intervention.

Even more dangerous is the possibility that the Stalinist tactics will provoke sections of the workers and poor masses to draw anti-Communist conclusions and thus promote the development of a mass base for counterrevolution.

In the most favorable of possibilities, the Communist party is still working for an ungrateful master. While the CP has been encouraged to take a hard line against the SP by the tacit support of the military government, the generals themselves have been using this conflict to discredit political democracy in general and to win acceptance for a paternalistic military regime that would "stand above parties."

The Communist party itself seems finally to have recognized this danger. In a speech published May 19, CP General Secretary Alvaro Cunhal warned the military that it would be "a grave error" to condemn political parties as such.

### Military tightens grip

In fact, the crisis coincided with an assembly of the Armed Forces Movement where key leaders advocated setting up transmission belts directly subordinate to the military. Both the officers and the imperialist press had an interest in presenting this as a "soviet" structure. For the imperialists this is another argument for intervention if the mass movement "goes too far." For the military it provides a demagogic left cover for consolidating the kind of mass apparatus necessary to enforce the "labor discipline" Portuguese capitalism needs to weather the world economic crisis.

For its purposes, the military can also exploit the neoanarchist propaganda of the CP's ultraleft satellites, which have made a fetish of "grass roots organization" abstracted from political democracy and general political solutions. The prime example is the centrist Movimento da Esquerda Socialista (MES—Movement of the Socialist Left), which has combined promoting "organs of direct democracy" with support for the populist military junta.

Trust in military "saviors" is common to all opportunist currents in Portugal. The correct road is, among other things, to consistently defend democracy, including freedom of the press. This is one of the key requisites in struggling for the political independence and unity of the workers and poor masses.



Portuguese Stalinist leader Alvaro Cunhal. Military regime is using Communist party to help restrict democratic rights of working class.



## Explosive situation

# Palestinians face new attacks in Lebanon

By David Frankel

For the second time in less than two months, major fighting has broken out inside Lebanon. The current clashes are a continuation of fighting that began April 13 when a busload of Palestinians returning from a political rally was ambushed by members of the right-wing Phalangist party.

As many as 300 people were killed before the April battles between right-wing Christian and left-wing Moslem groups finally ended. In the latest fighting about 50 have been killed so far.

The Phalangist party has long demanded the suppression of the Palestinian movement in Lebanon, which it sees as a dangerous left-wing influence. The Phalangist militia has provoked frequent clashes with the Palestinians, hoping to touch off intervention by the army and the crushing of the guerrilla groups along the lines of the massacre carried out in September 1970 by Jordan's King Hussein.

The Lebanese bourgeoisie, however, knows that such an assault would almost certainly provoke an all-out civil war, the outcome of which would be far from certain. The Palestinians alone number some 300,000 in a population of less than three million. They are concentrated in big refugee camps and organized in their own militia formations.

Furthermore, the Palestinians are strongly supported by the majority of the Lebanese people. During the April fighting, trade unions favoring the Palestinians carried out general strikes in Tripoli and Sidon.

The Palestinian struggle against Israeli oppression has combined with long-standing grievances within Lebanon to form an explosive situation.

Just as the British Empire tried to



U.S. troops invading Lebanon in 1958. Will Washington give a repeat performance?

play off Jews against Arabs in order to maintain its control of Palestine, the French did the same with Christians and Arabs in Lebanon. Proportional representation of religious groups in government, reflecting the communal conflicts encouraged by the imperialists, was written into law.

The religious divisions also reflect political and class differences. The poor peasants and workers, and the impoverished Palestinian refugees, are mostly Moslems. The urban middle class and the section of the population engaged in commerce is mainly Christian.

This division was reflected in a statement by one Palestinian quoted by Juan de Onis in the April 18 *New York Times*. The Palestinian said, "They can kill our people and rocket

our refugee camps. But if they want a showdown we can destroy their property—which is what hurts the Phalangists the most."

The fragility of the communal and class relations currently existing in Lebanon can be seen by the fact that the taking of a census would provoke a major political crisis—perhaps even civil war. The last census, taken in 1934, put the population at roughly half Moslem and half Christian. The governmental posts are apportioned on the basis of that census, although by now Lebanon is 60 percent Moslem.

It is clearly only a matter of time until this system breaks down. What will happen when it does?

The last time, following the Iraqi revolution in 1958, President Eisenhower ordered 5,000 marines backed up

by nuclear weapons into Beirut.

Since then Israel has repeatedly made clear that it believes it holds the decisive vote on what regime shall rule in either Jordan or Lebanon.

But it is precisely American imperialism and its Israeli junior partner that are the primary cause of the problems that we are seeing in Lebanon. It was the U.S. invasion in 1958 that preserved a system that can only be kept going with the help of new foreign interventions. And it was the Israeli victory in 1967 that gave rise to the very Palestinian radicalization that is prompting new threats of Zionist aggression.

The danger that the fighting in Lebanon will escalate is real, and if it does it may well prove the first act of a general Middle East war.

## Party Building Fund

# Socialist fund makes right-wingers burn

By Barry Sheppard

The first checks are beginning to come into the Party Building Fund, as the scoreboard below indicates. This fund has been launched by the Socialist Workers party to provide a way for you to put your tax rebate to work for socialism.

This special fund will help build the SWP and aid its work in all areas of the class struggle. For socialists, nothing could be more important.

*Barry Sheppard is the national organization secretary of the Socialist Workers party.*

The fund is a one-shot operation, and for it to work, supporters have to send in their rebate or that part of their rebate they can afford as soon as they get the check in the mail. Branches of the Socialist Workers party who are collecting the rebates in their cities should make sure that all supporters who have made pledges to the fund understand this.

Every contribution counts and every one helps. While some can give the full amount of their rebate, others can send a few dollars. M.B. from Tacoma, Washington, sent in five dollars, with a note, "I'm sorry, this is all I can afford, but use it, give them hell!"

A retired supporter from Friars Point, Mississippi writes, "I am sending you \$2 donation for the fight for citizen privacy against the FBI." Like many others who have sent in smaller donations, he does not get a rebate but

wanted to participate anyway, and that is the kind of spirit required to make a campaign like this a success.

Two European supporters who have been living in the United States but are scheduled to go back, sent in \$100, with a note, "You do a good job."

Another sent in a dollar with the explanation, "Each according to his abilities." All these pledges add up, and it looks like we'll hit in the vicinity of \$40,000 by pulling all our efforts together.

Since we announced this fund in the *Militant* some weeks ago, other groups thought we had hit on a good idea. A *Militant* reader sent us a form letter sent out by Fred Schwarz, leader of the "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade."

This letter, designed to raise funds for this extreme right-wing outfit, begins, "Dear Friend, PUT YOUR TAX REBATE TO WORK FOR SOCIALISM. This is the caption of an article in the *MILITANT* of April 18. It appeals to supporters of the Trotskyist Communists to donate all or part of their tax rebate to the Socialist Workers Party. Of course, the 'socialism' to which they refer is that enforced by communist dictatorship and characterized by war, dictatorship, monopoly, slavery, classism, classicide, cannibalism, imperialism, atheism, materialism, spiritual infanticide, and idolatry."

He signs off, "With Christian love," after appealing to his supporters to turn their rebates in to him, because, "The day of decision is drawing near

in Saigon and in Washington, D.C. Your response will help determine what that decision will be." Obviously, he wrote this before the Vietnamese succeeded in finally kicking out Washington and its puppets, and it doesn't appear that his appeal had much impact on the process.

In looking over his indictment of the SWP, a number of things occurred to me. I was a bit puzzled by the charges of "idolatry," coming as they do just after those of "atheism" and "materialism."

"Spiritual infanticide" I find confusing. Perhaps he is alluding to the SWP's well-known position in favor of the right of women to control their own bodies, including the right to abortion. "Cannibalism." Maybe the good Mr. Schwarz got mixed up here. SWP leader Evelyn Reed has recently published a book, *Woman's Evolution*, which does take up cannibalism, but from the point of view that the suppression of cannibalism was a milestone in the development of humanity.

Or maybe he garbled reports from Cambodia, where there *was* cannibalism during the last days of the war—but on the part of Lon Nol's soldiers, Schwarz's side. So starved were these soldiers because their "leaders" were hoarding the grain the United States was flying in that they would eat revolutionary soldiers they killed.

Some ate one of their commanders who had refused to feed them for weeks.

"War, dictatorship, monopoly, slav-

ery, imperialism"—sounds more like an indictment of capitalism than of the SWP.

"Classism, classicide." It is capitalism that is a class-divided society. We didn't do it, we just found it that way. In fact, we don't think this is the best way to organize society. If by "classicide" Schwarz means the creation of a new society free of classes and class antagonism, we plead guilty.

## Scoreboard

Area	Pledged	Collected
Atlanta	\$3,000	\$135.00
Boston	1,865	
Brooklyn	3,700	100.00
Chicago	2,500	
Cleveland	2,000	
Denver	715	
Detroit	200	
Houston	2,100	869.75
L.A. (Central-East)	1,385	373.80
L.A. (West Side)	3,000	
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	5,000	1,250.20
Milwaukee	820	
Oakland/Berkeley	2,500	
Philadelphia	1,000	
Pittsburgh	900	
Portland, Ore.	730	50.00
St. Louis	1,200	
San Diego	425	
San Francisco	1,400	
Twin Cities	1,500	
Upper West Side, N.Y.	3,000	111.50
Washington, D.C.	2,200	
General		750.75
Totals	41,140	3,641.00

## 'U.S. out of Mideast'

# Rallies mark week of solidarity with Palestine

By Ike Nahem

NEW YORK—May 15 is traditionally marked by Arab communities as the anniversary of the seizure of Palestinian land and the establishment of the Israeli state in 1948. This year the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) called for an international week of solidarity with Palestine around this date.

In New York City a May 15 rally of 300 at Columbia University was followed by a demonstration of 800 on May 18 at the United Nations. The actions focused on the demands of self-determination for Palestine and freedom for political prisoners in Israeli and Jordanian jails.

Jim Zeghbui, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania, gave a well-documented account of repression in Israel to the Columbia meeting. He described the plight of some 14,000 political prisoners in Israeli jails and the destruction of more than 19,000 Palestinian homes in the territories occupied by Israel after the 1967 Mideast war. Zeghbui concluded with a statement of solidarity with Prof. Israel Shahak, who is under attack for his defense of human rights inside Israel.

Representatives of the Union of

Vietnamese Students and the Group of Khmer Residents in the U.S. were greeted with standing ovations. Another high point in the rally was the appearance of Ricardo Alarcón, the Cuban ambassador to the United Nations.

Alarcón stated: "Today the Palestinian people are not isolated and will not be again. In 1975 it is not the Palestinian people but the Zionist state that is isolated. It is not the struggles of the oppressed that are declining but the imperialist system itself, witnessed by the heroic victory in Vietnam."

The final speaker was Saadat Hassan, the permanent observer of the PLO to the United Nations. He reaffirmed the PLO's goal of a democratic, secular Palestine to replace Israel, saying: "We pledge to the young Israelis and Jews who are questioning and breaking with the racist ideology of Zionism that together with you we will march toward our goal."

The May 18 demonstration included a spirited march to the Israeli embassy to the UN, followed by a rally at Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza. Chants in Arabic and English were continually picked up by the entire crowd. Among the most popular were, "Vietnam, Palestine; one struggle, many fronts!" "U.S.



Militant/Ike Nahem

May 18 march to Israeli embassy in New York City. Protesters demanded self-determination for Palestine and freedom for Palestinian political prisoners.



Militant/Ike Nahem

Socialist Workers party supported Palestine solidarity week activities

out of the Middle East!" "Palestine is Arab!" and "Palestine yes, Israel no!"

Some of the many signs and banners read, "Israel Out of Arab Land," "Free Palestinian Political Prisoners in Israeli, Jordanian and Syrian Jails," and "End U.S. Aid to Israel."

At the rally representatives of various groups read messages of solidarity. The action was initiated by the Palestine Information Committee and endorsed by many other organizations, including the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance.

SAN FRANCISCO—Two hundred people marched down Market Street from the Embarcadero Plaza to the Federal Building here May 17 in support of Palestinian self-determination.

Wafa Darwaza, director of the "Voice of Palestine" radio program, was the main speaker at the action. Taking note of the victory in Vietnam, he said: "The day will come when the Zionists and the imperialists will find themselves in complete isolation in the Middle East, as they did in Southeast Asia."

The demonstration was called by the May 17 Committee, a coalition of all Arab student groups in the area and some American political groups.

The May 17 action was preceded by meetings on three Northern California campuses during the week of May 5-10 at which Peter Buch spoke. Buch, a member of the Socialist Workers party and a nationally known authority on the Middle East, spoke to ninety students at California State University at San Francisco, seventy-five at Fresno State, and eighty at City College of San Francisco.

WASHINGTON, D.C.—An overflow audience of 500 heard Dr. Clovis Maksoud of the Arab League at Georgetown University here on May 11. The meeting, which was held in Arabic, was sponsored by the Arab Students Association at Georgetown.

A Palestinian cultural evening at All Souls' Church on May 15 was attended by 250 people. It was initiated by the Middle East Research and Information Project. Greetings were given by a representative of the Socialist Workers party.

## Issue is patient care

# L.A. doctors walk out, demand better conditions

By Walter Lippmann

LOS ANGELES—"This is just the beginning. Believe me, this is just the beginning."

These were the words with which one leader of the doctors' strike at Martin Luther King County Hospital described the aftermath of their action.

The seven-day strike by interns and residents was an unusual and impressive one. Laying their careers on the line, the mainly Black young doctors went out on strike not simply for another few cents an hour but to win changes in the miserably inadequate medical care at this hospital, which was built following the Watts uprising of 1965.

Originally, 1,200 residents and interns at the three Los Angeles County hospitals were slated to walk out May 7. The walkout was averted at the other two hospitals when the members of the Joint Council of Interns and Residents voted to accept a 5 percent increase in patient-care funds and a 5 percent pay increase.

However, doctors and interns at Martin Luther King Hospital voted overwhelmingly to reject the agreement, and 120 of the 130 interns and residents declared a strike. Their key demands focused on urgently needed

improvements in hospital care. Spot-lighting specific demands to correct some of the worst abuses in patient care, the strike won broad community support.

Conducting a militant picket line, the young doctors and interns stood firm in the face of a ruthless strike-breaking effort by the all-white Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors.

By the end of the week's shutdown, thirty-eight of the doctors were declared fired.

Finally, an agreement was reached whereby all the firings were rescinded and it was agreed to establish a public body to investigate conditions at the hospitals, weigh the remedies proposed by the doctors, and bring back recommendations. A problem with this, however, is that the commission appears weighted in favor of the hospital administration responsible for the present disgraceful conditions.

Following the walkouts, the *Militant* interviewed doctors at the hospital. Dr. Karamo Chilombo, a pediatric doctor in training, recounted numerous examples of inadequate patient care that motivated the doctors' action.

Long waiting times are a major problem. Lack of supportive staff, such as messengers, nurses, medical techni-

cians, and clerks has meant that doctors have had to take over many nonmedical tasks, thus reducing the time left for patient care.

Dr. Bettie Cox, a resident in internal medicine, pointed to another aspect of the problem—the frequently callous attitudes of some hospital employees. She said that unnecessary deaths had occurred because some staff refused to provide care, saying they were "on break."

The doctors had demanded an 80-hour (!) workweek. At present they often work 100-120 hours per week. Since the residents and interns provide the primary medical care at the hospital, they point out that they obviously cannot provide their best efforts while being on call for such long periods.

County officials and the commercial press tried to make it appear that the doctors were striking mainly for higher pay. This would not have been unjustified since their countywide bargaining association had accepted a 5 percent wage increase this year while most county workers were getting 7 percent.

Dr. John Flowers, a striking resident, commented, "We will definitely not accept any pay increases until all patient-care problems that are subject

to immediate change have been resolved."

Dr. Chilombo said that the doctors would refuse the 5 percent and would place the money in a special patient-care fund.

The strike was supported by a number of community groups, as well as by nonstriking workers within the hospital. Nurses, technicians, and ward clerks brought food, picketed, and printed materials for the doctors.

Support also came from the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California, NAACP, Urban League, Medical Committee for Human Rights, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, United Farm Workers union, and members of several large county workers unions.

The Charles R. Drew Medical Society, representing Black physicians in Los Angeles, declared their support.

Dr. Chilombo summed up the conclusions many have drawn from the experience: "What we need is a determined struggle in the Black community to continue the fight for quality patient-care and health-care delivery. The community ought to have some decision-making role in the running of the hospital. Until that happens, it will be business as usual around here."



## N.Y. budget politics

Buck-passing is a skill highly developed, through constant practice, by American capitalist politicians. It is getting an extra workout during the New York City "budget crisis."

President Ford's refusal to aid the city displays "a level of arrogance and disregard for New York that rivals the worst days of Richard Nixon and his gang of cutthroats," declares New York Governor Hugh Carey.

"Have they no heart? Have they no understanding of our problems? Must a city riot?"

Mayor Beame waxes no less eloquent: "It's incredible to me that the president of the United States thinks more about the stockholders of Lockheed or Penn Central than the eight million people of our city."

It's a good show, and the audience, if gullible, leaves convinced that it's the Republicans, not the Democrats, who are responsible for the vicious cutbacks in New York City.

But those forces now considering how to fight the cutbacks and layoffs—first and foremost the New York public workers unions—would do well to give this charade a closer scrutiny.

When Beame and Carey went to Washington to seek aid for the city, the unions might ask, *why did they go to Ford?* His antilabor record and reactionary philosophy offered no grounds to expect help.

*Why didn't they go to their Democratic colleagues in Congress?* There the Democrats command a solid majority—"veto-proof," as the preelection appeals termed it. It should be the most pro-labor Congress ever, since 70 percent of the AFL-CIO-backed candidates were elected last fall.

It is Congress that appropriates the money, and they have the power to pass any aid to New York they might choose.

But Congress didn't come up with a penny to maintain social services in New York. They were too busy adopting a \$32 billion weapons appropriation for the Pentagon, up 27 percent from last year.

As for jobs, the *Wall Street Journal* summed up the record recently: "Democrats have largely ignored the exhortations of AFL-CIO President George Meany and others for huge new spending to pull the economy out of the recession. The recommended budget resolution cleared by the House and Senate . . . is strikingly close to the President's current wish."

Carey's record is no better. He has pledged to *veto* any state aid to New York City until an alleged state budget deficit is erased! He just refused to grant a modest 6 percent wage increase for state employees, and he plans state layoffs comparable to those in New York City.

"No wage increases—that seems to be the wave of the future of the liberal Democrats," American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees leader Victor Gotbaum told a May 27 delegate assembly of District Council 37.

Referring to Carey's backstabbing of public employees, Gotbaum added, "Now somebody is going to stand up and say, 'Vic, but we supported him.' So my answer is, maybe we aren't so bad off when we back a loser."

It's a pretty lame answer.

The entire policy of supporting Democratic party politicians is nothing but an obstacle to the struggle against the cutbacks. This struggle *is* a political one, not just economic. To wage it effectively the unions need their own political representatives: working men and women who will be accountable to labor alone, not phony "friends" whose real loyalty is to corporate profits and the profit system.

There is no reason why, in the next municipal elections, the New York unions could not get together and put up working-class candidates on an independent labor ticket. If these candidates put forward a program to meet the needs of working people in New York, including special attention to the plight of the oppressed Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese communities, they would win overwhelming support.

In West Virginia last November two coal miners were elected to local office as independents with full support of the Coal Miners Political Action Committee. Their biggest problem, one of them commented, was convincing other union men and women that they could win.

"They've had it beat into them for so long that the companies have control that they didn't believe we could really do it. But look," he said, "the coal operators don't have any votes. All they have is money, and with some organization we can overcome that."

The same goes double for the bankers on Wall Street.

Under the impact of Democratic betrayals like the New York cutbacks, more and more workers will get the idea that an independent labor party based on the unions is no pipe dream—it's a necessity for survival.

### Learning from history

Last week, a variety of demonstrators descended simultaneously on the California state capitol in Sacramento. In addition to several thousand United Farm Workers demanding passage of a farm labor bill, there were several hundred doctors, nurses, and hospital workers demonstrating on the malpractice insurance issue. Finally, there was a group of railroad workers demonstrating for improved unemployment compensation.

A report in the *Los Angeles Times* commented: "Ironically, the railroad men, the doctors and nurses were representing some of the same people who only a few years ago were sneering at student demonstrators and peace marches."

The reporter quoted a state policeman: "I guess they found out it works."

O.C.

*Los Angeles, California*

### Meaningful news

Please accept my subscription and also my very meager contribution. I believe wholeheartedly in your endeavors. Please continue to print the meaningful news of our world.

R.S.

*Tonawanda, New York*

### Note from Australia

The comrades of the Socialist Workers League here like the new *International Socialist Review* format in the *Militant*. Many previous *ISR* subscribers have taken out *Militant* subs now.

Dave Holmes

*Sydney, Australia*

### Bill Kitt

The May 23 *Militant* ran a tribute to Bill Kitt, who died April 21. Readers might be interested in a personal remembrance of Bill by one of the younger activists he helped recruit to the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers party.

When I knew him in San Diego from 1969 to 1971, Bill was already in his late sixties and his health was starting to falter. But he played a role in almost everything. There is one episode that stands out in my recollection.

When the May 1970 campus antiwar upsurge hit, the San Diego YSA had just a handful of members. It couldn't possibly handle every emergency task in that fast-breaking political situation. So Bill came to campus to help out when the opportunity arose.

One evening there was a meeting to plan a march through downtown San Diego the next day. The ultralefts and the reformists were calling for a march route that ended up in the courtyard of the city administration building, where few demonstrators could fit, a rally would be difficult to hold, and a confrontation with the police could easily develop.

Bill stood up in one of the back rows of the outdoor amphitheater where over a thousand activists had gathered. Without a microphone, he launched into a speech and turned the whole situation around. The meeting voted overwhelmingly to march to a rally in the park.

Bill had no trouble relating to young people or understanding the new movements of students, Blacks, Chicanos, and women that sprang up in the 1960s. He had that revolutionary

quality of remaining young forever. And because he helped assemble a new generation to carry on after the old-timers passed away, he is, like Joe Hill, "a man who never died."

Jesse Smith

*New York, New York*

### Good combination

Enclosed is my check for \$9.50—\$7.50 is to extend my own subscription, and \$2.00 is to buy two two-month subscriptions for my sister and for a friend.

I can't believe that I never read the *Militant* before I was given a gift subscription about a month ago. My actions and beliefs had always tended toward socialism, but the papers I found were either too radical or not enough so, and so I read them but never wholly agreed.

With the *Militant* now, however, I read it and say, "Right on!" What a pleasure it is to find such a combination of agreement, intelligent writing, and news one doesn't always otherwise hear of important actions around the country.

Sue Grossman

*Madison, Wisconsin*

### Dangerous devices

A recent front-page article in the *Daily Oklahoman* gives you an idea of what we're up against in prison.

Headlined "Warden Seizes Inmates' Typewriters," the story begins, "All inmates' typewriters have been seized at the Oklahoma State Penitentiary after it was discovered that some were being used for correspondence with what prison officials termed Communist and other subversive organizations."

"Warden Richard A. Crisp confirmed Tuesday that as many as 25 to 35 typewriters previously permitted as part of inmates' personal property had been confiscated in recent weeks and stored elsewhere."

"Crisp said the action came after some letters advocating overthrow of Oklahoma's penal system were intercepted."

To prove his point, the warden "said some of the typed letters were addressed to subversive groups as far away as New York, Chicago and Los Angeles."

"But they [the typewriters] have been turned into a dangerous mechanical device, said Crisp, who became warden on Nov. 1 after a long military police career. . . ."

"He . . . charged that some of the groups were Marxist-oriented and that others 'apparently have subversive leanings which disturb us.'"

How the "subversive" letters were intercepted was not explained. According to the article, "Prison officials, however, have insisted that both outgoing and incoming mail is uncensored in compliance with recent federal court orders."

A prisoner

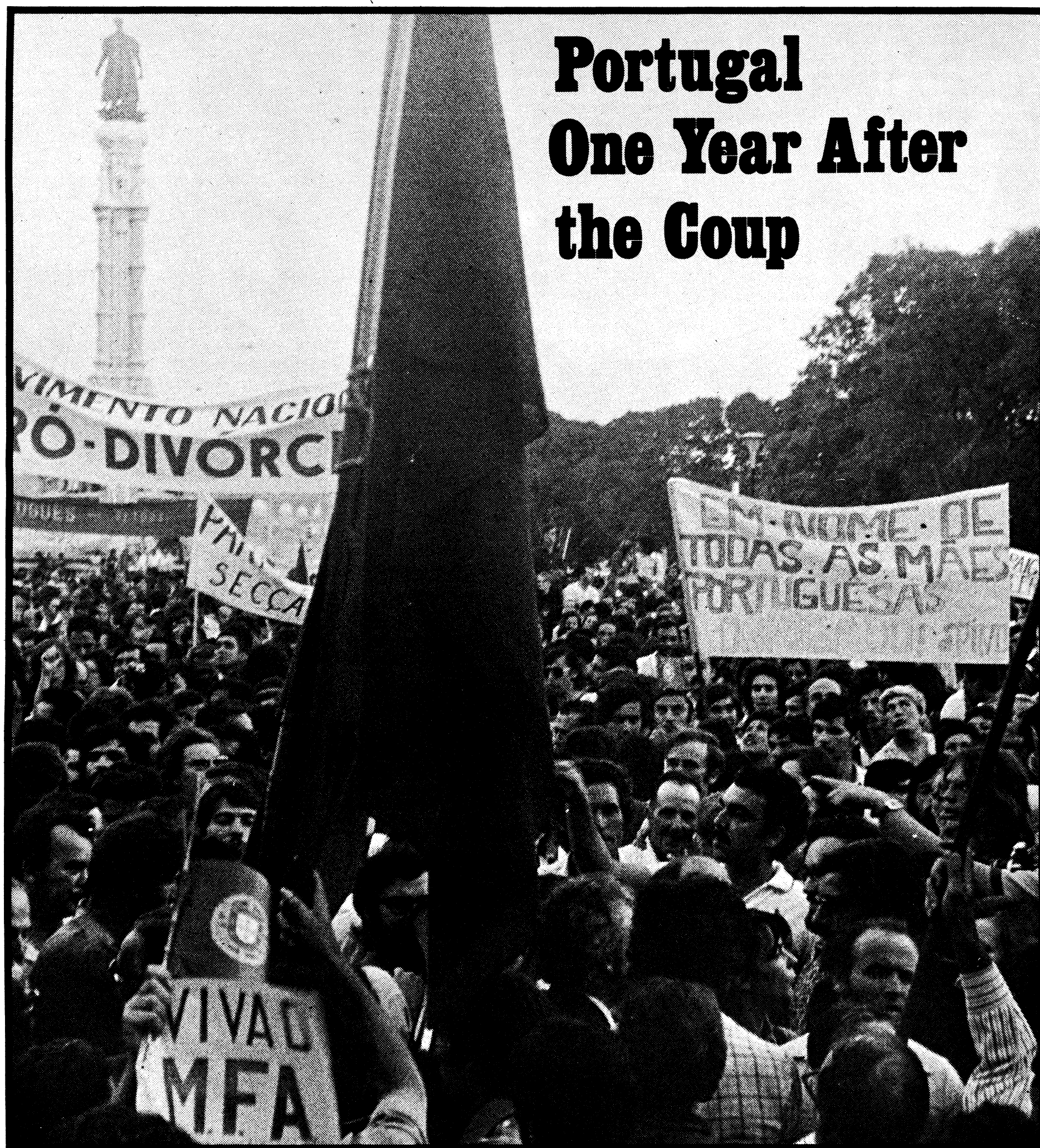
*Oklahoma*

### Some sweetness in everything

On May 16 in downtown Los Angeles, the police rushed a factory and rounded up between 500 and 1,000 hard-working people and shoved them on a bus to deport them. Illegal aliens. Mexicans. This, I presume, will give room for more Vietnamese doctors, lawyers, architects, collaborators all, for L.A. to welcome and to cater to.



# international **socialist** review



Mary Scully

**Freedom of the Press and the Working Class**  
**By Leon Trotsky**

# THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Following the victories of the liberation forces in Cambodia on April 17 and in Vietnam on April 30, Washington and the capitalist media began what was termed an "agonizing reappraisal" of U.S. foreign policy. There was talk about "learning the lessons" of the U.S. defeat in Indochina.

A reporter even had the temerity to ask President Ford at a May 6 news conference whether he would "welcome a congressional inquiry into how we got in and how we got out of Vietnam."

Ford quickly made it clear that he would not welcome any such inquiry. And in the following weeks Washington also made it obvious that no substantial changes in U.S. foreign policy were in the offing. In the *Mayaguez* incident, Washington operated with the same notorious arrogance, ruthlessness, lies, and secret diplomacy as during the past two decades in Vietnam.

Before the ship was seized, the Pentagon and White House had openly discussed the need for a U.S. "show of force"—any place would do, they said—to demonstrate to the world that the United States was still "Number One." Then they carried out what now appears to have been a calculated provocation.

The full truth about the *Mayaguez* affair remains to be told. Was the ship sent or deliberately allowed to stray into those waters? Was the ship carrying top-secret CIA data and equipment from Saigon, as the West German magazine *Stern* has charged? In response to the *Stern* exposé, the White House admitted for the first time that the *Mayaguez* had been involved in transporting U.S. embassy "material" out of Saigon a few days prior to the rebel take-over.

Whatever the facts—and they are still emerging—the savage attack on Cambodia that began May 14 had nothing to do with the stated goal of protecting American lives. The total of U.S. forces who died or are presumed dead in the operation reached forty-one as of May 25—more than the thirty-nine crew members the marines were sent to "rescue."

In the course of the *Mayaguez* operation, the arrogance and racism of the rulers of this country was unrestrained. One Pentagon official told *Newsweek* that "Henry Kissinger was determined to give the Khmer Rouge a bloody nose." Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) said that if Ford hadn't sent in the marines, "every little half-assed nation in the world would be taking potshots at us."

The Democratic "doves" joined in, hailing the "success" of Ford's raids on Cambodia and asserting their determination to support whatever moves were necessary to "keep America strong."

This closing of ranks was exemplified in the May 13 statement by fifty-six Democratic "doves" in Congress that proclaimed: "The U.S. does have continuing interests and

commitments elsewhere in Asia and the world," and, "Let no nation read the events in Indochina as a failure of the American will. . . ."

To back up their inflated words, the House of Representatives rushed through the Pentagon's bill for a whopping 27 percent increase in funds for weapons procurements and development.

With their tactical divisions over Vietnam temporarily superseded by the *Mayaguez* "victory," the capitalist politicians joined in making crystal clear their support for regrouping the forces of imperialism and staunchly defending the new positions to which they have been pushed by the advances of the world revolution.

One of those lines of defense is South Korea, saddled with the corrupt Park dictatorship propped up by 40,000 U.S. troops. Secretary of State Kissinger made it clear that the attack on Cambodia was meant to be seen as a "message" to the Korean people of what they could expect if they dare try to win freedom from U.S. imperialist domination as the Vietnamese did.

War secretary James Schlesinger asserted that as far as he was concerned, the lesson of Vietnam was that next time Washington should "go against the military power of an opponent and . . . not simply spend time parrying their offensive operations."

*New York Times* correspondent Bernard Gwertzman interpreted this statement as meaning that "nothing could be ruled out, including nuclear weapons."

And in fact, on May 13 a *Los Angeles Times* correspondent wrote from Seoul: "The United States would consider using tactical nuclear weapons in case of an outbreak of war in the Korean peninsula, a top American military commander said here Monday."

On the European front, the bellicose attitude taken toward the working-class upsurge in Portugal was reemphasized with Ford's May 23 statement suggesting the expulsion of Portugal from NATO. Ford noted that NATO was set up to be a military alliance against the "challenge by Communist elements from the East"—that is, against the threat of socialist revolution in Europe. The implications for the Portuguese people were clear.

There is another side to Washington's firming up of its new lines of defense of capitalist exploitation around the world. That is the continuation of the détente.

Throughout the *Mayaguez* events, the bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking turned a blind eye toward Ford's gunboat diplomacy. The *New York Times* gave high rating to the way the Soviet press agency Tass reported the incident, characterizing it as "factual, without criticism of the operation."

Peking's first official response was considered by "Western diplomats" to be "about as restrained as the Chinese could make it given their close ties to the new Government in Phnom Penh," according to an account in the same issue of the *Times* (May 16).

But this was not enough for Washington. Kissinger gave a round of speeches signaling to Moscow and Peking that they had better step up their efforts to hold back revolution in Asia, in Portugal, in the Mideast, and elsewhere—even though he obliquely ac-

knowledgeed that they were already doing their best.

Despite Washington's military bases around the world, and despite the Stalinists' efforts to hold back and disorient revolutionary upsurges, the workers and peasants of the colonial world are drawing the lessons of the U.S. debacle in Southeast Asia. The rebel victories in Cambodia and Vietnam have inspired the masses throughout Asia and have demoralized their exploiters.

In addition, the American people are less and less inclined to pay the price required to keep up Washington's role as world cop.

Washington can maintain its preeminence only by suppressing peoples throughout the world. But these peoples want to break out of imperialist subjection. Hence more Vietnams are inevitable, as Washington seeks to suppress freedom struggles.

The only alternative to the prospect of continual wars, and a repetition of the unimaginable suffering and devastation inflicted upon the peoples of Indochina, is for the working people of this country to take all power out of the hands of the American capitalist class.

The NAACP demonstration against racism held in Boston May 17 had an importance greater than its numbers might indicate. For one thing, it was the first civil rights demonstration that the NAACP—led by its Boston chapter—had initiated in years. If NAACP chapters continue to implement this action perspective, uniting with other organizations willing to demonstrate against the racists, this will have highly salutary effects on the struggle for Black liberation.

May 17 also marked a big success for the new antiracist coalition, the National Student Coalition Against Racism. NSCAR won wide respect for doing much of the mobilizing and organizing responsible for making the May 17 action a success. NSCAR is seen by more and more young people, especially Blacks, as an organization that knows what it is doing and that is offering a real answer to the racist organizations that are on the rise in Boston and other cities.

May 17 set an example for the struggle against racism in areas other than that of school desegregation. The impact of racism has been intensified because of the depression in the United States. Layoffs and cutbacks in social services hit Black people and other oppressed peoples in a discriminatory fashion.

An indication of the explosive anger building up against the intensified effects of racism could be seen in the May 19 march of 15,000 through New York City's Chinatown—the first of its kind—protesting police brutality against Chinese people and demanding more and better jobs.

It is students and other young people, especially Black youth and youth of the other oppressed nationalities, who will be in the forefront of the fight for the right to equal education, job opportunities, and human dignity. The National Student Coalition Against Racism can play a key role in giving national voice, direction, and power to the anger of these young people and of their allies among white youth.

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Editor: Caroline Lund

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# Decline of the American Colossus

## Why the System 'Can't Deliver'

By Dick Roberts

The two hundredth anniversary of the first American revolution coincides with a depression in the United States, the crumbling of Washington's puppet military dictatorships in Phompenh and Saigon, and the first recession on a world scale since 1937-38.

Workers of every major capitalist country are suffering from a rise in unemployment. As 1974 ended, unemployment in Japan had soared by 40 percent in that one year to 750,000 or 1.5 percent of the labor force. Officially admitted rates were 3 percent in Britain, 3.3 percent in France, 4.2 percent in West Germany, and 8.2 percent in the United States. Across the "advanced" capitalist world at least 15 million workers were jobless and the number was rising daily.

There are disputes about applying the term "depression" to the U.S. downturn. In 1933, the worst year of the previous depression, national unemployment stood at slightly above 24 percent. Yet in February 1975 the unemployment rate in Detroit, the hardest-hit U.S. industrial center, already stood above 23 percent. For poor whites, youth, and Blacks in Detroit's inner city the jobless rate was above 50 percent. An unemployed Black Chrysler worker told a correspondent for *The Militant*: "Everything's poor man, really poor. I don't make but \$134 every two weeks. . . . I expect to be unemployed forever."

A thousand miles to the southwest, in Albuquerque, New Mexico, an unemployed Chicano told a *New York Times* reporter: "I do not think I will be able to buy food stamps. It is too much." He and his wife and ten children live on \$295 a month Social Security, \$66 a month welfare, and \$15 a month from a son who has a job. These are depression conditions. And every worker knows they are spreading.

It is too early to know whether massive government

*Dick Roberts is a frequent contributor to the International Socialist Review and was formerly its managing editor. He is also a staff writer for the Militant and has spoken on college campuses throughout the country on the international capitalist economic crisis. This article is a chapter of his forthcoming book, Capitalism in Crisis. It is used here by permission of Pathfinder Press. Copyright © 1975 Pathfinder Press, Inc. All rights reserved.*

deficits will succeed in turning the American economy around in late 1975. That would stem the slide, at least within this particular business cycle, toward world economic collapse—although at the price of reintensified inflation. But it is now clear in any case that a turning point has been reached in international capitalism. The long-term, relatively crisis-free expansion of the post-World War II period is over. Increasingly frequent recessions, tending more and more to coincide in all capitalist countries and to be accompanied by accelerating inflation, are the order of the day.

In the United States the depression is spurring on the massive loss of confidence in the government, triggered by the slaughter in Southeast Asia and the lies surrounding it, by the Watergate exposures, and by the more recently disclosed activities of the CIA and FBI in the U.S. and abroad.

This is a historic crisis of legitimacy for U.S. imperialism. Politicians talk about the need for a "new consensus" or a "new sense of national unity," which they hope will make their domestic and foreign policies easier to sell to the workers who vote them into office. The more farsighted apologists recognize that there are no easy solutions. Some go so far as to propose that it is the ideological framework itself that needs to be overhauled. An example of this is offered by *Fortune* magazine, the business publication of Time-Life, Inc. For its special April 1975 issue, purporting to celebrate the bicentennial of the American revolution, *Fortune* assembled twelve authors and President Ford himself to discuss the excruciating problems facing American capitalism as it prepares to enter its third century. The issue is entitled "The American System." A more accurate title would be "In Defense of Capitalism in its Decline."

The basic view of the *Fortune* authors about the nature of the developing social crisis—although reached through fallacious reasoning and used to justify utterly reactionary conclusions—is correct. Briefly put, they contend: The advances the U.S. economy was able to attain for its citizens, especially in the first two decades after World War II, can no longer be achieved on anywhere near the same scale. And a serious political threat to the capitalist system flows from this contradiction between what the system can deliver and what people think it should deliver.

The *Fortune* authors spell out this theme as it pertains to every major social aspect of the capitalist system at home. "Raising expectations is a serious matter," says President Ford. "Setting a goal for the

total ending of segregation by a certain date is raising an expectation which you cannot necessarily achieve."

*Fortune* economist Edmund Faltermayer writes: "Between 1945 and 1974, half of America's families moved into newly built houses, and the number of private automobiles on the road increased more than three times as fast as the population. In the heady atmosphere of all that prosperity, there seemed little doubt that further gains were merely a question of time.

"That golden assumption no longer looks so certain. . . .

"Future gains will not come as easily as those of the recent past."

Daniel Bell, one of the best-known American sociologists, is *Fortune's* most pessimistic contributor: "The promise of plenty has been transformed into a revolution of rising expectations. . . .

"Just about all grievances now get dumped into the lap of government. . . .

"The direction of events is clear: the government has made a commitment, not only to create a substantial welfare state, but to redress all economic and social inequalities as well. And the commitment is largely irreversible. . . .

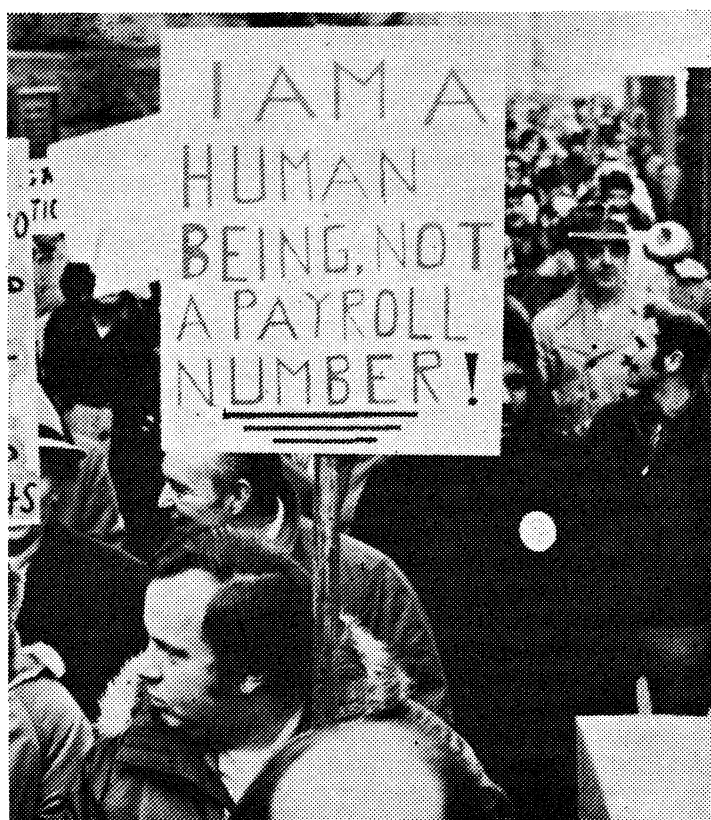
"The ultimate problem presented by the revolution of rising entitlements is not that it will cost a lot of money—although it will certainly do that. What is potentially more dangerous is the threat that the revolution presents to our political system. It threatens to overload the system, to confront it with far more grievances than legislators and judges know how to cope with" (emphasis in the original).

These concerns are well founded. There are growing expectations and dissatisfactions among millions of Americans. Modern technology can produce nuclear weapons and send rockets to the moon with minute precision but consumer goods are neither durable nor safe. Why do people have to live in shabby housing and crowded tenement slums? Why do the trains, buses, and subways work less and charge more? If Washington can spend hundreds of billions of dollars on weapons for its global military system, why aren't there enough jobs in the United States? Why isn't education and medical care free? What Bell arrogantly labels as "hedonistic" are the perfectly just demands of people for decent and fulfilling lives.

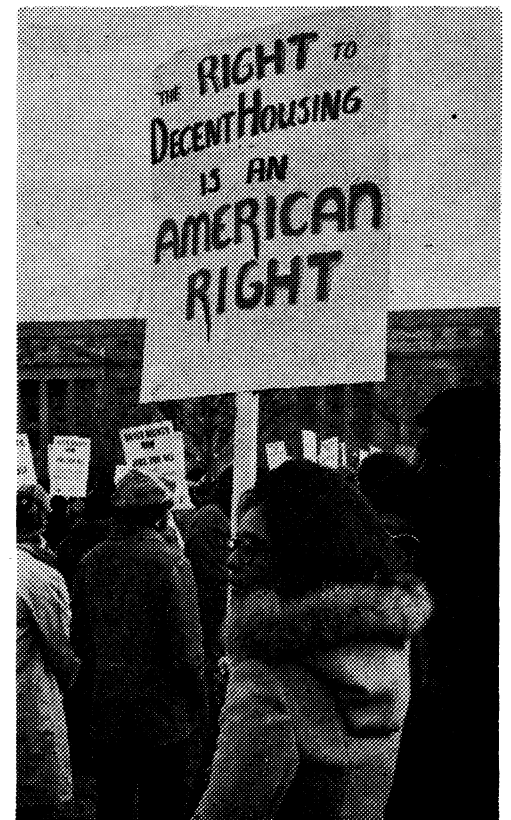
On top of this the capitalist government faces a further layer of contradictions. The democratic preten-



Miguel Pendás



Mark Satinoff



Dennis Scarla



sions and promises that it refuses to carry out stand in stark contrast to the private privileges of the ruling class and the profit-making corporations that the government serves and defends. George Novack, a leading Marxist writer, treated this subject in depth in *Democracy and Revolution*, a 1971 book whose timeliness is increasing.

"A system in which the people do not control the most important decisions and actions of the government, their economy, their welfare or the course of their lives," says Novack, "can hardly be considered genuinely democratic. It can be more precisely defined as a plutocracy dressed in democratic disguise" (p. 199).

Novack notes that this same opinion was expressed by C. Wright Mills in *The Sociological Imagination* (1959): "The United States today I should say is generally democratic mainly in form and in the rhetoric of expectation." Bourgeois sociologist Bell has taken his time in recognizing the floodtide of rising expectations among the masses and its latent potential to capsize the capitalist ship of state.

**B**ell and his colleagues are obligated to come up with reasons why American capitalism can no longer deliver on the scale of the 1950s and 1960s. These reasons must cover up both the profit drive of the monopolies and the role of the ruling class which owns them. Not surprisingly they attempt to shift the blame from the decaying profit system to the oppressed and exploited victims of that system: the people at home and abroad are demanding "too much."

There is a supposedly inseparable link between rising expectations and inflation. The people make demands on the government that the government can meet only through massive expenditures and ultimately through deficits that cause inflation. But the only way to end inflation at this juncture is through massive unemployment. Thus rising expectations, inflation and unemployment, so the argument goes, are linked in a vicious circle that must result in economic crises.

(For an earlier and more detailed presentation of this thesis see *Inflation, A World-Wide Disaster* by Irving S. Friedman [New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1973]. Friedman, who is a top monetary expert in the United States, having served the government, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and now the First National City Bank, extends the argument that rising expectations cause inflation on a world scale, including in semicolonial nations.)

"Paradoxically," says Bell, "economic growth may be a source of a distinctive 'contradiction' of capitalism—a contradiction that may prove to be its undoing. For growth has become inextricably linked with inflation, and it seems unlikely that any democratic society can abolish inflation without disastrous political consequences."

"It is not as though Americans look upon inflation without concern; every survey taken in the last few years shows that inflation is an object of profound fear. . . . And yet every imaginable anti-inflationary policy impinges on the welfare of some major interest group. The simple fact is that no one wants to pay the price of ending inflation, and modern democratic governments [in fact, capitalist governments in general—D.R.] find it politically difficult to make any sizable group pay the bill."

The ultimate logic of this tortured argument is to blame the poor and elderly for inflation and even depression. *Fortune* economist Faltermayer carries the

argument that far: "The country is heading for an unpleasant face-off between those who are getting angry about Social Security deductions and the elderly. . . . The utopian era of comfortable retirement wholly at government expense will have to be postponed indefinitely." The millions of poor elderly citizens who eke out bleak starvation-level existences in the slums of American cities or their retirement hovels will have the last say on this.

It is true that in the postwar epoch, capitalist growth and inflation are inextricably linked. But that can't be blamed on the relatively paltry outlays for social welfare made by the government. It has to do with fundamental contradictions of the capitalist system that the *Fortune* authors themselves do not treat. But if these contradictions are introduced into the discussion,

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**'The long-term, relatively crisis-free expansion of the post-World War II period is over. Increasingly frequent recessions, accompanied by accelerating inflation, are the order of the day.'**

---

they underline all the more the deepgoing character of the crisis *Fortune's* bourgeois ideologues are seeking to allay.

The insuperable contradiction of capitalist production, as Marx explained it, is that *growth itself leads to crisis*. The drive to accumulate capital is not linked to the needs of society, but solely to the profit needs of the owners of capital. "Fanatically bent on making value expand itself," Marx wrote in the first volume of *Capital*, "[the capitalist] ruthlessly forces the human race to produce for production's sake. . . . The development of capitalist production makes it constantly necessary to keep increasing the amount of capital laid out in a given industrial undertaking, and competition makes the immanent laws of capitalist production to be felt by each individual capitalist, as external coercive laws. It compels him to keep constantly extending his capital, in order to preserve it, but extend it he cannot except by means of progressive accumulation. . . ."

"Accumulate, accumulate! That is Moses and the prophets!" (pp. 492, 495).

The profit needs of capital periodically drive accumulation beyond the point where investments can, in fact, be profitably made. In 1899 Rosa Luxemburg wrote *Reform or Revolution*, a polemic against the "reformists" led by Eduard Bernstein in the German Social Democratic Party, who believed that capitalism could peacefully transform itself into a crisis-free system. If that could happen, she contended, it would mean "one of two things: either the world market can spread unlimitedly, or on the contrary the development of the productive forces is so fettered that it cannot pass beyond the bounds of the market. The first hypothesis constitutes a material impossibility. The second is rendered just as impossible by the constant technical progress that daily creates new productive forces in all branches" (p. 46).

Luxemburg's position is far from having been invalidated by subsequent history. Within less than

two decades imperialism had plunged into the world war that she believed to be inevitable. Subsequently the expansionary drive of capital brought the Great Depression of the 1930s and a second interimperialist world war that dwarfed any horrors of capitalism that Marx saw. Imperialism's counterrevolutionary drive to suppress struggles for national liberation in order to control the semicolonies, especially their sources of raw materials, has not let up even for one day.

The inflation that has beset world capitalism in the recent past is not simply the result of capitalist *growth*, as Bell pretends; it is even more the product of capitalist *crisis*. The depression of the 1930s taught the rulers of this country that the monopoly-dominated capitalist economy, left to its own devices, inevitably led toward deepgoing and prolonged crisis. Following the Second World War, they increasingly adopted the policies advanced by Keynes during the depression that would seek to provide "replacement markets" for inadequate normal ones through inflationary government deficit spending. "The avoidance of another Great Depression became the number one economic priority of the postwar world," monetary expert Irving Friedman wrote in 1973 (*Inflation*, p. 34).

"Government expenditure could supplement inadequate private investment; it would stimulate the economy in a way directly analogous to increased private investment. The consequences would be increased employment, increased income, increased demand—both for production and consumption goods. The economy could approach a new equilibrium, where employment, if not full, was greatly increased."

These policies were initiated during the war and postwar period primarily to build up the gigantic U.S. military machine. The inflationary war expenditures helped to stimulate the economy and defer another world depression, but that was not their essential purpose. They were and are primarily undertaken to build the weapons of the "arsenal of democracy"—that is, to defend and extend the empire of finance capital on a world scale. The countercyclical effect on the economy is a fringe benefit of this policy.

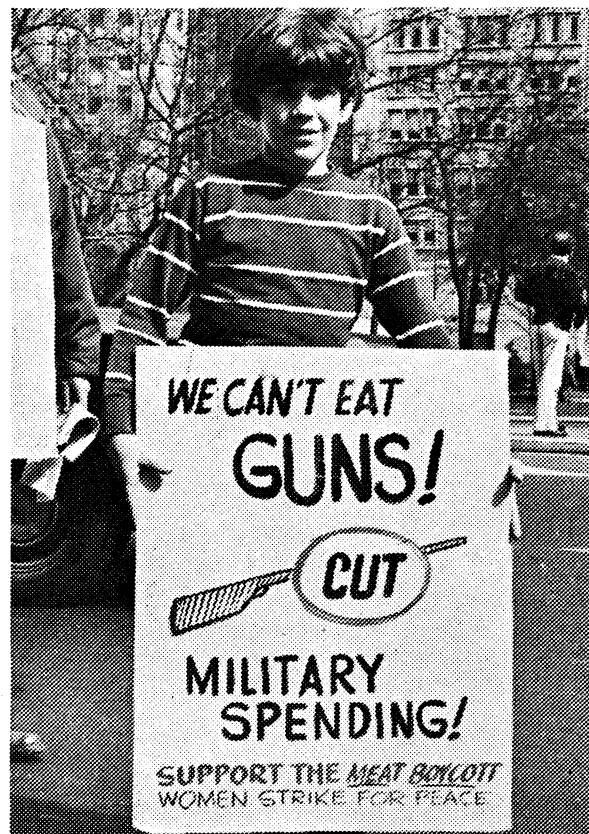
**O**ne of the earliest documents in the Pentagon Papers brings out the continuity of the foreign policy of six postwar administrations, stretching from Democrat Harry Truman to Republican Gerald Ford, that have taken it upon themselves to police the global frontiers of capitalism. A telegram from General George C. Marshall, then secretary of state, to the U.S. Embassy in Paris, dated May 13, 1947, complains about the French failure to crush the Ho Chi Minh-led insurgents in Vietnam:

We becoming increasingly concerned by slow progress toward settlement Indochina dispute. Key our position is awareness that in respect developments affecting position Western democratic powers in Southern Asia, we essentially in same boat as French, also British and Dutch. We cannot conceive setbacks to long-range interests France which would not also be setbacks our own. . . .

In our view, southern Asia in critical phase its history with seven new nations in process achieving or struggling independence or autonomy. These nations include quarter inhabitants world and their future course, owing sheer weight populations, resources they command, and strategic location, will be momentous factor in world stability. . . . We consider best safeguard against



Martha Harris



Cindy Jaquith

these eventualities a continued close association between newly-autonomous peoples and powers which have long been responsible for their welfare. [United States-Vietnam Relations, 1945-1967, Book 8, pp. 100-102]

Thus the author of the Marshall Plan and NATO, which supplied U.S. money, arms, and troops to capitalist Europe, also outlined a plan for inheriting the European colonies. The U.S. would support financially, and militarily if necessary, not only the French in Indochina, but the British in India, the Dutch in Indonesia, and above all the Kuomintang in China. "Pax Americana" was never an idle phrase. It meant money, guns, counterintelligence, and direct counter-revolutionary intervention by U.S. armies, in China, in Korea, in Lebanon, in Cuba, in the Congo, in Vietnam, in the Dominican Republic, in Cambodia, in Laos—wherever necessary and politically feasible. Meanwhile countless billions were spent year after year to build up the strategic arsenal of nuclear weapons, with its ability to annihilate the earth's population several times over.

These huge expenditures were only partially financed through taxation. To an increasing extent they were met through budget deficits, that is, by government borrowing. Including fiscal year 1976, there has only been one surplus budget year in the last sixteen. This was done because deficits were required to keep the economy growing—or, as has been the case for many years, stagnating rather than declining. It was also politically safer for Washington to raise part of its war expenditures indirectly through inflation than directly through taxes; and the inflation dampened and eventually rolled back the increases in real wages that had been won on picket lines. Inflation redistributed income to the strongest banks and largest corporations.

For those who still pretend that U.S. government deficits are attributable at least partially to social welfare expenditures, it must be pointed out that just the opposite is the case. Specific taxes are collected to finance these outlays (e.g., employment taxes, which pay Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid) and much more is collected in these taxes than is paid out. Total government debt that was held by such agencies in 1974 amounted to \$141 billion. This surplus of funds, ostensibly earmarked for social welfare, has been invested in government bonds in order to help defray massive military expenditures.

It remains for us now to explain why government deficit spending on armaments is inflationary. To finance these deficits, the government must borrow from banks and other financial institutions. In order to meet the military expenses of the government without at the same time depleting the sources of money that the capitalists need to finance corporate business, the banking system must expand credit. This is especially true during economic upswings. It is *this expansion of credit by the banks*, in order to make funds available to corporations—much of which will be channeled into the government-guaranteed high-profit arena of war production—that creates inflationary purchasing power in the economy.

Government war spending is wholly unproductive. Unlike investment by industrial capitalists, the government's outlays do not transform the goods purchased into an expanded mass of commodities which are then put back on the market to be sold. Rather it simply takes goods off the market. The newly created purchasing power cannot find its equivalent on the market,

and the monopolists raise the prices on other goods to absorb the "surplus purchasing power."

Some politicians and government officials seem to be indifferent to the inflationary impact of war spending. But the Pentagon Papers showed that the highest policy-makers were aware of the dangers of inflation from the outset of the cold war. Typical are the following paragraphs from National Security Council resolution 162/2, the "Basic National Security Policy" document of October 30, 1953, that enunciated Washington's global strategy:

21. Excessive government spending leads to inflationary deficits or to repressive taxation, or to both. Persistent inflation is a barrier to long-term growth because it undermines confidence in the

**'If Washington can spend hundreds of billions of dollars on weapons for its global military system, why aren't there enough jobs in the United States? Why isn't education and medical care free?'**

currency, reduces savings, and makes restrictive economic controls necessary. . . .

27. The requirements for funds to maintain our national security must thus be considered in the light of these dangers to our economic system, including the danger to industrial productivity necessary to support military programs arising from excessive levels of total Government spending, taxing and borrowing. [United States-Vietnam Relations, Book 9, pp. 188, 189]

But these prophetic warnings were not observed over the next two decades. In August 1971, the "New Economic Policy" imposed "restrictive economic controls" in order to shore up the dollar, whose value had been eroded by years of war-primed inflation. The "NEP" showed that a turning point in postwar capitalist development had been reached.

On December 27, 1971, the White House released to the corporations—but not to the American public—a white paper by then presidential assistant Peter G. Peterson explaining the "NEP." On the first page Peterson declared:

The central fact of the past twenty-five years has been the conviction—ours as much as that of other countries—that the U.S. was dominant, both in size and competitiveness, in the international economy and that the practices, institutions and rules governing international trade and payments were structured to fit that fact. We as a nation and the world as a whole were too slow to realize that basic structural and competitive changes were occurring; as a result, international policies and practices were too slow in responding.

The weakened grasp of U.S. imperialism—not *Fortune's* supposed demand-induced inflation—is the fundamental reason for the turn in U.S. and world

economics. Although the precise date is not of critical importance, the turn had taken place before the Nixon-Kennedy offensive of 1971. Nixon's frontal attack on American workers in the form of a wage freeze, and his open declaration of international trade and financial warfare through an import surtax, dollar devaluation, and selective export controls, signaled that U.S. imperialism was in deep trouble. The crisis has significantly worsened in the succeeding period, even though 1972-73 saw a brief inflationary upturn in the world economy and there may well be further short-lived upturns. Overall, the direction for the foreseeable future is toward heightened attacks on the wages and living standards of workers both here and abroad.

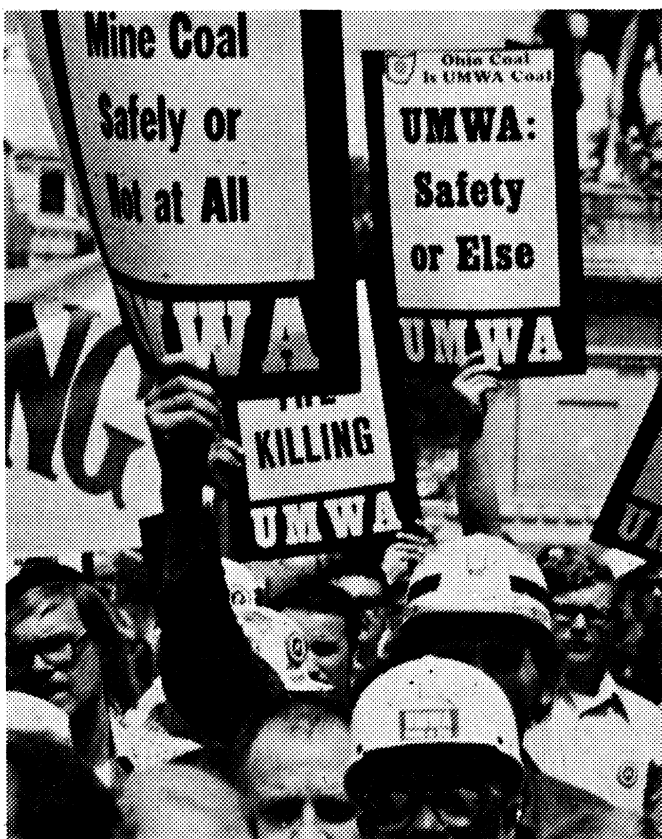
There were two basic interrelated economic reasons why the turn in policy was inevitable:

1. The growth of postwar Europe and Japan provided the main outlets necessary for the expansionary drive of world capitalism. While the U.S. economy reached high-level stagnation by the early fifties and frequently suffered recessions (the present is the sixth since World War II), these could be softened by exporting "overproduced" goods and capital abroad, primarily to Europe and Japan, but also to their former colonies whose markets had been wedged open by the U.S. victory in the war. In the process an explosive rise of productivity took place as new electronic and computer technologies were applied and millions of new workers were drawn into the labor forces of Europe, Japan, and North America. But the European and Japanese "boom" ended. The markets it had provided were severely diminished.

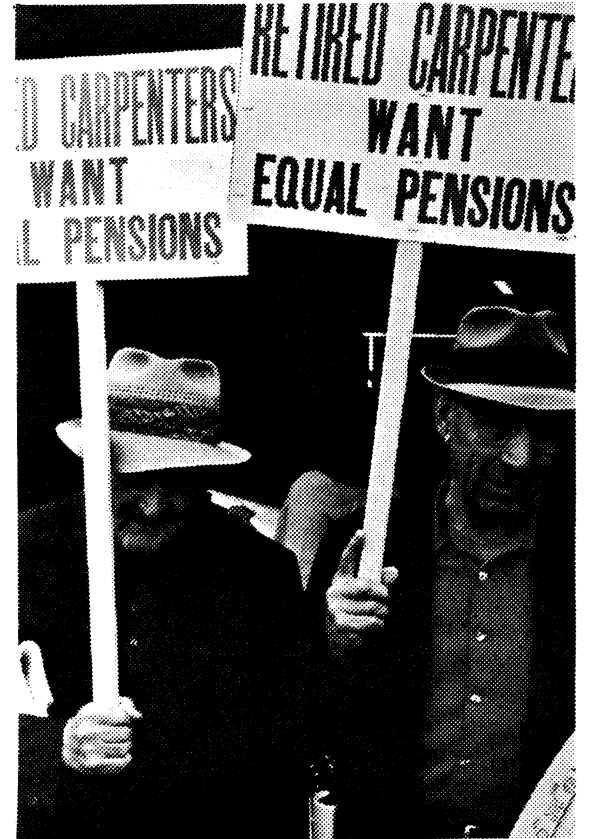
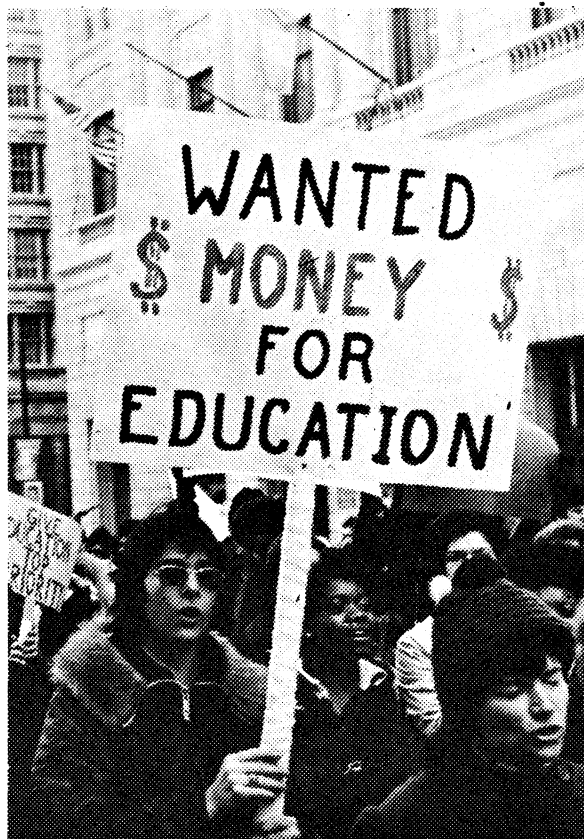
2. The permanent inflation of the U.S. economy, which also helped to shore up domestic downturns, could be absorbed on a world scale and with minimal damage at home only so long as Europe and Japan were expanding, so long as they themselves did not have a great need for deficit financing. Simultaneous deficit spending on a world scale unleashed uncontrollable world inflation.

The U.S. invasion of Southeast Asia hastened the culminating point of both these processes. On the one hand it qualitatively accelerated the rate of inflation in the United States, so that European and Japanese products became increasingly competitive both abroad and in the U.S. market itself, and the productivity gap was narrowed. On the other hand the war-primed inflation rapidly eroded the value of the dollar and destroyed the Bretton Woods international monetary system based on the gold-exchange standard. (For a Marxist history and analysis of this, see *Decline of the Dollar* by Ernest Mandel [New York: Monad Press, 1972].)

The new period was characterized by heightened competition in world trade. Its most prominent features so far have been the combined U.S.-Middle East imposition of high energy prices; the high prices of U.S. meat, grain, and soybean exports; a "floating" international exchange rate allowing continuous devaluation of the dollar as inflation continued to rage in the United States; increasingly sharp bouts of inflation internationally as well, as the major capitalist powers abroad also increasingly resorted to deficit spending. These developments have been accompanied by stepped-up attacks on workers everywhere, through direct wage freezes or controls ("austerity programs" in Europe), through the persistent decline of purchasing power caused by inflation, and through increasing bouts of joblessness as capitalist industry more and more failed to find profitable outlets for its goods and



Steve Watson



Howard Petrick



investments.

This veritable explosion of capitalist contradictions on a world scale once again demonstrated that the expansion of markets, even so large as those of Europe and Japan, cannot keep pace with the profit needs of monopoly.

Today the inflationary boomlet of 1972-73—perhaps one of the shortest in history—has given way to international recession and a depression in the United States. As in the late 1920s, overproduction occurred simultaneously in the two largest U.S. industries, auto and construction, which together account for more than 20 percent of the economy. Cutbacks in these sectors worked their way back through the industries that supply them with raw materials. More and more workers were laid off and, as purchasing power dropped, the recession deepened into depression.

By the spring of 1975 the manufacturing economy was operating at under 70 percent of its potential productive capacity. But it was still creating a Gross National Product of about \$1,400 billion. If manufacturing were up to 100 percent of capacity, total production would be about \$2,000 billion. The difference between what the economy is producing now and what it could produce if plants were fully operating is some \$600 billion!

What a terrible waste this is of human and technical resources! It totals more than the Gross National Products of Latin America and Africa combined.

The criminality of wasted production at a time when millions are out of work, ill-fed, and unable to get a decent education or adequate health care is compounded by the fact that the depth and duration of the present downturn results from deliberate policies of the Ford administration. The most optimistic projections from the White House do not anticipate a substantial decline in unemployment in the foreseeable future. Full employment is not even a proclaimed goal.

While the rate of inflation has declined in the face of glutted markets, the huge government deficits anticipated for 1975-76 practically guarantee a resurgence of inflation more virulent than ever during the next upturn.

Under the conditions of sharpened international competition outlined by Peterson when he explained the "New Economic Policy," the American ruling class hopes to force the American populace into accepting not only the status quo but even a rollback of gains won and expectations generated in past struggles. The rulers want to dampen wage increases and diminish living standards; they would also like to see a reversal of the drive for equality by Black people and members of other oppressed minorities, of the women's rights movement, of demands for pollution control, and of the dissent against imperialist foreign policy.

On the economic front it is apparent that they have made some gains. *New York Times* reporter Damon Stetson noted April 7, 1975, that "continuing economic uncertainties and traumatic layoffs in many industries . . . have taken some of the steam out of union

militants seeking large wage increases.

"Fear has now replaced need as the gut issue," one labor analyst said. . . .

"Among the approaches being talked about or tried in some cases are share-the-work arrangements, shorter work weeks [at less pay], payless furloughs, early retirements, and agreements to forego pay increases or even to take pay cuts."

The bourgeois ideologues of *Fortune* attempt to give a rationalization to the harsh economic realities that are a product of the depression and the administration's policies.

But they are shortsighted if they believe they will succeed in the larger scheme of stamping out the rising demands of the population. In fact, it can be predicted with assurance that the American working class, which has never suffered a serious defeat, will not accept this attempt to reverse its living standards and democratic rights without a fight. Already, despite the shackles imposed by bureaucratic misleaders, the labor movement is beginning to respond. Recent marches and rallies for jobs are steps in the direction of massive mobilizations of workers and their allies which—following the path of antiwar marchers before them—can raise sufficient protest to halt the capitalist offensive in its tracks.

As this confrontation develops, millions of workers will come to see that what is needed in the unions is a new class-struggle leadership with a strategy to meet their needs, a strategy that will lead to the elimination of capitalist exploitation and oppression once and for all.

**A**n almost panicky atmosphere afflicted U.S. policy makers as they watched Saigon's armies melt away before the sweeping advance of the Vietnamese revolution in the spring of 1975. C. L. Sulzberger, the *New York Times*'s well-known foreign correspondent, turned in a column from Paris in which he declared: "No nation can pretend to be a superpower when its foreign policy suffers such blows as that of the United States in Southeast and Southwest Asia, when its economy reels, its currency staggers, and when its leadership, symbolized by a Chief Executive who chooses that moment to take time off for golf, faces its crises in paralyzed confusion.

"The lack of faith, morale, self-abnegation and willpower now being displayed on the ash-heap of a *pax Americana* cannot but appall our friends and comfort our enemies."

The gloom expressed by Sulzberger and the authors of the *Fortune* articles can only bring cheer and encouragement to oppressed peoples the world over who see the outposts of U.S. imperialism being weakened. The massive distrust of Americans toward the government in Washington and their deepgoing antiwar sentiment have combined with the advancing revolution in Southeast Asia and elsewhere to stay the arm of the U.S. imperialists as never before in this century. This crippling of its power enhances expecta-

tions of a different sort—that working people should have the direct decision-making power over their own future. And this runs diametrically counter to the monopolists' profit needs and global strategy.

Capitalism has demonstrated in the half century since 1929 that it *cannot* solve the pressing needs of humanity. In times of crisis it deals with the demands of the masses through depression, famine, and war. These lessons will be newly etched on the consciousness of workers, and that is what ideologues like Bell most fear. "It has become increasingly clear," he writes, "that the revolution of rising entitlements may become unmanageable. . . . If this process is not reversed, it will work to undermine the legitimacy of our society."

Precisely. But the right answer is not, as Bell urges, that workers should be persuaded to ask for less because capitalism can only give less. The workers should demand for themselves and for the oppressed of the world what is rightfully theirs—a liveable and peaceable existence. And if this is more than the decadent, crisis-torn system of world capitalism can give, it will have to give way to a new system.

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## LETTERS

**Editors:** I just got home and read the article by the telephone worker in the May issue of the *International Socialist Review* and I had to write and tell you it is *so true!* I quit Illinois Bell Telephone Company a year ago because I couldn't stand it any longer. Everything she said—the home visits, the chairs, everything—is still going on.

I was not an operator. I was a service representative, a position that is somewhat higher paying, but no less degrading.

The worst is the "absence control program." If a worker has been absent "too much" (exactly how much seems to be completely arbitrary—I saw them do it to women who had been sick six times in six months), she is put on "Final Warning." That means she is not allowed to miss one single day or even come late for six months. If she does, she is fired.

Recently an operator in a Manhattan office died on the board. She had a heart attack. She was too afraid to ask for a day off because she was on Final Warning.

When I asked for a day off because I was getting married, my supervisor, after congratulating me, asked if I could come in in the afternoon, after the ceremony.

"Do you really think you need the *whole* day off, dear?" she asked me.

What is almost as bad is the constant stream of abuse that you have to take from both the customers and the supervisors. You're not allowed to answer back at obscene and cruel remarks. Company policy dictates that "all employees must answer sweetly and pleasantly," even when you're close to crying.

It's also hard to concentrate on what the customer is saying when the supervisors roam up and down the aisles frequently, shouting at the top of their lungs, "Is everybody open (plugged into the board to receive calls)? I see your light on! You, there! Sit up straight! Quit slouching!"

I'm sure they would never treat men workers in such a humiliating way.



You can't let off any steam because you're not allowed to talk to the person sitting next to you. Anyway, that's impossible—the calls are coming in too fast.

I would come home after an eight-hour day so nervous and tense that I was often unable to eat, or sleep, or even sit down for hours. But I was better off than most of my co-workers. I didn't have to come home to a family to take care of. At least 60 percent of the women in my office had children to care for, and 20 percent of my co-workers were the sole support of their families.

Sweatshop conditions have not been eliminated from the twentieth century. We need more working people to speak out against the cruel and dangerous practices that we face every day. And what's more, we need more people to do something to change those practices.

If you print this letter, I, too, would prefer to be anonymous. I'm still afraid of Ma Bell.

A reader  
Chicago, Illinois

**Editors:** I want to say how pleased I am that you used my paper [the article "To Myself, So I'll Never Forget—A Telephone Operator Speaks Out" in the May *International Socialist Review*].

I wish that people who quit jobs, or are laid off, or otherwise have the time would write about their jobs. It's no fun to do, but maybe others would see by these

personal accounts by people like themselves how far the capitalist companies will go to make themselves rich.

I never even thought about writing anything till I wrote about the telephone company, and I thought it probably could never be put to use. There are workers who can say what they mean far better and easier than I can.

My husband and I think the *Militant* and the *International Socialist Review* are fine papers. The articles are easy to understand. We know the *Militant* and the *ISR* are the only way we're going to get the truth about so many things.

Former telephone operator  
Cincinnati, Ohio

**Editors:** *International Socialist Review* readers wishing to obtain Walter Rodney's *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (reviewed in the May issue) will be interested in knowing that it has been republished in hardbound edition by the Howard University Press. The original Tanzanian edition is out of print and hard to find.

Erich Martel  
Washington, D.C.

This column is open to all viewpoints on subjects of 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 initials instead.



# Portugal One Year After the Coup

## What Is the Armed Forces Movement?

By Gus Horowitz

**T**he tremendous political ferment going on in Portugal is revealed in many ways.

There are, for example, the apprehensions voiced in Washington. There is talk of the danger that Portugal will leave NATO, or that a Soviet naval base may be established there—even talk of a “red take-over” backed up with Moscow gold. Henry Kissinger has predicted, according to the April 18 *New York Times*, “that by next year Portugal will be a Communist nation or a neutralist nation under heavy Communist influence.”

Another sign of the depth of ferment is the fact that all the major parties find it necessary to talk about socialism being on the agenda—not only the small radical groups, but major forces like the Socialist party, the Communist party, the People's Democratic party, and the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA-Armed Forces Movement). Even the People's Monarchist party says it is for socialism.

The political situation is also reflected in the measures that the capitalist government has taken. On March 14 the Portuguese-owned banks were nationalized; on March 15 the Portuguese-owned insurance companies; on April 16 the Portuguese-owned steel, electric, petroleum, and transportation industries were nationalized and a limitation placed on the size of landholdings.

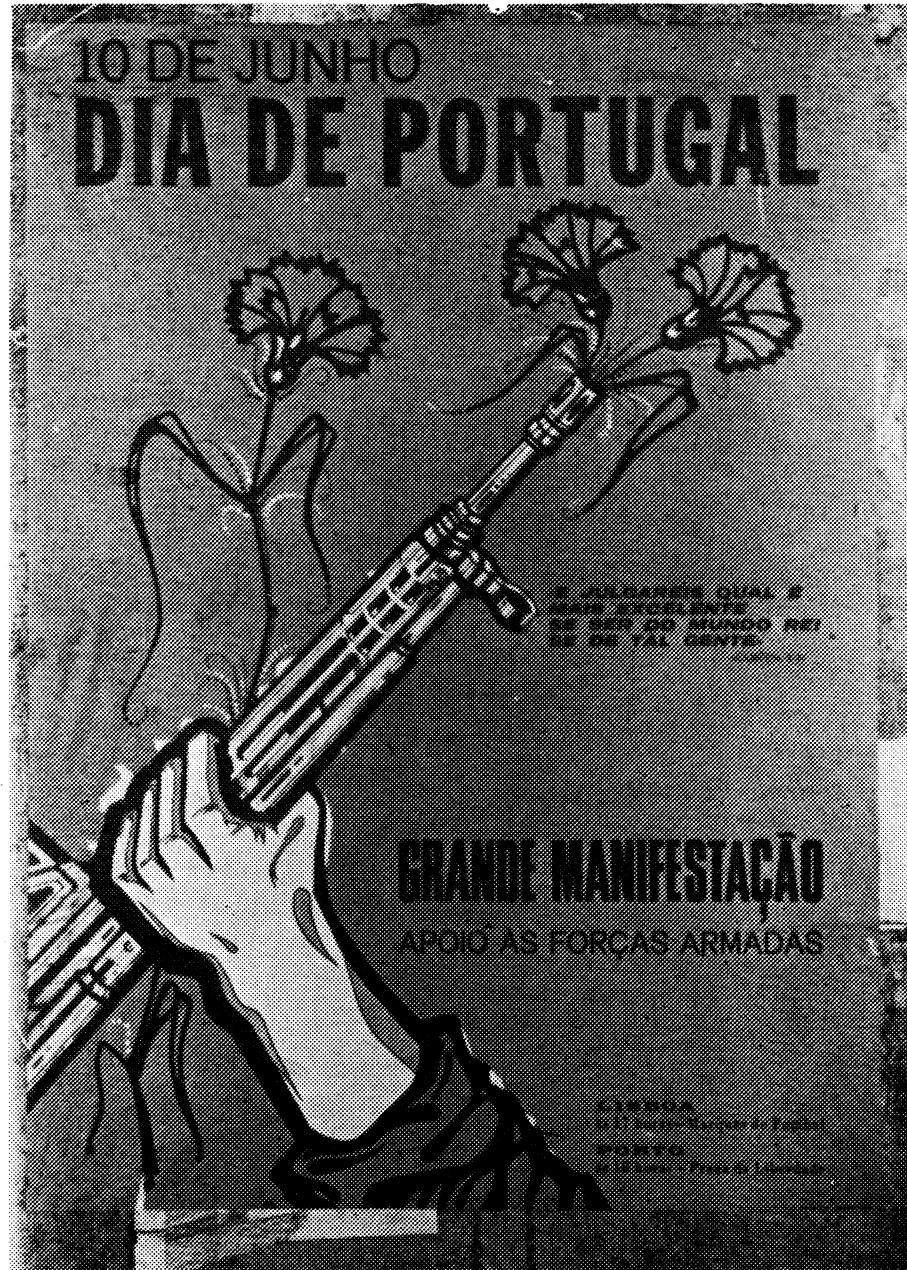
To be sure, these nationalizations did not include foreign-owned businesses; nor were they nationalizations without compensation and under workers' control, as revolutionists demand. Nevertheless, these were sweeping measures, and none too common in imperialist countries. They are an indication that the ruling class in Portugal has had to adapt to a big rise in the class struggle over the past year.

There has also been a major growth in the organization of the working class. Fifty years of dictatorial rule had left the Portuguese workers movement with hardly any independent organizations. In only a year since the fall of the dictatorship, two million workers have joined the trade unions. The total population of Portugal is less than ten million.

The workers parties have grown considerably. The Communist party, which had about 5,000 members shortly after the fall of the dictatorship, is now reported to have about 100,000 members. The Socialist party emerged as the largest party in the April 1975 elections to the constituent assembly, gaining 38 percent of the vote (although many observers say that it has fewer activists than the Communist party).

In addition to these large workers parties, there are many others—centrist groups, Maoist groups, and two Trotskyist organizations, the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI-Internationalist Communist League) and the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers

*Gus Horowitz is a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party. This article is based on a report he gave to the SWP's National Committee plenum, which met in New York City May 1-4.*



Armed Forces Movement poster sports carnation, which was symbol of coup against Salazarist regime.

party).

There have been huge workers' demonstrations, such as the one held on January 14 in support of the trade-union law giving the Intersindical (the national trade-union federation) the exclusive right to organize. Estimates of the size of that demonstration range from 150,000 to 300,000 participants.

In addition to the unions and the parties there are the workers commissions. These arose in May and June 1974 as the first independent organizations of the workers, in opposition to the government-controlled pseudounion structure that had been built up under the dictatorship.

Some developed into coordinating committees of workers from the various unions in the big factories, after the restructuring of the union movement in the form of the Intersindical. The Intersindical still had some of the limitations of the old union structure, which had been deliberately fragmented along craft lines. In each of the big factories there might be a dozen or more unions. The workers commissions were thus able to coordinate strike activities and other struggles.

**T**here have also been instances of very militant forms of struggle. In some cases where layoffs have been threatened or where the workers suspected the bosses of economic sabotage, the employees have occupied the enterprise and looked into the books of the corporation themselves.

In addition to these developments on

the job, in some areas district and neighborhood committees have emerged to oversee such problems as housing and health care, to monitor prices in the stores, to guard against hoarding of merchandise by storeowners, and to discuss transport, sanitation, and other social services. Hotels and other buildings have been taken over for the use of the workers' organizations, for child-care centers, health clinics, and food dispensaries.

There has been the continuing process of *saneamento*—the cleaning out of figures associated with the hated Salazarist regime, such as managers, administrators, and officials of various types in the factories, in the news media, and in local government.

These and many other developments have gone beyond the original plans of Gen. António de Spínola and Company and beyond the restraints that the Armed Forces Movement has tried to impose; and they have occurred despite the attempts by the Socialist and Communist parties to put a brake on them.

For example, there are laws on the books forbidding demonstrations or workers' meetings in the factories without permission, but these laws cannot yet be fully enforced.

In fact, despite the laws restricting democratic rights that have been passed by the MFA-dominated government, the political atmosphere in Portugal is very free. All sorts of radical ideas are up for discussion—on television and radio, in magazines, and in

the bookstalls.

The election campaign of the LCI, sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, affords an example. Despite the small size of the LCI, they were able to gather the 5,000 signatures necessary to win a place on the ballot, and they held rallies of up to 3,000 people.

The process of radicalization has also been deep among the potential allies of the working class, including soldiers, farmers, students, and women.

All in all, these developments show that there has been a very exceptional rise in the class struggle in Portugal. The fact that this has all come about in only one year since the fall of the Salazarist dictatorship—a dictatorship of fifty years' duration under which the Portuguese workers movement was suppressed and fragmented—is new testimony to the revolutionary potential of the working class.

The Portuguese capitalist class has not been able to stabilize the economic situation as it had hoped after the fall of the dictatorship. Inflation is running about 35 percent a year. Unemployment stands at 300,000, or more than 8 percent, and has been rising with the return of Portuguese immigrant workers in other European countries who have been laid off as a result of the generalized depression. The economic crisis is exacerbated as each capitalist looks after his own interests: holding back investments, sending capital abroad, restricting credit to small businesses, and so forth.

The rise of the class struggle has made the economic development plans of the capitalists less viable. They have had to proceed further and faster than they had foreseen in decolonization, and they have had to carry out some unplanned nationalizations.

On the political level, they have not yet been able to construct a stable government, suffering several governmental crises in one year. Spínola, their original hope for a strong leader, has had to flee. And they face a potential crisis in the army as radical moods spread in the ranks.

**C**learly, the objective situation in Portugal is favorable for further advances of the class struggle. But there are important obstacles to overcome. Chief among these is that the masses do not yet see the real role of the MFA-dominated government—which claims to represent the revolutionary process in Portugal, but whose basic commitment has been shown to be defense of the capitalist system. Similarly, the Portuguese workers are hampered by the misleadership of the Communist and Socialist parties, whose treacherous policies of containing and breaking workers' struggles and counseling the workers to trust in the MFA threaten to lead to a terrible disaster.

To study these problems in a better light, it is useful to trace the evolution of the political situation in Portugal over the past year.

Prior to the coup of April 25, 1974, the Salazarist dictatorship had become expendable to the Portuguese ruling class. The colonial wars, which consumed 40 percent of the budget, were a drain on the economy. The effort to maintain direct colonial rule in Africa had become a liability to important sectors of the ruling class, who were

oriented to integration into the European Common Market, where 65 percent of Portuguese exports were now going. This orientation required modernization of the economy and relaxation of dictatorial rule.

In addition, they had to take account of growing ferment in the working class and widespread opposition among the masses to the colonial wars. Draft avoidance had reached about 50 percent, with more than 100,000 youth leaving the country to escape.

This was the situation that led the dominant sectors of the Portuguese ruling class to view the coup of April 25 with favor. Their goal was to grant some concessions to the workers but to contain the mass movements that would surely come in the aftermath and to move slowly toward indirect domination of the colonies.

The coup itself was organized by the MFA, a group of about 200 mainly lower-level officers. Many of them had been involved in years of colonial war and had come to the conclusion that it was necessary to end the wars quickly.

Despite the MFA's policy differences with the dictatorship, and despite a vaguely populist or radical ideology on the part of some MFA officers, the MFA was not a genuinely independent formation. The officers of the MFA comprised one wing of the Portuguese imperialist army. They did not even have the goal of breaking completely with the reactionary senior officers.

Thus the initial coup of April 25, 1974, brought into the key junta posts various top-level officers, who had been

against the guerrillas in Portugal's African territories will continue as long as they refuse a political settlement. It is our intention to continue fighting."

But the class upsurge unleashed by the overthrow of the dictatorship upset these plans. The junta had to call the Socialist and Communist parties into the new government to try to contain the upsurge and sell its policies to the African liberation fighters. This the CP and SP were gladly willing to do.

In the first weeks after the fall of the dictatorship there was a huge workers' upsurge—strikes, factory occupations, removal of the hated administrators of the old regime, growth of the workers organizations. Through these struggles the workers were able to win many wage gains, though not as high as they had demanded, and in spite of the treachery of the CP, which backed away from its original wage demands.

The CP's stance was spelled out by its leader Alvaro Cunhal when he said, "The strike weapon is most efficient if it isn't used too often."

The CP consolidated its organizational hold in the unions and used this position to denounce and break strikes, one after the other.

By early June of last year, the initial workers' upsurge had died down substantially, and the government began to prepare repressive legislation, instituting some press censorship and taking moves against some of the smaller radical groups. But these were basically probes; conditions were not favorable for a full-scale assault on the working class as a whole.

for postponing elections to a constituent assembly and instead holding presidential elections right away, in an attempt to build up a strong rightist regime around Spínola.

But this move was rebuffed within the government, and a new regime was formed, which adopted a more reformist posture. Since many of the old-line senior officers resisted this policy, it was necessary for the ruling class to rely more on the MFA. Several MFA leaders came into the new government, including ex-colonel Vasco Gonçalves as prime minister.

This governmental change, reflecting differences over tactics in the ruling class, was accompanied by some concessions in regard to the African colonies. An accord on independence for Guinea-Bissau was signed in August, and one on Mozambique in September.

On the domestic scene, further moves were taken to put the government in a better position to carry out repression against the Portuguese workers. A Maoist paper was suspended and further press controls were announced. A draft labor law was proposed with limits on the right to strike.

Steps were taken to structure the MFA more and give it a more permanent status. This included the elevation of some lower-ranking officers into higher posts. The pro-MFA military apparatus was strengthened in the Lisbon area through the formation of the Continental Operational Command, the COPCON, under ex-major Otelio Saraiva de Carvalho, a leading figure of the MFA.

ate much more openly, rallying around the figure of Spínola and waging a witch-hunt campaign against the Communist party. This rightist offensive was scheduled to culminate in a big rally of the "silent majority" on September 28 in Lisbon.

**T**he rightist offensive was correctly perceived by the workers as a threat, and in the face of inaction by the MFA-dominated government, the workers themselves took steps to counter it. The rightist mobilization was also a threat to the CP, prompting the Stalinists to take some steps to back the workers' mobilization against the rightists.

The Intersindical and the workers commissions called on the masses to take to the streets and block the right-wing rally. The response was terrific. There was a huge outpouring into the streets, barricades were set up, and the workers took control of the roads leading into Lisbon. There were examples of bus drivers and railway and streetcar workers refusing to carry the rightist demonstrators. Typographers refused to print rally announcements for the rightists. There was fraternization between the soldiers and the masses.

As a result the right-wing mobilization had to be called off and Spínola had to resign as president, to be replaced by Costa Gomes.

In that critical situation, according to an on-the-scene report by *Intercontinental Press* correspondent A. Romero, the workers "acted both in advance of and independently of the MFA and the provisional government, and paid more attention to the instructions of the CP and the Intersindical than to those of the military."

Of course, as in Chile, the rightist threat was also a danger to some of the military officers of the MFA who favored a more reformist course. They did act—but slowly, and more out of concern for heading off the mass movement than the rightist demonstration.

This was expressed quite clearly by Saraiva de Carvalho, the commander of COPCON, who explained what the MFA did in that crisis and what its concern was in deploying its forces in face of the rightist threat.

Here's what he said: "I ordered the police removed and replaced by military forces. . . . I had complete confidence in what I was doing. . . . I knew that I was not really fighting against General Spínola. My intention was never that. . . . My intention was to solve the problem that had arisen, the problem of the barricades. . . .

"We were bypassed by the people. This process was extremely dangerous in my opinion. . . . It is impermissible that the people's forces . . . came to take over a task that belonged to the forces of order. . . .

"In the final analysis, these people's brigades—and I thanked them— . . . offered us effective help. I only regret that because of a decision from above we did not head off the formation of these brigades."

But the workers trusted in the leadership of the Communist party, and the CP was largely successful in diverting the workers into support for the MFA and the MFA-dominated capitalist government.

After the September events there was a new rise in the combativity of the workers, which became particularly strong around mid-December. The MFA took on a more demagogic, leftist posture. In January the accords were signed on Angola, setting a future date for independence. The capitalist government's reliance on the CP was strengthened, and a trade-union law was passed banning the formation of rival union formations outside of the CP-controlled Intersindical.

To try to overcome the economic



Mass action by bank workers forced the government to nationalize banks

somewhat critical of the Salazarist dictatorship—men like General Spínola, who was former deputy chief of staff, and Francisco da Costa Gomes, who was former chief of staff and is president of Portugal today.

What the ruling class undoubtedly had in mind was for Spínola to play a role somewhat like that of de Gaulle in France at the end of the Algerian war. As the *New York Times* put it, he was to be "a man of the right who can effect a disengagement from colonial ties without causing political chaos or beginning a civil war."

The Portuguese ruling class wanted a strong man in power to do this in a stable way. But Portuguese imperialism is much weaker than French imperialism, and things worked out differently.

The initial statements from the junta warned the workers about any "actions not receiving prior sanction from the state power that it has taken into its hands and exercises." And it warned the African liberation fighters to accept Lisbon's limited concessions. As Costa Gomes said, "The armed struggle

Although the workers' struggle in Portugal died down for a while, there was no such decline in the colonies. The African liberation fighters were encouraged by the overthrow of the dictatorship in Lisbon. Black troops in the Portuguese armies began to desert. The Portuguese soldiers were less willing to fight, and a crisis in the imperialist army was clearly brewing. Demonstrations in Lisbon against the colonial wars were gaining increasing sympathy among the Portuguese masses.

In this situation, divisions broke out in the ruling circles over how to proceed. The rightist forces, representing sections of the ruling class most affected by the changeover to indirect colonial domination, felt the situation was favorable to putting in a much stronger government, stepping up the domestic repression, and giving very few concessions to the African liberation fighters.

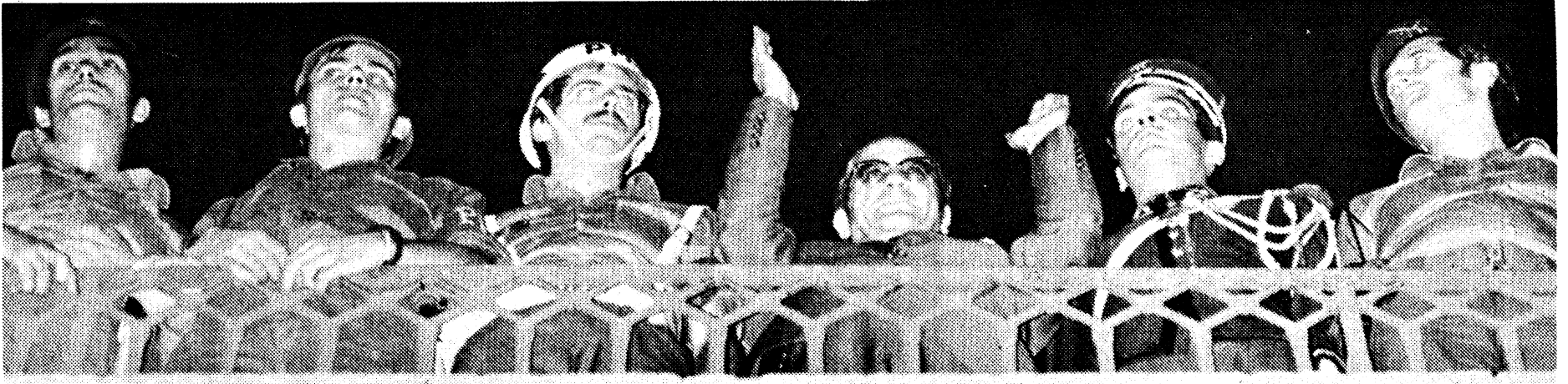
In July a government crisis developed over how to proceed. Prime Minister Adelino Palma Carlos, speaking for the Spínola wing of the government, called

The stated purpose of COPCON was "to intervene directly, in support of civilian authorities and at their command, to maintain and reestablish order"; that is, to be able to move against both the far right and the working class. But, in fact, COPCON began to be used primarily to break strikes and small leftist demonstrations.

**T**hus we see the current strategy of the MFA-led government: opposition to an immediate, strong move back to the far right, accompanied by social demagoguery to appeal to the workers. But behind this is masked a goal of holding on to capitalist rule and restoring order: probing, preparing for, and beginning some repressive measures against the working class.

In September the far right wing made another move. They were particularly concerned over the possibility of decolonization in Angola, the richest of Lisbon's African colonies. Right-wing and fascist-type groups began to oper-





Portugal's president Costa Gomes (center) and other figures in the ruling junta

crisis, the government planned to increase state control over sectors of the economy, including some expansion of state-owned enterprises. The purpose was to introduce some direction over the functioning of the capitalist economy as a whole for the benefit of the major decisive sections of the capitalists.

And finally, steps were taken to place greater formal authority into the hands of the MFA, as opposed to moving quickly and exclusively toward a parliamentary system.

**I**n March the forces around Spínola tried their latest attempt at a coup. It was a complete fiasco. As in September, the rightist attempt was met by a mass mobilization of the workers, but this mobilization was even greater than the previous one.

Spínola was able to count on far fewer points of support in the army than he had judged. Sections of the armed forces came out against the coup; in some cases the rank-and-file soldiers ousted their pro-Spínola officers. There were a few reports of soldiers distributing arms to workers. Fraternization between rank-and-file soldiers and workers increased.

Workers' occupations of factories and offices also spread. The bank workers, for example, occupied the banks, hung big banners over them reading "The Bank Belongs to the People," and demanded nationalization. At one bank the workers had for months been going through the bank records on their own, gathering information to expose the bank's economic sabotage and the links between the bank owners and the far right. This kind of development in the banks and insurance companies forced the government to nationalize them—a step the ruling class had not planned. But in these cases the MFA moved to head off workers' control and put its own trusted people in charge.

The MFA also moved to take greater political power into its hands, demanding that the major political parties sign a pact prior to the elections that gave the MFA veto power over the election of the president, guaranteed it control over the key ministries of defense, the interior, and economic planning, and ensured that for three to five years the MFA high council would have veto power over legislation.

The purpose of this pact, according to the MFA, was to initiate "the first phase of the transition to socialism." But in this phase, the necessity was stressed to maintain "democratic and revolutionary order," and those who opposed the pact from the left were immediately denounced by President Costa Gomes as having "gotten drunk on freedom and are abusing it."

To better popularize its image in the context of radicalization in the army, the MFA tops reorganized the MFA general assembly, increasing its size to 240 members (160 officers, 40 sergeants, and 40 privates, divided between the army, navy, and air force).

The April 11 issue of the *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist party USA, stated that "in certain respects, [the MFA assembly] reminded obser-

vers of the soldiers' and sailors' councils which played such a great role in the 1905 and 1917 revolutions in Russia."

Actually, the MFA assembly is quite the opposite of the soviets, the democratic mass organizations of the Russian Revolution. It is essentially a body of officers, with a few token rank-and-file soldiers. The main function of the MFA assembly is to transmit the directives of the smaller executive body of the MFA—the Revolutionary Council—down to the lower levels of the armed forces.

It is precisely workers, soldiers, and peasants councils (or soviets), controlled democratically from below, that are lacking on a generalized scale in Portugal and that are necessary to defend the gains the masses have made and to carry the struggle forward to establish a socialist Portugal.

In response to the MFA's call for unity behind its authority, the Trotskyists of the LCI have said: "It is on the basis of the Workers Committees in the factories, on the Soldiers Committees in the barracks, that the united front of the working class that we are fighting for and that all revolutionists, all workers, aspire to, will be built."

The LCI says that therefore, "it is not the working class nor the soldiers that have to have confidence in the MFA," but rather, "those in the MFA who call themselves socialists and revolutionaries must have confidence in the workers and the toilers and in their independent organizations."

**T**he most farsighted sectors of the Portuguese ruling class oppose a return to outright dictatorial rule and are seeking ways to construct a stable parliamentary form of government. But they cannot accomplish this immediately, and they see the need to put up with the MFA as the most viable instrument of maintaining their rule at the present time. This is the case despite the left rhetoric and antimonopoly demagoguery of MFA figures, and despite the fact that many spokesmen for the capital-

ists have attacked the MFA.

This attitude was expressed in the December 13, 1974, issue of *Tempo Economico*, a major capitalist economic review, which states that the "traditional alternatives" (meaning parliamentary government) are "inappropriate to the gravity of the present situation," because when there are many political parties having their say, "incompatible objectives proliferate," and this "sharpens class conflicts." Thus, the article concludes, "the role of the [MFA] is essential." It is "the major homogenizing factor in the Portuguese social system."

In other words, the Portuguese ruling class is compelled to have in power a sort of judge-arbiter, appearing to stand above the classes and capable of acting with decisiveness both to regulate the internal affairs of the capitalist class and to contain and repress the workers movement—acting in the last analysis as the representative of the capitalist class as a whole. In Marxist terminology this phenomenon is sometimes called "Bonapartism," after Napoleon Bonaparte, who fulfilled a similar function, although in a much stronger way than the MFA can.

The MFA, a capitalist instrument in a radical-populist guise, has been aided considerably in performing its role by the Communist party. The CP has campaigned to channel the workers into full and uncritical support of the MFA. This fits in with the CP's basic policy of holding back the workers' struggle in order to try to cement an alliance with sectors of the capitalist class.

The February 20 *Wall Street Journal* explained the role of the Portuguese Communist party quite clearly: "Sometimes [CP leader] Mr. Cunhal sounds so moderate that you have to recheck his history to make sure he doesn't belong to some middle-class party. He talks of seeing a place for private enterprise in Portugal's future. He discourages strikes, mutes any criticism of NATO, avoids vitriolic propaganda and extends a hand toward America. Moreover, he doesn't take a dogmatic posi-

tion on the nationalization of industry."

The Communist party's policy can lead the Portuguese working class into a terrible tragedy, for it can disarm the workers in face of the future danger of a major violent repressive attack by the ruling class.

Last October, CP leader Cunhal proudly boasted: "The Communist party has no arms. But in Portugal there are arms to defend the democratic revolution, and there must be such arms to defend the democratic revolution. These arms are in good hands, in the hands of the Movimento das Forças Armadas. Our people do not need arms to defend the democratic revolution in our country under the present conditions."

How reminiscent of Chile! And the lesson of what happened in Chile indicates the danger that exists in Portugal.

**T**hus, an important task before revolutionists is to expose the counterrevolutionary role of the Communist party in Portugal and convince the workers to look toward an alternative, genuinely revolutionary leadership. Many of the tens of thousands of radicalizing workers who have only recently come to support the CP are not hardened Stalinists and have on many occasions gravitated toward positions to the left of those put forward by the CP leadership.

In contrast to the Communist party, revolutionists stress the need for class independence; that is, for the workers to rely only on themselves and on their allies from among the poor, exploited, and oppressed, rather than on the MFA or any other representative of capitalist interests.

Of course, under pressure of the class struggle, some lower-level officers may break with the ruling class and come over to the side of the working class. But if they do so, they will have to break with the MFA, which is on the capitalist side of the class line.

Revolutionists must find ways to expose the MFA and help dispel the illusions that the workers have in it. This can be done, not through abstract denunciations of the MFA, but through raising slogans and demands appropriate to the situation, such as: rejection of the MFA pact; construction of rank-and-file soldiers committees; and a workers government based on the mass organizations of the working class and the poor farmers, as opposed to the present government, which is dominated by procapitalist forces like the MFA.

An instructive parallel to the situation in Portugal today is the situation in Russia following the overthrow of the tsar in February 1917. There too the masses were deceived for a time into thinking that the capitalist provisional governments that replaced the tsar represented the revolutionary aspirations of the workers and peasants. What was required was the construction of a mass revolutionary socialist party, the Bolshevik party, capable of leading the workers forward to the overthrow of capitalist rule and the creation of a workers state.



LCI poster calls for workers government. Both Trotskyist groups, LCI and PRT, have urged workers, soldiers, and poor farmers to have no confidence in MFA and to build their own mass organizations.

In Portugal, the way forward is indicated by the various demands that have been raised by the Trotskyist groups there, the LCI and the PRT. The following demands have been raised at one time or another by one or both of the groups. This is not a complete list of their demands, but it does indicate some of the burning tasks of the hour, as seen by revolutionists in Portugal.

***Demands against government restrictions on democratic rights.*** For the right of assembly; for the full right of trade-union and political organization; for the unimpeded right to strike; for the right to demonstrate; full freedom for the workers' press—lift the ban on the Maoist press; dissolve the riot police.

***Demands on the economic front.*** For

emergency wage increases; for a price freeze regulated by the workers; for minimum-wage compensation for the unemployed; for nationalization of all industries that threaten to shut down or lay off workers; extend the present nationalizations to foreign-owned enterprises; nationalization without compensation and under workers' control; spread and consolidate the forms of workers' control that already exist in a number of factories; for a state monopoly of foreign trade; for an economic plan drawn up by the mass workers organizations.

***Demands pointing toward workers self-defense.*** For a workers united front against reaction; for united self-defense, organized through the mass organizations of the workers—on the job, in the

neighborhoods.

***Demands to mobilize the rank-and-file soldiers.*** For immediate and total withdrawal from Africa; for withdrawal from NATO; abrogate the Iberian Pact linking Portugal with Spain; get rid of the reactionary officers—give them public trials and imprison them; spread the rank-and-file assemblies of soldiers and sailors; elect the officers; link up the soldiers' and sailors' committees with the workers and farmers.

***Demands pointing toward workers governmental power.*** For rank-and-file committees of the exploited sectors of the population at all levels and with full freedom for all workers parties; for a national assembly of workers committees; reject the pact of the MFA; for a workers government.

Such demands point in the direction of uniting the working class; of developing and extending organized forms that can become soviet-type institutions of workers power; of deepening and extending the alliance between the workers, the farmers, the soldiers, and the other allies of the proletariat; and of preparing the workers to defend themselves against attempts to reverse the gains made and attempts to reverse the direction of the revolutionary upsurge.

We can make no predictions about the outcome in Portugal, but this is the only type of program around which it is possible to construct a mass revolutionary Marxist party capable of leading the struggle to a successful conclusion.

# Freedom of the Press and the Working Class

## By Leon Trotsky

*The article printed below, dated August 21, 1938, first appeared in the October 1938 issue of *Clave*, the magazine of the Spanish-speaking sections of the Fourth International, published in Mexico City. It has special relevance to the events now taking place in Portugal.*

*On May 19 the Portuguese Communist party mobilized workers to shut down the Socialist party newspaper, *Republica*. This and other restrictions on the press by the ruling Armed Forces Movement, supported by the Communist party, have posed acutely the question of freedom of expression.*

*The issue has also come to the fore in Peru, where the military government has silenced the right-wing press and has sought support from the workers movement for such restrictions by the capitalist government.*

*Leon Trotsky wrote this article while in exile in Mexico, where the Communist party was a powerful force, just as the CP is in Portugal today. The Mexican CP controlled the CTM (Mexican Confederation of Workers), the major trade-union federation. And it had influence over the head of the CTM, Vicente Lombardo Toledano, who was also the editor of the CTM's newspaper, *El Popular*.*

*This article appeared without a signature, and it could not be positively identified as Trotsky's until the original manuscript was examined in the Trotsky Archives at the Harvard College Library.*

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A campaign against the reactionary press is underway in Mexico. The attack is being directed by the CTM leaders, or, more precisely, by Mr. Lombardo Toledano personally. The objective is to "curb" the reactionary press, either by placing it under a democratic censorship or banning it altogether. The trade unions have been mobilized for war. The incurable democrats, corrupted by their experience with a Stalinized Moscow and headed by "friends" of the GPU [Soviet secret police], have hailed this campaign, which cannot be regarded as anything but suicidal. In fact, it is not difficult to foresee that even if this campaign triumphs and leads to practical results that suit the taste of Lombardo Toledano,

no, the ultimate consequences will be borne primarily by the working class.

Both theory and historical experience testify that any restriction of democracy in bourgeois society is, in the final analysis, invariably directed against the proletariat, just as any taxes that are imposed also fall on the shoulders of the working class. Bourgeois democracy is of use to the proletariat only insofar as it opens up the way for the development of the class struggle. Consequently, any working-class "leader" who arms the bourgeois state with special means for controlling public opinion in general and the press in particular is, precisely, a traitor. In the last analysis, the sharpening of the class struggle will impel the bourgeoisie of every stripe to reach an agreement among themselves; they will then pass special laws, all sorts of restrictive measures, and all kinds of "democratic" censorship against the working class. Anyone who has not yet understood this should get out of the ranks of the working class.

"But at times," some "friends" of the USSR will object, "the dictatorship of the proletariat is forced to resort to special measures, particularly against the reactionary press."

"This objection," we reply, "comes down primarily to trying to identify a workers state with a bourgeois state. Even though Mexico is a semicolonial country, it is also a bourgeois state, and in no way a workers state. However, even from the standpoint of the interests of the dictatorship of the proletariat, banning bourgeois newspapers or censoring them does not in the least constitute a 'program,' or a 'principle,' or an ideal setup. Measures of this kind can only be a temporary, unavoidable evil."

Once at the helm, the proletariat may find itself forced, for a certain time, to take special measures against the bourgeoisie, if the bourgeoisie assumes an attitude of open rebellion against the workers state. In that case, restricting freedom of the press goes hand in hand with all the other measures employed in waging a civil war. Naturally, if you are forced to use artillery and planes against the enemy, you cannot permit this same enemy to maintain his own centers of news and propaganda within the armed camp of the proletariat. Nonetheless, in this instance, too, if the special measures are extended until they become an enduring pattern, they in themselves carry the danger of getting out of hand and of the workers bureaucracy gaining a political monopoly that would be one of the sources of its degeneration.

We have a living example of such a dynamic before us in the detestable suppression of freedom of speech and of the press that is now the rule in the Soviet Union. This has nothing to do with the interests of the dictatorship of the proletariat. To the contrary, it is designed to protect the interests of the new governing caste from the worker and peasant opposition. That very bonapartist bureaucracy in Moscow is now being aped by Mr. Lombardo Toledano and Company, who equate their personal careers with the interests of socialism.

The real tasks of the workers state lie not in clamping a police gag on public opinion but rather in freeing it from the yoke of capital. This can be done only by placing the means of production, including the production of public information, in the hands of society as a whole. Once this fundamental socialist step has been taken, all currents of public opinion that have not taken up arms against the dictatorship of the proletariat must be given the opportunity to express themselves freely. It is the duty of the workers state to make available to them all, in proportion to their numbers, the technical means they may require, such as presses, paper, and transport. One of the main causes of the degeneration of the state apparatus is the Stalinist bureaucracy's monopolization of the press, which threatens to reduce all the gains of the October Revolution to utter ruin.

If we were to go looking for examples of the Comintern's fatal influence on the workers movements in various countries, the present campaign by Lombardo Toledano would provide one of the oddest. Toledano and his fellow doctrinaires are trying essentially to introduce into a bourgeois-democratic system means and methods that might in certain temporary conditions prove unavoidable under a dictatorship of the proletariat. What is more, they are not really borrowing these methods from the dictatorship of the proletariat but rather from its bonapartist usurpers. In other words, they are infecting an already ailing bourgeois democracy with the virus of the decaying Stalinist bureaucracy.

Mexico's anemic democracy faces a constant and deadly threat from two directions—first from foreign imperialism and second from the agents of reaction within the country, who control the publications with the widest circulation. But only the blind or feeble-minded could think that as the

result of the ban on the reactionary press the workers and peasants can free themselves from the influence of reactionary ideas. In reality, only the greatest freedom of speech, of the press, and of association can create favorable conditions for the advance of the revolutionary movement of the working class.

It is essential to wage a relentless struggle against the reactionary press. But workers cannot let the repressive fist of the bourgeois state substitute for the struggle that they must wage through their own organizations and their own press. Today the state may appear to be "kindly" disposed to the workers organizations; tomorrow the government may fall, inevitably will fall, into the hands of the most reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie. In that case, whatever restrictive legislation that exists will be thrown at the workers. Only adventurers with no thought other than for the needs of the moment would fail to heed such a danger.

The most effective way to combat the bourgeois press is to expand the working-class press. Of course, yellow journals of *El Popular's* ilk are incapable of taking up such a task. Such sheets have no place among the workers' press, the revolutionary press, or even the reputable democratic press. *El Popular* serves the personal ambitions of Mr. Lombardo Toledano, who in turn serves the Stalinist bureaucracy. Its methods—lies, slander, witch-hunt campaigns, and falsification—are also Toledano's methods. His newspaper has neither program nor ideas. Obviously such a sheet can never strike a responsive chord in the working class or win the proletariat away from the bourgeois papers.

So, we come to the unavoidable conclusion that the fight against the bourgeois press starts with throwing out the degenerate "leaders" of the working-class organizations, in particular with freeing the workers' press from the tutelage of Lombardo Toledano and other bourgeois place seekers. The Mexican proletariat has to have an honest newspaper to express its needs, defend its interests, broaden its horizon, and prepare the way for the socialist revolution in Mexico. This is what *Clave* proposes to do. So, we are starting out by declaring an unrelenting war against Toledano's wretched bonapartist pretensions. And in this effort we are looking forward to the support of all the advanced workers, Marxists, and genuine democrats.



# 'We're Just Coming Over the Hill'

## Summing Up Willie Mae Reid Campaign Against 'Boss' Daley

By Elizabeth Stone

**M**asses of Americans are disillusioned with the politicians of the Republican and Democratic parties. A recent Harris poll shows that more people now consider themselves "independents" than see themselves as supporters of either of those two parties.

Lack of confidence in Democratic and Republican politicians has led to record-low voter turnouts. It has also been reflected in an upturn of interest in socialist candidates.

Socialists are now able to talk with more people, get a more serious hearing, and gain more support than before. An example of this was the recent campaign of Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Chicago. The Reid campaign was qualitatively bigger and more effective than previous Socialist Workers party campaigns in Illinois.

Although the commercial media, as usual, discriminated against the socialists, the Reid campaign got more coverage than previous socialist campaigns. Dozens of articles on the campaign appeared in the newspapers, with some Black papers giving especially good coverage.

Reid was on radio and television talk shows or feature interviews for a total of seventeen hours. During the last few weeks of the campaign, hardly a day went by without some media coverage of campaign activities or statements.

Campaign supporters passed out more than 100,000 pieces of campaign literature. "Reid for Mayor" posters were pasted up in many neighborhoods. Reid spoke to numerous organized meetings, forums, and rallies and also campaigned on unemployment lines, at plant gates, on street corners, and at high schools and campuses.

Prior to the February primaries, she took part in debates with the Democratic and Republican contenders (except for Daley) on five separate occasions.

What all this meant was that large numbers of people who had never heard a socialist before, who had never been able to listen to a candidate with a program for solving problems of working people, became familiar with socialist ideas.

In addition, people not previously part of the socialist movement became supporters of Reid's campaign and pitched in to build various campaign activities. Their efforts brought out 16,693 people to vote for Willie Mae Reid on election day. (At least that's how many votes "Boss" Daley's election board credited her with. The real vote was undoubtedly higher.) In the majority-Black wards of the city, Reid was credited with 5.2 percent of the vote.

One of the most important factors in the success of the campaign was Reid's achievement of ballot status, despite the highly restrictive, undemocratic election laws. Supporters of the socialist candidate collected more than 60,000 signatures on nominating petitions, and Reid became the first mayoral candidate in forty years to meet the stringent requirements for an indepen-

*Elizabeth Stone was on the staff of the Willie Mae Reid campaign committee in the Chicago mayoral race. She is a National Committee member of the Socialist Workers party.*

dent party.

Another important factor was the strong sentiment in Chicago's large Black community for a Black mayor and the fact that Willie Mae Reid was the only Black candidate to appear on the ballot in the general election.

In the months leading up to the primaries there was much discussion in the Black community about the possibility of electing a Black mayor in Chicago. There was speculation that Daley would not run for an unprecedented sixth term because of his age, failing health, and exposures of corruption in his inner circle.

The Committee for a Black Mayor, a group of prominent Black ministers, business people, labor leaders, and others was formed to select a candidate and raise money for a bid for the Democratic nomination. Meanwhile, five Blacks, including three Democrats, one Republican, and Willie Mae Reid, announced they were running.

The Committee for a Black Mayor decided to urge Democratic Congressman Ralph Metcalfe to run. Metcalfe, a longtime machine stalwart who had in recent years taken his distance from Daley, considered entering the race.

the overall primary vote, winning the Democratic nomination.

Needless to say, this whole sequence of events left those who had hopes for a Black mayor feeling discouraged. Only slightly more than 40 percent of the registered Black voters bothered to go to the polls.

There was also disillusionment with the program of the Democratic and Republican party contenders. None of the candidates ran on programs offering real solutions to working peoples' problems. All of them conducted their campaigns in a manner typical of capitalist politicians, putting personal ambitions ahead of principle.

Singer, confidant of liberal backing, swung to the right in an attempt to pick up conservative votes. He joined Hanrahan—who had ordered the 1969 police attack that resulted in the deaths of Black Panther party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark—in claiming that "crime" was the big issue. Singer's answer to street crime was that of the "law and order" liberal, with proposals for more cops.

Hanrahan, figuring he had the racist "law and order" vote in his pocket, tried to give the appearance of moving a

and ran on a program providing specific solutions to the problems of working people.

Again and again, Reid would point out that while the capitalist politicians have no solutions to the problems of unemployment, inflation, bad schools, police brutality, crime, bad housing, and other social ills, the socialists do. "We need deepgoing solutions to deepgoing problems," she would say, and then she would explain her proposals: Create jobs by using the \$100 billion defense budget for a public works program to build schools, housing, and public transportation. End the cutbacks in social services. Shorten the work-week with no cut in pay to spread the available work.

Reid campaign supporters went throughout the city with their sound truck and talked to people about her program. When General Electric laid off the entire third shift at its big plant in nearby Hawthorne, Illinois, she went to the plant and talked with the workers about the situation. Campaign supporters went to unemployment lines and welfare offices to distribute literature and to talk with jobless workers.

Reid gained a reputation as someone



Willie Mae Reid campaigning at Chicago unemployment center

Charles Ostrofsky

When it became clear that Daley was running, Metcalfe bowed out, claiming the Committee for a Black Mayor had not raised a big enough war chest. Metcalfe knew that with Daley running, the big business interests would support the mayor.

By the time of the primaries, the one Black Republican and all the Black Democrats, with the exception of State Sen. Richard Newhouse, had dropped out. This left Newhouse, liberal Alderman William Singer, and former state's attorney Edward Hanrahan running against Daley in the Democratic primary. The Black vote was split mostly between Singer, who got 31 percent in the city's fifteen predominantly Black wards, Newhouse, who got 20 percent, and Daley, who got 47 percent.

Although it was the first time ever that Daley did not win a majority of the Black vote, he garnered 58 percent of

little to the left, speaking out for "equal-opportunity hiring" in the police department.

Newhouse did not have much of a program at all. His opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment cost him the support of many, although he switched his position to support for the ERA at the last minute.

**R**eid's campaign, her program, her approach, everything she stood for, was the opposite of that of the capitalist politicians.

She announced from the beginning that she was running independently of, and in opposition to, the Republican and Democratic parties. Her campaign was not designed to win acceptance among the business interests that call the shots in the capitalist parties. She championed the rights of the oppressed

who did not mince words, who was unafraid to tell the truth about this society. The contrast between her attitude and that of Newhouse and Singer was reflected in their different approaches to Hanrahan. Newhouse and Singer always avoided raising the obvious fact that here was a man with a brutal, racist murder on his hands. Again and again Reid was applauded at candidates' meetings as she attacked this hypocrisy and said it was an insult to all Black people to have a man like Hanrahan come around asking for their vote.

Reid's militancy and the strength of her conviction come from her life experience. Growing up in Memphis, Tennessee, and living most of her adult life in Chicago, she became convinced that Black people and working people must organize themselves independently if change is to come.

Reid's campaign was different in another way. She not only emphasized the need for working people to become involved in the political process, but she and her supporters actively backed the day-to-day struggles going on, such as strikes and demonstrations.

By running this kind of campaign, by gaining ballot status, and by audaciously challenging the politicians representing the status quo, the Willie Mae Reid campaign helped provide an example for broader forces within the Black and labor movements.

Reid made the point many times that if she could make the impact that she made, with the relatively limited forces behind her campaign, how much more could be accomplished if broader forces in the Black community and labor movement began to organize and run their own independent candidates.

**I**n Chicago, the Republican party is so weak that winning the Democratic primary is often tantamount to being elected.

No one thought the Republican nominee, then-alderman John Hoellen, could beat Daley. Immediately after the primary, newspaper headlines proclaimed Daley's victory for another four years, and some papers carried news about plans for Daley's inauguration.

Hoellen, after being defeated in his bid to be reelected as alderman in the Forty-seventh Ward, threatened to withdraw from the mayoral race: "If I can't be elected alderman of the Forty-seventh Ward," he said, "it's impossible for me to be elected mayor."

Republican leaders exerted pressure on Hoellen not to pull out. At one meeting of Republican party chiefs, Illinois Attorney General William Scott exhorted them to get behind Hoellen to protect the party's ballot status. According to the March 2 *Chicago Tribune*, Scott "warned that if the Republican Party does not have a viable mayoral candidate who can get 5 percent of the April 1 vote, Republicans will cease to be a legal party in the second-largest city in the nation, and the Socialist Workers Party will be No. 2."

Scott was referring to the fact that in order to be on the ballot without having to petition in the next election, a party must get 5 percent of the vote. Hoellen was cajoled into running, but he had a hard time generating much interest in his campaign. He was not only politically reactionary, incompetent, and ill-financed, but also somewhat of a buffoon. In one desperate attempt to gain public attention he appeared at a news conference with live snakes, saying that this was to draw attention to his plan to "drive the vipers out of city hall."

Meanwhile, Willie Mae Reid stepped up her efforts to reach as many voters as possible with her program. An article in the *Chicago Weekend*, a Black-community newspaper, described her efforts this way:

"While Democratic independents nurse the wounds sustained in the Feb. 25 primary elections, while the Republicans stumble along with a candidate who has admitted he would rather not run for mayor, one candidate is pressing forward actively in an electoral assault on Mayor Richard J. Daley. . . .

"Lacking the resources needed to mount a 'modern' media blitz, Willie Reid's campaign is a truly grass roots effort. Appearances on high school and college campuses are punctuated by frequent streetcorner rallies, early morning handshaking at factory gates, and conversations with voters waiting on unemployment lines."

During the last several weeks of the campaign, city hall was rocked by "Daleygate," a series of exposures of a massive spy and harassment apparatus created by Daley for use against his political opponents. Day after day

headlines exposed one or another lurid caper by Daley's "red squad." One of these headlines concerned a revelation that Daley's police had been complicit with a robbery carried out by a rightist group against the Socialist Workers party's headquarters in 1969.

Reid immediately met with an assistant to the state's attorney and demanded that all documents relating to this incident and other harassment be made public and that the culprits be brought to justice.

In line with this, the Socialist Workers party campaign committee asked for an exemption from compliance with the Illinois disclosure act requiring that names of campaign contributors be turned over to the government. The campaign committee charged that this meant exposing these people to possible government harassment.

showing for the mayor and to boost his national clout. Daley was also no doubt aware that the more voters brought out by the machine, the harder it would be for Reid to get 5 percent. With a patronage army of tens of thousands of people with city jobs, Daley turned out 542,817 voters.

It is significant that Willie Mae Reid got her highest vote totals in the areas with the higher percentages of independent-minded voters. In the South Side's Fifth Ward, a majority-Black ward with an antimachine tradition, Willie Mae Reid received 14.5 percent of the vote. This was also a ward in which Reid did a lot of campaigning.

As the election results showed, there were many liberals who, either because they had not heard of Willie Mae Reid or because they were prejudiced against



Charles Ostrofsky



Elizabeth Stone

Willie Mae Reid at street meeting (above) and debating opponents Singer (left) and Hanrahan before primary.

On election day, April 1, Daley was credited with just under 78 percent of the vote, Hoellen with about 20 percent, and Willie Mae Reid, 2.4 percent.

Although Reid did not get the 5 percent of the vote that would have assured a place on the ballot in future elections, her supporters considered the nearly 17,000 votes she did receive very encouraging. This was especially true since there were no statewide elections or ballot propositions and very few aldermanic runoffs on April 1. Therefore, most voters who pulled the lever for Reid came to the polls for the sole purpose of voting for her.

There was also evidence of the usual vote stealing. Peggy Smith Martin, a former state representative, called the Reid campaign headquarters on election day to report that she had seen money changing hands at her polling place. Another woman called to say that Reid's name was not on the machine in her precinct. She was outraged when election officials told her it didn't matter, since there were few Black people living in the area.

The voter turnout was the lowest in forty years, with only 47 percent of those registered turning out. Although Daley received a high percentage of the vote—the press called it an overwhelming victory—it was his smallest vote total ever in a general election for mayor.

Despite the certainty that Daley would win the election, the machine made an all-out effort to bring people to the polls to make an impressive last

socialists, decided to cast their "protest" vote for Hoellen, despite his conservative stance. An especially negative role was played by the Independent Voters of Illinois, an antimachine organization that was the base for Singer's primary campaign and that has a lot of prestige in liberal circles.

After Singer was defeated, the IVI announced that it was endorsing Hoellen. According to the March 6 *Chicago Sun-Times*, IVI leader Lee Epstein said they did this to "reaffirm IVI's belief in the need for a two-party system in Chicago."

Actually, the people of Chicago need just the opposite—to break the political monopoly of the two-party system. If Willie Mae Reid had been able to gain permanent ballot status, this would have helped do just that.

Even more scandalous than the IVI's role was that of the Communist party. The Communist party was approached repeatedly by Reid supporters, both directly and by means of an "Open Letter to the Communist Party and Young Workers Liberation League" urging them to call for a vote for Reid on April 1.

They refused. With a choice between the Democrat Daley, Republican Hoellen, and a Black woman socialist, they chose to remain neutral.

Before the primaries, the strategy of the Communist party was to support the liberal antimachine candidates, Singer and Newhouse. Of the two, they seemed more enthusiastic about Singer, who had the greater financial backing

and apparatus. Singer received more coverage in the CP's newspaper, the *Daily World*.

After the primary, the *Daily World* was forced to admit that Daley was able to win the votes of many working people in the Democratic primary because the so-called independent candidates—Singer and Newhouse—did not address themselves to the important issues of jobs and racism.

An official CP statement about the election, quoted in the March 13 *Daily World*, complained about Singer's record in never exposing Daley's inaction on public works and jobs, and in proposing tax-free bonds to subsidize corporate profits and other tax breaks to big business.

All this was true about the CP's favored candidate, and plenty more, but this did not bring the CP to conclude that they were wrong to support Singer. On the contrary, the *Daily World* touted the campaigns of the antimachine Democrats as being truly "heroic."

This policy was in line with the CP's national perspective of supporting Democrats, but it appeared all the more treacherous in Chicago because of the vigorous alternative presented by Willie Mae Reid.

**T**he Chicago mayor's race was an example of the bankruptcy of capitalist politics. It showed why it will take the building of a mass party, organized in the interests of working people, to solve our problems.

The significance of the Reid campaign was that it was part of a beginning of the difficult but necessary process of building such a party. Even though the campaign was not on the scale of those of the candidates favored by the moneyed interests, there was enough wind in the sails of Reid's campaign to give a glimpse of the kind of momentum that can develop as the present disillusionment with the capitalist politicians deepens.

It gave a glimpse of some of the gains that can be expected in Chicago as the Socialist Workers party turns to campaigning for the SWP 1976 presidential ticket of Peter Camejo for president and Willie Mae Reid for vice-president. As a result of the groundwork laid by the socialist mayoral campaign, the Socialist Workers party will be opening up a second campaign headquarters on Chicago's South Side. Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid will be touring the city soon.

It is sometimes hard for people who are used to looking at elections only in terms of an immediate victory or loss to understand why socialists would consider a campaign such as Reid's race for mayor a success. On the night of the election, one reporter from the *Daily News* marveled that Willie Mae Reid seemed to be such a "happy loser." He wrote, "For a party that was losing an election, the Socialist Workers headquarters was a remarkably lively place."

The atmosphere at the headquarters was one of optimism. There were cheers from campaign supporters as poll watchers arrived and announced precinct vote totals as high as 20 percent in areas where the party had campaigned heavily.

Toward the end of the evening, after Hoellen made his speech telling television viewers he was going to retire from politics and "ride off into the political sunset," the TV channel switched to a very different kind of statement by Willie Mae Reid.

"We may not be a household word," she said, "but we reached more people than ever before. As we move into the national campaign, we're going to build on the start we made in Chicago."

And she added, to cheers, "We are not riding into the sunset. We are just coming over the hill."





## A fire bombing in Boston

California belonged to the Mexicans before the white man and his sweet talk and forked tongue robbed it from them.

I am bitter, yes, but I'm willing to fight. There is sweetness in everything, and the knowledge that the *Militant* is distributed to our brothers and sisters behind bars in the nation's prisons is a good omen for the future. I want to contribute to the Prisoner Fund. I enclose three dollars. Onward, and let freedom ring.

S.C.

Los Angeles, California

### Killing two birds

A few months ago, after being sold a *Militant*, and then subscribing, I got interested in the campaigns of Stacey Seigle and John Studer here for governor and Senate. I was recruited, at a campaign rally, to the Young Socialist Alliance.

Now I'm selling the *Militant* myself. Of course, my sales are better when I've read the paper first, and that's why I'm writing.

Our bundle arrives by plane on Friday night or Saturday morning. My issue arrives through the mail later. If possible, I'd like to donate the remainder of my subscription, about a year's worth, to the Prisoner Fund. This way, I could get my copy on Saturday morning, while the sub I've already paid for would go to a good cause (as the letters from prisoners published in the paper indicate).

Kris Huget

Portland, Oregon

[The *Militant's* special Prisoner Fund makes it possible for us to send complimentary or reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.]

### Native American memorial

This letter is to ask your assistance in informing the public that we, Pte Ska O-ya-te (White Buffalo People), a nonprofit American Indian awareness group, are in the process of compiling an eighteen-month pictorial calendar of early Native American religious scenes as a prelude to our Bicentennial noncelebration.

The calendar, which will be available in June, will be composed of twenty photographs, each suitable for framing, from the works of Edward S. Curtis, pioneer photographer and humanitarian.

We are asking no set price for these calendars; any amount, no matter how modest, will be gratefully accepted and acknowledged, as will all correspondence.

All proceeds will go toward erecting a suitable memorial monument to all Native Americans. That is our goal.

Please print this letter so that your readers will be aware of this project.

Richard Colbenson

Pte Ska O-ya-te

411 Stanford Road

Grand Forks, North Dakota 58201

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.

The recent attempted murder of five Puerto Rican families in Boston got buried in police statistics as a "racial incident." It didn't even make the out-of-town newspapers. But it is a blood-curdling illustration of why Puerto Ricans have a life-and-death interest in mobilizing to make sure the racist movement in Boston doesn't succeed.

On April 29, the five families tried to move into apartments in East Boston's Orient Heights housing project. They had been forced to leave their old apartments in a Puerto Rican neighborhood because fire had gutted them. What happened to the families is described by Dianne Dumanoski in the May 20 *Boston Phoenix*.

Desperately looking for lodging they could afford, the Puerto Ricans contacted the Boston Housing Authority to see if they had any vacancies. It turned out the apartments they had available were in East Boston, a stronghold of the antibusing movement and of the rabid anti-Black and anti-Puerto Rican hysteria that accompanies it.

Eneida Cuba, the mother of a sixteen-month-old baby, told reporters, "At first we refused to go, because we know it was bad. We know. Our friends got beat up going there. . . ."

América Nazario was lucky. She and some friends who were helping her move were driven away by the racists before she even got her furniture into the apartment. The others went through a horrifying experience and at the end barely escaped with their lives.

It was a Tuesday night, and many of the teen-agers living in the project had just come back from a basketball game when they started to make trouble.

The first thing that happened was that one of them beat up a Puerto Rican man who had nothing to do with the new tenants—he just happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time. Then, around 11:00 p.m., they started throwing molotov cocktails at the windows of the apartments.

Because most of the apartments were not yet ready for the new tenants, many of the windows were still boarded up with plywood. The first fire bomb, thrown

at Elizabeth Cruzado's apartment, hit the plywood, covering it with burning gasoline. Cuba came to help Cruzado put out the fire and then ran out to get help.

She asked a neighbor who was already living in the building to call the fire department. He said, "fuck it," and went into his apartment.

Soon the bottles of gasoline were hitting windows of all five apartments, and all the unboarded ones had been smashed. The women gathered with their children in Cuba's apartment, which had plywood on all the windows.

Then the front door was fire bombed and began to burn. It had been the only way out. They were trapped.

The women struggled to put out the fire at the front door as the room filled with smoke. Finally, they succeeded. Shortly afterwards, the fire department and the police arrived, preventing further attack. The women went back to their old neighborhood with their children, returning the next day under police escort to retrieve their belongings.

The cops say they are investigating the incident, but have been unable to catch the would-be murderers. The cops can't be trying too hard, however, because the *Phoenix* reporter had no trouble finding and interviewing the arsonists.

Most of those interviewed were unwilling to unambiguously state that they had participated, but they knew all the details, down to the number of people in the mob. And they justified the attack, saying:

"I don't like living with spics. Nobody does."

"They're pigs."

"They multiply like rabbits."

"We're going to clean up the projects. Just like Southie."

Asked if he was worried about someone getting killed, one replied: "I don't care. That's the breaks. That's life in the big city."

Another: "So they cook, they cook." It could have been Hitler talking about the Jews at Auschwitz.

But it wasn't. It was young whites in "Eastie" repeating what they learned in their segregated schools and their antibusing homes.

## Their Government

Cindy Jaquith



## The gov't and the 'free' press

Although Watergate and Vietnam are "over," they have had a permanent effect on the way journalists look at themselves and the country. This was brought home to me when I attended the Fourth A. J. Liebling Counter-Convention, held in New York May 8-11.

The convention, named after press critic A. J. Liebling, was sponsored by the monthly journalism review *[More]*. About 1,000 people attended the various sessions. They were reporters, free-lance writers, workers in publishing, journalism students, and others.

Most participants were young and many were women. At some sessions the mood and appearance of the crowd was like an antiwar conference or a women's liberation gathering.

Although the convention covered a wide range of topics, from technical questions to political issues, certain themes seemed to pop up everywhere: The lies and deceptions practiced by the U.S. government; the role of the press in disseminating those lies; the war in Vietnam; the conflict between reporter and publisher.

The sharpest expression of disgust with the government came at the Saturday night panel on "Self-Censorship," to which the convention organizers had invited Bruce Herschensohn, one of Richard Nixon's old PR men.

For the audience, the experience was a sort of catharsis, an opportunity to do a little of the heckling that is so tempting at a White House news conference, but definitely forbidden.

So when Herschensohn launched into a defense of the Nixon Vietnam War policy, the crowd had its chance. He reached his peak of absurdity when he tried to explain that the press should never have called the 1972 carpet bombing the "Christmas bombing."

Didn't the press understand that Nixon had graciously suspended the bombing for a whole thirty-six hours during Christmas?

The room went into an uproar at that, with Herschensohn helplessly pleading, "I don't think you get the point."

"I don't think *you* get the point!" someone in the audience shouted back.

Concern over the government's manipulation of the media was also expressed at the panel on CIA spying. Much of the discussion turned on the problem of CIA plants in the newsrooms of the major papers.

This is a practice with which many newspaper publishers secretly collaborate, Stuart Loory, an Ohio State University professor, pointed out. Loory noted by way of example that when the *Washington Star* first disclosed the existence of CIA agents in the press, virtually the entire rest of the media suppressed the story.

Of course, sometimes the intervention of the government into the editorial rooms is quite a bit more direct. *New York Times* reporter Seymour Hersh told the session that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who recently had lunch at the *Times*, had complained bitterly about the paper's coverage of the CIA involvement in the Chile coup.

Kissinger, Hersh recounted, said the Chile scandal has made CIA operations in Portugal much more difficult now. (In case you are wondering if the CIA is in the "destabilizing" business in Portugal, now you know.)

Interesting discussions also took place at the panels on Indochina and Watergate. More about these discussions in a future column.

# The Great Society

Harry Ring



And getting more 'stupid' every day—"... the free-enterprise system in this country is in mortal peril," Jerome Hull, president of Pacific Telephone, told the California Bankers Association. He said businessmen have allowed themselves to be painted "as greedy profiteers, a sort of ruling class that is responsible for most of the ills and frustrations of our society." He said the people believe this because "they are stupid and naïve about how our system works."

**Double standard?**—The Stanfield, Oregon, city council adopted an ordinance prohibiting animals from having sex in view of the public. Owners of animals violating the law face fines

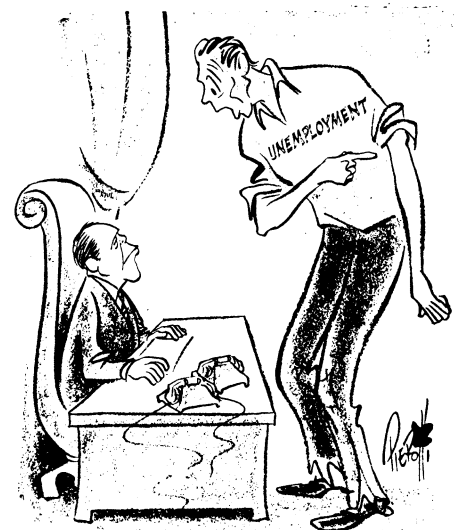
and jail terms. The ordinance, however, does not specify whether the protected public is limited to people or includes other animals as well.

**Like crazy, man!**—“WASHINGTON—Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) stunned his Senate colleagues when he proposed that each member of Congress donate \$1,000 to help finance the Indochinese refugee resettlement. . . . The proposals sent senators scurrying to the floor for a vote, where it was crushed by a margin of seventy-five to five.”—News item.

**Leave something for the collection**—The Vatican decried the brisk traffic in spurious holy bricks

being peddled to Holy Year pilgrims. Purportedly part of the supply used to seal up the Holy Door of St. Peter's Basilica, the bricks are going for as much as eighty dollars. The Vatican urged Romans not to fleece the pilgrims.

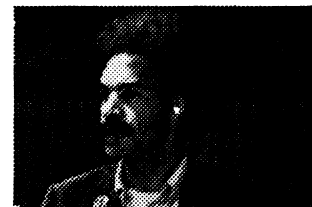
**Like Darwinian selection**—Those concerned about the health of people living in Los Angeles can relax. Researchers established that area residents have developed a resistance to pollution. They showed only half the lung function loss experienced by a group of imported Canadians given equal amounts of ozone, a principal ingredient of smog.



'Send the marines—my job's missing'

## By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



### ROAR widens its enemies list

BOSTON—"Communism. That's what it's all about," a voice said from the back of the crowded elevator. "They'll never get my kids. Never!"

The voice came from a white woman who was talking aloud to no one in particular. She was hot because she'd just left a Boston courtroom where the racist antibusing forces had lost a round in the school desegregation struggle.

The woman had on a ROAR button. ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) is Boston's largest antibusing group.

Judge Arthur Garrity had just ordered two top leaders of ROAR to testify about an early morning demonstration outside South Boston High School on May 8.

On that morning 500 white parents had blocked the streets outside the school, preventing the approach of buses carrying Black students. Three hundred cops had to be summoned to clear an entrance.

The demonstration was called by the South Boston Information Center, of which the two antibusing leaders, Virginia Sheehy and Rita Graul, are also officials.

The women's testimony could result in penalties against them. They, or ROAR, might also be added as defendants in the desegregation suit. Last December, Garrity forbade gatherings of three or more people within a hundred yards of the school during school hours.

In the courtroom, Robert Dinsmore, the tigerish, ruddy-faced lawyer for the two women, tried to paint them—the architects of the campaign of violence against Black students—as latter-day Joan of Arcs, who would roast on the stake rather than submit to the tyranny of desegregated schools.

Dinsmore claimed that the racist mob was showing its opposition to a Progressive Labor party march into South Boston the previous Saturday and to an incident in which a Black student had unfurled a PLP flag inside the school the day before the mob gathered.

"They were taking it out on communism. That's why the good people of South Boston were outside their school that morning," he said.

"Communism" is becoming a popular whipping boy of the antibusing forces. The rally they held the day after the May 17 desegregation march had a

heavy anticommunist tone to it. The PLP, because of the ultraleft and sectarian nature of its actions, is a favorite of ROAR. But the real target goes far beyond PLP; it includes all political groups who have joined the movement to defend desegregation.

The antibusing forces have already on one occasion busted up a meeting favoring passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. Now they appear to be widening their enemies list.

"Is this a backhanded slap at Mrs. Hicks?" Dinsmore asked, pointing to the ROAR leader who sat between the two women. "If so then who is next?"

"These two women are like a little woman who got on a bus in the South in 1955," Dinsmore said in conclusion. "She was tired and refused to move to the back of the bus and that started the civil rights movement."

"Now we have two white women. They are not on a bus but they are tired. And if someone tells them to move to the rear, they are creating something."

What! Rosa Parks?!

I nearly fell off my seat.

## National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



### GE workers grapple with layoffs

The following guest column is by Herman Kirsch, a member of the International Union of Electrical Workers Local 707, who was recently laid off.

CLEVELAND—At three o'clock one recent afternoon, just before the close of the shift, forty-three workers at Star Machine, a division of General Electric, were told that the company was "seriously considering" closing the plant permanently.

The prepared statement, read to the assembled workers by the plant manager, allowed for no questions or discussion.

The workers were shocked. A good percentage of these skilled workers had previously had jobs in plants that were "phased out," giving no consideration to the employees, thinking only of protecting profits for the company coupon clippers.

They knew from bitter experience that, if lucky, they could get another job, but at lower wages and with fewer fringe benefits. The gains won by their union were wiped out.

While punching out their time cards, one older man remarked, "It isn't too bad when you're young, but what does a man do when he reaches my age, fifty-three?" The retort from another behind him in the line was, "Well, I'm twenty-two and it isn't any easier for me. How am I going to pay my debts?"

The hopelessness expressed by these stunned

workers reflects the depression conditions in North-eastern Ohio. Despite the graveyard whistling by Washington politicians, who say the economy is showing "signs of recovery," layoffs and plant closings are mounting here.

IUE Local 707 had 2,200 members enrolled last year. Four hundred of them are now unemployed. Nationally, IUE has lost 40,000 members. That's one reason why the IUE was so active in organizing for the April 26 rally for "Jobs Now" in Washington, D.C.

Some of the thinking of the union members was expressed at the local's recent membership meeting, unusual because of its large attendance and degree of participation from the ranks.

In his report to the membership, local President Joe Janor expressed the hopelessness many felt: "I don't know when [the layoffs are] going to stop. In the last month I've been tied up with layoffs and nothing else. I can handle grievances and other matters related to the contract. That is something I know how to handle. But this is something different."

Others had some suggestions. "The workers who will be 'phased out' at Star Machine have many years of experience, skill, and ability," said one unionist. "If GE doesn't want to use these people, or the plant and machinery, why should it be allowed to deteriorate and rust away? The federal, state, or

city government ought to put this valuable experience to use with a massive public works program."

Another suggestion was made, unsuccessfully, that the negotiation committee be expanded to include rank-and-file members and that one of the demands of this enlarged committee be to get GE to open its books to the union and/or the public for inspection.

Another member cited a proposed bill in the state legislature that would require corporations to give two years' notice before they could shut down a plant.

When the vice-president of the union, Helen Brown, proposed that if everyone were to "buy American" millions of jobs would be created, one member took the floor to object to this narrow concept.

"The U.S. exports more commodities than any other country. If every country would adopt this thinking, millions more American workers would be out of work. Besides, [the corporations] produce parts in every continent. We live in a world-integrated economy. What's American?"

To the many proposals and demands made at the meeting, Janor responded, "Maybe the whole system in this country is wrong. I don't know. The system is beginning to destroy itself. It works when everyone is working, but now it has so many problems that it's mind boggling."



## Meetings with Blacks, students

# On the campaign trail with Willie Mae Reid

By Linda Jenness

SAN DIEGO—It was the fifth campaign appearance of the day for Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidate for vice-president, as she walked into the headquarters of NIA. NIA—the Swahili word meaning awareness—is a Black nationalist organization based in San Diego. Ron Karenga, a well-known Black nationalist who was recently released from prison, is one of the leaders of the group and was present at the meeting with Reid.

NIA invited Reid to discuss the program of the SWP. About twenty members of the group were present.

Reid was visibly tired after a day that had started early in the morning with a news conference. But after being introduced to the meeting, Reid gave a short, snappy talk explaining the goals of the socialist campaign. When she finished, the group applauded.

Members of NIA are studying the relationship between Black nationalism and socialism, and the discussion after Reid's presentation centered on some of the basic political positions of the Socialist Workers party.

A young woman asked Reid what guarantee the Black community had

sponsored to questions about the class forces in society and the role of students in the revolutionary process.

As Reid left to attend yet another meeting, members of NIA agreed that the dialogue begun between the two organizations should continue. The next evening, at a Socialist Workers campaign rally, NIA sent a speaker to welcome Reid to San Diego on behalf of NIA and to participate in the rally.

### University in turmoil

Earlier in the day, Reid had campaigned at the University of California at San Diego (UCSD), where the campus is in turmoil. The graduate students are fighting against cutbacks in funds, which would greatly increase class sizes, and are demanding an increase in student teachers' pay.

More than 400 graduate students demonstrated the day before Reid arrived. The San Diego Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR), which sponsored a solidarity march with the Boston Black community on May 17, is supporting the graduate students at UCSD.

In addition, during the week, the United Farm Workers called a picket line that grew to more than 200, and on May 15 several hundred students protested against President Ford's attacks on Cambodia.

The increase in campus political activity was reflected in the outdoor rally at UCSD to hear Reid speak. One hundred twenty-five students gathered around as the newly elected president of MECHA, the Chicano student organization; the coordinator of San Diego SCAR; a representative from both the UFW and the UCSD Women's Center; and the organizer of the San Diego Young Socialist Alliance took turns in welcoming Reid and expressing solidarity with her campaign.

The students applauded as Reid explained why in her platform, the "Bill of Rights for Working People," she calls for free education through the university level. "This is the richest country in the world," she said. "Why shouldn't all have the right to go to school, not just those who can afford it?"

"Even Cuba, with far fewer resources than this country has, can provide free education for all her citizens. If Cuba can do it, so can we."

A group of students gathered at the Women's Center after her speech for more informal discussion. The Women's Center had cosponsored Reid's rally along with the YSA. The discussion covered topics ranging from international capitalist competition to capitalist violence, and from the need



SWP vice-presidential candidate Reid (right) has found much interest in socialism during her West Coast tour.

to defend Joan Little to the undemocratic election laws in this country.

The SWP, along with four other parties, is challenging the prohibitive requirement of more than 630,000 signatures to qualify a new or minor party for California's ballot. Half that number are required to put an independent candidate on the ballot, and a law is now under consideration to reduce the independent requirement.

If either the lawsuit or proposed legislation results in lowering the number of signatures required to a realizable number, Californians may have their first chance to pull the lever for an SWP presidential slate in November 1976. "If you'll give us the petitions," a Black activist at the Women's Center told Reid, "we'll do our part here in getting the signatures."

### Soapboxing

From the Women's Center, Reid and a group of supporters went to downtown San Diego for a street rally.

Standing on a milk crate in front of a big banner that read "Jobs for all—vote socialist," the campaigners took turns speaking through a bullhorn to the rush-hour crowd on the way home from work.

"I'm Willie Mae Reid and I'm running for vice-president of the United States on the socialist ticket," Reid began. In a crisp style, she talked two or three minutes about the "Bill of Rights for Working People" and then began again.

It was at the end of this busy day that Reid went to meet with NIA, and following that meeting to listen to a

panel discussion on "Socialism and the Movement" held at UCSD and to give the people attending the panel some campaign literature.

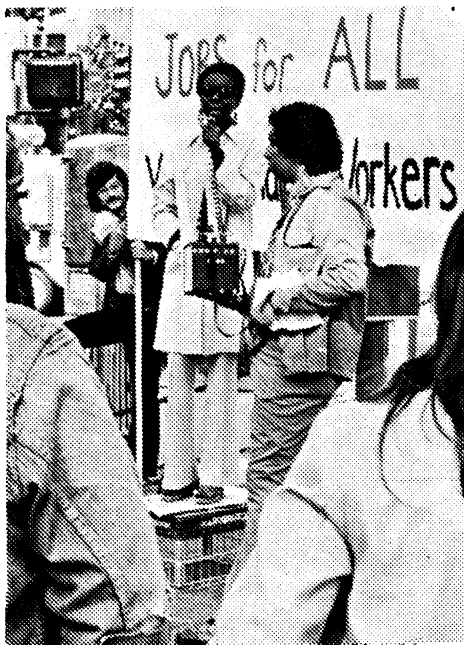
She ended up about 11 p.m. in a restaurant for a bite to eat and something to drink. "Tell us about your tour, Willie Mae," urged a campaign supporter. "You've got to be kidding," laughed Reid, "it's my turn to listen. You talk for a change."

That was one day—Thursday, May 22—on the campaign trail for Willie Mae Reid, but there were other days just as rewarding. Before leaving Los Angeles to travel to San Diego, Reid talked to workers on the unemployment lines and met with an aide to Mayor Tom Bradley to urge immediate action against those who bombed the socialist campaign headquarters and other radical centers in the last few months.

She spoke at the University of California at Los Angeles and marched in a picket line to protest the May 16 raid on undocumented workers in that city.

In San Diego, in addition to the activities on May 22, she talked to a large group of high school students at Wright Brothers High School. Although the principal assured Reid that she couldn't hold the attention of these young students for more than twenty minutes, about eighty students and teachers listened attentively for forty minutes, and ten stayed afterward for a "Join the socialist campaign" meeting.

The San Diego tour culminated in a lively socialist campaign rally, which drew people from all her campaign appearances during the preceding day.



Reid 'soapboxing' in downtown San Diego.

that when the working class won power, that power would not be used to suppress the Black community.

"The struggles that develop will have to be around demands that include the Black community," replied Reid. "Blacks will not fight around demands that don't have anything to do with our needs."

"Take the fight for jobs, for instance. Black workers are not going to go out and fight to get white workers jobs first, hoping that later the white workers will give them jobs. No, white and Black workers will have to fight together for jobs for all. That's the only way that fight can be won."

### Combined struggle

Reid explained that the fight to end capitalist rule will combine the working-class struggle for socialism with the Black struggle for national liberation. Black people will play a central role in the revolution, she said, or the revolution won't succeed.

The only guarantee that their rights will be respected, she explained, will be the organized power of the Black community through its own organizations and under its own leadership.

Reid also discussed busing and its relation to the demand for Black control of the Black community; explained the difference between the SWP and Stalinist organizations, such as the Communist party; and re-

## Join the '76 socialist campaign

The Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, are taking the socialist solution for America's economic crisis to working people and students all across the country. They are talking with them about it on unemployment lines, at plant gates, at union meetings, at shopping centers, on campuses, and in their homes.

Their ideas are meeting widespread receptivity as more and more people are looking for a way to fight back against the ravages of this system.

You should be part of the socialist campaign. Here's how you can get involved.

Clip and mail to: Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee

tee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

( ) Please send me a copy of the Bill of Rights for Working People ( ) in English; ( ) in Spanish.

( ) Please send me \_\_\_\_\_ copies of the Bill of Rights to distribute. Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_ to cover the cost (three cents each; two cents each for 1,000 or more).

( ) I would like to come to a campaign meeting.

( ) I would like to set up a meeting for a socialist speaker at my ( ) union; ( ) school; ( ) community group; ( ) home.

( ) Enclosed is my contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_.

( ) I want to join the Socialist Workers party.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation \_\_\_\_\_ Union \_\_\_\_\_

Business address \_\_\_\_\_

School/Organization \_\_\_\_\_

Officers of the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee—Chairpersons: Fred Halstead, Ed Heisler, Linda Jenness, Andrew Pulley—Treasurer: Andrea Morell.

A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.

# Spartacist League thugs attack SF forum

By Robert West

SAN FRANCISCO—In recent months, a small left-wing sectarian group called the Spartacist League has gone on an all-out drive to "smash" what it calls "Stalinist-style exclusionism" of its members from this city's Militant Labor Forum.

The forum here, like similar ones across the country, is a weekly series that presents lectures, panel discussions, films, and debates on topics of general interest to those fighting for social change.

Militant Labor Forums have a long tradition of providing a place where different points of view can be aired, both in presentations and in discussion sessions afterwards.

The Spartacist League is well aware of this tradition. Its members have participated in these forums in the past, often speaking during the discussion periods.

Recently, however, the Spartacist group here adopted a policy of organizing disruptions of the forums. As a result, the organizers of the weekly series were faced with the choice of allowing the meetings to be broken up by the disruptions, or barring members of the Spartacist League from attending the forums. Naturally, they have chosen to protect the right of the forums to be held.

### Coral meetings disrupted

In March, members of the SL in this area disrupted meetings by Argentine socialist leader Juan Carlos Coral, who was speaking on repression and right-wing terror in his homeland. The Spartacists leaped to their feet to speak without being recognized, refused to sit down, yelled loudly, and interrupted other speakers.

These actions were especially serious because Coral has been personally "sentenced to death" by the Argentine Anticommunist Alliance, a group that has murdered hundreds of leftists in that country in the past year. Moreover, one of Coral's first meetings in this country had been attacked by a gang of fifty Cuban exile thugs. These factors necessitated extraordinary precautions in organizing all meetings and put a premium on their proceeding without any disorder.

The SL was fully aware of these

facts, yet its members recklessly disrupted the gatherings.

In view of the gravity of these disruptions, organizers of the Militant Labor Forum decided that the five individuals who had led the disruptions of the Coral meetings would be permitted to attend future forums only if they gave clear and unambiguous indications of their willingness to allow the meetings to proceed in an orderly fashion.

Several members of the SL came to the forum on April 25, including one of the five that had led the Coral disruptions. They were informed that all could attend the forum except the disrupter, and the reason was explained to them.

Two did go into the meeting and, rudely interrupting the speaker, shouted a few unintelligible remarks. They then left, informing the forum organizers that they would return the next week with a picket line.

The following week's forum was on the current situation in Chile, with Rodolfo Campos, a recently released political prisoner, as the main speaker. Twenty Spartacist pickets chanted and shouted loudly outside, jostling the monitors who had been organized to ensure that all those who wanted to enter the meeting could do so.

As the meeting was beginning, three SL representatives stood up inside the room and began speaking, challenging the policy excluding the SL members. The chairperson explained the policy and said that if there were more questions or comments these could be heard after the main speaker finished his remarks.

### Shouting down speakers

The SL hooligans, however, refused to permit the forum to continue, and instead began shouting. Clearly, their intention was to break up the meeting. As a result, they were asked to leave, and when they refused to do so, they were escorted to the door.

At that precise moment, the picketers outside attacked the six monitors at the door and tried to charge into the meeting. They were successfully repelled. Although there were no injuries, one of the monitors was thrown into the street and his clothing torn and his glasses broken by the SL thugs. Once

the attempt to break up the meeting had failed, the Spartacists dispersed.

In light of these further incidents, it became clear that the disruptions and physical attacks were not the result of some individual members losing their self-control, but rather represented the policy of the Bay Area Spartacist League as a whole.

Moreover, the SL has announced, both in leaflets distributed here and in the pages of their national newspaper, that they intend to continue disrupting and "will never repudiate" their previous attacks.

Consequently, all members of the Spartacist League have been excluded from the Bay Area forums. This is the only way that the organizers of the meetings can guarantee both that forums will proceed without disruption and that those attending will not be placed in physical danger. This policy will continue in effect until the SL changes its policy of disrupting the meetings.

### Workers democracy

The SL charges that the forum organizers, in barring them from the forums, have carried out a "suppression of workers democracy."

The statements made by the SL on this issue, however, show that this sect does not understand the meaning of workers democracy.

What does this concept mean? It means the right of those within the working-class movement to discuss different points of view, to hear all sides, and to debate out questions of concern to the movement. But such discussions are impossible when one group takes it upon itself to decide to halt a meeting of another organization, through heckling and violence, because it is not being run to the satisfaction of the disrupters.

In a leaflet they are distributing, for example, the Spartacists say that the forums are "orchestrated" because those called upon by the chair are "prepared," while "others believed to be critical are passed over."

"A public forum is a public forum, and the chair has the obligation to call on everyone who wishes to speak," the leaflet asserts.

Members of the Spartacist League have always been welcome to ask questions and make comments at the Militant Labor Forums, along with everyone else in the audience, provided only that they abide by time limits, confine their discussion to the discussion period, and respect the right of others to speak.

But the Spartacist League has proclaimed that it has the right to decide if those being called on aren't "critical" enough—in which case the

*Continued on page 30*



Antidemocratic disruption is nothing new to Spartacist League. SL joined this Progressive Labor party disruption of 1971 antiwar conference because they disagreed with what speakers were saying.

## Black students hit cutbacks at Ohio State

By Chris Rayson

COLUMBUS, Ohio—About 1,000 students, most of them Black, rallied in front of the Ohio State University administration building May 21 to voice support for demands of the All-African Student and Faculty Union (AASFU). The demands include expansion of the Office of Minority Affairs, the creation of an adequate Black Cultural Center, increased recruiting and financial aid for Black students, and preferential hiring and upgrading of Black faculty.

Among the speakers at the demonstration were William Nelson, head of the Black Studies Department, and Frank Hale, Black associate dean of the graduate schools.

Nelson said that according to a report by university president Harold Enarson, there are 135 full-time Black faculty members on the campus. He said his own reports indicate there are only 75 Blacks.

"That's not even tokenism," Nelson said, "Only 2.25 percent of the faculty on this campus is Black and the percentage is going down, not up."

Nelson, Hale, and five other AASFU leaders entered the administration



Students protest declining opportunities for Blacks May 21 at Ohio State University in Columbus.

building to present the demands to the president. They were followed by 250 demonstrators, who gathered in the first-floor lobby and chanted, "Ain't no time for half-stepping while the march is on," and, "We are an African people."

The delegation demanded a meeting with President Enarson, and one was finally arranged for the following day at 8:30 a.m.

About 200 Blacks returned the next day to find all entrances to the building heavily guarded by campus cops. A few AASFU representatives were allowed in to see Enarson, but the rest were locked out. This reporter witnessed several incidents of cops pushing and shoving Blacks who tried to enter the building while whites went in freely.

The mood was militant among the locked out demonstrators in front of the building. They were understandably angry, since a number of them won't be returning to OSU in the fall unless increased financial aid is made available.

"A lot of Blacks are being forced out," Stan Montgomery said, "and there are hardly any Blacks here now.

Blacks make up 18 percent of Columbus and 11 percent of Ohio's population, but are only 2.9 percent of the students at Ohio State."

Montgomery stated that Black studies programs at Ohio State are woefully inadequate. "The Black Cultural Center is just one room in the basement of an old building. Hell, this whole university institution is a white cultural center."

A woman demonstrator pointed out that cutbacks in Black programs and declining Black enrollment are affecting state universities all over Ohio.

"When Blacks need something, the administration don't have it," she said. "But the university has money to do more landscaping, build two more buildings, as well as a new wing for the library."

After an hour-and-a-half meeting with Enarson and a member of the Ohio Senate Finance Committee, AASFU leaders reported back to the protesters.

Kujenga Ashe, chairperson of the AASFU, stated that none of the demands had been met. Ashe called for the struggle to continue, and a meeting was scheduled to plan more actions.



## Another domino totters

# Mass pressure pushes Laos to the left

By Caroline Lund

From Intercontinental Press

Since May 9, student-led demonstrations have spread through the major cities of Laos. The banners call for an end to the U.S.-administered Agency for International Development (AID) programs, an end to corruption by rightist government officials, and relief from soaring inflation.

The demonstrations have won strong support from workers and others, and have given an impulse to protests by sections of the armed forces against rightist commanders. They have accelerated the disintegration of the rightist forces and put pressure on the Pathet Lao liberation forces to move into territory previously dominated by the rightists.

The movement began when about 3,000 students marched through Vientiane May 9 protesting U.S. interference in the country and demanding the resignation of a number of rightist ministers. Four of the most powerful rightist ministers and one deputy minister resigned immediately. This included the minister of defense, whose functions were taken over by a Pathet Lao representative.

Most of the remaining right-wing politicians and generals fled the country. Rank-and-file soldiers and lower officers of the rightist armed forces, on the other hand, began to declare their allegiance to the Pathet Lao-dominated coalition government.

All 160 cadets at the officer training school just outside Vientiane took over their school May 11, refusing to obey their officers. They issued a statement denouncing those in the military whom they called "bandits who loot the people." They passed out leaflets to passersby saying, "We have taken this school over as a liberated area."

On May 14 students mobilized in two major cities, Luang Prabang and Savannakhet, demanding the disbanding of AID operations and an end to corruption and inflation. In Luang Prabang, the royal capital, radio reports said that 3,000 students, teachers, and pedicab drivers joined in the demonstration.

In Savannakhet, demonstrators at the home of the rightist provincial governor seized three American AID employees to dramatize their demands. They were released the following day but kept under "voluntary house arrest" pending the end of AID operations and talks with government



Pathet Lao soldiers waving to crowd of 20,000 in Savannakhet. Sign on tank says, 'Yankee Go Home.'

officials on economic grievances.

Later, more than 5,000 demonstrators occupied the offices of the city government to press for their demands. In another action, students seized stores of rice, which they subsequently sold at half price as a protest against prices that jumped by more than 50 percent last month alone.

Another demand of the students was that Pathet Lao troops be allowed into the city, which was a rightist stronghold. On May 20 Pathet Lao forces marched into Savannakhet, setting off what news dispatches called a "joyful celebration." *New York Times* correspondent David Andelman said: "The take-over of Savannakhet came without violence. More than 20,000 people [in a town of 200,000] reportedly lined the streets to greet the Pathet Lao soldiers, estimated to number fewer than 500."

According to Andelman, the Pathet Lao had begun "moving into virtually every major town in the Laotian panhandle area that previously was under rightist control." In a May 23 dispatch, Andelman described the troop movement as "filling the vacuum created by the flight of large numbers of right-wing officers and politicians."

Also pressing the Pathet Lao to advance were the student demonstrations that occurred in the two southern

provinces of Thakkek and Kengkok.

Meanwhile unit after unit of the rightist armed forces went over to the Pathet Lao-dominated coalition government. On May 16, 1,000 troops from the rightist air force demonstrated at the Vientiane airport demanding dismissal of their commander. The air force men grounded all military planes. On May 18 the Laotian navy withdrew its allegiance from the rightist government faction.

On May 22 students and Laotian AID employees took over the AID compound in Vientiane. The compound is a thirteen-building, multimillion-dollar complex with its own generators, supermarket, and movie theater. Two marine guards and another American were held inside.

The U.S. government agreed on the same day to terminate AID operations outside of Vientiane and to negotiate regarding ending the program completely. Subsequently the U.S. embassy announced that students in Savannakhet had released the Americans they had been detaining, whose number had grown to fourteen.

A full-scale evacuation of American AID employees was begun May 23, a move celebrated by demonstrations in Vientiane.

In the face of these growing protests against the rightists, the Pathet Lao

leadership has insisted on continuing its coalition with these corrupt and parasitic forces. "We want the coalition to continue; it will continue," stated a top Pathet Lao official on May 13 prior to a cabinet meeting that was to consider the resignations of the five rightist ministers.

According to Andelman in the May 14 *New York Times*, "In the last few days, all the major powers represented here, including North Vietnam, have apparently been quietly expressing support for continuing the coalition concept." The coalition regime was set up by the 1973 cease-fire accords on Laos. It rules only the territory formerly controlled by the rightist Vientiane government; the Pathet Lao controls more than two-thirds of the country outright.

Andelman continued: "Interviews with Western diplomats and Government officials disclose that the major powers here—the United States, the Soviet Union, China and North Vietnam—who urged the establishment of the coalition, continued to support it."

However, a continuation of the mass protests against the rightists, together with the disintegration of the rightist military and political forces, can cause the Pathet Lao to go further than they might like along the road to taking direct power.

In the May 9 demonstration in Vientiane one participant carried a placard referring to the recent victories of the liberation forces in Cambodia and South Vietnam. It read: "Phnom Penh—April 17, 1975. Saigon—April 30, 1975. Vientiane—??, 1975."



Laotian students protest U.S. interference in their country.

## Cutback protests sweep S. Calif. campuses

By Nicolás Rosner

LOS ANGELES—Chicano and other minority students at California State University in Los Angeles are carrying on a determined fight for student control of the ethnic studies departments.

On May 21, about 50 students occupied the president's office while, on minutes' notice, more than 125 picketed in their support outside the administration building.

The action at Cal State is part of a mounting series of struggles on campuses in Southern California in response to a wave of concerted attacks on ethnic studies programs.

The day after the action at Cal State, 500 students at the University of California at Los Angeles demonstrated against projected cutbacks of minority studies programs at that campus.

There has also been an ongoing fight against such attacks by students at the University of California at Santa Barbara, with several demonstrations of as many as 1,000 people.

Even at smaller private institutions, such as Claremont Men's College and Loyola Marymount University, minority students have started to move into action.

Under the guise of "economy" and "reorganization," the administrations at various schools have been moving to cut back these programs. There have been efforts to cut away at them by absorbing them into other departments. Where a measure of student control of these various departments has been established, this has been a key target of administrators.

The issue of student control is central in the fight at Cal State.

Initially, when the students there began organizing against the administration's bureaucratic maneuvers, carried on in the name of "reorganization," the university responded with the attempted frame-up of Emilio Benavides, a member of the Student Parole (Pinto) program for former prisoners.

Benavides was charged with being

responsible for acts of arson that had occurred on campus. The case against him was so flimsy that it was thrown out of court for lack of evidence.

Then came the firing of Gilbert García, the militant, popular coordinator of the Pinto program. The charge was "insubordination." Actually, García had been warned earlier that he would be fired if he continued to speak at rallies in support of student control of the programs.

On May 14, a rally of 250 was held by the recently organized Special Programs Support Committee. The rally demanded the reinstatement of García and student control of special programs.

The rally ended with a militant picket line outside the administration building while a delegation went into the office of President Greenlee to present the demands. He refused to meet with the students.

A week later, fifty others, including this reporter, returned to his offices to again seek a meeting with him. We

were told he was out of town.

We decided to stay in the office until he returned.

The administration summoned a large contingent of Los Angeles cops and gave us a deadline of 3:30 in the afternoon to leave or be arrested. A few minutes before the deadline, an official offered us an appointment with President Greenlee on the morning of his return from out of town.

We accepted this and joined the spirited picket line being conducted in our support downstairs.

Gilbert García, who had joined the pickets, answered reporters' questions. He explained our grievances and our demands. He said students were demanding his reinstatement but this was not the key issue. The key issue is student control.

He told the media we wanted a meeting with the president so that we could tell him "that we own this university, that we are taxpayers, and we tell him what to do!"

## 'Behavior-modifying' drugs used

# Black prison activists murdered in Mo.

By Norton Sandler

ST. LOUIS—"Leon Dent and Jesse Lang were murdered, there's no question about it," Missouri State Rep. Fred Williams told a recent forum here sponsored by the Congress of African People. Williams was commenting on the deaths of two well-known Black prison activists at the Missouri State Penitentiary in Jefferson City.

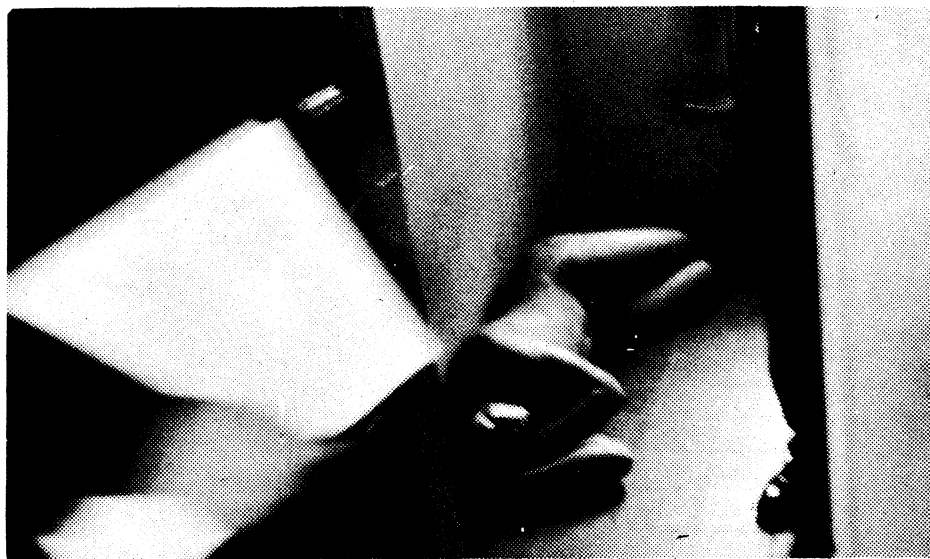
Jesse Lang died January 9, three days after his arrival in a catatonic state at the Fulton State Mental Hospital. Leon Dent, according to prison officials, was found hanged in his prison cell on April 2. It is now apparent that behavior-modifying drugs administered by prison officials figured in both deaths.

After Dent's death, inmates at the prison prepared a document detailing the suspicious circumstances surrounding his "suicide." According to the document, which they sent to the U.S. Department of Justice, Dent had argued with a guard the day of his death and had struck the guard.

Later that night he was administered prolixin, a behavior-modifying drug. Because his body was immediately embalmed, no traces of the drug could be found during an autopsy requested by his mother.

Prison officials were in such a hurry to publicize their version of Dent's death, Williams said, that they notified the news media before contacting Dent's family.

News of Dent's death was received with considerable outrage by the Black community in St. Louis, where he had been active in community struggles



Prisoner in 'strip cell,' one form of 'behavior modification.' Missouri prison officials' use of mind-destroying drugs resulted in deaths of two Black inmates.

before his imprisonment.

In 1968 he had worked with Rev. Charles Koen in forming a group called the Black Liberators. At one point during that year Dent and Koen were badly beaten by the St. Louis cops, and a large community meeting was organized to protest the beatings.

Later Dent and Koen became leaders of the Cairo, Illinois, Black United Front's boycott of racist merchants. Dent was sentenced to prison in Missouri following a fist fight with a former member of the Liberators.

Dent had been in "administrative segregation" for six months at the time of his death. Administrative segregation is Warden Donald Wyrick's jargon

for solitary confinement.

"They called him a Black militant," Dent's sister told the forum, "but I'm here to say that he was a decent person who didn't get much of a chance in the world we live in right now."

According to Williams, Dent was one of the prisoners who informed him of the circumstances surrounding the death of Jesse Lang in January. An autopsy showed traces of prolixin in Lang's body.

Lang had first been given prolixin by prison officials following his involvement in a successful February 1973 work stoppage at the prison. After an apparent nervous breakdown later that year following months of solitary

confinement, Lang was constantly shuffled between the penitentiary and the state hospital in Fulton.

Lang initiated four separate lawsuits against Warden Wyrick for brutality and threats by officials. He also complained of mail censorship and of persecution because of his religious beliefs. On the day his suits were to be heard, Lang appeared in federal court in a dazed and incoherent state. The suits were later dropped.

He began to show improvement in the summer of 1974. However, after his essay "Inside the Missouri State Penitentiary" was published by *African World* in September 1974, prison officials increased the dosage of drugs. His mother, Ruth Lang, told a Militant Forum on May 16 that he had said, "I would rather die than crawl out of here on my belly."

Williams has demanded that Missouri Attorney General John Danforth investigate Dent's death. Danforth denied the request, saying that his job is to defend, not investigate, the prison.

Williams is also pressing to have the Citizens Review Board change its policies so that inmates' complaints are immediately investigated. Delays in processing complaints often mean that inmates are placed in solitary for up to six months before their grievances are aired.

The United Church of Christ is planning to hold public hearings on conditions at the prison in conjunction with a newly formed group called the People's Coalition Struggling for Prison Reform.

## L.A. rally against rightist terror gains support

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Plans for a June 20 rally against the wave of right-wing terrorism here are well under way, with a number of groups and individuals expressing interest in joining the public protest. The rally will be held Friday, June 20, at 8:00 p.m., at the Fritchman Auditorium, 2936 West Eighth Street, Los Angeles.

The rally was initiated by the Political Rights Defense Fund and is gaining wide sponsorship. Recent endorsers include Henry Dotson, president of the Los Angeles NAACP; San Francisco attorney Charles Garry; Dick Gregory; Dorothy Healey of the New American Movement; attorney Mark Lane; Robert Meeropol, son of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg; and Rev. Amos Murphy of the Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case.

Other sponsors include Rose Chernin, Los Angeles Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights; Donald Freed, Campaign for Democratic Freedoms; Ramona Ripston, executive director, South-

ern California American Civil Liberties Union; Prof. Morris Starsky; Raoul Teilhet, president, California Federation of Teachers; and Tom Thompson, city editor of *Los Angeles Free Press*.

At a recent meeting of more than 500 at California State University at Los Angeles, Dick Gregory urged students to get involved in the June 20 rally as a positive way to fight back against the government's infringement of political rights.

On May 18 Mayor Tom Bradley and several Hollywood personalities entertained the Democratic convention site selection committee at Chasen's, an exclusive Beverly Hills restaurant. A picket line organized by the Political Rights Defense Fund protested the continued inaction of the mayor and police in ending the terrorism.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers party election campaign, who have twice been the victims of right-wing bombings in recent months, distributed an open letter to Pat Cunningham,

head of the committee, noting that the National Bomb Center has cited Los Angeles County as leading the nation in bombings. The letter called on members of the committee to urge the mayor to act now to end the wave of bombings.

On June 5 the Los Angeles Police Commission, a civilian body, will hold a hearing on the right-wing terrorism. Representatives of the Political Rights Defense Fund and other civil liberties groups will present testimony on the continued violence that has been encouraged by the lack of police action in apprehending those responsible.

A delegation including victims of the attacks, civil libertarians, and other concerned citizens is scheduled to meet with Bradley on June 6. The mayor has responded to the many messages sent to him in recent months with a form letter saying that he has ordered an investigation of the bombings. Bradley's aides have indicated that he will reveal the results of his investigation at the June 6 meeting.



Militant/Dave Wulp

As Mayor Bradley entertains Democratic party officials, pickets demand action to stop right-wing bombers.

## Sexual freedom law passed in Calif.

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—California has enacted a law legalizing all private sex acts between consenting adults.

Signed into law May 12, the measure will become effective January 1, 1976. It repeals a hundred-year-old statute that made a felony of a variety of sex acts between men and women and between persons of the same sex.

Passage of the law is generally regarded as a gain for individual freedom and the right of privacy and a particular gain for the rights of gay people.

The new law was enacted after a five-year effort by various gay-rights groups, the National Organization for Women, the California Democratic Council, and others. Enactment was accompanied by considerable con-

troversy with ultrarightists and religious bigots taking a particularly dim view.

California is the eleventh state to eliminate such archaic statutes from the books, Illinois having been the first. However, at least one state has since reimposed restrictive laws.

Albert Gordon, a Los Angeles constitutional attorney actively involved in gay defense cases, saw enactment of the bill as a major gain. In an interview, he said its chief value would be in the area of civil rights.

Prosecution under such statutes is extremely rare, he said. But the fact that homosexual acts are no longer classified as felonies removes the basis for denying homosexuals such things as jobs and security clearances.

Morris Kight, of the Gay Community

Services Center, saw the new law as providing the basis for eliminating "soliciting" statutes under which gays are frequently entrapped. People can no longer be charged with soliciting for an illegal purpose if that purpose is no longer illegal, he said.

However, Kight added, the issue is not ended with passage of the bill. An antigay voter initiative is being drawn up to be placed on the 1976 ballot. Such an initiative needs one-half million signatures to go on the ballot.

"The law that they're drawing up," he said, "will be considerably to the right of William McKinley's thinking and thus it will be easily challenged in the courts."

Meanwhile, he said, enactment of the present law represented a significant gain for gay liberation.



# Retreat from NSCAR

## Why YWLL slanders antiracist coalition

By Wendy Lyons

A large measure of credit for the success of the NAACP-called May 17 march on Boston for school desegregation is due the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

In the three short months since its founding at a national conference of 2,000 in Boston, the coalition succeeded in organizing thousands of young people to participate in the historic march. In addition, NSCAR played a critical role in ensuring that the demonstration was disciplined and well defended by organizing hundreds of student marshals for the event.

In his speech to the 15,000 people who rallied on May 17, Boston NAACP President Thomas Atkins paid tribute to the work of NSCAR and the National Student Association, welcoming the students they brought from "universities and colleges all over the country." And in a news release issued after the demonstration, the NAACP national office pointed out that NSCAR was "a principal participant" in the event.

Maceo Dixon, an NSCAR coordinator, was one of the featured speakers at the rally, and his well-received speech was picked up by national television.

Through its role in building May 17, the new student coalition has proven itself an effective organization that can mobilize youth in the fight against racism, which has been welcomed among forces committed to that fight.

In some quarters, however, NSCAR has not been welcomed.

On April 25, the Young Workers Liberation League, the youth group associated with the Communist party, circulated a letter announcing their withdrawal from NSCAR. Signed by YWLL Organizational Secretary Matty Berkelhammer, the letter characterizes NSCAR as "a charade at a united front, and a caricature of the struggle against racism."

### YWLL charges

The YWLL charges that 1) NSCAR has failed to carry out the decisions of its founding convention; 2) NSCAR is "dominated from top to bottom by the Trotskyite YSA [Young Socialist Alliance]"; and 3) "NSCAR has no real approach to fighting racism."

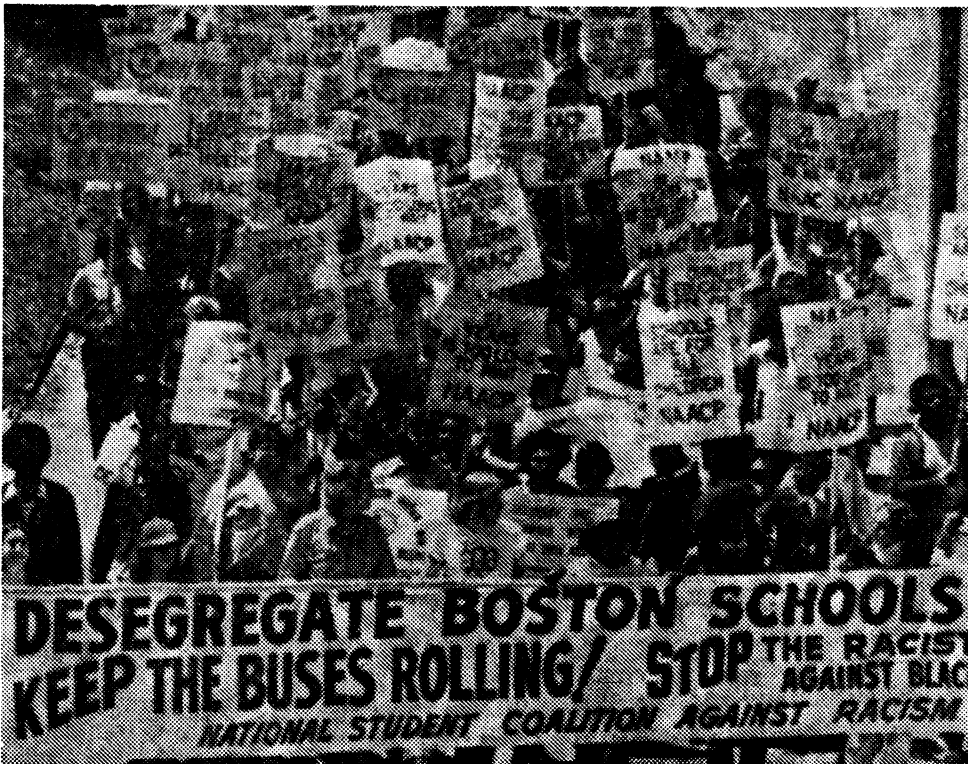
In a recent letter to the YWLL, the coordinators of NSCAR responded to the slanderous charges raised by Berkelhammer and urged the YWLL to reconsider its position and rejoin NSCAR in order to wage a united fight against racism.

Kathy Kelly, president of the National Student Association, and Chris Robinson, coordinator of the Ad Hoc Committee Against the Cutback at Brown University, have also sent letters to the YWLL taking exception to their attack on NSCAR and urging them to reconsider their decision to walk out of the organization.

An examination of the YWLL charges shows them to be nothing but slanders. Berkelhammer claims that NSCAR failed to carry out the decision of its convention to organize activities on April 4, the anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King, in preparation for the 17th.

The facts are that NSCAR organized picket lines and campus and community meetings in cities across the country on April 4, which the YWLL refused to participate in!

For example, NSCAR, the New York NAACP, and the National Council of Black Churchmen held a successful rally in Harlem on April 4 to commemorate King and to urge people to march on Boston on May 17. The YWLL refused to endorse the event, instead holding their own "Youth for Jobs" march, which they did not invite



Stalinist school of photography: Top is UPI photo of May 17 march in Boston as it appeared in many daily newspapers. Same UPI photo appeared in 'Daily World,' but NSCAR banner that the people in the front line are carrying was eliminated.

NSCAR to join.

The CP's newspaper, the *Daily World*, carried no report of the Harlem meeting but did give detailed coverage of the YWLL march. Judging from the *World* account, there was no mention of May 17 at the rally after the march.

### Retreat from struggle

While it is certainly worthwhile to organize marches for jobs, by refusing to make support for May 17 a central part of the action, the YWLL's April 4 march was actually a retreat from the struggle for school desegregation. This pattern was repeated in YWLL actions around the country.

Berkelhammer also claims that NSCAR has not carried out a convention proposal calling for "united efforts on the campuses to support an equal access and affirmative action program for admissions and financial aid [and] to encourage the continuation of Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and other non-white studies programs."

This, too, is a total fabrication. To cite just two examples, NSCAR has been heavily involved in the struggle to maintain open admissions and special recruitment programs for minorities in the city university system in New York and has played a big role in the fight against cutbacks on New England campuses.

In his letter to the YWLL, Chris Robinson writes, "Perhaps if you were more aware of the campus nature of

NSCAR you might not have withdrawn."

He explains, "NSCAR representatives were seen on the Brown University campus from the very beginning of our struggle, and were not part of any 'jump on the bandwagon' trips."

"In fact, NSCAR aided myself and a number of other New England campus leaders who have been involved in campus struggles against the cutback to pull together a meeting of New England students on May 1st."

### Red-baiting

Berkelhammer repeats the slander, which the YWLL has been spewing forth since the founding convention of NSCAR, that the YSA, which they call "racist," "dominates" NSCAR.

In their answer to the YWLL, the NSCAR coordinators say, "This is false and a movement can't be built on such slanders. NSCAR is an independent organization which makes its own decisions. . . . The February [founding] conference is an example to the Black and radical movement as a whole. Anyone was allowed to put a resolution on the floor and have it discussed and voted on. Everyone had the right to speak. And after two days of discussions, democratic votes were taken. On a day-to-day level in building activities against racism discussions are conducted with democratic decisions being the outcome."

In her letter to the YWLL, Kathy Kelly says, "... withdrawal of support from either May 17 or NSCAR constitutes support for the continued segregation of the Boston schools and was in fact a decision in favor of racism. . . ."

"To single out the YSA as self-seeking and dominating is simply a refined in-group form of redbaiting by people who should realize the danger of that tactic. . . ."

Kelly adds that "redbaiting—no matter who it is directed against—is a time-honored tactic for evading struggle that surrounds any legitimate issue. . . . To bow out is a reactionary stand against that struggle which is crucial to the success of any coalition."

Berkelhammer accuses NSCAR of having "no real approach to fighting racism." He says, "Key to conducting an effective struggle against racism is developing an approach to win white youth to see that the poison of racism is not in their self-interest. To involve white youth in the struggle against racism is the only real and principled way to build Black-white unity."

Since there were actually more white students than Black students at the founding convention of NSCAR, and the May 17 march was half white, what is Berkelhammer talking about?

### NSCAR 'too Black'?

Is he upset that the leadership of NSCAR is predominantly Black? Does he object to NSCAR's uncompromising stand in support of the Black community's right to equal education through the use of busing—a militant stand that refuses to give an inch to the racist pressure to stop busing in Boston?

Or is he just plain uncomfortable with the whole issue of busing because it does not fit in with the program of the Democratic party politicians that the Stalinists plan to support in the elections?

NSCAR obviously *does* have an approach to winning Black and white youth to the struggle against racism. Through activities such as teach-ins and rallies, NSCAR chapters all over the country have been explaining the issues in Boston and winning support for the embattled Black community of that city.

Through its support to mass street actions such as May 17, NSCAR is succeeding in uniting Black and white youth in action against racism in education.

The problem is not that NSCAR has no approach toward winning Blacks and whites to fight racism. The problem is that Berkelhammer and his mentors in the CP disagree with that approach.

The CP's "Draft Main Political Resolution" for its upcoming national convention says, in the section entitled "The Black Liberation Movement," "The forms of struggle are changing. The focus of struggle has tended to shift from the streets toward other arenas of struggle. . . ."

"Gains [for Blacks] have been made in the recent period, chiefly in the electoral field. . . ."

"Within the limitations of the two-party system, it is the Democratic Party which has served as the vehicle for successful Black candidacies." And, the Stalinists add, the electoral arena will "grow in importance as a focal point for coming struggles."

### Rely on Democrats

Here is the root of the CP's and the YWLL's hostility toward NSCAR. They are opposed to the strategy of mass action as the way to defend and

Continued on page 30

# Calendar

## DETROIT

**WHO REALLY KILLED MALCOLM X AND MARTIN LUTHER KING?—THE FBI ATTACKS ON THE BLACK MOVEMENT.** Speakers: Robert F. Williams, author of *Negroes with Guns*; B.R. Washington, SWP. Fri., June 6, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

## LOS ANGELES

**RALLY TO PROTEST POLICE INACTION ON TERRORIST ATTACKS.** Fri., June 20, 8 p.m. Fritchman Auditorium, 2936 W. 8th St. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (213) 483-8855.

## PHILADELPHIA

**THE MEANING OF THE VIETNAM VICTORY.** Speaker: Fred Feldman, SWP. Fri., June 6, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

## SAN FRANCISCO

**MALPRACTICE AND THE CURRENT CRISIS IN MEDICINE.** Speakers: Juan Martinez, SWP candidate for board of supervisors; others. Fri., June 6, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 431-8918.

# ...N.Y.

*Continued from page 5*

schemes—by reducing weekly take-home pay, which already fails to keep up with prices. Let corporate profits bear the expense.

5) **Open the books of the banks, corporations, and all government agencies.** Working people have the right to see for ourselves the financial manipulations, bank holdings, exorbitant salaries for political appointees, hidden payoffs, and profiteering at public expense that are really behind the "budget crisis."

6) **Provide a cost-of-living escalator clause for all wages so that they are kept fully abreast of rising prices.** An escalator clause should also apply to all social benefits: pensions, welfare, Social Security, unemployment, and veterans' payments.

7) **Abolish all restrictions on the right of public employees to organize, bargain collectively, and strike.** Repeal the Taylor Act in New York.

This is what the Socialist Workers party is fighting for. Our platform is

called the "Bill of Rights for Working People"—a platform for protection against the wars, inflation, unemployment, racism, and oppression of this society.

Our program stands in sharp contrast to the actions of the Democrats and Republicans, from President Ford to the Democratic-controlled Congress, from the Republican majority in Albany to the Democratic administration in city hall.

Their bipartisan policy is to call for "belt tightening" and "austerity," to demand sacrifices from workers while safeguarding the profits of the rich.

Which makes more sense to you? Isn't it about time we started putting human needs above the profits of the few?

If you agree, then join us in campaigning for the socialist alternative.

# ...forum

*Continued from page 26*

Spartacist League won't allow the meeting to continue. Likewise, if the chair doesn't call on "everyone who wishes to speak" regardless of how many times they have already spoken, or for how long, or what time of night it is, the meeting will be interrupted.

In other words, the Spartacist League, and the Spartacist League alone, will decide what is "democratic," and if they don't agree with the way a meeting is being run, they will break it up. This is hooliganism, not "defense of workers democracy."

Although this is relatively recent behavior at Militant Labor Forums, this general policy is consistent with previous SL actions. In one of the most scandalous attacks on workers democracy in the history of the antiwar movement, the SL joined with the Progressive Labor party in a violent attempt to break up a convention of the National Peace Action Coalition in New York City in 1971 because they didn't agree with what some of the speakers were saying.

Lest anyone fail to make the connection between their attempted disruption of the forums here and the NPAC convention, the Spartacists proudly recall their performance at that convention in the leaflets protesting their exclusion from the forums here.

The Militant Labor Forum will continue to hold public meetings at which all points of view will be welcomed. However, the exclusion of the Spartacists will continue until they repudiate their previous attacks and are clearly willing to participate in the forums on the same basis as everyone else, and without disruptions.

# ...YWLL

*Continued from page 29*

extend Black rights. Instead they believe all we have to do is convince people to rely on the Democratic party. And if an issue, like busing, isn't really popular with the Democratic politicians they want us to support, their answer is to bury the issue and retreat from the struggle.

This, and their blind sectarianism toward working with the YSA, which they place above the needs of the Black struggle, is behind the Stalinists' withdrawal from NSCAR.

Will they continue to stand on the sidelines shouting that the coalition is "racist" and "YSA-dominated" while NSCAR grows in numbers and influence?

Their position gets more and more untenable as people become aware of the role that NSCAR played in the May 17 march. But perhaps some in the Stalinist camp realize this. There are some questions that as yet remain unanswered.

On May 8 (after the YWLL withdrew from NSCAR), the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression, in which the CP is heavily involved, cosponsored with NSCAR a teach-in against racism at Laney College in Oakland, California. Rashaad Ali of NSCAR and Angela Davis of the CP spoke to 500 students at that teach-in. Why was Davis speaking on the same platform with a member of an organization dominated by "racists"? Or hadn't the news of Berkelhammer's letter traveled to the West Coast yet?

Why, in its coverage of the May 17 action in Boston, did the *Daily World* report favorably on Maceo Dixon's speech instead of attacking him for being a member of a "racist" organization?

In the letter of withdrawal from NSCAR, Berkelhammer says, "We still

feel that a broad, democratic organization of students . . . to conduct the struggle vs. racism on the campuses is needed and we will continue to work toward that end."

Perhaps they will take Kathy Kelly's response to this to heart: "To believe that another 'broad democratic organization of students' will spring into existence to combat racism is wishful thinking. The basis is here. . . . I hope that you will reconsider the issue."

# ...CIA

*Continued from page 32*

As an excuse, he cited the shopworn "national security" argument. "We have to take into account the effect that any disclosure on our part will have on foreign policy," he said. "That is why we have to be very careful."

Asked if the committee would accept an offer made by Castro to provide documentary evidence of the murder attempts, Church replied testily, "I think we can get all that information without having to rely on Mr. Castro."

Two days later, at a briefing following more secret testimony by Colby, Church tried to sound tougher, telling the media that it is "intolerable" for government agencies to engage in murder. "I'm concerned about the good name and reputation of the United States," he explained.

But Church's solution to this "intolerable" situation is neither to open up the files on all the CIA's secrets so the American people can see the truth, nor to bring the criminals to justice. Instead, he proposed that Congress pass a law making it illegal for the CIA to go on murdering foreign leaders!

In the meantime—while the learned legal scholars in Congress debate whether it should be against the law for the CIA to commit murder—what other secret operations will the agency be carrying out?

Just last week the American people learned of the existence of still more FBI Cointelpros ("Counterintelligence Programs") to "disrupt" and "neutralize" left groups. Attorney General Edward Levi revealed May 23 that his predecessor, William Saxbe, "forgot" to tell the public about five Cointelpros when he made his report on secret FBI spying in 1974.

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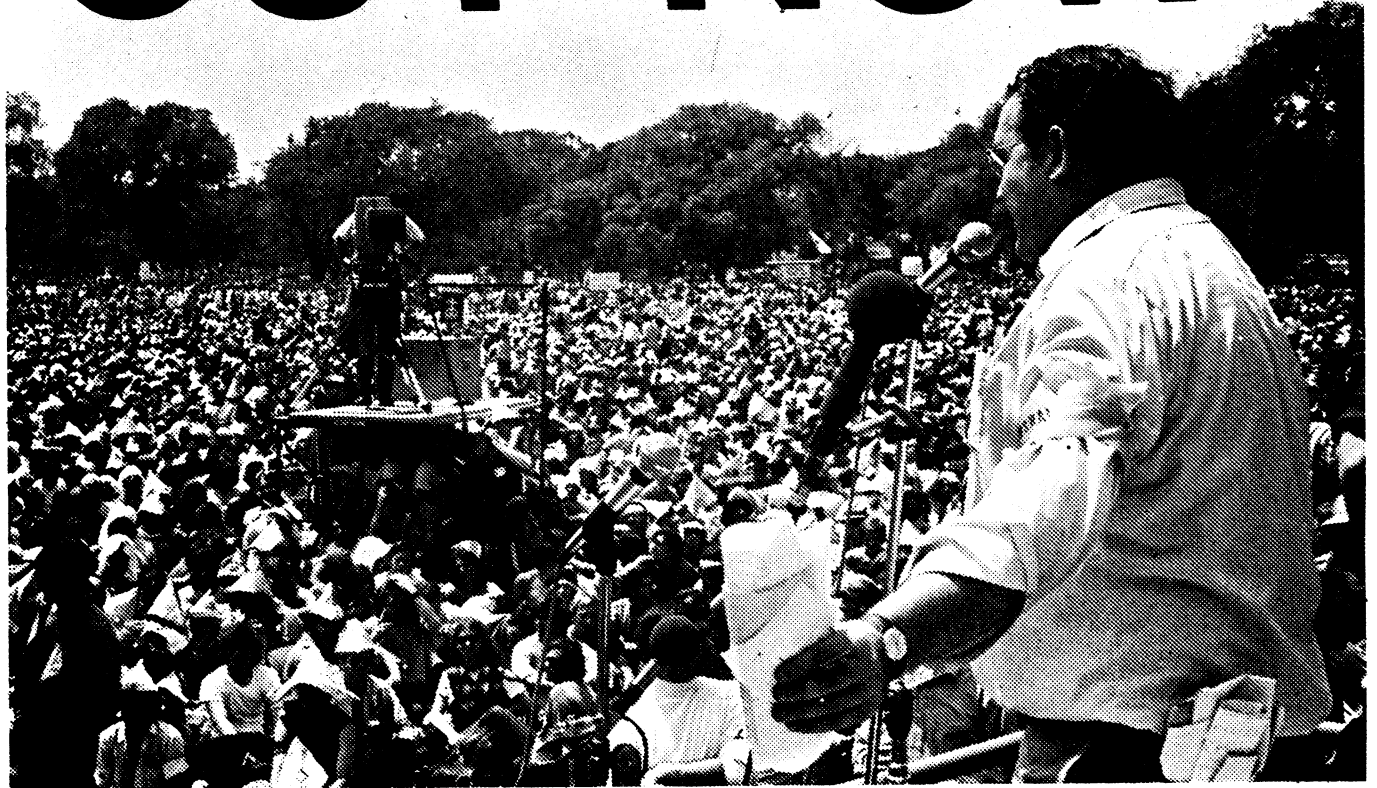
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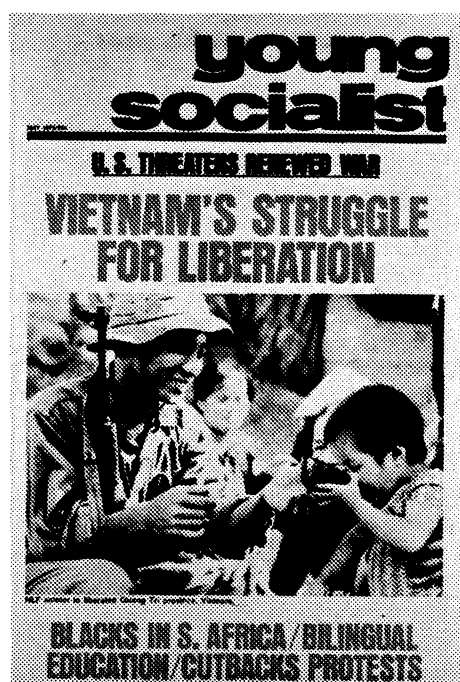
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## Kennedys linked to plot

# White House OK'd CIA-Mafia hit men

By Cindy Jaquith

WASHINGTON—Outlines of the White House-planned assassination attempts against Fidel Castro, organized by the CIA and carried out by the Mafia, are beginning to take shape here. And there is growing evidence that President Kennedy was directly involved in these murder plots.

The facts, however, are being pried loose only with great difficulty since the official bodies supposedly investigating the CIA have clamped down hard on the release of any information concerning these CIA crimes.

There have been charges for years that the CIA organized plots to kill Castro. In the 1960s the Cuban government repeatedly offered proof of these charges, but Washington always flatly denied them.

Now, according to a report by Nicholas Horrock in the May 20 *New York Times*, a few of the files have come to light.

The files are FBI memorandums on the CIA's contract with two gangsters to murder the Cuban leader. A "former top official of the Department of Justice," says Horrock, has disclosed the existence of the files in testimony before the Rockefeller CIA panel.

The memos indicate that under the Kennedy administration the CIA hired racketeers Sam Giancana and John Roselli to arrange the assassination of Castro. The intermediary between the government and the gunmen was Robert Maheu, a former FBI agent, gambling casino manager, and aid to billionaire recluse Howard Hughes.

### Crush Cuban Revolution

This cold-blooded assassination plan shows how desperately the U.S. government wanted to crush the revolution in Cuba.

The American rulers hoped to snuff out the Cuban workers state because it was proving in practice that American imperialism could be taken on and defeated. They wanted to destroy what was becoming an example for liberation fighters in other parts of Latin America, where dictators ruled with an iron fist in the interests of the big U.S. corporations.

And the U.S. rulers feared the growing identification within the United States itself, among young people and Blacks, with the advances being made in Cuba.

The CIA had hoped to incite a rebellion against the Castro regime from within Cuba, but this was a miserable failure. As Victor Marchetti relates in his book, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, the CIA actually believed that when its 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion took place the Cuban masses would join the CIA and gusano forces in toppling Castro.

Instead, the Cuban people responded swiftly and decisively to the attack by driving out the counterrevolutionaries, who were sent scurrying back to the mainland in defeat.

The efforts of organized crime were also unsuccessful. The Mafia, according to columnist Jack Anderson, tried at least twice to kill Castro, once with poison capsules and once with sharpshooters. Both times the attempt failed.

According to the *New York Times*, Roselli and Giancana were hired not only for their professional expertise—the use of Mafia hit men had another virtue in the eyes of Washington.

"Both Mr. Giancana and Mr. Roselli had many



HIT MAN

connections in pre-Castro Cuba," Horrock explained in the *New York Times*. "One scenario under investigation in Washington is whether the entire affair involving the Mafia figures was in fact an elaborate 'cover' story for a real assassination plot.

"If Castro had been killed it would then be possible to make it appear that the mob did the job because Castro had cut off their gambling interests in Havana," a source familiar with this scenario said. Organized crime leaders would privately take credit to support this story, it was said."

Of course, every "favor" done by the Mafia has to

be returned someday. In the case of Giancana and Roselli, the CIA reciprocated by getting the Justice Department to soften its prosecutions of the two later on.

Protection of the two crooks was the subject of the FBI files on the case. J. Edgar Hoover was apparently worried that Giancana would use his CIA connections to blackmail the government.

But more important than the CIA and FBI role in this case are the questions about White House involvement in the murder plot. According to Horrock's May 20 article, "Top Administration sources have cautioned that it would be very dangerous 'to speculate on whether the plot to kill Mr. Castro was ever approved on the White House level of government.'"

Apparently taking this advice to heart, the *Times* carefully buried in its back pages a May 24 article that established that the assassination plots were, indeed, originally proposed at the White House. The Rockefeller commission, according to this article, has obtained minutes of one such White House meeting, in which "contingency" plans for Castro's murder were discussed.

### 'Operation Mongoose'

According to an Associated Press dispatch, the minutes were from an August 10, 1962, meeting of a clandestine group called Operation Mongoose. Its purpose was to approve covert operations against Cuba. Members of the group were Robert McNamara, secretary of defense; John McCone, director of the CIA; McGeorge Bundy, adviser to President Kennedy; Dean Rusk, secretary of state; and Robert Kennedy, U.S. attorney general.

These advisers, wrote Horrock in the *Times*, asked that the idea of killing Castro be examined "as one possible solution to the growing Cuban problem in 1961 and 1962." The idea of putting out "feelers" to Roselli and Giancana was also proposed.

AP reports that two days after the meeting, McNamara's assistant sent out a memo "directing the Central Intelligence Agency to develop contingency plans for the possible assassination of the Cuban leader."

AP added, "That memo was withdrawn immediately, one source said. But he said subsequent U.S.-sponsored plots were made against Castro's life."

It is impossible to believe that President Kennedy was not party to these plans. The *New York Times*, citing a former intelligence official as its source, reported that "the White House discussions involved 'the highest level' of the Administration and would not have been honored otherwise."

### Covering for Kennedy?

Fear that Kennedy's complicity in the assassination attempts will become known is undoubtedly one of the reasons that the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence is maintaining such tight security around its investigations.

On May 21, Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho), who is chairing the committee, held a news briefing after hearing testimony in secret from CIA Director William Colby. While conceding that assassinations were the "central" topic discussed at the hearing, Church refused to tell the media what Colby had said.

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