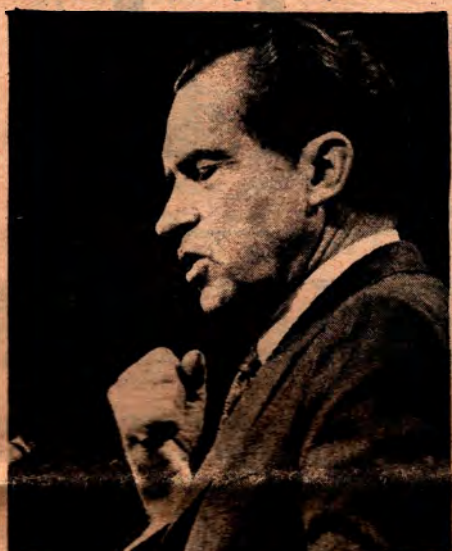


Nixon and Watergate Toughing It Out

Watergate is almost two years old. And yet Nixon is still in office.

In the beginning, the press, many Senators and Congressmen, the Senate Watergate Committee, McGovern and others played a very useful role in exposing not only Watergate, but Nixon's attack on democracy generally. Moreover, we had been through a period in



which Nixon had been conducting an ever mounting attack on democracy and the people's liberties - from shooting down the Panthers, the Kent and Jackson State students, mass arrests, attacks on the press, on Congress, stacking the Supreme Court with reactionaries, wage controls, his law and order campaign aimed at whipping up support among white working people for the use of police power against Black and third world people, etc.

Gradually these exposures put Nixon on the defensive. After the firing of Cox, it started becoming the common opinion that Nixon would fall, whereas before that, the common opinion was that he could never fall.

But, also gradually, the liberal and Congressional opposition has become less and less bold, more divided, less inclined to deal with issues of substance, more inclined to piddle with secondary issues. Nixon's tactics have skillful-

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INFLATION--SYMPTOM OF GROWING CRISIS

In the United States, the rate of inflation is running at the rate of 12 to 14% a year. In Western Europe it is running at similar or higher rates. In Japan, it is 25%.

Every working or poor person is worried about the way inflation is eating up his buying power. Wage increases have been going down at the rate of at least 6% this year. For many people it has been going down even more rapidly than that. For the poorest people in our society, it is already beginning to spell disaster - it does not mean cutting back on the little extras that make life worth living but cutting back on necessities.

For a long time, the rulers of this country have boasted of the high standard of living that the "free enterprise" system has brought this country. But this much-vaunted standard of living is now very much on the decline.

REAL WAGES DOWN, PROFITS UP

Inflation means a decline in the standard of living of the people. The opposite side of the coin is a big increase in the profits of the big corporations and banks. They are the main ones who benefit from inflation, who are able to keep ahead of inflation. Profits have gone up enormously in recent years, as can be seen in the accompanying chart, under the dual impact of inflation and the wage freeze.

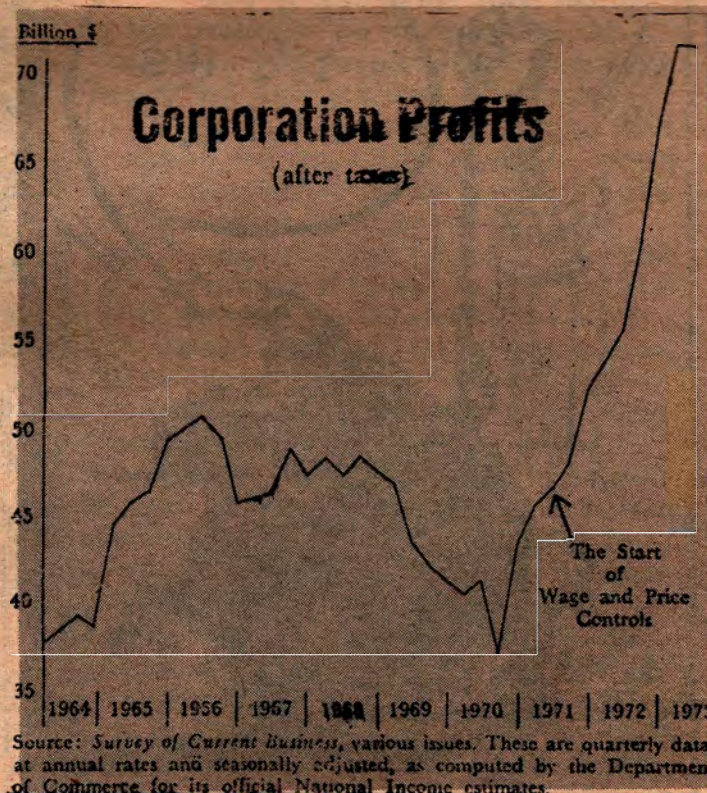
MONETARY INFLATION DISGUISES PRICE GOUGING

There are two aspects to inflation.

One is the general increase in prices, including both wages and incomes. This general rise is due to an increase in the supply of money out of proportion to the increase in production, and the needs of circulation. The government controls the amount of money in circulation, through the Federal Reserve and the regulation of bank credit. It used to be that gold was money. Gradually, paper began circulating in place of gold - but still represented a claim on gold held by the banks or the government. In those times,

prices were, on the whole, relatively stable - because the value of gold was fairly stable over long periods of time. Gradually, however, gold became a government monopoly, and only paper circulated and was no longer convertible into gold. The government was then able to begin circulating notes beyond its supply of gold. In and of itself, this was not so bad. But beyond this, the government was able to increase the money supply beyond the needs of circulation and the growth in production. This leads to a loss in the value of currency.

Various capitalist governments have at one time or another resorted to the printing press when faced with war or some other kind of crisis - and were unable to raise enough money through taxes. This is an aspect of the present inflation. It is a method of indirect taxation.



But it is not the main aspect. The fact is, that along with a general increase in prices, and incomes, there is another side - namely that profits are increasing and wages are decreasing. This fact is disguised by the fact that both prices and wages are increasing, although wages are not rising as rapidly. The result is that real wages are decreasing, and this value that is being taken from the workers is not disappear-

cont. p. 2

Inflation--cont.

ing into thin air, but rather is reappearing in the ledgers of the big monopolies as gigantic profits.

If it were not for the general inflation, the general rise in prices and wages, the big corporations would resort to direct wage cutting in order to get the same results. One needs only to put it this way in order to realize how difficult it would be. But with general inflation, they are able to accomplish the same result in a disguised way, and without direct wage-cutting.

TENDENCY OF RATE OF PROFIT TO FALL

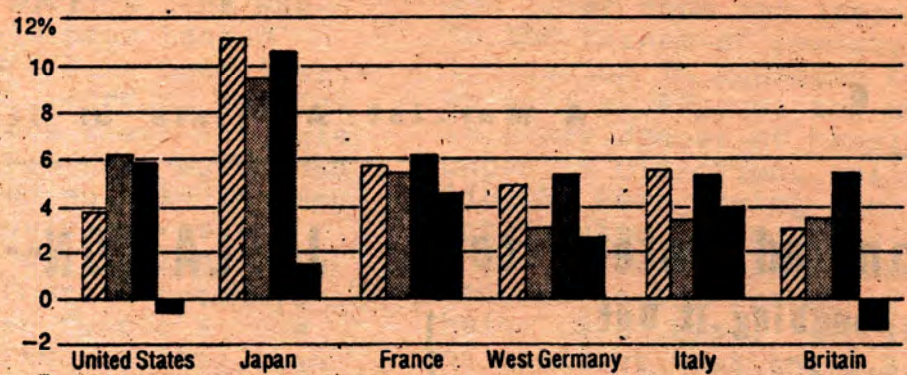
The question then arises - why the growing thirst for profits of the big monopolies, why the need to intensify their attack on the people?

One of the oil companies gives it away in an advertisement, in which they try to justify their increased profits. They claim that though their profits have gone up, over the years they have been faced with a decline in their rate of profit, in other words, in the ratio of profits to total assets. Their total assets in terms of plant equipment, money, etc. had grown to such dimensions that

Growth

Real growth in Gross National Product, percentage change from previous year

▨ Average 1959-60 to 1970-71 ■ 1972 ■ 1973 ■ 1974 (forecast)

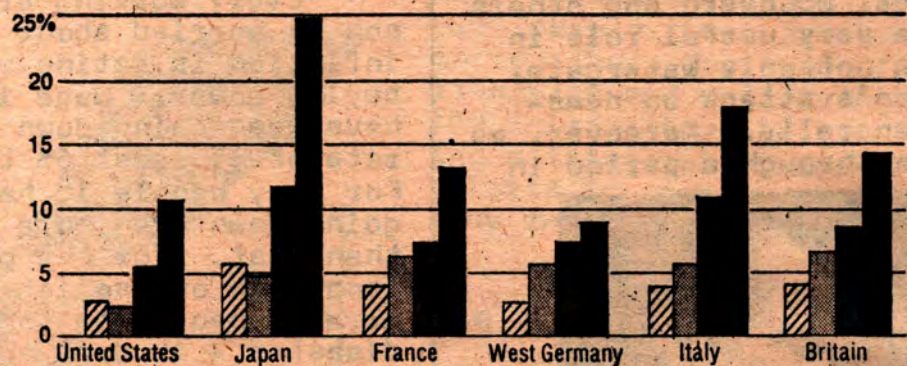


Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

Price Inflation

Consumer prices, percentage change from previous period at annual rate

▨ Average 1959-60 to 1970-71 ■ 1972 ■ 1973 ■ 1974 (forecast)



Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

But this newly added value (or labor) becomes a declining proportion of the already existing assets of the capitalists with the passage of time. Moreover this tendency affects the biggest capitalists with even greater force since they predominate in those sectors of the economy with the highest ratio of plant, equipment, and materials per laborer.

In order to combat this tendency of the rate of profit to fall, the big capitalists must increase the volume of their profits at an accelerated rate. They do this chiefly by increasing their exploitation of working people.

Capitalism has become monopoly capitalism. The big monopolies are able to set their prices far above levels that would prevail if there were competition.

COAXING CAPITAL TO SPEND

The growth and expansion of our economy depends very much on the spending of the big capitalists for new plant and equipment. The working people must spend, come what may, since the bulk of their earnings are spent for necessities. But it is otherwise with big business. Big business spends for new facilities only in the expectation of profit. If there is a threat to those expectations business spending will be cut back. This means declining production, employment, and markets.

At the present time it is only the expectations of big profit increases in order

to stave off a declining rate of profit, that is preventing investment from going into a tail spin.

Hence, in one sense, the present inflation is the only thing preventing the more immediate outbreak of a sharp crisis. A postponement of a sharp downturn is being bought by an attack on the people's standard of living.

And yet, this is very much like taking morphine to cure cancer. Since this attack is rapidly undermining the mass consumer market, which remains the biggest single market for capitalist production. This sets a limit to the growth of business plant and equipment, of business expansion.

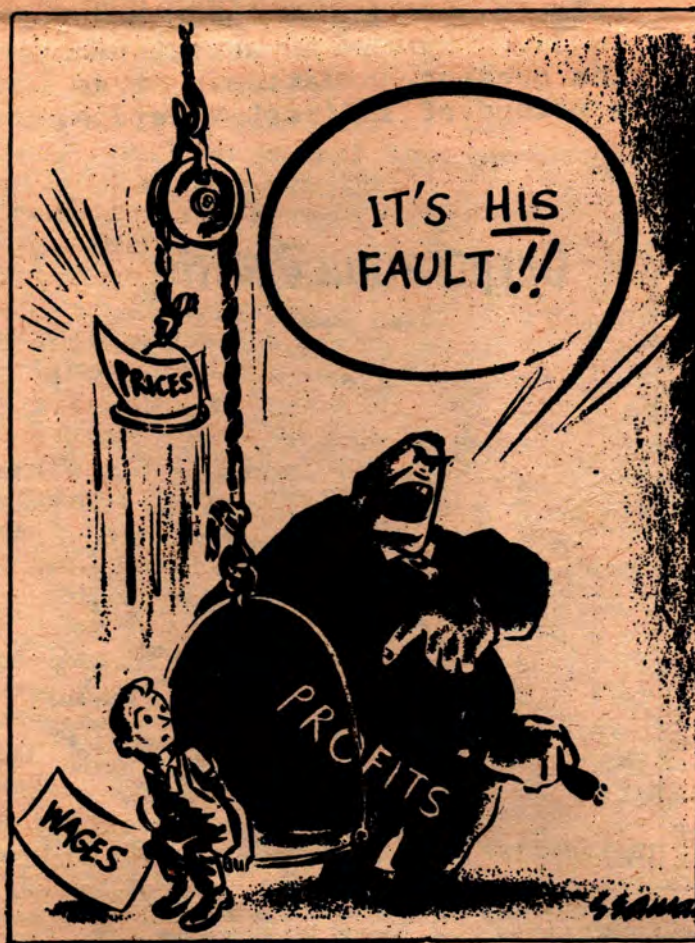
At the same time the big monopolies, reacting to a shrinking market, instead of decreasing prices, increase them in order to maintain or even increase profit levels on a declining volume. This in turn further accelerates inflation, which in turn further undermines the mass market.

At some point, there will be a break in the chain and things will plunge downward much more rapidly.

DEVELOPING CRISIS

The high rate of inflation is but a symptom of a developing economic crisis in the capitalist countries.

Both the U.S. and England will have a decline in production for 1974. In the other European countries there will be a smaller amount of growth than in previous years. A



in order to maintain their rate of profit they required a big increase in profits.

It is one of the main contradictions of capitalism that its very growth and development, the accumulation of enormous wealth, of capital, leads to a tendency for the rate of profit to decline. Value is labor. The amount of value produced each year corresponds roughly to the number of people employed in production.

Open Season on Blacks: The Case of Officer Shea

New York City's Black community has expressed alarm at the surprise acquittal of Thomas Shea, a white police officer accused of murdering a Black resident of Jamaica, Queens. The case had been publicized widely since the occurrence over a year previously, in which Shea admittedly shot down Clifford Glover, a Black youth only 10 years of age. Shea and a fellow officer on patrol has stopped their car and ordered Glover and his stepfather to halt in the pre-dawn hours of April 28, 1973. When the pair began to flee, Clifford was cut down by Patrolman Shea. Neither cop was uniformed, and they had been driving an unmarked car.

SHEA CLAIMS "SELF DEFENSE"

During the trial Shea clung to his original account of "self defense" and relied exclusively on the testimony of his partner for corroboration. Both claimed that Glover had held a gun, but that his stepfather had managed to whisk it away when he escaped. No such gun was ever found. The prosecution's only witness was the boy's stepfather. His testimony was attacked by Shea's defending attorney not from the standpoint of the facts of the case, but from the position that the man was not a dependable witness because he had been previously arrested for drunkenness and had once been convicted of statutory rape.

The facts against Shea has been even more damaging; he had previously been investigated by the department for brutalizing Blacks, he claimed he mistook the young victim for a 6 foot robbery suspect and hadn't noticed his age - though he admitted to having been as close as 3 feet to young Glover before the killing.

SHEA A SYMBOL OF "LAW AND ORDER"

Patrolman Shea was the first N.Y. City police officer ever indicted for murder in connection with his official capacity. He had the backing of the Police-man's Benevolent Association, a growing right-wing political force, which paid his bail and fees of his two attorneys. His jury consisted of 11 male whites and one female Black (who is a probation officer). The defense portrayed Shea as a symbol of all N.Y.C. policemen, and the jury was told he "is the kind of policeman who stands between you and me and crime in the streets."

COMMUNITY DEMONSTRATES OUTRAGE

If the media downplayed the veiled racism being fostered by Shea's supporters, the Black community of New York was quick to relay that it had gotten the message - that it was now legally vulnerable to harassment by every cop in the city (and these are required to remain armed at all times - both on or off duty.)

The first reaction in South Jamaica was a spontaneous one of frustrated rage, as hundreds of Black youths smashed store windows and damaged police cars within hours after the verdict was learned. One "moderate" spokesman, James Hegliger, head of a local city anti-poverty office, pointed out that for many the results of the trial merely confirmed their skepticism of the judicial process which selected the "basically white, middle-class jury."

Since these occurrences various groups have sponsored a boycott of the local Gertz department store, which had lobbied for more police in the area after the original Glover killing touched off street riots. A petition campaign to the police department was also begun over the Shea issue, sponsored by a broad coalition of community organizations. Both of these manoeuvres are designed to



"Prowl car 39 thinks he just seen a suspected Black Panther carryin what he imagines could be a concealed lethal weapon!"

force a departmental trial of Shea in hope of discouraging other cops from terrorizing the community..

ATMOSPHERE OF REACTION

The Shea acquittal may be seen as merely the latest episode of a growing trend of

The SLA or

HOW NOT TO MAKE REVOLUTION

There will be a revolution in the United States one day. Even now conditions are beginning to ripen for it, what with U.S. imperialism being undermined from without by the liberation struggles in the Third World, and being undermined from within by a developing economic crisis in the capitalist world. The long period of prosperity after World War II based on U.S. hegemony in the world is coming to an end.

But even this ripening will not take place overnight, and conditions for revolution are far from being ripe today. The majority of working people are just beginning to wake up, to fight, to take interest in politics. The majority will have to go through a great many struggles before they will be ready to make the sacrifices needed for a revolutionary struggle. U.S. imperialism will need to weaken itself considerably more before a successful revolutionary struggle from within can be made against it.

A minority of people in the United States are closer to being ready for revolution than the majority - namely the Black and other third world people in the U.S. A certain still small section of the students also, and perhaps a few others imagine themselves to be closer still to being ready.

But a successful revolution cannot be made by a minority. A revolution must be made by the masses of people.

It has happened often in recent years that a small handful of self-styled revolutionaries have imagined that by bold action, by taking up arms or whatever, they could "incite" the masses to revolution, or at least the third world people, because they have laid down their lives for what they believe in. But they have failed. They have failed because not even the third world people are as ready for revolution as they imagine. They have failed because in any case, a revolution cannot be made with a minority of the people.

To a certain extent, these revolutionaries have sensed that they were going to fail, and yet went ahead anyway to "die gloriously". One cannot help feel that this was done out of a lack of faith that the people would ever be ready for revolution, out of a lack of faith that the working class in this country could ever become revolutionary and able to lead the people in revolution. One cannot help but feel that these people overestimated the strength of this system, did

AN ILL WIND: THE DEFUNIS CASE

In 1971 a white student, Marco DeFunis, was denied admission to the University of Washington Law School. At the same time there were several Black or "minority" students who scored lower on admission tests and yet were admitted. DeFunis filed suit that he was discriminated against because of race. By the time it was reviewed by the Supreme Court, he had already been admitted to the law school (based on a lower court decision which the University then appealed and won) and in fact was about to graduate in a few months. It was on this pretext that the Supreme Court voted to duck the issue. This sidestepping of the matter has given the green light to "spontaneous" forces reversing the gains won by Black and other Third World people in the 50's and 60's. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, in summarizing the minority opinion, while condemning the failure of the Court to deal with the question, felt that while it was constitutional to take into account social and economic factors, it was unconstitutional to consider race in such questions.

BLACKS RIVETED TO BOTTOM

Black people have for a long time occupied the bottom economic and social slot in U.S. society. They have endured all kinds of persecution and discrimination ever since the founding of the country. The abolition of slavery after the Civil War was a big step ahead, but it by no means meant an end to persecution and discrimination. After World War II the Black people unfolded an ever sharper struggle for equality and civil rights. Many things were won in this struggle, and overt discrimination was more or less outlawed on the national level. Yet this too did not by any means abolish discrimination and inequality. Throughout the Northern cities a whole system of covert discrimination, segregation, and inequality has developed which just as firmly keeps Black people riveted to the bottom slot in society as did the old slave system.

Formal, legal equality, but real, actual inequality as sharp and as deep as ever.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

REVERSE DISCRIMINATION?

In the 60's, in response to the Civil Rights Movement, many schools and institutions began a policy of admitting or hiring Black people and other Third World people out of proportion to test scores and other formal criteria. If this were not done, it would only serve to intensify and

buttress inequality and discrimination, because the oppression and discrimination of Blacks and other Third World minorities is total, not partial. It begins with birth, and follows through to the grave, which comes much earlier than for whites on the average. A Black child starting in school already has the disadvantage of coming from a home that is under terrific pressure just to survive, never mind pay attention to the young, give them any kind of head start at home. A Black kid grows up being taught in insidious ways that he is inferior, sees older kids already drifting, without hope, crushed at a young age.

In the face of all these things, "Affirmative Action" (which means a quota system for Blacks), whether at school or at the job, is a mere pittance, a drop in the bucket, a token which perhaps gives a few a little more opportunity. Such measures were introduced as sops, the most minimal kinds of reforms - reforms which could not even begin to dent the whole of inequality and discrimination. And yet these reforms, these sops were important because they were regarded as a down payment on the promise of things to come. And now these days, even that down payment is being withdrawn, and in the name of opposition to discrimination to boot!

In a few tiny places, a few Blacks are given a slight edge in getting into school or getting a job in order to make up just a tiny bit for the fact that Blacks have had to enter the race after it was half over, and have to run it with ball and chain, in order to make up ever so slightly for the fact that in society as a whole they have been held at the bottom for eons. And this slight edge, for a very few, in a small number of places is called "reverse discrimination"!

AN ILL WIND FOR WORKING PEOPLE

This DeFunis case is representative of an entire climate of opinion being whipped up among white working people. The climate boils down to this: we have had to work for everything we have, and now look at how "they" are being given everything. It is a very dangerous climate, one which will be the ruin of white working people as much as of Black people if it is not exposed and stopped.

Many white working people who have worked very hard all their life to get a half-way decent life for themselves do not realize that most Third World people both here and abroad have had to work much harder, and have nothing what-

soever to show for it - those that have had the opportunity to work at all. The fact that the big capitalists and monopolies have not squeezed white working people so hard up until late is due to the fact that the big monopolists were able to exploit the people and resources of the entire globe, and use Third World people for the hardest and dirtiest work at home for the least pay. But the overseas empire of the U.S. is fast disintegrating and this is one of the major reasons why the white working people are now faced with losing those small comforts, why their standard of living is under such sharp attack. The working class cannot fight against these attacks without unity. There can be no unity if the white working class does not clearly see that Black working people have always had the worst of it, if the white working class allows itself to be deceived into thinking that Blacks are getting ahead at their expense, if the white working class does not fight for the complete equality of Blacks in every sphere - and this fight will necessarily include preferential quotas.

FIGHTING CRIME

Everyone is against crime. Even criminals are against crime. Look at Nixon. Many city and state governments have taken the initiative in fighting crime. For example, it is well known that one of the big strongholds of the mafia is the numbers rackets. As is well known, many state governments have decided to wage war on the numbers rackets - to drive the mafia out of business. How? It's so ingenious one can't imagine how anyone ever thought of it. By going into the numbers racket themselves. They call it the lottery. Or take another spearhead of this ferocious attack on crime. Making book. The mob no doubt profits enormously from making book. The fight against this? You guessed it - Off Track Betting. Now NYC makes book. It will not be long before NYC has more OTB offices than the mob has bookies. Drugs? As we all know, one of the nastiest rackets is the drug racket. This one is hard to beat. But as we all know, a method has been found. Methadone. If anyone doubts that this method is succeeding, let him recall that several addicts have died of overdoses of methadone this year. This cuts down by that many the number that die of heroin overdoses. Ultimately

cont. p.6



ly made use of all these things - more skillfully than most would acknowledge. Worst of all, the opposition to Nixon has allowed things to drag out interminably. They completely failed to strike when the iron was hot. They are losing popular support by these tactics. The issues have become more and more clouded in the popular mind.

CAN NIXON LAST?

Now, some will admit, it is not at all so sure Nixon is coming down.

For some time now, it has been a standoff - back and forth a little, but not too much happening. True, Nixon has had to pull in his horns a little, to bide his time for a while - and the country has not gone so far to the right that we can't even recognize it, as Mitchell promised at one point. But there has been no great era of reform ushered in either. It has been a very uneasy period of stalemate.

This is not a good thing. It gives Nixon a chance. It gives reaction a chance. The opposition is throwing away all its moral capital. It is squandering public support. It is allowing itself to be weakened and undermined. If this continues, Nixon will go over to the counter-offensive at some point. He has tried it before and failed. But, if things continue, at some point

he will start succeeding, he will break out. And he will resume his reactionary offensive.

Remember this, Nixon has not done the things he has done so much in his own interests, although clearly he has amply feathered his own nest. He has conducted his attacks in the interests of the biggest banks and corporations in this country. They have profited from it. In so doing, he stepped on the toes of many lesser interests - even though still very big monied interests. It is these interests that form the basis for the liberal opposition, and part of the even not so liberal opposition. This is the reason this opposition is so unreliable, so unwilling to go in for the kill so to speak, so afraid to really rally the people behind them. They themselves are exploiters, and their devotion to democracy, even capitalist democracy is very limited.

One of the reasons for Nixon's initial attacks on democracy and liberty were the movements of the 60's, the anti-war movement, the civil rights and Black Liberation movements, the student movement, and others. These movements were definitely obstacles to the U.S. rulers fighting the people in Vietnam, and fighting the people here. Unfortunately,

to a certain extent, the Nixon attacks on these movements succeeded.

Today, we are faced with a new issue. For many reasons, the U.S. rulers are faced with a deepening crisis, and they are trying desperately to shift this crisis onto the backs of the people. This will inevitably lead to the people fighting back. The people will inevitably strive to utilize the freedoms we have in this country to fight against the big monopolists, the big capitalists.

For this reason, it is not at all certain that the big monopolists are done with Nixon and his program. For this reason, some of the lesser interests are even more half-hearted in opposing him, since they are beginning to fear the people even more.

LEFT NOT YET ABLE TO LEAD THE PEOPLE

The unfortunate thing is that the left is very weak in this country right now, and has been unable to contend with the liberals for the leadership of the impeachment movement - which is nothing if it is not an anti-fascist movement.

The rightists in the left, the CP, are torn by their "Loyalty to Moscow," which dictates going easy on Nixon because he favors detente, and their inclination to tail the liberals, who inconsistently oppose Nixon, but are too suspicious of detente. The ultra-leftist trend inclines in the direction of not regarding defense of bourgeois democracy as respectable for Marxist-Leninists, revolution is the only answer to fascism, and in any case considers that the fight between Nixon and his opponents is not over an issue in which Marxism-Leninism can take sides, since they're all capitalists.

Nevertheless, it remains our opinion that the only correct tactics for the left and progressive forces today are to reach and rely on the working people, and ally with all others to the extent they are willing to fight, and as long as they are willing to fight - against the danger of fascism, against letting Nixon get away, for impeachment, for preserving and expanding the rights and liberties we have. The people will need these rights both to fight the attacks against them, and to train and educate themselves to one day do away with the capitalist system.

SUPPORT
THE COMMENTATOR

Inflation--cont.

drop in production is bound to lead to growing unemployment very soon. In fact this is already happening in Europe.

The international monetary system is in chaos. The U.S. dealt this system a hammer blow a couple of years ago when it ended the convertibility of dollars into gold. Several hundred billion dollars are held by European banks. These banks cannot convert these dollars into gold. At the same time these dollars are declining in real value. The dollar, to an overseas holder, was nothing but an IOU to be redeemed in gold upon demand. As long as the U.S. economy was strong the dollar was for a long time accepted as "good as gold." All the attempts to build an international system on some compromise basis on other than gold and on other than the dollar are coming unglued.

And then there are the bank failures. In the U.S. and in Germany. There is the bankruptcy of the Italian government.

One could go on.

BASIC CAUSE OF ECONOMIC CRISIS IS CAPITALISM

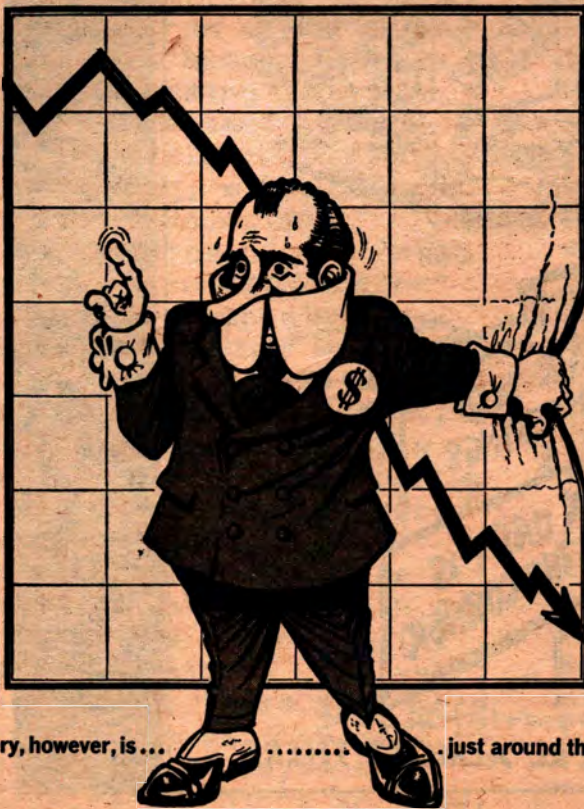
Many bourgeois economists now openly speak of a coming depression. Many openly admit that they have no solution. The only solution offered is that in order to cope with the coming chaos perhaps "authoritarian" regimes will be needed, to see to it that the masses do not get out of hand.

The government itself knows nothing better to do than cater to every whim of the big monopolists for profit increases, for fear of a collapse in business spending. It knows nothing better to do than increase outlays for military spending, which is a narcotic of long standing for U.S. imperialism.

The working people, on the other hand, are being compelled to intensify their struggle against the big monopolists and their government. Strikes are bound to grow and sharpen as workers fall further behind. Without militant struggles at the workplace, the workers will fall behind even more rapidly. But strikes alone are not enough. Working people are going to have to fight for government programs that give some minimal degree of protection from unemployment, from poverty, from increasing prices. It is not incorrect to demand price controls. The government can be forced to make concessions just as much as individual employers can.

Nevertheless, it must be born in mind that no reform

or concession will eliminate the root cause of the developing crisis. This root cause is capitalism itself, a capitalism which has developed to the point where fifty to one hundred corporations dominate the entire economy. The working class must learn to set its sights on the overthrow of capitalism, to aim at setting up a socialist society run by and for working people.



Recovery, however, is... .. just around the corner?

It has long since been proved that neither economic crisis nor inflation are inevitable under all types of society. Back in the days when the Soviet Union was a socialist country, under Stalin and Lenin, the Soviet Union continued to make tremendous progress even at the same time the capitalist world plunged into worldwide depression in the 30's. In the Soviet Union there was no unemployment, no inflation, and a steady increase in the standard of living of the people, based on constantly increasing production. China, Albania, and some other countries today once again show the superiority of socialism. They continue to make steady progress, and will continue making steady progress even at the same time the West enters into an economic crisis. China and Albania are still poor countries, because they have only had a couple of decades to begin building up modern industry almost from scratch. But even so, no one in these countries has to worry about a job, his old age, eating tomorrow, what he'll do if he gets sick, or a roof over his head.

How many Americans can still make that claim?

Portugal--cont.

played some role in the fight to overthrow the old regime. But with the winning of bourgeois democracy the Communist party is prepared to go no further - and is willing to compromise away everything in the name of preserving bourgeois democracy, in the name of preserving unity with Spínola. The workers in Portugal will have to look elsewhere for leadership in any further struggle.

In spite of all this, the coup, the coming of democracy, was a tremendous step forward for the people of Portugal. They have learned more in these few months than in whole decades previously. The class struggle in Portugal is sharper than it has been for a very long time. Nor would it be possible to put the people of Portugal back to sleep for decades again.

Crime--cont.

we can look forward to all overdose deaths being due to methadone - and none whatsoever to heroin.

The fight against crime is only beginning however. For example, right now, if you want to put a contract out on somebody, you have to go to the underworld. You have to get involved with crime, even add to it. There needs to be a government effort to fight crime in this area also. Why could there not be a government agency where one could go - plunk down his money, and give the name of the person he wanted taken care of. There are of course details to be worked out, red tape and so forth. For example, things should run democratically, and also profitably for the state. The person to be bumped off should be contacted, sent a form letter saying that he will be bumped off within seven days unless he files a reason-why-not. If the reason-why-not is valid, and doesn't get lost at the post office en route, the lucky one could file for a counter-bump off or better yet - a winner takes all bump off auction - which combines several advantageous features. First, it helps eliminate poverty, by eliminating the poor. Secondly, it raises more revenue for the state. Third, it preserves free competition. Fourthly, it could provide overtime for some of the more ambitious among NY's finest.

Many people accuse Nixon of having failed to provide leadership in recent times. But looked at in the above light, I think it is quite clear that just the opposite is the case.

not realize that it would not always have the strength to use against the people that it still retains today.

Someday what we will need more than anything else will be the courage to "die gloriously", and those that lack this courage will be inglorious indeed. Those liberals and phony revolutionaries that imagine that basic change can be brought about without violence, without revolution will prove to be traitors to the revolution. Both the War of Independence, and the Civil War, the two periods of fundamental and basic change in our nation's history were violent, bloody struggles, because those that oppressed the people, who resisted change would have it no other way.

But today, a different kind of courage is needed. Today what is needed chiefly is not the courage to "die gloriously" but to live and fight in less spectacular ways, to persevere, to be ready to fight for a long time in building a new revolutionary party of the working people, a communist party, to be ready to educate and struggle with and be educated by the working people, to study and learn the laws of revolution in the U.S.

Both the Revolutionary War of Independence and the Civil War were preceded by long years of less spectacular activity, of preparation. Very few people were even in favor of independence ten years before that struggle. So it was in all great revolutions. The socialist revolution in the U.S. will be no different in that respect. Taking up arms is the last act of the revolution, not the first. The people will have to go through many struggles before they are ready to take up arms. At first, some of these struggles may not appear very militant. And yet, they can help move people forward.

To be a revolutionary today means to be a Marxist-Leninist. To be a Marxist-Leninist means to recognize the leading role of the working class. When the working class is not yet revolutionary to recognize the leading role of the working class means to strive to prepare the working class to play a leading role, to recognize that the revolution is not yet at hand until the working class is prepared to play a leading role.

If we have faith in victory, if we have faith in the workers, we will never settle for a few reforms, a few crumbs, and we will never settle for "glorious" but meaningless deaths.

Who We Are

The Commentator (formerly the Anti-Fascist Commentator) is put out by a Marxist-Leninist collective in the New York area.

In the Commentator we try to analyze current events in the country and the world from a Marxist point of view. We attach especial importance to tackling political and social issues on people's minds, as well as economic issues.

In particular, we feel that under Nixon the danger of fascism has become very real in this country. We also feel that the danger has not lessened much with Nixon's current difficulties. We attach especial importance to exposing and educating people to this danger, in order to help build a united struggle against this danger. However, we believe that of all the forces that can be united to oppose the fascist danger, it is the working class which must lead.

While we believe that the main struggle of the American people right now is against encroaching fascism, the fundamental problems of our society, such as inflation, unemployment, war, racism and poverty can only be solved by the establishment of a socialist government, one which gives the ownership and control of the means of production to the majority of the people, protecting their interests rather than those of a small group of exploiters.

To achieve the above goals, we believe the working class needs a genuine Communist party, based on Marxism-Leninism.

We want to make contact with progressive minded people, working people especially (but not only), who find the ideas in our paper interesting and useful. Also we want to make contact with other revolutionary groups and individuals. We want to make the Commentator as useful and interesting as possible and would appreciate your criticisms and comments.

Publication was interrupted for several months during a struggle in our group over some of the main ideas in the Commentator. A few people who developed sharp disagreements with these ideas left the group of their own accord.

We have changed the name of The Anti-Fascist Commentator to simply The Commentator. We feel the former was a little misleading since there is more than just anti-fascism to our program.

racial intolerance. In New York a second cop, William L. Walker, has already been indicted for shooting a Black college student he chased for a traffic violation.

Throughout the country, from the "Forest Hills" housing controversy in another section of Queens to the nationwide "bussing" backlash focused in Pontiac, Michigan to the unprecedented Gestapo-like arrests of male Blacks in the "Zebra" operation in San Francisco, the Black and minority communities are becoming increasingly and openly singled out for abuse. In a period when white working and middle class people are being robbed by inflation and face the spectre of unemployment (conditions that Third World people have long experienced) and now even a possible depression, it is a tragedy that so much of their frustration has become focused against the oppressed rather than against those responsible for oppression. This is doubly true at this time, when it has become clearer that Congress will not even carry through on impeachment without continued pressure from the people.

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THE LESSONS OF PORTUGAL

After 46 years the fascist dictatorship in Portugal was overthrown by a military coup. The military junta under General Spínola has released most political prisoners. Political exiles have been streaming into the country. The people have been out in the streets in large numbers for the first time in many years, exercising the newly won political rights.

What is the significance of this development? It is strange enough to see a fascist government overthrown by a military coup. Stranger still to see it headed by a General who has been a loyal fascist himself, who fought with Franco and was trained by the Nazis.

DEFEAT IN COLONIES BRINGS COUP

Without doubt, the most immediate cause of the coup was the fact that Portugal was, and is, losing its war in Africa against the movements for independence in its colonies. Some 40% of the government budget went towards prosecuting the war, and a large percentage of the nations human and material resources were being drained off in fighting this losing war. The war was becoming increasingly unpopular not only with the people in Portugal, who apparently support and demand complete independence for the colonies, but also with troops in the army. Even sections of the wealthy classes had become disenchanted with the war. General Spínola and other higher ups became convinced that it was not possible to win through military means, and thus, through the coup, proposed "self-determination" for the colonies.

General Spínola is no radical. Already he has been alarmed by the Pandora's Box he has opened, and has threatened to use force in case the people make too great a use of their new found liberty. He has already made clear that he aims not at independence for the colonies, but incorporation into a Portuguese Commonwealth.

DEMOCRACY INTENSIFIES CLASS STRUGGLE

But it cannot be denied that the last few days the Portuguese people have enjoyed a freedom that they have not enjoyed in over 40 years. All the various political parties in Portugal have come out into the open, including the most radical. The political parties are openly propagandizing for their respective points of view and programs.

It does not matter what are the limitations of General Spínola or the forces behind him. It does not matter if tomorrow he tries to

undo everything that he has done. A process has been set in motion. The Portuguese people have tasted liberty. They have been learning politics, learning the ins and outs of the class struggle in the last few days more than they have been able to in many years. It would not be so easy to turn Portugal back to the days of fascist tyranny. The liberation forces in the colonies now know better than ever that they are winning, that their victory is inevitable, that they are supported by the majority of the Portuguese people, that the Portuguese people are now in a better position to actively assist them.



"Watch it...you're not cooperating."

Without doubt also, having attained political liberty, or in any case more political liberty than they have ever known before, the Portuguese working people will rapidly learn the limitations of political liberty under capitalism, will learn that political liberty does not do away with poverty, with unemployment, with high prices, or give them a real and full voice in the affairs of the nation. They will rapidly learn to set their sights on doing away with capitalism, on establishing socialism under a workers' government.

THE PRICE OF EMPIRE

Without doubt, as the Times pointed out, both Spain and Greece will be profoundly affected by the events in Portugal. The Spanish dictatorship has already shown increasing signs of ill health. Portugal is a clear sign showing that the sickness may well be terminal.

Southern Europe has for a long time groaned under the yoke of U.S. supported, and in the case of Greece, inspired, dictatorships. Iron-

ically, but not accidentally, at the very time when Portugal has given hope and inspiration to the forces of democracy and liberation in Southern Europe, as well as Africa, the U.S. is in every danger of heading the opposite direction, political liberty here having been taken for granted for so long that the people are not quickly aroused to the danger of its being taken away. And it is no accident that the U.S. ruling circles are moving in fascist direction precisely at a time when they are becoming more desperately concerned with trying to preserve their increasingly rebellious overseas neo-colonial empire. The U.S. people, too, are being increasingly deprived of their liberties and well-being in the interests of an ever growing militarization and futile efforts to preserve U.S. hegemony in the world.

P.S.

There have been a few new developments since the above was written, soon after the coup.

One is that it has become more and more evident that the Portuguese government is not going to give anything away in Africa. The Portuguese government is striving might and main to hang on to all it can, and where it cannot avoid granting independence, even there it is imitating the British custom of seeing to it that independence disturbs Portuguese interests as little as possible, and that various factions of the liberation forces are set against each other.

Two is that the Portuguese government is beginning to retrench on some of the liberties introduced in its first days. Freedom of the press is already coming under attack, with at least one leftist editor who dared to criticize the government in jail. Greater and greater threats are being made against striking workers.

Three is the role being played by the Communist and Socialist parties. Both have supported the new backward movement of the government in order to hang on to their "ministerial posts" and participation in the government. The Communist Party claims that unity must be preserved with the armed forces and the government - even if this means putting aside legitimate demands of the workers. The Communist and Socialist parties are actively helping the government throw cold water on the movement of the people. They are also falling in with the government's effort to hang on in the colonies. The Communist party apparently cont. p.6