

THE MILITANT

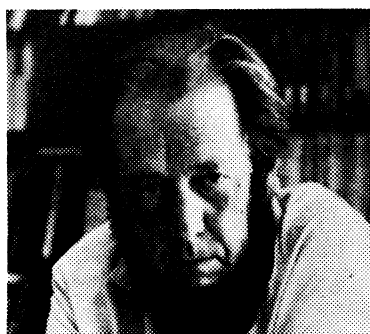
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Rightists step up attacks

Chile: crisis grows for Allende regime



Santiago, Sept. 4--Hundreds of thousands of workers, students, and peasants marched in show of force against right-wing threats. See page 5.



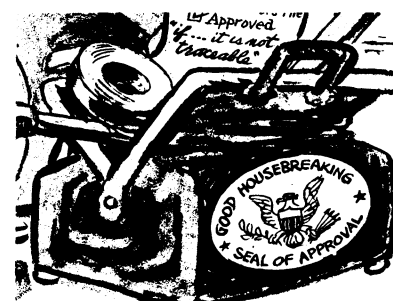
ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN

Behind new frame-up of Soviet dissenters

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Ex-FBI agent tells of 'black-bag' burglaries

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PATHFINDER GETS AROUND: In the last week of August, 3,900 members of the American Sociological Association met in New York City. Some 300 of them asked to examine revolutionary literature from Pathfinder Press for possible classroom use. Titles on feminism, prisoners, the Black and Chicano struggles, and political theory were displayed at a Pathfinder booth.

"Where have you been?" was one common greeting. At times the booth got so busy that the two staffers had to step outside to make more room.

Socialist Workers Party members at the conference sold 47 issues of the *International Socialist Review*, along with 10 *Militant* and five *ISR* subscriptions. A number of professors, including two from Taiwan and France, expressed interest in learning more about the SWP.

Pierre Rousset wins release from prison

French Trotskyist leader Pierre Rousset has been released from prison, reports the Sept. 2-3 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*. Rousset, imprisoned since June 23, is a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist League, which was dissolved by the Pompidou regime on June 28.

The pretext for the ban on the League was an antifascist demonstration sponsored by the organization the night of June 21. During the demonstration police clashed with demonstrators while attempting to protect the fascists.

Rousset was arrested when police sacked the League's headquarters the next day. They severely damaged the League's bookstore and office machines, and found some table legs, a few bottles containing gasoline, and two old rifles. Rousset was charged with "possession of a store of arms."

During the trial Rousset's attorney pointed out the political nature of the charges. Rousset was not the owner of the premises of the headquarters; he simply came there periodically as did hundreds of other members of the League. Although there were others present in the headquarters at the time of the police raid, he alone was imprisoned because he was a leader of the Communist League.

The leaders of the dissolved League have contended that the rifles were brought to the offices by a provocateur. This assumption was lent credence during the trial when United Socialist Party (PSU) leader Michel Rocard testified that an apparent provocateur had also recently tried to plant arms at the headquarters of the PSU.

Rousset was found guilty but sentenced to only two months in jail (he could have received three to 10 years). Since he had already been in prison since June 23, he was released immediately.

This is another victory in the defense campaign launched to protest the French government's persecution of the League. On Aug. 2 Alain Krivine, another leader of the League imprisoned in the wake of the demonstration, was released pending trial.

AIM LEADERS INDICTED IN SOUTH DAKOTA: On Aug. 31, the same day he announced he would run for the tribal presidency on the Pine Ridge Reservation, scene of the Wounded Knee occupation, Russell Means was indicted by a state grand jury. The charges were assault with a dangerous weapon, conspiracy to commit arson, and participation in a riot where arson occurred.

Charges were also handed down against another leader of the American Indian Movement, Vernon Bellecourt, who was indicted for conspiracy to commit arson. Both Means and Bellecourt were charged in connection with a police attack on Indian demonstrators in Custer, S.D., last February. Several people were injured in the clash and four buildings caught fire.

Means is free on bail, but Bellecourt refused to post \$5,000 bond and announced that he was going on a hunger strike.

NEW 'EVIDENCE' AGAINST GARY LAWTON: The second trial of Gary Lawton and Darebu (Larrie) Gardner entered its twelfth week at the end of August. The first trial ended with a 9-3 vote for acquittal, and a mistrial was declared.

Lawton, a Black activist, and Gardner, an unemployed janitor from the Riverside, Calif., Black community, are charged with the April 1971 ambush slaying of two Riverside policemen.

Numerous changes in the testimony of prosecution witnesses in the second trial have served to emphasize the frame-up nature of the case. In a glaring example of this, former Riverside police Sergeant Leadell Lee, now a special

agent for the FBI, has made an important alteration in his testimony. Lee was the first to arrive at the scene of the ambush and was the officer in charge of the investigation.

Lee testified before the grand jury, at the preliminary hearings, and at the first trial. Suddenly, after two years, and on the morning he was supposed to testify in the second trial, he "remembered" seeing two men near the scene of the shooting. He somehow knew their identity, and the prosecution was able to produce them as witnesses later in the day.

Contributions to help the legal defense may be sent to the Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5154, San Bernardino, Calif. 92412. Telephone: (714) 684-4098.

FBI HARASSES ARAB STUDENT CONVENTION: The first day of the twenty-second annual convention of the Organization of Arab Students (OAS), held at Utah State University in Logan at the end of August, was marked by a visit from the FBI. Young Socialist Alliance National Secretary Andrew Pulley, who gave greetings to the convention, told *The Militant* that the FBI called university officials and tried to intimidate some of the 120 delegates present.

The FBI agents wanted to know why the OAS convention, which they referred to as a gathering of "foreigners and terrorists," was permitted to meet on the campus. This crude attempt at intimidation is only the latest in a long series of acts by the government aimed at preventing foreign students, and particularly Arab students, from becoming involved in political activity.

WASHINGTON INDIANS HIT GOVERNMENT WATER-GATING: Virtually the entire adult membership of the Nisqually and Puyallup tribes in Washington has been subjected to a "massive and continuing compilation of personal and private information, gossip, and unsubstantiated allegations relating to their personal conduct and past lives," according to Hank Adams, national director of the Survival of American Indians Association.

The Nisqually and Puyallup tribes have carried out a prolonged struggle against the refusal of the state of Washington to recognize fishing rights granted them by a federal treaty in 1854. More than 100 members of the two tribes are awaiting trial on charges of violating state game and fish laws.

The dossiers on the Indians were compiled by the Washington Game Department with the help of the FBI and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Adams charged. They were uncovered during an occupation of the Game Department's offices in February. The files included information on marital problems, high school grades, cash purchases of items such as birthday presents and fuel oil, and the amount of food in household cupboards.

Adams reported that one covering memo, written by officials who are still employed by the state, called the Nisquallys "similar to wild animals in the jungle."

—DAVE FRANKEL

YOUR FIRST ISSUE? SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT



GAINESVILLE EIGHT: *The Militant* was there to bring you on-the-spot coverage of the acquittal of the Vietnam veterans, to expose the frame-up tactics used by the government, and to tell the truth about the role of provocateurs in the movement.

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Rally in Chicago

AFSCME, UAW, and teachers urge action against inflation

By BRUCE BLOY

CHICAGO—"We don't believe that there is a scarcity of wheat and eggs causing the price increase. We know the government has been paying people not to raise the wheat and the chickens.

"We know that Nixon's economic policies are the leaven in the bread price rise, and we're going to do something about it," said Reverend Willie Barrow, coordinator of the Coalition for Jobs and Economic Justice.

The coalition is the chief sponsor of the Sept. 8 march and rally here, called to protest the high cost of living and unfair taxes, and to demand jobs for all. Speakers tentatively scheduled for the rally include Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers (UAW); Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); and Patrick Gor-

young people to pass out 20,000 leaflets on Chicago's West Side. In addition, mailings have been sent to community leaders and organizations.

Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans are hurt the worst by both inflation and unemployment. The Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and major Black community organizations in Chicago, especially Operation PUSH, have been deeply involved in organizing the Sept. 8 action.

The Coalition for Jobs and Economic Justice is also planning to distribute 25,000 leaflets in Spanish in a special effort to reach Chicago's sizable Chicano and Puerto Rican communities.

Jesse Jackson, leader of Operation PUSH, addressed an Aug. 30 coalition meeting attended by 300 people. "There is corruption at the point of distribution," he said. "We don't have a meat shortage because the beef isn't produced. We don't have a food shortage because the ground isn't yielding a crop. It is corruption."

Jackson went on to attack Nixon for his cutbacks in education, health, and welfare. "In any country that builds bridges that span rivers, that sends men to the moon, that drops bombs on Cambodia, there is no insufficiency of funds, there is only insufficiency of morality."

One area hard hit by Nixon's cutbacks has been education. Federal grants to colleges and local school systems have been drastically reduced, causing teacher layoffs and a shortening of the school year in many areas. The recent national convention of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) endorsed the Sept. 8 action.

Robert Healey, president of the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU), told a recent Operation PUSH meeting, "We are asking every teacher and civil service member of our union, 25,000 strong, to come out and march Sept. 8 with our friends in the community and our fellow labor union members."

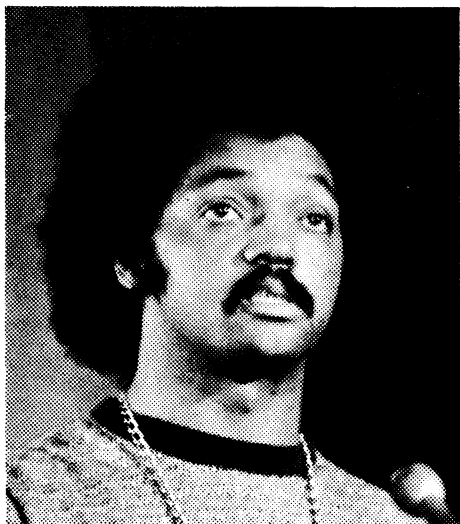
Jacqueline Vaughn, vice-president of the CTU, said that on Sept. 8 teachers will also be protesting the threatened early closing of schools.

The CTU has sent letters to all its members and plans a leaflet and poster campaign in the schools. It also hopes to get endorsement of the action from the Chicago Parents and Teachers As-



Militant/Howard Petrick

More than 100 unions are supporting Sept. 8 action in Chicago. Above, San Francisco labor demonstration against inflation and wage controls, held last April 28.



JACKSON: Leader of Operation PUSH. Many Black organizations are actively organizing for Sept. 8 protest in Chicago.

man, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters.

Recently announced price hikes for meat and bread have spurred building of the demonstration. During the past week the coalition has received 56 new commitments from local unions to work on the demonstration, in addition to the 67 unions and union representatives that had already endorsed it.

Coalition supporters have distributed more than 250,000 leaflets in the Chicago area so far, including 150,000 distributed by unions to their membership. The UAW organized 30

sociation. The Coalition for Jobs and Economic Justice plans to leaflet high schools and colleges as soon as they open.

In a Labor Day statement, Robert Johnston, director of UAW Region 4, asked the union's members to "observe the union-won paid holiday by marching on Saturday, Sept. 8, in Chicago."

Johnston said that members of the UAW national negotiations committee, now engaged in contract talks with the auto makers, will lead the UAW contingent in the march.

"Labor Day is the proper occasion to remember that our marching days are never done," Johnston said. "Our participation will reaffirm what real unionism is all about—not just our own wages and working conditions, but our moral commitment to march toward a better tomorrow with the unemployed, the underemployed, the overtaxed, and the overpriced."

Those on fixed incomes, such as retirees and welfare recipients, are particularly hard hit by the inflation squeeze. The Illinois Union of Social Service Employees (IUSSE), which represents case workers, clerks, and typists, endorsed the action at a recent meeting. The IUSSE is distributing a leaflet urging participation Sept. 8 and calling for "a cost of living escalator clause for all public aid employees

and recipients; no layoffs; jobs for all."

Neil Bratcher, Illinois District Director of AFSCME Council 19, said in a recent interview: "There is no reason why we should have to accept an unemployment rate of 5 percent. The Nixon administration has been successful in cramming down the American people's throat the idea that 5 percent unemployment is not bad."

Bratcher pointed out that in many

The Socialist Workers Party will sponsor a movement center after the Sept. 8 rally at the YMCA, 826 S. Wabash, Third Floor, Michigan Room. Speakers will include Maceo Dixon, former leader of the Coalition to Abolish STRESS and SWP candidate for mayor of Detroit; and Gustavo Gutierrez, a Chicago leader of the United Farm Workers Union. The movement center will be open until 6 p.m. and refreshments and revolutionary literature will be available.

cities the unemployment rate is much higher than the national average. He suggested the creation of a public works program that would guarantee jobs for the unemployed.

Militant opens drive to sell 9,500 weekly

By NANCY COLE

As the first week of *The Militant's* fall circulation campaign gets under way, supporters across the country agree that it will be an exciting and challenging effort to reach our goals—9,500 weekly street sales and 15,000 new subscribers.

The campaign began with sales of last week's issue and will run until Nov. 18. The subscriptions will be sold on two national blitz weekends—Sept. 28 and Oct. 27—and by 12 Young Socialist teams and two national *Militant* teams. The teams are to be on the road by the end of September.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance have pledged to make this circulation campaign one of their major activities this fall. This pledge is a serious one,

as San Diego SWPers and YSAers have already shown. They reached their sales quota of 350 the week before the campaign opened!

The YSA and SWP in the Oakland/Berkeley area have decided to shoot for the largest goal in the country—weekly sales of 900. SWP sales director Rich Hill reports that they first plan to expand Saturday sales by sending several teams into the Black and Chicano communities, especially to housing projects. Their aim is to establish regular sales each week in these areas.

Hill says they will also step up their weekday sales, which are concentrated at plant gates, at union meetings, and on campuses. "In addition to increased sales on the campuses where we sold last spring, we want to hit other com-

munity colleges in the area. We also want to concentrate sales now in those areas where we plan to go during the sub blitz weekends."

Next week we will print the first scoreboard of the sales campaign. We hope that readers and supporters will join in this circulation effort by accepting a sales quota.

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Militant/Mark Satinoff

By FRANK LOVELL

This is the final week of contract negotiations in the auto industry. Sept. 14 is the strike deadline. The final week traditionally reveals the strategy of both union and management, giving the auto workers the first sure sign of what they can expect under the new contract.

Usually the closing negotiations before the deadline are secret, allowing the capitalist press to speculate on the probable settlement from leaks from management sources. Members of the United Auto Workers union learn the details of the contract only

Corporate management hopes eventually to train a more stable work force. The aim is to hold to a minimum the number of layoffs when the anticipated cutbacks in production begin next year. This prospect is also viewed through the dollar sign, because it means lower unemployment compensation payments in the future.

'Management prerogatives'

The bargaining argument of the corporations is that they will not relinquish "management prerogatives" to establish production schedules and demand overtime work.

They fear the workers would use the right to refuse overtime to disrupt production and force concessions on

are negotiating with these companies for an improved escalator clause.

They hope to win the clause before the "synthetic deadline" of Sept. 14, fixed by agreement to coincide with the deadline in the auto industry. Current contracts in the farm implement industry run until Oct. 1.

Pat Greathouse, UAW vice-president in charge of the union's farm-implement department, is negotiating for a new cost-of-living formula that will keep wages more nearly in step with inflationary living costs. The formula being sought is a one-cent-an-hour raise in wages for every 0.3-point raise in the government's Consumer Price Index (CPI).

Under the old formula—a penny for every 0.4-point CPI jump—auto

ing strikes in the railroad industry. The justification was that the one-at-a-time strike was a very clever way to use one company against the others, taking advantage of the competition within the industry.

It is more clear this year than ever before that the auto corporations are collaborators, not competitors. They openly announced their joint strategy in the current negotiations, part of which was to help the UAW decide which company would be the "strike target."

One of the reasons Chrysler was chosen is its position within the industry. It requires the least subsidization from Ford and GM in event of a strike.

Black workers' protests

In recent months, Chrysler's Detroit plants have been hit by spontaneous protests led by Black workers. The sit-ins and walkouts have centered on the company's racist policies and unsafe working conditions, demanding basic changes in plant facilities and production methods.

A strike restricted to Chrysler will allow the corporation time to retool and possibly rebuild or shift to new locations large portions of its operation, including some key production plants.

The other effect of a strike at Chrysler will be to cool a section of the work force, put the Chrysler workers on lean rations for a time, and prepare to weed out the militants who have been leading the protest actions.

Under these circumstances, the Chrysler strike will do little more than postpone the dispute until the issues can be resolved with Ford and GM. The corporations enjoy the advantage of time; further negotiations are favorable to them.

The UAW negotiators are in a weak position because the union leaders have failed to keep the membership fully informed and have been unwilling to mobilize them for a head-on clash.

More action like the Sept. 8 demonstration are needed. They can help publicize the demands of UAW members and to expose the auto barons' responsibility for the inflationary and antiunion policies of the Nixon administration.

Union leaders avoid head-on fight Wages, overtime at issue in UAW contract talks

after its tentative acceptance by the negotiators.

The 1973 negotiations have followed this pattern, but with some important additions.

These negotiations began formally last July 18 with the customary long list of UAW demands, since narrowed to the following:

- A wage raise of about 7 percent annually, up from an average \$5 an hour to \$5.35 the first year, in line with what has already been accepted in trucking and other industries;
- An improved escalator clause to keep wages more nearly abreast of rising prices;
- An end to compulsory overtime work;
- Voluntary retirement at any age after 30 years service on a \$650 monthly pension;
- Provisions for on-the-job health and safety protection;
- Union-management committees to "humanize the work place";
- A company-financed dental plan.

Emphasis on overtime

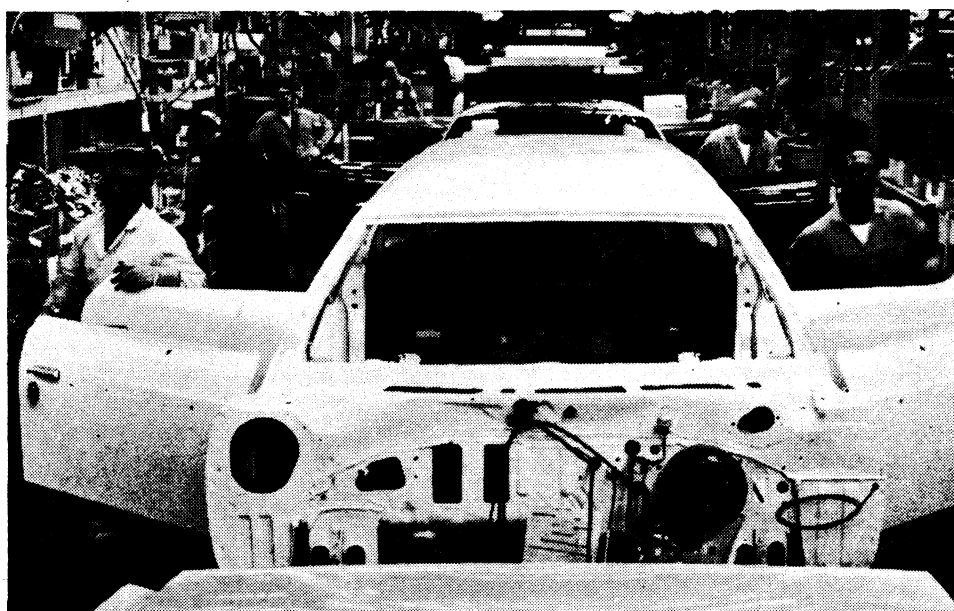
In the final round of negotiations some demands on this pared-down list are being dropped, and voluntary overtime is being emphasized by the UAW negotiating committee. Buttons with the slogan "Overtime: Ask Me, Don't Tell Me" are everywhere in the auto plants.

This year, it is clear that the auto industry, dominated by General Motors, is balking on several important issues. These include wages, pensions, and safety standards, as well as compulsory overtime.

Compulsory overtime appears to be the most vulnerable spot in the auto industry's armor. Few industries demand overtime work, and there is nothing about the auto industry that requires it.

Forced overtime has been branded in the U.S. Congress as a modern form of slavery. Auto workers at the Ford plant in Sharonville, Ohio, for example, have been compelled to work 74 hours a week for the past 30 months.

The Big Three—GM, Ford, and Chrysler—are unwilling to give up forced overtime. Paying overtime wages to fewer workers is about 50 cents an hour cheaper than hiring more workers at straight-time pay because it avoids the added fringe benefits, Social Security payments, and insurance costs.



Inflation, compulsory overtime, and unsafe conditions are major problems facing auto workers. Yet UAW leadership's strategy in current contract talks relies on flank tactics rather than serious fight for workers' demands.

such issues as speedup and unsafe working conditions.

They are demanding that new disciplinary clauses be written into future contracts, outlawing any form of job action that would threaten their arbitrary work schedules. In other words, management is willing to concede that the individual worker may decline overtime work, but not by agreement with other workers in the department and only if the refusal to work does not interfere with the overtime schedule. Thus the corporations are trying to use the voluntary overtime issue to impose more stringent discipline on the workers.

The companies' initial wage offer of less than 3 percent signals their determination to hold the line. They don't intend to make any concessions beyond what is provided in the present contract, including continuance of the existing escalator clause.

This was the original proposal GM and Ford made last January. Citing the uncertainties of the economy, they proposed that the contract simply be extended for another year.

Top UAW officials are seeking to apply pressure for a wage increase by establishing a wage pattern in the related farm-implement industry. They hope the auto industry will then adopt this settlement.

With this in mind, they have moved ahead the expiration date of UAW contracts with International Harvester, Caterpillar, and Deere & Co., and

workers netted 40 cents an hour during the three years of the present contract, far short of what is needed.

Inflation is provoking mass dissatisfaction among the workers. This finds expression in such actions as the UAW-endorsed Sept. 8 demonstration in Chicago against high prices. This and other efforts like it to mobilize workers in action are an effective way to force concessions on the wage issue.

Head-on challenge needed

But the UAW officials are hesitant to make a head-on challenge on the wage issue. This is despite the fact that the auto corporations have recorded profits of more than \$2.5-billion in the first half of this year and will break all records (profits, productivity, and production) before the year ends. The issue of inflation is directly related to these unprecedented profits.

Chrysler is the smallest and least influential of the Big Three auto makers. It's choice as the "strike target" this year is a sure sign of conciliatory efforts by the UAW officials to come to terms with the industry if at all possible.

The original purpose of the UAW's one-at-a-time strike strategy was to avoid a showdown with the entire industry. The union leaders feared that an industry-wide strike would bring government intervention and invite antiunion laws such as those govern-



Recent protests at Chrysler plants, sparked by Black workers, demonstrated growing militancy in ranks of UAW.

Workers mobilizations continue in Chile

Rightists step up pressure against Allende

From Intercontinental Press

By GERRY FOLEY

"There is going to be another bosses' strike, and the government is handing the plants back to the fascists so that they can make another try. . . .

"The big problem is that we are in those plants and we are not going to give them back. The government said for us to make these plants produce, and we did, and now we are not going to give them back. What is the government going to do? Shoot us?

"They didn't drive the rich out of the enclaves where they were holding the trucks. Are they going to drive



Police fire tear gas during street confrontations.

us government supporters out of the plants? What a dilemma, *Compañero Presidente!*"

This editorial in the November 9, 1972, issue of the left Socialist paper *Aurora de Chile* presented the dilemma of the Allende government very clearly. The new peak in the prolonged crisis of a regime regarded not so long ago by the pro-Moscow Communist parties as a showcase of the peaceful and electoral road to socialism has fully confirmed this analysis and its predictions. An inexorable process of polarization between the capitalists on one side and the workers and poor farmers on the other has drastically reduced the room for class-collaborationist maneuvers.

From the moment the popular-front government was brought to power by the rise of the workers movement, the bourgeois parties have been steadily stepping up the pressure on Allende to force the Unidad Popular (UP—Popular Unity) to retreat and to demobilize and disappoint the masses. The objective of the main bourgeois political strategists has been to wear away the popular hopes inspired by the UP victory, while at the same time keeping Allende in power as the best means of holding a rein on the popular strata supporting his reformist government.

On the other hand, the assaults of the right against the UP regime have provoked responses from the workers that Allende could not control and that went further and further toward irrevocably undermining the bases of the capitalist system. This two-sided process showed up clearly in the first full-scale test of strength between the government and the bourgeois opposition in the October 1972 "bosses' strike."

While Allende capitulated, bringing the heads of the armed forces into his cabinet and making his government dependent on these supposedly "impartial patriots," the workers and youth mobilized to keep the economy

functioning, and in the process significantly widened the area of social control. At the same time, more democratic and active organizations developed among the workers—the cordones industriales (assemblies of rank-and-file workers in local industrial concentrations).

The latest rightist offensive began on July 25 with the opening of a new bosses and professionals' strike spearheaded, as in October, by the truck owners. The far right tried to give the maximum intensity to the campaign against Allende by launching a wave of terrorist acts, beginning with the assassination of the president's aide, Captain Araya, on July 27.

The new escalation was initiated by the abortive uprising of the Second Armored Regiment on June 29.

The tank regiment's assault on the presidential palace touched off a working-class mobilization similar to the one that responded to the rightist offensive in October. Workers staged a new series of plant seizures, and the cordones industriales were strengthened.

Following the June 29 putsch, *Chile Hoy* noted an increasingly blood-thirsty tone in the conservative press. An editorial in the July 27 issue of Chile's major bourgeois daily, *El Mercurio*, for example, seemed to advocate an "Indonesian" solution, as *Chile Hoy* saw it:

"The editorial was entitled 'The Communists Set Jakarta Plan in Motion.' The historical truth was nothing less than this: 'The Reds, instigated and equipped from Peking, tried in September 1965 to take over the country by liquidating the military high command, which they considered their main enemy.' But the plan failed, *El Mercurio* explained, and 'then the anger of the people was aroused, and a general crackdown on the Communists started up, which was all-embracing and spontaneous and horrible.' But it really wasn't so horrible because, thanks to this opportune repression, Indonesia 'is one of the leading nations in southern Asia. . . .'



GENERAL CARLOS PRATS: Head of Chilean armed forces resigned from Allende's cabinet Aug. 25.

population is so large that no one even notices that in 1965 the 'spontaneous' repression caused the 'death of hundreds of thousands of leftists.' Thanks to this purge, 'the economy has been stabilized and order prevails.' The message is quite clear."

But not just the classical right (to say nothing of the growing fascist

element) seem to be thinking in stark terms; *Chile Hoy's* report continues:

"On the following day [Sunday, July 1], Eduardo Frei [former "center-left" president of the country] spoke in his capacity as president of the Senate. After denying any participation by the 'democratic sectors' in the rebellion of the Second Armored Regiment, he noted that as a result of this event 'the occupation of factories and ranches was ordered. The cordones industriales, with which they are trying to surround the city, were strengthened. And what is graver still, the certainty exists that arms were distributed. Stra-

tions of the left, especially the cordones industriales and the comandos comunales [municipal commands] through using the arms control law."

After the June 29 coup and the start of the popular mobilization it touched off, the naval officers made special efforts to separate the sailors from civilians. They ordered that only commissioned officers should carry weapons. Supplies of arms were hidden. At the end of the first week in August, a large-scale repression was launched to eliminate "sedition," that is, opposition to the rightist plotting.

A soldier interviewed in the July



Orlando Jofre/TNS

Demonstration of workers in support of Popular Unity government. Mass mobilizations are part of growing polarization between workers and rightist forces.

tegic deployments were made and orders were issued as if Chile were on the brink of a civil war."

The former Christian Democratic president warned, according to *Chile Hoy*: "The constitution of a popular power means in fact creating a parallel army," which has to be crushed, "before it is too late."

Despite the rightist attempt to overthrow the government by armed force on June 29, and despite the multiplying acts of terrorism by the fascist Patria y Libertad, Chile's "democratic armed forces" turned their main attention toward crushing in the egg the "parallel army" of the workers. The "arms control" law that was passed with relatively little protest by the opposition-controlled parliament at the height of the October crisis suddenly emerged as seemingly the most important statute in the code.

The armed forces command very quickly showed its readiness to use "brute force" not only against civilians but also against their own enlisted men in order to prevent anyone from taking too seriously the talk about the "democratic traditions" of the Chilean army.

The use of "brute force" was especially salient in the navy, where, according to the August 24 *Chile Hoy*, rightist officers had been preparing for months to play a key role in toppling the Allende government.

"Rightist officers have been delivering harangues, especially to the petty officers, using exactly the same language as politicians like Onofre Jarpa [head of the increasingly neofascist National party] and Eduardo Frei. That is, the government does not intend to rectify its policy. Not even the most energetic appeals have any effect, and the only 'solution' is to overthrow it.

"In these same harangues, which were particularly frequent in July, it was said that the essential first step was to destroy the mass organiza-

20 issue of *Chile Hoy* indicated one avenue by which the class struggle has penetrated into the army. "Take my case, for example. Since I am a bachelor, the army doesn't give me enough to live on to make it through the month. If we in our neighborhood had not organized a JAP [juntas de abastecimiento y control de precios—supply and price control boards, the popular organs controlling distribution in the neighborhoods], we would perish from hunger. There is an order that says we can't take part in the JAPs, but what would we get out of obeying such an order? Many have disregarded it."

Thus, the reasons for the nervous and violent mood of the officer corps and the bourgeois politicians are clear, and with them the reasons for the lengthening shadow of the gun over Chilean political life.

Under the threat of the June 29 coup, the workers carried their mobilizations and independent initiatives another long step forward. The tendency to create a "parallel army" is inherent in the situation; it is the logical and essential next step for the Chilean workers, and it goes hand in hand with splitting the ranks of the military.

There is still no real revolutionary party in Chile that can initiate the process of organizing a workers army or splitting the ranks of the armed forces. The MIR's defense of the political rights of enlisted men could have an important impact and lead to serious work within the armed services. But so far this organization has conspicuously failed to raise slogans to prepare the way for arming the masses and creating a popular army. Its demands for giving the right to vote and better treatment to soldiers are not a sufficient program for work in the army, and time is rapidly running out.

Continued on page 22

Use of gov't informers dealt another blow

Jurors reject frame-up of Vietnam Vets

By LINDA JENNESS

GAINESVILLE, FLA. — During most of the trial of the Gainesville Eight the members of the jury sat poker-faced and unresponsive. So when after less than four hours of deliberation they walked back into the courtroom grinning from ear to ear, we all knew the verdict. After each defendant's name was called Judge Arnow read the jury's decision—"Not guilty, so say we all."

The five-week conspiracy trial of seven members and one supporter of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) was over, and the government had been handed another defeat. Charged with conspiring to violently disrupt the 1972 Republican national convention, the eight young men were Nixon's latest targets in his efforts to discredit the antiwar movement and justify the Watergate crimes.

The day before the verdict, the two sides presented closing arguments. The government prosecutor, Jack Carrouth, wearing an American flag in his lapel, summarized the government's case. For two-and-a-half hours he rehashed the tales by informers, provocateurs, cops, a member of Young Americans for Freedom, a landlord, an FBI chemistry "expert," and other assorted stooges who were government witnesses.

He even threw in some new "evidence" to spice the story up. Carrouth told the jury that Alton Foss, a defendant, had urged government informer Sergeant Harrison Crenshaw to decide what country he was going to after the Republican convention, because "things will be too hot for us here." Foss supposedly told Crenshaw that he had already decided to go to Cuba because "being a revolutionary, Castro will give me some land and a house."

Informers 'living a lie'

Defense attorney Brady Coleman spoke first on behalf of the defendants. He centered his statement around the lack of evidence presented by the government and the nature of informers.

"An informer," said Coleman, "has a paid job to do. What are they doing when they infiltrate an organization? They are living a lie. The witnesses presented by the government in this case have been living a lie for a long time. They don't recognize the truth any longer. They don't know the truth when they take the witness stand."

Coleman also challenged the government's contention that the VVAW itself was not on trial. The Vietnam veterans who speak out against the war, he said, are particularly embarrassing to Nixon, and the government has gone to special lengths to silence them. "If this case is not against the VVAW, why, starting in September 1971, were government agents sent into the VVAW?" asked Coleman.

Slingshots in Miami

Coleman reminded the jury that the only evidence presented by the government was 55 "wrist-rocket" slingshots. "Besides that, there was just a lot of talk."

The government claimed that the defendants intended to bring 15,000 people to the Republican convention and create a riot. "That means that there would be one slingshot for every 250 people," Coleman said. "I can just see it now. Fifty-five people with wrist-rocket slingshots, each followed by a group of 250 people, taking over Miami Beach!"

John Kniffen and Scott Camil represented themselves during the trial and both presented closing arguments. Camil was the southern regional organizer for the VVAW and a prime target of the government.

One of the informers, Emerson Poe, had posed as Camil's closest friend up until the time he took the witness stand. "Informers have to be very convincing liars," Camil told the jury.

"They also have to turn something in to get their money. . . . Jack Carrouth says this is not a political trial, but the government infiltrated the VVAW, politically monitored the VVAW, and even accused us of making a deal with the Democrats to disrupt the Republican convention." Camil pointed out that in some of the meetings described at the trial "over 50 percent of those present were agents."

"There is plenty of evidence of conspiracy," he summed up, "not a conspiracy on the part of VVAW, but a government conspiracy to infiltrate the VVAW."

'Good citizens'

The government was given 30 minutes for a rebuttal to the defense's closing arguments. Carrouth spent his time defending informers.

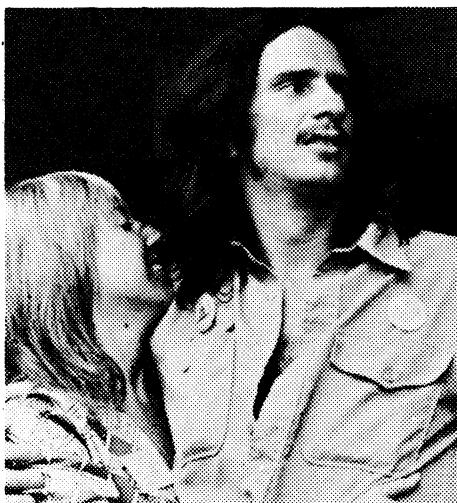
"The defense," he said, "thinks it's great sport to attack people who give up part of their lives to help the government catch criminals. That's what these informers do. They get very little money for that service . . . they do it primarily because they are good citizens."

The "good citizens" in this case were a motley crew, including several provocateurs, a right-wing Cuban, a Dade County sheriff, and some other cops and FBI agents.

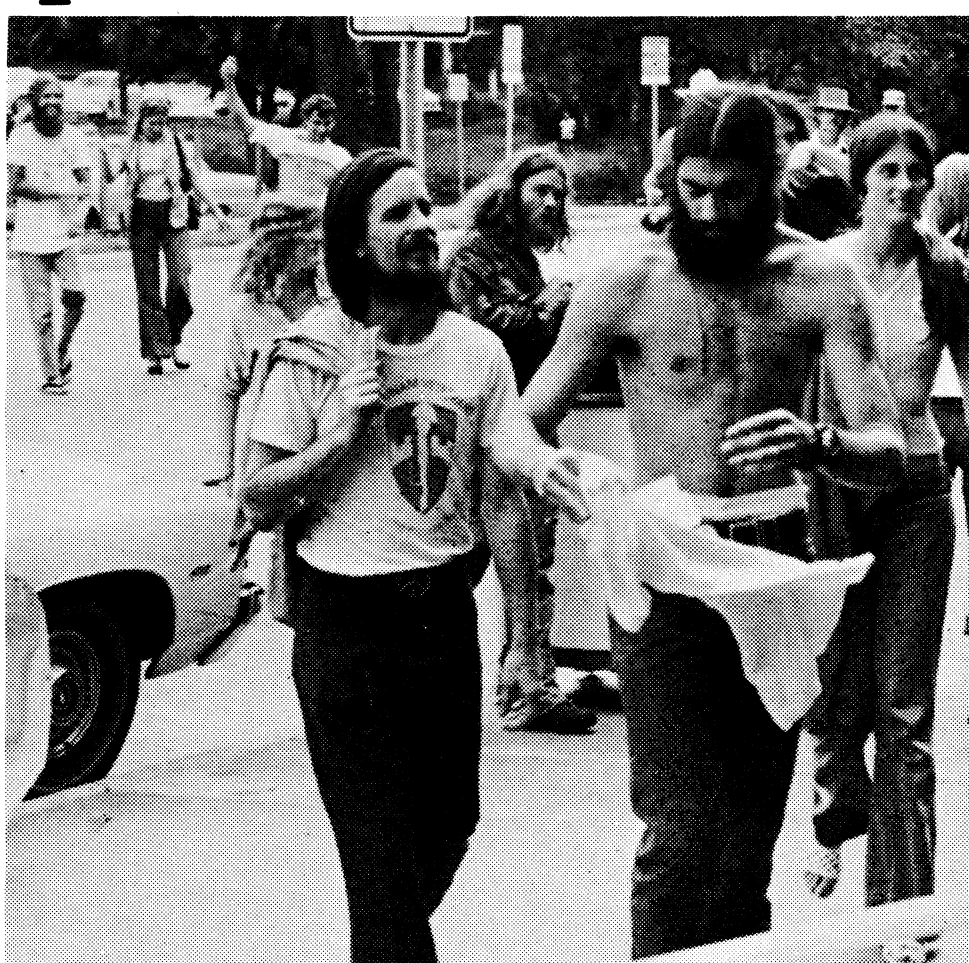
The jury almost lost its composure when Carrouth said, "There is not evidence before you that this administration feels one way or the other about the VVAW. They simply infiltrated this group to keep them from blowing up Miami Beach."

And a few of the jurors couldn't repress a snicker when Carrouth ended up by saying, "If there wasn't a conspiracy, why did this group meet secretly? Why didn't they meet like the JCs or the women's club? Their secrecy shows that there was a conspiracy!"

But the government couldn't sell even one member of the jury on its witch-hunt tactics or apple-pie patriotism. When court was finally dismissed—after Judge Arnow presented each juror with a five-cent copy of the U.S. Constitution—the defendants and the jurors shook hands and hugged each other.



Gainesville Eight defendant Alton Foss: "We beat the government and they know it."



Militant/Linda Jenness

VVAW defendants and supporters entering courthouse to hear the jury's verdict.

Paul Banks, one of the Black jurors, left the court house with a raised clenched fist.

When defense attorney Nancy Stearns said to a young juror, "You have to hear our song about Jack Carrouth," the juror replied, "Oh, but we have a song too!"

Gerald Bennett, a 33-year-old telephone lineman who served on the jury, told the press, "They had nothing on those boys and it doesn't matter how people wear their hair."

Two of the jurors, Donna Banister and Carol Alfred, came to a victory party held for the defendants directly following the acquittal.

Carol Alfred said that the censorship of reading material during sequestration was so severe that any newspaper or magazine that got through was totally mutilated.

She said that in order to clip everything relating to government crime, the marshals were even forced to clip out some "Doonesbury" cartoons and a couple of the "Peanuts" series. Alfred said that the most difficult part of being a juror for her "was keeping a straight face."

Watergate took its toll

It's not surprising that the jury saw through the government's attempted frame-up. Carol Alfred, for instance, told me that she and a couple of other jurors "were really into Watergate" before the trial started. "I used to come home and take a nap so I could stay up late watching the hearings." Alfred feels that the main reason for acquittal was that "there just wasn't any evidence," but the Watergate revelations undoubtedly had an effect too.

When it has been proved "beyond a reasonable doubt" that the government lies, snoops, and sabotages on a major scale, why should a jury believe government witnesses and government prosecutors? The Watergate revelations have shown that Nixon considered the antiwar movement a major threat to his administration. It wasn't hard, therefore for the jury to see why the government wanted to discredit and violence-bait the Vietnam Veterans

Against the War.

Alton Foss told reporters outside the courtroom, "It's been a long year. We put a lot of loving care into this case. We beat the government and they know it."

This is the latest in a series of defeats for the government in frame-up conspiracy trials. Prosecutors were defeated in the Chicago Seven case when they attempted to charge antiwar activists for inciting riots during the Democratic national convention in 1968.

The government failed to convict Father Philip Berrigan and six others on the wild charge of "plotting to kidnap Henry Kissinger and blow up heating tunnels in Washington." The Camden 28 were acquitted of "raiding a draft board."

Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo are free. The Seattle Seven were acquitted. And Dr. Spock and William Sloane Coffin won their case.

'Put Nixon on trial'

At the victory party after the trial, one of the toasts was "To the Last of Conspiracy Trials."

It won't be the last. The capitalist government will continue to do everything in its power to discredit and repress those struggling for social change, including framing them up through the courts.

But its getting a lot harder for them to do it. Millions of Americans simply don't trust the government any more. The jurors are not so easily cowed, and they are more likely to be in political sympathy with the defendants. The press, too, is proving less and less willing to go along with government attempts to railroad defendants in political trials.

And then there's the developing awareness of who the real criminals are. I asked a waitress at a coffee shop near the courthouse what she thought of the trial going on.

"I don't keep up with that stuff," she said, "but I tell you one thing. I don't care what they did or didn't do, there's nothing as bad as what Nixon's done. Put him on trial and I'll tell you what I think of that!"

A Militant interview

How provocateurs try to discredit the left

By LINDA JENNESS

GAINESVILLE, Fla. — The government's star witness in the frame-up trial of seven members and one supporter of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) was William Lemmer.

Lemmer was a government informer and provocateur. He testified that he infiltrated the VVAW in Atlanta while he was still a GI at Fort Benning, Ga.

After his discharge, he moved to Fayetteville, Ark., where he became a VVAW regional coordinator. He quickly gained a reputation as one of the more "militant" members of the organization.

While covering the trial, I talked to Mike Damron, a young man who knew of Lemmer's activities firsthand. In fact, up until the time it was discovered that Lemmer was an informer, he had considered him his closest friend.

Damron, the VVAW state coordinator of Arkansas, had been subpoenaed to testify for the defense. In a surprise move, the defense decided to call only one witness—an explosives expert—so Damron was released as a witness. He told me what he had planned to tell the jury.

After serving two years in the Marines, he had enrolled at the University of Arkansas on the GI Bill. He organized a group on campus called Vets for Peace, which later became affiliated with the VVAW.

In 1972, he joined the Young Socialist Alliance. He dropped out of the YSA shortly after, he said, but "not because I disagreed with any of the YSA's politics. I was just tired of organizations."

He still considers himself a socialist and voted for the Socialist Workers Party in the 1972 presidential election.

FBI footed the bill

Because Lemmer and Damron were both officers in the VVAW, they attended all the national meetings together and became friends. They usually traveled in Lemmer's car.

"It's embarrassing now," Damron says, "to find out that the FBI was paying for the gas and even helping with payments for the car. All that came out in the trial."

Lemmer's method as a provocateur was to try to entrap radicals in illegal or ultraleft actions, set them up to get busted, and thereby discredit the movement.

Damron told me, for instance, of an incident instigated by Lemmer for which Damron was arrested and spent 30 days in jail.

"Dean Rusk was coming to campus to speak," he said, "and the VVAW called a meeting to discuss what to do. The meeting was split."

"We wanted to have a silent protest as he entered the building and then afterwards hold a press conference and use the Pentagon papers to embarrass him. But there was an old SDS group that wanted to go in and shout him down. So the meeting divided."

The next day Lemmer approached Damron and suggested they do something to discredit the SDS group, so if something happened SDS would get blamed for it and not the VVAW. Damron fell for this old trick of pitting movement groups against each other.

First, at Damron's suggestion, they issued a statement saying that no disruptions would be caused by the VVAW. "But Bill wanted to do more than that," Damron explained.

Damron became convinced that Lemmer was "going to blow something up and blame it on SDS. I was really afraid he was going to do something wild."

"So, I finally got him calmed down and said, 'All right, I'll go along with you and we'll put out a bomb threat if you'll give up this idea of blowing something up.'"

"It seems stupid now, but I thought that if I became involved a little bit I could have some control over the situation."

"So Bill wrote out the threat in longhand and I clipped out the letters from newspapers. I even clipped a bunch of letters out of *The Militant* and pasted together this bomb threat."

Lemmer called the cops

A month and a half later Damron was arrested. The police said they found his fingerprints on the bomb threat.

"I could have gotten seven years but only got 30 days. In fact, you know, I even confessed because I thought that if I confessed they wouldn't investigate very intensely and find out about Bill Lemmer—because he was my buddy! Now I know he turned me in."

Damron also told me about the role Lemmer played in the arrest of Mark Vanciel, a 17-year-old student at the University of Arkansas. Vanciel was convicted for attempting to fire-bomb a building on campus called Old Main.

"I didn't know Vanciel," Damron said. "But I do know that the night he was arrested Bill told me that he had met a kid talking about wanting to blow up Old Main."

"Bill said to me, 'This kid was so dumb that I even had to show him how to make the Molotov cocktail. It's no wonder he got arrested because he was telling everybody about it.'"

When Vanciel threw the Molotov cocktail, the FBI was waiting for him and arrested him. "It's because Bill called the FBI after helping the kid make the bomb," Damron said.

Lemmer, like other provocateurs, would often chide members of the VVAW for not being "really militant" if they disagreed with his schemes. He would also play on their weakness for adventurist activities or actions where small groups of people "came to the rescue" of the masses.

Provocateurs try to create incidents that will make it easy for the government to violence-bait the movement. Lemmer tried to provoke several

such incidents.

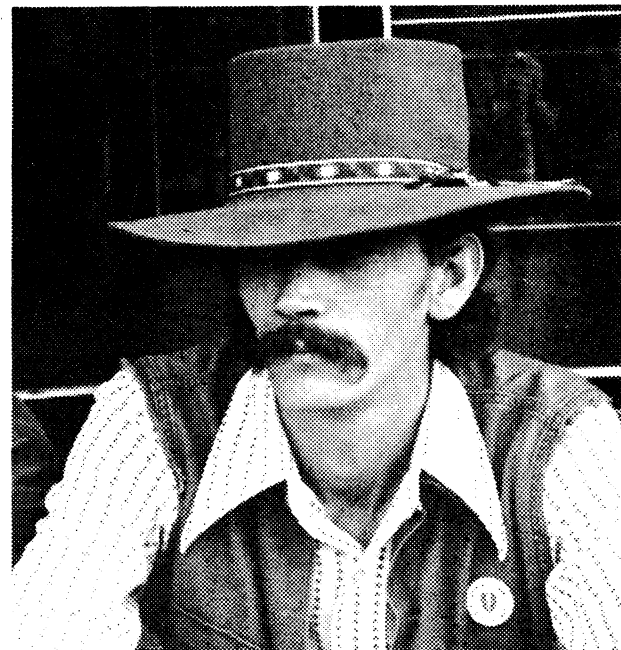
At a national VVAW meeting in Denver, for instance, several people became suspicious of a VVAW representative from Oklahoma. Lemmer suggested to Damron, "Why don't we just off him?"

"I didn't even want to talk about that," Damron said. "Bill would run something up the flagpole to see who would salute it. I just wasn't saluting that at all, so he dropped it."

When the Arkansas VVAW was delivering food and clothing to Blacks in Cairo, Ill., Lemmer repeatedly said, "I know where we can get some dynamite; let's take that to Cairo." Damron kept saying, "No, Bill."

During the Gainesville Eight trial, it was shown that Lemmer has a history of mental disturbances. His medical record includes insomnia, blackouts, depression, nightmares, periods of unconsciousness, and amnesia.

"He acted crazy a lot," Damron admitted, "but I kind of excused it. He was on speed all the time. But when someone is just back from Nam, you make allowances for them and think they just



Mike Damron, a VVAW member, knows from experience how government agents operate.

haven't adjusted yet."

The VVAW made so many "allowances" for Lemmer that even after he admitted he was an informer, he was still allowed to participate in the organization.

"I'm really convinced," Damron summed up, "that most of the violence that comes out of the left is a result of provocateurs and not the people who are involved in the left."

"I'm sure that the bad name the left has is a result of provocateurs. Of course, that's why the provocateurs are there."

Justice Dept. may abolish 'subversive list'

By CINDY JAQUITH

The Justice Department is considering abolishing the infamous attorney general's list of "subversive" organizations. Such a move would be a major victory for civil liberties in this country and a blow to the government's Watergate-style harassment of members of radical groups.

"[Justice] Department sources said the criminal division and other officials have prepared memos recommending that Attorney General Elliot L. Richardson do away with the list," reported an Associated Press dispatch in the Aug. 30 *Washington Post*. The dispatch quoted one official as saying, "The list is of dubious value. Why have something that's absolutely worthless?"

Undoubtedly, what has made the list "worthless" in the eyes of many Justice Department officials is the climate of public revulsion against such measures resulting from the Watergate

scandal. Also, recent court rulings have severely curtailed the government's ability to use the list.

The list dates back to a 1947 executive order by President Harry Truman, directing the Justice Department to draw up a list of organizations



RICHARDSON: Considering recommendation to do away with attorney general's list of 'subversive organizations.'

that were "totalitarian, fascist, communist or subversive." In conjunction with this list, Truman also established a "Loyalty Review Board."

Attorney General Tom Clark turned over the first list of "subversive" organizations to the Loyalty Review Board that same year. None of the groups thus branded had the right to a hearing on the charges.

The Socialist Workers Party appeared on the original list and remains listed today. In 1948, Clark declared the SWP "communist," "subversive," and one of the "organizations which seek to alter the form of Government of the United States by unconstitutional means." The Communist Party is also listed.

Although right-wing groups also appear on the list, its real purpose is to intimidate members and supporters of socialist organizations. In addition to the "official" purpose of barring

members of blacklisted parties and groups from government jobs, the list has served as an excuse for FBI visits to landlords, employers, and families of "subversives."

However, in recent years it has become more difficult for the government to carry out these witch-hunt practices. In terms of government jobs, for example, the AP dispatch reports that "court rulings now make it virtually impossible to reject an applicant because of membership in one of the listed groups without also proving he was engaging in illegal activity. . . ."

The SWP has played a prominent role in these court victories. In 1971 SWP member Duncan Gordon filed suit against the Post Office for firing him solely because of his membership in an organization on the attorney general's list. Another SWP member,

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Interview with ex-FBI agent

How gov't burglarizes radical movement

By LARRY SEIGLE

William Turner, an ex-FBI agent, has confirmed in an interview with *The Militant* that the FBI resorts to illegal surveillance—including burglaries—of radical organizations.

Turner's account, based on firsthand knowledge of FBI policies, is important new proof of the charges made in a recent lawsuit filed against the government by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. The suit asks for a court injunction against all government harassment, intimidation, and illegal spying on the SWP and YSA.

Turner is a 10-year veteran of FBI "black bag" jobs (illegal break-ins), so-called because of the bag of tools carried by the FBI burglars. Turner himself conducted about a dozen of these jobs.

Turner was with the criminal counterespionage section of the Seattle FBI office from 1951-61. He explained that he didn't, therefore, directly deal with domestic radical

groups. His department was the "foreign-power angle."

He was trained in wiretapping and bugging in 1958 and took a class in "surreptitious entry" (burglary) at the same time. A UPI dispatch in the Aug. 25 *Los Angeles Times* quoted him as saying "Every FBI man trained as a 'sound man' took a companion course . . . called bypassing, which had to do with picking locks. We made our own burglary kit in a room way up in the attic of the Justice Department building, where there were grinding wheels and stuff. . . ."

"During burglaries, an agent was sent to the local police station to monitor calls and make sure no officers were dispatched, and other FBI men kept the occupants of the dwelling under surveillance. . . ."

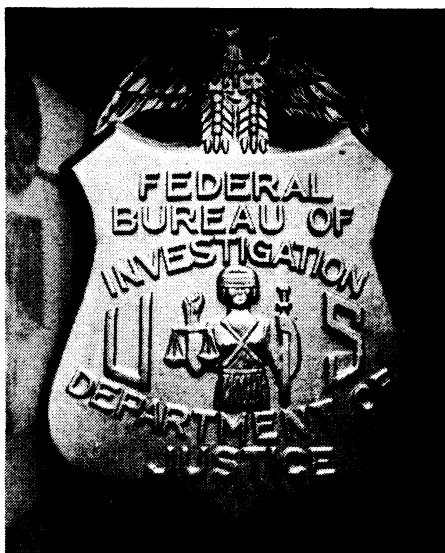
Turner, reached by telephone at his home in San Rafael, Calif., told *The Militant* he didn't "specifically" remember burglary operations carried out against the SWP. He did remember, however, hearing the "security squad" talking about "Swoop" (the FBI acronym for the SWP), as well as the Wobblies (a nickname for the Industrial Workers of the World), and the Commies (by which the FBI meant the Communist Party).

Turner agreed that there was a general policy of using "black bag" jobs against radical organizations and "wherever 'Swoop' was active around the country it would most likely have been included."

Were FBI burglaries carried out even when there was no suspected connection with a foreign power, Turner was asked. "These jobs had nothing to do with foreign powers," he said. "They came strictly under the heading of domestic intelligence."

"And certainly the CPUSA and SWP were included and the Bureau was very interested in them."

Turner explained that one of the main objectives of "black bag" jobs



FBI's black-bag men even make their own burglary tools at the Justice Department.

was to secure membership lists of the radical organizations.

"By doing a black bag job of one of the functionaries, say the membership secretary, or whatever, they could then determine who was active in the party."

The agents were instructed to obtain "whatever wasn't available to them through their informant program."

Did Turner know more about the informant program? Did they have an undercover agent in every area?

"Oh sure," he said. "Sure, they'd cover all the bases."

What about wiretapping and bugs? Did he have any idea what the FBI's policy was toward groups like the SWP? "I can't speak from any firsthand knowledge of what the penetration of 'Swoop' was. All I know is that the SWP was one of the organizations that the FBI in the '50s kept very close tabs on. And I would consider it logical that the same techniques were used against the CP."

What did Turner think about the reports that illegal government wire-

tapping and other forms of surveillance were brought to a halt in 1966?

Turner's opinion was that these illegal acts were "curtailed."

"Nineteen sixty-six," he said, "was when the big embarrassment broke about bugging the executive offices of a Las Vegas casino. It erupted into a public controversy."

"FBI Director Hoover was the kind of guy to whom protecting the Bureau's image was the number-one priority. That was top priority."

Turner said this was demonstrated in 1970, when "without any written authorization, Hoover wouldn't go along with Nixon's urging him to step up this kind of activity against the New Left and the radical movement."

The ex-FBI agent explained that he didn't think Hoover's 1970 position reflected "any philosophical opposition to Nixon." Rather, "it was merely a question that Hoover was very jealously protecting his image and didn't want to get caught. Especially without any written authorization from the White House."

The SWP is seeking support for its Watergate suit from other victims of illegal government harassment and surveillance. Turner told *The Militant* some of what he knew about the use of Watergate tactics against the Black and student movement.

"In the late '50s," he said, "the Bureau became very interested in the Black Muslims, in particular their Fruit of Islam organization." The Fruit of Islam is the defense organization of the Muslims. Turner said the FBI "afforded the Fruit of Islam extensive coverage." He also referred to the recently exposed FBI surveillance of Martin Luther King and other nationally prominent civil rights leaders.

Turner had left the FBI before the big upswing in radical activity on campuses in the 1960s, so he had no knowledge of FBI operations

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Huston tries to duck charges in SWP suit

NEW YORK—Former Nixon aide Tom Charles Huston, author of the 1970 secret spy plan exposed by Watergate, swears that he "never authorized or participated in any illegal, tortious, or unconstitutional actions with respect to the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, or named members of the organizations."

With an affidavit dated Aug. 24, Huston filed a motion to dismiss charges brought against him in a \$27-million suit to ban government harassment of radical organizations. The suit, filed by the SWP and YSA, also seeks to have the attorney general's list of "subversive organizations" declared unconstitutional.

Huston is the first of some 20 officials and former officials of the U. S. government named in the suit to respond to the charges.

Huston is no novice at Watergate-style politics. He began his career during the early 1960s in a vicious, but unsuccessful, witch-hunt drive against the YSA's right to function at Indiana University in Bloomington.

In his sworn statement, Huston also

denies any "operational responsibilities" as a member of Nixon's staff. He says his "staff consisted of one secretary." He claims he functioned primarily as "a speech writer and as an adviser to the President on special projects." He neglects to mention the nature of those "special projects" in his affidavit.

The suit, which the SWP and YSA filed in July in light of the Watergate revelations, is more specific.

The plaintiffs charge Richard Nixon, Tom Charles Huston, and the others with agreeing to implement such unconstitutional measures as "unwarranted electronic surveillance, unauthorized opening and monitoring of mail, burglaries and other illegal tactics" against the SWP, its members, candidates, and supporters, including members of the YSA.

These illegal tactics are precisely those detailed in Huston's notorious "special project," the Nixon-approved 1970 "national security plan." The secret plan was drafted in response to the massive May 1970 antiwar actions against the U. S. invasion of Cambodia.

In addition to declaring his innocence as the basis for dismissing charges, Huston raises a jurisdictional issue. As a citizen and resident of Indiana, he asserts that he is "not subject to service of process within the Southern District of New York," where the suit was filed.

Attorney for the suit, prominent constitutional lawyer Leonard Boudin, maintains that New York state's "long-arm" statute pertains in this situation. It rules that out-of-state residents can be sued even if the act they are accused of committing occurred outside New York state, if the crime directly injures a plaintiff within the state.

Many plaintiffs in the suit, including hundreds of SWP campaign supporters, live in New York. The national headquarters of both the SWP and the YSA are also in New York.

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) has initiated a nationwide drive to publicize, raise funds, and gather endorsement for the lawsuit. Recently the PRDF has received support from critic Eric Bentley, writer Sid Lens, and Marge Sloan of the

National Black Feminist Organization.

Funds are needed to cover legal expenses and to help launch national PRDF speaking tours. To make a contribution or to arrange a speaking engagement for a representative from the PRDF, contact Political Rights Defense Fund, 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 311, New York, N. Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.



HUSTON: No novice at Watergate-style politics.

Confidence in gov't plummets, says poll

By CINDY JAQUITH

The U.S. ruling class has genuine cause for alarm over the impact of Watergate on the public, according to an extensive poll conducted for *Time* magazine by Daniel Yankelovich, Inc. The survey was taken during the weeks before and after Nixon's Aug. 15 speech denying guilt in the Watergate scandal.

Fewer than 40 percent of those polled believed the president's rehash of lies in that speech. While only a quarter of the people surveyed felt Nixon should resign or be forced out, "an overwhelming 82% say they are 'disgusted' with Watergate," *Time* reports.

Of greatest concern to those who run the government is the plunge of public confidence in virtually every federal institution, especially those devoted to "law and order." *Time* says that "institutions that have sustained notable net losses in public confidence include business and industry (28%), the IRS [Internal Revenue Service] (23%), the CIA (23%), the FBI (21%), the Justice Department (17%)." In addition, "the courts also lose (13%), as does Congress (8%)."

The office of president, needless to say, chalked up a 49 percent loss of confidence in the poll. Not surprisingly, *Time* noted that "the only institution to show a gain in public trust is the press, up 5%."

These figures show the degree to which the American people feel that Watergate-style corruption permeates every branch of capitalist government, including Democrats as well as Republicans.

The revelations concerning how big corporations finance capitalist candidates' election campaigns have also had an impact. Seventy percent of those polled agreed that "big business misuses its influence and controls the country."

The many exposés of the secret-police tactics used against dissenters have also had an impact. Government wiretapping, burglary, and bugging are clearly seen as a danger to the constitutional rights of all citizens. Seventy-seven percent in the poll agreed that "Watergate shows how even the privacy of ordinary people is being threatened these days."

Specifically on the issue of government burglaries against radicals, *Time* reports:

"The public overwhelmingly objects to the idea that the President has the right to break into anyone's home, except in one situation: the case of a government employee who turns over classified government papers to another country." Even in that situation, *Time* continues, 45 percent are opposed to use of burglary.

What about the Ellsberg case and the excuse that "national security" was at stake? "The notion that the President has extraordinary powers in a case like that of the Pentagon papers is rejected by 62% of the people," says *Time*.

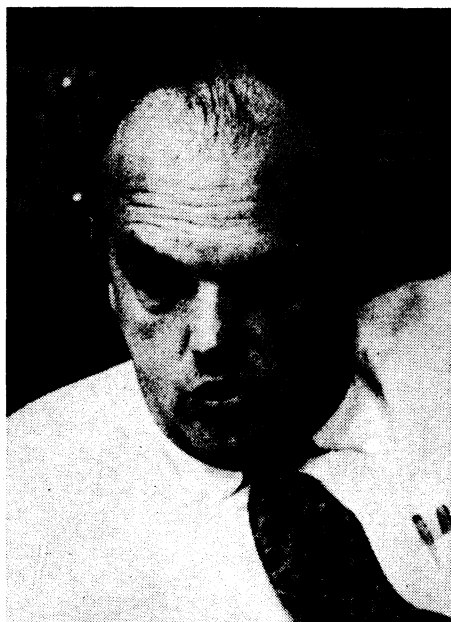
This sentiment indicates that strong public support will greet the indictments of ex-Nixon aide John Ehrlichman and his cronies for the 1971 burglary in the office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist. Ehrlichman faces charges of perjury and conspiring to commit burglary. At least three White House "plumbers" will also face court—Egil

Krogh, David Young, and jailed Watergater G. Gordon Liddy.

These indictments make all the more criminal the continued imprisonment of Elmer Davis, the Black man framed up for the Ellsberg burglary to cover the White House's tracks. Davis remains in California's Folsom Prison.

Still awaiting indictment is Vice-President Agnew, who is under federal investigation for deals he made with contractors both while he was an official in Maryland and in the White House.

The heat hasn't let up on Nixon either. He held a news conference Sept.



EHRLICHMAN: Indicted for conspiracy in Ellsberg burglary case.

5 to deny once again that his tapes will prove complicity in the Watergate scandal.

Nixon has appealed Federal Judge John Sirica's decision that the tapes must be handed over. The U.S. Court of Appeals is expected to rule on the motion by the end of September. Then the Supreme Court will take it up as soon as it reconvenes the first week of October.

At his news conference, Nixon also tried to quell reports of a secret audit of his financial holdings drawn up by the accounting firm of Coopers & Lybrand. Last week this firm made public a report on Nixon's San Clemente transactions. The company has now admitted it did a much fuller audit, but the White House refuses to reveal the contents.

According to an article in the Sept. 4 *New York Post*, the firm undertook the audit at a special request from the White House. The company's general counsel, Harris Amhowitz, told the *Post* that presidential tax lawyer Kenneth Gemmell "asked if we were in any trouble with the government. That was his first question. He said 'I have a very sensitive engagement for you to take on.'"

Amhowitz told Gemmell that three of the firm's former executives were recently pardoned by Nixon for fraud convictions, and that the company did audit work for Robert Vesco, who is under indictment for stock swindling.

"Gemmell asked what the hell relevance that had," Amhowitz said.

The *Post* notes that Coopers & Lybrand also audit the books of two CIA-controlled airlines. (See story, this page.) "None of these facts apparently was considered an obstacle to a White House offer of a commission," concluded the *Post*.

Airline exposed as secret arm of CIA

Fly the friendly skies of the CIA? No, it's not a joke. New Watergate revelations have exposed the fact that the Central Intelligence Agency covertly runs several airlines as an adjunct to its international dirty tricks operations.

Leaks from top-secret Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB) hearings reveal that a Miami-based charter airline, Southern Air Transport, has been owned by the CIA for more than a decade. The president of the company, Stanley Williams, is now trying to buy out the firm's other nominal "owners," and rival airlines have raised a stink. These competitors are complaining because Southern gets special government subsidies and they don't.

The CIA acquired Southern in 1960 as an addition to its Air America fleet, a rather open CIA airline in Southeast Asia. A former CAB official explained to the *Wall Street Journal* that "the CIA got Southern because it was irritated over the way its Air America cover was so thin it had become a laughing matter."

The year of its acquisition gives a clue to what undoubtedly was of more serious concern to the CIA planners: the victory of the Cuban revolution and the threat of further socialist advances in Latin America. The year after it took over Southern, the CIA staged the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.

Percival Flack Brundage, director of the Bureau of the Budget under President Eisenhower, and Perkins McGuire, Eisenhower's assistant secretary of defense, bought into Southern in 1960. It is now widely known that they were simply front men for the CIA. As one airlines official put it, "They are all part of the CIA old boys' club."

A look at Southern's financing reveals an intricate transfer of funds designed to mask the role of the CIA. In one recent 15-month period, Southern received \$14-million in loans from a company called Actus Technology. Actus, it turns out, had borrowed the money from Air America. By sheer coincidence, Actus is owned by Stanley

Williams, Percival Brundage, and Perkins McGuire—in other words, the firm just funnels CIA money to Southern.

In addition, Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co., widely believed to be the CIA's major bank, lent Southern \$6.7-million. The loan was guaranteed by another business front, the Pacific Corporation. Not surprisingly, Pacific lists Air America as its chief asset.

The last piece in the puzzle is the auditing firm retained by both Air America and Southern—Coopers & Lybrand. These are the same people Nixon hired to whitewash his purchase of the San Clemente estate.

Coopers & Lybrand has its own skeletons in the closet as well. Last December Nixon pardoned three of its former executives who had been jailed for fraud. While the firm insists that the three are no longer with Coopers & Lybrand, this aspect of the scandal hardly improves the company's image.

From its relationship to Southern Airlines and to the Western White House, the inescapable conclusion is that Coopers & Lybrand's main trade is doctoring the books and legal papers relating to secret government deals.

What remains hidden is the exact nature of the work done for the CIA by Southern. According to the Aug. 30 *New York Times*, the airline has done "contract work for the United States Military Assistance in Vietnam." The *Times* also hinted at "clandestine missions for the intelligence agency in the Caribbean area, specifically to Haiti."

Does Southern also provide transportation for the many Cuban exiles the CIA has hired to carry out its sabotage and espionage efforts? What about the agents involved in the CIA-ITT plot against the Allende government in Chile? Did they fly courtesy of Southern?

The CIA's job of protecting U.S. business interests here and abroad requires that it work clandestinely through fronts such as Southern Air Transport. Like all the other agencies of capitalist rule, the CIA functions best when its real role is kept secret from the American people.



Cuban revolutionaries repulse 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion. Fear of more revolutions like Cuba's prompted CIA to set up secret airline operation in Latin America.

Moscow frame-up

The show trials of Soviet dissidents Pyotr Yakir and Viktor Krasin, highlighted by ludicrous and unbelievable "confessions," have been accepted without question and reported as fact by the U.S. Communist Party and its *Daily World* newspaper. "Two on trial in Moscow admit ties with former Nazi killers," and "Confession details plot to destroy Soviet system," shriek the *Daily World* headlines.

These frame-up trials are no less crude than Stalin's long-discredited purge trials of the 1930s. In hailing them, the Communist Party is merely living up to its tradition, and indeed its purpose, as a servile mouthpiece for the Kremlin bureaucracy.

"Frame-ups?" the *Daily World* editors protest. "But the accused confessed!" Many confessed under Stalin, too. Veteran Bolsheviks, speaking from the prisoner's dock, reeled off incredible stories of plotting with Hitler, the Mikado, and, of course, Leon Trotsky. They admitted to plotting to sabotage factories, blow up trains, poison workers, and restore capitalism in the USSR. Let's hear an explanation of these "confessions" from a truly authoritative source: "And what proofs were offered? The confessions of the arrested, and the investigative judges accepted these 'confessions.' And how is it possible that a person confesses to crimes which he has not committed? Only in one way—because of application of physical methods of pressuring him, tortures, bringing him to a state of unconsciousness, deprivation of his judgment, taking away of his human dignity. In this manner were 'confessions' acquired."

Thus spoke Nikita Khrushchev in 1956, when the Kremlin bureaucrats lifted a corner of the curtain concealing the crimes of Stalin in order to divert the Soviet workers' hatred for such methods away from themselves.

The CPUSA applauded the bloody purges of the 1930s with the same enthusiasm it now displays for the trials of Yakir and Krasin.

Now Brezhnev and his colleagues fear that their privileges, their comfortable niches in the apparatus, may be threatened if the Soviet people are allowed to hear the views of dissidents favoring socialist democracy. They are haunted by the memory of the uprisings in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and in Poland in 1970. It is necessary to make an example of someone. And so the old methods of forced confession and amalgam are revived.

Yakir and Krasin, all of whose previous writings and speeches show them to be pro-socialist and anti-Stalinist, are accused of serving the interests of imperialism. But it is Brezhnev, not Yakir and Krasin, who makes secret deals with the chief imperialist butcher, Nixon, at the expense of the Vietnamese and the world revolution. It is the Kremlin bureaucracy, not the oppositionists, that has identified socialism with Stalinist terror and thereby given imperialism its most powerful ideological weapon against the Marxist movement.

The real traitors to socialism are the Stalinist bureaucrats and their apologists and camp followers like the American Communist Party.

The efforts of the socialist opposition in the Soviet Union, whatever temporary setbacks it may suffer, are hastening the day when the Soviet masses will throw out these parasites and inaugurate a revolutionary regime based on workers democracy.

Militant sales drive

This fall marks the forty-fifth anniversary of *The Militant*. Since 1928 we have consistently championed the struggles of the oppressed and exploited around the globe.

We plan to celebrate our 45 years in the struggle for socialism by carrying out an ambitious circulation campaign for 9,500 weekly street sales and 15,000 new subscribers.

There could be no better time to organize a major advance in sales of the revolutionary press. The disastrous results of Nixon's economic policies are undermining the myth of stable capitalist prosperity just as Watergate is exposing the lie of capitalist democracy. *The Militant's* truthful reporting and socialist analysis will find a receptive audience among thousands of people.

Last fall *The Militant* completed the biggest subscription drive in its history, obtaining 35,000 new readers. Then we doubled weekly street sales in a campaign last spring. In both these efforts, which we now aim to combine, the key to success was the enthusiastic participation of *Militant* supporters all over the country. That is our goal again this fall, and we urge all our readers to join us in the forty-fifth anniversary campaign.

Watergate and socialism

As a reader of *The Militant*, yet as a member of the Socialist Labor Party, I read with interest your editorial and article in the Aug. 3 issue dealing with the FBI investigation of high school student Lori Paton, because of her political activities for a class project.

The FBI is trying to extricate itself from this red-baiting and antidemocratic harassment by purporting that the FBI "does not maintain a general policy of surveillance of correspondence of political groups such as the Socialist Labor Party." No doubt Nixon would back up their "honesty" as well.

This act of harassment, along with Watergate and the secret bombing of Cambodia, reveals the true nature of the capitalist state. As Engels observed, "Nowhere do the 'politicians' form a more distinct and more powerful subdivision of the nation than in the United States . . . we have here two great rings of political speculators, that alternately take possession of the power of the State and exploit it with most corrupt means and to the most corrupt purposes."

James Frederic Brinning
Montclair, N.J.

Expose the Brazilian horrors

I'm a young man from a peasant family in the Northeast of Brazil. I've lived most of my life in the Northeast, and I've spent some time in the big cities of the South. Just recently I came to the USA.

This letter is to ask you to consider reporting on Brazil. The reasons I'm asking you for such consideration are:

1) I'm very concerned with the repressive situation created in my country by almost 10 years of military rule;

2) It is an opportunity to drive international attention once again to the fascist apparatus that is being set up in Brazil;

3) If your publication reports the truth about what is happening in Brazil, you would be helping the international community to learn the lessons of the "Brazilian Model" and struggle to prevent it from happening somewhere else in the world.

I could give you many other reasons. I could appeal in the name of every baby starved, every sick peasant, every poisoned Indian, and all those who are in pain right now in the torture chambers of the security departments of countries like Brazil. But I believe you know where Brazil is at.

I hope you will consider using your publication once again to expose the Brazilian horrors, to awake the world to the meaning of totalitarianism, to stand on the side of our enslaved people.

I. N.
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Labor Committee

When I read the headline on page seven of the Aug. 31 issue of *The Militant*, "People 'fed up' with both capitalist parties," it dawned on me that the Nixon administration must have realized this day would come when the Watergate hearings began, or even before the hearings began.

They must also have realized that declining capitalist popularity would mean socialist gain. The inevitability of this simple logic would create the

need on their part to deny the socialist camp public sympathy in the only manner they know. That is, to discredit alternative political philosophies and parties with dirty tricks.

How coincidental it is that the Labor Committee's "operation mop-up" against all socialists and minorities occurred just when it is most advantageous to the Nixon administration and least desirable by socialists.

J. F.
Noroton, Conn.

Mind destruction

This is to alert the outside world of the new type of oppression that is going on inside the prisons of America: "Remote Control."

These experimental mind-thought control programs are springing up all across the federal and state penal colonies. The programs consist of total isolation from all emotional ties, mind-destroying drugs, withholding and destruction of mail, physical assaults, etc.

As I write this, I find myself held captive in one of these racist programs by the name of START at the U.S. Medical Center for federal prisoners. It was opened Sept. 2, 1972, and we revolutionary, aware prisoners have struggled against it from the beginning. We are still protesting by noncooperation, not working or shaving, litigation, etc. Out of 17 inmates in the program, seven are on strike.

We need the following help and support. One, write letters in our behalf to Norman Carlson, Director of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D.C. 20537. Two, write to Dr. P.J. Ciccone, Warden, U.S. Medical Center for federal prisoners, Springfield, Mo. 65802, with the same request. Three, ask congressmen Bernie Sisk, John Conyers, and Charles Rangel, at the U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515, to intercede in our behalf and have us transferred from the program.

A prisoner
Springfield, Mo.

UFW victory in Fresno

Recently I drove up to Fresno and had a chance to observe some of the activities of the United Farm Workers Union in the San Joaquin Valley.

Because injunctions limit mass picketing and severely restrict the use of bullhorns at the struck farms, farm workers have had to defy the court orders and risk arrest in continuing their strike. Joining the 200 UFW supporters in picketing the morning I was there were Joan Baez and Daniel Ellsberg.

Thousands of farm workers have been arrested and jailed. Four hundred and thirty people remained in the Fresno County Jail.

That afternoon a hearing was being held at the Fresno County Courthouse to consider the release of the imprisoned strikers. Six hundred farm workers, their families, and friends maintained a vigil outside the courthouse all afternoon.

Dozens of red flags with the Mexican eagle, the UFW symbol, flowed in the breeze. Chicanos driving by responded with clenched fists out their windows. Cries of "Huelga!" echoed back and forth against the walls of the government buildings. Surely, the spirit of an oppressed people can never be stamped out.

It was reported the following day



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

that the court judge had ruled against the farm workers. But this decision was subsequently overruled by a higher court, thus finally allowing the release of the hundreds jailed in recent weeks.

Nicolás Rosner
Los Angeles, Calif.

Debate with Teamsters

I recently attended an open forum and debate between the United Farm Workers, Safeway, and the Teamsters. The audience really leaned hard on the Teamsters representative, Macias.

As the discussion became hot, someone asked Macias how long he had been a Teamster. His answer was three-and-a-half months. It came out that he had previously worked in the Sheriff's Department in Brawley, Calif., in the Imperial Valley!

Macias made some extremely slanderous remarks about César Chávez and the farm workers. He called César a "crook" and claimed that UFW workers had literally dragged people out of the fields with pipes in their hands to force them to join the UFW. The audience demanded documentation of these charges and that the police records be opened and investigated.

Another interesting highlight of the evening was when a young man introduced himself as a rank-and-file Teamster (of several year's duration) and stated that no one in his local or any other rank-and-file Teamster he knew approved of the role their leadership was playing. They all felt the farm workers should be left to form their own union!

The Militant is doing a great job of covering the strike. Keep up the good work.

V.K.
Fremont, Calif.

Another salesperson

Please send me a starting bundle of *Militants* to sell here in Central Pennsylvania. I think that 10 should be enough for the present moment. I can sell that many per week at union meetings.

B.D.
State College, Pa.

Checking it out

I was doing my weekly shopping at the supermarket. When going through the line I asked the young checkout clerk if he would vote for Nixon if he had a chance. The answer was, hell no. He explained that after working a summer job in a food store, seeing the prices go up, talking to customers, and reading Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, he wouldn't vote for Nixon.

Who would he vote for? The Socialist Workers Party, he answered. He then bought a sub to *The Militant* and took the dollar out of the cash register.

Michael Smith
New York City

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.

Free-spending union bureaucrats

Two New York officials of Local 144, Service Employees International Union (AFL-CIO), were indicted by a federal grand jury on Aug. 29, charged with embezzling about \$200,000 in union funds. They are Peter Ottley, 64, Local 144 president for more than 20 years, and Peter Byrne, 66, who has been on the Local payroll since 1941 and was secretary-treasurer when indicted. They used to collect union dues of 20,000 low-paid hotel and hospital service workers.

The case of Ottley and Byrne is so common it hasn't gotten much attention.

There is a long list of vulnerable union bureaucrats, many of them due for some unpleasant surprises. For the past quarter-century they have enjoyed cozy relations among themselves and with corrupt politicians and members of the ruling class. They actually began to look and live and act like employers. They got the mistaken notion that anything the boss gets away with, they can get away with too.

Many union business agents and others higher up the ladder have become careless with union funds. They are in the habit of allocating money for their own use without bothering to get membership approval.

More of these free spenders than have yet been exposed habitually hand over donations to friendly capitalist politicians, thinking the politicians can and will provide protection in all arenas of activity. For a long time this seemed right. But some changes have come about recently.

The employing class is running into trouble right now with workers at the point of production who are dissatisfied with low pay, poor conditions, and high prices. The bosses don't want to raise wages, only prices. The union bureaucrats are unable to offer much help—either to the workers they claim to represent, or to the employers with whom they sympathize. Consequently, the employers are turning against their old friends who speak for labor.

Recently the *Wall Street Journal* ran a front-page article listing some labor skates who hold several union jobs and draw down more than \$100,000 a year. The business agent of Laborers Local 478 in Miami, Bernard Rubin, represents other locals

in the area and heads the Laborers Southeast Florida District Council. He draws a combined salary from his several jobs of \$130,000 a year, plus expense money of \$50,000. His wife works for the union and collects another \$29,606.

William Presser, Teamster vice-president in Cleveland is another local family man who does well. He gets about \$65,000 from three jobs connected with the Teamsters. His son, Jack, is on the payroll of three unions, and collects \$185,000.

Business Week magazine, Aug. 18, published a list of 78 top union officials, 63 of them with annual incomes of more than \$40,000. Twenty-six rake in more than \$60,000.

These incomes are not in the same range as the big "earners" like Henry Ford, Richard Gerstenberg of GM, or ITT board chairman Harold Geneen, each of whom has an annual personal income of more than \$800,000. But what the labor skates pull down puts them several notches above the \$10,000 bracket that most workers would like to make and don't.

The reason the capitalist press is scandalizing these union bureaucrats is to remind them of their insecurity, to put them on notice that investigations may follow, and to try to discredit the union movement in the eyes of the 65 million unorganized workers, many of whom are looking to the unions for some measure of protection.

A revitalized union movement will provide protection and raise the real wages of all workers. But right now the union officials are mostly looking out for their own protection. And there is no solidarity among them. Local 144 President Ottley, who is a piker compared with others, gets no sympathy from his fellow bureaucrats. He made the mistake of getting caught.

Ottley is a vice-president of the AFL-CIO New York City Central Labor Council. But Service Employees International Union President George Hardy imposed an "immediate trusteeship" and suspended both Ottley and Byrne. Neither has yet been convicted, but Hardy says he has "to protect and preserve the rights and benefits of the union's members." He seeks first of all to protect himself, standard procedure for the trade-union bureaucrat.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Women in the media

A study released in July by the Federal Communications Commission showed that women comprised 22.1 percent of the employees at 147 television stations, and were only 6.4 percent of the employees in the five high-paying categories.

Monique James, vice-president of talent for a film company, put it this way: "When you think about the number of women who are producers and directors, it is shocking. You can count them on the fingers of one hand. It's unbelievable. A woman has to be 10 times better. How else can you explain why there are so few women executives in Hollywood."

Black reporter Gail Christian of KNBC in Los Angeles says, "I go out and do a story but have no power to decide if it will be used. . . . Anybody can hold a microphone, but KNBC has no women as assignment editors, field producers, executive producers, or in charge of the editing room—and that is where the news is really made."

Women who are part of the media—television, radio, and film—have begun to speak out and organize against both their own treatment by the industry and the image of women broadcast to millions of people every day.

Some news reporters are simply refusing to be assigned to the traditional "women's work." Christine Lund, for instance, took her job with KABC in Los Angeles only on the condition that she would not be assigned to "pancake races, fashion shows, dress shop openings."

Still others are turning down offensive roles. Black actress Lynn Hamilton was recently asked to read a part described as a strong "Angela Davis" type. "I started to read, and here is this woman who holds all kinds of academic degrees and has a high posi-

tion opening the door totally nude to admit her boyfriend, a policeman. The first thing he says is, 'Fix me some breakfast.' . . . I was incensed. It is doubly wrong to have an intelligent woman who you profess to be an Angela Davis type running around like this. I left and they never did ask me my acting background."

Other women in the television and movie industry are going to court. Loretta Johnson, a film cutter at MGM, filed suit through the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission charging that MGM failed to promote women from the cutting department to the optical department.

Sandra Kaplan, a woman photographer, recently won a seven-year fight to be admitted to the International Photographers Local 659. Backing up Kaplan's case were the statistics showing that in 1972-73 a total of only 12.8 percent of the jobs in 15 craft categories were held by women.

But we still have a long, long way to go. This past year there were only two TV series with serious female leads. In one Lee Grant was a judge, and in another Jane Wyman was a doctor. Both of these experimental series have now been canceled. CBS's Hollywood programming Vice-president Perry Lafferty contends that the series were canceled because "women do not want to see bright, intellectual females who understand all the overtones and complications of a woman's position in relation to society."

Baloney. This woman certainly does, and there are hundreds of thousands of women who would agree with me. It's much more likely that Lafferty and other males who dictate program content for the capitalist-controlled media are the ones who can't stand to see women in these roles.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



What will they want next? The California Industrial Safety Board firmly rejected a petition by farm workers to outlaw use of the short hoe as unsafe. The 14-inch hoe requires workers to remain in a stooped position for long periods and can lead to permanent disability. The board explained that banning the hoe would lead to calls for outlawing other work methods, such as standing at work benches for long periods on grounds that it causes varicose veins.

He should have stuck around—A Menninger Foundation psychologist theorizes that the stress of watching Nixon being inaugurated as president led to Lyndon Johnson's fatal heart attack two days later.

Sounds reasonable—Federal employees have been ordered to help conserve energy by wearing cooler

clothes and cutting down on office air conditioning and lighting. The White House, however, has been exempted from the power conservation program and the edifice remains bright and cool. This is because of the many visitors and to preserve valuable furniture and fixtures from the ravages of D.C.'s heat and humidity.

Antisegregation—Bus operators used to faithfully conform to Southern "custom" by reserving the back of the bus for Blacks. Now they are apparently opposed to segregation. The National Association of Bus Owners is making a court challenge against an Interstate Commerce Commission ruling that they reserve seating sections for non-smokers.

Plain-talk dep't—Howard Hament, a private snooper, is used by business-

men to check out employees who might be rude to the public, or tapping the till. Detective Hament has learned that employers are more concerned about till tapping than rudeness. "I don't care how they treat the customers," one client advised. "Just make sure they aren't stealing. I've got all the customers I need."

Equal cover—A federal judge struck down as unconstitutional a Navy ban on reservists wearing short-hair wigs at weekend drill sessions. The judge said the Navy was denying equal protection under the law when it permitted baldies to wear wigs but denied that right to long-hairs.

Semantics dep't—Have you noticed that reporters with a pipeline to the White House no longer refer to "unimpeachable sources"?



"If you have to ask 'how much,' you can't afford one!"

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



After the assault on the Tlatelolco school

In the early morning hours of March 17, a small army of heavily armed Denver police attacked a dormitory for the Escuela Tlatelolco and the Crusade for Justice. The cops left one 20-year-old Chicano activist dead, Luis (Junior) Martinez. Others were seriously wounded, and dozens were arrested and beaten in the terror raid. Cops barged the building with fire, and a terrific explosion ripped the dormitory apart.

After the attacks, in typical white-racist fashion, the murderers were given medals, and hailed for their "heroism" in Denver's capitalist press. The victims who survived are being taken to court and victimized in other ways. The day after the raid, police had part of the building demolished to make it impossible to ascertain the true cause of the explosion.

As far as I know, this is the most serious of the many attacks launched against the Crusade since its founding in the Mid-60s.

In order to combat the campaign of lies and victimization, Chicanos there have formed the Denver Chicano Liberation Defense Committee (DCLDC). As one communication from the committee states, "The telling of the truth about this

incident is the weapon we intend to use to defend the men that have been charged with serious crimes stemming from this police-provoked incident."

Five Chicanos have been charged so far. They are Luis Ramirez and Charles Garcia, both charged with assaulting an officer; Mario Vásquez, who is facing three charges of aggravated assault (each charge can get him up to 40 years); Ernesto Vigil, a leader of the Crusade, who is accused of aggravated assault and unlawful possession of a firearm; and David Gonzales, who had been charged with a series of misdemeanors.

In a recent letter, the DCLDC says that "these charges are a blatant attempt to intimidate our community and our *movimiento*. We appeal to all concerned people to do all they can in defense of these brothers, for we realize that the police, media and courts will make a strong effort to convict them of crimes in order to justify the murder and violence they have committed against our people."

Some of the individuals and organizations that have endorsed the aims of the DCLDC include Daniel and Philip Berrigan; Dennis Banks and

Russell Means, leaders of the American Indian Movement (AIM); Angela Davis of the Communist Party; Bert Corona and CASA-Hermandad; Carlos Feliciano Defense Committee; National Committee to Free Los Tres; Father James Groppi; and the Colorado Raza Unida Party.

The committee urges that letters or telegrams of protest be sent to Denver Police Chief Art Dill and Mayor William McNichols, as well as to the *Rocky Mountain News* and the *Denver Post*.

The committee has prepared documentation of harassment and intimidation carried out by the Denver cops against a number of Chicano activists in Colorado since the raid.

Harassment has included "I.D. checks," constant surveillance, arrests without charges being filed, planting of guns, and "visits" by the FBI to activists and their neighbors. The DCLDC's attorney, Kenneth Padilla, has been deliberately lied to by police, thereby impeding the defense effort.

If you would like to receive more information, make a much needed contribution, or find out about their speaker's bureau, write to: Gerry Gonzales, Speaker's Bureau, P.O. Box 18347, Denver, Colo. 80218. Telephone: (303) 222-9848.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Frame-up, Mississippi style

You have to remember, Mississippi is not just any ole state. Its cotton barons were some of the last to recognize the defeat of slavery following the Civil War. In the civil rights days it was a focus for voter registration and other activities, during which numerous activists were beaten and killed. It has the highest number of recorded lynchings. So, naturally, when a cop has to serve an arrest warrant on a Black person, it's sometimes different than it might be in Hawaii, or maybe Idaho.

Just over two years ago on Aug. 18, 1971, dozens of cops went (officially) to serve a warrant on a person they suspected was in a house inhabited by members of the Republic of New Africa (RNA) in Jackson. The day before, they had gone peacefully. But this time, they announced their presence with shotgun and pistol fire. During the battle that followed, one cop was killed. Eleven RNA members were arrested and accused of "waging war against the state."

Seven of the accused went on trial in Biloxi Aug. 20 for murder, assault, treason, and other charges. Three others have already been convicted of murder.

On Aug. 18, an investigating team of the National Black Political Assembly issued a preliminary report on the case. "The weight of testimony shows," the report sums up, "that brothers and sisters of the Republic of New Africa have been criminally and maliciously harassed, attacked, beaten and imprisoned by Jackson police and agents of the F.B.I."

Reverend Irv Joyner, chairman of the investigating team, told a news conference that, at the request of Mississippi delegates to the Assembly, a panel of 11 had heard witnesses in public and private hearings and examined newspaper stories, court documents, and other evidence.

At a public hearing held by the investigating team, RNA members testified that cops who fired into the wooden frame house would have killed the occupants if they had not hidden in a dirt-and-log-embanked hole under the house.

The team urged Blacks to attend the Biloxi trial and urged the Congressional Black Caucus and civil liberties groups to send official monitors to report on its fairness.

The team recommended dismissal of charges

against the RNA 11 and retrials of those convicted. This was done in light of evidence of a government conspiracy to destroy the RNA and jail its members and the strong presumption of guilt reported in the media that precluded a fair trial.

In addition to Joyner, who is director of community organization for the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ, other members of the team were: Reverend Ed McBride, Vicksburg, Miss.; professors E.C. Foster and George Mitchell, both of Jackson State College; Professor Elsie Scott of Atlanta University and Federal City College in Washington, D.C.

Also, James Meredith, Jackson attorney; Reverend Charles Koen of the Cairo, Ill., United Front; Dhati Changa of the Justice Committee of the Congress of African Peoples; Larry Rand of Black Mississippians for Justice; Reverend Leon Modeste of the Episcopal Church in New York; and Peter Stewart, director of minority student affairs at the University of Mississippi Medical Center.

The hearing held by the Assembly team grew out of a national meeting held by the Assembly in Greenville, Miss., July 28.

World Outlook

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

SEPTEMBER 14, 1973

New frame-up of Soviet dissidents uses methods of Stalin show trials

By Marilyn Vogt

With the frame-up trial in Moscow of Pyotr Yakir and Viktor Krasin, two prominent opposition activists, Stalin's heirs have escalated their methods in the drive to repress the Soviet democratic movement.

They have revived the method of trial by "confessions," the central method used by Stalin in the notorious Moscow "show trials" of 1936-38. This method had been denounced by the bureaucrats during the so-called "de-Stalinization" period.

How unreliable and dubious the "confessions" of Yakir and Krasin are is shown by the fact that the trial was completely closed, the only reports on the proceedings being pre-digested ones issued by the Soviet Foreign Ministry's press department and by TASS. No independent observers were admitted.

According to the July 18 *Washington Post*, the rumors of Yakir's "recantation" and interest in his case had prompted thirty-two correspondents from thirteen countries to appeal jointly to the Soviet Foreign Ministry for the right to attend and observe the trial. Their appeal was returned unanswered and they were not admitted.

The Kremlin bureaucrats obviously feared that the defendants would repudiate their "confessions" if outside observers were present at the trial.

Before Yakir was arrested, in June 1972, he stated: "If they beat me I will say anything. I know that from my former experience in camps. But you will know it will not be the real me speaking."

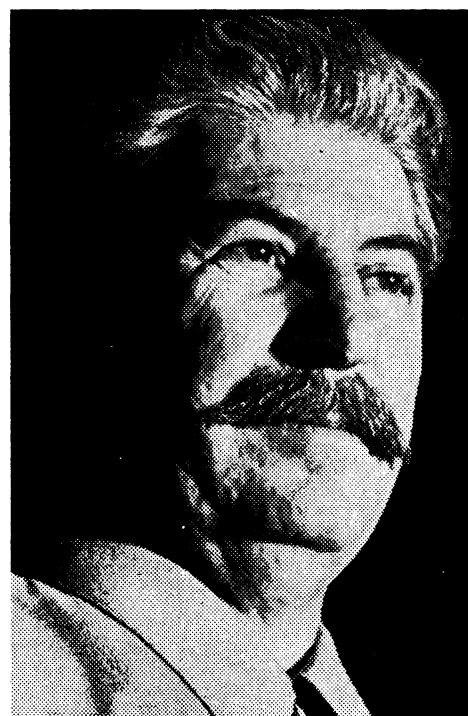
From the time he was fourteen years old, in 1937, until the post-Stalin amnesty of 1954, Yakir lived through the torments of Stalin's camps and prisons. He suffered these years of imprisonment that, as he indicates, left their cruel mark on him, not because he had collaborated with any anti-Soviet organization, but because he was related by birth to an "enemy of the people." He was the son of Iona Yakir, one of the top Red Army generals whom Stalin executed for allegedly serving Hitler, the Mikado, and Trotsky.

Since the mid-1960s Pyotr Yakir has been an outspoken critic of the Kremlin's retreat from "de-Stalinization." In 1969 Yakir was a key figure in the formation of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR, a loose-knit committee of people representing a wide range of views who worked in defense of arrested dissidents. After repeated KGB warn-

ings and harassment, Yakir was arrested June 21, 1972, during a KGB crackdown in Moscow.

He had been held by the time of the trial for over fourteen months, in violation of a Soviet law that specifies a nine-month maximum for pre-trial confinement. If he actually made these "confessions," he was forced to confess. He was broken by vicious physical and psychological pressures inflicted on him by the KGB.

The real target of the trial, which opened August 27 and lasted five days, was the entire democratic opposition. The Kremlin especially aimed at stopping the flow of unau-



STALIN: His methods live on.

thorized writings critical of bureaucratic rule, chiefly the *Chronicle of Current Events*. For more than eighteen months the bureaucracy has focused on eliminating prominent activists in the hopes of getting at the *Chronicle*, which had been the principal means for linking up the numerous opposition currents.

The confessions allegedly made by Yakir and Krasin have "implicated" Andrei Sakharov, a physicist who played a major role in the development of the Soviet hydrogen bomb; and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Nobel prize-winning novelist, both of whom have refused to be intimidated into silence by KGB harassment.

Yakir's codefendant in the trial, Krasin, from whom the KGB has reportedly extracted a similar "confession," is also a former inmate of Stalin's camps. He was an active mem-

ber in the Initiative Group. Because of his activities in defense of arrested dissidents, Krasin himself was arrested in 1969 and was sentenced to five years exile, convicted of being a "parasite." In 1971, however, efforts by his defense attorney won his release, on grounds of his poor health. Krasin was rearrested September 12, 1972. Rumors that he had "recanted" began to circulate in early 1973.

Yakir and Krasin were tried under Article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code, which covers "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Each was sentenced to three years imprisonment and three years exile. Their alleged confessions were calculated to conjure a picture of the two defendants as the key figures in a foreign-inspired anti-Soviet conspiratorial and subversive network.

According to the official TASS reports, Yakir and Krasin admitted to having had ties with foreign anticommunist organizations such as NTS (Narodno-Trudovoi Soyuz—Popular Labor Alliance, reportedly based in Frankfurt, Germany) for whom they acted as agents, delivering abroad false reports and rumors about what was going on in the Soviet Union and receiving "anti-Soviet" literature from abroad for distribution within the USSR.

The August 29 *Daily World*, newspaper of the American Communist party and one of the few sources of information about the trial, elaborated on the charges. Under the lurid headline "Two on trial in Moscow admit ties with former Nazi killers," the *Daily World* claimed that Yakir had admitted:

—that he (and Krasin) had worked with the NTS.

—that the chairman of the NTS was a "teacher on the Jewish question" in Germany and had "collaborated with the Nazi forces when they invaded the USSR in 1941."

—that NTS urged Yakir to read a book by a Soviet citizen who "went over to the Nazi side in World War II."

—that the "so-called 'democratic dissident movement' in the USSR is fake and is nonexistent."

—that "the program and tactical principles of the so-called 'democratic movement' were drafted by NTS." (The *Daily World* quotes Yakir as saying, "I know that the program was drafted by one of the NTS leaders. It was inside the NTS that the term 'democratic movement' was born.")

—that the Initiative Group consisted merely of the NTS supporters in the USSR.

The official report of the indictment in *Izvestia* August 29 added that the two defendants had been paid by Western correspondents for providing false information and that the NTS and other right-wing groups had provided Krasin and Yakir with documents from which publisher's information had been removed, the documents then being circulated in samizdat, some in the *Chronicle of Current Events*.

Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov were included in this flimsy construct in the following manner: According to the August 30 *New York Times*, a TASS report stated that Andrei Sakharov "was said at the trial to have met Mr. Yakir at farewell parties for Western newsmen who were being expelled from the Soviet Union." The August 31 *New York Times* review of the TASS reports of the trial stated: "Ac-



YAKIR: His 'confession' couldn't stand public scrutiny.

cording to testimony attributed to Mr. Yakir, Mr. Solzhenitsyn was a regular reader of the *Chronicle* and copies were systematically passed to him for evaluation. The briefing officers at the courthouse quoted testimony to the effect that Mr. Solzhenitsyn had expressed approval."

In other words, the total content of the "confessions"—the results of months of interrogation and torture of Yakir—amounts to this:

1. Yakir had contact with the NTS, which contains profascist elements. Even if he actually had such contact, there is no evidence that Yakir in any way supported the views of NTS.

2. Yakir received literature from NTS. The NTS organ *Posev* publishes the full texts of samizdat articles in Russian, including the *Chronicle*. It is known that these printed versions of the typed samizdat items do make their way back to the Soviet Union. If Yakir did in fact receive literature from NTS, it most likely consisted of printed copies of samizdat items, which would make possible a much greater distribution than reproduction by the usual samizdat method of typing out carbon copies. If the writings of the opposition could be printed in

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Why Argentine revolutionist

[The following is the conclusion of the report by Juan Carlos Coral to the special convention of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party) at the end of July. Coral's remarks were published in the August 1-8 issue of the PST's weekly, *Avanzada Socialista*, from which they have been translated by *Intercontinental Press*.

[Coral's speech dealt with the current situation in Argentina. "He explained," reported *Avanzada Socialista* in an introduction, "the plunder to which it has been subjected by imperialist penetration: growing indebtedness, the maintenance of the old oligarchic structure of the large, rural landholdings, and the exploitation of the working class to a critical point. He then showed how the workers movement responded to this exploitation in a combative, class-struggle way, beginning with the Cordobazo." Coral's concluding remarks follow.]

Thus, in the logic of these events, and in face of this combative, class-struggle response of the workers, the bourgeoisie had to respond with the only alternative remaining to it: the broadest alliance of classes that the country has ever known, in which the dominance of international finance sectors is taken for granted, but which also involves the landed oligarchy and the national bourgeoisie. Naturally, this alliance has taken shape under the leadership of Perón as the great Bonapartist leader who assumes the luxurious role of arbitrating conflicts between sectors of the bourgeoisie, and enjoys the support of the working class.

While he was in Madrid, Perón was a kind of reservist for imperialism;

from that vantage point it was easy for him to fill the role of a workers and people's leader. On another plane, he sent his tape-recorded blessing to all sectors of the [Peronist] movement: Osinde and Rucci, Galimberti and López Rega. All of them had Perón's blessing—naturally, with special encouragement to the youth and the combative sectors, since this was the way to keep high the expectations of the workers and people for this fake revolutionary leader.

But when the moment for assuming power arrives, a position has to be taken on all the concrete problems. And Perón now stands, as he really is, before a working class that lived

through eighteen years of expectations and heroically intervened to bring about his return.

With regard to the archaic latifundia setup, he responded with a diplomatic tax on the potential income of the land, maintaining the old, privileged structures. With regard to the problem of the country's loss of capital stock through the free outflow of profits on foreign investments, Perón responded by imposing a ceiling of 12.5 percent—a ceiling that is not even being observed now that nothing stands in its way. With regard to the question of nationalizing the banks, which we called for, he responded only by nationalizing bank deposits, which

made it possible to direct credits toward sectors that had an interest in receiving them.

Finally, with regard to the whole gamut of superexploitation suffered by the workers, the response was the wonderful wage increase of 20,000 pesos [US\$1 equals approximately 1,000 pesos], which is not an increase but simply brings wages back to the level they were at during the first months of this year.

But through our party the working class is also preparing its response to this bourgeois policy. Its response is the revolutionary mobilization of the masses and the conquest of power by the working class along the lines of our revolutionary program.

This response consists of discrediting all utopian, reactionary illusions about national revolutions. For our economy is nothing more than one element within the organized pole that is the world capitalist economy. There is no possibility of freeing ourselves from imperialism without escaping from the confines of the capitalist system. There is no possibility of saving oneself from imperialist exploitation through Third Worldist formulations or references to national revolution; this can only be done by changing the relations of production—that is, through socialist revolution, through permanent revolution, as we can see from the examples of Russia, Cuba, and Vietnam.

We will carry out this political response with one instrument—a party of cadres who are perfectly disciplined and conscious of the fact that they will provide the leadership for the revolutionary process that is approaching.

And we, compañeros, must now



CORAL: PST presidential candidate speaking in Buenos Aires last February.

In exchange for government posts?

Argentine CP comes out for Peron

The Argentine Communist party, meeting in its fourteenth national convention, voted by acclamation August 23 to support the ticket of Juan Perón-Isabel Perón in the election scheduled for September 23. This capitulation to Peronism did not come as a surprise, but had been carefully prepared by the CP leadership over the preceding month.

On July 27, a CP delegation met with Minister of the Interior Benito Llambí and discussed a number of questions, among them the coming election and the CP convention. The delegation reportedly stressed that the CP gathering would be attended by many foreign guests, including representatives of workers states and CP

leaders from Latin American countries in particular. Presumably, the CP delegation suggested that Perón might find support among the foreign guests for his much-touted scheme for bringing about a "third-world" realignment—especially in Latin America—under the guidance of the Peronist regime.

There were no immediate indications as to what deals, if any, were discussed at the meeting. Within a couple of weeks, however, it became clear that the CP had decided not to contest the Peronist ticket itself, nor even to support any other ticket. In the March elections the CP supported the Oscar Alende-Horacio Sueldo ticket fielded by the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria (APR—Revolutionary Peo-

ple's Alliance).

Indirectly, an advance sign that the CP would support Perón in the election could be detected in the theme of the convention itself: "For a liberated homeland, on the march toward socialism."

Another indication of the impending support was the sharp criticism August 14 by CP leader Rubens Iscaro of Córdoba union leader Agustín Tosco, who was considering running for president on the ticket of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party). "His alleged candidacy," said Iscaro, a member of the party's executive committee and national secretary, as well as a participant in

the July 27 meeting with the minister of the interior, "which is being clamored for by a narrow group as far as its political significance is concerned, is no solution to the political problem facing us. On the contrary, it lends credence to an erroneous concept of how to achieve a broad front of anti-imperialist and democratic forces. I hope that Tosco's political abilities will lead him to realize that a step of this kind will not aid the political process." Tosco thereafter decided not to run.

Once the CP convention had formalized the decision to support Perón, Peronist sources indicated that he was prepared to offer the Stalinists posts in his new Council of State, according to the August 24 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*. A meeting between Perón and a CP delegation was expected to take place in the near future.

The class-collaborationist resolution adopted by the convention argued for supporting the Perón-Perón ticket in predictable terms:

"A conspiracy exists among the right

Report by Juan Carlos Coral

are participating in election

solve the problem of using these new elections to bring all these elements together. At a time when all the other forces are caught up in their own maneuvers and cannot get out, we—if we respond immediately—will be setting an example in organization and conviction. We will reflect not confusion, which is their stock-in-trade, but clarity, which is ours.

in this sense that we must intervene in the elections.

What I want to point out in conclusion is that at this stage we must be conscious above all else of the urgent need to educate our cadres. For it is certain that the instability of this latest attempt at an alliance between the classes, the instability and decrepitude of the bourgeoisie and the



Militant/Fred Halstead

The PST will use its campaign to reach workers in the factories and in their neighborhoods. Above, a PST campaign meeting in a workers' neighborhood outside of Buenos Aires.

It is not a question here of preparing the party to carry out an electoral function but of putting the elections at the service of building the party. During this period, as during any other, we will have to carry out the three-pronged revolutionary task described by Lenin: agitate among the masses, propagandize for our ideas, and educate the cadres. It is

ruling classes in the government, opens up for us a revolutionary perspective. And when this moment arrives, it is the strength of our organization and the ability of the cadres of our party that will determine whether this revolutionary crisis will end in a tragedy, like the Spanish revolution, or in a historic revolution, like the Russian revolution of 1917.

wing, the landed oligarchy, big capital, and the foreign monopolies to regroup their forces with the backing



PERON & PERON: The CP's presidential slate.

of the CIA. Yankee imperialism has moved onto the offensive in Latin America, especially in the southern cone, as is indicated by the events in Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Brazil. One of its aims is to close up the democratic opening in Argentina.

"The turn to the left by the working class and the popular masses is irreversible. What is particularly noteworthy is the high level of political consciousness and combativity attained by the youth. . . .

"Conditions are ripening in Argentina for a front to struggle against dependency and for national liberation. By itself, the Justicialist [Peronist] movement will not be able to resolve the deep crisis that is afflicting the country and that provides it with a historic responsibility: either to help bring about the democratic and anti-imperialist unity of the Argentine people and thereby to insure a course of transforming the life of the nation, or to torpedo this unity, which will only make things easier for imperialism and the domestic forces of reaction."

Argentina

Rallies commemorate Trelew massacre

One year after the August 22, 1972, massacre of sixteen Argentine guerrillas in Trelew, commemorative rallies and demonstrations were staged throughout the country. While the Peronists tried to use the occasion to rally support for the presidential candidacy of Juan Perón in the election scheduled for September 23, other forces demanded that those responsible for the massacre be uncovered and punished.

Minister of the Interior Benito Llambi instructed the country's governors to authorize the memorial meetings, providing they were held in areas that could be tightly controlled.

Even before government authorization was officially granted, however, a number of meetings were held. One, in Rosario, was attended by the three survivors of the massacre.

In Bahía Blanca, an armed clash occurred between groups of young people putting up posters of the Trelew dead and others tearing them down.

"In La Plata," reported the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* August 21, "a commando of the self-styled Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP [Revolutionary Army of the People]) occupied the premises of an airplane club. After bringing the employees under control, they forced a civilian pilot to commandeer a plane, and from the air leaflets were dropped over the center of the city inviting the population to come to the meeting that will take place in Plaza San Martín in memory of the guerrillas who died at Trelew."

On the eve of the commemorations, the Peronist-led coalition, the Movimiento Nacional Justicialista (Justicialist National Movement), officially joined in with a statement rendering "respectful and emotion-filled homage to all the Argentines who, whatever their beliefs or affiliation, paid with their blood for their faith in a better Argentina."

The Peronists, who have been seeking to isolate and put an end to guerrilla activity, attempted to "balance" the rallies by commemorating not only the Trelew massacre, but also the decision of Eva Perón in 1951 to give up the vice-presidency—a decision she had made on August 22. "Both dates," stated Rodolfo Puiggrós, interventor of the University of Buenos Aires, explaining the institution's decision to declare August 22 a day of mourning, "constitute some of the highest expressions of the will of the people to struggle, which is today directed toward achieving national liberation and reconstruction."

A further indication of the Peronist movement's determination to co-opt the date for its own political purposes was the fact that the large Buenos Aires rally called by the Peronist Youth was conceived of as a frankly pro-Perón campaign rally. The Peronist Youth described the rally in the Atlanta stadium (which drew 60,000, according to the organizers, 30,000, according to the authorities) as one of "active support to the candidacy of General Perón: an emotional homage to all those who have fallen dur-

ing eighteen years of struggle, and an indelible remembrance of Compañera Evita on the new anniversary of her resignation."

The slogan for the rally was "Fatherland, Yes. Colony, No." The Peronist Youth Statement concluded with the thought: "They died so that the Fatherland could live. Evita lives. Perón for President."

While the Peronists tried to focus the actions on Perón's bid for election, others recalled that despite several months of a Peronist regime, no serious attempt has been made to discover and punish the authors of the Trelew massacre.

The main slogan for the meeting called by the Federación Universitaria de Buenos Aires (FUBA—University Student Federation of Buenos Aires), for instance, was "Do not forget, and struggle relentlessly until all those guilty of the Trelew massacre are uncovered and punished." The student group called for the creation of a parliamentary commission "to investigate the crimes of the military dictatorship."

The call for an investigation of the massacre was also a demand of a Buenos Aires rally in Plaza Congreso called by various leftist groups, among them the Juventud Socialista de Avanzada (JSA—Young Socialist Vanguard), the Partido Comunista Revolucionario (PCR—Revolutionary Communist party), the Association of Psychiatrists from the Federal Capital, and the ERP. According to the August 23 *La Opinión*, the rally, which reportedly drew some 10,000, was held "under heavy police guard" and "in an atmosphere of great emotional tension."

The Paris daily *Le Monde* reported August 24 that following the rally, some 2,000 demonstrators attempted to march to the government palace to demand an investigation into the massacre. "But the march was interrupted by police, who used tear-gas grenades, to which the demonstrators responded with Molotov cocktails and fire bombs."

La Opinión offered the following account:

"Following the meeting in Plaza Congreso, a column that broke away from the gathering marched down Callao toward Corrientes, and before reaching the intersection of the two streets, was blocked by the police. At this point, Molotov cocktails were hurled, and shots could be heard coming from snipers located, it would appear, in the upper stories of the Opera confectionary. A patrol car belonging to Group I of the police guard was also set on fire; the arrival of reinforcements made the demonstrators retreat in order to regroup their forces and march up Corrientes to the east.

"When they reached Montevideo, another confrontation with the police took place. Gunfire could be heard, and demonstrators overturned and burned another police car. After a period of charges and various incidents, security forces gained control of the situation and arrested about 100 persons."

The Yakir-Krasin frame-up trial

'...no compromise with democracy is possible'

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the Soviet Union, samizdat authors would not be forced to rely on foreign printing presses.

3. Yakir met Sakharov at a social function.

4. Solzhenitsyn read and approved of the *Chronicle of Current Events*, hardly a surprise to anyone.

5. As regards the money that was supposedly passed to Yakir and Krasin in return for their "lies" about the "fake" opposition movement, the bureaucrats made only one attempt to explain what this money was used for. *Izvestia* stated that Krasin's "additional earnings" became so great that he was able to quit his job. This is an apparent reference to the fact that Krasin was not employed during part of 1968 and 1969 while he was studying for his master's degree and working as a free-lance technical translator for the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Technical Information. It was during this time that he was arrested for being a "parasite," as a reprisal for his opposition activities. His wife stated that during this period she was supporting the family by working as a translator.

Many of Yakir's statements are available in English, including his open letter to the twenty-fourth party congress: "Toward a Return to Stalinism? Letter to Leaders of Arts, Science, and Culture in the Soviet Union," his statement "For a Posthumous Trial of Stalin," and the numerous protest statements he signed. They speak for themselves. Yakir has consistently advocated democratization in the Soviet Union and defended arrested opposition activists. He needed no NTS to tell him that what he was part of was a democratic movement.

Both Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn have steadfastly refused to compromise their roles as outspoken opponents of the repressive policies of the Kremlin bureaucrats. Both are too respected internationally for the bureaucrats to get rid of them quietly.

Sakharov, a member of the Soviet Academy of Science, was first politically active as a member of the Moscow Human Rights Committee, which he was instrumental in forming. Since the repression of dissidents was escalated on a massive scale in January 1972, Sakharov has spoken out more and more as an individual. Throughout 1972-73 he initiated numerous statements in defense of arrested dissidents and against the confinement of political prisoners in mental hospitals. KGB harassment of Sakharov and his family has intensified throughout this period.

In an interview in July with Olle Stenholm, a Swedish radio correspondent in Moscow, Sakharov sharply criticized the bureaucratic rule of the Kremlin, which "only strives to maintain the existing system." He gave examples of the many and great privileges enjoyed by the bureaucrats and condemned the absence of any semblance of democracy in the Soviet Union. On August 15 he was called in for questioning by Deputy Prosecutor General Malyarov.

On August 21, in direct defiance of Malyarov's warning, Sakharov held a news conference with Western correspondents in his apartment, where for ninety minutes he discussed the threats and harassment directed



Soviet bureaucrats fear the type of mass upsurge in the USSR that has shaken Eastern Europe. Above a political meeting in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

against him and his family, condemned the detente, which he claimed was aiding the bureaucracy's effort to increase its military strength, and stated that "the world would become helpless before this uncontrollable bureaucratic machine." Manifesting a serious misconception of the intentions of Western capitalist governments, he urged the Western countries to make democratization a precondition for economic agreements with the Soviet Union.

On August 29, *Pravda* published a condemnation of Sakharov's statements that was signed by forty of the 250 members of the Soviet Academy of Science. Echoing Malyarov, they stated: "We hope that Academician Sakharov gives thought to his actions." Their remark that "in recent years Academician Sakharov has withdrawn from scientific activity" may mean that the bureaucracy is preparing to prosecute him as a "parasite."

This intensified harassment coincides with the bureaucrats' attempt to link Sakharov to the alleged foreign, "anti-Soviet" conspiracy by constructing ties, however feeble, between Sakharov and Yakir.

In his writings in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Sakharov stated he was a socialist. He now states that he is not. He equates the Stalinist regime with socialism and condemns both. This is a regrettable product of the intense pressures on him. It also attests the distorted view of Marxism projected by the Soviet bureaucrats and the disastrous political disorientation, even of persons as educated as Sakharov, that can arise when a people is denied access to its own history for decades.

But Sakharov's statements make clear what he stands for: democratization of Soviet society to make it provide the benefits to humanity that official propaganda claims it provides.

Simultaneously with the Yakir-Krasin trial and Sakharov's defiance of Kremlin threats, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has expressed his determination to defy bureaucratic repressive mea-

sures in spite of threats on his life.

In a statement dated August 21 addressed to Internal Affairs Minister Nikolai A. Shchelkov, Solzhenitsyn disclosed that his four-month-old application for residence in Moscow to live with his wife and two sons had been denied. His statement condemned the internal passport system introduced by Stalin in 1932, which has allowed the Soviet authorities to control the place of residence of every Soviet citizen.

"I want to remind you that serfdom in our country was abolished 112 years ago and, it is said, the October Revolution wiped out its last remnants," reads his statement.

"It would seem that I, like any other citizen of this country, am neither a serf nor a slave and should be free to live wherever I find it necessary, and no one, not even the highest authorities, should have the proprietary right to separate me from my family."

On August 28, seven days later, Solzhenitsyn granted an interview to correspondents from the Associated Press and the Paris daily *Le Monde* in which he confirmed his intentions to defy bureaucratic decisions in spite of direct official threats on his life.

First, Solzhenitsyn vowed to continue publishing abroad. Only one of his books, *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, and four or five of his short stories have been published in the Soviet Union. His other major writings, *Cancer Ward*, *First Circle*, and *August 1914*, were refused publication there. The decision of the Soviet rulers, implemented May 27, 1973, to join the International Copyright Convention was a direct threat to Solzhenitsyn because Soviet restrictions on foreign publishing rights for Soviet authors would have precluded his works being legally published abroad.

In addition to vowing to continue publishing abroad, Solzhenitsyn said he would continue circulating his writings in samizdat.

Second, he reaffirmed his intention to move to Moscow.

Third, he spoke out in defense of

Sakharov and some of Solzhenitsyn's own close friends and associates who have been harassed or arrested because of contact with him.

After revealing various threats to his life from the authorities, Solzhenitsyn stated:

"If I am declared killed or suddenly mysteriously dead," he stated, "the world can conclude that I have been killed with the approval of the KGB or by it."

He vowed that if he is killed or disappears, his "literary last will and testament will irrevocably come into force and then the main part of my works will start being published. . . . If the officers of the KGB track down and confiscate copies of the harmless *Cancer Ward* in all provincial cities . . . what will they do when my principal and posthumous books stream out all over Russia?"

The bureaucrats issued a quick response to the Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn press conferences in an August 30 open letter from thirty-one prominent Soviet writers condemning both Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn.

All these recent measures by the Stalinist bureaucrats are a continuation of their effort to stifle dissent. Since January 1973 there have been further waves of arrests in the Ukraine directed at pockets of opposition to Russification in the universities. The resentencing of Andrei Amalrik and Pyotr Grigorenko, the July 16 decision by the Supreme Soviet to deprive Zhores Medvedev of his Soviet citizenship, the continual reprisals against dissident authors like Vladimir Maksimov, and the adherence to the International Copyright Convention are concrete evidence that the Kremlin regime fears any voice of opposition because these voices reflect growing mass discontent over continued bureaucratic rule. For the bureaucrats no compromise with democracy is possible.

Stalin's heirs must stamp out the *Chronicle*, which has symbolized the far reaching opposition currents and served to unite these currents. They must rid themselves of prominent critics, however mild, who serve to bring an international focus on the crimes the bureaucrats commit in order to preserve their power and privilege. The Yakir-Krasin trial is a warning to Soviet citizens of the fate that awaits those who dare to communicate with foreign correspondents.

This repression is not, as the U.S. bourgeois press is claiming, a campaign directed at preventing Soviet citizens from having contact with the West that would "shatter the image of decadence and oppression" under capitalism. The failure of the Soviet press to provide full coverage of the Watergate crimes—a prime example of "decadence and oppression" under capitalism—gives the lie to this ridiculous claim.

More information on the glories of free enterprise is not what the bureaucrats fear. What they fear is the flow of information and communication that exposes the Kremlin's crimes and serves to establish links between the democratic movements in the Soviet Union and those in the Eastern European workers states and between these groups and their left-wing supporters abroad.

Curbs hiring of Arab labor

Israel reveals plans for occupied Arab lands

By TONY THOMAS

The secretariat of Israel's ruling Labor Party (Mapai) recently voted 78-0 to open up a new stage in Israeli seizure and annexation of Arab territories occupied by Israel in 1967.

The occupied territories include the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula; Jordan's former West Bank area; the Syrian Golan Heights; and the Gaza Strip, a Palestinian area formerly administered by Egypt.

Israel claims it maintains its occupation of these areas in order to "defend" itself and as a means to force the Arab states to negotiate a settlement.

U.S. imperialism and some Arab capitalist leaders oriented toward such a settlement have cited Israeli statements about giving back these territories as an argument for a "peaceful solution"—that is, a deal with the Israelis that abandons the rights of the Palestinians.

Sections of the Arab ruling classes and U.S. imperialism have attempted to win over the one million Palestinians in these territories by promising that such a deal might include establishing a "Palestinian state" in the West Bank and Gaza.

Israel's real expansionist ambitions have been demonstrated by the fact that more than 50 Israeli settlements have been built in the occupied territories, including one in the Sinai that is intended as a major city.

All Israeli government leaders agree on the necessity of keeping "strategic" areas, such as the Golan Heights, Jerusalem, and the Straits of Tiran. There has been extensive discussion, however, as to whether Israel should annex the whole area.

The real intentions of the Zionist rulers were exposed by the recent actions of the Israeli Labor Party. Until now, purchase of land and settlement by Israelis had been restricted formally, although it was rarely enforced.

Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir

has openly admitted that this restriction was not based on any regard for the rights of the Arab population, but instead stemmed from fear that speculative land buying by individuals might frustrate future development plans.

The new plan approved by the Labor Party, known as the Galili plan, was worked out as a compromise between "hawk" proposals by Defense Minister Moshe Dayan and the "dove" position of Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir.

According to the Sept. 1 *Washington Post*, the plan allows "the purchase of land by Israelis in the occupied territories . . . under certain conditions."

"Israeli settlement in the occupied territories will be intensified and is to include larger investments in the urban regional center which is now being built south of Gaza, popularly known as the future town of Yamit."

"Israel will spend close to \$300 million in the next five years for the resettlement of Palestinian refugees and for the expansion of the productive capacity of the Arab inhabitants of the occupied territories."

Just what this "resettlement" policy means was hinted at by Defense Minister Moshe Dayan in a new measure he announced at the beginning of this month. Dayan called for the exclusion of Arab workers from agricultural settlements in the occupied territories for "basic security" reasons.

During a recent visit to Sadot, an agricultural settlement in Egyptian territory, Dayan explained this policy. According to a report in the Sept. 3 *New York Times*, he reminded the settlers "that Bedouins had been moved from this region to create a security belt between the desert and the settled areas. The chain of Jewish settlements was part of that belt, he said, adding that it would be ridiculous to bring the Bedouins back as hired workers."

"The Minister scolded the settlers for



Israel's plans for the occupied territories include ending use of Arab laborers, like those above, for 'security' reasons.

hiring Arab labor, pointing out that they had been allocated land and public resources to work that land themselves and not to use Arabs."

The Israeli state from the beginning has been a settler-colonial state based on the military occupation of the Palestinian and other Arab people's land and the expulsion of the population. The Galili plan is only the latest step in this process, a new confirmation that the 1967 war was a war of colonial expansion against the Arab peoples.

Terence Smith, writing from Israel in the Sept. 4 *New York Times*, reported on how Israeli businessmen had made millions from the 1967 colonial war and the exploitation of the occupied territories. Smith quoted Aharan Dovrat, an economist and managing director of Klal, Israel's largest and fastest-growing management corporation:

"This country was suffering a genuine depression before the six-day war," Dovrat said.

"The war snapped the country out of that mood," he continued. "Suddenly there were opportunities everywhere."

We had a million new consumers in the occupied territories and a new source of labor. Since then everything has been on the upswing. . . .

"Scores of personal fortunes have been made since the war," Smith continues, "many by independent contractors whom the Government hired on a crash cost-plus basis to build fortifications and settlements in the occupied Arab territories. Some have grown rich because of the sudden expansion of postwar markets, others from the Sinai Peninsula oil fields. . . ."

It is these Israeli exploiters and their imperialist backers that the Galili "solution" to the occupied territories represents. Another solution is needed—one representing the interests of the Egyptian, Syrian, and Palestinian peoples, and those of the working masses of Israel.

Such a solution would entail returning Sinai to Egypt and the Golan Heights to Syria. It would also mean granting the Palestinian resistance's demand for a democratic secular Palestine with equal national, cultural, and political rights for Palestinians and Israelis.

Ends martial law in Greece

Papadopoulos frees 300 political prisoners

From Intercontinental Press

"I do not repent, nor am I ashamed of what I did," Alexandros Panagoulis told reporters as he left prison August 21. "It is others who commit crimes."

Panagoulis, who had been held under inhuman conditions since his 1968 attempt to assassinate George Papadopoulos, was one of more than 300 political prisoners freed in an amnesty decreed to mark the Greek dictator's inauguration of himself as "president." In conjunction with the amnesty, Papadopoulos declared an end to mar-

tial law, which was still in effect in Athens Province more than six years after it was first imposed.

Panagoulis and other prisoners still bore the marks of their torture in the dictatorship's dungeons. In another act of "generosity," Papadopoulos amnestied the torturers for any "crimes committed during the exercise of their duties."

Papadopoulos's attempt to repair the dictatorship's public image followed the propaganda failure of the July 29 referendum that "approved" the dictator's decision to abolish the monarchy and declare himself president for an eight-year term. Even though it was announced in advance that a majority No vote would be ignored by the dictatorship, the colonels' regime was unable to produce the desired results without the most blatant rigging of the returns.

Journalists reported that in many areas a Yes vote was assured by a refusal to provide voters with negative ballots. Early returns gave the Yes vote as over 90 percent, and many polls outside the main cities reported unanimity in favor of the dictatorship. Realizing that such figures were incredible, the regime later reduced its overall margin to 78.4 percent.

Most Greeks, it would seem, remained less than impressed with this "democratic" charade. When Papadopoulos was inaugurated as head of the "presidential parliamentary republic" August 19, Bernard D. Nossiter of the *Washington Post* reported that "only a few thousand Athenians and tourists" turned out to observe the ceremony.

While Papadopoulos was staging the referendum farce, Greek workers were increasingly turning their attention to the mounting inflation that is cutting into their wages. A number of illegal strikes and slowdowns have been reported throughout the summer. At the same time, university students in Athens are said to be planning to resume their demonstrations in the fall.

While dressing up the facade of the dictatorship, the amnesty also enabled Papadopoulos to begin mending his relations with the military, which were severely strained by last May's coup attempt by high-ranking naval officers. Fifty-six officers accused of complicity in the plot were freed by the amnesty.

That plot involved the navy almost exclusively, but there are reports of friction between Papadopoulos and his army backers, who fear that attempts



Alexandros Panagoulis and his mother.

to provide a civilian cover for the dictatorship mean that they will be forced to step aside.

"Papadopoulos could stumble over his very first step," Nossiter wrote in an August 23 dispatch from Athens. "Some of the ex-colonels have made tidy fortunes in office and are reluctant to leave. One is said to have told Papadopoulos bluntly: 'George, we came into this together and we are leaving together.'"



PAPADOPOULOS: Trying to repair dictatorship's public image.

Dixon wins support in fight for election rights of Detroit youth

By LINDA NORDQUIST

DETROIT — Maceo Dixon, the 24-year-old mayoral candidate of the Socialist Workers Party has won new support for his fight to be on the ballot here this November. Ray Rickman, a candidate for Detroit common council and an aide to Congressman John Conyers (D-Mich.), has backed Dixon's federal court suit. The suit seeks to overturn an unconstitutional Detroit law that bars mayoral candidates under 30 years of age from ballot status.

Democratic Party mayoral candidate Coleman Young has also endorsed Dixon's right to run for mayor.

Supporters of Dixon's mayoral bid have handed out 2,500 statements in an effort to explain the importance of Dixon's fight for the right of young people to be on the ballot.

The statements called on Detroiters to endorse Dixon's right to be on the ballot and to demand that the city clerk's office reinstate Dixon's name on the ballot. It also asks that supporters urge Federal District Judge Feikens to rule in favor of Dixon's democratic right to be on the ballot.

(Feikens can be written c/o Federal District Court, Federal Building, Detroit, Mich. 48226.)

The Detroit SWP campaign is asking voters to write in Dixon's name on the Sept. 11 primary ballot if, because of the discriminatory law, it does not appear.

Dixon campaign supporters also distributed 3,000 leaflets to members of the Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT) at a membership meeting Sept. 1. The DFT meeting overwhelmingly approved a proposal to strike if negotiations between the union and the city failed to produce a new contract.

The issues affecting the 10,000 Detroit teachers are wages, class size, and the new evaluation system to determine yearly raises.

The SWP statement expressed support for the demands of the DFT and for "its unconditional right to strike." These demands include a 12 percent wage increase to make up for the erosion of real wages by skyrocketing inflation, a cost-of-living escalator clause that would defend teachers' wages against future inflation, and opposition to a "merit pay" plan.

The statement was signed by Dixon;

Rachele Fruit, SWP candidate for common council; Lee Artz, candidate for central school board; and Trudy Hawkins, candidate for region six school board.

"While the Democratic and Republican party politicians," the socialists said, "will cry out that teachers must be 'reasonable,' must be 'willing to compromise,' we say, 'no.'"

"We know that the money to meet the teachers' demands is available. We read about the unprecedented profits that companies are making while wages are frozen. We know the 'peace time' military budget is \$83-billion.

"It's not working people who must be 'reasonable.' Teachers, like all other working people, are losing money because of inflation.

"We call for the repeal of the Michigan Public Employee Relations Act, which bars strikes by public employees.

"We support the DFT's demands and, in the eventuality of a strike, unlike the Democrats and Republicans who defend the interests of the capitalist system, we will campaign to help publicize the justness of the teachers' cause and to build support for their strike."

NCLC challenges CP ballot spot in NY

By JOANNA MISNIK

NEW YORK — The National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) has challenged the independent nominating petitions filed by the New York Communist Party to place its 1973 municipal ticket on the ballot.

According to the Aug. 30 *Daily World*, newspaper of the CP, NCLC member George Geller challenged the 27,113 signatures submitted by the CP nominating petitions for its nine-candidate slate headed by Rasheed Storey for mayor.

New York state law requires the NCLC challengers to prove that less than 7,500 of these signatures are valid in order to deprive Storey and his running mates of ballot status.

The CP, the Socialist Workers Party, the Free Libertarian Party, the Socialist Labor Party and the NCLC all filed for ballot status in the November elections here. Five other ballot slots are being sought under various party designations by the four major capitalist party candidates.

The only challenge to the five smaller parties was that by the NCLC to the CP petitions.

Norman Oliver, SWP mayoral candidate, issued a news statement condemning this assault on the democratic rights of the Communist Party by the NCLC. Oliver stated:

"The Watergate investigation has revealed the fact that the government has consistently used illegal means to deny the democratic rights of radical, Black, labor, and other organizations opposed to government policies. In challenging the CP petitions, the NCLC is carrying out the anti-communist maneuvers usually handled by government agencies and the Democratic and Republican parties."

Oliver labeled the challenge as "an extension of the terrorist attacks of the NCLC," whose goon squads in the past several months have physically disrupted meetings and hospitalized supporters of both the CP and SWP campaigns. Oliver urged "all organizations and individuals concerned with defending the democratic right of all parties to participate freely in the elections to protest this new attack by the NCLC."

Judy Baumann, national secretary of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), also issued a statement to the news media condemning the NCLC attempt to keep the CP candidates off the ballot. "In the interests of a free and open election," she stated, "I urge that their candidates be placed on the ballot and that all civil libertarians protest this undemocratic maneuver."

Honts hits Wash. FBI W'gating

By DOROTHY HAWKINSON

SEATTLE — Washington Secretary of State A. Ludlow Kramer recently announced that lists of delegates from the state nominating conventions of the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party, and the New Party are routinely turned over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Washington state law requires that these smaller parties must hold nominating conventions on primary day to get on the ballot.

In response to these revelations, Craig Honts, SWP candidate for mayor, stated, "The FBI has no right to investigate the Socialist Workers Party. The Watergate revelations show that it's the FBI that needs investigating." He demanded an immediate halt to the practice.

Honts is one of the plaintiffs in the national suit filed by the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance seeking to stop government harassment and intimidation. Fred Lovgren, a Seattle spokesman for the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing sup-

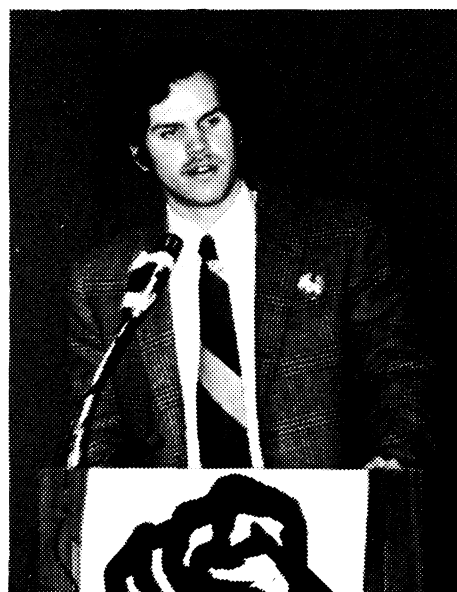
port for the suit, called Kramer's disclosure "another example of Watergate-type activities, which expose the viciously anti-democratic character of the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

Honts and Gary Johnson, SWP candidate for city council, have recently filed here for ballot status. The two candidates are vigorously protesting the denial of their running mate Eric Huffman's right to be on the ballot. Huffman, a 16-year-old Franklin High School student, has been barred from the ballot because of a law requiring candidates to be at least 18 years old. He is continuing his bid for a city council seat as a write-in candidate.

The candidates' protest was well covered in the *Seattle Times* and the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*.

On Aug. 30, Honts confronted incumbent Democratic Mayor Wes Uhlman at a University District Community Council meeting. The socialist candidate blasted Uhlman's racist "law and order" campaign and called for "abolition of the police in the Black

community and their replacement by a democratically elected force chosen from and by the community's residents.



Militant/Shelby Harris

HONTs: Mayoral candidate cites new proof of FBI harassment of socialists.

SWP wins Mpls. ballot status

MINNEAPOLIS — Jane Van Deusen, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Minneapolis, will be on the ballot here in November.

Van Deusen, a 24-year-old registered nurse, filed 5,000 signatures on nominating petitions, more than twice the number necessary for ballot status.

Marty Anderson, SWP candidate for second ward alderman, was also certified for ballot status.

Two other SWP candidates, Betsey Farley and Henry Scheer, are running as write-in candidates for the city council. Farley is seeking the sixth ward seat and Scheer is running in the eighth ward.

A fifth SWP candidate, Jeanne Stevens, is running for Minneapolis school board. However, she must survive a primary this month if she is to appear on the November ballot.



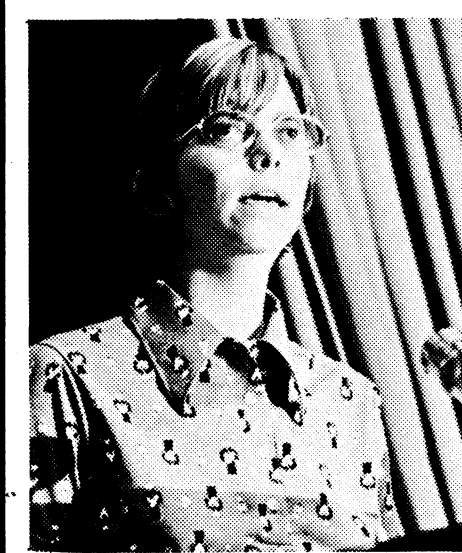
Filing of petitions to place SWP mayoral candidate Jane Van Deusen on ballot received wide news coverage in Minneapolis.

On Aug. 28 and 29 Van Deusen spoke on two radio shows and appeared before the Women's Political Caucus, which is considering endorsing her campaign.

Van Deusen told the caucus that if elected, she would use her office to continue building the women's movement. She said she would set up more abortion clinics and "provide free, 24-hour child-care centers for the city's residents."

Van Deusen said that the costs would be paid for by taxing corporate profits.

After she had completed her remarks, Van Deusen was told by one member of the caucus' interviewing committee: "You're like a breath of fresh air compared with the other candidates."



Militant/Mark Satinoff

BAUMANN: Election rights leader protests undemocratic move by NCLC.

Interview with socialist candidate

Boston's housing crisis: a 'high-rise, high-profit scandal'



By KEN WITHERS

"The housing of Boston and its neighboring city, Cambridge, was built for knitting mill workers of the 1880s," says Debra Byrne, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Boston city council.

"The capitalist rulers of Boston and the Democratic and Republican party politicians who serve them will not replace this worn-out housing and meet the needs of Boston's working people for decent, low-cost places to live because it is unprofitable for them to do so. That is why we are experiencing a housing crisis of tremendous proportions."

Byrne, along with the other candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in Boston and Cambridge, has been stressing the housing issue in her campaign. In a recent interview with *The Militant*, Byrne explained how the SWP program can solve the housing crisis.

According to a recent study, the city of Boston is in dire need of some 43,000 units of new or rehabilitated low-rent housing. And more than 30,000 people have been forced to move out of Cambridge by rents that have doubled since 1963. Yet only 155 units of public housing have been built in Cambridge since 1954, none designed for family occupancy.

Byrne fixes the blame for this crisis on the big corporations and the Democratic and Republican parties.

"This is because they place property rights ahead of human rights," she explained. "For example, the University of Massachusetts at Boston (UMB), where I am a student, is moving in January from its midtown 'campus' of old office buildings adjacent to the Park Square/Park Plaza site to a new campus on Columbia Point, an isolated peninsula jutting out into the Massachusetts Bay."

"Residents of Columbia Point and nearby Dorchester fear, not without justification, that the university may

destroy the community. Housing and transportation are totally inadequate to meet the influx of thousands of students. Already there have been examples of illegal evictions, subdivision of large family apartments into two or three smaller apartments (with higher rents), and blockbusting."

Byrne explained that originally the university planned to expand and rehabilitate its old downtown campus. But the state turned the valuable land over to private developers—especially after the Hancock Insurance Company, Boston's largest corporation, threatened to pick up its investments and leave if it didn't get the land UMB was eyeing.

These decisions were made without once consulting the residents of Columbia Point on whether they wanted the university to move into their backyards. The UMB students were consulted, and 67 percent disapproved of the move.

"The SWP," Byrne said, "doesn't think housing should be organized in the interests of the big corporations. There doesn't need to be a housing crisis when U. Mass. opens. The SWP calls for a federally funded crash housing program to build low income housing for the students and the community."

"We demand that the city council impose an immediate rent freeze on all housing in Dorchester. No rents should exceed 10 percent of a person's income. We demand an immediate end to all evictions, subdivisions, and blockbusting. We call for a democratically elected tenant council with the power to put an end to landlord maneuvers."

Byrne explained that corporate profit not only determines where housing will be located but also what kind of housing will be built. "The Park Plaza Project, planned for downtown Boston, is another high-rise, high-profit scandal," she said.

"Boston needs low-rent housing," she continued, "but Park Plaza offers nothing but high-rise luxury apartments, offices, and hotels. And the working people of Boston will have to pay for the excesses of their big-time builders."

"Boston Urban Associates (BUA), proposed developers of the project, has an agreement with the Boston Redevelopment Board that the Redevelopment Board will pick up the tab on any losses incurred by BUA."

"What's more," Byrne pointed out, "the taxpayers will have to subsidize the project directly by \$15-million, not including BUA's tax shelters."

"The city government puts the profits of these real estate sharks ahead of the needs of Bostonians for decent, low-cost housing," Byrne said. "For example, at the hearing to discuss the financial state of BUA, which hopes to become the nation's largest urban-renewal company, BUA refused to reveal the nature of its financial operations. Making its records public, in the words of BUA director Mortimer Zuckerman, might cause a 'distortion of the facts.'"

The Boston Redevelopment Board backed up Zuckerman's refusal to open his corporation's books, saying that BUA was under no obligation whatsoever to reveal any information to the public.

Across the Charles River, in Cambridge, a similar scandal is taking place. "The Kendall Square Project has long been a sore point for thousands of Cambridge residents," Byrne said. "They have been forced out of town by skyrocketing rents and loss of blue-collar jobs to highly-trained professionals moving into the Boston area."

"The Kendall Square area," she explained, "was once a residential and industrial site employing more than 2,750 people. It was demolished in 1957, and Kendall Square has remained a vast wasteland of dirt and

rubble."

Various plans have been proposed for what to do since. The most recent is a proposal for an incredibly dense (more than 135 dwellings per acre) high-rise luxury apartment and office complex. Rents would range from \$290 for an efficiency to \$450 for a two-bedroom apartment.

"Such a project," Byrne said, "offers nothing for middle- or lower-income families or individuals."

Byrne explained that what the housing crisis boiled down to was that decent homes would not be built unless someone in business is convinced they will profit by it. "This means that under capitalism, the working people will always be crowded into the kind of unsafe, uncomfortable, and out-dated housing that guarantees maximum profits for the big banks and corporations who are the owners," Byrne explained.

"In contrast," she said, "the SWP believes that everyone has a right to adequate, low-cost housing."

"The U.S. government has squandered billions of dollars waging war in Southeast Asia, despite the fact that the U.S. people demonstrated over and over again that we didn't want the war. We say that those dollars spent on war should go to build clean, attractive, comfortable, and inexpensive housing for all who need it. We say that money should be spent to better the standard of living of working people, not to gild the pockets of the tiny capitalist minority."

"The Democratic and Republican parties, who defend the interests of this minority, cannot be expected to lead the fight for decent housing."

"This can only be carried out in a resolute fight against the capitalist landlords and the capitalist parties who serve them. That is why we call on the voters of Boston and Cambridge to support the Socialist Workers Party campaign."

Blacks main victims of Cleve. housing shortage

By DAVE PAPARELLO

CLEVELAND — "The problem with the Model Cities program is that the Black community, which is most affected by the housing crisis, has no control over the program." With these words, Roberta Scherr, SWP candidate for mayor, blasted the inability of her Democratic and Republican party opponents to solve this city's housing crisis.

Scherr's statement came as Republican Mayor Ralph Perk's office began an investigation into a housing scandal, which has emerged as a new issue in the election here.

A police investigation of the shooting of Model Cities director Robert

Doggett has revealed that thousands of dollars earmarked for the Model Cities program have been siphoned off in overpayments to contractors or to line the pockets of administrators.

Mismanagement of Model Cities funds has resulted in the loss of more than \$9-million in federal funds for housing in Cleveland. "Since 1966," Scherr says, "over one-half million dollars has been put into planning a Model Cities project, but not one building has been constructed."

"More than 25,000 families are eligible for public housing, while only 7,500 units are available. This lack of decent housing falls most heavily on residents of the Black community,

who are now forced to pay the highest rents for the most crowded and inadequate places to live."

"The Socialist Workers Party," Scherr said, "calls for a federally-funded crash program controlled by the Black community to construct low-cost housing for all of Cleveland's Black residents who need it."

On Aug. 23, when Perk and Democrat James Carney filed as candidates in the mayoral race, Scherr repeated her challenge to these candidates of the capitalist parties to publicly debate her program to solve this housing crisis or "any other issue in this election."



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

SCHERR: Calls for crash housing program to meet needs of Black community.

Defending community control of education in NY's District 1

By DOUG JENNESS

NEW YORK—Since he was appointed superintendent of School District 1 more than a year ago, Luis Fuentes has been the target of many reactionary attacks. He has been accused of promoting racism, anti-Semitism, antiunionism, violence, and patronage.

Fuentes has stood firm against these attacks. He refuses to be deterred from his commitment to work with parents to improve education in District 1—a predominantly Puerto Rican district.

Now he faces one of the most serious challenges that has been leveled against his administration and the modest gains it has achieved. The majority faction on the new school board, elected May 1, has proposed a budget that would eliminate at least 17 staff positions.

Among these positions are Black studies coordinator, coordinator of bilingual teachers, and a number of community-based coordinators who help with relations between the school and the community. Fuentes established these positions with the support of the parents, and a screening committee approved those hired to fill the posts.

Under the new proposal, the money now allocated to these programs would be used to hire more "teacher coordinators." The staff members holding the present positions would either be reassigned or fired. Also slated for the chopping block is the community-controlled lunch program, which has provided food compatible with the students' cultural backgrounds.

This proposed budget was adopted at an executive session of the board in August and is to appear on the agenda of an open board meeting on Sept. 6.

This move is designed to surround Fuentes with a staff that opposes greater community control over decisions about the schools. The board majority, elected with the assistance of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) hierarchy, wants to tie Fuentes's hands in order to make it impossible for him to continue his policies. They may hope that this will eventually drive Fuentes to resign.

For the time being, however, they have decided not to move against Fuentes directly, but to hit him indirectly with these personnel adjustments. They correctly calculate that a direct move to get rid of Fuentes, given his authority and influence in the community, would be more difficult at this stage.

If the board majority is successful, it will be a serious blow to the struggle of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents to be involved in determining school policy.



Militant/Mark Salinoff

FUENTES: Enemies of community control in District 1 are stepping up their attacks on his administration.

The fight to defend what the community has won is not so simple. These six board members don't stand alone. Backing them is the powerful UFT officialdom, headed by Albert Shanker. Money from the union's coffers is generously allocated to help fight Fuentes.

Thousands of dollars were provided to help elect this pro-UFT majority in last spring's election—an election whose legitimacy has been challenged by hundreds of documented accounts



Militant/Arthur Hughes

This protest by residents helped force racist school board majority to retreat from scheme to move headquarters out of Puerto Rican center of District 1. Sign reads, 'We will not move out.'

of fraud and undemocratic procedures. Shanker has also spent thousands of dollars for his weekly paid column in the *New York Times* to slander Fuentes and the struggle of Puerto Rican parents in District 1.

The UFT bureaucrats also get a helping hand from the Social Democrats, USA, a pro-State Department outfit, in developing their strategy and arguments.

The principal bourgeois papers have also shown that they are no friends of Fuentes and the struggle for community control in District 1. There are also assorted right-wing organizations, particularly the Jewish Defense League (JDL), that can be counted on to help out in an attack on Puerto Ricans struggling for a little more say over their schools. For example, at the last open school board meeting, in July, JDL thugs showed up armed with clubs to use against community activists.

In the face of so many adversaries, what can be done to defend the gains that have already been won in the district? In preparing a defense against this most recent attack, the parents and community activists have several years of rich experience to draw upon. One of the central lessons of this experience is the need to rely on their own ability to organize direct actions by community residents.

City Hall, the board of education, and the Democratic Party clubs can't be counted on to lead or support this struggle. Lawsuits have proved useful in exposing the illegality of actions by the board majority, but they can't be relied upon as the central axis of a fighting strategy.

Nor can an effective campaign be built around the hope that the pro-UFT board members will resign or change their views. This may occur, as it did before in District 1. But to count on this variant would only undercut a vigorous response to the current attack.

The reason that several board members resigned or changed their views in 1970, 1971, and 1972—a process that led to the transformation of the

board and the appointment of Fuentes—was the pressure of direct action carried out by parents and other community activists.

A more recent example occurred in July of this year, when considerable support was organized to protest the proposed moving of the district office. The board majority wanted to move the office from the Puerto Rican center of the district to a white neighborhood on the edge. They were forced to retreat in the face of the

protest.

This type of action is what is called for now. An effective strategy demands mobilizing as much support as possible from parents, paraprofessionals, rank-and-file teachers, and community organizations.

To do this, the facts about the present attack must be widely publicized throughout the district. People who have not yet been involved in the struggle can be won over. Picket lines and rallies can help inspire those who are fighting, show others that opposition exists, and put pressure on the board majority. Large turnouts of parents at open school board meetings—parents who are willing to speak their minds—have proved effective in the past in putting pressure on the board.

Support from allies in other parts of the city can be won by getting the truth to them through publicity, leaflets, and speaking engagements.

Given the present alignment of forces, there is no guarantee that the community fighters will be able to prevent the board from axing programs important to the district's children. But the approach of winning as many people as possible to the struggle on the basis of direct action can make it more difficult for the racist majority on the board to get their way.



SHANKER: UFT president is fierce opponent of attempts by Puerto Rican parents to control education in their communities.

Detroit teachers hit the bricks

By MIKE KELLY

DETROIT—The 10,600-member Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT) set up picket lines in front of public schools here Sept. 4, the day before the scheduled opening of classes.

The DFT action was at the center of a statewide teachers' strike wave that may surpass that of 1967, when teachers in 47 school districts hit the bricks.

DFT members voted overwhelmingly to strike after the Detroit school board refused to meet union demands for a 9.7 percent catch-up wage increase, a cost-of-living clause, and class-size limits.

Detroit teachers have gone without a wage increase for two years while inflation has eroded their real wages. In last year's negotiations, the board simply claimed that no money was available.

Also at issue in the strike is the school board's demand for "teacher accountability." This Antiunion demand would give the administration arbitrary control over job advancement, step wage increases, and other benefits for teachers. Such control has traditionally been used as a union-busting tactic aimed at militant teachers.

The school board has refused to bargain on other issues until it gets "satisfaction" on teacher accountability.

Unions covering maintenance workers, clerical staff, and other school workers are expected to honor the DFT picket lines.

College teachers in Highland Park and the Wayne County Community College System have also joined the strike.

The 1,100-member Wayne College Federation of Teachers, Local 2000 of the American Federation of Teachers, shut down the Wayne County Community College System. This is the first strike in the local's history.

Local 2000 is demanding an across-the-board 12 percent wage increase to make up for last year's inflation, and 4 percent for this year. The union is also seeking a cost-of-living clause and improved medical, dental, and retirement benefits. The board of trustees has offered the union a 3.5 percent pay increase.

United Auto Workers Local 1796, which represents the college's clerical and administrative staff, is honoring the picket lines.

The board of trustees broke off negotiations with the AFT at the end of August. The union has filed an unfair labor practice suit, charging the board with not bargaining in good faith.

More than a dozen other school districts in the state have been struck by affiliates of both the Michigan Federation of Teachers and the Michigan Education Association. In dozens of other districts strikes have either been narrowly averted by last-minute settlements or are under consideration.

Serious blow to right to strike

Scab legislation ends Canadian rail strike

The following article is scheduled for publication in the Sept. 10 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary socialist biweekly published in Canada.

SEPT. 4 — The emergency bill designed to force the 56,000 non-operating rail workers back to work was rammed through parliament in the early hours of Sept. 1. By today most workers had returned to work. It appears that there will be no repetition of the 1966 experience, when thousands of rail workers defied parliament and stayed on strike for a week.

The "non-ops" are bitter at the government strike-breaking move, but they have been worn down by weeks of rotating strikes.

The terms of the government bill represent a defeat for the rail workers. They had originally demanded a 27 percent raise over two years; parliament gave them only 17.6 percent. These terms may be revised upward by an arbitrator, but past experience indicates that any increases granted will be slight.

Parliament has condemned the non-ops to continue to suffer substandard wages, and even these meager wages will be devoured by rampant inflation. After the war, the rail workers were among the best-paid and most job-secure of all transportation workers. But automation and government interference in negotiations have drastically altered their position. Today

committee of the eight non-op unions, declared, "It is an iniquitous piece of legislation. We are being ordered to betray our members and break their strike under threat of fines and jail sentences."

A statement issued by the negotiating committee and 60 officers of the unions vowed: "We . . . will refuse to order our members back to work on the basis of the legislation as it has been introduced . . . We cannot and will not comply with the directive to us to break our own strike."

Thousands of rail workers—many of whom had staged wildcat strikes since January against the delays in negotiations and the refusal of the rail barons to bargain—staged demonstrations across the country protesting government strike-breaking attempts.

In Winnipeg, 1,200 rail workers marched; in Toronto, over 2,000. In Ottawa more than 2,000 carried placards demanding "No forced labor" and vowing, "We won't be railroaded." The militant demonstrators repeatedly chanted, "We won't go back," and "Hell, no, we won't go."

Angered and frustrated by how the government was treating them, a small group of Ottawa demonstrators broke through police lines to force their way into parliament.

New Democratic Party (NDP) leader David Lewis blasted the railroads' refusal to offer the workers a decent

serious setback to all labor. The non-ops had been saddled with grossly inferior wages, while thousands of other rail workers have overnight lost their right to strike. In addition, the rail workers, through their struggle, had taken the lead in labor's fight against inflation, demanding substantial wage increases to compensate for the soaring cost of living.

Their inability to win these demands will necessarily push back attempts by other groups of workers to win adequate settlements.

Most importantly, the government decision to legislate a return to work is a dangerous step in the direction of a ban on strikes in "essential services" or in the entire public sector. Such proposals are being heard more and more frequently from big-business spokesmen and their press.

The *Toronto Star* commented on the strike-breaking legislation, "The government's position is only a short step away from a declaration that railway strikes which shut down the whole system are not tolerable at all, ever." It goes on to call for a ban on strikes in a wide range of other areas.

The main responsibility for labor's defeat lies with the bureaucrats at the head of the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC, affiliated with the AFL-CIO) and its affiliated unions. No statement of support for the striking rail workers came from the offices of the CLC brass, much less a call to the ranks to mobilize in opposition to the threat of strike-breaking by parliament and in support of the legitimate demands of the strikers.

The CLC should have organized massive participation by the entire labor movement in the demonstrations the rail unions called across the country when they were faced by parliamentary strike-breaking. A solidarity campaign should have been organized in all unions, including labor rallies to inform workers of the danger of court injunctions and parliamentary scab laws.

Instead, the union brass left the rail workers alone to face the combined might of the rail barons and state machine.

The position of the NDP leaders basically mirrored that of the CLC brass. They also failed to give the rail strike unqualified support. While voting against the final bill, they accepted the legitimacy of parliamentary intervention to end the strike.

Instead of taking a clear, principled stand, which could have educated many workers, the NDP joined the haggling over the terms under which the rail workers' strike would be broken, finally supporting the Tory amendment when their own amendment was defeated. They then counseled the workers to submit to the law.

Transport Minister Jean Marchand scored a telling point against the NDP in his demagogic speech Aug. 31 in defense of the legislation. "Lewis claims he wants more for the strikers, but he won't go all the way and oppose the idea of back-to-work legislation," Marchand pointed out.

"If the NDP had really taken a socialist attitude, they would have been opposed to any kind of settlement legislated by this House, regardless of public opinion," he continued.

The rail workers, who had shown signs of considerable militancy and willingness to fight government strike-breaking, were also saddled with a weak and inadequate leadership. The strategy of rotating strikes was aimed at avoiding parliamentary intervention against the workers. It failed to do so. But it did manage to drain the mili-



Rail workers burst through doors of parliament, protesting government strike-breaking moves.

tancy and financial resources of the members.

The railways met the selective strikes with lockouts, forcing thousands of other workers off the job as well. The union heads blocked from the beginning any attempt to mobilize the full strength of tens of thousands of members.

Important lessons stand out from the entire experience:

- The need for a campaign by labor against antistrike injunctions and legislation, including plans for mass defiance of any such interference by the state.

- The need to mobilize against the threats to deprive sectors of the labor movement of their right to strike.

- The need for the entire labor movement to throw its weight behind groups of workers engaged in key battles with the bosses, as the non-ops were.

- The necessity for the NDP to encourage and to help lead such actions.

While the return to work of the non-ops marks a defeat for labor, the entire battle is far from lost. Other major class conflicts are posed in the next few months in auto and steel. Important strikes are now being waged by the paper workers and the Hamilton [Ontario] civic workers.

The government's attempt to limit or end the right to strike of important groups of workers, and to hold wages down while inflation skyrockets, can be turned back if the labor movement now begins to take steps to mobilize its great potential strength behind the next major group of workers who move out in battle against the united power of the bosses and the government.

Labor Challenge

For regular coverage of the Canadian labor movement, read *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist bi-weekly.

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Quebec workers picket railroad station.

Quebec Presse

they are among the poorest-paid transportation workers.

The original union demands had included a catch-up factor to begin to redress this situation. They had also taken into account the cost of living, now spiraling upward at an annual rate of over 8 percent.

Job security, work rules, and pensions are also to be settled by the arbitrator.

The bill also removes the right to strike from 36,000 other rail workers. The trainmen and shopcraft workers will be forced into compulsory arbitration if they fail to reach agreement with the companies.

Union leaders and members who defy the legislation are liable to fines of up to \$1,000 a day or two years in prison.

The unions had earlier indicated a militant response to the initial strike-breaking bill of the Liberals. R.C. Smith, chairman of the negotiating

wage. Speaking in parliament Aug. 30, he pointed out that Canadian Pacific's 1972 profits increased by 27 percent, and that in the first half of this year they went up 53 percent.

He termed Canadian Pacific a "corporate welfare bum" which had received \$2-million more in federal subsidies than it had paid in federal income tax.

Yet the union spokesmen quickly withdrew their militant words when the Tories added four cents an hour to the government's original terms. R.C. Smith said that the unions had two choices—put up a "militant and valiant fight, or obey the law . . . We have decided the second course is the best one."

The leadership of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport, and General Workers took a membership vote before it ordered its members back.

The defeat of the rail strike is a

Fourth of a series

By TONY THOMAS

From 1924 through 1927 China was convulsed by a vast revolutionary upsurge involving millions of workers and peasants. This upheaval was led to a crushing defeat by the incorrect policies imposed on the young Chinese Communist Party (CCP) by the Communist International, dominated by Stalin and Bukharin. Their errors cost the lives of tens of thousands of Chinese revolutionaries and post-

often the same individuals—that they would never lead a struggle for land reform.

Trotsky argued that although the CCP should engage in joint action with the Kuomintang where possible, it should not be submerged inside the Kuomintang. He warned that the Kuomintang would inevitably turn and attack the revolution, and the CCP should prepare the masses to defend themselves against this attack.

The development of the Chinese revolution proved Trotsky's view to be completely correct. So it is not sur-

gles within bounds acceptable to the Kuomintang.

Peng Pi-lan, a Chinese Trotskyist who was then a leader of the CCP, described the limitations imposed on the CCP's activities: "the workers had to restrain themselves from violating bourgeois property rights; the peasants were denied early possession of land held by the landlords; the CCP could not carry on propaganda work among the Kuomintang troops or organize anything within their ranks."

"In particular, the CCP was not to set up its own regime based on so-

It is impossible for Davidson and the *Guardian* to deny that Chiang Kai-shek carried out this repressive coup against the CCP and the workers organizations.

So, in the tradition of all the apologists for Stalinism who have gone before him, Davidson shamelessly tries to pin the blame for the defeat on the local leaders who carried out Stalin's orders.

He writes: "Toward the end, however, as Chiang Kai-shek shifted increasingly to the right and the national bourgeoisie, in the main, deserted the revolution, the party's line came to be dominated by the right opportunist policies of Chen Tu-hsiu, the CPC's general secretary."

Davidson claims that it was Chen Tu-hsiu's policy that "meant capitulation to the betrayal of Chiang Kai-shek. . . ." while Mao and the Comintern supposedly insisted on "always maintaining the independence of the CPC, its leading role among the masses and its armed power."

As our last article documented, this is a blatant falsification. The line of the Comintern was complete support to the Kuomintang as the leadership of the revolution.

In fact, Chen Tu-hsiu and other CCP leaders did come into conflict with the Comintern. But the differences centered on demands by the CCP leadership to break with the policy of support to the Kuomintang!

After Chiang's Canton coup in March 1926, the Central Committee of the CCP sent Peng Shu-tse to meet with Michael Borodin, the chief Comintern representative in China.

Peng, a central leader of the party,

The Guardian & Trotskyism

Why Chinese revolution of 1925-27 was defeated

poned the victory of the revolution for 20 years.

In his attempt to cover up this betrayal, Carl Davidson of the *Guardian* first falsified the political positions taken by Stalin and Trotsky in the 1920s. The views really advanced by each may be summarized as follows:

Both sides in the dispute agreed that China faced a bourgeois-democratic revolution. That is, the Chinese revolution would have to carry out the tasks first accomplished by the great European bourgeois revolutions of the eighteenth century, in particular, land reform and national liberation and unification.

The Stalin-Bukharin leadership of the Communist International (Comintern) supported the Kuomintang, the party of the Chinese capitalists led by Chiang Kai-shek, as the leadership of the revolution. Their justification was the theory of "two-stage" revolution. According to this theory, since the Chinese revolution had to accomplish the bourgeois-democratic tasks, it had to be led by the bourgeoisie. The workers and peasants should support the bourgeoisie for now, and only much later (at the "second stage") struggle against the capitalists.

Trotsky said that only the working class leading the peasants could accomplish the bourgeois-democratic tasks. In order to do so, he said, they must seize power from the native capitalists as well as the foreign imperialists and big landlords.

He pointed out that in the last analysis the weak Chinese capitalist class would side with the imperialists to limit or betray the national liberation struggle. The capitalists correctly feared that a mass mobilization of workers and peasants against imperialism would also attack the entire private property system. In addition, the capitalists were so closely tied to the big landholders—in fact, they were

prising that Davidson's article on "Trotskyism and China's revolution" (April 18 *Guardian*), which he tries to palm off as a balance sheet of the two lines on the Chinese revolution, carefully avoids any mention of what actually happened. What little it does say is riddled with lies.

Hong Kong strike

In 1925 a turbulent strike wave swept across China, including general strikes in Shanghai and Hong Kong against British domination.

More than 100,000 Hong Kong workers left the British colony and moved to nearby Canton. A boycott of British goods was declared, and peasant associations in the area came out in support of the strikers.

The Chinese Communist Party was very influential in this upsurge. It grew from 1,000 members in the spring of 1925 to a combined Communist Party and Communist Youth membership of 30,000 by 1926.

Throughout this period, the line of the Comintern was that the Chinese Communists must function as members of the Kuomintang and give political support to Chiang Kai-shek.

However, as the upsurge developed, the Chinese capitalists became more wary of the dangers it might pose for them and moved to tighten their control over the masses. In March 1926 Chiang purged CCP members from positions of power in the government and Kuomintang apparatus and established himself as military dictator in Canton. He ordered the Hong Kong strike committee dissolved and its members arrested. The CCP was forced to hand over a list of its members to the Kuomintang.

In June 1926 Chiang embarked on the Northern Expedition, a military campaign of the Kuomintang against warlord regimes in northern China. His troops, trained by Soviet advisers and equipped with Soviet arms, advanced in the name of the anti-imperialist national revolution.

The Northern Expedition coincided with a mass upsurge of worker and peasant struggles.

In the rural areas of Wuhan province, two million peasants were organized into militant unions between October 1926 and January 1927. In cities already under Kuomintang control, hundreds of thousands of workers joined the unions. The membership of the CCP grew rapidly.

The militant workers and peasants looked to the CCP for leadership, and the CCP could have led them forward in an uncompromising struggle to take power into their own hands. Instead, under orders from the Comintern, the CCP tried to keep the strug-

viets [councils] of workers, peasants, and soldiers, since this would be likely to injure the collaboration between the Kuomintang and the CCP, and would constitute a 'rash adventure' overstepping 'the stage of the national revolution.'

As the Northern Expedition advanced, Chiang moved more openly to suppress the mass movement.

In July 1926 martial law was declared in Canton. In August "labor



Kuomintang executioner decapitates a peasant in front of his hut. Chiang Kai-shek's coup in Shanghai, April 1927, marked the beginning of a counterrevolutionary bloodbath throughout China. Stalin had insisted the Chinese masses should trust the Kuomintang.

disturbances" were forbidden and the workers were prohibited from carrying arms or demonstrating.

The Kuomintang helped organize gangsters to attack the trade unions and backed them up with its army. Similar repression was directed against the peasant associations. Still the CCP did not break from the Kuomintang or prepare the masses for the inevitable showdown with Chiang.

On March 21, 1927, several days before the arrival of Chiang's army, the CCP led a victorious uprising of more than 500,000 workers in Shanghai. Control of the city was in the hands of the trade unions and workers militias. But the CCP welcomed the Kuomintang army into Shanghai with slogans such as "Hail the National Revolutionary Army! Welcome to Chiang Kai-shek!"

Then, on April 12, Chiang launched his open assault on the CCP, beginning in Shanghai. The workers had been disarmed under the CCP's direction and were unable to resist. Within hours Chiang's troops had occupied the union and CCP headquarters. Thousands of workers were massacred, and the CCP was outlawed.

By the next day similar attacks had been carried out in all the areas controlled by Chiang.

presented the views that he, Chen Tu-hsiu, and other CCP leaders held. He demanded that the CCP be allowed to withdraw from the Kuomintang and lead an independent struggle against Chiang Kai-shek. The Comintern officials refused.

On June 26, 1926, the Central Committee of the CCP made another proposal to withdraw from the Kuomintang. They also requested that Soviet military aid be shifted from the Kuomintang to the CCP.

Borodin repudiated this request. His line was backed up by public statements by leaders of the Comintern. Jane Degras, in *Documents of the Communist International*, writes: "In *Pravda* Bukharin attacked the view that the CCP should withdraw from the KMT [Kuomintang]. . . . Chen's proposals were overruled by the politbureau of the Russian party and the ECCI [Executive Committee of the Communist International]."

'Left' Kuomintang

Even after the bloody Shanghai coup in 1927 the Comintern refused to break from the policy of support to the Kuomintang.

Only now the CCP was ordered to support the "left" faction of the Kuomintang, which was led by Wang



CHEN TU-HSIU: Founder of Chinese Communist Party. The *Guardian* tries to blame him for 1927 defeat.

Ching-wei and held power in the Wuhan area of central China.

This faction was described by Stalin in April 1927 as a "revolutionary center." In May 1927 the ECCI adopted a resolution stating, "the ECCI decisively rejects the demand to leave the Kuomintang."

To accommodate the "liberal" capitalists and landholders of Wuhan, Bukharin at the same ECCI meeting cautioned the CCP to "curb the agrarian movement." Yet Davidson asserts that promotion of the agrarian revolution was the key distinguishing feature of Mao and the Comintern's policy. His only hope must be that his readers will never look any further than the pages of the *Guardian* to learn Chinese history.

Stalin himself, in a telegram sent June 1, 1927, ordered that the CCP oppose the seizure of lands belonging to Kuomintang officers or their relatives. The practical effect of this policy can be seen from Chen Tu-hsiu's comment: "Not a single one of the bourgeoisie, landlords, war lords, and gentry of Hunan and Hupeh provinces but was the kinsman, relative or old friend of the [Kuomintang] officers of that time."

The fruits of this application of the "bloc of four classes" were just as bitter as those of the original policy of supporting Chiang. On July 13-14, 1927, the Wuhan regime launched its own massive military repression against the CCP, trade unions, and peasant associations. Once again thousands of Chinese revolutionaries paid with their lives.

In 1928 Trotsky, evaluating the defeat of the Chinese revolution, wrote: "If, at the beginning of the Northern expedition we had begun to organize Soviets in the 'liberated' districts (and the masses were instinctively aspiring for that with all their might and main) we would have secured the necessary basis and a revolutionary running start, we would have rallied around us the agrarian uprisings, we would have built our own army, we would have disintegrated the enemy armies; and despite the youthfulness of the Communist Party of China, the latter would have been able, thanks to proper guidance from the Comintern, to

Those interested in further reading on the Chinese revolution will find the following books particularly helpful:

The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution by Harold Isaacs. This book is out of print, but is available in many libraries.

Problems of the Chinese Revolution by Leon Trotsky. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Mich. \$3.25.

The Third International After Lenin by Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder Press, New York. \$3.45.

The Chinese Revolution by Peng Shu-tse and Peng Pi-lan. Education Department, Socialist Workers Party, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Three volumes, \$.85 each.

mature in these exceptional years and to assume power, if not in the whole of China at once, then at least in a considerable part of China. And, above all, we would have had a party."

The tragic defeat in China in 1927 was the first historic setback imposed on the world revolution by Stalinism, but not the last. The policy of support to the "progressive" bourgeoisie, resurrected in the 1930s in the guise of "Popular Front" politics, was to result in still more betrayals. This will be the subject for future articles.

Cop killing of farm worker ruled 'an accident'; more pickets jailed

The death of a United Farm Workers picket in Delano, Calif., last month has been ruled accidental by a coroner's jury.

Nagi Daifullah, a 24-year-old immigrant Arab worker from Yemen, died after being clubbed with a heavy flashlight by Deputy Sheriff Gilbert Cooper.

Eyewitnesses insisted that Cooper had beaten Daifullah over the head with the flashlight. Cooper's story was that he had only struck Daifullah on the shoulder while pursuing him, and that the farm worker had slipped and fallen to the sidewalk. Daifullah died Aug. 15 of compound skull fractures.

United Farm Workers Union chief counsel Jerry Cohen, who had demanded an investigation, termed the coroner's jury finding "an outrage."

Although the UFW has suspended

picketing of grape fields in the southern San Joaquin Valley around Delano, it is continuing to picket the Gallo Brothers winery in Livingston, Calif., and the Franzia winery in Ripon.

Both Gallo and Franzia previously had contracts with the United Farm Workers Union. But when the contracts expired last month, they both signed "sweetheart" agreements with Teamster union officials.

On Aug. 28 Franzia won an injunction limiting picketing to one picket every 30 feet along the edge of the vineyards and only four pickets at any one entrance to the winery.

The UFW plans to appeal the court order. The union argues that more pickets are necessary to show scabs the strike has widespread support.

On Aug. 29, 60 UFW pickets were

arrested at the Gallo winery. According to press accounts, several dozen striking workers entered the vineyards to dissuade scabs from continuing to pick grapes. The scabs were armed with knives and grape stakes.

Sheriff's deputies claim that pickets arrested in the vineyard carried grape stakes as well as hoe handles. The deputies also allege that at least ten nonstrikers were injured, one of them critically, after being hit with a baseball bat.

Seventeen of the arrested pickets were women. Those arrested included people who had not entered the fields.

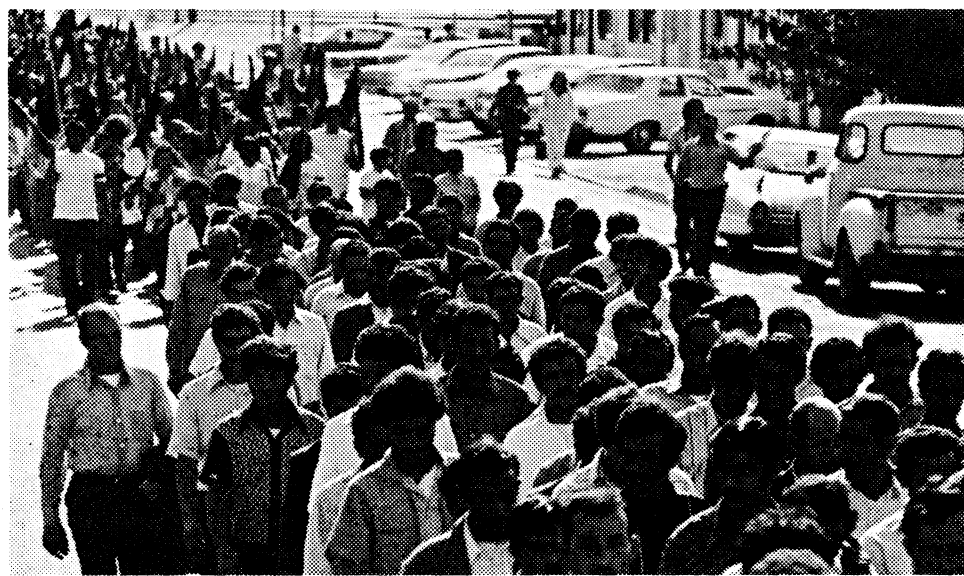
More than 100 people demonstrated outside the national headquarters of the A&P supermarket chain in New York City Sept. 4, chanting "Boycott A&P."

The action was initiated by Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Workers Union. The picket line included members of Local 1199 and UFW members from California. Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City, marched in the demonstration.

In Cleveland, Eliseo Medina, Ohio UFW coordinator, announced plans for a rally and picket line on Sept. 15, when 80 UFW organizers from California are scheduled to arrive in Cleveland.

The rally will be held at the Unitarian Society on Lancashire Road off Coventry in Cleveland Heights at 10:30 a.m.

Similar activities are planned for Cincinnati, Dayton, Columbus, and Akron.



Funeral procession for Nagi Daifullah.

Militant/Howard Petrick

How students can support UFW

By ANDY ROSE

José G. Pérez, 22, is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance National Committee and a former farm workers organizer in Florida.

Last June and July Pérez was in Coachella, Calif., reporting on the United Farm Workers grape strike for the *Young Socialist* newspaper. He is now serving as national coordinator of the YSA's work in support of the UFW.

In a recent interview I asked Pérez what the YSA is doing to support the struggle of the farm workers. "Throughout the summer we participated in rallies, leafleting, and picket lines," he said.

"Now campuses and high schools are reopening for the fall term, and this provides an important new opportunity to mobilize thousands of students. As students return to school, YSA members all over the country will be getting in touch with UFW support committees, Chicano student organizations, student governments, and all other student and faculty groups to plan united activities."

I asked what students could do to support the United Farm Workers Union. Pérez answered, "The main focus of the struggle is now on the nationwide boycott of all non-UFW lettuce and grapes. To begin with, we need to make all students aware of the issues in the struggle."

"We should dispel any notion that this is a 'jurisdictional dispute' between the UFW and the Teamsters. The truth is that the Teamsters bureaucrats are acting as agents of California agribusiness in its attempts to smash the UFW."

He continued, "In addition to passing out leaflets, we can write articles for

the campus newspapers and urge them to editorially support the boycott. Rallies on campus with speakers from the UFW, local unions, Chicano groups, and other groups supporting the struggle can also bring the boycott to students' attention.

"It would also help to obtain speakers' fees for UFW spokespersons, because the union needs money very badly," he added.

"This educational work should lead to action. We should demand that the high school and university cafeterias, which buy millions of dollars worth of produce, strictly observe the boycott and serve only UFW-picked grapes or lettuce.

"In addition," Pérez said, "students should be organized on a regular basis to picket and leaflet at stores in the community, especially Safeway and A&P. The UFW has called for a complete boycott of these two supermarket chains, which are the biggest buyers of scab produce."

"Recently a number of student leaders declared a national boycott of Gallo

wines. If millions of young people can be convinced to observe this boycott, I imagine it will make quite a dent in the Gallo Brothers' sales."

I asked Pérez what kind of response to the boycott he expected from students. "The vast majority of students sympathize with the farm workers," he replied. "They see the UFW as a special union, and for good reason. Ever since it was formed the UFW has fought not only for higher wages and better conditions, important as those are, but also against the racism faced by the farm workers."

"It was also one of the first unions to participate in the antiwar movement. You can even see this special character from what the farm workers call their movement—*La Causa*, the cause."

"Remember what a big role students played in organizing the grape boycott in the late 1960s. Their efforts helped force the growers to sign the 1970 contracts with the UFW that are now being attacked. I'm certain that support for the farm workers has grown, not lessened, since then."



Militant/Jack Barrett

Gordon's war

Gordon's War. Starring Paul Winfield. Directed by Ossie Davis. 20th Century Fox.

Gordon is a former captain in the Green Berets. He recently returned home from Vietnam to find his wife dead from a heroin overdose.

Spanish Harry Martinez controls all drug traffic in Harlem. He heads a multimillion dollar operation and has a staff of hundreds.

Gordon's war is against dope, the stuff that makes "a junkie sell his sister's ass, or push it to little kids." Gordon wants to keep dope out of Harlem. But dope in Harlem ultimately leads to Spanish Harry, and Spanish Harry wants to keep on pushing.

According to Gordon, the solution to heroin usage is simple: Keep the pushers from pushing. To do this, Gordon gathers three of his top-notch ex-GI buddies and together they hatch a plan to push the pushers out of Harlem, usually at the point of a gun.

Film

The plan is successful and they even land the big fish—the anonymous Mr. Big—the white man who even pulls Spanish Harry's strings. Needless to say, he's dealt what some would call "revolutionary justice"—a bullet in the head.

The film was shot and first shown in Harlem. Advice was solicited from the Harlem community, unlike what was done for some other Black films.

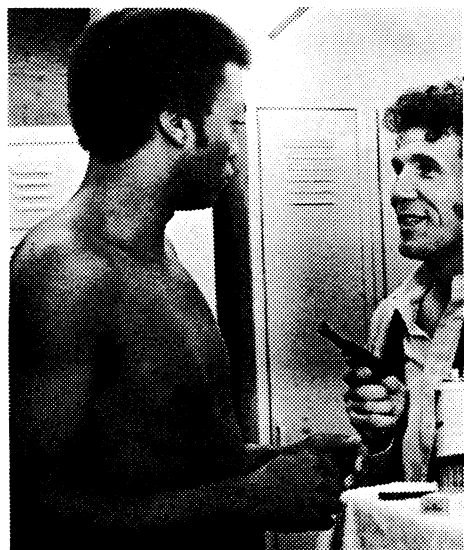
Directed by activist/director Ossie Davis, the film reflects the growing concern of many Blacks over what to do about the problem of heroin addiction in the community. But despite these virtues, it projects an erroneous answer.

The problems accompanying heroin usage cannot be ended through the shortcut solution that Gordon conceived. The Spanish Harrys, and even Mr. Big himself, will all reappear so long as there exists a "need" for them in society.

Heroin is a crutch with which the individual attempts to survive in capitalist society. The chief enemy is not the individual pusher but capitalism, and the social conditions it spawns—which drive people to heroin and some junkies to rob and steal.

Despite its simplistic message, the film is enjoyable and recommended.

—BAXTER SMITH



Gordon (Paul Winfield) is cornered by drug syndicate hitman.



The real terrorists

Who Are the Terrorists? Aspects of Zionist and Israeli Terrorism. The Institute for Palestine Studies and The Arab Women's Information Committee. Beirut, 1972. 74 pp. Paper \$1.20.

This book is a telling reply to the "antiterrorist" campaign the governments of Israel, the United States, and their allies are waging against the Palestinian liberation movement. It documents the fact that this campaign is being waged in behalf of terrorists: the Zionist terrorists who have committed incomparably greater acts of terror than Palestinians or other Arabs have ever been accused of, and long before the "antiterrorist" campaign began.

The book will interest all serious students of the Arab East conflict, including sympathizers of the state of Israel who simply wish to know the facts.

Who Are the Terrorists? is a catalogue of crimes and consists largely of direct documentary quotations, neatly organized according to chronology and category. It shows that the worst acts attributed to Palestinian organizations, such as attacks on buses carrying civilians, are only an echo of past Zionist actions.

For example, in the three-month period from December 1947

Books

to February 1948, the *London Times* reported nine shooting and bombing attacks by Zionists against Arabs riding buses. Trains, hotels, apartment blocks, and whole villages were other civilian targets. The massacre of 254 Arab villagers at Deir Yassin by Irgun and Stern Group terrorists on April 9, 1948, was only the most bloody of 17 such incidents of destruction of populated villages in 1948 reported in this book.

Long-distance letter-bombs? Another of the many methods of terror invented and first introduced into the Mideast conflict by the Zionists. Forty-six other terror tactics introduced by Zionists are listed and documented there in a special table. One of the more recent innovations is "Detention in Concentration Camps as Hostages of Women and Children Relatives of Suspects." Use of this method by Israel was reported in 1971 by the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights and also admitted by Israeli Minister of Defense Moshe Dayan.

Terror by Zionists against other Jews began as early as 1933: "Perhaps the first case of political assassination in the context of the Palestine problem was the murder of Chaim Arlosoroff by a rival Jewish group. . . ." In 1940 and 1942, the Jewish Agency placed bombs on ships carrying Jewish refugees who wanted to go to Palestine, as its way of protesting British immigration restrictions.

But the worst Zionist crimes have been against Arabs. These acts are often blamed on the Arabs themselves. For example, a standard Zionist claim (never documented) is that it was Arab leaders who convinced the Palestinians to flee their villages in 1948. But this book documents how Haganah Radio, voice of the Zionist military, told the Arabs, "We will answer killing with killing, destruction with destruction. We regret having to undertake reprisal raids in which innocent people may have to pay the price for the crimes of others, but we have warned you."

The crimes of the Arab governments of Jordan and Lebanon in shooting into refugee camps in recent years only follows the example of the Israeli government in the mid-1950s and again continually from 1967 to 1972.

There is no record of official U.S. protests against the crimes of the Zionists, especially crimes against Palestinian Arabs. But now, when desperate Palestinian commando groups resort to self-defeating acts of individual terror, the American government and press are up in arms, attempting to victimize anyone suspected of sympathy for the cause of the Palestinian people. This book will help to undermine such hypocrisy.

—DAVID KEIL

SWP answers Zionists

Socialists and the Fight Against Anti-Semitism, An Answer to the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League. By Peter Seidman. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1973. 31 pp. 60 cents.

In November 1972 the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith launched a slanderous public attack against the Socialist Workers Party for allegedly "anti-Semitic" policies. The charges were publicized in an ADL "fact sheet" called "Danger on the Left."

The SWP was singled out by the ADL because of its outspoken defense of the Palestinian liberation movement during the 1972 election campaign.

This pamphlet contains an answer to these charges by a leading member of the SWP, based on a series of articles that appeared first in *The Militant*. Although directed to the ADL's attacks on the revolutionary so-

Pamphlets

cialist movement, the pamphlet has a broader relevancy. It contains valuable arguments and information of use to other supporters of the Arab revolution, and to Black and Puerto Rican activists, who have also been the brunt of Zionist attacks.

The first half of the booklet takes up the ADL's charge that opposition to the Zionist state of Israel and support for the Palestinian struggle for self-determination is equal to anti-Semitism. "The incorrectness of equating anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism can be more clearly seen by considering the racist, settler regimes of South Africa or Rhodesia," says the "Open Letter to the ADL" from SWP 1972 presidential and vice-presidential candidates Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, which is also reprinted in the pamphlet.

"Opposition to the existence of the white-supremacist regimes that usurped power in those countries, and made the black Africans second-class citizens in their own land," the letter continues, "obviously cannot be equated with racism against the Dutch or British settlers who live there."

A fascinating part of the booklet is Seidman's recounting of the little-known record of the Zionist leaders in response to the Nazi outrages against the Jews in the 1930s and 1940s. He documents the Zionists' subordination of the interests of the masses of European Jews to their campaign for the state of Israel and their support for "liberal" imperialists like Roosevelt. These Zionist leaders raised no protest when Roosevelt let thousands of Jews die in Nazi ovens rather than lift the quotas on Jewish immigration to the U.S.

Seidman describes how the Socialist Workers Party, on the other hand, organized mass antifascist demonstrations and built a campaign against Roosevelt demanding unrestricted immigration by Jewish refugees to the U.S.

—CAROLINE LUND

City officials try to ban Ohio abortion clinic

By NANCY BROWN

CLEVELAND—City officials in Fairview Park, Ohio, a western suburb of Cleveland, have announced that they are seeking legal grounds to stop an abortion clinic from opening in that city.

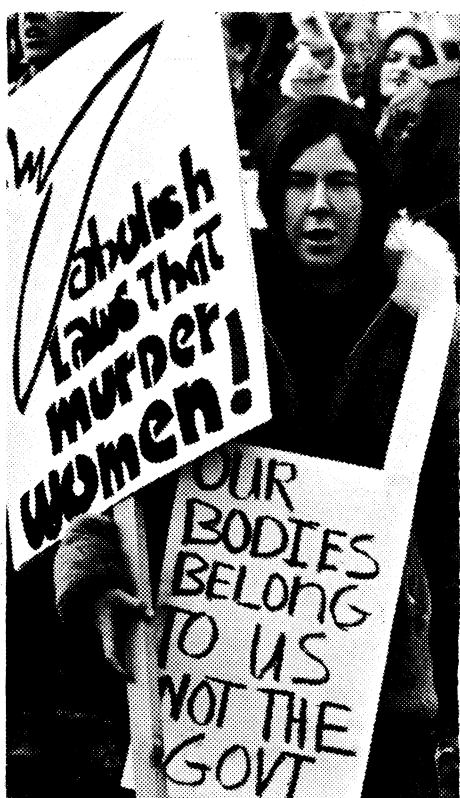
Nancy Weinberger, a spokeswoman for the National Abortion Center Clinic, has announced that the clinic will open in early September. It will be the first of 10 privately financed clinics that the National Abortion Center plans to open within the next several months in the Midwest area.

Fairview Park's Mayor Charles Mooney and other city officials are trying to block the opening of the clinic by denying an occupancy permit because, they say, "the area is zoned for office building use and not for surgical procedures."

However, when the building was constructed in January, it met all zoning requirements for use as a clinic.

The city council has scheduled a special meeting to change the zoning regulations to block the opening of the clinic.

"Right-to-life" organizations have held picket lines of 50 to 75 people in front of the clinic every night for the past week. On the night of Aug. 21, swastikas were painted on the sidewalk at the entrance to the building and paint was splashed on the build-



Militant/Howard Petrick

ing entrance. Bomb threats have been made against the clinic, and threats have been made against the life of one of the clinic's administrators.

The activities of Cleveland-area "right-to-life" groups are a continuation of stepped-up attacks on women's

right to abortion in Ohio that have taken place since the U.S. Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion in January.

An abortion clinic in Covington, Ky., which is across the Ohio River from Cincinnati, was forced to close in July because of pressure from Catholic officials in that county. A campaign by Feminists For Life in Columbus has been directed toward closing the state's first abortion clinic there.

Anti-abortion groups in Cleveland held a march of 300 in May, and they organized a rally on Labor Day in Fairview Park to protest the opening of the clinic there. City officials in Mayfield Heights, Ohio, site of the next abortion clinic in the Cleveland area, have already announced plans to block the opening of that clinic in October.

Already, Right To Life in Ohio has succeeded in getting two anti-abortion bills before the state legislature. The bills are the Damschroeder Bill, which would require forced sterilization for welfare mothers with more than two children; and the Wilkowski Bill, which would require a woman to have her husband's consent to obtain an abortion. This bill also includes other unspecified stipulations, which are to be written by the executive branch of the state government.

The Wilkowski Bill passed the House of Representatives and is scheduled to come before the Senate in mid-1974.

Cleveland feminist and abortion rights organizations have launched a campaign against these attempts to deny women the right to abortion in Ohio. Statements in support of the right to abortion and the right of the clinic to exist have been issued by a number of organizations and individuals. These include the Cleveland chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW), the Abortion Project Coalition (Cleveland affiliate of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition), and Roberta Scherr, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland.

Statements in support of the clinic by Scherr and Doreen Lazarus, secretary of Cleveland NOW, have been broadcast by all the major radio stations in Cleveland, and Lazarus was interviewed by WJW-TV in support of the clinic.

Members of the Abortion Project Coalition and NOW will be appearing on local radio and TV shows to win public support for the right of the clinic to open. Also, feminist organizations on Cleveland campuses will be organizing activities in support of a woman's right to abortion in Ohio.

SWP attacks Rocky's new drug laws

By HUGH MORGAN

NEW YORK CITY—Governor Nelson Rockefeller's much-debated "get tough" drug laws went into effect Sept. 1. The laws require life sentences for persons convicted of selling or illegally possessing various amounts of drugs, ranging from heroin and cocaine to LSD, marijuana, diet pills, and amphetamines.

For example, a person convicted of unlawful possession of two counts or more of heroin must serve a minimum of 15 years before becoming eligible for parole. Parole, if granted, extends for life. This same sentence would be meted out to anyone convicted of selling one ounce or more of heroin.

These racist laws increase the ability of the city and state governments to use repression against those struggling for social change. The addition of a law mandating life sentences for "conspiracy" to sell dangerous drugs will greatly aid police frame-ups of polit-

ical activists.

Norman Oliver, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City, told *The Militant* that the laws "are an attack on the Black and Puerto Rican communities—not on drug addiction." In Oliver's opinion it is the victims of drug addiction and abuse—the Black and Puerto Rican communities and youth in general—who are the most threatened by these new laws.

An example of this occurred just a little more than an hour after the new laws went into effect when police raided the wrong Harlem apartment.

Ruby Baker was awakened by two narcotics detectives, posing as Consolidated Edison workers, banging at her door. "They said they were from Con Ed, coming to check on a gas leak," she told the *New York Times*.

She became suspicious when she looked through the peephole and saw two white men in casual clothes at her door. Her suspicions weren't lessened

any by the fact that her old stove "hadn't worked in nine months."

After calling her downstairs neighbor to see if the "Con Ed" men had been there, and finding out that they had not, Baker broke a window, badly cutting her arm, in order to scramble down the fire escape. The 56-year-old woman was lucky that she was not shot by the two men down on the street. They pointed "guns at me like they were gangsters and I was a dog," she told reporters.

Oliver commented that this incident showed that the police had just begun to use the new laws to terrorize the Black community.

When asked what he felt would end the blight of drug addiction, the SWP mayoral candidate answered, "All my opponents believe that stricter penalties will eliminate drug addiction, but they're wrong."

"People turn to drugs because their lives are so miserable and the prospect for changing their lives seems so hope-

less that they seek escape," he said. "To eliminate drug addiction we must eliminate the underlying social conditions that drive people to drugs."

"This means a massive program of providing jobs, housing, decent education, and adequate medical care. We will have to fight to get federal funding in order to have top quality medical facilities for treating addicts. And in order to prevent these programs from being used in a racist fashion in the Black and Puerto Rican communities, they will have to be controlled by Black and Puerto Rican people."

"In the final analysis," Oliver said, "the struggle to change social conditions must lead to scrapping the entire capitalist system to build a new society of freedom and equality—a society where people will be able to develop their human potential, where Black and Puerto Rican youth will be inspired to live their lives to the fullest extent rather than being driven to the miserable existence of drug addiction."

Detroit protest backs Farah pants boycott

By JUDY HAGANS

DETROIT—About 75 picketers, many of them young Latinos, held a spirited demonstration and leafleting here Aug. 25 in support of the strike at the Farah pants company. The protest was held in front of the downtown J.L. Hudsons, Detroit's largest department store and biggest distributor of Farah slacks.

The demonstration was called by the local Farah Strike Support Committee to demand that Hudsons cancel all orders for the pants.

Previous protests and boycott efforts have forced the store to cut back on their stock, but Farah pants are still on the racks.

Since May 1972, Farah workers in Texas and New Mexico have been on strike against the world's largest manufacturer of men's pants to win their right to unionization.

The workers, mostly women and Chicanos, receive an average wage of only \$1.70 an hour and have to labor under sweat-shop conditions.

During the protest here, workers from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO, distributed their own leaflets stating, "Attention shoppers. Armed guards and police dogs used against peaceful Farah strikers. Be on your guard. Please don't buy Farah slacks sold at Hudsons."

In addition to the brutal use of dogs against the workers, the Farah Company has resorted to harassment, intimidation, wholesale discharges of workers, the use of scab labor, and other unfair labor practices.

The demonstrators showed solidarity with the strikers with leaflets, placards, and slogans.

Some of the more popular chants

included "Working people come to our aid, don't buy slacks that Farah made," "Workers, Si! Farah, No!" "Prices are high, wages are low, only one way for workers to go. Workers unite, join our fight. Boycott Farah pants," "Unionize the Southwest, Stop runaway shops," and "Same struggle, same fight! Farm workers, Farah!"

A large flag with the United Farm Workers Union Aztec eagle symbol was carried by one of the marchers.

The Farah Company is as determined to break the backbone of the strike as the California magnates of agri-business are to crush the United Farm Workers. Evidence of the even stronger will of the laborers can be seen on the "Boycott Farah Pants" button distributed here. The slogan on the buttons is the same as that of the farm workers, "Viva la huelga!"



Calendar

BROOKLYN

A GAINESVILLE EIGHT DEFENDANT SPEAKS. Speaker: Pete Mahoney, recently acquitted in the Gainesville case, former national coordinator of Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Fri., Sept. 14, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Brooklyn Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

CLEVELAND

ANATOMY OF A STRIKE: THE PAINESVILLE TELEGRAPH. Speakers: Barb Schechter, Mike Macellino. Fri., Sept. 14, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

HOUSTON

ARTESIA HALL SCANDALS: HOW SOCIETY BRUTALIZES CHILDREN. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Sept. 14, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

WILL ALLENDE FALL? Speaker: Judy White, editor, *USLA Reporter*. Fri., Sept. 14, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near W. 4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

CHINA TODAY: AFTER THE TENTH PARTY CONGRESS. Speaker: Les Evans, editor of *International Socialist Review*. Fri., Sept. 14, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (near 105th St.) Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

SAN DIEGO

WHY THE SAN DIEGO CITY GOVERNMENT IS AFRAID OF SALM KOLIS. Speakers: Salm Kolis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council; Reiko Obata, Socialist Workers Party candidate for school board and member of Young Socialist Alliance; others. Fri., Sept. 14, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

SAN FRANCISCO

THIS IS AZTLAN. Speaker: Rogelio Reyes, professor of Chicano studies at University of California, Berkeley. Film *Yo Soy Joaquín* will be shown. Fri., Sept. 14, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

...Chile

Continued from page 5

Under the pressure of events, an understanding of the need for a revolutionary offensive seems to be becoming more widely understood. In the Cordón Industrial Vicuña Mackenna, where a group of Chilean Trotskyists is active, statements pointing in the right direction were issued around the time of the coup by representatives of several left parties, including the Chilean section of the Fourth International. The council of the cordón itself issued a program for a counteroffensive.

In particular the representatives of the left groups (see *Intercontinental Press*, June 30, p. 929) called for popular control of all production and

distribution, creation of a popular militia, and placing defense in the hands of the organized working class. But there is still no party that can take up this example and spread it throughout the cordones and throughout the country.

Nonetheless, the process of polarization has advanced so far that it does not seem that the bourgeoisie and the reformists can maintain the formulas for class collaboration that they adopted during the rise of the UP government and in the October crisis. The first condition set by the Christian Democrats for accepting a "dialogue" with Allende was that representatives of the military be brought back into the cabinet so as to guarantee "observance of the constitution."

On August 10, the popular-front president complied and installed a "cabinet of national security" including most importantly General Prats, the commander of the armed forces. But the entry of the military into the government and the threat of martial-law measures against the truck owners did not resolve the situation as it did in October, not even temporarily. The military were not accepted as impartial arbiters by important sections of the UP, especially the SP left wing, which is most susceptible to pressure from the masses, or by important sections of the right. The military cabinet was seen much more clearly as a betrayal by the workers. It could not deliver what the rightists wanted. On the other hand the right, emboldened by Allende's repeated capitulations, would accept nothing less than complete surrender, which Allende could not grant. Under these pressures, the military cabinet collapsed.

On August 18, the holder of the most sensitive post, air force General César Ruiz Danyau, resigned as minister of transport. He had not moved very energetically against the truck owners.

On August 25, Prats himself was forced to resign to "preserve the unity of the army," as he put it. The resignation of Admiral Montero, the last service head in the cabinet, was announced at the same time. Montero alone resumed his post as commander of his branch of the armed forces.

Although Allende was able to put together a new national unity cabinet in the last days of August by bringing in lower-ranking officers, the formula did not seem very promising, as the *New York Times* noted in an editorial August 31: "It is by no means clear, however, that these men will be able to succeed—where their commanders in chief in the previous Cabinet failed—in ending the strikes and

violence, restoring public order and confidence and shoring up Chile's battered democratic institutions."

...list

Continued from page 7

Kenneth Evenhuis, was also fired by the Post Office for the same reason shortly afterward.

In his suit, Gordon charged that the attorney general's list constitutes a violation of First Amendment rights. The suit demanded an injunction against further use of the list, and a ruling that the list is unconstitutional.

In January 1972, Federal District Court Judge Martin Gasch ordered a permanent injunction against the Post Office, the Civil Service Commission, the attorney general, and others from using the list as it was used against Gordon and Evenhuis. The two SWP members were rehired by the Post Office.

However, Gasch refused to rule the list itself unconstitutional. The SWP is now appealing the decision to win a favorable ruling on this question.

A challenge to the constitutionality of the attorney general's list is also a major objective of the suit filed against Nixon and other government officials this past July by the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance. This suit attacks Watergate-style violations of the rights of SWP members and supporters, including illegal wire-tapping, burglary, surveillance, and job harassment, by government agents.

Elimination of the attorney general's list would be an important victory in the SWP's campaign in defense of political rights.

...prices

Continued from page 24

People who are on fixed incomes, including "Social Security," retirement, and welfare recipients, are particularly hard hit by spiraling prices. They also need incomes to compensate for inflation.

● Consumer price committees should be formed to participate in the struggle for cost-of-living protection. The statistics of the capitalist government are unreliable. Escalator clauses should be linked to real price indices made up by shoppers and the unions, on a week-to-week basis.

● The United Farm Workers' battle against the West Coast growers is a crucial part of the struggle against the food trusts. The same monop-

lists who are in league with the Nixon administration and the Teamster bureaucrats to make farm workers knuckle under are cheating shoppers at supermarkets across the country.

The UFW boycott of all nonunion lettuce and grapes and of Safeway and A&P should be supported.

● Shorten the workweek with no reduction in pay. Unemployed suffer the most from inflation. Shortening the workweek would spread the available work to all who want a job.

Preferential hiring of Blacks and other oppressed nationalities, and women, is needed to help overcome years of racial and sexual oppression in hiring.

● Tax the rich instead of the poor. Even though corporations are making record-breaking profits they are paying less and less of a percentage of income taxes. This is to say nothing of the dozens of loopholes for the most powerful corporations of all, like the infamous oil-depletion allowances. Abolish all taxes on incomes under \$15,000 a year. A 100 percent tax on all incomes over \$30,000 a year.

● All workers, including government employees, should have the right to strike. This is the essential weapon of the working class against the profit-gouging bosses.

● For a labor party! The so-called friends of labor in Washington have repeatedly failed to protect the interests of the working class. Demonstrations like the Sept. 8 protest in Chicago, organized independently of the capitalist parties, are an important weapon.

They need to be complemented by independent action on the electoral front. The labor movement needs its own political party to lead this massive struggle. A labor party based on the trade unions would be a powerful weapon in the fight against inflation and unemployment.

...agent

Continued from page 8

against the student movement in recent years. But he did comment on the nature of FBI "penetration" of the campuses in the 1950s: "The FBI had had some blowups on campuses in the early 1950s," he recalled. "They had gone to campuses and some of the liberal professors raised squawks and otherwise embarrassed them."

"So they had a definite rule that you just couldn't walk on campus and start interviewing people. You had to justify it to the agent in charge. The Bureau's activity on campus in those days was very circumscribed and very tightly controlled."

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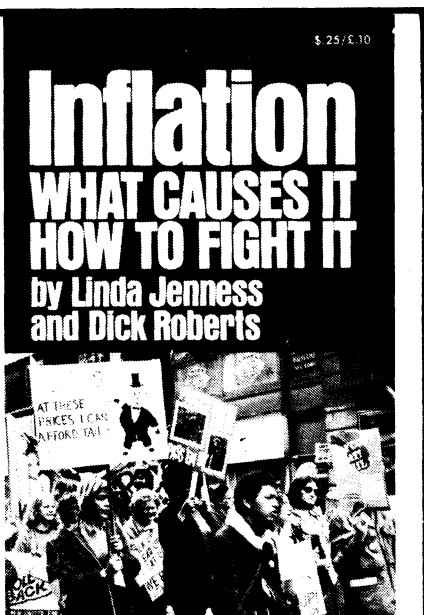
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Jiri Pelikan on

Lessons of the Prague Spring

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THE MILITANT

A socialist program

How to fight against skyrocketing prices

By DICK ROBERTS

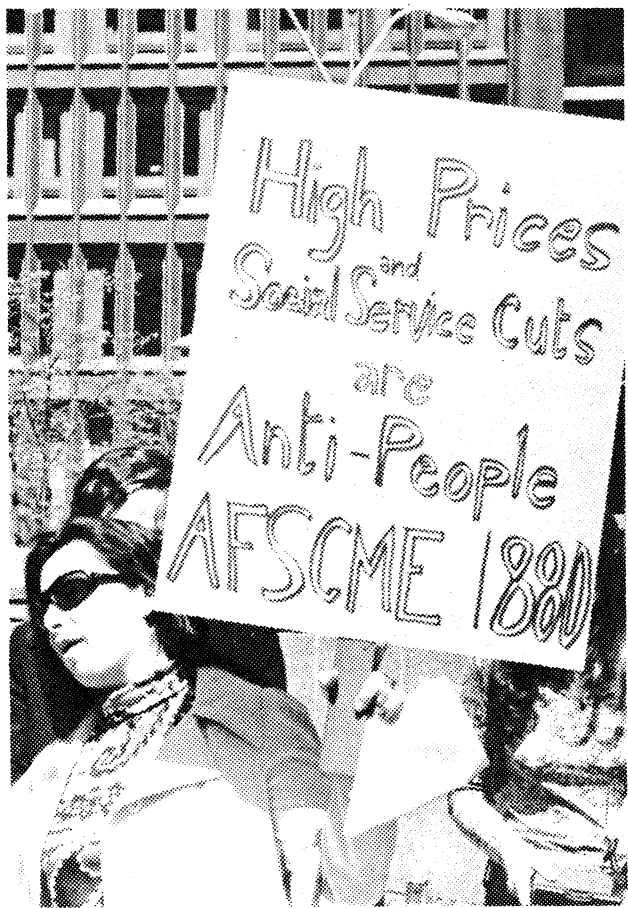
The Coalition for Jobs and Economic Justice demonstration in Chicago Sept. 8 shows that working people are determined to put up a fight against high prices and unemployment.

Never has the need been greater. Grocery prices have been shooting up all summer, completely out of control. But the worst is yet to come.

This was revealed in an Agriculture Department report released in Washington Aug. 31. It showed that prices for raw farm products soared 20 percent in the month ending Aug. 15, averaging 62 percent higher than a year ago. These spiraling wholesale prices will be passed on to consumers.

Spokesmen for the bosses and the government say they are helpless to prevent it. "Over the next six months, unfortunately," the editors of *The Washington Post* said Aug. 29, "there is not really much that anyone can do about food prices."

But an effective struggle can be launched against high prices and unemployment. The key to it is action by the working class and its allies, independent of the capitalist politicians and parties. Let's review the facts.



Detroit anti-inflation march May 5, 1973.

The country is supposedly in the midst of an economic boom. But millions of people remain unemployed. According to Labor Department figures for June, total unemployment stood at 4.9 percent. This meant 4.3 million jobless according to the official figures, which do not count those people who have given up looking for jobs.

Of course the situation was worse for Blacks, women, and young people. Total female unemployment in June stood at 5.9 percent. Black unemployment was 9.0 percent, with a drastic 30.4 percent unemployment rate for Black youth.

Everyone knows prices are zooming. Here are the official statistics from the Labor Department covering June 1972 to June 1973, the most recent

month for which all the data is in.

The consumer price index for all items rose 5.9 percent, as much as in the peak inflation year of 1970.

The consumer price index for food rose 13.6 percent; the consumer price index for meat rose 23 percent; and the consumer price index for poultry rose 38.8 percent.

Comparatively, the wholesale price index for all items rose 15 percent between June 1972 and June 1973. The index for wholesale processed foods and feeds rose 27 percent and the index for wholesale farm products rose 47 percent.

The fact that wholesale prices are rising faster than consumer prices means that the inflation of consumer prices is far from ended.

Real wages decline

For two years, since President Nixon imposed the August 1971 "New Economic" (NEP) freeze on wages, tremendous pressure has been exerted on workers to seek lower increases in their wages. This ruling-class policy has had virtually unanimous support from the AFL-CIO officialdom and other trade-union leaders. The result has been just what the bosses were after. Wages are going up more slowly now than before NEP.

In union contracts covering 1,000 workers or more, wage increases negotiated in 1972 averaged 7.3 percent. In the first half of this year, the average had fallen to 5.8 percent.

And it must be remembered that wage increases in the big unions tend to be larger than for the overwhelming majority of workers who are unorganized.

All of this makes it impossible for workers to keep their wages abreast of inflated prices. The truth is that *real wages*, the actual purchasing power of wages after the effects of inflation and taxation have been taken into account, are going down.

In December 1972, the spendable average weekly earnings of manufacturing workers with three dependents, measured in 1967 dollars, stood at \$111.37. By June this had fallen to 107.92.

It stands to reason if wage increases are going down and prices are going up, profits will go up too. This year has seen the highest corporate profits in U.S. history. Second quarter profits were up more than 30 percent over the same period the year before.

The two big Midwest beef packing firms, Iowa Beef Processors and Missouri Beef Packers, reported the spectacular profit increases of 120 percent and 415 percent, respectively.

Government inaction

There have been four "Phases" of so-called government price control policies since Nixon inaugurated NEP two years ago. The results are listed above: higher prices, higher profits, and lower real wages. The capitalist government cannot and will not actually control prices. This has never been clearer. It is because this government is inseparably tied to the monopolistic trusts that rule the country.

Many would argue that the fault lies solely with Republicans—the Nixon administration and its gang of Watergate stick-up men. They forget that Nixon's economic policies required enabling legislation and that this has been passed by the Democratic-controlled Congress.

The Economic Stabilization Act of 1973 cleared the U.S. Senate on March 20 with *only two votes*



(1) Make a shopping list. (2) Check it against prices. (3) Eat the shopping list.

against it. Senator George McGovern voted for it along with the overwhelming majority of other senators. This act gave Nixon the power to impose wage controls.

The Democrats campaigned for "wage and price controls" in 1972. Now that "Phase 4" has proven to be such a fiasco, those seeking office in the 1973 state and municipal elections are keeping quiet about it.

So are the politicians already in office. They have no answers! Democrats and Republicans alike are saying, "We can't do anything about inflation." They should add, "That's because inflation profits the capitalist bosses we represent."

Socialist program

Relying on capitalist politicians (mainly the Democrats) is the fundamental error of the trade-union misleaders. There are effective measures that can be taken to stem the tide of inflation and to provide needed jobs, but these will only be enacted if they are supported by a mass working-class movement independent of the capitalist parties.

- As a first step, Washington should halt all war spending. This is a prime cause of inflation. An end to it would release billions of dollars that are urgently needed to build housing, schools, hospitals and public transportation across the country. These needed social projects would provide hundreds of thousands of jobs.

- End all wage controls. Workers need massive wage increases right now, way above the 5.5 percent "guideline," just to catch up with inflation. Working people aren't responsible for the inflation, and there is no reason they should have to pay for it.

- Cost-of-living clauses are needed in all contracts. Wages should automatically be raised when prices go up.

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