

THE MILITANT

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

Behind the coup in Chile

— page 3

Protest repression of workers, revolutionaries

As *The Militant* goes to press, the right-wing military junta that has seized power in Chile is ruthlessly hunting down its political opponents. Worker and peasant militants and refugees from the prisons and torture chambers of all

Editorial

the military regimes in Latin America are being rounded up.

One of the greatest gains of the mass movement in Chile was the establishment of that country as a

refuge for the persecuted. Exiles from all over Latin America sought and received political asylum in Chile as a result of these gains.

The attempt to turn these exiles over to the butchers and torturers they have escaped from, and to inflict a bloody defeat on the workers' movement in Chile, must not go unanswered. We in the U.S. have a particular responsibility in this regard because of the role of the U.S. government in events there.

The U.S. Committee for Justice

to Latin American Political Prisoners has called for protest actions against the suppression of democratic rights in Chile, against the victimization of political refugees and Chilean militants. (See USLA statement, page 3.)

Such protests should take place in cities across the country. A vocal protest in the U.S. can make a significant impact on the treatment of those now being arrested. We urge all supporters of democratic rights to join in and help build these actions.

Along with the task of defending

the victims of the reactionary coup goes the necessity of drawing the lessons of the coup. Not to do this would invite new defeats in the future.

Allende came to power during a social crisis and mass upsurge that led to a prerevolutionary situation in Chile. The Socialist and Communist party leaders argued that it was possible to attain socialism by gradual stages in a bloc with "nationalist" sectors of the Chilean bourgeoisie. They claimed that the electoral victory of Allende proved

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Thousands join Chicago march against inflation



Militant/Bruce Bloy

Angry Blacks and trade unionists demonstrated Sept. 8 to protest the soaring cost of living and high unemployment. See page 5.

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BLACK FEMINISTS SLATE CONFERENCE: The National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO) has set Nov. 30-Dec. 2 as the date for an eastern regional conference of Black women.

NBFO held a news conference in mid-August to announce its formation. Soon after, the organization received more than 200 telephone calls from Black women all over the country who were interested in joining. Chapters have now been established in five other cities.

A planning meeting for the regional conference took place in early September. One hundred and seventy Black women, primarily from New York, participated. The meeting set up working committees and planned a variety of workshops for the conference.

NBFO's statement of purpose says it was organized "to address ourselves to the particular and specific needs of the larger, but almost cast aside half of the Black race" in America, the Black woman.

A second planning meeting has been scheduled for Sept. 19. The meeting is open to all Black women and will be held at St. Gregory's Church, 144 West 90th Street, New York City, at 7 p.m.

ATTICA REBELS FACE NEW CHARGES: Five participants in the 1971 Attica prison rebellion were indicted for murder and kidnapping Sept. 7. Herbert X. Blyden and Roger Champen, two of the leaders of the uprising,



State troopers preparing to storm Attica prison in September 1971. Indiscriminate shooting by police was directly responsible for 40 deaths.

were charged with the death of a fellow prisoner during the rebellion. Also charged were Frank Smith, Eric Jomo Thompson, and Bernard Strobel.

Smith and Champen, who had completed their earlier sentences and were free on bail on earlier kidnapping charges stemming from the uprising, were unable to post \$5,000 additional bail and were sent back to prison.

Smith, who had been out of jail for only 22 days, told reporters: "What do you people expect? I came out of a ghetto. We were a poor family and we didn't have any money."

So far, the grand jury investigating the uprising has indicted some 60 prisoners, but none of the guards responsible for the deaths of 30 prisoners and 10 guards have been charged.

NEW YORK CONFERENCE TO PROTEST SUPERPORT: The Committee for Puerto Rican Decolonization will host a conference on "Superport Emergency—Environmental Colonialism in Puerto Rico." The conference will be held Friday, Sept. 21, at 8 p.m. at Cathedral House, St. John the Divine, 110th Street and Amsterdam Avenue in New York City.

The proposal to build a deep-water "superport" on Puerto Rico's west coast to handle U.S. supertankers has aroused much opposition in Puerto Rico. Opponents of the port argue that it will destroy beaches and potential fishing waters.

Speaking at the conference will be Dr. Nestali Garcia from the University of Puerto Rico. There will be a slide show and photographic display, and literature on the superport will be available. A donation of \$2 will be requested.

PUERTO RICAN PROTEST AT UNITED NATIONS: A demonstration protesting the building of the superport in Puerto Rico, and calling on the United Nations to take up the question of the colonial status of Puerto Rico, will be held in New York City Sept. 24.

The protest has been called by the Student Front for the Inclusion of the Colonial Case of Puerto Rico in the UN, and the United Committee for a Discussion of the Colonial Case of Puerto Rico in the UN. The United Committee has been spearheaded by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP).

Demonstrators will assemble at 2 p.m. at Delancey and Essex, on the Lower East Side, and march to the UN plaza for a rally.

TRIAL OF CARLOS FELICIANO OPENS: Carlos Feliciano, a Puerto Rican activist, went on trial this week in Manhattan. Feliciano is accused of attempting to bomb a General Electric building in 1970, and with possession of materials, including detonators, allegedly for use in terror bombings.

On Sept. 10, the jury was selected. It includes six Blacks and one Dominican.

Feliciano was acquitted of similar charges by a Bronx jury last year. But the Manhattan district attorney, determined to use the case to intimidate the Puerto Rican movement, is pressing ahead with this second prosecution.

Defense motions to dismiss the case at a pretrial hearing in July were denied. Defense attorney William Kunstler had moved that the charges be dropped on the grounds that the prosecution case was fabricated for political reasons.

At that hearing a prosecution witness revealed new facts. He acknowledged that the decision to put Feliciano and other Puerto Rican nationalists under round-the-clock surveillance in 1970 had been made after discussions between the New York's BOSSI police unit (the "red squad"), the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico police, the FBI, and the Secret Service.

ABORTION RIGHTS OF MINORS DEFENDED: On Sept. 4, several feminist organizations in Washington state filed a friend of the court brief in support of a woman's right to terminate an unwanted pregnancy regardless of age. The U.S. Supreme Court ruling on abortion allows states to require an unmarried minor to obtain the consent of her legal guardians before she can lawfully have an abortion.

The brief was submitted by the Abortion Action Coalition of Women (an affiliate of the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition), the Seattle-King County chapter of NOW, and the Unitarian Feminist Alliance in support of an appeal by Dr. A. Frans Koome.

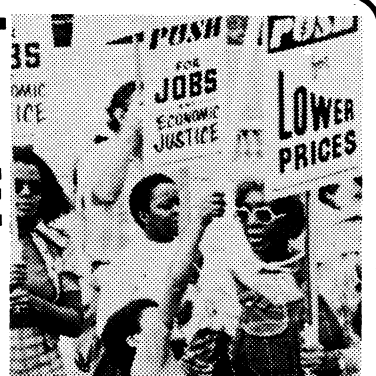
Dr. Koome was convicted for performing an abortion on a 16-year-old woman who had been denied permission by her guardians. After receiving a one-year suspended sentence, Koome requested help from feminist organizations in appealing his case. Hearings on the case will begin in November.

CLEVELAND SOCIALISTS FRUSTRATE UAW BUREAUCRATS: When Roberta Scherr, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, campaigned Sept. 3 at a United Auto Workers picnic, she was not allowed to speak on the program along with her opponents. The Cleveland Plain Dealer quoted a UAW Community Action Program (CAP) coordinator, who explained, "We don't subscribe to her philosophy."

But he wasn't speaking for everyone in the UAW. Scherr was filmed by all three TV networks while campaigning at the picnic, and she released a statement denouncing the undemocratic decision. Following this, one UAW member phoned the campaign office to let the SWP know that he had sent a telegram of protest to the UAW CAP council. He said he decided to support the Scherr campaign after reading about it regularly in *The Militant*, which is sold at his plant.

—DAVE FRANKEL

YOUR FIRST ISSUE? SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT



Throughout the planning for the Sept. 8 demonstration in Chicago against high prices and unemployment, *The Militant* was there bringing its readers news of the latest developments. For the best coverage of all protests against the high cost of living and for a socialist program to fight inflation, read *The Militant*.

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Popular frontism paved way Behind the rightist coup in Chile

By DAVE FRANKEL

SEPT. 12—Proclaiming that their mission was "to fight for the liberation of the fatherland from the Marxist yoke," a four-man military junta ousted President Salvador Allende Sept. 11, seized control of the government, declared a state of siege, and imposed censorship and a curfew.

Roundups of working-class leaders have begun. The junta announced that Allende had committed suicide and had already been buried.

The Associated Press reported that "A list of prominent Socialist and Communist leaders was broadcast and they were ordered to appear at the Defense Ministry or face arrest. More than 100 Communist and Socialist Party members were reported arrested in Santiago and Valparaiso, a port city where naval units began the coup early yesterday."

The crackdown on the left includes exiles in the country. An estimated 2,000 exiles from the military dictatorships in Uruguay and Brazil were granted political asylum under Allende, as was the Peruvian Trotskyist peasant leader Hugo Blanco.

All airports have been closed, the Chilean borders have been sealed, and foreigners in "irregular or illegal sit-

"the Chilean tragedy" by such mouthpieces of imperialism as the *New York Times*. The *Time's* editors warned Sept. 12 that "there must be no grounds whatsoever for even a suspicion of outside intervention." But the fact is that the Sept. 11 coup is the culmination of three years of U. S.-backed subversion and sabotage against Chile.

Shortly after Allende took office in 1970, the U. S. cut off credit to Chile, as did the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. The only form of "aid" to Chile that was untouched was the continued training of Chilean military officers in the U. S.

The U. S. economic blockade of Chile was designed to strangle the country's economy, undercut the popularity of Allende, and prepare the ground for overthrowing his regime.

Even before Allende took office, International Telephone and Telegraph and the CIA were urging that the U. S. take a hand in preventing his election, and later his assumption of office. ITT offered to help out this project with \$1-million.

How directly the U. S. was involved in the immediate organization of the coup is not known. Binder reports, however, that "in conversations three



Allende taking office in 1970, flanked by generals. Allende told the Chilean people to trust the military, saying 'The armed forces of Chile are essentially professionals and democratic.'

no force capable of organizing and leading the masses of peasants and workers in a successful struggle for power.

Allende and his supporters claimed that his election opened the road to a peaceful transition to socialism. However, this was belied by the fact that procapitalist parties were included in the Popular Unity formation. Allende diverted the masses from taking the road toward a socialist revolution. His real course was class collaboration.

This policy, which marked the popular fronts of the 1930s, was followed by the Communist and Socialist parties in Chile, the main components of the Popular Unity. They bear a major part of the responsibility for making possible the right-wing coup that has taken place. Under this policy Allende and the Communist and Socialist Party leaders who supported him continually affirmed their confidence in the military.

"With every day my conviction becomes deeper that the armed forces of Chile are an expression of its people, and therefore are irrevocably and essentially professionals and democrats."

ic," Allende said in an interview published in the Feb. 14, 1971, issue of the Buenos Aires daily *Clarín*.

Allende played a key role in building up the political prestige and weight of the armed forces by appointing top

Les Evans, editor of the *International Socialist Review* and National Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party, will address a special New York city-wide forum on "Why Allende Fell," to be held Friday, Sept. 21, at 8 p.m. The meeting will be in Room 703 of the New York University Main Building, at Washington Square East and Waverly Place. It is sponsored by the Brooklyn, Lower Manhattan, and West Side Militant Forums. \$1 donation.

generals to his cabinet during times of crisis.

Hand in hand with this fatally mistaken view of the armed forces went fear of the masses, particularly of what

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1972 demonstration in support of Allende government. Military coup is a blow to struggle for socialist revolution in Chile and rest of Latin America.

uations" have been ordered to report to the police.

U. S. corporations affected by nationalizations carried out under the Allende regime reacted to the news in typical fashion.

"Reports of the coup caused copper futures to rise about 3 cents . . . on the New York Commodity Exchange," reported the *New York Times*.

Within a day some companies were hinting about resuming activities in Chile "if a new government there were receptive to investment."

Role of U. S. imperialism

Times reporter David Binder reported in an article appropriately subtitled "U. S. Not Surprised," that U. S. officials are trying "to avoid even a hint of commitment to the overthrow of President Salvador Allende Gossens or involvement in it."

AP correspondent George Gedda wrote that "diplomatic observers said they expected Washington, anticipating charges that it was responsible for the coup, would allow a decent interval before conferring recognition to avoid too close an initial identification with the fledgling junta."

Crocodile tears are being shed over

weeks ago United States diplomatic and intelligence analysts predicted that a military coup would occur soon because of increasing nervousness in the armed services over the expansion of groups of armed factory workers in bases around Santiago."

A blow to the masses

The overthrow of Allende by the armed forces represents a blow to the people of Chile and of all Latin America.

The electoral victory of Allende's Popular Unity coalition in September 1970 was the result of a powerful mass upsurge of the Chilean working class and peasantry. Some dramatic reforms came as a by-product of this mass mobilization.

A general pay increase, averaging about 35 percent, was won. Extensive nationalizations were carried out, and land reform programs were speeded up. Political prisoners were set free, and a special riot police unit was disbanded.

It was necessary to follow up these gains in a consistent revolutionary way. This required a mass revolutionary party built on Leninist lines. In the absence of such a party, there was

USLA calls for Chile protests

The following are excerpts from a statement released Sept. 13 by the U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

USLA calls on all supporters of civil liberties to vigorously protest the mounting wave of repression in Chile.

The junta is employing the same methods of political terror against dissidents as the infamous military dictatorships in Brazil and Bolivia. It has begun mass arrests of Chilean workers, peasants, students, and intellectuals. Hundreds have already been killed.

USLA voices special alarm over the fate of hundreds of political refugees who had been granted asylum in Chile under the Allende regime. These men and women, many of whom fled from the torture chambers of General Banzer in Bolivia and General Medici in Brazil, are being rounded up by the Chilean police. Deportations have already

begun.

Among the political refugees is Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian revolutionist and peasant leader. Blanco was saved from execution in Peru in the 1960s only by massive international protests, which USLA helped build. Deported from Peru to Mexico in 1971, Blanco attempted to move to Argentina, where he was jailed and then deported to Chile. The lives of Blanco and many other exiles are in danger. They must not be returned to their would-be jailers, torturers, and executioners!

USLA calls for immediate protest demonstrations at Chilean embassies, consulates, and trade offices throughout the U. S., and for telegrams of protest to the Chilean ambassador.

End the terror of the Chilean military dictatorship!

Stop the arrests and reprisals!
Hands off the political refugees!
Free all Chilean political prisoners!

Farm price rise highest in this century

Price leap shows gov't controls are fake

By DICK ROBERTS

SEPT. 12—"Prices Run Wild" was the apt headline of a major New York City newspaper this week. It reported the historic 26.1 percent August jump in wholesale farm prices. This was the largest leap of this wholesale price index in the twentieth century.

The wholesale price of eggs jumped 35 percent, live poultry went up 42 percent, and grain rose 69 percent—all of these the sharpest monthly climbs ever recorded in U.S. history.

And this takes place when American consumers are already dizzy with the summer-long record-breaking price increases in grocery stores. Yet the bulk of the August wholesale food price increases have yet to hit shoppers on the retail level.

Actions by the Nixon administration continued to reveal that it is oblivious to the pressing problems of consumers. Price controls were in-

creasingly lifted.

President Nixon, in his Sept. 10 "State of the Union" message, outlined policies that will even further aggravate the social crisis in this country.

With war spending at higher levels than during the peak of the Vietnam war, Nixon declared that he would veto any attempts to cut his war budget and that he would also veto any attempts to raise the level of social, health, and welfare spending.

"The world's hope for peace depends on America's strength," Nixon said. "It depends absolutely on our never falling into the position of being the second strongest nation in the world."

In his message to Congress Nixon supported the multibillion-dollar Trident submarine and B-1 advanced bomber programs.

On the so-called "Cost of Living Council" front—it should be called the "Cost of Profit Council"—two major

moves were made. The COL granted price increases to the Big Three auto trusts and to the steel industry.

The capitalist press made it look as though the COL, headed by former Harvard professor John Dunlop, actually cut prices in auto. "The cutbacks ranged from 10 per cent for American Motors to an average of 30 per cent on Ford products," stated *Newsweek* magazine. What they are actually talking about is cutting back price increases. In other words, American Motors got 90 percent of the price increase it demanded instead of 100 percent.

The steel barons, on the other hand, complain that they deserve price increases because steel prices have not increased as fast as wholesale prices on average. They don't say anything about steel profit increases.

Here are the profit increases over last year for the three biggest steel firms: Bethlehem Steel, up 59 percent; Republic Steel, up 70 percent; U.S. Steel, up 134 percent.

The rulers of this country have things upside down. In reality the hope for world peace depends on disarming the imperialists' war machine, from their most expensive nuclear submarines down to the bugs and tape recorders of the White House spies.

This would release billions of dollars urgently needed to build better housing, schools, and hospitals. It would reduce the inflation caused by war-spending deficits. It would provide hundreds of thousands of needed jobs.

A sacred right to profits?

The capitalist rulers, although they never admit it, start from the proposition that the most sacred right is the right of a tiny few to immense

profits. That is why the government is opposed to actually controlling prices, as has been shown by the total failure of Phases 1 through 4.

Can prices be brought under control? "People are very interested in that question," Ron Wolin, a Socialist Workers campaign organizer said recently. Wolin was talking about selling issues of *The Militant* in front of a New York supermarket.

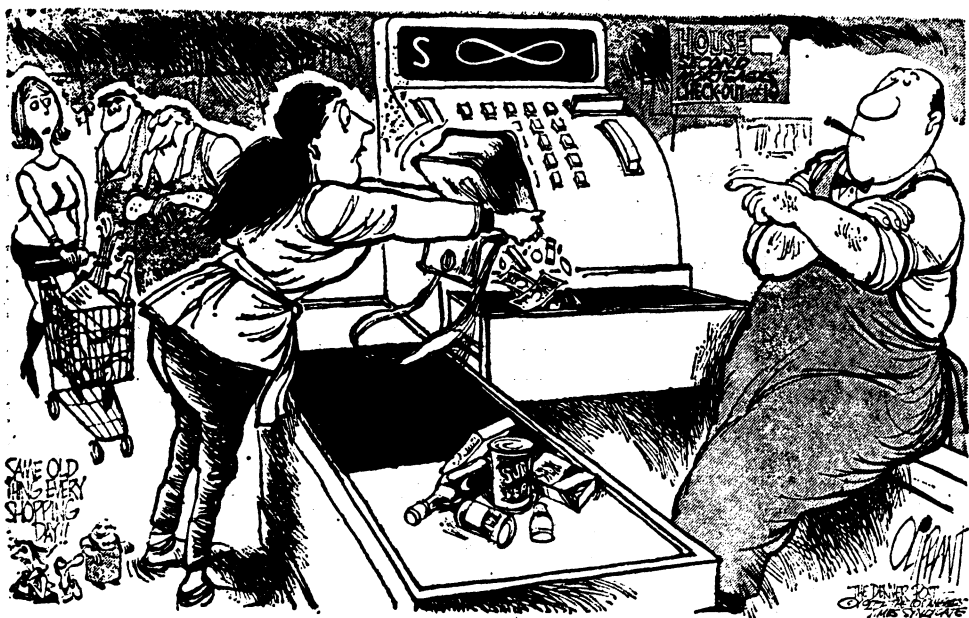
"When I explained that high prices can be combatted, and that steps for doing this were discussed in *The Militant*, people stopped to hear about it," Wolin said that shoppers were particularly interested in the true facts about zooming profits for the meat trusts.

He said that he had discussed measures for bringing trade unions into the struggle against food prices, especially by fighting for cost-of-living escalator clauses in union contracts and Social Security, welfare, and unemployment benefits.

"The fact is," he said, "a lot of people just think there is nothing that can be done; and they certainly don't rely on the Nixon administration to do anything."

"The idea of doing it ourselves, like forming consumer price committees to watch over supermarket prices, begins to make a lot of sense," Wolin said that when he was about to leave, the armed guard who had been silently watching came over and bought a paper.

In fact the policies of the Nixon administration do depend upon keeping people buffaloed while the corporations rake in the profits. Such policies will work as long as—but only as long as—consumers think there is nothing they can do to fight inflation.



Nixon threatens Libya over oil nationalizations

By TONY THOMAS

On Sept. 1, the Libyan government announced the partial nationalization of six oil companies operating in that country, completing a series of nationalizations of foreign oil corporations.

The Libyan action placed 51 percent of the shares in all foreign oil companies in the hands of the government. At the same time, it put the oil firms under the control of three-part boards that include two government representatives and one representative of the private owners.

Five of the six corporations were American owned, including the Libyan affiliates of Exxon, Mobil, Texaco, Standard of California, and the American Oil Corporation.

This anti-imperialist action came as part of a trend by leaders of the Arab capitalist states to force concessions from the U.S. and other imperialist powers in regard to control over their oil resources. Some of the oil-producing states have also tried to pressure the U.S. to be less favorable to Israel in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Abdel Salaam Jallud, Libyan prime minister, justified the nationalization by stating that "we do not want our oil or its profits to go to the U.S., where they are transformed into destructive weapons against us," an allusion to U.S. support to Israel.

And Libya's oil minister, Izz al-Din al-Mabrouk, told reporters that "Libya's move toward full control of its oil is a move toward implementing the principle of using oil as a political weapon."

Even the reactionary monarchy of Saudi Arabia has gotten into the act. King Faisal of Saudi Arabia warned the U.S. that its "complete support to Zionism against the Arabs" would make it "extremely difficult" for his country to continue supplying petroleum to the U.S.

The Saudis are demanding that the U.S. force Israel to return the bulk of the occupied territories seized in 1967, thus providing a basis for a settlement with the Arab states.

Of particular concern to the U.S. oil barons is the threat that Saudi Arabia and the other states on the Arab Gulf would carry out actions similar to Libya's. In 1972, an agreement was signed that gave these coun-

tries 25 percent control of the oil, while they were to be given 51 percent control by the early 1980s.

In rough figures, the Arab countries have nearly 350 billion barrels of oil in reserves (still in the ground), with 150 billion barrels in Saudi Arabia alone. Together with Iran's 55 billion barrels, the Arab East has about three-fourths of the world's known oil reserves.

Edward Cowan, writing in the Sept. 2 *New York Times*, reported that the six nationalized oil firms would resist the Libyan actions for "fear that acceptance of Libya's action would invite parallel moves elsewhere."

"If the six companies agree, all the Persian [Arab] Gulf agreements will go by the boards," one oil expert told Cowan, referring to the 1972 agreement.

All of this has shaken the U.S. government and its big business backers who reap tremendous wealth out of their control over Middle East oil. Nixon threatened to use the same measures against Libya that the U.S. employed against Iranian Premier Mohammed Mossadegh in the early 1950s.

When Mossadegh nationalized Iranian oil in 1951, the U.S. retaliated by organizing an international boycott of Iranian oil. A CIA coup then overthrew Mossadegh and returned the oil to private U.S. ownership in 1953.

Speaking at a press conference in Washington on Sept. 9, Nixon said that Libya might find that "oil without a market, as Mr. Mossadegh

learned many, many years ago, doesn't do a country much good. We and Europe are the market."

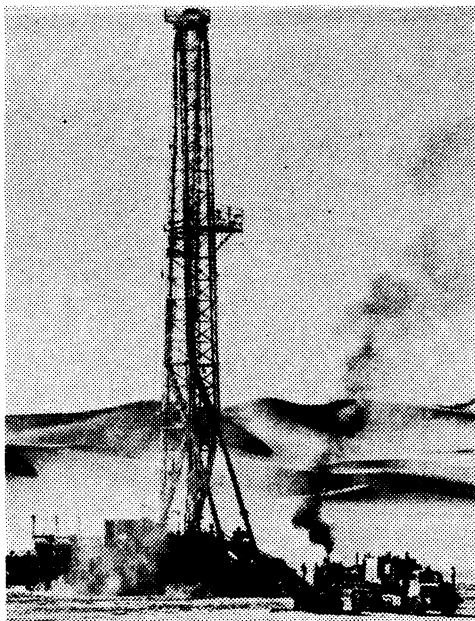
Nixon's chances of forcing this type of worldwide boycott appear slim because of the sharpness of the competition between the different imperialist powers. Bernard Gwertzman, writing in the Sept. 6 *New York Times*, observed, "the President said, 'we and Europe are the Market.'" He continued, "Mr. Nixon omitted Japan, which is also a major importer of Middle Eastern oil and which up to now has been reluctant to join in any concentrated effort to influence Arab states." There are also signs that a number of European countries, most of which are almost totally dependent on Arab oil, may not be willing to carry out a boycott to defend the U.S. oil trusts.

In addition to the threatened boycott, Nixon can be expected to try two other means to seek a solution to the oil crisis.

First, he will try to impose, by diplomatic means, a settlement of the "crisis" that has existed in the Middle East since the 1967 war. Nixon said at his press conference that Kissinger's highest priority as secretary of state would be to seek such a settlement. He also added that in his opinion the Arabs were not the only force at fault in blocking a Middle East settlement.

This remark was viewed as a sop to U.S. oil interests, some of whom want Nixon to force more concessions out of Israel in order to quiet down the Middle East. *Newsweek* said that

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Libyan oil field

Thousands march in Chicago to protest inflation, unemployment, and unfair taxes

By BRUCE BLOY

CHICAGO—Thousands of people demonstrated here Sept. 8 in a march and rally to protest inflation, unemployment, and unfair taxes. The action was sponsored by the Coalition for Jobs and Economic Justice.

Press and TV reports of the size of the march, which at times stretched for eight blocks through the downtown Loop area, varied from 5,000 to 12,000.

This reporter would estimate the crowd at 6,000 to 8,000. About two-thirds of the marchers attended a rally afterwards at the Grant Park Bandshell.

A large majority, perhaps 70 percent, of the demonstrators were Black. Many marched in the contingent of Operation PUSH, the Chicago civil rights group that was one of the main organizers of the protest, and in contingents from local Black churches.

Auto workers march

The largest union contingent was from the United Auto Workers. One thousand workers from eight UAW locals marched behind a banner demanding "Economic and Social Justice for All; Full Employment; Better Contracts; Tax Reform; End Inflation."

A spirited United Farm Workers contingent included 400 to 500 people, mostly Chicano and Puerto Rican. Many were farm workers recently arrived from California to help organize the boycott of non-UFW grapes and lettuce and of Jewel food stores in the Chicago area.

The farm workers carried red and black flags in mourning for the two UFW members recently slain, as well as the familiar red UFW flags with the Aztec eagle.

Chants of "Huelga," "Si, Se Puede," and "Chávez Si, Teamsters No" rang out as the farm workers handed leaflets to shoppers watching the demonstration.

Other trade-union contingents were from the Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union; American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees; American Federation of Government Employees; Chicago Teachers Union; and the postal workers.

A group of teachers marched behind a banner that insisted, "Quality Education Is Not Inflationary."

There was also a women's contingent of about 100, primarily members of NOW (National Organization for Women) and Women Employed, a group that has launched a drive to



Crowd of several thousand at Sept. 8 rally cheered as speakers called for continued action against Nixon's budget cuts, inflation, and unemployment.

organize female office workers.

Three busloads of elderly people participated in the demonstration.

In addition to hundreds of Coalition placards listing the demonstration's three demands—"Jobs for all! End unfair taxes! End high prices!"—demonstrators brought their own signs. Some demanded, "End war spending now!"

One child carried a sign lamenting the effects of inflation: "I can't buy a 5¢ candy bar any more."

Significant action

This demonstration came just days after Nixon's veto of the minimum-wage hike and the announcement of a record jump in the wholesale prices, and on the eve of the strike deadline in the UAW negotiations. It was the result of joint action by Black organizations and a number of trade unions to protest the declining standard of living of working people.

The significant Black turnout pointed up the fact that inflation, unemployment, and cuts in social-service spending strike hardest at the Black community.

The size of the demonstration is especially significant considering that there was little more than a month's time for building it, and that during this time most schools were closed. Students had been the main forces in social protest actions in recent years. This demonstration was predominantly working people, most in their thirties.

The rally at Grant Park was chaired by Reverend Jack Mendelsohn and Charles Hayes of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters. Hayes said, "We realize that the only language that people who are in positions of power understand is that of protest."

The crowd applauded enthusiastically when Hayes asserted that the march was only a beginning, the first of many in cities across the country. He said the protests might well culminate in a national demonstration in Washington.

Jack Edwards, an international vice-president of the UAW, compared the Chicago march to the civil rights actions led by Martin Luther King a decade ago. He said the injustices the civil rights movement fought against had still not been corrected for millions of Americans.

"We in the UAW are greatly heartened by the solidarity that is reflected in this march for jobs and justice," said Edwards.

The best-received speaker was Jesse

Jackson, director of Operation PUSH. Jackson said, "In the five years since Martin Luther King's assassination we have seen a program of distorted national priorities enforced on our country, and the national interest violated behind slogans of 'law and order' and 'peace with honor.'"

"The continued killings in Cambodia; funds for libraries cut from the federal budget; health and education legislation vetoed; police agents planted by the government inside various people's organizations to act as spies and provocateurs; the private phones of civil rights and peace leaders tapped; and common burglaries ordered from the White House—this is more than political bankruptcy. It is time for the real America to stand up and fight back."

Jackson said by the real America he meant the movements for social change led by Blacks, Chicanos, youth, women, and especially "working men and women who have battled over the years against exploitation and for the right to decent standards of living."

Robert Healey of the Chicago Teachers Union scored Nixon's veto of three education bills. "These vetoes," he said, "victimize education; they destroy reading programs; they cut aid to handicapped children; they cut adult education programs; they mean larger classes with fewer supplies and textbooks for your children."

Nixon has invented two types of money to justify his vetoes, Healey charged. "Money for schools and money for a minimum wage, that's inflationary money," he said. "But money for guns and missiles and money for profits somehow isn't inflationary money. We have to say no to that."

The inflationary effects of war spending and the model of mass street demonstrations provided by the antiwar movement were underscored by Steve Clark, who spoke for the Student Mobilization Committee.

"Demonstrations like today take us a big step forward," he said. "We have learned over and over again that we can only rely on our own united power. . . ."

"Let's tell Washington that we want to get U.S. troops out of Indochina and everywhere else, completely and now. Not one more cent of aid to those petty crooks and dictators. We can put that war money to a lot of good use in our cities."

Gustavo Gutierrez of the United Farm Workers hailed the significance of the demonstration. He also reported that "in the last few weeks over 500 farm workers have left the fields of California and Arizona and have spread like a prairie fire over this country."

"They are going to tell the people about the injustice, to tell the people about the police brutality, to tell the people *Ya Basta!* [Enough] to police oppression and inequality for our people."

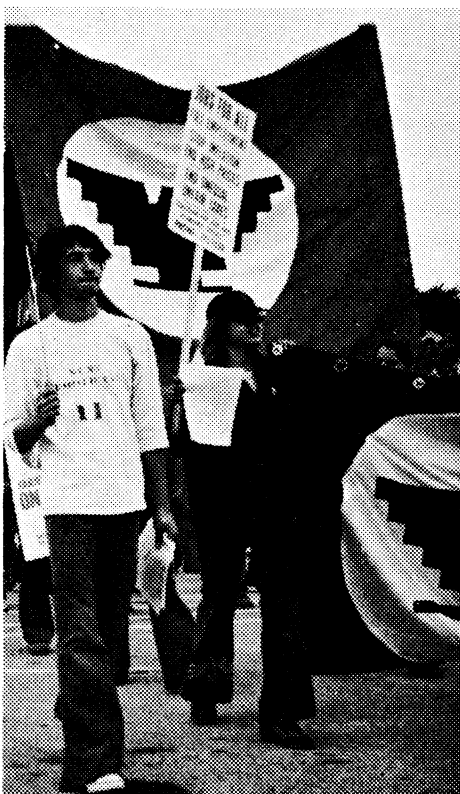
The *Militant* was greeted enthusiastically by both participants and onlookers at the Sept. 8 anti-inflation march and rally. Nearly 500 copies of the Sept. 14 issue, featuring "A socialist program to fight skyrocketing prices," were sold.

One hundred and forty copies of the *Young Socialist*, monthly newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance, were sold at the demonstration. Fifty copies of socialist pamphlets dealing with inflation and other issues before the labor movement were also sold.

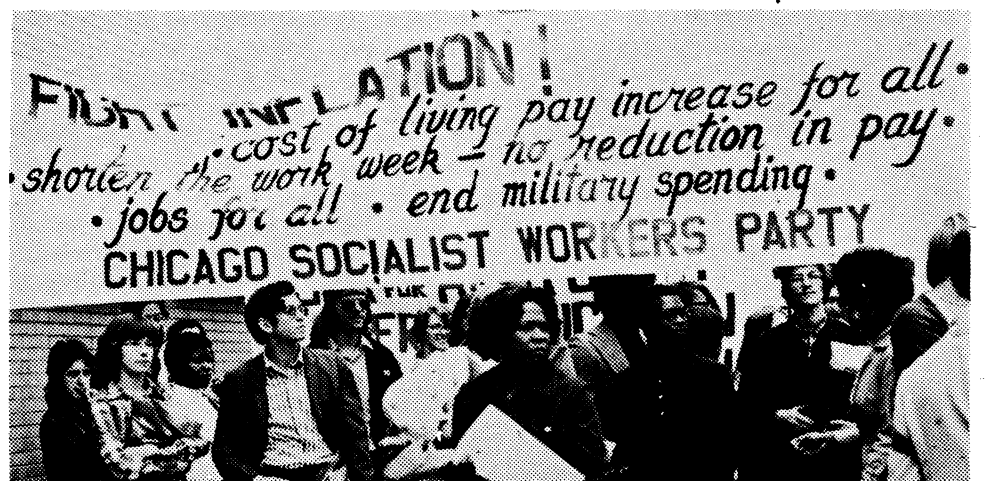
Following the rally, 130 people, including 30 farm workers, went to a movement center organized by the SWP and the YSA. They heard talks by Gustavo Gutierrez, United Farm Workers organizer, and Maceo Dixon, SWP candidate for mayor of Detroit.

Gutierrez called on the crowd to support the UFW-called boycott of lettuce and grapes. The rally cheered enthusiastically as Gutierrez, in a dramatic gesture, threw lettuce and grapes off the speaker's platform to symbolize the boycott in support of the UFW.

Other speakers included James Compton of the Chicago Urban League, Reverend Calvin Morris of the Martin Luther King Jr. Foundation for Social Change, William Lucy of AFSCME, Andrew Barrett of the Chicago NAACP, Ruby Mabry of the Illinois Welfare Rights Organization, and Democratic Congressman Ralph Metcalfe.



Militant/Mike Kelly



Militant/Bruce Bloy

From Intercontinental Press
By LESEVANS

The official communiqué describes the Tenth National Congress of the Chinese Communist party, held in Peking August 24-28, as "a congress of unity, a congress of victory and a congress full of vigour." It is understandable that a party that has gone through two major splits and purges within its topmost leadership in less than seven years would want to con-

death of Mao by the addition of a few younger members to the party's leading bodies—"successors" to the aging leadership.

The Indictment of Lin Piao

Chou's enumeration of the charges against Mao's former "close comrade-in-arms" followed the usual Stalinist technique of slander:

"Lin Piao and his handful of sworn followers were a counter-revolutionary conspiratorial clique. . . . The essence of the counter-revolutionary revision-

adulatory praise for his "close comrade-in-arms," and the inclusion of Lin's title to the succession in the party constitution adopted at the Ninth Congress in April 1969.

Chou was aware that his listeners were all too familiar with this record. This led him to seek to obliterate Lin's accomplishments from the very beginning:

"Lin Piao, this bourgeois careerist, conspirator and double-dealer, engaged in machinations within our party not just for one decade but for

Until there is some independent confirmation, it would seem only wise to treat with considerable skepticism the claim that Lin sought Mao's death. One of the central aims of the Cultural Revolution was the replacement of the Political Bureau, led by Liu Shao-chi, with the personal regime of Mao, in the pattern of Stalin's consolidation of his personal dictatorship through the purges of the late 1930s. Lin Piao served as an instrument in the elimination of the Liu faction.

From the standpoint of method there are other indications that more remains to be told, both about the fate of Lin Piao and about the underlying considerations of the Tenth Party Congress. Lin, after all, was Mao's designated heir. Even if he had been denied the post of head of state, he had only to wait for Mao's death to assume the leadership of the party. What concrete policy differences did he hold that brought him into conflict with Mao and Chou and made him so impatient? This is a murky area.

Obviously the predominance of the People's Liberation Army in the provincial Revolutionary Committees was a major factor, although an organizational one. But this near hegemony has been only slightly reduced by the purge of Lin's followers. Military figures such as Yeh Chien-ying, de facto defense minister, and Li Teh-sheng, political commissar of the army, are prominently represented in the newly elected all-powerful Standing Committee of the Politbureau.

More specific charges (without mentioning Lin by name) were made in the August 1972 issue of the CCP's theoretical journal *Red Flag*, which accused Lin (referred to by the code words "Liu Shao-chi and other swindlers") of fostering "ultrademocracy, disregard of organisational discipline, absolute egalitarianism, individualism, and 'small-group' mentality." He has also been charged with opposing the elevation of the Soviet Union to the status of public enemy number one, insisting instead on equal billing for the Kremlin and American imperialism. He was said to have opposed, as a corollary, the détente with Nixon ("Chairman Mao's revolutionary diplomatic line") at the expense of the Vietnamese revolution.

The truth of these charges is difficult to evaluate. By associating these "sins" with Lin's name, the party leadership can declare them to be heresies without inviting embarrassing comparisons with many of Mao's promises and appeals during the Cultural Revolution. The campaign against "ultra-leftism" has been energetically pursued in the Chinese press since Lin's fall. It is certainly convenient to link the deceased "traitor" with the more immediate opponents of the party's monolithism among the intellectuals and the students who are still being deported to remote areas of the countryside.

The Tenth Congress thus marked a definitive break from the antibureaucratic verbiage of the Ninth Congress. This was signified not only by the choice of epithets hurled at the corpse of Lin Piao, but by the expulsion of Mao's long-time personal secretary Chen Po-ta, a guiding light of the "leftist" phase of the Cultural Revolution. In defiance of all the known facts, the recent congress denounced Chen as, among other things, a "Trotskyite," despite his long literary career as a sycophant of Stalin and Stalinism.

These charges are not really aimed at either Lin or Chen, or any other sector of the bureaucracy. They are meant to outlaw the more radical of the Red Guard groups and their sympathizers, an action organizationally symbolized by the recent resurrection, under firm party control, of the moribund Young Communist League.

The attacks on "ultra-leftism" have had another target as well, however,

China's 10th party congress consolidates Stalin-style purge



A 1967 photo of Mao (left) with his then 'comrade-in-arms' Lin Piao and Chou En-lai (right).

vey such an impression of well-being. What lies beneath the surface is undoubtedly more complex.

The congress, only the third since 1945, was perhaps the shortest in the party's history. Held behind closed doors and without advance notice, its deliberations were confined to an extraordinarily small two-item agenda: a brief political report by Premier Chou En-lai, which was primarily devoted to reviling former Defense Minister Lin Piao, hero of the previous congress of 1969; and a revision of the party's constitution presented by a relative newcomer to the leadership, Shanghai "model worker" Wang Hung-wen. A new Central Committee, Political Bureau, and Political Bureau Standing Committee were elected.

The congress had several limited and specific purposes. These did not include any discussion of national economic policies. Chou's comments on this question were limited to four sentences: "Our country's industry, agriculture, transportation, finance and trade are doing well. We have neither external nor internal debts. Prices are stable and the market is flourishing. There are many new achievements in culture, education, public health, science and technology." (Hsinhua, September 1 dispatch.) The very generality of the claims suggested their ritual character.

The real business of the congress consisted of the public and official posthumous expulsion of Lin Piao, and his surviving supporters, from the party; the declaration of an anathema against the young radicals who took Mao's demagogic pronouncements against bureaucracy during the Cultural Revolution for good coin and tried to implement them; the reassuring of the secondary echelons of the bureaucracy that they enjoyed the support and protection of the top leadership; and the organizational preparation for the eventual

ist line they pursued and the criminal aim of the counter-revolutionary armed coup d'état they launched were to usurp the supreme power of the party and the state, thoroughly betray the line of the Ninth Congress, radically change the party's basic line and policies for the entire historical period of socialism, turn the Marxist-Leninist Chinese Communist Party into a revisionist, fascist party, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. Inside China, they wanted to reinstate the landlord and bourgeois classes, which our party, army and people had overthrown with their own hands under the leadership of Chairman Mao, and to institute a feudal-comprador-fascist dictatorship. Internationally, they wanted to capitulate to Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and ally themselves with imperialism, revisionism and reaction to oppose China, Communism and revolution." (Hsinhua, September 1.)

Without some genuine evidence—not supplied by Chou or the Chinese press—it is, of course, impossible to know whether Lin actually plotted a coup against Mao in September 1971. It is noteworthy that none of the survivors of the alleged attempt were permitted to appeal their expulsion to the Tenth Party Congress. Nor has there been a public trial, even a frame-up show trial of the type staged by Stalin in Moscow in the 1930s, in which some attempt to present the government's case could be made.

Lin's record, going back to the 1920s, is that of a military commander and Stalinist official. The claim that he sought to institute a "feudal-comprador-fascist dictatorship" is not only politically absurd but highly damaging to the CCP leadership itself. Lin, after all, joined the party in 1925.

This is not to mention Mao's appearances at Lin's side during the Cultural Revolution, the chairman's

several decades." His proof was to dredge up a long-forgotten criticism of Lin by Mao made in January 1930—when Lin was twenty-three years old! The full import of this kind of reasoning is difficult to grasp at one shot.

The Maoists claim that China is a socialist society. They insist that their party consciously and carefully selects cadres on the basis of the clearest and most revolutionary program in the world. This is not true, of course: The CCP is a Stalinist party run on bureaucratic-centralist rather than Leninist democratic-centralist lines. But imagine the impact even in a bourgeois party of an announcement that, for example, Winston Churchill was really an agent of Hitler who, after defeating Hitler on the battlefield, sought to assassinate King George VI in order to establish a Nazi dictatorship in collaboration with the house of Hapsburg.

Chou's explanation of Lin Piao's program and motives is the crudest kind of conspiracy theory of history, to be swallowed only by those gullible enough to believe anything.

Why the Purge of Lin?

It is two years since Lin allegedly died in a plane crash in Mongolia while trying to flee to the Soviet Union. It has taken the Maoist hierarchy that long to come up with what it evidently considers to be a convincing explanation of the events surrounding Lin's downfall.

It should be remembered that the first public announcement of Lin's death did not come until July 1972, and then it was made to the world press through the Chinese embassy in Algiers and was not published inside China. Chou's report is the first presented to the Chinese people that attacks Lin by name. (For the last year, however, the Chinese press has carried articles repudiating the policies of "Liu Shao-chi and other swindlers," a code word for Lin Piao.)

and this is what has made the lower echelons of the bureaucracy uneasy and in need of reassurance. In addition to the genuine radicals and "egalitarians" who have received a drubbing, the Maoist high command has had to make a small but significant retreat from certain of its supercentralizing projects of the Cultural Revolution, projects it now brands as "ultra-left" and blames on Lin Piao and Chen Po-ta.

One of Mao's intentions in opposing the "material incentives" favored by Liu Shao-chi was to hold down wages in general (he was never opposed to a large spread in the wages paid, granting the bureaucracy a font of special privileges). The Chinese press for some years has called on the masses to practice "plain living" and "frugality." Nevertheless, under the impact of bad weather from 1971 onward, the regime was forced to raise the price for industrial crops and to advocate equal pay for women farmworkers in order to win their contributions to the labor force.

Furthermore, a retreat was made in efforts to centralize decision-making at the commune rather than village level. This was a pet Maoist project initiated in 1958 during the Great Leap Forward. During the retreat under Liu Shao-chi from 1959 onward, the communes, while existing in name and performing some functions, yielded most of their decision-making power on wages and the disposal of the crops to the village-centered production teams.

The Need for Stability

Mao and Chou sought to limit as much as possible the dislocations arising within the bureaucracy from the dumping of Lin Piao and the relatively small policy shift indicated above. In the fight with Liu Shao-chi, many of Liu's supporters were purged from the leadership and from the party. Clearly, many officials who had worked under Lin and Chen feared similar reprisals. The need to ensure stability—primarily to prevent the masses from intervening in the intrabureaucratic dispute as they had done to some extent in 1966-68—was predominant in the staging of the Tenth Party Congress.

This was one of the reasons for the much publicized rehabilitation of a number of high "Liuist" officials at the congress.

The returnees, however, like those who survived the 1969 purge, are part of the aging and ossified old guard of Chinese Stalinism. The required image of stability could not be maintained without some show of preparation for a transition in leadership on the death of Mao and Chou.

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Congress attacks on 'ultraleftism' were aimed at suppressing vestiges of radicalism or independent thought engendered among the Red Guards (above) during the 'Great Cultural Revolution.'

U.S. issues warning to Hanoi about airfields in S. Vietnam

By DICK ROBERTS

SEPT. 11—The U.S. embassy in Saigon has given North Vietnam a "grave" warning against the alleged buildup of air forces in rebel-held areas of South Vietnam. It is the height of hypocrisy.

Washington has supplied the Thieu dictatorship in Saigon with the third largest air force in the world. Bombers furnished by the U.S. are being used against revolutionary forces in Cambodia today. U.S. financial and military support is the sole reason for the present existence of the corrupt and hated regimes in Phnompenh and Saigon.

According to the Associated Press, photographs released in Saigon "showed the biggest North Vietnamese buildup at Khe Sanh, a former U.S. Marine base in the northwestern quarter of South Vietnam, bordering Laos on the west and the demilitarized zone to the north. . . .

"The photos showed a new airstrip at Khe Sanh which South Vietnamese officials said is 1900-yards long, capable of handling Soviet-built MIG-21 jets.

"Other photos of Khe Sanh showed surface to air missile sites, Soviet-built 130mm artillery guns, 37mm anti-aircraft guns along Highway 9 leading to the base from the Laotian border, and a long convoy of vehicles which the South Vietnamese said were supply trucks."

Reading these lines one should recall that from the time of the secret U.S. penetration of North Vietnam during the 1954 Geneva Accords until Lyndon Johnson ordered the open bombing of North Vietnam in 1965, U.S. aggression was justified by the claim that North Vietnamese troops had "infiltrated" South Vietnam.

The Pentagon papers revealed that the first regimental-size unit of North Vietnamese troops actually located by U.S. intelligence services in South Vietnam was in 1965 itself—after the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam began.

It is becoming increasingly clear that U.S. military sources are worried by the Thieu regime's inability to crush rebel forces in the areas of South Vietnam that the rebels have held since the imposed settlement.

New York Times correspondent Joseph Treaster wrote from Saigon Aug. 26 that "the leaders in Hanoi appar-

ently have decided to concentrate on developing the territory they hold in South Vietnam and defending it against Saigon Government forces. . . .

"Each side has its own interpretation of the vague Paris agreement, and neither has been willing to compromise significantly. The prognosis, militarily and politically, is for more of the same for a long time to come."

Cambodia

Meanwhile heavy fighting has continued in Kompong Cham, Cambodia's third largest city, for most of the week. But as yet the battle appears to be inconclusive.



U.S. hypocritically charges Hanoi is violating Paris accords by building up air power. The U.S. supplied Thieu with third largest air force in the world.

As of Sept. 8, rebel forces had seized the southern part of the city, once the center of France's colonial rubber empire. By Sept. 10, the Lon Nol government was declaring that it had retaken parts of Kompong Cham.

The battle has demonstrated the crucial reliance of Lon Nol's forces on U.S. military hardware, including artillery, naval ships, helicopters, and bombers. Americans in uniform have also increasingly been seen in Cambodian battlefields, *New York Times* Phnompenh correspondent Malcolm Browne reported Sept. 4.

The low morale of Lon Nol's troops and the corruption of his officers continues to worry U.S. military officials. Jacques Leslie of the *Los Angeles Times* reported Sept. 3 that the

Phnompenh "army's deficiencies include poorly motivated and undisciplined soldiers, inexperienced and corrupt officers, inadequate training and bad organization."

Using the initials FANK (Forces Armées Nationales Khmeres) for the Lon Nol troops, Leslie continued, "Many of FANK's senior officers are carry-overs from before the coup and are the chief beneficiaries of FANK's well-known corruption. Among the tricks devised to facilitate corruption are phantom soldiers (non-existent ones whose names are on the payroll so that officers may pocket their salaries) and flower soldiers (men who do not fight but appear on payday and return a portion of their

salaries to the officers). Some officers withhold salaries long enough to loan the money and collect interest, and some accept bribes to reassign soldiers away from dangerous posts."

According to Leslie, hope resides for Phnompenh in the belief that the "well-motivated" revolutionary forces may lack the weapons to take the capital city. In any event, Lon Nol's officers will rely on U.S. troop transport planes to fly in reinforcements from elsewhere in Cambodia if the need arises. Even here, however, there is a hitch.

"That plan may not work," Leslie reports, "for some regional commanders, who exhibit some characteristics of warlords, may not allow their troops to go to Phnom Penh."

Secrecy is Kissinger's style

SEPT. 11—As the secretary of state who was going to be open and truthful about U.S. foreign policy, Henry Kissinger hasn't gotten very far. His nomination for the job hasn't yet been approved by the U.S. Senate.

But already both Kissinger and the senators have locked themselves up in a series of secret sessions to discuss Kissinger's role in wiretapping 17 officials and newsmen from 1969 to 1971, as well as other secret activities Kissinger undertook.

The Justice Department has refused to allow the Foreign Relations Committee, which must approve the Kissinger nomination, to review the full FBI files on the wiretaps. Kissinger concurs with keeping this information secret.

It has also been disclosed in the Foreign Relations Committee hearings that Kissinger was the chairman of the secret "Forty Committee" that was in charge of approving clandestine counterrevolutionary activities of the CIA. Kissinger said the committee "deals exclusively with what are called covert

operations." Kissinger wants to keep this information secret too.

However Kissinger did make one interesting comment in the foreign relations hearings. According to today's *New York Times*, Senator George McGovern asked Kissinger whether any assassinations or coups were undertaken by the "Forty Committee" under the Nixon administration.

Kissinger replied, "I would say our genius does not reside in clandestine activities on a broad scale."

One has to have the peculiar point of view of a top agent of U.S. imperialism to understand this remark. It's OK to stick daggers in the back on a small scale, whatever that is. And apparently such CIA-supported activities as the murderous 1970 "Black September" massacre of Palestinian refugees in Jordan was not "on a broad scale," although more than 20,000 refugees were gunned down in the U.S.-plotted operation.

Or maybe Kissinger is lying about the scale of secret U.S. counterrevolutionary activity.

Meanwhile there has been a new disclosure on the secret bombing of Cambodia, which also took place while Kissinger chaired the "Forty Committee." It had previously been revealed that U.S. bombing raids were directed at supposed North Vietnamese "infiltrators" who were allegedly based in Cambodia while fighting in South Vietnam.

Now it has been revealed that, in addition, "United States fighter-bombers flew air strikes in support of the Cambodian Government in 1970 and 1971," according to the *New York Times*. The Pentagon admitted the raids and acknowledged that the attacks had been kept secret from the American people through a "system of dual reports" similar to the method used to coverup the 1969 and 1970 secret raids that were finally uncovered only a few months ago.

By the way, the "Cambodian Government" the secret raids were aiding is also a creation of Kissinger's secret "Forty Committee." —D.R.

Meany's Labor Day message

Watergate and the labor bureaucracy

By ANDY ROSE

Watergate holds the attention of everyone, but most top union officials have been maintaining a "dignified silence" about the whole affair. Corruption in high places is nothing new to them, and their survival instinct tells them to withhold comment.

A small minority of the bureaucrats—including Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons, Paul Hall of the Seafarers International Union, and Labor Secretary Peter Brennan—all of whom openly backed Nixon in the elections last year, are apparently wil-

certain to be a topic. Meanwhile, Hall keeps prudently silent about Watergate.

Some other labor leaders turned up on Nixon's "enemies list," including Leonard Woodcock of the United Auto Workers; Jerry Wurf of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); Paul Jennings of the International Union of Electrical Workers; Al Barkan, head of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education; and Harold Gibbons, recently ousted as head of the Teamsters Central States Conference by Fitzsimmons. But the protests from

militant traditions of the union struggles. "From its earliest days," he informs us, "the American labor movement has been a movement of dissent. . . . Unions have never been very popular with 'the establishment'—for dissent is never popular with those who have much and intend to keep it all. . . ."

"Workers have been on the wrong end of billy clubs, guns, fists, attack dogs and tear gas. Private and public armies have tried to intimidate workers and their unions.

"Courts have enjoined workers from exercising their rights, and police have enforced these injunctions with violence and, sometimes, with death. But workers were not deterred."

Meany is right. Buggings, informers, sabotage, provocateurs, violence—all this and more could be cited in the history of government and boss attacks on the labor movement, from the Haymarket martyrs through the frame-ups of Sacco and Vanzetti, Mooney and Billings, and many others.

Unconstitutional thought-control legislation, like the Smith Act and the anticommunist clauses in the Taft-Hartley Act, was enacted in the 1940s for use against the unions. So was the attorney general's list of "subversive" organizations.

Watergate-style attacks have been directed against labor right down to the present time, when the government is using injunctions, mass arrests, and police violence to crush the United Farm Workers Union.

It is also true that the tradition of the militant labor movement, like the early CIO, is to fight for democratic rights and a host of other social issues as well.

Bureaucrats' record

But Meany to the contrary, the record of the union bureaucrats as defenders of civil liberties will hardly bear scrutiny. They have always been willing to sacrifice democratic rights in order to maintain their own control.

A prime example of this was the bureaucracy's enthusiastic use of anti-communist legislation to witch-hunt militants out of the unions during the cold war.

Today Meany professes to reject Nixon's "national security" alibi for Watergate, but "national security" was precisely the justification eagerly grabbed by the bureaucrats to purge the CIO of radicals in the late 1940s.

To this day the labor fakers rule their own domains through deception, bribery, and denial of rights to the union membership. They evade rank-and-file control at every step. They negotiate with the bosses in secret, and in many unions the members cannot even vote on their own contracts.

Nothing has been heard from Meany in defense of the civil liberties of the antiwar activists or the Black and Chicano militants illegally harassed and jailed by the Nixon administration—for the simple reason that the racist, pro-war Meany supported Nixon's policies every step of the way.

In his Labor Day address, Meany even pretends to defend the right to strike. "Strikes are an inconvenience," he says. "But the public's right not to be inconvenienced certainly is not paramount to the individual's right to be free."

But Meany's defense of the right to strike is strictly rhetoric for internal consumption, something the workers can chew on while meat is priced out of their menu.

"Mr. Labor" fails to mention the most immediate and pressing attack on the

rights of the unions: the wage controls.

Meany himself supports "wage-price" controls, he just wants them "fairer." He and his sidekicks even continue to lend authority to the controls by sitting on advisory boards for Nixon's antilabor Cost of Living Council.

In the face of this intolerable restriction on the unions' rights, making it illegal for the workers to protect themselves against inflation robbery, the bureaucrats have done nothing more than issue a few mildly critical press statements.

Meany's claim to be concerned about growing infringements of individual liberties is pure cant. What really worries is that confidence in the capitalist system will be further undermined and his job of holding the workers in check thereby made more difficult.

Balancing act

Meany's Labor Day message is a careful balancing act. On the one hand, to maintain his credibility and cover up his own complicity with Nixon's crimes he must echo the outrage of American workers at the violations of democratic rights that have been exposed.

On the other hand, as a fervent defender of the capitalist system he must try to head off the logical conclusion that both the Democrats and Republicans rule by fraud, theft, and violence as a matter of course.

Meany asserts, "To be free, workers must live in a system where people are more important than wealth. And, in the final analysis, that is just what a democracy is all about."

But the real lesson of the Watergate revelations is that the capitalist system is *not* democratic, and that under capitalism wealth is *always* more important than human needs.

Meany scores a number of correct points on the police-state implications of Nixon's actions and the danger they pose for the unions. Indeed, when the labor movement breaks out of the straitjacket imposed by the bureaucracy and begins a serious fight for

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Militant/Miguel Pendas

Teamsters President Fitzsimmons, still loyal to Nixon, has his own Watergate. His efforts to crush United Farm Workers have met widespread condemnation in labor movement, including by rank-and-file Teamsters.

ling to stick it out with him despite Watergate.

All are notoriously corrupt, racist, and reactionary, but they may have other reasons for staying on the Nixon team, like self-preservation.

Take Fitzsimmons, who said in relation to Watergate, "There is no time like the present to support our leaders and uphold the dignities and morals of our country."

Fitzsimmons has been an ardent Nixon supporter ever since 1971, when Nixon paroled Teamster ex-president James Hoffa. The Teamster officialdom reportedly channeled hundreds of thousands of dollars of union money into Nixon's reelection fund.

In addition, they are doing the bosses' dirty work by helping the California growers in their attempt to crush the United Farm Workers Union. This disgraceful union-busting by the Teamster bureaucracy could aptly be called the Watergate of the labor movement.

In return the White House protects these larcenous fakers. Nixon called off an FBI investigation into Teamster-Mafia looting of the union pension fund. But Fitzsimmons knows that if he gets out of line, the FBI file on him just might turn up in court some day.

Paul Hall's Seafarers Union was indicted by the Nixon administration for illegal union contributions to both capitalist parties in 1968. But the Justice Department, under John Mitchell, failed to pursue the case and it was dismissed last fall.

A few weeks later the SIU put up \$100,000 for Nixon's reelection campaign. This \$100,000 was borrowed from the Chemical Bank of New York, whose chairman, Harold Helm, also happened to be co-chairman of the Nixon finance committee.

The next round of the Senate Watergate hearings will go into campaign financing, and union contributions are

this group have been mild.

Jennings said he hoped the Watergate hearings "will undo the damage that has been done to our democracy by the whole Watergate syndrome."

Barkan used stronger language, accusing Nixon of complicity in the entire Watergate scandal. "There is no question he was involved in the attempt to cover-up," Barkan said.

Meany on Labor Day

Now AFL-CIO President George Meany has ventured some thoughts on the subject in a Labor Day message entitled "Individual Rights Essential to Free Unions." Although the words "Watergate" and "Nixon" never appear in his message, it may fairly be presumed to concern the present controversy.

Neither the tardiness of Meany's comments, nor their discretion, is surprising. After all, Meany was "neutral" in favor of Nixon in the '72 elections. He hoped that by backing a sure winner he might expect some favors from the White House later.

Now, much to his embarrassment, Meany finds that the wind has shifted. The polls show Nixon's popularity sinking to an all-time low. The majority of people, including the majority of union members, think the president personally ordered or at least helped cover up a slew of illegal campaign activities.

Meany feels constrained to speak out, lest he appear too far out of touch with what the workers are thinking.

He takes as his theme the importance of democratic rights to the labor movement. He writes, "Freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, the right of privacy—these are not just nice conveniences; they are the fundamental elements of a free trade union movement." In this, of course, Meany could not be more correct.

Meany tries to link himself to the



MEANY: Supported Nixon, but Watergate has him worried.

White House wanted to 'nail Ellsberg cold'

Ehrlichman, Mitchell face W'gate trials

"The time has come to turn Watergate over to the courts," Nixon declared last month. As several Watergate trials went into motion this week, it remained to be seen if Nixon's hopes of burying the scandal in the courts would work.

One of the most significant of the Watergate cases is the trial of former attorney general John Mitchell and ex-Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans. On Sept. 11, their lawyers won a delay

in the deal. "According to the indictment," said the Sept. 9 *New York Times*, "Mr. Vesco sent a memorandum to F. Donald Nixon . . . threatening to disclose the secret campaign contribution unless the S.E.C. [Securities and Exchange Commission] dropped its investigation."

F. Donald is apparently so careless about getting caught in embarrassing situations like this that Nixon secretly

reporters that the illegal entry was explained to him as being of "extraordinary national importance."

In the wake of the indictments in the Ellsberg case, the transcript of a conversation between ex-White House aide Charles Colson and E. Howard Hunt has come to light. Hunt also faces charges in the Ellsberg burglary.

Colson talked to Hunt on July 1, 1971, about the Pentagon papers case. Several days later the White House hired Hunt as a special "consultant."

In their phone conversation, according to the transcript now in the hands of the Senate Watergate committee, Colson told Hunt, "we should go down the line to nail the guy [Ellsberg] cold."

Colson feared, correctly, that Ellsberg's release of the Pentagon papers would make him a hero for exposing U.S. war aims. Colson was looking for a way to divert guilt from the government by framing up Ellsberg.

Thus, Colson explained to Hunt: "Ellsberg could be turned into a martyr of the New Left—he probably will be anyway—or it could become another Alger Hiss case, where the guy is exposed, other people were operating with him, and this may be the way to really carry it out."

"We might be able to put this bastard into a hell of a situation and discredit the New Left," he suggested.

When the Senate Watergate committee reconvenes next week, Colson will be the first witness. The senators are expected to question him about his role in the Ellsberg burglary in light of his conversation with Hunt.

The committee also plans to hear witnesses on "dirty tricks" in the 1972 presidential campaign and on illegal campaign financing. Senator Sam Ervin, head of the committee, now says he wants the hearings to end by Nov. 1.

Whether or not the Senate committee will take up the contents of Nixon's still-secret tapes remains undecided. On Sept. 11, the U.S. Court of Appeals heard opening arguments in the tapes dispute. The White House is appealing Judge John Sirica's demand for access to the tapes of Nixon's private meetings.

New revelations indicate that the

president indeed has something to fear in giving up the tapes. According to *New York Times* reporter James Naughton, "President Nixon asked the White House to fly one of the Watergate tape recordings to his home in California at midnight on one of the five days that John W. Dean 3d testified before the Senate Watergate committee. . . ."

Later, "the President discarded the plan but had one of his Watergate lawyers listen to the recording at the White House and then brief him on its contents," Naughton continues.

The tape that concerned Nixon was a recording of an April 15 meeting between himself and Dean. "Mr. Dean had testified that he had become suspicious that the President was recording the April 15 conversation when Mr. Nixon asked him a number of leading questions. . . ." Naughton writes. It was during this meeting, Dean testified, that Nixon discussed giving executive clemency to jailed Watergater E. Howard Hunt.

To this day, Nixon insists that he never considered offering clemency to any of the Watergate burglars. The urgency he felt this summer during Dean's testimony leaves more than a little doubt about the truth of this statement.



B. Alpert

Mitchell during testimony at Senate Watergate hearings. Former attorney general now faces trial in Vesco stock-swindle case.

in the opening of the trial for at least a month, based on claims of "lack of time" to prepare their defense.

Mitchell and Stans are charged with obstructing the fraud investigation of financier Robert Vesco in exchange for Vesco's \$200,000 donation to the Nixon reelection campaign of 1972. This is the first cabinet-level indictment since the 1920s, the time of the Teapot Dome scandal.

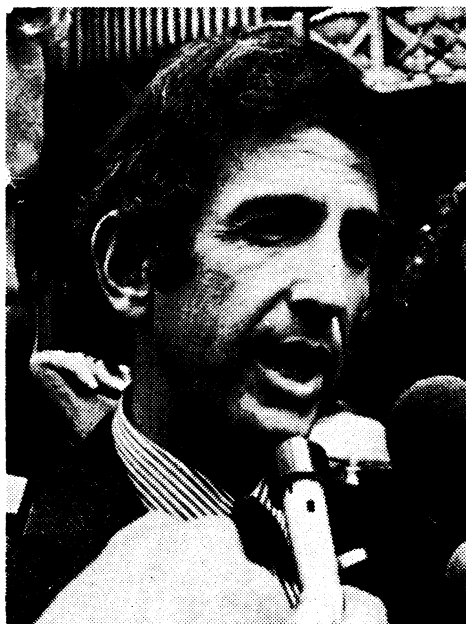
The current case also threatens to implicate a few of Nixon's relatives. The president's nephew, Donald Nixon, worked as Vesco's personal aide. Edward Nixon, the president's younger brother, has been implicated in the arrangement of Vesco's \$200,000 bribe.

F. Donald Nixon, the older brother of the president, was also involved

installed wiretaps on his phone. Among other things, the president wanted to monitor F. Donald's dealings with business associates of billionaire Howard Hughes.

Meanwhile, in Los Angeles, pretrial hearings will begin Sept. 20 in the Ellsberg burglary case. Nixon's former top domestic advisor John Ehrlichman and other government aides are charged with the Sept. 3, 1971, break-in at the office of Dr. Lewis Fielding, Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist.

Ehrlichman has denied that he ordered the break-in. But Egil Krogh, another defendant in the upcoming trial and a former White House "plumber," has told U.S. prosecutors that Ehrlichman gave "general authorization" for the burglary. Krogh told



ELLSBERG: White House wanted to make him 'another Alger Hiss.'

'Mr. San Diego of the Century'

While the Watergate scandal has exposed many of Nixon's closest White House aides as crooks, the big millionaires who put him in office have generally remained unscathed. But now one of these capitalists is coming under public scrutiny—Nixon's 25-year personal friend and political backer, C. Arnholt Smith.

The chairman of the Southern California Republican Finance Committee, Smith is one of San Diego's most prominent businessmen. In fact, he has been named "Mr. San Diego of the Century."

"Arnie Smith was one of our first supporters," Pat Nixon once said. The 74-year-old Smith has been in the background throughout the president's career. In 1968, he raised more than \$1-million for Nixon's campaign, and in 1972 he came through with three times as much.

An article by Denny Walsh in the Sept. 10 *New York Times*, and a story by Lowell Bergman and Maxwell Robach in the October *Ramparts* have brought to light the other side of

Smith's career—his dealings with the Southern California Mafia and the corrupt Teamster officialdom.

Smith owns controlling interests in the Westgate-California Corporation and the United States National Bank. Westgate, according to the *Times*, is "the conglomerate . . . whose interests include the third largest packer of tuna in the nation and taxi companies with monopoly or near monopoly situations in every major California city and Phoenix." U.S. National has 63 California branches and one in the Bahamas.

How much does it all add up to in personal income? The Internal Revenue Service says quite a bit—in August Smith was charged with income tax evasion to the tune of \$22.8-million for the single year of 1969!

Other federal investigations are looking into some of Smith's shady business associates. These include:

- John Donnelley, Smith's lawyer and new appointee to Westgate's board of directors. In the 1960s Donnelley managed the Desert Inn Hotel and

Casino, a Mafia-owned outfit in Las Vegas eventually uncovered by the FBI.

- "Big John" Alessio, Smith's former partner in Westgate. Alessio won the title of "Mr. San Diego of 1964" before going to jail in the late 1960s for income-tax evasion. According to *Ramparts*, Alessio is the "reputed boss of San Diego's underworld."

- Lewis Lipton, a senior vice-president at U.S. National Bank. With Lipton's help, says the *Times*, "the Mafia established a line of credit some years ago at the bank and has been the beneficiary of hundreds of thousands of dollars in loans from United States National."

With friends like this, Smith has been in need of White House help more than once. In 1970, for example, Smith underlings, including Donnelley, were caught bribing San Diego Mayor Frank Curran and others in exchange for a hike in taxi fares.

Curran was indicted and Watergater John Dean, then a White House troubleshooter, had to intervene to pre-

vent an overzealous federal investigator from testifying at the trial. Nixon conveyed his sympathies to Curran, according to *Ramparts*. The president is said to have observed that "we in public life take a lot of knocks."

Smith's ties to the Mafia also shed some light on the underworld dealings of Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons. Watergate revelations have shown that Fitzsimmons has been conspiring with the Mafia to bilk Teamster pension funds. It now turns out that Smith's bank has handled \$10-million of those funds, says *Ramparts*.

Side by side with Fitzsimmons's account, Smith's bank has dealings with big growers like Hollis Roberts of Roberts Farms. As part of the agribusiness-Teamster drive to smash the United Farm Workers, Roberts recently dropped his contract with the UFW and re-signed with the Teamsters.

C. Arnholt Smith now faces several federal investigations into his financial empire. The facts that have emerged so far about this presidential patron are no doubt just the beginning.

...lessons of coup

Continued from page 1

that an essentially peaceful, electoral road to socialism was possible.

This ran counter to the Marxist-Leninist concept that the workers cannot establish socialism without replacing the state apparatus of the capitalist class with their own apparatus, including their own armed defense organizations. Workers can only achieve this in a struggle against the capitalist class, both native and foreign. Participation in bourgeois elections can serve only as an adjunct to mass extraparlimentary struggles under the leadership of a revolutionary party.

Marx and Engels believed that the army and police, along with the capitalist state apparatus as a whole, were instruments of capitalist rule. Marx wrote in 1871 that the task of the revolution is not "to transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one hand to another, but to *smash* it." (Emphasis in original.)

In an interview with the *New York Times* 100 years later, on March 28, 1971, Allende stated, "I have absolute confidence in the loyalty" of the armed forces. "Our forces are professional forces at the service of the state, the people. . . ."

Marx hailed the fact that "the first decree of the [Paris] Commune . . . was the suppression of the standing army, and the substitution for it of the armed people. . . ."

Luis Corvalan, general secretary of the Chilean Communist Party, stated even before the electoral victory of the Popular Unity coalition that the CP opposed proposals to arm the masses as being "equivalent to showing distrust in the army." The army, he explained, "is not invulnerable to the new winds blowing in Latin America and penetrating everywhere."

The Communist parties throughout the world held up Chile as a shining example, together with the capitalist pundits who praised Allende's "commitment to democracy" and "willingness to compromise."

The April 28, 1971, *New York Times* reported that the Soviet Communist Party's specialist on developing countries, Rostislav A. Ulyanovsky, called on colonial and semicolonial countries to follow Chile's example.

An editorial in the December 1970 issue of *Political Affairs*, the American CP's theoretical journal, termed the election of Allende a "transfer of power from the old ruling-class groups to the workers, to the peasantry and to the progressive sections of the middle class of the city and country." It concludes that we should look forward to similar coalitions in the U.S. as well.

The experience of Chile not only shows that the Marxist analysis of the state and the need for social revolution is correct; it also demonstrates once again that this perspective has been abandoned by the reformist Communist and Social Democratic parties the world over. And it underscores the need to build genuine revolutionary parties to replace these Judas goats, whose main function is to lead the masses to slaughter.

In Chile, large numbers of workers and peasants understood the importance of arming themselves for defense against a right-wing coup. Allende himself constantly referred to the danger of a coup. The problem was there was no mass revolutionary party willing and able to lead the masses in preparing for their own defense.

In order to arm and organize the masses—not in just one or two factories or towns, but throughout the country—it would have been necessary to challenge the political credibility of Allende and his regime, which stood for reliance on the army.

But except for the small Trotskyist nucleus in Chile, every left group politically supported Allende's popular front, with varying degrees of criticism. Since none of them were willing to repudiate the regime, none were capable of leading in the only action that could have prevented the coup and ensured further revolutionary gains for the Chilean people.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in the U.S., and the parties of the Fourth International elsewhere in the world, were alone in analyzing the true nature of the Allende regime and explaining in advance the dangers facing the Chilean masses. It is the construction of revolutionary parties based on their program that can prevent such defeats in the future.

Lesbian Feminist Liberation

I was dismayed to see that in the "In Brief" section of the Aug. 31 *Militant*, when listing the sponsors of the Aug. 25 women's liberation demonstration in New York, you did not mention one of the largest feminist organizations in the city—Lesbian Feminist Liberation (LFL). A small group like the Feminist Party was mentioned separately, while the LFL was only one of many "other women's organizations" sponsoring the action.

LFL held a demonstration Aug. 26 at the Museum of "Natural History" that was attended by more than 200 women and was reported in the *New York Daily News* on page 3! When has the Feminist Party had such a successful action? *Claude Wynne Hollis, N. Y.*

A backward island

On a recent news broadcast there was a report about Sark Island. Being a sexist state, the women are not allowed by law to handle finances. The husbands are allowed to beat "their" wives with whips as long as they draw no blood. Needless to say, it is a most backward island with values dating back to the eighteenth century. The paradox is that the country is ruled by a woman! *D. M. Madison, Wis.*

Election payoff

A special election for state senator from Middlesex County, Mass., was held in August. Most candidates contented themselves with the usual slogans on "moderation, responsibility in government, etc."

A refreshing note of honesty was sounded by a candidate named William Foley. Foley promised to distribute \$10,000 in 10 lottery prizes to the electorate, if elected.

The city of Cambridge was plastered with thousands of leaflets that proclaimed: "The Fun Begins When Foley Wins!"

What an example of capitalist politics. No program, no slogans, no politics—just an open bribe. Vote and win a thousand bucks! *Roy Inglee Somerville, Mass.*

Budget straight from Pentagon

I am indeed deeply indebted to *The Militant* and its excellent staff, for through them I have made numerous social, political, economical, and revolutionary advancements.

The Militant is the best paper to carry the message to the masses. I especially enjoy historical articles. I hope there will be some article on Rosa Luxemburg in the future.

There is nothing new at my prison, it is easy compared to other prisons. Our budget is straight from the Pentagon, and that makes it bottomless.

By all means keep up the excellent work. Also, I would like to receive *The Militant* again, as soon as possible.

A prisoner Portsmouth Naval Base

New York heat wave

During the recent heat wave in New York City when temperatures rose as high as 100 degrees, the media made constant appeals to consumers to conserve energy. They suggested we turn down air-conditioners, lower our lights, and use major appliances—such as washing machines—only at night. They even went so far as to urge neighbors to "double up" with each other when possible.

Air-conditioning was all but halted on public transportation; landlords readily complied by curtailing elevator service and darkening hallways in apartment buildings, and even hospitals, where comfort is of paramount importance, reduced their air-conditioning.

But no one heard these pleas directed to places like Sears Roebuck, Macy's, Woolworth's, the A&P, or any of their ilk. One had only to pass at a distance the entrance of such establishments to be chilled by the arctic air from within.

It is obvious capitalist reasoning that people should be made comfortable while they dole out their earnings and contribute to the profiteers. Afterwards it doesn't matter how they feel or fare.

Martha Harris Brooklyn, N. Y.

Better and better

Over the past year, *The Militant* has been getting better and better, both in its current news coverage and in the fine articles on the history of socialist movements. I especially appreciate the continuing excellent analysis of the Watergate travesties.

I am sure there are others like me who feel that *The Militant* should give more attention to the struggle against sexism, as it relates to the oppression of women, gay people, and ultimately even to many heterosexual males.

The bondage of people into socially and economically restrictive roles is essential to the perpetuation of capitalist rule. The understanding of and breaking of that bondage is conversely essential to achieving the goal of a socialist democracy.

We must work together to end all oppression. We all have a lot to learn about the relationship between capitalist oppression and oppression based on sex. I can think of no better organ than *The Militant* for these lessons to be discussed in.

John Oren Lexington, Ky.

Lawless prison officials

Although federal courts have ruled that prisoners cannot be prevented from communicating with the press concerning prison management, treatment of prisoners, or personal grievances, these outlaw prison officials are preventing me from receiving *The Star*.

I mailed a letter requesting a subscription to *The Star*. The letter was returned to me by prison officials with the notation: "Begging or soliciting not allowed." This is a classic example of the lawless and oppressive nature of these prison officials who are trying to pass themselves off as lawful authorities.

A prisoner Dannemora, N. Y.



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

Rodino Bill

The campaign against the Rodino Bill must be carried out with even more vigor. The bill has been referred to the U.S. Senate, and is now before the Immigration Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary.

If the bill passes, all Mexican, Latin American, and minority workers will be obliged by their employers to produce identity papers, and many applicants for jobs in our communities will be denied a chance for employment based solely on the fact they *may be* "alien."

The Rodino Bill gives the complete authority and obligation to employers to determine employability based on U.S. citizenship or legal immigration status.

It is urgent that everyone communicate at once with his U.S. senator and urge defeat of Nixon's Rodino Bill. Senator Kennedy is the chairman of the Immigration Subcommittee. He should receive many letters in opposition, as should Senator James Eastland, chairman of the Senate's Committee on the Judiciary.

Money is very critical for the fight against racist legislation and for fair immigration laws. We are in a national campaign and are getting thousands of signatures on letters to Senator Kennedy. Money is needed for postage to send the letters, and for expenses of travel for speakers and educators on the bill. Help us as much as you possibly can.

Contributions may be sent to: National Coalition for Fair Immigration Laws, 2671 West Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90006.

National Coalition for Fair Immigration Laws
Los Angeles, Calif.

Good graphics

While browsing in a bookstore I noticed that *The Militant* is mentioned in the Penrose Graphic Arts International Annual. There is a picture of the masthead as well as a textual reference about the professionalism of the graphic layout. There are also references to and pictures of *Rouge* and *Red Mole*. The entries are in the underground newspaper section.

Roger Rudenstein
San Francisco, Calif.

It's a hard life

During a recent visit to New York I saw a sign in a store window that I felt summarized the plight of most small businesspeople. Get to be "your own boss," the idea goes, and be "independent."

In the window of a neighborhood shoe repair shop, the sign said: "Summer Schedule: During July and August we will close on Saturdays at 5 p.m."

H. R.
Los Angeles, Calif.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

The arrest of Tony Boyle

What some expected and many have long hoped for happened in Washington, D.C., on Sept. 6. Former United Mine Workers President W. A. Boyle was arrested and charged with ordering the assassination of Joseph Yablonski, the man who tried to unseat Boyle in the 1969 UMW election for union president.

Yablonski, his wife, and daughter were murdered in their Clarksville, Pa., home shortly after 1 a.m. Dec. 31, 1969.

John Mitchell, then U.S. attorney general, had previously denied Yablonski's request for protection. After the killings, he ordered an FBI investigation. George Shultz, who was then secretary of labor and who refused earlier to investigate the crooked election that returned Boyle to office, ordered an investigation of the UMW election after the Yablonski family murders.

Within three weeks the hired assassins were captured. They confessed, implicating others. A series of trials and confessions over the past three years led to the arrest and conviction of seven union officials, each confession reaching closer to Boyle.

One of those implicated, but still to be tried, is William Turnblazer, a second generation UMW official and an attorney. He has admitted to being part of the conspiracy. He was present when Boyle gave the order to murder Yablonski. This was the evidence necessary for Boyle's arrest. Turnblazer is being held for trial under protective custody.

Boyle posted \$50,000 bail pending trial. His lawyer, Plato Cacheris, is also an attorney for John Mitchell, now on trial for crimes stemming from Watergate.

The Labor Department investigation of the 1969 UMW election, begun reluctantly by Shultz while he was still Nixon's labor secretary, resulted ultimately in a new election. Boyle was unseated by Arnold Miller, who first gained prominence in the rank-and-file miners' Black Lung Association.

Miller's reaction to news of Boyle's arrest was typical of what miners have said since the Yablonski murders. He linked the latest development to Watergate, observing that in both cases the central

question is the same: "Who knew about the crimes in advance and who knew about the cover-up?"

The personal fate of Boyle is of little consequence at this stage of the investigations. At 71 he has been convicted of misusing union funds and faces a five-year jail sentence in addition to the murder charges.

Even though Pennsylvania prosecutor Richard Sprague has now "closed the case," the question of who was behind Boyle remains unanswered. When the first arrests were made it was known throughout the coal fields of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Kentucky that officials of the mine workers union were involved. But few miners were ready to believe that it was a union job.

Dr. Isadore Buff, a practicing physician in the mine region of West Virginia and involved from the start in the miners' black lung struggles, charged at the time of the Yablonski murders that others besides union officials were responsible.

"I don't believe this was a union killing," he said. "We want the real murderers apprehended and punished. The interests were behind this. That means the mine owners, the railroads, the oil interests, steel, the Mellons and the Rockefellers. I don't mean they were directly involved. But it ends up with them. They are the gangsters in the well-pressed suits."

The confession of Turnblazer and arrest of Boyle lends the appearance of an open-and-shut case against the bureaucracy of the miners union.

But Boyle and his henchmen retained their union posts only because they were the willing servants of the big mine operators. When the cruelly exploited miners, through the Black Lung Association and other rank-and-file movements, demonstrated by strike actions that the UMW bureaucrats could no longer control them, the mine operators and their agents in government slowly and cautiously withdrew the protective shield from Boyle and his gang.

Boyle had proved no longer useful to the mine owners long before Yablonski was murdered. This last desperate act was Boyle's undoing.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



I'm rooting for Billie Jean!

On Sept. 20 Billie Jean King, winner of five Wimbledon tennis titles, meets Bobby Riggs on the tennis court.

Bobby Riggs is a loudmouth hustler proud of his image as male chauvinist of the year. A national and international tennis champion himself 30 years ago, Riggs spends his time today attacking women's tennis. According to Riggs, "a woman's place is in the bedroom and the kitchen, in that order."

Billie Jean King and other top women tennis players have fought to better the status of women's tennis. They have maintained that women's tennis is as valuable as men's tennis and should be rewarded equally. Because of their efforts, the U.S. Open tennis championship, for the first time, offered purses of equal size to men and women this year.

Bobby Riggs objected. "You insist that top women players provide a brand of tennis comparable to men's," Riggs taunted. "I challenge you to prove it. I contend that you not only cannot beat a top male player, but that you can't beat me, a tired old man."

Margaret Court, the Australian tennis star, picked up the gauntlet. A Riggs-Court match was held on Mother's Day, and Riggs defeated Court, 6-2, 6-1.

Now Billie Jean King has agreed to the match with Riggs in order to avenge Court's defeat.

I hope she wins. Every chauvinist in the country will be rooting for Riggs, and there's nothing I'd like better than to see this character defeated so badly that he crawls off the court on all fours. That's the least he deserves.

In my opinion, however, King made a mistake in agreeing to play the match at all. By playing Riggs, she is allowing him to change the name of the game. Instead of a legitimate fight for equal

pay for women tennis players, we now have an unfair competition between male and female athletics.

Win or lose, King is playing right into the hands of those who say that in order for women's athletics to be legitimate, women have to be "as good as men."

If King loses, the anti-feminists will say, "See, you can't compete with men so women's tennis is inferior." If she wins, they will say, "She was up against a 55-year-old has-been. She still can't beat the top male players of today." Or, as Billie Jean King herself puts it, "I mean, if I beat him, what merit does it have? Big deal."

Even if King wins, the fact will remain that *in general* the best female athletes cannot beat the best male athletes. Centuries of oppression, including in the athletic arena, have taken their toll. One woman beating one man will not change that or make up for it. And that's not what the fight right now is all about.

The fight is about equality for women's sports. Women's athletics stand on their own merit. Whether or not a woman athlete can match or beat a male athlete in her field is irrelevant. Women should be given the same opportunities, the same scholarships, the same facilities, and the same pay as male athletes regardless of how they compare with men.

This match also plays into the hands of the advertisers and promoters who love nothing better than to make a buck on "the battle of the sexes." The game is being called "the libber versus the lobber."

The only thing this match really shows is the tremendous pressure female athletes are under to justify their existence. If women's sports were an accepted activity in society, then Billie Jean King and Margaret Court wouldn't have to waste their talents on the likes of Bobby Riggs.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Nobody's 100 percent perfect—Guru Maharaj Ji has an ulcer. According to his physician, Dr. John Horton, the guru, 15, is showing the stress of a middle-aged executive. Which, considering the extent of his material accumulation, is understandable. Apparently also something of a theologian, Dr. Horton said the vulnerability of the guru's body did not contradict his being master of perfection.

The family that pries together . . .—Anthony Ulasewicz, the former New York flatfoot who distributed hush money to the Watergate gang, told a reporter he is now doing "some very sensitive private investigations for the President and his family . . . for Mrs. Nixon and the girls."

Social progress dept.—Those shredders aren't just good for destroying evidence. Researchers found that if

paper is repeatedly shredded into a powder, it can be turned into a highly absorbent material that is excellent for soaking up oil spills. After being used for this purpose, the paper can be reprocessed into artificial logs that give off a cheery blaze. And that can be used to burn evidence, right?

Accept, enjoy!—According to our TV guide, the program "Day of Discovery" explained that accepting God's will is the answer to "How to Get the Most Out of Suffering."

Think you've got troubles?—Instead of grouching about the price of hamburger, consider the plight of those with more refined tastes. A bottle of 1961 Chateau Lafitte Rothschild wine now brings \$155. A while back it was only \$75, reports a Hollywood merchant, who observes that good French

wines have "gone out of the average man's range." Also, Iranian caviar is now \$6.50 an ounce and candied chestnuts have doubled in price, now \$10.95 for a seven-ounce jar.

Production workers next?—A patent has been issued for a device that is swallowed by a cow and thereafter stimulates the flow of saliva, permitting a more rapid digestion of food.

Note to the meat industry—An anthropologist reported in the magazine *Human Behavior* that those deprived of a high protein meat diet tend to suffer from low blood sugar, a condition he says makes people violence-prone.

Maybe the Plumbers could get it—Informed sources in Oslo said it was unlikely President Nixon would receive the Nobel Peace Prize this year.



"MAN—YOU'RE A BIG HELP"

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



The murder of Santos Rodriguez

Dallas, Texas, is proud of its "All-American City" award. It's enough to make you sick—or boiling mad. Imagine the reaction to that phrase by the thousands of Chicanos in "Little Mexico," the Dallas barrio, who are mourning the death of 11-year-old Santos Rodriguez at the hands of a gringo cop.

The murder of Rodriguez is one of the most cowardly and cold-blooded acts I have heard of. As word of his slaying spread throughout Texas, it has shocked and enraged broad sectors of the Chicano community.

In the early morning hours of July 24, patrolman Darryl Cain came to the house of Rodriguez's grandfather, where the boy was staying. The cop said he wanted to see the boy about a gas station robbery. He then dragged Rodriguez and his brother out of bed.

When he had little Santos Rodriguez handcuffed in the seat of the police car, Cain took all the bullets except one from his .357 magnum revolver. Later he said he was only trying to "scare" Rodriguez into being good.

Cain spun the chamber, held the pistol to the boy's head, and pulled the trigger. It clicked. He spun it again and pulled the trigger. It fired.

Santos Rodriguez is dead because a white cop wanted to play a little game of "Russian roulette." Life is cheap when you're a Chicano in an "All-American City."

Darryl Cain is free on \$50,000 bail. If the past is any indication, he won't have to worry about being brought to justice. In the last four and a half years, Dallas cops have shot 96 persons, killing 29 of them. Most were Chicano or Black. Yet none of these cops have been convicted of even simple assault, let alone murder.

On July 28, Chicanos and Blacks, nearly 2,000 of them, staged a legal, peaceful march in downtown Dallas to protest the brutal murder. Unfortunately, the protest broke out into a rock-and-bottle-throwing attack on the hated police. The cops, who were waiting in full riot gear for just such an opportunity, moved in on the crowd and cracked some skulls.

El Sol de Texas, a Spanish-English weekly published in San Antonio, had this to say about the demonstration in a front-page article by G. L. Duarte: "We do not condone this method of protest, nor do we encourage it. But the violence that erupted was a result of the many beatings, woundings and killings that have been perpetrated on the

Dallas minorities, both Brown and Black.

"Just like the chambers of a .357 magnum went round and round, with the brutal slaying of a child, then so did the violence that was begot by violence occur in Dallas streets. It was the last straw that was heaped upon Chicano backs, the breaking of a silence that has been worn by minorities like an albatross around their necks. It was a cry that came from the wrecked souls of a group that has been spat on, mocked, ridiculed, harassed, maimed and even killed . . . all in the name of law and order."

Yes, Duarte is right. The anger of the protesters is understandable. Many of us feel it. But the murder of Santos Rodriguez cannot be avenged in one afternoon. We must protest, of course, and demand that Darryl Cain and the Dallas police are brought to justice.

But Santos Rodriguez and the countless other Chicanos who have died like him will be avenged only when we have put an end to this whole capitalist system of racist violence. When the Chicano masses have some power and control over their own lives and are not at the mercy of racist murderers like Darryl Cain, then lives won't be cheap in Little Mexico.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Saving Black colleges

The upcoming Black Expo in Chicago Sept. 19-23, sponsored by Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH, will be the start of a major campaign by PUSH to save Black colleges.

More than 100 colleges and universities in the U.S. are predominantly Black, with a total enrollment of more than 160,000. Mostly located in the South, they face serious financial problems that threaten their existence.

With the rise of Black militancy, many attempts have been made to break up these colleges by merging them with the predominantly white state universities. When such mergers occur, Black instructors and administrators often lose their jobs.

Jackson, a graduate of North Carolina A&T, a Black university, explained in a recent issue of *Jet* that PUSH intends to solicit money from various businesses to fund Black colleges.

Recognizing the historical value of Black schools, Jackson stated, "It is important to remember that Black colleges came into existence as holding patterns to train people to pick cotton, but they ended up picking leaders, doctors, lawyers and inventors."

He termed it "unfortunate" that some Blacks "do not know the difference between merger and sub-

merger and the difference between integration and disintegration."

"In the mergers," he said, "you never end up with the Black college presidents being the president of the new merger or the chairman of the board. Somehow, they submerge him when the two schools come together. And the Black college football coach does not become the coach of the team at the newly-merged school. They submerge him, so he's disintegrated."

Workshops on Black colleges are planned for the Expo, and Jackson proposes to found a new organization—the National Coalition to Save Black Colleges. It is to be composed of college presidents, politicians, alumni, and student groups.

● Long considered a "white" sport, tennis is today one of the fastest growing sports among Blacks—though you wouldn't think it because so few Blacks play in the big tournaments.

An incident occurred before the recent U.S. Open at Forest Hills, N.Y., that tended to reinforce the old belief.

The American Tennis Association (ATA) was established by Blacks many years ago when it

was impossible for them to enter the all-white tournaments sponsored by the United States Lawn Tennis Association (USLTA). It wasn't until 1950 that Sister Althea Gibson was able to crack the color barrier and play in USLTA tournaments. Through the years, though, the ATA has continued and produced many fine Black tennis players.

Arthur Carrington from Elizabeth, N.J., was this year's men's singles champion of the ATA. (I recall once losing a tough quarterfinal junior doubles to him in the ATA-sponsored Philadelphia Open.) But when he applied to enter the U.S. Open as the ATA men's singles champ, he was told there was no room left.

Officials in the USLTA had previously told ATA officials that he would qualify.

Controversy flared and he eventually squeezed in after a British player canceled out. Carrington remarked, "I'm satisfied now. I believe I can play with these guys if I'm given a chance." But he added, "It's rough. It's like pioneering. We can't say Althea Gibson or Arthur Ashe have opened the doors because no one has followed them up. We have to do it all over again."

World Outlook

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

SEPTEMBER 21, 1973

Interview with George Novack

Zionism and the Palestinian struggle

[The following interview with George Novack was obtained in Australia by *Palestine Forum* editor Anthony Maron. Novack is a member of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party and the author of numerous books on history and philosophy. He recently completed a tour of Australia, New Zealand, Japan, and Hong Kong.

[This interview first appeared in *Palestine Forum* and was reprinted by permission in the August 23 issue of *Direct Action*, newspaper of the Socialist Workers League, the Australian Trotskyist organization. Some editorial changes have been made by Novack, who was unable to see the Australian version in advance.]

Palestine Forum: Mr. Novack, how do you see the Middle East situation today?

Novack: The Middle East is one of the most explosive centres of world politics, because of the aggressive character of Zionist Israel regarding the Palestinian and Arab people; because of the reactionary character of the bourgeois Arab States; and because of the machinations of the U.S. imperialists in that area, who thrive upon setting one force against another for their benefit and for the protection of their strategic military interests and the oil profiteers. There is in addition the influence of the Soviet Union, which is not in favor of the development of a genuinely revolutionary and popular movement in that area.

Palestine Forum: How do you see the Palestinian resistance movement?

Novack: As your readers know better than anyone else, despite a militant and progressive thrust, the resistance has suffered very severe repressions and setbacks since the military showdown with King Hussein in Jordan. Any illusions that the Palestinian resistance movement might have had about the benevolence of the rulers in that region should have been dispelled by now by virtue of the bloody encounters that have been experienced. The latest is of course the conflict between the Palestinians and the Government of Lebanon. Exactly what pressures have been exerted upon the Lebanese Government to try to dislodge the Palestinian guerrillas are unclear. But the intent of their action is perfectly clear. It is a sequel—although not so brutal and bloody as one—to what Hussein started.

Palestine Forum: Considering the recent events in Lebanon and the events of September 1970 in Jordan, do you think that the effectiveness of the resistance movement could be improved by the resistance going underground?

Novack: The main goal of the resistance has to be to strengthen its links with the Palestinian and Arab masses, to enlighten them about the real aims of the contending forces in the area. Not only the Zionists, the imperialists, and the Soviet bureaucracy, but also the existing Arab regimes. For various reasons, the last task has been very inadequately per-

Novack: I think the anti-Zionist forces within Israel are very heroic and quite significant in the overall struggle for a socialist Middle East. They face at times almost overwhelming opposition, not only from Zionist officials but at certain times and in certain moods from the Israeli people themselves. But they are the only voice which speaks both for the long-range interests of the Jewish inhabitants of that area as well as for the fundamental interests of a socialist revolution in the entire Middle East. The most consistent and correct of all the anti-Zionist currents is the Israeli Socialist Organisation, which publishes *Matzpen*



Jordanian woman picks her way through rubble in Amman. Much of city was destroyed during government attack on the Palestinian movement in 1970.

formed. And so the masses continue to have illusions about their rulers.

Whether or not one goes underground is not so much dependent upon the will of the different forces in the resistance, but upon the relationship of forces between them and the respective regimes. When this is unfavorable, presumably the resistance movement has no alternative but to go underground. But illegality is designed by reactionary forces to try to weaken and cut off the links between the freedom fighters and the masses. So that one should try as much as possible to find an arena of legal activity precisely for the purpose of once again connecting with the masses.

Palestine Forum: Inside Israel there exist certain elements opposed to Zionism. Can you see these elements playing a role in the struggle of the people of Palestine for self-determination?

and is affiliated with the Fourth International. Its members, both Jewish and Arab, have been subject to frequent persecution, and several of them are still in prison. But they have carried on the fight very vigorously since the Six-Day War. They have tried to enlighten the people of Zionist Israel about the reactionary character of Zionism as such, and about the specific aggressive policies of the Zionist regime. And therefore, I think that they are worthy of the sympathetic consideration of all the revolutionary forces within the Arab world.

Palestine Forum: Mr. Novack, some circles in Israel are advocating the establishment of a separate Palestinian State alongside the Jewish State. Do you think that this will solve the problem?

Novack: Well, speaking for myself and for the Socialist Workers Party

in the United States, we have never accepted the two-State idea as an effective or even a just solution in Palestine. The reason is clear and simple: as Leninists, we do not equate the conditions of the oppressed in any country with those of their oppressors. In the Soviet Union, where the Jews are discriminated against by the bureaucratic regime, we defend the Jews against this sort of injustice. But in Palestine, the shoe is on the other foot. There, it is the Zionist State which is the oppressive force and the Palestinians and the Arabs who support them are the oppressed. It is the oppressed, that is the dispossessed Palestinian people, who must exercise their right of self-determination, and the oppressors must come to terms with them. We believe that the Palestinian demand for a democratic and secular Palestine is correct and just, and in our opinion, this goal can be achieved only by a socialist revolution. But we support the struggle for self-determination even if the current leadership does not put forward a socialist perspective, although we believe that the socialist solution is the only realistic and equitable one.

Palestine Forum: As a Jew yourself, Mr. Novack, and probably aware more than most of what we have come to call the Jewish Question, do you think that Israel is essential for the survival of the Jews?

Novack: I have never believed that Zionism was a correct solution for the plight of the Jews. I am not only of Jewish origin; I am above all a revolutionary Marxist. I was with Trotsky when he arrived in Mexico in 1937 and stated his views on what should be done about the Jewish Problem, and he said at the time that while the Jews like any other people had a right to a homeland—and in fact he and Lenin were prepared to set aside part of the Soviet Union precisely for that purpose—he did not believe that under the given conditions Palestine offered such a solution. He thought that it would convert the Jews into a tool of imperialism and of reaction, and that in the end it would turn out to be a bloody trap for the Jewish people who settle there. And I think despite the breathing space accorded to the Jewish population that Trotsky's prevision will unfortunately prove to be true. Trotsky further pointed out, and I agree with him, that the struggle for the liberation and self-determination of the Jews cannot be separated from the struggle for the overturn of capitalism, for the ousting of imperialism and the creation of a workers regime along socialist lines.

Palestine Forum: It has been the Zionists' favorite weapon for a long time to brand as anti-Semitic any criticism of Israel. Do you think that this anti-Semite label has played a

Continued on page WO4

The inflationary l

Threat of a generalized recession hangs over imp

By Ernest Mandel

At the beginning of this year, in taking account of the change in the economic conjuncture that occurred in 1972, leading to an upswing in all the imperialist countries except Italy, we wrote on January 7 that in spite of the "energy crisis," the expansion of East-West trade, and the reappearance of shortages in the Western food industry, the current "boom" would not last very long.

Today, a mounting chorus is predicting a recession by 1975, if not 1974. One after another, the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (which includes the governments of all the imperialist countries), the British weekly *The Economist*, and the West German weeklies *Die Zeit* and *Der Spiegel* have alluded to this prospect. And all these Cassandra voices add an especially somber note to their disturbing (for the capitalist economy) prognostications: Since the current boom phase for the first time involves *all* the imperialist countries (again, with the exception of Italy), they fear that the coming recession likewise will hit simultaneously throughout the imperialist world.

It is the well-known *generalized recession*, whose inevitability we predicted in 1969, that is now haunting the imperialist world.

Generalized Inflation

It is true enough that the bourgeois experts emphasize inflation as the root cause of the disease, as the origin of the threats weighing on the international capitalist economy. But this diagnosis contains a healthy dose of hypocrisy, and a healthy dose of ignorance as well.

First of all a healthy dose of hypocrisy: What economist can be ignorant of the fact that the current "boom," far from being threatened by inflation, is rather the most immediate and direct product of inflation? Take a look, for example, at what happened in the United States and in Great Britain (to take only two examples) during the recession of 1969-71 and at how these two countries were able to get out of the recession. There was a rapid expansion of the money supply, which in the United States reached nearly 10% in six months and in Britain reached 20% in a year, without any significant increase in material production. *Inflation as a means of "overcoming" recession* was the officially declared policy of the bourgeois governments, the central and private banks, and the monopolies of these countries. Without this inflation, the current "boom" would never have taken place.

And also a healthy dose of ignorance: A permanent inflation that goes on for more than a quarter of a century cannot fail after a certain point, to exhibit the classical acceleration phenomena that economic theory has analyzed so many times.

To condemn this or that "technical error" or this or that minister, to blame "trade-union egoism" or "inflation mentality," is to replace explanation with exorcism.

When there is a wealth of means

of payment, a search for "real values" is inevitable. So long as this involves only *objets d'art*, it remains marginal to economic life. But when gold (whose free-market price *doubled* in one year and now stands at two or three times what it was two years ago) is caught up in the vortex then the economic effects are rather more serious. When there is "revalued" gold and "devalued" paper money, Gresham's law comes into play: Bad money drives good money out of circulation. "Bad money" is above all the dollar, which is less and less hoarded, is therefore circulated more and more, and is in turn subjected to the implacable law of supply and demand, thus progressively depreciating.

Cumulative Effects of Inflation

But the hunt for real values is much more serious when it touches two key sectors of economic life: real estate and raw materials. In a climate of permanent inflation, buying of land and raw materials becomes increas-

10 percent.

The cumulative movement of inflation has structural effects on interest rates. Now that governments are trying to moderate the inflation of credit somewhat, interest rates are climbing to exceptional levels: a discount rate of 11.5% in Great Britain; a 12% rate for Eurodollars; a rate of 30% for overnight interbank loans in West Germany. The experts are sighing: Credit restrictions are strangling the "boom." And the "pundits" reply: Inflation inevitably produces deflation.

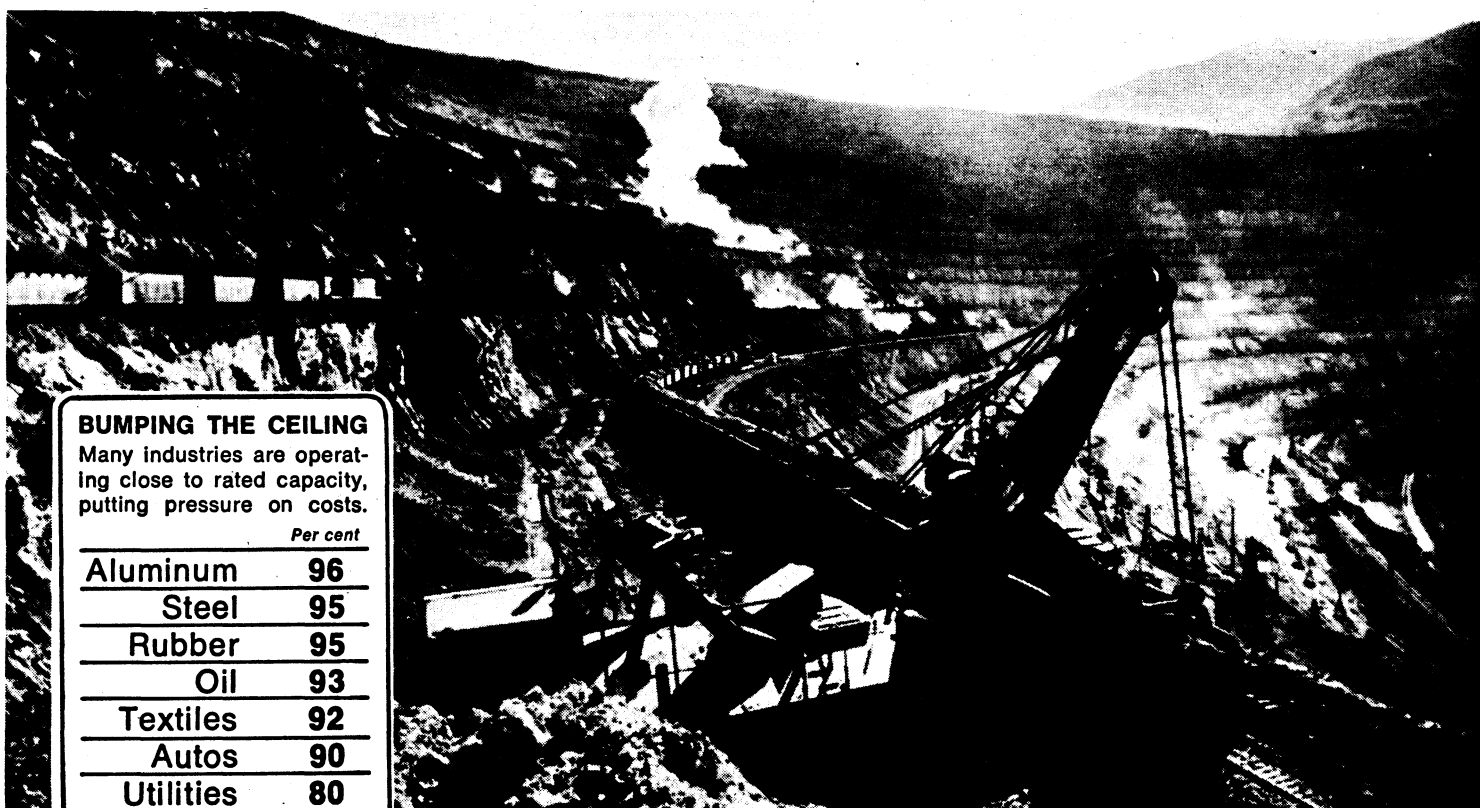
Deeper Causes of the Inevitable Decline of the Cycle

While inflation no doubt *partially* has some effects of its own, nevertheless the autonomy of the credit cycle in relation to the cycle of production and sale of commodities must not be exaggerated. Inflation does not "automatically" produce a change in the business cycle. It is the internal forces of the expansion that become exhaust-

of capital was powerfully stimulated. So the inevitable happened. Fresh excess capacity appeared; new openings were supersaturated. New declines in the rate of profit appeared on the horizon.

Finally, bankruptcies were cropping up in the German construction industry, threatening to drag down a few banking houses as well. Tight credit policy and high interest rates have been blamed for this catastrophe. But the deeper cause lies in the fact that for the first time since the end of the second world war, while housing units are being built at the rate of 500,000 a year in the Federal Republic of Germany, there are now more than 100,000 newly constructed units that have been neither bought nor rented at the existing prices, that is, at discounted rates of profit.

Another example: Everyone is expecting a change in the market prices of raw materials. "Speculation cannot keep prices going up interminably," the pundits say. The more basic explanation: Having had their appetites



BUMPING THE CEILING

Many industries are operating close to rated capacity, putting pressure on costs.

	Per cent
Aluminum	96
Steel	95
Rubber	95
Oil	93
Textiles	92
Autos	90
Utilities	80
Mining	77

U.S. copper mine. High prices due to speculation have spurred production.

ingly *speculative*, independent of the immediate needs of the market.

On the New York raw materials exchange the number of speculators has grown ceaselessly during recent years. Getting a "seat" on the exchange now costs several hundred thousand dollars. Price rises on the exchange are becoming dizzying: In the past year, under the double lash of speculation and the economic upswing, prices have risen 93 percent.

But a rise in prices of real estate—and therefore in rent—and of raw materials inevitably has repercussions on the retail prices of all commodities and on the cost of living. Inflation, which had already persisted throughout the 1969-71 recession, and which was accelerated in order to provide an escape from the recession, is now being amplified by its own cumulative effects. Annual increases in consumer prices are reaching from 3 or 4 percent to 6 or 8 or even

ed and that, by running down, produce the recession. By turning the credit and inflation spigot on or off at the appropriate or erroneous moment, bourgeois leaders can intensify or reduce the gravity of the recession a little. They can hasten or retard the time of its outbreak. But they can no more ensure a permanent boom than they can prevent a recession from breaking out in the long run.

What ties together the credit cycle and the production cycle is the ebb and flow that governs the capitalist business cycle: fluctuations in the average rate of profit.

For the capitalist economy, the 1969-71 recession was the most serious one of the postwar period. Unused productive capacity was extremely pronounced. By the same token, once inflation allowed for an upturn, growth could be rapid. The rate of profit went up sharply in the United States and in Germany. Accumulation

whetted by the dizzying rise in prices and profits, trusts with monopoly control of many raw materials have stepped up their investments and have set up the inevitable overproduction. For the copper industry alone, an excess capacity on the order of 46 percent is expected by 1978. Under such conditions, it will not be necessary to wait five years for the price of copper to begin to fall.

The Fall of the Dollar: Boomerang 'Weapon' of American Imperialism

One of the most die-hard legends circulating among the strategists of the Café du Commerce and other generally well-informed circles is that the "free fall" of the dollar is a diabolical war machine invented by American imperialism in order to cut its competitors in Europe and Japan down to size. Thanks to the contin-

oom and its coming end erialist powers

ual depreciation of the dollar (which, in the space of a few years, has lost one-third of its value relative to the Deutsche mark and a quarter of its value relative to the yen), American commodities are supposed to become newly competitive.

It cannot be denied that during the last few months American imperialism has scored some points on the trade level, thanks to the devaluation of the dollar. The fate of the Concord, Sabena's buying cheaper American planes instead of French Dassault planes, is eloquent testimony to this.

But for several years we have predicted what would happen in an epoch of capitalism in which *movement of capital* is more decisive than *movement of commodities*: American imperialism would lose on the level of capital and property what it won on the level of sales of commodities.

With the latest devaluation of the dollar, a veritable rush for American stock was touched off among the European bourgeoisie. The same bloc of stock could be had for 15, 20, 25, or even 35 percent less European currency than it would have taken several years ago, taking account of Wall Street fluctuations.

And what bourgeois individuals can do, capitalist companies can obviously do on a much grander scale. In its July 14, 1973, issue the weekly *Economist* published an article with the appropriate title "A Good Time to Buy America?" British Petroleum bought the American oil company Sohio; Plessey absorbed Alloys; British-American Tobacco absorbed the huge New York department store Gimbel's for a mere \$200 million. Nestlé bought out Stouffer Foods from the Litton Industries conglomerate for \$100 million; Saint-Gobain acquired the firm Certainteed. And this list is far from exhaustive.

As for Japanese imperialism, it went through an expansion of capital exports that drove American capital out of a good part of the East Asian market and is disputing important American game preserves like Brazil and Mexico. In South Korea and Taiwan, Japanese trusts are setting up

huge complexes in steel, petrochemicals, and ship building. In Brazil they are investing more than the United States is. The Fuji Bank estimates that export of Japanese capital will reach \$3.5 to 4 thousand million for 1973 alone, and it anticipates an annual rate of \$25 thousand million by the end of the 1970s.

But once again, it is an extrapolation that imprudently ignores conjunctural fluctuations, structural crises, social tensions, and revolutionary explosions.

Even on the commercial level, the devaluation of the dollar has proved to be a poisoned gift for American imperialism. The fall of the dollar has allowed, for example, Japanese capitalists to snatch up greater and greater fractions of current raw materials production at considerably lower prices (in yen) than those American industry has to pay in dollars. The dizzying rise in raw materials prices is no doubt partly a function of that competition.

An Accumulation of Explosive Material

It could be concluded that American imperialism should be interested in a profound reform of the international monetary system. But all the debates are turning on the overhead cost of this reform. None of the imperialist powers is prepared to foot the bill for the others. U.S. imperialism cannot guarantee an end to the inflation of the dollar, which threatens to provoke an economic crisis of overproduction of unparalleled gravity in the United States itself. But without halting this inflation, how can the convertibility of the dollar be reestablished? And unless convertibility is reestablished, little effective reform of the international monetary system will be possible. And the "solution" would be a return to a system of quotas, of barter, and even of the partial economic autarky that would threaten to suffocate international trade, as during the 1930s.

The crisis of the international monetary system and the exacerbation of interimperialist contradictions that it reflects are today combining with the threat of a recession that will be closer to a generalized recession in all the imperialist countries than any other since the second world war.

August 4, 1973



Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian revolutionary leader in exile in Chile is one of Intercontinental Press's regular correspondents.

His graphic coverage of the tense situation, particularly the reaction of the workers who want to move forward to socialism, has met with a warm response from our readers. They find his reports a welcome contrast to the silence—or the tendentious accounts in the capitalist communications media.

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World news notes

Rhodesian troops fighting in Mozambique

Recent reports from southern Africa indicate that the liberation struggles there continue to deepen. Jeff Radford, writing in the September 5 *Christian Science Monitor*, reports that widescale use of Rhodesian troops against guerrillas in the Portuguese colony of Mozambique is "now generally accepted as fact although officially denied."

He also reports that South African troops, "admittedly deployed into Rhodesia, may well be accompanying these incursions into Mozambique."

The Rhodesian troops were cooperating with Portuguese units in Tete at the time that some 400 civilians were massacred there last December. Radford reports they also engaged in retaliatory raids across the border in that area.

Earlier this year, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda charged that about 4,000 South African soldiers had arrived in Zimbabwe (the African name for Rhodesia). For the first time in its history the Rhodesian government has mobilized its military reserve units.

In a separate development, two weeks of demonstrations by Black students at the University of Rhodesia were sparked by racist charges in Parliament that unsanitary conditions prevailed in the campus dormitories and that African students did not maintain "accepted civilised standards."

The students drew up a list of ten demands, according to an account in the Johannesburg *Star*. The demands included an end to discrimination against African students and staff, better wages for African staff, and more Africans appointed to tutorial positions.

Six students were expelled, and 155 of the 500 African students on the campus were arrested in the course of the demonstrations.

New weapon in quest for national security

One luxury hotel in Caracas, Venezuela, features a computerized dating service for lonely Americans. Interested parties fill out three questionnaires covering topics such as personal lifestyle, leisure time activities, and political affiliations.

Supposedly, these questionnaires are meant to help the match-makers find compatible couples, but Prensa Latina reports that they have a habit of winding up in CIA files. Some people who use the service, appropriately known as "Operation Amigo," have found themselves the object of CIA interrogations. Presumably, they put down the wrong answer to at least one of the questions.

Philippine 'plot' collapses in court

"Having earlier alleged many conspiracies, Marcos now seems to feel under pressure to prove one of them," Harvey Stockwin wrote in a recent dispatch from Manila to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

On August 27 the Filipino dictator took a hesitant step toward "proving" one of the alleged conspiracies by bringing Senator Benigno Aquino to trial before a military court. Aquino, a leader of the bourgeois opposition Liberal party, had been held in a military prison for eleven months.

Aquino was accused of murder, subversion, and illegal possession of firearms. When brought before the court, he refused to defend himself and instead attacked the Marcos dictatorship for its suppression of civil liberties.

Although the news media did not carry Aquino's statement, word of it filtered out. Apparently embarrassed by the incident, Marcos "created a committee to reinvestigate the charges" against Aquino.

Marcos may have decided that it would be easier to "prove" some other "conspiracy." One possibility would be the alleged plot to assassinate the dictator.

The central defendant in that case is former Liberal presidential candidate Sergio Osmena. Osmena has taken refuge in the U.S., so there would be little danger of his disrupting a "trial" by his presence in court.

Watergaters at work in Europe too

John McDougal, a member of the 527th Military Intelligence Battalion stationed in Kaiserslautern, West Germany, is facing the possibility of a court-martial for exposing some of the illegal activities of the U.S. Army Intelligence service.

McDougal brought to light a program aimed at finding out who the political associates of dissident soldiers in Europe were. The program included tapping the telephones of West German and American civilians. The Heidelberg State Prosecutor's office claims that it will bring charges against General Harold Aaron, head of Army Intelligence in West Germany, if there is sufficient evidence of illegal wiretapping.

However, an earlier investigation by the German government concluded that the Army surveillance had been carried out legally because the permission of the German government had been obtained. In the meantime, the U.S. Army has announced that General Aaron, who started the wiretapping program, will be transferred to Washington to become deputy chief of staff for intelligence at the Army headquarters there.

...Zionism and the Arab revolution

Continued from page WO1
part in silencing some Western thinkers regarding repeated Israeli aggression?

Novack: Such false accusations do have a certain effect, but I think this is minimal. Our movement at the present is the object of attack from such influential Zionist organisations as the Jewish Anti-Defamation League. They call themselves an anti-defamation league while they defame people like ourselves who have at times been more vigorous in defending the Jews against anti-Semitism than the Zionists have ever been. This is nothing but character assassination, and we have had to mount a strong counter campaign against the accusation that the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are anti-Semitic because we are anti-Zionist and we support the progressive forces among the Palestinians and Arabs in the Middle East, just as we do in other parts of the colonial world. Of course, it has to be remembered that what they mean by the term "anti-Semitic" is anti-Jewish, because the Arabs are Semites as well.

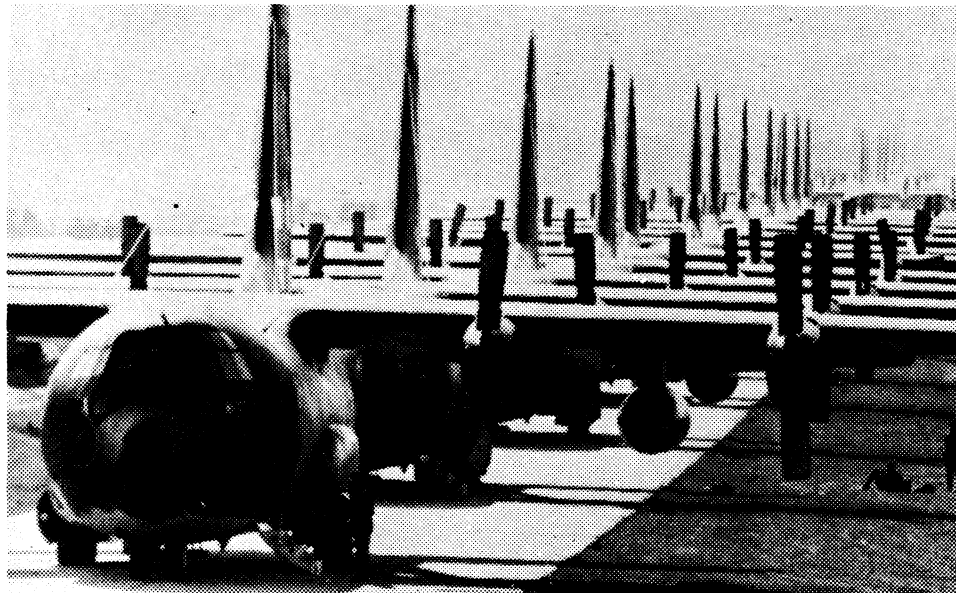
What we are fighting against is very clear and simple: we are against all oppressors and we side with all oppressed no matter what their national, religious or geographical characteristics might be.

Palestine Forum: Can you see Israel surviving without the support of the Western world?

Novack: It would be exceedingly difficult for the State of Israel to maintain itself in the long run without the massive economic, military and diplomatic support from Washington. I also believe that it would be difficult for Israel to maintain itself in the face of a mounting and intense revolution-are movement in the Middle East. I believe that progressive Israelis should seek for their own security and salvation to arrive at an understanding with the genuinely revolutionary forces in the Arab world. And together they can proceed to reconstruct that area in

a way that corresponds to the welfare of both the Arab people and the Israeli population.

That also imposes a responsibility upon the genuinely revolutionary and socialist forces in the Arab camp. They must try to understand that the people in Israel cannot all the time be a monolithic bloc arrayed against them.



U.S. transport planes put on alert during Jordanian crisis showed U.S. readiness to intervene in Middle East.

There are different interests among the Israeli population, different strata, different political outlooks, ranging from extreme right to extreme left, and they cannot all be lumped together as enemies of the Arab people.

Palestine Forum: To what extent do you see the Palestinian Resistance as part of the struggle of all oppressed people around the world?

Novack: The radical forces in the U. S. have included the Palestinian freedom fighters among the front-line forces against imperialism in the third world. They constantly link them up with Vietnamese, with Angolans fighting against the Portuguese, with the South African blacks fighting Apartheid and white racism. I think that

this is a fairly general attitude towards the Palestine freedom fighters on the left in the United States. The only exception is of course the socialist Zionists. . . .

Palestine Forum: Which brings us precisely to our next question. As far as you know the Zionists, how do

you think they reconcile having a socialist and progressive outlook with their support for a racist, oppressive structure such as the Israeli regime? How can they be socialists and committed Zionists at the same time?

Novack: Well, they do this by subordinating their socialist principles to nationalist ones. If the nationalism they identify with was a progressive nationalism as is the case with the Palestinians, or the Angolans or the black South Africans, it would be a different matter. But in this case their combined support of socialism in words and nationalism in actuality leads them to an alignment with what is both a pro-imperialist and anti-socialist force in the Middle East.

Palestine Forum: To sum up, Mr. Novack, how do you see the future of the Middle East, and particularly Palestine?

Novack: There are very dark clouds over the whole of the Middle East as anyone who is familiar with the situation knows. And what the specific twist and turn of events will be is impossible for anyone to predict with any concreteness. One thing, however, can be said about the long-range perspectives for the area. The entire world is involved in a revolutionisation of its relations, whether they are economic, political, cultural or whatever. The Middle East is an integral part of the world involved in these currents of revolutionisation, and I believe that these will continue to unfold in that area, whatever setbacks might be administered to them. For instance, I believe that what is happening in South Yemen is more a preview of what will be the future of the Middle East than what has happened in Jordan or Lebanon. I have a confidence that sooner or later the genuinely revolutionary and socialist forces in the different parts of the Middle East will assert themselves, will connect themselves with the popular masses and forge forward to bring the people of the entire Middle East abreast of the more advanced countries in the world.

Further reading on socialism & Zionism

HOW CAN THE JEWS SURVIVE? A Socialist Answer to Zionism by George Novack. \$25

THE JEWISH QUESTION by Abram Leon. \$2.95.

ISRAEL: A COLONIAL SETTLER STATE? by Maxime Rodinson. \$1.45.

BURNING ISSUES OF THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS by Peter Buch. \$40.

THE TRUTH ABOUT ISRAEL AND ZIONISM by Nathan Weinstock and Jon Rothschild. \$35.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Britain

Immigrant organizations protest racist deportations

London

Over 10,000 persons demonstrated in London July 22, in one of the largest antiracist demonstrations ever to take place in Britain.

Organised by the national coordinating bodies of the black organisations and the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, the demonstration marched from Hyde Park to Downing Street, where an eight-point list of demands was handed in to the prime minister by an action commit-

tee representing all the black minority organisations.

The demands centred on the rights of black people, and the threat presented by the June 11 House of Lords ruling making the 1971 Immigration Act apply retrospectively

With this decision, immigrants who entered Britain "illegally" before 1971 and who were therefore safe from prosecution now find themselves liable to prosecution and deportation. The increasing harassment and intimidat-

tion of the entire black community as a result of the Lords' ruling has rekindled opposition to the 1971 Act. Two national conferences of black organisations held in June and July discussed possible lines of action against the ruling, including strike action as well as the scheduling of the July 22 demonstration.

One of the marchers' demands was for parliamentary time for the passing of Lord Avebury's bill granting amnesty to those threatened by the retrospective provisions of the act.

Immigrants from Pakistan, Kashmir, India, Bangladesh, and the West Indies made up the majority of the demonstrators; they were supported by a large number of British socialist and labour organisations.

The banner of the Joint Action Committee Against Racist Legislation headed the march. Other banners carried included those of the Indian Workers Association, the Pakistani Action Committee, the Pakistani Welfare

Association, the Bangladesh Welfare Association, the West Indian Standing Conference, the Indian Youth Association, the Anti-Apartheid Movement, the Portuguese Workers Co-ordinating Committee, the International Marxist Group (British section of the Fourth International), International Socialists, and the Communist party.

Also participating were Labour party, and Labour party Young Socialist branches; the National Union of School Students; the Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea; Women Against Racism; Union of American Exiles; and many trade-union and other organisations.

Sixty Asians being held in Pentonville Prison as suspected "illegal" immigrants went on hunger strike in solidarity with the marchers.

Further actions are being planned by the black organisations, who have called on the entire labour movement to support their fight for their rights.

Parents block new attack on community control of education in N.Y. District 1

By KATHERINE SOJOURNER

NEW YORK — Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents began to arrive at 6:15 p.m. for the District 1 school board meeting Sept. 6. They had come early to participate in a picket line protesting serious new attacks on community control by the racist school board majority.

By 7:15 p.m. the picket line, organized by the Coalition for Education, was packed solid. Hundreds of



Militant/Michael Baumann

Picket line preceding school board meeting. Sign on left reads 'Hands off our community programs!'

community activists stood in line at the entrance to PS 19. The parents had mobilized because the school board majority planned to fire three district staff members that night, and to pass a budget containing provisions for a thoroughgoing purge of more staff positions.

The current school board was chosen last spring in elections marked by fraudulent and undemocratic procedures. Six of the nine members elected oppose community control. This majority, five of whom are white, is backed by the reactionary leadership of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT), headed by Albert Shanker.

The other three members of the board support the right of Puerto

Rican, Black, and Chinese parents — whose children are the overwhelming majority in District 1 schools — to control every aspect of their children's education.

The board majority purposely chose a small auditorium for the Sept. 6 meeting to try to inhibit community participation. They also arranged for elaborate "security" measures, including both plainclothes cops and uniformed police. The cops at the door searched handbags and shopping bags for "dangerous items."

In addition to these intimidation measures, the board majority had denied parents the right to see the proposed budget. This budget was reported to include the elimination of at least 19 key staff positions — mainly held by Blacks and Puerto Ricans — and 35 community school aides.

This purge by Shanker's puppets would help isolate the district's superintendent, Luis Fuentes, whom the board majority would ultimately like to fire. A Puerto Rican, Fuentes was hired by the previous school board because of his strong support for community control.

The proposed purge was also designed to sabotage the community school programs, such as the bilingual and reading projects.

As a smokescreen to divert attention from the budget point, the board majority placed a motion to fire three white staff members as the first point on the agenda. The three are members of Fuentes's staff and support community control.

The board majority had assumed that Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese parents would not rally to the defense of three white supporters, but they were proved wrong.

One of the community's Black leaders, Clayton Flowers, told the board: "Despite what you so arrogantly assumed, the entire community has come to the defense of the three whites you proposed to fire, because they are community-minded first and white second. . . . They support what *we* want for our children."

Because of this growing militancy of the parents, and the threat of greater mobilizations, the board majority had come prepared to make some concessions. The reactionary board chairman, Adolph Roher, thus opened the



Militant/Michael Baumann

Singing of Puerto Rican national anthem at District 1 meeting. Entire audience — except handful of Shanker puppets present — rose in solidarity.

meeting by moving that the firing of the three white staff members be tabled.

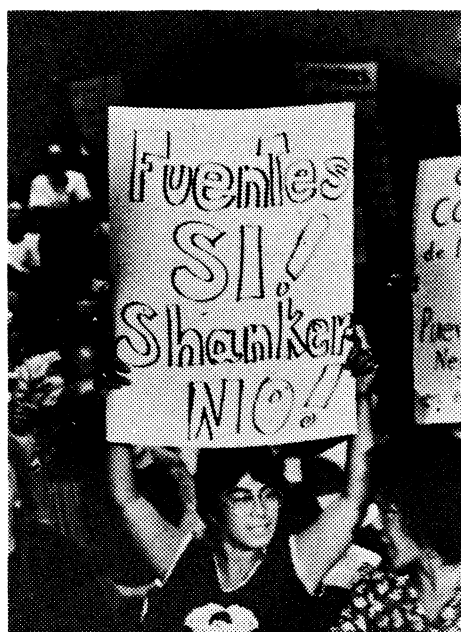
When Fuentes spoke, he drew cheers from the hundreds of Spanish-speaking people present. "Spanish is the official language of this district," he declared, and he asked that his report to the board be read in Spanish. Fuentes took a strong stand against any purge moves by the board majority, pointing out how this would disrupt the district's programs.

Dozens of community speakers took the floor. One parent told the board: "Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese have become united. Who do you think you are? You will not tell us how to run our schools. If you have never seen lightning strike, then you just keep interfering with our schools and with our children!"

At one point during the meeting, Puerto Ricans, who were in a large majority, stood up with raised fists to sing the Puerto Rican national anthem. The entire auditorium, with the exception of the handful of Shanker supporters present, stood up in solidarity. There was a similar response when Blacks began singing the Black national anthem.

Shortly before midnight the budget came up for a vote by the board. The parents immediately demanded to know what the budget contained. As the board chairman squirmed, maneuvered, and lied, the demand of "Let us see the budget!" rang throughout the auditorium.

Under the massive pressure and at his wit's end, Chairman Roher finally moved to table the budget. With this victory in hand, the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents told the board in unison that the community wanted to prepare the budget. It was a good note to send the shaken Shanker puppets home on.



Militant/Michael Baumann

Detroit teachers' strike gains student support

By MIKE KELLY

DETROIT, Sept. 11 — As Michigan enters its second official week of school, 30,000 teachers in 34 school districts are out in the streets in the largest wave of teachers' strikes since 1967.

The Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT) is the largest union on strike. The teachers are demanding a 9.7 percent wage increase, a cost-of-living escalator clause, and a reduction of class size.

The board of education sought a "quickie" court injunction to break the DFT strike, but Wayne County Circuit Court Judge Thomas Foley refused the request. Instead, he ordered round-the-clock negotiations and scheduled hearings into the possibility of a future injunction.

Failing to get their injunction, the board has officially closed the schools. None of the basic issues in the strike

have been settled. Instead of negotiating seriously, the word is out that the board is settling back for a long strike, hoping to break the union ranks down.

There are no strike benefits, and the strikers cannot collect unemployment compensation. The board is counting on this to wear the strikers down.

The size of classes is a major issue in the strike. The average class in the white suburbs outside Detroit has 25 to 30 pupils. But in the Detroit system, which is 70 percent Black, the average is over 36 — often 40 — and increasing. The board of education laid off 350 teachers a year ago, seriously exacerbating the situation.

The DFT is demanding a reduction in class size to 33. This would require hiring 2,000 more teachers.

Support from parents and students for the teachers has been good so far. Last week, for example, they joined

the teachers' picket line at Gompers Elementary School.

Trudy Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Region 6 School Board and a student at predominantly Black Mumford High School, has helped organize the Mumford Strike Support Committee (MSSC). MSSC is composed of students who support the demands of the striking teachers.

Although union leaders will not allow the students to picket along with the teachers, the Mumford committee has organized a picket line that marches around the school behind the teachers. The students carry signs saying, "If the administration cared for education they would settle the contracts now" and "Smaller class size leaves room for education."

On Sept. 10, the MSSC called a picket line in front of the office of the board of education to demand that the board

meet the teachers' demands. MSSC called students at McKenzie High School and Cass Technical High School to join with them, and Mumford teachers offered to drive them to the picket site.

Another significant strike involves the 1,100 teachers of the Wayne County Community College system. The teachers, represented by the American Federation of Teachers Local 2000, have been on the picket line for a week. As the strikers have held firm and enjoyed the solidarity of unions covering office staff and other workers, the trustees have showed signs of softening.

From an original offer of a 3.5 percent wage increase, the trustees are now up to an offer of 6 percent, although they have not negotiated any other issues. The teachers are demanding a 12 percent across-the-board wage boost.

YPSL gathering hits YSA, defends Israel

By JON HILLSON

DENVER—The Young People's Socialist League (YPSL) held a national convention in Loveland, Colo., the first weekend in September. YPSL is the youth group of the Social Democrats, USA, formerly the Socialist Party.

Although billed as YPSL's largest convention in recent years, the gathering drew only 160 delegates and observers.

The convention heard keynote speeches by Albert Shanker, head of New York City's United Federation of Teachers; Tom Kahn, assistant to AFL-CIO President George Meany; and Penn Kemble, executive director of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority, an organization of conservative "regular" Democrats formed to combat the influence of the "new politics" McGovern wing. All three are prominent leaders of Social Democrats, USA.

One central theme of the convention was all-out support to Israel and continuing YPSL's slander campaign against the Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, and other opponents of Zionism.

YPSL kicked off this campaign last spring through a front group called the "Youth Committee for Peace and Democracy in the Middle East," which is sponsored by people like Nelson Rockefeller, Jacob Javits, and Hubert Humphrey. It has distributed leaflets on campuses throughout the country, charging the Young Socialist Alliance with "anti-Semitism" because the YSA defends the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

The main discussion at the YPSL convention about other tendencies in the socialist movement consisted of such smear attacks on the YSA and SWP. Most of the literature at the convention's small display featured crude slanders of the Palestinian liberation movement, such as a document alleging an "Arab-Nazi conspiracy to destroy Israel."

YPSL says it plans to broaden this campaign to include attacks on Standard Oil, which it charges with excessive friendliness to Arab regimes.

In addition, YPSL opposes from the right the U.S.-Soviet détente, professing concern that Israel's interests may

suffer in Nixon and Brezhnev's deals.

YPSL's other major project is supporting right-wing Democrats against the McGovern liberals. (These "socialists" have been staunch Democrats for many years.) Area reports at the convention indicated modest gains from such activities. For example, in Berkeley, YPSL campaigned for the recall of Black City Councilman D'Army Bailey, whom YPSL labeled an "obnoxious obstructionist radical."

Delegates from California sported large buttons proclaiming their support for San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto, renowned for his links to organized crime, for governor in 1974. But the convention favorite was undoubtedly conservative Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson (D-Wash.), often aptly called the "Senator from Boeing."

The convention resolution on "Women's Rights" echoed the AFL-CIO bureaucracy's opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment. It also reflected YPSL's conservative distaste for feminism, stating, "As long as the Women's Liberation movement is concerned with underwear, abortion on demand, interpersonal relations in marriage and with one's gynecologist, etc., and takes on the simple aspect of anti-male scapegoatism, socialists cannot approach this movement without severe criticism."

The current radicalization, especially the antiwar movement, has been YPSL's bane. YPSL's support to U.S. imperialism just wasn't very attractive to young people.

However, the "Program for American Youth" presented by YPSL leaders Josh Muravchik, Carl Gershman, and Charlotte Roe hopes the decline in radical activism will bring greater opportunities for YPSL. They say, "the time is now ripe in this more sober period, to focus on the manifold social and economic problems of youth."

Young people are undoubtedly concerned with these social and economic problems. But YPSL proposes the same futile policies as before—reliance on the racist trade-union bureaucracy and the Democratic Party, both of which have proved incapable of dealing with these problems. With that program, a big resurgence of YPSL's influence among youth seems unlikely.



Although Israel made these Palestinians homeless, YPSL charges an 'Arab-Nazi conspiracy to destroy Israel.'

SWP candidate faces frame-up in San Diego

By MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

SAN DIEGO—On Aug. 29, Salm Kolis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for San Diego city council in District 7, was arrested and charged with perjury, a felony offense.

The district attorney charged that Kolis gave a false residence address when she filed to run for office. He claimed she actually lived outside the seventh district. Kolis labeled the charge as "totally false."

"This is the first time in many years that socialists have run for city office in San Diego," she said. "My arrest on this frame-up charge at the height of the city council race shows that the city government is afraid to let the SWP campaign."

"When a socialist candidate actually manages to get on the ballot," Kolis continued, "despite discriminatory election laws, filing fees, and other requirements, the government may turn to other tactics, like arrests on false charges, as in my case, to silence the opposition."

Kolis explained that although her address has changed twice, she has resided in the seventh district continuously since November 1972. She added, "It is particularly ironic that I am being accused of perjury, because in a fundamental sense my campaign is the only one that tells the whole truth."

"I don't owe favors to any special interest bloc," she said, "and I won't defend or falsify the record of the ruling Democratic and Republican parties."

"Therefore," she continued, "there is no hesitation or compromise in my fight against injustice—whether it is my active support for the farm workers' struggle, defense of the rights of students and young people, condem-

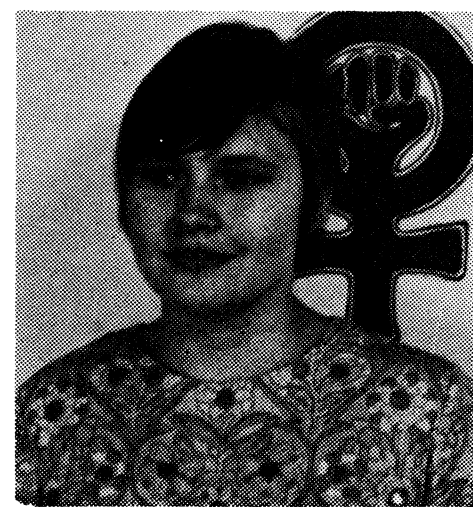
nation of dragnet operations against so-called illegal aliens, call for 100 percent tax on profits of polluting industries, support for public employees' right to strike, demand for full equality for women, or any other issue."

Kolis, who is out on bail, has a preliminary hearing set for Sept. 21.

With the election approaching on Sept. 18, Kolis is continuing an aggressive campaign. At public appearances and press interviews, she has stressed the political nature of the case against her, pointing out how Watergate shows that the government will stop at nothing to "get" outspoken critics.

Kolis has found widespread support for her case even among those who do not support her program.

Seven of the eight candidates for the seventh district seat have agreed to speak Sept. 12 at a panel organized by Kolis's supporters at San Diego State College. A public forum on "Why the City Government Is Afraid of Salm Kolis" is scheduled for Sept. 14.



Dave Goldman

KOLIS: Facing phony perjury charge concocted by city administration.

Calif. Raza Unida Party to enter governor's race

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—California Raza Unida Party (RUP) leaders have announced the party's intention to conduct a massive voter registration drive in order to qualify for the state ballot and enter the governor's race in the November 1974 elections.

California's ballot requirements are the most restrictive in the nation, so the independent Chicano party will have its work cut out for it. An independent party that can register 67,000 voters can qualify for the ballot. This is a tremendous burden for a small party. Democrats and Republicans qualify virtually automatically.

At an Aug. 29 RUP news conference, Richard Santillan estimated that approximately 25,000 persons are now registered with La Raza Unida Party.

If it can have the required number of signatures by the end of the year, the party will be on the ballot in all 1974 elections in California.

The RUP is a co-plaintiff along with the Socialist Workers Party and other parties in a federal suit filed by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL). The suit seeks to overturn the law that requires the registration of 67,000 members or the signatures of 663,000 voters in order to obtain ballot status.

The decision to run for governor was reached at an RUP state convention held in Fresno the weekend of Aug. 11.

Santillan commented that "the Watergate scandal has illustrated that both political parties are corrupt, and will break the law and even ignore the

Bill of Rights just to be elected." Santillan, speaking for the Los Angeles County RUP central committee, said La Raza Unida Party will campaign to convince Chicanos that "we cannot afford to vote for the lesser of two evils any longer."

The California gubernatorial race is of national significance since this is the most populous state in the country, with 20 million people. According to the 1970 census, more than three million Chicanos live in California—more than 16 percent of the population. An independent Chicano candidate would have a good reception among Chicano voters in this state, and could draw a significant number of votes.

Some Chicanos have already indicated they intend to seek the Democratic nomination for some state offices. Commenting on these people, Santillan said, "Chicanos or not, they've taken sides with the parties which have betrayed our people." He affirmed that La Raza Unida Party plans to run against Chicano candidates of the major parties.

The announcement came on the third anniversary of the massive outpouring of Chicanos in East Los Angeles Aug. 29, 1970—the Chicano Moratorium against the war in Vietnam. Police viciously attacked that demonstration, killing three Chicanos.

"At that time both major parties conceded that there were serious problems in the barrio which led to the so-called Chicano riot," Santillan said. "Since then conditions have not gotten better, but worse."

SWP files for ballot in S.F.

By ELIZABETH COX

SAN FRANCISCO—The Socialist Workers Party has filed petitions for a slate of candidates in the San Francisco board of supervisors election to be held Nov. 6. There are five seats being contested in this year's race.

The SWP candidates are:

Carol Seligman, 27, a part-time waitress and mother of a 4-year-old daughter, who is one of the coordinators of the petition drive to place a child-care referendum on the fall election ballot;

Howard Wallace, 37, a Teamster warehouseman actively engaged in organizing rank-and-file Teamster support for the farm workers;

Hanna Takashige, 20, an Asian-American activist in the women's liberation movement and a student at San Francisco State College;

Elizabeth Cox, 23, former chairwoman of the San Francisco Young Socialist Alliance and an active supporter of the farm workers' boycott;

Steven Wattenmaker, 25, former GI who organized an active-duty GI group against the war at Ft. Sam Houston, Texas. Wattenmaker is currently active in putting the child-care referendum on the ballot and is a student at SF State.

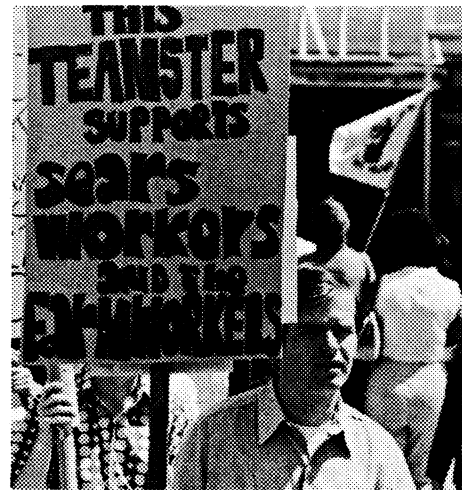
A press conference was held on the steps of city hall as the names of 20 sponsors and 40 endorsers were filed for each candidate, a requirement for any candidate who files for the position as a pauper. The pauper status was approved last year to allow citizens to run who are not capable of or willing to pay the required \$192 filing fee.

At a press conference Howard Wallace was asked his feelings on being listed as a pauper. He responded, "It is the other candidates running who are the paupers in terms of their ideas. We're just a little short of money."

The total number of contenders for the supervisor positions now stands at 28, but election officials believe the number will easily rise to more than 40 with many others filing as paupers.

Speaking engagements have already been arranged for the SWP candidates before groups as diverse as San Francisco Tomorrow, an ecology group; the National Women's Political Caucus; and the joint legislative committee of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

Several initiatives will appear on the ballot. Primary among these are the "30 for 40" referendum sponsored by the Shorter Work Week Coalition; an initiative that would end preferential hiring of minorities; and a child-care referendum initiated by Child and Parent Action that would request the board of supervisors to maintain the existing child-care centers currently threatened with being closed.



Militant/Howard Petrick

Howard Wallace, SWP candidate for Board of Supervisors, at demonstration in support of striking Sears workers.

Focus on inflation, Watergate

SWP in final drive of N.Y. campaign

By ED SMITH

NEW YORK—A city-wide meeting of the Socialist Workers Party Sept. 8 outlined stepped-up plans for the final two months of the municipal election campaigns here. The main report was presented by Joanna Misnik, SWP candidate for city council president. Emphasis was placed on dealing with the pressing issues facing voters that the capitalist candidates stubbornly refuse to discuss.

Four major-party candidates for New York mayor will appear on the ballot: Abraham Beame, a Brooklyn Democratic Party machine politician; Conservative Mario Biaggi, an ex-cop; Republican John Marchi, another conservative; and Liberal Assemblyman Albert Blumenthal. Beame is considered a shoo-in.

"We cannot expect a lot of enthusiasm to be generated by the candidacies of Beame, Biaggi, Blumenthal, or Marchi," Misnik said. "Faced with that choice, people tend to get apathetic."

But there are two major issues in American politics "which pervade political life and are clearly on the minds of the voters," Misnik continued, "the Watergate crimes and soaring food prices. The American people are aroused, are up in arms, and want to discuss the meaning of Watergate and the solution to inflation."

The SWP's mayoral candidate Norman Oliver is a plaintiff in the Political Rights Defense Fund suit against the Nixon administration, Misnik explained. This suit is based on numerous cases of government harassment and repression against radical politicians.

"Watergate shakes the illusions people have in the American democratic system, and Norman Oliver is the

For literature and information about the SWP campaign, contact the SWP Campaign Committee at 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 982-4966.

candidate who is answering Watergate," Misnik said.

An important part of the SWP campaign will be publicity and support to the United Farm Workers struggle. Ron Wolin, SWP campaign director in Lower Manhattan, described how jumpy New York grocery stores are about selling scab iceberg lettuce and grapes, "and there is no other kind available in this city," he emphasized.

Wolin believes that New Yorkers, who are already furious at the supermarkets for runaway prices, will support the UFW boycott of Safeway and A&P, as well as of lettuce and grapes.

"To eat is a human right," Misnik said. Any humane society would give priority to feeding its members—but not under capitalism, where giant corporations control the government and run society in their profitable interests.

The meeting voted to call for a "No" vote on Governor Rockefeller's \$3.5-billion transportation bond issue. "It's taking money out of the pockets of workers and giving it to Chase Manhattan Bank," explained Dick Roberts, the SWP candidate for controller. The SWP holds that public transportation should be free and paid for by the corporations, rather than the workers.

Plans were set at the meeting for city-wide speaking tours for Oliver, Misnik, and Roberts aimed at high school and college campuses. Misnik reported that campaign supporters have already distributed more than 100,000 pieces of literature and that nearly 200,000 additional pieces of material will be printed for the final two months of the campaign. This

includes a Spanish translation of the SWP platform.

Communist Party

The SWP members approved a motion to urge a vote for three Communist Party candidates who are running for offices not being contested by the SWP. They are Jeannette Gomez for Bronx councilwoman-at-large, Georgia Henning for councilwoman, 2nd district, and José Stevens, for councilman, 5th district. Like the SWP, the CP is also running a city-wide slate for the three major posts—mayor, city council president, and controller.

The overriding political issue confronting the people of this country is the necessity to break from the capitalist parties, Misnik explained. "In those districts where the CP is running and we aren't, the only way to cast a vote against the capitalist parties is to vote for the CP candidates, and we urge people to do that."

She pointed out that the Communist Party is a tendency in the working-class movement, and that a vote for the CP candidates would be seen as a repudiation of the capitalist candidates.

"However, in urging a vote for these candidates as a way of furthering our goal of independent working-class and socialist political action, we do so despite the rotten program on which they are running."

Misnik emphasized the fact that the CP places the interests of the bureaucracy in the Kremlin ahead of the needs of the world working masses.

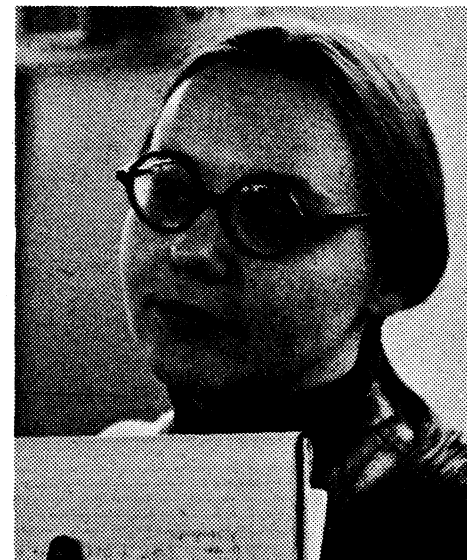
The SWP candidates will point out the hypocrisy of the CP's electoral policy. In the last year the CP has been putting on a more radical face, Misnik noted, "but recent campaigns have proved the CP is following the same old line of supporting 'lesser-evil' capitalist candidates."

She mentioned as illustrations the CP's support in the New York primary to the Democrat Herman Badillo, and CP backing for Democratic mayor Tom Bradley in Los Angeles.

Misnik pointed to the CP's approach to inflation as an illustration of its reformist program. "Even after four

of Nixon's 'Phases' have exposed the utter inability of the capitalist government to control prices, the CP's central theme is pleading with Congress to 'roll back prices.'

"Only the working people through their own action can protect themselves from inflation," Misnik said. "We believe that an important step is the formation of a labor party, based on the unions, to do what the capitalist Democratic Party cannot and



Militant/Julie Simon

MISNIK: Outlined plans for final two months of New York campaign.

will never do."

Misnik also stressed the treacherous role of the CP in covering up for the current campaign of repression against Soviet dissidents.

The SWP will urge the CP to support the four SWP candidates who are running in areas not contested by the CP. These candidates are: B.R. Washington for Manhattan borough president, James Mendieta for Brooklyn district attorney, Frank Manning for Nassau County (Long Island) Executive, and Eva Chertov for council district 3.

Misnik also pointed to the importance of defending the CP's right to be on the ballot. The National Caucus of Labor Committees, which has challenged their petitions, "is carrying out anticommunist maneuvers usually handled by government agencies," she said.

Socialists back CP ballot rights

Fifty people supporting the right of the Communist Party to be placed on the ballot in New York City held a picket line at the board of elections Sept. 10. The National Caucus of Labor Committees had earlier challenged the CP's petitions.

Those present at the picket included supporters from the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Free Libertarian Party, and the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL).

The board of elections later ruled in favor of the CP's ballot right, thus defeating the NCLC challenge. David Friedman, a lawyer for the CP, cited court decisions in which persons who had voted in the primary were not disqualified from circulating independent nominating petitions. This had been the basis of the NCLC challenge.

A statement prepared by CoDEL was distributed at the picket line. It was signed by Judy Baumann, CoDEL national secretary; Ira Glasser, executive director of the New York Civil Liberties Union; Nat Hentoff; and William Kunstler of the Center for Constitutional Rights.

The statement demanded that the Communist Party ticket be placed on the ballot. "We urge all civil lib-

ertarians," the statement said, "to protest this scandalous effort by NCLC to deny the democratic right of the Communist Party to be on the ballot and to curtail the democratic right of voters to a free election."



Militant/Arthur Hughes

OLIVER: Joining picket line at board of elections.

Pathfinder Press discusses plans for Trotsky 'Writings' series

By PEGGY BRUNDY

A review of *Leon Trotsky Speaks* by Louis Sinclair in a recent British periodical raised some interesting questions about how much of Trotsky's writings have been translated into English. Sinclair is the author of the 1,100-page *Leon Trotsky: A Bibliography* (Hoover Institution Press, 1972).

Sinclair asks in his review, "How much of Trotsky's writings are indeed translated?" and answers, "Remarkably little." He gives some examples from Trotsky's early (pre-1917) and middle (1917-29) periods,

that has been translated is small, remarkably small, considering what an important writer he is.

But I don't think his opinion on that question has any bearing, one way or the other, on your other question—whether or not there has been considerable progress in the last few years. This is primarily a factual question. And the fact is that more of Trotsky's writings have been published in English in the past four years than in any similar period since Trotsky's death in 1940, or for that matter, than in any similar period during his life. Although the number of Trotsky's

about 20,000 documents and letters. He wrote, "approximately nine-tenths consist of Trotsky's correspondence with his followers." That is, they are political writings concerning revolutionary strategy, tactics, organization, etc.

Some of these 18,000 or so documents were printed in internal bulletins of the Trotskyist movement at the time they were written and have been included in our *Writings* series. But at best that would be a small fraction of the total.

Brundy: You're saying there may be 18,000, or 15,000, or even 10,000 more documents by Trotsky that will be available in 1980? Even if each averaged only one page in print, that would be an addition of 10,000 printed pages!

Allen: Yes, and 10,000 printed pages would come to around 30 additional volumes. So you can see why I prefer that we discuss what Trotsky wrote that has been published in any language. There we are on more solid ground.

Brundy: All right, what proportion of Trotsky's published work of the period 1929-40 has been translated into English?

Allen: We're able to report that all of it has now been translated, and will be in print by the end of 1974 or early 1975. A few items we don't yet know about may turn up before then, but they'll be included too.

Brundy: Then the whole *Writings* series will be done by early 1975?

Allen: Yes, although it has turned out to be a bigger job than was first projected early in 1969. At that time the plan was to print only what had already been translated into English. Along the way, as interest developed in the project, we decided to translate everything that had been published in any language.

We even began to get hold of articles and letters that had not been published anywhere—thanks to individuals who had private copies of such items, and to the Trotsky Archives at the Harvard College Library (the open section).

We also decided, after four volumes had appeared, to supply copious annotation for the benefit of readers who are not familiar with the names of political figures and organizations of the thirties—that is, most readers.

And we further decided to convert the large-format facsimile style used in the first four volumes to standard-size book format.

All these decisions not only added to the work, they also required a change in the number of volumes to be published. Two years ago we thought there would be 11 *Writings* volumes, in addition to two specialized "companion" volumes, *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany* and *The Spanish Revolution, 1931-39*.

But in the meantime we were acquiring so much "new" material that we had to expand the number of volumes covering Trotsky's Mexican exile (1937-40) from three in the first edition (large format) to four in the second (standard format). For the same reason, we increased the number of "companion" volumes from two to four.

Besides the volumes on Germany and Spain, we have already published *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution*, and we will be coming out with a collection called *Leon Trotsky on France*, which is an expansion of the old *Whither France?* So altogether there will be 12 volumes in the *Writings* series and four additional new books, for a total of 16.

Brundy: And that will complete the

translation into English of everything Trotsky wrote during his last exile, 1929 to 1940, that was published by him or has been published in any language since?

Allen: That's right. And I want to add some statistics that shed light on the quantity of Trotsky's published work from his last exile.

When we have finished publishing the *Writings* books and their companions, the total of Trotsky's writings from that 11 and a half year period will come to somewhere between 9,500 and 10,000 printed pages in standard book format. That will be the equivalent of between 28 and 30 volumes.

Measured in this way, we'll be able to say that Pathfinder's 16 volumes since 1969 will have more than doubled the previous amount of writings in English from Trotsky's last exile period. (I'm not counting pamphlets or parts of other books.)

We're proud of this achievement, and all the more so because it took place during the same years that we greatly expanded our list of authors. Pathfinder is no longer known only as the publisher of Trotsky but also as the publisher of James P. Cannon, George Novack, Hugo Blanco, Malcolm X, Farrell Dobbs, Evelyn Reed, Ernest Mandel, Rosa Luxemburg, Eugene V. Debs, and many others.

Brundy: Before we leave those statistics, let me ask one other question. If Trotsky wrote 28 or 30 volumes in his last 11 and a half years, how much did he write altogether in the forty-odd years of his revolutionary career?

Allen: I'm not sure. The quantity of material in the closed section at Harvard is too uncertain to permit anything but guesses at this point. My own would be around 100 volumes.

Brundy: Are there any other Trotsky books in prospect now that the *Writings* series is almost completed?

Allen: Oh yes, there are several others in various stages of preparation. One is a collection of Trotsky's writings on China during the 1920s and



By 1975 Pathfinder Press will have printed in English all of Trotsky's published writings from the 1929-1940 period.

adding, "In this respect, the post-1929 works come out better."

Since Pathfinder Press in New York is the world's biggest publisher of Trotsky's works, I took some of my questions to Naomi Allen, one of the editors of its current series *Writings of Leon Trotsky* (1929-40). Some of the information I obtained in this interview may be of interest to readers of *The Militant*.

Brundy: Is Sinclair's assessment in this review accurate? If so, does it mean that I've been wrong in assuming considerable progress has been made in translating and publishing Trotsky's works in the last four or five years?

Allen: We have to begin by recognizing that Sinclair is the outstanding authority on this question. Without the benefit of his pioneering work, Pathfinder's *Writings* editors—currently George Breitman, Sarah Lovell, and I—wouldn't be able to even discuss the question with any certainty.

On the basis of Sinclair's own work, however, I'd have to say that his statement—"remarkably little" of Trotsky has been translated—is correct only in a relative sense. A few weeks ago, when we counted the number of Trotsky's works currently in print in English, we found 41 books and 15 pamphlets.

There aren't many contemporary full-time writers today who have that many titles in print. And of course Trotsky, who has been dead for 33 years, was engaged in other activity besides writing.

So it's obvious that Sinclair's statement was intended relatively. The thought he was expressing was that the proportion of Trotsky's writings

books in print in English still leads the way, I think a similar trend can be discerned in many other languages. Some of his works have even been published again in Russian, though not in the Soviet Union.

Brundy: I suppose that Sinclair's statement about the publishing record of the post-1929 works being better is also relative, but can you add anything on that? How much better? What proportion of the writings from 1929 to 1940 has been translated?

Allen: Before that question can be answered, it's necessary to make an important distinction. Are you asking about everything Trotsky actually wrote, whether it was published or not, or about his writings that have been published, by him or since his death?

We can't really give a meaningful answer about everything he wrote, because a lot of that not only has not been published but is not even available for public inspection. Most of the material in this category is in the closed section of the Trotsky Archives at Harvard University. And it will not be made public until 1980, in accord with the arrangement Trotsky made with Harvard in 1940.

He made this stipulation at the beginning of World War II as a way of protecting the people written to or written about in his letters of the 1929-40 period.

All we know about this correspondence is what Isaac Deutscher has written about it. Deutscher received permission from Natalia Sedova, Trotsky's widow, to examine it in 1959, when he was writing his three-volume biography of Trotsky.

Deutscher said the closed section consists of 45 boxes, all from 1929 to 1940, containing 309 folders with

Writings of Leon Trotsky

This series, which will consist of 12 volumes, will contain all the articles, letters, and interviews by Trotsky during his last exile (1929-1940) that are not otherwise currently in print. Many of these are translated into English for the first time; others have appeared previously only in mimeographed bulletins with restricted circulation. Volumes currently available (*) are:

Writings of Leon Trotsky 1932 415 pp., \$9.95, \$3.95 paper;

Writings of Leon Trotsky 1932-33 365 pp., \$8.95, \$3.45 paper;

Writings of Leon Trotsky 1933-34 379 pp., \$8.95, \$3.45 paper;

Writings of Leon Trotsky 1934-35 364 pp., \$8.95, \$3.45 paper;

Writings of Leon Trotsky (1935-36) 152 pp., \$2.95 paper (large format);

Writings of Leon Trotsky 1939-40 465 pp., \$10, \$3.95 paper;

(*) The first editions of volumes covering the years 1937-1938 and 1938-1939 are sold out; new editions are in preparation.

Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

U.S. committee formed to help defend French revolutionaries

'30s, including everything in the old book *Problems of the Chinese Revolution* and much more, some of it never published before in any language.

Another is a book called *Political Portraits*, a collection of Trotsky's sociological and psychological sketches of many of his contemporaries, both friends and opponents.

I think it will arouse considerable



Militant/Michael Baumann

Books by Trotsky on display at Pathfinder table. New series, 'The Challenge of the Left Opposition,' will include Trotsky's writings from 1923-29.

interest as an example of the Marxist method skillfully used in a field where the results have all too often been disastrous. Both these books will be published by Monad Press and distributed by Pathfinder.

But while I'm at it, I would like to announce something else—Pathfinder's decision to start a new Trotsky series, bearing the overall title *The Challenge of the Left Opposition*.

This will cover the period from the autumn of 1923, when the Russian Left Opposition was organized, to February 1929, when Trotsky was exiled to Turkey and the *Writings* series begins. It will include all the books and pamphlets from that period that have any connection with the Left Opposition's struggle against Stalinism and that are not already in print.

That is, it will include *The New Course*, *Lessons of October*, *Towards Capitalism or Socialism? (Whither Russia?)*, and *The Platform of the Opposition*, as well as many other articles that were translated before but published only in periodicals, plus many that will be translated for the first time.

It will not include material that is already in print elsewhere, such as in *Problems of Everyday Life*, *Leon Trotsky on Britain*, *The Stalin School of Falsification*, *The Third International After Lenin*, *The Permanent Revolution*, or in the projected collection on China.

Although initial work on the project has already started, it is too early to say with certainty how many volumes the new series will amount to. At present it seems likely to become three substantial volumes. If everything goes well, the first should appear around the time the *Writings* series is completed.

Pierre Rousset, a leader of the banned Communist League in France, was freed from prison Aug. 31. This is an important victory for democratic rights in France and a victory for the international campaign of protest against the French government's persecution of the Communist League. It follows the Aug. 2 release of Alain Krivine, general secretary of the banned organization.

In this country a petition is being circulated by the Committee for Defense of the Communist League in France, demanding that the Pompidou regime repeal its June 28 decree banning the League. The League was banned, and two of its central leaders arrested, following a demonstration by the League and other left and labor groups to protest a racist meeting called by the French fascist organization New Order.

Signers of the petition to French President Pompidou include Ruth Gage-Colby of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Dave McReynolds of the War Resisters League; Michael Harrington of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; and Dorothy Healey, KPFK radio commentator in Los Angeles.

Also, Bert Corona, director, CASA Hermandad; Dalton Trumbo, novelist; David Kairys, Philadelphia attorney who defended the Camden 28; Lee Lockwood, writer-photographer;

authors Truman Nelson, Donald Freed, and Jose Yglesias; and Mulford Q. Sibley, professor of political science, University of Minnesota.

Also, Ilona Hancock and Ying Lee Kelley, Berkeley city councilwomen; Helen Cassidy, past chairwoman, Texas Women's Political Caucus; Ray Londo, vice-president, Local 107, Postal Workers Union, Houston; Mike Eakin, editor of the U. of Texas in Austin student newspaper; Del Casle, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Seattle; and Wally Priestly, Oregon state representative.

A similar petition in France has already been signed by more than 5,000 people, including such prominent persons as Simone de Beauvoir, Constantine Costa-Gavras, Jean-Paul Sartre, Yves Montand, and leaders of the major French trade unions and political organizations.

Leaders of the dissolved Communist League have filed an appeal against the ban on their organization. The French Council of State is expected to rule on it sometime in October.

Worldwide pressure brought to bear on the Pompidou regime can help to reverse this attack by the French government on one of the most basic democratic rights: the right to form a political organization.

Signed petitions should be sent to: Françoise Collet, 2310 Creston Ave.

Apt. 6A, New York, N.Y. 10468.

Donations are badly needed to finance the defense campaign. They can be sent to the defense committee in this country or in France. In the U. S., contributions should be sent to the committee's secretary-treasurer, Françoise Collet, at the above address, with checks made out to her. Donations can also be sent to the Committee for Defense of the Rights of the Communist League, c/o Michel Foucault, C.C.P., Paris 26-15, France.



Militant/Michael Baumann

Int'l actions demand end to ban on French Communist League

By CAROLINE LUND

Throughout the world support continues for the international defense campaign for the rights of the Communist League in France.

An indication of the growing protest against the French government's dissolution of the League is the resolution recently passed by the Canberra (Australia) Trades and Labor Council. It reads:

"Council opposes the undemocratic action of the Pompidou government in France in banning the Ligue Communiste, a French working-class organization. It considers actions against such groups as a denial of basic democratic liberties and . . . a threat to the labor movement as a whole."

In Colombo, Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon), nearly 200 workers and young people attended a public meeting July 19 to protest the ban on the League. The meeting was called by the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary), the Sri Lanka section of the Fourth International. The main speech, by Bala Tampoe, secretary of the LSSP(R), was summarized in the *Ceylon Daily News* the next day.

The Communist League of India, also a section of the Fourth International, issued a statement protesting the ban and calling on its state committees "to protest against this by joint actions with left and democratic parties and workers and student-youth organizations. Let the Pompidou regime know that the arbitrary actions of its political police do not escape notice internationally."

In Venezuela, the Aug. 1 issue of the Caracas newspaper *El Nacional* published a quarter-page advertisement protesting the ban on the League. Paid for by Venezuela's Central University, the ad contained the text of a letter to the Pompidou regime de-

manding the restoration of legality to the Communist League and signed by many prominent professors and political figures.

In the Netherlands, a statement protesting the dissolution of the League and demanding the release of Krivine, Rousset, and all political prisoners was sent to the French and Dutch governments.

The statement was signed by 12 organizations including: BVD (Union of Conscripted), CRM (Committee of Revolutionary Marxists), FJG (Federation of Social-Democratic Youth Groups), FVS (Federation of Free Socialists), HTS-unie (technical school students union), PSP (Pacifist Socialist Party), SP (Socialist Party, a Maoist group), and RCB (Revolutionary Communist League, a Trotskyist organization supporting the Fourth International).

In Britain, the Ad-Hoc Preparatory Committee for the Defence of the Ligue Communiste has published as part of its campaign a brochure that includes a letter urging individuals and organizations to sponsor an autumn conference that would establish a broad defense committee.

The brochure also contains a copy of an Open Letter to Pompidou and

the list of signatories so far, which includes six members of Parliament; John Gollan, national secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain; and various well-known intellectuals and trade-union leaders.

Support for the rights of the Communist League is also being expressed in the Antilles, a French colony in the Caribbean, due to the activities of the Socialist Revolution Group (GRS). The French Communist League is widely known in the Antilles because of a speaking tour there by Alain Krivine last year.

A statement protesting the ban on the League was published in the journal *Le Progressive*, edited by Aimé Césaire. Césaire is a deputy to the French Parliament from Martinique and a signer of the petition of the French national defense committee against the ban.

In Italy, the national assembly of *Il Manifesto* (which publishes the daily newspaper of the same name) approved a message of solidarity with the Communist League that was printed in the July 3 issue of their paper. Also, a petition against the ban is being circulated in Italy and has gained the endorsement of a broad range of political figures.



Meeting in Colombo, Sri Lanka, in solidarity with Ligue Communiste, was addressed by Bala Tampoe and attended by more than 200 persons.

What's behind the 'mind control' prisons?

By BAXTER SMITH

"Once you are incarcerated, in the Atticas such as this one, they take it upon themselves, meaning the administration, that you no longer think or act or have the right as a human being to express your political beliefs, to be able to talk about and do the things which is in yourself to do."

"I have been robbed of all my thoughts, feelings, cultures. I don't think no more for myself. All my thoughts is brought about through him. If I don't think the way he wants me to think, then I am going against the system."

The man who spoke these words, Frank Smith, has never been in any of the behavior modification or "mind control" prison programs. He is one of the 60 men who were indicted for the Attica prison revolt.

This month marks the second anniversary of that five-day uprising, an action in which hundreds of Black, Puerto Rican, and white prisoners were able to assert their humanity—many for the first time.

For many people, Attica illuminated the desperate conditions under which prisoners are forced to live, and it won new support to prisoners' struggles.

To some others, though, including most prison officials, it meant that new steps were needed to combat prisoners who choose to fight back.

Extensive plans and new programs were explored in an effort to intimidate prisoners from struggling to win their demands. Fresh support was generated for the concept of altering prisoners' behavior through either neurosurgical or psychological means. New "mind control" prisons have been developed to threaten and control political prisoners and those militant Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans who dare to challenge the prison system.

Behavior modification not new

Actually, motion toward radical "behavior modification" programs for some of "society's dependents" dates from long before the Attica revolt.

In the 1950s, thousands of state mental hospital patients were lobotomized as a pacification procedure.

Lobotomy is a neurosurgical operation that either removes or mutilates portions of the brain that control emotions and intellectual response. It is one method of behavior modification practiced at these new "mind control" prisons. Psychotherapy is another.

In the late fifties, many states outlawed lobotomies. But in 1968 Dr. Martin Groder, a psychiatrist associated with the U. S. Bureau of Prisons, began an experimental behavior modification program for federal prisoners in Marion, Ill.

One fundamental aspect of these programs is that "candidates" are chosen by prison officials. Brother Martin Sostre and Eduardo "Pancho" Cruz, two well-known New York political prisoners, were "volunteered" for the Adirondack Correctional Treatment and Evaluation Center at Dannemora prison, further underlining the racist and repressive nature of these programs.

Though the programs, as described in official manuals, attempt to sound well intentioned, the procedures they use show the reality.

The operation manual for the Special Programs Unit of the Illinois state prison at Joliet states, "The general purpose of this unit will be to attempt, through intensive therapeutic application, to assist

the individuals assigned to acquire the necessary motivation and desire essential for integration into the general population . . . creating the climate for positive behavioral change is our goal."

The official memorandum for the START (Special Treatment and Rehabilitative Training) Program claims that the center is an "attempt to develop behavioral and attitudinal changes in offenders who have not adjusted satisfactorily to institutional settings."

The START Program at the federal prison in Springfield, Mo., was also engineered by Dr. Groder and has been in operation since September 1972. Alberto Mares, a member of the Federal Prisoners Coalition (a prisoners' rights group), and one of the 17 prisoners enrolled in START, recently wrote to *The Militant* explaining what is really involved.

Mares and six others in the program began a noncooperation strike several months ago. He wrote, "The main program at the Springfield Center is called the 'START Program.' Prisoners are stripped naked and chained to solid steel beds for several days.

"After a few days of this, they are then placed naked in cages that have been stripped of all vestiges. A hole in the middle of the floor serves as the toilet. It is flushed from outside the cage at the discretion of authorities in charge.

"Several days later, a mattress is made available to the prisoner, and if the prisoner at any time resists, he is forced to 'START' all over again. This practice is repeated until the psychologist or psychiatrist in charge is completely satisfied that the prisoner's level of awareness and activity has been lowered beyond repair."

Types of therapies attempted

Most of these behavior modification programs have attempted to use psychotherapy, though at the California Medical Center at Vacaville, lobotomies, electric and insulin shock, and drug therapy have also been used.

Two techniques often employed involve varieties of conditioning and what the prison psychiatrists call "desensitization." Their use is grounded on the belief that militancy or outspokenness is somehow an aberrant social phenomenon and can simply be erased through therapy.

Extreme measures are used in "desensitization." These include sensory deprivation as well as the procedure described by Mares, which attempts to break one's resistance and sensitivities. This technique is particularly amenable to a closed setting, such as a prison.

Aversion therapy, a practice dating from the '50s, is the technique used on Alex in *Clockwork Orange*. It has also been used at Vacaville. Doctors discover the anxiety producing situations for an individual, bombard him or her with examples of such a situation, often through use of films, and then inject death-simulating or nausea-producing drugs, thus creating an "aversion" to the anxiety producing situation.

Other therapies reported by prisoners writing to *The Militant* include transactional analysis, primal therapy, and the use of Synanon attack groups, a form of encounter group.

Opposition to behavior modification

Fortunately, opposition to the use of these methods is growing.

Several court rulings have already put an end



Prison revolts such as the one in the New York Tombs in 1970 spurred development of programs for 'behavior modification.'

to at least two programs—those in Joliet, Ill., and Patuxent, Md. Also, a federal court in Michigan ruled in July that psychosurgery may not be performed in that state against a prisoner's will.

In March, Black Congressman Louis Stokes submitted a bill to outlaw psychosurgery, which he termed a "frightening, repugnant and immoral medical development."

Finally, lawsuits by prisoners and public protest are reported to have recently forced the cancellation of the Adirondack program in New York.

However, the federal government has entered the picture in grand style. It is constructing a \$12.5-million behavior research center for federal prisoners in Butner, N.C. The center is scheduled for completion in early 1974, and the notorious Dr. Groder will serve as chief psychiatrist and warden. It will be run by psychiatrists and will experiment with the "treatment and management of various types of offenders," according to the U. S. Bureau of Prisons.

Psychiatrist Peter Breggins is one of the most vocal opponents of behavior modification programs for prisoners. In an article he wrote last year, he reported that the Butner facility is "not just another expensive penal institution, it represents a new direction for the entire federal program."

'More psychologically pleasing'

He quoted a press release from the U. S. Bureau of Prisons, describing the technology that is being built into the \$12.5-million center: "Instead of a traditional institution, the facility will have a more psychologically pleasing character. . . . Rather than guard towers, underground electronic detection systems together with a mobile vehicular patrol will be used for more effective perimeter security. Special windows of special plastic and glass laminate with a built-in alarm will furnish better and more economical security as well as providing a better therapeutic environment.

"Customary constitutional safeguards," Breggins continues, "at best flimsy in a prison, are completely shattered under the guise of 'treating the patient' rather than 'punishing the prisoner.'"

Under the indeterminate sentencing laws, state behavioral modification programs leave the length of the sentence up to the discretion of psychiatrists. This, Breggins says, is "a direct evasion of due process and the rule of law under the guise of treatment."

Breggins cites one instance in which prisoners were fied down and left in prolonged solitary confinement in cells with no light. "Prison officials explained this away as 'negative reinforcement therapy,'" he reports.

Norman Carlson, director of the U. S. Bureau of Prisons, has said that Butner will be for prisoners who "have emotional problems, but [are] nevertheless legally sane."

He is quick to add that the prisoners at Butner will "not necessarily be volunteers."



In earlier days, lobotomies were performed to purge people of 'evil spirits.' Prison officials today plan to use them to control outspoken prisoners.

Militant 45th Anniversary Fund

An appeal to our readers

By ANDREA MORELL

This fall we are celebrating the forty-fifth anniversary of *The Militant*. Anniversary banquets will be held in major cities throughout the country and a series of articles in *The Militant* will highlight our achievements over the past four and a half decades.

In the best traditions of revolutionary socialism, we are marking the occasion with special steps to expand the circulation and influence of *The Militant*. We have already launched a massive campaign to increase our subscription base and our sales of single copies. We will also be increas-

Andrea Morell is the chairwoman of The Militant's 45th Anniversary Fund.

ing our on-the-spot news coverage and analysis of important political developments.

In the first week of our circulation drive, more than 7,000 *Militants* were sold. (See story on this page.)

We have scheduled two weekend blitzes to help meet our goal of 15,000 new *Militant* subscribers this fall. The first blitz will take place the last weekend in September.

In addition, we are fielding two national *Militant* subscription teams and 12 *Young Socialist* teams to travel around the country. The teams plan to be on the road at the end of this week.

Last year similar teams were able to speak to thousands of people about socialist ideas, sell tens of thousands of *Militants* and *Young Socialists*, and win new members to the revolutionary socialist movement.

This fall, 56 young people have volunteered their time and energy to the teams. They plan to sell 7,200 *Militant* subscriptions in eight weeks.

As *The Militant* has grown in size and circulation, our firsthand coverage of major political events around the country and the world has increased. In the past year, *Militant* reporters have traveled to Europe, Latin America, and Canada to get on-the-spot stories for our readers.

Linda Jenness has just returned from Florida, where she covered the Gainesville Eight trial. José G. Pérez is now in Puerto Rico to report on developments in the pro-independence movement. And Mirta Vidal has just left for Argentina to cover the presidential elections there and the campaign of Juan Carlos Coral, candidate of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party).

To ensure that we can take all these steps, we must raise \$20,000 from our readers. We have established a special *Militant* Anniversary Fund, with a goal of raising this sum by Dec. 15.



'Stop the War Now!' demanded a 1950 *Militant*. This is one of the front pages reproduced in the special volume commemorating *The Militant's* forty-fifth anniversary. Complimentary copies of the book will go to everyone who contributes \$45 or more to the Anniversary Fund.



Militant/Howard Petrick

Harry Ring of *The Militant's* Southwest Bureau speaking at Anniversary Fund rally at recent SWP convention. *Militant* supporters enthusiastically pledged more than \$12,000 toward \$20,000 goal.

The Anniversary Fund will also help *The Militant* combat the effects of runaway inflation. The cost of paper has shot way up. And with the new second-class postage increases that just went into effect last week, it now costs 20 percent more simply to mail subscribers their copies of *The Militant*.

At the *Militant* Anniversary rally held at the Socialist Workers Party convention in August, enthusiastic supporters kicked off the Anniversary Fund by contributing or pledging \$12,765.49 toward the \$20,000 goal. The remainder must now be raised in individual contributions from readers and supporters and from the *Militant* Anniversary banquets.

If you give or pledge \$45 or more—a dollar for every year of *The Militant*—you will receive a complimentary copy of *The Militant: 45 Years in the Struggle for Socialism*. This beautifully bound volume contains a sample front page from each year of *The Militant*, illustrating the newspaper's campaign for socialism since its founding in 1928. Only a limited number of copies are in print—it's really a collector's item.

Send your contribution to the *Militant's* Forty-Fifth Anniversary Fund now. Any amount will be welcome and put to good use.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____.

I would like to pledge \$_____.

I would like to pledge \$_____ monthly for the three months of the Anniversary Fund.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable to *The Militant* 45th Anniversary Fund Campaign. Send to 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Sales go over 7,000 in first week of drive

By NANCY COLE

The opening of schools, an all-out effort to publicize Chicago's Sept. 8 price protest, and *Militant* supporters' participation in farm workers' support activities combined to make the first week of the sales campaign an impressive beginning.

Our goal is to sell 9,500 copies a week by Nov. 18, and the total sold last week—7,122—is already more than our goal of 7,000 during last spring's sales campaign.

The highest number of *Militants* were sold by Chicago supporters. Through what they term a "real team effort," they sold 786 papers in the week before the Sept. 8 demonstration called by the Coalition for Jobs and Economic Justice.

Combining this total with *Militants* sold at the demonstration itself (where they sold the following issue), Chicago members of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party sold 1,259 papers in six days.

Their efforts to get out *The Militant* with the front-page headline on the Sept. 8 protest included sales of 170 at political meetings and 243 in downtown Chicago. *The Militant's* firsthand coverage of the protest developments was noted by the chairman of the Coalition's labor outreach committee when he held up *The Militant* during a meeting as an example of the kind of coverage the Sept. 8 action was receiving.

Many campuses have not opened yet, but *The Militant* found a good response in areas where registration has begun. Philadelphia sold 253 on campuses; San Diego, 176; Pittsburgh, 140; San Francisco, 133; and the Upper West Side in New York, 103.

At Boston University, *Militant* supporters had a table up all week during registration, and they report that by the end of the week students were stopping by the table to ask for the new issue.

Activists supporting the grape and lettuce boycotts bought *The Militant* in many areas last week. Chicago sold 63 at a farm workers rally; St. Louis, 59; and Pittsburgh, 30.

At a UFW support meeting in Washington, D.C., one of the farm workers noticed a *Militant* that a YSAer was carrying. He commented that everyone in the fields had heard of *The Militant* and knew of its coverage of their struggle.

This is the first scoreboard of the fall sales campaign, and we expect that it will grow each week as more supporters decide to join in this effort. If you want to sell *The Militant* and take a quota for the sales campaign, you can send in the coupon on page 23.

Militant scoreboard

AREA	GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	% SOLD
St. Louis	175	290	166
Chicago	700	786	112
San Diego	350	384	110
Austin	120	120	100
Washington, D.C.	350	330	94
Atlanta	400	371	93
Brooklyn	450	415	92
Pittsburgh	300	273	91
Philadelphia	375	339	90
San Francisco	500	412	82
Detroit	400	270	68
Houston	450	304	68
Cleveland	400	269	67
Denver	375	253	67
Upper West Side	475	304	64
Seattle	400	252	63
Lower Manhattan	450	280	62
Oakland/Berkeley	900	487	54
Boston	700	365	52
Twin Cities	425	222	52
Los Angeles	500	257	51
Portland	300	139	46
TOTAL SOLD LAST WEEK	7,122		
GOAL	9,500		



Part of Diego Rivera's 'The World War.' Lenin and Trotsky appear at right, above Woodrow Wilson.

WALLS OF FIRE

Walls of Fire. Directed by Herbert Kline. Narrated by Ricardo Montalban. A Mentor Production.

This documentary film covers the lives and works of three of Mexico's best-known muralists, Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco, and David Alfaro Siqueiros.

The school of modern Mexican mural painting arose during the Mexican revolution of 1910-20. In this period of upheaval, the country's most talented young artists began searching for new styles and modes of expression in an attempt to break with the totally exhausted traditional painting in Mexico.

At the same time, these artists were animated and inspired by the revolutionary fervor sweeping Mexico and, indeed, the entire globe. They proclaimed the mural form to be the best means of reaching the masses with their ideas.

The government commissioned many of these artists. Impassioned works began appearing on walls all over Mexico depicting the Zapatista peasant move-

Seldis, who argued that the uncritical adulation given to Siqueiros further unbalances the picture.

The film assigns a disproportionate importance to Siqueiros by devoting its major attention to him and to his present work. Called the Polyforum, it is a garish painting-sculpture-edifice under construction in Mexico City. Siqueiros is neither the most talented nor the most prolific of the three. He is merely the sole survivor. And his great work, it seems, is behind him.

The film hardly deals with the artistic ideas of Rivera and Orozco, both of whom contributed much of interest and value to art theory.

Perhaps even more glaring is the way the film blithely skips over the stormy political and artistic controversies that engulfed Rivera and Siqueiros. For both of them, this was a major aspect of their lives.

Rivera's iconoclastic paintings have been attacked by the Catholic Church of Mexico. In Detroit, his murals depicting proletarian struggles required the protection of workers defense squads against fascist goons. In New York, a mural he made containing a portrait of Lenin was ordered destroyed by its angered commissioner, John D. Rockefeller.

Rivera was a sympathizer of the Trotskyist International Left Opposition. He used his influence to secure entrance into Mexico for the exiled Leon Trotsky when no other country would admit him. Unfortunately, this entire aspect of Rivera's life is ignored in the film.

Much is made however, of Siqueiros's persecution at the hands of the government and his involvement in the working-class movement. In interviews, Siqueiros explains at length his reformist political ideas and dubious "art theories." However, it is never even mentioned that he has made a career as a Stalinist hack in the Mexican Communist Party. Among his omitted exploits is the unsuccessful assassination attempt against Trotsky he organized and led in 1940.

All of this is not to suggest that Siqueiros's odious political career accounts for his artistic shortcomings. In any case, his place in history as one of the greatest Mexican artists was secure long ago. On the other hand, it would be equally ridiculous to suggest that Rivera's greater achievements were due to his sympathy for Trotskyism.

The careers of these artists provide an excellent opportunity to a filmmaker interested in exploring the complex relationship between life, art, and politics—a challenge the makers of *Walls of Fire* failed to accept.

—MIGUEL PENDAS

DEBATE OVER STALIN, TROTSKY

International Socialist Review. September 1973. 75 cents. Order from ISR, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

The September issue of the *International Socialist Review* contains an article of great importance to all those following the debate between the *Guardian* newspaper and *The Militant* on the question of what is Trotskyism.

The series of articles in the *Guardian* several months ago attempted to present a theoretical and historical defense of Stalin's policies as opposed to Trotsky's. The great debate between Stalin and Trotsky led to a deep division of the entire working-class movement on an international scale.

In the new issue of the *International Socialist Review*, Dick Roberts uses his refutation of the *Guardian* series to explain the Trotskyist view on the central questions of revolutionary strategy and theory separating Stalinism from Trotskyism. Specifically, he takes up the meaning of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution versus the Stalinist theories of "two-stage revolution" and "socialism in one country."

These questions are of special importance to revolutionists in the colonial and semicolonial worlds in deciding what approach to take toward the peas-

Periodicals

antry and toward the national capitalist class.

Roberts defends the Trotskyist view in a clear and concise manner, understandable to those who may not have read material on this subject before. Quoting from Lenin's works, he proves that the chief leader of the Russian revolution agreed with Trotsky's views, not Stalin's later theories, on the need for the working class to take the lead in revolutionary struggle to achieve democratic goals as well as socialist goals.

Roberts makes his explanation concrete by showing how Trotsky's views were confirmed in the course of the Russian and Chinese revolutions.

The September *ISR* also contains a speech by Jiri Pelikan, a participant in the spring 1968 movement for democratization in Czechoslovakia. The talk covers a wide range of questions from the point of view of a member of the Dubcek reform wing of the Czechoslovak ruling bureaucracy.

Some of Pelikan's most interesting comments are his recollections of the antirevolutionary, attitude of Stalinist bureaucrats from other Eastern European countries and the Kremlin. For example, he describes a meeting of bureaucrats from the Warsaw Pact countries at which Dubcek attempted to justify the 1968 reform movement as an inspiration to the socialist movement in Western Europe.

Wladyslaw Gomulka of Poland interrupted, saying, "But Comrade Dubcek, don't deny that socialism has been completely dead in Western Europe for fifty years. We are not interested in this problem at all. We are interested in strengthening what we have—our borders."

—CAROLINE LUND

Film

ment, workers' struggles, and most of all, Mexico's history. The brutal suppression of the Indians by the Spaniards and the subsequent struggle for independence from Spain were favored subjects.

Mexican art, long isolated in a stuffy and sterile environment, began looking to Europe for fresh ideas. At the same time, many artists rediscovered the art of the Aztecs and the brilliant achievements in mural painting of the Mayas.

The film exhibits an overall understanding of these developments. It also counts among its positive features some excellent color photography of murals. But the film is disappointing in many ways.

In an apparent attempt to make a commercially palatable product, the producers have cut some corners on intellectual honesty. For one thing, they continue to propagate the myth of "Los Tres Grandes" (the three great ones), as Rivera, Orozco, and Siqueiros are often referred to. This artificial separation tends to diminish the importance of the many other major muralists.

I also agree with *Los Angeles Times* critic Henry

Thousands sign petition to save life of Brazilian peasant leader

The campaign to defend the life of imprisoned Brazilian peasant leader Manuel da Conceicao has recently won new support in the U.S. as a result of a nationwide petition drive.

Da Conceicao is a leader of the Union of Rural Workers of Pindare-Mirim Valley in northeast Brazil. Military authorities arrested him in early 1972 on charges of being a "subversive."

He has been held incommunicado, severely tortured, and denied a public and legal trial.

During the past year, at least 25 Brazilian political prisoners have been killed while in the custody of the authorities.

In a letter from prison last November, da Conceicao stated, "They [the authorities] figured that after I had been imprisoned for 12 months and people had forgotten me, the government could order me dropped into the ocean from a helicopter. Every day they threatened me with this."

At a Washington, D.C., news conference Sept. 10, two leading U.S. church officials announced that 7,000 people, including several hundred religious leaders, have signed a petition demanding that Brazilian President Medici immediately release da Conceicao.

The petition also demands that Medici "guarantee the life, the decent and humane treatment during imprisonment, and the right to present their defense for all political prisoners in Brazil."

Signers of the petition include 135 major religious superiors, 20 United Farm Workers Union organizers, 40 military and civilian prisoners, and 100 academics from the recent American Sociological convention.

Supporters from the West Coast include Kate Barton, field representative from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), and John Daniel Jones, director of AFSCME Council 75—both from Portland.

Signers from Detroit include: Judge Justin Ravitz; mayoral candidate Edward Bell; Common Council candidates George Van Antwerp, Ray Rickman, and Stuart House; and several dozen members of the United Auto Workers union.

Other prominent signers include Noam Chomsky, Bert Corona, Saul Landau, Harry Magdoff, and Pete Seeger.



Militant/Steve Watson

Left to right, Reverend William Wipfler, Tom Quigly, and Reverend J. Bryan Hehir announce results of nationwide petition drive at USLA press conference in Washington.

Reverend William Wipfler, director of the Latin America Working Group of the National Council of Churches, and Reverend J. Bryan Hehir, director of the Division for Justice and Peace of the U.S. Catholic Conference, announced the results of the petition effort at the news conference.

The news conference was called after the Brazilian ambassador to the U.S. repeatedly refused requests to meet with religious leaders to discuss the case of da Conceicao and political repression in Brazil.

Representatives of the Brazilian consulate in New York also refused to meet with a delegation of academics and performing artists on the same subject.

To ensure delivery of the petitions to the president of Brazil, a request was made to the U.S. State Department to provide a channel for delivering the petition to the Brazilian government. The State Department refused.

After the press conference, the petitions were forwarded to the Brazilian authorities by registered mail.

The organizers of the petition campaign, Common Front for Latin America and U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), also held picket lines Sept. 6 in Washington, D.C., and Bos-

ton to demand the release of da Conceicao and all Brazilian political prisoners.

In Washington, 50 people joined a spirited late-afternoon picket line across the street from the Brazilian embassy. The picket coincided with an embassy cocktail party celebrating the anniversary of Brazilian independence.

Along with placards calling for the release of da Conceicao, the demonstrators carried a huge banner that read, "End Complicity with Brazilian Torture." The banner attracted the attention of many rush-hour commuters and could not have escaped the notice of the champagne-sipping officials across the street at the embassy.

In Boston, a number of groups sponsored a noon picket at the Brazilian consulate. The sponsors included the United Farm Workers Union, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Young Workers Liberation League, Youth Against War and Fascism, Socialist Workers Party, Committee Against Repression in Brazil, Massachusetts Catholic Peace Committee, Haitian Action Committee, USLA, and the Young Socialist Alliance. The demonstration was given extensive TV coverage on Boston's Channel 7.

UAW and Chrysler continue talks on contract

Sept. 12 — Representatives of the United Auto Workers and the Chrysler Corporation held evening sessions this week in an effort to beat the Sept. 14 strike deadline. Negotiations have been going on for seven weeks.

Although sessions in the final week are secret, both sides have expressed confidence that a settlement of basic issues could be reached. If not, it is possible that the strike deadline will be moved back.

The UAW is demanding a 7 percent increase over the present average wage of about \$5 an hour. Chrysler says that their initial offer, which they claim would bring on-the-line pay to \$5.21 an hour, is adequate, and the company is sticking to that figure.

Other issues in the negotiations include the end of compulsory overtime, improved supplemental unemployment benefits, better health and safety conditions, an improved cost-of-living formula, early retirement, a dental program, and an end to dehumanizing speedup on the assembly line.

The demand for an end to compulsory overtime is being emphasized by the UAW. Under this slave-labor system, some auto workers have been forced to work as many as 74 hours a week. Chrysler refuses to concede on this issue because it is much cheaper to pay overtime wages to fewer workers than to hire more workers at straight-time pay. In the auto plants, many workers wear buttons with the slogan "Overtime: Ask me, don't tell me."

More than a dozen work stoppages have taken place in the last month in the auto plants, mainly Chrysler. During the recent 100-degree heat wave in Detroit, for instance, workers walked out of the Chrysler plants to protest the insufferable conditions.

On Sept. 7, in a provocative move, Chrysler "disciplined" 1,500 of the Detroit workers who walked out during the heat wave. They were either fired, suspended, or reprimanded. This move, made after consultation with Ford and General Motors, was an effort by the auto barons to muscle the union. Angry response from unionists, however, forced Chrysler to rescind the discipline a day later.

While the negotiations with Chrysler continue, General Motors and Ford agreed to extend the UAW contract on a day-to-day basis past the Sept. 14 expiration date, regardless of the outcome with Chrysler. This means that the two major companies will continue to operate without the threat of local strikes.

Presidents of the UAW's 69 local Chrysler unions met in Detroit Sept. 11 to discuss possible strike preparations. They told the press that the meeting was strictly "routine" and did not mean a decision to strike had been made.

A strike against Chrysler would affect 126,000 workers in the U.S. and Canada.

Workers strike at Columbia U.

By DEBBY NOTKIN

NEW YORK — Local 1199, which represents about 500 workers at Columbia University, went out on strike Sept. 10. The strike comes after many weeks of long, unproductive contract negotiations with the university administration.

The union is demanding a wage increase of 7.5 percent or \$12 a week (whichever is greater), retroactive to July 1. The university has refused to budge beyond an offer of a 5.5 percent increase tied to a reduction in sick leave benefits.

The university has also refused to accept the union's demands relating to minimum hiring rates, pension, tuition exemption, and union delegate policy.

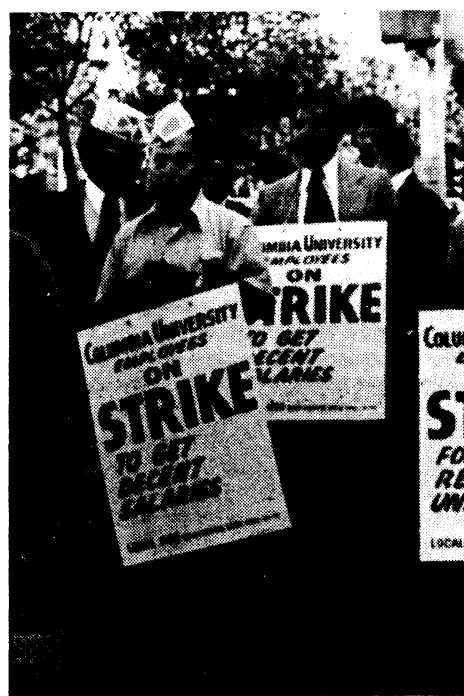
Two hundred students and faculty members met the first day of the strike and formed a support committee. A number of Local 1199 representatives

spoke at the meeting.

Bill Lyons, president of Transport Workers Local 241, which represents 800 maintenance workers at Columbia, announced that a meeting earlier in the afternoon voted unanimously to honor all pickets put up by Local 1199 and its supporters.

A meeting of the Columbia School of Social Work decided to cancel all classes for the duration of the strike. The student-faculty support committee voted unanimously to organize student and faculty participation in the Local 1199 picket lines.

A rally has been called for Sept. 11 to help build support for the strike. The District 65 Ad Hoc Committee for Organizing, which is trying to unionize 3,000 university workers, put out a leaflet urging all Columbia employees to join the Local 1199 picket line during their lunch hours and before work.



Calendar

HOUSTON

DO HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS HAVE HUMAN RIGHTS? A REPORT FROM THE WESTCHESTER HIGH SCHOOL STRIKERS. Speakers: student participants in the strike; Sara Johnston, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Sept. 21, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

LOS ANGELES

THE GOVERNMENT ON TRIAL. Speakers: ACLU representative on the suit against the L.A. community colleges for wiretapping; Arnie Weissberg for the Political Rights Defense Fund on the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against the government. Fri., Sept. 21, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. (near Santa Monica Blvd.) Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 463-1966.

PHILADELPHIA

CHILE: THE MEANING OF THE COUP. Speaker to be announced. Fri., Sept. 21, 8 p.m. Houston Hall, HSP Room, University of Pennsylvania, 3714 Spruce St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

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...Chile

Continued from page 3

the masses would do if they were armed.

Minister of the Interior José Taha made clear in the same issue of *Clarín* that "the government reaffirms its decision not to accept the existence of armed groups of any kind; the functions relating to order and security are exclusively the armed forces' and Carabineers' jurisdiction."

Less than one year after Allende's electoral victory, in August 1971, Peter Camejo, a member of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, wrote:

"Today Allende claims that the Chilean army and the Carabineers can be trusted to defend the interests of the working people. But it is a serious mistake for Allende and the Popular Unity coalition to entrust to the army the

defense of the popular front government."

Camejo warned that, "while the bourgeois armed forces remain intact, organized, disciplined, and centralized, the workers and peasants have no organization, no arms, and no leadership. They have only numbers and a willingness to sacrifice."

Allende did everything possible to block the masses from gaining arms so that they could defend themselves in case of an attempted coup. Just this January he allowed passage of a bill giving the military the right to search for and seize arms throughout the country.

Upon first hearing of the coup Sept. 11 Allende announced that "a sector of the navy" had rebelled, and declared, "I am awaiting now a decision from the army to defend the government."

Within Chile, a tight censorship is in effect, and the extent of the resistance is not yet known. Commentary in the capitalist press is unanimous that, as the *New York Times* put it, "it will require tremendous skill and tact by the military chiefs now to avert widespread civil strife."

...Libya

Continued from page 4

Nixon "has reportedly tapped former Treasury Secretary John Connally," a trusted friend of the oil barons, "to head a high-level delegation to Moscow and several Middle Eastern capitals."

Forcing a settlement in the Middle East as a whole may still be too difficult for Washington, as it has been for the past six years. Israel remains the imperialists' trump card in the Mideast. A client state armed to the teeth, Israel's repressive anti-Arab domestic and foreign policies keep the region in permanent ferment. It is the centuries-old policy of "divide and rule."

Direct military intervention is another option. The Aug. 27 *U.S. News & World Report* carried an article describing large-scale Marine maneuvers in the Mojave desert in California. "As general unease builds up in the Middle East, the U.S. has handed its Marines a new assignment—be prepared, if ever needed, to fight in the desert."

The article pointed out that these maneuvers were preparing for possible action "presumably in North Africa or the Eastern Mediterranean."

"There is where U.S. oil interests are great," *U.S. News* continued, "and becoming more vital as the nation's appetite for fuels outruns its supplies."

Nixon's saber-rattling and threats of boycott underline that the U.S. government and its big business backers stand in the way of progress for the people of the U.S. and the Middle East. While Nixon and the oil corporations talk about an "energy crisis" and an "oil shortage," it is they who are calling for a boycott of Middle East oil. And it is the Nixon administration that is also threatening military intervention or CIA subversion against the Arab peoples.

...China

Continued from page 7

This was a major concern of the Tenth Party Congress. Unfortunately for Mao, such a transition is incompatible with the supercentralized Bonapartist regime he heads, a regime that can tolerate no independent claimants to leadership.

Thus, for example, when it came to electing the Standing Committee of the Politburo, the two new figures who had won some notice in the course of the Cultural Revolution and survived the Lin-Chen purge, were passed over: Chiang Ching and the prominent Shanghai journalist Yao Wen-yuan (the only member of the outgoing Politburo under fifty years old) failed to secure reelection. The most likely explanation is that they were too closely associated in the popular mind with the "leftist errors" of the Cultural Revolution.

The solution hit on by the bureaucratic tops was the inclusion in the leading bodies of several young apparatchiks who had distinguished themselves on the organizational plane in recent years. The most prominent of these is Wang Hung-wen, a "model worker" from Shanghai, who was given the honor of presenting the report on the constitution and of being photographed on the podium next to Mao and Chou. It remains to be seen if this method of creating "leaders" will provide any future for Chinese Stalinism when the old guard is gone.

With the exception of Wang Hung-wen, who is thirty-six, and Li Teh-sheng, who is in his late fifties, the rest of the Standing Committee is not exactly notable for its youthfulness or for its provision for "revolutionary successors." It includes Mao (79), Yeh Chien-ying (73), Chu Teh (86), Chang Chun-chiao (60), Chou En-lai (74), Kang Sheng (69), and Tung Pi-wu (86).

On the foreign-policy front, the congress reaffirmed the class-collaborationist course pursued by Peking in the past: continued détente with Washington; attempts to organize a bloc

of the smaller workers states and capitalist powers, especially in the underdeveloped world, against the "superpowers" (the U.S. and the USSR); and the singling out of the Soviet Union as China's principal enemy. The voice of proletarian internationalism did not get the floor at the Tenth Congress of the Chinese CP.

...Meany

Continued from page 8

the workers' needs, it will become the target of even more government attacks, legal and illegal.

But Meany's proposals for combating this danger are futile and self-defeating. They just add up to electing more Democrats and trusting them to defend labor's interests.

Meany and all the other labor fakers urge the workers to support the capitalist parties and rely on them for concessions. But Watergate is bringing to light more and more evidence that the illegal burglaries and wiretaps have been bipartisan policies, just as the wage controls and other antilabor legislation have been supported by Democrats and Republicans alike.

A real defense against these attacks on workers' rights can only be carried out by breaking with both capitalist parties and mobilizing the strength of the working class in independent political action.

A labor party based on the trade unions could be a powerful weapon in the fight for the workers' democratic rights and their standard of living.

Inflation WHAT CAUSES IT HOW TO FIGHT IT

by Linda Jenness
and Dick Roberts



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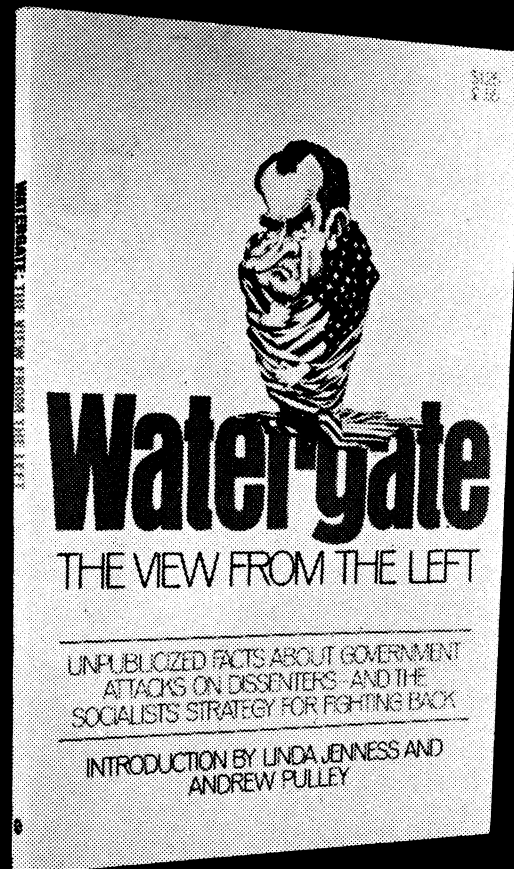
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in the Sept. International Socialist Review

Jiri Pelikan on

Lessons of the Prague Spring

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Say 'No!' to grapes & lettuce

Boycotters greet UFW car caravan

By DANIEL CAINE

CHICAGO—"In the Coachella Valley this summer, over 3,000 farmworkers were jailed for the crime of carrying picket signs, for the crime of striking. Some of those have been jailed three or four times, as many as 14 times. These are the men who have traveled over 2,000 miles to your city."

These words, spoken by Marshal Ganz, former national boycott director of the United Farm Workers Union, were met with an enormous ovation from a crowd of more than 700 people who had come to greet 400 farm worker militants from California. The occasion was a rally on Sept. 5 to welcome the farm workers who will function as boycott organizers in cities across the country, and to honor the memory of two farm workers murdered in California in August.

The 400 organizers were among nearly 600 who left California in a car caravan last week. Before fanning out to other major cities they will leave 60 organizers in Chicago. According to Ganz, the original group of 600 workers is the first of "three or four successive waves" of strikers to be dispatched from California.

The rally was one of the most spirited held recently in Chicago. UFW flags were everywhere, and speech after speech was punctuated by chants of "Huelga! Huelga!" and "Chávez si, Teamsters no!" that shook the hall with their intensity.

Many who attended the rally have



Chicago, Sept. 5. Farm workers caravan from California and local boycott supporters chant 'Viva La Huelga!'

Paul Obis Jr.

been active in the picket of the Jewel food chain, Chicago's major retailer in scab produce. This meeting, however, was by far the largest outpouring of enthusiasm yet in Chicago for

the farm workers' cause.

The rally was enhanced by messages of support for the UFW that have been arriving from increasing numbers of political figures, community organizations, and union leaders.

After greeting the farm workers on behalf of the United Auto Workers district and regional leadership, DeWitt Gilpin commented, "Your strike stands before the entire American labor movement as an example of where the movement is going." Citing the farm workers' struggle as a landmark in American labor history, he compared it to the Pullman strike of the 1890s and the Flint sitdown strikes in the early years of the UAW.

The ferocity of the combined offensive of the California growers, the government, and the Teamsters officialdom, Gilpin said, resulted from the UFW's vanguard role within the labor movement.

Ganz denounced this reactionary offensive as "a conspiracy among agribusiness, the Teamsters, and the Nixon administration to destroy the Farm Workers Union." It was this conspiracy, he said, that was responsible for the blood of the two martyred strikers murdered last month in California. These brutal attacks in turn convinced the farm workers to greatly accelerate

the national boycott activities. Ganz emphasized that the growers feared the boycott just as much as the strike itself because it "directly threatens their major markets in the cities."

The main task of the UFW now, he added, is to show American consumers that "the lettuce and grapes sold in the supermarkets are drenched in the blood of workers fighting for a decent life."

SEPT. 10—Before their stop in Chicago, the UFW caravan was greeted by rallies in Phoenix, Albuquerque, Denver, Kansas City, and St. Louis.

Upon arriving in Denver Sept. 2, they were fed at the headquarters of the Colorado Labor Council, AFL-CIO, and housed by the MaryCrest Seminary Sisters. A send-off rally at 7 a.m. on Labor Day was organized with help from the Denver AFL-CIO. Several labor leaders as well as strikers from the Gates Rubber Co. were present.

The farm workers held a rally Sept. 4 of more than 800 supporters at St. Louis University.

St. Louis boycott organizers are fighting a temporary restraining order obtained Sept. 7 by Schnucks food stores, the largest seller of scab grapes and lettuce in St. Louis.

Labor caravan to Delano

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—A labor caravan of some 200 cars went to Delano Sept. 8 to bring food and money to striking members of the United Farm Workers.

The caravan was organized by the Los Angeles County AFL-CIO and was actively supported by the United Auto Workers.

At Delano, the unionists were greeted by strikers. A rally was held where representatives of the various unions participating in the caravan announced their contribution and pledged continuing solidarity.

AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Sigmund Arywitz estimated that the caravan brought some \$5000 worth of non perishable food and about \$1,500 in cash. This apparently did not include UAW contributions, which seemed to boost that amount significantly.

Among the participating AFL-CIO unions were the United Steel Workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Butcher Workmen, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and others. Members of the independent Longshoremen's union also joined the solidarity caravan.

UAW members included workers from Douglas aircraft and other major area plants. It was the most significant united labor action here in several years.

Arywitz pledged that Los Angeles labor would energetically promote the United Farm Workers boycott of scab grapes and lettuce. He predicted the boycott would prove even more effective than the one that won union contracts for the UFW in 1970.