

# THE MILITANT

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

## Protest repression in Chile!

The situation in Chile today calls for emergency action!

Reports coming out of Chile from those who have managed to escape

### A call to action

paint a picture of a reign of terror. Dragnet searches, arrests, bombing and strafing of working-class areas, and mass executions are being carried out by the right-wing military regime.

The lives of thousands of innocent people are at stake in Chile, and time is of the essence in attempting to save them.

A massive international protest movement is needed to stay the hand of the executioners.

In this country, *Militant* readers are urged to throw their support to the campaign launched by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). USLA is seeking to focus maximum publicity around the plight of individuals

known to be hunted by the Chilean dictators or already taken prisoner

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As we go to press *The Militant* has learned that Hugo Blanco has managed to get out of Chile. Blanco, an exiled Peruvian peasant organizer and a leader of the Fourth International, had lived in Chile for nearly a year. As of Sept. 27 he was in Mexico City on his way to Stockholm, where the Swedish government has granted him asylum. However the fate of his two children, still in Chile, is unknown.



Militant/John Lauritsen

N.Y. action hits U.S. complicity in Chile coup. For Chile news & analysis, see pages 3-6 and World Outlook section.

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## THE MILITANT

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**MARTIAL LAW IN PHILIPPINES SCORED:** More than 300 people, primarily Filipinos and other Asians, participated in an anti-Marcos march and rally in San Francisco Sept. 22. The demonstration commemorated the first anniversary of the Marcos regime's enactment of martial law in the Philippines.

The demonstrators marched through the streets of central San Francisco, which is one of the poorest areas of the city and has the largest concentration of Filipino families. The demands of the demonstration were: Oppose martial law! Restore civil liberties! No U.S. support to Marcos! Free all political prisoners!

## Socialist wins spot in Boston runoff election

BOSTON—John Powers, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Boston city council, has won a place in the Nov. 6 runoff election.

In the Sept. 26 primary election, Powers received 6,356 votes, finishing fourteenth in a field of 21 candidates. He fell only six votes short of thirteenth place. The top 18 candidates in the formally nonpartisan election qualify for the runoff to the nine-member council.

In an election marked by voter apathy—only 15 percent of those registered went to the polls—most of the city's young people did not vote. Powers said, "Young people see the city council, and rightly so, as lackeys of big business—corrupt, reactionary politicians who are only interested in using city council as a stepping stone in their political careers."

"The vote for me represented a significant amount of support for the socialist alternative to these Democrats and Republicans. Last year when I ran for Congress, the *Globe* reported that I 'forced other candidates to make a stand.' It will be even more so this year, and I'm sure support will grow for my campaign in the final months."

As the unexpectedly high vote for Powers came in, one television announcer on election night said, "Just about the only campaign that was seriously trying to raise the issues was the Socialist Workers campaign. Johnny Powers is right up there."

Patricia Bonner-Lyons, candidate of the Young Workers Liberation League and the only Black candidate for school committee, received 7,975 votes. She finished tenth in that race, just qualifying for the runoffs for the five-member committee.

Although the SWP disagrees with Bonner-Lyon's program, it called for a vote for her as a break with the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties.

**PETITION SUPPORTS RIGHTS OF FRENCH COMMUNIST LEAGUE:** Antiwar activist Daniel Berrigan and *Monthly Review* editor Paul Sweezy are among the most recent signers of the petition being circulated by the Committee for Defense of the Rights of the Communist League in France. The League was dissolved by the Pompidou regime June 28 for its role in an antifascist demonstration June 21 in Paris.

The petition, addressed to French President Pompidou, reads: "We the undersigned view with alarm the action of your government in banning the Communist League. The right to form political organizations is one of the most basic of democratic freedoms. While not necessarily agreeing with the views or actions of the Communist League, we believe it must have the right to exist if democratic norms are to be observed in France."

"Therefore we join with the many French political figures, trade unionists, artists, academicians, and others who are demanding: Lift the ban on the Communist League! Drop all charges against leaders or members of the League!"

These demands have already been endorsed by more than 5,000 French people and are steadily gaining international support as well. The defense committee asks that this petition be circulated on campuses, in unions, in political organizations and elsewhere in the U.S. Signed petitions should be sent to Francoise Collet, 2310 Creston Ave., Apt. 6A, New York, N.Y. 10468.

**DETROIT FIGHT CONTINUES FOR YOUTH BALLOT RIGHTS:** Councilwoman Erma Henderson and Common Council President Mel Ravitz have endorsed the efforts of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws to strike down Detroit's reactionary age requirements.

CoDEL, along with the American Civil Liberties Union, has filed suit in federal court to strike down the law requiring a mayoral candidate to be at least 30 years of age and a Common Council candidate to be at least 25.

A number of candidates were allowed to file for public office, only to have their names struck from the ballot

shortly before the primary on the grounds that they were not old enough. Among those knocked off the ballot were the Socialist Workers Party candidates for mayor, Maceo Dixon, and Common Council, Rachel Fruit.

Other recent endorsements of the CoDEL suit include Sixto Rodriguez, chairman of the Monteith College Student Council, Wayne State University; Judy Hagans, president of the Wayne State Associated Black Student Nurses; and James Lafferty, coordinator, Detroit Coalition to End the War.

The Young Socialists for Dixon has asked that protest letters be sent to Judge Feikens, Federal District Court, Federal Building, Detroit, Mich. 48226; and to George Edwards, City Clerk, City County Building, Detroit, Mich. 48226.

**SUPPORT BUILDS FOR UNITED FARM WORKERS:** The United Electrical Workers convention in Pittsburgh passed a resolution Sept. 14 urging "our Districts and Locals to support the struggle of the UFW to defeat the combined attack of the Nixon Administration, the growers and their allies within the Teamsters' Union."

In Indiana, about 100 UFW supporters picketed Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz when he appeared in Bloomington and Indianapolis to address Republican Party dinners in early September. Butz called the UFW-initiated



Denver

grape and lettuce boycotts "illegal and un-American."

In Cleveland, UFW supporters are picketing Fisher-Fazio, the city's largest food chain, for selling scab grapes and lettuce. One method that the UFW there is using to raise money for the families of striking farm workers is to solicit at plant gates. The collection in one day at a large Chevrolet plant netted \$1,750.

In Norfolk, Va., the boycott effort is being supported by The Defense Committee, a group of antiwar sailors, soldiers, and Marines who publish a monthly called *Grapes of Wrath*. The U.S. military was one of the biggest buyers of scab grapes during the previous grape boycott.

For articles on the recent UFW convention, see page 7.

—DERRICK MORRISON

**YOUR FIRST ISSUE? SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT**



BEHIND THE COUP IN CHILE: The role of U.S. imperialism, the lessons of the Popular Unity coalition, and the danger the coup poses for Latin American revolutionists. . . . For analysis on the latest developments in Chile, read *The Militant*.

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# Savage repression hits workers movement as investors are wooed

By DAVE FRANKEL

The U.S. government moved to recognize the new military junta in Chile Sept. 24 as reports of wholesale executions filtered out of the country and foreign investors were invited to return. These developments were capped by the banning of the 800,000-member Central Workers Confederation the following day.

The savagery and scope of the repression against the Chilean workers movement was indicated by Dr. Philip Polakoff at a New York news conference Sept. 23.

Polakoff, who had been sent by the U.S. government to work for a month with the Chilean National Institute for Occupational Health, estimated that "anywhere from 5,000 to 25,000" people were killed as a result of "widespread massacring of civilians and torturing of prisoners by the junta."

A Dutch diplomat in Santiago estimated the casualties in Santiago alone at 6,000 or more, and said that the junta was treating resisters with "unimaginable violence," according to the Rotterdam daily *Algemeen Dagblad*.

A similar report came from Manuel Meijido, a correspondent for the Mexican daily *Excelsior*. "In Santiago as well as the rest of the country, they are shooting down people indiscriminately," he said.

Meijido emphasized the anti-foreign campaign launched by the junta in remarks to the Argentine daily *La Razón*: "I have the most direct and reliable information that there is a perfectly well-prepared list of 13,115 foreigners and all the members of the GAP [Grupo de Amigos Personales—Group of Personal Friends, Allende's guard] and the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left]. . . . All are in effect condemned to death."

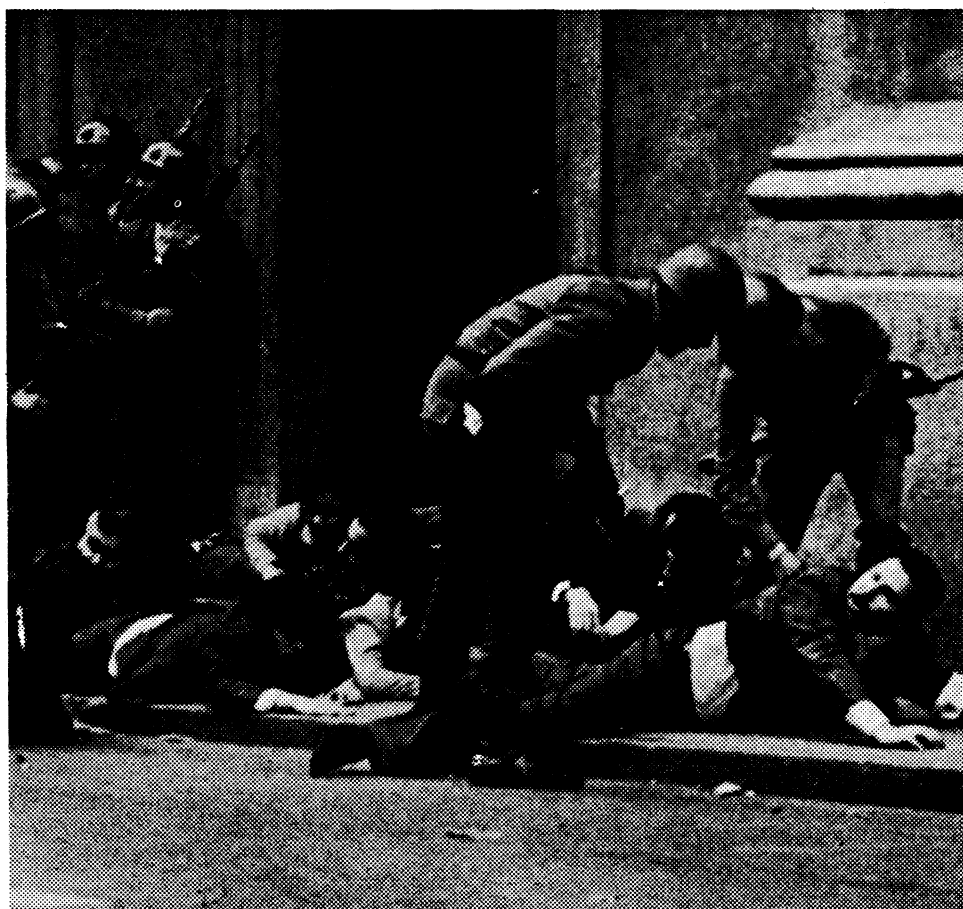
"Now the worry of many diplomats and many foreigners in Santiago is how far the extremism of the Junta Militar will go. . . . It is reaching unheard-of lengths. . . ."

The virulence of the junta's xenophobic campaign has already caused it some embarrassment. About a thousand Bolivians have been expelled from Chile, but apparently most of them were not political activists, and some had lived in Chile for as long as 17 years. According to a Sept. 21 UPI dispatch, the La Paz religious radio station Católica Fides denounced the deportations as "inhuman," saying that most of those expelled were "humble people, including peasants."

In another incident, an American film-maker working on animated movies for children suddenly disappeared, apparently taken by the military. "I don't know why they came," his tearful wife told *New York Times* correspondent Marvine Howe.

She showed Howe "pamphlets that had been distributed in her neighborhood saying 'Chileans, do not be afraid to denounce your foreign neighbors, who have come here to kill Chileans.'"

On Sept. 24, Howe reported that "there is panic in the foreign community here, particularly among Latin Americans here under the Allende regime as political exiles. . . . The for-



Soldiers searching buildings and civilians in Santiago

eigners are being held responsible for training Chilean left-wing guerrillas and spreading Marxism."

The junta admits that it is holding some 7,000 prisoners in the National Stadium in Santiago, and every day is bringing new arrests. *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent James Goodsell reports that other prisoners "are on a boat off the coast, on several Chilean islands in the Pacific, and in various Army camps from Antofagasta in the north to Punta Arenas in the south."

The press has carried repeated reports of executions and torture of the prisoners in Santiago. The latest was the account of two American graduate students, Adam and Patricia Garrett-Schesch, who reported some 400-500 executions while they were held in the National Stadium, the place where Allende gave his inaugural speech.

Patricia Garrett-Schesch described one group of prisoners who "walked out singing the 'Internationale'; then the shooting began . . . heavy, sustained automatic weapons fire . . . It lasted a minute or two. I heard fewer and fewer voices singing. And then the singing stopped."

The junta originally dismissed the charges of executions as "absolutely baseless," and maintained that "not even one person" had been executed at the stadium. But a spokesman quoted by Marlise Simons in the Sept. 25 *Washington Post* refused to reaffirm the denial.

Although the junta has used foreign political exiles as scapegoats to justify its reign of terror, the real target is the Chilean working class, which had radicalized to the point that it increasingly challenged capitalist property rights. The anti-foreign terror is being used in an attempt to intimidate the working class as a whole.

This was illustrated in the death of a 22-year-old electronics student. According to the Sept. 20 *Le Monde*, "the young man was taken to an in-

dustrial district to be shot on the spot, in front of workers and students. The commander of the firing squad ordered him to flee: 'You are a foreigner, you are a Venezuelan. You can save yourself.' . . . When he refused, the soldiers dragged him up against a wall and shot him, telling the witnesses that he was an 'example.'"

An indication that the terror campaign will be a prolonged one was given in the Sept. 24 *Christian Science Monitor*. James Goodsell made himself the mouthpiece for "an extremely high military official," and tried to justify the slaughter by reporting, without a trace of sarcasm, that "violent revolution" had been threatened in Chile.

The "extremist apparatus" (the workers movement, not the military), "was on the verge of launching a reign of terror in Chile," according to Goodsell's "source."

Goodsell insisted that "it will take a six-month 'hard-line' campaign to root out all the vestiges of the paramilitary apparatus."

In the meantime, house-to-house searches for arms, "extremists," and "subversive propaganda" are going on continually. Bonfires fueled by suspect literature are burning throughout Santiago.

Another ominous sign was the Sept. 23 announcement that the dictatorship would no longer honor safe-conduct passes out of the country granted by foreign embassies. Together with recent raids on the Argentine consulate and the house of the Mexican ambassador, this could set the stage for a move against the hundreds of Chileans and foreigners who have taken refuge in various embassies.

It will no doubt be some time before the full extent of the slaughter carried out immediately following the coup becomes known. The generals sealed off the country during the first week, closing off the borders and airports and imposing a tight censorship. Anybody found on the streets

was liable to be shot on sight, and apparently many of the dead were buried during this period.

However, the junta has made clear that it is not against everything foreign. General Gustavo Leigh announced Sept. 23 that "we want to give confidence to the entire world. The doors will open for any foreign capital seeking a place in Chile."

The Sept. 24 *Washington Post* reported that the junta was giving potential investors guarantees against expropriation. "By hitting extremist pockets hard now we are making sure that plans of reconstruction can be carried out without disruption in the future," it quoted a military spokesman as saying. The banning of Chile's main trade-union organization was another guarantee against "disruption" of the junta's economic plans.

Jonathan Kandell reported in the Sept. 25 *New York Times* that "the military junta has placed the vast majority of state-controlled factories and businesses back in the hands of the executives who ran them before the government of President Salvador Allende Gossens was voted into power."

Kandell quoted one manager who said, "We are consulting with the workers to weed out the extremists. My own impression is that the military government wants production and labor discipline."

This approach has struck a sympathetic chord in some quarters. The Inter-American Development Bank has already announced a \$65-million loan for projects that have been held up for two years. And the Sept. 24 *Times* reported that "Bankers Trust . . . informed the Bank of Chile this week that it would be willing to double the \$2.5-million credit now in the pipeline."



PINOCHET (seated): Recognized by U.S. government.

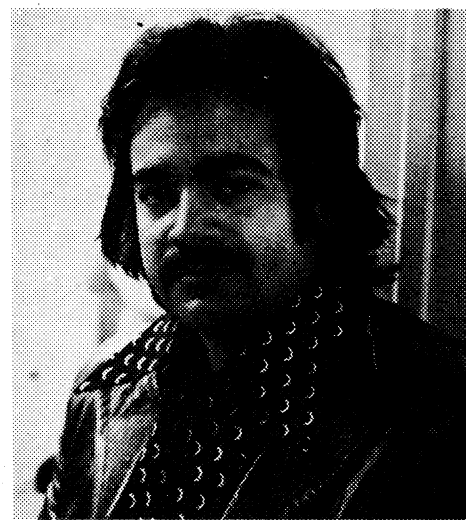


# How the military made its bloody coup

By CAROLINE LUND

Mark Cooper, a 22-year-old correspondent for Pacifica radio, was an eyewitness to the military takeover in Chile. Cooper has lived in Chile for 26 months, and for the past several months worked as translator for former Chilean president Salvador Allende, translating his speeches into English for publication by the Chilean government.

The coup broke out Sept. 11, and Cooper was fortunately able to leave Chile Sept. 19 through an arrange-



Militant/Flax Hermes

COOPER: 'Within three or four hours of the uprising by the military there were what could only be described as massacres.'

ment with the United Nations.

WBAI-FM, the listener-sponsored, Pacifica radio station in New York, has been broadcasting in several installments Cooper's account of the development of the Chilean coup.

On Sept. 26 he told *The Militant* what he knew from his own experiences, and from reports from his friends and acquaintances, about the nature of the Chilean dictatorship and the extent of the repression that has been inflicted on the Chilean people.

His account underlines the urgency of mounting a determined campaign in this country in defense of the victims of the reactionary wave of terror in Chile. For information on what you can do to aid in building such a campaign, contact the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. For more information and address, see next page.

The following is Cooper's description of what happened:

I first learned of the coup at about 9 in the morning on Sept. 11, when the right-wing radio stations in Santiago locked into a network and began playing military marches. They broadcast statements of the new mil-

itary government.

Within three or four hours of the uprising by the military there began what could only be described as massacres. By about 12 noon, the state technical university in the Western part of the city was invaded by the army.

Of the three universities in Santiago, this is the one that is considered predominantly leftist.

There were several thousand students on the campus at the time, and the army moved in to make sure that these students had no time to organize anything. First the university was strafed by British Hawker-Hunter jets of the Chilean Air Force. It was then surrounded by troops, who used mortars against it and moved in with machine guns.

Firsthand accounts, from people I can guarantee are very responsible, estimate that between 600 and 700 students were killed on this one campus, within a matter of an hour.

At about 6:30 that evening, army supply trucks came to cart away the bodies.

One of the first statements of the military junta was that the coup had to take place because Chile had become dominated by "foreign extremists," specifically by Cubans and by Latin American and other exiles. The junta claimed there were 14,000 "illegal foreigners" in the country.

About 10:30 in the morning, the armed forces began reading a list over the radio of foreigners of all nationalities, but primarily Bolivian, Brazilian, and Uruguayan. They said that these people had five hours to turn themselves in.

This campaign against foreigners intensified throughout the morning, with statements that the intention of the coup was not only to overthrow Allende but to drive all foreigners out of the country.



'In the areas where they couldn't make the workers surrender with machine guns and mortar attacks, they would bomb from the air.'

Politically this is very important because there were several thousand foreign exiles in Chile, people who had obtained political asylum through the guarantees of international law under the Allende government, and they were obviously being threatened with return to their native countries, where they would most probably be immediately shot.

So raids occurred throughout the city against foreigners. The radio came on saying the duty of every patriotic Chilean was to denounce all foreigners they knew of to the military authorities. And of course this was done by many people, because there are sectors of the Chilean population who supported and collaborated with the coup.

The military also had a very formidable intelligence service, which had never stopped functioning under Allende. So they were able to locate many foreigners, many of whom we still have no information on.

At the same time, on the first day, the army moved against factories in the areas of industrial concentrations, the industrial belts, especially the Vicuña Mackenna area and the Cerrillos area. Claiming that the workers inside the plants were resisting, they began to attack with machine guns and mortars.

I think we should get the picture straight here—in Vicuña Mackenna, for example, we're not talking about workers coming out in armed militias and resisting the army, because that's not what occurred. What happened is that the workers were caught in the factories. They were trapped. And they were fighting for their lives with whatever they had, in a more or less disorganized manner. They had no choice except to fight.

But they were greatly outnumbered in terms of armaments. And in the

areas where they couldn't make the workers surrender with machine gun and mortar attacks, they would bomb from the air.

The Mexican and Peruvian press have many stories that have not been carried in the U.S. press, telling of the hundreds of bodies in the streets of Vicuña Mackenna from the aerial attacks.

## Thousands held captive

"Thousands and thousands of people are being held in Chile's national football stadium," said Mark Cooper. "It is one of the largest in South America, holding about 80,000 people."

"No one knows exactly how many are there. The latest figure released by the government is that there are 7,000 people being held there. But I know some people who were taken to the stadium and then released, and they say they saw a lot more than 7,000."

"As far as the executions go, people I've talked to who were taken there and later released have brought back varying figures of how many executions they've witnessed. None of them were there long enough to see many, but they all report seeing people shot."

"I know that for at least 10 days after the coup the International Red Cross petitioned to gain entrance into the national stadium but was denied entrance by the military government."

In one part of the Vicuña Mackenna strip there's one factory called Sumar, which is one of the major nationalized textile plants. This plant had been raided by the armed forces on the Friday before the coup, searching for weapons. This turned into a big incident because a one-and-a-half-hour gun battle developed between the workers inside the factory and the air force. The raid was finally ordered stopped by the Commander in chief of the Santiago garrison, who feared a confrontation.

So naturally, when the coup occurred this was one of the primary targets. A bus full of military police pulled up to the factory and as the carabinero [national] police stepped out of the bus they were machine-gunned from within the factory.

This provoked an incredible military assault against the factory which

*Continued on page 20*

## SWP leader urges defense of Chile prisoners

A standing-room-only crowd of 350 jammed a New York University lecture hall Sept. 21 to hear Les Evans, editor of the *International Socialist Review* and a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, speak on "Why Allende Fell."

"The right-wing military coup in Chile represents a tragic setback for the Chilean revolution, for the Latin American peoples, and for the world working class as a whole," Evans said.

He stressed that North American

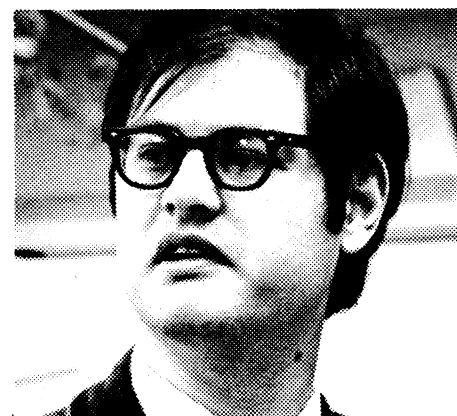
socialists have a special responsibility to expose the complicity of the U.S. government in the coup. "In conjunction with this," he said, "a worldwide campaign must be built to defend the thousands of Chilean political prisoners, and especially the foreign exiles in Chile who have been singled out by the junta as a special target."

In drawing the lessons of the defeat in Chile, Evans explained how the class-collaborationist strategy of the Communist Party and the other components of the Popular Unity

coalition disarmed the workers movement in the face of the right-wing offensive.

"What was lacking in Chile was a mass revolutionary party with a perspective of struggling against the military for power, not collaborating with the armed forces and urging the workers to trust the local agents of imperialism," Evans concluded.

The meeting was sponsored by the Brooklyn, Lower Manhattan, and Upper West Side Militant Forums.



EVANS: 'Chile coup is tragic setback to world working class.'



# USLA Justice Committee sets drive to aid victims of repression in Chile

Two weeks after the rightist coup in Chile, protests in the United States — far from dying down — have intensified as new reports bring confirmation of widespread torture and executions under the military junta.

Rallies, teach-ins, and marches have taken place from coast to coast, as groups and individuals attempt to extend public awareness of the bloody repression in Chile and the collaboration of the U.S. government in these crimes.

One of the centers of activity is the

whose lives are feared to be in danger in Chile (see box on this page).

USLA is asking that individuals and organizations send telegrams to General Augusto Pinochet, Santiago, Chile, requesting information on the whereabouts of these individuals and guarantees of their physical safety.

USLA drew up this list after consulting with other organizations and individuals concerned with political persecution in Latin America. It is hoped that a campaign focused on these well-known figures will help dra-

USLA; Dan Statello, campus minister at Northridge; Larry Letwin, political science professor on campus; Fred Halstead, a reporter for *The Militant* in Chile last spring; and Raúl Ruiz of La Raza Unida Party.

Some 60 people signed up with USLA to help work on defense of political prisoners in Chile.

About 400 people attended a demonstration at Lincoln Park in East Los Angeles called by the Coalition for the Restoration of Democracy in Chile. Demands included support for the Popular Unity government. USLA helped build the demonstration on the basis of demands to end the repression and free political prisoners in Chile.

Speakers included Emily Gibson of the Communist Party and Bert Corona of CASA-Hermandad, an anti-deportation group, as well as a representative of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

Forty people signed up to work with USLA, which is participating in building teach-ins on 11 campuses in the Los Angeles area in the coming weeks.

## Austin

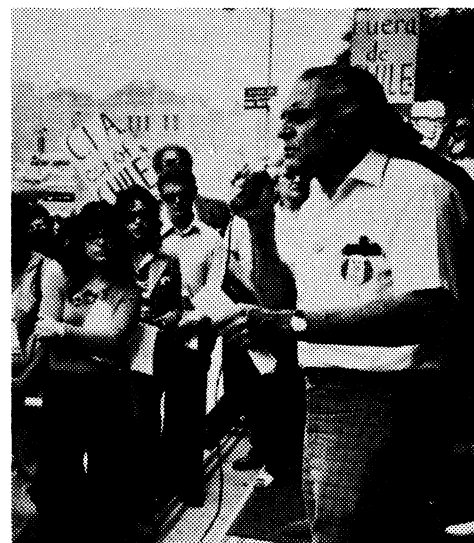
On Sept. 21, a protest rally of 250 was held at the University of Texas in Austin. The rally was addressed by representatives of the Latin American Policy Alternatives Group and the Young Socialist Alliance.

A public forum of 250 took place Sept. 20, cosponsored by the Latin American Policy Alternatives Group and the Young Socialist Alliance.

## San Francisco

More than 200 people marched in a noon demonstration Sept. 20 in San Francisco against the right-wing coup in Chile. The focus of the action was a meeting of the International Industrial Conference (IIC). This gathering of industrialists from multinational corporations took place in the plush Fairmont Hotel on top of San Francisco's Nob Hill. The favorite slogan chanted at the demonstration was: "IIC, CIA — How many coups did you plan today?"

The action was organized by the Ad



Militant/Harry Ring

Protesters in Los Angeles hear Chicano leader Bert Corona.

Hoc Committee Against U.S. Intervention in Chile and the USLA. This was the third demonstration organized in a week's time in San Francisco against political repression in Chile.

## Bloomington

Some 125 persons took part in a demonstration in Bloomington, Ind., on Sept. 19 against the overthrow of the Allende regime and American complicity with the military junta. The action was sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance, Organization of Arab Students, Young Workers Liberation League, Socialist Party, and Student Mobilization Committee.

## Seattle

On Sept. 19, 100 people gathered for a protest meeting and press conference at El Centro de la Raza in Seattle to protest the military take-over in Chile. The meeting, sponsored by the Third World Coalition, heard a statement from Latin American students in Washington. USLA was also present and distributed a statement to the meeting.

Demands of the meeting included: no U.S. intervention in Chile or rec-

*Continued on page 20*



Protests in San Francisco took place Sept. 15 and 20

U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). In addition to participating in demonstrations and meetings throughout the country, USLA has launched an emergency campaign in defense of 23 Chileans and Latin American exiles

## New York protest meeting

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) is organizing a large protest meeting in defense of political prisoners in Chile. The meeting will take place in New York, Oct. 12 (postponed from Oct. 3). Six other organizations have agreed to co-sponsor the meeting so far, and many other groups are being contacted. The initial sponsors are: United Farm Workers Union, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, CLAN (Coalition of Latin Americans and Friends of Latin America), PRD (Dominican Revolutionary Party), and Casa Betances (a New York Puerto Rican cultural and political center). Individuals endorsing the meeting include Jules Feiffer, Ruby Dee, Philip Berrigan, and Noam Chomsky.

The full speakers' list has not yet been announced, but the speakers already confirmed are José Torres, columnist for the *New York Post*; attorney Conrad Lynn; and Mark Cooper, a translator for former Chilean President Allende and correspondent for Pacifica radio, who was in Santiago during the coup. Corliss Lamont will chair the meeting.

For more information on USLA activities, and time and place of the meeting, write USLA at 150 Fifth Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-2880.

matize the plight of the thousands of other political prisoners as well as put the junta on the spot to account for specific individuals from a wide spectrum of political views.

Frank Grinnon of the USLA staff told *The Militant* that "our office is swamped with phone calls and people coming in who want to help." The office staff and volunteers have hung up a big board where information on protest meetings and demonstrations around the country is posted up from phone call reports.

"People want to know what activities are going on and what they can do," said Grinnon. "Many are people we never heard from before, especially Latin Americans living in the U.S."

Information from Grinnon and from *Militant* correspondents around the country provides the following picture of continuing nationwide protest actions.

## Boston

A teach-in of 800 people took place Sept. 21 at Harvard University. It was sponsored by the Committee for Non-Intervention in Chile, and USLA, among other groups, helped to build it.

USLA organized a campaign of protest telegrams to the Chilean ambassador in Washington. Among those who sent telegrams, announced at a press conference, were Congressmen Michael Harrington and John J. Moakley, as well as Jerome Grossman, member of the Democratic National Committee. Also appearing at the press conference was John Powers, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Boston city council.

## Los Angeles

About 200 people attended an outdoor teach-in at California State College in Northridge Sept. 21 sponsored by USLA and the Los Angeles Group on Latin American Solidarity. Speakers included Virginia Garza from

## Defend Chile victims

*Militant* readers are asked to join the campaign to save the following individuals whose lives are in danger in Chile:

Carlos Altamirano, secretary general of the Chilean Socialist Party; Luis Corvalán, general secretary of the Chilean Communist Party; Pedro Enriquez, lawyer for the Chilean MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left); Theotonio dos Santos, noted Brazilian political economist; Vania Bambilla, also a noted political economist.

Also Ruy Mauro Marini, Brazilian political scientist; Ernani Maria Fiori, Brazilian philosopher; Mario Pedrosa, Brazilian art and social critic; Hugo Blanco, Peruvian revolutionist and peasant leader (for latest information on Blanco's situation, see page 1); Gustavo Beghaut, Uruguayan director of Latin American Studies at the Sorbonne.

Also Juan Lechín, Bolivian trade-union leader; Elsa Peña vda. Hernández, widow of Dominican revolutionist Homero Hernández; Anna

Napoleon, Haitian political refugee; Julio Cortazar, Argentine writer; Emma de Torres, wife of Juan José Torres, former president of Bolivia and a leader of defense efforts for Bolivian political prisoners.

Also Hugo Gonzales Moscoso, leader of the Bolivian POR (Combate) (Revolutionary Workers Party); Patricio Gussman, Chilean filmmaker; Maria Ester Gilio, Uruguayan lawyer who defended many Tupamaros; Guillermo Lora of the Bolivian POR (Masas); Angel Parra, Chilean singer; Guillermo Cahn, Chilean filmmaker; Pedro Chaskel, Chilean filmmaker; and Ulrick Joly, Haitian political refugee.

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners needs volunteers and financial contributions to aid its campaign to pressure the Chilean regime to guarantee the safety of these and other political refugees or prisoners. Send a check today, or volunteer your services, to USLA, 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 311, New York, N.Y. 10011. Phone: (212) 691-2880.

## Will Peronism lead to similar defeat?

# Argentine workers protest Chile coup

By PHIL COURNEYEUR  
and MIRTA VIDAL

BUENOS AIRES—The overthrow of the Allende government in Chile sparked mass protests in Argentina on the eve of the Sept. 23 presidential elections.

Within hours of the coup, thousands of university students had rallied in assemblies and in the streets of Buenos Aires to denounce the coup and to express their solidarity with the Chilean people.

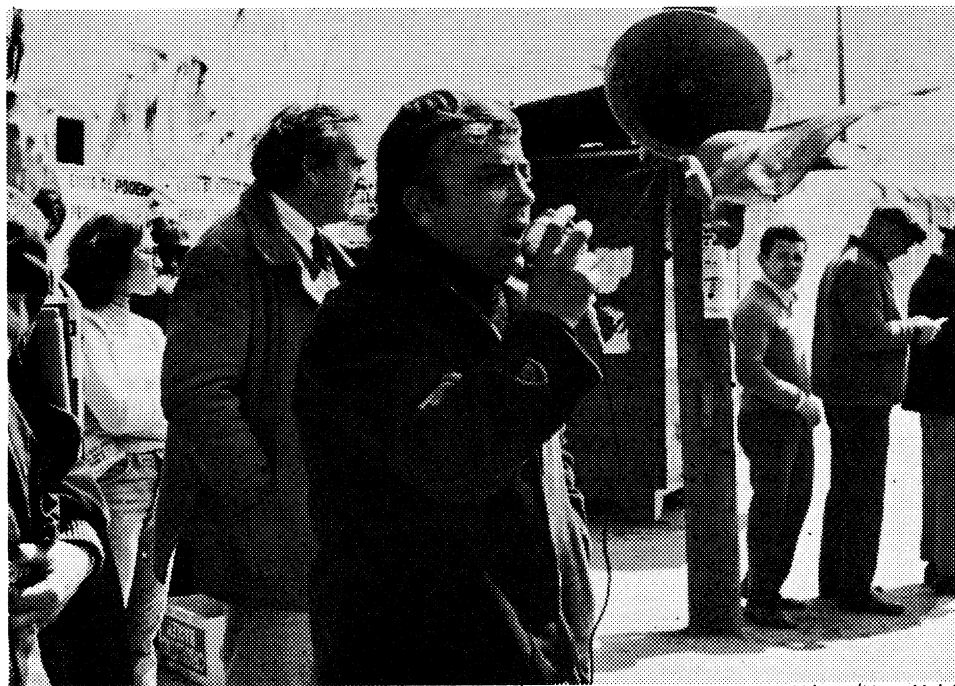
Throughout the next week, more than 20,000 students on high school and university campuses participated in protest rallies. The Juventud Socialista de Avanzada (JSA—Socialist Youth Vanguard) played a central role, seconded by the Communist Party youth movement, in initiating many of these actions.

The day after the coup, various left parties and groups in Buenos Aires, together with the Peronist Youth, called a rally in front of the Congreso (House of Congress). The rally drew more than 12,000 workers and students to the square.

Four days later the Peronist Youth staged its own rally. Twenty thousand responded to its call to protest the Chilean junta's coup and to observe the eighteenth anniversary of the 1955 military coup here that ousted Perón.

The symbolism of the coincidence of dates touched the nerves of millions of Argentines, who could not help but wonder what the Chilean coup will mean for this country. Will Perón be but an interlude on the way to yet another coup and military dictatorship?

Another action, called for Sept. 18 by a united front of left organizations and unions, drew more than 20,000 people to the Congreso. This rally, called on very short notice, was backed by the Communist Party; the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party); three factions of the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP—Revolutionary People's Army)—the Santucho group, the Red Faction, and the August 22 Faction; other leftist groups; and such unions as the Light and Power Workers, the Taxi Drivers, and the Actors and Mu-



PAEZ: 'Chile shows us that socialism can only be fought for with a revolutionary party, not with reformism.'

sicians Society.

Speakers at the rally included the well-known trade-union leader Augustin Tosco; Dr. Oscar Alende, a leader of the Intransigent Party, an important bourgeois party; Manuel Gagero, representing the Anti-Imperialist Front; Mario Amaya, a deputy in Congress; a leader of the Communist Party; and others from professional and artistic circles.

### Acid test

The events in Chile have been an acid test for every organization on the Argentine left.

The PST turned its electoral campaign into a tool for mobilizing the widespread sentiment against the military coup and in support of the Chilean workers.

The PST approached the mobilizations with two central tasks in mind: to extend the first actions into further united-front mass actions supported by the left as a whole; and to use the demonstrations to draw the key lessons of Chile to the attention of Argentine workers and students.

The PST's class-struggle approach came into conflict with that of the

reformist Communist Party and the Peronist Youth. The Peronist Youth and the CP, fearful that the lessons of the coup might undercut their arguments for supporting Perón, tried to contain the demonstrations within a respectful and mournful approach and to channel the workers and students' anger into support for Perón. Both spared no effort to keep working-class political demands out of the demonstrations and factory meetings.

The two conflicting approaches were obvious at the huge Congreso rally Sept. 18. The PST and the Workers Front brought some 2,000 workers to the demonstration. Another 2,000 students marched under the banner of the JSA. Despite the fact that the PST had one of the largest contingents, the organizing committee of the rally, dominated by the CP, excluded the PST and other smaller revolutionary organizations from speaking at the rally.

### PST draws lessons

The demonstrations did, however, get a chance to see the position of the PST. A leaflet distributed at the march and rally protested the exclusion and called on all the presidential candidates to demand, as the PST did, that the government break relations with the military regime in Chile. The leaflet also demanded:

"Denounce the repression in Chile in the United Nations and demand the immediate formation of a UN subcommittee composed of well-known figures and activists in the struggle for democratic rights and against imperialism, such as Jean-Paul Sartre.

"Open up the frontiers to all refugees, Chilean or foreign, with a guarantee from the Argentine government for work and a decent wage while they remain in this country.

"Grant all refugees honorary Argentine citizenship."

The PST held two brief campaign rallies before joining the main demonstration. Speaking at the first rally, José Páez, PST vice-presidential candidate, said, "Perón says that the events in Chile were the fault of the 'hurried youth.' These were the young people who sought to bring about socialism and saw the anti-imperialist measures taken by Allende as a step toward it.

"So we ask ourselves, what anti-imperialist measures can we expect a Peronist government to take? None.

All we can expect is a new alliance with imperialism."

One of the demands initially raised by the PST was that the Argentine government send arms to the Chilean workers organizing resistance against the military coup.

When Páez spoke of this demand, the crowd burst into a chant, as is customary here at political events: "Chile, armado, jamás sera aplastado" (Chile, armed, will never be crushed).

Juan Carlos Coral, PST presidential candidate, addressed the second rally. "There are *compañeros* who think Peronism is a step toward socialism," he said. "But the tragic experience of Chile shows us that there are no intermediate steps. The defeat of the reformist regime in Chile proves that the only road to socialism is the armed mobilization of the masses."

### Role of Workers Front

Not only the PST and the JSA threw their energies into the Chile defense campaign. The Workers Front also became a vehicle for mobilizing support.

Formed at the initiative of the PST, the Workers Front is a broad formation rallying the politically advanced sectors of the workers movement. It is a vehicle for organizing the working class to struggle for political independence from the capitalist parties,

**Early reports of the Argentine election results show Peron winning the presidency with more than 7.3 million votes, or 62 percent, and the PST (Socialist Workers Party) receiving nearly 200,000 votes. Next week's Militant will carry a full analysis of the election returns and the campaign of the PST.**

against the trade-union bureaucracy, and based on international working-class solidarity.

The meetings of the Workers Front, originally called to organize support for the PST election campaign, served to mobilize workers around the question of Chile.

One such meeting was held Sept. 15 in North Buenos Aires. Among the 400 in attendance were a number of representatives of important trade

*Continued on page 20*

## Revival of internationalism

The Argentine labor movement has strongly protested the Chilean coup. In Córdoba, the CGT staged a three-hour work stoppage Sept. 14. The following Monday, Sept. 17, Argentine workers held a nationwide 15-minute work stoppage at the call of the CGT.

At the huge IME state-run heavy machinery factory in Buenos Aires, 3,000 workers stopped production to hold a solidarity rally. The factory committee voted to donate a day's wages from each worker to their Chilean brothers and sisters.

The University Non-Teaching Support Staff Workers (APUBA) in Buenos Aires held a protest assembly of 2,000, followed by a march to demand that the government not recognize the Chilean junta. At the Central Savings Bank in Buenos Aires, 2,000 workers staged a half-hour work stoppage Sept. 13.

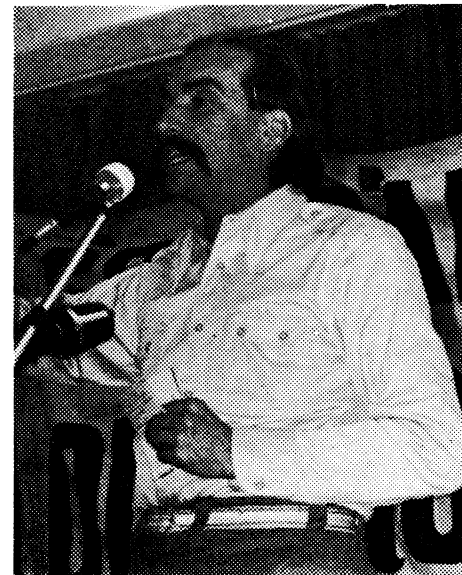
Similar actions took place up and

down the country in some of the most important concentrations of workers—such as the Sherin Laboratories, the Santa Rosa steel plant, the Yelmo steel plant, the Tensa steel plant, and the Editorial Abril publishing house.

The factory and workplace actions indicate the reemergence of internationalism in the political life of the Argentine working class. International class solidarity, once a powerful factor in the labor movement here, waned during the rise and eventual domination of Peronism in the labor movement.

Not since the Spanish Civil War—not even in response to the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961, the invasion of Santo Domingo in 1965, or the 1971 Bolivian coup—have such widespread protests occurred among Argentine workers on events in another country.

—P. C. & M. V.



Militant/Mirta Vidal

CORAL: PST presidential candidate addresses rally. Banner behind him reads, 'Solidarity with the Chilean workers.'



# Determined to defeat growers

## UFW convention steps up boycott effort

By MIGUEL PENDAS  
and HARRY RING

FRESNO, Calif., Sept. 24—The United Farm Workers convention, which ended here at 6:30 this morning, confirmed the determination of the members of this beleaguered union to continue their fight until they defeat the profit-hungry agribusiness interests that are out to destroy them.

Lettuce and grape growers, the Gallo Wine Company, and others have entered into "sweetheart" agreements with the Teamsters to avoid signing or renewing contracts with the Farm Workers.

In its fight to void the fake Teamster pacts and win genuine representation for field hands, the UFW will now officially direct its major energies to promoting the boycott of scab grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wines.

On the eve of the convention it was announced that César Chávez will soon begin a nationwide tour to promote the boycott. Some 500 UFW strikers and their families are already working in the boycott movement in 63 cities. In the coming days UFW strikers at the Gallo winery will also be going out to build the boycott.

There were nearly 400 voting delegates at this convention, which adopted a constitution for the union and elected officers and an executive board. Most of the delegates were from California, the main base of the union; but others came from Florida, Arizona, and other agricultural areas.

The character of the UFW as a movement of the most exploited and oppressed workers was apparent. For the established unions of more privileged workers, a convention often means a gathering at a comfortable hotel in a major city or resort. Delegates receive generous expense allowances and food, drink, and entertainment sometimes become a principal preoccupation.

At this convention the sessions were held in a public arena. Delegates were provided bag lunches at their tables and hot meals in the evenings. They relied on mass housing or the homes of local members and supporters of the union.

**FRESNO—Its coverage of the UFW strike and boycott has won support for The Militant among farm unionists and participants in the boycott movement. This was indicated by the response to the paper at the convention.**

**Because most field workers are either on strike or working for low wages, a special 50 cent introductory subscription was offered at the convention. Ninety-four of these subscriptions were sold, along with 200 individual copies of the paper.**

Chávez, who previously held the title of director, was elected president of the union by acclamation. He and eight other newly elected officers now constitute the executive board of the UFW.

Gilbert Padilla, a veteran UFW activist, was elected secretary-treasurer.

Three executive vice-presidents were elected: Dolores Huerta, Philip de Vera Cruz, and Peter Velasco.

Also elected were four vice-presidents at large: Mack Lyons, a Florida UFW leader; Eliseo Medina; Marshall Ganz; and Richard Chávez.

### Chile

Resolutions adopted included one calling on the U.S. government not to recognize the new Chilean dictatorship and one favoring the inclusion



Cesar Chavez addressing Farm Workers convention

Militant/Howard Petrick

of farm workers under the National Labor Relations Act, but—and this point is decisive for the UFW—without the law's ban on the use of the secondary boycott.

Along with the delegates, more than 1,000 visitors attended various sessions of the three-day convention. These included members of the union and supporters.

The wide support enjoyed by the UFW within the ranks of organized labor was indicated by the presence of ranking labor officials.

The extent of support among church groups was registered by the presence of several Catholic bishops, as well as the head of the National Council of Churches.

The concreteness of the support the UFW has won was indicated when Chávez told reporters that the union is functioning on a budget of \$220,000 a month. The UFW actually has more people on staff now than it did before losing its principle contracts to the Teamsters. Since there is only a limited dues income, most of the monthly budget is based on contributions from unions and other organizations.

At a press conference following his address to the convention, Leonard Woodcock said the United Auto Workers Executive Board was ready to continue as long as necessary its present \$10,000 monthly contribution to the UFW.

Although the AFL-CIO Executive Council has not renewed the \$1.6-million contribution it made to the union during the grape strike in the Coachella Valley, George Meany's representative, Paul Hall of the Seafarers International Union, told the convention that the UFW has the full support of the AFL-CIO. Hall singled out William Grami, a Teamster official who is sparking the anti-UFW drive, for a bristling attack. He branded Grami an "unmitigated fink."

George Meany has been seeking to negotiate some kind of settlement with the Teamsters. This has resulted in several unproductive meetings between the Teamsters and the UFW.

Chávez said the UFW would seek official AFL-CIO sanction for a boycott of Gallo wines along with scab

table grapes and lettuce. Two other wineries who signed with the Teamsters, Franzia and Guild, will also be targets of the boycott.

Until now the UFW had not officially promoted the Gallo boycott because the AFL-CIO Distillery and Wine Workers union has a contract there. Recently the National Student Association and student governments on a number of major campuses joined in launching a nationwide Gallo boycott. Chávez indicated the UFW is entirely sympathetic to this action.

### Boycott weapon

The boycott is a key weapon for the UFW. Even though several thousand workers walked off the job in the large vineyards the union was unable to shut down production. The strike in Coachella and the Delano area did succeed in reducing the quality and quantity of the crop harvest. But it did not succeed in stopping the recruitment of scabs or barring all of them from the vineyards.

Similarly, a company like Gallo, the biggest wine dealer in the country, employs only a few hundred workers in its own vineyard. It buys 90 percent of the millions of pounds of grapes it uses from other growers. While this limits the effectiveness of strike activity at Gallo, the company is highly susceptible to a well-organized boycott of its products.

Leonard Woodcock told reporters that in Michigan the UAW and AFL-CIO have cooperated in mounting an effective boycott movement, and he agreed that such joint activity could and should be extended nationally.

Jim Herman of the Longshoremens Union told the cheering convention that his union was ready to break its existing relations with the Teamsters rather than retreat on support to the farm workers. The church representatives also vowed their support to the boycott.

The meaning of such support was underlined when Chávez reported to the convention that a study by the union's research department showed that the strike and boycott had cost the Coachella Valley growers \$3.3-million.

This was the first major convention of the UFW. While there were no general policy discussions by the delegates, it was clear they are committed to continue their hard, uphill fight.

The gathering paid tribute to Juan de la Cruz, Nagi Daifullah, and other union martyrs who have died at the hands of grower goons and police officers.

The determination of the farm workers was symbolized by the presence on the podium of the widow of Juan de la Cruz. She was seated at the convention as an honorary delegate.

## Senator Kennedy's evasiveness

FRESNO—Senator Edward Kennedy made a strong bid for UFW and Chicano support in his appearance at the convention. He spoke glowingly of the Farm Workers struggle and got resounding applause for his speech, particularly when he repeated the UFW motto, "Sí se Puede!" (Yes, we can!).

At a brief press conference following his speech, the senator demonstrated a marked facility for evasiveness. For example, he was asked to explain his support for the Rodino bill, a congressional measure that would further victimize undocumented workers from

other countries. The UFW has recently declared its opposition to the bill.

Kennedy's response gave the erroneous impression that the bill was merely intended to correct inequities in immigration quotas. He suggested it was going to improve the situation of undocumented workers.

He was also asked if he had considered introducing a resolution in the Senate calling on the federal government to stop buying scab grapes and lettuce. He replied that if someone else introduced such a resolution he would personally favor it.



## Radicals still fair game

# Behind new Senate study of wiretapping

By CINDY JAQUITH

In the wake of its confirmation of Secretary of State Kissinger, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has voted to launch a study of government wiretapping in order to establish "more satisfactory guidelines."

This investigation is one of several proposed in light of the Watergate revelations. The Justice Department, for example, says it will carry out a major study of the FBI, examining the agency's use of wiretapping, its network of informers, and its relationship to other government departments and officials.

Senator John Stennis (D-Miss.) has declared that he will hold hearings on the CIA. "The main thing is to limit [CIA] operations, domestic operations," he told reporters. And Senator Walter Mondale (D-Minn.) has called for a study of presidential abuse of power, particularly in the realm of secret-police operations.

These proposed investigations coincide with a deepening public sentiment against the invasion of civil liberties by the government. More and more people are becoming indignant with the role of FBI, CIA, and White House agents. Accompanying this disgust is a growing sympathy for the main victims of wiretapping, burglary, and provocateurs—activists in antiwar, Black, Chicano, and socialist organizations.

The latest Harris poll bears this out. Taken during the Gainesville Eight trial, the survey showed that the public opposed the arrest and prosecution of the antiwar veterans by 44 to 34 percent. The government's entire case was based on the testimony of paid informers.

By a higher margin, 55 to 31 percent, those polled said that the killing of four Kent State students in 1970 by the National Guard was "unjustified and repressive."

Eighty-three percent rejected the use of White House spies to uncover per-



RICHARDSON: Promises to end secret wiretaps except for 'genuine national security' threats.

sonal information about political opponents, and 68 percent opposed Nixon's compilation of an "enemies list."

The Democrats and Republicans in Congress have drawn the obvious conclusion from this sentiment—loss of confidence in government institutions will make it much harder for the capitalists to rule.

As Senator Joseph Montoya (D-N.M.) warned: "The people of this nation must be able to believe that their law enforcement agencies act in a legal and responsible manner."

"Without that trust," he added, "respect for law will surely disappear and we risk the return to an age of barbarism."

A closer look at the goals of the reforms being proposed reveals that while the government realizes it must make its repressive apparatus more

palatable, it has no intention of ending any of its harassment against dissenters.

Attorney General Elliot Richardson, for example, has sworn to the Senate that there will be no more secret wiretaps except in cases of "genuine national security interest." Every such case would be "cautiously and meticulously reviewed," he promised.

Richardson's definition of "national security interest," however, is designed to permit the government to continue its bugging. Legal wiretapping, according to the attorney general, must simply meet one of three criteria: 1) to protect the nation from "actual or potential . . . hostile acts of a foreign power"; 2) to gather information "deemed essential to the security of the United States"; or 3) "to protect national security information against foreign intelligence activities."

The "national security" excuse is entirely phony, however, as the Watergate revelations have shown. The burglars who stole psychiatric records on Daniel Ellsberg, for example, say they were told their mission was to protect "national security." But ex-White House aide Charles Colson, the man behind the scenes in the break-in, confided to one of the burglars that their aim in gathering data on Ellsberg was actually to "discredit the New Left."

"National security" is the traditional cover for the government's secret-police moves against dissenters. So there is nothing new in Richardson's promises to reform the wiretapping apparatus at the Justice Department.

There is little indication that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has any basic disagreements with Richardson's approach. One member of the committee, Senator J.W. Fulbright (D-Ark.) explained that his colleagues simply wanted to halt wiretaps done "in a casual manner." The implication is that if the bugging is not too blatant, then the senators will be able to look

the other way.

Senator Mondale's much-publicized speech on reforming the presidency pointed to another aspect of wiretapping that irks the Democrats. "We must insure that the most sensitive agencies in Government . . . are never again used for political purposes," he declared.

What he meant by "political," however, was partisan aims. It's one thing to send agents to disrupt radical organizations and quite another for the Republicans to do the same to the Democrats.

Public pressure can force an end to some of the most blatant secret-



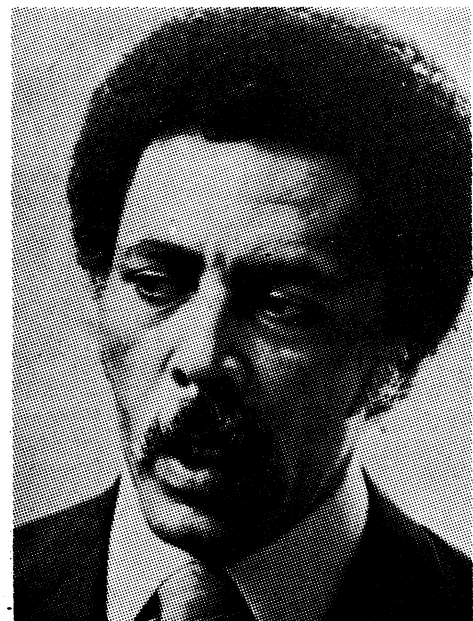
police tactics, however. Officials at the Justice Department, for example, have predicted that the attorney general's list will soon be abolished due to the success of challenges to its constitutionality. Such concessions—if granted—will not spring from the "good will" of the Democrats and Republicans.

An end to the attorney general's blacklist is a central demand of the suit filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance (see article this page). This suit and other efforts to expose and combat Nixon's Watergating of radicals can be effective in forcing the government to back down on its harassment of dissenters.

## Political Rights Defense Fund gains new support

Poet Lawrence Ferlinghetti has joined with Congressman Ron Dellums (D-Calif.) and author Murray Kempton in endorsing the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF). They are three of the latest supporters of PRDF's campaign to publicize the suit filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against government Watergate-style harassment.

At Wayne State University in Detroit, Local 1457 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal



DELLUMS: California Congressman supports SWP suit.

Employees (AFSCME) has voted to support PRDF and donate \$25 to its work. Other endorsers of the civil liberties campaign are, Muhammed Kenyatta of the Black Economic Development Conference and Attorney David Kairys, who successfully defended the Camden 28.

The socialists' \$27-million suit was filed in July by prominent constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin. The SWP and YSA charge Richard Nixon and other government officials with illegal and unconstitutional harassment including mail tampering, burglary, wiretapping, and bombing. The suit seeks an immediate injunction against these tactics and asks that the attorney general's list of "subversive" organizations be ruled unconstitutional.

As part of the nationwide drive behind the suit, Philadelphia supporters of PRDF signed up 21 of the 100 National Lawyers Guild members attending an East coast Conference there last weekend. PRDF also collected endorsers and raised funds at literature tables at Temple University during the opening week of classes.

Four national PRDF representatives will visit more than 20 cities this fall to gather support for the case and raise funds for legal expenses. National Secretary Syd Stapleton will be speaking in Washington and Oregon



KEMPTON: Endorses Political Rights Defense Fund.

next week, while National Field Secretary Michael Arnall travels through Texas.

In Houston, PRDF activists have organized a committee of supporters, including a minister, a civil rights attorney, and a sociology professor, to plan speaking engagements, TV and radio interviews, and fund raising during Arnall's tour there. Gertrude Barnstone, a well-known Houston civil libertarian and former school board member, is hosting a cocktail party for Arnall, where popular Texas

singer Don Sanders will perform.

In a new legal development the U.S. Attorney in New York requested and has been granted a 60-day extension to respond to charges against government officials and agencies named in the SWP suit. Former Nixon aides H.R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman have received similar extensions. They are all required to answer the socialists' charges in federal court by mid-November.

Legal and publicity expenses in the case are expected to reach \$40,000 this year. To make a contribution or to arrange a meeting for a PRDF speaker, send in the coupon below.

Clip and send to: Political Rights Defense Fund, 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 737, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.

( ) Please send me more information on this suit.

( ) I would like to arrange a meeting for a representative of the PRDF to explain the case to my school or organization.

( ) Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_ to help cover expenses.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

## E. Howard Hunt: White House 'consultant'

# Case history of a secret-police agent

By CINDY JAQUITH

James Bond movies and spy thrillers have trained us to think of secret government agents as romantic figures who carry out their assignments in the name of freedom. The Watergate scandal, however, has shown these spies in their true light—as hoodlums paid by the U.S. ruling class to suppress democratic rights in this country and around the world.

Perhaps few are as familiar with the role of U.S. undercover agents as E. Howard Hunt, the ex-CIA agent now serving a 35-year term for the Watergate burglary. Hunt is also the author of some 40 spy novels, and is thus probably an expert on the myths about espionage agents as well.

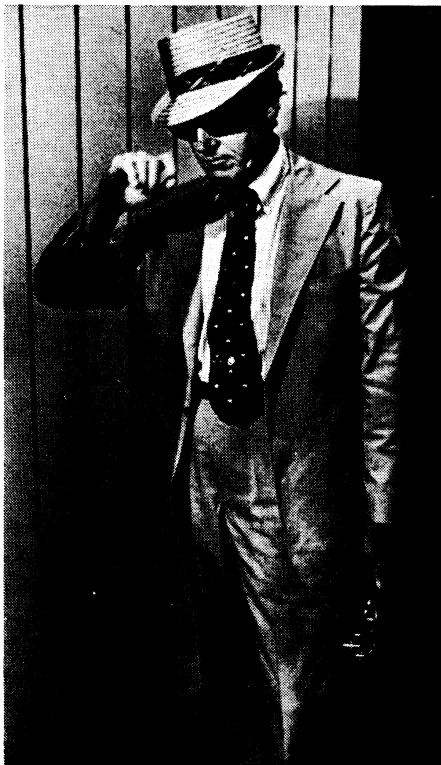
Last week Hunt appeared before the Senate Watergate committee and described some of the events in his sordid career as a member of the capitalists' secret police.

"In 1944, I volunteered for the Office of Strategic Services, the forerunner of the CIA," he told the senators, "and was sent to China where I was engaged in partisan warfare until the end of the war." Five years later he joined the CIA, where he remained until 1970, serving the agency in Paris, Vienna, and Latin America, as well as the United States.

As a government spy, Hunt said, he was educated in the various illegal methods routinely employed by such agents: "I was trained in the techniques of physical and electronic surveillance, photography, document forgery and surreptitious entries into guarded premises for photography and installation of electronic devices." (Despite the fact that he is no longer employed by the government, Hunt apparently has difficulty dropping the jargon of his CIA and White House colleagues for simple words like "wiretapping," "burglary," and "spying.")

Perhaps the most spectacular of Hunt's exploits was the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961. Going under the name of "Eduardo," Hunt took a CIA assignment to organize the band of Cuban exiles for the abortive raid.

Although he helped organize the invasion, Hunt himself stresses in his book *Give Us This Day* that John



HUNT: Expertise at sabotage earned him \$100-a-day job at White House.

F. Kennedy's Democratic administration was directly involved in the planning, which was initiated during Republican Eisenhower's term. The use of violence to overturn the Cuban revolution was no more distasteful to the Democrats than such methods are to the Republicans.

Not only did the Democrats want to overthrow a government they knew to be popular, but they also gave serious thought to a proposal by Hunt that Castro be assassinated. "A special group" in the government took this suggestion into consideration, says Hunt.

His account of the Bay of Pigs invasion underlines the degree to which the capitalists—Democrats and Republicans alike—rely on brute force to impose their will on the peoples of Latin America and elsewhere.

Hunt's career also demonstrates that the U.S. rulers use the same anti-democratic methods in this country.

In the summer of 1971, when the White House was in a frenzy over the Pentagon papers, Nixon aide Charles Colson sought Hunt as a

"consultant." "The more I think about Howard Hunt's background, politics, disposition, and experience," Colson wrote in a memo to H. R. Haldeman, "the more I think it would be worth your time to meet him." Shortly thereafter, Hunt was hired as a \$100-a-day advisor at the White House. His first assignment: get Daniel Ellsberg.

In his testimony at the Watergate hearings, Hunt described how he attempted to gather bits of personal information on Ellsberg that could be used to embarrass him. There was also an attempt to have derogatory newspaper articles run on Ellsberg's attorney, Leonard Boudin. (Boudin is now representing the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in a suit against government harassment of radicals).

The White House hoped to discredit Ellsberg in the eyes of millions for whom he was a hero for exposing U.S. war aims in Southeast Asia. Since the capitalists couldn't defend their murderous record in Vietnam, they wanted to divert attention by making Ellsberg appear to be the criminal.

A CIA doctor has told the Senate committee that John Ehrlichman and Henry Kissinger requested a psychiatric file on the antiwar scientist. In his search for dirt, Hunt told the senators, he had the cooperation of various government departments officially considered "above" such practices—including the defense department, the state department, and the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Hunt apparently approached the project with enthusiasm, because he certainly had no love for the rights of protesters against the war, especially Ellsberg. "I want to see the guy hung," he told Colson.

E. Howard Hunt typifies the criminal elements who find their way onto the White House staff and into positions in the government's secret-police agencies. Yet in spite of his tales of involvement in burglary, forgery, and other illegal attacks on civil liberties, not to mention assassination plots, he had the nerve to plead for sympathy from the Senate committee.

Hunt fully expected that the White House would bail him out after his

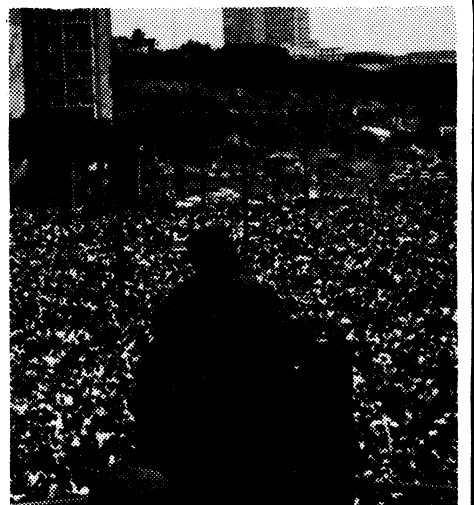
arrest for the bungled Watergate break-in. After all, he told the senators, it is normal government practice to hush up clandestine operations if the agents involved get caught.

"When such mishaps have occurred," he explained, "it has universally been the practice for the operation to be disavowed and 'covered up.' Usually this has been done by official intervention with law enforcement authorities."

But the radicalization in this country has deepened to the degree that even the massive cover-up organized by the White House could not stave off the wave of public opposition to the Watergate crimes. Instead of railroading Daniel Ellsberg to jail, Hunt found himself locked up instead.

"I have been physically attacked and robbed in jail. . . . I have been isolated from my four motherless children," Hunt wailed to the Senate committee. But such appeals sound hollow coming from a man who has spent his life in the service of the CIA, which aids reactionary regimes around the world in their torture and murder of political prisoners.

Hunt has probably admitted only a fraction of the crimes he helped commit to thwart revolutionary struggles around the world. But the facts he has revealed are an indictment of the methods capitalism uses to maintain its rule.



Fidel Castro addressing mass meeting in Havana. JFK administration considered assassination plot against Cuban leader on recommendation of Hunt.

## Victory for academic freedom

# Socialist professor wins reinstatement order

By STEVE MAXWELL

LOS ANGELES—Dr. Morris Starsky has won another round in his three-year battle for the right of teachers to engage in political activity.

A three-judge panel of the California Court of Appeals on Sept. 21 unanimously ordered Starsky reinstated as associate professor and chairman of the philosophy department at California State College (CSC) in Dominguez Hills. This action reversed an earlier ruling of the Los Angeles Superior Court.

Starsky's fight for academic freedom began in June 1970, when the Arizona board of regents ordered Arizona State University (ASU) not to renew his contract. The regents were incensed by Starsky's outspoken socialist views and his political activism.

That move was reversed in December 1972, when the federal district court in Phoenix ruled that the regents had violated Dr. Starsky's First Amendment rights and ordered his reinstatement to the faculty. The re-

gents have appealed that decision, and the case is now before the federal appeals court in San Francisco.

After teaching for a year at San Diego State College, Dr. Starsky accepted the position of associate professor and chairman of the philosophy department at CSC Dominguez Hills in August 1971. He moved to Los Angeles, completed the necessary employment forms, obtained the key to the department office, and ordered textbooks for the first semester.

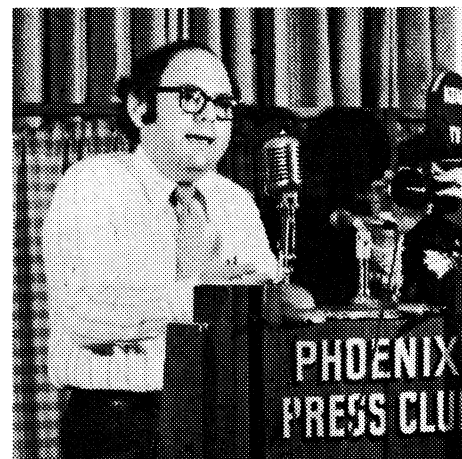
Nine days before the start of classes, however, Dr. Starsky was informed that he would not be hired after all. The administration charged Starsky had lied by not stating he was fired from ASU. In fact, he had not been fired but denied renewal of contract.

A lawsuit was immediately filed on Dr. Starsky's behalf by Los Angeles attorney Ron Merlino. The suit asked the Los Angeles Superior Court to order the president of the college and the state board of trustees to honor the contract they made with Dr. Star-

sky. The court denied the request and recommended filing a breach of contract suit.

Merlino subsequently filed a breach of contract suit while also appealing the superior court decision.

In its reversal of the superior court



Starsky: Philosophy professor incensed college administrations with his outspoken socialist views.

ruling, the court of appeals panel stated, "Nine days before teaching was to start, in all probability too late for appellant to secure another position, College notified him that he would not be hired. This practice does not appear to the court to be fair to either prospective teachers or the state."

According to Merlino, the court of appeals decision reinstating Dr. Starsky for the year 1971-72 provides legal grounds for both a damage suit for salary lost during 1971-73 and a suit asking for immediate reinstatement based on the California administrative and education code.

Dr. Starsky has not taught since the 1970-71 academic year and is currently a parking lot attendant in Santa Monica. More information about the Starsky case is available from the Committee of 1,000 to Defend Academic Freedom and the Democratic Rights of Professor Starsky, P. O. Box 85425, Los Angeles, Calif. 90072.

## ...a call to action

*Continued from page 1*

(for details on this campaign see page 5).

The Sept. 11 military take-over in Chile is not just a palace revolt. The scope and viciousness of the repression there make clear that the military overturn of the Popular Unity government represents a well-organized rightist offensive. It is a naked assault of class against class: the military defenders of the rich capitalists, bankers, and all exploiters against the working people, peasants, and destitute poor.

Who are the hundreds of Chileans whose bodies have lined the streets of Santiago? Who are the thousands who have been herded into Chile's prisons, concentration camps, and the national stadium? Who are the thousands still hunted by the ruling generals?

They are working people—trade unionists, unemployed, peasants, students. They are poverty-stricken families, whose shantytowns have been assaulted by tanks. They are the political refugees who sought in Chile a haven from the bloody repression of dictatorships in other Latin American countries.

The broadside repression in Chile is hitting even those who were not involved in political activity or struggles for social justice.

But it is especially hitting those whose only "crime" is that they have taken the lead in standing up against class exploitation and oppression, and in giving expression to the aspirations of the Chilean workers and peasants who are fighting for a socialist future. These militants, who had a vision of a better life and spoke or acted on their convictions, are the ones the military rulers are singling out for torture and murder.

Similarly, the political refugees being hunted by the Chilean junta are among the most courageous leaders of the working class and peasant movements throughout Latin America. If these thousands of exiles are deported to their homelands, they face prison or death. By moving against the exiles, the Chilean generals hope to help decapitate the struggles of the oppressed throughout Latin America and make the continent safer for the rule of the Yankee dollar.

Who are the generals who are on this bloody rampage in Chile? They are the servants of the capitalists and landlords in Chile, and of the giant U.S. and other multinational corporations. They were trained by the U.S. military. They are bookburners, out to stifle freedom of thought and expression. They are jingoists, attempting to whip up sections of the Chilean population against "foreigners."

Thus far the people in this country have been unable to learn the whole truth about the situation in Chile. The U.S. ruling class and the media it controls have cooperated to hide the facts of the brutal repression and to whitewash the military regime. The capitalist-controlled newspapers have either ignored or tried to cast doubt on the accounts of massacres, executions, and other atrocities in Chile.

The U.S. government has tried to hide from the American people its sordid role in backing the coup. But the Watergate and ITT scandals have revealed that Washington spent millions of dollars in an attempt to turn back the gains made by the Chilean workers and peasants.

Since it is the U.S. government that is backing up the Chilean dictatorship, we have a special responsibility in this country to do the utmost to mobilize a mighty protest against the atrocities being committed by the U.S.-financed and trained Chilean armed forces.

Help get out the truth about the repression in Chile!

Join in the campaign of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners to save the lives of those threatened in Chile!

Help organize protest rallies, teach-ins, petition drives, demonstrations, and telegrams of protest to the Chilean ambassador in Washington!

Demand: End the repression in Chile!

Free the political prisoners!

No U.S. aid to the Chilean junta!

Open U.S. borders to exiles from the terror in Chile!

Open CIA and government files on Chile to let the American people know the full role of the U.S. government in the criminal outrage in Chile!

### Angered by Chile coup

This morning I learned of the military take-over in Chile. This disaster and the imminent justifications for it by the capitalist press in this country have angered me. I look forward to reading your analysis of the situation, but hope that before such an analysis can be written the Chilean workers, peasants, and their supporters will have answered in kind to the military.

R. H.

Charlottesville, Va.

### Watergate scapegoat

Elmer Davis is the Black man who was falsely accused of burglarizing Dr. Fielding's office when the spooks of the CIA were seeking to railroad Daniel Ellsberg.

In order to cover their tracks, the Watergaters apparently reached some sort of an understanding with the Beverly Hills police department—to close out the case with a conviction. The result was that Davis was chosen to be the scapegoat, and he became the target of an additional criminal conspiracy.

Davis says, "I have received a great deal of moral support and letters from a variety of sources."

"I think that the main reason that I was chosen to be the 'scapegoat' is because of the fact that I am Black, poor, and have an extensive criminal record for various petty offenses," he explains.

I have been a constant thorn in the local establishment's side with my giving of legal assistance as a self-taught law researcher to those less fortunate than I and my filings of various complaints in the courts.

Davis is presently scheduled for a hearing Oct. 25 challenging the legality of his present conviction.

I hope you print this letter, so people will write to him and let him know that he is not forgotten. His address is Elmer Davis, P.O. Box B-3677, Represa, Calif.

A reader

Texas

### Chile & popular frontism

Even though I'm not surprised in the least, the recent overthrow of the Allende Popular Unity government in Chile by the military was a bitter pill to swallow. The Popular Unity Popular Front was doomed because it preferred to rely on the military and the other agencies of capitalist repression and refused to arm the working class and other progressive elements among the peasants, students, leftist groups like the Movement of the Revolutionary Left, etc. Now they have reaped what they have sown.

Every time the Stalinists have tried the "popular front," "peaceful coexistence," and so-called "peaceful transition to socialism" approach, they have led the working class to disaster. Spain should have been a lesson; France, Italy, and Greece after World War II should have been a lesson; Indonesia and Sudan should have been a lesson too.

Lewie W. Griggs

Neches, Texas

### Cops & red baiting

I just read the interview by Linda Jenness with Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) member Mike Damron (Sept. 14 *Militant*). In the interview Damron mentioned that agent provocateur William Lemmer tried to provoke an incident around a VVAW representative from Oklahoma at a national VVAW meeting in Colorado.

I was at that meeting, where a few other things happened as well. A resolution was presented and passed prohibiting VVAW chapters and members from having anything to do with the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, or any of the many united front organizations SWP and YSA members participate in, especially the National Peace Action Coalition. The only reason given for this resolution was a pathetic red-baiting attack against the SWP.

Shortly afterwards I was thrown out of the meeting because I was active in the Colorado Peace Action Coalition. Two members of Boulder Vets for Peace were also thrown out for having talked to me.

Usually when red-baiting occurs in a movement it is used to avoid talking about the real political ideas put forth by the group being baited. With the exposure of Lemmer and other cops in VVAW, one can speculate about the role that police agents play in red-baiting. Specifically, it would be interesting to know Lemmer's role in the Colorado meeting around the red-baiting resolution.

Joel Houtman

Denver, Colo.

### They catch hell

I've been reading your paper and find it very enjoyable.

You have been protesting the war in 'Nam and Cambodia. But let's take a look for a moment at the part that people seem to forget: the fellow that got his arm or leg blown off; the one that didn't make it back home; the same fellow that was sent to do a part in somebody else's war and when he returned couldn't get a job because he had seen combat.

The fellow that is now about to lose his sight because of combat: the Veteran's Administration doesn't want to help him, because he received a Bad Conduct Discharge. He received the BCD because he refused another trip to 'Nam. These are the fellows that catch the hell: the men behind the gun.

An ex-Marine

Kew Gardens, N. Y.

### Loans to South Africa

On Sept. 19, the city council of Petersburg, Va., voted 4 to 2 to tell the United Virginia Bank that the city will cease doing business with the bank unless the bank ends its participation in loans to the government of South Africa. This is the first governmental body to take such a step.

Several months ago the Corporate Information Center learned that United Virginia Bank was among 11 U.S. and 29 foreign banks that had secretly loaned \$210-million to South Africa in 1970.

Thurman Wenzl

Charlottesville, Va.





## Right on Billie Jean!

Three cheers for Billie Jean King! She forced Bobby Riggs and all the odds-makers and male chauvinist sports writers to eat their words. Her victory in last week's tennis match is a victory for women everywhere.

When ABC's Howard Cosell opened up the match—in a tuxedo, no less—he called the King-Riggs tournament a "quaint event." But there was nothing "quaint" about the way Billie Jean tore Riggs apart point by point. And it was all the more gratifying to watch her smash him after the odds-makers and even many professional tennis players predicted she would lose.

This so-called "Battle of the Sexes" drew the biggest audience of any tennis match in history. Thirty thousand were on hand at the Astrodome, 48 million watched it on TV in this country, and millions more saw it via satellite in 36 other countries. It's my guess that very few sat on the fence; most rooted for one side or the other.

Among those in Riggs' corner, for example, were five businessmen who drove 200 miles to Houston for the event. "We're for Bobby because man is the superior sex and we don't like Billie Jean's abortion," one of them explained.

Riggs himself viewed the match as his big chance to put an uppity woman in her place. "When I get through with her," he boasted, "she might just go . . . and start raising a family. That's where women should be. Barefoot and pregnant. . . ."

Disgusting cracks like these rallied a lot of people to Billie Jean's side. Although the women's liberation activists may have been her most enthusiastic supporters, there's no doubt in my mind that the majority of women watching the match were for Billie Jean, and many of the men, too.

We could all feel proud of the way she played. She demonstrated that women can be great athletes despite all the obstacles thrown in our path. Those sportcasters who assured us Riggs was better must have seen Billie Jean play before—they just refused to believe a woman could beat a man, even a 55-year-old one.

You just had to be impressed by the cool, calm tennis she played compared to Riggs. Despite his claims that he "had no nerves," "Mr. Sugar Daddy" was shaking pretty badly by the end of the first set.

Of course he predicted he would beat Billie Jean by "psyching her out." He certainly went on a big crusade—shooting his mouth off all over the country—in an effort to intimidate her before the game. But Billie Jean showed that women can stand up to pressure like that, contrary to the idea that we're overly emotional and timid. This time it was the man who caved in to the pressure of a superior woman athlete.

It's too bad Billie Jean had to even bother with the likes of Bobby Riggs to draw attention to women's fight for equality in tennis. The real issue, after all, is not whether women are stronger than men. We're not, on the whole, and there is no reason why we should have to be able to beat men in any sport to enjoy the same rights and recognition they do.

As Billie Jean explained it, she and other women are fighting so that "people will respect us as athletes and not just whether we're good looking." We're with her 100 percent.



## By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



## Job bias—fact & fiction

It rarely fails. Walk into the employment office of any large corporation and you'll see a prominently displayed sign bragging that they're "an equal opportunity employer." If you're Black or a woman and inclined to believe the sign, read this:

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), a federal agency set up to police job discrimination, recently announced the most extensive action in its eight-year history. It filed job discrimination charges, alleging racial and sexual bias, against four of the nation's business giants and several unions.

General Motors, Ford Motor Company, General Electric, and Sears, Roebuck & Co. were named. The unions involved include the United Auto Work-

*Due to expanded coverage of Chile, the following regular columns do not appear in this week's Militant: National Picket Line, The Great Society, La Raza en Accion.*

ers; the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers; the United Electrical Workers Union; and other unions in the auto and electrical industries.

They are charged with discrimination in policies on wage scales, fringe benefits, promotions, training and apprenticeship, layoffs, qualification testing, recall of laid-off workers, seniority, and union representation.

While the EEOC would like to be viewed as David fighting the corporate Goliath, reality—as is usually the case—tells a different story.

The agency has the power to sue suspected concerns outright. This time, however, it hopes to settle out of court—in a hushed manner. William Brown, the Black Nixon appointee who is the commission's chairman, said, "The prime interest of the commission is to negotiate a voluntary settlement in each

instance. If settlement cannot be reached, the commission will consider taking the cases to court." Even then, it would probably be at least a year before suits were filed.

Earlier in the year, the EEOC got the American Telephone and Telegraph Company to agree to pay \$15-million in back pay and \$23-million a year in raises to Blacks and women it has discriminated against. And although this seems like a healthy sum, it's no match for the millions in profits AT&T wrung from these same workers over the years.

Under pressure of complaints filed by thousands of individuals, the EEOC has brought token relief to some workers, but nothing compared to what's needed. In addition, EEOC is no speed demon. It has a backlog of some 70,000 complaints.

According to Brown, more and more complaints center on discriminatory promotion practices, which confirms a recent study by the Department of Labor.

The study found that Blacks hired as professionals in private industry have little chance of advancement. The majority of Blacks surveyed "were in staff rather than line [command] positions and few had supervisory or managerial responsibilities. About three fourths were technical specialists. Only 23 per cent were supervisors and even fewer, 4 per cent, were employed at higher managerial levels."

The study surveyed the opinions of Black and white professionals on job discrimination. Of white managers, 90 percent reported the existence of company equal opportunity policies, while only 48 percent of Blacks did. Also 75 percent of the whites thought that company programs to combat discrimination were effective. Only 28 percent of Blacks thought so.

So the next time you're seeking employment and you see the "equal opportunity employer" sign, if you're Black or a woman, chances are it doesn't apply to you.

### Social Security

*The Militant's* stand in favor of escalator clauses in Social Security is particularly to be welcomed. I read in the Sept. 13 *Congressional Record* a supplement by Massachusetts Congressman Harold Donohue, who says that there are some 21 million Americans over the age of 65.

Nearly three out of four of these people earn less than \$3,000 a year. And there are 2.5 million persons who have no incomes at all. According to Donohue, the present average Social Security "benefit" for an individual is \$167 and for an aged couple it is \$278—a month! This is starvation at its worst.

Donohue urges raising Social Security benefits "immediately" by 5.9 percent. Big deal! That brings the "benefits" up to \$176 and \$294 respectively. It's still starvation.

The incomes of older people should immediately be raised by \$3,000. That would still mean an annual income below \$6,000 for people who have worked all their lives. There should also be escalator clauses to keep Social Security in line with spiraling prices.

Ed Smith  
New York, N. Y.

### Continuez le combat

This is to inform you of my new mailing address. I don't want to miss any issues of the best revolutionary paper in the U. S. Congratulations on your coverage of Watergate and the struggles of the United Farm Workers.

Continuez le combat.  
W.B.  
Montréal, Qué.

### Rubin's Log

The new book issued by the Communist Party through International Publishers, *The Log of Rubin the Sailor*, purports to be both the early history of the National Maritime Union and the Communist Party on the waterfront.

The author, Charles Rubin, does not tell the true story. His version makes heroes out of all those who followed the CP line 100 percent.

Communist leaders like Roy Hudson and Blackie Myers, who dropped out of the party, are not mentioned, nor is their role in building the union.

The National Maritime Union activity of Trotskyists like John Keeley, who served as a militant ship's delegate, is not recorded, or the role of the Cochran group or the "Labor Action" group.

The youth will have to depend on conversations with the real old timers left.

The book does give the reader an idea of what a seaman's life was like before the National Maritime Union.  
P. Whalen  
New York

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.

## Protest court injunction

# SF labor action backs Sears strike

By CAROL LIPMAN

SAN FRANCISCO — Nearly 500 trade unionists, officially representing scores of unions in San Francisco and most of the Bay Area central labor councils, demonstrated Sept. 21 in support of striking Sears workers.

They protested Judge Ira Brown's recent injunction limiting the number of pickets to four at each store entrance. The injunction also allows only 50 pickets within 500 feet of the Sears store in the Mission area, which has been the focus of massive picketing during the strike.

The rally responded enthusiastically when Walter Johnson, secretary-treasurer of Department Store Employees Local 1100, said, "San Francisco is a good union town. We know what to do and how to picket. This injunction is not only directed against the striking unionists here at Sears. Any group can be limited by this injunction."

"This is against the traditions of our country — the traditions of the civil rights movement, the consumer move-



Militant/Chris Hildebrand

Some 500 unionists joined Sept. 21 demonstration in support of striking Sears employees.

ment, and other movements for social progress.

"We are saying here today to Judge Brown, 'This is a union town and no injunction is going to limit the effectiveness of our strike. We say no to your injunction.'"

Other speakers at the demonstration included Art Carter, secretary-treasurer of the Contra Costa Labor Council; Dick Groulx, secretary-treasurer of the Alameda Central Labor Council; Matty Jackson of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Curtis McLain of Longshoremen's Local 6; and Jack Goldberger, a top representative of Teamsters Joint Council 6.

Two candidates for San Francisco board of supervisors also spoke: Jack Morrison, a liberal Democrat; and Howard Wallace, Socialist Workers Party candidate and a Teamster warehouseman.

In another strike development, the San Francisco Labor Council unanimously voted on Sept. 24 to urge a nationwide boycott of Sears department stores and the company's other enterprises, such as Allstate Insurance.

The strike, now a month old, has

been characterized by militant picketing and demonstrations. More than 500 employees are on strike. Most are members of Local 1100, but five other unions are also involved.

Local 1100 has been the driving force behind the picketing and demonstrating since the strike began. Local 1100 also played a key role in organizing the April 28 united labor action in San Francisco against high prices, wage controls, taxes, and unemployment.

The focus of this strike is on working conditions. Local 1100 has exposed the inferior conditions at Sears compared to other San Francisco department stores. Especially bad are the health care benefits, the coverage for dependents, and commission rates.

The strike has gained support from sections of the labor movement, community organizations, and workers at other stores organized by Local 1100.

The demonstration was the fourth labor action organized in support of Sears workers. The recent action by the Sears management in obtaining the injunction against picketing indicates that this action will not be the last one needed.

## Child-care initiative set for SF

By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

SAN FRANCISCO — This summer, working mothers sparked a drive to obtain more than 20,000 signatures of registered voters to place the issue of child care on the city ballot here.

The child-care initiative (designated as Proposition M) says: "It shall be the policy of the people of the city and county of San Francisco that low-cost quality child care shall be made available to all San Francisco children. Child care shall include infant care, preschool and after-school programs."

"Policy shall be made by the parents and faculties at each center. Funding shall be procured by the city and county of San Francisco. The reason for the proposed petition is to enable the people of San Francisco to direct the board of supervisors to maintain and expand child care programs."

The child-care initiative has been supported by a broad spectrum of organizations and individuals, such as Wilson Riles, superintendent of public instruction of California; the San Francisco Central Labor Council; both local teachers unions — American Federation of Teachers Local 61 and the Classroom Teachers Association; and the San Francisco board of education.

The referendum was initiated by Child and Parent Action (CAPA), which has also been protesting the closing of Head Start centers in San Francisco.

CAPA has initiated a legal suit challenging the unfair fees charged for the voter's handbook mailed by the board of elections to each voter in the city. CAPA had to pay \$600 to have its arguments for Proposition M placed in the handbook.

CAPA is waging an aggressive educational campaign. With the cutback of federal funds affecting cities throughout the country, the group hopes that parents in other cities will follow its example and organize coalitions to fight for the expansion of child-care facilities for all children.

Among the candidates backing Proposition M is Carole Seligman, a CAPA activist and the Socialist Workers Party nominee for board of supervisors. Seligman is a working mother with a daughter in a public child-care center.

"Inflation is forcing more women to work outside the home to keep up with the unbearable cost of living," Seligman said in a recent interview. "We're sick of seeing our tax dollars spent on the military instead of for a better life for our children."

Child care is a major issue in Seligman's campaign.



Militant/Howard Petrick

S.F. demonstration in March protested Nixon's child-care cutbacks.

## SWP campaign supports strike

The following are excerpts from a statement issued by the San Francisco Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee at the demonstration in support of striking Sears workers.

Howard Wallace, Teamster Local 860, and Steven Wattenmaker, San Francisco State student, two of the SWP board of supervisors candidates, are marching here today in solidarity with the strikers' just demands against Sears and to protest the violation of their constitutional right to assemble.

The Socialist Workers Party candidates for board of supervisors stand with the striking Sears workers against the vicious antilabor injunction handed down by Judge Ira Brown, forbidding the striking workers and their supporters to adequately carry out the picketing of the Sears store.

## Kolis 'perjury' arraignment Oct. 9

SAN DIEGO — After three hours of a preliminary hearing Sept. 21, Salm Kolis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council in the recent municipal election, was bound over for arraignment Oct. 9 on charges of perjury.

A deputy district attorney, who does not ordinarily handle preliminary hearings, acted as prosecutor at this one, showing the determination of the city government to win the case at all costs. Kolis was represented by Los Angeles attorney David Abernethy.

The prosecutor presented five witnesses to attempt to prove that Kolis had perjured herself in her statement of residence when she filed for office last July. One witness after another — a representative of San Diego Gas & Electric; the manager of her former apartment building; Marcy Marshall,

the resident at her former address; and Assistant City Clerk Laverne Miller — either failed to answer important questions asked by Abernethy or was contradicted by other testimony.

The prosecution, claiming Kolis lived outside the seventh council district, asserts she gave a phony residence address. Although Kolis has moved twice, she has resided continuously within the seventh district.

Kolis reaffirmed her intention to fight this frame-up charge. She already revealed the contrast between the way her case is being handled and the way Mayor Pete Wilson's case was suppressed when he ran for assemblyman in 1966. At that time, a private investigator found that Wilson actually resided outside the district in which he was running, but no charges were brought.

As the defense proceeds, Kolis will produce evidence of illegal acts by San Diego authorities against the Young Socialist Alliance and SWP to show a pattern of harassment.

Following the hearing, Kolis said: "I think the judge's closing remarks were very telling. He stated that this was a 'very unusual case, we don't usually get many like this.'"

"This is an indictment of their system, which has to use outlandish methods to piece together an absurd case for the purpose of harassing socialists who are campaigning and exposing inequalities. But we are not going to be intimidated by them. We are going to continue to expose the way the capitalist system oppresses Black people, Chicanos, women, and all working people."

# World Outlook

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

OCTOBER 5, 1973

By Gerry Foley

"Permit me, on this solemn occasion . . . to voice our people's thanks to the armed forces and to the Carabineer Corps [riot police], which abide by the constitution and the rule of law." (Salvador Allende speaking at his inauguration as president of Chile in November 1970.)

From the very beginning of his presidency, Salvador Allende placed his fate in the hands of the military high command, which he thanked for allowing him to take office. The struggles of the workers and poor strata that brought him to power were not mentioned.

In order to get the votes of the Christian Democratic parliamentary bloc, which he needed in order to be confirmed as president-elect, Allende signed an agreement pledging that his regime would leave the military and police intact. The size of the armed services was not to be altered, nor any officers appointed who had not passed through the official academies, that is, who were not certified products of the bourgeois military machine.

No other armed forces, such as workers and people's militias, were to be permitted. In addition Allende "guaranteed" not to interfere with the

## Lessons of the defeat in Chile

democracy" into a deadly trap for persecuted militants from all over Latin America who found Allende's Chile one of the few places of refuge left.

Far from reducing the political power of the military, Allende promoted it. As the society became increasingly polarized by class struggle, his class-collaborationist government turned more and more to the armed forces, specifically to the high command, in search of a neutral force and a guarantor of "legality."

Since the Unidad Popular (UP—Popular Unity) coalition was committed to "constitutional change" and the "peaceful road to socialism," what alternative, after all, did it have to

cracked down on enlisted men and petty officers who were overheard saying that they would not obey orders to overthrow the government, Allende came down hard in support of military discipline. Even some bourgeois journalists felt that this put him in a strange position.

For example, the September 11 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* published a dispatch from Pierre Kalfon in Santiago: "Not least ironic in this affair is that it is Allende himself who has demanded this prosecution [of those accused of inspiring insubordination in the navy]. So, we have come to the paradox that for encouraging the loyalty of the sailors who refused to rebel against the regime, political leaders defending respect for the constitution are being prosecuted by the president of the republic on behalf of putschist officers, and they face a minimum sentence of ten years in prison."

As for the naval officers, they were not interested in any legal niceties. "The Socialist party organized a debate in the studios of the Valparaíso television station," Marcel Niedergang reported in the September 13 *Le Monde*, "and the wives of the tortured sailors came to testify. A group of navy men broke into the studios and arrested all the participants. The commander in chief of the Valparaíso naval base refused flatly to offer any explanations or justifications."

At the same time, Allende offered new guarantees and concessions to the bourgeoisie: "It seems that, to the indignation of his left wing but with the approval of the Communist party," wrote Kalfon from Santiago immediately before the coup, "Allende is ready to introduce a constitutional reform strictly defining the three sectors of the economy (public, mixed, and private) and restoring to their owners a number of factories occupied by the workers."

The leader of the class-collaborationist front was prepared to make other concessions: "He also yielded on an important point," Kalfon continued: "He agreed to expel the Socialist party, CP, and MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left] elements from the University of Chile television network (Channel 9), which they had seized more than seven months ago and made into a voice of the left."

Despite these concessions, however,

the military escalated a campaign of intimidation against the workers in several areas and in at least one case met much firmer opposition than it got from Allende. Kalfon wrote:

"In the evening of September 7, a military search operation (carried out by the troops of the air force) in a working-class suburb of Santiago gave a foretaste of the kind of confrontation that could occur in Chile if the army decides to move on a large scale against the factories occupied by the workers.

"Most of these factories are in what they call here the 'industrial belts' [cordones industriales], that is, the urban zones where a rather serious organization coordinates the mobilization of the workers with that of the inhabitants of the poor neighborhoods. The air force claims that it did not try to go into the Sumar plant, an important textile factory. But the factory guard seems to have been wounded precisely for opposing the entry of the soldiers.

"The fact is that after a few minutes a heavy crossfire started up between the workers in the factory and the military. The troops who had blocked off the district found themselves surrounded in turn by a crowd of militants coming to the rescue of the workers. Rather than continue a battle that threatened to become bloody, the military opted for retreat."

After consulting with the heads of the armed services, Allende decided that it was a wiser course not to go to the factory himself to see what happened. He was in a very difficult position.

### The Generals 'Enforce the Law'

Kalfon's report continued: "As the armed forces—essentially the air and naval arms—have proceeded to carry out the searches authorized by the 'arms control law' [passed in October by the votes of the bourgeois opposition in parliament; the UP deputies abstained and Allende did not veto it], many supporters of the Unidad Popular are coming to wonder if the June 29 coup was as much of a failure as believed. Since that day, in fact, the army seems to have been progressively dropping the neutrality that was its pride and has been choosing to launch its 'mop up' operations against worker and peasant areas rather than among the bourgeoisie, which, nonetheless, does not make any bones about the fact that it is ready to 'go the limit' to overthrow President Allende."

The fact was that under the cover of the legality of the Allende government itself, the military still being so desperately courted by the head of the class-collaborationist coalition had already begun a coup designed to crush the essential support for his regime.

The workers had not armed in response to calls by any left-wing party. To whatever extent they had armed, they had done so essentially in response to the escalating

*Continued on following page*



Allende supporters celebrate election victory. Popular support for UP was abundant, but revolutionary leadership was lacking.

press, radio, or judiciary.

In attempting to reassure the bourgeoisie, Allende left intact forces that would seek, as soon as the opportunity presented itself or as soon as they felt their vital interests were endangered, to crush the rising working-class movement at any cost. This conciliationism threatened ultimately to expose the Chilean workers and poor, and the left parties in particular, to one of the most savage repressions in the history of the country and to deal a brutal blow to popular movements throughout the continent. It threatened to make this "island of

depending on the legal armed forces of the bourgeois state to defend it against the growing sabotage and subversion of the bourgeoisie and imperialism? The Communist party, in particular—the most politically consistent and dominant force in the coalition—was convinced that the military could play the essential arbiter's role.

### Allende Arms the Executioners

The UP government had an opportunity to prove its faith in the armed forces. When the navy high command



## Lessons of the defeat in Chile

# 'The time came when the reality of class

Continued from preceding page

violent attacks by the bourgeoisie on the key points of the economy and on the most militant sectors of the workers movement. Although the MIR, a very small party, had raised a number of correct demands for mobilizing the workers to take direct control of the economy and, unlike the UP parties, had warned about the putschist intentions of the military, it never concentrated on the need for arming the workers. Its formulations in this regard were vague and timid at best.

By the second week of September, Allende's "peaceful road to socialism" was obviously running into deep water. All forms of the bourgeoisie's resistance to the reforms of his regime were converging.

The shortages caused by the economic sabotage of the native bourgeoisie and the imperialists, as well as the government's indecisiveness and bureaucratism, were reaching catastrophic proportions. Supply was hampered by a prolonged strike of truck owners determined to bring the government down. Finally the delivery of wheat to Santiago was cut off altogether by rightist terrorist attacks. Allende was forced to admit September 7 that only a "three or four days' supply of flour remained."

Large sections of the petty bourgeoisie, driven into a frenzy by the malfunctioning of an economy torn by a class struggle that Allende would not lead but was increasingly unable to contain, were mobilized by the right in wave after wave of attacks on the regime.

On September 5, about 150,000 middle-class women gathered in front of the Catholic University and called on Allende to "resign or commit suicide." This was the only way, they chanted, to avoid civil war. Fascist commandos were active in the demonstration.

For some time—another sign that the class polarization was reaching a critical point—the advocates of patience on the bourgeois side had been withdrawing from the scene. As in the period of the civil war in Russia, the most ruthless leaders of the reaction were coming to the fore.

Allende's last bridge to the military was cut August 27 when Admiral Montero resigned from the cabinet and from his post as head of the navy. The naval officer corps would accept no replacement but Admiral Toribio Merino, a well-known rightist.

"Could Salvador Allende have been unaware," Niedergang asked in his September 13 article, "that the real leader of the opposition, Eduardo Frei, the former chief of state and now president of the Senate, was no longer bothering to conceal that he saw as the only recourse a resort to arms?"

But Allende continued to proclaim: "There will be no coup d'etat and we will avoid civil war." As a solution to the conflict, he offered a pleb-



ALLENDE: At his inauguration in 1970 he praised the 'democratic traditions' of the armed forces.

iscite to determine the will of the majority of the Chilean people, a proposal that under the circumstances was rather reminiscent of the CP-sponsored petition against civil war launched some time ago.

Very rapidly, the time came when the reality of class society could no longer be denied.

On September 11, in the early morning hours, the navy seized the port of Valparaíso. At 7:00 a.m., according to the September 13 *Le Monde*, Argentinian radio monitored a broadcast proclaiming that a military junta had replaced the Allende government.

The new regime was headed by General Augusto Pinochet of the army, whom Allende had appointed commander in chief only a few weeks before; General Gustavo Leigh, commander of the air force; José Toribio Medina, the commander of the navy; and César Mendoza, head of the Carabineros. In short, all those forces that Allende had praised at his inauguration for allow-

ing him to take power had now risen up to take it from him.

Some 3,000 persons were arrested in Valparaíso alone, according to the September 13 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Razón*. They were imprisoned on warships in the harbor. That is, according to this report, the navy seized one prisoner for every five of its total personnel, or almost 1 percent of the entire population of the port city.

Thus, it seems, if the report is not exaggerated, that the commanders of the fleet must have moved with a ruthlessness unprecedented in Chilean history to restore "discipline" among the ranks of pro-UP sailors and navy yard workers who had already been abandoned to reactionary persecution by the government they sought to defend.

At 7:15 a.m., the military gave the Carabineros guarding the presidential palace a few minutes to evacuate the area. Meanwhile, Allende, who had apparently just been informed of the coup, rushed to the palace from his home. According to the September 12 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *Clarín*, the UP government had been expecting a coup for ten days, that is approximately since the resignation of Admiral Montero. So, even when it knew that a coup was coming, it allowed the putschist officers in the navy to crucify its supporters and turned a key television station over to a bourgeoisie obviously intent on overthrowing the government by violence.

Furthermore, the MIR had issued a statement giving the general scenario of the coup, as a report in the September 8 *La Opinión* showed. The uprising was decided on in late August. All that was left to be determined was whether it would install a new civilian government or an open military dictatorship. The Christian Democrats favored the former, the Nationalists the latter. Probably the actual events would have to show which alternative was most realistic for the bourgeoisie.

It is still not clear how much of the shooting and bombing in Santiago actually had a military objective and how much was intended to intimidate the population. According to *Clarín*, Allende was left without any support from the official armed forces. "Allende found that the only ones who obeyed his orders were a small parapolic group, the GAP [Grupo de Amigos—Group of Friends, ex-guerrillas, who, after opposing participation in the elections that brought Allende to power, pledged to defend his government]."

The shooting continued on into the night and became even more violent in the industrial suburbs and poor neighborhoods. "No official version of these confrontations has been issued," *La Razón* reported. "But persons connected with the UP have described these armed clashes as being in fact 'massacres.'"

Following the surrender of La Moneda, the military-controlled radio announced that President Allende had committed suicide. The junta refused

the request for an investigation of Allende's death or for an autopsy. The most prominent practitioner of the "peaceful road to socialism" in recent years was buried September 12 in a secret ceremony in a cemetery outside Santiago as the sound of tank cannon and bombs in the industrial suburbs threatened a massive terror against the workers movement, which he could not lead to victory.

### The Price of the Defeat

"The estimates of the dead, of necessity unofficial, have mounted horrendously," ANSA reported September 12. "Yesterday they were talking about two thousand; this morning some sources indicate four thousand." On September 13, an AP dispatch from Santiago estimated the dead at 500 to 1,000. A strict curfew was maintained for forty-eight hours after the coup in Santiago and lifted only for the daylight hours on September 13 and 14.

Only fragmentary reports of the resistance to the coup have yet come out of the country, which remained largely cut off from the world four days after the military launched its attack. But the armed opposition seemed persistent if scattered, unorganized, and apparently hopeless.

It seems that at best the Chilean coup will be followed by the kind of massive jailing of socialist, trade-union and intellectual leaders that followed the Banzer coup in Bolivia and that this will take on still graver proportions corresponding to the size of the country and the greater complexity of the society.



CP leader Luis Corvalán opposed arming the workers.

The organization of the working class reached its highest forms yet in Latin America in this relatively developed country in the months extending from the first reactionary offensive in October 1972 to the recent coup. During the October crisis, the workers and students kept the economy of the country running for several weeks. Facing each new challenge from the right, the workers seized more and more of the basic installations of the

### France 1936, Spain 1936, Chile 1973

## The failure of the popular front

ALLENDE'S CHILE: Is It Going Socialist? by Peter Camejo. 60 cents.

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION (1931-39) by Leon Trotsky. 447 pp. \$10, paper \$3.95.

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# society could no longer be denied'

economy and moved closer and closer to reorganizing production on the basis of direct democracy. Thus, in the weeks before the coup, rather extensive bases of workers power were already rooted in some key industrial areas and poor neighborhoods.

It is hard to believe that the Chilean armed forces alone, which in addition to the 15,000 naval personnel include only 25,000 in the army and 8,000 in the air force, can destroy such highly developed and extensive

tions as yet that the junta has unleashed its fascist supporters against the left, as Banzer did, for instance, much less against the working-class neighborhoods and strongholds. The repression seemingly is being carried out exclusively by the army and the police. Although the junta has struck ruthlessly at selected points, it seems reluctant so far to launch an all-out campaign to crush the organizations of the working class.

Moreover, the organs of U.S. im-

seized acreage from big property owners, who were the main supporters of many earlier governments. The farm workers, too, have grown disenchanted with Mr. Allende's reluctance to aid them and may fight hard to keep what they have taken."

Thus, nothing is really settled yet, according to this view:

"The result for a nation already polarized by the radical Allende solutions for Chile's assorted and growing problems could thus be a long

less likely or even more probable."

## U.S. Imperialism Responsible

"Satisfaction not unmixed with a certain embarrassment," was the way *Le Monde's* September 13 editorial described the mood of official circles in Washington when the Allende government fell. There is no doubt that, whatever the direct role of American governmental agencies in the actual coup, U.S. imperialism was responsible in the last analysis for bringing down the Allende government. Its economic blockade created the lion's share of the shortages that fueled the petty-bourgeois revolt, in particular the shortage of spare parts for trucks. Its refusal to sell wheat to the Allende government when a desperate shortage developed just before the coup seems to have been the final step in this policy.

The officer corps that carried out the coup were trained and nurtured by U.S. imperialism. "In 1973," a study of the Chilean army in the September issue of *Le Monde Diplomatique* noted, "Chile remains, along with Venezuela, the main recipient in Latin America of U.S. aid for training officers. For this, it is to receive a million dollars. Finally, Chile has just been put on the list of countries that can buy F5E supersonic jet planes on credit. How can one fail to think that this cooperation can offer the opportunity for ideological penetration, whose fruits the United States doubtless hopes to gather one day?"

The Chilean armed forces are known to be among the most pro-U.S. in Latin America. Here again the class-collaborationist president was not only unable to move against this proimperialist fifth column but encouraged it. One of his last official acts was to agree to joint maneuvers between the Chilean fleet and the U.S. Navy in the hope that this gesture would arouse more friendly feelings toward his regime in Washington.

The deepening radicalization in Chile, combined with the revival of the workers movement in Bolivia and the workers upsurge in Argentina, was obviously becoming a serious threat to the interests of U.S. imperialism in Latin America. Among other things, by recognizing Cuba the Allende government set in motion the undermining of the U.S.-imposed diplomatic blockade of the first workers state in the Americas.

Appropriately, one of the junta's first acts was to break diplomatic relations with Havana. This action was underscored by an attack on the Cuban Embassy during the coup and on a Cuban merchant ship off the coast.

However, the leading circles of U.S. imperialism seemed to understand very quickly and clearly that the coup threatened to create an even more explosive situation in southern Latin America. For the first time, the master planners in Washington are confronted with the problem of how to devise a way to crush a well-organized and highly conscious industrial working class. From their standpoint,

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Part of the 'democratic tradition' of the Chilean military was this eviction of homeless squatters in 1962. Five were killed.

organizations of the working class and batter it back into passivity.

Moreover, the kind of mass fascist movement that could do this also does not yet seem to exist. It is true that by taking advantage of the failures and indecisiveness of the UP leadership, the right was able to mobilize hundreds of thousands of the urban petty bourgeoisie against the government, including sectors of the poor population. But a disciplined fascist movement does not yet seem to exist on a mass scale.

## How Far Will Repression Go?

The Nationalist party and its surreptitiously cultivated commando groups might be able to create such a fascist movement rather quickly, but with the fall of the UP government, the economic insecurities and privations that enraged the petty bourgeoisie are now the responsibility of the right. And it is extremely unlikely that, barring unforeseen massive aid from Washington, the new government will be able to solve the economic problems created by a long period of social upheaval, imperialist blockade, and bourgeois economic sabotage. In fact, because of the enormous costs of the military take-over and repression, these problems are apt to grow substantially before the situation improves.

Furthermore, there are no indica-

perialism seemed to regard the military take-over as a limited operation and to be skeptical that it could solve the problems the defenders of the status quo face in Chile. In the *Wall Street Journal* for example, Everett G. Martin and Robert Keatley wrote:

"The left is also large in Chile and it will probably oppose with violence the military's effort to rule calmly. Marxist parties have been strong in Chile for 40 years, and some previously belonged to coalition governments. [That is, the Chilean workers, unlike their Brazilian class brothers, are well organized and have a long tradition of political struggle which they have maintained through previous defeats similar to the present one.] They won't react kindly to a take-over by the military and its relatively conservative friends; for them, it will conjure visions of ITT and the CIA, a plundering Uncle Sam and exploitation of the masses—the cartoons that are so often political reality for activists."

The removal of the class-collaborationist UP regime might even open the way for a greater threat:

"In fact the Allende government itself was under increasing attack from radical elements that claimed it was moving too slowly along the path to socialism.

"Also joining the violent opposition may be once-landless farm workers who, tolerated if not always encouraged by the Allende government, have

period of strife and bloodshed—even if the ultimate, civil war, is avoided."

To sum it up, the new Chile was not a very good investment risk:

"Violence and instability seem certain to hinder production in the years just ahead—unless the generals get a better grip on things than expected—just as the turmoil of the Allende years created serious problems in both farms and factories. Chances of foreign investment seem nil, while domestic investors may also hold back even in such key sectors as food production."

The *New York Times* expressed similar apprehensions in its September 16 issue in its main editorial of the week on the situation in Chile:

"The Allende Government did substantially improve the lot of Chileans on the lowest rungs of the economic ladder. It gave many workers and peasants a greater sense of national participation than before. These are gains the military rulers promised in their first communiqué to preserve—a pledge they will find it dangerous to neglect. . . .

"The traditionally non-political armed forces intervened not primarily because of Dr. Allende's socialism but out of fear that a polarized Chile was lunging toward civil war. What cannot be clear for some time is whether the violent destruction of an elected Government, albeit a minority one, will make that ultimate catastrophe

## Background to the Sept. 11 coup

# Why earlier revolt failed and how the

[Ten weeks before the military junta overthrew the Allende regime, an abortive military rebellion demonstrated that Allende would not mobilize the working class to defend his government. The following articles, written shortly after that uprising, shed light on conditions leading up to the later successful coup. They also point to the problems faced by the workers movement in Chile, especially the lack of a mass revolutionary party to lead the struggle.]

By Eduardo Gonzales

Santiago

The authors of the June 29 coup embarked on what was a desperate course of action, hoping that the bulk of the armed forces, faced with the accomplished fact, would be drawn in and the government overthrown.

What gave this rebellion an adventurous and desperate character was the fact that a few days earlier the government had discovered the preparations for the plot and had begun to take measures to head it off. Several of the plotters had been arrested.

Confronted with this state of affairs, one of the officers in charge of the Second Armored Regiment brought out its troops and tanks under pretext of rescuing one of the arrested officers who was being questioned by government intelligence services, and in this way deceived the soldiers who supported him.

It is clear that Lieutenant Colonel Souper, who led the tanks and troops to the Moneda Palace and then laid siege to it, was incited to this desperate move by those who had been preparing the coup—the most reactionary sectors of the bourgeoisie, represented by the National party and the fascist organization Patria y Libertad [Fatherland and Freedom].

These sectors of the Chilean far right have been holding the trump card of a coup and the setting up of a Brazilian-type regime in their hand for a long time, but once their game was discovered they decided to play on the secret hope of winning the backing of the armed forces, at least of those who were already compromised in the affair.

In spite of the confusion that reigned during the first moments of the coup, and in spite of the fact that it began at a time that is hardly the usual one for such plots [during the early morning rush hour], the participants' intended aim of drawing in their comrades-in-arms met with no response. Not a single concrete case is known in which this occurred. Rather, the effect that was achieved was the complete opposite: The bulk of the armed forces remained "loyal" to the defense of the constitution and the established government.

The explanation for this failure of large layers of the armed forces to respond to the incitement to a coup on June 29 does not lie, as the government claimed, simply in the "loyalty" of the armed forces or the excellence of the military—nor in the mobilization of the masses in defense of the government, as the reformist bu-

reaucrats of the Popular Unity parties and the CUT [Central Unica de Trabajadores—Workers Central Union] would now like to have people believe. In spite of the masses' desire to come to the defense of what they consider to be their government, they did not mobilize early in the developments.

Although President Allende, in an effort to discourage any attempt by any section of the armed forces to rally to the call for a coup, called on the workers to "defend the government and turn out armed with whatever they have," the workers did not turn out. Disoriented by the absence of a leadership that could show them what to do, they remained unable to act. Once the masses began

well under control, "until further orders," in the occupied factories and plants.

Nor did the comandos comunales [municipal commands] or the cordones industriales [assemblies of rank-and-file workers in Santiago industrial concentrations] concretely respond during this emergency, in spite of the fact that it is out of these mass bodies that the present vanguard of the Chilean process is developing.

Soon after the threat—both from the coup and from the independent, spontaneous mobilization of the working class—had been completely eliminated, the government, the CUT, and the Popular Unity called a rally at the Moneda to repudiate pressures for a coup. In his speech to the gather-

to the people; on the evening of June 29, an equal number of demonstrators demanded that Allende dissolve parliament and put the plotters up against the wall. On June 29, the Chilean masses first looked on, stupefied, as the events unfolded, and then saw themselves powerless and shackled by their leaders.

Although the coup was something that had been in the air for some time, and was therefore foreseeable, neither the government nor the reformist bureaucracy prepared or organized the masses in time to stand up to it. Only at the last minute did they call on the workers, and they did so most timidly, very careful not to lose their ironclad control, mobilizing from above in a bureaucratic fashion. In spite of the fact that the plot had been uncovered a couple of days earlier, the government, as well as the CUT and the Popular Unity, were very careful not to reveal all the details, observing near total silence about the plans for a coup.

This time the coup failed, revealing that the armed forces are not yet as a whole agreed on overthrowing the government and setting up a fascist-type regime. It also revealed the weakness of the reformist regime and how little it is inclined to seriously rely on the workers to thwart, once and for all, the threat of a coup.

The most lucid sectors of the bourgeoisie and the armed forces are aware that overthrowing the government in this way, in the present conditions of crisis and of working-class upsurge, would immediately lead to a confrontation with the mass movements, and that these movements would have freedom of operation, with their reformist leaders and the Popular Unity government no longer holding them back. For imperialism and the bourgeoisie as a whole—aside from the most desperate of the reactionary sectors—the Popular Unity government and the CUT are for now the only guarantee of the continued existence of the capitalist system in Chile. The Chilean bourgeoisie knows that the capitalist system in Chile is leaking on all sides and that they will have to grant those reforms that are required to prevent them from being swamped for good—until such a time as conditions arise in which it is possible to liquidate the Chilean experiment and crush the masses.

By Hugo Blanco

Santiago

On June 29 desperate sectors of the right attempted a coup d'etat here.

In view of the gravity of the situation, the CUT [Central Unica de Trabajadores—Workers Central Union] found itself forced to call for seizing the factories as a preventive measure.

The working class carried this out. In the face of the rapid response by the workers, many of the plotters stayed under cover and the putsch was quickly put down.

Many workers took advantage of



Allende relied on the army to put down the June 29 coup attempt

to emerge from their stupor and to react to the danger, they saw themselves once again held back by their own reformist leadership.

The CUT, instead of taking advantage of Allende's appeal by issuing an urgent call for a general strike, thereby mobilizing all the workers, limited itself to transferring its headquarters to a Santiago factory district and issuing instructions to all union leaders to order their rank and file to "occupy all the factories, plants, universities, and public buildings," and to form watchdog committees to protect the occupations. In this way, the workers were handcuffed and kept

ing, Allende called attention to the "loyalty" of the majority of the military, and especially of General Prats, who was in charge of the operations to crush the adventurist group.

Despite the initial disorientation of the Chilean masses and the efforts of their reformist leaderships to hold them back, they were prepared to make short shrift of the fascist threat. This was reflected in the June 21 demonstration in the streets of Santiago and in the Moneda rally confronting the Patria y Libertad fascists. On June 21, more than 700,000 workers demonstrated their support for the government, demanding more power



# workers responded

the occasion to demand that their places of work be added to the nationalized sector.

Another important consequence of this attitude on the part of the workers was the strengthening and partial arming of their defense committees.

The workers guarded their places of work day and night. Some factories have already been intervened, and not a day passes without at least another one being taken over.

There are very interesting cases such as the Luccetti noodle factory and the Loncoleche powdered milk plant in the Vicuña Mackenna Cordón. They were seized while the tanks were at the gates of La Moneda [the presidential palace]. The cordón strongly supported these take-overs, considering that these plants were essential to popular consumption. Now the distribution of their products is controlled by the workers, fundamentally by the cordón's distribution body as well as the one of the homeless people's associa-



Allende with generals during the June 29 coup attempt.

tion. Thus the cordón has won its demand that the interventors of both factories be persons in whom it has confidence.

The case of the Vinex factory is also very important, but for another reason. The workers had already taken it over before June 29. They demanded that the manager of this state-owned factory be fired. The majority of the workers as well as the trade-union leaders belong to the same party as the manager—the Socialist party.

Faced with government procrastination in solving the problem of the Vinex factory, the cordón decided to appoint the interventor itself, naming one of the employees of the plant, who was nominated by the trade union and approved by the rank and file. This is the first case in which the cordón has assumed this kind of responsibility, and with the help of the cordón the Vinex factory has started to sell the wine it produces.

In the Cerrillos Cordón many take-overs are also being carried out and the organization of defense committees is moving ahead steadily. The factories in the vanguard of this cordón are Textil Artela and Cristalerías Toro. Because of the scarcity of glassware, the latter is considered strategic. And Textil Artela, which is on strike, wants the factory confiscated by the

state and put under the direct administration of the workers. The comando revolucionario de huelga [revolutionary strike committee], which was formed to lead the union in the conflict, is in agreement with this.

By comparison with the other cordones, the Cerrillos Cordón has the advantage of being closely linked to the peasant organization in the area.

In the other cordones in Santiago we have also seen the same agitation, as in Panamericana Norte and Macul, where factory seizures have become the order of the day recently.

Another combative sector is the hospital workers, who during the days when the curfew was in force held all the hospitals and were ready to treat the compañeros who fell wounded.

I should also note the seizure of ENDESA [Empresa Nacional de Electricidad—National Electricity Company], which controls the distribution of electricity to Santiago and Valparaíso.

In the rest of the country, similar things are happening, although to a lesser degree, as in Concepción and Valparaíso, for example.

The right began to send up a cry of alarm over the first seizures and the setting up of the first defense committees, and, although they are continuing to do so, their tone of protest has begun to drop to a lower register.

The armed forces, especially the navy and the air force, have begun to carry out raids, looking for alleged arsenals. Sometimes they find arms; other times not.

The parties of the revolutionary left, including the left wing of the SP, have stepped up their campaign aimed at the ranks of the armed forces and are trying to strengthen popular power.

The tension has dropped in Chile but the present "calm" is very relative. It is expected that the right will attempt another coup. The sectors of the right that favor a "constitutional" solution are constantly shrinking.

On the other hand, the situation of the UP leadership becomes more difficult every day. Because of the coup, it had to appeal to the masses. Allende called on the workers to come with "what they had," just as CUT called for taking over factories as a preventive measure and alerted the defense committees.

Although, in his speech on the afternoon of the coup, the president gave credit for crushing the uprising to the armed forces, the generals did not want to enter the cabinet unless Allende promised first to clear out the factories and other things like that. In these conditions, an acceptance by Allende would have meant a complete surrender to the right and a break with the masses, who are far from being beaten and are more than ever demanding new advances. The new cabinet is almost the same as the last. This doesn't mean that the government isn't still looking for a deal, but this is becoming more and more difficult.

Popular power is growing and the confrontation is coming ever closer.

# Massive election boycott mounted by Namibians

By Tony Thomas

Tens of thousands of Namibian Blacks have defied the apartheid regime and puppet tribal leaders in this South African colony by staging a series of massive election boycotts.

Namibia is rich in zinc, copper, uranium, agricultural products, and diamonds (20 percent of the world's gem diamonds come from one Namibian mine). Although more than 88 percent of the population of 746,000 are Blacks, Namibia has been ruled by South Africa since it was taken over from Germany after World War I.

The United Nations ordered that Namibia be given independence in the mid-1960s, but the South African government is attempting to integrate the area into South Africa.

Massive strikes by Ovambo miners in 1971 reflected the widespread sentiment among the Ovambos (the largest national group in Namibia) against apartheid and for independence. Jannie de Wet, the top South African official ruling Namibia's Blacks, has admitted that 60 percent of young Namibians want an independent Namibia.

To give a liberal cover to its apartheid system, the South African government organized elections to tribal councils, most of whose members are appointed by tribal authorities.

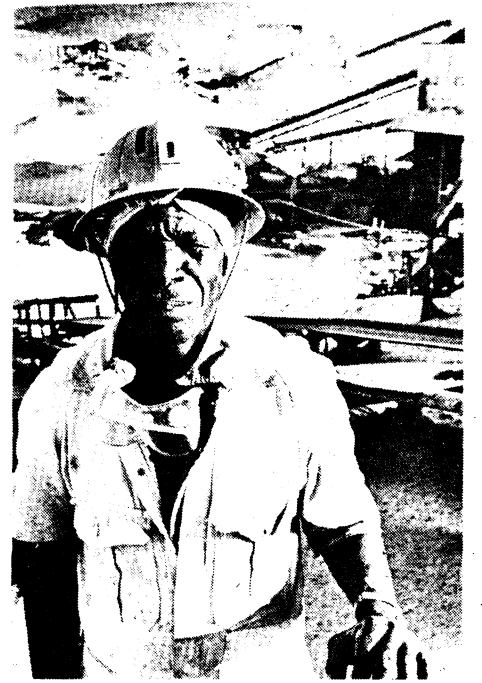
A boycott against the elections was called by the Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) and the Democratic Development Cooperative Party (DEMCOP), two pro-independence organizations. Its success showed that Black support for independence is overwhelming.

This summer SWAPO repeatedly held unauthorized political rallies in Ovamboland, many of which were broken up by the police. A large number of SWAPO members were jailed. Police arrested 250 Africans at an Aug. 17 meeting in Katutura township in Windhoek, the Namibian capital.

According to a *New York Times* correspondent, "As more and more older leaders of the People's Organization [SWAPO] went behind bars, its Youth League filled the vacuum. More militant and hostile than the arrested men, they are threatening to organize another strike of Ovambo migrant workers that could temporarily para-

lyze the economy."

The result of this organizing campaign was shown in the Ovambo elections that began on Aug. 2. Peter Younghusband reported that day in the *Washington Post* that "by late afternoon today only 823 of 50,000 voters had gone to the polling booths." In the Ovambo elections in Windhoek, where there are tens of thousands of Ovambo workers, Younghusband wrote, "only two voters presented them-



A Namibian copper miner. Election boycott follows massive strikes by miners in 1971.

selves at the polling booths. Both were policemen and only one voted." The final turnout in the Ovambo elections was only 2.5 percent.

Similar elections began among the Kavango people on Aug. 29. But by the first week in September, none of the 500 eligible voters in Katutura township, for example, had even returned registration papers for voting.

Linked to a new upsurge of Black consciousness and militancy by African workers inside South Africa itself, the boycotts organized by SWAPO point to mounting problems for the racist colonialist leaders of South Africa.

## What Went Wrong?

What went wrong on Chile's "road to socialism?" Read the special issue of *Intercontinental Press* for the main facts and a Trotskyist analysis of the downfall of Allende.

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## Lessons of the defeat in Chile

# 'A revolutionary party...could have completely changed the outcome'

Continued from page WO3

if the U.S. capitalist press is any indication, the prospects do not look too bright. The Indonesian or Brazilian solution that the Chilean capitalists more and more openly hankered for in the period before the coup just does not seem like a very realistic perspective.

### Was Allende Too Radical?

It could be hoped in some circles that the bloody overthrow of the Allende regime will inhibit the workers movement in other countries from setting its sights too high. In particular, Juan Domingo Perón, the bourgeois demagogue charged with keeping the lid on the workers upsurge in neighboring Argentina, was quick to hold up the fate of Allende to the radical youth as an example of what happens when you try to go too far too fast.

As far away as France, the Gaullist *La Nation* pointed to the fall of Allende as a warning of the perils of voting for the Union of the Left, which also promises a "peaceful road to socialism."

Neither Perón nor *La Nation* seemed to realize that the workers and radicalized youth might draw some rather different conclusions from the failure of the Allende experiment. The coup in Chile was not, after all, the first overthrow of a government committed to "peaceful social change." In fact the scenario was much the same in Guatemala in 1954, when a U.S.-sponsored plot overthrew the CP-backed Arbenz government. Che Guevara, who was an adviser to that regime, drew some lessons from his experience that were put to good effect in Cuba. The revolutionary government destroyed the bourgeois army, and a popular militia played a major role in defeating the imperialist attempt to overthrow the Castro government at Playa Girón.

Perón himself was overthrown by a coup in 1955. He escaped Allende's fate by making a quick getaway. The Argentine military is still run by officers who backed rightist governments for the two decades following Perón's fall. Might not the radical youth who rallied around the old caudillo as a symbol of thwarted anti-imperialism conclude from the failure of Allende that the Argentine military also will ultimately block any significant social reforms, and that Perón has already proved himself an even less effectual leader than Allende?

Nor is Perón the only advocate of the "peaceful road" to social change that may be discredited by the failure of the Allende experiment. In the last three months, the two most powerful Communist parties in Latin America have proved unable to mount any serious resistance to military coups. The Chilean CP, the largest in Latin America, has 100,000 members, almost twice the number of personnel in the armed forces of the country. It is the most disciplined political or-

ganization in Chile and deeply rooted in the working class. And yet it not only could not organize an effective defense against the coup, but it encouraged the capitulationist policy that led inevitably to grave defeats for the Chilean workers.

The Uruguayan CP, which completely controls the national trade-union federation, called a general strike that paralyzed the country when the military took over. But it could not lead a revolutionary struggle against the bourgeois state and thus allowed the strike to collapse, without projecting any political alternative to the Bordaberry government.

Furthermore, the fall of the Allende government shows the hollowness of the CPs' claim that a reformist policy is necessary to win over the petty bourgeoisie to the side of the workers. It was precisely the UP government's reluctance to move to reorganize the economy decisively on a socialist basis that enabled the right to rouse the petty bourgeoisie against the workers.

The failure of the government to move rapidly to take control of the big ranches and industrial establishments, as well as the big transportation and distribution combines, enabled the bourgeoisie and the imperialists to sabotage the economy and create the shortages and hardships that drove the poor but individualistic petty bourgeoisie into a frenzy against the government.

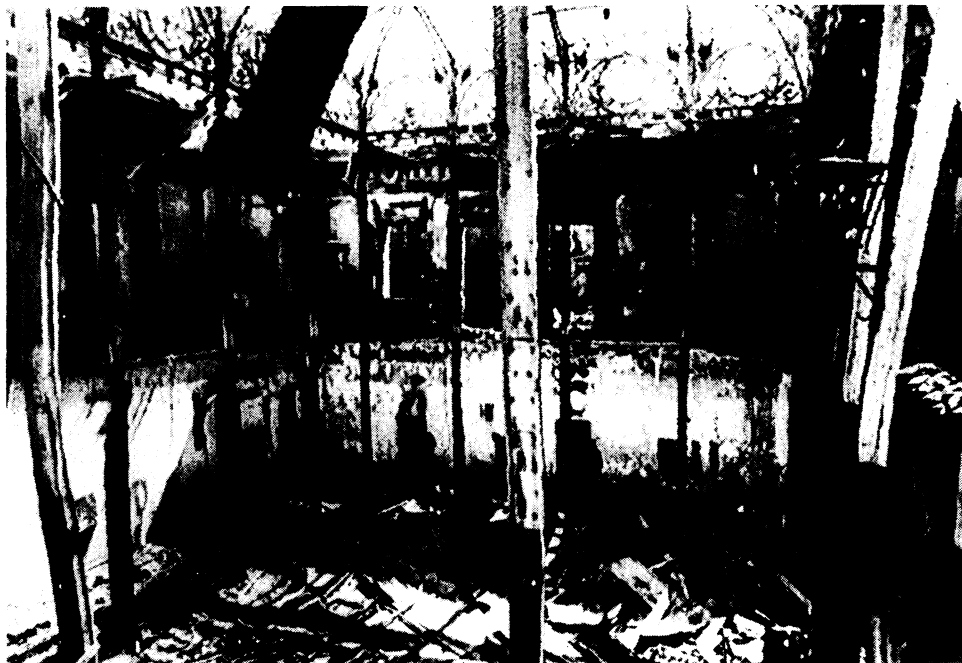
Trying to respect the essential property interests of the capitalists, the Allende regime could not base itself on a mobilization of the workers, which alone could have kept up and increased production in the transitional period and was the only force that could ultimately block the attempts of the bourgeoisie and imperialism to overthrow the government. At times, the Allende regime even came into sharp conflict with workers and peasants who, encouraged by the idea that at last they had a government of their own, carried their struggle against the exploiters to the point of seizing the means of production. The government's compromises did not reassure the industrialists and property owners, who were frightened and enraged by the militancy of the workers and the landless. The capitulations only encouraged the vested interests to arm openly in defense of their property and to plot with impunity against the regime.

At the same time, the government's refusal to repudiate the national debt to the imperialists and its agreement to pay what was in fact compensation to the expropriated imperialist companies deprived the country of capital desperately needed to develop the country.

As a result of its "evolutionary" approach, the government was unable to unite the decisive masses of the population behind a clear program for reorganizing the economy. Because of its refusal to expropriate the big capitalists, it did not have sufficient control of economic life to offer any

solution to the problems of the petty bourgeoisie. Furthermore in the absence of a plan for transforming the capitalist system as a whole, the government's policies tended to conflict in important areas.

For example, Allende's agrarian reform, it turned out, did not fit in very well with his policy of appeasing the army, as a study in the September issue of *Le Monde Diplomatique* indicated: "The army is tending to become an outgrowth of the middleclass.



United Press International photograph shows interior of burned-out presidential palace in Santiago after military assault.

According to a study carried out seven years ago, 42% of the officers graduating from military school came from the big bourgeoisie, 39% came from the rather comfortable middle class, and 19% from the straitened petty bourgeoisie. Some 65% of the higher officers came from the middle class; among them, however, a large number were linked to the upper class. In many cases, in fact, a young officer with no personal fortune takes the opportunity of an assignment in the south to marry the daughter of a landowner. One of the most unexpected results of the agrarian reform was to reduce the dowries of the brides of young officers." "Such small examples could be multiplied many times, since in the context of imperialism most of the major economic interests interlock.

### What Was Lacking in Chile?

The collapse of the latest and most prominent attempt to find a "peaceful road to socialism" in Latin America marks the culmination of a certain cycle in the development of the revolutionary movement that extends from the fall of the Arbenz regime in Guatemala through the Cuban revolution.

Both sides of this experience were represented by the young former guerrillas who died heroically in a futile defense of a capitulationist govern-

ment. Inspired by the Cuban revolution, these young radicals armed themselves to fight imperialism and its native lackies. But they were unable to deal any serious blows to the system through their own military action. In particular they were surprised by the resurgence of reformism and unable to combat it. They could only try to firm up the will of a reformist government by serving as an armed bodyguard for the head of a government that was not only incapable of defending itself but which inevitably armed its executioners. At the last, fighting for a legally elected government, they found themselves almost as alone in the face of the bourgeois repressive forces as they had as isolated guerrillas.

But when the September 11 coup came, the forces were in existence that could defeat imperialism and its local supporters. The organized workers in control of the plants represented probably the most formidable revolutionary force yet seen in Latin America. They were not entirely unarmed, although their arms were almost cer-

tainly insufficient. The coup had been expected for some time and it had been necessary to defend the key economic installations from previous right-wing offensives.

What the workers lacked above all was a centralized political leadership that, understanding the realities of class struggle, could have marshaled their economic and physical power against the reactionary forces. In the absence of this, the coordinated and carefully calculated strike of a relatively small military force threw the workers off balance. Resistance was heroic but scattered and without a perspective. The military was able to concentrate its strength at will against the most advanced sections of workers. Otherwise, less than 50,000 soldiers could never have intimidated hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of determined workers in control of the vital centers of the economy.

A revolutionary party able to give leadership to the resistance could have completely changed the outcome. Without this, the military force of the former guerrillas was insignificant. The final irony was that they died defending a government that had irrevocably condemned itself to death, when they were needed to help form the nucleus of a government based directly on the workers that could have really fought imperialism and dealt it a decisive defeat.



By TONY THOMAS

King Hussein of Jordan symbolizes the reactionary character of the Arab ruling classes. His slaughter of tens of thousands of Palestinians in 1970 and 1971 evoked mass hatred among the Arab peoples. Both Egypt and

Arabia's ally, is regarded here [Beirut] as a major success for King Hussein."

The only concession Hussein gave in return was to release several hundred Palestinians he had imprisoned earlier.

An initially hostile response to these deals made at the expense of the Palestinians was reportedly broadcast by the Voice of Palestine, a Palestine

of Jordan as an enemy."

The committee, presided over by Yasir Arafat, leader of Fateh and the PLO, "avoided any attacks on Egypt and Syria for having restored relations with Jordan," the *Times* wrote.

"In effect, the guerrillas adopted a wait-and-see attitude over Egypt's reconciliation with King Hussein, but held themselves aloof from any direct

that the talks are a new sign that Moscow has lost interest in backing the Arab side in the conflict with Israel, or even that Russians and Americans are 'colluding' to preserve the present cease-fire lines in the Mid-east [i.e., Israeli control of the occupied territories]."

The Aug. 31 *Washington Post* reported that a major Beirut magazine had "said Syria may now be preparing to oust its Russian advisers—as Egypt did—because the Russians are discouraging confrontations with Israel."

#### Oil states

Having spurned a revolutionary struggle against Israel, and having been turned away by the Moscow-Washington détente, the Egyptian and Syrian regimes have apparently launched a new diplomatic strategy—alliance with the most blatantly reactionary forces in the Arab world. Sadat and Assad have initiated a series of alliances with Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait and other oil-rich states on the Arab Gulf.

The new policy was consolidated in a series of visits Sadat made in August to Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar. The Sept. 2 *Washington Post* reported that the tour "makes [Saudi Arabian King] Faisal the key figure in the Arab confrontation with Israel, and moves Egypt still further from resuming war with Israel."

Some Western observers claim that Saudi Arabia and the other oil states may cut off Western oil deliveries as a political weapon against Israel. Faisal and other Arab Gulf oil monarchs emphatically deny any such intention. The strongest statement Faisal has made is a vague warning about prohibiting future production increases unless the U.S. forces some concessions from Israel.

The real attraction alliance with Saudi Arabia holds for the Egyptian and Syrian capitalists is the offer of massive Saudi aid and investments to replace Soviet or direct U.S. aid.

According to the *Washington Post*, during his tour Sadat invited "Saudi Arabia and other oil-producing states of the Arabian Peninsula to finance the complete overhaul of Egypt's faltering socialist economy."

"Restrictions on foreign capital and on local businessmen are being rapidly discarded in an 'economic opening up' clearly designed to attract the Arab and foreign investors who were scared off by Nasser's large-scale nationalization policy a decade ago."

The Aug. 31 *Washington Post* reported that Saudi Arabia had agreed to finance half of a \$1.2-billion program to rearm the Egyptian air force. Kuwait, Abu Dhabi and Qatar—all oil-rich sheikdoms—had reportedly agreed to provide the rest. Under this rearmament program, Soviet and U.S. military equipment would not be purchased; the main orders would be from

Continued on page 20

## Mideast diplomatic moves are setback for Palestinians



Egyptian President Sadat welcomes King Hussein (left) in Cairo. Rapprochement of Egypt and Syria with Jordan marks shift to the right.

Syria felt constrained by this mass pressure to break diplomatic relations with the Jordanian monarchy.

When Jordanian Prime Minister Wasfi Tal was assassinated by Palestinian commandos in Cairo in 1971, anti-Hussein sentiment in Egypt was so strong that the Egyptian regime was forced to set the Palestinians free.

But when Hussein visited Cairo last month, he received quite a different reception from Wasfi Tal's. Hussein met with Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat and Syrian President Hafez al-Assad. Both agreed to recognize Jordan and establish a military and diplomatic alliance with Hussein. A joint military command for the "eastern front" against Israel, involving Saudi, Syrian, Egyptian, Jordanian, and possibly Iraqi forces, was also decided upon.

The new alignment between Syria, Jordan, and Egypt is to include a common front for diplomatic negotiations at the United Nations. Part of the basis of these agreements is Syrian and Egyptian acquiescence to Jordan's blatantly anti-Palestinian positions.

The Sept. 17 *New York Times* reported that Hussein "has not relented in his refusal to let the Palestinian guerrillas return to Jordan. The King is also reported to be maintaining his publicly stated view that any talk of Arab military action against Israel at this point is unrealistic."

A few days later the *Times* said that Syria had "for the first time" announced support for the UN 1967 resolution on the Mideast as the basis for a settlement. The *Times* pointed out that "Until now Syria, like Libya, Algeria and other radical Arab governments, had rejected the resolution... as implied recognition of Israel."

The Sept. 19 *Christian Science Monitor* wrote: "That both Egypt and Syria have dropped their insistence on a return of an independent Palestine guerrilla force to Jordan, Saudi

Liberation Organization radio program. The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is a coalition of all the resistance organizations, led by Al Fateh."

This broadcast implicitly attacked the rapprochement between Egypt, Syria, and Jordan. It said, "We will continue to consider it [Jordan] as an enemy of our country, which plots against our revolution. It is distressing that those who have already dirtied their hands in the blood of the Palestinians have been authorized to leave their isolation."

*Falastine al Thawra*, the PLO's official weekly, wrote that the new coordination of forces between Egypt, Syria, and Jordan would mean a front "whose principal pillar would be an army mobilized against Iraq, Syria, and the Palestinian revolution, much more than against the Zionist enemy."

The Syrian and Egyptian governments immediately responded with a series of attacks on the PLO leadership. On Sept. 14, Syria closed down a Fateh radio station and arrested five Palestinians.

The Sept. 21 *New York Post* reported that Syrian authorities had confiscated copies of *Falastine al Thawra*. The *Post* said the Palestinian resistance had also "been forced to desist from its anti-Hussein 'Voice of the Palestine Revolution' broadcasts from Egypt."

The Sept. 20 *Times* reported that the Syrians had arrested 16 Fateh commandos and "restricted Palestinian guerrilla movements." It quoted two Beirut newspapers as saying "the Syrians had closed training bases and border trails used by guerrillas to infiltrate supplies to bases in Lebanon."

A meeting of the executive committee of the PLO concluded in Lebanon Sept. 22. According to the *New York Times*, the meeting "gave grudging approval... to the reconciliation of Egypt and Syria with Jordan, but continued to denounce King Hussein

involvement" in the new realignment.

The moderation of the decision appeared to flow from attempts to placate As Saiqa, a Syrian-controlled guerrilla organization, which had counterposed a more moderate policy to Fateh's initial opposition to the reopening of relations with Jordan.

#### Detente

The rapprochement between Egypt and Jordan is the result of a larger shift in the diplomatic, economic, and military strategy of the Egyptian rulers in response to the tightening of the Moscow-Washington détente.

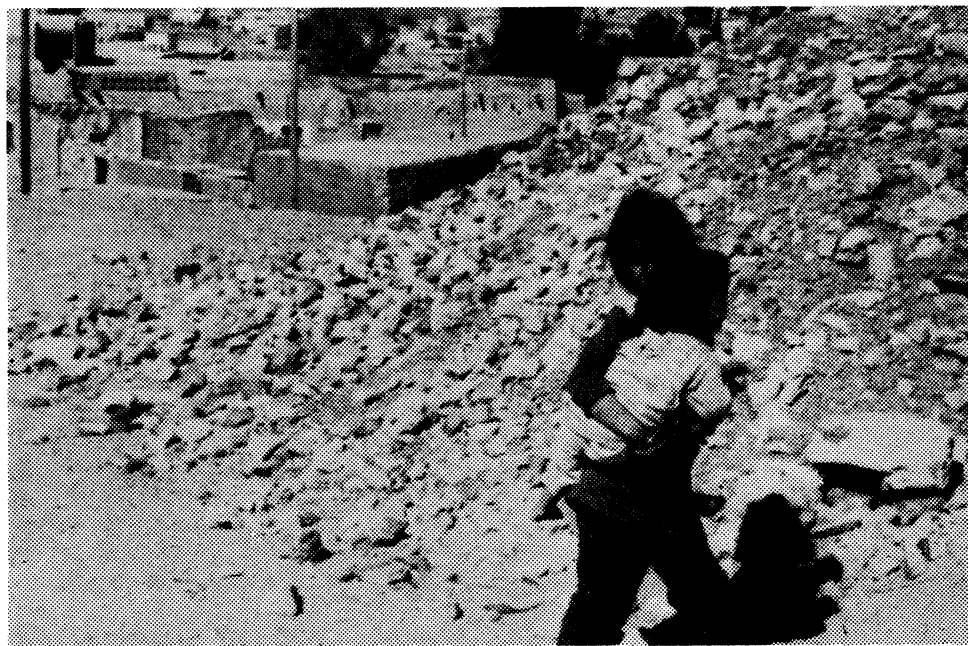
The central political question facing Egypt and Syria is gaining the return of the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula and the Syrian Golan Heights, both of which were occupied by Israel in 1967.

Since 1967, the Syrians and Egyptians have based their strategy to gain this goal on diplomatic and military alignment with the Soviet Union. They have opposed in practice, though supported in words, the Palestinian resistance and other attempts to fight the Israelis and their imperialist backers through a revolutionary mobilization of the Arab masses.

While Egypt and Syria have been successful in containing the Palestinian and Arab revolutions, they have been completely unsuccessful in regaining any of the occupied territories—a step that could gain them new support among the Arab masses and further stabilize the Middle Eastern situation.

As the Moscow-Washington détente has warmed up, the Kremlin's alliance with the Arab states has cooled down. Last year, after Moscow cut down arms deliveries and pressured Egypt and Syria to soften their demands against Israel, the Egyptians ordered 20,000 Soviet military advisers to leave the country.

Following Nixon's summit with Brezhnev this June, the *Christian Science Monitor* wrote, "Arab capitals are glumly drawing the conclusion



King Hussein's shelling of refugee camps killed thousands of Palestinians and earned him the title 'Butcher of Amman.'



# ...why food prices are soaring

Continued from page 22

For this is a different matter entirely. Wages are set in contracts that can easily be policed by the bosses who write the pay checks. Moreover, wages are determined for thousands of workers at a time and in a few cases, like auto and trucking, for more than a million workers at a time.

## Monopoly

But Meyer's explanation, which does not go beyond the standard bourgeois economic viewpoint that prices are simply determined by supply and demand, leaves out something even more

en four and five times that amount.

It means that old people are not buying more meat as Meyer tries to get us to believe. They are buying less meat, and they are paying more for it.

Capitalist production decisions are made with only one end in mind and that is maximizing profits. It is hardly a coincidence that with all his research Meyer failed to uncover the fact that more than one-quarter of all meat packing in the United States is carried out by only two firms. And these two multimillion-dollar trusts are reaping monopoly profits. For the

food trusts for profit, this would mean that the production and distribution of food would be planned. Food prices would be set according to social need rather than being determined by anarchistic competition. Old people, the jobless, and those on welfare would receive special attention in food allocation.

Poor and working farmers would benefit from these steps because they would no longer be caught in the merciless grips of the monopolistic dealers.

There is no doubt that the capitalist government will fiercely resist the demand for nationalizing the food monopolies. Even the most liberal of Democrats hasn't dared to mention such a notion.

This all the more exposes the complicity of the government with the food monopolists. If the politicians argue that the firms really aren't raking in superprofits and that there isn't enough money to carry out national planning, let them open the corporate books and prove it.

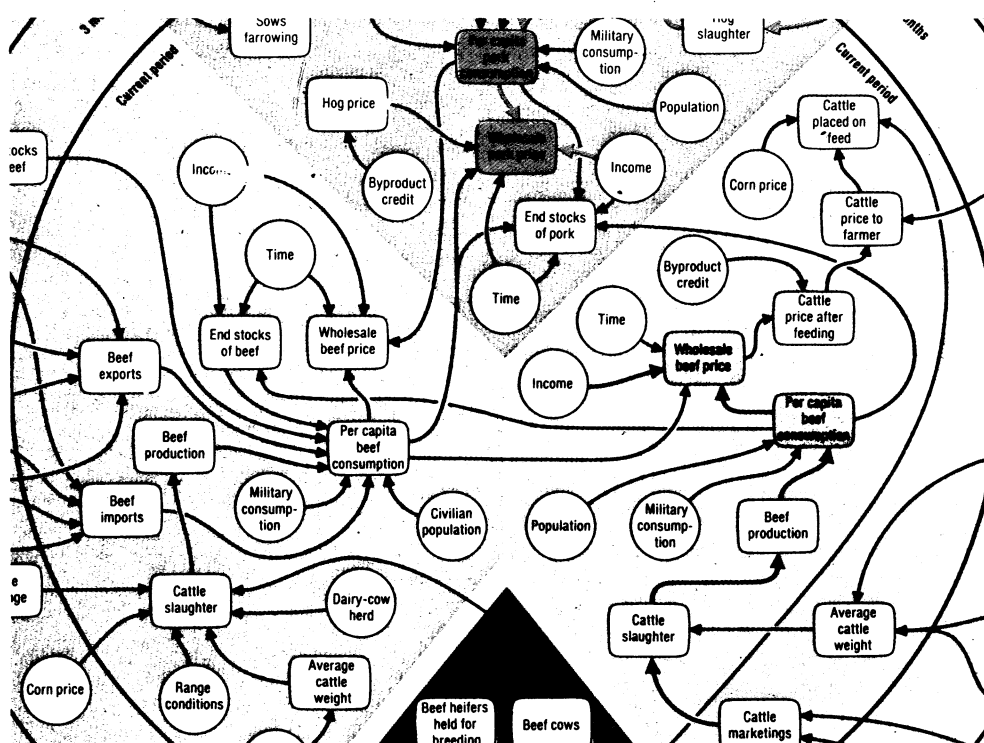
Short of these steps, which would place food production under workers control, there is no way that the anarchy of price rises can be prevented. And, as the *Fortune* article cited above stated, the worst is yet to come.

Workers consequently need safeguards in their contracts against inflation. This can be done through cost-of-living clauses that automatically raise wages when prices go up.

In order to ensure that these "escalator clauses" actually reflect price movements, the price index should be determined by consumers at the markets rather than by the federal government. Consumer price committees can also play a key role in raising the demand for nationalizing the food trusts.

A struggle should also be waged for shortening the workweek with no reduction in pay. This would provide needed jobs for the unemployed who otherwise are practically helpless to keep up with inflation.

Trade unions should take the lead in these fights. The fact that union bureaucrats haven't raised the demand for workers control of food production is worth emphasizing. It points out how they place more confidence in monopoly ownership than in production under the control of workers.



The anarchy of capitalist production is illustrated in this diagram. It shows the many points where beef and pork prices are determined as the animals move toward the market. In the full diagram from which this detail is taken, there are 84 such points.

important: Except at the level of the small farm, every other level of food production in this country is monopolized. This means that all of the supply and demand factors he enumerates operate under the special conditions of private monopoly ownership.

Decisions are not made with a view toward "maximizing" the food consumption of society at prices people can afford. Meyer's example of the rise in Social Security incomes as an increased demand factor is more than ironic. For if Social Security benefits have risen around 5 percent on an individual basis, food prices have ris-

year ending in June, Iowa Beef Processors registered a profit increase of 120 percent, and Missouri Beef Packers saw a profit increase of 415 percent.

## Urgent need

These facts underline the need to take food production out of the hands of the monopolists. The incapacity of the food trusts to provide enough food at prices consumers can afford is more than evident. These profit-gouging monopolies should be nationalized under workers control.

In place of the competition of the

# Detroit teachers defy injunction

By MIKE KELLY

DETROIT—Striking members of the Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT) voted Sept. 25 to defy a court injunction to return to work.

As the leadership of the 10,600-member DFT recommended defiance, the teachers crowding Detroit's Masonic Temple rose to their feet in an enthusiastic response to the "no contract-no work" slogan.

Wayne County Circuit Court Judge Thomas Foley granted the injunction as the strike continued into its third week with no signs of lagging in the teachers' ranks. The teachers expect arrests will quickly follow the non-compliance.

The teachers are demanding a 9.7 percent wage increase to help make up for skyrocketing prices, a cost-of-living clause, and a smaller class size.

The school board has refused to bargain seriously on these issues unless teachers give in to an "accountability" (merit pay) plan that would place arbitrary control over salary increases in the administration's hands. The teachers correctly see this as an antiunion device to victimize

some teachers and favor others friendly to the administration.

This injunction is only one of several brought against teachers in the Detroit area, where some 18 school systems remain on strike. Teachers are generally standing firm and demanding adequate wage increases as protection against future inflation.

In a 3-to-1 vote, the Highland Park Federation of Teachers voted to reject the Highland Park school board's latest offer. Malcolm Wright, president of the Highland Park Federation of Teachers, said, "We are determined to get salary increases in line with the soaring cost of living." The latest offer was a 5 percent across-the-board wage hike and a cost-of-living clause with a \$50 ceiling.

Meanwhile, more than 50,000 teachers in 14 states have been on strike this fall. This includes two local affiliates of the National Education Association and 14 locals of the American Federation of Teachers.

By comparison, at this time last year there had been 66 walkouts in 10 states.

These strikes, some of which have

been settled, have raised demands for smaller class size and other improvements. But, as in the Detroit strike, the rising cost of living has kept bargaining focused on the need for higher salaries.



Detroit teachers' picket line

# Columbia strike victory

By RUTHANN MILLER

The strike by Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers Union at Columbia University has ended in a partial victory.

The union won a 6 percent or \$10 wage increase (whichever is greater) this year, and a 6.5 percent or \$10 increase next year. Since staff salaries are so low at Columbia, this works out to an increase of more than 7.5 percent—the union's original demand—for the majority of union members. The right to union recognition and dues check-off, which Columbia was trying to renege on, was maintained.

The university at first threatened to fire two student employees for honoring the strike. On hearing this, the entire Local 1199 meeting, assembled to vote on the contract, marched to the campus personnel office and sent a union delegation inside. The administration then backed down and agreed that there would be no reprisals against student employees.

The university had hoped to make the contract negotiations with Local 1199 an example to the rest of the workers at Columbia and nearby Barnard College. It wanted to force Local 1199 to accept the same 5.5 percent raise that nonunion workers got, and prove to the unorganized workers that joining a union would not bring them better wages and benefits.

This move was particularly aimed at the current organizing drive of District 65, Distributive Workers of America, which recently won an election among Barnard workers.

However, the university did not count on the significant support that other campus unions and students gave Local 1199.

Once the strike began, the campus unions and employee associations formed a coalition to support the strikers' demands. The coalition included Transport Workers Union Local 241; Local 1199; Barnard Chapter of District 65; Ad Hoc Committee for Organizing District 65 (Columbia campus); Executive Committee of the Teachers College Employee Association; and Association of Administrative Support Personnel at Union Theological Seminary.

TWU Local 241 called a work stoppage on the second day of the strike and joined the picket lines of Local 1199. District 65 called on its members to build the picket lines and also helped build support among unorganized employees.

A student support committee, formed at a meeting of 200 students, organized two campus rallies and helped bring hundreds of students to the picket lines. Students at the School of Social Work boycotted classes for the duration of the strike.

The next union to negotiate with the administration will be the Barnard Chapter of District 65. District 65 at Barnard is a new union that has been organizing female clerical workers, long ignored by the union movement.

The Barnard union is raising many demands of particular importance to women workers, such as child-care facilities; equal pay and promotional opportunities for women; health coverage that includes free abortion care; and maternity and paternity leaves.

The solidarity expressed by the campus union coalition and students during the Local 1199 strike will be needed in the fight for decent wages and working conditions at Barnard.

# UAW militants victimized by auto bosses; union officialdom turns back on workers

By MIKE KELLY

DETROIT — Top officials of the United Auto Workers refuse to defend the many victims of in-plant terror and intimidation following a series of job actions in Chrysler's Detroit factories.

These job actions brought intolerable working conditions to public attention, but failed to change them. The workers involved are now suffering reprisals for their efforts, and some believe that continuation of pre-strike conditions is part of the new UAW-Chrysler contract.

The overwhelming majority of assembly line workers in Chrysler's Detroit plants are Black. These Black workers led the job-action protests. They are convinced that the unsafe and highly speeded-up assembly operations are partly an expression of the racist policies of plant management.

The job actions were provoked by a backlog of thousands of grievances that were not resolved by the slow-moving UAW grievance procedure. On July 24, Black auto workers Larry Carter and Isaac Shorter led several hundred workers in an occupation at Chrysler's Jefferson plant. They demanded the firing of a racist supervisor, and won. Several weeks later, on Sept. 4, Shorter was beaten by plant guards and fired by the company. Carter had his pay docked. Union officials did nothing, although they had termed the occupation as "unfortunate, but justified."

On Aug. 8, Chrysler workers at the Lynch Road Forge plant walked out, closing the plant for a week over job safety. The court battle that ensued saw the UAW join the company *against* the striking workers. To date, 18 workers identified as having played a leading role in the walkout have been fired.

On Aug. 14, workers at Chrysler's Mack Avenue Stamping plant defended two workers being attacked by security guards. The two, who had been fired the week before for leading a work stoppage, had come back into the plant and stopped the conveyor belt to protest their firings. Many other workers then walked out or sat in at the plant to protest job conditions.

UAW leaders first red-baited the leaders and then mobilized an armed goon squad of 1,000 local officials to smash the picket lines of the striking workers and their supporters. They were aided in this by the Detroit police, organized under the personal leadership of Commissioner John Nichols, top-running law-and-order mayoral candidate.

This squad beat several leaders of the strike and threatened other picketers with beatings if they



UAW officials failed to defend Isaac Shorter (left) and Larry Carter (right) when the two were victimized after leading protest at Chrysler plant.

didn't get back on the job.

Eight workers involved in the action were fired by Chrysler. Several had 25 or more years of seniority. Two leaders of the action, William Gilbreth and Clinton Smith, were arrested and charged with felonious assault. None of these workers were defended by the union.

The failure of the union leadership to support the workers has not gone without protest. John Anderson, former president of UAW Local 15, for example, sent a letter to union President Leonard Woodcock accusing top union officials of strikebreaking.

"The danger to our union," Anderson wrote, "is not from the action of a handful of publicity seekers but rather it is from the failure of the union leadership to resolve the grievances of the workers, not only in Chrysler but throughout most UAW shops, and the strike-breaking of this leadership to cover up their own failure."

On Aug. 27, 28, and 30, thousands of Chrysler workers walked out of three Windsor, Ontario,

plants in protest over the oppressive heat. On Sept. 7 Chrysler fired 13, suspended 398 indefinitely, and suspended another 1,136 for anywhere from three to 20 days.

In this case, the more than 10,000 Windsor members of UAW Local 444 were so angry that the UAW national leadership made statements of protest. But rather than defend the workers, the UAW leadership bemoaned the fact that they had not been consulted before Chrysler took action. They said that they would have been happier if they could have negotiated the issue.

Workers have also been fired or suspended in at least two other Detroit Chrysler plants, Dodge Truck in Warren and the Dodge Main Assembly plant in Hamtramck, for earlier work stoppages. No union action was taken in their defense.

On Sept. 5, the UAW International Executive board suspended the leadership of the 300-member Briggs unit of UAW Local 212, placing the unit in "administratorship."

Briggs leaders have been highly critical over severance pay due to workers soon to be laid off when the plant is closed and relocated. The unit also denounced the UAW leadership for using goons to break the Mack Avenue strike.

Woodcock and his highly paid cohorts in the UAW leadership allow and even aid the victimization of these militant workers because they fear their independent action.

Endangered by these workers taking matters in their own hands are the "partnership" the union bureaucrats enjoy with the auto magnates, and their own privileged positions in the hierarchy.

They enjoy the warm public spotlight focused on "responsible labor statesmen" like themselves and look forward to retiring on a fat pension—if the boat isn't rocked too much, that is.

They know that a successful job action led by militant workers at one plant could quickly spread to others. Such actions could demonstrate the true power of the UAW—a power never fully tapped by its leadership.

They could lead the entire ranks to demand a leadership that recognized that a class struggle, not a "partnership," goes on daily in the plants. Woodcock is trying to block such a movement in the UAW ranks by victimizing the emerging leadership.

But in the long run, Woodcock is out of step with reality. Today's spiraling inflation and oppressive job conditions show no signs of abating. They will inevitably lead the rank-and-file workers to seek a truly effective leadership.

## Auto workers cool to Chrysler contract

Chrysler's 127,000 workers began returning to work Sept. 24 after voting showed a majority would accept the new contract. Top officials of the United Auto Workers had urged ratification of the contract.

Of the 69 UAW locals in the Chrysler complex, 55 voted to endorse the contract and seven voted to reject it; some were late in reporting. In many locals the vote was close.

Only about a quarter of the 4,100 workers at Chrysler's Twinsburg, Ohio, plant showed up for a meeting of Local 122 where voting on the new contract took place. They rejected the settlement 560 to 553.

John Rach, a former Local 122 president, said the contract was turned down "on purely economic grounds. There wasn't enough money."

In Detroit at the Dodge Main (Hamtramck) assembly plant, which has 10,000 workers, only 51 percent voted for the contract.

As Dodge Main workers returned to the plant the still-unresolved and most grievous issue was voluntary overtime. One worker told a *Militant* reporter, "There's no difference. I'll be working the same hours as before. They copped out."

Reaction of workers at the Jefferson assembly plant, site of recent "unauthorized" walkouts and job actions over working conditions, was similar. The attention was on long-standing plant grievances.

At the Eldon Avenue plant, also the site of re-

cent job actions, the workers (who are predominantly young and Black) said they were unhappy with the money settlement.

The average base wage increase in the new contract is 25 to 27 cents for the first year, less than what inflation cut from the previous contract.

In the second and third years of the new contract the base wage will increase 3 percent each year. It is estimated that by 1976 average hourly base wages will reach \$5.72.

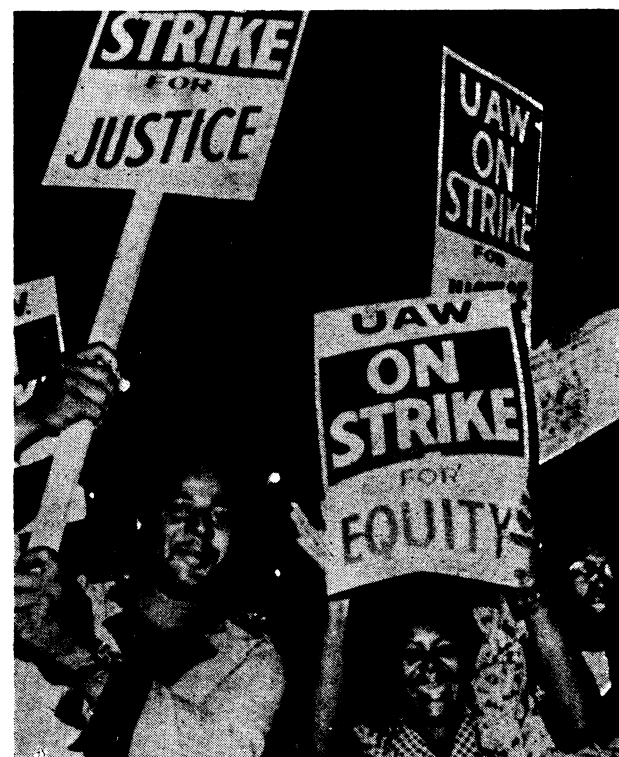
The cost-of-living escalator clause, which advances wages as prices rise, was improved slightly in the new contract. Over the three years of the old contract auto workers got a total of 40 cents an hour to help offset rising prices. Under the new terms they would receive about 45 cents for the same amount of inflation.

With consumer prices rising at a more rapid rate now, the wage increase from the present cost-of-living clause will probably be higher, but price rises will continue to outstrip wages.

The new contract also limits the workweek to 54 hours, provides for full retirement benefits after 30 years, promises to "humanize" factory work, specifies a total of 15 paid holidays in 1974, and establishes a company-paid dental insurance plan.

Enthusiasm for the Chrysler settlement came mostly from employers and union bureaucrats. The Oct. 1 *U.S. News & World Report* described it as "a new type of labor contract" and said "busi-

nessmen and labor leaders see this pact as the forerunner of similar contracts in many other industries."



Chrysler workers during last month's brief strike. Many are disappointed by terms of new contract.



## THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

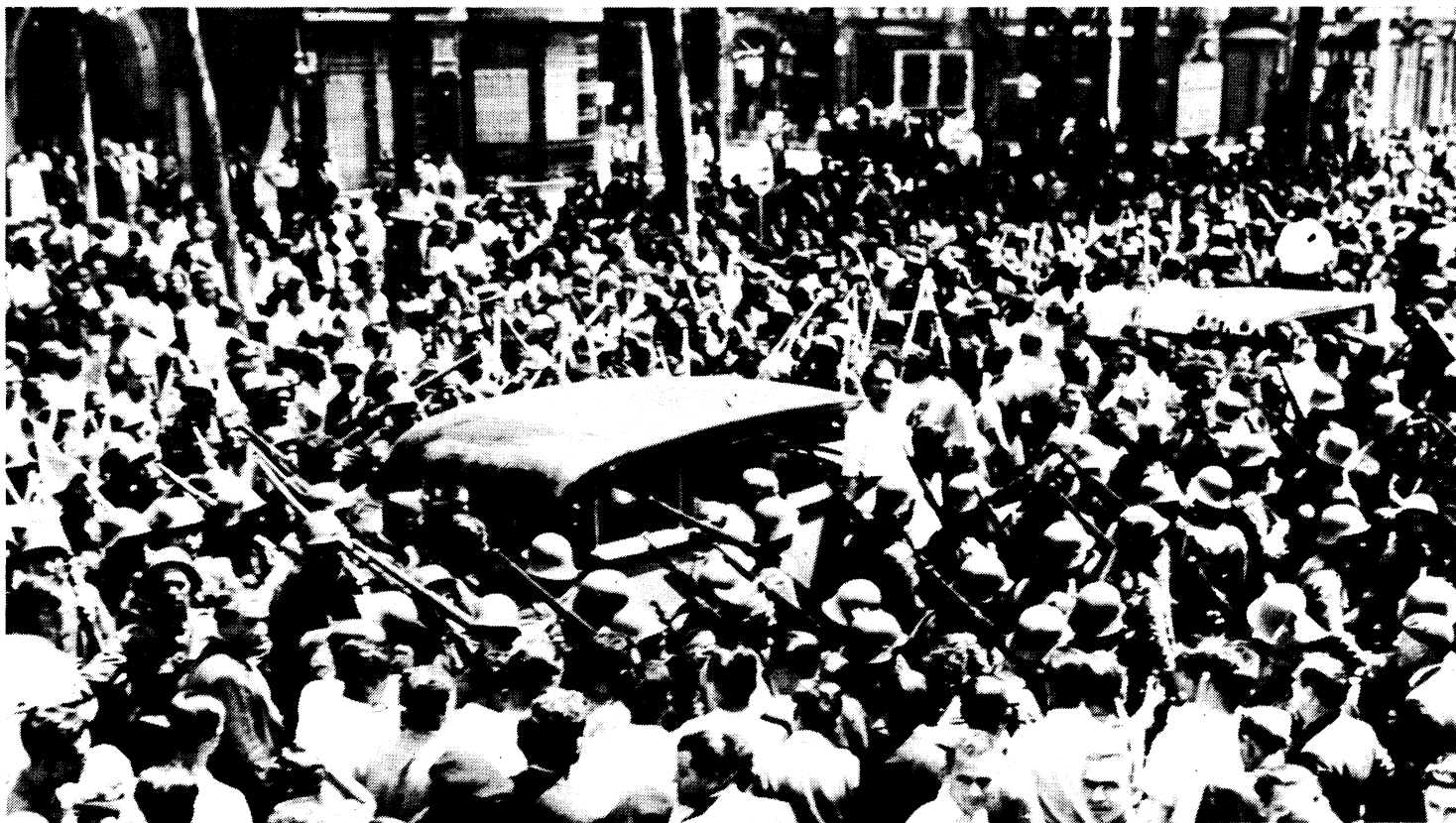
The Spanish Revolution (1931-39) by Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder Press (410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014). 1973. 448 pp. Paper \$3.95. Cloth \$10.

The following review of *The Spanish Revolution (1931-39)* was written before the recent military coup in Chile. The defeat there was in many ways parallel to the tragic crushing of the Spanish revolution 35 years earlier. Most important, both the Spanish and Chilean workers and peasants were disorganized and betrayed by the policy of coalition governments with the bourgeoisie—whether called "Popular Front" or "Popular Unity."

Trotsky's warnings against this error, and his subsequent analysis of how it led to defeat, make up an important part of this book. Those who wish to learn from the mistakes of the past in order to prevent their recurrence in future revolutionary upsurges will find *The Spanish Revolution* indispensable reading.

When and how should revolutionists put forward democratic demands? What is the relationship of armed struggle to class struggle? Can "popular-front" electoral coalitions with capitalist parties advance the interests of the working class? How can an international revolutionary movement discuss questions of program, strategy, and tactics?

These questions, which are sharply posed before the current generation of revolutionists, are answered in a rich and concrete fashion in *The Spanish*



Popular-front militia march through Barcelona on their way to the front.

Latin America today.

In his 1931 article "The Revolution in Spain," Trotsky explained the factors that led to the failure to complete the tasks of the democratic revolution. These included the economic stagnation since the sixteenth century and the lack of a strong capitalist class capable of wresting power from the old feudal order—represented by the big landholders, the monarchy, and the Catholic Church.

The weak Spanish capitalist class compromised with these feudal layers and derived much of its economic power from superprofits obtained on the basis of feudal and semifeudal relations on the land. It sought to defend itself against the workers and peasants by relying on the monarchy and later Franco's fascist dictatorship, and denying democratic rights to the Spanish people.

### Role of democratic demands

Trotsky said that only a socialist revolution led by the working class could solve these problems. He ad-

vised from the outset that it was essential to mobilize the workers for a program of democratic demands, linked to a revolutionary solution to all the problems of the Spanish masses.

He raised demands for the division of the land among the poor peasants, for separation of church and state, and for a "revolutionary constituent Cortes" (parliament) to meet the democratic aspirations of the Spanish people.

He pointed to the importance of Catalan nationalism and said revolutionists should support the right of national self-determination for Catalonia.

He wrote, "while the 'separatism' of the Catalan bourgeoisie is only a pawn in its play with the Madrid government against the Catalan and Spanish people, the separatism of the workers and peasants is only the shell of their social rebellion. . . . Precisely, however, in order to draw the line between the nationally oppressed workers and peasants and their bour-

geoisie, the proletarian vanguard must take the boldest and most sincere position on the question of national self-determination."

Trotsky favored linking this program of revolutionary democratic demands with a radical program of social legislation around such questions as unemployment insurance and free public education, as well as with a series of transitional demands. These transitional demands included nationalization of the railways, mineral resources, and banks; workers control of production; and state regulation of the economy.

Trotsky wrote, "Only pedants can see contradictions in the combination of democratic slogans with transitional and purely socialist slogans. . . ."

"Even if one should run ahead and assume that the proletarian vanguard has grasped the idea that only the dictatorship of the proletariat can save Spain from further decay, the preparatory problem would nevertheless remain in full force: to weld around the vanguard the heterogeneous sections of the working class and the still more heterogeneous masses of village toilers."

He added that rather than leading the masses toward supporting the liberal capitalists, "The more courageously, resolutely, and implacably the proletarian vanguard fights for democratic slogans, the sooner it will win over the masses and undermine the support for the bourgeois republicans and Socialist reformists."

### Popular front

The upsurges of the Spanish workers and peasants throughout this period tended toward the revolutionary methods Trotsky called for. But the leadership of the Spanish working class was determined to keep the struggle within bounds acceptable to Spanish capitalism.

The Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Anarchists, and the left-centrist POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unification) all supported the popular-front government elected in 1936.

The popular front attempted to unite the workers parties with the "democratic" bourgeois politicians on the basis of support to "democratic" capi-

## Books

*Revolution (1931-39)* by Leon Trotsky.

The Spanish revolution was confronted with both the tasks earlier accomplished by bourgeois-democratic revolutions, like the French revolution of 1789 and the American revolution, and the tasks of the socialist revolution itself. Spain's position was in many ways similar to that of semi-colonial countries in Africa, Asia, and

## Trotsky on popular front and capitalist army

The following paragraphs are taken from Trotsky's article "The Lesson of Spain," written in July 1936, just days after Franco launched the civil war. Trotsky's explanation of how the Spanish popular front dug its own grave is clearly applicable to the defeat of the Allende regime in Chile—a bitter reminder that unless revolutionary Leninist parties are constructed that can lead the revolution to victory, the masses are condemned to follow the Stalinist and Social-Democratic betrayers to defeat after bloody defeat.

In Spain, the Socialists and communists belong to the Popular Front, which already betrayed the revolution once, but which, thanks to the workers and peasants, once again attained victory, and in February [1936] created a "republican" government. Six months afterwards, the "republican" army took the field against the people.

Thus it became clear that the Pop-

ular Front government had maintained the military caste with the people's money, furnished them with authority, power, and arms, and given them command over young workers and peasants, thereby facilitating the preparations for a crushing attack on the workers and peasants. . . .

Many supporters of the Popular Front now shake their heads reproachfully at the rulers of Madrid! Why didn't they foresee all this? Why didn't they purge the army in time? Why didn't they take the necessary measures? . . .

It is naïve to complain that the Spanish republicans or the Socialists or the communists foresaw nothing, let something slip. It is not at all a question of the perspicacity of this or that minister or leader, but of the general direction of the policy. The workers' party that enters into a political alliance with the radical bourgeoisie by that fact alone renounces the struggle against capitalist militarism. . . .

To eliminate four or five hundred reactionary agitators from the army means to leave everything basically as it was before. The officers' corps, in which is concentrated the centuries-old tradition of enslaving the people, must be dissolved, broken, crushed in its entirety, root and branch. The troops in the barracks commanded by the officers' caste must be replaced by the people's militia, that is, the democratic organization of the armed workers and peasants. There is no other solution.

But such an army is incompatible with the domination of exploiters big and small. Can the republicans agree to such a measure? Not at all. The Popular Front government, that is to say, the government of the coalition of the workers with the bourgeoisie, is in its very essence a government of capitulation to the bureaucracy and the officers. Such is the great lesson of the events in Spain, now being paid for with thousands of human lives.



talism. This necessarily entailed curbing the workers' and peasants' struggles.

After it took power in February 1936, the popular-front regime refused to take any serious steps to check the power of the Spanish military elite, even as it was preparing Franco's fascist coup, launched in July of that year.

Trotsky pointed out that the fundamental error of the popular front in the civil war was to subordinate the class struggle to an illusory alliance with liberal capitalist forces and to hopeless efforts to win the favor of imperialist Britain and France.

On the contrary, Trotsky insisted, military strategy is completely subordinate to political strategy. He said, "The only way possible to assure victory in Spain is to say to the peasants: 'The Spanish soil is your soil.' To say to the workers: 'The Spanish factories are your factories.' That is the only possibility to assure victory. Stalin, in order not to frighten the French bourgeoisie, has become the guard of private property in Spain."

Just as the Soviet Union and China were willing to sell out the Vietnamese revolution to obtain deals with Nixon, Stalin was determined to keep the Spanish civil war within limits acceptable to the Western imperialists with whom he wanted an alliance.

The Spanish Stalinists were the most ruthless opponents of the mass struggles of the Spanish workers and peasants. Backed up by Soviet secret police agents and CP-led units of the army, the Spanish Stalinists imprisoned and murdered thousands of radical workers.

### Blackmail by Moscow

Just as in Indochina, the Soviet Union attempted to use its trickle of aid to the Spanish republican forces to keep the struggle within capitalist bounds. Trotsky denounced the Anarchists and others who used this Soviet blackmail as an excuse for not breaking with popular frontism.

He wrote, "Had the Anarchist leaders in the least resembled revolutionists, they would have answered the first piece of blackmail from Moscow not only by continuing the socialist offensive but also by exposing Stalin's counterrevolutionary conditions before the world working class. They would have thus forced the Moscow bureaucracy to choose openly between the socialist revolution and the Franco dictatorship. . . . All indications are that Moscow would have been forced to supply arms, and possibly at more reasonable prices."

Furthermore, Trotsky wrote, "The proletariat of Russia conquered do-

mestic reaction and foreign interventionists without military support from the outside. Revolutions succeed, in the first place, with the help of a bold social program, which gives the masses the possibility of seizing weapons that are on their territory and disorganizing the army of the enemy. . . . Has this really been already forgotten?"

### Revolutionary party

An important aspect of this book centers on Trotsky's efforts to collaborate in building a revolutionary party in Spain.

The central obstacle to this process was not the Communist or Socialist parties or the Anarchists but the left-centrist POUM. This was because although the POUM's revolutionary phraseology made it a pole of attraction for those workers who wanted to break with the policies of the reformist parties, the POUM itself failed to follow a revolutionary course.

The POUM supported the popular front and tried to participate in it as a left wing. Instead of directly taking on the Stalinist, Social-Democratic, and Anarchist bureaucrats for leadership of the workers' movement, the POUM attempted to persuade the reformist misleaders to adopt a more revolutionary policy.

The POUM combined this opportunism with failure to struggle for direct leadership of the mass organizations of the workers. "To avoid sharp conflicts," Trotsky wrote, "they did not carry on revolutionary work in the republican army. They built instead 'their own' trade unions and 'their own' militia, which guarded 'their own' institutions or occupied 'their own' section of the front.

"By isolating the revolutionary vanguard from the class, the POUM rendered the vanguard impotent and left the class without leadership. . . .

*"Contrary to its own intentions, the POUM proved to be, in the final analysis, the chief obstacle on the road to the creation of a revolutionary party."* (Emphasis in original.)

### International movement

A number of letters and articles in *The Spanish Revolution* concern the internal relations of the world Trotskyist movement—the International Left Opposition, later the Fourth International.

Trotsky persistently demanded of Andrés Nin—the leader of the Spanish Opposition, who later became a founder of the POUM—that he make available to the ranks of the Spanish oppositionists all the documents and discussion materials of the International Left Opposition on Spain and other disputed questions. Trotsky wrote that full participation by the whole organization in international discussions was the only way for it to develop a correct position on Spanish and international questions.

*The Spanish Revolution* includes a thorough introduction on the history of Spain and the roles of the different political parties, along with extensive annotation and prefatory notes for each section. Nearly half the articles in this compilation have never been translated into English before or have only appeared in mimeographed bulletins not available for decades.

By making these writings available to readers in the English-speaking world, Pathfinder Press has provided the new generation of revolutionary socialists with a handbook discussing the crucial questions posed in the struggle for socialism today.

—TONY THOMAS



TROTSKY: His writings on Spanish popular front of 1930s also hold key to defeat in Chile decades later.

# Protest at UN hits U.S. role in Puerto Rico

By RICHARD ARIZA

NEW YORK, Sept. 24—As Secretary of State Henry Kissinger made his first speech to the United Nations, nearly 1,000 demonstrators marched to the UN to denounce the role of U.S. imperialism in Puerto Rico.

The demonstration was called by the United Committee for a Discussion of the Colonial Case of Puerto Rico in the UN which is spearheaded by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

The action at the UN was the cul-

minating protest at the UN which has already harmed fishing, agriculture, and public health with emission of sulfur oxides, nitrogen oxides, and particulate pollution. If the oil companies' plans are carried out, he said, "they will triple the quantity of these three contaminants."

It is also feared that the oil refineries and petrochemical plants associated with the superport would exhaust the island's sources of freshwater within a few decades.



Militant/Jude Coren

mination of a series of meetings and forums in solidarity with Puerto Rico that began earlier this month.

Among the events celebrated were the anniversary of the birth of Pedro Albizu Campos, the central leader of the Puerto Rican independence movement in the 1930s and 1940s, and El Grito de Lares, the 1868 rebellion for independence from Spain. Thousands rallied in Puerto Rico Sept. 23 to mark the anniversary of the uprising.

One theme of the United Committee's campaign was opposition to the plan to build a superport in Puerto Rico. On Sept. 21 Dr. Tomás Morales of the University of Puerto Rico Medical Center addressed a meeting of 50 people on the environmental effects of the superport.

In addition to the obvious danger of oil spills, Morales warned that ex-

"We are defending ourselves," Morales said, "because the superport poses to us the most important question—that of survival."

The other main focus of these solidarity actions was the call for a United Nations discussion of Puerto Rico's colonial status.

Since the early 1950s, when Albizu Campos tried to get a hearing before the UN, that body had refused to hear the case. Only in the last year, due to the efforts of Cuban delegate Ricardo Alarcón and protests by Puerto Ricans, has the UN Decolonization Committee taken up Puerto Rico.

Following UN recognition of the case, the cause of Puerto Rican independence also won unanimous endorsement at the recent Conference of Non-aligned Nations in Algeria.

# 5,000 Chicanos in Denver march, rally

By JON HILLSON

DENVER—The weekend of activities commemorating Mexican Independence Day was capped by a militant march and rally of 5,000 Chicanos here Sept. 17.

Hundreds of elementary and high school students walked out of their classes to join the action.

The demonstration was dedicated to Luis "Junior" Martínez, a teacher at Escuela Tlatelolco who was killed during a police raid on the school last March. The school is associated with the Crusade for Justice, the Denver-based Chicano group that called the action.

Banners supporting the United Farm Workers' struggle were prominent. The UFW speaker received loud applause in urging a stronger and more powerful boycott of scab lettuce and grapes.

Similar, though smaller, demonstrations and rallies took place in other Colorado cities.

In Greeley, for example, more than 300 marched, including 150 elementary, junior high, and high school students, who walked out of school despite harassment from administrators.

In Boulder, several hundred students at the University of Colorado participated in an event sponsored by the United Mexican-American Students. Speakers included Corky Gon-

zales, founder of the Crusade for Justice and a leader of the Colorado Raza Unida Party, and Olga Rodriguez, recent Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles.

In his speech to the Denver rally Gonzales said, "The only way we are going to get anything done, the only way we are going to win anything is to get ourselves organized, to build our own struggle, to stay out of the trap of the two-party system."

"It was not the two-party system that won anything for the farm workers, but the workers themselves under the leadership of César Chávez," Gonzales said. "Gains made by working people have never been given by the managers. They have been won by unionists who marched and picketed and bled."

Gonzales urged the crowd not to forget Watergate. The Watergate affair represented "the worms crawling out of the woodwork," he said. "How can we trust Nixon when he bugs his own brother, when criminals like Mitchell and Stans are the people who ran the government?" he asked.

Crusade leader Ernesto Vigil urged the demonstrators to help defend himself and Mario Vázquez, who were indicted on frame-up assault charges after the March police raid. Another defendant, Luis Ramírez, was acquitted of charges in late August.

# Atlanta socialists challenge Democrats with vigorous campaign for city office

By ELIZABETH STONE

ATLANTA—Debby Bustin and Joel Aber, Socialist Workers Party candidates for mayor and city council president, are the first socialists to appear on the municipal ballot in Atlanta. Their campaign supporters collected more than 20,000 signatures to achieve this.

In 1969, a \$1,000 filing fee kept Linda Jenness, then SWP mayoral candidate, off the Atlanta ballot. Jenness challenged the fee in court and eventually won a Supreme Court decision knocking down the requirement.

Ballot status, which has enabled the candidates to appear on numerous TV and radio programs, has helped this SWP campaign reach significant numbers of people with socialist ideas.

The candidates have a packed schedule of meetings, TV and radio appearances, press conferences, and debates with other candidates. The SWP campaign headquarters at 68 Peachtree St. is bustling with activity. Teams of campaign supporters are continually being dispatched to pass out campaign literature and to sell the campaign newspaper, *The Militant*.

Most of the people the candidates speak to have never met socialists before, according to Joel Aber. "We are breaking down the prejudices people have against socialists and showing that we are a serious alternative," he said. "More people are coming to see that we are the only candidates who have real solutions to the problems working people face in this city, and that we are not afraid to tell the truth."

Debby Bustin said she was surprised at the number of people who recognized her on the street and express support for her campaign. She told about one woman who came up to her while she was at a laundromat and asked if she was "one of those candidates from *The Militant*." When Bustin said she was, the woman explained that the laundromat had just doubled its prices and asked if this was legal and how it could be protested.

"People may not agree with everything we stand for," Bustin commented, "but they know us as people who will fight against injustice and take the side of working people and the oppressed."

All four of the front-running cap-



BUSTIN: First socialist mayoral candidate to win ballot spot in Atlanta.

italist candidates for mayor are Democrats, reflecting this party's continuing domination of Atlanta politics.

Black Democrat Maynard Jackson is leading the race, according to current polls. The other candidates include the current mayor, Sam Massell; Charles Weltner, a white liberal Democrat; and Leroy Johnson, a Black Democratic state senator.

Given the support for Maynard Jackson, there is a possibility that Atlanta will soon be added to the list of major cities to elect a Black mayor. Atlanta is now 52 percent Black, and sentiment for Black representation in city government is stronger than ever in the Black community.

The ruling circles in Atlanta feel they must try to relate to the changing Black consciousness, and Jackson's campaign is one attempt to do this. They realize that if Black people are going to keep voting Democrat, the Democrats have to at least look as though they are representing Black people.

The attitude of the SWP candidates toward Jackson's campaign is that despite his promises to do so, Jackson will not be able to represent the interests of Black people in Atlanta any more than would any of the other Democratic mayoralty candidates.

"Jackson is a loyal member of the Democratic Party," Bustin said. "Any

Democratic Party mayor, whether it is a Black Democrat like Carl Stokes in Cleveland or a white Democrat like Sam Massell, will not be able to solve the problems faced by Black people and other working people.

"They can make all the promises in the world but they will not be able to carry them out, because they represent the party of big business. They represent the party that is responsible for racism, for poverty, and for all the different problems Black people in Atlanta face."

## The deal

A recent incident in Atlanta has helped shed some light on the nature of Democratic Party politics. It has been revealed that the big businessmen who finance the Democratic campaigns made a deal with the leading Black Democratic Party politicians. The terms were that if Jackson were given support as mayoralty candidate, white Democratic Alderman Wade Mitchell, a vice-president of Trust Company Bank, would be pushed as city council president.

This deal was effective in stopping the candidacies of prominent Black Democrats such as State Legislator Julian Bond, as well as Billy McKinny, and Ben Brown, who had said they were considering running for the second spot.

After the deal was described in the major newspapers, Hosea Williams, a leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, announced his candidacy for city council president. He gave as one of his main reasons for running his desire to expose the deal, which he said was made behind the backs of the people.

Hosea Williams has explained that he is running as a Democrat. He opposes breaking from the two-party system, the position advocated by the SWP candidates.

In explaining their views of Williams's campaign, Aber and Bustin said that although they feel they and Hosea Williams hold many of the same goals, they disagree with his running as a Democrat.

"Hosea Williams is doing a service by exposing the deal cooked up by the Democratic Party politicians," Aber said, "but he is inconsistent when he exposes this deal and then supports the Democratic Party. What we need is complete independence from the rich ruling circles that run this city behind the backs of the people—and that means a break with the party they control."

## Key campaign issues

Like capitalist politicians in other parts of the country, all four of Bustin's opponents say that crime is the major issue in the Atlanta campaign.

The Socialist Workers Party's position is that crime is not the issue. "The real issue is the causes of crime, such as poverty, unemployment, substandard wages, racism in hiring and promotion, a decaying school system, and the despair and hopelessness that come from these things," Bustin said. "Solving these problems is the only way to end crime."

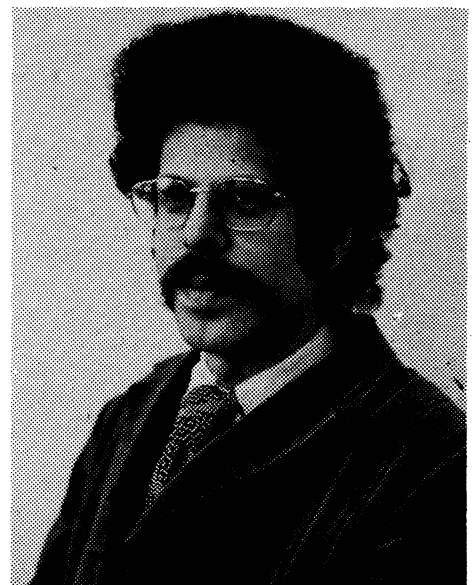
Some of the measures the socialist candidates call for to deal with these problems are a crash program to improve inferior housing and schools; a \$5-an-hour minimum wage; and shortening the workweek with no cut

in pay, in order to provide jobs for the unemployed.

As opposed to her rivals' call for strengthening the police, Bustin is campaigning to expose the wave of police brutality in the Black community, which has included the killing of 13 Black men since February.

Most Black people and a large number of whites in Atlanta work for substandard wages. Over the past year a series of strikes by Black workers has broken out against these low wages and against racist practices on the job. Supporters of the SWP campaign have been active in supporting these strikes.

None of Bustin's Democratic Party



ABER: "We are the only candidates who have real solutions to the problems working people face in this city."

opponents sided with the workers in these struggles. Bustin not only made support for these strikes a major theme in her campaign, she also used her campaign to educate about the need to unionize Atlanta, which is now a notorious open-shop town.

Another vital issue is the crisis of the schools. Joel Aber teaches at all-Black Murphy high school. He says he has a tenth-grade biology textbook to use with classes that read at a fifth-grade level. This is not unusual for the Atlanta school system. Facilities in Black and poor communities are getting worse and worse.

Sam Massell and Maynard Jackson have both begged the question by insisting that schools are out of the jurisdiction of the mayor. The SWP campaign calls for a massive infusion of funds into the school system, with Black control of these funds in Black communities. They also call for an end to racist practices in the schools.

## Socialist outlook

The positions put forward by the socialist candidates reflect a completely different outlook on society than that of their opponents.

"We never promise people that all they need to do is vote for us and we'll solve their problems," Bustin said. "The goal of our party is nothing less than building a movement that can transform this society into a fit place for people to live. And we know that the only way this will happen is if the masses of people participate in the struggle to change it."

"That is why we have stressed the importance of the strikes of Black workers and the struggles of women and others. That is also why we not only tell people to vote socialist Oct. 2, but we also say, 'Join and become an activist in the socialist movement that is fighting to change society.'"



Striking workers at Rich's Department Store last spring. Socialist Workers Party candidates walked the picket lines and built support for the strike.

Militant/Joel Aber



## Militant 45th Anniversary Fund

# Help us spread the truth Nixon & Co. want to hide

By ANDREA MORELL

Money may not be the root of all the political evils revealed by the Watergate scandal, but its role has been prominent from the beginning. Graft, bribery, fraud, till-tapping, patronage, and other forms of corruption, in figures ranging from three to six digits, are by now recognized as hallmarks of Watergate.

Former New York City cop Tony "Bagman" Ulasiewicz has testified about how he helped distribute \$219,000 in "hush money" to the original Watergate defendants.

The fast-talking flatfoot convulsed his audience

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

with tales of his bus driver's changemaker (to cover all the secret calls from phone booths); the brown paper bag he used to transport \$75,000 ("just carrying my lunch"); and the pickups he arranged for money stowed in airport lockers and garbage cans.

Watergate investigations have also led to revelations about "improvements" made at taxpayers' expense on Nixon's private estates at Key Biscayne and San Clemente. These have included \$621 for an ice maker; \$4,800 for furniture in the presidential den; and—a nice patriotic touch—a flagpole for \$2,329.

The Militant spends money too. But not like Nixon & Co. because our purposes are the opposite of theirs.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Donations to Militant Anniversary Fund will enable us to bring socialist ideas to more readers.

Watergate shows how the capitalist rulers use the money they have stolen from us to bolster their rotten and corrupt system.

They use this money to tell lies and silence the truth about their methods of rule. The Militant uses its resources to spread the truth far and wide and to expose the practices of the U.S. government.

The capitalists have invested their money in attempts to discredit and destroy the Black, Chicano, antiwar, and student movements by sending in provocateurs to do their dirty work. The Militant consistently defends and helps build all these movements.

The government attempts to cover up its crimes against the people of the world. The Militant has exposed the imperialists' criminal actions from Indochina to Chile.

We have also been in the forefront in covering the Watergate revelations and their meaning. Now our articles detailing Nixon's secret spy plan, the use of CIA-trained Cuban exiles against radicals, and the use of provocateurs have been collected in a new book called *Watergate: The View From the Left*. It is available from Pathfinder Press (410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014) for \$1.25.

The truth is, the capitalist system as a whole is becoming more and more "inoperative" every day—and all the riches of the capitalists aren't going to save it. The vast sums spent in the Watergate cover-up haven't been enough to save even some of their worthless necks—as Dean, Magruder, Mitchell, Haldeman, Ehrlichman, and perhaps even Agnew can attest.

While it is standard operating procedure among the Watergaters for major corporations to donate large sums to the Democrats and Republicans in return for "special favors," The Militant doesn't qualify for these kinds of gifts—and never will. The Militant relies instead on its readers, who are opponents of Watergating and everything associated with it.

By contributing to our Forty-fifth Anniversary Fund you can help ensure that The Militant's revolutionary journalism will continue and expand. The goal of the fund is to raise \$20,000 by Dec. 15. Contributions received so far total \$13,858.15.

A \$5 donation to the Anniversary Fund may be modest by White House standards, but it will be more effective in the long run than the millions spent by these crooks. Watergate typifies dying U.S. capitalism, but every contribution to The Militant is an investment in the socialist future.

Send us your contribution today by filling out the coupon on this page. Every donor of \$45 or more will receive a complimentary copy of *The Militant: 45 Years in Struggle for Socialism*.

## Sales drive moves 200 closer to goal

By NANCY COLE

Sales of *The Militant* continued to increase last week, totaling 8,217 copies and bringing us almost 200 closer to the goal of 9,500 copies sold weekly by Nov. 18.

Supporters in nine cities met their quotas. Four of these were for the first time—Atlanta; Lawrence, Kans.; Philadelphia; and Washington, D.C.; and three for the third consecutive week—Austin, San Diego, and St. Louis.

Militant salespeople were at meetings and protests against the Chile coup all across the country and found high interest in *The Militant's* coverage. Two hundred copies were sold at demonstrations and forums in New York City; 225 at a demonstration in San Francisco; 175 at Los Angeles teach-ins and demonstrations; 50 at Boston teach-ins; 42 at a Washington, D.C., demonstration; and 35 at an Austin meeting.

Teams visiting campuses accounted for a large share of the copies sold last week. An evening team of Philadelphia supporters went to dormitories at Villanova University and sold 40 *Militants* and 35 *Young Socialists* in only half an hour.

One day at Michigan State University in East Lansing netted Detroit sellers a total of 128 *Militants* sold. Supporters in other areas, such as Pittsburgh and Washington, D.C., report early evening campus sales at libraries and cafeterias bringing the best results.

Combining Socialist Workers Party election campaign activity with *Militant* sales resulted in 54 papers sold at shopping centers in Atlanta and 160 in Harvard Square.

Many areas are experimenting with and regularizing sales at workplaces. These include the post office and phone company in Brooklyn; teachers' union meetings in Chicago, Detroit, and St. Louis; and longshoremen pay lines in Portland and San Francisco.

We've been advertising the canvas *Militant* sales bags as "indispensable for the fall sales campaign" (see page 23), and Jim Odling from San Diego explained why last week.

At a public lecture series he sold one person a *Militant*, a current issue of the *International Socialist Review*, a back issue of the *ISR*, and a combination subscription to *The Militant* and *ISR*. All this because he carried a sales bag. And, he adds, "Even if an interested person has no money, if you have the 'equipment,' you can at least give them a leaflet on an upcoming activity."

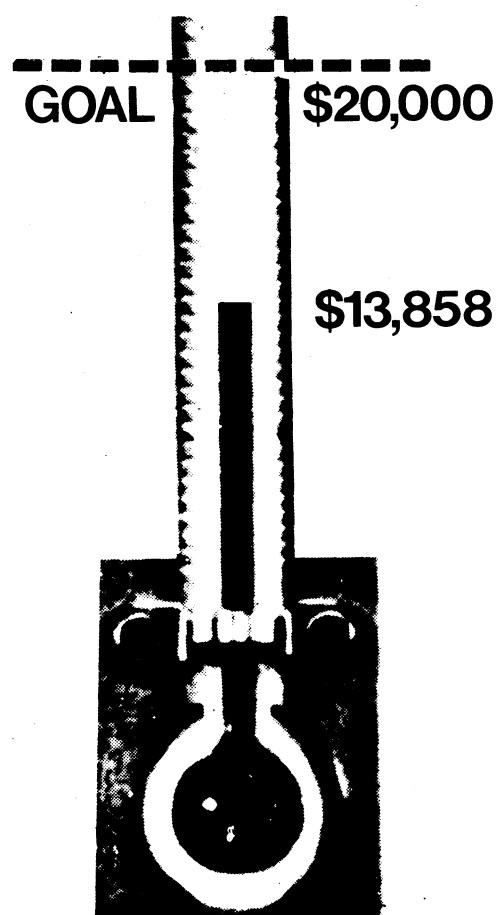
The two *Militant* subscription teams were on the road by midweek. The Pittsburgh team reports selling 120 subscriptions and the St. Louis team 111, toward a goal for each team of 1,300. In addition, the Pittsburgh team sold 287 single copies of *The Militant*, and St. Louis sold 263.

If readers want to join in our fall circulation effort, send in the coupon on page 23 to order a bundle and set a sales quota.

## Militant scoreboard

| AREA                        | GOAL         | SOLD<br>LAST<br>WEEK | %   |
|-----------------------------|--------------|----------------------|-----|
| Atlanta                     | 400          | 451                  | 118 |
| Philadelphia                | 375          | 430                  | 115 |
| San Francisco               | 500          | 565                  | 113 |
| Washington, D.C.            | 350          | 363                  | 104 |
| Austin                      | 120          | 121                  | 101 |
| St. Louis                   | 175          | 177                  | 101 |
| San Diego                   | 350          | 353                  | 101 |
| Lawrence                    | 10           | 10                   | 100 |
| Portland                    | 300          | 300                  | 100 |
| Madison                     | 50           | 47                   | 94  |
| Nashville                   | 40           | 37                   | 93  |
| Upper West Side             | 475          | 440                  | 93  |
| Seattle                     | 400          | 367                  | 92  |
| Boston                      | 700          | 620                  | 89  |
| Brooklyn                    | 450          | 384                  | 85  |
| Los Angeles                 | 500          | 420                  | 84  |
| Chicago                     | 700          | 562                  | 80  |
| Lower Manhattan             | 450          | 344                  | 76  |
| Cleveland                   | 400          | 295                  | 74  |
| Houston                     | 450          | 330                  | 73  |
| Oakland/Berkeley            | 900          | 659                  | 73  |
| Twin Cities                 | 425          | 303                  | 71  |
| Pittsburgh                  | 300          | 203                  | 68  |
| Detroit                     | 400          | 265                  | 66  |
| Denver                      | 375          | 171                  | 46  |
| <b>TOTAL SOLD LAST WEEK</b> | <b>8,217</b> |                      |     |
| <b>GOAL</b>                 | <b>9,500</b> |                      |     |

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# Calendar

## BOSTON

**DISSENT IN THE SOVIET UNION.** Speaker: Marilyn Vogt, staff writer for Intercontinental Press; and others. Fri., Oct. 5, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.). Donation: \$1, unemployed 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

## HOUSTON

**PRISON REPRESSION IN THE TEXAS DEPT. OF CORRECTIONS.** Speakers: Carmine Scoleri, former inmate and prison activist; Frances Julet Cruz, attorney for prisoners; Bill Piscella, former activist in the Attica Defense Committee and member of the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 5, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

## NEW YORK

**SUNDAY NEWS CLOSE-UP.** Hear Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor; others. Sun., Sept. 30. WNEW-AM: 1130, 8 a.m. WNEW-FM: 102.7, 12 p.m.

## NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

**REPRESSION OF SOVIET DISSIDENTS.** Speakers: Professor Antonin Liehm, editor in Czechoslovakia until 1968 Soviet invasion; others. Fri., Oct. 5, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor (near 4th St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

## NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**HAITI: THE CARIBBEAN PRISON.** Speakers: Father Adrian and Serge Delinois, Haitian activists in the Committee for the Defense of the Democratic Rights of the Haitian People (KODDPA). Fri., Oct. 5, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (at 105th St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

## OAKLAND/BERKELEY

**WATERGATE: THE VIEW FROM THE LEFT.** Speaker: Fred Halstead, SWP 1968 presidential candidate; and others. Fri., Oct. 5, 8 p.m. Tan Oak Room, Fourth Floor, Student Union, UC Berkeley. Donation: \$1, 50c h.s. students. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

## ST. LOUIS

**CHILE COUP: CAUSES AND LESSONS.** Speaker: Steve Chase. Fri., Oct. 5, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland, Suite 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

## SAN FRANCISCO

**UNITED FARM WORKERS UNION FIGHTS FOR SURVIVAL.** Speaker: Philip Vera Cruz, vice-president, UFW. Introductory remarks by Howard Wallace, Socialist Workers Party candidate for S.F. Board of Supervisors. Fri., Oct. 5, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**HUELGA! THE FARM WORKERS' FIGHT FOR SURVIVAL.** A panel of strikers and UFW supporters. Fri., Oct. 5, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. NW, Fourth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum and D.C. Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

## ...coup

*Continued from page 4*  
lasted several hours. It resulted in the factory's being occupied by the military and the deaths of untold num-

bers of workers. I can't confirm exactly how many, but I have friends who live around the perimeters of the factory, and they told me there were several hundred workers killed.

Some estimates in even very "responsible" sections of the Argentine press have said that 500 workers were killed at Sumar, out of about 3,000 who worked there.

Other assaults that occurred in the first day were in the campamentos, or shantytowns, which surround the metropolitan area of Santiago. They are very poor.

The more leftist sections of the Chilean left have a tremendous amount of influence in these campamentos—that is, the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left) and sections of the Socialist Party. These areas have a reputation of being "guerrilla camps" when in fact they are simply shantytowns.

The most famous campamentos, and the ones that were hit the hardest, included New Havana, which was bombed from the air. Also attacked from the air were campamentos La Bandera, Lo Hermida, and Asalto Moncada. Another campamento that was virtually destroyed from the air was called Ernesto-Fidel.

How many people were killed? It probably will never be known.

After the air attacks there were house-to-house searches conducted by the army.

## ...protests

*Continued from page 5*  
ognition of the military dictatorship; and release all political prisoners.

## Portland

The Portland Women's International League for Peace and Freedom initiated a picket line to demand the truth from the Nixon administration about U.S. complicity in the right-wing coup in Chile. Attended by 100 people, the action was supported by the Women's Educational Project, Adams High School Women's Studies Department, USLA, American Friends Service Committee, Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, and Young Socialist Alliance.

## Philadelphia

One hundred people rallied at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia Sept. 25. The Student-Faculty Committee to Protest Military Repression in Chile called the action. The committee has also launched a petition drive.

## Other actions

Many other actions took place in cities throughout the country. Debby Bustin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta, marched in a picket line Sept. 24 at the federal building. In Minneapolis, a picket line at the federal building announced the text of a telegram sent to the Chilean ambassador in Washington demanding freedom for all political prisoners. It was signed by representatives of the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, New American Movement, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Young Workers Liberation League, and Young Socialist Alliance.

A Militant Labor Forum held in Berkeley on the Chilean situation drew 130 people, and a protest was held in Nashville, Tenn., in the form of a memorial meeting for Salvador Allende.

In New York, protest meetings took place at Queens College and Lehman College of 100 and 400, respectively. Also, *The Militant* received word from New York readers that the demonstration held at the United Nations Sept. 18 was larger than the 250 we reported last week. It grew to nearly 1,000, according to participants.

Trade unionists are also speaking out against the repression of working people in Chile. The national convention of the United Farm Workers Union issued a statement condemning the military coup.

A general membership meeting of the New York Library Guild—Local 1930 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees union—passed a resolution Sept. 18 declaring "solidarity with the Chilean people and trade union movement" against the military coup.

The Sept. 23 *New York Times* carried a full-page ad entitled "Santiago: the streets are red with blood." The statement, signed by hundreds of prominent individuals, organizations, and unions, laid major responsibility for the coup on the U.S. government and corporations, and called for "all peoples to intercede for the welfare of those persons endangered by the military regime in Chile."

Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) has sent a message to the United Nations commissioner for refugees requesting intervention on behalf of the "10,000 political refugees" in Chile.

## ...Argentina

*Continued from page 6*

unions in that area.

Páez, who was one of the speakers at this meeting, said, "Chile shows us

that socialism can only be fought for with a revolutionary party, not with reformism and 'socialist nationalist' governments."

The meeting then voted to call factory assemblies during the 15-minute work stoppage in solidarity with Chile called for the following Monday by the CGT, the large Peronist-controlled trade-union federation. The Workers Front meeting also voted to mobilize workers for the Sept. 18 demonstration.

In the nearby city of La Plata, the first action organized on a few hours' notice to protest the coup was led by the PST. That action got prominent coverage in a leading Buenos Aires daily.

The PST also turned over its radio and TV time, granted to all candidates, to speakers on Chile, who appealed for support and called on people to join the demonstrations scheduled in many cities.

## ...Mideast

*Continued from page 13*

France and other European powers.

Saudi Arabia is financed by U.S. oil interests and heavily supplied with U.S. military and political aid. The alliance between Egypt and Syria—which had formerly attempted to maintain some independence from U.S. imperialism—and Saudi Arabia has led to a shift to the right by the Egyptians and Syrians.

The first sign of this shift was the break between Egypt and Libya, which had planned to unify on Sept. 1. When Sadat returned from the Arab Gulf, he immediately told Libyan leader Colonel Muammar Qaddafi that the unification would have to be put off for as long as 25 years. The Saudis reportedly wanted the merger called off because they consider Qaddafi too radical—a few shared by Sadat and other Egyptian bourgeois leaders.

The second string attached to this deal has been the rapprochement with Jordan. The Sept. 19 *Christian Science Monitor* wrote, "Completely reliable diplomatic sources here [Beirut] say King Faisal's Saudi Government also has pledged financial and diplomatic support to Syria—Egypt already has both—in return for its recognition of Jordan."

The continuation of this strategy by the Egyptian and Syrian leaders can only lead to new concessions to the enemies of the Arab national liberation struggle, including U.S. imperialism and Israel. This only underlines the bankruptcy of the Arab capitalist leaders' policies of opposing the revolutionary mobilization of the Arab peoples.

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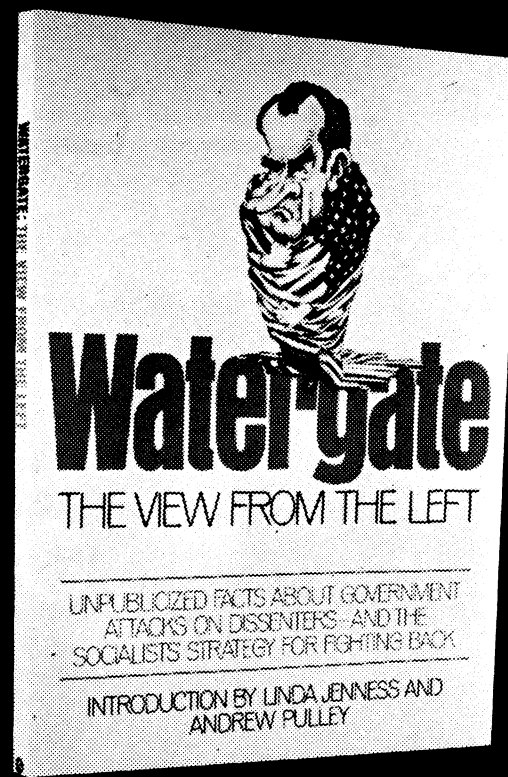
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# THE MILITANT

## Need to nationalize food monopolies

# Why food prices are skyrocketing



Militant/Michael Baumann

Food production could be planned and prices controlled if food monopolies were nationalized under workers control.

By DICK ROBERTS

There were government price ceilings on beef and veal prices in August. Those were the ceilings that President Nixon didn't remove when "Phase 3.1/2" ended. They weren't lifted until the second week in September.

One is apt to forget this because beef and veal prices rose at a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 80.4 percent in August, despite the supposed government ceilings.

The figures, released in Washington Sept. 23, pretty much demolish any pretense that the government can control meat prices. And government spokesmen are no longer making much of a claim that they can.

A *Wall Street Journal* correspondent made the appropriate phone calls. "Officials say they were disappointed," Timothy Schellhardt wrote in the Sept. 24 *Journal*. The "controls were purposely designed so that price pressures pent up by the recently ended freeze wouldn't erupt all at once. . . .

"Despite these safety valves, prices skyrocketed last month and government officials worry that increases in the next few months . . . will still be substantial."

As a whole, grocery prices rose at a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 92.4 percent in August. There were higher prices for apparel, houses, fuel oil and home-repair products. Mortgage interest rates rose. The result was the sharpest rise of the consumer price index since 1946, a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 22.8 percent.

These high prices continued to undercut real wages, the actual purchasing power of takehome pay. Average weekly earnings for factory em-

ployees, measured in 1967 dollars to adjust for the impact of inflation, totaled \$94.34 in August, lower than the \$96.36 level a year ago.

### A non-explanation

What's behind the soaring food prices? The answer that is becoming fashionable in Washington isn't very satisfactory. Gary SeEVERS, a member of President Nixon's council of economic advisers, gave it to *Wall Street Journal* reporter Schellhardt.

"The food sector," said SeEVERS, "continues to be an area where there will be pressure for price increases until food supplies have expanded to match the high level of demand."

In other words, prices will rise until the supply exceeds the demand. That's almost as informative as the news that the sun sets in the West.

What's causing the shortage of food? How long will it last? What can be done to stop it? Answers to these questions—especially the third question—are not so easy to come by in Washington.

### High beef prices

The case of the beef shortage was taken up by Herbert Meyer in an article in the July issue of *Fortune*. Meyer discovered some 13 causes of the spiraling price of beef.

It's worth taking a look at Meyer's results because they tell us something about the real causes of high prices and also suggest by implication what should be done about them, although this is far from Meyer's intention.

First off, Meyer points to the increase in disposable personal income—the

amount consumers have to spend after taxes—that arose from the upswing in the economy, increased government outlays in the food-stamp program and in higher Social Security payments.

"All of these people," the *Fortune* author says, "newly employed workers, welfare recipients, and the elderly subsisting on social security—are precisely those most likely to use additional income to improve their diets, specifically by buying more meat."

Meyer then lists several reasons the supply of beef cannot increase rapidly. Most interesting is the two to three year-span in raising and selling cattle (15 months for pork). This is illustrated in the model of the U.S. meat economy reproduced on page 14. The model shows no less than 84 points of determination of wholesale beef and pork prices!

Meyer also says that beef supplies had been maintained at "artificially" high levels in the last decade, especially because of the growth of the feedlot industry giving rise to a nonrecurring expansion of meat production.

He then turns to the "worldwide weather catastrophe" resulting in international crop losses, especially of Russian grain. This in turn caused the huge Soviet purchase of American grain. Higher U.S. meat exports abroad are another of the causes of high beef prices listed by Meyer.

And he even includes changes in the American taste for meat: "We Americans are extremely conscious of our weight. . . . Indeed, a number of popular diets encourage large intakes of meat or other forms of protein instead of carbohydrates."

Meyer is not optimistic on the question of when the meat-supply shortage will end. He believes with qualification that "production should increase by 5 to 7 percent during the 1975-76 period." But if you were about to breathe a sigh of relief, Meyer adds, "The big price crunch for the U.S. consumers will come after 1976. By then the major increase in beef production will be over, and the cycle will start turning downwards again." (Emphasis added.)

The numerous causes of the beef shortage adduced by Meyer underline the fundamentally anarchistic character of capitalist production. It is true up to a certain point that no one, including the top economic specialists of the government, can predict prices. These are determined through tens and hundreds of separate interactions on national and international markets.

This is one reason why socialists place no trust in government claims that it will control prices.

When one visualizes that Meyer has only given industry-wide and continental causes for the beef shortage, when there are the hundreds of individual decisions of corporations at all levels that have still to be considered; and that this is only the question of beef and pork prices, while there are actually thousands of different commodities in the capitalist economy, it is easy to see why the capitalist government cannot control prices, just from a practical viewpoint.

In reality, the claim that the capitalist politicians make that they can control prices is simply a cover for controlling wages.

Continued on page 14