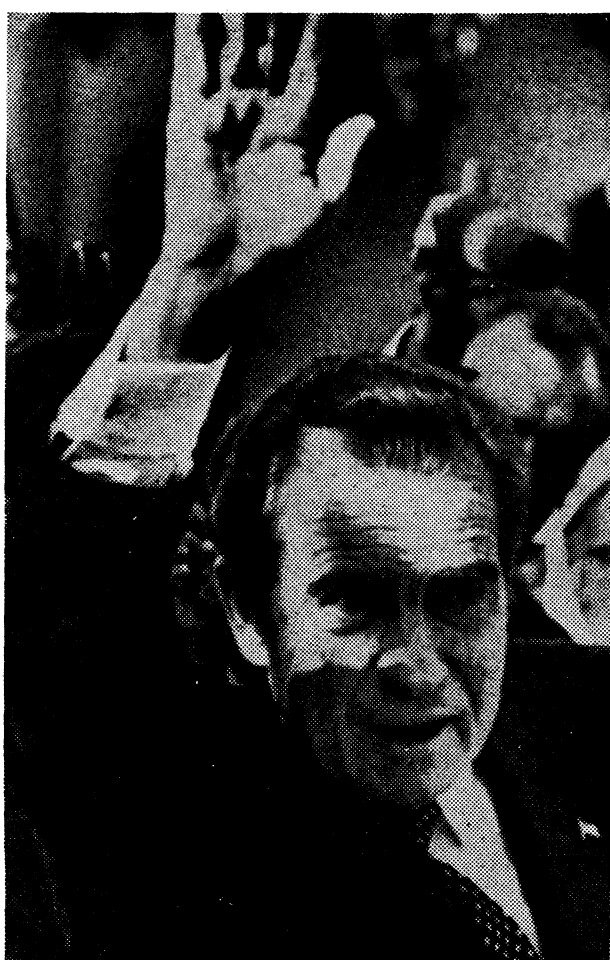


THE MILITANT

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

As anti-Nixon drive grows

Socialist suit demands halt to Watergating



These Watergaters, with 16 other former and present gov't officials, are defendants in far-reaching lawsuit against gov't spying, harassment, and intimidation of radicals. In breakthrough for suit, FBI has admitted spying on mail sent to Socialist Workers Party. See page 6.

In Brief

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Kentucky miners fight for union
- 4 How labor party could put end to W'gating
- 5 Will Nixon get the Agnew treatment?
- 8 Revolutionist assesses Quebec elections
- 9 Vietnam: a year since peace 'at hand'
- 13 Sears strike enters eleventh week
- 14 Chilean junta consolidates grip
- 15 Israel prepares for another war
- 16 How Zionist state expanded in 1967 war
- 18 Prosecution harasses Los Tres defendants
- 19 Militant needs help to meet paper costs
- 24 NY hospital workers challenge wage controls

- 2 In Brief
- 10 In Our Opinion Letters
- 11 Women in Revolt La Raza en Accion
- 12 Great Society National Picket Line By Any Means Necessary
- 18 News from Pathfinder
- 20 In Review

THE MILITANT

VOLUME 37/NUMBER 42
NOVEMBER 16, 1973
CLOSING NEWS DATE—NOV. 7, 1973

Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Business Manager: SHARON CABANISS
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Telephone: (213) 463-1917.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: Domestic: \$5 a year; foreign, \$8. By first-class mail: domestic and Canada, \$25; all other countries, \$41. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$32; Mexico and the Caribbean, \$30; Latin America and Europe, \$40; Africa, Australia, and Asia (including USSR), \$50. Write for sealed air postage rates.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly: Britain and Ireland, £1.20 for 10 issues, £4.50 for one year; Continental Europe, £1.50 for 10 issues, £5.50 for one year. Send banker's draft directly to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

CHICAGO SEVEN BACK IN COURT: For more than 100 days in 1969 and early 1970 seven antiwar leaders stood trial on trumped-up conspiracy charges in the Chicago courtroom of Judge Julius Hoffman. An eighth, Bobby Seale of the Black Panther Party, had his case severed from the others when he repeatedly protested Hoffman's refusal to allow him to act as his own attorney.

The seven—Rennie Davis, Abbie Hoffman, Dave Dellinger, John Froines, Tom Hayden, Jerry Rubin, and Lee Weiner—were handed a total of 175 contempt citations, along with two of their lawyers, William Kunstler and Leonard Weinglass.

The contempt sentences ranged from two months to four years. All the conspiracy charges, and most of the



Chicago reunion included defendants Dellinger, Weiner, Hayden, Weinglass, Rubin, Davis, and Hoffman (with 2-year-old son).

contempt citations were overturned by an appeals court. But the government insists on pressing ahead with the charges still standing.

Last week the seven were reunited in Chicago court to defend themselves against the remaining contempt charges. Judge Edward Gignoux has already thrown out 18 charges, 10 of which had included refusing to stand when Hoffman entered the courtroom.

DETROIT TEACHERS FINED: In a surprise ruling Oct. 30, a Detroit judge refused to drop damage claims of more than \$2.5-million against the Detroit Federation of Teachers.

The six-week Detroit teachers' strike this fall ended when teachers voted by a narrow margin to submit their key demands to binding arbitration. They only returned to work, however, after the school board promised to drop the multimillion-dollar damage suit it had sought and won in court.

When the judge refused to drop the damages, attorneys for both the teachers and the school board charged he was reneging on an earlier verbal promise. Teachers remain in school as the union appeals the ruling.

WILDCAT STRIKE AT WASHINGTON POST: A militant three-day strike by printers at the Washington Post—sparked by the firing of Michael Padilla, a printer—ended Nov. 5 when the Post agreed to rehire the printer with a face-saving "reprimand."

The printers struck in defiance of both a court injunction and pleas by their union officials to return to work. The printers have been working since Sept. 30 without a contract. Strikers believed the publisher was attempting to intimidate them by making an example of Padilla, who was charged with "neglect of duty."

Negotiations have centered on the vital issue of automation, which threatens to eliminate half the jobs of the Post's 700 printers.

A high point of the strike came when web pressmen refused to work in sympathy with the printers. Resounding cheers went up from the picketing printers when they saw the pressmen defiantly tear the newsprint from the presses.

After that, 100 pressmen used massive rolls of newsprint to barricade themselves inside the press room, while a bevy of police and U.S. marshals stood by helplessly in other parts of the building.

KARL ARMSTRONG SENTENCED TO 23 YEARS: Karl Armstrong, who pleaded guilty to bombing the University of Wisconsin Army Mathematics Research Center, was sentenced Nov. 1 to an "indeterminate" prison term not to exceed 23 years.

Two weeks before sentencing, the judge allowed Armstrong's defense lawyers to call witnesses to testify on the U.S. war in Vietnam. The defense attempted to show

that Armstrong's bombing was a response to—and far less destructive than—the massive U.S. government bombing of Vietnam.

ATTICA DEFENDANTS SPEAK IN CLEVELAND: Two ex-prisoners who have been indicted for their participation in the Attica prison rebellion two years ago spoke to 150 people at a recent Militant Forum in Cleveland.

While in the area, Roger Champen and Charley Joe also had four radio and two newspaper interviews, spoke to 50 students each at a Cleveland State University class and at the Urban League Street Academy, and addressed a group at Oberlin College. At the forum they were introduced by Larry Valani of the Ohio Prisoners Labor Union.

Champen and Joe are just two of the some 60 prisoners indicted on charges stemming from the Attica rebellion. For more information write to Attica Brothers Legal Defense, 1370 Main Street, Room 13, Buffalo, N.Y. 14209.

WOMEN WORKERS ORGANIZE AT COLUMBIA: Three women active in the unionization drive among Columbia University employees addressed the Upper West Side, New York, Militant Forum on Oct. 26. Speaking were Florence Brand and Ruth Cheney, members of the Ad Hoc Organizing Committee at Columbia, and Sue Costello, staff organizer elected by Barnard College workers.

Barnard workers have successfully organized a bargaining unit of District 65, Distributive Workers of America, and are now negotiating a contract. Their demands include child-care allowances, maternity and paternity leaves, the right to refuse personal work for the supervisor, and Aug. 26—the anniversary of women's suffrage—as a paid holiday.

The potential Columbia bargaining unit could number 2,300 workers, the largest on campus. Several hundred have already signed up.

SAM KUSHNER QUITS PEOPLE'S WORLD: Continuing pressure on dissident elements within the Communist Party in California has resulted in a new loss for the organization. Sam Kushner, for 12 years Southern California editor of the People's World, announced his departure from the paper last month.

His leaving follows in the wake of the resignation from the CP of Dorothy Healey and Al Richmond. Healey was the CP's best-known spokesperson in Southern California. Richmond was editor of the PW for three decades.

Both came into conflict with the CP tops after they publicly disagreed with the party's uncritical endorsement of the Kremlin's 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia.

Kushner's departure is announced in a column by him. Amazingly, he offers no explanation, political or personal, for the move. The farewell column pays tribute to Richmond ("A politically astute and highly professional editor") and tips its hat to the current editors.

It has not been publicly stated whether or not Kushner has also left the CP. That he may have can be inferred from his concluding paragraph: "Somewhere down the road in our common battle for socialism in the United States we will meet again."

—DERRICK MORRISON

YOUR FIRST ISSUE? SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT



QUEBEC: The Militant carries firsthand coverage of the struggles of Quebecois workers and students, who are fighting for national independence and defense of the French language. A coming issue will discuss the Quebec labor movement and the struggle for independence. Don't miss it—subscribe today.

Introductory offer-\$1/3months

- () \$1 for three months of The Militant.
- () \$2 for three months of The Militant and three months of the International Socialist Review.
- () \$5 for one year of The Militant
- () New () Renewal

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____
14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Appeal for support

Kentucky miners fight for union

By CAROLINE LUND

Coal miners in Brookside, Ky., are in an all-out struggle with the Duke Power Company, a huge electric power producer servicing North and South Carolina.

The strike evoked strong community support when the company resorted to the jailing of strikers' wives and children.

The struggle involves 180 employees of the Duke-owned Eastover Mining Company who are fighting to be represented by the United Mine Workers union. The miners were formerly part of the Southern Labor Union (SLU), a company union that is strong in eastern Kentucky.

Carl Noe, a striker who was among those recently jailed for picketing the company, told a Louisville reporter, "We're behind the UMW 1,000 percent. I'll never work another day of my life in an SLU mine. . . .

"No hospital coverage, no safety, no grievance, no pensions—we had nothing under them."

On Oct. 16 Duke Power won a court ruling that resulted in the arrest of 16 strike supporters who had been visiting the mine trying to persuade scabs not to work there. Seven of those arrested were women who had to bring their children to jail with them.

"The president of Duke Power must not be much of a man to let people suffer like this," Nannie Rainey told the *UMW Journal* after her first night in jail. "My husband Jerry and I were both arrested, so we had to bring our seven young children in with us, and the only thing I am charged with is trying to protect my husband's job."

The miners are fighting for the right to be covered by the national UMW contract. Duke Power has so far refused this demand "on principle" on the grounds that it would set a precedent for ousting the SLU, the company union, from its other mines as well.

The significance of this strike is broader than the number of strikers would indicate. According to the Oct. 16-31 issue of the *UMW Journal*, "Duke Power Co. is the first and most important target in the drive to bring the UMWA back to eastern Kentucky."

This perspective of an organizing drive in eastern Kentucky is a recent one for the union. Under the old union regimes of W. A. "Tony" Boyle and John L. Lewis, the UMW turned its back on unorganized miners, giving wholehearted support to the mine companies' modernization and consolidation at the expense of the miners' jobs and living standards.

Some 50 million of the 135 million tons of non-UMW coal mined each year comes from eastern Kentucky.

The new leadership of the union, headed by Arnold Miller, who was elected last year, has responded to rank-and-file desires for a more militant policy. In fact, the movement that finally kicked out Boyle's regime had its origins in Harlan County, Ky., the same county where the Eastover mine is located.

The strike has special significance in another way as well. The miners have decided to appeal for broad community support—an effective tactic that is seldom used by the major unions. This was necessary because the strike could not be won simply by shutting down the small Eastover mine.

The union is organizing informational picketing throughout eastern Kentucky and in North Carolina. (The headquarters of Duke Power is in North Carolina.) The miners have requested support from students on campuses throughout the area. The North Carolina AFL-CIO voted to back the Brookside strikers.

In addition, the UMW has purchased large ads in North Carolina newspapers vividly depicting the living conditions of the Brookside miners, such as the ramshackle company-owned housing. The ads show men crippled



Children of strikers in Harlan County, Ky., jailed.

because of unsafe working conditions.

In Brookside itself, picket lines have been mounted by women, many of them wives of strikers, as well as by members of the Harlan County Black Lung Association. A number of the picketers have been old-time union militants who recall the bloody organizing battles in the mines of Harlan County in the 1920s and '30s.

State police were sent to the mine at one point in the current struggle, and a striker told reporters "One shot by police is all she'd take. One of these people gets shot, there'll be trouble. Us old heads remember when state patrols and National Guard and operators' gun thugs was down here . . . we won our battle then and we'll win it now."

War crime architect & his 'peace' prizes

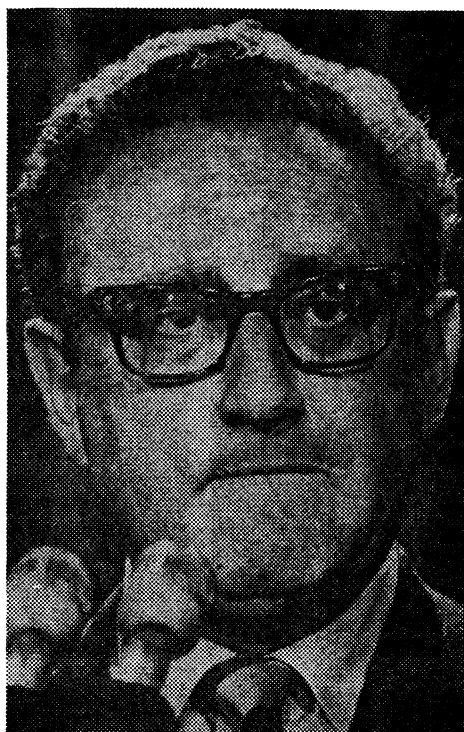
By ANDY ROSE

Henry Kissinger is becoming a popular fellow in some circles. He was named for the Nobel Peace Prize last month, right after the supposedly dove-filled U.S. Senate confirmed his appointment as secretary of state. And now the "Society for the Family of Man" has gotten into the act by awarding Nixon's sidekick its gold medalion for his "massive" and "unstinting" contributions to the cause of peace.

Since Kissinger was busy in Washington, the award was accepted for him by a longtime friend and political associate, New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller. No doubt the society found this highly appropriate, since Rockefeller contributed to the cause of peace at Attica prison in much the same way, if not on as "massive" a scale, as his former protege did in Vietnam.

Some suspect that the "newspeak" George Orwell described in 1984 is gaining ground. That is, "peace" means "war," and perhaps "family of man" means "nuclear annihilation of humanity." After all, this is the same Henry Kissinger whose first book, *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy*, defended the threat of nuclear war as a useful diplomatic tactic.

Kissinger is often portrayed as a brilliant intellectual turned jet-setting statesman, whose personal negotiating



KISSINGER: 'Power is the ultimate aphrodisiac.'

skill and devotion to realpolitik are creating a new "structure of peace."

The media image scarcely conceals the reality: Kissinger has made a career out of being an intellectual prostitute for the Pentagon and CIA, a slick apologist for whatever violence U.S.

imperialism deals out against those struggling for liberation.

He once explained his love for statecraft by saying, "Power is the ultimate aphrodisiac."

As chairman of the secret "Forty Committee" in charge of approving clandestine CIA activities (like the coup in Chile), as a high-ranking member of the National Security Council, and now as secretary of state, Kissinger has helped make the secret decisions to carry through the most hated U.S. war crimes. He shares responsibility for the 1969 secret bombing and 1970 U.S. invasion of Cambodia; terror bombing of the dikes and population centers in North Vietnam; U.S. massacres, torture, and assassination programs in South Vietnam.

Kissinger has most recently made headlines justifying the threat to send U.S. troops to the Middle East to back up Israeli aggression, and putting the screws on the Arab states to make concessions to Israel. But these were not his first excursions into Middle East policy making.

In 1970, while Jordan's King Hussein was slaughtering thousands of Palestinian refugees, Kissinger backed up Israel's threat to invade Jordan if the Palestinian resistance toppled Hussein.

The awarding of a "peace prize" to

this war criminal has been widely condemned. Le Duc Tho, formerly chief North Vietnamese negotiator in Paris, rejected the offer to share the award with Kissinger. He stated that "since the signing of the Paris agreement. . . . The Saigon administration, aided and encouraged by the United States, continues its acts of war. Peace has not yet really been established in South Vietnam."

Two of the five members of the Norwegian parliamentary committee that names the Nobel winners resigned in protest. The Socialist Election Union in the Norwegian parliament said it was "shocked that the peace prize has been given to Richard Nixon's henchman. . . .

"We consider the sharing of the award with Le Duc Tho as an attempt to hide the Nobel committee's kneeling before American imperialism."

A group of 60 professors and graduate students at Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology signed a letter calling Kissinger's selection for the peace prize "more than a person with a normal sense of justice can take." In a statement millions would agree with, they condemned "the incredible glorification of Kissinger, the master of cynicism for whom the rope of Nuremberg prison has been adjudged already by the moral conscience of the world."

By CAROLINE LUND

As the Watergate scandal continues to unfold, popular distrust of President Nixon has led to a growing disillusionment with the existing two-party political system.

But while the top Democratic and Republican party politicians, the capitalist-owned mass media, and other representatives of the ruling class are debating how to solve this "crisis of confidence" in the government, the

and tied to the interests of the corporations.

Imagine if the powerful union federation had decided to break from the Democratic and Republican parties and announced the launching of a labor party, controlled by and responsible to the unions rather than to the corporations.

Imagine if the labor movement had issued a call to all opponents of Watergateism—to students, Black organizations, women's groups—to join workers' delegates in a congress of labor

Nixon's war policies and military spending. He supported Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and had no criticism of the secret bombing of that country. In fact, Meany tries to outdo Nixon in jingoism and war mongering. Criticizing Nixon's détente policy, Meany said last year, Nixon "was the Number One anti-Communist that this country had. I know because I was Number Two."

Meany would never lead a fight against the illegal ITT operations in Chile because the labor fakers are

the world market.

They have gone along with wage controls, and they sit like stooges on Nixon's labor-management advisory committee to the Cost of Living Council, on the National Commission on Productivity, and on the Industrial Peace Commission.

Methods of secrecy

Just as Nixon operates the government and foreign policy in secrecy, so do Meany and his gang prefer to work through secret negotiations with the bosses. And for the same reason: so that working people will not find out about deals and policies being made against their interests.

In their personal lives, also, Meany's gang feel much closer to Nixon's gang than to the average working-class family. They golf together, and stay in the same plush hotels.

Meany and Nixon are kindred souls when it comes to corruption as well. For example, in return for the services that the Teamster bureaucrats provide the capitalist government, Nixon recently had the FBI call off an investigation of Teamster officials' collusion with gangsters to rob millions from the union pension plan.

To project a real alternative to the Nixon administration, the labor movement needs to throw out its current leaders and begin fighting for the interests of *all* workers, especially the most oppressed, such as Black workers, women, youth, the unorganized, and the unemployed. This struggle must be waged on the political level as well as the economic level. This means the labor movement needs its own party, controlled by its own organizations.

Such a party would disavow all secrecy in negotiations or diplomacy. It would take over the half-hearted "investigations" of the Watergate crimes and track down and bring to justice every single crook in government. It would fight to open the government and Pentagon files to show the American people all the sordid deals made behind their backs.

A labor party would fight to open the books of the corporations, to expose the truth about profit-gouging, soaring food prices, and management speed-up schemes.

Such a party would lead struggles for all the social needs and democratic rights of working people and the oppressed. It would aim at bringing to power a workers government that would serve the interests of the majority.

How a labor party could put an end to Watergating

masses of working people have been unable to enter this debate in an organized way to assert *their* interests.

While there is a groundswell of sentiment to kick out Nixon and his gang, most people see no alternative other than the Democratic gang. Most workers mistakenly think the Democrats would be an improvement, but a growing number are rejecting both of the bosses' parties. However, the one power capable of mounting an effective challenge to the Watergate government—the labor movement itself—is shackled with a leadership that stands as an obstacle to such a challenge.

This was illustrated at last month's AFL-CIO convention, where the entrenched labor bureaucracy refused to do anything about Watergate. The assembled labor fakers did feel forced by the massive anti-Nixon sentiment to vote that Nixon should resign or be impeached. But their program didn't go beyond getting Nixon out by putting the Democrats in.

At the same time, they chose a government "labor mediator" (read "strikebreaker") from the Nixon administration, W.J. Usery, to head expanded AFL-CIO support to Democratic Party politicians in next year's elections.

The AFL-CIO bureaucrats' answer to the grave political questions highlighted by Watergate is Democratic Party politics-as-usual. Their answer is to keep trade unionists and all other workers at the mercy of politicians controlled by the corporations.

They try to justify their program as the only "realistic" course. But is it?

Imagine the impact on this country if the AFL-CIO convention—representing 13 million working people—had instead declared that the people had had enough of rule by the two capitalist parties, steeped in corruption

to chart out a new political movement based on the power and interests of the majority rather than the wealthy few.

This type of alternative to the Nixon administration will never be posed, however, by the current bankrupt misleadership of the trade-union movement. AFL-CIO President George Meany explained his view last year in an interview with *U.S. News & World Report*: "... if we set up our own political party, we'd be telling this country that we're ready to run the Government. I don't think we're qualified to run the Government."

A few months later Meany told the platform committees of the Democratic and Republican parties, "We do not ask for a labor government," saying that would "not be proper or just."

Especially after the Watergate revelations, many more working people are convinced that representatives of labor would be much more qualified to run the government than the crooks now in power. And which is more just—a government responsible to the organizations of the millions of working people, or a government bought off by the bankers and corporations?

Labor's Watergaters

The present leadership of the labor movement won't lead any fight against the Watergaters in government because they themselves have been supporting the Watergate criminals and using Watergate methods all along.

Only 11 months ago Meany was "neutral for Nixon" in the elections. Other labor bureaucrats, like Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters and Paul Hall of the Seafarers' International Union, gave open backing to the chief Watergate criminal.

Meany has stood 100 percent behind



Militant/Tom Vernier
Detroit AFL-CIO demonstration against Nixon wage controls and Vietnam war in 1971. Meany supported war and cooperated with wage freeze and controls.

themselves working with the government and the corporations to crush popular rebellions and movements toward socialism around the world. For example, Meany is a leading figure in the American Institute for Free Labor development, which trains agents to "combat communist influence" and overthrow governments in the colonial world.

'Kooks' and 'weirdos'

Meany and his cronies shared Nixon's hostility toward the antiwar movement and other protest movements. Echoing Nixon's verbiage about "permissiveness," Meany attacked antiwar students, Black militants, and young workers as "kooks," "wierdos," and "bums."

These labor fakers provided cover for Nixon's use of spies, bugs, burglaries and other illegal methods against antiwar activists and Black militants. For example, the AFL-CIO tops went along with the role of the officials of the construction unions played in organizing "hard hat" goons to beat up antiwar demonstrators in New York in 1970.

These union misleaders never spoke out against government frame-up trials against antiwar activists and radicals. Nor did they lift a finger to help defend the Black Panther Party when its members were being systematically shot down or framed up by the police and government.

Meany and his gang have—with a few protests to cover themselves—gone along with Nixon's economic program for making the workers pay for inflation and for tooling up American capitalism to better compete on



Demonstrators outside 1972 Democratic Party convention

Help sell The Militant

The Militant is the only paper that is telling the full truth about the crimes of *both* the Democratic and Republican parties. And it is the only paper that provides an alternative perspective for working people. Get a regular weekly bundle of *The Militant* to sell in your area. Help fight the Watergate criminals!

Send me a weekly bundle of (17c each and we bill you at the end of the month).

I want to take a weekly sales quota of _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send to The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014.

'The genie is out of the bottle'

Will Nixon get the Agnew treatment?

By CINDY JAQUITH

"... the genie is out of the bottle, and it cannot be put back in," said Senator Peter Dominick (R-Colo.) Nov. 5. This blunt appraisal of Nixon's plight was all the more significant since it came from the senator with the lowest record of opposition votes against the president—4 percent.

Dominick's appraisal has been echoed in the last week, as editorials in the *New York Times*, *Denver Post*, *Detroit News*, and *Time* magazine called on Nixon to resign "for the good of the country." The wave of editorials marked a major shift of opinion in ruling circles toward support for resignation. The secret discussions now taking place among the capitalists are more and more coming to the same conclusions: Nixon should be given the Agnew treatment.

Nixon's personal desires will not be allowed to stand in the way of the best interests of the ruling class as a whole. And that class is coming to the conclusion that they can rule easier without Nixon than with him.

'Patriotic course'

In the first editorial the magazine has run in 50 years, *Time* called for Nixon's resignation as "the wise and patriotic course." The editorial explained that the president had "irretrievably lost his moral authority, the confidence of most of the country, and therefore his ability to govern effectively."

Noting that Nixon had been re-elected in 1972 with "the largest popular majority in American history," the editors of the *New York Times* asserted that he has now suffered a "visible disintegration... of his claim to leadership and to credibility."

While both *Time* and the *New York Times* catalogued the seemingly endless list of presidential crimes, both publications also made it clear that their motivation for suggesting resignation is not the fact that Nixon is a crook.

Time expressed it best when cynically explaining that "being a political as well as a national leader," a president "may dissemble within more or

less accepted political limits. His Administration may be touched by corruption, provided that he does not condone it." This is standard operating procedure for capitalist politicians.

"Yet there is a limit beyond which even such 'permissible' offenses... become intolerable," *Time* warned, meaning when public revulsion threatens the credibility of capitalist institutions as a whole.

Public opinion surveys immediately after Cox's firing showed the president's popularity down to a mere 17 percent. A poll compiled by *El Diario*, a Spanish-language daily in New York City, found that more than 72

those who rule this country is the ability of whoever is president to carry out their imperialist aims abroad. And in Europe, even conservative newspapers like the *Spectator* of London have lost faith in Nixon's powers. "The total disavowal of the [Nixon] Administration... puts the security of the Atlantic alliance at the gravest possible risk," the British newspaper said.

In the Soviet Union, where the bureaucratic leadership has hushed up all news of Nixon's crisis in deference to the détente, the first reports of the latest developments came on Oct. 21, while Secretary of State Kissinger was visiting Moscow for discussions on

issue shouldn't be confused with partisanship." Kennedy was also one of the first to rush to Nixon's support when the president called out troops for possible confrontation in the Middle East last week.

Events in the past few days reveal the rulers are prepared to force Nixon to "voluntarily" resign rather than go through impeachment proceedings. *Time* pointed out the disadvantages of conducting a public trial of Nixon for the interests of the ruling class.

'Alarming momentum'

"Events have achieved an alarming momentum; additional facts that would be brought out under subpoena power at an impeachment trial could strike in many unforeseen and dangerous directions," *Time* said.

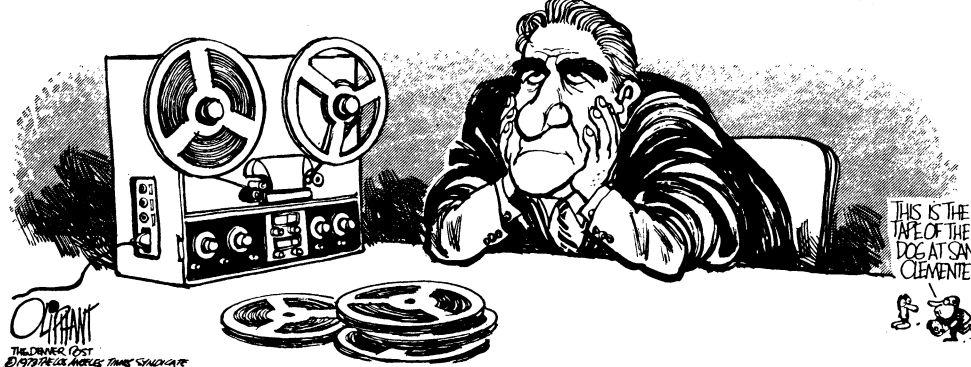
The magazine also warned of the dangers of setting a "precedent" of throwing presidents out every time they lost the faith of the population. But obviously the editors felt such a precedent is a lesser evil than the continued erosion of confidence if Nixon remains in office.

In the meantime, the president insists that he will not resign. The fact of the matter, however, is that the bankers and businessmen who put Nixon in office in the first place are going to be the ones who decide when and if he leaves the White House.

The deliberations of these capitalists are going on secretly, but the alternatives they are weighing are expressed in editorials and hinted at in news stories. The *Los Angeles Times*, for example, reported that "proposals have been kicked around" in the private Republican clubs in Washington, D.C. Representative Robert Michel (R-Ill.), head of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee, "said there was a lot of discussion of resignation in the cloak-rooms."

Newsweek suggested that many Republicans are secretly backing the resignation plan, but have yet to speak up: "... once Ford is sworn in... party members in and out of Congress will break their silence and start openly demanding Nixon's resignation."

WELL, FIRST LET ME EMPHASIZE MY COMPLETE FAITH IN JUDGE SIRICA (PAUSE) A GREAT JURIST (CLICK)... WHY, GOOD MORNING, BEBE (PAUSE) I WAS JUST SITTING HERE THINKING WHAT A (CLICK) GREAT GUY (CLICK) THAT OLD (CLICK) JUDGE SIRICA IS (CLICK) (PAUSE)... ER, WHY YES, RICHARD, A WONDERFUL HUMAN BEING, I ALWAYS SAID (PAUSE)....



percent of Spanish-speaking residents want Nixon either to resign or be impeached.

Mideast crisis

Another factor behind the growing clamor for resignation coming from ruling circles was the massive disbelief that greeted Nixon's troop alert on Oct. 25. The *New York Times* warned Oct. 29 that "if even at a moment of potential nuclear crisis, questions have to be put about the motives of the man or men making these decisions, the crisis of authority in this country is extracting too great a price to be paid."

At stake from the point of view of

the Mideast "settlement." It was not until Nov. 2, however, that Soviet newspapers ran any announcement of the fact that Congress is considering impeachment.

From Moscow, *New York Times* reporter Hedrick Smith commented that the news "was suppressed in the Soviet Union not only out of courtesy to Mr. Nixon but also to minimize embarrassment to Mr. Brezhnev."

Not all the so-called liberals in Congress have deserted Nixon's sinking ship, however. Outstanding in this regard is Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), who told a Nov. 5 fund-raising dinner for Israel that he wouldn't tell Nixon to step down because "the

New players on the Nixon team

By BAXTER SMITH

A Texas Dixiecrat with sticky links to the CIA and a conservative Ohio Republican who once said the president should destroy the tapes, were named by Richard Nixon to be his new Watergate prosecutor and attorney general.

Nixon told a group of White House reporters Nov. 1 that he had chosen Senator William Bart Saxbe as attorney general to fill the office vacated by Elliot Richardson.

Following this, acting Attorney General Robert Bork told reporters that with the president's approval he had appointed Leon Jaworski, chief of a Houston oil and bank law firm and former personal attorney to LBJ, to replace Archibald Cox.

Saxbe once claimed Nixon's administration was "one of the most inept" over the Watergate mess, and stated, "if it keeps on, they're going to have to get 'em clown suits." Now he believes he can "help solve this problem."

When asked what was first on the agenda, Saxbe stated he would simply "get our own house in order." And



Nixon appointee Jaworski with his old boss, LBJ.

just hours after his nomination he spelled out what he meant when he hinted he'd halt the new investigation of the 1970 Kent State killings. He stated that to open the case just to quell public clamor was a "cruel and unjust thing."

Saxbe calls himself a "hard-liner" on law enforcement. He favors a return to capital punishment.

Described as a cattle breeder, quail hunter, and estate collector, Saxbe was forced to jettison stock he held in a Chicago firm when it came to light that an officer of it had ties to the mob.

The *New York Times* states Saxbe is a "loyal party member... on votes crucial to the Administration."

The special Watergate prosecutor is assigned the task of rooting out guilty parties connected to Watergate crimes. Cox, who nosed too close to the fire, got burned when Nixon refused to give up tapes Cox requested.

But hoping to allay all fears, Nixon claimed that Jaworski will have "complete freedom" to pursue any investigation.

Jaworski though, has a clouded background in connection with Watergate-related subjects.

In 1967, it was discovered that a CIA front group, a Houston "foundation," was used to surreptitiously channel \$600,000 in government funds to various organizations and individuals. Jaworski was a member of the foundation, and his law firm conducted its legal matters. The CIA's role in Watergate wiretapping and other affairs is under investigation by the special prosecutor's office.

Jaworski has also exposed his feelings toward Blacks and student protesters—other issues related to Watergate investigations. As a lawyer in 1963, he defended the University of Texas against Black students trying to desegregate a dormitory. In 1969 he denounced student protesters, claiming their demands recalled "gibberish propaganda ground out by the Nazis."

Although these two new appointees are well groomed for their jobs, there's little they can do to buoy up Richard Nixon. Sooner or later, they'll all sink.

Gov't admits spying on SWP mail

Lawyer reports new developments

By CINDY JAQUITH

The FBI has admitted to the courts that it maintains surveillance on mail sent to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). This admission represents a significant breakthrough for the suit the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) filed against government spying and harassment of political groups.

The acknowledgment of the "mail cover" came in an FBI response to a suit filed by Lori Paton, a New Jersey high school student. Paton was investigated by the FBI after she sent a letter to the SWP asking for information on socialism as part of a school study project.

Mail tampering is one of the charges—along with wiretapping, infiltration, burglary, job harassment, and bombing—that the SWP and YSA suit makes against the government. The FBI admission is important because it is the first government acknowledgment that this kind of surveillance is carried on.

Defendants accused in the suit of using such tactics include President Nixon and 18 other former and present government officials. In addition to seeking a halt to these harassment practices, the suit demands \$27-million in damages.

One of the major hurdles that the suit has to overcome is collecting proof of the charges. Since the activities against the SWP and YSA are carried out surreptitiously by government agents, providing this kind of proof is one of the major tasks facing the lawyers working on the case.

In a recent interview with *The Militant*, Herbert Jordan, one of the attorneys involved in the case, discussed the significance of the new evidence. Jordan is an associate of Leonard Boudin, one of the country's most experienced civil liberties lawyers. Boudin filed the suit against the government last summer.

Jordan explained that the FBI, while acknowledging the "mail cover" on the SWP, denies opening mail. They claim they got Paton's name and address from the envelope. Federal law prohibits anyone from opening first-class mail, but there is no statute specifically barring "mail covers."

Mail tampering legal?

However, Jordan said, "It's certainly our view that this is illegal. Such wholesale coverage of all



Militant/Flax Hermes

News conference held in New York last July to announce socialists' suit. Left to right: attorney Herbert Jordan; Andrew Pulley, YSA national secretary; attorney Leonard Boudin; Linda Jenness, SWP 1972 presidential candidate.

mail addressed to a legitimate political party, like the SWP, when it becomes known, has an obvious inhibiting effect on people who might want to communicate with the party, send contributions, or just ask for information."

The FBI practice, he said, amounts to "compiling a blacklist of people who have engaged in any type of written communication with the SWP. This is clearly a violation of constitutional rights."

Certainly this is the case with Lori Paton. The FBI obviously hoped to intimidate her by informing school authorities of her correspondence with socialists.

After her letter was intercepted, an FBI agent interviewed her school principal. Paton was outraged at this violation of her rights and is suing the FBI for \$65,000 in damages and for an injunction against government interference with mail sent to political organizations.

In a pretrial deposition in the Paton case, the FBI admitted that the investigation of Paton was "precipitated by her contact with an organization which was the subject of a lawful investigation

by the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

In addition to visiting her principal, the FBI noted in its deposition, "a notation was made of [Paton's] name and address in the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation regarding a communication directed by her to the Socialist Workers Party."

If Paton wins her suit, Jordan explained, "It would constitute a precedent in favor of any individual who has been harassed as this person has as a result of FBI coverage of the SWP."

The FBI deposition provides a fresh example of the practices outlined in the 1970 spy plan drawn up by Tom Charles Huston and approved by Nixon. Although the government claims that the approval was rescinded, and the plan never put into effect, there are many indications that the plan is still operative. The Paton letter, for example, was intercepted in the spring of 1973.

In his 1970 plan, Huston proposed stepped-up use of mail tampering, wiretapping, surveillance, burglary, and other illegal acts against radicals. In his "recommendations" to Nixon, Huston urged that "restrictions on legal [mail] coverage should be removed. . . . There is no valid argument against use of legal mail covers [recording names and return addresses]. . . . Covert coverage [opening of mail] is illegal and there are serious risks involved. However, the advantages to be derived from its use outweigh the risks."

The plan Nixon finally approved contained the following section:

"MAIL COVERAGE: Restrictions on legal coverage are to be removed, restrictions on covert coverage are to be relaxed to permit use of this technique on selected targets of priority foreign intelligence and internal security interest."

Apparently Lori Paton—and literally thousands of others like her who have written to the SWP or the YSA—are included as high priority "internal security" targets!

Unprecedented legal challenge

The breakthrough on the mail cover issue comes as the SWP and YSA suit is still in its preliminary stages. Jordan emphasized that the scale of this civil liberties case is unprecedented. "I know of no other civil case that has anything approaching the scope of this one, in terms of the extent to which it reaches into all corners of the government and the extent to which it is based on nationwide events and occurrences linked together by a common design."

A number of other suits raising similar issues have been filed since Watergate broke. For example, in addition to the Paton suit, Morton Halperin, a former government official, is suing for damages as a result of wiretaps on his phone. And Jane Fonda has filed a suit, seeking \$2.8-million in damages, against Nixon and other government officials because she had been subjected to surveillance and harassment. A victory in any one of these challenges would help the others. The SWP and YSA suit, however, is by far the most extensive and far-reaching of these cases.

Jordan explained the stage the case is at now and the course it will follow through the courts. Because of the omnibus character of the suit, it

Political Rights Defense Fund

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) is organizing a national campaign to publicize the issues in the suit filed by the SWP and YSA, and to raise funds for the legal expenses of the case.

Recent endorsers of the PRDF are Congressman Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), American Indian Movement leader Clyde Bellecourt; folksinger Pete Seeger; Michael Harrington, national chairman of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; and John T. Williams of Teamster Local 208.

Other prominent individuals backing the work of the PRDF are Daniel Ellsberg, Philip and Dan Berrigan, former attorney general Ramsey Clark, Ms. editor Gloria

Steinem, Dr. Benjamin Spock, and Congressman Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.). The suit has also been endorsed by union locals, student governments, law school professors, and others who are concerned with fighting back against Watergate.

Ellsberg and other endorsers recently sent out an appeal for contributions to the PRDF. Expenses in the first year may be as high as \$50,000, and legal costs will soar rapidly once the case goes to court.

The PRDF is also raising money by selling the Watergate button designed for the defense fund by Jules Feiffer. Ten thousand buttons have been ordered from the PRDF national office thus far.

To make a contribution to the PRDF, or to find out more about its activities, send in the coupon below.

Clip and send to: Political Rights Defense Fund, 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 311, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.

() Please send me more information on this suit.

() Enclosed is \$_____ for _____ Feiffer buttons. (\$1 each, or 30 cents each on orders of 10 or more.)

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

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

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____



Feiffer Watergate button

in socialist suit against Watergating

1970 spy plan

The following excerpts from the suit filed by the SWP and YSA describe how the 1970 spy plan was used to deny democratic rights to socialists.

"Prior to and during the months of July through November, 1970, defendants Nixon, Ehrlichman, Haldeman, Mitchell, Dean, Huston, and [Robert] Mardian, together with others presently unknown, agreed to . . . cause government agents to intensify their interrogation and harassment of SWP, its candidates, members and supporters (including members of YSA) and to intensify the use of warrantless electronic surveillance, unauthorized opening and monitoring of mail, burglaries, and other illegal tactics against plaintiffs.

"The purpose of . . . the above-described agreements or plans was and is to deny the SWP, its members, candidates and supporters the equal protection of the laws and equal privileges and immunities under the law by preventing them from running for and obtaining office (including the offices of President, Vice-President and Members of Congress), from supporting candidates and platforms for such offices, and from otherwise participating in the electoral process and exercising their freedoms of speech and association on an equal basis with the Republican, Democratic, American, Conservative, and most other political parties and their members."

will be extremely costly and time-consuming.

So far, the complaint has been filed and each of the defendants is being served with notice of the suit.

Huston's response

Tom Charles Huston was the first defendant to answer the charges. He has moved for dismissal of the case against him, based primarily on his assertion that a suit filed in New York has no technical jurisdiction over him because he lives in Indianapolis.

However, lawyers for the suit have argued that New York courts do have jurisdiction because the Huston plan led to illegal acts in New York. One example of such crimes is the burglary several months ago at the apartment of Norman Oliver, the SWP candidate for mayor of New York. Nothing of value was taken by the intruders, but files relating to the SWP were rifled.

Jordan said that if Huston succeeds in getting the charges dismissed on the basis of jurisdiction, the dismissal could be appealed, or the suit refiled in another city, such as Indianapolis, or Washington, D.C., where the spy plan was agreed to and put into operation.

It is possible that other defendants will also seek a dismissal based on the technical jurisdiction argument. Former attorney general John Mitchell will be unable to do this, however, since he lives in New York City.

The federal marshals who delivered the summonses and complaints to the defendants say they

have been unable to find Mitchell, Jordan reported. "We are in touch with his lawyer," he added. "We're attempting to get the lawyer to agree to get Mitchell to accept the service of the summons and complaints."

The U.S. attorney has requested and received two postponements of the deadline for responding on behalf of those defendants he will represent in the suit. Jordan said he still doesn't know if the U.S. attorney will represent Nixon as well as other government officials. No attempt has yet been made to have the charges against Nixon dropped on the basis of presidential "immunity," Jordan noted. The U.S. attorney has until Nov. 24 to file answers to the complaint.

H.R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman, Nixon's former top aides, also received an extension, which has now expired. They have not yet answered the summons, but their attorney, John J. Wilson, has informed Boudin's firm that he is representing them in the case.

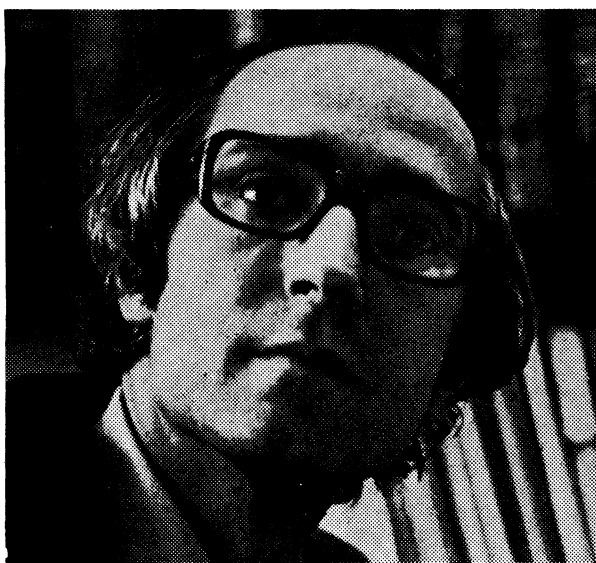
John Dean, former counsel to the president, has not yet answered the summons.

In addition to challenging the jurisdiction of a New York court, and claiming the "immunity" of the president, the defendants may also challenge the suit's assertion that harassment of SWP and YSA members actually does violate the Constitution.

First Amendment rights

Jordan said he expected there would be oral argument in court on such motions, probably in December.

"One of the things that presumably the government will want to litigate right away is whether or not this type of systematic FBI interrogation and surveillance of SWP and YSA members and supporters, based solely on their political affiliation and support of candidates, does violate the First



HUSTON: Trying to dodge charges

Amendment," Jordan said. "If the judge rules that it doesn't, then we are certainly going to want to appeal that one."

If the defendants fail to get all the charges dropped, the next stage in the case will be "pre-trial discovery." The SWP and YSA will be able to request any material relevant to the suit. "To that end," Jordan said, "we can require the production of documents and tapes, and question people involved under oath."

"But you can imagine that it's not that simple, because our 'discovery motions' are subject to the same type of defenses that have been raised with respect to Nixon's tapes: that the documents are 'privileged,' that they are 'classified,' that they involve 'national security,' or that they 'don't exist.'"

Documents on the 1970 spy plan, for example, are currently in the possession of the Senate Watergate committee. While portions of the plan have been made public, the committee has withheld most sections on the grounds that they relate to "national security." Jordan said he thought there was a chance to subpoena these documents from the Senate committee. Acquiring any documents from the special prosecutor's office would be far more difficult, he said.

Lawyers for the SWP suit will be able to subpoena any witnesses desired, including government officials. Only the president could possibly challenge a subpoena to testify on the grounds



Militant/John Gray

Suit links 1970 firebombing of SWP offices in Los Angeles to White House.

of his office.

A big limitation on obtaining documents and testimony will be the expense of court stenographers, transcripts, and transportation, Jordan said.

How does the current furor demanding Nixon's resignation or impeachment affect the suit? If Nixon is ousted from office, Jordan explained, he will lose all his defenses in terms of presidential "immunity." Any documents Nixon takes with him when he leaves office would also lose their privileged status.

Nixon would remain a defendant in the suit, since he is being sued both as the president and as an individual. Whoever became the new president would automatically become a defendant as well.

Impact of impeachment

Jordan outlined one possible effect if Nixon were impeached. "Let's say the House charged him with several offenses, one of which was approval and implementation, however temporary, of the Huston plan. Then the Senate tried him and convicted him of that and he was then removed from office. That might very well relieve us of the necessity to prove whatever he had been found guilty of in the Senate."

Whether or not Nixon is impeached, the powerful public sentiment against government Watergating will help legitimize the suit, Jordan emphasized. "At a minimum, recent events would make the type of allegations we have here much more credible than they would have been a few months ago."

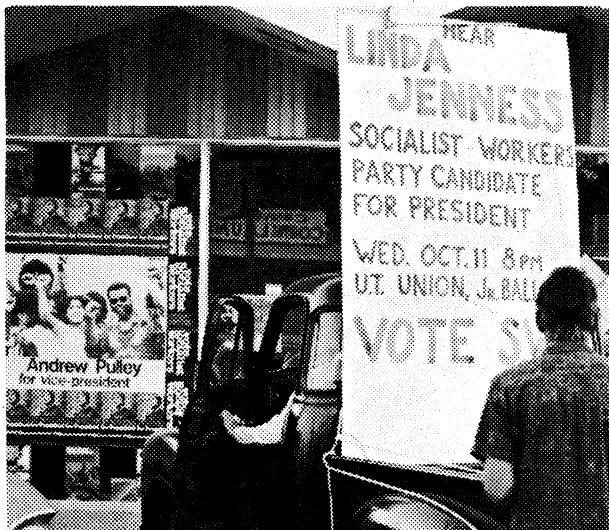
"Whereas a few months ago this type of allegation would have been dismissed as paranoid raving, it is now in the mainstream of what's generally accepted as the norm of behavior of the Nixon administration."

Lawyers representing the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) in their suit are still collecting evidence of harassment by the government against supporters of the two groups.

The type of evidence needed is documentation of government harassment on the basis of membership in, or support to, the SWP or YSA. Such harassment could include questioning by the FBI, visits by government agents to landlords or employers, job discrimination, wiretapping, and burglary.

These incidents may involve SWP or YSA members; people who worked for SWP candidates, signed an SWP nominating petition, or voted for the SWP; or individuals who attended an SWP campaign meeting or forum. To be useful as evidence, the harassment must be specifically linked to contact with the YSA or SWP.

Militant readers who have had experiences that might be useful as evidence should contact the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) at 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 311, New York, N.Y. 10011.



Militant/Derek Jeffers

Suit charges denial of SWP rights in election campaigns.

Interview with Manon Leger

Revolutionist assesses Quebec elections

The following is an interview by Militant staff writer Tony Thomas with Manon Leger, candidate of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO—Socialist Workers League) for the Quebec National Assembly. The LSO is the Quebec wing of the pan-Canadian section of the Fourth International. The interview was obtained Oct. 31 in Montreal. Translation from the French is by The Militant.

Militant: What is the meaning of the results of the recent election?

Léger: In these elections the question was clearly posed of federalism or separation—that is, whether Québec should stay within Canada or gain national independence.

Both major contestants were capitalist parties, the Liberals and the Parti Québécois [PQ—Quebec Party]. But the PQ's association with the movement for independence means that the pro-independence sentiment is reflected, even if in a distorted manner, through this party.

Initial figures show that some 30 percent voted for the PQ, an increase from the previous election. In 1970 it received more than 600,000 votes, or 24 percent, and in this election it received more than 800,000. This represents two out of every five French-speaking voters, according to some figures.

The capitalists and their spokespeople, however, are all talking about the big victory for "federalism" in this election. The leaders of the New Democratic Party [Canada's labor party, which is very weak in Québec] are saying the same thing. This "victory" results



MANON LEGER: 'My party wants independence based on the interests and struggles of the oppressed Quebecois masses—on the working class.'

from the undemocratic character of the representation. With 30 percent of the vote, the PQ got only six members of the National Assembly, but with 55 percent the Liberal Party will get 102 seats out of 110.

So one aspect of the results of the vote is a continued rise in nationalist sentiment. The decisive sector in Québec, the working class, has once again voted massively for the PQ.

Militant: Could you go into the background of the national struggle and this election.

Léger: Throughout the history of Québec, the struggle against oppression of the nation by English Canada has been a central part of the class struggle.

The big monopolies, the banks, the whole structure of society is owned and controlled by English-Canadian



Labor Challenge/Arnie Mintz

'Throughout the history of Quebec, the struggle against oppression of the nation by English Canada has been a central part of the class struggle.' Above, July 1971 demonstration against Canadian confederation.

and U.S. interests. Through the Canadian federation they keep Québec in the status of an internal colony, a special supply of cheap labor and resources.

English-speaking Montréalers have a standard of living higher than English-speaking people anywhere in Canada, while the standard of living of working-class Québécois is lower than anywhere in English Canada. Francophone wages in Québec are 40 percent of wages in English-speaking Ontario Province.

The big businesses and the ruling class are English-speaking. To speak English means you get a better job, better pay, and are promoted. English-speaking people get better conditions and pay than Francophones who speak English. This economic discrimination is intertwined with educational and other forms of discrimination.

These forms of oppression lay the basis for the national movement—the movement to win national liberation through independence and through defense of the rights of the overwhelming majority of people here, who speak French.

The PQ attempts to profit from this sentiment, but its approach is that liberation can be achieved within the framework of capitalism—that is, by maintaining all the economic and social institutions that cause the oppression of the Québécois.

Militant: What type of program did the PQ advance in the recent election?

Léger: It centered its campaign not on independence but on its "budget for an independent Québec." The PQ stressed how it would run the province responsibly—to the bosses, that is—for several years before even discussing independence. In that way it tried to show that it was a "respectable" party.

It also watered down its program, saying that it would declare independence only after a process of negotiations that would take several years. They even said that voting for the PQ was not a vote for independence, but a vote to see which party could best rule Québec, either independently or in the federation.

Some of the ranks of the PQ, to be sure, are trying to respond to questions posed by the social crisis of Québec—labor struggles, women's lib-

eration, etc. But when struggles take place, the PQ as a whole is not willing or able to serve as a vehicle for these struggles, since it defends the capitalist system. The PQ leadership tries to suppress those struggles.

Nevertheless, in the absence of an independent workers party of mass influence, the working-class Québécois, especially, see a vote for the PQ as a vote for national liberation and social change.

Militant: What role did the major working-class organizations play in this election?

Léger: In Québec we have no mass workers parties, but we do have three trade-union federations: the Québec Federation of Labor, the Québec Teachers Corporation, and the Confederation of National Trade Unions. Each of these federations has adopted a position formally against capitalism and for socialism, and for either the right of self-determination or immediate independence.

Despite these positions, the trade-union bureaucrats betrayed the workers by calling for a vote for the PQ. To cover themselves—and because the PQ didn't want to be openly identified with the trade unions—the union bureaucrats did not propose union support to the PQ on a formal level. But if it didn't have official trade-union support, the PQ had the support of the trade-union officials.

As part of this operation the bureaucrats did everything possible to suppress any push toward big demonstrations or strikes, claiming such actions would block a victory for the PQ. They did the same in regard to the movement for solidarity with the Chilean workers, and the movement in defense of Dr. Morgentaler, a doctor charged with carrying out abortions.

Militant: How did the LSO intervene in the elections with your campaign in Mercier County?

Léger: Some people felt that it was farcical for us to put forward only one candidate in one county out of 110, or that a small revolutionary group shouldn't waste its energy in these campaigns. But we saw that the biggest political discussion in Québec centered on the elections, and that masses of working people were concerned with this discussion. As it was,

90 percent of the voters participated. We used the elections as a platform to advance our revolutionary program.

And through this campaign we were able to reach workers, students, and nationalist militants and discuss the need for socialism to achieve national liberation and solutions to the workers' problems. We were able to win new supporters to our revolutionary socialist movement and to gain a wider hearing for our ideas.

Militant: What was the political program of your campaign?

Léger: I called for national independence and socialism and a break from the PQ. My party wants independence based on the interests and struggles of the oppressed Québécois masses—on the working class—not the capitalists, as the PQ leaders want.

We demand immediate independence as an expression of the will of the masses of Francophones. We want French to be the language of work and education as well as official business.

This type of program cannot be carried out without expropriating the capitalists. The foreign monopolies that control our society must be nationalized and placed under workers' control. We must expropriate the holdings of Québécois capitalists as well if we are to win national liberation and an end to problems like inflation, unemployment, women's oppression, and bad housing. Only socialism can solve our social and national problems.

I supported strikes and workers' struggles. For instance there was the Firestone strike at St. Jerome. The workers established a strike committee opposed to the union bureaucrats and demanded parity pay with Ontario and U.S. rubber workers.

I used my campaign paper, *Libération*, to build solidarity with that strike. We distributed thousands of copies containing an interview with members of the strike committee.

We also supported other struggles outside the parliamentary framework. For instance, at an Indian reservation in Montréal there was a revolt and an occupation of a police station. We backed and publicized this struggle against outside interference in Indian affairs.

Continued on page 22

Vietnam: a year since 'peace is at hand'

By DICK ROBERTS

Just one year ago, Henry Kissinger announced that a "nine-point program" for settling the war in Southeast Asia had been agreed upon in Paris. This culminated weeks of top-level secret negotiations in Peking, Moscow, and Paris.

Virtually every radical organization in this country, with the notable exception of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, hailed the nine-point proposal as a "victory" for the Vietnamese revolution.

Typical was the *Daily World*, newspaper of the Communist Party. The *World* declared Oct. 27, "The agreement between the U.S. and the DRV, which has been approved by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, contains the crucial key to peace."

But *The Militant* declared Nov. 10, "This proposed settlement imposes conditions on the Vietnamese that give an indefinite lease on life to the capitalist military-landlord regime headquartered in Saigon. . . .

"The nine-point program provides U.S. imperialism with a military base in Thailand and the 'right' to keep its massive naval fleet permanently in the South China Sea. The program also permits Washington to 're-arm' its Saigon cohorts for an unspecified length of time.

"Concessions made by Washington include a promise to withdraw all U.S. forces from South Vietnam within 60 days after the agreement is signed. A certain number of North Vietnamese troops will be permitted to stay in South Vietnam. But these concessions are far from meaning that the Vietnamese liberation fighters have won."

As it turned out, three more grueling months of U.S. bombing at the highest levels in the whole war followed before the accords were signed in Paris in late January 1973.

Throughout this period the CP and other supporters of the terms of the settlement campaigned for Nixon to sign the accords. When he finally did, they heralded the Paris accords as a victory for the revolutionary forces.

One year later, warfare continues throughout Southeast Asia, and there are increasing indications that a new upsurge of fighting is taking place in South Vietnam. These events add new confirmation to the correctness of the analysis presented in *The Militant* a year ago.

Revolution

"The Vietnamese are rebelling against a system that allows a few landlords and capitalists to own most of the land and wealth," Linda Jenness, the 1972 SWP presidential candidate explained in the Nov. 10, 1972, *Militant*.

"The masses of peasants must hand over a large part of their crops to the landlords simply to be able to farm the land. Workers are paid miserably low wages, taxed heavily, and denied basic democratic rights. The hated Saigon regime represents the landowners, the capitalists, and the imperialist powers they depend on to protect them from their own people."

It was this *class viewpoint* that led to criticism of the nine-point settlement. So long as the Thieu regime survived in Saigon—with the third largest air force, the fourth largest army, and the largest per-capita police force in the world—it would not

peacefully come to terms with the liberation forces.

On the contrary, Thieu would continue to extend the counterrevolution with the ultimate aim of liquidating the armed forces of rebellion.

The secret agreements between Washington, Moscow, and Peking, supposedly aimed at establishing "peaceful coexistence" between the bureaucratized workers states and world imperialism, would serve as a cover for maintaining a permanent imperialist base in Southeast Asia. Moreover, Moscow and Peking secretly agreed to pressure Hanoi into accepting the terms of the settlement.

This was glaringly revealed just on the military level by the startling differences between the warfare in North Vietnam a year ago and the recent Middle East war. While Nixon bombarded Hanoi and Haiphong in December and January 1972-73, the North Vietnamese had been supplied only with the obsolete SAM 2 and 3 missiles, which proved hopelessly inadequate to prevent the slaughter of civilians. But Moscow supplied Egypt with the advanced SAM 6 missiles.

These missiles, backed up by a historic airlift of Soviet weapons to Egypt, helped blunt the recent Israeli attack.

South Vietnam

The fighting was supposed to stop in South Vietnam on Jan. 28. But it has continued. Political prisoners were supposed to be released. But the Thieu government has intensified its repression, and today some 200,000 to 400,000 political prisoners are in Thieu's jails.

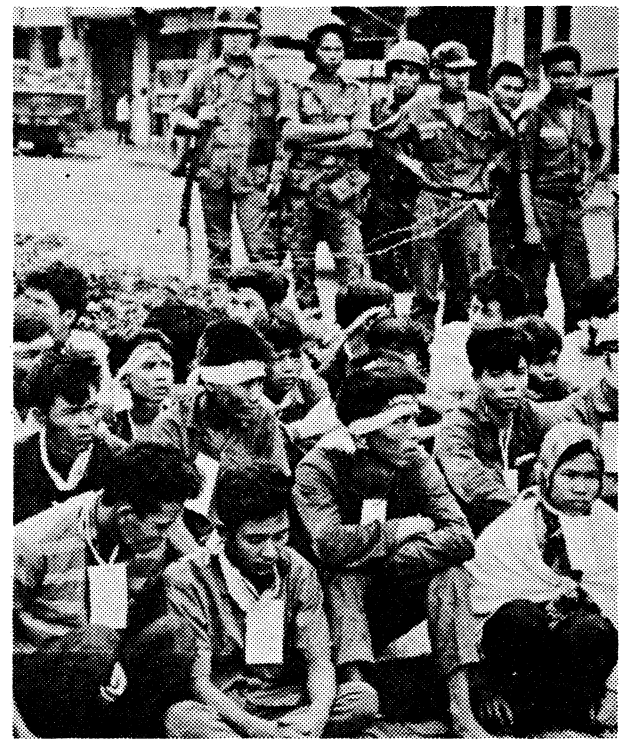
"In the fighting since the January 'ceasefire,'" the *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported Oct. 29, "the Thieu government has expended vast quantities of arms and ammunition; how many planes, helicopters, tanks and artillery pieces have been lost has not been revealed, but the numbers are substantial. Under the terms of the Paris Agreement, such supplies and equipment are replaceable."

New York Times correspondent James Markham reported from Saigon Oct. 31 that "in the last month the tit-for-tat fighting that has prevailed since the January cease-fire has taken on a new tone and a new scale. . . .

"Both sides have been notching up their military actions."

The capitalist press has blown up stories about new "infiltration" of troops by Hanoi, and claimed that a new North Vietnamese "offensive" is in the offing. But *Times* correspondent David Binder wrote from Washington Oct. 24, "According to informants in Saigon, the bulk of the 70,000 troops was infiltrated in the period immediately after January, when there were said to be about 200,000 North Vietnamese troops in place in South Vietnam."

What is more likely is that Thieu is increasing efforts to destroy the bases of rebel territory. This has been repeatedly charged by Hanoi and the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG). For example the Aug. 13 issue of *South Viet Nam In Struggle* reported a statement by the Hanoi Foreign Ministry that "from June 15 to 25, 1973 alone, according to still incomplete data, the Saigon administration violated the provisions on ceasefire over 42,000 times, launched over 3,700 land-grabbing operations against areas controlled by



South Vietnamese political prisoners. Despite the accords, some 400,000 still crowd Thieu's jails.

the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, causing great losses in lives and property to local population. In some operations over one division of infantry troops supported by tanks, artillery and aircraft were mobilized. . . ."

Laos

An agreement for a coalition government to be elected in Laos was reached in September but, like the accords on Vietnam, it leaves a proimperialist regime in power. The framework for continued U.S.-backed repression was hinted at in a dispatch from Vientiane in the Oct. 29 *Far Eastern Economic Review*:

"When the protocol was signed, observers here immediately pointed to the 'looseness' of the agreement. . . . The document, they said, did not lay down the law on the major issues facing the country.

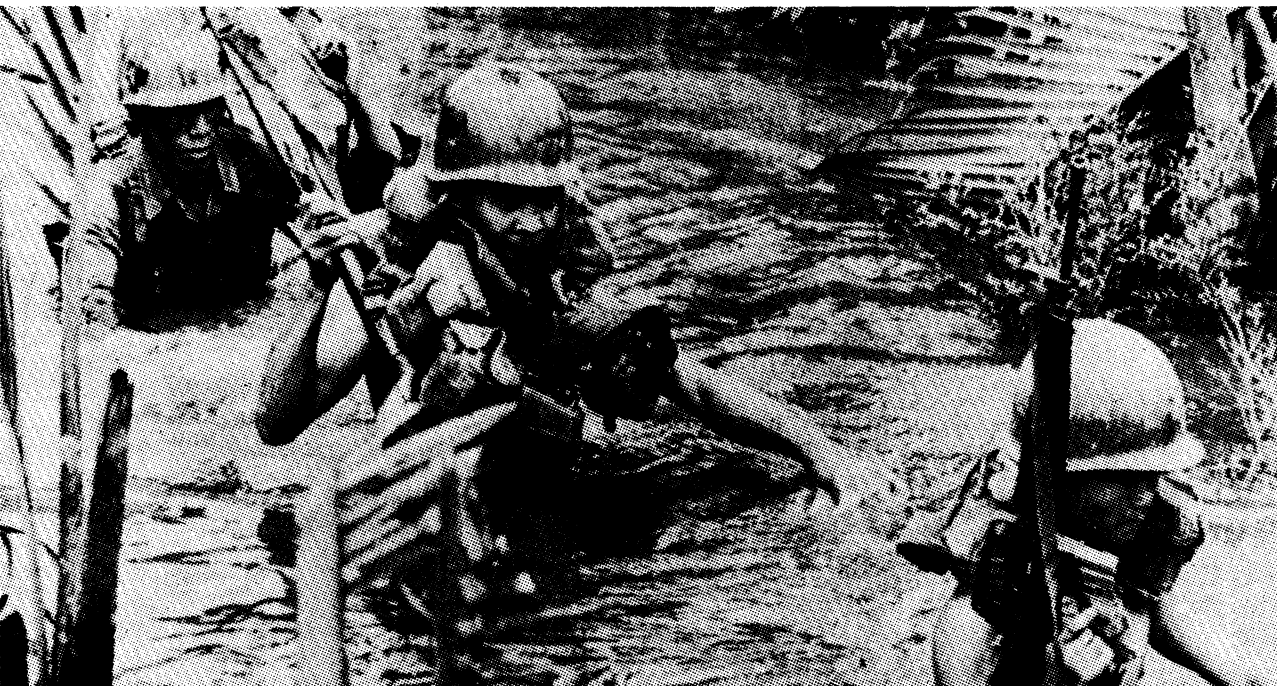
"American officials who worked closely with the Government during the drafting of the pact agree, albeit privately, with this analysis. Neither the Vientiane side nor the US mission has any intention of 'selling out' to the communists. . . . The Americans and Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma had a plan.

"That plan was an up-dated version of the scheme used in the early 1960s when the non-communists were also faced with the prospect of standing for office against the communists."

In 1962 a coalition government was established, but it was sabotaged by a CIA-manufactured military coup. This coup paved the way for the subsequent decade of warfare in Laos.

The *Far Eastern Economic Review* reports that "the Pathet Lao fully expect rightwing elements in Vientiane to continue their attempts to frustrate a successful settlement in the weeks ahead. . . . Although the ceasefire has proven to be much more effective than that in South Vietnam, the Pathet Lao regularly blame . . . 'Vientiane ultra-reactionaries' for ordering numerous violations, mostly reconnaissance and resupply flights over the Pathet Lao zone, with some 'nibbling' attacks. (Some of these flights involve US planes flown by American pilots belonging to Air America and Continental Air Services Incorporated, civilian companies operating in Laos under contract to the US Government [specifically, the CIA—D. R.]. While Air America has announced that it will officially end its operations in Laos by the end of October, Continental's contract was recently renewed for three months.) In the two weeks after the September 14 signing of the protocol, the Pathet Lao claimed 440 violations by the Vientiane side, including T-28 bombing raids south of Xieng Khouang town, which killed some people and destroyed property."

Civil war also continues to rage in Cambodia, where the pro-Washington Lon Nol regime remains in power despite the overwhelming amount of that country controlled by liberation forces. In recent months former Cambodian ruler Norodom Sihanouk has repeatedly charged that both Hanoi and Peking are curtailing aid to the insurgents in line with the provisions of the Paris accords and threats by Washington. These developments will be discussed in a future issue of *The Militant*.



Saigon troops in action against liberation forces. "Virtually every radical organization with the exception of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance hailed the nine points as a "victory" for the Vietnamese revolution."

Secret diplomacy

President Nixon's recent military alert emphasized the deadly serious danger of nuclear destruction of humanity.

Nixon had the awesome nuclear arsenal of U. S. imperialism at his finger tips. And he was free to operate behind closed doors, unaccountable to the American people or the people of the world, whose lives hang in the balance.

Nixon operated in such secrecy that even top State Department officials were not informed of the content of Kissinger's talks in Moscow or of the note from Brezhnev that supposedly led Nixon to order the alert.

In his press conference Oct. 25, Kissinger promised that "within a week" the Nixon administration would "put the facts before" the American people. But we are still being kept in the dark about these "facts" that served as Nixon's excuse for bringing the world closer to the brink of nuclear holocaust.

Rather than mobilizing opposition to Nixon by appealing to the people of the world, the bureaucrats in the Kremlin continue playing Nixon's game of secret diplomacy. A revolutionary leadership of the USSR would expose Nixon's nuclear blackmail instead of covering up for the U. S. imperialists' crimes.

Los Tres, Lawton

Two important defense cases in Southern California serve as grim reminders that while big-time criminals like Nixon and Agnew are walking around free, Black and Chicano activists must still fight government attempts to railroad them to prison.

Gary Lawton and his codefendants and Los Tres del Barrio are the victims of vicious frame-ups put together with provocateurs, bribed witnesses, corrupt courts, and other typical Watergate methods. (See stories on page 18.)

Uncle Sam, the biggest pusher of them all, has locked up Los Tres because of their efforts to rid the Chicano community of drugs. Gary Lawton's only "crime" was to have crossed the cops by standing up for the rights of Black people. Yet these men are in danger of spending long years in prison based on the flimsiest of frame-up charges.

Victories in other cases have shown that the government's attacks can be repelled. In the climate created by the Watergate revelations, masses of people can be convinced to oppose the government's illegal and undemocratic actions.

We urge our readers to actively support the committees defending Los Tres and Gary Lawton.

We need your help

This issue of *The Militant* will be the last sold during our fall sales campaign.

Congratulations are in order to the many supporters who helped us increase and regularize our weekly sales. We aimed to sell 9,500 copies of *The Militant* weekly by the end of the drive. We have surpassed that goal three times already.

Through the sales drive, we have reached new audiences with coverage of the United Farm Workers' struggle, a socialist analysis of Watergate, the truth about the Arab-Israeli war, and the meaning of the coup in Chile.

In coming months, we hope to maintain these regular, weekly sales.

We depend on our readers to sell *The Militant*. And we depend on our readers for financial support. The current shortage of newsprint has forced us to make a special appeal for funds to defray the cost of the heavier paper we have had to use for this and last week's issues. The new paper costs us \$800 extra per week, more than double our normal expense.

This unexpected financial burden—which will continue several weeks—underlines the importance of your contributions to the Militant Forty-fifth Anniversary Fund. Although we are approaching our original goal of \$20,000, the newsprint crisis means we must surpass this figure by several thousand dollars. See page 19 for a progress report on the fund. Help us; send a donation today.

Cancellation I

I am outraged at your stance on the Arab-Israeli situation. I find it shocking and an insult to common reason. My feelings are so in conflict with your views that I order you to cancel my introductory subscription immediately!

Carl Greer
San Diego, Calif.

Cancellation II

After reading one issue of your paper and thinking about its position on the Middle East situation, I have one request to make: cancel my subscription immediately!

Tim Paul
Valparaiso, Ind.

Cancellation III

Please give my subscription to someone who can't afford it. Thank you.

Luckily we have the right to disagree (at least at this point in time), and your article on Israel really got to me.

R. G.
Downey, Calif.

A good name

You happen to represent a paper that lives up to its name. It's commendable to be able to say that you have done your homework well. You really keep other papers on their toes, and this is as it should be.

It's good to know you are there.
A prisoner
Leavenworth, Kans.

You're O.K.

I have enjoyed and been stimulated by my introduction to *The Militant* these last few weeks. While I have had many differences with the opinions you print (on specific points, not on the overall socialist perspective), I have always found them interesting. What I'm saying is that you're o.k. and I'd like to take out a full year's subscription to your paper.

J.J.
Philadelphia, Pa.

Militant 'for real'

I received your subscription to *The Militant*. Thank you. It's the first and only for-real thing I have read all the while I've been in here, and that's two years.

One of the things that makes my time hard is that the brothers here are not up on what's going on in all parts of the world. So I had a lot of fun reading *The Militant* to those who wanted to hear it.

A prisoner
Mississippi

Beats the Navy

Please send me a subscription to your publication. I received the first copy from a friend as a gift and have enjoyed it. I am currently in the U.S. Navy (regrettable) and after their rag, yours is more than enlightening.

J.J.
FPO San Francisco, Calif.

'Thanks'

I want to thank you very much for sending me your paper. If you have literature on Leon Trotsky, I would appreciate it very much. Most of the Marxist theorists label Trotskyists as adventurist. From the little I have read about Trotsky, it appears to me that he was a consistent Marxist, as was Lenin.
A prisoner
Missouri

A Daily World reject

The following letter-to-the-editor was rejected by the *Daily World*. Apparently the anointed ones in the Communist Party, after much prayer and meditation, have decided that any discussion of events in Chile might undermine their credibility. For years they have supported the strategy and tactics of their ideological comrades in Chile. Now, everything has ended in disaster, so it is all blamed on the CIA.

How can revolutionaries learn anything if they do not analyze strategy and tactics, especially in the face of possible foreign intervention?

"Editor: In Chile the show window of 'peaceful transition' has been shattered. Reliance of Socialists and Communists on the bourgeois military apparatus has come to its predictable end. Instead of blaming everything on the CIA, it would be better to analyze where the Chilean leftists went wrong. Other papers of the radical left have been doing this for months.

"The correctness of strategy and tactics is usually judged by whether they succeed in their announced objectives. By this criterion, certain policies of the Socialist and Communist parties of Chile must have been disastrously wrong!"

James Erickson
Minneapolis, Minn.

Campy Campaneris

Militant readers who are baseball fans might have thought that the World Series award for most valuable player—the winner gets a sports car—should have gone to Campy Campaneris, the Oakland A's Cuban shortstop, rather than Reggie Jackson.

The losing Mets thought so too. Bud Harrelson said, "Jackson had a helluva series, but Campy had an even better one. He drove in the winning run in the 11-inning game. He hit a homer in the last game. He made all the big plays in the field, killed our rallies, and stole three bases."

Jackson's choice was commercially inspired. The dealer who donates the sports car insisted that the recipient be someone more "articulate" than Campaneris, who speaks little English.

As Harrelson put it, when Jackson accepts the award, "he will be bright, clever, and funny. Campy doesn't speak enough English to do more than say thanks and sit down." That's not enough to sell cars, which is the object of this "award."

Thus Jackson became more valuable than Campaneris. Not a more valuable player, but a more valu-



AFL-CIO and the ERA

able piece of merchandise. Which under capitalism is the name of this game, and the rest too.

G. J.
New York, N. Y.

Dumping grounds

Ralph Nader recently testified before a United Nations committee studying multinational corporations. The *Delegates World Bulletin* carried the following comments:

"He [Nader] asserted that some nations are becoming dumping grounds for products that multinationals are unable to sell elsewhere. Specifically, he accused Pepsico of selling its inventory of cyclamates abroad 'after they were banned as hazardous to human health in this country.' He also charged that the drug firms Park, Davis and Merck & Co. respectively sell Chloromycetin and Indocin abroad 'without the cautionary counterindications of danger required in the U. S.'"

Victor Mayeshiro
Los Angeles, Calif.

Correction

There are two errors in Jose Perez's article about the UFW boycott committee at U. Mass.-Amherst which was printed in the Oct. 19 issue of *The Militant*.

He implies that members of the Social Democrats USA and Young People's Socialist League (YPSL) want to exclude socialists and communists from the UFW boycott committee.

Our committee has members of the SDUSA and the YPSL. They argue that members of the Young Socialist Alliance and Young Workers Liberation League (and even YPSL!) may work for the UFW boycott, but that no public endorsement from these groups should be sought in conjunction with other school, community, and labor organizations.

One SDer even went so far as to "interview" several labor union officials as to the "possibility of a joint endorsement with socialists and communists." The real intent of his investigation is clear. He was trying to scare the labor officials away, and it was a partial setback in our attempts to realize a broad sponsorship for the boycott. This is a milder form of red-baiting than "witch-hunting." The committee has voted overwhelmingly to seek the support and endorsement of *any* organization that favors La Causa.

Perez also stated that our committee had reproduced articles from *The Militant*. In point of fact, no articles from *The Militant* have been reproduced and displayed on boycott tables yet, but we're working on it!

Bernie Lougee
Amherst, Mass.

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.

At its recent national convention the AFL-CIO voted to support the Equal Rights Amendment. Its endorsement will be a big boost in the fight for ratification of the ERA. This victory, the product of the struggles of working women for equal rights, will in turn legitimize and spur on their fight.

Up until the convention, the AFL-CIO officialdom had actively campaigned *against* the ERA, including testifying against it at state hearings and making large financial contributions for lobbying against it. The AFL-CIO's opposition has been one of the major roadblocks to building a united effort for ratification of the ERA.

The ERA would provide constitutional backing of the principle of equal rights for women. It quite simply states: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied on account of sex."

To become law, the ERA must be ratified by 38 states before March 1979. After quickly being passed in 30 states, it was stopped by a concerted right-wing drive. The John Birch Society, the Catholic Church hierarchy, antifeminist groups such as Happiness of Womanhood, and other reactionaries banded together to stop the ERA. They succeeded in getting the bill defeated in a number of states.

A countereffort on the part of women's rights supporters is needed. With official AFL-CIO opposition ended, the fight will be easier. The United Auto Workers, Communications Workers, Teamsters, Amalgamated Meat Cutters, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and other unions had already endorsed the ERA.

The AFL-CIO bureaucrats had previously used state protective legislation as an excuse for not supporting the ERA. They claimed that passage of the ERA would nullify protective laws that are beneficial to women workers. The truth of the matter is that much of the protective legislation does not "protect" women at all but is used to discriminate against us. For instance, some laws bar women from night

work, or overtime, or from certain occupations. That kind of "protection" we can do without.

The laws that are beneficial to women, such as those requiring rest and lunch breaks and adequate ventilation, should be extended to cover all workers.

The AFL-CIO resolution noted that state protective laws that apply only to women are being challenged and invalidated under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. It is under this provision that thousands of law suits against discrimination in hiring, pay, and promotions are being brought by women. The AFL-CIO officials failed, however, to call for keeping the laws that are truly beneficial and extending them to men. Previously they blew these laws out of proportion to justify their opposition to the ERA; now they totally dismiss them.

The protective laws were obviously just an excuse. The real reason these bureaucrats opposed the ERA is because they fear any struggle by women or the oppressed nationalities that would "rock the boat." Labor fakers like Meany are more than willing to preserve the white, male job trusts on which their own soft positions are largely based.

We can be sure that it was the changing attitudes and actions of working women themselves, and especially trade-union women, that pressured the AFL-CIO bureaucracy to change its position.

In the two years since the last AFL-CIO convention working women, influenced by feminist ideas, have begun to organize and fight for their rights. They have held conferences, formed trade-union women's organizations, and played leading roles in strikes.

The federation's reversal of its position on the ERA is an indication of the pressure that union women are putting on the labor bureaucrats. And it's all a harbinger of the role that feminism will play in helping to transform the unions once again into fighting instruments of class struggle.

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



Guardian & Raza Unida

In its Oct. 17 issue the *Guardian*, a Maoist weekly, presented its opinion on the current situation in the Raza Unida Party.

An article by Carlos Calderon claims the Chicano party is "barely staying afloat" these days. To back up his case, Calderon says that "last month the glitter was gone and forgotten as a mere 300 people gathered for the second annual state California convention in Fresno." According to Calderon, the California convention in July 1972 had drawn 1,000 people.

Calderon also asserts that the party has been hit by "a series of severe election defeats," that its ranks are thinning, and that there exists no viable leadership.

Raza Unida activists in Texas, Colorado, and California — the main states where organizing efforts have been or are taking place — will welcome a discussion that can help deal with the real problems that do exist and go forward to build the *partido*. But a serious discussion cannot proceed from an apparently deliberate distortion of facts and of other people's positions.

First of all, some facts. The figure of 1,000 attending the California convention last year is a new one to me. At the time, convention organizers said about 450 had attended.

But why was this year's California convention smaller? Perhaps the fact that it was an unpublicized, virtually invitational meeting held in Fresno, far from where most Chicanos live, had something to do with it. Last year's conference was publicized through posters and leaflets, and held in the East Los Angeles *barrio*.

Second, what are these "severe election defeats"? Since Calderon doesn't bother to say, one can only guess.

Is he referring to the 1972 Texas gubernatorial campaign of Ramsey Muñiz during which Raza Unida established active party units in more than 50 counties and won some 200,000 votes — enough to win a place on the 1974 ballot?

Or does he mean the campaigns in Colorado that have brought the ideas of opposition to the Democrats and Republicans directly to thousands in the Chicano community and attracted many activists to the *partido*?

Maybe he means the 1972 campaign of Raúl Ruiz in Los Angeles, in which Ruiz won 13 percent of the vote.

None of these campaigns have won offices, but they have not been "defeats." Quite the contrary. We have seen time and again that energetic, aggressive campaigns have been advances for La Raza Unida, regardless of who gets the most votes.

Calderon opposes running a candidate for governor in the '74 California race. Perhaps this is the real reason for all the talk about "severe defeats" at the polls. Calderon declares, "An election campaign that the party could not hope to win would altogether destroy whatever is left of LRUP."

This is in reality an argument in favor of abstention from any electoral activity.

Certainly, La Raza Unida cannot be solely an electoral party. It should be in the forefront of struggles in the Chicano community the year around. But elections, too, are an important way to reach and educate people. Many Chicanos are beginning to lose faith in the two capitalist parties. For La Raza Unida not to offer these people an alternative at the polls wherever possible is to abandon them to the Democrats and Republicans.

Perhaps that's what Calderon has in mind. One should remember that in 1972 the *Guardian* gave backhanded support to the Democrat McGovern for president, while La Raza Unida correctly refused to support any capitalist party candidates.

Are Calderon and the *Guardian* getting ready to support a capitalist candidate for California governor?

Next week, I will take up Calderon's version of the "electoralism" of Texas Raza Unida leader José Angel Gutiérrez versus the "cultural nationalism" of Corky Gonzales of the Colorado RUP.



Semantics problem—White House chief of staff Alexander Haig explained William Ruckelshaus was ousted for refusing to fire Cox even after Haig made it clear to him it was an order "from the commander-in-chief." Haig said Ruckelshaus understood "he was neither fired nor resigned but somewhere in between—a term I hadn't thought of yet." Court-martialed?

Alert official—Assistant Police Chief J. C. Ledbetter of Pascagoula, Miss., takes a cautiously balanced view regarding the rash of reports of sightings of UFOs there. On the one hand, he says, it may well be the work of the lord. But also, he warned, it may be the "Comms." "Maybe," he observed shrewdly, "from China or Japan where they make all those electronics."

Demystifying the UFOs—Dr. John Hall, a Dallas psychiatrist, offers a

scientific explanation of the recent crop of UFO reports. First, he explains, some people are crazy. Second, some are liars. Third, some are victims of mirage-like phenomena. Fourth, there are things about the universe "which we can't possibly know."

How diabolical can you get?—Viceroy cigarettes is offering the racing car it entered in the Indianapolis 500 (original cost \$100,000) for one Viceroy carton end panel and \$75,000. Like, if the cigarettes don't get you the racing car will.

Lord and Master Charge—A Catholic church in Buffalo, N. Y., reports a substantial increase in the weekly collection since it began accepting credit card contributions. We understand that soon all major credit cards will be accepted as identification at the Pearly Gate.

View from the Southwest—The Chicano weekly *El Sol de Texas* carries a photo of a fuel oil outlet in Edinburg, Texas, with a billboard on the roof. The billboard message reads: "Meat Scarce. Don't Eat Your Horse. Phase 4 Might Require You to Ride It."

It figures—Billy Graham said that sometimes when he and the president go to church together, the president borrows money from him to put in the collection. He didn't say if he pays it back.

Seems like the right man for the job—Hendrikus Witteveen, former Dutch finance minister and now managing director of the International Monetary Fund, is also a vice-president of the Sufi movement. It's described as a Muslim sect dedicated to meditation and mysticism.



"I'm sorry, Sir! The printer's new policy on personalized stationery for presidential appointees is cash in advance!"

National Picket Line

Watergate lessons for teachers

Classroom teachers are constantly subject to political pressures, more so than other workers. Many try to avoid politics, and those who teach natural sciences often succeed in doing so inside the classroom. But even these teachers cannot escape politics when a budget cut forces 40 students into a first-year algebra class.

Others who try to teach "social science" cannot easily avoid political issues, the subject they are supposed to teach. It is hard to ignore the Watergate scandals in a study course on how the government operates.

At the beginning of the current school year a superintendent of schools in East Lansing, Mich. tried to prepare teachers for the new challenge. He called them to preschool workshop and spoke on the subject of "Watergate: What are the implications for the classroom?"

"We must teach the Constitution and the limitations and separation of powers of the three branches of government," he said.

In other words, it is a good idea to get back to the principles of the democratic forms of government based on the right of private ownership of the means of production, and corporate management of industry.

This is the very thing teachers are trained to teach, and supposedly have been teaching all along before Watergate. But this teaching does not explain how the "principles of democratic government" led us to Watergate.

More recently, a New England teachers' conference sponsored by the National Education Association was held to discuss "The Educational Implications of Watergate." The 1.2-million-member NEA represents the vast majority of elementary and secondary school teachers nationally.

The NEA invited some politicians to contribute suggestions. Representative Margaret Heckler (R-Mass.) told the teachers, "It is terribly relevant for educators to face the questions of Watergate and to think about how to rekindle faith in our government, in our country."

The New England teachers must have taken this advice under consideration. But at the end of their one-day conference they decided to rekindle some faith in themselves. The NEA leaders drafted a statement demanding Nixon's impeachment—the beginning of a movement to mobilize the entire NEA membership for impeachment.

Frank Lovell



The developing consciousness of teachers, like that of other workers, must lead them to question the basic social relationship between wage earners and the corrupt private interests that own the banks and industries and control all social institutions, including the school system and the courts. This process is helped along by some things that are happening to teachers outside the classroom.

This fall teachers struck in cities and towns around the country for better schools and higher wages. In most cases they were ordered back to work by local judges. The schools were forced to continue to operate with inadequate budgets, overcrowded classes, and underpaid teachers.

In Detroit, where teachers stayed on strike six weeks, a judge has ordered the Detroit Federation of Teachers to pay fines that may exceed \$1-million.

This use of the courts to break teachers' strikes is another classroom lesson that ought to benefit students, parents, and teachers. The courts, themselves corrupt, cannot be expected to investigate and eradicate corruption. Only the victims of this corrupt system can do that.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



How not to support African liberation

Many participants in the "National Anti-Imperialist Conference in Solidarity with African Liberation," held in Chicago Oct. 19-21, left the conference puzzled about its purpose.

The gathering, which drew some 800 Blacks, was initiated by the Communist Party and Young Workers Liberation League. A preconference brochure stated that its purpose was "to inform, organize and mobilize the people of the United States in order to stop the enemies of freedom—whether freedom for the peoples of Africa or freedom for us in the United States." It called for the creation of a "united, mass on-going movement."

Unfortunately, the conference did not serve to advance these worthy goals.

One of the reasons was the CP's dishonest maneuvering with conference proceedings. In the workshop on the Middle East, for example, a majority of its participants called for dismantling the Israeli settler-state so that the Palestinians could reclaim their homeland. But at the final plenary session it was falsely reported that the workshop favored a UN resolution that supports Israel's existence and only calls for its return to pre-1967

borders. The Communist Party's position was imposed undemocratically on the gathering.

Having been an observer at the conference, I was surprised by a subsequent account of it in the *Daily World*, the CP's newspaper. An article by Ron Tyson, who was also present, reported that the "first task" set by the conference was an "emergency" petition campaign to collect five million signatures "to mount support for the anti-apartheid, anti-colonial struggles being waged in Southern Africa." I was surprised because no special emphasis was put on this campaign to the general body. And Tyson highlights two "national mobilizations" for next spring, when these actions were not especially singled out at the conference from among scores of other proposals.

The CP has long feared open debate on issues of disagreement. This conference was no different.

When the workshop I attended on domestic politics began to discuss the need for independent Black political action to meet the bipartisan attack on Black people's living standard and the consequent need for a Black party, CPers in charge ruled such

discussion "out of order." This bureaucratic action served the CP line that Black people should support so-called progressive Democrats.

In the workshop on "Roads of Development of Independent Countries," African capitalist states such as Tanzania and the Republic of Guinea were touted as shining examples of building "socialism."

In other workshops the CP wrangled for resolutions to dovetail with the narrow interests of Soviet diplomacy and with UN initiatives.

The CP has been only minimally involved in actions in defense of the African struggles such as the African Liberation Day mass marches. If the CP were honestly interested in furthering this movement it would collaborate with everyone—regardless of political differences on other questions—to build a broad, massive, *united* action campaign. This action campaign would mobilize people in defense of the African liberation fighters and against U.S. complicity with Portuguese colonialism and the white settler regimes in South Africa and Zimbabwe.

Support from unions

SF Sears strike in eleventh week

By CHRIS HILDEBRAND

SAN FRANCISCO—Two united labor demonstrations were held recently in support of the six unions on strike against Sears Roebuck.

The bitterly fought strike is now in its eleventh week.

One rally was held Oct. 29 at the Sears Santa Clara distribution center to protest police interference with picketing and also to protest the action of Teamster Local 287, which returned to work in violation of previous agreements to stay out. More than 200 unionists attended another rally Nov. 1 in front of the federal building in San Francisco.

Both actions were called by the Ad Hoc Labor Support Committee, a coalition of trade unions initiated by Department Store Employees Local 1100 and the five other striking unions. Originally formed to support the Sears strikers, the committee has expanded its activities on behalf of other striking unions.

Also participating in the Nov. 1 demonstration was Beer Drivers Local 888, which has been on strike 19 weeks in the Bay Area. The main speakers at the rally were Jack Henning, secretary of the California State AFL-CIO, and Walter Johnson, secretary-treasurer of DSE Local 1100.

The action protested the pro-company policies of the National Labor Relations Board in the Sears and beer drivers strikes. The NLRB has refused to force Sears to negotiate in good faith in the Bay Area.

Sears has been able to obtain injunctions prohibiting effective picketing, although these have been challenged on occasion with mass demonstrations.

The striking beer drivers also have serious grievances against the NLRB, which has been conducting elections among the scabbing, nonunion drivers the companies have hired to deliver beer. These drivers are being



Sears strikers and supporters hear Walter Johnson, secretary-treasurer of Department Store Employees Local 1100.

paid higher than union-scale wages to keep them out of the union.

The union has called for a boycott of all scab beer. The only beers now under union contract are Lucky, Regal, and Falstaff.

A leaflet distributed by the Ad Hoc Labor Support Committee said, "Labor can no longer sit idly by to see its rights trampled on by federal agencies following the policies of the administration that appears to have no regard for the workers. . . .

"Sears' position is no different than that of high government officials who apparently feel that one set of laws governs the people and another the corporations and government of-

ficials." This theme was echoed by nearly every speaker.

Among the unions present and expressing their solidarity were Retail Store Employees Local 410, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 202, International Association of Machinists Local 1327, Barbers and Beauticians Local 148, San Francisco Building Trades Council, Teamsters Joint Council, and the Farah strike support committee.

Plans were announced at the rally to build more mass actions in the near future. The strikers said they feel that only by mobilizing greater support from the labor movement can they win against a giant company like Sears.

Busy final week in Seattle socialist campaign

By FRED LOVGREN

SEATTLE—The high point of the final week of the Socialist Workers Party municipal election campaign occurred when Craig Honts, SWP candidate for mayor, debated his two opponents before an overflow crowd of 650 students at the University of Washington.

The students, who came to hear Honts debate Republican Liem Tuai, and incumbent Wes Uhlman, jammed the auditorium and spilled over into an adjacent room.

In his opening statement Honts denounced both Uhlman and Tuai for proposing cutbacks in social services and layoffs of city workers while increasing the police budget. Honts received the greatest applause of the entire debate when he declared, "Uhlman and Tuai talk about crime but fail to mention that the number one criminal is sitting in the White House. Nixon should be impeached and thrown in jail."

The next morning one of the two main Seattle newspapers described Uhlman and Tuai as "upstaged by Honts during the debate."

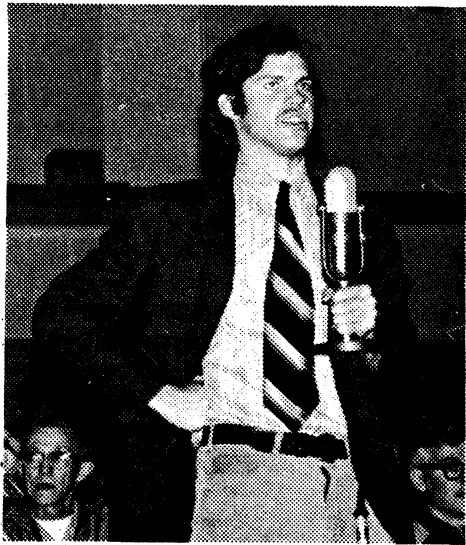
The campaign ended Nov. 3 with a spirited rally attended by 50 people. Speakers included Clare Fraenzl, SWP candidate for school board and participant in the fight of classified staff workers for staff rights at the University of Washington; Mirta Vidal, staff writer for *The Militant*, who spoke on the meaning of the coup in Chile and the significance of the recent elections in Argentina; Mike Downs, a member of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union who recently joined the Young Socialist Alliance; and Honts.

Louise Pitell, SWP candidate for city council, explained that the SWP campaigns for socialism 12 months a year. In response to her appeal for funds, \$700 was contributed.

During the final week of the campaign, Honts appeared on all three major TV network affiliates. All of the SWP candidates appeared on an hour-long TV show on Seattle's Public Broadcasting Service affiliate.

The SWP candidates have appeared on TV more than 20 times, held meetings at 10 different colleges and high schools, and spoken at 20 candidates' forums sponsored by community organizations.

With the conclusion of the municipal campaign the SWP here is now setting its sights on the 1974 statewide and congressional elections.



CRAIG HONTs: 'The number one criminal is in the White House.'

Reject 5.5% limit

Retail clerks strike Denver chains

By JON HILLSON

DENVER—Members of Retail Clerks Union Local 7 are walking the picket lines in 25 degree weather here as their strike against five giant food chains enters its second week.

The walkout faces court injunctions and a smear campaign by the food monopolies. It is the largest strike in the history of the local union, affecting 136 stores.

The strike was called Nov. 2 after a meeting of more than 3,000 union members rejected the agreement local officials had negotiated with the Rocky Mountain Employers Council. The council represents the King Soopers, K Mart, Safeway, Del Farm, and Albertson's food chains.

After hours of heated debate the union ranks voted 1,856 to 1,236 to reject a deal designed to remain within the 5.5 percent wage limit imposed by the Cost of Living Council.

Then on Nov. 6 a meeting of 4,500 union members voted overwhelmingly to continue the strike. A "new and improved" contract offer from the Employers Council was loudly shouted down in voice vote. This time the Local 7 officials also rejected the offer.

The retail clerks had at first voted to strike only the 27 King Sooper stores, but they were hit with an Em-

ployers Council lockout at all other stores. The council said it locked out the workers to "protect the integrity" of its organization. Strikers are distributing leaflets to shoppers condemning this attempt to break the union and presenting their case.

The retail clerks have gone without a raise for three years. The employers' proposal provided for a 5.5 percent increase, counting both salary gains and fringe and pension benefits. The actual salary raise amounted to only 25 cents an hour spread over 30 months!

Many younger members of the union considered the deal unsatisfactory. One clerk who was picketing a King Sooper store told *The Militant*, "The pension benefits come in 20 years. For us, we need wages now. Most of us are young, and a lot of us are students, and we don't feel like waiting 20 years."

The contract did not fully deal with seniority and the increasing problem of what one clerk called "super speed-up." At present the floor managers have sole authority over job advancement.

The employers' offensive against the strike has included inducing lower management personnel who are members of the Retail Clerks Union to cross picket lines in order to split the

union.

A picketer said this was angering the strikers. "Head clerks and assistant managers are in the union. They face a \$100-a-day fine and expulsion from the union if they cross the line. But management has promised them the money to pay the fines and that they will be defended."

Ad advertisement by the Employers Council in Denver newspapers says the strike will cause higher food prices. Strikers dispute this. "Every Wednesday the prices in King Sooper go up, and we haven't gotten a raise in three years," a checker said.

"The reason food prices go up is because big wholesale firms raise prices," another picketer said. "The reason they go up is for profits."

The strike has won the active backing of four Teamster locals involving 2,200 members who supply the affected stores. The Teamster stoppage could sharply reduce the supply of produce if the strike lasts much longer.

The Bakery Workers Union, numbering 1,800 members, and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters Union, with 2,600, are also honoring the picket lines. The United Farm Workers, whose effort to join the picket lines was at first blocked by Local 7 officials, were allowed back on the picket lines after complaints from the strikers.

Chile junta consolidates grip, wins U.S. aid

Seven weeks after the coup in Chile, the military dictatorship is consolidating its grip on the country, and looking for cooperation from the reactionary middle-class economic associations that had spearheaded the domestic sabotage of the Allende regime.

But despite massive new economic assistance from the U.S., the rightist junta has reason to fear the probable social consequences of Chile's continuing economic problems.

Immediately following the coup, the military occupied only the top posts in the government, security forces, and diplomatic corps. But in succeeding weeks they have taken over posts in every sphere of public life.

A report from Santiago in the Oct. 22 issue of the West German weekly magazine *Der Spiegel* said, "The military are convinced that they were prepared in the Chilean and U.S. military academies for every possible responsibility. Therefore, they are not

only 'pacifying the country,' they are militarizing the administration, as a leftist engineer gone underground said, to an extent that 'not even a foreign occupation government would do.'"

One of the first moves of Chile's new minister of education, Rear Admiral Hugo Castro Jiménez, was to abolish the social sciences. He did this because he felt there were no "non-Marxist books" available to teach from.

Castro took over from rightist Professor José Navarro Toba, the junta's first appointee, who was considered "too far left," according to *Der Spiegel*.

On Oct. 26 the Ministry of Justice announced plans for a complete reorganization of public administration "to restore the principles of order, discipline and public morality."

According to Marvine Howe in the Oct. 27 *New York Times*, "New widespread dismissals of the supporters of the former leftist regime were gen-



The military is taking over all aspects of public life in Chile

erally expected as an immediate consequence."

At the same time, the junta has promised to give the rightist middle-class and professional associations a special role in the government. These were the organizations that organized mass pressure for the overthrow of Allende. Junta spokesmen say these associations are to function as units of a new kind of "nonpolitical" administration.

Meanwhile, harsh economic measures of the junta are cutting drastically into the already meager living standards of Chile's workers and unemployed. The situation was summarized by Jonathan Kandell in the Nov. 5 *New York Times*:

"Inevitably, the junta's economic measures have hit the working-class hardest.

"Faced with inflation that Government officials predict will reach 600 per cent for 1973 and at least 200 per cent more next year, workers will have trouble obtaining even the basic necessities.

"At the same time, workers will bear the brunt of efforts to increase industrial production. Already the workweek has been lengthened from 44 hours to 48."

The junta has prohibited any union activity whatsoever.

U.S. Representative Michael Harrington (D-Mass.) charged Oct. 27 that U.S. economic policies were behind Chile's economic problems and therefore behind the downfall of the Allende regime. After conducting investigations in Chile, Harrington pointed to the "enormous pressures brought to bear" by the curbing of credits and programs by the U.S. government and private companies.

This economic blockade has quickly dissolved, however, since the military took over and assured all the

imperialists that their right to exploit Chile would be strictly respected.

Three weeks after the coup, the U.S. Department of Agriculture granted Chile a \$24-million credit. According to Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) this was "eight times the total commodity credit offered to Chile in the past three years" of the Allende regime.

To reassure international bankers and capitalists that their profits would be protected in Chile, the junta sent a delegation to the U.S. early last month. The Chilean officials held at least 120 meetings with representatives of U.S. and Canadian banks and corporations.

The worldwide outcry against the massive executions and repression in Chile has caused the ruling generals to try to do something about their image so as not to "compromise" the supposedly more "civilized" imperialists the junta wants to collaborate with. The junta announced that it was ending "summary executions—that is, random murders—although military courts are continuing to order executions throughout the country.

The Nov. 6 *New York Times* reported the abduction by the military of Jorge Gallardo Lozada, a Bolivian exile. Gallardo had served in the cabinet of the former left-wing government of Bolivia headed by Juan José Torres. Members of Gallardo's family said they had been told by Chilean government officials that he had been seized on orders from the rightist Bolivian government.

The junta admits that more than 1,000 political prisoners are still being held in Chile's National Stadium, and reported the *Times*, "There is still no indication of how many people initially listed as prisoners have in fact been killed."

Chile protest meetings continue

Close to 300 people attended a rally Nov. 4 in New York City calling for an end to the jailings, tortures, and executions in Chile and an end to U.S. intervention in that country. A featured speaker was Joe Collins from the Institute for Policy Studies, who recently accompanied Congressman Michael Harrington (D-Mass.) on an investigative tour of Chile.

Collins noted the urgency of ongoing, visible protests against the repression in Chile. He said when he visited prisoners held in the Santiago National Stadium, they had asked whether it was true there had been demonstrations in the U.S. demanding their release, and urged Collins to tell Americans that continued protests are necessary to save their lives.

A speaking tour by Linda Wine, an American student who was in Chile during the coup, has gotten off to a successful start in two cities. The tour, organized by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), began in Pittsburgh, where Linda Wine spoke to a teach-in of 250 at the University of Pittsburgh. It was the third in a series of teach-ins organized on different campuses in the city by the Ad Hoc Chile Committee.

On her second stop, in the Chicago area, Wine spoke at five different campuses, where scores of students signed up to help build USLA chapters to carry out ongoing activity. She was interviewed by a Spanish-language radio station, a Black station, and a rock station. And she was invited to speak before the Peace and Justice subcommittee of the Chicago Association of Catholic Priests.

Protests on Chile have been occurring across Canada as well. Nearly 400 attended a solidarity meeting in Toronto Oct. 18 to hear Dennis McDermot, Canadian director of United Auto Workers; Québec union leader Michel Chartrand; and Phil Courneyeur, a writer for the socialist biweekly *Labor Challenge*.

USLA reports it has received requests for material aid from victims of the repression in Chile and exiles who have been able to escape the country. Contributions are urgently needed for the committee to be able to meet these requests. USLA is also able to provide a variety of speakers on the situation in Chile including eyewitnesses to the coup.

To send a contribution or request a speaker, contact USLA, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 311, New York, N.Y. 10011.

Mass UFW rally in NY to hear Cesar Chavez

By MIRTA VIDAL

United Farm Workers supporters in New York City are busy with plans for a mass rally to be addressed by César Chávez.

Organizers of the rally, to be held Nov. 29 at Hunter College (Lexington Avenue and 68th Street), hope to pack the college auditorium, which seats 2,000.

The rally will focus on continuing boycott activities.

Also scheduled to address the rally are Central Labor Council head Harry Van Arsdale; Victor Gotbaum, head of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) in New York City; and Larry Friedman, president of the National Student Association (NSA). Friedman will speak about the national boycott of Gallo wines recently

launched by the NSA. Pete Seeger will provide entertainment.

On Nov. 3, about 80 UFW supporters and farm workers gathered at Central Park in Manhattan and marched to a D'Agostino supermarket. Their militant picket line succeeded in getting the D'Agostino chain to agree to remove all scab grapes and lettuce from their stores throughout the city.

The pickets then proceeded to a Finast store, forcing it to temporarily remove scab grapes. The store managers agreed to discuss having the chain stop selling the scab produce.

Encouraged by the effectiveness of these actions, UFW supporters plan another mass picket line for 10 a.m. Nov. 10 at the Grand Union at



Militant/Howard Petrick

CHAVEZ: Hopes to spur boycott in New York.

Columbus Avenue and 100th Street. Grand Union is one of the city's largest food chains.

In San Francisco, 17 farm workers and supporters were arrested Nov. 3 while picketing a liquor store in the Mission district to demand that it stop selling Gallo wines.

The pickets, including grape workers from the Gallo vineyards, were charged with obstructing a public sidewalk and creating a nuisance and taken to court the following day. A hearing has been set for Nov. 14.

Jim Herman of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and Walter Johnson of Retail Clerks Local 1100 have called a rally in San Francisco Nov. 10 in support of the arrested pickets. The rally begins at 1:30 p.m. at the Safeway at 30th and Mission.

Israel preparing for another war

By DAVE FRANKEL

NOV. 6—Twelve days after the worldwide U.S. military alert that threatened to spark a nuclear war, the crisis in the Middle East remains explosive.

"The situation on the cease-fire lines," reported Charles Mohr in the Nov. 3 *New York Times*, "is so unnatural and unstable that it cannot persist much longer, many Israelis and foreign officials believe. The only question in their minds is whether diplomacy or renewed hostilities will correct the distorted postures left by an unfinished war."

Neither side is satisfied with the existing situation. An Israeli offensive mounted after the Oct. 22 "cease-fire" resulted in 20,000 troops in the Egyptian III Corps being cut off on the east bank of the Suez Canal. These troops have been supplied with food and water grudgingly passed through Israeli lines. But Mohr writes that "Israel expected, and still hopes to see, the submission of the III Corps."

In the meantime, Israel has been whipping up a demagogic campaign for the immediate return of its prison-

stalemate is further increased by the fact that Israeli military mobilization is being maintained at a cost of \$15-million per day just in terms of decreased production and loss of foreign exchange. This amounts to almost \$5.5-billion per year. Israel's gross national product is slightly more than \$8-billion.

In Egypt, President Anwar Sadat is also under strong pressure to renew the fight to regain Egyptian territory occupied by Israel. Henry Tanner reported from Cairo in the Nov. 6 *New York Times*, "There is a pervading feeling among both Egyptian officials and ordinary citizens that hostilities will erupt again soon."

Some Egyptian statements pointing to renewed hostilities are probably aimed at getting the U.S. to put pressure on Israel to withdraw to the Oct. 22 cease-fire lines, and as preparation for Sadat's talks with U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in Cairo. But reporters in Egypt are unanimous in describing the immense popular sentiment for continuing the fight against Israel.

Despite glowing claims by Nixon

ter of the Israeli state. As a Jewish state carved out of an Arab country, Israel was made possible only by the expulsion of the indigenous Palestinian population. This task was accomplished with the support of western imperialism to establish an imperialist bridgehead within the Arab world.



Golda Meir says she received 'reassurances' of U.S. support at White House meeting.

Israeli dependence on the U.S. and its character as a garrison state have been thrown into stark relief by the latest war. Israel already owed the U.S. \$1.7-billion for arms before this war. And administration officials have suggested that in view of "severe financial problems" confronting Israel, it will probably be necessary "to turn some of the sales into gifts."

In addition, Israel expects to raise between \$1- and \$1.2-billion from the sale of Israel bonds in the U.S. and through the fund-raising activities of the United Jewish Appeal. Donations to Israel are supported by the U.S. government through tax exemption.

By rejecting the solution of a democratic and secular Palestine in which both Jews and Arabs could live together, Zionism condemns the Jewish people in Israel to a permanent war against the Arabs. The list of 1,854 Israeli dead in the October war, compared with 806 dead in 1967 and 190 in 1956, is only the latest installment in this war.

The Israeli population also pays for its exclusive state with money. The 1973 war—even assuming that there is no new outbreak—will probably cost Israel more than seven-eighths of its gross national product. Israel already has perhaps the highest tax rate in the world, and the war has resulted in new taxes and a compulsory war loan of 7 to 12 percent of taxable income—in effect an additional tax in a country in which inflation ran about 20 percent last year.

Israeli propagandists boast that the Zionist immigrants "made the desert bloom"—despite the fact that the bulk of Israel's citrus and olive groves were seized from the Palestinians in 1948. But the reality of Israel today is contained in the estimate of one Israeli economist who expects that 30 to 40 percent of the country's manufacturing output during the next year will be absorbed by the war industries.

International isolation

Realization that Israel is a colonial settler-state, similar to South Africa, has resulted in its increasing international isolation. Since April 1972 diplomatic relations with Israel have been severed by 26 African govern-

ments in protest of continued Israeli occupation of Arab territories. Today only five Black African governments still have ties with Israel, and three of these are South Africa's puppet enclaves: Botswana, Swaziland, and Lesotho.

Israel tries to explain its growing diplomatic isolation by charging that Arab oil wealth has bought these governments. But more than 75 percent of Arab oil is owned by the U.S., which has considerably more wealth and power at its disposal than all the Arab governments combined.

In fact, Israel's isolation is a result not of what Arab governments have done, but of what it has done. Growing mass realization that Israel is a settler-colonial state is a big pressure on governments in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Secret diplomacy

The high-level diplomatic talks now going on are cloaked in such secrecy that even the European bureau of the State Department has not been briefed on the talks between Kissinger and Brezhnev in Moscow that led up to the Oct. 22 cease-fire, or the note from Brezhnev to Nixon that reportedly contributed to the U.S. military alert.

The American people have still been given no information on events leading up to Nixon's nuclear alert, despite Kissinger's promise to the press Oct. 25 that "as soon as there is a clear outcome, we will give you the full information. . . . We will be prepared . . . I am certain within a week, to put the facts before you."

However, whatever the outcome of Kissinger's diplomacy or of a new round of fighting in the Middle East, no just solution will be worked out by the likes of Nixon and Kissinger; nor will lasting peace be attained. The warfare there will resume once again as long as U.S. imperialism dominates the area, and as long as Israel is able to maintain itself at the expense of the Palestinians.



Cease-fire line near west bank of the Suez Canal. Situation is 'unnatural and unstable.'

ers of war in a maneuver reminiscent of Nixon's use of the POW issue in Vietnam. Cairo says that since the agreement for a prisoner exchange was part of the overall cease-fire agreement, it will not implement that part of the agreement until Israel agrees to withdraw to the original cease-fire lines.

In a thinly veiled threat, Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan said on Nov. 4, "The Egyptians are very displeased with our presence west of the Suez Canal. They are not ready for any arrangement that seems to us as a minimum stable cease-fire line."

"They are massing troops. I strongly recommend that we should not be surprised if they resume the war. The war is not yet over."

Another pretext for Israeli resumption of the war could be the Egyptian blockade of the Strait of Bab el Mandeb, which links the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean. This effectively seals off the port of Elath. And although shipping could be rerouted to Israeli ports on the Mediterranean, it was a similar Egyptian blockade of the Strait of Tiran that served as the pretext for the Israeli attack in 1967.

The possibility of a new Israeli offensive to try to resolve the military

about "the best chance for peace in 25 years," the truth is that nothing has been settled by the latest round of fighting, and the next Middle East war is being openly prepared. While Nixon has sent Kissinger on an expedition to Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia to see what can be accomplished with diplomacy, he is asking for \$2.2-billion to rearm Israel. Administration spokesmen have said the figure may grow to nearly \$3-billion.

Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Rush has acknowledged that the arms being shipped to Israel would give it greater strength than before the October war. Israeli leaders have openly admitted that their post-cease-fire offensive would have been impossible without the U.S. arms airlift, and Nixon threatened the world with nuclear war to preserve the Israeli gains. It is in this context that talk about U.S. "pressure" on Israel to make concessions should be evaluated. The U.S. is firmly committed to maintaining "the balance of power," i.e., Israeli military domination, in the Middle East.

The October war has resolved none of the basic issues in dispute between Arabs and Israelis, and it has provided new evidence as to the charac-



Colonial character of Israeli state continually drives internal politics to the right. Latest Israeli military hero, General Ariel Sharon, is for 'tougher' stand against Arabs than Moshe Dayan.

The 1967 war: How & why

From Intercontinental Press

By JON ROTHSCILD

We are a settler generation, and without the steel helmet and the cannon we cannot plant a tree or build a house. Let us not flinch from the hatred enflaming hundreds of thousands of Arabs around us. Let us not turn our heads away, lest our hands tremble. It is our generation's destiny, our life's alternative, to be prepared and armed, strong and harsh, lest the sword drop from our fist and our life cease.

—Moshe Dayan, speaking at the funeral of a kibbutz member killed by Palestinian guerrillas in 1956.

The Israeli regime claims that on October 6, 1973, it was compelled to defend the state of Israel against Egyptian and Syrian aggression. The Zionist leaders have been vastly more successful than most rulers in utilizing the propaganda weapon of all-out falsification. But even for them, there are limits. Not even Golda Meir could avoid the fact that the fighting in the October War was taking place on territory that has been under Israeli military occupation since 1967 (at least until Israeli forces crossed the Suez Canal and moved further into Egypt than they had ever gone).

Claims that the Arabs committed aggression in the October War, then, rest on the implicit assumption that in June 1967 the Israeli army fought a defensive war aimed at stopping an Arab attempt to liquidate the Israeli people and on the corollary assumption that title to Sinai and the Golan Heights passed justly, if mysteriously, to Tel Aviv, which must maintain control over the territories in order to deter the Arabs from trying to repeat their earlier attempt.

Like most aspects of Zionist ideology, those assumptions are false. The territories on which most of the October War has been fought came to be occupied not because the Israeli state was defending itself, but because an Israeli invasion was launched as a result of the inherent position of Zionism in the Arab East.

The Israeli aggression of June 1967 was the Zionist ruling class's response to a set of interrelated factors. The primary ones were the rebirth of Palestinian consciousness and organization, the effects of that rebirth in Jordan, the radicalization of the Syrian regime, and the drive of U.S. imperialism to demolish the Nasser regime in Egypt.

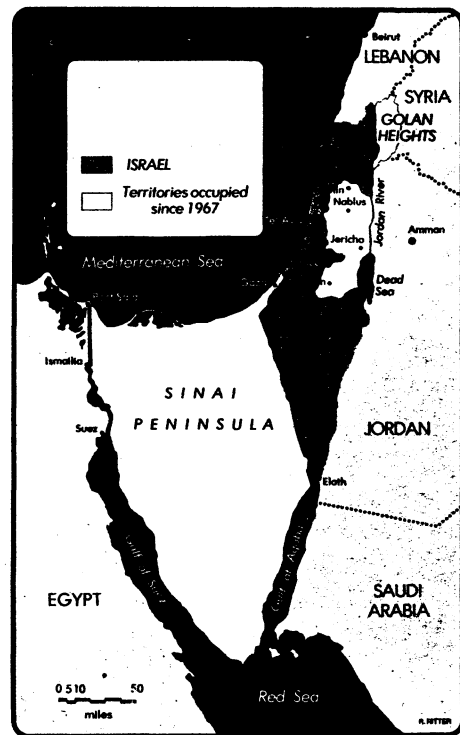
Awakening of Palestinians

In 1948, after the founding of the state of Israel, the Council of the League of Arab States, which was a creature of British imperialism, voted to establish a Palestinian "government in exile." The members of this so-called government, the functions of which were obscure, were mainly followers of the former mufti of Jerusalem, Hajj Amin el-Husseini. El-Husseini had been installed in his position as mufti in the 1930s by the British mandatory regime, despite his dubious qualifications for the religious post. His political qualifications were rather more easy to discern. A slavish follower of London's policies and a notorious Jew-hater, he was useful in helping to prevent the development of a Jewish-Arab movement for an independent Palestine.

But the shock waves of the 1948 catastrophe were to spread throughout the Arab East. Farouk was de-

posed in 1952 by Gamal Abdel Nasser's Free Officers Movement. In 1958 the Iraqi masses disposed of the Nuri Said regime and physically liquidated a not inconsiderable part of the old Iraqi ruling class.

The 1950s were a time of social change in the Arab East, and the mufti's gang was fast becoming an anachronism. The Palestinians were not



immune to the changes going on in the Arab world. They began to recover—slowly and tentatively—from the demoralization of 1948.

In 1964 the Nasserite leadership of the Arab League decided to dispense with the irritating Husseini. In January an Arab summit was convened under Nasser's auspices. It decided to set up a "Palestinian entity" that would express the aspirations of the Palestinian people but would not be a government in exile. The task of establishing this entity was assigned to Ahmed Shukhairy, a wealthy Palestinian who had previously been deputy general secretary of the Arab League and Saudi Arabian minister for Palestinian affairs.

In May 1964, over Hussein's strenuous but unsuccessful objections, Shukhairy convened a Palestine National Congress which met in Jerusalem and voted to form the Palestine Liberation Organization. The PLO was to be financed by contributions from the Arab states and by a tax on Palestinians.

The PLO was not the only manifestation of the resurgence of the Palestinians. In 1956 Palestinians in Gaza had founded an organization called Fateh (an acronym for Movement for the Liberation of Palestine), which in 1965 formed a military wing, el-Assifa, which began conducting armed operations against the Israeli border. Fateh called for the union of all Arabs in the struggle to "liberate the usurped homeland." While it explicitly acknowledged Hashemite sovereignty in Jordan, it suffered the same repression from Hussein that the PLO did, and for the same reasons. In September 1965 the Fateh leaders sent a message to Arab heads of state (then meeting in Casablanca) denouncing the repression it was suffering in Jordan and noting that el-Assifa commandos, upon returning from raids against the Zionist armed forces, were being shot down by other Arab soldiers in Hussein's army.

The relatively small-scale operations of the Palestinian commandos in 1965

and 1966 did not represent a military threat to the Israeli regime. The real threat was political. And it weighed not only on Tel Aviv, but on Amman as well. "For the Palestinians, who constituted two-thirds of the Jordanian population," wrote Nathan Weinstock in his book *Le Sionisme Contre Israël*, "the activity of the fedayeen seemed to offer for the first time since 1948 a perspective for winning back their homeland. In this regard, the first stick of dynamite planted in Israel raised an enormous hope among the refugees in the camps and among the Palestinian population on the West Bank."

And the Zionist response

In May 1965, under the pretext of retaliating for Fateh operations, the Israeli army launched several large-scale military raids against Jordanian villages (Sjuneh, Jenin, Kalkilya).

In November 1966 the Israeli army struck at the Jordanian village of el-Samu, supposedly to wipe out the base camps of Fateh commandos. The United Nations command in the area reported that the Israelis had blown up 125 houses, a dispensary, a school, and a workshop.

The Zionist argument that the Israeli raids were really aimed at eliminating "terrorists" is patently false. "In reality," Weinstock explained, "the el-Samu operation was aimed at the whole Palestinian population. The refugees were the backbone of the Palestinian organizations. By striking a heavy blow at these organizations, Tel Aviv hoped to teach the Palestinians that the guerrilla strategy would not pay off."

The initial result of the Israeli raid was as Tel Aviv had expected. Hussein, with the assistance of Saudi Arabian troops, moved on the Palestinian commandos. But neither Tel Aviv nor Amman counted on the Palestinian response.

By moving against the fedayeen, Hussein revealed that he regarded his primary enemy as the Palestinians and not the Zionist army. The Palestinians responded. Within days there were violent clashes in the Jordanian sector of Jerusalem, in Ramallah, and in Hebron between Hussein's Arab Legion and the Palestinian people. Thousands of persons took to the streets in demonstrations. The police and the

Legion opened fire. The Palestinians called mass meetings throughout the West Bank. Strikes and demonstrations broke out in the refugee camps.

The U.S. government answered the Palestinian strikes by stepping up its military aid to Hussein. Tel Aviv responded to them by threatening to invade Jordan to assist Hussein.

Preserving the status quo

The Israeli state's commitment to the status quo in the Arab East flows from the political exigencies of Zionism itself. The Israeli state is in permanent conflict with the Arab world, for reasons we examined in the article "How the Arabs Were Driven Out of Palestine" (*Intercontinental Press*, October 29, p. 1206). It maintains its hegemony in the Arab East largely because of the backwardness, weakness, and fragmentation of the Arab nation, and consequently it has a life-or-death interest in preserving that backwardness, weakness, and fragmentation. That interest is wholly shared by Western (primarily U.S.) imperialism, whose political, economic, and military domination of the Arab East also rests on maintaining the Arab world in those conditions.

The Zionist-imperialist alliance that has existed ever since the founding of the state of Israel is based on that community of interest. More than once the Israeli army has been the advance guard of imperialism's military actions against tendencies toward modernization of the Arab East. The 1967 war was a classic instance. The primary target was the Syrian regime; a secondary target was the Nasser regime in Cairo. The rebirth of Palestinian consciousness was a constant threat to the Zionist state, for obvious reasons. But the Palestinian movement is only a part of a broader one: the unfolding development of the process of permanent revolution in the Arab world.

The Zionist state gives an appearance of great strength. But the reality is that the Israeli-Jews are a small national minority implanted into a much larger Arab world. To maintain its domination, the Zionist state requires not just the elimination of any genuine revolutionary current, but the quashing of any motion, no matter how limited, toward social change in the Arab East.



Jerusalem. Israel is advance guard of imperialism's drive against Arab revolution.

the Zionist state expanded



The June war in 1967 resulted in more than 350,000 Arab refugees, many of them driven from their homes for the second time.

Imperialism can normally afford to be somewhat more flexible. But the international context in which the 1967 war broke out must be kept in mind. In 1964 the Goulart regime in Brazil was overthrown by a military coup; in 1965 the Communist party of Indonesia, largest in the capitalist world, was massacred as the Sukarno regime was brought down; a coup in Ghana in 1966 deposed Nkrumah; the colonels' coup in Greece preceded the 1967 war in the Arab East by only a few months. And to this series of right-wing overturns must be added the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965 and, of course, the escalation of the counterrevolutionary war against Vietnam.

The Israeli aggression of 1967 fundamentally represented the application to the Arab East of this generalized imperialist offensive against the colonial revolution. Once again, imperialist policy coincided with the exigencies of preserving Zionist hegemony. Instability in Jordan, the rebirth of Palestinian consciousness and organization, and the pole of attraction represented by Nasser in the Arab world were already plaguing the Israeli ruling class during 1965 and 1966. The emergence of the left-wing Baathist regime in Syria after the February 1966 Damascus coup and the support extended by the Syrian regime to the Palestinian movement—even if strictly limited—brought Zionist patience to the breaking point.

Teaching 'lessons' to Syria

The Syrian coup of February 1966 followed a long period of conflict in the country during which the masses threatened to go beyond the limits set by the Baathist leadership. When the left-wing Baathists consolidated their control after the coup, they were under heavy pressure to institute a broad program of agrarian reform and nationalization of industry. They adopted an anti-imperialist foreign policy. The regime imposed most of its domestic reforms from above, sharply curtailing the mobilization of the masses. But the workers and peasants were making their power felt.

The Syrian bourgeoisie, faced by a domestic crisis it could not handle, began clamoring for foreign intervention—Jordanian, Turkish, even Israeli. The imperialist oil companies, whose installations were nationalized, likewise grew uneasy. When the U.S. ambassador took a trip to the oil refineries at Homs, his automobile was attacked by a crowd of Syrian workers chanting "Assassin! Out of Vietnam!"

While the Damascus regime did not

share Fateh's aim of destroying the Zionist state, its radical policies fostered Palestinian militancy, and the fedayeen were able to carry out some actions against the Zionist state from Syrian territory.

In April 1966 General Yitzak Rabin announced that if the Damascus government proceeded with a plan to develop the headwaters of the Jordan River, located in Syria, "the Israeli army will have to concern itself with this problem."

On July 14, 1966, Israeli planes bombed Syrian developmental installations along the border, allegedly in retaliation for fedayeen raids.

In September Israeli Prime Minister Levi Eshkol announced that from then on the Syrian government would be held accountable for any Palestinian raids on Israel, no matter what country the Palestinians were based in.

In early 1967, Israeli raids across the Syrian border multiplied. In April, the Israeli regime moved overtly to a policy of provocation. Eshkol authorized Israeli settlers to begin cultivating disputed land along the Syrian border. The "farmers" were accompanied by soldiers. Quite naturally, the Syrian army opened fire on the Israeli settlers. In "retaliation" Israeli pilots were ordered to pursue Syrian planes as deeply into Syria as they thought appropriate at any given time.

On April 12, 1967, Eshkol declared that the Israeli armed forces would strike "when and how we want."

On May 11 the Associated Press reported that a high-ranking Israeli officer had threatened military occupation of Damascus if the Syrian regime did not check the Palestinian fedayeen.

The Egyptian connection

It is no wonder that the Syrian leaders got the strong impression that the Zionist ruling class was preparing an invasion of Syria and that the Zionist plans had exactly nothing to do with fedayeen raids originating from Syrian territory. The Damascus government dispatched an emissary to Nasser to ask for his aid. And it is likewise no wonder that Nasser took the Israeli threats seriously.

In 1965 Washington had curtailed grain shipments to Egypt that had been slated for delivery according to a plan whereby Egypt could pay in local currency. After much negotiation, Washington allowed the shipments to continue under more exacting financial conditions. At the end of 1966, even the limited program was ended. Cairo

was forced to halt a number of development programs to feed its population.

U.S. imperialism's economic pressure was combined with political pressure. By early 1967 Washington was openly speculating about whether the Nasser regime could survive.

Nasser was forced to react to the Israeli threats against Syria. His prestige in the Arab world could not have survived the blow of allowing the Israeli army a free hand in Syria. But his response to the Zionist offensive was not to prepare for war, but to pose the threat of war in the hope that Moscow and Washington would intervene to stay Tel Aviv's hand.

On May 14, 1967, Nasser demonstratively marched two Egyptian divisions through the streets of Cairo and sent them into Sinai. That the move was not an offensive preparation was so obvious that even the Israeli command had to admit it. "The two divisions that he sent into Sinai on May 14," Rabin declared, "would not have been sufficient to unleash an offensive against Israel. He knew it and we knew it."

Rabin called Nasser's move a "bluff." And so it was. But it nevertheless set in motion a chain of events that Nasser could not control and that the Israeli rulers were able to use to give a defensive cover to their offensive.

On May 16, Nasser asked the United Nations to withdraw the "emergency forces" that had been posted along the Sinai frontier since the 1956 war.

When the UN forces moved out, the Egyptian army occupied the fort at Sharm el-Sheikh at the southern tip of the Sinai peninsula. By May 21 the UN forces were totally withdrawn. That presented Nasser with a dangerous dilemma. The outpost at Sharm el-Sheikh commands the Straits of Tiran, leading to the Gulf of Aqaba, the narrow extension of the Red Sea that leads north to the Israeli port of Elat. When Nasser took over Sharm el-Sheikh, he came under heavy pressure to close the straits to Israeli shipping. Not to do so would have exposed the emptiness of his pledges to back up Syria in its hour of need.

On May 23 Eshkol declared that any attempt to interfere with Israeli passage through the Gulf of Aqaba would be considered an act of war. From that moment on, the outbreak of war was inevitable.

The reason, though, is not that the Israeli economy would have been seriously damaged by the closing of the straits. Only a small percentage of Israeli imports came through the gulf,

and from 1949 to 1956, when the gulf had been closed to Israeli ships, no attempt had been made to interfere with other nations' ships sailing to Israel with supplies. Nevertheless, the Israeli rulers could not tolerate Nasser's act. Once again, the reason is political and derives from the very nature of Zionism. The gulf was opened to Israeli shipping by the Sinai invasion of 1956. When Israeli troops were forced to withdraw from Sinai, they were guaranteed shipping rights in the gulf. Israeli access to the gulf was thus another Zionist fait accompli imposed on the Arabs by brute force. It was one of a long chain of faits accomplis that began with the initial Jewish colonization of Palestine.

The war and its aftermath

That the 1967 war was initiated by Israel is no longer subject to the slightest doubt, if in fact it ever was. Even the trenchantly pro-Israeli Nativ Safran, for example, notes in his book *From War to War*: "The War between Israel and its Arab neighbors started on Monday, June 5, with a series of Israeli air strikes, which, within 170 minutes, all but eliminated Arab air capacity."

The first air strikes were against Egypt, and they so crippled Arab ability to fight back that it can be said that the Arabs had lost the war within three hours of its outbreak. The destruction of the Egyptian air force, which was caught on the ground, was immediately followed by the destruction of the Syrian and Jordanian air forces, which were no better prepared.

According to Safran, whose military analyses are usually exact, 410 Arab airplanes were destroyed on June 5. The Israeli air losses for the same day were 19 planes. Once the Israeli air force had mastery of the skies, the course of the land battles was determined, as Arab tanks, armor, and infantry became easy targets.

Continued on page 22

Roots of the Mideast war

The International Socialist Review has recently published a special anthology taken from past issues of the ISR. Peter Buch, Gus Horowitz, Nabil Sha'ath, and others discuss:

- The Mideast War and the Future of Zionism
- Israel and the Arab Revolution
- The Palestine of Tomorrow
- Who Has the Right to Self-Determination in Palestine?
- The Myth of "Left" Zionism

This new pamphlet is available for 75c from the ISR. Orders of five or more cost 37.5c each. It will be sent FREE to new subscribers!

() Enclosed is \$1 for 3 months of the ISR.

() Enclosed is \$5 for one year of the ISR.

() Please send me FREE with my subscription a copy of *Roots of the Mideast War*.

() New () Renewal

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

ISR, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

Prosecution harasses Los Tres; bail increased

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—The federal courts here are resorting to extraordinary maneuvers to deny Los Tres del Barrio the right to bail.

Ever since the defense tried to post bail of \$50,000 for each defendant Oct. 24, the court clerk, magistrate, and judge have been dragging their feet in what should have been a routine matter. And now the government prosecutor, determined to keep Los Tres in jail, has filed a motion to triple the bail for two of the defendants.

Los Tres—Rudolfo Sánchez, Alberto Ortiz, and Juan Fernández—are three young Chicano activists who were railroaded into prison in 1971 because of their efforts to rid the Chicano community of drug pushers.

They were convicted in November 1971 of shooting a federal agent and sentenced to a total of 75 years in prison. The federal agent, Robert Canales, had posed as a heroin dealer to try to set them up for a bust. When they refused to go along and told



Bail for criminals, but not for Los Tres

Militant/Arnold Weissberg

him to get out of the barrio, he pulled a gun on them.

During the trial the defense was not allowed to present most of its key witnesses. The defense has been trying for months to get a new trial, but

the court has yet to even set a date to hear the appeal.

Bail was finally granted pending appeal on May 4, 1972, and set at \$50,000 each. It took more than a year for the defense to raise this ex-

orbitant sum.

On Oct. 24, Los Tres attorney Antonio Rodríguez tried to post bail. All the necessary papers were there. The process ordinarily takes only two or three hours.

But the chief clerk of the U.S. District Court of Appeals refused to accept the money, saying he wanted Judge Lawrence Lydick to reaffirm the right to bail.

It took a week to get a hearing before Lydick, the same judge who presided in the original trial. The defense committee began organizing picket lines to protest the delay.

After Judge Lydick reaffirmed the right to bail, the federal prosecutor began to question the validity of the collateral. These stalling tactics, which took nearly another week, were accompanied by harassment and intimidation of the defense committee.

Defense attorney Rodríguez explained that the chief clerk of the federal court, William Luck, threatened

Continued on page 22

2nd Lawton trial hears striking proof of frame-up

By ANN WILCOX

LOS ANGELES—A key prosecution witness was offered parole, \$5,000, false identification, and an airline ticket in exchange for testifying against Black activist Gary Lawton.

This was the latest bombshell testimony in the second frame-up trial of Lawton and Zarebu Gardner in Riverside, Calif., both accused in the 1971 slaying of two white cops.

The information came to light when a defense attorney received a letter from Sherman Robinson, a prisoner in the same jail with the prosecution witness, Jonathan Cameron.

Cameron had earlier testified to having heard a "jailhouse confession" from Lawton. Defense attorneys said at the time that Cameron's written statement contradicted his courtroom testimony and that of the investigating officer.

Robinson and three other inmates testified last week, substantiating claims that Cameron was bribed to testify against Lawton. Cameron, a convicted felon, was known to other prisoners as "Deputy Smith" because



Militant/Harry Ring

Gary Lawton at Los Angeles Militant Forum last March.

he had free run of the jail, ordered meals of his choice, and had authority over other inmates.

The district attorney's chief investigator and his assistant both admitted in court that Cameron had received favors while in jail but denied a money

payoff. A parole officer confirmed the report that Cameron had been paroled and left Riverside.

District Attorney Lee Porst attempted to discredit Robinson by trying to introduce his felony record. However, the district appellate court denied this motion on the grounds that the evidence was irrelevant. The district attorney's office immediately filed three counts of perjury against Robinson.

It has also been reported that Robinson is being subjected to mental and physical abuse inside the jail in an effort to force him to retract his testimony.

After a week's recess, the trial will resume Nov. 12 to hear closing arguments. The trial of Nehemiah Jackson, a third Black man charged in the same case, has been separated from that of Lawton and Gardner.

Their first trial on the trumped-up murder charge lasted five months, ending Feb. 16 in a hung jury. Afterward nine of the jurors agreed there had not been a shred of evidence to

convict the defendants, and asked that they not be retried. That did not stop the attempt to railroad Lawton and his codefendants to prison.

In the second trial the prosecution's case has tended to unravel even more than in the first. Prosecution witnesses one after another have contradicted their previous testimony. "Eyewitnesses" and "evidence" have been conjured up suddenly throughout the proceedings.

And it has been revealed that another prosecution witness, Ronald McKinnon, was also bribed. McKinnon, a known heroin addict and police informer, was paid \$30 to testify that he sold Lawton the shotgun found at the site of the murders.

The Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee is urging supporters of the defendants to set up speaking engagements to aid the defense. Speakers, and a pamphlet on the case, *Outrage in the Desert*, are available from the committee at P.O. Box 5154, San Bernardino, Calif. 92412.

Books by Cannon: history for revolutionists

The recent publication of *Speeches to the Party* and republication of *The First Ten Years of American Communism*, two books by James P. Cannon, mark important steps in making the history of the revolutionary socialist movement in the U.S. available to the new generation of revolutionary fighters.

Cannon has been a revolutionist for more than 60 years. He is the only surviving leader of the formative days of the American Communist move-

ment. From that time until Trotsky's death in 1940, Cannon was one of Trotsky's closest collaborators and political allies.

During World War II Cannon was imprisoned, along with 17 other leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Teamster Local 544, for opposing the imperialist war. He is today national chairman emeritus of the Socialist Workers Party.

Cannon's eight books, based on his decades of experience in the labor and socialist movements, are fascinating historical reading. But they are a special kind of history. They trace the process of building a revolutionary party in the U.S., as part of an international socialist movement that can overthrow capitalism and begin the construction of a socialist society.

In *The First Ten Years of American Communism*, for example, Cannon discusses the earliest attempts—the IWW, the Socialist Party, and the Communist Party—from the vantage point of a participant in each.

The founders of the Communist Party drew the lessons of the earlier experiments, and above all they learned from the Bolshevik Party of Lenin. The CP sought to bring together revolutionary cadres on the basis of a clear-cut Marxist program. This was an attempt to form a party capable of united action in the class struggle. But this party too proved inadequate. It fell victim to the Stalinist degeneration that overcame the world

Communist movement, abandoning the struggle for socialism and becoming a servile mouthpiece for the Soviet bureaucrats.

The programmatic and organizational lessons of that experience, too, were incorporated into the founding of the Trotskyist movement. Cannon's books *The History of American Trotskyism*, *Struggle for a Proletarian Party*, *Letters from Prison*, and *Speeches to the Party* are a record of the challenges faced and the lessons learned by the American Trotskyist movement since its formation.

As Cannon wrote in *Letters from Prison*, "All the tasks of the oncoming generation of revolutionary militants will be made easier by what we have accomplished up to now. Thanks to these accomplishments, the new cadres will stand, at the beginning of their political work, as far above the ground where the pioneers stood at the foundation of the Trotskyist movement as the latter stood then above the first pioneers of American Communism."

Notebook of an Agitator, *Socialism on Trial*, and *Speeches for Socialism* reveal another side of Cannon—the propagandist for socialism, a skilled writer and orator, who inspired others with his vision of the socialist future.

These are books for revolutionists to read, re-read, study, and treasure. We're looking forward to more.

—PEGGY BRUNDY

News from Pathfinder

ment who has not repudiated his socialist beliefs.

He began as a traveling organizer and soap-box agitator for the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in 1911, joined the Socialist Party in 1918, and became a leader of its left wing. He was a founding member of the American Communist Party in 1919.

While in Moscow as a delegate to the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in 1928, Cannon learned for the first time of Leon Trotsky's criticisms of the reactionary bureaucracy arising in the Soviet Union. He agreed with Trotsky's defense of the program of international revolution against Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country," and upon returning to the U.S. he became the central initiator of the American Trotskyist move-

Goal of Militant anniversary fund in sight but help still needed to meet paper costs

By ANDREA MORELL

More than \$1,000 came in this week to help *The Militant* meet the soaring costs involved in publishing a weekly paper—costs we must meet without the benefit of subsidies from big-business advertisers.

The readers and supporters who pitched in this week brought our Forty-fifth Anniversary Fund up to \$19,216, within easy grasp of our original goal of \$20,000 by Dec. 15. But the continuing critical newsprint shortage is adding unexpected headaches for our printer, and added expenses for us. This means we now need to go well over our \$20,000 target just to keep even.

The slightly heavier paper we have had to use for the last two weeks is far more expensive than the newsprint we normally use. Even though we have cut back for a second week to

24 pages, the paper you are holding still costs us \$800 more each week than we had budgeted for our regular 28 pages.

For this reason we are forced to renew our pleas to all of you to stretch budgets even further, and help us meet this unexpected financial crisis.

The response to our appeals so far has been a magnificent vote of confidence in *The Militant* and in the socialist perspective. Individual subscribers sent in \$285 this week, and \$735 was *The Militant's* share of the \$1,675 pledged at the *Militant* forty-fifth anniversary banquet held last week in Chicago. The Chicago banquet was the third in the series of events being held throughout the country to help us celebrate our anniversary and raise the money to keep publishing, and keep improving, our paper.

The Chicago event was held at the new headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party and Militant Forum there, which has been completely remodeled by members and supporters of the SWP and YSA. One hundred and fifty people came to the celebration. Speakers included Andrew Pulley, national secretary of the YSA; Pearl Chertov, Chicago SWP organizer; and Ed Heisler, a unionist and member of the SWP.

The crowd included 30 farm workers, who were there largely because of the role of the SWP and *The Militant* in supporting the struggle of the United Farm Workers Union.

A speaker, Marcos Muñoz, who is Illinois farm workers boycott director, told the crowd, "I cannot express in words the great help the Socialist Workers Party has been to us in our struggle."

Support from farm workers was also a high point of the banquet in Houston Oct. 27 to support *The Militant* and

the SWP campaign for city offices there. Eighty-five people came from Dallas, San Antonio, and New Orleans, as well as from Houston. Harry Ring, head of *The Militant's* Southwest Bureau, was one of the featured speakers. Ring has been covering the farm workers' strikes and boycott activities on the scene in California.

José Bustamante, city-wide organizer for the UFW in Houston, told the banquet, "I have never met Harry Ring before, but whenever I see coverage of the farm workers and La Causa, I see his name. I would like to thank you on behalf of the farm workers."

The largest of the banquets so far was held Oct. 26 in Boston, where 180 people gathered to support the SWP election campaign, and celebrate *The Militant's* birthday.

A number of Arab students, activists in the farm workers' struggle, and Black students came to express their support.

At all the banquets, the special *Militant* forty-fifth anniversary book has been extremely well received. This beautifully designed and printed volume, containing front pages from each of the 45 years of *The Militant*, is given to each contributor of \$45 or more to the *Militant* anniversary fund.

Help us publish

Help *The Militant* meet the soaring costs of newsprint, postage, and the other necessities. Donations from our supporters will enable us to keep publishing and continue to improve and expand our coverage.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$____. I would like to pledge \$____ weekly until Dec. 15.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Make checks payable to The Militant 45th Anniversary Fund. Send to 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014.

Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XII—No. 28 NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JULY 12, 1968 PRICE: FIVE CENTS

DOBBS AND CARLSON ADDRESS NATION IN BROADCASTS FROM SWP CONVENTION

Call for a Workers and Farmers Government As Only Answer to Wall Street War-Makers

The Two Americas

James P. Cannon's Key-Note Speech Over the ABC Network on July 1st

The following is the key-note speech delivered by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, to the party's 13th National Convention at 10 P. M. on July 1st and broadcast over the ABC network at that time.

Comrades, comrades, comrades! We meet in National Convention at a time of the greatest world crisis—a crisis which contains the direct threat of a third and more terrible world war. The basic cause of this world war is the system of capitalism.

The first cause is the breakdown of capitalism throughout Europe and Asia, and the colonial lands.

The working people want peace and bread, which capitalism cannot give.

The colonial states don't want to be slaves any more; capitalism cannot live without colonial slaves.

The working people, the poor peasants and the colonial slaves are in revolt against the continued rule of bankers and landlords.

On the other hand, American capitalism—the last vestige of an imperialist and imperialist world system—is trying to prop up the hand of capitalism and kings and lords by economic pressure and military force.

These are the two main elements of the present world crisis. The Wall Street money-changers, and the brain-hats of Prussian mentality are riding high in Washington these days.

The masses of America drink with poison, are threatening and terrifying the people of the world.

Selling to domestic and foreign markets—creating a national and international market—creating a national and international market—creating a national and international market.

At the same time never have the American people viewed the American scene.

National Election Platform Of the Socialist Workers Party

These resolutions were adopted by the 13th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party at New York City, July 1-3, 1968.

1. The Socialist Workers Party stands for the complete overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of a workers and farmers government.

2. The Socialist Workers Party stands for the complete abolition of the imperialist system and the establishment of a workers and farmers government.

3. The Socialist Workers Party stands for the complete abolition of the imperialist system and the establishment of a workers and farmers government.

4. The Socialist Workers Party stands for the complete abolition of the imperialist system and the establishment of a workers and farmers government.

5. The Socialist Workers Party stands for the complete abolition of the imperialist system and the establishment of a workers and farmers government.

6. The Socialist Workers Party stands for the complete abolition of the imperialist system and the establishment of a workers and farmers government.

7. The Socialist Workers Party stands for the complete abolition of the imperialist system and the establishment of a workers and farmers government.

8. The Socialist Workers Party stands for the complete abolition of the imperialist system and the establishment of a workers and farmers government.

9. The Socialist Workers Party stands for the complete abolition of the imperialist system and the establishment of a workers and farmers government.

10. The Socialist Workers Party stands for the complete abolition of the imperialist system and the establishment of a workers and farmers government.

James P. Cannon and Grace Carlson addressing the 13th National Convention of the SWP after their nomination for the presidency and vice-presidency. Their respective speeches were broadcast over the ABC and other networks.

Part of a page from Militant forty-fifth anniversary book. Readers who contribute \$45 or more to anniversary fund get complimentary copy of book.

Sales campaign goes over the top for 3rd time

By NANCY COLE

For the third time in our campaign this fall to sell 9,500 copies of *The Militant* a week, we made our goal. This was the special 32-page issue dated Nov. 2, and many areas put exceptional efforts into getting it out.

Members of the Washington, D. C. Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party decided beforehand to make sales of this issue a special campaign, and when their large bundle arrived, they all pitched in.

At one impeachment rally outside the White House, they sold 300 *Militants*. Fifty of those were to people on the outskirts of the demonstration, mostly tourists.

There's no doubt that those *Militant* sellers had a visible effect—we received a note from a reader in Wheaton, Md.: "I noticed *The Militant* was well circulated at the White House yesterday. Keep up the good work."

Another 71 were sold at a Guru Maharaj Ji benefit in Washington, D. C., where Guru convert Rennie Davis spoke.

D. C.'s top salesman last week was Quinn Robinson—100 sold!

Atlanta supporters raised their goal from 400 to 550 for the special issue and topped that by selling 605. They report sales were best when they appealed to people to read about the alternative to Nixon's gang.

Chicagoans made their quota last week, selling 708. Sales in the Black community accounted for 255 of those,

which is indicative, they report, of the good response to *The Militant's* analysis of Watergate and the Middle East conflict.

Militant sellers in Cleveland saw the results of their months of campaigning for Roberta Scherr, the SWP mayoral candidate. Many papers were sold by pointing out that it was the paper that supported Scherr's campaign.

Cleveland supporters have also been selling regularly at plant gates. A Puerto Rican activist they met during one of their sales now attends their weekly forums.

Houston supporters also wound up their election campaigning with sales of *The Militant*. At meetings for SWP candidates and at other meetings concerned with the mayoral race last week, they sold 175 *Militants*.

The Militant's analysis of the Arab-Israeli war continues to be of interest



Militant/Arthur Hughes

to new readers. Upper West Side supporters sold 27 single copies (and 21 subscriptions) by going through the international house of a local campus.

Houston SWP sales director Kathy Stallworth met an Arab student on campus and sold him a *Militant* and a subscription to the *International Socialist Review*. He then directed her to an Arab students' meeting in progress, where she sold the 15 *Militants* she had with her and four more *ISR* subscriptions.

In Laramie, Wyo., Arab students sponsored the Denver Young Socialist team's literature table on campus. When the administration insisted that the Arab students also sit at the table, they willingly did so and sold Pathfinder literature and *Militant* subscriptions. Team members report that many Arab students respect *The Militant*—one took sub blanks to sell subscriptions later and one said he considers himself a "member" of *The Militant*.

There are many individuals and small groups of supporters around the country who take bundles of *The Militants* and sell them, but they aren't always reported on our scoreboards. Just last week, for example, we received orders for 13 new bundles ranging from five to 100 copies, from such areas as Southern Pines, N. C., Ecorse, Mich., and Greeley, Colo.

One area that usually is listed is Nashville, Tenn. Last week the YSA at-large members there enlisted the aid of people attending their weekly intro-

duction to socialism class, and sold 50 *Militants*.

If you can help in our efforts to circulate *The Militant*, send in the coupon on page 4.

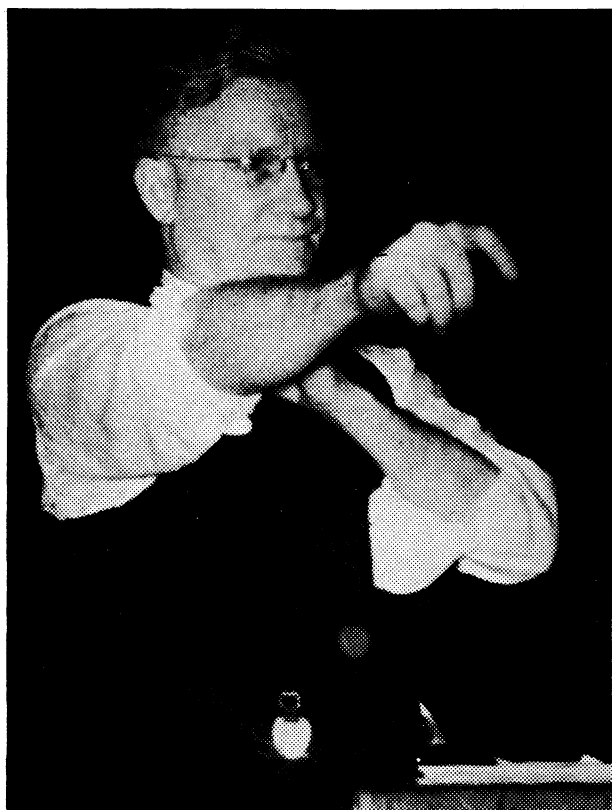
AREA	GOAL	SOLD	%
		LAST SOLD	
		WEEK	
Washington, D. C.	350	700	200
Lower Manhattan	450	577	128
Nashville	40	50	125
St. Louis	225	280	124
Philadelphia	375	435	116
Upper West Side	475	539	113
Atlanta	550	605	110
Cleveland	350	379	108
Los Angeles	500	536	107
Denver	375	398	106
Portland	300	319	106
San Francisco	500	519	104
Chicago	700	708	101
Bellingham	20	20	100
Houston	450	450	100
Lincoln, Me.	10	10	100
Pittsburgh	300	301	100
San Diego	350	351	100
Bloomington	75	73	97
Seattle	500	482	96
Lexington	15	13	87
Ann Arbor	25	21	84
Twin Cities	425	345	81
Oakland/Berkeley	900	700	78
Brooklyn	450	347	77
Austin	140	101	72
Detroit	400	240	60
Boston	700	360	51
TOTAL SOLD			
LAST WEEK	9,859		
GOAL	9,500		

SPEECHES TO THE PARTY

The revolutionary perspective and the revolutionary party

Speeches to the Party by James P. Cannon. Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York 10014. 1973. 431 pp. Cloth \$10, paper \$3.95.

The top headline on the Nov. 3, 1952, issue of *The Militant* read: "'Bring GIs Home,' Dobbs Urges on Nation-wide Hookup—SWP Candidate Calls For Continued Antiwar Fight After Elections." It referred to Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Farrell Dobbs's election-eve speech against the Korean war on an NBC-TV and radio broadcast.



James P. Cannon

This was an example of the active socialist campaigning that the SWP carried out throughout the 1950s despite the cold war and McCarthyism.

To those who lived through this witch-hunt period, the activities of the SWP at that time might seem remarkable. Although socialists and trade-union militants were being hounded, blacklisted, beaten up, and jailed for their ideas, the SWP was still out on the streets petitioning to put socialist candidates on the ballot; it was carrying out *Militant* subscription drives; it was suing the government for infringement of its democratic rights; and it was campaigning against McCarthyism and reaction in all of its manifestations.

The SWP was not immune, however, to the pressures of the period. *Speeches to the Party* is an account of a political struggle inside the SWP that resulted from this pressure. Under the impact of the witch-hunt and the quiescence of the working class, coming after a decade of prosperity, a section of the party became infected with pessimism about the prospects for revolution in the United States and for building a revolutionary party.

Rather than just dropping out of the struggle, however, they first led a fight to try to change the perspective of the SWP from that of a revolutionary workers party to one of a discussion and propaganda circle.

Speeches to the Party tells the history of this fight

in the form of speeches and letters by James P. Cannon, a central leader of the majority faction in the SWP, which succeeded in reaffirming the revolutionary perspective of the party.

The speeches and letters are tied together and placed in context by Al Hansen's introduction. Hansen lived through the fight as a party trade-union activist in Michigan, where, at the peak of the witch-hunt, gangs of right-wing workers would roam the auto plants, beating up union militants. At one point, the SWP was declared "subversive" by the Michigan state legislature, and for a while individual party members were in danger of facing criminal charges simply for being members.

Relevance of fight

Some might ask, "Why should I want to read a book about a faction fight inside a socialist party that's not very big anyway?"

This is a common prejudice among some radical-minded people—that such internal fights are always destructive. All that should concern us, they reason, is unity in struggles that can have an immediate impact, instead of "bickering" over disagreements.

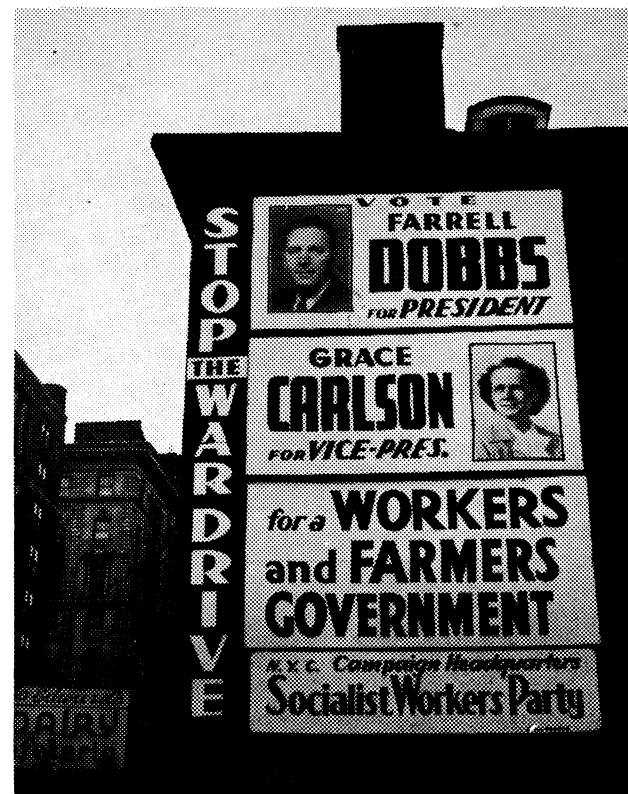
Cannon answers this question in one of his speeches: "The struggle of Marx and Engels during the period of the First International . . . was a two-fold struggle. On the one hand, they fought for the unity of the working class, summed up in the great slogan of the *Communist Manifesto*: 'Workers of the World, Unite!' On the other hand, they fought for clarity of program which alone could make this unity conscious and effective, and in the end victorious."

In addition, Cannon points out, a faction fight can have the positive side of educating the party members. The debate encourages intensive study of all crucial questions of Marxist theory, strategy, and tactics. The function of this book is to pass on those valuable lessons to a new generation of revolutionary-minded youth.

The central theme of *Speeches to the Party* is the need to build the revolutionary party even during times of lull in working-class struggle, when the socialist revolution seems a long way off. The need for a revolutionary party is still often questioned today, when despite the new radicalization that began in the 1960s, we continue to see the effects of relative prosperity, and when the mass of the working class has yet to move out in struggle.

The minority in the SWP, led by Bert Cochran, George Clarke and Mike Bartell, proposed in essence that the party should fold up shop as a party. They wanted the SWP to drop its usual activities and limit itself to holding occasional small meetings and circulating a magazine. They wanted to stop running election campaigns, stop conducting subscription drives for *The Militant*, and in general stop doing anything that would attract the attention of the witch-hunters and draw the hostility of backward workers.

The fight within the SWP also reflected developments within the Fourth International, the world revolutionary party founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938. Internationally, the Trotskyist movement was under another pressure that also led to doubts about the historic necessity of building a revolu-



1948 election campaign. The SWP carried out election campaigns and other party-building activity throughout the witch-hunt period.

tionary party.

The end of World War II saw a considerable strengthening of the influence of Stalinism—of the Kremlin bureaucracy and parties aligned with it throughout the world. This growth of influence was fed by the fact that despite their counterrevolutionary program, the Stalinists were in the leadership of important revolutionary advances—the Soviet victory over the Nazis in the war, the revolution in Yugoslavia, the overturns of capitalist property relations in Eastern Europe following the war, and the Chinese revolution in 1949. The hold of Stalinist parties over masses of workers in Western Europe was consolidated.

Fourth International

In this context, part of the leadership of the Fourth International, led by Michel Pablo, began to see the postwar strengthening of Stalinism as setting up a framework for future revolutionary developments much different than Trotskyists had previously envisaged.

They overemphasized the possibilities for large sections of the Stalinist parties to become revolutionary and lead the masses in a positive revolutionary direction. They began to have illusions about large sections of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the USSR undergoing self-reform and initiating measures leading to workers' democracy. They tended to see little prospect for building independent Trotskyist parties, and tended in a direction that was conciliationist toward Stalinism.

Thus, there were pressures from two sides producing the minority in the SWP. One wing, led by Clarke and Bartell, was reacting primarily to the pressure of Stalinist conciliationism. The larger wing, led by Cochran, was reacting to the conservatizing pressures that affected the American working class.

When it came to light that Pablo and other leaders of the Fourth International were secretly supporting the minority, behind the backs of the SWP leadership, this exacerbated the fight in the SWP considerably and ultimately led to a fight in the Fourth International. In 1953 the International split into two public factions, and it took 10 years to heal the rift.

Realists?

It might seem to some that the Cochranites were in fact the realists, with their proposals that the party retreat and "lay low" at least until the rise of new struggles. But Cannon realized that if the party stopped its activities and passively waited for a new mass upsurge, the result would be not the preservation of the party but its destruction.

Cannon points out that the Cochranite proposals did not constitute simply a tactical reorientation due to difficult circumstances, but rather an overthrow of the whole tradition and acquisitions of Trotskyism, and an abandonment of the perspective of making a workers' revolution in the U. S.

In one of the most inspiring sections of the book,

Cannon answers a passage in one of the Cochranites' internal discussion articles in which they sneer—referring to a 1946 SWP convention resolution outlining perspectives for the American socialist revolution—"We were children of destiny, at least in our own minds."

As Cannon points out, Marxists make the audacious claim to represent the future of humanity not because they are utopians or crackpots, but through a scientific analysis of the historical laws of capitalist development. For the Cochranites, this analysis had been called into question by the seemingly permanent prosperity and working-class quiescence in the United States.

In his speeches, Cannon explains why the quiescence of the 1950s must be seen as "an episode" and why the perspectives of the revolutionary party must flow from a recognition of this fact. The roots of a new crisis for American capitalism are in the making, he declares. "With the beginning of the new radicalization, the party will confront its great opportunity to leap from a propaganda circle to a party of the masses, as the Russian Bolsheviks did in 1917."

The party's effectiveness in fulfilling this task, he explains, will depend on how firmly it maintains its program and independent organization. "The testing time for the SWP in this respect is right now, and in the period just ahead," Cannon states.

In response to the Cochranites' shrinking from public party activity, Cannon points to the importance of running revolutionary election campaigns as a way to build the party even in periods of quiescence. He emphasizes that SWP election campaigns are not conducted simply as holding opera-

prosperity and begun to live and think like a petty bourgeois is a familiar figure in the country at large," Cannon noted. "He has even made his appearance in the Socialist Workers Party as a ready-made recruit for an opportunist faction."

Cannon explains the emergence of the Cochranite faction in the SWP as intertwined with the downturn of the U.S. labor movement. He describes how a reactionary, antidemocratic bureaucracy developed in the CIO, basing itself on the older and privileged sectors of the workers. Many of the bureaucrats had been trade-union militants in their better days, and even continued to carry over the language of radicalism while they were drawn into the bureaucracy.

Unprivileged workers

The Cochranites—many of whom had participated in the tumultuous labor struggles of the 1930s—were now influenced by this layer of workers who had been largely tamed by the long years of prosperity. Cannon points out how the driving force of the revolutions is always the young workers, the less skilled, unprivileged, the "ragged and hungry," as was the case in the upsurge of the 1930s.

He ridicules the Cochranites "strutting around in the party demanding special consideration because they are 'trade unionists.'"

"What's exceptional about that?" Cannon asks. "There are fifteen million trade unionists in this country, but not quite so many revolutionists. But the revolutionists are the ones who count with us."

He points out that for revolutionists, including



Young, unprivileged workers, like these sit-down strikers in Detroit, led the labor upsurge of 1930s. The prolonged period of prosperity and reaction following WWII conservatized most unionists and led to a split in the SWP.

tions until working-class struggle revives, "but to popularize our own party and its program, as the leader of the working class in the coming revolution. That's what the party is here for. That is the historic role it must fulfill."

The fact that the Cochranites had given up on this fundamental revolutionary perspective was proved in life when they deserted the SWP in 1953. Not waiting for the coming party convention, at which they could have attempted to convince the party ranks of their views, they instead dropped their financial support to the party and began to boycott its activities. They were finally expelled in October 1953 for their boycott of the party meetings organized to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of *The Militant*.

After about five years of publishing a magazine, the splitters disappeared from the political scene as an organized grouping.

Trade unionists and revolutionists

During the fight, the Cochranites made much of the fact that most of the supporters of their faction were trade unionists. They claimed that their proletarian composition was a proof of their having proletarian politics.

Cannon's answer on this point is an answer to those who think that working-class background or physical proximity to workers is a guarantee of revolutionary working-class politics.

The Cochranites were trade unionists, but their politics reflected pressures from the layer of older, conservatized workers. "The worker who has soaked up the general atmosphere of the long

the Cochranites when they were young militants, the party is their life. "They didn't care for jobs; they feared no hazards. Like any other first-class revolutionists, they would quit a job at the drop of a hat if the party wanted them to go to another town. . . . The party is the highest prize to the young trade unionist who becomes a revolutionist; the apple of his eye."

Cannon contrasts the revolutionist with "the mere trade unionist, who thinks in terms of 'union politics' and 'power blocs' and little caucuses with little fakers to run for some little office, pushing one's personal interest here and there."

The goal of a revolutionary party, he explains, is not just trade-union politics, but all-sided party work aimed at becoming a factor in the political life of the country.

This perspective of relating to revolutionary developments and party-building opportunities wherever they occur became especially relevant in the 1960s and '70s, when a radicalization developed most strongly in sectors outside the trade unions.

Cannon anticipated this development in his speech to the November 1954 convention of the SWP, in which he referred to lessons of the Cochran fight. In it he predicts that the conservatism of working people, based on their relatively high standard of living, can quickly turn into its opposite when this living standard is threatened. We saw this happen in the storm of meat price protests last spring.

He points to the just-passed Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation as an important

'...a clear view of the historical trend'

The following excerpts from *Speeches to the Party* are from James Cannon's reports to the 1954 and 1952 conventions of the Socialist Workers Party. They express the revolutionary perspective maintained by the SWP throughout the McCarthyite witch-hunt period.

Our situation of the moment is difficult, but it should be seen in its true light as an historical interlude. The great trend of history is working inexorably for the realization of our ideals. We have to be patient and confident in working with the trend. The American capitalists are the ones who should really be pessimistic, and in fact they are. United States capitalism on a world scale is fighting a rear-guard action; that is the essence of the situation. . . . The trend of history is against them.

On the national scale, we revolutionary socialists are fighting as a small minority, but ours is not a rear-guard action. It is the preliminary and preparatory action of a mighty working class that has never been defeated and does not know its own strength. It gave preliminary intimations of its power in the thirties, in the rise of the CIO. And that was only a down payment on future actions of this American working class, which is the greatest power in the whole world, bar none.

The task of realistic revolutionists is to keep a clear view of the great historical perspective—to see the perspective and the trend and let it guide and inspire us through the difficulties of the moment, whatever they may be, and apply ourselves to the immediate task in hand, whatever it may be. . . .

The ideas of Marxism—the expression of social reality—are invulnerable. But the one-hundred-year history of Marxism shows that individuals are not always equal to the ideas they have represented. The weak have fallen. But the strong stood firm and recruited new people to the banner, to maintain the unbroken continuity of the movement—the movement which drives with the force of historic inevitability to the socialist emancipation of mankind.

It has been given to us to be the historic link in this chain of continuity—the link that doesn't break. We, assembled here, are more important than we know. We are more important than all the statesmen and all the generals—and all the other conventions—for they represent the past. We alone represent the future.

opening for struggle by Black people.

In the 1930s, Cannon says, "the Negro people were not a subject of politics but merely an object. They had no power. They were atomized, pushed aside, their wishes and most elementary rights disregarded. In recent times, there has been a great awakening of the Negro people. They have become a new revolutionary potential of such dynamic power that it cannot be estimated. About 15 to 17 million Negroes, who have little to lose and a great deal to gain, have begun to fight for their rights."

Cannon also anticipated the rise of struggles by women for their rights. "In your time," he stated, "millions of women have been drawn out of the narrow confines of the kitchen and have learned the facts of modern life in industry. They have joined unions and become another dynamic power of incalculable measure on the side of the coming revolution."

Speeches to the Party speaks to the new generation of revolutionary-minded students and young workers of today. It conveys the spirit of a new kind of politics—revolutionary working-class politics—a breath of fresh air compared to the disgusting swamp of capitalist politics on display today in the Watergate scandal.

— CAROLINE LUND

Calendar

BERKELEY

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION: BLACKS, WOMEN, & LABOR—ALLIES OR ENEMIES? Speakers: Jean Miller, plaintiff in affirmative action suit against Berkeley public library; Dave Warren, teacher; Peggy Wilson, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Nov. 16, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

BOSTON

THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN PUERTO RICO. Speakers: Representatives from the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and Frente Unido de Presos Políticos; Naomi Vega, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Nov. 16, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor (opp. South Sta.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

CHICAGO

BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY—A YOUNG SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE. NOV. 16-17. Fri., Nov. 16, 8 p.m.: What's behind the Mideast war and truce? Speaker: Tony Thomas, staff writer for The Militant. Sat., Nov. 17, 11 a.m.: Panel on Watergate and gov't. harassment with representatives of victimized groups and those fighting Watergate tactics; 2:30 p.m.: Why Allende fell. Speaker: Judy White, Socialist Workers Party leader and editor of USLA Reporter; 7 p.m.: Why America needs a socialist revolution. Entire conference, \$3; 75c per session. 428 S. Wabash. For more information call (312) 427-0280.

CLEVELAND

SOCIALIST CONFERENCE. NOV. 16-17. Fri., Nov. 16, 8 p.m.: Watergate: A socialist analysis. Speaker: Laura Miller, YSA national organization secretary. Case Western Reserve U., 1914 Lounge, Thwing Hall, 11111 Euclid Ave. Sat., Nov. 17, 11 a.m.: Black liberation: Problems and prospects. Speaker: Derrick Morrison, staff writer for The Militant; 1:30 p.m.: Chile: Why Allende fell. Speaker: Bernie Senter, YSA. 3 p.m.: Mideast panel and movie Revolution Until Victory. All Sat. sessions at Case Western Reserve University, 122 Mather Memorial Building (corner Ford and Bellflower). Registration: \$2.

MILITANT 45TH ANNIVERSARY BANQUET. Speakers: Derrick Morrison, on history of The Militant; 1974 Ohio SWP candidates for governor, lt. governor, and senator. Refreshments, 6 p.m.; dinner, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. Dinner & rally, \$4. Rally, \$1. 4420 Superior Ave. For information or reservation call (216) 391-5553.

DENVER

MILITANT 45TH ANNIVERSARY BANQUET AND CELEBRATION. Guest speaker: Elizabeth Stone, member of Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 24, 1203 California. Dinner, 6:30 p.m. Program begins 8 p.m. Donation: \$4 (\$2 under 12). For reservations call (303) 623-2825 or write SWP, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204.

DETROIT

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE: IMPERIALISM AND REVOLUTION. NOV. 16-17. Fri., Nov. 16, 8 p.m.: The liberation struggles in southern Africa. Speakers: Herb Boyd, Center of Black Studies, Wayne State University; Tiago Neto, Angola MPLA; Judy Hagans, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 17, 11 a.m.: Who rules America? Speaker: Roberta Scherr, recent SWP candidate for mayor of Cleveland; 2 p.m.: Zionism and the Arab revolution. Speakers: Tony Thomas, associate editor, International Socialist Review; Abdeen Jabara, Association of Arab-American Uni-

versity Graduates. Entire conference, \$2; \$1 per session. Sessions at Wayne State University McGregor Memorial Bldg. Sat., Nov. 17, 8 p.m.: 45th Anniversary Celebration of The Militant. For more information call (313) 577-3512.

HOUSTON

NIXON'S CRIMES—WHAT ARE THE ALTERNATIVES? Speakers: Susan Ellis, Socialist Workers Party; others to be announced. Fri., Nov. 16, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (512) 526-1082.

LOS ANGELES

ALTADENA'S BLACK COMMUNITY FIGHTS BACK. Speakers: Sylvester Jackson, Pasadena Community Information Center; Laura Moorehead, African Liberation Support Committee, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Nov. 16, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 463-1917.

GALA BANQUET TO CELEBRATE THE 45TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MILITANT. Sat., Dec. 1. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Gourmet meal, entertainment. Admission: \$6, students \$4. For more information call (213) 464-9759.

NASHVILLE

THE PALESTINIAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE. Speaker: Kamal Najjar, a Palestinian student. Wed., Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m. Room 208E Carmichael Towers (corner 24th Ave. S and West End). Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance, Vanderbilt U. Afro-American Association, Vanderbilt U. New People's Coalition.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

RACISM IN ACADEMIA: THE GENETIC INFERIORITY THEORY OF SHOCKLEY, ET AL. Speaker: Robert Vernon, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 16, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor (near W. 4th St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

CAN WE FIGHT THE GOVERNMENT'S WATERGATING TACTICS? Speaker: Mike Arnall, field secretary for the Political Rights Defense Fund. Fri., Nov. 16, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (105th St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

...Quebec

Continued from page 8

Militant: What do the election results mean for the future of the struggle?

Léger: The elections showed that the support given to the PQ by the labor movement and the nationalist milieu didn't get us anywhere. Right now [Canadian prime minister] Trudeau, Québec premier Bourassa, and everyone else is claiming that the election showed that the Québécois like things the way they are.

More than ever, there is a pressing need for action outside parliamentary channels for independence and for the social demands of the workers.

This can only be led to a successful conclusion through a revolutionary socialist party backed by the masses of the Québécois workers.

To popularize the need for the masses of Québécois workers to break from support of the capitalist parties, the LSO calls on the trade unions to launch a labor party—a party independent of the Parti Québécois and all the other bourgeois parties.

One thing is clearly noted by all the commentators on the elections. That is that the wide discrepancy between the votes for the PQ and its representation has led to a greater questioning of the PQ's type of electoral politics. This can lead to openings for our revolutionary program.

'67 war

Continued from page 17

The Israeli advance drove thousands more of Arabs out of their homes; many of the new refugees had already been refugees from the 1948 war. The Israeli offensive was aimed primarily at delivering a humiliating blow to the Arab armies and at expanding the borders of the Zionist state. The armed forces were not especially anxious to foster goodwill between the advancing troops and the Arab population. In fact, the aim was to terrorize the Arabs, and the Israeli army acted accordingly, using napalm and other antipersonnel weapons of U.S. design, bulldozing Arab villages out of existence.

According to United Nations figures, by September 1967 the number of Arabs driven from their homes by the Israeli offensive and the subsequent occupation stood at more than 350,000. There were 200,000 refugees from the West Bank (90,000 of whom had been refugees from the 1948 war), 110,000 from the Golan Heights (17,000 of whom were refugees from 1948), and 35,000 from Gaza and Sinai (3,000 of whom were refugees from 1948).

As for the war's consequences in regard to the confrontation between the Arab states and Israel, it can be said that while the 1948 war liquidated the "problem of Palestine" only to have it reemerge on a higher level as the "Arab-Israeli problem," the 1967 war transformed the Arab-Israeli problem into a source of permanent military conflict and thus made the October War inevitable.

In addition to Palestinian refugees, there were now Egyptian and Syrian refugees. Instead of the denial of national rights to the Palestinians and

a state of general confrontation with the Arab world, there was all that plus the abrogation of Egyptian and Syrian sovereignty through the occupation of Golan and Sinai.

In the flush of victory after June 10, 1967, the Israeli leaders told their people that peace was at hand. Instead, the Israelis had been given the seeds of yet another, far more costly, confrontation.

...Los Tres

Continued from page 18

to arrest the picketers. Luck falsely claimed that it is illegal to picket on the sidewalk outside the courtbuilding.

He also falsely claimed that it was illegal to send telegrams and petitions to the court. The court has received nearly 10,000 petitions and telegrams protesting the treatment of Los Tres.

Nonetheless, picket lines continued, with as many as 200 people demonstrating. Most of the supporters were Chicano youth from student and community organizations. News coverage on some of the major TV stations no doubt helped stay the hand of the cops.

Pickets pointed to the double standard of justice for Chicanos. One sign read, "Nixon, Agnew: free without bail; Los Tres: no bail." A popular chant was, "Impeach Nixon, free Los Tres." The defense committee has also pointed out that Judge Lydick is a former law partner of President Nixon.

On Nov. 5 it became clear what the stalling was all about when the federal prosecutor, Ervin Prager, filed a motion to triple the bail for Sánchez and Fernández to \$150,000 each.

Calling the defendants "a danger to society," the motion made the racist argument that since Black activist Eldridge Cleaver had once exiled himself in Africa, Los Tres could be expected to flee to Mexico.

The defense committee is asking that telegrams and letters of protest be sent to Judge Lawrence Lydick, U.S. District Court of Appeals, Spring and Temple streets, Los Angeles, Calif. 90012.

To aid the work of the defense, contact National Committee to Free Los Tres, 4400 South Huntington Dr., Los Angeles, Calif. 90032. Telephone: (213) 223-3471.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

Tucson: YSA, c/o Tim Clennon, 1837 13th St., Tucson, Ariz. 85719. Tel: (602) 623-1079.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o University of Calif. Riverside, 1134 Library South, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Darren Crown, 2321 E St., Sacramento, Calif. 95816. Tel: (916) 447-5242.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Glenda Horton, 1253 S. 7th St. #70, San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 354-2373.

Santa Barbara: YSA, 712 Bolton Walk #204, Goleta, Calif. 93107.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.-7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101. Tel: (203) 523-7582.

New Haven: YSA, c/o J. Keglér, 76 Lake Pl., New Haven, Conn. 06511.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, Box U-6014, Tallahassee, Fla. 32306.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—

(312) 939-0737, YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Jerry Crist, 3843 Washington Blvd., Indianapolis, Ind. 46205.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, Christopher Starr, c/o Dept. of Entomology, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans. 66045.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

Louisville: YSA, P.O. Box 8026, Louisville, Ky. 40208.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, c/o Dave McKim, 2103 Belair Rd., Baltimore, Md. 21213. Tel: (301) 732-8996.

College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, R.S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speaker's Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

Worcester: YSA, P.O. Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, c/o Marty Pettit, 219 N. State St., Ann Arbor, Mich. 48108. Tel: (313) 668-6334.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TEI-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, P.O. Box 98, Warriner Hall, CMU, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, and Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

St. Cloud: YSA, c/o Atwood Center, St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud, Minn. 56301.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: SWP and YSA, 4660 Maryland, Suite 17, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW JERSEY: New Brunswick: YSA, Box 445, Woodbridge, N.J. 07095. Tel: (201) 634-3076.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Wiloughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Geneseo: YSA, State Univ. College at Geneseo, College Student Union Box 85, Geneseo, N.Y. 14454.

Long Island: YSA, 20 John St., Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (615) FR9-0289.

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

NORTH CAROLINA: Charlotte: YSA, c/o Gene Phil-yaw, 1023 Dorm '73 UNCC, Charlotte, N.C. 28213. Tel: (704) 537-3235.

OHIO: Bowling Green: YSA, Box 27, U. Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-9043.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553, YSA—(216) 391-3278.

Columbus: YSA, c/o Margaret Van Epp, 670 Cuyahoga Ct., Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 268-

7860.

OREGON: Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh: SWP and YSA, 304 S. Bouquet St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8476 University station, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 524-8967.

Memphis: YSA, c/o Maryrose Eannace, 3681 Winchester Pk. Cr. #7, Memphis, Tenn. 38118. Tel: (901) 365-2528.

Nashville: YSA, P.O. Box 67, Station B, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 37212. Tel: (615) 383-2583.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, SWP, Militant Bookstore, Harriet Tubman Hall, 1801 Nueces, Austin, Texas 78701. Tel: (512) 478-8602.

Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

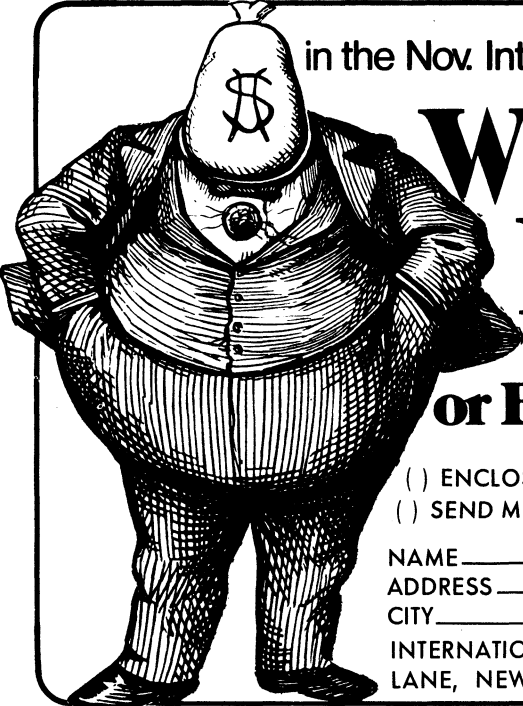
WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Bellingham: YSA, Viking Union Bldg., Western Washington State College, Bellingham, Wash. 98225. Tel: (206) 676-1893.

Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon.-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

WEST VIRGINIA: Huntington: YSA, c/o Marshall University, Huntington, W. Va. 25701. Tel: (301) 525-6323.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, c/o James Levitt, 145 N. Butler, Madison, Wis. 53703. (608) 251-5716.



in the Nov. International Socialist Review

Who Rules Nixon?

Western tycoons or Eastern bankers?
By Dick Roberts

() ENCLOSED IS \$1 FOR 3 MONTHS OF THE ISR.
() SEND ME 1 YEAR OF THE ISR FOR \$5

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____
INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, 14 CHARLES LANE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10014

MINNEAPOLIS

Socialist Education Conference Nov. 16-17

Fri., Nov. 16, 8 p.m.: Chile . . . What Happened and Why? Speaker: Judy White.
Sat., Nov. 17, 11 a.m.: The Crisis in the U.S. Economy: Is Socialism the Answer? Speaker: Dan Styron. 2 p.m.: The Black Revolution in Africa and the U.S. Speaker: August Nimtz.

Sat., Nov. 17: CELEBRATE 45 YEARS OF THE MILITANT. 5 p.m.: refreshments. 6:30 p.m.: turkey dinner. 8 p.m.: rally featuring Dan Styron on How to Impeach the Whole Gang. Chaired by Harry DeBoer, leader of 1934 Teamsters' strike in Mpls. 9:30 p.m.: social.

25 University Ave. S.E. Housing available. Entire weekend, \$5. Banquet and rally, \$3.50. Classes, \$1 each. For information call (612) 332-7781.

The Militant 45th Anniversary Celebration Saturday November 17

Featured speakers: George Novack, Marxist philosopher, and the 1974 Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Party candidates.

6:30-refreshments; 7:30-dinner; 8:30-rally
Banquet and rally \$4.00; rally only \$1.50
1004 Filbert, Philadelphia, Pa. 19107
For reservations, call WA5-4316.

Does capitalism bug you?

Join the Young Socialist Alliance!



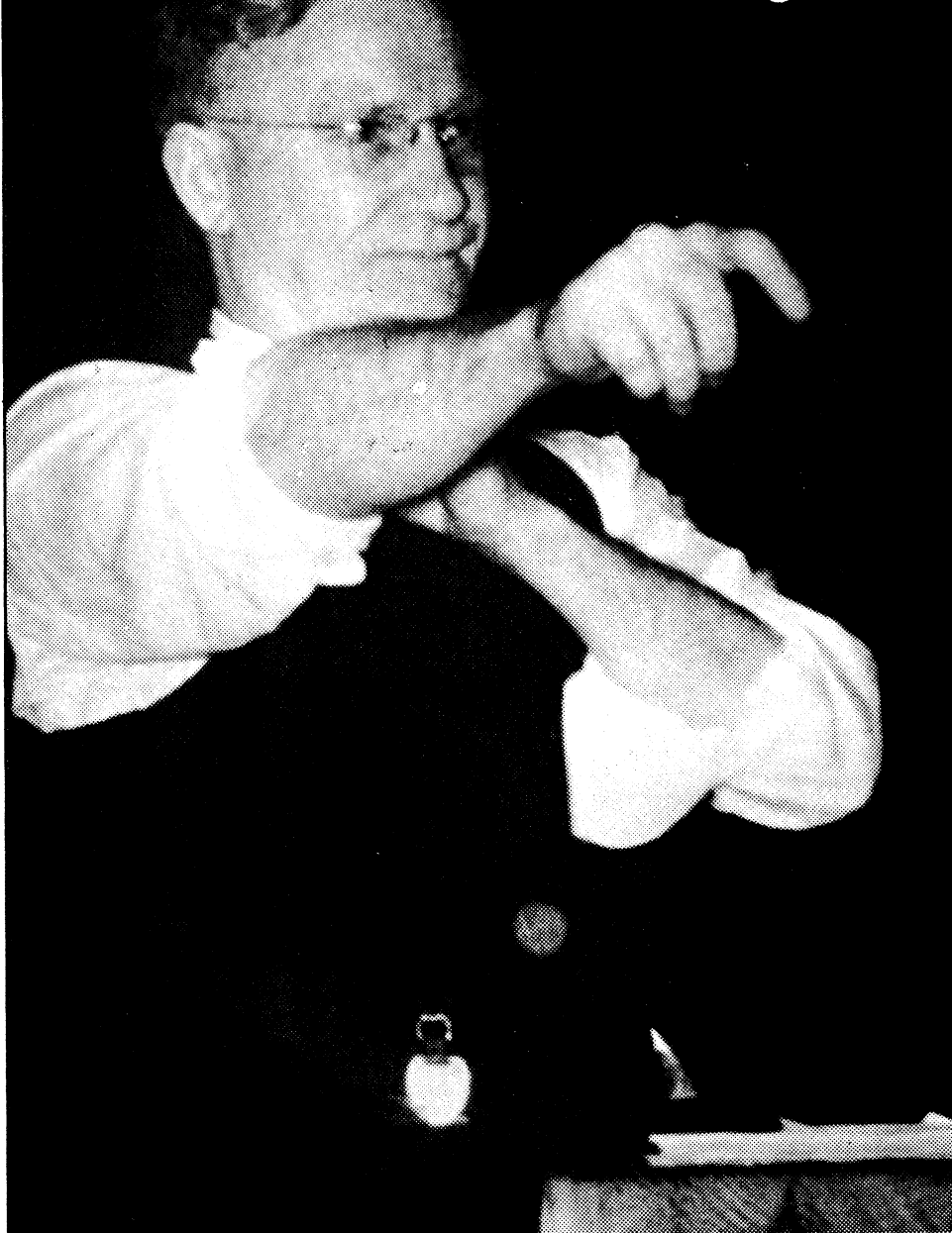
The Young Socialist Alliance is a multi-national revolutionary youth organization. We stand for fundamentally changing society by fighting against racism, sexism and the exploitation of working people. Our goal is a socialist society, democratically controlled by the majority of people—not by a handful of powerful bankers and millionaires. We know that a better world is not only possible, but is absolutely necessary. Join us in the fight.

___ I want to join the YSA.
___ I want more information about the YSA.
___ Enclosed is \$1 for 6 months (6 issues) of the *Young Socialist*.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____
Zip _____ Phone _____

YSA, Box 471 Cooper Station, N.Y., N.Y. 10003; (212) 989-7570

Building the Revolutionary Party



James P. Cannon has devoted more than sixty-seven years to socialist activity. He was an organizer and strike leader in the IWW, a member of the Socialist Party left wing, and a founding member of the Communist Labor Party in 1919. In 1928 he broke with Stalinism and became one of the founders of the International Left Opposition led by Leon Trotsky. Presently he is national chairman emeritus of the Socialist Workers Party. The following are collections of his speeches and writings on building a Leninist party in the U.S. and the revolutionary socialist concept of internationalism.

THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM
Preface by Theodore Draper. Photos, Index. First paperback edition. 343 pp., \$10.00, paper \$3.45

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM
Introduction by Caroline Lund. 268 pp., paper \$2.95

LETTERS FROM PRISON
Introduction by Jack Barnes. Recently released paperback edition includes Photos, Notes, Index. 355 pp., \$7.50, paper \$3.45

NOTEBOOK OF AN AGITATOR
Introduction by Joseph Hansen. New edition. Photos, Index. 384 pp., \$8.95, paper \$3.45

SOCIALISM ON TRIAL
Cloth, 111 pp., \$4.95. New expanded paperback edition available late November. Includes "Defense Policy in the Minneapolis Trials," a debate between Grandizo Munis and Cannon. 192 pp., \$2.25

SPEECHES FOR SOCIALISM
Introduction by Peggy Brundy and Dianne Feeley. 432 pp., \$10.00, paper \$3.45

SPEECHES TO THE PARTY: The Revolutionary Perspective and the Revolutionary Party.
Introduction by Al Hansen. 352 pp., \$10.00, paper \$3.95

THE STRUGGLE FOR A PROLETARIAN PARTY
Introduction by George Novack. Index. 320 pp., paper \$2.95

Write for our free catalog:
PATHFINDER PRESS, INC., 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

N.Y.C. hospital strikers challenge wage controls



THIS IS HOW LONG WE'VE WAITED FOR OUR RAISES

Local 1199 demands that Nixon's Cost of Living Council stop holding up their pay increase

Finn Andersen

By ANDY ROSE

NEW YORK, Nov. 7—"Fun City" became "Strike City" this week.

Firemen staged an unprecedented job action for higher pay; the Newspaper Guild shut down the *Daily News*; 5,000 stewards and stewardesses grounded Trans World Airlines; and employees of the Museum of Modern Art and the New York Philharmonic were still on picket lines.

By far the largest action came when 30,000 hospital workers, most of them Black and Puerto Rican women, walked off their jobs Nov. 5 in an effort to win a 7.5 percent wage increase already promised in their union contract.

The target of the strike by Drug and Hospital Workers Local 1199 is not just the hospital management but Nixon's Cost of Living Council, which has refused to allow the raise.

Hit with a federal antistrike injunction, the union responded in court this week by challenging the constitutionality of the Economic Stabilization (wage control) Law.

Hundreds of pickets chanting "No money, no work" and "We want our money now" have surrounded and virtually shut down the 48 hospitals of the League of Voluntary Hospitals, the employers' bargaining group. Municipal public hospitals are not affected.

Doctors, registered nurses, administrators, and a few "volunteers" are still working inside the struck hospitals, but the militant and spirited picket lines stop most trucks from delivering supplies.

The strikers' case is simple: They are low-paid service, maintenance, and laboratory workers. Many of them take home only \$130 a week. The contract they won in June 1972 included a 7.5 percent or \$12 increase, whichever is greater, beginning last July.

More than four months have gone by and they still have not gotten their money. Meanwhile, food prices are 19 percent higher than a year ago.

The obstacle is Nixon's Phase 4,

which specifies that the wages of hospital workers cannot be raised without prior approval by the Cost of Living Council. And the CLC, claiming it refuses to be "pressured" by the strike, says it will not even make a decision before Nov. 30.

The League of Voluntary Hospitals has tried to undermine the strike by proposing a 5.5 percent increase now, pending the CLC's decision. This scheme was vehemently denounced by every picketer interviewed for *The Militant*.

"We've waited too long to take five-and-a-half," one Black woman said. "We prefer to stay right out here until they make up their minds to give us seven-and-a-half percent. That's little enough."

Double standard

The Cost of Living Council obviously has one set of standards for these workers and quite a different set for those who reap millions in profits from the abysmal health care in this country: Yesterday it announced approval of a 9 percent increase in hospital bills, which will now cost patients an extra \$5-billion a year.

Hospital officials find themselves in an embarrassing spot because of the determination of the strikers and the obvious justice of their demand. The League of Voluntary Hospitals has publicly called for the CLC to approve the wage increase.

But at the same time the League and the city and federal governments are attacking the strike in a number of ways.

Hospital officials have sent telegrams to both New York senators, Governor Rockefeller, Mayor Lindsay, and John Dunlop, head of the CLC, warning of an "imminent crisis."

A scare campaign is being whipped up in the media about "danger" to patients and "violence" by strikers. Picketers respond that if the hospitals really care about their patients, they should simply pay the raise.

Strikers also point out that they are maintaining emergency services, and

that trucks with oxygen, blood plasma, and baby formula are allowed to pass.

The violence has come from police, who have stepped up harassment of pickets and arrested several. Leon Davis, president of 1199, and other officers are threatened with jailing and fines under the court order.

The enthusiasm of the workers is all the more notable considering they receive no strike benefits. Many of the women are the sole support of their families, and they will suffer serious hardships in a long strike.

One of the picketers at Beth Israel Medical Center this morning was a 63-year-old Black woman who has worked there for 16 years. She recalled that in 1959, at the time Local 1199 began to organize hospital workers, she took home \$58 every two weeks. "We stayed out 46 days then. We'll stay out until next year if we have to, until they give us our money. We can win."

News strike ends

One thousand striking members of the New York Newspaper Guild met this afternoon and voted to return to work.

The Guild, representing editorial, advertising, and commercial employees,

struck the *Daily News* Nov. 5 after having worked for seven months without a contract. Job security in the face of automation was seen as the main issue, although a wage raise was also demanded.

The workers found the terms of the settlement unsatisfactory and had some harsh words for the union negotiators. The contract includes an average \$13.-85 increase in weekly pay, but only employees with 20 or more years service will be guaranteed job security.

Nevertheless, the *Daily News* strikers saw no alternative but to go back to work. They felt they had been undercut by their own union leadership, which signed an agreement with the *New York Times* just hours after the *Daily News* was struck. The *Times* contract terms were then imposed on the *Daily News* workers.

In addition, some of the printing craft unions were ordering their members to cross the Guild's picket lines.

This week's strikes underlined the problems of inflation and unemployment confronting workers in this country, as well as the antilabor role of government wage controls and court injunctions. But they also showed the militancy growing among many rank-and-file unionists, determined to preserve their standard of living.

SWP candidate backs strike

The following are excerpts from a speech given by Maxine Williams, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Brooklyn borough president, at a Nov. 6 SWP campaign celebration.

We declare our solidarity with the hospital workers, who are challenging the right of the government to throw collective bargaining into the wastebasket and drive down wages.

City officials will try to place the blame for any medical casualties of this strike on the shoulders of those who are already overworked and

underpaid. They will even have the nerve to say that the poor medical care we receive is the fault of the hospital workers.

But thousands of people in this country are waking up to the fact that poor medical care is the fault of the profit-hungry capitalist system, which sees health not as a right but as a privilege.

SWP campaign supporters have marched on the hospital workers' picket lines, and we will continue to do so to show our full support for their struggle.