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# THE MILITANT

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

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## Demand 'U.S. Out!'

# Students rock Greek regime



Athens Polytechnic University. Protesters against U.S.-backed Greek dictatorship carried signs reading 'Americans Out' and 'Sixth Fleet—national danger.' See page 8.

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## Gov't spied on Chicago Seven/<sup>5</sup> Oil trusts & the 'energy crisis'/<sup>6</sup>

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# In Brief

## THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Nixon's Operation Candor fails to get him off hook
- 4 History of Legion of Justice terror
- 5 Support grows for SWP suit against W'gating
- 7 Arab oil, Israel, and imperialism
- 8 Student upsurges shake Greece, S. Korea
- 13 Militant circulation drive: big step forward
- 14 Hospital strike, ITT, and capitalist justice
- 15 Banquets show enthusiasm for our paper
- 16 Lessons of 'Popular Front'
- 18 Perspectives of class struggle in Quebec
- 19 Blacks hit Gulf Oil gift to SCLC
- 21 Hanoi, Havana criticize Sino-Soviet rift
- 24 Chavez: 'Double boycott efforts'

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

## THE MILITANT

VOLUME 37/NUMBER 44  
NOVEMBER 30, 1973  
CLOSING NEWS DATE—NOV. 20, 1973  
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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.

**JUDGE RULES AGAINST ATTICA DISMISSAL MOTION:** A motion to dismiss the 1,300 charges leveled against the 60 prisoners indicted for the 1971 Attica uprising was quashed Nov. 16 by Judge Charles Gaughan.

The motion cited prejudicial pretrial publicity and irregular grand jury procedure and composition among its arguments for dismissal of the indictments. The defense is planning an appeal.

The day before, the defense appeared in court to protest illegal government surveillance—wiretapping—of its headquarters. On Nov. 2, because of an electronic foul-up, a defense lawyer who telephoned the defense headquarters accidentally overheard a tape of an earlier call.

Former attorney general Ramsey Clark, one of the defense lawyers, appeared in court for the defense. Although the state denied having requested the wiretap, it argued against a hearing on the matter.

The presiding judge will rule later on whether to grant a full hearing on the surveillance charge.

## Starsky wins victory

LOS ANGELES—On Nov. 19 socialist professor Morris Starsky won another round in his fight for freedom of political activity. The California Supreme Court let stand an order by the California Court of Appeals reinstating Starsky on the faculty of California State College in Dominguez Hills for the year 1971-72.

The college's board of trustees had withdrawn Starsky's appointment to the faculty in 1971, alleging that he had exhibited "lack of candor" in the employment interview and "made a false statement on one of the employment forms." The real reason for the withdrawal of Dr. Starsky's appointment was his activity in the antiwar movement and his outspoken commitment to revolutionary socialist ideas while a professor at Arizona State University.

Because of his political views and involvement, Starsky was denied renewal of his contract at ASU in 1970. After a legal battle he was ordered reinstated at ASU in 1972, but the regents are appealing that decision.

According to Starsky's attorney, Ronald Merlino, the Supreme Court decision now gives Starsky the legal right to a salary with interest for the year 1971-72 and may open the door for legal action leading to his reinstatement for the next semester.

**KILLER COP GETS ONLY FIVE YEARS:** On Nov. 17, 400 people, mostly Chicanos, rallied on the steps of the Texas state capitol in Austin to demand a halt to police terror against the Chicano and Black communities. The protest focused on the trial of a Dallas cop, Darrell Cain, who murdered 12-year-old Santos Rodriguez last July. Among the rally speakers was Jose Angel Gutierrez of the Raza Unida Party.

On July 24 Cain was investigating an \$8 robbery from a service station. At 2:30 a.m., with no search or arrest warrant, he and his partner dragged 12-year-old Santos Rodriguez and his brother David from their home and drove them to a deserted spot. There Cain played "Russian roulette" with a .357 magnum revolver held to Santos's head.

According to David Rodriguez, Cain first demanded that Santos admit the crime. When he didn't, Cain pulled the trigger, but the chamber was empty. He pulled the trigger again, and this time shot away half of Santos's head.

The trial was moved from Dallas to Austin because of the outrage in the Black and Chicano communities there. The seven-man, five-woman, all-white jury found Cain guilty of "murder with malice," but he was given only five years in jail.

Velma Roberts, a speaker at the rally from the Welfare Rights Organization, pointed to the double standard of justice: If a Chicano or Black is convicted of killing a cop, they can count on getting the maximum sentence.

**VICTORY FOR HUMBERTO PAGAN:** The Federal Court of Canada has rejected an extradition appeal from the United States in the case of Humberto Pagan, a 22-year-old Puerto Rican. Pagan is accused of murdering a police captain during a demonstration in San Juan, Puerto Rico, in March 1971. The policeman was killed when police attacked a student demonstration.

Pagan is living in Canada, and the U. S. government has asked for his extradition in order to try him in Puerto Rico. Last year a district judge in Canada rejected the extradition request. The Federal Court upheld that decision. The U. S. government may appeal the decision to the Supreme Court of Canada.

**BOSTON TEA PARTY 1973:** At 8 a.m. Nov. 17 about 300 picketers gathered at the Commonwealth pier in Boston to confront the English luxury liner *Queen Elizabeth II*. Placards and banners demanded: England out of Ireland, an end to internment, abolition of the Special Powers Act, freedom for political prisoners, and self-

determination for the Irish people. The demonstration, organized by a coalition of groups called the Boston Tea Party Committee 1973, drew participants from other parts of the country as well as Boston.

Longshoremen honored the picket line by refusing to load the ship during the two-hour protest, and three sailors from the *QEII* joined the picket line, expressing their solidarity with the Irish freedom struggle. Television cameras from all of Boston's major stations filmed the demonstrators as they symbolically threw British tea into the harbor.

**SEATTLE CAMPUS WORKERS STEP UP FIGHT:** On Nov. 16, 2,500 University of Washington employees gathered at the Higher Education Personnel Board meeting to protest the board's reclassification scheme scheduled for implementation Jan. 1, 1974. The plan would reassign many women employees and Black, Chicano, Indian, and Asian-American workers to lower-paying positions and freeze their wages.

Opposition to the plan is being rallied by the Staff Rights Organizing Committee, an ad hoc formation composed of largely unorganized clerical workers.

**TWA STEWARDESSES WIN SUPPORT:** More than 400 Trans World Airlines strikers and supporters gathered at Union Square in downtown San Francisco Nov. 19 for a noon-hour rally. The demonstrators were mainly TWA stewardesses and flight attendants, members of the Transport Workers Union. They were joined by pilots, San Francisco municipal bus drivers, and stewardesses from Pan American and other airlines, who turned out in support.

Speakers at the spirited rally included Jack Henning, president of the California state AFL-CIO, and Maria Abbot, strike coordinator for the stewardesses. They called for a government ban on the mutual aid pact through which TWA receives between \$2- and \$3-million a day from the other major airlines as long as their workers stay out on strike.

After the rally the strikers picketed the headquarters of TWA, Pan Am, and American Airlines.

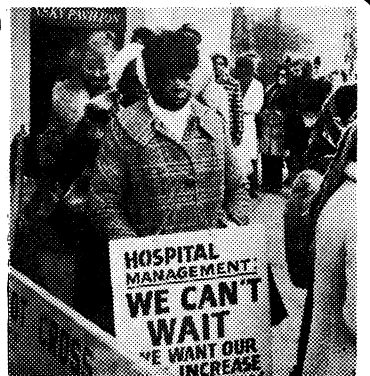
**NEW YORK MUSEUM WORKERS SET EXAMPLE:** More than 100 workers at New York's Museum of Modern Art are in the seventh week of a bitter strike, demanding a minimum wage of \$7,500 (the minimum living wage as established by the Cost of Living Council) and other union rights. The workers belong to the Professional and Administrative Staff Association of the Museum of Modern Art (PASTA-MOMA), which was created in 1971.

PASTA-MOMA represents one of the first attempts of museum workers to unionize. Representatives of many other unions have pledged support to the strike, including the United Auto Workers, Teamsters, and United Optical Workers, as have people from the art world, such as filmmakers, painters, sculptors, critics, and educators. Twenty-four-hour picket lines are cutting into museum attendance, and refusal by sanitation workers to cross the picket lines resulted in the museum having to keep its garbage inside for a month.

The strike has received financial and other support from museum workers throughout the city. One hundred people from 10 different museums attended a Nov. 14 rally backing the strike.

—JEAN WALKER

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# Nixon's 'Operation Candor' fails to get him off the Watergate hook

By CINDY JAQUITH

White House supporters yelled, "Four more years," but they couldn't drown out the chants of "No more years!" at Mercer University in Macon, Ga., when President Nixon appeared there Nov. 18.

Carrying signs that read "Georgia, the Impeach State," and "The Emperor Has No Clothes," several hundred demonstrators turned out to protest the president's visit to the Southern Baptist school. It was definitely not what Nixon had in mind when he decided to launch his counteroffensive tour in the South, where he hoped for the fewest problems from Watergate.

Nixon's reception in Macon was in sharp contrast to his Disney World news conference the day before in Orlando, Fla. Designed to show he could "stand up" under reporters' questions, the televised conference was well-orchestrated.

As *New York Times* reporter R.W. Apple pointed out, the gathering was composed only of newspaper executives, those attending the Associated Press Managing Editors conference. The White House press corps was excluded.

This was to assure that the most embarrassing questions about Watergate would not be asked. And just to be sure, White House officials warned the editors in advance. "... Presidential aides have made it clear that Mr. Nixon still did not feel he could speak publicly with total candor, although they continue to promise that he would do so at an unspecified time," Apple wrote.

Nixon's lengthiest answer at the news conference concerned the question of the "nonexistent" tapes. Like his other responses to questions during this "disclosure" session, Nixon's story on the tapes contained nothing new. But he made a pretense of encouraging the editors to probe his role in Watergate.

## 'I'm not a crook!'

"I welcome this kind of examination because people have got to know whether or not their president is a crook," he said. "Well, I'm not a crook!"

Conceding that "I wasn't a pauper when I became president," Nixon tried to explain how it was that he paid federal income taxes of only \$792 in 1970 and \$878 in 1971.



Demonstrators in Macon, Ga., weren't buying the Nixon 'counteroffensive.'

His answer was that he deducted the gift of his vice-presidential papers to the National Archives, valuing them at \$500,000. But as the *New York Times* explained in an editorial Nov. 20, "the gift... whose legal status is decidedly in doubt, was limited by law to 50 per cent of his income. He therefore could not possibly have reduced the tax on his \$200,000 salary to less than \$800 if he did not avail himself of deductions for interest payments or some other 'gimmick.'"

The *Times* editors termed the news conference an "embarrassing and depressing performance."

One of the embarrassing aspects was the way questions steered clear of the latest Watergate revelations. No one, for example, asked the president about the testimony of Stephen Shulman, Egil Krogh's lawyer, at the Ellsberg burglary pretrial hearings in Los Angeles. The attorney revealed that all the "plumbers" were told to keep their operations a secret, even if it meant lying under oath. According to *Washington Post* reporter George Lardner, "the orders came from President Nixon himself. Shulman said that 'there are all kinds of secrets' that officials in Washington preserve by lying."

## 'Ask me about the milk'

To one editor who asked the president what he would do when he left the White House, Nixon cracked: "I think it depends when I leave!" He then added: "Would you mind asking me about the milk?"

Finally forced to ask himself the question, the president relied on the "separation of powers" gimmick to explain his raising of milk price supports just after dairymen promised a sizable contribution to his 1972 campaign. He blamed everything on the Democratic-controlled Congress, which would have raised supports even higher, he argued, if his administration had not stepped in.

Nixon threw in a few nervous jokes during the news conference and made frequent references to his shattered credibility. Announcing that copies of his past statements on Watergate were available to the editors, he added: "You can believe them if you want."

At another point, stressing that he had conserved energy by flying to Florida without his backup plane, the

president said: "The Secret Service didn't like it, communications didn't like it, but I don't need a backup plane. If this one goes down, it goes down—and then they don't have to impeach."

## Ford's racist record

In the meantime, Black and civil rights groups have raised objections to the racist voting record of vice-presidential designate Gerald Ford.

"I've worked with Mr. Ford for five years and I've never considered him a friend of civil rights," said Black Congressman John Conyers (D-Mich.) in testimony at the confirmation hearings. Ford opposed the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and pushed a constitutional amendment against busing in 1972.

Speaking for the Americans for Democratic Action, Joseph Rauh attacked Ford's "votes against food stamps, legal services and child care, minimum wages, education, Medicare, OEO, public housing, public works programs, and rent subsidies."

Coming to Ford's defense, Senator Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.) said that Lyndon Johnson also came into the White House with an anti-civil rights voting record. Liking LBJ to Ford, Hatfield said that "perhaps together we can make an ally out of him in civil rights matters."

Jack Anderson has disclosed that Ford has cultivated a few other friends on the committees now investigating him. Ford made secret contributions of \$2,000 to the 1972 campaign of Senator Robert Griffin (R-Mich.) and \$1,000 to the campaign of Representative Trent Lott (R-Miss.) the same year. Neither congressman ever reported the donations.



# Capitalists admit 'protection' payoffs

Seven major corporations have admitted making illegal contributions to Nixon's 1972 campaign.

Six have testified before the Senate Watergate committee. American Airlines, Braniff Airlines, Goodyear Tire & Rubber, Gulf Oil, Ashland Oil, and Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing have pleaded guilty and been fined in court.

Phillips Petroleum has also admitted guilt, and lower-echelon executives at an eighth firm, American Ship Building, have also spilled the beans on secret contributions.

As the businessmen themselves have disclosed, these secret cash transfers were accomplished through "laundered" stacks of \$100 bills.

This clandestine mode of operating is normal for these businessmen. They all maintain secrecy about their finan-

cial dealings—a secrecy that mirrors the secret dealings of the government itself. Like the imperialist government they control, the capitalists have to keep the true nature of their operations hidden from the American people.

How else can they continue their price-gouging monopolistic practices and their tax-dodging schemes, while telling workers they "can't afford" to pay them a decent wage?

The worldwide operations of these corporations come in handy for their political donations. Gulf arranged its cash contribution through a subsidiary in the Bahamas. Ashland used a company it owns in Gabon to come up with a clean \$100,000, which was then rinsed again through a Swiss bank.

American routed its payment through Lebanon, and Braniff arranged for cash to be made available through Panama.

The companies had little trouble meeting the "quota" of \$100,000 assigned to big corporations.

They are now claiming the money wasn't a bribe, it was "extortion." They were compelled, they claim, to pay protection money, so that, as one executive put it, they wouldn't be "on a blacklist, low man on the totem pole."

The government provides protection for the corporations all right—that's what it's there for! This "protection" includes the mightiest military machine in the history of the world, and putting out "contracts" on offending people, like the Vietnamese, the Chileans, and others throughout the world.

The protection also includes government legislation to hold down wages while profits soar, in the name of "equal sacrifice."

The corporations have a racket going that is superior to anything the mobsters ever devised—they get their workers to pay the cost of the protection. You can be sure the millions siphoned into the Nixon fund, like the other millions the capitalists rake off every year in profits, just adds to the price of everything we buy.

Even one of the capitalists' own papers, the *New York Times*, was compelled to admit, "The real price of such extortion is, in the end, paid by the American people." They were referring to the higher milk prices that followed the giant donations by the dairymen to the Nixon reelection fund.



# W'gate sheds light on attacks against socialists

## History of Legion of Justice terrorism

By CINDY JAQUITH

In 1969 and 1970 the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Work-Party in Illinois were the victims of a terrorist campaign by the ultraright Legion of Justice. Legion thugs engaged in armed attacks on the socialists' headquarters, stole records, destroyed documents, and made death threats against SWP and YSA members.

While the complicity of the Chicago police and courts with the Legion was clear, at the time it appeared that these attacks were primarily the work of a tiny, local right-wing group.

Testimony at the Chicago 7 trial linking the Legion to the 113th Military Intelligence (M.I.) Group, a federal spying operation, now places these attacks on the SWP and YSA in a new light. The revelations at the trial (see story on facing page) link the Legion's activities to the pattern of Watergate-style harassment of the SWP and YSA by the federal government.

The first Legion attack on the SWP and YSA occurred on Nov. 1, 1969, when a dozen masked thugs entered the Chicago headquarters of the socialists with tire irons, mace, and clubs. They subdued the four people present—one YSA member later required stitches—and stole records and a cash box.

The identity of the attackers became

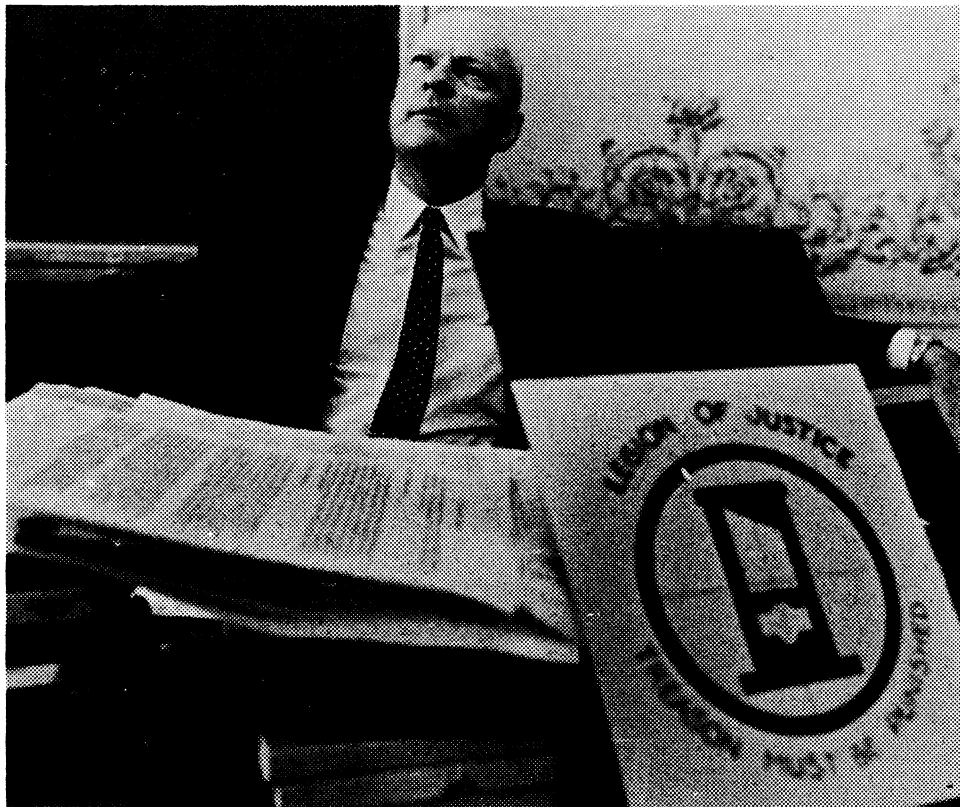


RAY HAMILTON: YSA member injured in Legion attack on DeKalb YSA.

known two weeks later when attorney S. Thomas Sutton, a well-known opponent of open housing, announced a news conference to display material "liberated" from a "communist headquarters." YSA organizer Carl Finamore and SWP organizer Richard Hill attended the news conference, where the records stolen from their offices Nov. 1 were displayed.

Sutton was careful not to identify himself as a member of the Legion, but he acknowledged that a "special strike force" of the Legion was responsible for the raid. After much insistence from Finamore and Hill, the cops reluctantly arrested the two youths with Sutton—but not Sutton himself—for possession of stolen property. One of the youths, Tom Stewart, had attended YSA functions the summer before, posing as a high school student interested in the group.

The most sinister attack occurred Dec. 4. In the early morning hours Chicago cops made their infamous



S. Thomas Sutton, leader of Legion of Justice, displays files and tapes stolen from Chicago YSA and SWP in Nov. 1, 1969, armed raid.

raid on the apartment of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton, killing him and another Panther leader, Mark Clark.

That evening 30 cops, many with guns drawn, suddenly burst into the SWP and YSA headquarters in Chicago. They claimed they had been "tipped" that a gun battle was going on and they searched the place for weapons. Finding none, they left.

Several members of the SWP in other cities in the meantime had received telephone calls from someone claiming to be Richard Hill who said, "The office has been tommy-gunned. . . . People are lying on the floor bleeding. . . ." Whoever made the phony calls apparently hoped to create a situation the cops could use as a pretext to start shooting when they entered the socialists' hall, or possibly find unregistered guns there.

There is little doubt that members of the Legion had a hand in setting up what they hoped would be a dangerous confrontation. It may have been their idea of a "warning," since two of their members were to appear in court the next day on the stolen property charges.

### YSA in DeKalb attacked

Two days later, the apartment of several YSA members at Northern Illinois University in DeKalb was raided by eight to 10 men, who maced the occupants and clubbed one with a tire iron. The YSA members fought back, knocking one thug unconscious and thus frightening the gang away.

The Legion took responsibility for this attack also, in a death threat sent to Richard Hill. On Dec. 9 Hill found a note on his door in Chicago that read:

"Richard Hill has been found guilty of treason. Treason must be punished and believe us treason will be punished! We missed you in your office. We missed you in DeKalb. We missed you at your home. Where the hell are you Rich. Peace."

Accompanying the note was a Legion leaflet and the group's emblem, crosshairs superimposed over a guillotine.

Despite positive identification of one of the Legion attackers, and the Legion's open proclamation of its role in the assaults, the police and state's attorney's office refused to take ac-

tion to halt these attacks. To mobilize public opinion against the Legion and expose the role of the police, the Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks (DATA) was formed.

Endorsed by a broad spectrum of supporters of civil liberties, the DATA committee began to put pressure on the cops and the state's attorney's office to bring the Legion gang to justice. The committee was concerned not only with the attacks on the YSA and SWP—but also on antiwar groups, Blacks, and other radicals who had been victims of the Legion.

As a result of the DATA committee's campaign, the Legion's attacks finally tapered off.

### What Hanrahan feared

In the light of Watergate revelations, it is easy to see what State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan feared from a full-scale investigation into the Legion's activities. Far more than links to a few Chicago cops would have emerged.

At the Chicago 7 contempt trial on Nov. 12, former Army intelligence agent John O'Brien testified that the Legion regularly supplied the 113th M.I. Group with information on radical groups in the area. At one point in 1969, he testified, the Legion stole documents from the Chicago 7 defense and delivered them to the headquarters of the 113th.

This raises the obvious question of what happened to the SWP and the YSA files between the time they were stolen and the time they were presented at the news conference. There is no reason to doubt that the Legion also delivered these records to the 113th for inspection.

### Liddy visits Chicago

O'Brien also said that Watergater G. Gordon Liddy made a visit to the 113th's offices in the middle of October 1969, two weeks before the first Legion raid on the SWP and YSA. At that time Liddy worked for the Treasury Department.

What did Liddy discuss with the agents of the 113th? Did he also meet with S. Thomas Sutton? This would certainly conform with Liddy's known activities later in rounding up right-wing hoodlums for clandestine operations like the Watergate burglary.

O'Brien's testimony also elicited an admission from the Chicago red squad that it had close surveillance over the YSA around this time. The Chicago police confirmed that Tom West, an undercover cop, had infiltrated the YSA, after O'Brien revealed that West also infiltrated the Chicago 7 defense committee.

West left the YSA in the summer of 1969 when it became clear that he was a cop and had been found spying on antiwar GI files at the Student Mobilization Committee office.

While it is not known what direct relationship West may have with the Legion, Sutton was on a first-name basis with many red squad agents. During the court appearances of Legion henchmen, Sutton was often seen joking with undercover cops.

The mutual cooperation between the Chicago police, federal "law enforcement" agencies, and Sutton's hoodlums is all the more ominous because of the consciously fascist nature of the Legion. At the first known public meeting of the group, for example, Sutton was advertised as speaking on "How white elite students can organize and train to defeat SDS 'scum' and Black racists at their own revolution—with their tactics." At the meeting, held in the spring of 1969, Sutton was identified as the "director" of the Legion, although he has always claimed that he is merely the attorney of the group.

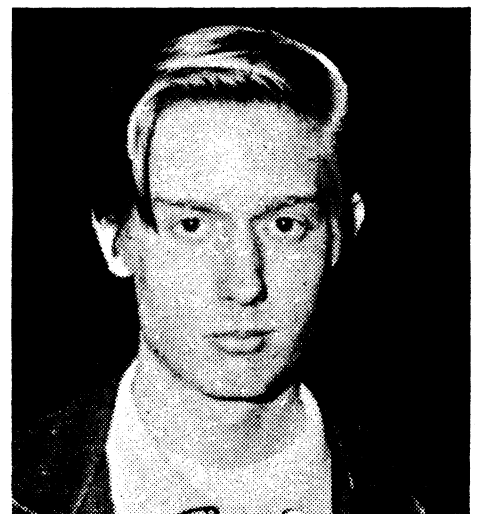
### 'Operation Crescent'

In 1967 Sutton gained notoriety as the leader of "Operation Crescent," a virulently racist group in Chicago opposed to open housing. The group threatened attacks on civil rights demonstrators and talked about dispensing "battle kits" to whites.

The Legion thus fits the pattern of ultraright thugs hired by the White House for other attacks, such as the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, or the attacks against Daniel Ellsberg. Moreover, the Legion's campaign of violence occurred at the same general time as the wave of police assaults on the Black Panthers, the spying on antiwar groups, and attacks in other cities on the YSA and SWP.

These attacks follow the recommendations of Nixon's 1970 spy plan, drawn up to combat deepening antiwar sentiment and the Black liberation movement.

In their suit filed against government harassment, the SWP and YSA charge that measures advocated in the 1970 spy plan were used against them. The new evidence concerning the Legion of Justice adds increased weight to these charges, as well as opening the door to further exposures of the extent of Watergate-style attacks on socialists, Blacks, and other protesters.



TOM STEWART: Legion of Justice thug arrested for stealing socialists' files.

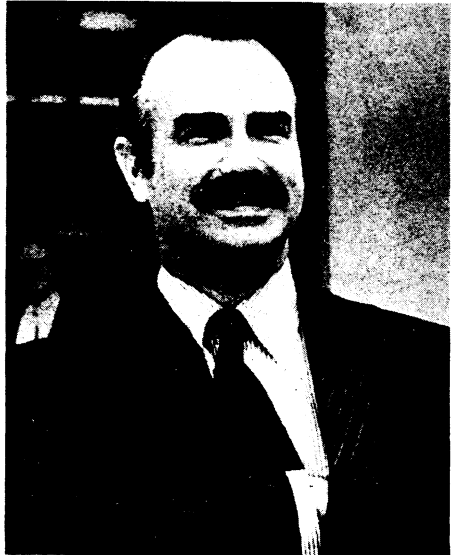


# Chicago 7 trial uncovers links between Liddy, 'red squad,' and Legion of Justice

By BRUCE BLOY

CHICAGO—Dramatic revelations by a former Army intelligence agent have shed new light on government harassment of the Chicago 7 and on terrorist attacks on the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

Testifying at the Chicago 7 contempt trial on Nov. 12, John M. O'Brien, the former agent, established links between Chicago police intelligence units, the White House "plumbers," and the Legion of Justice, a paramilitary right-wing organization based here. In 1969 and 1970 the Legion carried out armed attacks on many radical groups in the Chicago area, the most serious being assaults on



LIDDY: Met with secret-police agents in Chicago in October 1969.

members of the YSA and SWP (see story on facing page).

O'Brien testified that widespread government spying and harassment took place against the Chicago 7 defendants during their trial in 1969 and 1970. The seven antiwar leaders were eventually acquitted of the trumped-up charges stemming from demonstrations at the 1968 Democratic convention in Chicago.

At the time of the trial, O'Brien was with the 113th Military Intelligence (M.I.) Group, which organized the spying operations against the Chicago 7. He disclosed that:

- Undercover agents made regular visits and phone calls to the Chicago 7 defense headquarters in an effort to gain information.

- O'Brien impersonated Tom Hayden, one of the defendants, on the

telephone to get information.

- O'Brien met with G. Gordon Liddy, the convicted Watergate "plumber," sometime between Oct. 8 and Oct. 11 in 1969. This was the time of the "Days of Rage" demonstrations in Chicago led by the Weatherpeople. (Liddy was at that time an agent in the Treasury Department.)

- The 113th Military Intelligence Group received documents stolen from the Chicago 7 defense office by the Legion of Justice.

- An attempt to get a Northwestern University law student to spy on the Chicago 7 defense was unsuccessful, but an undercover cop, Tom West, did infiltrate the defense. West had previously infiltrated the Young Socialist Alliance.

According to the Nov. 13 *Chicago Tribune*, O'Brien maintained that "written reports of the activities [of the Chicago 7] were forwarded to the Pentagon, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Secret Service, Chicago Police Department, and other law enforcement agencies."

During the Chicago 7 trial, O'Brien met once or twice a week with Sergeant Joseph Grubisic, who then headed the Chicago Police Department's Subversives Intelligence Unit, or "red squad." At one of these meetings, on Oct. 10, 1969, Tom West, one of Grubisic's investigators, was also present.

West, O'Brien said, "was being debriefed by the police department. It concerned the demonstrations taking place and the Conspiracy 7 defendants." In addition to infiltrating the Chicago 7 defense committee, West was posing as a Weatherman. Newspaper photographs taken of the "Days of Rage" show West participating in one of the "trashing" actions.

On one evening in 1969, O'Brien testified, several men arrived at the Evanston, Ill., headquarters of the 113th M.I. Group with three or four boxes of documents. Thomas Filkins, the spy operation chief, "advised me that [the documents] had been taken from the offices of the Chicago 7 and they were brought by members of the Legion of Justice," O'Brien said. "He advised me that the offices had been broken into."

O'Brien also stated that the right-wing Legion gave the Army intelligence agency information on "antiwar and left-wing groups and the

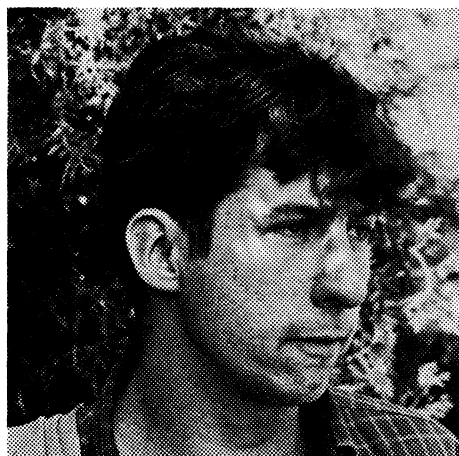
Communist Party." The Legion carried out several raids on the offices of radical organizations, including an armed attack on the Chicago headquarters of the YSA and SWP on Nov. 1, 1969. Records and documents were stolen at that time.

In the wake of O'Brien's testimony, according to the Nov. 14 *Chicago Tribune*, the Pentagon has acknowledged that the Army intelligence group spied on the Chicago 7, saying: "They [the 113th] were following instructions of the President to support civilian authorities in collecting information. . . . We acknowledge that there are new allegations in this, but all the guys that have had anything to do with this are retired or scattered."

The Chicago Police Department is now attempting to divert attention from its role in the Chicago 7 case, by stating that red squad member Tom West's undercover activities centered only on the Young Socialist Alliance and that he dropped his undercover role on Oct. 12, 1969.

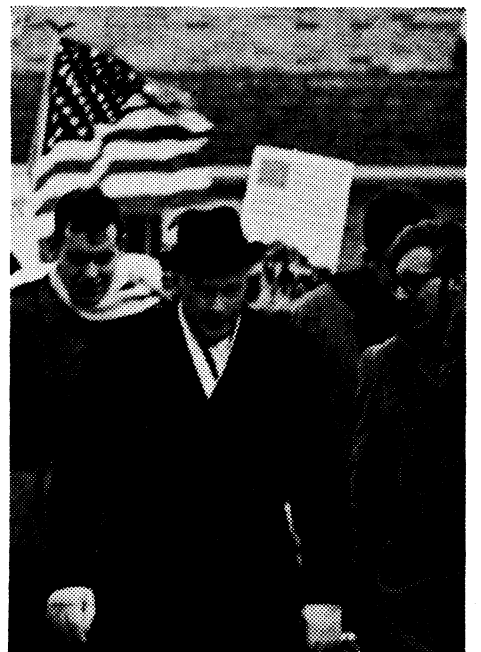
Chicago police sources told the *Chicago Tribune* that "the only reported burglary in 1969 of any group under police surveillance took place on Nov. 1, 1969. Members of the Legion of Justice openly proclaimed their role in entering the offices of the YSA and taking tapes and printed matter." The police source added that "maybe O'Brien got West and the Alliance break-in mixed up, but West wasn't even connected with the Alliance after Oct. 12, 1969."

This contradictory statement, however, does little to discount the more obvious and reasonable conclusion that the Legion of Justice was involved



Militant/Brian Shannon

HAYDEN: Undercover cops impersonated him in calls to Chicago 7 defense committee.



Ultrarightist Sutton on prowar march in 1969. His Legion hoodlums stole files of Chicago 7 defense that year and gave them to Army intelligence.

in both break-ins, and was in fact cooperating with the Chicago police and federal intelligence agents in their harassment and spying on both the Chicago 7 and the YSA and SWP.

O'Brien testified under subpoena for the defense, over the objections of government prosecutors, who have sought to discredit his testimony. However, during a rigorous two-hour cross-examination, O'Brien maintained his story.

Discharged from the Army in 1970, O'Brien charged that in December of that year the Army had conducted surveillance on Illinois Senator Adlai Stevenson, the Reverend Jesse Jackson, and other prominent figures in the state. This prompted a suit by the American Civil Liberties Union in an attempt to have military intelligence spying on civilians declared unconstitutional.

The revelations by O'Brien linking the Legion of Justice to military intelligence and establishing West's infiltration of the YSA provide important new evidence for the suit against government Watergating filed by the YSA and SWP. Local supporters of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing publicity for this suit, view these revelations as an important opportunity to expand support activities for the suit here.

## Support grows for SWP suit against W'gating

Continuing revelations of government "dirty tricks" and protests against these Watergate tactics are creating receptive audiences for the Political Rights Defense Fund. The PRDF is organizing support for the suit against government Watergating filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

For example, PRDF supporters in Austin set up a literature table at a "People's Assembly to Impeach Nixon" Nov. 10 and found a warm response to the suit from the 2,500 people present. The rally was called by an ad hoc group and endorsed by the state AFL-CIO, which sent a speaker.

All of the available PRDF Watergate buttons designed by Jules Feiffer—\$45 worth—were sold in no time, and all the PRDF literature was distributed. Thirty people signed a mailing list to maintain contact with the PRDF.

The suit charges Nixon and other government officials, past and present, with mail tampering, spying, wiretapping, burglary, and other harassment against the SWP and YSA.

New campus endorsements of the PRDF include the student senate at the University of Tennessee; the student government and Student Bar Association at the University of Louisville, which also voted to contribute to the PRDF; the president of Hunter College student government in New York; and the editor of the student newspaper at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia.

Other recent endorsers of the PRDF are Joseph Illick, president of United Professors of California; Gilbert Zicklin, president of the Maine Civil Liberties Union board of directors; author Norman Mailer; and Hershel Walker, state chairman of the Missouri Com-

munist Party.

To help raise funds for the PRDF, which expects to have expenses of \$50,000 this year, nine San Francisco State College professors have sent out a fund letter based on the fund appeal sent out by Daniel Ellsberg and other prominent sponsors for the PRDF.

In Boston, Noam and Carol Chomsky hosted a wine and cheese party for PRDF field secretary Janice Lynn. Another fund-raising party was held recently in Washington, D.C., hosted by Tina and Julius Hobson of the D.C. Statehood Party. Among those in attendance were journalist I.F. Stone, former senator Ernest Gruening, and D.C. school board member Charles Cassell.

Some individuals have written directly to the PRDF to make contributions to the suit. One Oregon supporter sent a check for \$500, saying: "The money is what I have left of

stocks in certain war industries which I sold. I encourage your efforts to sue the present administration. . . ."

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., Room 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 to explain the case to my school or organization.

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

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

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

# The 'energy crisis'

# Oil trusts chalk up major gains

By DICK ROBERTS

The U. S. Senate has voted President Nixon a free hand to implement gas rationing for the first time since World War II as the oil interests chalk up major gains in their energy offensive.

Gains for the oil trusts included passage in the House of Representatives of the Alaska pipeline bill and an amendment of the Senate energy bill suspending antipollution requirements of the Clean Air Act. This will allow electric utilities to burn high-sulfur coal or oil.

The oil interests have three categories of "long range" objectives in the energy crisis:

- They want to beat back the sentiment for preserving the nation's ecology and to make taxpayers foot the bills if any steps are taken to improve the environment. This category includes increasing the use of off-shore oil and government subsidy of the development of oil shale.

- The oil interests want to drive up oil prices, to deregulate the price of natural gas (72 percent of natural gas reserves are owned by big oil), and to increase coal production.

- They want to whip up anti-Arab sentiments in order to thwart the drive for increased Arab participation in Middle East oil profits.

In the short run the oil interests view imposition of gas rationing as an important step toward achieving their longer-run goals. At a meeting of the American Petroleum Institute in Houston, Nov. 13, "seemingly all of the 2,000 oil industry executives" favored immediate rationing of gasoline and home heating oil, according to a *New York Times* report.

Uncertainties about oil shortages and the possibility of rationing sent the stock market on Wall Street into its fifth biggest plunge in history, Nov. 19. This mainly reflects the pessimism of small investors.

It is virtually impossible to predict the long-run effect on the economy of the fuel shortage. That depends on how long it lasts and how deep it goes, which in turn depends on the actual availability of fuel supplies—all of which requires knowing facts and figures the oil trusts themselves have buried in secrecy.

Nevertheless the stock slide is an indicator of the worries of small business about increasing gas shortages. These will proceed at different rates



Coal-fed power plants get green light

in different parts of the country and there's no doubt that some big-car dealers, for instance, will be hurt. Service stations may go out of business. Winter resorts could suffer.

More important, however, working people across the country will suffer: in higher gasoline prices, in less heating at home and on the job, and in higher prices for other goods that are affected by higher fuel prices. And they will suffer if gas rationing is imposed.

## Gas rationing

But gas rationing is virtually the only way the capitalist government could pull the country through a major oil shortage if one develops. A huge increase in gasoline taxes was mentioned last week as an alternative to rationing. But this would subtract so much purchasing power that it could bring on a recession. The measure seems mainly to have been raised as a way of frightening people into accepting gas rationing.

The oil barons seem to be banking on the belief that rationing would also increase the squeeze on American workers to accept other objectives of the oil interests.

For example, the rationing could serve as a cover for greatly increased government subsidy of oil production ventures like the development of oil shale. It would be the backdrop for further retreat in the Congress on en-

vironmental measures.

Furthermore the oil trusts would prefer rationing to any form of government "allocation of supplies." Rationing hits the distributors and consumers, whereas government allocation would mean some sort of government control over oil production and refining.

Since gas rationing is highly unpopular, the government will probably first take preliminary steps to soften up consumers for the bigger blow. The Senate bill passed Nov. 19 would give Nixon power to outlaw Sunday driving, reduce speed limits, and take other measures aimed at making people bear the brunt of the sacrifice.

Industry would not be so hard hit. On Nov. 15 the *Wall Street Journal* reported that "President Nixon's top economist suggested 'insulating' industry from the energy crisis by concentrating fuel cutbacks in the areas of home heating, private auto driving and commercial use.

"Herbert Stein, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, also said a 'sharp, large rise' in oil prices may be the best way of coping with the shortage." And that is a central target of the oil trusts—driving up the price of oil.

## Alaska pipeline

Alaska journalist Thomas Brown discussed the effects of the Alaska pipeline on the ecology in *The New York Times Magazine*, Oct. 14. "The list of potential disasters that oil development poses to this peculiarly vulnerable environment is lengthy and fearsome," Brown wrote.

"Since North Slope oil will move through the pipeline at a temperature of 140 degrees, environmentalists fear the permafrost may be disrupted, threatening the structural stability of the pipeline, which could spill as much as 90,000 barrels of oil in a major break. Game specialists worry that the pipeline . . . could form a barrier to caribou migrations. . . .

"The pipeline route crosses the Denali Fault, where some of Alaska's major earthquakes are born. From Valdez, the oil will have to travel 2,000 miles in tankers, posing the threat of spills at sea."

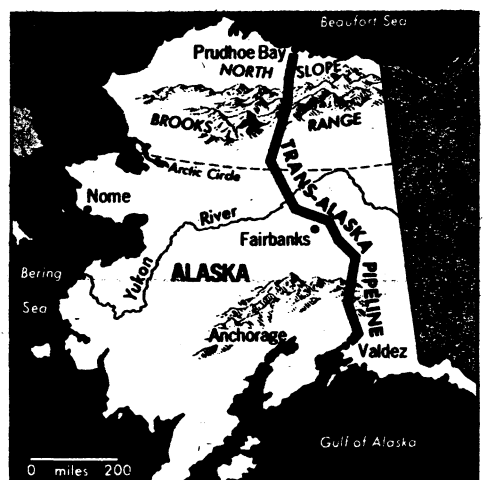
Other objectives of the oil trusts are in the same category. *Business Week* reported Nov. 17 that rumors in Washington that "they're trying to wipe out all the environmental laws on the books" were "solidly based."

"White House energy advisers headed by John Love," said *Business Week*,

"had indeed recommended that President Nixon take sweeping steps to suspend all air pollution emission standards, delay any water pollution discharge limitations on oil refineries and power plants, waive substantial portions of the 1969 National Environmental Policy Act on energy matters, and allow the Atomic Energy Commission to license nuclear reactors without the normal hearings."

## Middle East oil

But the bulk of capitalist propaganda about the energy crisis blames it on the Arab oil boycott initiated by Saudi Arabia's King Faisal and other Middle East regimes. The origins and limited aims of this policy are explained in the article on the next page.



Alaska pipeline route

It is important to stress here that whatever effects this boycott does have in reducing East Coast oil supplies the central blame for the fuel shortage lies with the U.S. oil trusts, not the Arab governments, which have a perfect right to claim all Middle East oil.

The U.S. oil trusts, as central bastions of U.S. imperialism, were prime movers in the whole post-World War II formulation of U.S. policy in the Middle East. They support the Zionist settler-state of Israel, and they have supported moves to crush any liberation struggles on the part of the Arab masses.

Moreover, the shortage of fuel in the United States preceded the October Mideast war. It was provoked by the deliberate curtailment of refinery capacity and production. This key fact was spelled out on the front page of the *Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 14.

"Until the Mideast crisis," said *Journal* reporters Danforth Austin and James Tanner, "it wasn't the lack of petroleum but the lack of refining capacity that was behind the fuel short-

Continued on page 22

## Con Ed to increase pollution

By STEVE BECK

New York's notorious air-polluting power company, Consolidated Edison, is moving to cash in on the energy crisis. The objective: to be able to pump more soot and poisonous sulfur-dioxide into the air.

Since 1967 Con Ed has been forced to phase out its use of coal and high-sulfur oil. When these are burned the soot and gases they create are a prime cause of lung disease. The gases attack plant life, limestone, and even metal.

Now, claiming it can't obtain enough low-sulfur fuel, Con Ed wants to bypass existing pollution controls. Even the government was apparently shocked by the company's request that no sulfur-content restraint whatever stand in its way.

Con Ed says it hopes to burn fuel containing no more than 2 per-

cent sulfur, but won't make any promises. Present laws require a sulfur content of no more than 0.3 percent.

According to a 1972 report by the Council on Economic Priorities, the energy giant is still responsible for 10 percent of the particulate matter, 40 percent of the sulfur dioxide, 40 percent of the smog-producing nitrogen oxides, and a large proportion of the fine soot particles in New York air.

Anticipating approval of its request, Con Ed has moved ahead to convert two of its oil-burning plants to coal use.

One of its executives made a statement thoroughly in keeping with the spirit of the oil industry ads about being against pollution. Said Con Ed Vice-president Bertram Schwartz, it was "only with reluctance that we asked for an open-ended commitment."



# U.S. policy in the Middle East

## Arab oil, Israel, and imperialism

By DAVE FRANKEL

When Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was asked in Peking Nov. 12 why it is "in the American national interest to support Israel so strongly," he answered: "The United States in the post-war period has supported the concept that international conflicts should not be settled by force."

He hastened to add—perhaps fearing that someone would bring up examples like Vietnam, the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, or the invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965—that:

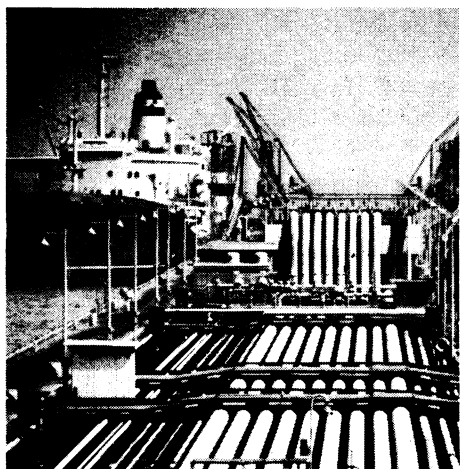
"The United States has supported Israel because of the emotional ties that have existed, because of the democratic tradition of Israel, and because of the fact that it is a going concern in this area. . . ."

Kissinger's clarification still doesn't explain why the U.S. supports Israel. The "emotional ties" developed by U.S. policy makers tend to be attached to more substantial interests. At the end of World War II there were 850,000 Jews in European detention camps, the vast bulk of whom wanted to come to the U.S. But the "emotional ties" of the U.S. capitalists weren't strong enough for them to change their immigration laws. These same laws had been used to refuse refuge to hundreds of thousands of Jews trying to flee the Hitlerite terror in the 1930s as well.

Nor have Democratic traditions been decisive considerations in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy in the past. U.S. support to the Chilean military junta, the dictatorship of the Greek colonels, the Thieu regime in Vietnam, or the Brazilian "gorillas," to name only a few, hardly constitutes a record of affinity for "democratic traditions." Furthermore, the Israeli state, which was founded by the expulsion of a whole people from their homeland, is not exactly a sterling example of democracy in its own right.

### A more sober assessment

Although it is true, as Kissinger says, that Israel "is a going concern,"



Middle East and North African oil accounts for more than 28 percent of U.S. profits from foreign investment.

this is only because of massive U.S. support, as is evident from the latest war and the huge U.S. arms airlift. The U.S. was not prepared to risk a nuclear war because of "emotional ties," "democratic traditions," or because of any supposed "concept that international conflicts should not be settled by force." A more sober assessment of U.S. aims in the Middle East was presented in 1967 by U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, who said:

"The Near and Middle East remains of strategic significance to the United States because the area is a political, military and economic crossroads, and because the flow of Middle Eastern oil is vital to the West."

The magnitude of the imperialist stake in the Middle East is indicated by the fact that 70 percent of the proven crude oil reserves in the capitalist world are there, and another 7 percent are in North Africa. The bulk of this oil is owned by five U.S. cor-



U.S. marines on maneuvers in California's Mojave desert

porations—Exxon, Mobil, and Standard Oil of California, all owned by the Rockefeller family; Gulf Oil, owned by the Mellons; and Texaco.

These huge monopolies have total assets of \$60-billion, and are among the nine largest corporations in the U.S. According to the *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, less than 2 percent of total U.S. direct investment abroad is in Middle Eastern oil, but the return on this investment amounts to 20 percent of total profits on U.S. foreign investment. If North African oil is added to these figures, the investment rises to 4.3 percent, but the profits go up to 28.8 percent!

In addition to being a central source of U.S. profits, Arab oil is an essential long-term resource for the economies of the advanced capitalist countries. It was these factors that made the U.S. willing to risk a nuclear war last month.

Both the U.S. and Britain aid and strengthen regimes such as those in Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and the emirates on the Arab-Persian Gulf as a means of encouraging stability in the area while avoiding if possible the need for direct military intervention.

### Policemen for imperialism

In addition, Washington builds up local "policemen." The announcement early this year that Iran would purchase \$2- to \$3-billion dollars worth of U.S. military hardware is one example of this policy. This is also part of the U.S. policy of building a wall of military bases around the Soviet Union.

The Israeli colonial state is another key bulwark against the Arab revolution. It acts as a proimperialist garri-

son of 300,000 soldiers, and U.S. support to it is not in contradiction with Washington's support to reactionary Arab regimes, but is a complementary policy.

### 'A kind of watchdog'

The role of Israel was outlined by Gershom Shoken, editor of the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* in a Sept. 30, 1951, article.

"According to this," he said, "Israel has been assigned the role of a kind

However, the basic identity of interests between Israel and all the imperialist powers is clear. Benjamin Welles revealed in the Oct. 8, 1970, *New York Times*, that the U.S. and Israel had worked out a joint plan to invade Jordan if King Hussein was overthrown during the civil war there in September 1970.

*Newsweek* magazine wrote after the 1967 war, "As an indirect beneficiary of the Israeli blitz, the U.S. should at least be in a position to neutralize the Middle East, so that its oil can be profitably marketed and its waterways used for the benefit of world commerce. . . ."

What stood in the way of this perspective was not the intransigence of the Arab regimes, but the radicalization of the Arab masses. The Arab governments had to walk a tightrope between the sentiments and demands of the masses and their desire for a negotiated settlement with Israel.

It is this need to placate their own populations that results in so much rhetoric by the Arab regimes, and it is their fear of the masses that results in so little action. The latest threats about an oil embargo illustrate this point.

### 'Arab blackmail'

Despite all the talk about "Arab blackmail" and the so-called Arab oil weapon, the real situation in the Middle East is that it is dominated economically and politically by imperialism. The European imperialists made clear what their attitude would be toward a real oil cutoff on Oct. 14. Joseph Luns, the secretary general of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization said a halt to oil shipments "would come close to being a hostile act." It is worth remembering in this regard that when Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal in 1956 it met with an invasion by Israeli, British, and French troops.

Nixon himself, in discussing the nationalization of U.S. oil companies in Libya in a Sept. 9 news conference, referred to the CIA-engineered coup that overthrew Iranian premier Mossadegh as part of a transparent threat against the Libyan regime. Mossadegh had also nationalized U.S. oil holdings.

The Aug. 27 issue of *U.S. News & World Report* said that the U.S. marines have "a new assignment—be prepared, if ever needed, to fight in the desert . . . presumably in North Africa or the Eastern Mediterranean. There is where U.S. oil interests are great. . . ."

Continued on page 19

## Detroit Arabs set Nov. 28 protest

United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock is being presented with the B'nai B'rith Humanitarian Man of the Year Award in Detroit Nov. 28. Woodcock, who has used large amounts of UAW funds for the purchase of Israel bonds in the past, will keynote the annual B'nai B'rith awards banquet. It is expected that he will pledge further UAW funds to support Israel.

A picket line to protest this support to Israel has been called by

the Arab-American Coordinating Committee, the group that sponsored a pro-Arab demonstration of 3,000 in Dearborn Oct. 14. The committee includes Arab community groups ranging from the Organization of Arab Students to the local Islamic mosque. An Arab auto workers caucus is helping to build the demonstration and is organizing in the UAW to oppose its support to Israel.

The picket line will be at Cobo Hall at 6:00 p.m.

# Student upsurges shake

## Junta's tanks attack Athens students

From Intercontinental Press  
By GERRY FOLEY

After several months of trying to defuse popular opposition by concessions, the slightly renovated Greek military dictatorship reimposed martial law and full press censorship November 17 in an attempt to halt spreading mass demonstrations headed by students and workers calling for the overthrow of the regime.

In violent clashes with the police November 16, five persons were reported killed and 203 hospitalized with serious injuries, including thirty-five police.

"After midnight, army tanks and armored personnel carriers were called in to dislodge students and workers barricaded in the Athens Polytechnic University," Mario Modiano cabled to the *New York Times* November 17 from Athens. "They succeeded and returned to their bases outside the city. However, the police were unable to deal with fresh demonstrations later in the day and at least 40 tanks and personnel carriers were ordered back into Athens. . . .

"Hit-and-run demonstrations spread through the city and bursts of fire from tank cannons and machine guns, together with repeated pistol shots, created an atmosphere of civil war," Modiano reported. "The number of ambulances on the streets suggested that today's casualties could run into the hundreds."

Tension mounted as the head of the junta, George Papadopoulos, an-

nounced the reimposition of martial law from the state telecommunications center. Machine-gun fire was audible in the background.

The upsurge of opposition to the dictatorship began November 4 with demonstrations at a memorial for the last constitutional premier, George Papandreou. The demonstrations escalated sharply when the students occupied the Athens Polytechnic Institute November 13 to press demands for democracy in education. Very quickly the area around the institute, in the heart of the Greek capital, became the focus of swelling antigovernment demonstrations.

"Until late last night, the area around the Athens Polytechnic rang with political slogans shouted by about 4,000 students in the first militant student rally in seven years that has not been broken up by the police," Kostas Chardavellis wrote in the November 15 issue of the Athens daily *Apogevmatini*.

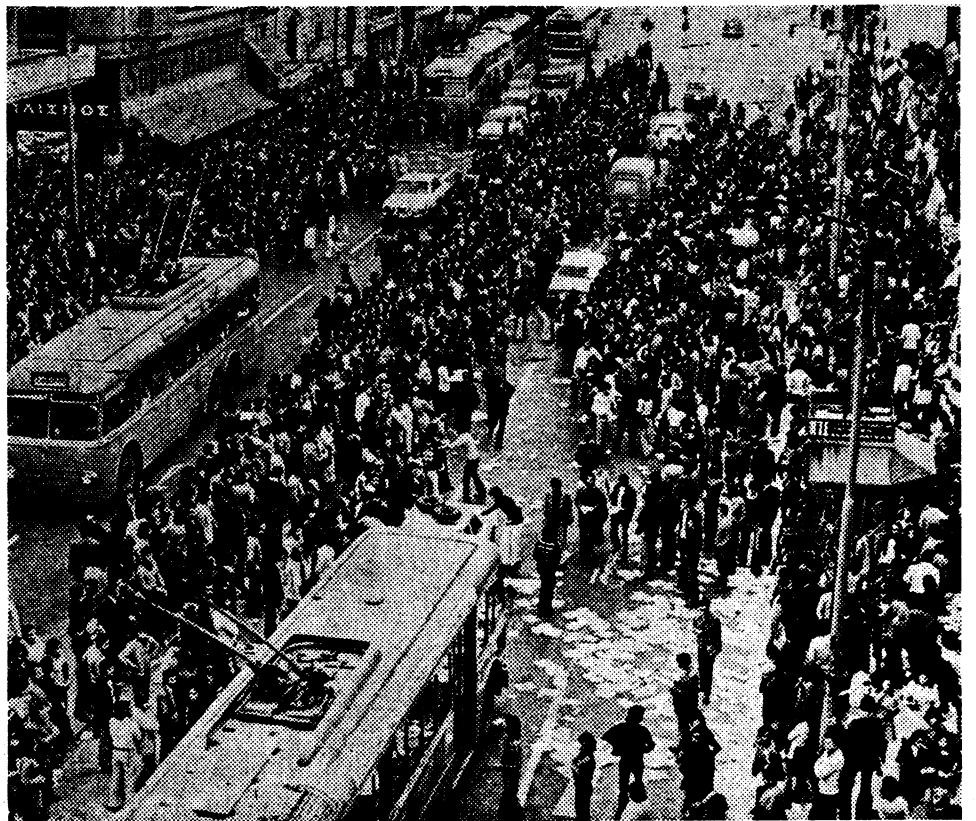
"New slogans were heard in the rally last night, aimed directly at the president of the republic and the premier. Among them were 'The people don't want you'; 'The people are hungry and they will soon eat you up . . .'; 'Bread, education, freedom'; 'Peasants, workers, students'; 'The people starve while the capitalists feast'; 'Americans out'; 'Allende lives.'"

At about 1:00 p.m., according to the November 15 *Apogevmatini*, units of police began moving in. By 5:00 p.m. the students were surrounded and began throwing razor-blade-studded oranges at the cops. But instead of attacking, as they once were quick to do even before the dictatorship was established, the police negotiated.

State Prosecutor Christoulakas appealed to the demonstrators to disperse.

The students told Christoulakas that they would only agree to disperse if the police were pulled out of the area entirely. He complied and, according to *Apogevmatini*, "not a policeman remained." Once the cops were withdrawn, the students filled the avenue and streets.

"Around 9:00 in the evening, the



Athens. Workers joined demonstrations against dictatorship.

number of demonstrators had reached about 8,000. They stopped a lot of trolleys and wrote on their sides in black paint slogans like 'Down with the junta,' and 'The tyrant will die.'

"At about 2:00 a.m. the students occupied the entire Polytechnic Institute. They blocked all entrances to the institution, and reinforced the iron gates of the campus with steel bars and wood. . . .

"The students have also set up a radio station and all night long they broadcast slogans and played music by [the banned composer] Theodorakis."

A favorite slogan of the students, *Apogevmatini* said, was "Thailand."

The example of the Thai students who overthrew their right-wing pro-American military dictatorship was evidently well noted by the students in Greece.

The students' demands seemed modest, involving only democratic rights. The list given in the November 15 *To Vima* included the establishment of a climate of freedom on the campuses, the right to elect representatives to the student councils, abolition of the law on drafting students into the army, abolition of the secret-police unit assigned to the universities, more spending on education and less on the military. But they were clearly tied to a perspective of democratizing the society.

On November 15, students occupied the university in Patras, in support of their Athenian comrades. Their statement was quoted at length in the November 16 *To Vima*:

"We have declared our school a free university to press our demand for 'a free educational system in a free society.' At the same time we are demonstrating our solidarity with the students struggling throughout Greece and all the fighters in the schools of our country. An inseparable part of the popular movement, the student movement extends its hand to the Greek people for a common struggle for freedom, progress, and social justice."

On November 14, the day before, the students at the Polytechnic School at the University of Salonika held a rally to protest the three-month suspension of four of their comrades and elected a committee of four to arrange coordination with the other student protests.

In an interview in the November

15 *To Vima*, an Athens student leader stressed the breadth of the movement:

"Everybody is included, rightists, centrists, leftists, Maoists, Trotskyists, and anarchists."

A little before midnight on November 15, reported *To Vima* the next day, the committee chosen by the students in the Polytechnic Institute issued the following appeal:

"We call for a general strike throughout the country, for the people to fill the streets, determined to bring down the junta."

Since the junta had lifted its censorship, these appeals were extensively publicized in the papers. Thus, their reimposing strict controls could prove to be a desperate move to head off a rebellion that could quickly become irresistible, since the government has little popular support and still rests essentially on the repressive apparatus.

The effect of the latest crackdown is still unknown, but in the whole period leading up to the student rebellion, the junta appeared incapable of restoring the iron-fisted rule of its early years.

After infuriating the students by the brutal reprisals against the November 4 demonstrators, the government boosted their confidence by retreating and releasing seventeen persons arrested in those clashes. In fact, in its clumsy attempts to combine brutality and concessions, the regime seemed to be losing its balance. The dictatorship's isolation is underscored by the statements of the rightist former premier Panayotis Canellopoulos, who supported the students not only after November 4 but even after the November 15 appeals for overthrowing the government.

Thus, it seems, virtually no political force in Greece places any confidence in a "liberalization" under the present regime, and the vast majority, including the bourgeoisie, are determined to dump "those Mickey Mouse colonels," as Melina Mercouri once called them.

Judging from reports of militant workers joining in the demonstrations, the time may be short. Once the masses of the workers and the poor, who have been terrorized and plundered for six years by an obscurantist jackboot regime of piratical capitalists and U.S.-trained military goons, go into motion, it will be hard for the bourgeoisie to find a political solution that could stabilize the country.

## U.S. aid to Greek colonels hit

The Greek community in the United States has responded to the student upsurge with emergency solidarity demonstrations.

Five hundred chanting and singing protesters, almost all Greeks, picketed the Greek consulate in New York City Nov. 18. The action was called on less than 24 hours notice by Demokratia and the United Hellenic Front.

A consulate functionary appeared briefly at a window but retreated when the crowd raised clenched fists and shouted, "USA Out of Greece!"

Banners and placards condemned U.S. aid to the dictatorship. Georgia Nanopoulos, one of the organizers, said, "If Papadopoulos had to fight it out alone, there's no question who would be victorious."

After Theodore Stathis, head of the United Hellenic Front, addressed the picketers, they took to the streets in a spontaneous march to the United Nations Plaza.

A picket line at the Greek consulate in Boston on Nov. 17, called by the Greek Student Association, drew more than 300. Most were Greek students.

The main slogans were "U.S. Out of Greece!" and "Down with the

junta!" The demonstrators burned the flag of the junta and observed a minute of silence for the Greek students who have been killed.



Militant/Michael Baumann  
Demonstration at Greek consulate in New York City.



# Greece, South Korea

## Protests sweep campuses in Seoul

By CAROLINE LUND

The wave of student protests in South Korea has spread to virtually every college and university in Seoul as well as some in other parts of the country. The upsurge is at least as big as the university protests that shook the country in 1967, and is approaching the scale of the 1964 protests, which included high school students.

The South Korean student struggle continues the heroic tradition of Korean student protests during the past 14 years against dictatorship, government corruption, and imperialist domination of Korea by Japan and the United States. In the mightiest of these protests, student demonstrations in 1960 brought half a million Koreans into the streets of Seoul to topple the hated dictatorship of Syngman Rhee. At least 180 students lost their lives in this "April revolution."

Now, the militancy and power of the student actions have prompted speculation about the possible downfall of the current martial law regime of President Park Chung Hee.

"Unless the signs are wrong, South Korea is headed for a political explosion that could bring a bloody end to the 14-year rule of President Park Chung Hee," wrote a *Chicago Daily News* correspondent from Seoul.

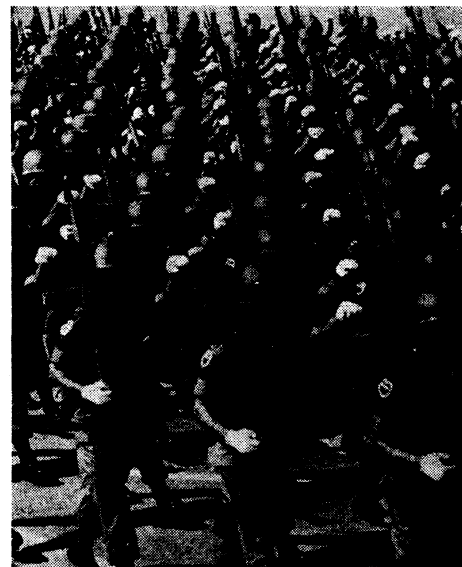
On Nov. 15 2,000 students rallied on the Korea University campus and attempted to take their demonstration into the streets of Seoul. They were stopped by police with tear gas, reported *New York Times* correspondent Richard Halloran, in "the most sustained and violent outburst in the spreading defiance of the government of President Park Chung Hee."

On Nov. 12, women students joined the protests demanding "a genuine democratic system" with a guarantee

of "freedom of press, speech, and assembly." Four thousand rallied at Ewha Women's University, the world's largest university for women only. The *New York Times* reported that 4,000 women (half the total enrollment) turned out again the following day for another rally.

The students are employing rallies, hunger strikes, demonstrations, a petition drive, and a general boycott of classes to press their demands. These include restoration of democratic rights, release of students under arrest, and dismantlement of the huge Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA)—whose agents and informers have infiltrated the campuses. They also include an end to Japanese imperialist domination of South Korea, reunification with North Korea, and a full disclosure of the facts in the Park regime's kidnapping of Kim Dae Jung.

So far, several hundred students have been arrested, and a dissident professor has died in the course of "interrogation" by the KCIA.



U.S.-equipped South Korean army

Although Park's police have been successful thus far in containing the student actions, the spirit of protest is also evident in other layers of South Korean society. In early November, 15 prominent writers, scholars, and religious figures issued a statement denouncing the "rule by terror" of the Park regime and calling on the population to "rise up and struggle" against

the government. They were arrested immediately.

Reporters at the country's largest daily newspaper, the *Donga Ilbo*, have staged two all-night vigils protesting censorship and KCIA surveillance.

"The demonstrations you see here in Seoul and elsewhere are only the tip of the iceberg," said a former high government official to *Chicago Daily News* correspondent Keyes Beech. "The discontent goes much deeper than that."

The student protests, which began in early October, were triggered by the scandal surrounding the kidnapping of Kim Dae Jung, leader of the opposition New Democratic Party, who was narrowly beaten by Park in the 1971 "elections." When Park declared martial law in October 1972, Kim was in Japan, where he continued to publicly criticize the Park dictatorship.

Kim was abducted from a Tokyo hotel Aug. 8, beaten up, and brought to Seoul, where he was placed under house arrest. Although the Park regime denied complicity in the kidnapping, Japanese police have concluded unequivocally that the KCIA was behind it. Kim was "convinced" by the KCIA agents to publicly announce his withdrawal from all political activities.

One of the leaders of the student protests told a *Washington Post* reporter the reaction of students to this blatant political repression:

"This was a great shock to us, and showed how bad things are—the strong oppression of the KCIA, the lack of truthfulness in the government, and the powerlessness of the Korean press which could say nothing about what really happened."

The kidnapping was an acute embarrassment to both the Park regime and one of its imperialist masters, the Japanese government. The two governments quickly negotiated a "settlement" designed to whitewash and bury the incident so as to get on with "business as usual."

"Business as usual" between Japan and South Korea, its former colony, is a relationship of economic domination and plunder by Japan—another focus of the student protests.

The Nov. 12 *Far Eastern Economic Review* described this relationship:



Kidnapped opposition leader Kim Dae Jung following his release by secret police.

"... most business deals between the two countries involve over-pricing of goods purchased with Japanese loans. The difference between invoiced and actual prices is then allegedly shared among the Japanese and South Korean businessmen and politicians involved in the deal."

The Park regime's other imperialist master is Washington, which maintains 42,000 U.S. troops in South Korea.

Seoul was one of the stops made by Secretary of State Kissinger in his recent diplomatic world tour. Following secret talks in Peking—some of which concerned Korea—Kissinger met with dictator Park. He was no doubt concerned with assuring maintenance of the status quo in this outpost of world imperialism.

This may not be so easy, however, if the student protests continue to deepen. In a Nov. 15 dispatch, *New York Times* reporter Halloran cited the impact in Seoul of the student overthrow of the government in Thailand, another U.S. military bastion.

Although South Korean campuses close for vacation in mid-December, Halloran reported, the crucial test may come when they reopen in March. "There is some belief here that if the Korean students become convinced they can succeed, their protest will quickly escalate," Halloran wrote.

## An international strategy for revolutionary youth

By ANDY ROSE

A few days after a massive student revolt toppled the military regime in Thailand, one U.S. official commented, "It is completely out of the pattern. The whole thing doesn't make any sense at all. The students have never had the clout to do this."

In the following weeks mass demonstrations, occupations, and strikes

**A Strategy for Revolutionary Youth, 50 cents. Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.**

by students in Korea and Greece, aimed at bringing down the dictatorial governments of those countries, have again brought the "clout" of the student movement to the forefront of world politics.

Although these are the most powerful student actions in the recent past, they are by no means isolated incidents. Just last spring major student protests rocked France and other European countries.

In 1972 a student-initiated upsurge overturned the government of the Malagasy Republic, and South African students organized large protest actions against the racist apartheid regime.

One of the most important contributions to understanding the origins, role, and potential of this international student revolt is the document *A Strategy for Revolutionary Youth* (original title *The Worldwide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International*). Written in 1969, it has found striking confirmation in events since then.

The resolution was adopted by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization, as the beginning of a discussion on the new youth radicalization. In this country, it has been adopted by the Young Socialist Alliance.

"The powerful student radicalization," the resolution says, "has shown its capacity to serve as a transmission belt speeding the development of



'Students, workers, solidarity': Paris, May, 1968.

a radical political consciousness among other social layers of the same generation. In several countries it has triggered mass action by the working class as a whole."

This unprecedented radicalization has arisen from the crisis of imperialism, marked by social convulsions, revolutionary upheavals, and counterrevolutionary bloodbaths.

The youth radicalization has been inspired especially by the colonial revolutionary struggles—such as in Cuba, Vietnam, Palestine, and Africa—and millions of youth have taken to the streets in militant actions to oppose imperialism's attacks on these struggles.

The resolution analyzes the increased social weight of the student movement, the vast expansion of higher education, and the links between students and young workers.

Student problems, it asserts, flow from the contradictions of the capitalist system, including the role of education as an institution of capital-

*Continued on page 22*

## Meany & the UFW

AFL-CIO President George Meany has finally noticed, more than a week after the fact, that Teamster boss Frank Fitzsimmons has junked his pledge to stop strikebreaking in the California grape and lettuce fields. Meany says the AFL-CIO will now "take whatever actions are appropriate" to aid the United Farm Workers Union, the target of the growers' and Teamster bureaucrats' union-busting efforts.

It would be "appropriate" to immediately sanction the UFW-called boycotts of scab lettuce, grapes, and Gallo wines—a step the federation has so far failed to take.

It would be even more appropriate to throw the full strength of the 13.5-million-member AFL-CIO into a massive boycott campaign to bring the growers to their knees.

Just imagine what united, active support from the trade unions could mean for the farm workers. Local unions and labor councils could turn out thousands of their members every week for boycott picket lines. They could shut down any establishment that violated the boycott. They could organize mass rallies to show that labor stands with the farm workers in their struggle against exploitation and racist oppression. They could extend much-needed financial aid to the UFW for the boycott campaign and upcoming strikes.

Meany said, "It appears the Teamsters have decided their interests lie in maintaining their alliance with the growers rather than maintaining their integrity as trade unionists." That is hardly a revelation.

For months the corrupt Teamster bureaucrats have served as agents of the growers, signing sweetheart contracts to keep the UFW out of the fields and then providing goon squads to attack UFW pickets. These actions are a shameful blot on the record of the labor movement.

The Teamsters' "negotiations," it is now clear to all, were merely a ruse to confuse and weaken the UFW and its supporters. Meany played right along with this scheme, pressuring the farm workers into the negotiations, because he is more afraid of waging a serious struggle against the growers than he is of letting the UFW be destroyed.

Even now, Meany has not taken any of the steps necessary to effectively defend the UFW. He apparently is still relying on salvaging something from his "agreement" with the Teamsters.

As Cesar Chavez recently said, "the only way to get the growers to get the Teamsters to get out is by having an effective economic action against the growers, and that's the boycott and the strike."

The boycott, Chavez said, is going ahead with or without AFL-CIO sanction. The obligation of trade unionists and all others who support the farm workers' cause is to join in and organize the largest possible picket lines, rallies, and demonstrations. That is how the boycott can win.

## Zionist slander

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith has stepped up its slander campaign against anti-Zionists inside the U. S. with a "study" released Nov. 17 about opposition to Israel during the latest Mideast war. Specifically mentioned as leaders of the anti-Zionist protests are the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. The SWP and YSA have repeatedly been slandered as "anti-Semitic" by the ADL in the past.

The following day the ADL launched another campaign against what it termed Arab "blackmail" through the oil boycott, attempting to whip up anti-Arab sentiment. This ADL statement contended that the "destruction of Israel is the ultimate in anti-Semitism."

The charge of anti-Semitism against the SWP and YSA is a fraud. The record of the SWP and YSA is one of the staunchest opposition to anti-Semitism and racism in all forms. The SWP and YSA are opponents of an exclusively Jewish state—a state that forcibly usurped the land of the Palestinian people and grants political power and rights to Jews only. This position is not anti-Semitic.

The reason for this frantic slander campaign by the ADL is that growing numbers of young people, including young Jews, are turning away from Zionism.

Another Zionist outfit, Religious Zionists of America, recently set up a commission to combat "indifference and hostility" toward Israel among leftist Jewish students.

More and more Jews are coming to support the struggle for a democratic, secular Palestine, where Arabs and Jews alike could enjoy equal rights and human dignity.

In their slander campaign against revolutionary socialists, the ADL and other Zionist groups are trying to direct the eyes of Jews away from their real enemy both here and in the Mideast: the U. S. imperialist rulers.

### Fine publication

Here is my \$2 contribution to the *Militant* Anniversary Fund. I wish I could afford to give you more, but a long period of unemployment (just recently over), makes it impossible for me to give more to your fine publication. I am a new subscriber whose introductory subscription is just running out. I feel that, at the moment, the best use of my limited funds would be to renew my subscription immediately.  
J. J.  
Phila., Pa.

### Communist Party

There is quite a contrast between the way the Socialist Workers Party runs election campaigns and the way the Communist Party does so.

For example, to judge from the *Daily World*, the CP newspaper, the recent Pat Bonner-Lyons campaign for Boston school board was a model campaign, to be emulated by other CPers. I recently saw her campaign brochure, which was a real eye-opener. Many groups are listed as endorsing her, including the Young Workers Liberation League. But the Communist Party is not mentioned! Nor is there any reference to the need to oppose the Democratic and Republican parties, let alone any mention of socialism, the working class, or anything like that.

Her qualifications are that she "puts education—not personality or politics—on the agenda. . . ." She is, in the typical rhetoric of phony politicians, the "candidate who will make the difference!"

If this is indeed a "model" campaign for the CP, why don't they quit horsing around and come right out in favor of Democratic Party candidates? That would at least be honest.

W. F.  
New York, N. Y.

### Communist League

Just a short note to call to your attention that the July-August issue of the *Socialist Tribune* published by the Socialist Party USA had an editorial supporting the rights of the banned Communist League in France.

P. M.  
Providence, R. I.

### To the point

Enclosed is a \$25 contribution to the *Militant* Forty-fifth Anniversary Fund.

The articles in *The Militant* on the Middle East war are to the point and explain the cause of the trouble there.

J. B.  
Sungudo, Alberta, Canada

### Supports Arabs

I am enclosing a check for \$15 to cover our continuing subscription and a contribution to the fund-raising campaign.

It has been a comfort to know that there are others who support the same issues we do and who can give us information about these

issues and relate them to a political ideology.

*The Militant*, Young Socialist Alliance, and Socialist Workers Party became interesting to me because of their stand on the Middle East. I've been pro-Arab for 11 years and it's certainly nice to hear from a group that doesn't represent the capitalist oil interest talking about the rights of the Arabs!  
M. M.  
Wichita, Kans.

### For mom

The three-month sub is for my mom. Please also accept \$4 to help defray the increased costs of printing.  
J. E.  
Cincinnati, Ohio

### Best coverage

I want to thank you for sending me a subscription to *The Militant*. It's an awfully good feeling to know that someone out there gives a damn about those of us in prison.

I believe *The Militant* has the best all-around coverage of all the various socialist newspapers. Keep up the good work.

A prisoner  
New York

### Corrupt human nature

Please cancel my subscription to *The Militant* immediately. I have considered your point of view about the corrupt capitalistic society and your interesting alternative to change it into a socialist society. The fallacy in your alternative is that you don't take into consideration the corruptness of human nature, which is unchangeable. It is ironic that you try to get utopia and get something even worse.

Robert Manning  
Concord, Calif.

### No relation

This letter is in regard to Dave Frankel's article [*Militant*, Nov. 16] "Israel preparing for another war."

In answer to the statement that Israel was "carved out of an Arab country," by 1947 there were five Jews to every Arab living in Palestine west of the Jordan River. Palestine has not been an Arab country since before the Ottoman Turks conquered the area a few centuries ago. So the Arab claim to the land was no more valid than that of the Jews who lived there some 2,000 years ago. And if we take examples out of history we see that when Islam spread out of Arabia the only policy was conquest of the world. This is still an Islamic policy, and most Arabs happen to be Islamic.

Laurence J. Frankel  
Brockport, N. Y.

P. S. I am of no relation to the author of the article in question.

*Dave Frankel replies*—In 1947 the population of Palestine was 1,874,000. There were 594,000 Jews and 1,280,000 Arabs. The UN partition plan created an Arab state with 735,000 Arabs and 10,000 Jews, a Jewish state with 499,000 Jews and 405,000 Arabs, and an international zone comprising Jerusalem. These figures do not include an estimated



# iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás

## Raza Unida & Calif. ballot



105,000 nomadic Bedouin Arabs in the Jewish state area and 22,000 in the Arab state area. The area east of the Jordan River was not involved in the partition plan.

As far as the argument that the Arabs are bent on world conquest because they are Moslems, it seems to me that this charge could be better made against western imperialism, and the U. S. in particular. About half of the U. S. military establishment of 2.2 million is maintained in bases outside the U. S. There are no Arab military bases outside the Arab world. As for Israel, it currently is occupying Egyptian and Syrian territory, in addition to the land originally stolen from the Palestinians.

### An appeal to brothers

There are many Zionist Vietnam veterans fighting in the Mideast. There is also talk of amnesty for white college draft dodgers. If this is permitted to go on, why not allow Black Vietnam veterans to fight in the colonial wars in Mozambique and Angola or have them fight for the Arab cause, which will affect the whole of Africa?

It would be fair to have these bad conduct discharges that Blacks now hold to be changed to honorable, or give more rights to these brothers who fought for an imperialist and racist country only to come back to heroin addiction, street crime, low-paying jobs, and no V. A. benefits.

This is an appeal to brothers to keep up the struggle because remember, who is the enemy?  
O. A. B.

Washington, D. C.

### Changin' times

The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Union Local 1-5 in Martinez is known in the area for the bitter and courageous strikes it carried out against the Shell Oil giant in 1969 and again earlier this year, and for its consistent support to the Farm Workers' struggle and the Farah strike. *Militant* supporters from Oakland and Berkeley have been distributing the paper at Shell's plant gates regularly for some time now. I recently had an experience there that reflects the changing attitudes of working people.

An OCAW activist showed me a button that had been distributed by the union many years ago that read: "Go Union S. O. N." At that time, he said, the double meaning of "S. O. N." was "Save Our Nation."

The buttons were put away for years, he said, but have recently regained popularity. This struck me as a bit strange at first, but then everything became perfectly clear. Today's interpretation of the old button by Shell workers is: "Go Union, Shit on Nixon."

Frank Boehm  
Berkeley, Calif.

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

The Watergate revelations have shown to millions that tampering with the elections through bribery, break-ins, wiretapping, and illegal contributions is nothing unusual in this society. However, it is worth remembering that even without the tampering, election laws are undemocratic.

For example, in California, the Democrats and Republicans have made the ballot requirements the most restrictive in the country. Their aim is to protect the ballot as their own private reserve and keep other parties, like La Raza Unida Party and the Socialist Workers Party, off the ballot.

To qualify for statewide ballot status a party must register some 67,000 voters—1 percent of the vote in the last general election. Or else it must collect 663,340 signatures on independent nominating petitions (10 percent of the vote).

In the past 25 years in California, only the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) and the right-wing American Independent Party (AIP) have been able to qualify. Both did it by the registration method.

A lawsuit has been filed by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), which seeks to have this restrictive election law invalidated. La Raza Unida Party is among the plaintiffs, as is the Socialist Workers Party.

As the suit points out, the ballot requirements discriminate in a special way against parties of the oppressed minorities, such as La Raza Unida.

As of Oct. 8, 1972, La Raza Unida held 4.8 percent of the total registration in the 40th assembly district. But these voters were not permitted to nominate a candidate with the party name "La Raza Unida" on the November ballot.

Even if La Raza Unida registration in the 40th assembly district grew to the point that it was the largest party in the district, it could not place a candidate on the ballot in that district unless the party qualified statewide.

The suit also shows how a vicious cycle exists

that has frustrated the efforts of the Chicano party to qualify through the registration method. For example, at one time the *partido* had more than 30,000 registrants. But many of these people, when they learn that no Raza Unida candidate will appear on the ballot, become discouraged and don't bother to vote. Periodically, the state purges the voters' lists of all those who fail to vote in the general election. Raza Unida then has to start all over.

The Democrats and Republicans need maintain only some 5,300 registrants throughout the state to stay on the ballot and to have all their primaries run at state expense.

To qualify for the ballot in the key 1974 gubernatorial election, La Raza Unida would have to register 67,000 voters by Dec. 31 of this year. It does not look as if the *partido* can achieve this Herculean task.

This underscores the importance of the CoDEL suit. The only way the *partido* will be on the ballot is if the existing law is ruled unconstitutional. This is not impossible; reactionary election laws have been thrown out in many states.

But a united effort of all parties victimized by this reactionary law, along with all other supporters of fair election laws, will be necessary. Political support must be mobilized for opening up the ballot to those who want to run against the Democrats and the Republicans.

The efforts of CoDEL have received the endorsements of Chicano leaders such as Corky Gonzales of the Colorado RUP, José Angel Gutiérrez of the Texas RUP, antideportation leader Bert Corona, and San Fernando RUP candidate Andrés Rodríguez Torres.

The ballot laws are nothing but a crooked card game with the Democrats and Republicans dealing from a stacked deck. Supporting the CoDEL suit will help to fight this racket. To help, contact CoDEL, P. O. Box 40445, San Francisco, Calif. 94140.

## National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



## Textile workers poisoned

At least 138 men and women of the 950 production workers at Columbus Coated Fabrics, a unit of Borden, Inc., in Columbus, Ohio, have been stricken with a nerve affliction that weakens their arms and legs and has made some of them nearly helpless. One of the victims, Thomas Meade, 22, is unable to walk without steel braces. Oakley Dingess, 39, has little use of his arms and hands and tells how he "can hardly turn the key to the trunk of my car."

What they are suffering from is diagnosed as peripheral neuropathy, caused by chemical poisoning. Which chemical or combination of chemicals used to produce vinyl-coated fabrics is poisoning these workers is not known. It is known, however, that their affliction is directly caused by the work they have been doing. There is no known medical treatment for their condition.

The workers at Columbus Coated Fabrics are members of Textile Workers Union Local 487. At a special meeting Oct. 7 they voted to stay out of the plant because working conditions are "unacceptably dangerous to our health and safety."

Prior to the union vote most workers were staying home anyway. During the previous week as many as 600 workers had been absent from the plant; it was operated mostly by supervisory personnel.

After the union voted to close the plant for health reasons, a company representative, Joseph Recchi, director of employee relations, announced that the company would not voluntarily close the plant and would continue production as long as willing workers could be found.

Recchi was restating company policy that has prevailed since symptoms of chemical poisoning first appeared last March. At that time workers were complaining of weakness, limpness of arms and legs, and lack of coordination.

Last August the Ohio public health service was informed by a neurologist that James Osborne was suffering from peripheral neuropathy. The physician thought the disease was related to Osborne's work

at Columbus Coated Fabrics. Nothing was done by the state public health service or the company.

Last April and again in June inspections by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration uncovered 34 health violations, including chemical contaminants in the air. One OSHA official said the violations were "nonserious."

The position of the company is that any health violations must be the fault of the workers. Recchi says the plant is "not an unclean place."

At another Borden plant in California, tests have shown chemical poisons also present. However, the symptoms of chemical poisoning have not yet appeared among workers there. The company thinks the testing equipment was faulty, not the air in the plant.

Some safety measures were finally taken in the company's Ohio plant after a number of workers were stricken. Those on the job were cautioned not to eat lunch in plant areas where certain chemicals were used. Dr. John Cashman, director of the Ohio Department of Health, said the workers had their sandwiches "right out there, absorbing whatever was in the air." In addition to advising workers to eat carefully, the company provided masks for them on some operations.

After the union voted to stop work, Dr. Cashman announced that the public health service was considering an order to close the poisonous plant.

Dr. Cashman is one of those public officials who has a philosophical attitude toward the dangers of modern industry. He says, "The whole occupational health area is almost like you're on top of a volcano. You don't know whether it will erupt or not."

Judging by what happened at Columbus Coated Fabrics, the prevailing opinion of industrial management and public officials is wait and see. The worst that can happen is some workers will be poisoned. That won't cost the company much. Besides, it is cheaper than looking for prevention, which might mean giving up the product—and the profit.

# The Great Society

Harry Ring



Hope she taped it—"The pressure has made Julie (Nixon-Eisenhower) more combative, perhaps, but the portrait she paints of her father is a man more philosophical in recent weeks, responsive to love and support from family and friends, and reflective. The President of the United States, she said, often sits at the piano alone playing soft melodic tunes."—El Paso Times.

At least we cleared that up—The following is reprinted from the Nov. 10 Dallas Morning News: "WASHINGTON (AP)—President Nixon is opposed to coyotes eating sheep, his chief spokesman said. The comment by press secretary Ronald Ziegler came after a reporter asked for a White House position on the question."

What else is new?—University of Wisconsin researchers are studying the possibility of making food out of sewage.

We thought campus cafeterias had been doing it for years.

Political sex—"Sex without class consciousness cannot give satisfaction even if repeated until infinity."—Aldo Brandirali, secretary-general of the Marxist-Leninist Party, an Italian Maoist grouping that insists on marriage for its members, sets a limit on frequency of intercourse, and sees feminism as "a serpent beginning to creep into our organization."

Every cloud has a flannel lining—What with the energy shortage, says Interior Secretary Morton, long underwear may be in great demand because "some people are going to have a cold winter."

A practical perfect master—Asked why he didn't sell his Rolls-Royce to feed the poor, Guru Maharaj Ji said, "I

would sacrifice my life to bring about peace and help mankind." But, he continued, "if I sell my Rolls-Royce and give money to the starving, all the money would soon be gone and there would still be starving people."

Sounds reasonable—Exxon estimates its third-quarter profits increased 80 percent over last year. It said this mainly reflected increased demand coupled with higher prices.

Every little bit helps—Responding to public pique over the frequency of presidential flights, a White House aide said a flight to Miami would be made at 475 miles an hour rather than the normal 525. This will cut fuel consumption from 2,200 gallons an hour to 2,000. However, the trip will take longer, resulting in a net savings of 150 gallons.



"I Hear The Americans Are Suffering A Fuel Shortage"

## Women In Revolt

### Drs. Morgentaler and Koome

Linda Jenness



Dr. Henry Morgentaler was found not guilty by a French-speaking jury in Montréal Nov. 13.

Morgentaler, a well-known advocate of a woman's right to safe abortions, was charged with performing an illegal abortion.

Morgentaler's case had become the focus of the abortion rights movement in Canada. His defense committees received wide sponsorship and endorsement. Picket lines, rallies, and demonstrations took place across Canada on his behalf. International support was built for the case.

The Canadian government launched the attack on Morgentaler in an effort to set back the struggle for safe, legal abortions in Canada. Morgentaler operates a clinic in Montréal, where he has performed several thousand abortions.

His victory is a victory for the Canadian abortion rights movement and deals yet another blow to the international "right-to-life" forces.

Gertrude Katz, a member of a committee defending Dr. Morgentaler, told reporters following the acquittal, "The court declaring Morgentaler not guilty lifted the guilt from thousands of women who had abortions. The fact that he was not

guilty meant the liberation of everyone from an archaic law."

Morgentaler still faces other trials on illegal abortion charges, but they have been postponed at least until the spring.

Meanwhile, support for another doctor, Dr. A. Frans Koome, continues to grow. Koome is a Seattle doctor appealing a conviction for performing an abortion on a minor at her request.

Koome's case centers on the right of women under the age of 18 to terminate an unwanted pregnancy. Even though the Supreme Court legalized abortion in the United States, many states still place restrictions on this right for women under 18. In most states young women must obtain the consent of their parents or legal guardian or, if married, from their husbands, before obtaining an abortion.

Young women are among those who suffer most from the lack of the right to choose abortion. An unwanted pregnancy for them often means being dismissed from school, ostracized, or forced into unplanned and unwanted marriages and motherhood. Any woman, regardless of her age, must

have the right to terminate an unwanted pregnancy. And she should not have to plead for the consent of anyone.

Last week Koome joined Florynce Kennedy, Black feminist lawyer and author of *Abortion Rap*; Gale Shangold, University of Washington Campus Abortion Committee; and Judy Dubester, Seattle lawyer and coauthor of the Feminist Amicus Brief (a friend of the court brief written in support of the case of Dr. Koome), at a rally at the U. of Washington in Seattle. The rally, held to publicize the need to extend the Supreme Court decision, was attended by 300 people.

As part of the day's activities, Florynce Kennedy debated Kenneth Van Derhoef, a member of the national board of Right to Life and president of Washington state's Human Life. Six hundred people attended the debate.

A hearing on Dr. Koome's appeal was held Nov. 12 by the Washington State Supreme Court. If Koome wins his case, it could help set a legal precedent for the rest of the country and would be yet another victory for the abortion rights movement.

## By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



### The real criminals in the Virgin Islands

Officially termed a "non self-governing U.S. territory," the Virgin Islands comprise nine major islands 35 miles east of Puerto Rico.

Its attractions include balmy tropical weather, cheap liquor, and warm seas perfect for snorkeling, boating, or wahoo and marlin fishing.

But these attractions aren't enough to brake the decline in tourism to these islands that until recently had the highest number of cruise ship calls in the world.

In a year, 21 people, many of them tourists, and all but two of them white, have been killed.

During this time, frightening-sounding descriptions of "racial hostilities" and "violent crime" have been laced through news accounts in the capitalist media. Federal marshals have been sent in.

The killings and the lopsided reporting have taken a high toll on the islands' tourist industry.

White businessmen are thin from worry. "The economy's shot to hell," one officer in the hotel owners association said. "It's a disaster," was the assessment of the director of the St. Croix chamber of commerce.

But to native Blacks, there's less concern. "This

is not going to hurt Black people as much as the whites say it will," one lawyer told a *New York Times* reporter. "They don't have any part of the tourist industry, anyway."

Blacks are a majority of the total population of the Virgin Islands. St. Croix is the largest of the islands, with an estimated population of 50,000. Although the island has a Black figurehead governor, whites call the shots and own most of the land and property. The island is under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Department of the Interior.

The per capita income, at \$3,800, is the highest of all the Caribbean islands. And this has lured many "down islanders"—Trinidadians, Jamaicans, Antiguans—who seek elusive jobs. But the jobless rate is high.

Many down islanders bring their families and children. The schools are crowded. The total primary and secondary school enrollment has more than doubled since 1969.

One of the world's largest oil refineries—Amerada-Hess's 750-acre complex—is located on St. Croix. When the refinery opened in 1965, the oil company was guaranteed that "during its first

16 years it would get rebates on 75 per cent of all Federal income taxes," according to the *New York Times*.

Under a deal worked out during the Depression, all federal taxes collected in the islands are returned to it.

In 1971, the Hess refinery received \$18-million in returned federal taxes. It kicked back \$6-million to the island government. Critics pointed out that this was not enough. The refinery is a heavy air and water polluter.

These conditions, bred by capitalist underdevelopment—actually overexploitation—are unanimously snubbed by government officials as the reasons for the growing crime rate. To them, private property is not the problem.

But it is, and in the Virgin Islands it is the tourism and industrial moguls who are the real criminals. Criminals who plunder and strip the islands, hauling down billions while the Black masses remain impoverished—and powerless, strapped to a puppet regime.

Somehow this side of the story is never printed in the capitalist press.



# The Militant's circulation drive concludes; major step forward in subs & street sales

By NANCY COLE

Forty-five years ago Nov. 15, the first issue of *The Militant* appeared. One part of our celebration of this anniversary, a campaign to increase our circulation, ended last week with sales of our Nov. 23 issue (front-page headline "Who Rules America?").

Figures alone can't tell the whole story of this drive, but they are testimony to its success.

With a goal of 15,000, we gained 16,769 new subscribers. We also aimed to establish weekly street sales

each week.

Also not included in the scoreboards were the sales of the 12 *Young Socialist* and two *Militant* traveling teams, who sold a combined total of 12,769 *Militants* during their tours this fall.

Adding the team sales and 50 percent of the smaller bundles, (our estimate of what was sold), we get a grand total of 115,380 *Militants* sold this fall; an average of 10,489 weekly. And even this figure doesn't include newsstand and bookstore sales.

*Militant* Sales in Black and Chicano communities increased dramatically. Similarly, several areas started regular sales in local Arab communities. Brooklyn found a warm response in its large Haitian community.

Even before coverage of the New York hospital workers' strike, several cities had established sales at hospitals. With a feature on the strike last week, these sales picked up. One member of Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Union in New York sold 35 last week at the hospital where she works and at strike picket lines.

Other workplace sales regularized this fall include union meetings, post offices, phone companies, and long-shore pay lines. Plant gate sales were also incorporated into weekly sales in many cities. Last week St. Louis experimented with selling at the local General Motors plant at coffee break and sold 30 *Militants*.

Areas are now making plans to maintain high sales. While many places have colder weather to contend with, they are confident they can overcome it by emphasizing indoor locations. Already the Oakland-Berkeley area has decided to aim for a goal of 800 in coming weeks, and Seattle hopes to sell 400.

The subscription drive for 15,000 new readers this fall was divided into two components. First was a goal of 8,000 to be sold during two subscription blitz weekends, one at the end of September and one at the end of October. The first blitz brought in 5,405 subs and by the end of the second blitz we had a total of 9,099.

The other 7,000 subscriptions were to be sold by the 12 *Young Socialist* and two *Militant* teams, and they surpassed that goal by selling 7,080.

In addition to single copies and subscriptions sold, the teams sold 12,864 copies of the *Young Socialist*, more than \$3,200 worth of Pathfinder literature, and recruited 102 members to the Young Socialist Alliance. Eight new locals of the YSA were established.

Some of the best sellers of *The Militant* this fall—members of the YSA—were also selling their monthly newspaper, the *Young Socialist*. With a goal of selling 10,000 copies monthly by the end of November, indications are that they will meet it with ease.

The *International Socialist Review* is also conducting a circulation drive this fall for 2,500 new subscribers.

new audiences for the ideas of revolutionary socialism. As a result *The Militant* is far better known than before and its influence has greatly increased. One example will suffice: In Philadelphia last week, a radio commentator was outlining the positions on the Mideast taken by various groups on the left. He quoted from *The Militant*, and then remarked, "Any of you who haven't seen *The Militant* haven't been in Philadelphia very long. You can't miss it. It's everywhere."

## Subscription scoreboard

AREA	QUOTA	SOLD	%
Orono, Me.	10	26	260
Logan	25	44	176
Lexington	10	15	150
Cleveland	350	485	139
Detroit	400	480	120
Seattle	350	395	113
Atlanta	350	390	111
Ann Arbor	10	11	110
Twin Cities	450	495	110
Denver	300	323	108
Houston	300	325	108
Bellingham	17	18	106
Los Angeles	600	636	106
St. Louis	200	210	105
Chicago	700	730	104
Oakland/Berkeley	700	727	104
Boston	700	711	102
Philadelphia	350	356	102
Austin	120	121	101
Lower Manhattan	400	401	100
Pittsburgh	200	200	100
San Francisco	500	500	100
Tipton, Ind.	17	17	100
Upper West Side	400	401	100
Washington, D. C.	300	300	100
Brooklyn	400	385	96
San Jose	20	19	95
San Diego	400	367	92
Portland	300	272	91
Amherst	25	21	84
Mt. Pleasant	25	21	84
New Brunswick	25	21	84
Bloomington	100	76	76
Hartford	25	19	76
Madison	50	36	72
Nashville	10	6	60
Santa Barbara	15	6	40
Indianapolis	25	9	36
Columbus	25	8	32
Geneseo, N.Y.	10	3	30
St. Cloud	10	3	30
Cincinnati	50	14	28
E. Lansing	25	7	28
Louisville	25	5	20
Worcester	25	2	8
San Antonio	25	1	4

### YOUNG SOCIALIST TEAMS:

Twin Cities	400	722	181
Philadelphia			
Washington, D. C.	400	540	135
New York	400	434	109
Seattle/Portland*	400	369	92
Chicago	400	358	90
Denver	400	315	79
Cleveland/Detroit	400	304	76
No. California*	400	285	71
Boston	400	283	71
Texas	400	272	68
So. California	400	200	50
Atlanta	400	185	46

### NATIONAL MILITANT TEAMS:

St. Louis	1,400	1,501	107
Pittsburgh	1,300	1,312	101
General			71

TOTAL SOLD 16,769  
GOAL 15,000

\*The Seattle/Portland and No. California YS teams are still on the road.



Militant/Sam Manuel

Militant sales at rallies and protests on Chile, the Mideast, and Watergate spurred drive to boost circulation.

of 9,500, and during the 11 weeks of the campaign we surpassed that goal three times. While weekly sales varied (we fell short this last week with 6,552 sold), the overall progress made was significant. During last spring's sales campaign, average reported sales were 6,535, and this fall they jumped to an average of 8,328.

But this doesn't reflect all the progress we made. The bulk of the scoreboard sales are made up of those sold in the cities where branches of the Socialist Workers Party are located. In addition, members of the Young Socialist Alliance and other *Militant* supporters in 85 additional cities receive bundles of *The Militant*. For the most part these sales have not been included on this fall's scoreboards. Those bundles total 2,000

The highest sales of the campaign occurred with the Sept. 28 issue, of which we sold 10,328 copies. The front-page headline "Chile Coup" accompanied by a picture of a tank with "Made in USA" superimposed on it obviously rang true for thousands of people shocked at the bloodbath in Chile and U. S. complicity in it.

Three weeks later we hit 10,000 again with the issue whose front page read "Behind Israeli Aggression."

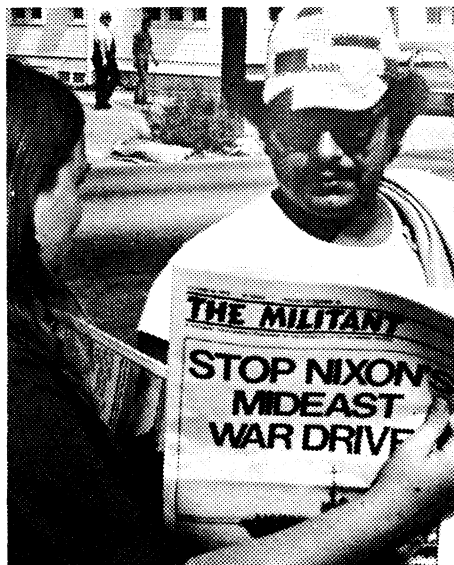
The third time we reached our goal of 9,500 was with sales of the Nov. 2 issue with Jules Feiffer's "Inoperative" drawing of Nixon on the cover. That was a special 32-page issue, and supporters around the country made an extra effort to sell it. Members of the Washington, D. C., SWP and YSA, for example, sold 200 percent of their 350 goal that week.

Another highlight of the campaign was Chicago's sale of 1,047 during the week of the Sept. 8 protest there against inflation and unemployment. During the week preceding the demonstration, when they used *The Militant's* feature article on the action to build participation in it, they sold 786.

The area that sold the most *Militants* during the 11 weeks was Oakland-Berkeley. They sold an average of 628 weekly.

Three areas did especially well in meeting their goals consistently. San Diego made or surpassed their goal of 250 ten of the eleven weeks. And both Atlanta (with a goal of 400) and St. Louis (beginning with a goal of 175, later 225) made it nine of eleven weeks.

One thing that characterized this fall's sales was the degree to which *Militant* sellers used almost every opportunity they saw to get out *The*



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

While the drive runs until the end of November, the 2,500 goal has already been met with 2,524 sold.

This fall's circulation campaigns enabled us to reach thousands of new people with *The Militant* and to gain

## Sell The Militant

Help *The Militant* get around by taking a regular weekly bundle to sell on your campus, at your job, or near where you live. The cost is 17 cents each, and we bill you at the end of each month.

I want to take a sales quota of \_\_\_\_\_.  
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Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

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

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# Hospital strike, ITT, and capitalist justice

By FRANK LOVELL

If anyone still thinks that even-handed justice is dispensed by the courts and government wage-control agencies, the brutal discrimination against 30,000 low-paid hospital workers, mostly Black and Puerto Ricans, should dispel that illusion.

In New York City the orderlies, kitchen help, technicians, and other workers in 48 hospitals and nursing homes walked out on Nov. 5. They had been waiting four months for the Cost of Living Council (CLC) in Washington to approve a pay raise recommended almost a year and a half ago by a state arbitration panel. Wages for the vast majority were low to begin with, only \$142 a week before taxes, and their raise was only \$12.

The hitch for the hospital workers came because Nixon, when he decided under Phase 4 to relax government controls, specifically ordered stringent restrictions on health care, food, and construction. In reality, such controls apply only to wages, not prices. During the week of the hospital strike a CLC panel approved an average raise of 9 percent for next year in the prices hospitals will charge patients.

Despite this arrogant ruling in favor of the profit-hungry hospitals, CLC Chairman John Dunlop declared that wage increases in hospitals must be held to 5.5 percent, that the Health Industry Wage and Salary Panel would not meet until Nov. 30, and that in any event there would be no ruling on wages while the strike continued.

A federal judge in New York ordered the strikers back to work, fined Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Union a half-million dollars plus \$25,000 for every day the strike continued, and laid additional heavy fines on the officials of the union. To show he wasn't biased against the strikers,

the judge also ordered the CLC to rule on the wage issue "forthwith."

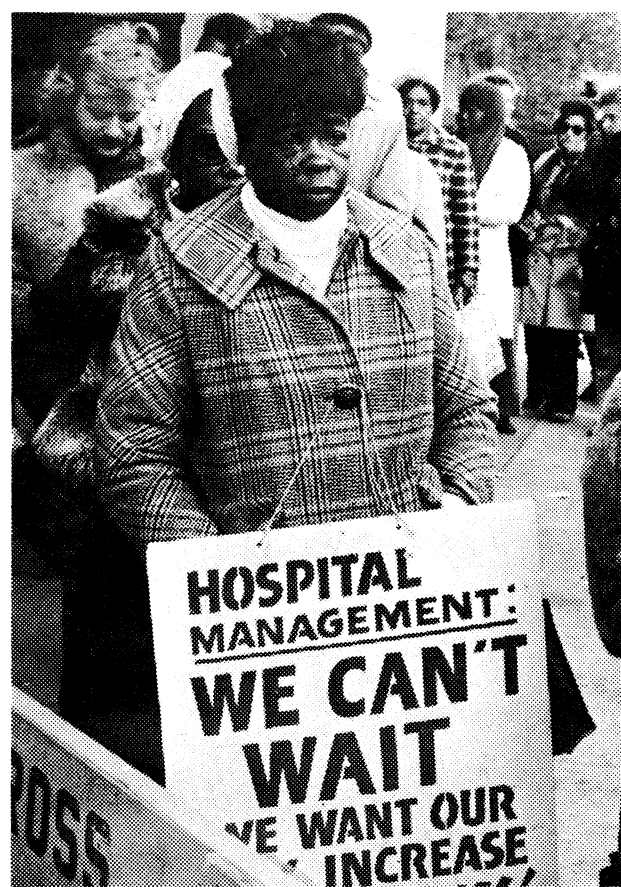
That ruling came on Nov. 11, but the cards were stacked against the strikers. Of the 12-member tripartite Health Industry Panel, only five voted to approve the long-overdue wage raise. Four "public" and three industry members combined to cut the raise to 6 percent or \$9, whichever is more. Thus the strikers, under a barrage of propaganda about their "disregard for the lives of patients," were forced back to work for wages of \$151 a week or \$3.78 an hour, not far above the poverty level. The take-home pay of many will still be less than \$125 weekly. But nothing was said about the misery this imposes upon these workers and their families.

This is the result of government "justice" applied to those who receive the least and have only their union to help them gain something more next year, they hope. It contrasts with the treatment of those who have everything and seek more.

Two years ago Nixon ordered the Justice Department to halt the prosecution of one phase of an antitrust suit brought by the government against the giant International Telephone & Telegraph Corporation, a multibillion-dollar conglomerate with sales this year of a record \$10-billion. ITT profits in 1972 were reported at \$483-million, but the Senate Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations finds it difficult to get ITT tax-payment data.

Nixon intervened in this case to protect ITT's worldwide monopolistic structure and to insure its flow of superprofits on capital investments in this country and abroad. In exchange for this favor ITT pledged to help underwrite the 1972 Republican national convention.

This is a measure of the special treatment accord-



Militant/Michael Baumann

Local 1199 and its officers were hit with nearly \$1-million in fines for standing up to government wage controls.

ed both the poor and the rich. Every subterfuge is used to prevent low paid workers from getting a few cents more to meet the rising cost of living. On the other hand, the fabulous profits of giant corporations are protected by circumventing the laws that were enacted supposedly to control their expansion and monopolistic price fixing.

The officials of ITT have not yet answered for their many crimes, while they continue to rake in millions. The innocent hospital workers union and its officers face fines of nearly \$1-million that they do not have money to pay.

The use of government machinery to protect the rich and penalize the poor presents a problem that cannot be overcome by any union or by the entire union movement so long as it limits its defense to the strike weapon and fails to tackle the capitalist political structure.

The striking hospital workers were determined to challenge the authority of the Cost of Living Council. They could have succeeded if the labor officials who sit as Nixon-appointed advisers to that council had resigned, broken with the wage-control policies, and organized labor solidarity with the hospital workers. Instead, the bureaucrats continued to lend their authority to the backstabbing operations of the council. This is one of the many lessons of the New York hospital workers' strike.

## Behind 'strike deaths' scare campaign

Throughout the week-long New York hospital workers' strike, the hospital owners, city officials, and media worked overtime trying to whip up public sentiment against the strike with stories about the "danger" to patients.

The *New York Times* ran near-hysterical editorials denouncing the strike as "strangulation," a "lethal assault on the safety of patients," and an "utterly unconscionable blockade."

This attack on Local 1199 is continuing after the strike, as three nursing-home operators publicly charged that 10 patients died as a result of the strike.

The day after the slanderous accusations, other hospital administrators had to admit there was no "scientific evidence" to back up the charges.

The city health commission says it is investigating 40 deaths during the strike, but its findings have not been released.

In the first place, it should be noted that the strike leaders offered to provide essential services for the critically ill. The hospital managers, however, put their smear campaign against Local 1199 above the health needs of these patients, and never took advantage of the offer.

Secondly, if the hospital owners were really concerned about the patients, they could simply have paid the wage increase in Local 1199's contract. If the Cost of Living Council were worried about saving lives, they could have approved the increase months ago.

But their demagoguery about the lives of patients is merely a hypocritical cover for their attempts to keep hospital workers on near-poverty wages by depriving them of the right to strike. The lives of patients were indeed held hostage—not by Local 1199, but by the profiteering health-care industry and the capitalist government.

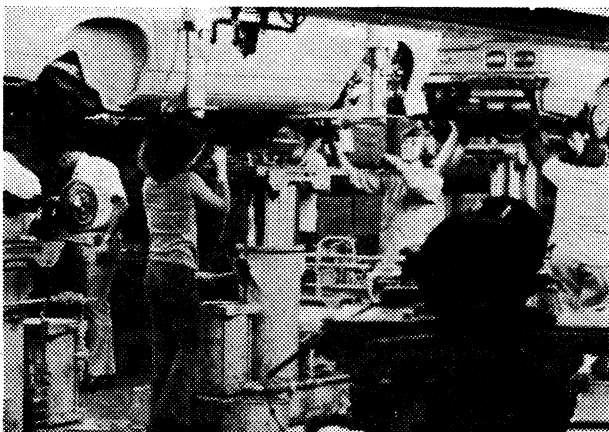
## After Ford pact rejected

# UAW heads present GM contract for vote

By DERRICK MORRISON

DETROIT—The General Motors Corporation and officials of the United Auto Workers Union reached agreement three hours before the strike deadline on a contract covering more than 400,000 workers.

Two days before the Nov. 19 agreement was reached, the UAW had threatened GM with a series



GM production line. Overtime provisions in new contract will be closely read, especially since Ford workers discovered 'fine print' sellout.

of "mini-strikes" or brief actions at key GM plants around the country that would cripple production.

Over the next couple of weeks GM workers will vote on the agreement. The workers will probably look at the agreement suspiciously, though, in the wake of the explosion of resentment that occurred among the Ford workers.

Ford skilled workers voted down the proposed contract after discovering fine-print provisions that allowed the company to replace skilled workers who refused overtime with outside labor or production (unskilled) workers.

According to Pete Kelley, head of the United National Caucus, an oppositional grouping in the union, there were other issues prompting rejection, such as allowing the company to require 10 hours of work per day, the low wage increase of only 3 percent a year, and the fact that the union officials retreated from the demand that wages be renegotiated yearly in the three-year contract.

Since the vote, the UAW officials have moved to renegotiate only the provision allowing Ford to hire temporary replacements for skilled tradesmen refusing overtime.

A sample of the resentment building up in the UAW was expressed at a meeting Nov. 18 of more than 200 skilled trades workers from Local 1250 at the engine, foundry, and stamping plants in the Cleveland suburb of Brook Park. When the union leadership told the assembly that they could only make recommendations about negotiating the contract, but not vote on it, the workers grew incensed, saying that they now had no rights in the union.

The recommendations, said the union leaders, would be submitted at a Nov. 27 meeting of the UAW council representing all of Ford skilled trades. The workers passed motions recommending that the overtime provisions be nullified, that a protest telegram be sent to Solidarity House, the UAW national headquarters, and that legal action be taken against the way the agreement was ratified.

In Detroit the United National Caucus has already begun legal proceedings. They will try to get an injunction negating the agreement and calling for a new vote.

These developments over the Ford agreement will no doubt have an impact on the way GM workers view and vote on the proposed contract.



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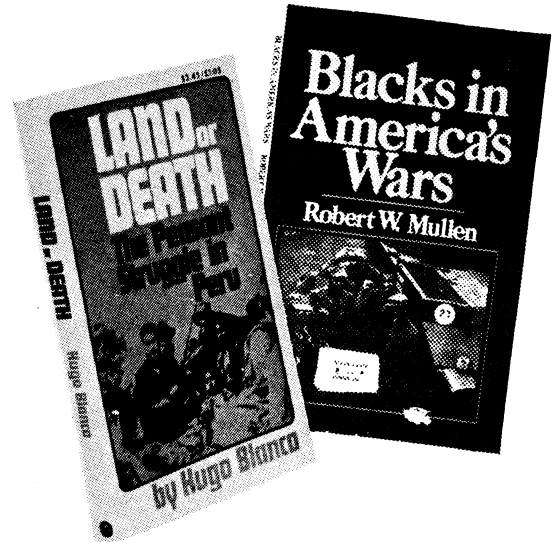
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## Militant 45th Anniversary Fund Banquets show enthusiasm for our paper

By ANDREA MORELL

Militant forty-fifth anniversary banquets were held in five cities last weekend. The collections brought in \$4,447, of which \$2,406 goes toward The Militant Forty-fifth Anniversary Fund. Another \$179 came in the mail from individual subscribers, bringing the total contributed this week to \$2,585.

Our overall total now stands at \$22,873!

The original goal was to raise \$20,000 by Dec. 15. That goal has been surpassed, but we must continue the drive because of increased paper costs. For four weeks The Militant has been forced by the newsprint

shortage to use a heavier, more costly, paper.

The extra cost in paper alone to print The Militant during these four weeks amounts to \$3,400.

Next week's issue will be printed on newsprint, which is once again available. Even newsprint, however, has just increased in cost by \$25 a ton. The Militant uses about three and a half tons of paper for a normal run. That means an increase in paper costs of \$350 a month.

All the banquets last weekend were successful and exciting. The banquet in San Diego, however, deserves singling out because it was the first banquet sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in that city in the recent past. Eighty-five people contributed a total of \$737 toward the fund drive. Supporters from the Arab community prepared a special Mideastern meal.

Mar Wan Abdo, a Palestinian, told the rally, "The Militant, in 45 years, has accomplished a lot for all oppressed people in the world, and particularly the Palestinians. During the 1967 war we felt alone and isolated. Few supported us except the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance in that city in the recent past. Eighty-five people contributed a total of \$737 toward the fund drive. Supporters from the Arab community prepared a special Mideastern meal."

Linda Jenness, 1972 SWP presidential candidate, also spoke at the San Diego banquet, as did Gary Brown, an organizer for the United Farm Workers. Brown said, "Other papers piously talk about 'objectivity' and then print distortions. The Militant doesn't scream about 'objectivity,' it

just prints the truth."

At both the Cleveland and Philadelphia banquets the SWP 1974 statewide candidates were announced and participated in the program. The Pennsylvania slate includes Roberta Scheer for governor; Christina Adachi for U.S. Senate; Duncan Williams for lieutenant governor; and Tony Austin for Congress. The Ohio slate will be Nancy Brown for governor; Herman Kirsch for lieutenant governor and Phil Lazar for U.S. Senate.

At the Philadelphia banquet, attended by 80 people, \$1,800 was collected, \$810 of which goes toward the Militant fund drive. In Atlanta \$585 was raised, of which \$263 is for The Militant.

Minneapolis raised \$625, and The Militant will receive \$281 of that amount. Cleveland raised \$315 for the Militant fund drive, out of a total collection of \$700.

The Militant: 45 Years in the Struggle for Socialism, a special volume containing front-page reproductions from each year of The Militant, is being given to every contributor of \$45 or more. This book may be obtained at the fund-raising banquet in your area (see calendar), or by writing directly to The Militant. It is a historical record, beautifully bound, that you will treasure. Help the Militant Forty-fifth Anniversary Fund by ordering one now.

### 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.

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Make checks payable to The Militant 45th Anniversary Fund. Send to 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

### THE IMPACT OF THE EAST GERMAN UPRISING

(See Editorial Page 3)

Vol. XVII - No. 26



### Revulsion Sweeps World At Murder of Rosenbergs

By Art Fuchs

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

## THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JUNE 29, 1973

### Must We Die for Rhee? Ask Bitter GIs in Korea

### Anti-Stalinist German Workers Wage Independent Class Battle

By John F. Peters

What was the nature of the great demonstrations and strikes that swept East Germany beginning June 17?

The first answer of the imperialist propaganda was that it was a 'revolt'.

The second answer was that it was a 'revolt'.

The third answer was that it was a 'revolt'.

The fourth answer was that it was a 'revolt'.

The fifth answer was that it was a 'revolt'.

The sixth answer was that it was a 'revolt'.

The seventh answer was that it was a 'revolt'.

The eighth answer was that it was a 'revolt'.

The ninth answer was that it was a 'revolt'.

The tenth answer was that it was a 'revolt'.

## 56 years after the October Revolution

# LESSONS OF THE 'POPULAR FRONT' CHILE, 1973 RUSSIA, 1917



The following speech was given by Doug Jenness, organizer of the New York City Local of the Socialist Workers Party, on Nov. 10 at a banquet in Toronto. The banquet was organized by the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere to celebrate the fifty-sixth anniversary of the Russian revolution.

I am pleased to be here tonight to celebrate with you the fifty-sixth anniversary of the Russian revolution, one of the most magnificent events in all of human history. We are meeting, as we and our kind have been meeting on each succeeding anniversary since 1917, as partisans and defenders of the Russian revolution and of the workers state that revolution created.

The Russian masses proved in action certain forecasts by Marx and Engels—proved them beyond all further doubting. They proved that it is possible for the workers to take power. It is possible for the workers to forge out of their ranks a party that is capable of leading the struggle to victory.

Nothing can erase from history that example. And since that time, the oppressed in lands throughout the globe have looked to the revolutionary workers and peasants of Russia and said, "They did it, why can't we?"

And even though the Soviet Union today is ruled by undemocratic and privileged imposters; even though these Soviet bureaucrats failed to adequately aid the Vietnam revolution and sold it down the river at the conference table; even though they made a detente to help imperialism keep the lid on the colonial revolution; even though they are helping to trick the Arab masses into making concessions to imperialism; even though they have replaced class struggle politics with the policies of "peaceful coexistence," the basic conquests of the workers—abolition of private property and the construction of a planned economy—survive.

After 56 years these great monuments to social progress, although weatherbeaten by imperialist invasions and bureaucratic misleadership, still stand. This is why we continue to defend the USSR.

### How the N.Y. Times viewed Bolsheviks

Now, if you were reading the *New York Times* 56 years ago yesterday, you would have run across biographical articles about Lenin and Trotsky, the two most prominent leaders of the Russian revolution. The larger article was devoted to Trotsky and featured his three months' residence in exile in New York City just before he returned to Russia in 1917.

Then there was a shorter item on Lenin headlined, "Lenine the Real Power. Believed to Have Plotted Present Rising While in Hiding." Now pretend that you aren't reading a historical document but have picked up the morning newspaper:

"Nikolai Lenine, denounced by moderate liberals the world over as the evil genius of the Russian revolution, and accused by General Brusiloff as a paid German agent, appears to be the directing power behind the present outbreak, as he was openly the leader of the Maximalist rising in Petrograd on July 16, which was suppressed after several hundred of the civil population had been massacred by machine gun troops following his leadership."

The *Times* continues: "Since then Lenine has been in hiding. Orders for his arrest were issued at once, and it was reported that he was captured

in Finland, near the Swedish border, a few days later, but was retaken by his friends. After that he was reported to be in hiding in Sweden, or even in Switzerland, but recently it has been said that most of the time he was in Finland, and in constant telephonic connection with Trotsky and other Maximalist leaders. At all events, he intended to put in his appearance at the democratic congress in Moscow in September, and the Bolsheviks had the effrontery to ask Kerensky for a guarantee that he would not be arrested. This the Premier refused to do, so Lenine remained in hiding; though it appears that any determined effort to find him would probably have been successful had Kerensky dared to use summary measures."

### Pravda's influence grows

Later the article states: "At first the Government seems to have underestimated him; Tchaidze [Menshevik Soviet leader] said that probably the revolution would absorb him, and that if it did not there was little difference. But soon his newspaper, the *Pravda*, featuring violent attacks on England and France, became influential. . . . Certainly at first there was general disapprobation of his extreme views, but gradually he began to gain in power and to become the centre of the radical pacifists, despite the constantly reiterated charges that he was in the pay of Germany."

The *New York Times* seems to have had great difficulty trying to figure out why it was that the Bolshevik Party, a relatively small party in 1917, was able to assume leadership over the country in November. They correctly assess that Lenin had something to do with it, but they can't seem to determine whether it was German gold or his evil mind that was responsible.

I think that the best tribute we can pay to the men and women who made the Russian revolution would be to examine how they really accomplished this great social overturn and learn from them how we can deal with those who rule over us today.

But some skeptic might ask: "What possible relevance can the experience of the Russian revolution have today? Things are different. There are no countries in the same situation as czarist Russia in 1917. Let's put the dusty past behind us and

chart a course based on our own experience. We need new initiatives and new paths, new analyses, and new theories."

It's true that no two social revolutions occur in exactly the same way. It's also true that we must be prepared to analyze new and complex political developments as they happen. But the fact of the matter is that in the last 56 years revolutionary situations have occurred in many countries in which the *essential* characteristics were similar to those in the Russian revolution. But unfortunately in these situations, the workers were defeated and capitalism saved.

### Contrast between Russia & Chile

Why did this happen? Was it necessary? To answer these questions, I would like to compare the Russian experience to a development very close to all of us—the recent tragic defeat in Chile.

Military tyrants have swept the Popular Unity government aside and launched a merciless blood-bath against the industrial workers, students, the unemployed and poor who live in Chile's shantytowns, and thousands of political exiles. I don't believe this was inevitable. I don't believe it had to have happened. In fact I think it could have been avoided if a strong political leadership, armed with a few essential lessons from the Russian revolution had been present. Neither the Socialist Party nor the Communist Party provided this leadership.

For the three years leading up to the coup both of these parties participated in a coalition government with capitalist parties. This government promised to initiate a peaceful road to socialism. What this meant was urging working people to obey the constitution based on capitalist property relations and to uphold the primary defenders of capitalist property, the army and the police.

Salvador Allende's inaugural speech opened with a call for "work and sacrifice" from the masses. He pledged before Congress to "keep and obey the constitution." He honored the police and armed forces with the words "permit me, on this solemn occasion . . . to voice our people's thanks to the armed forces and to the Carabineers Corps, which abide by the constitution and the rule of law."

### Treachery of CP and SP

The Communist Party and the Socialist Party did not oppose this approach. They enthusiastically endorsed it. They helped shoulder the responsibility of propping up the capitalist regime and containing the struggle of the working masses.

In practice this strategy of a "people's" government that tried to join opposing classes meant that when peasants seized land without paying compensation, the government sided with the landlord. When workers occupied factories, it cleared them out. When the people in the shantytowns pushed for direct distribution of food, it repressed them. When workers made attempts to form armed groups to defend themselves against fascist attacks, Allende told them that "the armed forces of Chile are an expression of its people and therefore are irrevocably and essentially professional and democratic."

As the events unfolded in Chile and the class conflicts deepened and economic instability intensified, Allende relied more and more on the armed forces to serve the role of arbiter. Communist



Allende, advocate of 'peaceful road.' His 'popular front' coalition between workers and capitalists led Chilean masses to defeat.



Party General Secretary Luis Corvalán backed him up. "They [reactionaries] are claiming," he said, "that we have an orientation of replacing the professional army."

"No sir, we continue and will continue to support keeping our armed institutions strictly professional."

The ruling class tolerated this government as long as it felt it was necessary and capable of holding back the revolutionary struggle. But it was always uneasy about a situation where the aspirations of the masses were being raised, and where the workers were beginning to organize their own independent organizations—factory councils called *cordones*.

When it found that the PU government would not topple of its own accord or through economic pressures and when a large middle class opposition movement was gaining strength, the ruling class—with generous help from Washington—engineered the military coup.

The workers were politically and organizationally unprepared for this. For three years those they looked to as leaders had told them to have confidence in the same generals, admirals, and police chiefs that turned against them.

So this grand coalition, this popular front, this "people's" government was not the road to socialism, peaceful or otherwise. And there was nothing progressive about it. It was an obstacle to workers' power. The task of revolutionary socialists was to expose the PU from the beginning and discredit it in the eyes of the masses.

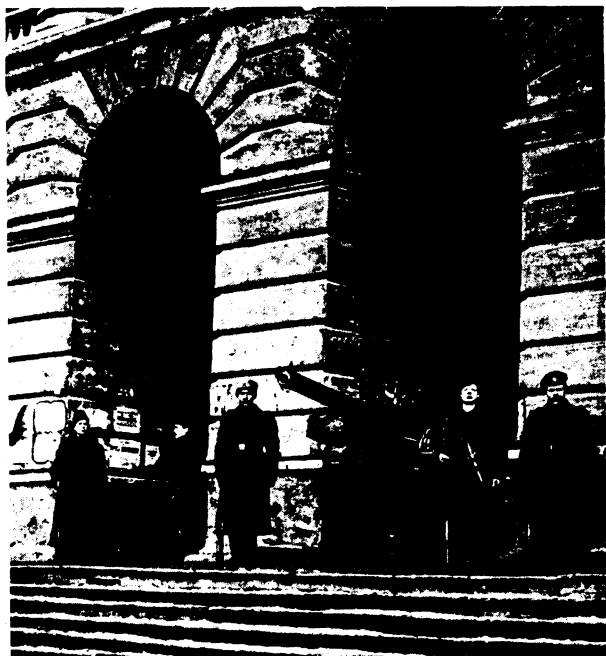
### The Russian experience

This was the strategy of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party in Russia. When Lenin arrived in Petrograd on April 3, 1917, after years of exile, the czarist regime had been overturned by a workers' revolution. Workers councils, called Soviets, were mushrooming throughout the country. The Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries dominated the executive committee of the Soviets.

Although this executive committee was the de facto power after the czar fell, it handed this power over to a Provisional government dominated by the liberal capitalist party, the Cadets. The Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries told the workers that this was *the* revolutionary government and urged them to give it their full support. Throughout the rest of 1917 the workers parties functioned in a popular front with the Cadet party.

Comparing this with a similar development in Spain nearly 20 years later, Trotsky observed: "... it is often forgotten that the greatest historical example of the Popular Front is the February 1917 revolution. From February to October, the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries, who represent a very good parallel to the 'Communists' and the Social Democrats, were in the closest alliance and in a permanent coalition with the bourgeois party of the Cadets, together with whom they formed a series of coalition governments. ... All the Popular Fronts in Europe are only a pale copy and often a caricature of the Russian Popular Front of 1917, which could, after all, lay claim to a much greater justification for its existence, for it was still a question of the struggle against czarism and the remnants of feudalism."

Before Lenin returned, *Pravda*, the Bolsheviks' paper, was also cheering the Popular Front government. But when Lenin arrived, this all changed. On his first night in town, he was taken to the Bolshevik headquarters, where he addressed the Petrograd cadres of the party for two hours. "We don't need any parliamentary republic," he exclaimed,



Bolshevik soldiers and members of Red Guard outside Smolny Institute, Bolshevik headquarters in Petrograd. Bolsheviks mobilized masses against attempted coup by Kornilov, 'Russia's Pinochet.'

shocking many of his own comrades. "We don't need any bourgeois democracy. We don't need any government except the Soviet of workers', soldiers' and farmhands' deputies."

The next day he presented his views to a party conference in the form of the April 4 theses. The ideas were simple. No support to the Provisional government. This is not our government. This is not the workers' government. This is not the government that will bring peace and renounce rights to foreign territories. This is not the government that will recognize the right of peasants to take the land they till. We must teach the masses not to trust this government and those who support it. We must deepen and extend the Soviets and teach the workers to have confidence in them and in their own strength.

But Lenin recognized something else too. The Bolsheviks were in a minority in the Soviets. The majority of workers and peasants still had illusions in the reformist parties. The task was not to launch the insurrection, or to institute armed actions of the minority.

### 'Patiently explain'

The job was to patiently explain their ideas to the masses in order to win them to the task of overthrowing the capitalist government. I don't think there is any phrase that is more often repeated in Lenin's 1917 writings than the words "patiently explain." Patiently explain what the Bol-



Lenin and Trotsky with group of soldiers. 'The difference in Russia was a party that said "No" to popular frontism and to the utopia of the peaceful road to socialism.'

sheviks would do about the food shortage. Patiently explain the Bolshevik policy toward peasant land seizures. Patiently explain how the Bolsheviks would end Russian involvement in the war.

When the Bolsheviks won a majority in the Soviets and it was clear the majority of workers backed them, the hour for the insurrection had arrived. Lenin did not hesitate to push his party forward along this course.

The insurrection, however, was not carried out through the Bolshevik Party but through the Soviets. Lenin had no illusion that the revolution could occur without armed force, but he also had no confidence in armed force without mass support and mass involvement.

This was the strategy Bolshevik agitators took to the factories and barracks, it was the strategy they debated in the Soviets, and it was the strategy put forth by Bolshevik candidates in municipal elections.

As the weeks passed and it became clearer to the masses that the Provisional government couldn't solve their problems, the Bolsheviks won increasing support.

### General Kornilov's conspiracy

When General Kornilov, Russia's Pinochet, attempted a military coup in August, Prime Minister Kerensky, the Russian Allende, tried to make a secret deal with Kornilov. His conspiracy and vacillation in face of this serious military threat would have led to a crushing blow to the Russian working class. This was averted when the Bolsheviks mobilized the masses in the Soviets against the coup.

How different it was in Chile. When sailors in the Chilean navy opposed an attempted coup on June 29 and the officers repressed them, the Allende regime backed up this repression. Backed up repression against those resisting a military take-over!

Following Kornilov's move to power, Kerensky was thoroughly discredited and it was only a matter of weeks before the Bolsheviks assumed command. On the first day of state power, Lenin addressed a meeting of the Petrograd Soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies. You might say that it was his "inaugural" speech.

"Comrades, the workers' and peasants' revolution, about the necessity of which the Bolsheviks have always spoken, has been accomplished.

"What is the significance of this workers' and peasants' revolution? Its significance is, first of all, that we shall have a Soviet government, our own organ of power, in which the bourgeoisie will have no share whatsoever. The oppressed masses will themselves create a power. The old state apparatus will be shattered to its foundations and a new administrative apparatus set up in the form of the Soviet organizations."

What a contrast to Allende's inaugural speech. What a contrast!

In comparing Chile and Russia, we see that in both revolutions there were mass workers parties applying the strategy of popular frontism, of class collaboration. In Chile this strategy led to disaster.

### 'No!' to popular frontism

In Russia it would almost certainly have led to a military dictatorship and a bloodbath. The difference in Russia was a party that said "No!" to popular frontism even though the bourgeois revolution had not been completed and said "No!" to the utopia of the peaceful road to socialism.

Unfortunately the history of the last five decades is strewn with the remains of popular fronts—from France to Indonesia, Spain to Ceylon—that have led the workers to disaster. Whether they are called "anti-imperialist fronts," "antifascist fronts," "socialist fronts," "broad fronts," "popular fronts," "democratic fronts," "national united fronts," or the "bloc of four classes" it all comes down to the same thing—turning the working class away from the road to power in order to preserve capitalist rule.

We have all read the accounts of the Chilean workers who fought back against the gorillas in the factories and shantytowns—fought back even when their factories were bombed and strafed, fought back even in the face of nearly certain defeat. The Chilean workers were no less courageous than Russian workers in 1917; no less willing to die fighting their exploiters; no less committed to the struggle for a better world.

What they were missing was a party like the Bolshevik Party—a party that would have politically prepared and organized the workers to rely only on their own power and their own organizations, a party that could recognize and oppose popular frontism in whatever form it appeared and by whatever label it called itself.

To these men and women who gave their lives in Chile we members and supporters of the Fourth International say:

"Your lives were not lost in vain. Many saw what you did. They will pick up your banners where they have fallen, not only in Chile, but throughout the world, in North America as well as South America. And they will be armed with the lessons of your defeat, armed with the knowledge that revolutionary parties like Lenin's are essential, and armed with the confidence that we will win."

## FURTHER READING

### On what went wrong in Chile

THE COUP IN CHILE: Firsthand Report and Assessment by Hugo Blanco and other revolutionaries. 25 cents

TRAGEDY IN CHILE: Lessons of the Revolutionary Upsurge and its Defeat by Gerry Foley and Malik Miah. 35 cents

### Books by Leon Trotsky

THE SPANISH REVOLUTION (1931-1939) by Leon Trotsky. \$10, paper \$3.95

HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION by Leon Trotsky. 3 vols., \$5

THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION and RESULTS AND PROSPECTS by Leon Trotsky. \$5.95, paper \$2.75

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

## A Militant interview

# Perspectives for class struggle in Quebec

The following is an interview on the labor movement in Quebec with Alain Beiner. Beiner is editor of *Liberation*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO—Socialist Workers League), the Quebec wing of the pan-Canadian section of the Fourth International. The interview was obtained Nov. 1 in Montreal by Militant staff writer Tony Thomas.

Thomas was in Montreal to cover the Oct. 29 Quebec national elections. The elections returned the Liberal Party regime of Premier Robert Bourassa to power. The Parti Québécois (PQ—Quebec Party), a liberal nationalist party, received nearly a third of the votes, but only six seats in the 110-seat national assembly.

The LSO ran Manon Leger against Bourassa, on a platform of immediate independence for Quebec and socialism. Leger was undemocratically ruled off the ballot on a technicality at the last minute, but continued her campaign as a write-in candidate.

*Militant: What importance did the recent Québec national elections have for the Québécois labor movement?*

*Beiner:* The elections were of particular importance to the labor movement because they came after a period of the most intense labor struggles in Québec's history. The most important struggle was the spring 1972 strike of 200,000 public and parapublic workers.

But after a whole series of massive struggles, the labor leadership betrayed the workers by supporting the PQ in the elections.

The PQ was so antiunion that it did not want the unions to take a public position in favor of it for fear that would give the PQ too radical an image. Instead the union leaders looked for backhanded ways to support it.

*Militant: How is the labor movement organized in Québec?*

*Beiner:* Out of a population of six million there are more than 750,000 unionized workers, most of whom are

This has changed in the past few years, and all the union federations have gone on record for self-determination or immediate independence for Québec. The unions have also formed united fronts in a series of struggles, including the 1972 public workers' strikes.

The major contradiction in the labor movement is the gap between the tremendous and deepgoing militancy of the workers, their radical nationalism, their readiness to mobilize and to challenge the institutions they see as oppressing them, and, on the other hand, the continuous attempt by the union bureaucracy to hold back this militancy, not only in terms of mass mobilizations but in terms of moving to political conclusions.

On one hand the labor movement has shown its ability to shake up Québec, stopping the economy last April and May. It has shown it can lead mass actions around national demands. And it's shown an ability to move in behind the women's liberation movement—in defense of Dr. Henry Morgentaler—to a degree unknown by the labor movement in the rest of North America. [Dr. Morgentaler is currently on trial in Québec for having admittedly performed abortions in violation of Canada's anti-abortion laws.]

On the other hand the Québec working class has an autonomous existence only on an economic level, only as the union movement. On the political plane, on the level of who will run society, the union movement has no independence. The union leaders support the Parti Québécois, a party that has consistently opposed the major trade-union struggles, a party completely loyal to capitalism.

*Militant: How did this support affect the class struggle?*

*Beiner:* The labor bureaucrats attempted to subordinate all actions to the electoral strategy of the PQ. They argued against any action or mobilization, claiming that such actions would

union bureaucrats demanded a halt to the actions in order to help the PQ.

In the hospitals there was an attempt to close down facilities, or cut back on the working conditions of the hospital workers, right at the time of the elections. The union leaders tried to calm down the growing ferment of the workers. However, there were spontaneous actions by the ranks. Strikes took place.

At Mazonneuve hospital the LSO participated in the occupation of the administration office by the workers after cafeteria prices and parking lot prices were raised.

There was a demonstration of 1,000 hospital workers against the closing of Miséricorde Hospital, an important hospital for French-speaking women.

The union brass couldn't prevent

*Militant: What type of political solution does the LSO project as the way out for the Québec workers' movement?*

*Beiner:* We think the union movement must break from the bourgeois parties, including the PQ. The three union federations should call a convention to form a labor party, independent of the capitalist class.

We put forward a program for such a party that would make it a real instrument of class struggle to advance the national and social demands of the Québécois workers—not a reformist party like the NDP in English Canada. This program can only be a revolutionary socialist program aimed at abolishing capitalism.

We stress, however, that there is no



Le Journal Chic

Strike solidarity rally. Union leaders tried to suppress workers' struggles in order not to embarrass Parti Québécois candidates they supported.

these demonstrations and actions from taking place. But they tried to quiet them down and keep them from developing toward political protest.

Another important struggle that took place was the Firestone strike at St. Jerome, where several other important strikes were also going on. This strike involved a combination of national and class demands. The workers demanded wage parity with workers in English Canada and the U.S. They blasted the fact that the Québec government had made many concessions to imperialist corporations coming in to exploit "cheap Québec labor."

The workers also demanded that French be the language of work instead of English, the language of the managers. [Eighty-five percent of the population of Québec are French-speaking.]

The workers set up a rank-and-file committee to watch over the negotiations. It was called the Committee of Thirty and came out of the workers' struggle with the bureaucracy of the United Rubber Workers of America (FTQ-CLC-AFL-CIO). This committee helped the workers break out of the confines of the settlement the bureaucrats tried to impose.

The Firestone workers also launched a major campaign to get support from students and workers in other towns. In St. Jerome, they formed a united front with workers involved in other strikes to coordinate strike support.

But in general during the preelection period, the bureaucrats attempted to atomize, isolate, and tone down the workers' struggles even more than usual.

solution on the electoral level alone. A mass labor party is needed to mobilize extraparliamentary actions—strikes, demonstrations, self-defense of the workers against scabs, and so on.

Such a break with the capitalist parties would entail a big struggle with the top union bureaucrats. They are quite happy with the PQ. That's because the PQ's pseudoradicalism and pseudonationalism helps derail the militant pressure within the union ranks.

*Militant: What other demands and struggles do you advance?*

*Beiner:* We think the union federations should unite. There is no basis for continued division other than the interests of the bureaucrats. Demands for united fronts and mergers crop up at all the different stages of the workers' struggles here. Trade-union unity is an objective need of the class struggle in Québec.

We also raise the need for trade-union democracy. We've been involved in a number of important struggles in the construction trades, where the warfare between the different union federations has been the sharpest, and where the unions are the most corrupt and bureaucratized.

One of our members was expelled from the CSN for organizing a trade-union caucus calling for united action by all the workers in construction, both FTQ and CSN. Now we are conducting a campaign in the unions against this expulsion.

There have also been struggles around plant closures of both Québécois and imperialist firms. We de-



Le Journal Chic

Firestone workers struck during election campaign, demanding wage parity with U.S. workers and right to speak French on the job.

in three major federations—the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), the Québec Federation of Labor (FTQ), and the Québec Teachers Corporation (CEQ).

In recent years there has been a growing unity in struggle of the three federations. Many of the things that divided the labor federations in past years have disappeared. For instance, the CSN was the most identified with the Québécois nationalist movement, while the FTQ was part of the Canadian Labor Council (CLC) and was lined up with the AFL-CIO and Canada's social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP).

enable the ruling Liberal Party to say that the PQ would bring anarchy if it won. That is, the PQ wanted to make sure that it was seen as a supporter of capitalist law and order.

The bureaucrats also tried to turn off the movement to defend the Chilean masses that arose following the recent military coup in Chile. Right after the coup there was broad desire to act. In a few ITT-owned plants, workers walked out when they heard of the coup. There was an action of 1,000 people a couple days after the coup, sponsored by the three labor federations.

But as the elections drew near, the



# Blacks hit Gulf Oil gift to SCLC

By MAC WARREN  
and VINCE EGAN

ATLANTA — Dr. Ralph Abernathy, national president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) has announced that organization's acceptance of a \$50,000 "gift" from Gulf Oil Corporation of America.

Gulf Oil is being boycotted for its role in supporting Portuguese colonialism in Angola. In 1972, Gulf made a whopping \$447-million profit from its oil-rich holdings in Angola.

In justifying this blood money, Abernathy stated, according to the *Atlanta Voice*, "... before helping our brothers in Africa, we must help ourselves, and this gift from Gulf will help us."

"I never want anyone to get the impression this is condoning the racist policies of Gulf in the Portuguese colonies in Africa," he said.

However, this "impression" has taken

hold and has touched off a storm of protest here from Black civil rights leaders, supporters of African liberation, and others.

One immediate response was expressed by Black activists who plastered SCLC's national office with Gulf boycott posters.

The Oct. 22 gift was aimed at rescuing the financially plagued civil rights organization, which is headquartered in Atlanta. According to the Rev. Joe Boone, head of the Metro-Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference (an SCLC affiliate), Gulf's role began when SCLC allowed it to sponsor the "hospitality suite" at the SCLC convention held last August in Indianapolis. At Gulf-sponsored cocktail parties, representatives of the oil company met with national SCLC leaders to discuss the possibility of future funding to the organization and to evaluate the merits of SCLC's programs.

Reverend Hosea Williams, president of the Atlanta chapter of SCLC, told *The Militant*, "I can only speak for the Atlanta chapter, but we will not accept money from Gulf Oil as long as Gulf Oil perpetrates its crimes against my Black brothers and sisters in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau."

Mike Raffauf, editor of the *People's Crusader*, the newspaper of Atlanta SCLC, told *The Militant* that Bernard Lee, executive assistant to Abernathy, disclosed that Gulf would have given the money earlier, but it didn't want to appear to support the campaign of Hosea Williams, who ran an unsuccessful campaign for president of the city council.

The *People's Crusader* reported that, according to Lee, the money was used exclusively to pay salaries to an estimated 30 national SCLC staffers who

were last paid June 1.

All three executive directors and other staff members worked full-time on Maynard Jackson's campaign for mayor from Aug. 1 until the election Oct. 16. Since salary payments were retroactive to June 1, the bulk of SCLC's staff worked for Jackson while on SCLC's payroll.

With this public relations gift, Gulf hopes to brighten its tarnished image. SCLC's Lee lent himself to this endeavor when he said, "We have our foot in the door with Gulf, and we can sit down with the powers that be and bring some small changes in Angola as a result."

Abernathy and other SCLC leaders had previously endorsed African Liberation Day actions protesting the complicity of U.S. corporations with Portuguese colonialism.



Alain Beiner addressing Quebec independence rally in 1971.

mand that such plants be nationalized under workers' control.

In many places the workers have raised the demand that the plants be reorganized as cooperatives when there is threat of a closure. This happened at a French-owned Soma auto plant near Montréal.

While cooperatives can't compete with capitalist industry and aren't the answer, there have been some important struggles in which the government has been forced to loan money to the workers and keep the plants open as cooperatives. Where workers demand that the factories be cooperatized, we support them.

The only way out is to nationalize these plants under workers' control. And only a complete socialist transformation of government and economy can solve these types of problems.

Still another pressing problem of the class struggle here in Québec is the antistrike laws and the use of scabs and other violent antistrike methods. Bourassa, the Liberal premier, has promised to propose new antistrike laws. In a number of strikes, like the Canadian Gypsum strike in St. Jerome, the bosses have used large numbers of scabs and there have been violent confrontations between the workers and the scabs.

The trade unions need an independent political movement to fight antistrike laws. We also call for militant extraparlimentary action against government strikebreaking activities.

For instance, recently several hundred militant strikers occupied the offices of the minister of labor demanding a strikers' bill of rights against strikebreaking. The union movement should mobilize massive actions on this level as well as mobilize mass actions to defend the strikers against violence by the companies.

## Quebec Nationalism

ITS ROOTS AND MEANING

By Arthur Young  
25 cents

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RALPH ABERNATHY: 'Before helping our brothers in Africa, we must help ourselves, and this gift from Gulf will help us.'



HOSEA WILLIAMS: 'We will not accept money from Gulf Oil as long as Gulf Oil perpetrates its crimes. . . .'

## ...Arab oil, Israel, & imperialism

Continued from page 7

However, the production cutbacks declared by the Arab regimes are not a serious challenge to western European capitalism, but only a short-term irritant. On Nov. 18 they had already announced that December production cutbacks of 5 percent in regard to Europe had been rescinded.

"When fighting broke out in the Middle East on Oct. 6," wrote Clyde Farnsworth in the Nov. 10 *New York Times*, "the West European nations and Japan had two to three months of stocks. There was an additional month's supply reckoned to be in the giant supertankers that had already loaded oil in the Persian Gulf and were on their way around Africa to ports in Europe."

"If the embargo is lifted it would not take long to replenish stocks. . . ."

### Interimperialist rivalry

It is true that a number of European countries and Japan took their distance from the U.S. and Israel during the Middle East war — much to the chagrin of the Nixon administration. But much more was at work than a fear of some short-term reductions in the flow of oil from the Arab states. As Henry Kissinger explained on Oct. 29, "The Europeans seemed more interested in gaining marginal individual advantages than in cooperating on united actions."

Washington's European allies and Japan hoped to gain some political advantage that could be converted into opportunities for increased investment and a bigger share of the superprofits

in Arab oil. Also, they hoped to assert more control over their oil supplies rather than relying so heavily on the U.S. companies.

But these factors should not be allowed to obscure the basic agreement among the imperialist powers. The loss of Arab oil would be a stunning blow for all of them, and they are all agreed on the need to maintain the Israeli state as one of their defenses, whatever diplomatic maneuvers they may engage in at different times.

As for the Arab regimes, they began the production cutbacks in response to pressure from their populations to do something in the struggle against Israeli aggression, and also as a way of using the current situation to jack up the royalties they are paid by the western oil companies — royalties that amount to only a pittance of the wealth being taken.

These regimes are using the "oil weapon" with about as much determination and militancy as was shown by Jordan's King Hussein in the latest war — that is, none. If they were really intent on using their power, they would completely nationalize the oil. But this move, or a genuine oil embargo, would entail a serious confrontation with imperialism, which they do not want.

The oil-producing countries such as Saudi Arabia, the Trucial States, and Kuwait, are dependent on U.S. and British arms and support. Even those regimes that are not, as in Libya and Iraq, have no desire to enter a battle that could well end with their overthrow — either by an imperialist-

backed coup, or as a result of the mobilization of their own populations.

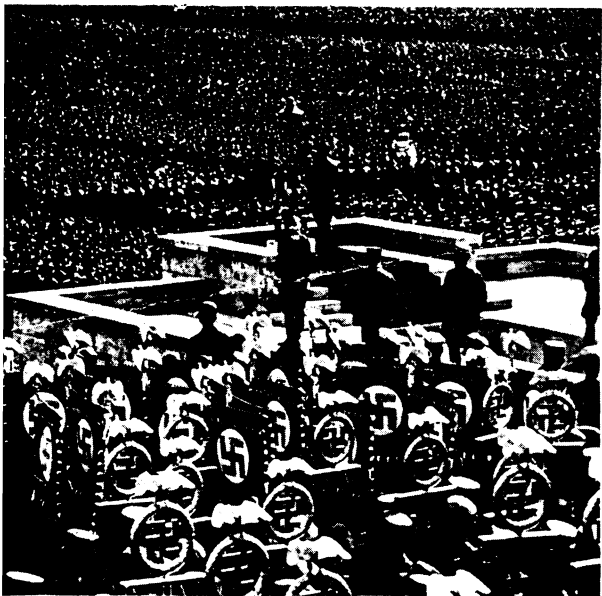
Therefore they try to limit and hold back the masses, both in regard to the struggle against Israel, and also on the fight for control of the oil resources. This has been especially clear in regard to the Palestinian resistance movement, which generated massive support throughout the Arab world. In Jordan and Lebanon, the countries in which the Palestinians had the biggest mass base, they posed a serious threat to the regimes.

For the Arab people to assert control over their own resources and achieve national unification and an end to imperialist domination will require a different leadership and different methods than those of the capitalist regimes currently in power. It will require the leadership of revolutionary socialist parties in the Arab world.

The October war has resulted in a short-term strengthening of the prestige and credibility of the Arab regimes. How long this lasts will depend mainly on what concessions they are able to win from Israel in regard to the occupied territories. This prospect for substantial concessions appears dim right now.

On Nov. 15 a United Nations inspection patrol confirmed that the Israelis were constructing "what appears to be a causeway" by filling in part of the Suez Canal. The purpose of such a causeway could only be to facilitate the supply of the Israeli forces on the East bank of the canal. It seems they plan to stay awhile.

# In Review



## Fascism and Big Business

*Fascism and Big Business* by Daniel Guérin. Monad Press. Distributed by Pathfinder Press (410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014). 1973. 318 pp. Cloth \$11, paper \$3.25.

Is fascism around the corner in this country?

This question has been posed for many people by such Watergate exposures as Nixon's 1970 spy plan for clandestine and illegal actions against the unions, the antiwar movement, Black militants, and socialists.

Some confusion arises from the light-minded habit of various radical groups that label almost any government repression as "fascist" simply as an epithet.

Revolutionists, however, must probe the nature of fascism much more deeply, because without a scientific analysis of fascism we will not be prepared to wage an effective battle against it.

Monad Press's republication of this classic Marxist study of fascism, which has long been out

protect the profits of the capitalist class by the most extreme methods.

In the period of the decline of capitalism, fascist gangs are to be found, at least in embryonic form, in every capitalist country. They initially serve, Guérin explains, as an "antilabor militia." They are financed by big business, especially heavy industry, to break strikes, attack leftist demonstrations, and generally harass and intimidate the workers organizations. This was the initial role of the fascist gangs in Italy and Germany.

Then at the end of 1921 in Italy, and in 1930-31 in Germany, the decisive sectors of the capitalist class decided to launch the fascists toward the conquest of power. Why?

Guérin explains how Italy and Germany emerged from World War I as the most impoverished of the imperialist powers, wracked by persistent economic and social crises. At a certain point it became clear that the industrialists' profits could be maintained only by the most extreme measures: drastic reduction of wages and social expenditures; the extermination of all organized resistance by the



'Death to Marxism': March of Hitler's supporters in 1926.

working class; and direct state intervention to rescue and subsidize various businesses, with the masses footing the bill.

These extraordinary measures cannot be carried out under a bourgeois "democracy" or even a military dictatorship. To not merely defeat but to annihilate the mass organizations of the workers, an opposing mass movement is required. The rise of fascism is uniquely characterized by the mobilization of masses of the middle class as shock troops against the organized workers.

Guérin takes apart the "anticapitalist" demagoguery of the fascist leaders to expose how they divert the enraged revolt of these middle sectors, pauperized and ruined by the monopolies, into becoming the ultimate defense of the decaying capitalist system.

Once fascism has triumphed, it pays off its demagogic promises with an economic policy that actually *worsens* the position of the middle classes, driving them into the most extreme poverty.

The chapter on "The Real Fascist 'Doctrine'" provides an instructive example of the dialectical development of philosophical thought. Here Guérin describes how, in the decline of bourgeois rule,

the bourgeoisie turns against the progressive philosophy it originated and championed when it first rose to power, and harks back toward the ideas of feudalism and absolutism.

Fascist ideology, he notes, "denies progress, attacks reason, refuses the masses the right of self-government, tramples on democracy, invokes the 'aristocratic principle' and 'reasons of State,' rehabilitates violence."

The weak side of this book concerns the strategy for fighting fascism and the errors of the Social Democratic and Communist parties, which were mass parties in both Germany and Italy.

In a fascinating chapter on "Fascist Strategy on the March to Power," Guérin accurately describes how the reformist parties relied on appeals to the capitalist state to defend democracy, and opposed mobilizing the workers in self-defense militias for a direct fight against the fascists. Since the capitalist "democrats" inevitably proved more devoted to capitalism than to democracy, this only served to disarm and demoralize the workers and hand them over to the fascist terror.

Guérin also correctly asserts that "once fascism embarks on the road to power, the labor movement has only one recourse left: outstrip the fascists and win power first."

However, he fails to fully unmask the distinctive roles of the Stalinists and Social Democrats, explain what lay behind their disastrous policies, or to project the revolutionary alternative. Guérin does not recognize that the key factor lacking in Italy and Germany was a *revolutionary party* that could have won the leadership of the workers' movement away from the reformists and led a struggle for power.

For a thoroughgoing explanation of these questions, readers will have to turn to Leon Trotsky's writings on fascism, in particular *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany* (published by Pathfinder Press).

Despite its weaknesses, *Fascism and Big Business* is an important contribution to the Marxist analysis of fascism. It deserves careful study by those who aim to prevent the recurrence of fascist barbarism.

— ANDY ROSE



Berlin, 1930. Persistent economic crises forced decisive sectors of German capitalists to turn to fascism in order to maintain profits.

## Books

of print in English, is timely and welcome. This edition has been revised and brought up to date in accord with the 1965 French edition.

Guérin dispels a number of common misconceptions that conceal the real nature of fascism, such as the myth that it arose as some national psychological aberration or even mass insanity.

He refutes the thesis that the fascist dictatorship subordinates to itself the interests of the capitalists as well as the workers. While it is true that the heads of a few bourgeois individuals may roll, the entire purpose and design of fascist rule is to

## The Glass House Tapes

*The Glass House Tapes* by Citizens Research and Investigation Committee and Louis E. Tackwood. Avon Books. New York, 1973. 284 pp. Paper \$1.75.

The Glass House is the building that houses the technology and personnel of Los Angeles's police-intelligence complex. It is plugged in to other "red squads," both local and national, and has access, according to the authors of this book, to information on 150 million people.

This book is based on testimony by Louis Tackwood, a Black police agent, to the Citizens Research Investigation Committee. The CRIC is a Los Angeles-based group formed to study and publicize the use of government "intelligence" against protesters.

Tackwood joined a special Los Angeles secret-

police squad set up after the 1965 Watts rebellion. His first assignment was to encourage attacks against the Black Panthers by Ron Karenga's US organization.

In addition to spying on the Panthers and their supporters, Tackwood went to Berkeley to infiltrate the campaign of April Coalition candidate D'Army Bailey. He attempted to discredit the campaign by exposing "links" to Angela Davis, who was

## Books

then facing trial on trumped-up murder charges.

The most sensational thing Tackwood reported was a plot to provoke violence at the 1972 Republican convention when it was scheduled for San Diego. The plan was put together, said Tackwood, through the brainstorming of both the Los Angeles police and the FBI. Police-initiated violence was to give the government the green light to round up radicals nationally, declare a state of emer-

gency, and keep the activists in jail.

Interestingly enough, Watergater G. Gordon Liddy proposed a similar plan to White House aides, envisioning that the government would kidnap radicals and hold them in Mexico.

The book is bolstered by a historical survey on the use of agents provocateurs against movements for social change over the last century—from the Haymarket affair in the 1880s to the Chicano Moratorium in the 1970s.

Among the cases described in the book are those of the Harrisburg 7; the Camden 28; and the activities of "Tommy the Traveler," who induced six students at Hobart College in New York to blow up an ROTC building.

One of the authors of this book, Donald Freed, was himself victimized by a government agent. Grenades were planted in Freed's apartment in an attempt to discredit the Friends of the Panthers, a group he was active in. The plot failed when exposure of the frame-up forced the government to drop the charges.

—MICHAEL SMITH



## 'Neutral' on Moscow's side?

# Hanoi, Havana criticize Sino-Soviet rift

From Intercontinental Press

By DICK FIDLER

In three editorials published October 23-25, the Hanoi daily *Quan Doi Nhan Dan* criticized Peking's and Moscow's inability to close ranks against American imperialism. As reported by Agence France Presse, the official newspaper of the North Vietnamese armed forces deplored the blindness of those who tend to forget that "American imperialism remains the Number One enemy of all peoples."

"The objective of the world counter-revolutionary strategy remains the division of the socialist countries," the first in the series of editorials said. And Nixon, through his doctrine of the "multipolarization" of the world, has sought to "exploit to the maximum the contradictions between the Soviet Union and China."

The "socialist camp," said the editorial, is the bastion of world revolution and support for the national liberation and workers movements. That is why imperialism seeks to destroy the socialist camp.

Nixon's theory of "multipolarization," according to *Quan Doi Nhan Dan*, is based on the view that the only powers that count are the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Japan, and Western Europe. The Nixon doctrine of good relations between countries with different ideological and economic systems is "a rehash of the theory of class collaboration, a rusty weapon used by capitalism for a century and so often refuted by Marxism-Leninism."

The October 23 editorial imagined a conversation between Nixon and Kissinger running along the following lines:

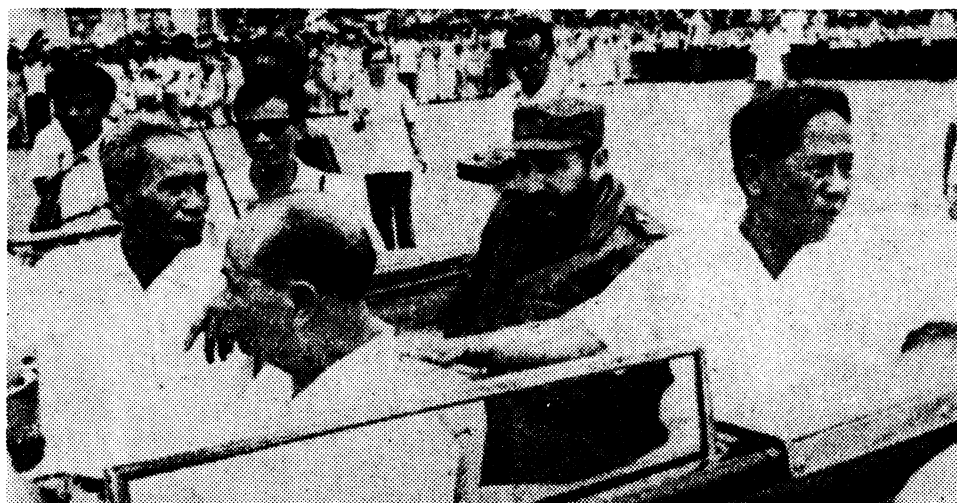
"The clique reasons this way: Multipolarization is a strategic means of weakening the adversary and barring the road to revolutionaries, and it thus permits us to establish a new balance and strengthen ourselves."

"The more this venom is spread, the more it creates confusion because it tends to eliminate the demarcation line between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp."

In what Agence France Presse considered a kind of warning to both Moscow and Peking, *Quan Doi Nhan Dan* said that by using this strategy U.S. imperialism might succeed in breaking "the offensive axis of the revolution."

The newspaper stressed that the activities of Nixon and Kissinger were aimed at "pitting the Soviet Union and China against each other while uniting, as much as possible, the other imperialisms under the new Atlantic charter which already groups the United States, Britain, France and West Germany under Washington's leadership."

It added that while it had suffered a setback in Indochina, Washington had not abandoned its strategic po-



Castro in Hanoi (above), and with Brezhnev. Although Cuban premier calls for greater solidarity of 'socialist bloc,' his speech at Algiers conference was whitewash of Moscow policies of betrayal of national liberation struggles.

sition in the region. U.S. B-52 bombers remain in Thailand, and a "neocolonialist regime" has been installed in Saigon.

The editorial in the October 25 issue of the Hanoi newspaper stated that by calling on Japan to join the new Atlantic charter, Washington has a double aim: to get Japan to plunge Europe into an economic crisis, and to get Western Europe to plunge Japan into a similar crisis, while linking Japan to NATO in a military alliance.

"Thus, the encirclement of the entire socialist camp is taking shape," the paper said.

This is the first time that the North Vietnamese press has referred openly to the "contradictions" between Peking and Moscow, according to Agence France Presse.

Earlier, however, in a joint declaration issued at the conclusion of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro's five-day visit to Vietnam in September, representatives of the Cuban Communist party and the Workers party of Vietnam, speaking also for their respective governments, referred indirectly to the Sino-Soviet dispute.

"Both parties feel that regaining and strengthening solidarity among socialist countries and in the international communist and workers' movement—based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism—consolidating the alliance between the socialist system and the forces that struggle for national independence, and strengthening and enlarging the people's front against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism is especially important in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The Workers Party of Vietnam and the Communist Party of Cuba will increase their contribution to that international solidarity."

The joint statement also warned that imperialism had not lost its aggressive character. "... the imperialists headed by Yankee imperialism are not yet resigned to their defeat; they are trying to oppose the socialist camp and the non-aligned nations, to contain and crush the national liberation movements and the movement

of the working class and to oppose the struggle for peace by the peoples of the world. Thus, it is indispensable for the peoples to increase their solidarity, remain alert and redouble their efforts in the struggle against them."

In their call for a "people's front against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism" the North Vietnamese and Cuban leaderships reflect the pressures on their two countries, which have been major targets in the counter-revolutionary offensive mounted by U.S. imperialism. Washington's détente with Moscow and Peking has not been extended to include Havana, even in the form of diplomatic recognition. And the recurring attacks by Thieu's puppet forces in South Vietnam against the areas held by the Provisional Revolutionary Government pose the constant threat that Washington will resume its murderous terror-bombing of North Vietnam.

The rift between China and the Soviet Union provides a big opening for imperialism, which Nixon has utilized to step up these pressures.

In recent months the Soviet and Chinese leaderships have intensified their attacks on each other. During August the Soviet party newspaper *Pravda* published two commentaries by I. Aleksandrov, a pseudonym used for articles expressing the views of the Politburo, accusing Peking of a "complete breakaway from Marxism-Leninism and departure from the common policy of the socialist countries." The articles repeated an offer by Soviet party chairman Leonid Brezhnev to normalize relations with China on the basis of "peaceful coexistence"—the language normally reserved for relations with countries outside the "Socialist bloc."

Peking, for its part, has continued its attacks on Brezhnev and his team as "fascists." In his report to the Tenth Congress of the Chinese CP on August 24, Premier Chou En-lai hailed the improvement of relations between Peking and Washington, but poured scorn on the Soviet "revisionist ruling clique," who, he said, had "made a socialist country degenerate into a social-imperialist country."

In this context, the statements by Cuba and North Vietnam have been interpreted as evidence of a third or "middle" position in the dispute.

But while Moscow's attacks on Peking are frequently couched in appeals for "unity of the socialist camp," China's rulers have not pressed, even verbally, for a united front of the workers states against U.S. and world imperialism.

Thus, in emphasizing the aggressive nature of imperialism and the need for unity to fight it, the Cuban and North Vietnamese statements are not inconsistent with Moscow's stance.

The impression that the "neutrality" of North Vietnam and Cuba leans toward Moscow was strengthened by Fidel Castro's speech on September 7 at the Algiers conference of non-aligned nations, just prior to his visit to Vietnam. The speech would seem to indicate that however critical the Cuban leaders are of the division in the "socialist camp," they have no intention of risking a public disagreement with Moscow.

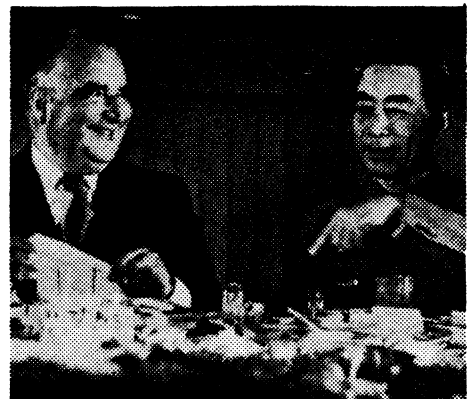
Without naming Peking, Castro forcefully denounced "the theory of 'two imperialisms,' one headed by the United States and the other allegedly by the Soviet Union."

The Cuban leader stated that "to our way of thinking, the world is divided into capitalist and socialist countries, imperialist and neocolonialized countries, colonialist and colonialized countries, reactionary and progressive countries—governments, in a word, that back imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, and racism, and governments that oppose imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism."

Castro then paid the highest and most uncritical praise to Moscow's policies toward liberation struggles around the world.

"Not for a moment can we forget that the guns with which Cuba crushed the Playa Girón mercenaries and defended itself from the United States; the arms in the hands of the Arab peoples, with which they withstand imperialist aggression; those used by the African patriots against Portuguese colonialism; and those taken up by the Vietnamese in their heroic, extraordinary and victorious struggle came from the socialist countries, especially from the Soviet Union."

The Cuban leader's speech was praised by the Kremlin in the November issue of the semi-official foreign affairs review *International Life*. In an article analyzing the Algiers conference, the magazine hailed the "fiery speech" by Castro, saying it had successfully shattered the false theories planted by the Chinese.



Chou En-lai and French Premier Pompidou. Both Moscow and Peking are competing with each other for favors from imperialist countries, sacrificing interests of world revolution.

## For further reading...

**PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND WORLD REVOLUTION** by Ernest Mandel, 60 cents

**NIXON'S MOSCOW AND PEKING SUMMITS: Their Meaning for Vietnam** by Joseph Hansen and Caroline Lund, 60 cents

**MEANING OF THE VIETNAM ACCORDS** by Barry Sheppard and Dick Roberts, 25 cents

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



# Calendar

## BROOKLYN

**THE ENERGY CRISIS: WHO IS TO BLAME?** Speakers: Cliff Conner, associate editor, International Socialist Review; Lorna Salzman, local issues chairwoman, Friends of the Earth; Steve Beck, NYU graduate student in urban development. Fri., Nov. 30, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near Willowby). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

## CLEVELAND

**THE IMPACT OF WATERGATE ON BLACK AMERICA.** Speaker: Norman Oliver, recent N.Y. Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate. Fri., Nov. 30, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 4420 Superior. Donation \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

## NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

**FUEL CRISIS: WHO IS TO BLAME?** Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for The Militant. Fri., Nov. 30, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near 4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

## NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

**THE SOCIALIST PERSPECTIVE FOR THE LABOR MOVEMENT.** Speaker: Ray Markey, trade-union activist. Fri., Nov. 30, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (105th St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

## SEATTLE

**MILITANT 45th ANNIVERSARY DINNER PARTY.** Speaker: Olga Rodriguez, former SWP candidate for mayor of Los Angeles. Sat., Dec. 1, 7 p.m. Northeast branch of YMCA at 5003 12th N.E. Donation: \$3.50. For more information call (206) 523-2555.

## ST. LOUIS

**ISSUES IN AMERICAN AND WORLD POLITICS: THE SOCIALIST VIEWPOINT.** NOV. 30-DEC. 1. Fri., Nov. 30, 8 p.m.: Is ousting Nixon the solution? Speaker: Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 1, 11 a.m.: Stopping police terror in the Black community. Speaker: Maceo Dixon, Young Socialist Alliance; 1:30 p.m.: Latin America—Revolution or the peaceful road? Speaker: Mirta Vidal, staff writer for The Militant; 4 p.m.: The Farm Workers' struggle—Background and current situation. Speaker: Gustavo Gutierrez, Chicago staff of UFW. All sessions at Washington Univ., Room 303-304, Mallinckrodt Center. Donation: \$3 for entire conf., 75c per session. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

## SAN FRANCISCO

**THE FORGING OF THE SOCIALIST PROGRAM.** A series of four classes on the development of revolutionary political ideas. Speaker: Dan Styron, national committee member of the Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 1, 10 a.m.: Socialist program against militarism and war; 1 p.m.: Reform or revolution; Sun., Dec. 2, 11 a.m.: Putschism, ultraleftism, and mass action; 2 p.m.: United front and the revolutionary party. Donation: 50c per session or \$1.50 for the series. Ausp: YSA & SWP. 1519 Mission St. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**MILITANT 45th ANNIVERSARY RALLY.** Speakers: Roberta Scherr, recent SWP candidate for mayor of Cleveland; Elizabeth Stone, member of the Political Committee of the SWP. Refreshments. Sat., Dec. 1, 7:30 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W. (Fourth Floor). Donation: \$2. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

# ...oil

Continued from page 6

ages that were beginning to occur in the U.S. Early this year, after completion of Mobil's 150,000-barrel-a-day facility at Joliet, Ill., the oil industry didn't have one new refinery under construction in the U.S.

"The reasons were difficulties in bringing in foreign oil because of import controls [which President Nixon lifted in May—D.R.] as well as U.S. product prices, which weren't considered high enough to justify the large capital expenditures needed for new refineries."

Thus it comes back to the same thing: driving up fuel prices. The oil trusts have deliberately refused to build sufficient refining capacity and they are pushing the country toward gas rationing.

These are plenty of grounds for demanding public access to the secrets of the oil monopolies. And there are plenty of grounds for demanding that the oil industry be nationalized under workers' control. The vital resource of oil should be under the control of workers and consumers, not private profiteers who are victimizing millions with an artificial "energy crisis."

# ...youth

Continued from page 9

ist class rule. They cannot be resolved within the confines of the university or by students alone. Student struggles, even when they begin around relatively narrow campus questions, can escalate into full-scale political confrontations with the capitalist state.

That has certainly been the case in Greece, where student demonstrations began last year around the elementary democratic demand that students should have the right to elect their own student union leaders instead of having them appointed by the military.

The radicalized students tend to reject Stalinism and Social Democratic reformism and to bypass them in action. They are open to revolutionary Marxist ideas.

*A Strategy for Revolutionary Youth* speaks to the growing number of students around the world who are coming to the conclusion that the entire capitalist system should be overturned and are asking how they as students

can advance the revolutionary struggle.

It puts forward a strategy based on the concept "that the university ought to be transformed from a factory producing robots into an organizing center for anticapitalist activities, a powerhouse for revolutionary education, an arena for mobilizing youth in a struggle for the complete transformation of society."

This concept could be seen in action last week at Athens Polytechnic University, when thousands of students occupied the university and turned it into an organizing center for struggle against the dictatorship. It could also be seen in the "antiwar universities" created in the U.S. during the May 1970 student upsurge.

This strategy seeks to combine student struggles with the broader struggles of the working class and oppressed nationalities for emancipation. The document advances a program of demands that point in this direction.

It explains why youth should join and build the revolutionary party that is necessary to lead the workers and their allies to victory, and the valuable function of a revolutionary youth organization in that process.

The resolution notes, "The rebellious youth in one area rapidly copy the methods, take up the slogans, and study the political lessons of struggles in other areas."

The South Korean dictatorship forced the press to play down the news of the Thai student revolt, fearing that the example would spur on the Korean student struggles—as it did.

The new wave of student struggles will not fail to have an impact around the world, including in the U.S. These actions will inspire international solidarity and renewed confidence in the capacity of the rebel youth to fight for a better world.

The Young Socialist Alliance is in solidarity with the students of Thailand, Korea, and Greece and is fighting for a socialist transformation of America.

Join us! To contact the YSA local nearest you, see the directory below.

# ...Chavez

Continued from page 24

of [the Nov. 15] meeting with the Teamsters and the growers is that

Fitzsimmons will formally repudiate the agreement?

**Chavez:** I don't really care what happens. We know that the only way to get the Teamsters out is to [get the] growers to get the Teamsters out, and the only way to get the growers to get the Teamsters to get out is by having an effective economic action against the growers, and that's the boycott and the strike.

**Reporter:** Are you saying that there is absolutely no chance that you'll reopen talks with the Teamsters?

**Chavez:** What I'm saying is that they are not going to reopen talks with us until we do our work. It's not going to happen by a miracle, unfortunately. Although we're praying. We're going to pray a lot and picket a lot.

**Reporter:** What kind of help are you getting from the government, either the state or federal, in terms of either their investigation of the violence or in terms of legislation that might help out farm workers?

**Chavez:** We're not getting anything from the federal government because as you well know, there are many problems, they don't have time for us. We're not getting anything from the state government because our government has never really discovered that we exist.

But we're getting an awful lot of help from our friends. The churches, labor. In the first 24 hours [after Fitzsimmons's Nov. 7 statement] I got calls from 50 of the best known Chicano leaders in the country, saying, "this is our fight too, we're convinced."

So the Teamsters are going to get themselves in a fight with the Mexican-American community throughout the country, plus farm workers, plus all the other forces helping us. And I don't think that even the Teamsters can put up with that, however strong and wealthy they may be.

**Reporter:** How would you evaluate the outlook for the UFW right now?

**Chavez:** We have ourselves, we know how to sacrifice. We know how to work. We know how to combat the forces that oppose us. But even more important than that, we are true believers in the whole idea of justice. Justice is so much on our side that that is going to see us through.

VIVA LA HUELGA!

SI SE PUEDE! [YES WE CAN!]

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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.

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7860.

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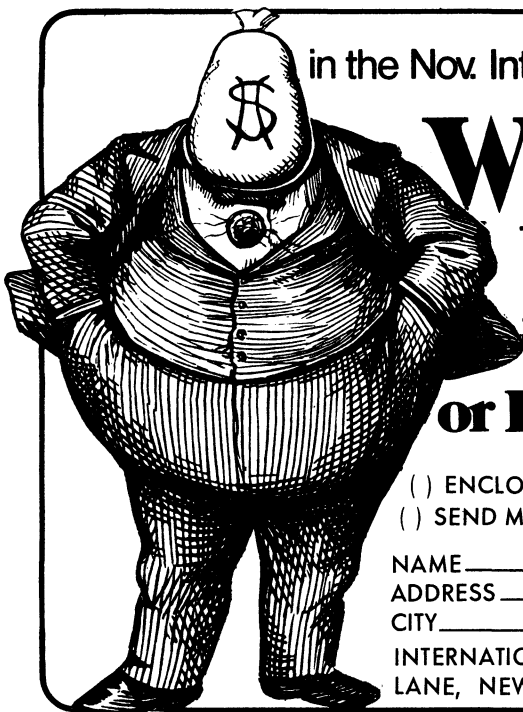
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## Chavez: 'Double boycott efforts!'

The following are major excerpts from a news conference held in Los Angeles on Nov. 9 by Cesar Chavez, president of the United Farm Workers, AFL-CIO. The transcript is being circulated by the UFW.

We are making these excerpts available for the information of our readers because of the broad interest in the questions discussed.

The news conference was held in response to the Nov. 7 announcement by Teamsters union head Frank Fitzsimmons that the Teamsters refused to sign agreements with the UFW that had been arrived at in September. The Teamsters had reportedly agreed then to repudiate their sweetheart contracts with California grape growers and to not renew contracts with lettuce growers when they expired in 1975.

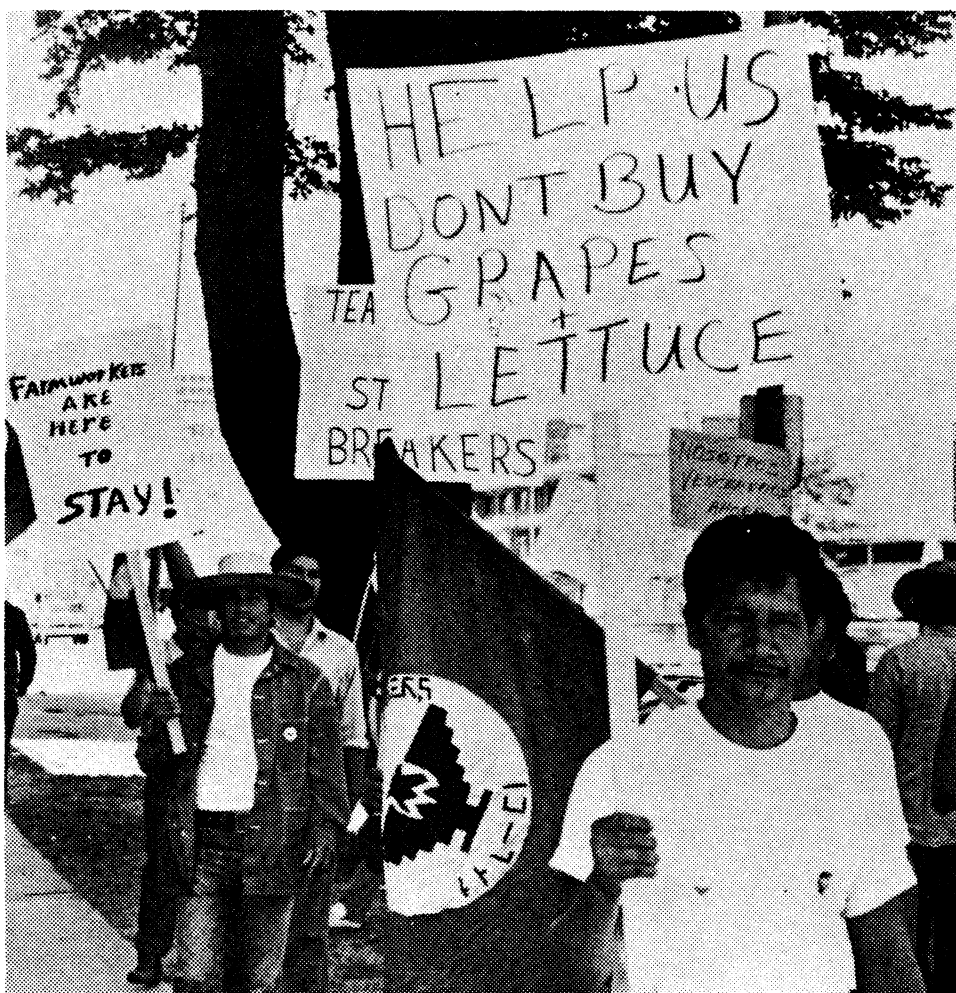
On Nov. 15, Fitzsimmons met with California growers operating under the fake Teamster contracts and assured them of his "moral and legal obligation" to honor them.

**Chavez:** When we were asked by the AFL-CIO to negotiate with the Teamsters because the Teamsters were requesting negotiations with us, we were not very enthusiastic. We went and negotiated with the Teamsters because we wanted to re-express our misgivings to the AFL-CIO, stating that we had gone through this many times during the last eight years.

But we were going to negotiate because the AFL-CIO did not quite agree with us. And we went into negotiations in good faith. We were not surprised that Fitzsimmons made the statement he made two days ago. We had no trust when we negotiated with them.

I think during the beginning of those negotiations . . . we knew there was a lot of moral and political pressure on Fitzsimmons. There was a lot of pressure from the church and the public at large. Two of our members had just been killed and there was a lot of indignation throughout the country. And Fitzsimmons was absorbing a lot of that pressure, and it seems to me that they were negotiating with us only to buy time.

However, since then, and because of Fitzsimmons's statements a couple



Cleveland. UFW has called for renewed picketing of stores that carry scab lettuce and grapes. Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

of days ago, this makes the Teamsters look very bad. It shows that they were not in good faith. In a way, the statement was good because it gives us the opportunity to clarify the confusion that has existed now

**Meany, the labor movement, and the UFW boycott. See editorial, page 10.**

for several weeks. Supporters thought the fight was over and were sort of standing back. They thought the growers would not last that long if they had to fight us by themselves.

So now we feel that we'll be able to realize the full potential of the boycott and the strikes against the growers, because the confusion is now at an end. . . .

We are now preparing to again strike in Coachella, we are preparing to strike this coming summer in Arvin, Lamont, Delano, and Fresno, and with good luck we may be able to strike this winter in the lettuce fields of the Imperial and Yuma valleys, and then in early summer, in Salinas. . . .

We are asking our friends throughout the country to continue and to renew their efforts in boycotting grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wines.

**Reporter:** What kind of support do you have now from [AFL-CIO President George] Meany; what have you heard

from him?

**Chavez:** I did not speak with him yesterday, but I did speak with his assistant, Tom Donahue. They are not making a statement at this time. They are still holding out some hope that things will change.

We are not holding out any hope. We are doing everything we can to bring the pressure up and to clarify our position and to ask our friends throughout the country and all North America to boycott as never before.

**Reporter:** You're talking about some very long-range things, like a strike next summer, or through the winter. You are not talking about anything right now, are you?

**Chavez:** Yes, we're talking about doubling the efforts of the boycott right now, and that is considerable.

**Reporter:** About the Gallo strike and boycott. First, do you have any indication of which way the AFL-CIO is going to go in supporting that. And, second, what kind of support is likely from the Winery Workers?

**Chavez:** We're not going to get any support from the Winery Workers because they are against the whole idea of the boycott. But the executive council of the AFL-CIO at its last meeting, just a day prior to the convention in Miami, set up a committee made up of Mr. Meany and the secretary-treasurer of the federation to

hold meetings with ourselves, the Winery Workers union, the Clerks, and the Meat Cutters. Then they will decide at what point they are going to endorse the boycotts and how it's going to be done.

But we are continuing the boycotts even though we don't have the endorsements, and we're waiting for that meeting and [will] possibly get it later.

**Reporter:** Have you not been boycotting for the last month or two?

**Chavez:** Yes, we have been boycotting.

**Reporter:** Well then, what is different now?

**Chavez:** More people, covering more cities. We were scaling down the lettuce boycott before the announcement, but now we are saying we've got to get both lettuce and grapes. . . .

**Reporter:** You're talking about strikes in Arvin, Lamont, Delano, and Fresno. When would those begin?

**Chavez:** We'll time them to begin at the beginning of the harvest. In Coachella that would be in late April; in Arvin-Lamont it would be in early July; in Delano it would be in late July and early August, as well as Fresno.

**Reporter:** And in the Imperial Valley, you're talking about striking lettuce. When might that be?

**Chavez:** Well, they're starting soon, in another two, three, or four weeks.

**Reporter:** Do you think the outcome

*Continued on page 22*

### How the boycott can be effective

NEW YORK—Supporters of the United Farm Workers scored a victory recently when the Grand Union supermarket chain in Manhattan and the Bronx agreed to stop carrying non-UFW grapes and lettuce. The supermarket's action was prompted by a picket line of 70 to 80 boycott supporters outside Grand Union Nov. 10.

Plans are going ahead for the rally here in support of the Farm Workers to be held Nov. 29. The rally will begin at 7:30 p.m. in the Hunter College Auditorium (Lexington Avenue and 68th Street).

The featured speaker will be César Chavez. Other speakers will include Mayor John Lindsay; Central Labor Council head Harry Van Arsdale; Victor Gotbaum, head of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in New York City; and Larry Friedman, president of the National Student Association.



CHAVEZ: 'Justice is on our side.'