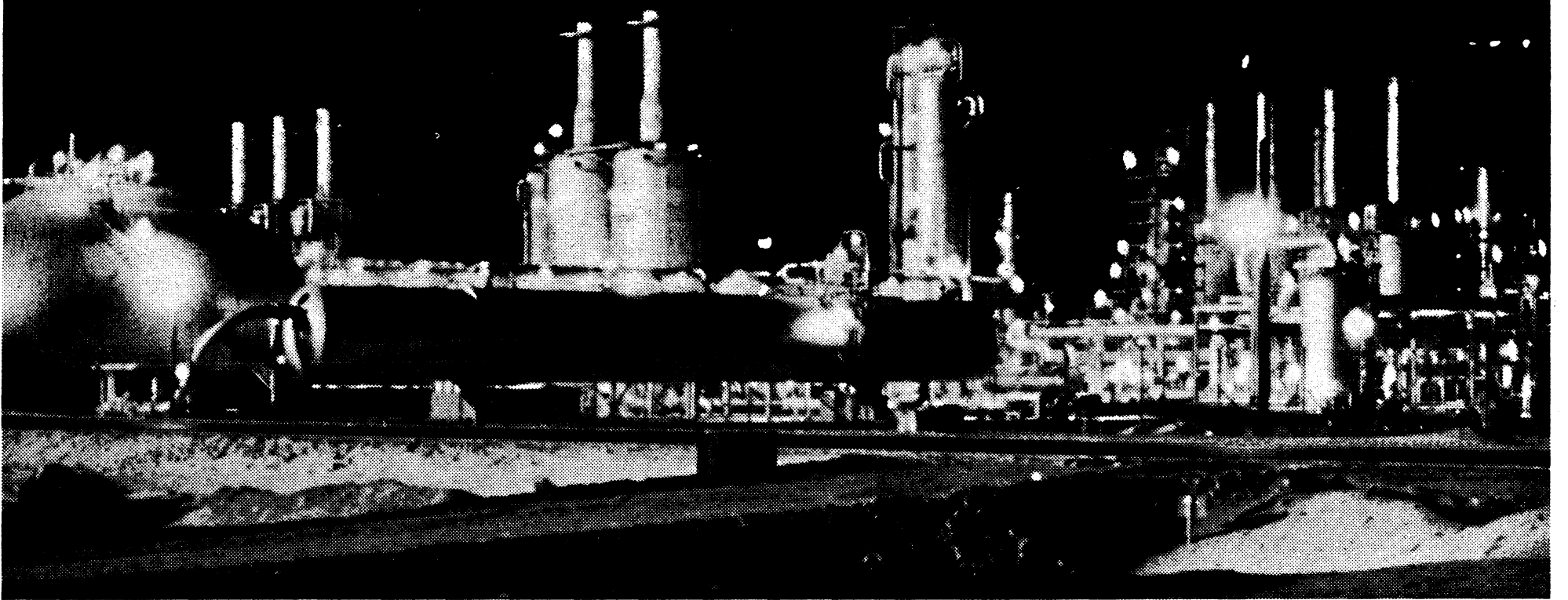


THE MILITANT

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

Prices, profits, pollution up Oil trusts tighten energy squeeze



Israel talks peace, but won't yield Arab lands/¹²

Did White House order Kent State killings?/⁴



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Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS

Business Manager: SHARON CABANISS
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

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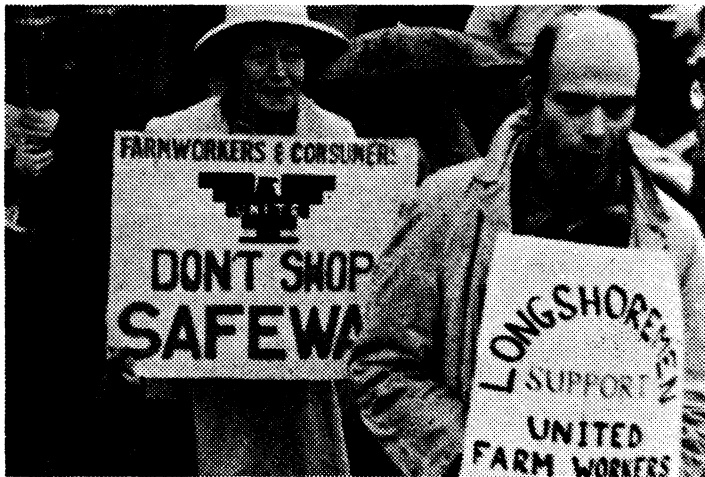
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BOSTON UFW SUPPORT RALLY: More than 100 supporters of the United Farm Workers held a spirited noon-time rally at the Boston headquarters of A&P on Nov. 21. A&P is the only major food chain in the area that has not been forced to stop sales of nonunion grapes and lettuce.

Speakers at the rally included Dolores Huerta, UFW vice-president; Joseph Sullivan, president of the Massachusetts AFL-CIO; and author Jonathan Kozol. Tom Moriarty, a Teamster cab driver and member of the Young Socialist Alliance, spoke and attacked the Teamster bureaucracy's attempt to destroy the UFW.

After the rally a 24-hour vigil of up to 50 people was maintained at the A&P headquarters.



San Francisco

Militant/Howard Petrick

SAN DIEGO UFW SUPPORT RALLY: A rally and mercado campesino (farmers' market) to back the struggling farm workers drew up to 800 people Nov. 14 at San Diego State University. Speakers included Miguel Vasquez, a boycott activist at San Diego State; Gary Brown, the East San Diego area coordinator for the boycott; and Manuel Hernandez, a striking Gallo worker.

Vasquez told of the importance of students becoming involved in the UFW support movement and discussed an investigating committee that has been formed to probe the relation between Safeway stores and the university. Safeway is one of the nation's largest carriers of scab grapes and lettuce.

LOS ANGELES UFW SUPPORT ACTION: The Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, is organizing a Christmas caravan to UFW headquarters in Delano Dec. 15 to bring food and toys to farm workers and their families.

A previous caravan organized in September involved nearly 500 unionists and supporters. Organizers hope to double that figure.

The unionists plan to hold a rally in Delano before returning to Los Angeles.

In an article in the county federation's newspaper, Sigmund Arywitz, secretary of the federation, also asked every union local to set aside time in their meetings to hear UFW representatives.

MORE SWP VOTE TOTALS: Additional reports on the Socialist Workers Party vote in the Nov. 6 municipal elections have been forwarded to The Militant. Some earlier returns were reported in our Nov. 23 issue.

In Washington, D. C., where the turnout was the lowest in the history of D. C. elections (5 percent), the SWP had four candidates for school board on the ballot. Because the race was officially "nonpartisan," however, no candidates were allowed to be identified by party affiliation.

The total for the socialist candidates ranged from a high of 733 votes to a low of 53. In terms of percentage, the SWP candidates polled between 2.8 and 1.3 percent.

In San Francisco, also an officially "nonpartisan" race, the SWP had five candidates in the race for board of supervisors. Their vote ranged from 6,200 (3.0 percent) to 2,200 (1.0 percent).

In Philadelphia, where candidates were identified by party affiliation, SWP candidate for district attorney, Bruce Kaufman, polled 2,900 votes (.6 percent). Harvey McArthur, socialist nominee for city controller, received 1,200 votes (.3 percent).

BOOK BURNING IN NORTH DAKOTA: An "arbitrary, capricious, and subjective violation of free speech," was how the ACLU described the decision of the Drake, N. D., school board to incinerate 32 copies of Kurt Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse Five*. The novel had been assigned by a Drake English teacher to members of his sophomore class.

The board found the novel profane and unsuitable for classroom use and had the copies burned in the furnace under the school gymnasium.

However, in opposition to the decision, 22 of the 32 affected students petitioned for the return of the book.

The teacher, Bruce Severy, had also assigned James Dickey's *Deliverance*. It and an anthology of stories by William Faulkner, Ernest Hemingway, and John Steinbeck that the teacher assigned are being examined for their suitability.

Denver jury acquits Raza leader in 30 sec.

By JON HILLSON

DENVER—In a stunning rejection of an attempt by police to frame up Crusade for Justice leader Ernesto Vigil, a jury here took only 30 seconds Nov. 23 to reach a verdict of not guilty.

Vigil, if he had been convicted, could have been sentenced to up to 40 years in prison. He was charged with first-degree assault in the wake of a vicious police attack on the Escuela Tlatelolco on March 17, 1973.

The prosecution's case fell apart during the trial as witness after witness contradicted each other or presented testimony that was refuted by facts presented by the defense.

Officer Bruce Tow, for example, claimed he could make a "positive" identification of Vigil as the person who had allegedly fired on policewoman Carole Hogue. Tow testified that he did not recall seeing Vigil wear glasses on March 17. Vigil, however, was wearing glasses that night.

Policewoman Hogue astounded jurors when she claimed she had not seen any police officer fire a weapon that evening. It is a matter of record that scores of cops sprayed the area around the school with gunfire the evening of the raid.

Defense attorneys were also able to discredit a number of police witnesses who testified that on the night of the attack, Vigil was wearing a brown leather jacket over a white T-shirt. Vigil's lawyers introduced into evidence a yellow sport shirt and green sweater Vigil wore that evening and a blue jacket with a bullet hole in it where he had been shot by police.

SAN QUENTIN SIX SUPPORTS BANNED COMMUNIST LEAGUE: Johnny Larry Spain, Luis Talamantez, David Johnson, Willie Tate, Hugo Pinell, and Fleeta Drumgo—the San Quentin Six—recently sent a statement of solidarity to supporters of the ex-Communist League of France. The League, the French section of the Fourth International, was banned by French President Pompidou following an antifascist demonstration last summer.

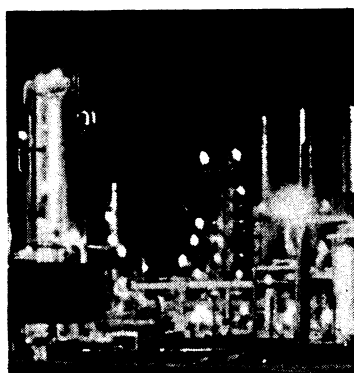
Joining in the demand that Pompidou lift the ban the San Quentin Six wrote: "We . . . speak now to you, our revolutionary comrades in struggle and send for all its worth our total support and spiritual strength, for the oppressor is recognized as being one and the same."

The San Quentin Six are prisoners who face murder and conspiracy charges stemming from an incident in August 1971, when a number of guards were killed following the assassination of George Jackson.

The Committee for Defense of the Rights of the Communist League in France is circulating petitions against the ban on the League. Copies can be obtained by writing to Francoise Collet, 2310 Creston Ave., Apt. 6A, Bronx, N. Y. 10468.

—BAXTER SMITH

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Farah strike: Chicano workers demand justice and union rights

By HARRY RING

EL PASO, Texas—After a year and a half on the picket line, striking Farah workers feel they are now getting closer to victory. On Nov. 2, the company announced it was shutting down two of its plants, one in Victoria, Texas, the other in Las Cruces, N.M.

The company said the shutdowns were the result of the nationwide boycott of Farah pants. A spokesman said the decision was reached reluctantly and was forced on the company because of the boycott's negative effects.

Some 600 workers were employed at the two plants. An estimated 7,500 are employed in the remaining plants—the bulk of them in El Paso. However, according to strikers, for the past three months the main El Paso plant has been in production only two and three days a week.

Film available

A 21-minute color film, *The People vs. Willie Farah*, tells the story of the Farah strike and is highlighted by interviews with striking Chicano unionists. The film is available for rental from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Public Affairs Dept., 15 Union Sq., New York, N.Y. 10003.

Farah is one of the country's biggest producers of men's slacks, and before the strike it was expanding rapidly. Workers could expect a 40-hour week plus much overtime.

Farah workers began organizing in 1969, and in 1970 the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union began the process of seeking collective bargaining

rights. The company stubbornly refused to recognize the union, and fired 33 union activists. On May 9, 1972, after a firing, workers walked off the job.

The 'American way'

Company President Willie Farah says he's deeply moved by the memory of his father, a Lebanese immigrant who started the operation with four workers in a small shop. Willie Farah is a great partisan of the "American way" and doesn't intend to have his workers deprived of their "freedom" by a union—whether they want it or not.

Three thousand Farah workers have joined the strike. As far as they're concerned, Farah's idea of "freedom" looks a lot like slavery.

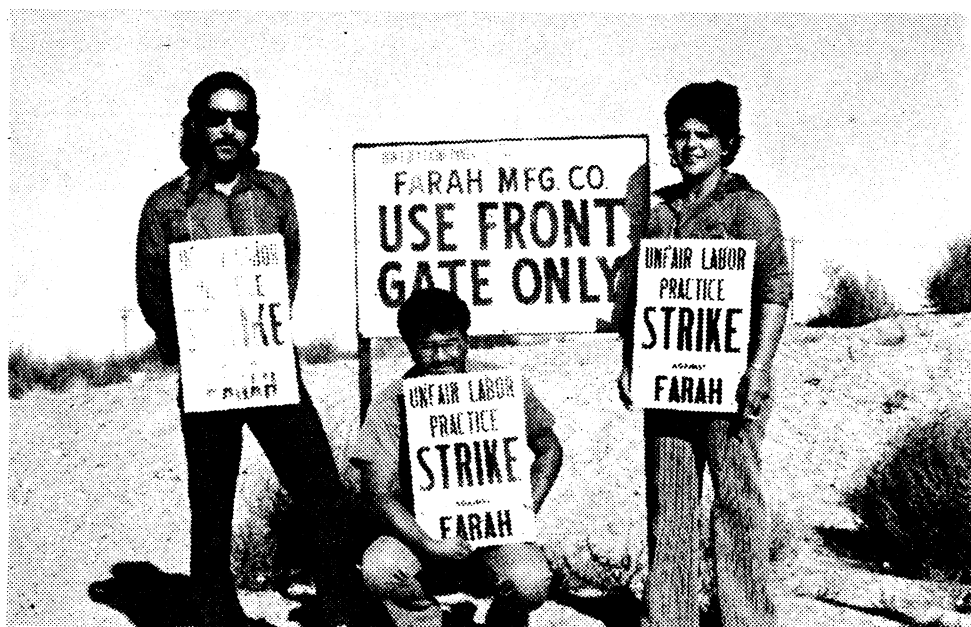
The company tries to project a paternalistic image. It's fond of citing a variety of alleged benefits it provides its workers. The workers easily demonstrate how phony they are.

The workers say they have zero job security and absolutely no voice in determining their conditions of work. They declare they are deprived of human rights and need a union to correct the situation.

Almost all the Farah workers are Chicanos. Before the strike, almost all the plant supervisors were Anglos.

"They'd pass over people with years of experience and bring in inexperienced whites for the jobs," one striker said. "Since the strike they made some Chicanos supervisors. I guess Willie wants to show there is opportunity."

Farah boasts he pays the "prevailing wage," which is true. Clothing manufacturing is now El Paso's biggest industry. According to El Paso chamber of commerce figures, it's the



Pickers at Farah plant, El Paso, Texas

Militant/Nelson Blackstock

next to last on the city's wage scale.

Average take-home pay at Farah is \$69 a week, about the same as the other nonunion plants. Three other plants are organized by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and there, according to reports, wages and benefits are substantially higher than in the rest of the industry.

Speedup

Speedup at Farah is intense, and production standards are arbitrary. Workers are told they'll get a raise if they reach a new standard. If they make the new standard but fail to maintain it, the wage increase is withdrawn.

Workers are pitted against each other. They are promised a raise if they outproduce others in their unit. Supervisors' "favorites" get raises on the condition of not telling others.

At the union strike headquarters Antonio Sánchez, manager of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' El Paso joint board, told *The Militant* about the strike. Sánchez has been heading up the strike since it began.

Sánchez first became active in the union as a presser in a Los Angeles plant. He was involved in Los Angeles area organizing drives and in 1969 was assigned by the union to El Paso.

He has a special interest in the cause of the Farah strikers. "As a union official," he said, "I'm committed to represent all workers regardless of nationality, creed, or whatever. But it just so happens that 98 percent of the workers here are Mexican-American, and that has a special meaning for me."

The organizing initiative at Farah came from the workers themselves. On the picket line we met Adam Gonzales, a member of the initial organizing committee. A veteran, he went to work in the Farah shipping room in 1968. He soon saw the need for a union and began talking with other workers.

His father had been a steelworker in Gary, Ind. From him Adam first got the idea of the worth of unions. And so when they first began organizing, he went to the United Steelworkers union. They referred him to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, which undertook the organizing effort.

Soon Gonzales was fired for union activity. The firing was appealed to the National Labor Relations Board, and he was reinstated with back pay shortly before the walkout, which he promptly joined.

(Thirty-two other workers were fired for union activity after him. Nineteen have been ordered reinstated so far by the NLRB, but Farah is appealing the rulings in the courts.)

On the picket line, Gonzales talked about the impact of the boycott on Farah and said, "I think we're getting close. . . maybe by Christmas."

Benefits?

Back at the strike office, Antonio Sánchez described the situation at Farah as he learned about it from the workers when the union was first called in. He said he had questioned the workers closely about the various "benefits" so frequently referred to by the company.

The workers, he said, responded point by point.

- Hospital benefits. The company pays \$14 a day. Average daily cost in an El Paso hospital is \$44. And even though the great majority of the workers are women, there are no maternity benefits.

- Free eye examinations. Sure, an optician downtown gives you a "free" exam, then sells you a pair of glasses, with the cost deducted from your pay.

- Company savings plan. The company pressures people to sign up for payroll deduction savings. No interest is paid. The money is used, interest-free, by the company. (The union recently filed a class-action damage suit on this.)

- Free bus transportation. This is used mainly to bring in Mexican workers from the border city of Juarez and exists simply to assure the company a steady labor source.

Continued on page 22

Effect of boycott

The effect of the Farah boycott was confirmed by the company's recent report to stockholders as well as by the closing of two plants. The report disclosed an \$18-million drop in sales for the first nine months of 1973 as compared with the same period in 1972. For the fiscal year 1972, Farah showed a loss of \$8.3-million against a profit of \$6-million the previous year.

Farah is now resorting to peddling its pants under phony labels. Among the aliases being used on Farah slacks are:

"Golden Scroll," "Passport," "Super," "Daire," "Club 20," "Cliff Mark," "Beau Mark," "Kainrod," "Classic 20's."

FREE THE TEXAS 8,000.



DON'T BUY FARAH PANTS.

JOIN THE NATIONAL BOYCOTT AGAINST FARAH PANTS.

Poster distributed by student committee to aid the Farah strikers.

New light on Kent State massacre: Another Watergate 'can of worms'?

By CAROLINE LUND

Two days after the killings of four students at Kent State University in May 1970, William Saxbe, Republican senator from Ohio, stated that "the blame rests not on the guardsmen, but on the way the children have been raised, buffered from the frustrations and disappointments of the world."

Saxbe is now awaiting Senate confirmation of his appointment as U.S. attorney general.

The Kent massacre takes on a new significance in the light of the Watergate revelations. Watergate has revealed the vast scope of illegal government spying and harassment designed to silence the antiwar movement and Black movement.

On May 4, 1970, four unarmed students were shot down in cold blood—three of them demonstrating peacefully against the war, and one on her way to a class. Nine others were wounded, one of them paralyzed, one maimed.

Only 10 days later in Mississippi, police shot to death two Jackson State students, wounded 12 more, and riddled a dormitory with 400 bullets and pellets of buckshot.

Not one of the guardsmen, police, or officials who ordered these massacres has ever been brought up on criminal charges.

But the continuing attempts to cover up these shootings are running into stronger and stronger opposition. New facts are emerging, all of which strengthen the contention that the shootings were in fact politically motivated acts of terrorism by the government itself.

Richardson 'reopens' inquiry

In his first major move in office, former Attorney General Elliot Richardson announced Aug. 3 that the Justice Department was reopening its investigation of the Kent killings. He stopped short, however, of ordering a grand jury investigation.

Richardson's initiative was widely seen as an attempt to bolster the sagging image of the Justice Department in the wake of the Watergate scandals and continuing exposures of evidence of a government whitewash of the Kent massacre.

Saxbe, however, has already thrown cold water on the plans for a new federal investigation. Just after his nomination by Nixon Nov. 1 to be the country's top prosecutor, Saxbe told Ohio report-



Jeffrey Miller

John P. Filo

ers he was "distressed" the case had been reopened. He felt there was not "enough evidence," and was upset that the new investigation appeared to be designed "to satisfy public clamor."

What's behind the renewed "public clamor" about Kent State?

An independent investigator of the Kent killings, Peter Davies, has raised the possibility that the massacre, and the Nixon administration's refusal to order a federal grand jury investigation of it, was part of a government conspiracy.

'Worst can of worms'

Davies, who is author of *The Truth About Kent State*, asks in the Nov. 8 *Village Voice*: "Will future historians some day discover that Kent State was the worst can of worms in the era of Watergate, and sadly record the killing to have been the most despicable of John Mitchell's 'White House horror stories'?"

Davies goes on to say that he "would be surprised if Mr. Nixon's determination to deny justice in this case did not figure prominently in his unexpected selection" of Saxbe for the post of attorney general.

Other commentators are also pointing in this direction.



Guardsmen firing on Kent State students

John A. Darnell Jr.

Nathan Lewin of the *New Republic* commented after Richardson's announcement of the new Justice Department investigation, "Suspicious minds may wonder, in light of recent revelations of the role that partisan politics played in Mr. Mitchell's Department of Justice, whether there is not a skeleton rattling in this [Kent State] closet, and whether the renewed interest in Kent State was designed to head off some startling disclosure as to how or why the case was initially quashed."

Lewin is a former deputy assistant attorney general at the Justice Department who resigned in the wake of the Kent killings.

Was White House behind killings?

On the basis of his intensive investigation of the Kent events, Peter Davies speculates at what such a "startling disclosure" might be: "a White House decision to put the lid on campus demonstrations against the President's decision to invade Cambodia, a decision obscurely filtered down to James A. Rhodes, then Republican governor of Ohio, in the form of a hint that whatever steps the governor takes to crush the dissent at both Kent State and Ohio State University will be secure from federal intervention?"

This is where Saxbe comes in. The Republican senator is a close friend and political ally of former Governor Rhodes. Saxbe is also, incidentally, such a zealous partisan of the Ohio National Guard that he voluntarily served in the guard from 1937 until 1968, when he ran for the Senate.

Saxbe's friend Rhodes went to Kent to hold a news conference May 3, just 24 hours before the killings and while National Guardsmen, armed for combat, were occupying the campus. He deliberately lashed out at student antiwar demonstrators, calling them "worse than the brownshirts and the Communist element and also the night riders and the vigilantes."

"It's over with in Ohio," Rhodes stated. "... We are going to eradicate the problem, we're not going to treat the symptoms."

On July 29, 1970, Attorney General Mitchell made a statement that there were "apparent violations of federal law" by both students and guardsmen at Kent State. He said the Justice Department would take action against the violators "if Ohio authorities do not."

Picking up the hint, Governor Rhodes announced less than a week later the convening of an Ohio grand jury to investigate the killings—thus taking the federal government off the hook.

The state grand jury completely exonerated the guardsmen, while indicting 25 students and other demonstrators on riot charges. Nearly all the charges were subsequently dropped for lack of evidence.

The spirit in which the grand jury proceeded can be surmised from the public statement of Seabury Ford, Republican county chairman in the county in which Kent State is located, and one of the prosecutors appointed by Rhodes to present evidence to the grand jury. Ford said the guardsmen "should have shot all" troublemakers, and he wondered, "why didn't the Guard shoot more of them?"

The conclusions of the Ohio grand jury were flatly contradicted by both the Scranton Commission on Student Unrest, appointed by President

Nixon, and an 8,000-page FBI report on the killings, which is still secret.

The Scranton Commission termed the killings "unnecessary, unwarranted and inexcusable." According to a Justice Department summary of the FBI findings, leaked to the *Akron Beacon Journal*, there was "reason to believe that the claim by the National Guard that their lives were endangered by the students was fabricated subsequent to the event."

Despite this, Attorney General Mitchell stalled for 15 months after the shootings, and then finally announced in August 1971 that there would be no federal grand jury investigation of the Kent events.

Agnew's modest suggestion

The atmosphere for the Kent killings and subsequent cover-up was set by the president and vice-president themselves. In April 1970, Spiro Agnew, now an admitted felon, offered a "modest suggestion for my friends in the academic community: the next time a mob of students, waving their non-negotiable demands, starts pitching bricks and rocks at the Student Union—just imagine they are wearing brown shirts or white sheets and act accordingly."

President Nixon's reaction immediately after the massacre was to say, "When dissent turns to violence, it invites tragedy"—although all evidence shows that the demonstration by the Kent students was entirely peaceful and orderly until the National Guard started to disperse the students.

Peter Davies and others have unearthed numerous suspicious aspects of the massacre—such as the presence of an armed FBI agent on the scene; the presence of some national guardsmen who weren't officially activated for the assignment but came anyway; and the striking behavior of the guardsmen who swung around as a group and deliberately fired at students between 100 and 700 feet away from them.

Was this slaughter of students arranged or covered up for by some of Nixon's Watergate gang?

'Never, ever' a new inquiry

In his article in the Nov. 8 *Village Voice*, Davies relates an incident that points in this direction. Last August, Davies was told by a sympathetic reporter that there would "never, ever" be a federal grand jury inquiry into Kent State.

This journalist—identified by Davies only as "a highly respected Washington correspondent for the *New York Times*"—said that he knew from government officials that the government had information about Kent that would never be let out because it would bring far more "pain" to the nation than lack of an investigation.

Will the American people ever learn the truth about Kent State? The confirmation of William Saxbe as attorney general will certainly not help.

We can't look for any help from the Democrats on this matter, either. *Village Voice* writer Paul Cowan asked Senator Edward Kennedy's office whether the senator would make continuation of the Kent investigation a precondition for voting to confirm Saxbe. The answer was: "We'll ask him some tough questions, but we'll probably have to vote for him in the end."

New Nixon 'bombshells' cause drop in government credibility

By CAROLINE LUND

In the third week of Nixon's new Watergate "counteroffensive," polls showed public confidence in the administration sinking to all-time lows.

Nixon's "explanations" at his Disney World news conference Nov. 17 have been plugged full of holes and overshadowed by proliferating Watergate disclosures: the erasure of a crucial 18 minutes from one of the subpoenaed White House tapes, Nixon's income tax evasion, and the alleged involvement of Nixon's millionaire friend Robert Vesco in heroin smuggling, among other things.

After the revelation Nov. 25 that the tape segment had been erased—a fact that Nixon kept secret during his "Operation Candor"—a Republican senator remarked, "I don't think the American people would believe the president now if he was questioned under truth serum."

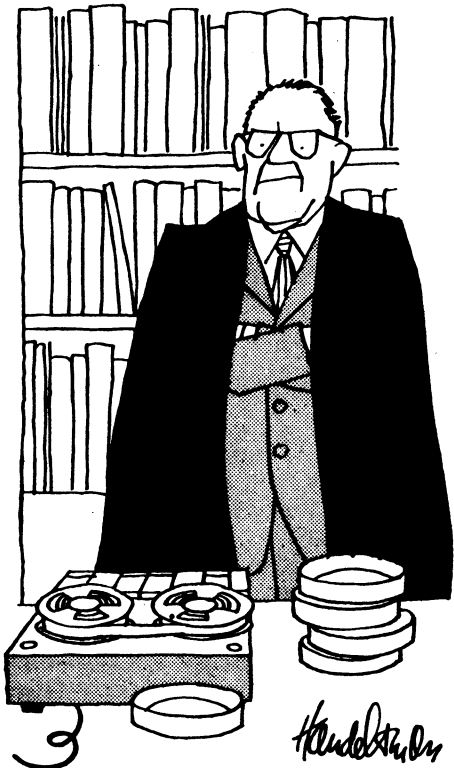
But while some members of Congress continued to bluster against Nixon in order to take their distance from his troubles, both houses moved toward confirmation of Gerald Ford, Nixon's nomination to replace Agnew, the crook he originally chose for the vice-presidency.

Conservatives and liberals in the Senate joined forces and voted 92 to 3 to elevate this reactionary, racist politician to the vice-presidency and, quite possibly, the top spot itself. These senators found no problem in approving Ford, despite his viciously antilabor, anti-Black, and prowar record.

Typical was Senator Philip Hart of Michigan, a leading Democratic liberal, who said he thought Ford "would be a steady and a decent and a believable president."

Senate confirmation of Ford came the same day as the announcement by the Ervin committee that hearings on Watergate would be postponed indefinitely. In response to a reporter's question, ranking Republican committee member Howard Baker of Tennessee said, "I don't exclude the possibility that we might not" resume the hearings at all.

According to Lawrence Meyer in the Nov. 28 *Washington Post*, "The delay in the hearings was seen by persons close to the committee as strengthening Baker's ability to block resumption of the hearings and thus prevent testimony that could further damage President Nixon. . . ."



'Due to technical difficulties in the preparation of the tapes, the part of John Dean will be played by Frank Sinatra'

But the capitalist politicians are in a bind. The Dec. 3 *Newsweek* cited the opinion of "professionals of both parties" that moves toward impeachment will revive again at the beginning of the new year, "when indictments start showering down on the Nixonians, when cold houses and darkened factories bring the energy crisis home, and when Republicans down to the clubhouse level begin worrying whether they can afford Richard Nixon in an election year."

As both Democratic and Republican



HALL, NIXON: 'You scratch my back, I'll scratch yours.'

party politicians continued to stall on the Watergate investigation and debate among themselves how best to restore confidence in capitalist government, pollsters recorded "massive shifts of public attitudes" toward the Nixon administration.

In a Harris poll conducted Nov. 12-15, a plurality of those questioned (44 percent to 34) thought Nixon had "violated the law, as was true with Vice-President Agnew." The percentage who thought Nixon should resign stood at 43 percent—up dramatically from 36 percent in October. The increase in those who want Nixon to quit was the sharpest in five months.

By a plurality of 47 to 27 percent, the poll found, people feel "the two missing tapes were ordered destroyed because they would have proved" that Nixon was involved in the cover-up of Watergate.

Newsweek commented, "While 47 percent of those polled still wanted him as president, the margin was onion-skin and the trend ominous."

Furthermore, this poll was conducted prior to the disclosure of the erasure of critical parts of one of the White House tapes.

The tape segment that was allegedly erased by President Nixon's secretary "just happened" to be the only part of the tape containing discussion of the Watergate break-in.

According to notes on the conversation by Nixon's aide H. R. Halde-man, the erased discussion dealt with the administration's plans for a "counterattack" against publicity surrounding the Watergate break-in, including how to "hit the opposition."

'Kids wave newspapers at us'

The blatancy of the crimes of the Nixon administration is undermining all defenders of the capitalist government, including school teachers. "Kids come in waving newspapers at us," said the social studies department head of the New York board of education.

She told the *New York Post* that "the biggest question kids raise is how Agnew can get away with a \$10,000 fine and no jail sentence when people in their neighborhoods go to jail for less."

A *New York Times* article on the attitude of children toward Watergate quoted a mother who said, "Even parents are losing a certain amount of credibility" for trying to teach young people to respect the institutions of this society.

Watergate "adversely affects all authority figures, from college presidents to police chiefs," said the president of Macalester College in Minnesota, quoted in the Dec. 3 issue of *U. S. News & World Report*.

But if young people were more and

more refusing to believe the government, there were others who were ready to swallow just about anything in the hope that Watergate would simply blow away.

The Republican governors who heard Nixon in Memphis Nov. 20 practically fell over themselves afterward in praising Nixon's "candid" answers to questions. Nixon was "more believable than I've ever seen him," said Governor Tom McCall of Oregon, eager to help Nixon weasel out of responsibility for Watergate.

McCall in fact raised the only blunt question of the whole meeting, asking Nixon whether there would be "any more bombs" in the Watergate case.

"If there are any more bombs, I'm not aware of them," Nixon answered—aware all the time that the 18-minute gap in the tape would be revealed only 24 hours later.

After being thus betrayed, the credulous governors sulked. "He [Nixon] has no idea yet how much this mess hurts," one said.

Nixon found he could count on aid and sympathy from another quarter as well. On Nov. 26 he was well received by the bureaucrats at the biennial convention of the Seafarers' International Union in Washington.

Paul Hall, president of the union, was the only member of the AFL-CIO executive board to vote against a resolution calling for Nixon to resign or be impeached. In 1970 Hall and other union officials were indicted on 17 charges of corruption, but the Justice Department dropped the case after Hall agreed to grease Nixon's palm with a \$100,000 campaign contribution.

Meanwhile, also standing up for the president was Nixon's pastor at the Friends Church in Whittier, Calif., Nixon's hometown. Reverend Eugene Coffin says he has received letters from a dozen Quaker churches around the country urging that Nixon's membership in the church be dropped because of his role in Watergate and the Southeast Asia war.

Although conceding that Nixon's actions "probably" didn't conform to Quaker peace philosophy, he thought a more important church teaching was the right of each person "to his own conscience or spiritual light."

Narc says Vesco is into heroin smuggling

According to Senate investigators, an undercover federal narcotics agent has implicated indicted Watergater Robert Vesco in a multimillion-dollar heroin smuggling operation.

The agent, Frank Peroff, says that when he notified federal narcotics agencies of evidence that Vesco was involved, they immediately took steps to terminate the investigation.

When Peroff went to the White House with his findings, not only was the investigation against Vesco not pursued, but Peroff was forced to go into hiding to save his own life.

Vesco, a millionaire financier, is a friend and associate of President Nixon. He is under indictment, along with John Mitchell and Maurice Stans, for obstruction of justice in Watergate-related matters. He also faces charges for embezzling \$50,000 from a company he controlled, and swindling \$244-million from four mutual funds.

Peroff supplied information to the Bureau of Customs, the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), and the Secret Service. Earlier this year, he was informed by an underworld figure that Vesco was to finance an operation to smuggle 100 kilograms of heroin into the U.S. Peroff, at the urging of the DEA, was to entrap the smugglers by supplying the plane for the job. When the DEA heard of Vesco's involvement, says Peroff, they ordered him to call off the deal and withdraw the plane.

Fearful for his own safety, Peroff says he contacted White House lawyers, including Nixon's special counsel Buzhardt. After this, he found his



VESCO: Nixon pal a pusher?

cover blown by Canadian police working in collaboration with U.S. drug agencies, and fearing for his life, he went into hiding.

While the White House denied Nov. 28 that it ever tried to squelch the investigation of Nixon's friend Vesco, the *New York Times* reported that agents of the Senate Permanent Investigations subcommittee "have validated Mr. Peroff's account that he was involved in more than a dozen telephone calls to and from White House personnel last summer in an attempt to see the investigation pursued."

Vesco is currently in the Bahamas attempting to fight extradition to the U.S. In October, he flew his private Boeing 707 to Argentina, where he got a permanent residence visa from Juan Perón, along with assurances that he would be protected from arrest or extradition to the U.S. if he moves to Argentina.

Watergate has deep roots in

From Intercontinental Press
By ALLEN MYERS

The Watergate scandal is an event unprecedented in U.S. history. Never before has there been a comparable exposure of the crimes of high-level government officials nor a comparable opportunity for millions of citizens to obtain such an unvarnished view of the operations of "their" government.

Nixon, of course, did not invent any of these crimes, nor is he the first inhabitant of the White House to have practiced them. On the contrary, the Watergate scandal can be properly understood only in the context of the pervious history of secrecy and "dirty tricks" on the part of the U.S. government, and their function within larger historical trends.

In what follows it is not intended to provide a comprehensive survey of previous "Watergates," but only to indicate Watergate's historical roots and their meaning for the present political crisis of the U.S. ruling class.

Era of permanent 'emergency'

The capitalist press and the protagonists on both sides of the dispute have unanimously agreed on the right of the government to plan its policy in secret, arguing only over the degree to which Nixon can use this "right" to conceal crimes. This has tended to obscure a more important issue: the reasons for which the capitalist government of the United States requires secrecy.

The need for secrecy has grown in proportion with the growth of the role of U.S. imperialism around the world. This growth of secrecy has been only one aspect of a larger process: the centralization and strengthening of the government, particularly the executive branch, in order to render it better able to respond to the increasing demands placed on it by the domestic and international needs of U.S. imperialism.

This trend is inherent in capitalism everywhere, not solely in the United States. It is the response to inter-imperialist rivalries, to the challenge posed by the existence of the workers states, to the national liberation movements in the colonies and semicolonies, and to the threat of revolution at home. In Europe, the process has been

described as a trend toward the "strong state."

In recent years, Congressional liberals have complained of an "imbalance" between Congress and the president, often blaming it on "usurpation" of additional powers by the executive branch. The truth of the matter, however, is that through the course of this century there has been remarkably little disagreement in the U.S. ruling class about the need to centralize power in the executive. Consequently, the Congress has not only approved such centralization but in many cases has taken the lead in providing legal authorization of additional powers.

A Senate committee headed by Democrat Frank Church of Ohio and Republican Charles Mathias of Maryland recently reported on its study on "emergency" laws presently in effect in the United States. The committee discovered that the country has legally been in a continuous state of emergency since 1917.

In the fifty-six intervening years, Congress passed a total of nearly 600 additional laws—a rate of nearly a dozen per year—conferring various increased emergency powers on the president. As Church and Mathias noted in a joint statement summing up the committee report:

"The President has the power in hand to seize property, organize and control the means of production, seize commodities, assign military forces abroad, call reserve forces amounting to 2.5 million men to duty, institute martial law, seize and control all means of transportation, regulate all private enterprise, restrict travel, and in a plethora of particular ways, control the lives of all Americans."

According to the committee report, Congress approved most of these 600 laws "with only the most perfunctory committee review and virtually no consideration of their effect on civil liberties or the delicate structure of the U.S. Government of divided powers."

The liberals have no intention of reducing the power of the president to defend U.S. capitalism at home and abroad. What is involved is primarily a matter of appearances. In the liberal view, it would look better if these powers were based on laws rather than "emergency" regulations.

An example of such a face-lifting operation was provided by the War Powers Bill, which was passed over Nixon's veto as the Watergate scandal undermined his ability to keep Republican members of Congress in line. While being widely proclaimed as a measure to reassert Congressional prerogatives, the bill in fact provided the president with broad new legal authority for military adventures anywhere in the world.

From Palmer to Nixon

A central element of public concern in the Watergate scandal has been the disclosure of the Nixon gang's wide-ranging attacks on democratic rights. But earlier periods of U.S. history are rich in precedents that equal or surpass many of the Watergate-related revelations.

The attempt to curtail capitalist democracy in the United States is, like the growth of governmental secrecy and the trend toward a stronger executive, the product of the imperial ambitions of U.S. capitalism. There is an appropriate symbolism involved in the fact that the continual "state



Eugene Debs denouncing imperialist war in famous speech at Canton, Ohio. Debs was jailed for this speech under Sedition Act, forerunner of modern thought-control legislation.

of emergency" began in 1917, with Washington's formal entry into the first imperialist world war.

The efforts to police the world in defense of U.S. capitalism's interests necessarily presupposes limiting to the greatest extent possible the right to debate political issues and to oppose official policy. In particular, it presupposes attacks on the democratic rights and the organizations of the working class, the class that stands to lose the most in imperialist wars and possesses the power to end them.

The United States's entry into the "war to make the world safe for democracy" was smoothed by the Espionage Act of 1917. Under this law, which was amended in 1918 by the Sedition Act, persons who spoke against the war (the best-known being Eugene Debs) were jailed, socialists elected to Congress and to state legislatures were denied their seats, and publications that failed to toe the official line were prohibited from the mails. This "legal" repression was accompanied by vigilante assaults on labor and socialist organizations or anyone suspected of "disloyalty."

In October 1918 Congress passed the Deportation Act, which ordered the deportation of aliens who were "anarchists" or who advocated, or belonged to organizations that advocated, the overthrow of the government by force.

The Deportation Act provided a legal fig leaf for one of the most naked campaigns of political oppression that had occurred up to that time in U.S. history: the Palmer raids of January 1920.

During 1919 and 1920, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer directed a government campaign against radical and working-class organizations. The object of the campaign was twofold: to prevent the growth of the union movement and to ensure sufficient "class peace" domestically for U.S. capitalism to be able to reap the fruits of its victory in the war. The latter objective included the possibility of escalating the military intervention against the Russian Revolution.

A look at the techniques employed by Palmer and his agents shows that

the Nixon gang, in addition to its other failings, is not remarkably original.

Palmer took as his pretext a series of mail bombs sent to various government officials beginning in late April 1919. The bourgeois press dutifully headlined Palmer's claims that the bombings were part of an attempt, directed from Moscow, to overthrow the U.S. government.

Palmer of course never attempted to document this absurd charge.

Moreover, although the bombing attempts were remarkably well coordinated—in one instance explosions occurred in eight different cities on the same day—none of the officials for whom they were supposedly intended were seriously injured. Many of the bombs were "discovered" in the post office or failed to be delivered for reasons never adequately explained.

In short, the bombings had a very strong odor of government-organized provocation, although this is impossible to prove. It is indisputable, however, that Palmer's "investigation" was intended as a campaign of strike-breaking and assaults on civil liberties. Palmer himself was quite frank about these activities. For example, he gave a Congressional committee the following description of strikebreaking in Connecticut:

"For some time prior to June, 1919, agitation and propaganda had been active in New Haven, Ansonia, Waterbury, and Bridgeport. On June 8 a strike was started in the Ansonia mill of the American Brass Co., being instigated entirely through the organization of Russians [a fraternal society called the Union of Russian Workers, portrayed by Palmer as the center of the "conspiracy"], although several radical Americans participated. . . . It was necessary to adopt drastic methods by the state and city authorities, the [Justice] department working in close cooperation. A number of the most active leaders at Ansonia were arrested on deportation warrants."

Palmer also set up a Radical Division in the Justice Department's Bureau of Investigation and placed at its head a young bureaucrat named J. Edgar Hoover. Hoover was assigned a task that was to become



SACCO & VANZETTI: Victims of "red scare" whipped up by government after World War I.

history of U.S. class struggle

a lifetime occupation. Palmer described it:

"In order that the information obtained upon the ultra-radical movements might be readily accessible for use by the persons charged with the supervision of the investigations and prosecutions, there has been established as part of this division [the Radical Division] a card index system, numbering over 200,000 cards, giving detailed data not only upon individual agitators connected with the ultra-radical movement, but also upon organizations, associations, societies, publications and special conditions existing in certain localities."

The January 1920 raids were preceded by a smaller-scale trial run on November 7, 1919. The date, the second anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, was chosen, according to the *New York Times*, as "the psychological moment to strike."

The psychology of the *Times* editors was powerfully affected. The paper gave the following enthusiastic account of the raids:

"Armed with warrants for dangerous agitators whom Federal agents have trailed for months, the raiders swarmed into the Russian People's Hall in New York and into similar gathering places of alleged 'Reds' in Philadelphia, Newark, Detroit, Jackson, Mich., Ansonia, Conn., and other cities, broke up meetings, seized tons of literature, and herded the group of foreign men and women into various offices for examination, whence many of those who proved to be the most sought after of the radicals found their way into cells."

The raids began on the night of January 2 and continued in some areas until January 20. In many cases, government agents were able to arrange for the organizations to hold meetings the night of January 2, as Palmer instructed them to do:

Palmer's directive went on to display an attitude toward legal niceties that would be appreciated by Nixon and his "plumbers":

"I leave it entirely to your discretion as to the method by which you should gain access to such [meeting] places. If, due to the local conditions in your territory, you find that it is absolutely necessary to obtain a search warrant for the premises, you

should communicate with the local authorities a few hours before the time for the arrests is set and request a warrant to search the premises."

There is another striking parallel between the Palmer raids and the activities of the Nixon gang: the excuse used to justify them. Palmer used the phrase "general good to the country" rather than the more succinct "national security," but otherwise the excuses are interchangeable. In his testimony to a Senate committee that later issued a report whitewashing the whole affair, Palmer said:

"I apologize for nothing that the Department of Justice has done in this matter. I glory in it. I point with pride and enthusiasm to the results of that work; and if, as I said before, some of my agents out in the field, or some of the agents of the Department of Labor, were a little rough and unkind, or short and curt, with these alien agitators whom they observed seeking to destroy their homes, their religion and their country, I think it might well be overlooked in the general good to the country which has come from it. That is all I have to say."

Cop of the world

The abilities and sophistication of Washington's political-repression apparatus have increased considerably since the days of the Palmer raids. Palmer's 200,000 index cards grew into more than 100 million computerized files in the offices of the FBI. The development of technology has made it possible to supplement the work of provocateurs and informers with electronic spying.

It is not necessary to go into a detailed history of the United States over the last fifty years to outline the well-known processes that have contributed to the centralization of power in Washington.

The depression of the 1930s and the second world war both resulted in an enormous strengthening of the president's powers, both absolutely and relatively to the two other "coequal branches." The collapse of the economy, the radicalization of the working class, interimperialist competition for contracting markets, and preparations for the war over those markets all required, from the stand-

point of the capitalist class, a strongly centralized government with greatly expanded "emergency" powers.

The dilemma of U.S. imperialism is that even its victories increase its insecurity. Already the strongest capitalist power before the second world war, the United States emerged from the slaughter totally dominant, without a serious imperialist rival.

But the war also gave a tremendous impetus to the national liberation movements in the colonial countries. The victory of the Soviet Union over fascist Germany, while it gave the Stalinist Communist parties in the underdeveloped countries an undeserved authority, also meant that the masses tended to look to a socialist revolution as the model for achieving liberation from their oppressors. The decimation of its imperialist rivals meant that Washington had to attempt to halt the tide of revolution virtually alone.

The role of world cop for capitalism required a further centralizing of authority, a greater capacity for secrecy, a further chipping away of democratic liberties within the United States—all to be done in the name of defending "American democracy."

"Spies" were manufactured on demand in order to convince the public that the Soviet ally of a few years before was in reality a dangerous enemy.

This campaign against civil liberties reached its culmination in the massive witch-hunt hysteria directed by Senator Joseph McCarthy.

A major goal of the witch-hunt was to bring the union movement into line behind the policies of U.S. imperialism. Using a tactic that we have seen Nixon exploit with some skill, the government was able to set the union bureaucrats against each other in order to increase its control over the movement.

In June 1947, Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act, which provided the government with far-reaching new powers to interfere in and regulate unions. The act outlawed the closed shop and severely restricted union-shop contracts, required a sixty-day notice on ending or modifying contracts, allowed the president to enjoin strikes for eighty days, allowed the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to seek injunctions against "unfair labor practices," and outlawed secondary boycotts and jurisdictional strikes while prohibiting strikes by federal government employees. The act also required unions to file annual financial statements with the government, permitted dues checkoffs only where each employee gave written permission, and required that all local, national, and international union officers file affidavits that they did not belong to the Communist party or any organization advocating the violent overthrow of the government.

At the same time, Washington was strengthening its capacity for uncover "dirty tricks" around the world. In 1947, the wartime Office of Strategic Services was reorganized as the Central Intelligence Agency. The activities of the CIA are intended to be kept secret not only from the U.S. working class and intended victims in other countries, but even from Congress. The National Security Act, which established the CIA, provided: "... that the Director of Central Intelligence shall be responsible for protecting intelligence sources and methods from unauthorized disclosure;



McCarthy: Watergating in the 1950s

"To perform, for the benefit of the existing intelligence agencies, such additional services of common concern as the National Security Council determines can be more efficiently accomplished centrally;

"To perform such other functions and duties related to intelligence affecting the national security as the National Security Council may from time to time direct."

In a June 4, 1973, speech to the Senate, William Proxmire complained:

"It is not possible to state with authority what interpretation the executive department has placed on these particular sections of the National Security Act of 1947 because subsequent interpretations have been done in secret. In fact, the CIA charter is not fully contained in the National Security Act of 1947 but is extrapolated from the act by a series of National Security Council intelligence directives after the passage of the act. These were, and remain, classified. Thus we are faced with a highly unusual situation. Congress has enacted a law with a set of prescribed relationships and duties for the CIA. And the executive department through the National Security Council has interpreted this law in secret. Whether this subsequent secret interpretation is allowed by the original act is in doubt." (Emphasis added.)

In other words, Congress in 1947 gave the president a blank check to do as he pleased in the field of "intelligence," and promised not to ask even how the check was spent. This fact was not discovered in 1973. Proxmire's complaint about this long-standing situation resulted from the setbacks to Washington's efforts to police the world and more particularly from the crisis known as Watergate.

It is worth repeating that the centralization of power in the presidency has proceeded under both liberal and conservative presidents. The process is dictated by the needs of U.S. imperialism, not by political philosophy. The liberal Kennedy carried out the Bay of Pigs invasion planned by Eisenhower and Nixon.

Similarly, it was not Nixon but Johnson who began the massive use of the military as spies on civilian political activity, including the compiling of 25,000,000 computerized files on individuals.

Even this brief glance at the historical context makes it clear that the operations of the Nixon gang were only the latest steps in a decades-long process in which the U.S. ruling class has steadily centralized authority in order to enforce more efficiently its international and domestic aims.



Aftermath of raid by cops on IWW headquarters in New York City, 1919. Assault was part of infamous "Palmer Raids" directed against radicals and militant workers.

Political Rights Defense Fund cites proof of government spying on socialist groups

NEW YORK — The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) held a news conference here Nov. 28 to announce the latest developments in its Watergate suit against the Nixon administration.

Present at the news conference were Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates in 1972 and plaintiffs in the suit; American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) lawyer Frank Askin, attorney for Lori Paton; and Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the PRDF.

The suit, filed by attorney Leonard Boudin on behalf of members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, charges a campaign of governmental crimes against the SWP and YSA including

who found herself the subject of an FBI investigation after writing to the SWP for information about its 1972 presidential campaign. Her inquiry was part of a school project.

Paton's suit has led to a sworn admission by the FBI that it monitors correspondence sent to the SWP. Paton's name and address were obtained by the FBI from the letter she sent to the SWP.

Askin, Paton's attorney, told the press, "I'm handling a case which in effect is the other side of the coin of the SWP case. I represent those who were caught up in the FBI surveillance network because of perfectly innocent, legitimate, constitutionally protected efforts to communicate with the SWP."

Askin reported that the FBI has maintained that Paton was not under investigation, claiming "only the SWP is under investigation." However, as a result of the lawsuit, the FBI was forced to turn over a copy of its directive to the FBI agent carrying out the investigation. This memorandum states, in part, "Contact sources and conduct criminal investigation regarding Lori Paton to determine if she is involved in subversive activity."

On Dec. 10 Askin will file a motion to designate the Paton case as a class-action suit on behalf of all persons who wish to correspond with American political groups "without getting caught up in the FBI surveillance network."

Syd Stapleton reported that the federal government, which was supposed to answer the complaint by Nov. 24, instead has gotten another delay. "The U.S. attorney got the judge to grant another 30 days, until



Militant/Michael Baumann

At PRDF news conference, left to right: Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the PRDF; Linda Jenness, SWP 1972 presidential candidate; Andrew Pulley, SWP 1972 vice-presidential candidate; Frank Askin, attorney for Lori Paton.



DEAN: Trying to duck socialist suit

wiretaps, burglary, sabotage, mail tampering, surveillance, and other harassment.

Jenness told the press that new evidence has emerged of the government's conspiracy to violate the constitutional rights of the Socialist Workers Party.

"Testimony in the trial of the Chicago Seven," she said, "has revealed that military intelligence agents worked with a right-wing terrorist organization in Chicago called the 'Legion of Justice.' The Legion of Justice openly and repeatedly carried out armed attacks on the offices of anti-administration organizations in Illinois, including the Socialist Workers Party."

Other new evidence has been revealed in a suit brought by the ACLU on behalf of Lori Paton, a 16-year-old high school student in New Jersey



This button designed by Jules Feiffer will be sent to all contributors to the PRDF.

Dec. 24, to file an answer to our charges," Stapleton told reporters.

Two of the defendants, former White House staff member John Dean and Robert Mardian, former head of the Justice Department's Internal Security Division, have attempted to avoid any reply at all.

Attorneys for the PRDF suit have sent letters to Dean and Mardian advising them that they are in violation of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure and that failure to reply will result in legal measures against them. "If you fail to answer by [Dec. 10]," the letter states, "we will request the clerk of the court to enter a default against you . . . and thereafter we will move for judgement against you for the relief demanded in the complaint, namely damages of \$27,313,000.00 plus costs, disbursements and attorneys' fees."

Askin said he views the SWP suit as part of the continuing legal and political struggle against governmental repression and for democratic liberties in this country. "I hope it will be successful," he said.

"These kinds of civil liberties and civil rights cases," he added, "are not the property of the judicial system alone, but belong to the entire American people. These suits are not litigating for private gain or private rights but for the public interest. So the public should be concerned and involved in them."

This landmark constitutional case against government Watergating has already gained broad support from

those concerned about civil liberties. Endorsers include such well-known figures as Ramsey Clark, Rodolfo Corky Gonzales, representatives Ronald Delums (D-Calif.) and Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), Dr. Howard Zinn, the Berrigan brothers, Julius Hobson, Senator Ernest Gruening, Gloria Steinem, Eugene McCarthy, I.F. Stone, Dr. Benjamin Spock, Jules Feiffer, and Gilbert Padilla, secretary-treasurer of the United Farm Workers Union. Attorneys, local elected officials, unions, and student governments have also endorsed the suit. Professors and students from 175 colleges and universities across the country have endorsed.

The PRDF expects to have expenses of \$50,000 this year. To contribute 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 _____

Georgians plan campaign to get ERA passed

By BETSY SOARES

ATLANTA — Georgians will march to the state capitol Jan. 12 to demand that the 1974 Georgia General Assembly ratify the Equal Rights Amendment.

The march, along with a petitioning campaign, was called by a conference of 200 here sponsored by Georgians for the Equal Rights Amendment (GERA).

Representatives from 21 organizations in 20 cities attended the Nov. 10 meeting. The groups included the Georgia Women's Political Caucus, National Organization for Women, Black Women's Coalition, League of Women Voters, Communications Workers of America, Socialist Workers Party, student governments of both the University of Georgia and Georgia State U., Atlanta Lesbian Feminist Alliance, YWCA, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Carol Burriss, president of Women's Lobby, Inc. of Washington, D. C., addressed the conference on the national status of the ERA. Burriss was optimistic about the prospects for ERA passage in Georgia and stressed the need for unity around this issue in the women's movement. "The basis of our strength is our diversity," she said. "All of us together make up the power we have as the women's movement."

Kay Kavanaugh, coordinator of GERA, spoke about the need for visible support this fall for the amendment. Comparing the struggle of the suffrage movement and the women's movement today, Kavanaugh said, "In 1913, 500 women marched down Peachtree Street in Atlanta demanding the right to vote. In 1974 we will march again for equal rights."

Martha Gaines, state coordinator for NOW, spoke of the growing support

for the ERA. Support is building, she said, in several cities outside of Atlanta and in many small towns.

Workshop topics at the conference included protective labor legisla-

tion and working women; employment and education; Black women and the ERA; credit, alimony and child support; campus organizing; and organizing for the statewide march.



Militant/George Basley

Conference of 200 called for Jan. 12 march and petitioning campaign in support of Equal Rights Amendment.

Frightened by student revolt

New Greek dictators search for stability

From Intercontinental Press

By GERRY FOLEY

"The Nixon administration had considerable forewarning of the coup d'etat that replaced George Papadopoulos with Lieut. Gen. Phaidon Gizikis," David Binder wrote in the November 26 *New York Times*.

"We were not surprised," said an official who has closely followed the military dictatorship since it took over the civilian government in April 1967.

The official said that there had been rumors of an impending coup since the summer, when the ousted head of the junta began trying to win a political base for the regime by making democratic and economic concessions.

"The military men were afraid Papadopoulos would blow it," the unnamed official said, "and that is why they moved against him."

The new junta seemed even more closely identified with Washington than the toppled military dictator, who aroused Nixon's displeasure by refusing to let Greek bases be used in U.S. logistical support of Israel during the October War.

"The new leaders appointed as Premier Adamandios Androustopoulos, an American-trained lawyer who is said to have close American connections," *New York Times* correspondent



Ousted dictator Papadopoulos. Generals were afraid he would 'blow it.'

Alvin Shuster cabled from Athens November 25, the day of the coup.

As for the new president, General Gizikis, he is still a question mark. An obscure career officer, he reportedly has had strong ties with the king but did not go along with the abortive royalist rebellion that was crushed on May 22, 1973.

The reported strong man behind the junta, General Dimitrios Ioannidis, is the head of the military police, a branch of the armed services in which U.S. "technical aid" agencies, such as the CIA, usually take the most direct interest. He avoided becoming involved in the political maneuvers of the Papadopoulos regime, preferring to maintain close contacts with the lower officers.

'Good old days'

In the first declaration, the new junta indicated that it was canceling the plans for elections in 1974 and intended to take the country back to the "good old days" of iron-fisted dictatorship:

"The nation was returning toward the same forms and the same habits that made the armed forces revolt in 1967," the statement said. "The aim was to deflect the armed forces from their national mission and use them for an electoral travesty in order to



Athens under martial law

humiliate our people."

This statement also is ambiguous. Since elections under the aegis of the Papadopoulos junta seemed to have been rejected by the major political forces in the country, the formulas of the ousted government no longer offered any possibility for achieving a stable bourgeois political solution. Notably, in his first speech, General Gizikis did not mention the elections or the "old politicians" but put all his stress on "national unity."

Obviously frightened by the power and momentum of the student-worker revolt November 13-17, the military probably feels that it has to try to chasten the restive population before going ahead with any more political experiments. Because of the strategic importance of Greece, it is also likely that Washington is determined to see that a firm grip is kept on developments.

But in the present situation repression and threats of going back to the old dictatorial forms of rule are extremely dangerous for the conservative forces in Greece.

The November crisis has shown that a whole spectrum of forces in Greek society are convinced that the military regime cannot continue. But the driving force in the November 13-17 revolt, whose power has evidently sharpened the tensions in ruling circles, was the workers and students.

Workers joined revolt

Even under renewed censorship the Greek press made clear that the student revolt had spread to key sections of the working class. Of the 866 per-



'The entire city went onto the streets' during November student upsurge.

sons arrested in the clashes, according to the November 20 issue of the Athens daily *Apogevmatini*, 475 were workers. Some 49 were students of the Polytechnic Institute, where the rebellion centered; 268 were students from other universities, and 75 were high-school students.

According to the November 24 issue of the Amsterdam weekly *Vrij Nederland*, the revolt spread throughout the Greek capital:

"Since they concentrated all their attention on the Polytechnic, the foreign correspondents could not see what was happening in the other neighborhoods of the sprawling city (Athens has a population of 3,000,000). So, from the outside, it appeared that there were only 50,000 demonstrators. But on the basis of reliable information we have been able to obtain, it can be said with confidence that the entire city went onto the streets.

"Fifty thousand demonstrators could not have marched in one place and at the same time barricaded all the streets kilometers away from the Polytechnic, or turned over hundreds of buses to block the streets over which the tanks would have to come to reach the downtown area. . . .

Military not united

Also, the military was not united in the face of the revolt. The *Vrij Nederland* reporter noted "the insubordination of some military governors, like those in Epirus and Arkadia, who were unwilling to declare martial law in their areas."

In the November 25 issue of the Rome weekly *Espresso*, Mino Monicelli stressed the youth and determination of the most militant sections of demonstrators:

"To judge from the attack on the city hall, it was the very young who were in the forefront. Among the eleven persons killed, two were boys of 16 and one was a girl of 17. They were respectively 10 and 11 when the 'gorillas' carried out their putsch in 1967. And now they are dead and we can't ask them what they wanted. The 'gorilla' regime was all they knew, and they died to throw it out. . . .

"On Friday night [November 16] I saw these boys and girls face monstrous M-48 and M-113 tanks without flinching. I was on the balcony of a house in Patissia Street; a woman near me was on her knees praying that no blood would be shed. For two nights I saw them hanging on to the gates of the Polytechnic in the glare of spotlights, not more than six yards from

the soldiers in the tanks who were loading heavy-caliber bullets into the machine guns of three enormous M-113s. From inside the building a megaphone encouraged the students: 'Don't be afraid. More than 1,500 demonstrators are coming to help us. The soldiers are our brothers. They will not attack.'

"The test of strength lasted a quarter of an hour. At 2:15 a.m., the tanks yielded, the barrels of their machine guns lowered. At 2:40 the soldiers tried again. They advanced with bayonets fixed. Shots could be heard, fired into the air . . . but the boys and girls held their ground. The megaphones kept blaring slogans, songs by Theodorakis, national hymns. The soldiers retreated a second time." Finally, the officers were able to rally their men for a final assault. But most of the students escaped.

'We don't want to harm you'

"Many of the soldiers, even though their bayonets were fixed, called to us: 'Get away quick; we don't want to harm you,'" a young woman told *Le Monde's* correspondent J.-C. Guillebaud. They had no difficulty finding refuge: "Almost all the people living in the area sheltered students that night."

In view of these powerful upsurges and the danger of the balance of forces shifting in the eastern Mediterranean, the Greek military and their U.S. backers will try hard to get the lid back on. But, in a concentrated and more explosive way, the Greek crisis seems to resemble the student-worker rebellions that began in Argentina in 1969 with the protest about the food in the University of Corrientes cafeteria and led to the two Córdoba uprisings, irresistibly undermining the military dictatorship.

"I have the impression," the *Corriere della Sera* correspondent Mario Cervi wrote from Athens November 18, "that the incidents at the Polytechnic have given the organized resistance an unexpected demonstration of the fragility, or at least the vulnerability of the regime."

Protests blast US complicity

Despite a steady drizzle of rain, 500 people took part in a spirited demonstration outside the Greek consulate in New York on Nov. 25, the day of the coup. Most were Greeks.

The picket line, called by Demokratia and the United Hellenic Front, protested U.S. aid to the military dictatorship. Signs and chants demanded that NATO, the U.S. Sixth Fleet, and the CIA get out of Greece.

Three gatherings in Berkeley, Calif., also hit U.S. complicity with repression in Greece. Aris, a Greek student organization, sponsored "An Evening of Solidarity with the People of Greece" on Nov. 20 that drew 120 people. Messages of solidarity were presented by the Iranian Student Association, Organization of Arab Students, and Young Socialist Alliance.

The next day 250 students took part in a demonstration at Sproul Plaza called by Aris. The Nov. 23 Berkeley Militant Forum heard speakers from Aris and the Socialist Workers Party.

Int'l student protests

Thousands of students in Thailand, South Korea, and Greece have taken to the streets this fall in mass protests against corrupt and dictatorial regimes. They have braved tear gas, machine guns, tanks, and even helicopter gunships to fight for their democratic rights. In Greece, scores were killed; in Thailand, hundreds.

In every case the weapons used to attack these students were provided by Washington. In every case the dictators the students oppose are mere fronts for U.S. imperialism. Hated by the people of their countries, these tyrants are kept in power by U.S. arms and money for the sole purpose of safeguarding the military and economic interests of U.S. capitalism.

All three countries are crucial links in the chain of U.S. bases encircling the Soviet Union and China. There are 40,000 U.S. troops stationed in South Korea; another 40,000 troops and seven large air bases in Thailand. Greece is to become "home port" for the U.S. Sixth Fleet.

The dictatorships are rewarded for their services with millions of dollars in "aid" each year, plus guidance in the latest methods of torture devised by the CIA. This is called "defending the free world." It has been the consistent foreign policy of Democratic and Republican administrations alike for decades.

Yet the Thai, Korean, and Greek student actions are inspiring proof that not even the most brutal U.S.-financed repression has been able to prevent fresh outbreaks of opposition. And the students' actions have shown an ability to spur on other struggles. Thailand, since the old military dictatorship was ousted in October, has seen continual ferment, including unprecedented actions by workers organizing and striking for their demands.

Because of the war in Vietnam, millions of people in this country have begun to understand and oppose the actions of the U.S. government around the world. Many saw the hand of the CIA behind the coup in Chile, and opposed Nixon's threat to go to war to defend Israeli aggression. Getting out the truth about the role of the U.S. in Thailand, Korea, and Greece can be another important step in exposing American imperialism.

We have a special obligation to stand in solidarity with these heroic student struggles by demanding the dismantling of all U.S. foreign bases, ending U.S. support to dictatorships, and withdrawal of U.S. armed forces from all over the world.

Saxbe & Kent State

As reports appeared in the press about police and soldiers shooting down unarmed student demonstrators in Thailand, South Korea, and Greece, new attention was also being paid to government use of the same tactics against students in this country during the Kent State massacre of 1970.

The Watergate revelations of the Nixon administration's illegal attacks on the antiwar movement have produced new pressure for an end to the official cover-up of the facts about the Kent killings, a cover-up that extends from the Ohio state government right up to the White House. The demand for a full investigation of the shootings takes on new urgency with the pending confirmation of Senator William Saxbe (R-Ohio) as Nixon's next attorney general.

Saxbe—a staunch supporter of Ohio governor Rhodes, who sent the Guard to Kent State—is the senator who publicly advised that the White House Watergate tapes "should be destroyed" if they were "incriminating" to the administration. With Saxbe as the country's top prosecutor we can expect he will follow his own advice in relation to any incriminating evidence on the Kent massacre—if such evidence hasn't been destroyed already by the Nixon gang.

While journalists and independent investigators have focused attention on the murder of the four students at Kent State, equal pressure is needed for disclosure of the truth about the killings 10 days later of two Black students at Jackson State in Mississippi. Government repression of student protests has been most brutal against Black students—from the police riot against Texas Southern University students in 1967, to the Orangeburg, S.C., massacre in 1968, and the shootings of two students at Southern University in Baton Rouge last year.

Open all the secret government files on these atrocities and let the truth come out!

Easy to sell

The occasional articles that are highlighted by "socialist analysis of" or "socialist program for" or "socialist stand on" are very helpful in capsulizing socialist ideas and programs for actions. These articles make selling *The Militant* as easy as giving it away! People are interested in more than just reporting; they definitely want an analysis of events different from the mass media's.

A. O.

Highland Park, Mich.

Every bit helps

Here is \$1 toward the *Militant* fund. My only regret is to be unable to donate more to your paper and your cause.

D. C.

Brunswick, Maine

Classic example

Enclosed is \$15 toward our Forty-fifth Anniversary Fund drive. This is all I can contribute due to my financial circumstances. Working for Sears Roebuck, your salary doesn't go far. That company is a classic example of what exploitation of workers is all about.

Everything your paper prints about the capitalist system is the truth and I back the struggle for socialism 100 percent.

M. O.

Pottsville, Pa.

Spread the word

Enclosed is \$3 toward the *Militant* fund. I like your message. I hope you can spread it.

M. M.

San Bruno, Calif.

Pro-Zionist

I'm sorry I didn't know of your position on the Middle East before I subscribed, because I wouldn't have.

The Israelis are not colonialists and should not be blamed for the English (and now U.S.) imperialism and colonialism. Are you remembering that not all Zionists are bourgeois, that many are socialist Zionists?

The Arab liberation front doesn't care about socialism whatsoever, they only care about the destruction of Zionism. How can you as socialists support a feudal government?

Toby Moed

Los Angeles, Calif.

Anti-Zionist

Enclosed is \$10 for the *Militant* Forty-fifth Anniversary Fund.

The ignorance about the Mideast of what is apparently a large number of readers is quite alarming. The excellent article "How the Arabs were driven out of Palestine" [*Militant*, Nov. 9] explicitly refutes the erroneous opinions of these readers.

In answer to the reader who questioned *The Militant's* "unequivocal support to the bourgeois Arab states," *The Militant* has frequently explained the reactionary Arab governments' true intentions and motivations.

E. A.

Dallas, Texas

An attack

Your position with regard to "imperialist" Israel borders on the absurd. It is founded on innuendo and half-truths. It undermines the admirable cause to which you say you aspire. I now request that my subscription be canceled until this massive inconsistency is resolved.

James Kahn

Pittsburgh, Pa.

A defense

Those who are willing to consider *The Militant's* treatment of the Mideast problem before denouncing it as "anti-Semitic" or "unfair" are aware that the SWP has in no way "stepped out of line" in exposing the fundamental injustices of Zionism, nor does the party's stand bear any resemblance to anti-Semitism.

I write as a Jew, but primarily as a revolutionary. My own great grand parents in czarist Russia and millions of Eastern European Jews in the '40s lost their lives to veritable anti-Semitic terror. How can I help noting with horror the similarities between such oppression and that which the Zionist state since its birth has systematically inflicted on Arabs within and beyond its borders?

Among the most courageous heroes of the recent war are undoubtedly the Jewish and Arab brothers of Matzpen (Israeli Socialist Organization-Marxist, sympathizers of the Fourth International), who have defied restrictions on their liberty of expression by explaining to Israeli soldiers and workers and to the world that "the responsibility for this war, like all the wars that have gone before, falls above all on Israel."

J. C.

Paris, France

A cancellation

Please cancel my subscription to *The Militant*. I feel that a newspaper which so unobjectively condemns a nation (Israel) for defending its borders and fighting for its borders and fighting for its very existence does not deserve my support.

Keith Riger

Atlanta, Ga.

A compliment

During the step-up of Israeli aggression in the Mideast, most of the Arabs I approached with *The Militant* quickly pulled out a quarter when I showed them the paper. The rest all had subscriptions.

Those supporters of Israel who have been writing lately to *The Militant* obviously know very little about the strangling of democratic rights and civil liberties in Israel and the expansionist designs of that Zionist state.

The steadfast and courageous support of the Arab peoples and of all oppressed masses by *The Militant* is well acknowledged by Arab activists at San Francisco State College, the Bay Area Arab community, and by many other people who see the threat to democratic rights. Forward!

V. H.

San Francisco, Calif.



Chesimard case

Fifty-one potential jurors were interviewed in the murder trial of Black activists Joanne Chesimard and Clark Squire before New Jersey Superior Court Judge Joseph Jerofsky granted a defense motion to move the jury selection to another county.

On Oct. 23 the motion was granted on the grounds of excessive prejudicial publicity. Most of the 51 jurors interviewed openly admitted their bias against Chesimard and Squire. Defense attorneys cited such blatantly racist remarks by potential jurors as, "If she's Black, she's guilty." (Only one of the 51 jurors interviewed was Black.)

The defense requested that the trial be moved to Newark, a city with a high Black population. Judge Jerofsky, however, moved the jury selection to Morristown, N.J., an area with an even smaller Black population than Middlesex County, the original site. The selection of a new jury will begin Jan. 2.

B. S.

New York, N. Y.

New subscriber I

Enclosed is \$1 for a three-month subscription. I have bought your paper for more than three years from a newsstand and have found a continued increase of quality and analysis in your articles. Your coverage of the Palestine-Zionist-Israel problem has been excellent. Continue your fine work.

J. G.

Long Island, N. Y.

New subscriber II

Hello. I am one of your new subscribers. This school semester is drawing to an end soon, so please start sending my subscription to my home address.

Comments on *The Militant*: I am for Israel 100 per cent, but I sure as hell respect your right to your opinions.

ERA, 100 per cent yes. The Great Society is excellent, hats off to Harry Ring. Publicize the boycotts more.

Let's find those missing tapes! Impeachment of that bum in the White House should go all the way.

V. M.

Georgetown, Texas

Voice from the past

Today, your organization is attracting minorities and recent immigrants to this country mainly because they can't adjust to our system. They find out that not everyone in the U. S. lives in mansions and drives Cadillacs, and so then they condemn our society.

No one forced these immigrants to come here; they came on their own free will. If Communism or Socialism is so wonderful then why don't they move to Russia or China.

David Erdmann

Mankato, Minn.

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.

Gerrymandering

Census figures for Chicanos are usually low. Even so, the 1970 census showed that 1.3 million Spanish-surnamed residents live in Los Angeles County — 18 percent of the county's population. That's a lot of people, yet racist Democratic and Republican legislators have figured out many ways to rob the Chicano community of political representation.

For example, the 520,000 Spanish-surnamed people who live in the city of Los Angeles comprise 19 percent of the city's population. There are 15 city council seats in Los Angeles, yet not one of these is filled by a Chicano.

Chicanos should be entitled to at least three of those seats. But instead, the Chicano community is gerrymandered so there is not even one district with a Chicano majority. Since most Chicanos live in the same general area, the politicians really had to work hard to carve up those districts.

The city council came up with a redistricting plan—the "Edelman Plan"—in September 1972 that would create one district with a majority Chicano population. Other districts would have no more than 30 percent Chicanos. Under this token scheme the Chicano vote in Los Angeles will continue to be weak and diluted.

One sneaky aspect of this plan is that it shifted 100,000 Chicanos from an odd-numbered district to even-numbered ones just a few months before elections in that district. Since the even-numbered seats don't come up for reelection for another two years, that means 100,000 Chicanos got cheated out of an election.

When these *gringo* politicians give you a crumb with one hand, they are usually picking your pocket with the other.

The Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) sought to have the Edelman Plan declared unconstitutional on the grounds that it was drawn up with the intent of keeping

incumbents in power and disregards the needs of Chicanos. The California Court of Appeals turned down the MALDEF suit Oct. 29.

Statewide in California the situation is similar to Los Angeles. Although Chicanos make up 16 percent of the population, only five of 80 assembly members are Chicano. There hasn't been a Chicano state senator in more than 60 years. And there is only one Chicano representative in Congress from California.

The California Supreme Court has ruled that the state must come up with a reapportionment plan to conform more closely to federal guidelines of "one person, one vote." Chicanos were hoping to get a plan that would also give them some representation.

After the state legislature failed to come up with a plan satisfactory to the court, the court had to appoint a three-judge panel to draft a plan. This "masters plan," as it is known, apparently will create a couple of assembly districts and one state senate district that will be majority Chicano. However, this still falls far short of giving the Chicano community the potential to elect a proportionate number of Chicanos.

The plan drawn up by the state senate, the Harmer-Zenovich plan, was probably rejected by the courts because it was so embarrassingly tokenist. The Harmer-Zenovich plan would have created one 50 percent Chicano state senatorial district all right. But this district would have been a parody of gerrymandering. It would have twisted and turned 57 miles from Los Angeles all the way to San Bernardino!

It takes some careful thinking to devise the kind of gerrymander that has been effective in denying Chicanos the elementary right of representation. That, apparently, is one kind of planning the Democratic-Republican gang is good at.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Stalinism and abortion

At a convention last month of the Union of Italian Women, Italian Communist Party representative Leonilde Iotti spoke against a proposal to legalize abortion. Iotti—a deputy speaker in the Chamber of Deputies—suggested that a unified stand on abortion be worked out with the Roman Catholic Church!

The Vatican was delighted with the speech. Catholic priests called it "courageous."

Feminists at the convention booed Iotti.

According to press reports, the reactionary position of the Italian CP prevailed at the conference.

The Italian Stalinists are more interested in wheeling and dealing with the Christian Democrats and the Catholic Church than in supporting women's rights. Not only is the Italian CP opposed to abortion, but they have publicly stated their willingness to block with the Christian Democrats in a move to make the divorce laws even more restrictive.

The Italian CP is not alone among the Stalinist parties in selling out women. The French CP has refrained from the massive abortion rights movement in France. When under pressure to take a public position on the matter, they proposed a law based on the physical and mental health of the woman—not on a woman's right to choose.

The American Stalinists, under pressure from the feminist movement, are formally on record in support of the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion in the U.S. They did virtually nothing, however, to fight for it, and are doing next to nothing to defend it. Moreover, to this very day, the American CP opposes the Equal Rights Amendment. On this issue they now find themselves to the right of even the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which recently endorsed the ERA.

The Stalinist parties around the world are mimicking the reactionary dictates of the Kremlin. The parasitic bureaucrats in the Soviet Union

oppose progress in any sphere of social relations. Their motto is: don't rock the boat. And, they could add for emphasis: don't free the hand that rocks the cradle, or it will surely rock the boat!

These so-called Communists have lost sight of the goals of the Russian revolution and have nothing in common with the early Bolsheviks. Trotsky, in *Problems of Everyday Life*, for instance, writes: "The genuinely socialist family, from which society will remove the daily vexation of unbearable and humiliating cares, will have no need of any regimentation, and the very idea of laws about abortion and divorce will sound no better within its walls than the recollection of houses of prostitution or human sacrifices."

Both Bulgaria and Rumania have now passed restrictive abortion laws. In Bulgaria, abortions are illegal for women with fewer than two children, including unmarried women. The bureaucrats claim they need more people. "Then have the kindness to bear them yourselves," was Trotsky's answer to that nonsense.

In the Soviet Union, although abortions are still legal, Brezhnev and Co. sound like a bunch of Billy Grahams. In an article written for the youth newspaper *Moskovsky Komsomlets*, Dr. Anatoly Kharchev chastizes young men for not marrying soon enough. He says late marriages show "fear of responsibility for family, children, and the desire to remain bachelors. . . . [which] has an egoistic nature."

His advice to women is to not give in to "sexual urges" for the sake of catching a husband. "Let there be more feminine pride and dignity, more attention to the eternal verity: protect your honor from childhood onward."

The women of the world want pride, dignity, and honor all right, but we think it comes from another source. We think it comes from liberation.

Mideast negotiations: promises of peace, but real prospect is for renewed warfare

By TONY THOMAS

High hopes are being built up for the Mideast "peace" conference set to begin Dec. 17 in Geneva. Henry Kissinger and other spokesmen for U.S. imperialism are claiming that this conference can achieve a "final settlement" of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

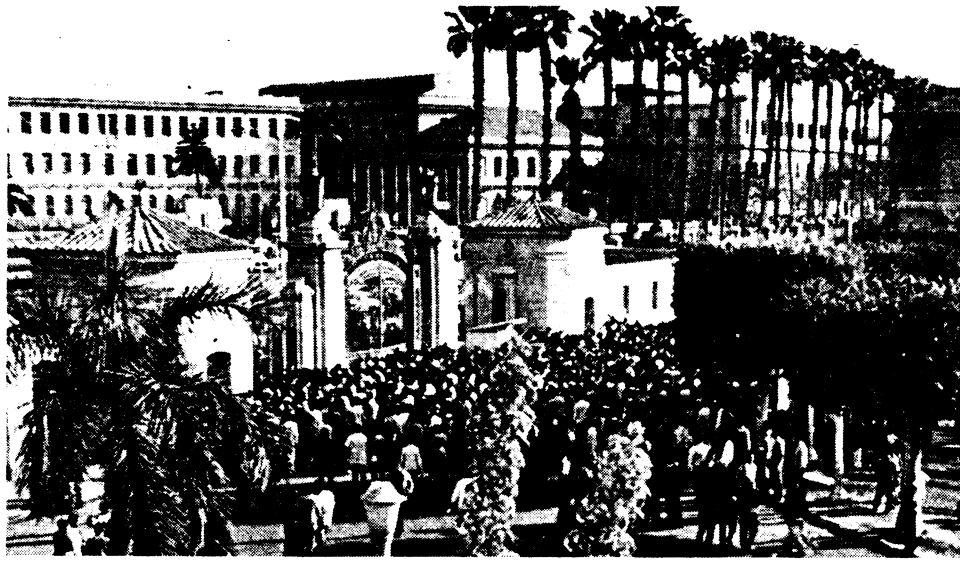
This mood is shared by the Soviet bureaucrats, who hope the struggle in the Mideast can be contained within the framework of the détente they have established with Washington. In a letter to the Arab summit conference meeting in Algiers, Soviet President Nikolai Podgorny and Premier Aleksei Kosygin expressed their optimistic view of the Geneva conference "Now the matter of resolving the Middle East conflict is entering a practical and responsible stage."

But the reality of the situation in the Mideast stands in sharp contrast to the rhetoric of Kissinger and Kosygin. The fundamental antagonism between the settler-colonial state of Israel backed by imperialism on the one hand, and the Palestinians and other Arab masses on the other, has not been diminished by the recent war or by the U.S.-Soviet détente.

The prospect is not for peace but for more war—sooner or later.

Talks between Israeli and Egyptian military commanders on cease-fire lines in the Sinai and Suez Canal area are "mired," according to press reports.

Egypt had hoped for an Israeli pull-back from current lines to those sanctioned by the Oct. 22 cease-fire agreement. This would have been proof of the "success" of Egyptian President Sadat's policy of making concessions



Students at Cairo University during protests in January. Sadat renewed repressive measures to counter opposition to his policies.

"to obtain some kind of Israeli withdrawal." Sadat might "feel compelled to renew the fighting again if the Israelis did not take the first step toward a return to the Oct. 22 cease-fire lines over the weekend," Tanner predicted.

As long as the Israeli armies "don't budge," Tanner wrote, "it is difficult for Mr. Sadat to defend his acceptance of the cease-fire and his reliance on the United States. This means he remains under growing pressure to renew the fighting."

The pressure from the Egyptian people will make Sadat's position at the Geneva conference difficult. In fact, there is some speculation that the conference may never take place at all. The *Washington Post* carried a dispatch Nov. 27 quoting Western diplo-

declared.

According to a report in the Nov. 24 *New York Times*, Dayan said Israel cannot leave the Golan Heights or the Jordan Valley or the radar installations in the hills of Nablus. He called it "unthinkable" to give up Sharm el Sheik.

Dayan is also for keeping Yamit, an area on the north coast of the Sinai where Israel plans to construct a port. He also said the Mitla and the Gidi passes in the western Sinai cannot be permitted to return to Egyptian control.

In other words, Dayan's view is that Israel cannot return any of the occupied territories with the possible exception of the immediate east bank of the Suez Canal. Dayan declared, "We're still at the start of the war."

On Nov. 26 the "summit" conference of Arabs chiefs of state convened in Algiers. The conference is linked with Egyptian plans for participating in the Geneva peace conference.

The Algiers meeting was boycotted by Iraq, South Yemen, and Libya. The regimes in these countries have criticized Sadat's policies of concessions and condemned the Arab-Israel cease-fire.

Also boycotting the conference was King Hussein of Jordan, who objected to the fact that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), an umbrella organization of Palestinian liberation groups led by Fateh, was granted the status of government-in-exile.

Palestinian question

In the discussions surrounding the Arab summit and the preparations for the Geneva conference, there are signs that the leaders of the PLO were making major changes in their views in order to be allowed to participate in the peace talks.

A Palestinian delegation arrived in Moscow Nov. 20. The group included leaders of Fateh, the Democratic Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Arab Liberation Front, and Saikha.

The Stalinist bureaucrats in the Kremlin declared just before the Palestinians arrived that they now support the "rights of the Palestinians"; they nevertheless also continue their traditional support of the "right" of Israel to exist on Palestinian soil.

A new partition?

According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, the PLO leaders in Moscow "reportedly agreed to accept the 1947 UN resolution, never implemented, to partition what used to be Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state. . . .

"Though obviously unacceptable to Israel, this would be a fundamental concession by Palestinian leaders, who have hitherto insisted on the need to replace Israel, as a Jewish state, by a new, secular state, where Muslims, Jews, and Christians would live on equal terms."

The Nov. 26 *Washington Post* reported that in Algiers "the Palestinian delegation, headed by Yasser Arafat, stressed that the creation of a Palestinian state in the West Bank territory of Jordan and the Gaza Strip was a 'minimum' and that the guerrillas would also continue to struggle for a binational Palestinian state that would include what is now Israel."

This position—which the PLO previously condemned as a sellout—cannot realistically be expected to be endorsed at Geneva. Both Israel and Jordan are adamantly opposed to any Palestinian state, or for that matter to the participation in the negotiations of any representatives of the Palestinian nationalist groups.

King Hussein asserts sovereignty over the West Bank, and claims to represent the Palestinians on the West



DAYAN: 'We're still at the start of the war.'

Bank and in Jordan. In 1970 and 1971, Hussein launched large-scale military operations, killing tens of thousands, to counter massive support for the Palestinian liberation groups in Jordan.

Israel, on the other hand, has traditionally refused to have any direct links or negotiations with the PLO and has officially refused to recognize the existence of the Palestinian nationality. Israel also is reaping immense economic benefits from the occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and as Dayan made clear, is not likely to give them back to the Arabs, much less to the PLO.

Behind the negotiations, the plans for a "peace" conference, the concessions pressed on the Arabs by Moscow, and the hot air from Kissinger, the Arab-Israeli conflict remains as sharp as ever.

The only way to resolve this conflict is to do away with the Zionist settler-state and establish a unified Palestine with equal political, social, and economic rights for both Palestinians and Israelis. Such a solution would be in the interests of the masses of Arabs throughout the Mideast, as well as in the interests of the Jewish workers who have been deceived by Zionism into thinking that they can build their own promised land on the backs of the Palestinian people.



Israeli tanks in Egypt. Tel Aviv has refused to pull back from additional territory seized during the October war.

to Israel. Such an Israeli retreat would have ended the encirclement of the city of Suez and of the Egyptian III Corps on the East bank of the canal.

But the Israeli command has staunchly refused to take this step.

Pressures on Sadat

Sadat faces strong pressure from the Egyptian masses against his policy of seeking accommodation with Israel.

According to the Nov. 23 *Washington Post*, "With the past 10 days, 135 Egyptian students have been arrested as police have moved to prevent any agitation against the cease-fire and Sadat's policies, according to reliable foreign sources." The dispatch, from Cairo, also said there have been "reports of the expulsion of some Palestinian and Libyan residents of Egypt who were suspected of stirring opposition to Sadat."

Sadat was trying to "dampen the strong current of opinion for resumption of the war," the *Post* reported.

Henry Tanner, writing from Cairo in the Nov. 25 *New York Times*, noted the "tremendous pressures" on Sadat

in Cairo as saying "it would be difficult for President Sadat to go to the peace conference, if the Israelis maintain their present positions."

The same dispatch reported that correspondents near the cease-fire lines "saw plenty of evidence that both sides are preparing for the possibility of renewed fighting."

'Still at the start'

The hope of a "final settlement" is based on the idea that Israel will return the bulk of the Arab territories occupied in 1967 (the Sinai Peninsula, the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank of the Jordan River) in return for "secure and recognized" Israeli borders, guaranteed by the U.S., the USSR, and the Arab states.

On Nov. 23 Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan outlined his view of what "secure and recognized" Israeli borders should be.

Dayan made it clear that he opposed Israeli withdrawal from almost any of the occupied territories. "Woe betide us if we are not strong," he

World Outlook

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

DECEMBER 7, 1973

Chile before the coup: Role of the cordones industriales

[Exiled Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco was living in Santiago for about a year prior to the bloody military coup there. A few days after the coup, he was able to escape to Mexico. His exit was arranged by the Swedish government, which had offered him political asylum.]

[Blanco arrived in Sweden from Mexico Nov. 5. Shortly thereafter he wrote this analysis of the cordones industriales (organizations of workers management in local industrial concentrations) for the Swedish Trotskyist press. The translation from the Spanish is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

By Hugo Blanco

With a rise in its struggle, the working class changes its method of organization. The classical unions and federations organized by industry are replaced by more supple organizational forms more suited to a powerful dynamic of struggle.

In Chile, this process went only half way.

What developed were the cordones

industriales, organs that tended to embrace all the workers in an industrial district, that is, 200 or 300 plants along an avenue.

I said that this was a half-completed process both because these committees only managed to take root in the vanguard plants and because they were based on the unions in the individual factories. In general, the workers were represented through the chairmen of their union locals. Only to a lesser degree was there representation through delegates directly elected to the cordones.

It was the ineffectiveness of the CUT [Central Unica de Trabajadores—United Federation of Workers] that gave rise to the cordones. This ineffectiveness was due both to the reformist leadership of the union federation, which was dominated by the CP, and to the new requirements of the struggle, which demanded a geographical kind of organization rather than one based on trade or occupation.

An example will show this more clearly. If the workers in a canning factory seized their plant, they needed an immediate mobilization of the neighboring factories to help them defend it. In these conditions, an organization including all the workers in a district could function more easily than a federation of workers in canning plants scattered in the various areas of the country.

The main cordones arose during the bosses' strike in October 1972 (except for the Cordón Cerrillos, which had developed shortly before).

The cordones distinguished themselves in organizing transportation (during the bosses' strikes), in defending the seized factories, in their radical statements, and in giving an initial impetus toward direct distribution and armed defense. Their most outstanding contribution to the struggle was in carrying out seizures in the districts

where they were established, which sometimes involved cutting off the access routes to the city, as in the case of the Cordón Cerrillos.

The cordones did not succeed in overcoming the bureaucracy; at important moments the Socialist party put on a brake. The cordones did not manage to cut the umbilical cord linking them to the reformist leaderships. They were badly organized, and in general their ongoing life was very weak, although they firmed up



Pro-Allende workers in streets of Santiago.

during conjunctural high points.

They were not able to organize the struggle on a centralized basis.

All this prevented them from growing and becoming a powerful center.

The attitudes of the left parties toward the cordones can be summarized as follows:

The CP: It fought the cordones, regarding them as competing bodies with the CUT, which it dominated. Later, in view of the ineffectiveness of its attacks, it tried to destroy them from inside or through flanking maneuvers. But before this campaign was

well under way, the coup occurred.

The SP: The Socialist party was the dominant force in the cordones, and its internal struggles were reflected in them. The left-wing sections of the SP had a good field of activity, but when they knuckled under in the last instance to their leaderships, it harmed the cordones.

The MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left]: The MIR in its theory discounted the importance of the cordones, stressing instead the comandos comunales [municipal commands]. Besides the unions, these latter bodies included shantytown neighborhood associations and student and peasant organizations.

This meant diffusing the workers among the petty bourgeoisie.

The cordones did not oppose the formation of comandos comunales, but they argued that they should be the backbone of these organizations.

In practice, the comandos comunales were never able to develop beyond the embryonic stage, and the MIR was active in the cordones, although less than in the countryside and the shantytowns.

The PSR [Partido Socialista Revolucionario—Revolutionary Socialist party, the Chilean section of the Fourth International]: The PSR proposed strengthening the cordones, organizing them in a solid way, getting them to function on a regular basis, and democratizing them.

It recognized them as the most advanced organizations of the working class, which should serve as the axes of the comandos comunales.

And above all, the PSR stressed the need for class independence from the reformist leaderships.

The program the cordones were developing, which was in general correct, could not be put into practice until these preconditions were achieved.

Wave of repression, torture in Mexico

The United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has reported a new wave of repression in Mexico. Twenty-five members of the Revolutionary Action Movement (MAR—Movimiento de Acción Revolucionaria) stated to the press that they had been tortured. They are being held in the notorious Lecumberri Prison, where many of the prisoners of the 1968 student movement were held. A bail of 100,000 pesos (about US\$8,000) each was set for nine of them; none has yet been able to raise it.

The twenty-five were arrested on October 5. They were charged with conspiracy, bearing illegal arms, and hoarding arms and explosives. They

gave their initial statements on October 29 before the reactionary Judge Ferrer McGreger. They are being defended by the civil libertarians Carlos Fernández del Real and José Rojo Coronado.

Among the prisoners are José Antonio Castillo Viloria, who was a leader of the student movement in Oaxaca in 1970, and his wife. He is accused of being the "contact" between the MAR and other direct-action groups.

The government also claimed that members of MAR had been trained in North Korea and that they have been carrying out operations in seven states.

A number of other new cases of political repression—in addition to the

several hundred political prisoners already scattered throughout the states of Mexico—have come to USLA's attention. Five men were arrested in the state of San Luis Potosí and accused of kidnapping an American cattleman, Albert Dolpher. Four others were arrested in Tamaulipas and Nuevo Leon. A hunt is going on in Guadalajara for seventeen activists allegedly involved in another kidnapping.

This campaign against the left is partially a result of the pressure being put on President Echeverría by the Mexican right. Another result of this intense pressure is Echeverría's refusal to grant asylum to any of the non-Chilean refugees from the coup in Chile.

Chile's Communist Party: Is new 'armed struggle' line a step forward?

By Gerry Foley

Since the "peaceful road to socialism" came to its disastrous ending in Chile, Communist party propagandists around the world have adopted a new militant tone.

This has been most noticeable in the press of the Argentine Communist party, the Stalinist organization most directly affected by the collapse of Allende's popular-front government and the fate of its Chilean sister party.

In its September 19 issue, *Nuestra Palabra*, the organ of the Argentine CP, said:

"In the midst of the smoke and the blood, we must undertake some initial evaluations that our Chilean comrades can help us out with later on. The first is that the landowners, the

The issue of *Nuestra Palabra* dated September 19 was the last before the special presidential elections of September 23. The Communist party had been supporting the candidacy of the resurrected representative of the "progressive bourgeoisie" in its country, the demagogic General Juan D. Perón.

But the lesson to be drawn from the Chilean defeat, as *Nuestra Palabra* saw it, was the following:

"The essential, the richest experience is this: With the support of the people we can carry out patriotic and revolutionary transformations such as had already been initiated [in Chile]. This is still more possible in Argentina, where we have the support of 80 percent of the population [that is, the combined vote of the parties that supported the "Programmatic Guidelines" put

San Martín [the Argentine leader of the war of independence against Spain; in Chile the CP called the "patriotic military" in its country the "continuers of the tradition of O'Higgins," the Chilean leader in the war of independence]. Whatever their political beliefs—Peronists, Communists, Radicals, Socialists, etc.—all together will be an insurmountable wall against the saboteurs and putschists in the service of the Yankees and the landlords. *This is the bloody lesson of Chile. This is our first and most urgent task in Argentina.*"

That is, the lesson the Argentine CP learned from the collapse of the Unidad Popular and the ignominious defeat of its sister party in Chile was the need to follow exactly the same policy that paved the way for the bloody coup across the Andes.

Not even Perón's attitude toward the coup in Chile alerted the Argentine CP, although it had previously lauded him as a great defender of the anti-imperialist experiment in the neighboring country. The "continuer of San Martín" sealed off the border, blocking all aid to the resistance and closing the main escape route for refugees from the mass slaughter and political persecution launched by the junta. The Argentine "patriotic general" would not even grant full right of asylum to the political exiles legally entering his country, but insisted on confining them to the tropical jungle province of Misiones.

Ironically, the Argentine CP interpreted the victory of the rightists in Chile in exactly the same way that the Argentine Trotskyist weekly *Avanzada Socialista* predicted that they would eventually explain Perón's right turn: The military "betrayed."

"Basically what made the coup possible was the betrayal of the military. Without the rockets, without the tanks, without the airplanes, without the helicopters and their machine guns, without the warships and their cannon, the coup would not have succeeded."

One might add that without these things no military coup could succeed anywhere at any time. Thus, the statement did not explain anything.

The September 19 *Nuestra Palabra* took a tone that contrasted with its previous praise for the "peaceful road to socialism" and for the Chilean CP's policy of avoiding civil war at any cost. It quoted an official declaration of the Argentine CP as follows:

"The working class of Chile is already in arms, defending its bread, its work, its gains, and the national independence of the country. Therefore, our party calls on the Argentine working class, faithful to its honorable tradition of solidarity with the Chilean workers, to mobilize, firmly united in determined support to the cause of the workers and of our sister nation of Chile.

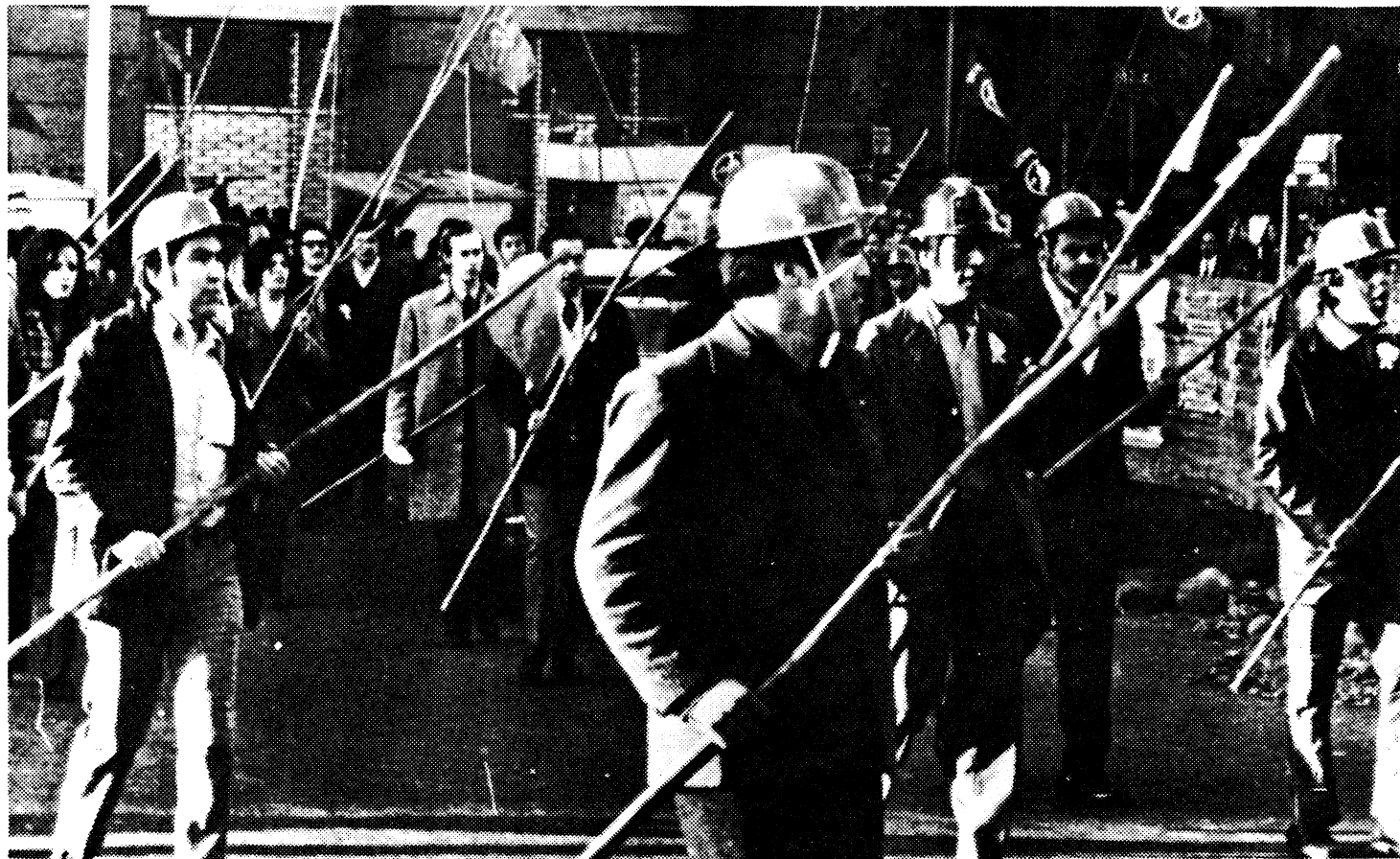
"It calls on the workers in general, on the peasants, on the students, professionals, artists, and intellectuals, on all political parties of the people, on Peronists, Communists, Radicals, Socialists, and other political forces united in the common struggle to defend the cause of Chile, which is our own cause, through declarations, actions, demonstrations, strikes, and, if need be, by combative and active participation in all the areas the struggle demands."

Thus, at this point the Argentine Stalinists seemed to be raising the perspective of even sending armed detachments to fight in Chile. Of course, they could have lost their "moderate" heads at the spectacle of the reactionary triumph in their neighboring country, especially coming as it did just after the Uruguayan military routed the other major Latin American CP. Furthermore, in the first week after the coup, they may not have realized that the workers had already been badly defeated.

Moscow Sounds the Bugle

The Soviet government and party organs exceeded *Nuestra Palabra* in their martial spirit and continued to blow the trumpets long after the essential facts of the situation in Chile were clear.

In the October 13 *Pravda*, V. Cherenyshev wrote: "Despite the bloody terror unleashed by the traitor generals and the mass arrests of the supporters of the Unidad Popular, the left forces have not been broken. From scattered



800,000 Chileans, mainly workers, marched in support of Popular Unity government Sept. 4 against threat of rightist coup. CP proposes to take up arms now, after severe repression, but did nothing to arm and train workers prior to coup.

imperialists, and the military and the civilians who serve them never sleep. The denunciations of the machinations of the monopolies and the CIA, of their national lackeys, and of the threat of a coup d'état—in both Chile and Argentina—were not wolf-crying, were not a horror story but a concrete reality, an imminent reality, which threatens all peoples and governments that struggle for the freedom and independence of their fatherlands."

Did this mean that the Argentine Communist party was abandoning the policy of collaboration with the "progressive" bourgeoisie that had led its sister party to defeat across the Andes? Had it decided to show in a dramatic and effective way in the coming election in Argentina that it had learned the lesson of the Chilean events?

forward by the Peronists in March]. But—and this is fundamental—we must unite all patriots in a front against the common enemy at home and abroad. One party alone cannot decide anything. We urgently need a big *Patriotic and Anti-Imperialist Front that will embrace this 80 percent, this immense majority.*

"Experience has once again shown the same truth. The anti-imperialist front must rely in the first place on the working class and, together with it, on the peasants, on the sections of the armed forces with an interest in the revolution—on the students, professionals, small and middle bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie not linked to imperialism, the Catholic masses, and the patriotic military who carry on the tradition of

Perón promptly provided the Argentine CP a foretaste of the fruits to be expected from its policy. Within a week after he took office, Perón ordered his vast bureaucracy to launch a "war against Marxism."

Despite its record of opposing Perón's mildly anti-imperialist bourgeois nationalist movement as "Nazi-fascist" during the period when the Soviet Union was allied with the "democratic" imperialisms, the Argentine Communist party displayed the same faith in the old caudillo's "progressive" intentions as the Chilean CP had in the constitutionalism of General Pinochet.

(According to Jean-Noel Darde and Isabel Santi, writing in the November *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Pinochet boasted to a circle of officers after the coup: "That stupid prick Allende believed me right up to the end.")

clashes with the army search units, the resistance fighters are gradually going over to organized combat, establishing liaison among the underground organizations. From information getting out of Chile, a center is developing to lead the resistance movement on a large scale, and not only representatives of the Unidad Popular parties are joining it, but also several tendencies in parties that were in opposition to Allende.

"Beginning to join the resistance movement are many rank-and-file members of the Christian Democratic party who have now understood what the policy of the right-wing leadership of their party has led to. There are reports of more and more frequent armed clashes of a progressively more sustained character."

"knew a military coup was possible." But they sought "a political solution."

"We thought of two tactics for gaining time, to remove the specter of a putsch and attract the left wing of the Christian Democracy. But we ran up against the maximalist position of Carlos Altamirano, the leader of the Socialist party, and Miguel Enríquez, the leader of the MIR. The putsch caught us by surprise."

Thus, if the "ultraleftists" had caused the defeat by provoking an attack before everyone was ready, the CP proposed to show that it was no less determined than the ultraleftists to wage "people's war" against the junta.

Even the notoriously hidebound American Communist party played up the calls for guerrilla war against the junta. The November 3 *Daily World*

activity. But there is no reason to assume that the Chilean Communist party is incapable of supporting a guerrilla campaign on a certain level. In fact, at specific points in the Stalinist parties' long-range policy of class collaborationism, guerrilla warfare and terrorist actions are not excluded. In periods of extreme repression, for example, terrorist activity can seem to be the only remaining means of pressuring the bourgeoisie to make some kind of a deal and at the same time convincing the workers that the CP is still fighting for their interests. The CPs, for historical reasons, have no lack of heroic but misled militants whom they can sacrifice for this purpose.

Military activity in the name of a politically amorphous democratic front fits in very well, in fact, with the objectives of class-collaborationist policy. It obscures questions of political program and thus keeps the resistance of the workers and the poor on an elementary level, where it can be easily manipulated. It does not set in motion processes of mass organization and initiative that could get out of hand and threaten (1) to throw up leaderships genuinely representative of the people's interests; and (2) to frighten the bourgeoisie and make it unwilling to accept coexistence with the workers movement. In addition, if guerrilla warfare is not based on the mobilization and organization of masses of workers, the guerrilla units are as uncontrolled by the people as the bureaucratic party apparatuses.

The CPs resort to guerrilla warfare, of course, only in periods of extreme class conflict. In certain circumstances, where bourgeois or imperialist control has been greatly weakened by war or some other general disaster, this process has led to sustained, profound struggles. However, even in these exceptional cases, the CPs' defensive strategic outlook has resulted in enormous losses and political inconclusiveness. In the overwhelming majority of instances the CPs' policy has simply led to defeats similar to the one suffered by the Chilean CP on September 11-15.

For the present the threats of guerrilla warfare and terrible revenge from the Chilean CP fit clearly into its reformist policy and continue the errors that led to the defeat of the UP. On the one hand, they serve to minimize the failure of the reformist leaderships by trying to create the false impres-

sion that the workers retreated in good order to prepare a counterattack. The absence of organized resistance, in fact, considering the level the mass movement had reached, is the most damning indictment of the Chilean CP's policy.

It is thus no accident that the Chilean CP adopted an "armed struggle" orientation *after* and *not before* the working class was defeated. This does not represent a rectification of the previous line but simply its continuation under different circumstances. The consequences of these calls for armed struggle at this point are likely to prove hardly less harmful to the interests of the workers than the CP's pre-September 11 pacifism. They directly contradict the main tasks for this period, that is, to minimize the losses of cadres, to begin to rebuild the confidence of the workers, and to begin to break away forces now supporting the junta by taking advantage of the inevitable rise in discontent of the poor petty bourgeoisie as they discover that the military regime cannot solve their problems.

These tasks require defensive slogans, the opposite of the CPs' irresponsible saber-rattling. Before the coup, the CP leaders argued that it was necessary to avoid a civil war at any cost. They achieved this by the one sure way. They made certain that one side, the working class, was incapable of resisting. By their new policy they seem determined to incite even worse reprisals.

In short, the CP's policy can be described neither as "moderate" nor "revolutionary" but simply as consistent class collaborationism, consistent left opportunism. The CPs have no revolutionary perspective, "realistic" or otherwise. In every case their line leads to a betrayal of the interests of the workers, and in the present world conditions the results are inevitably extremely costly.

There is no possibility that the Chilean, Argentine, or any other Stalinist CP will learn any positive political lessons from the disastrous defeat in Chile. The cycle of pacifism and adventurism repeated in this Latin American "island of parliamentarism" has been acted out in many countries in the past forty years, and it will be repeated over and over until a party with a real revolutionary perspective and strategy takes the leadership of the working class and its allies.



Junta soldiers terrorize peasants in region of Concepcion.

Ruslan Tuchin had the same message in the September 29 *Izvestia*: "The Unidad Popular has gone underground. The struggle continues!"

A TASS dispatch in the September 25 *Izvestia* brought together all sorts of optimistic stories about guerrilla warfare getting under way. A Reuters report was quoted in which a member of the bourgeois Radical party allegedly said: "We must use various methods. Obviously we are not going to sit twiddling our thumbs. . . . The resistance will be organized in such a way that when the time comes for dealing the decisive blow, it will strike home."

Chilean CP Switches Line

In Chile itself, the Communist party claimed to have adopted a new "military orientation."

"According to an unidentified leader of the Chilean Communist party interviewed this week in Santiago by the correspondent of the Turin daily *La Stampa*," the October Paris daily *Le Monde* reported, "the Chilean left organizations 'already possess important quantities of arms,' and 'a common struggle is being prepared for overthrowing the military regime. . . ."

"We have arms. What the junta found were only a small part. There were very few who knew how to use these weapons when needed, and we did not have the time to train the population en masse. We did not have the time for various reasons. There is no simple explanation!"

The CP leader said that his party

quoted Fernanda Navarro, a Chilean refugee who spoke in New York at a CP-organized public meeting on Chile, as saying:

"From the hundreds of thousands of Communist and Socialist militants to those of the MIR and the two non-Marxist parties that formed the Popular Unity, all are working together, organizing resistance and fighting. Even the junta has publicly acknowledged that Chile is not under control, that guerrillas have been formed, that a state of siege has begun to move to a state of war. As President Salvador Allende said on September 11, moments before the fascists assassinated him: 'This is how we write the first page of this history. My people and America will write the rest.'"

Still for Class Collaboration

None of the CPs' threats of immediate and terrible war against the junta, however, meant that their political line had changed one iota.

In Bolivia, after the Banzer coup, the Communist party actually entered a front founded on the perspective of armed struggle against the regime but retaining the reformist outlook of confidence in the "democratic" bourgeois forces that had disarmed the workers movement politically and physically in the face of the right-wing military take-over.

So far the Bolivian FRA (Frente Revolucionario Anti-Imperialista — Anti-Imperialist Revolutionary Front) has not engaged in any military ac-

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Appeal for solidarity

Lip workers' struggle faces attacks by French gov't

The French government has moved definitively to crush the struggle of the workers at the Lip watch factory in Besançon in eastern France. The Pompidou regime has been aided in its fight against the Lip strikers by deliberate sabotage by the leadership of the Communist party-controlled Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT—General Confederation of Labor) and the passive attitude of the national leaders of the Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail (CFDT—French Democratic Confederation of Labor).

But the strikers, as of the second week of November, were still holding firm. The battle for Lip had become a war of attrition, the regime counting on tiring the workers out, the workers attempting to deepen the solidarity movement, which has been the main strength of their struggle.

The Lip factory was occupied by the workers during the summer, after they found out that the company's new owner, the Swiss trust Ebauches SA, planned to "rationalize" the plant by firing several hundred workers. From June to the middle of August the workers operated the plant themselves and sold the watches they produced to pay themselves and to finance the struggle. When the regime evicted the workers from the factory by force on August 14, the strikers transferred some equipment to a local gymnasium and continued producing and selling watches. The struggle moved to a phase of "negotiations" as the regime dispatched Henry Giraud to work out a plan for "reopening" the factory.

The latest turn in the Lip battle came during October. The regime's move to the offensive closely followed a massive march of more than 80,000 persons in Besançon on September 29. The demonstration had been built almost completely by the workers themselves and by the far-left groups, especially the ex-Ligue Communiste, the now formally banned French section of the Fourth International. The September 29 march was a big boost to the workers' morale, and the government quickly moved against the Lip workers to counteract its effects.

In the first week of October, Giraud presented the workers a "take-it-or-leave-it" plan for "reopening" the

factory. It called for laying off 159 workers and provided no guarantees that the rest of the workers would maintain their jobs. Giraud said he would break off negotiations by October 9 if the workers rejected his plan. After that, events moved quickly.

On October 8 the workers held a



Police occupy Lip factory

Rouge

General Assembly to consider Giraud's proposal. The Giraud plan, which in substance was supported by the CGT leaders, was put to a vote: it lost, 749 to 15.

The next day Giraud broke off negotiations. Georges Ségué, head of the CGT, held a press conference in which he denounced "irresponsible elements" who refused to act "reasonably." The reference was to the Lip workers, not to Giraud. After several days of behind-the-scenes wheeling and dealing, another General Assembly was held to consider some new proposals. Three plans were presented to the October 11 meeting for discussion: a CGT-sponsored proposal that differed little in substance from the Giraud plan, a compromise CGT-CFDT proposal that eventually came to be repudiated by both organizations, and a motion from the Lip action committee to reject the Giraud plan firmly and continue the fight around the two major slogans: No Layoffs and No Dismantlement.

A full and democratic discussion was held. The following day a vote was held by secret ballot. The choices had since been narrowed. One proposal, sponsored by the CGT, read: "End the struggle by returning to work and accepting the Giraud plan." The other: "Continue the struggle. Relaunch negotiations on the basis of the initial demands: no layoffs, maintenance of gains won so far."

The second proposal received 626 votes; the first, 174. The October 12 vote could have been a turning point in the fight. But the CGT leaders immediately moved to discredit the vote instead of accepting the verdict of the workers and moving to enforce their decision. The CGT bureaucrats publicly denounced the October 12 vote, refused to participate further in the sale of watches, and began signing workers up to go on unemployment—a step that would formally repudiate the "unofficial" production of watches.

The CFDT leaders, under pressure from their CGT allies, announced their acceptance "in principle" of the lay-off of the 159 workers, provided they were guaranteed comparable employment elsewhere.

The temporizing was just what the government needed. On October 23

the police raided the Maison pour Tous, the workers strike headquarters. A total of 35,770 francs in cash and 8,110 francs in checks was stolen from the workers' storehouse. Thirty-nine watches were also seized.

But the October 23 police raid did not break the struggle. The Lip workers put out a call for solidarity demonstrations. None of the trade-union leaders responded. But a spontaneous wave of telegrams and phone calls poured into Besançon. In Paris, several thousand revolutionary militants demonstrated in solidarity with the Lip strikers on October 25.

As of early November, the Lip workers were holding on against the government and the reformist bureaucrats. The solidarity movement—key to continuing the struggle—was more important than ever, and was being organized largely by the far left.

The November 2 issue of the French weekly *Rouge*, formerly the organ of the Ligue Communiste, explained what it saw as the tasks of revolutionary socialists in support of the Lip struggle:

"They must fight hard inside the unions against all the anti-Lip slanders, carry out local solidarity actions, and press for the idea of a national response.

"They must intervene by taking up their responsibilities against any new attack by the bourgeoisie, even if they have to act alone. That was the meaning of the October 25 demonstration. They must participate actively, in an independent way, in demonstrations for democratic rights in order to prevent Lip from being swept under the rug.

They must wage a united campaign for the expropriation of Lip, its nationalization under workers control.

"The forces of the far left are limited. But through its battles, through the solidarity, through the discussion on the forms of struggle, the slogans, and the meaning of Lip, thousands of worker militants can learn from the experience of the reformists' tactics and come closer to revolutionary Marxism.

"That, too, is what is at stake at Lip."

Appeal for support to 12 artists victimized in Iran

Several well-known artists and writers in the U.S. have announced the formation of a Committee for Freedom of the Arts with the aim of defending twelve Iranian artists and writers recently arrested by the shah's regime.

The twelve are well known for their opposition to the dictator. They were arrested on a charge of allegedly trying to kidnap members of the shah's family.

Mark Lane, speaking for the defense committee, said in a statement, "Our investigation reveals that these film makers and artists, some of Iran's leading authorities in their fields, will be tried in the military courts, will only be allowed attorneys selected from a list provided by the military, and this only the day before trial, no jury will be provided, and in all probability observers will not be per-

mitted in the courtroom."

Sponsors of the committee include: comedian Dick Gregory; composer and musician Mikis Theodorakis; producer Abby Mann; Random House editor John Simon; and others. The group hopes to send an attorney from the U.S. to Iran to investigate the case.

The twelve Iranian artists are: Reza Allamehzadeh, Abbas-Ali Samakar, Tyfour Bathaie, Rahmat-Allah Jamshidi, Karamat Daneshian, Skokouh Farhang, Ebrahim Farhang, Maryam Etehadieh, Morteza Syahpoush, Farhad Ghaysari, Manouchehr Moghadam-Salimi, and Khosrow Golsorkhi.

The October 4 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported that not only does the number of arrests far exceed the twelve announced by the Iranian government, but that some had been

arrested for a year prior to their alleged participation in the kidnapping plot.

The Iranian Students Association has hailed the formation of the Committee for Freedom of the Arts, pointing to the imminent danger of torture and execution of these twelve artists. An October 25 statement from the ISA notes that in the past two years the shah's regime has executed more than 109 political prisoners, an average of one a week. And this doesn't count those who have been killed under torture.

The ISA requests that letters of protest over the arrest of the twelve be sent to Prime Minister Hoveyda, Tehran, Iran. Letters should demand that the date of the "trials" be announced publicly and that international observers be allowed to attend.

NY area students hear speaker on Chile coup

NEW YORK—Linda Wine, an eyewitness to the rightist coup in Chile, spoke at five campuses in the New York area last week.

Wine is on a national tour aimed at getting out the truth about the denial of democratic rights in Chile. The tour is sponsored by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

Between 50 and 150 students came to hear Wine at each of her stops. She spoke at Columbia University, Newark School of Engineering, the University of Connecticut, Hunter College, and the State University of New York at Stony Brook. Scores of students and faculty members responded to her call for telegrams and letters of protest to the Chilean junta by drafting them on the spot.

Wine urged them to insist on an end to executions and mistreatment of political prisoners, as well as freedom for the prisoners.

At Columbia University her appearance coincided with the signing

of a "statement of concern on academic freedom in Chile." The statement was signed by University President McGill, two university vice-presidents, and more than 40 other members of the university senate.

The statement deplored "the imprisonment and dismissal of professors, the wholesale expulsion of students, the arbitrary abolition of studies in certain departments."

Chile defense work continued in other parts of the country as well. For example, the USLA chapter at the University of Indiana in Bloomington sponsored two events in November—a showing of the Chilean film *Campamento* and a meeting to hear two eyewitnesses of the coup. Collections raised \$50 for further work in defense of Chilean political prisoners.

Meanwhile, in Chile, the repression continues. The Nov. 26 *New York Times* reported that the Swedish ambassador to Chile, Harald Edelstam, and four embassy secretaries were

Urge defense of Flandes, Vitale

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners has sent out a special appeal for immediate protests on behalf of Juan Flandes, a political prisoner in Chile. Until his arrest Nov. 6, Flandes was a student of commercial engineering at the University of Los Angeles in Chile. Accused of guerrilla activity, he is scheduled to be tried by a military tribunal shortly.

The fate of Juan Flandes—whether he will be released, or tortured or executed—depends largely on public pressure that can be exerted on the military. USLA urges that telegrams or letters of protest concerning Flandes be sent to: Jefe de Las Fuerzas Armadas, Regimiento de Los Angeles, Los Angeles, Chile, and to General Augusto Pinochet, Chilean Embassy, 1730 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C.

USLA has also urged people to protest the junta's holding of Luis Vitale and Hector Gutiérrez, two prominent intellectuals in the Chilean labor movement whose lives are also in danger.

Copies of all protest messages should be sent to USLA, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 311, New York, N.Y. 10014.



Linda Wine

Jean Williams

beaten, kicked, and karate-chopped by Chilean military police as they were attempting to safeguard a Uruguayan political refugee.

Edelstam is well known for his efforts to aid victims of the junta in getting out of Chile. He was instrumental in helping Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco escape the junta's terror.

Edelstam stood his ground, but the police succeeded in taking custody of the Uruguayan woman, Consuela Alonso.

On Nov. 26 the *Washington Post* reported an announcement by the junta that 49 political prisoners were to be tried Dec. 1 by military court in the city of Talcahuano.

Chile junta spokesmen to face united picket

Representatives of the Chilean junta will be holding a \$10-a-seat benefit concert at New York's Town Hall Dec. 5 to raise funds for their government of concentration camps, torture chambers, and military repression.

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) and the Chile Solidarity Committee have called a united picket line at the affair to oppose the junta's policies. Demands of the protest are: An end to the repression in Chile, freedom for all political prisoners, an end to U.S. aid to the junta, and U.S. asylum for refugees from Chile.

The picket will begin at 7:30 p.m.

in front of Town Hall, 113 W. 43rd St. A rally at 8 p.m. will hear speakers from USLA and the Chile Solidarity Committee, with information on the cases of political prisoners Juan Flandes, Hector Gutiérrez, and Luis Vitale, and others whose lives are in danger in Chile.

Other sponsors of the picket include the United Farm Workers, North American Congress on Latin America, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, United Students of the Americas, Coalicion de Latinoamericanos y Amigos de Latinoamerica, as well as Betty Friedan, Noam Chomsky, Jules Feiffer, I.F. Stone, and many others.

Peking & Chile junta: one more betrayal

By CAROLINE LUND

Following the rightist coup in Chile the Chinese embassy closed its doors to all political refugees, reported the Oct. 15 *Newsweek*. While working people were being massacred by the thousands, and political prisoners tortured and executed, Peking's embassy was turning people away, leaving them to the mercy of the junta.

Moreover, the Mao regime adopted this policy in the face of a worldwide outcry against the crimes of the Chilean junta and an international campaign to save the lives of Chilean militants and the 13,000 Latin American political refugees present in Chile at the time of the coup.

On Oct. 11—one month after the bloody coup—the Peking bureaucrats told the pro-Allende Chilean ambassador in China, Armando Uribe, that he was no longer recognized as Chile's representative. On Nov. 5 a representative of the junta was reported as being in Peking to take his place.

The *Guardian*, a Maoist weekly that now apologizes for every twist and turn of Peking policy, is having trouble explaining Peking's Chile policy. The *Guardian's* Nov. 7 Letters column contained a protest from Philip Kraft, James Petras, and Robert Rhodes calling Peking's recognition of the junta "a violation of the most fundamental principles of international socialist solidarity."

The *Guardian* editors replied to this letter, defending the Maoist policy and claiming that breaking diplomatic relations would be "ultra-left."

Two weeks later the *Guardian* printed three letters attacking their reply to Kraft, Petras, and Rhodes. This time the editors apparently could not muster arguments to reply. The letters are printed without comment.

Mark Emerson from New York notes that the Maoist policy is worse than just diplomatic recognition of the junta. "For example, why does China refuse asylum in her embassy to political refugees when Sweden, Mexico, Argentina, Panama and a half-dozen

ugees?"

One *Guardian* reader noted the contradiction between the *Guardian's* defense of Peking's recognition of the junta with the paper's criticism, only weeks earlier, of Moscow's recognition for the Lon Nol regime in Cambodia.

The writer of another letter observed that Peking's policy is an affront to the appeals from Chileans for international pressure against the junta's terror.

Peking's favors to the military butchers in Chile are only one more chapter in a history of betrayals of socialist internationalism. In 1965 the Maoist bureaucrats rushed to recognize the military junta led by Houari Boumedienne, which overthrew the workers and farmers government in Algeria headed by Ben Bella.

In 1971 Peking supported the Pakistani dictatorship in its war against the national liberation struggle of Bangladesh. It sent aid to the Bandaranaike regime in Sri Lanka in its brutal repression of a rebellion by student and worker youth. And it rolled out the red carpet for representatives of the Nimeiry regime in the Sudan, just as that regime was carrying out a witch-hunt and murdering thousands of Communist Party members and other dissidents.

These outrages are part of a consistent policy by Peking of angling for petty diplomatic concessions at the expense of the struggles of working masses throughout the world.

It is the opposite of the policy followed in the early years of the Russian revolution. For the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky, all state activity was determined by the criteria of what best served the interests of world revolution.

The bureaucrats in Moscow today have exactly the same policy as the Peking bureaucrats in utilizing diplomacy to promote the prestige and narrow interests of a privileged ruling caste. The rulers in both Moscow and Peking have turned their backs on socialist revolution as well as all hu-



'Suspects' being led to Chile's National Stadium. Peking embassy closed its doors to political refugees.

other countries have done so? Why, when the fascist foreign minister Huerta addressed the United Nations last month, did the Chinese delegate refuse to join the walkout of the socialist, Arab and African delegates? Why, at the UN meeting in Geneva last month, did the Chinese delegate (joined only by the U.S. delegate, significantly) abstain from voting for a resolution to aid the Chilean ref-

man values of democracy, freedom, and truth.

And just as the Maoist rulers wouldn't offend the Chilean generals and their backers in Washington as they slaughtered worker and peasant militants, so Brezhnev and his gang wouldn't offend Nixon at the 1972 summit, as the Pentagon blockaded, mined, and carpet-bombed North Vietnam.

'Energy crisis': another

Artificial shortage caused by profit drive

By DICK ROBERTS

The proved reserves of oil in the world total more than 550 billion barrels. The present production of oil is less than 20 billion barrels annually. These figures from the Nov. 19 issue of *Time* show that right now, at any rate, there is no world shortage of oil—or anything close to it.

This was put another way by former Standard Oil of California executive Christopher Rand. Rand told Pacific News Service reporter Roger Rapoport that one known oil field in Saudi Arabia has 80 billion barrels of oil—about as much as the United States has consumed in its entire history. The interview was carried in the *University of Washington Daily* Oct. 2.

But the energy crisis is supposed to last five years, according to President Nixon's "energy czar" John Love. What crisis, due to what shortage, are the "experts" talking about?

viewed from a long-term historical perspective there are world oil shortages in two senses. Even the 550 billion barrels will run out some day.

The exact time scale here is extremely difficult to predict. Published oil reserve figures are notoriously unreliable. The oil trusts have an interest in keeping the figures low to foster the conception that there is an im-

'as much as 10 times' greater than the companies reported to the AGA [American Gas Association]."

On a world scale such falsifications could mean there is enough oil in known reserves to last decades longer than what has been reported by the oil monopolies. If the 550-billion-barrel figure is also false by this same factor of 10, then oil reserves would last two centuries longer than they say!

The example Mintz reported brings out another side of the falsification. This is the bureaucratic maze of government and industry agencies that is involved. The Louisiana oil case brought in four agencies: the FTC and its Bureau of Competition, the American Gas Association (which is industry dominated), and the Federal Power Commission, to which the AGA reported the false information.

These capitalist agencies all have different interests to protect and they lie not only to the public but to government officials and to each other. Mintz wrote of the Federal Power Commission that "the government—the executive branch, the Congress and the independent agency [FPC]—is adrift in an information vacuum so large that it doesn't know, and isn't really trying to determine on a comprehensive, reliable and useful basis, the extent of the nation's reserves."

Capitalist anarchy

What an indictment of the capitalist system! Whatever the present falsification of potential world oil reserves, it is certainly true that they cannot last forever. A rational government would long ago have sought out the facts and explored and begun to use alternative sources of energy.

This is especially so when the burning of oil (and even more so of coal) is polluting the air. Ecological experts have long suggested investigating solar and geothermal energy as possible alternative sources of clean energy. And there are undoubtedly other possibilities.

No such undertaking was launched.

\$46-million for research and development.

Panic atmosphere

The oil industries pretend to be worried about running out of oil sources, but this is largely bluff. They are attempting to whip up a panic atmosphere in which they can ram through laws that would increase their profits—setting back the gains of the ecology movement, driving out their smaller competitors, and above all raising gasoline prices.

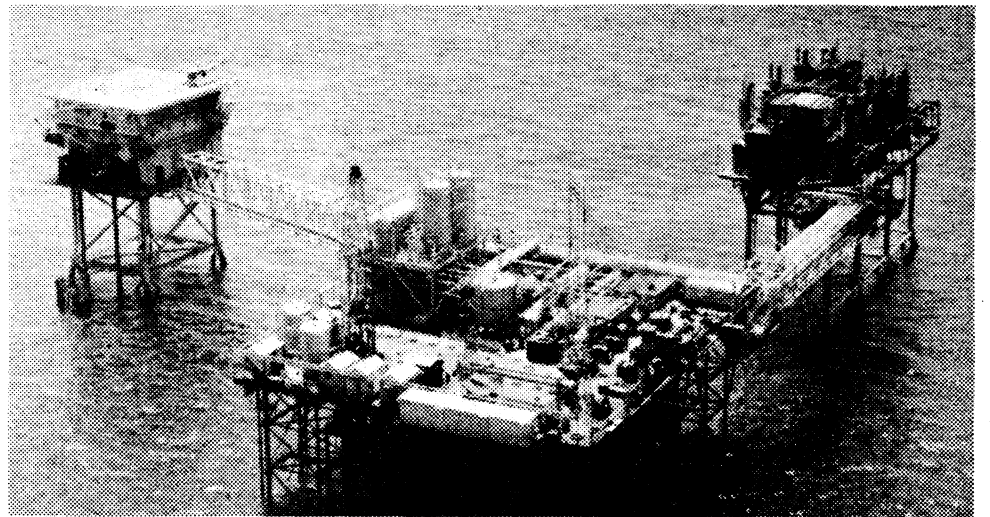
It is this short-term, profit-oriented perspective of monopoly that gives

up their industries, cannot afford it.

Michael Tanzer wrote in *The Political Economy of International Oil and the Underdeveloped Countries* (1969) that of the total world oil flow, "90% is produced in and exported from the oil-exporting underdeveloped countries."

"Furthermore, 90% of this 90% goes to the developed countries and only 10% to the underdeveloped countries."

The Middle East accounts for more than half of world oil exports, Venezuela about 25 percent, and North Africa about 10 percent.



'Offshore oil drilling threatens to destroy ecological balance of the seas.'

capitalism its anarchic character. Rational, long-term programs to develop alternative sources of energy are opposed by the oil interests.

They treat television viewers to a series of commercials about the supposed risks involved to the company and the supposed safety measures being taken by the major oil trusts to develop off-shore sources of oil. And this supposedly proves the oil trusts' desire to provide energy for the future. It is a lie from beginning to end.

The oil trusts don't take any risks that are not covered either by insurance or by tax exemptions. They have no concern for the environment whatsoever, and offshore oil drilling

But the oil these countries produce goes to the United States, Europe, and Japan. And it is a central source of world imperialist profits.

The real shortage of oil for underdeveloped countries is also not what the experts mean by the energy crisis. On the contrary, the rulers of this country are bending all their propaganda against the Arab governments for seeking a greater share in the revenues from oil production. Why shouldn't the Arab governments do this? It's their oil!

Again, a rational society would long ago have figured out ways to develop oil—if not a better source of energy—for the benefit of underdeveloped countries. Two-thirds of the world's population lives in nations that are poverty-stricken because of their industrial backwardness.

But monopoly perpetuates this backwardness. The present crisis is a case in point. Nixon and Kissinger have all but threatened a U. S. military invasion of the Arab countries if they don't come to terms.

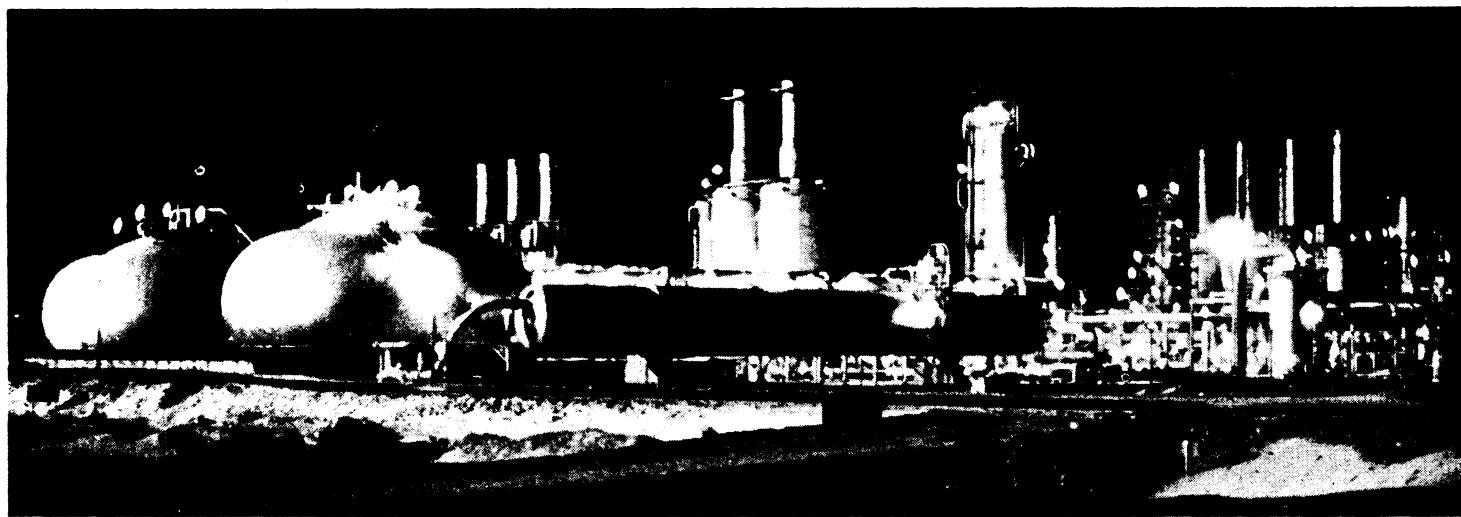
Viewed historically, monopoly perpetuates underdevelopment because investments flow toward areas of high profits rather than towards areas where investment is socially needed. And this gets to one of the actual causes of the present oil shortage in the United States.

Refining capacity

Refining capacity has been deliberately curtailed in this country throughout the years since World War II.

The major oil trusts poured investments into Europe and Japan, where the economic boom and lack of internal sources of oil allowed the monopolists to jack up prices and profits much faster than in the United States.

John Knight, editor of the *Knight newspaper chain*, declared in a column reprinted in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, "Last week . . . I dismissed as 'non-sense' Ralph Nader's statement that shortages were 'orchestrated for political and economic benefit by the oil industry and that it chose to place



U.S. oil monopolies have concentrated investment in refining capacity abroad because of higher profit rates. Above, Ras Tanura refinery in Saudi Arabia.

mediate oil shortage so they can justify high oil prices.

A recent example of this was described by Morton Mintz in the Nov. 11 *Washington Post*: "After a prolonged struggle to subpoena producer records for the rich federally owned fields in southern Louisiana," wrote Mintz, "the Bureau of Competition [of the Federal Trade Commission] found that the reserves some companies had on their books for certain fields were

The agencies, if they are to be believed, did not even find out enough about what is now going on to circumvent the artificially created oil shortage staring us in the face.

The oil and power trusts have no interest in shifting to new clean sources of energy. Their capital is tied up in oil, natural gas, coal (and increasingly in uranium). As recently as 1970, the electric utilities spent \$395-million on advertising and only

threatens to destroy the ecological balance of the seas. They want to find oil, not to provide it to people as a useful service, but to sell it at monopoly profits.

There is a second sense in which there is a real shortage of oil in the world. This is the fact that the overwhelming bulk of the oil now produced flows into advanced industrial countries. Underdeveloped countries, which have need for cheap fuel to build

product of capitalism

the country in a short-term energy scare to gain dividends.'

"It now appears that I was wrong, or at least partially wrong," Knight admitted.

He explained, "American oil companies some years ago made deliberate, long-term policy decisions to sharply expand operations in foreign countries to meet spiralling demands for oil products in Europe and Asia. . . .

"At the same time American oil companies with worldwide operations were telling their customers at home to cut back on consumption, they were urging their customers in Europe and Asia to buy more oil products. . . .

"Late last spring, the oil industry launched a massive advertising campaign designed to make the American consumer feel responsible for the nation's gasoline shortage. Yet for every barrel (42 gallons) of oil products sold in the United States, the five largest companies (Exxon; Mobil Oil Corp.; Texaco, Inc.; Gulf Oil Corp.; and Standard Oil of California) sold nearly two barrels in other countries.

"The demand for crude oil has increased 110 percent in the United States over the last 20 years. In Japan the demand increase is 2,567 percent; in West Germany, 1,597 percent and in Italy, 1,079 percent.

"The oil companies were not slow in meeting this demand, and in fact pushed the sale of their products in Europe and Asia even as they were offering the American consumer advice on how to cut down on the use of gasoline and home heating oil."

Profits

High profits attracted U.S. oil investment in refining capacity in Europe and Japan. Neither Europe nor Japan has significant internal sources of oil. And, while European capital does own outside sources in the Middle East and elsewhere, Japan has practically no overseas holdings. Most world oil is owned by U.S. trusts. The result is a profit bonanza for U.S. oil interests selling in Europe and Japan at much higher prices than prevail in the U.S.

A similar profit outlook in the United States would attract similar investments, and this gets to the heart of the present artificially created shortage. *The oil firms are attempting to drive up prices in the United States so they can refine and sell oil here at profit levels comparable to those abroad.*

There is a real irony in the facts Knight describes. The one "long-term" project the oil trusts have hit upon in the postwar period seems to be to invest in Europe and Japan, where the profits are highest. They have ignored the pressing needs of people all over the world for low-priced oil, and they have fought off any planning to shift energy production and consumption to cheaper and cleaner sources.

The retarding of investment in U.S. refining capacity has brought on a crisis in this country that is affecting virtually everyone. It is driving up gas prices, cooling off homes and places of work, slowing down traffic, and threatening a possible recession. But the shortage that caused this crisis is not a fundamental shortage of oil. It is a "shortage" of oil profits; or to put it more accurately, it is the prospect of making even higher profits in the most profitable and most powerful capitalist industry in the world.

Nixon: working people must sacrifice

By ED SMITH

Another big drop on the stock market Nov. 26, the biggest one-day fall since the 1962 market break, reflected deepening concern as the energy squeeze tightened its grip.

● On Nov. 23, General Motors—the nation's largest manufacturing company—announced plans to close down operations at 16 assembly plants for a week in December. This is to cut the production of standard-size and intermediate-size cars.

● President Nixon threatened a series of measures that would place the burden of the fuel shortage on the people. This included a ban on Sunday gasoline sales and national restriction of driving speed limits.

Nixon asked for the "full cooperation of all the American people in sacrificing a little." No mention was made of oil industry profits.

● Airline companies increasingly trimmed their flights. United Airlines announced Nov. 27 that it was eliminating 100 daily flights in January and laying off 1,000 workers because of the fuel shortage.

● New York State granted Consolidated Edison, the nation's biggest power company, permission to burn coal at two power plants in Queens and Staten Island. The Federal "Environmental Protection Agency" has listed a total of 40 plants in nine Eastern states that could quickly shift from burning oil to the more polluting and noxious burning of coal.

● White House Energy Policy director John Love called for a resumption of drilling on federal oil and gas leases in the Santa Barbara Channel in California. It was the disastrous offshore oil blowout there in early 1969 that was a major stimulant to the ecology movement.

● In a plus for the auto trusts, a federal judge ruled in Los Angeles on Nov. 26 that the auto industry cannot be forced to pay for air pollution damages caused by autos.

The grounds of the suit were that the Big Three monopolize the auto industry and conspire to bar pollution-improvement devices. But the judge dismissed it on the grounds that there actually isn't "any conspiracy or combination in restraint of trade" on the part of the auto companies!

● All of these steps take place before the impact of the Arab oil boycott has begun. In the last week of November the huge oil tankers that were the last to be loaded before the petroleum shipments were blocked were still a week from docking on the East Coast.

But this only emphasizes that the Arab boycott has not caused the current fuel shortage. "In fact," *Time* magazine states in its Dec. 3 issue, "energy will remain scarce even if the Arabs relax their embargo. John A. Love, President Nixon's energy chief, pre-

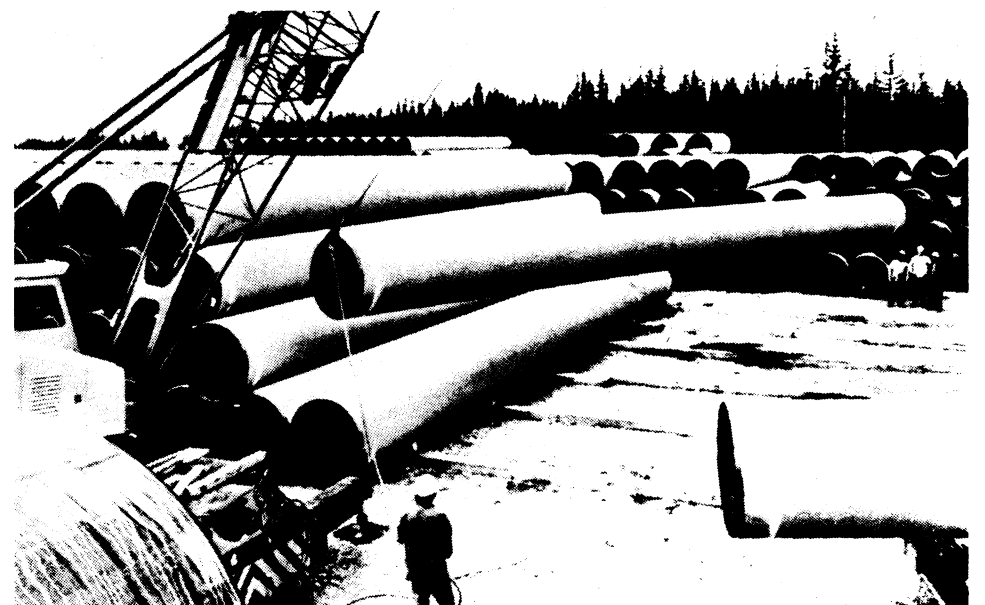
dicts that it will be three to five years at best before world oil production and refinery capacity is increased enough. . . ."

● The rising cost of fuel stepped up the inflation rate in October. At an annual rate the cost of living climbed 9.6 percent, well ahead of the 5.5 percent guideline the government continues to attempt to ram down workers' throats.

Military staff

In keeping with the spirit of austerity proclaimed by the Nixon administration, former military officials have been appointed to head up the new "Office of Petroleum Allocation" in the Interior Department. This agency will determine who gets scarce gas and oil supplies.

"I don't give a damn for the public image. We're not here to create an image. We're to do a job—my way," declared the new chief officer, former Vice Admiral Eli Reich. Navy Captain Robert Gillette became acting executive director, Air Force Lieutenant Colonel R.D. Hensley is Reich's administrative assistant, and retired Air Force Major General James Curtin was named director of operations.



Oil companies hope to have ecological restrictions removed to clear way for more projects like the Alaska pipeline.

Could the Pentagon have an interest in oil allocation? Reich's first act in the new job was to establish top priority for the Defense Department. The armed forces are the biggest single consumer of U.S. petroleum, eating up 3.6 percent of the total.

Stock slide

The cause of the precipitous fall in stock prices is uncertainty about the future of the economy. Pundits are predicting everything from a minor recession to a major depression, with unemployment in the neighborhood of 20 percent, as a result of the energy cutbacks.

The trouble is very few people know the vital figures that would reveal the real extent of the oil shortage—and those who do know aren't speaking. The figure of 17 percent as the amount of U.S. oil that would be lost as a result of the Arab boycott is based, apparently, on the most recent figures for the amount of domestically consumed oil that is imported from the Middle East.

But this was the highest amount ever. For several decades only a minor fraction, about 3 percent, of U.S. oil was imported from Arab countries. What are the actual production capacities of U.S. refineries? What is the inventory of oil? Why not step up oil production in the U.S., even if it costs more, and pay the difference out of U.S. oil company profits?

In the midst of a crisis that affects

virtually everyone, the supposedly representative government is keeping all this information secret. President Nixon's two most recent national speeches on the energy crisis have not revealed an iota of information that was not already generally known, and more clearly stated—in oil industry advertisements.

This does not rule out the possibility that the accumulated disruptions caused by the energy shortage could end up provoking a recession—particularly since both auto production and construction had reached peaks, with construction already on the decline. But again the government is taking no steps to do anything about it.

'Equality of sacrifice'?

If recession is a concrete danger, steps to hire the unemployed for needed public works programs should be undertaken. The union bureaucrats, who are falling into step with the bosses and demanding "equality of sacrifice," should be campaigning for a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay and full union scale wages for the unemployed.

The sacrifice should be entirely transferred to the backs of the monopolists who brought about the crisis to begin with. It is a total fraud to demand that workers, who have barely kept up with the cost of living in this country throughout the last decade, take any responsibility whatsoever for the profit-gouging "energy crisis."

The fight against inflation is equally important because a recession, if it develops, is certain to be inflationary, barreled along by rising fuel prices. Thus the demands for escalator clauses in all contracts remain a crucial part of the struggle to protect the standard of living.

Unions should take the lead in struggling against the oil trusts. These trusts should be nationalized and put under workers' control. Their inability to produce oil for the benefit of people is being daily proved as the fuel shortage deepens. The demand for opening the books is one that should be raised, not only against the oil trusts but against all of the agencies of the capitalist government that are covering for them.

In the fall of the stock market itself, it is a general rule that small investors get fleeced. They sell too soon and allow the big institutional investors to buy in cheap. Based on previous experience, it is a safe bet that at the end of the stock slide more auto and oil stocks will be owned by the ruling class than at the beginning.

Oregon SWP launches '74 statewide campaign

By GEORGE KONTANIS

PORTLAND, Ore.—"They call it a democracy. But take a good look, a real close look. On the big questions that affect your life and mine, we have no say."

"For example—

"When prices went sky-high this year, did you get to vote on it?"

"When President Nixon, with the support of the Democrats, froze your wages and defrosted beef prices, were you allowed to vote yes or no?"

"When the 'energy crisis' developed, and Governor McCall asked us to stop watching TV and turn off the lights, and the *Oregonian* asked us to turn off the heat in the house on Sundays—did they let us decide whether our fuel could be used to send planes, tanks, and guns to the Middle East? Or whether the Harborton power plant would receive an operating permit to pollute Northwest Portland?"

These are the opening paragraphs of the Oregon Socialist Workers Party platform for the 1974 elections here.

The SWP has announced a slate of five candidates, and campaign activities are already well under way.

The campaign was launched at a



Militant/Flox Hermes

CAROLINE FOWLKES: Socialist candidate for labor commissioner.

socialist conference here that drew 50 people. Linda Jenness, 1972 SWP candidate for president, opened the conference Nov. 9 with a speech dealing with the Middle East and Watergate.

The following evening, the SWP candidates were announced at a banquet at Portland's Old Church. John Studer, 27, is the candidate for U.S. senator. Caroline Fowlkes, 25, is running for state labor commissioner; and John Lemon, 21, is the SWP nominee for state superintendent of public instruction. There are two candidates for Portland city council: Lisa Potash, 21, for position no. 2, and Robin Mace, 23, for position no. 3.

John Studer, speaking to campaign supporters at the banquet, drew similarities between Oregon's "fat cats"—the owners of Georgia-Pacific, Boise-Cascade, and the First National Bank—and their counterparts in Washington and the rest of the country.

Studer said that while Oregon's liberal capitalists have painted a picture of Oregon "exceptionalism" and prom-

ised Oregonians much, they have done nothing for the working people. The problems common to the rest of capitalist America—such as inflation, racism, sexism, corruption, and the "energy crisis"—are problems confronting all Oregonians, he said.

Studer pointed out that only the SWP candidates offer an alternative to the misrule of Oregon's capitalist class.

Lisa Potash outlined an ambitious program to build youth support for the SWP campaign. In response to a fund appeal by Caroline Fowlkes, \$300 was raised to help get the campaign under way.

During the first week of activity for the SWP campaign, 2,000 campaign brochures were distributed, tables were set up at three campuses, and campaign supporters attended a Watergate-Impeach Nixon rally and an Indochina Peace Campaign rally in Portland. Campaign workers also attended a Chicano student conference at Mt. Angel, and a state meeting of the Women's Political Caucus.

Los Tres disclose plans to fight gov't frame-up

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—In their first news conference since being released from prison, Los Tres del Barrio made it clear they intend to fight back against the government's attempts to frame them.

Los Tres are the three Chicano activists who were recently freed on \$50,000 bail each pending appeal of their

Los Tres del Barrio—Rodolfo Sanchez, Alberto Ortiz, and Juan Fernandez—will speak at the Los Angeles Militant Forum Friday, Dec. 14, at 8 p.m. The forum is at 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles. Telephone: (213) 463-1917.

1971 conviction for shooting a federal agent posing as a heroin dealer.

Defendants Rodolfo Sánchez and Alberto Ortiz spoke briefly to the well-attended news conference Nov. 16. They thanked their supporters and attributed their release to the pressure created on the government through support activities in the Chicano community.

Reporters asked Sánchez and Ortiz

to comment on the recent attempt to block their release by U.S. prosecutor Irving Prager on the grounds of "confidential information" that Los Tres were "conspiring to flee to Mexico" when they were bailed out.

Sánchez said, "Our history goes a long way back in this land. We are not fleeing. We are here to struggle for our people."

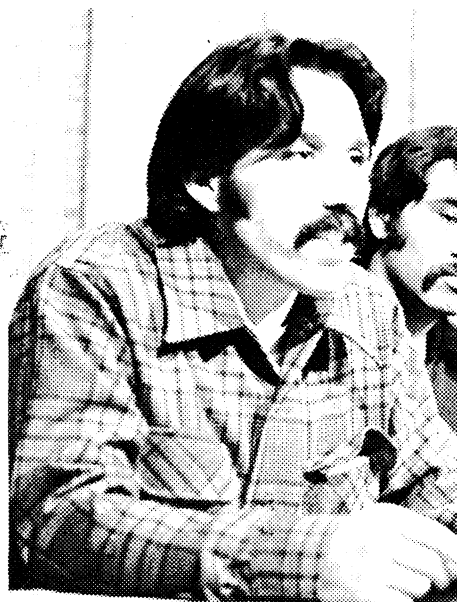
Los Tres attorney Antonio Rodriguez explained that the Ninth U.S. Circuit Court is stalling on the appeal. The court first received the defense's arguments Feb. 20, 1973, and has yet to set a date to hear the appeal.

Rodriguez explained the basis for the appeal. First, the court did not let the defense present evidence during the trial that the defendants were entrapped by the government.

Judge Lawrence Lydick refused to allow the testimony of a federal agent provocateur, Frank Martinez. Martinez would have testified that the federal agency he was paid by, the Alcohol, Firearms and Tobacco division of the Treasury Department, and the Los Angeles Police Department had full knowledge of the entrapment plan. In fact, Martinez would have testified,

the entrapment of Los Tres was part of a larger government effort to destroy the entire organization to which Los Tres belonged, La Casa de Carnalismo, which was on an antidrug campaign.

The entrapment plan, Martínez was prepared to testify, included planting heroin and supplying dynamite for



Militant/Miguel Pendas

RODOLFO SANCHEZ: 'We are here to struggle.'

bombings suggested by undercover police agents.

The prosecutor in the Los Tres trial argued that Los Tres were part of an underground guerrilla force dedicated to killing police.

Judge Lydick also refused to allow testimony in the trial that the FBI was intimidating defense witnesses and defense committee members.

Rodriguez said Lydick explained his refusal to allow this testimony by saying he admired the FBI and they wouldn't do a thing like that. Lydick, Rodriguez pointed out, was appointed to his post one month before the trial by his former law partner—Richard Nixon.

Because of all the legal improprieties by the prosecutor and the judge, as well as what the Watergate scandal has revealed about government entrapment, Rodriguez said, the defense is optimistic the convictions will be reversed.

The defense committee is organizing speaking engagements for Los Tres and is circulating petitions demanding their freedom. To help with the defense effort contact: Committee to Free Los Tres, 4400 S. Huntington Dr., Los Angeles, Calif. 90032. Telephone: (213) 223-3471.

New hearings for two indicted Attica prisoners

By BAXTER SMITH

WARSAW, N.Y.—With his eyes narrowed, and looking stern and grisly, Justice Carmen Ball presided over bail and arraignment hearings here Nov. 20 for two prisoners—Vernon LaFranque and Eric "Jomo" Thompson—named in the indictments for the revolt in nearby Attica prison in September 1971.

Looming ominously behind an eight-foot bench festooned with a bronze plaque proclaiming "In God we trust," Ball denied a request to release LaFranque on his own recognizance. Instead he set bail at \$500. LaFranque is charged with possession of prison contraband, which is the least serious of all the indictments. He has spent the last 10 of his 32 years behind bars.

Thompson appeared at the arraignment accused of slaying two prisoners who died during the revolt. Because he was imprisoned in Virginia on another charge, Thompson was not eligible for bail.

All totaled, 60 prisoners have been hit with 42 indictments. No guards, state troopers, or prison or state officials have been named by the 23-member grand jury that is allegedly investigating all crimes connected with the revolt.

Thompson and four others who were previously arraigned—Frank Smith, Roger Champen, Bernard Stroble, Herbert X Blyden—were charged under indictments 38 and 41 for the murders of prisoners Kenneth Hess and Barry Schwartz.

These five were prisoner spokesmen at the time Hess and Schwartz were ordered segregated from the rest of the prisoners for their protection. After they turned up dead, the state blamed the five spokesmen for their deaths.

Thompson is also named under indictment 39 for kidnapping. In addition, he was named under earlier indictments 5 and 15. Indictment 5 charges him and 18 others with 34 counts of kidnapping. If convicted on this alone, he will face 34 consecutive

life terms. Indictment 15 charges him and nine others with two counts of coercion and unlawful imprisonment.

Thompson was brought to New York from the Virginia prison where he was serving a 15-year sentence for robbery. He was flown here in a four-passenger single-engine plane, shackled in arm and leg irons, in violation of federal regulations. His attorney told the court of the dangerous flight.

Denying that he killed anyone, Thompson told reporters after the hearing, "The first time I ever knew that Hess was on this planet was when I read about him in the papers after the riot."

Speaking about the retaking of the prison by the "lawmen," he told how he was shot four times by guards as he was ordered to lie on his stomach. These guards, from Auburn prison, had singled him out for retaliation for his part in the prison revolt that occurred there in 1970. He still carries two slugs in his back,

one near his kidney, as a painful reminder of the guards' enmity.

Of the five indictments lodged against him he simply said, "Well, now I have five chances to prove how foolish they are."



Militant/Baxter Smith

Police escort Vernon LaFranque (white coat) and Eric Thompson from courthouse.

American Labor and Radical Politics

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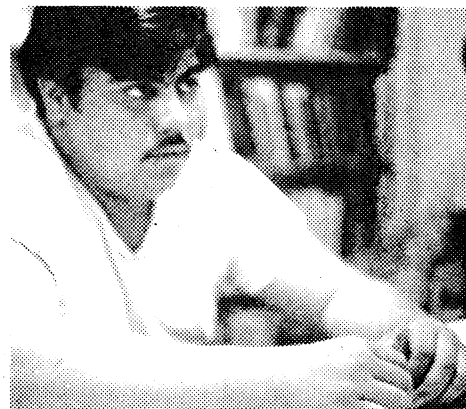
Raza Unida running for Harlingen, Tx., council

By HARRY RING

MERCEDES, Texas—This is one of a cluster of small towns that dot the Rio Grande Valley, a few miles from the Mexican border. In most of these towns Chicanos are a majority of the population. Most work in nearby fields. Some are migrant workers. Extreme poverty is widespread.

Among the young people particularly there is growing political awareness and involvement in the Chicano movement.

One of the centers for Chicano activists in the Valley is the Colegio Jacinto Treviño, which is located here.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

JUAN GARCIA: 'Raza Unida represents the barrios.'

Accredited by Antioch College, Jacinto Treviño offers college courses and high school equivalency certificates, and encourages movement activity.

Since the 1972 gubernatorial campaign of Ramsey Muñiz, an increasing number of students and faculty members at Jacinto Treviño have become involved in Raza Unida Party activity. A number of them campaigned in Brownsville for Pedro Zamarripa, the independent Chicano party's candidate for mayor.

Three of the people at Jacinto Treviño, two students and one teacher, have just filed to run in the December city commission election in Harlingen, a few miles from here. In an interview, they discussed their projected Raza Unida campaign.

All three were born and raised in Harlingen. Except for time away in the armed forces or at school, they have spent their entire lives there.

Anselmo Garza will probably be the best educated person in the race. He has a master's degree from Harvard.

Like most Chicanos in Harlingen, his family are field workers. Somehow he sweated through Harlingen's racist school system and then earned a B.A. from a local college.

Recalling elementary school, he described having tissue paper stuffed in his mouth for speaking his 'native' Spanish in class. When he persisted, a teacher taped his mouth shut and put him in a corner with a wastebasket over his head. ("I never relented," he commented.)

With above-average grades through college, he was offered a scholarship for graduate work at Harvard.

He came in contact with radical ideas at Harvard. After graduation he returned home and joined the faculty at Jacinto Treviño.

Juan Garcia, 21, attended Texas Southmost College for a period and then graduated from Texas State Technical Institute. His discipline was auto body work. "That's what they usually give Chicanos," he explained.

At school he became involved in movement activity and now, while studying at Jacinto Treviño, is a community organizer and Brown Beret leader in Harlingen. Last Sept. 16 more than 200 Berets marched from the town of McAllen to Harlingen to celebrate Mexican Independence Day.

Enrique Salazar, 27, joined the Air Force after high school and volunteered for duty in England or Spain. They sent him to Alaska.

Out of the Air Force, he tried several jobs and decided he might do better with a college education. He tried several of the Valley colleges but left each because he couldn't take the reactionary, racist views of many of the faculty.

But he did hear Ramsey Muñiz at a campus meeting, and that got him involved. Before enrolling at Jacinto Treviño he campaigned actively for Muñiz.

The campaign issues will be very concrete for the three Raza Unida candidates.

The population of Harlingen is 33,000, and unlike most Valley towns only 50 percent are Chicanos. The difference between the Anglo side of Harlingen and the Chicano side, they said, is plain and visible.

The Anglo side has nice homes, well-paved and lighted streets, a good sewer system, and such amenities as city-financed tennis courts.

The Chicano side doesn't have any tennis courts, and many of the streets are unpaved and unlighted. The sewer system is ancient. When it breaks down the neighborhood has to pitch in and get it fixed because the city won't.

Most of the teachers in the barrio schools are Anglo, and children get their hair pulled and faces slapped. They're still not permitted to speak Spanish in class.

Most of the Chicanos in Harlingen



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

ENRIQUE SALAZAR: Candidate for city commission in Harlingen.

are field workers. Being a gas station attendant in town is considered having one of the better jobs.

Why are they running for the city commission on the Raza Unida ticket?

"We're running for the simple reason that the Chicano has no representation on the city commission," says Juan Garcia. "The people realize that the ones in there now—they're all gringos plus one Mexican-American—are not going to do a damn thing for the Chicano, no matter what."

"The Raza Unida Party is the party that represents the barrios."

RUP makes progress in Brownsville, Tx., race

BROWNSVILLE, Texas—Running its first campaign in this border city, La Raza Unida Party made a modest but not insignificant showing in the Nov. 6 elections.

The Raza Unida candidate for mayor was Pedro Zamarripa, 67, a veteran of the Mexican trade-union movement. According to all reports he was a vigorous, highly articulate campaigner. And in a town that is about 75 percent Chicano, the fact that Zamarripa does not speak English was a political asset, not a liability.

Zamarripa had three running mates for city commission seats: Manuel Jasso, an agricultural worker; Fortunato Arroyo, a cab driver and veteran of World War II and Korea; and Rogelio Martinez, a college student.

The campaign was actively supported by students and faculty members from Colegio Jacinto Treviño, a Chicano movement school at nearby Mercedes.

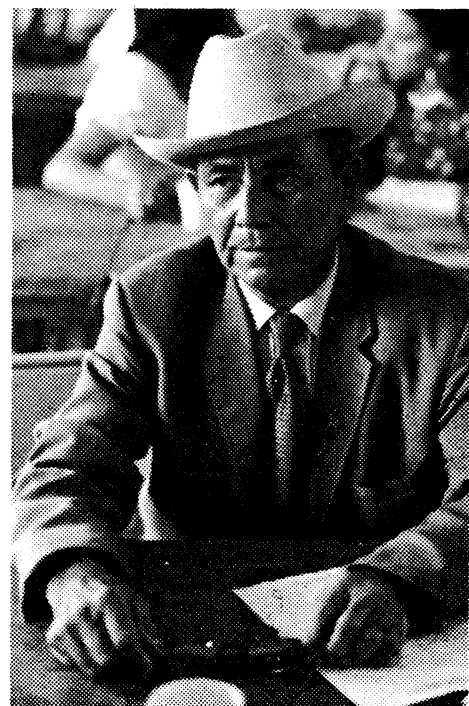
Zamarripa polled 414 votes. In a city of 60,000 where less than 7,000 went to the polls, this was more than 6 percent of the total. It was also enough to force a runoff between the two Anglo candidates, one of whom is the incumbent mayor and the other a city commissioner.

With only a 300-vote difference between them, the two Anglo candidates have both unofficially approached La Raza Unida Party for support in the runoff. But it is not likely this will be forthcoming.

Anselmo Garza, a member of the Raza Unida county committee, said he would personally recommend to the committee that it not support either and he was confident the other committee members would agree with this.

"I think," he said, "we should tell the people outright, Raza Unida is an alternative. We don't sell ourselves to either of the two parties no matter what kind of deals they may offer us."

Garza said that everyone in the Chicano community is now very much aware of the Watergate scandal and



Chicano Times

PEDRO ZAMARRIPA: Veteran of Mexican union movement.

that because of their growing realization of the corruption of the two major parties they would be positively impressed by Raza Unida taking this kind of a principled stand.

He said that even though Raza Unida had gone into the Brownsville election with small forces and meager funds, progress was made for the party.

He said the campaign had focused on health care, housing, and other key problems of the Chicano community, and he felt that young people in particular had been favorably influenced by the campaign.

A highlight of the campaign, he said, was a meeting for the candidates at Texas Southmost College, which has a mostly Chicano student body.

He said the students seemed to be pleased by the fact that Raza Unida's candidate did not speak English while the other two did not speak Spanish. Even the local racist news media, he said, conceded that Zamarripa got the best reception from the students.

Texas Chicano union wins certification fight

SAN ANTONIO, Texas—The Del Monte food canning company is to be the nation's first major corporation to negotiate with an independent Chicano union.

Chicano workers at the Del Monte plant in Crystal City voted to be represented by Los Obreros Unidos Independientes, a union organized by supporters of the Crystal City Raza Unida Party.

Obreros Unidos was certified by the National Labor Relations Board Nov. 7 as official bargaining agent. In the election there were 258 votes for the union, 73 against, and 27 votes challenged.

The plant was originally organized in the early 1960s by the Teamsters union. After a number of years of trying to get better representation from the Teamsters, the workers decided that the Anglo officials of that union were not interested in seriously defending the rights of Chicanos, and Obreros Unidos was organized.

It took several years of cutting through federal red tape to get an election and NLRB certification. The

Teamsters did not contest in the election.

Del Monte is now legally required to negotiate with Obreros Unidos. According to José Angel Gutiérrez, Crystal City Raza Unida leader who has worked closely with the Obreros Unidos leadership, the company is expected to send representatives from its San Francisco office to negotiate with the union.

Gutiérrez said the fact that they are sending in these people instead of permitting local plant officials to work out an agreement indicates that the union can expect some hard bargaining.

Work at the Del Monte plant is highly seasonal, and wages are low. Obreros Unidos will press for substantial pay increases and improved working conditions.

Peak production at the plant is reached in January. With negotiations expected to begin shortly, the union will insist that an agreement be reached before the season ends. If Del Monte tries to hold out, Gutiérrez said, it may well face a strike in January.

Los Angeles apartment fire: real criminals are the landlords

By DELLA ROSSA

LOS ANGELES—An open stairwell in a 64-year-old apartment house permitted a fire to burst through a three-story building here Nov. 15, taking the lives of 24 people. It was the worst apartment or hotel fire in the city's history.

The stairwell had been ordered enclosed in April 1972, but no work had been done on it.

"A building like the Stratford Apartments is nothing more than a furnace with a chimney," says a fire department battalion chief, Eugene Schimtz.

Fire in a similar building, the Ponet Square Hotel, took the lives of 19 people in September 1970. A city ordinance passed after that tragedy required that open stairwells be enclosed and other steps be taken to minimize fire danger. But owners were given a deadly four years to comply. Owners of only 100 buildings did so.

There are still 1,450 similar buildings in the city with open stairwells. They are waiting to catch fire—and kill—while landlords rake in high rents.

"That big pink building across the street and almost all the apartment houses in this area have open stairwells and thin-frame walls," a fireman told *The Militant*.

The Stratford fire shook the Los Angeles city council into rescinding the fire law moratorium, but landlords still have another year to complete the work. It pays to have friends at City Hall.

The people who lived at the Stratford, and the people who died there,



'A building like the Stratford Apartments is nothing more than furnace with a chimney.'

were poor people, from babies to the very old. Many were from Mexico.

Two of them were Antuna Maria Guadalupe, 28, and her companion, Manuel Núñez, 30. Both died in the fire. Antuna Maria was expecting a child. Both were "illegals" from Mexico.

Gustavo Gómez Pérez, 19, escaped from the third floor of the building after he heard "sounds like thunder."

A woman trapped in the building threw her baby to Gómez and he caught it. Then the mother jumped, landing next to Gómez and breaking her leg in the fall. Gómez and three others then held a blanket as a net

to catch others who jumped. Gómez came here from Mexico to go to high school. With Gómez was his aunt who worked as a waitress "when they needed her." Her arm had been badly burned on a hot fire escape.

Harvey Tabor, 68, taking an armful of clothes from the building, said, "I thought I was a goner. I used to be a fireman and I knew those open paint cans they had left in the building were combustible."

Both Tabor and his son, who was with him, had lost all their teeth, one of the signs of poverty.

Continued on page 22

Need for new leadership posed

N. Calif. carpenters on strike

By ROBERT WEST

SAN FRANCISCO—Carpenters on various construction sites in the Bay Area have walked off the job in protest against the failure of the employers to honor their contract.

A contract secured in 1971 stipulated a third-year hourly increase of 65 cents in wages and 25 cents in pension fund payments.

Although it had originally approved the contract, Nixon's Construction Industry Stabilization Committee (CISC), a subcommittee of the Cost of Living Council, has now declared its previous stance "inoperative."

The CISC informally suggested a 15-cent wage increase to be included in a new renegotiated agreement.

The Carpenters locals of the 46 Northern California counties refused, and they have sought by frequent and fruitless trips to Washington during the past five months to find some way out.

It is now clear that the official leadership of this largest aggregate of carpenters in the country—estimated at 30,000—is divided between those who wish to bow to the pressure, as other construction craft unions have done, and those who favor combining legal action and limited, unofficial job action.

Such action, this latter group believes, can salvage something out of what now looms as a disaster for their traditional structure based on a cozy alliance with one or another corrupt political machine and various large contractors.

This alliance is unraveling locally, as it is nationally. Large and aggres-

sive contractors are now openly challenging the unions and seeking to introduce the open shop. A changing technology is gradually undercutting and rendering obsolete the previous monopoly of trade skills.

A growing assault on the building-trades unions is favored by public suspicion that these unions, in alliance with the contractors, have been fleecing consumers who want decent housing at moderate cost.

In desperation, the Northern California Carpenter officials finally filed suit in federal district court on Oct. 25 against the CISC, demanding immediate compliance with its 1971 approval of the contract.

Up to this point, and in fact for another two weeks, few carpenters had any information about what was being done about their overdue raise. Increasingly persistent requests for information were met with official silence.

Finally, the Northern California leadership called for a series of meetings. The first one took place on Nov. 10 and broke up in an explosion of outrage and disgust by the men who attended. The present walkout followed two days after that meeting, and there is now a partial shutdown of the industry.

The strike has been described as "unofficial" and "wildcat" by leading building-trades officials, while others have kept a discreet silence. The Contractors Association went to court and got a restraining order against the strike, ordering the men back to work pending a further court hearing.

The immediate result of this was

the further spread of the strike. The Contractors Association returned to court and asked for a contempt citation. But this was turned down for the time being on the argument of the union attorney that the strike was unofficial and because of his acquiescence in the continuation of the restraining order.

Obviously hoping for a unified, disciplined, and obedient walkout on selected construction sites, the Northern California leadership has only succeeded in introducing widespread confusion and distrust. They would like their membership to believe this was all part of some grand strategy they could not divulge.

In fact, it has become quite clear that there is no strategy, save one to escape possible punitive action by the courts. They have turned over the responsibility of leadership, in toto, to the lawyers.

This became clear at the meeting of the Bay Area Carpenters District Council on Nov. 21. Delegates and rank-and-file members took the mike to demand action on the organization of the strike. Some became so exasperated at the reluctance of the officials to even discuss the strike that they proposed setting up a substitute body to take over responsibility for its direction.

This meeting, like the larger one on Nov. 10, turned into a shambles and was abruptly adjourned. Old-timers commented that nothing like this had been seen in this union for at least 30 years.

Several important lessons are com-

Continued on page 22

Ohio newspaper strikers fined

By BRUCE KIMBALL

PAINESVILLE, Ohio—Nine striking members of the Cleveland Typographical Union have been found in contempt of court for alleged violations of an injunction issued last August.

The charges range from blowing a whistle at a scab to spitting at an executive's car. The penalties total \$1,625 in fines and 60 days in jail, with 51 days suspended.

All of the defendants are employees of the Painesville *Telegraph*, owned by the Rowley newspaper chain. They, along with 35 other employees, have been on strike since July 6 for higher pay and more clearly defined working policies.

The contempt decision, handed down Nov. 15, represents one of the most serious attempts by the Rowley chain to use its influence in northeast Ohio to break the 140-day-old strike.

The strikers are determined to appeal the decision in court and continue their fight. A broad support committee to defend the Painesville strikers is being formed by Lake County labor leaders. Michael Coffey, a Lake County commissioner, has volunteered to help the legal defense, and a group of law professors at Cleveland State University has also volunteered its services.

In addition, the strikers will continue publishing their own daily newspaper, making the truth about their strike available to the public. Their paper, *Lake County Today*, has a circulation of about 5,000.

The strike against the Painesville *Telegraph* is one of the first instances of a newspaper being organized on an industrial, as opposed to a craft, basis. That is an important tactic in light of the increasing automation of newspaper production, which threatens the existence of entire branches of skilled crafts.



Cleveland Typographical News

Court ruled picketing activities violated injunction.

Puerto Rico students win victory in strike

By JOSE G. PEREZ

RIO PIEDRAS, P. R. — A four-week student strike that completely shut down Puerto Rico's public higher education system ended here Nov. 12 in what student leaders termed a "resounding victory."

The strike concluded with an assembly of 4,000 students and a triumphant march through the University of Puerto Rico campus in this suburb of San Juan.

The strike had begun on the Rio Piedras campus Oct. 15 when an assembly of several thousand students voted to strike after the Consejo de Educación Superior (CES—Council of Higher Education) refused to grant a series of student demands. These demands, centering on greater student control, had been formulated at an assembly Oct. 4.

The Juventud Independentista Universitaria and the Federación Universitaria Pro-Independencia—the two largest radical organizations on Puerto Rico's campuses—played a central role in building the strike.

The students demanded:

1) A new university law to replace the current one, which fails to provide for student participation in running the university, fails to guarantee students' democratic rights, and fails to guarantee the right of university employees and professors to unionize and strike.

2) A new set of student conduct regulations.

3) Student-faculty-employee participation in the selection of the university president, rectors, heads of departments, and other appointments.

4) Transformation of the Rio Piedras University Guard, to end its harassment of leftist and proindependence students, put it under student-faculty-employee control, and restrict it to such functions as regulating traffic.

The student actions spurred strikes by campus workers as well. At the Rio Piedras campus, the clerical workers union and the student strike coordinating committee agreed to support each other's demands and not to return to the campus until the demands of both groups had been satisfied.

From the beginning of the strike the student leaders indicated they did not insist on immediate implementation of their demands, but would accept the creation of authoritative and representative committees of students, faculty, and employees to draft the proposed

reforms.

For the first two weeks the CES refused to negotiate, while campus after campus was shut down by the rising wave of student protests. By the end of the first week, the CES and college administrations shut down all remaining institutions.

During the second week of protests the cops—particularly the Fuerza de Choque, the riot squad—made various attempts to provoke violence and thereby discredit the student strikers.

Ultrarightist elements went so far as to plant three bombs near the Rio Piedras campus. Two of these exploded, destroying a car but injuring no one.

The students refused to be provoked and made it clear that responsibility for any violence lay squarely on the cops and the rightists.

On Nov. 4, 7,000 students, workers, and teachers marched to the house of the president of the CES under the slogan, "We want to study, but we have to reform the university first."

After this demonstration the CES finally agreed to negotiate. It agreed that no reprisals or disciplinary measures would be taken and that a special commission would be established to draft a new university law and student code.

The commission will include six students, chosen by the students; 10 professors, two chosen by professors organizations and eight by the CES; and two campus union representatives.

On the question of the university guard, a committee was established of two students, two professors, and the head of the guard.

Campus workers won their wage demands and improvements in their health plan and other benefits. One of the most important of these is that workers' children will be able to attend college free of charge.

Student leaders felt that although the CES did not formally endorse the right of students to participate in university decision-making, it had made concessions toward this right by negotiating with the students and by establishing authoritative commissions with substantial student representation.

Student leaders also said that this victory is only the first battle in a long campaign. The Nov. 12 student assembly authorized a strike vote at a later date if the CES tries to stall or reverse the university reform process.

1,000 at conference hit racism in schools

By SAM MANUEL

NEW YORK — One thousand people, a third of them Blacks, attended a National Conference on Racism and the University held Nov. 17-18 at New York University.

The large attendance was testimony to growing opposition to the racism of U.S. society and widespread interest in taking action against racist practices.

The conference was initiated by the Committee Against Racism at the University of Connecticut in Storrs, which had sponsored a large ad in the Oct. 28 *New York Times* against academic racism. The ad, signed by several hundred professors from around the country, condemned the use of aptitude, achievement, and IQ tests as "proof" of the inferiority of Blacks and other oppressed national minorities.

Most of those at the conference were professors and other instructors from

hiring and admissions, but the resolution presented by the conference steering committee to the Nov. 18 plenary session called only for "affirmative action" by universities.

The steering committee also declined to present a resolution supporting the struggle of Puerto Ricans, Blacks, and Chinese in Manhattan's School District 1 for control over their schools. Although the resolution was passed by the student workshop and the "Racism and Public Education" workshop, the steering committee said it was "too controversial."

At the plenary, however, Claudio Tavarez, a member of the Coalition for Education in District 1, took the floor and won support for his right to read the resolution.

The resolution passed to thunderous applause. Only a few persons from the Progressive Labor Party and Students for a Democratic Society opposed it.

Resolutions condemning the racist anti-Arab sentiments whipped up by the U.S. government and the disruption of campus meetings on the Midwest by the right-wing Jewish Defense League never made it to the floor of the plenary.

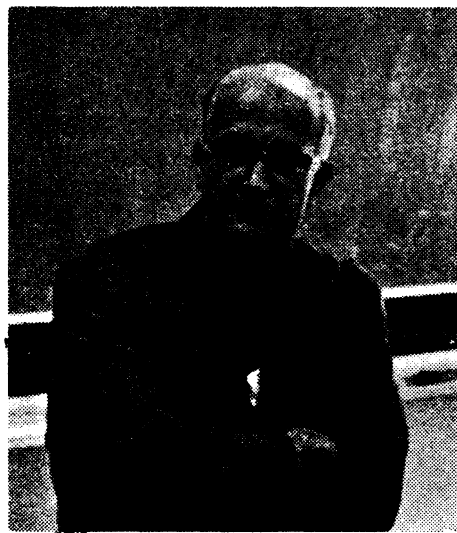
The main resolution adopted by the plenary called for forming a national organization to fight racism, based on Committee Against Racism campus chapters.

Conference organizers said the new national group would publish a newsletter and try to get antiracist material into the daily press and popular magazines.

They said they hoped to build a "grass roots" movement that would engage in action as well as educational work. Specifically, a "national lobbying rally" in Washington, D.C., was suggested, but no date was set.

The resolution initially called for a rollback of tuition to permit higher education for all. This was amended to a position favoring tuition-free higher education and open admissions for all.

Finally, the resolution called for trying to involve teachers unions in the fight against racism in education.



SHOCKLEY: Peddles racist theories

more than 30 colleges. Students and some community activists also participated.

Some members of political groups, including the Young Socialist Alliance, Young Workers Liberation League, and the Progressive Labor Party and its Students for a Democratic Society, took part.

Many at the conference wore buttons that read, "Stop Shockley." William Shockley of Stanford University is one of several professors to proclaim that Blacks and other oppressed minorities are inherently inferior to whites. Countering these racist theories was the major topic of the conference.

Some participants thought racists like Shockley should be prevented from speaking on campuses; others favored different tactics.

The conference did not arrive at a consensus on this question and left it up to the local groups to determine how best to expose and discredit the ideas of racist speakers.

The 16 workshops also took up other aspects of racism in education. These included the effect of the rising cost of education and cutbacks in financial aid on Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican students. Many minority students have been driven out of college by this economic squeeze.

Students from Antioch College in Ohio and Goddard College in Vermont described the drastic effects of cutbacks at their schools and appealed for solidarity with their struggles against them.

A workshop on "Admissions and Hiring" discussed the need for preferential treatment of racial minorities and women to help make up for long years of discrimination. The majority at the workshop favored preferential



Black school children. Conference hit 'proofs' of their inferiority based on white-biased tests.



Militant/Jose G. Perez

Militant student strike finally made administration see the writing on the wall. Rio Piedras mural lists student demands.

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Calendar

CHICAGO

Bread and Roses Theater Group will present Bertolt Brecht's play *MOTHER*. Discussion to follow. Fri., Dec. 7, 8 p.m. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

HOUSTON

WHAT WATERGATE MEANS FOR BLACK AMERICA. Speaker: Norman Oliver, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Dec. 7, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

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LOS ANGELES

PROSPECTS FOR NIXON'S IMPEACHMENT. Film of Nixon's 1952 Checkers speech. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Dec. 7, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 463-1966.

NEW YORK CITY

WAR AND REVOLUTION IN THE ARAB EAST. Speaker: Gus Horowitz, national committee member of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Dec. 7, 8 p.m. 100 Washington Square East, NYU Main Building, Seventh Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

PHILADELPHIA

DISSIDENTS IN THE SOVIET UNION. Speaker: Marilyn Vogt, contributor to *Intercontinental Press*. Fri., Dec. 7, 8 p.m. Houston Hall, U of P. 2417 Spruce St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA-5-4316.

...Farah

Continued from page 3

• A company clinic. Its main function is to keep the workers on the job. Someone says they want to go home because they're sick, they're sent to the clinic, given a pill, and returned to the line.

• Pension plan. A company brochure proclaims, "A total monthly retirement income of \$234.50." It neglects to mention this includes an estimated \$214.50 in Social Security and a fast \$20 from big-hearted Willie Farah.

But the main concern of the workers, Sanchez reiterated, was that they had no security. People didn't know from one day to the next if they had a job. Many were fired without just cause.

He said he has a notarized statement from a young woman who is

not even one of those who joined the union and struck. In that statement she said she had been propositioned by an Anglo foreman. She refused and shortly afterward was fired.

Sanchez says the workers have told him this was not uncommon.

What it all comes down to, he said, is "justice. The people want justice."

This was emphasized in talking to picketers who patrol the gates of the long, modern, one-story building that covers half a mile on the outskirts of the city.

Maria Elena Bañales worked for Farah 13 years. When she joined the strike she was making \$2.30 an hour as a utility cutter. She hadn't gotten a raise for two years, although less experienced workers in her department were getting more than she was.

For her the union means, "Security. More wages. Equal wages."

Is that why she joined up?

"No," she replied. "Because of my husband."

Her husband worked nine years for Farah as a "bundle boy." The "boys" are men who do men-sized jobs keeping the cutters and assembly lines supplied with bolts of cloth and slacks in production.

Her husband, she said, developed back trouble. He wanted to see a specialist and it was the busy season. He asked for time off to go to the doctor and was refused.

He took an afternoon off to go. When he returned the next day, he was told he no longer had a job.

Another Chicana picketer told her story. She worked there eight years and was making \$2.35 an hour when she joined the walkout. ("I just got a dime raise that day," she said.)

Her husband was a Farah worker too. He was a maintenance carpenter and made \$3 an hour. Neither of them, she said, was personally treated badly.

But there was no opportunity at Farah, she said. "People work 15, 20 years as 'bundle boys.' That's all they could be. Only Anglos became supervisors."

You would see people get fired, she said, "and you would ask, 'What chance do I have?'"

And even the phony pension wasn't a possibility, she said. People get older and they just push them out.

"There was this lady," she recalled. "She was sick. They'd push her, keep

after her. She finally quit. I heard she was fired. But they say she quit. You really don't know."

Farah unionists receive \$30 a week strike benefits from the union and maybe some food stamps. It must be hard, I commented, to stick it out so long on so little.

Maria Elena Bañales replied simply, "We've struggled a long time. We'll struggle until we win."

...strike

Continued from page 19

ing out of the present crisis. The first is the realization that behind the contractors stands the government, ready to determine the conditions under which construction workers will work.

The second is that the old separate and distinct craft union organizations, each making its own separate agreement, have long outlived their day. In fact, they are now becoming the very instruments by which the construction workers can be divided and beaten. In their place must come a unified organization that can unite the strength of all construction workers for a common defense.

Finally, this present experience reveals the total failure and impotence of the old leadership and policy, which subordinated the legitimate rights of the construction workers to a series of political alliances with one or another party of the capitalist class.

The appointment of Peter Brennan, a Painters union official, to the post of secretary of labor in the Nixon administration, is the obscene result of this policy.

A new generation of construction workers, many of whom are graduates of the youth movement of the '60s, is taking the stage. The present officials would be well advised to get out of the way, take their pensions, and retire.

...L.A. fire

Continued from page 19

Joan Saverance, 48, an office clerk on welfare, had paid \$60 a month for a room in the Stratford. Other units rented for \$80 and \$100.

"I got my purse, that's the main thing," Saverance said. She sat with

a worn canvas bag on her lap, possibly her only remaining possession.

Francis Thibodeau, a building maintenance worker, held onto a little boy. His wife is hospitalized with an arm injury.

"I got my family out," Thibodeau said. "I knew the building had been condemned, but I thought the problems must have been taken care of for them to go on renting. I wonder if somebody was getting a payoff." (If the Watergate scandal is any indication, there certainly were payoffs by landlords to city officials.)

By Nov. 18 the *Los Angeles Times* was editorializing, "The Los Angeles City council must bear a heavy share of the responsibility for the death-dealing fire that swept through the open stairwells of the Stratford Apartment."

At the same time, the *Times* and other media were deflecting attention away from the real criminals—the irresponsible slumlords—by playing up the arrest of an 18-year-old youth who had a record of arson in his hometown.

The arrest echoes the conviction and imprisonment of a man charged with arson after the Ponet Square fire.

The real criminals are the owners of buildings who get rich renting deathtraps to the poor and the Democratic and Republican politicians who look after the slumlords' interests at city hall.

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Black women & the fight for liberation

By MAXINE WILLIAMS

Black women, in greater and greater numbers, are becoming convinced that the ideas being raised by the women's liberation movement are relevant. At the same time, many sisters are unsure about the relation between the fight for women's liberation and the fight for the liberation of Black people.

In an article in the July *Ebony*, for example, Almena Lomax writes that although she agrees that women "should have equal pay for the same job, equal access to any job they are qualified for, and legal abortions," she still thinks the women's liberation movement and the Black movement are basically in conflict.

She writes, "I have seen Women's Lib as one more distraction from what remains the principal piece of unfinished business of this nation—getting right with us."

Is the struggle of Black women for our liberation as women a distraction from the struggle for the liberation of all our people?

Nothing could be further from the truth.

Because we are both Black and female, Black women are oppressed in various ways. We are denied sufficient child-care centers for our children. We are channeled into racist-sexist tracking systems in schools. We are sexually exploited while working as maids in white households, and we are subject to being raped on the streets.

We are on the bottom of the economic heap. The March 9, 1973, *Wall Street Journal* stated that in 1969 a Black woman with a high school education earned \$4,565. White men with the same education earned \$9,187; white women earned \$5,106; and Black men earned \$7,041.

The issues raised by the women's liberation movement, such as the struggle for child-care centers, the fight for equal pay, for equal education, for paid maternity leaves, and the fight against forced sterilization and for legal abortion, are issues of vital concern to Black women. They are



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'As Black women become more confident that we are equal to men, we will be better able to participate effectively in the struggle against racist oppression.'

also issues of concern to all Black people. Nothing could be more foolish than to counterpose the fight for these goals to the struggle for Black liberation.

We heard similar arguments in relation to the movement against the Vietnam war. A false dichotomy was created by some Black leaders between what was referred to as the "white antiwar movement" and struggling against the conditions of Black people at home.

Despite the fact that Black men were dying by the thousands in Vietnam, the antiwar movement was seen by some Black leaders as dividing the energies of the Black community. Some Black spokespeople expressed the sentiment that U.S. imperialism's role in Indochina was unrelated to the oppression of Black people in the United States.

However, the struggle for Black liberation cannot be divorced or isolated from the worldwide struggle against oppression and exploitation. To say that our participation in the antiwar movement was a "distraction" is saying that the struggle of the Vietnamese was not relevant to Black liberation.

Quite the opposite is true. The struggle of the Vietnamese, and the movement to end U.S. aggression in Vietnam, were more relevant to Blacks and other oppressed nationalities than to anyone else in this country.

Black women and our Chicana and Puerto Rican sisters have the most to gain from the women's liberation struggle. We suffer most from the lack of child care and discrimination against women on the job.

Our oppression as women is just

as real to us as the oppression we suffer because we are Black. Those brothers and sisters who argue that women's liberation is irrelevant, or a distraction, are saying in effect that they are not interested in ending a form of oppression that deeply affects one-half of the Black population.

Those who counterpose the struggle for women's liberation to the Black struggle are also forgetting something else. And this is the fact that as Black women become more confident that we are equal to men in our abilities, we will be better able to participate effectively in the struggle against racist oppression.

Black men as well as women have been conditioned by this capitalist society, which portrays women as sex objects, scatterbrained, and mentally inferior to men. As more Black women begin to fight against these reactionary concepts, not only will Black women begin to feel more like full human beings, but we will also be able to play more of a role in the Black struggle.

Throughout history, Black women have played an important role in the fight to liberate Black people. Rosa Parks, the sister who sparked the Montgomery boycott of the 1950s, was tossed off the bus because she refused to give her seat to a white man. Sojourner Truth played a leading role in both the abolition and women's movements. Harriet Tubman brought about the escape from slavery of at least 300 Black men, women, and children, and she is the only woman in American history who ever planned and led a military campaign.

We should ask ourselves, would Harriet Tubman have been able to

do this if she had accepted the premise that her role as a woman was merely to cook, housekeep, and have babies?

The Black movement needs more Harriet Tubmans, more Rosa Parkses, more Sojourner Truths. Telling Black women that our role is secondary is hindering the struggle for Black liberation. It is like suggesting Black people conduct our struggle with one hand tied behind our back.

In 1964, after Malcolm X had traveled through Africa and the Arab nations, he pointed out something that is just as relevant today. He said:

"One thing that I became aware of in my traveling recently through Africa and the Middle East, in every country you go to, usually the degree of progress can never be separated from the woman. If you're in a country that's progressive, the woman is progressive."

But in every backward country, he said, you'll find the women are backward. One of the things he became thoroughly convinced of in his travels is the importance of "giving freedom to the woman."

"And I frankly am proud of the contributions that our women have made in the struggle for freedom and I'm one person who's for giving them all the leeway possible because they've made a greater contribution than many of us men."

Black feminists are not dividing the Black movement or struggling apart from it. We are organizing as part of the Black community to wage an uncompromising fight against a racist, sexist system that denies our rights as women and as Black people. Our struggle is a crucial part of the overall struggle for Black liberation.



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Maxine Williams was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Brooklyn borough president in this year's elections.