

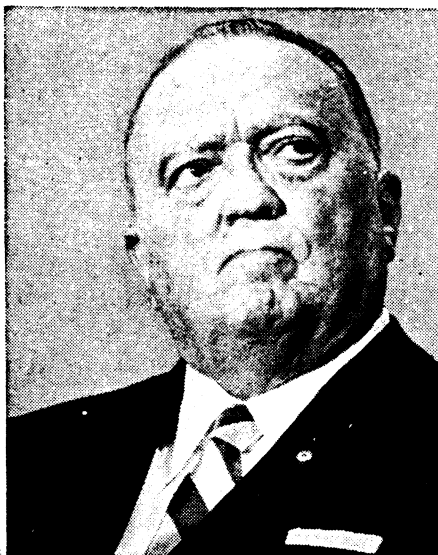
# THE MILITANT

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

Target: Blacks, socialists

## Secret memos expose FBI plot

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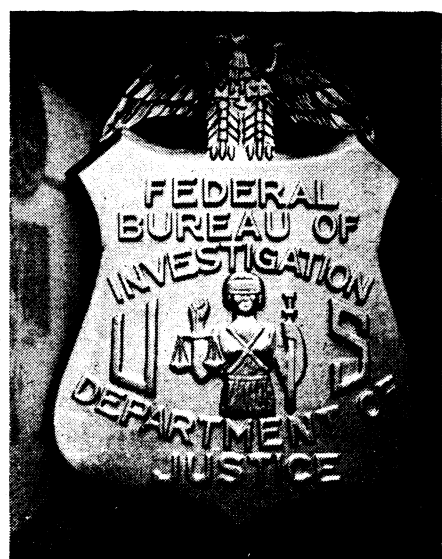


**A Militant exclusive:  
text of Hoover orders**

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Fred Hampton killing?**

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in San Diego frame-up**

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## THE MILITANT

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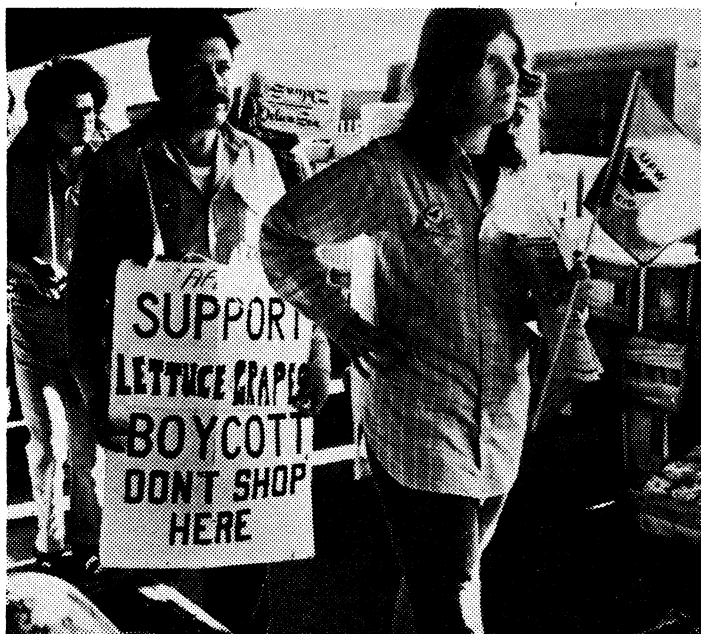
**NEW VICTORIES FOR MICHIGAN UFW SUPPORTERS:** Farm workers and supporters won fresh victories when the largest buyers of non-UFW lettuce and grapes in the Detroit area, the 84 Farmer Jack supermarkets, agreed to UFW demands to stop selling the scab produce.

Another victory was registered when a circuit court judge dismissed charges against 81 boycott picketers arrested last week for violating an injunction that was later struck down. Prior to their hearing Dec. 5, 250 people held a protest rally outside the courthouse.

**CHICAGO STUDENTS OUST SCAB LETTUCE:** Students at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle campus have won the removal of all non-UFW lettuce from school cafeterias.

The school administration acceded to this demand after the campus UFW support committee organized a campaign of petitioning and speaking before classes, and held meetings and a rally last month. The director of the Chicago Circle Center, however, complained to the chancellor that the decision had been "pressured" by militant students, and urged the chancellor not to approve it.

Boycott activists responded with a delegation to the administration demanding implementation of the earlier decision. The scab lettuce was removed the next day.



**D.C. BOYCOTTERS PICKET SAFEWAY:** The largest-volume Safeway store in the Washington, D.C., area was picketed last week by 100 farm workers and supporters for continuing to carry scab lettuce and grapes.

All potential shoppers, including those who drove into the parking lot, were leafleted. Many walked away; others, in cars, immediately headed for the nearest exits. When people turned away, picketers burst out with loud cheers. The store's business was significantly decreased.

The picket, which was the largest and most successful in D.C. in recent months, was joined by hospital workers from George Washington University Hospital, members of the Washington Teachers Union, American Federation of Government Employees Local 41, and Cooks Local 209.

The picket line was also joined by a group of sightseeing high school students from New Orleans and several participants in a Georgetown University impeachment conference.

## Holiday schedule

The last issue of *The Militant* before our holiday break will be dated Dec. 28. We will resume our regular weekly schedule with the issue of Jan. 11, 1974.

If you subscribe to *The Militant* and plan to move soon, don't forget that the post office does not forward newspapers. Send your old address label and your new address to *The Militant* business office at least two weeks before you move to ensure that you will not miss any issues.

**ST. LOUIS ABORTION RIGHTS:** Thirty-five people picketed St. Louis Mayor Poelker's office Dec. 4 demanding that he lift a ban on abortions in city hospitals and implement Supreme Court rulings. A Supreme Court decision Nov. 19 struck down Missouri anti-abortion statutes as unconstitutional.

The picket was sponsored by the National Organization for Women and the Women's Abortion Action Committee.

**SUPREME COURT I:** In a blow to civil liberties, the Supreme Court refused Dec. 3 to overturn a ruling that judges in Massachusetts need not allow Black defendants the right to question potential jurors about racial prejudice.

Justice Thurgood Marshall, William Douglas, and William Brennan dissented from the court's ruling, which differed from a similar case in South Carolina in which it ruled in favor of Black defendants.

**SUPREME COURT II:** In another recent decision, the high court voted not to review a lower court's decision that requires male Indian students at an Oklahoma junior high school to clip their tribal braids.

Justices William Douglas and Thurgood Marshall dissented from the lower court's opinion, calling it "a coercive assimilation policy, denigrating and seeking to abolish cultural differences," and causing Indian students to regard the school "as an alien institution."

## Help us publish

*The final report on The Militant's Forty-fifth Anniversary Fund will appear in our next issue. There is still time to make a contribution—any amount will be appreciated and put to good use in our battle against rising costs. Readers who have made a pledge should rush their payment to us now.*

*Make checks payable to The Militant Forty-fifth Anniversary Fund. Send to 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.*

**YOUNG SOCIALIST SALES TOP GOAL:** Supporters of the *Young Socialist*, the monthly revolutionary socialist youth newspaper, have successfully completed a fall sales drive to achieve monthly sales of 10,000 copies. Sales reached 10,616 for the November issue.

The South Boston Young Socialist Alliance set the pace by selling 541 papers—135 percent of their local goal of 400. The highest total number of YSs were sold by the Upper West Side and Lower Manhattan New York YSA locals, reaching totals of 803 and 740 respectively.

In all, 20 YSA locals and other areas with YS supporters that accepted sales goals met or surpassed them last month. These high November figures bring the fall *Young Socialist* sales average to 9,100 per month—an increase of more than 2,000 since spring.

**INDIVIDUAL PRIVACY AND GOVERNMENT SNOOPERS:** In a classic fox-guarding-the-chicken-coop case, Tom Charles Huston recently ended a one-year term with the Census Bureau's committee on privacy and confidentiality. Huston, the mastermind of the 1970 White House spy plan, is a defendant in the Socialist Workers Party suit against illegal government harassment and surveillance.

—BAXTER SMITH

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**MINERS STRIKE:** *The Militant* backs the coal miners of Harlan County, Ky., in their battle with Duke Power Company. For weekly coverage of the struggles of the exploited and oppressed, subscribe now.

## Introductory offer-\$1/3months

- ( ) \$1 for three months of *The Militant*.
- ( ) \$2 for three months of *The Militant* and three months of the *International Socialist Review*.
- ( ) \$5 for one year of *The Militant*
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# Militant truckers tie up traffic to protest Nixon's energy policies

By BAXTER SMITH

They sit there with glazed eyes from lack of sleep, drinking their coffee and talking — angrily.

Some recount stories of rough cop treatment they received in Ohio or Pennsylvania. Others complain of the lowered speed limit, restrictions on fuel,

said Jerry Muhanet, a protesting Ohio trucker, before he was handcuffed and whisked away by state police. "But now we can understand why those kids got killed. Hell, most of the guys here have fought wars to keep this country free, but I guess the kids have taught us if you don't like the way

me."

Word of the truckers' protest quickly reached the White House. A handful of representatives of the owner-operators were chosen to meet with Transportation Secretary Claude Brinegar.

They demanded a maximum price of 35.9 cents per gallon for diesel fuel, a uniform nationwide speed limit of 65 mph on interstate highways, an end to police harassment of truckers, standardization and simplification of licensing and taxing laws, and a top-priority allocation of diesel fuel to truckers.

These independent truckers generally own—or more likely are still trying to pay for—their cabs. They contract the cab and their labor to a trucking company to carry trailers of freight long distances.

Militant reporters spoke with drivers at a New Jersey truck stop recently. Some are paid by the mile, they said, and at the lower speed limit it takes longer to cover the same mileage.

Pump operators have imposed a fuel maximum—often 20 or 30 gallons—and it is quickly guzzled by the thirsty diesels. One trucker accurately placed the blame on the oil trusts when he said, "Well, it's the petroleum companies. They want something—higher prices, off-shore drills—that's why there's a shortage."

Another trucker, David Hunt, told a New York *Daily News* reporter just what's involved. He bought his cab in January 1972 for \$30,000. To get the \$5,000 down payment he had to give up a small farm he had been holding. The payments on the cab come to \$590 a month for four years. Added to that are the costs of the licenses and tax stamps required by states—about \$4,000 a year.

His maintenance—10 tires periodically at \$150 each, \$60 every 15,000 miles for oil, \$300 last month when bad fuel fouled his injectors—is high. But the biggest single item is fuel. His Peterbilt has 170-gallon fuel tanks, but it wolfs down one gallon every five miles.



State police confront protesting truckers in Ohio

or the pump operator in Salem, Ill., who is asking \$1.05 per gallon.

Outside are their big chrome-horn-and-lamp-embellished 18-wheeled semis, packed with freight, but with half—and less than half—full fuel tanks.

The angry mood was the same at scores of truck stops along the Eastern interstate highways last week as thousands of independent owner-operator truck drivers held massive stall-ins—up to 1,000 trucks at one place—and snarled traffic in at least 10 states.

The drivers were protesting the fuel shortage and price increases that are steamrolling over their earnings. They are the first group to take action against the government and oil monopolies' attempts to make working people pay for the artificially produced energy crisis.

The tie-up was enormous, providing a glimpse of the power of the labor movement if it were mobilized against such attacks. Reports told of traffic in some areas backed up 10 to 15 miles. Near-panic hit some industries as they saw the possibility of losing vital shipments of supplies.

By Dec. 5 the governors of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware ordered tough measures to deal with the truckers. National guardsmen towed idled trucks in Ohio, and battle-armed highway patrolmen confronted angry drivers in Pennsylvania.

"I'd flip this rig across four lanes of highway if I thought it would benefit the trucking industry," said Edward Clay of Catlettsburg, Ky. He pointed to the picture of his wife and two children on the dashboard of his cab and said, "I want to get involved in these protests because, damn, that's my family, and this is my livelihood and theirs."

News accounts told of the changing attitudes of many of these truckers. "Most of the truck drivers objected to Kent State and the violence there,"

the country is running, you protest." Other arrests were reported as cops bashed in cab windshields.

One driver remarked, "Now I know why they call them pigs. I fought 18 months in Vietnam. For what? To get harassed? To get a little justice."

One Los Angeles trucker reflected the militancy of the day: "I'm driving until I see other truckers blocking the road, then I'll turn off my engine and sit in my cab with my .357 magnum pistol and let the government move

## Fitzsimmons' scab role

Teamsters chief Frank Fitzsimmons has found a new scab role for himself. A few weeks ago he tore up an agreement to stop Teamster scabbing on the United Farm Workers.

Now he has become a vociferous opponent of the protest actions of angry truck drivers. Exercise "patience and discipline," he entreats.

Fitzsimmons met with Nixon for 50 minutes Dec. 8 and emerged confident that the president would give "due consideration" to truckers' problems. As against the 55 mph speed limit Nixon favors, he said he "very forcefully" proposed 60 mph. The truckers demand 65.

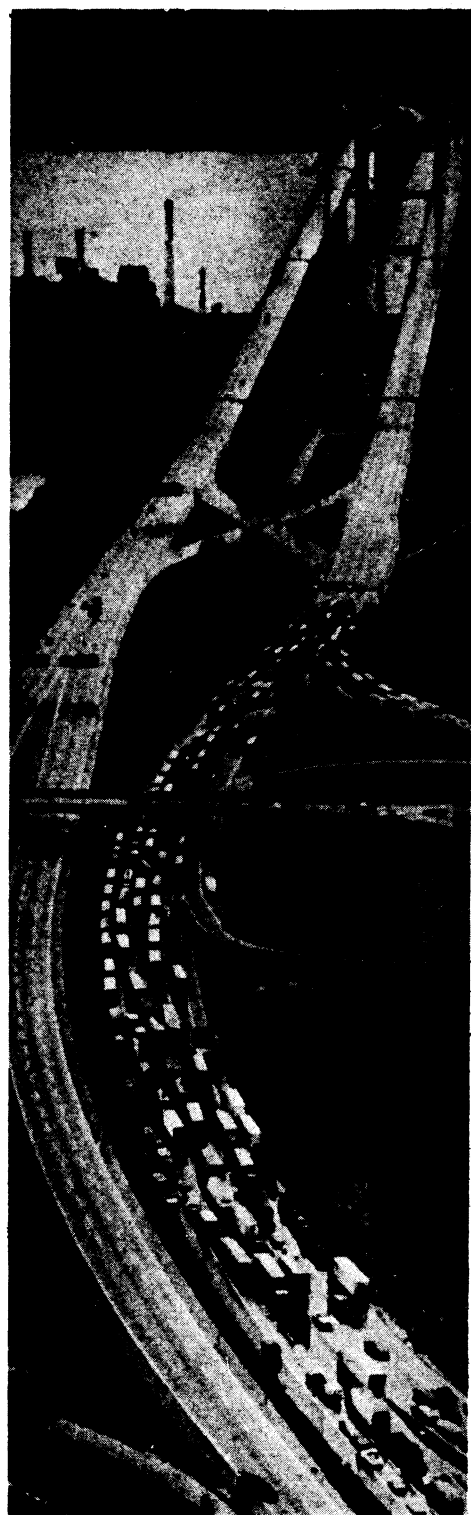
Ever-sensitive to the bosses' needs, Fitzsimmons said, "the nation and its economy are vitally dependent upon an efficiently operated trucking industry." Therefore, "I do not condone blockages or nationwide strikes."

Those delighted with Fitzsimmons include *Business Week* magazine, which declared, "Fitzsimmons . . . does not want to reopen trucking contracts on the energy issue and embarrass the Nixon administration."

"He has assured the industry that the IBT will cooperate as far as possible with the government. But with rank-and-file pressures building within the union, there is a serious question of how long that can be done."



NIXON & FITZSIMMONS: Seeing eye to eye, as usual.



Snarled traffic at the entrance to the Delaware Memorial Bridge Dec. 5.

"When I first bought this tractor, my monthly fuel bills were running in the area of \$600 to \$700," said Hunt. "I just paid my November bill, and it was just a few dollars under \$1,200, for just about the same amount of gas I use every month." He figures his net earnings will be "a good bit under \$10,000" this year. His plight, he feels, is common.

The Interstate Commerce Commission controls the contracts between truckers and the companies. After the Washington meetings, the ICC said it will revise its procedures to permit the truckers to pass along to the companies the increased costs due to higher fuel prices. The truckers have not been paid higher rates to compensate for increased fuel costs.

In addition, the Internal Revenue Service said it would check into price-gouging. But this was not seen as enough by some of the truckers. They called a nationwide trucking shutdown Dec. 13-14.

*Overdrive* magazine of Los Angeles, which speaks for many of the owner-operators, is spearheading the shutdown. A representative told *The Militant*, "It's more about the fuel shortage and the problems in getting the fuel than the rates. There should be a national change. And there hasn't been any evidence yet that the truckers are going to be able to get the fuel they need."



## Layoffs, shortages, and price hikes

# Anger rises as energy crisis deepens

By DICK ROBERTS

The energy crisis deepened this week and so did the anger of most Americans against it. In Bay Ridge, on Long Island, one man told a reporter, "I feel like turning on all the lights and leaving them on, pushing the thermostat up to full blast, and driving across country."

This expression of defiance is part of an anger increasingly directed at the right target—the oil corporations, whose quest for profits has resulted in the current fuel shortage.

Gasoline station owners remained the hardest hit by the shortages. More than 10,000 of the country's 218,000 service stations have been permanently closed so far. Mack Victor, executive director of the New York State Association of Service Stations, declared, "The way allocations are being handled by the large companies is an obvious attempt to discriminate against independent stations."

"Many people now blame the Arabs," Victor said. "But the fact is that allocation cutbacks by the big companies began long before the Middle East war."

"It's the petroleum companies. They want higher prices," said a Philadelphia trucker. Highways were tied up and a nationwide trucking halt was scheduled for Dec. 13-14.

Other elements in the energy squeeze were:

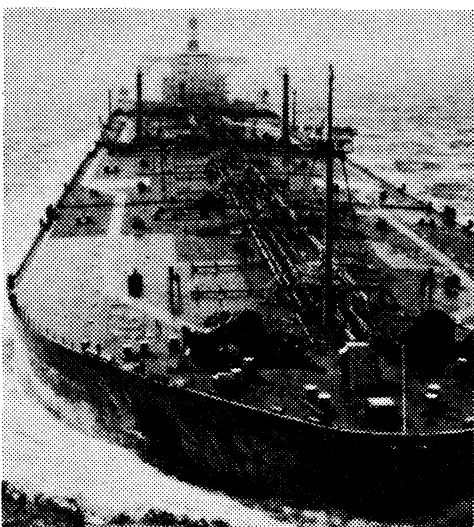
- The posting of historic increases for fuel and other prices in November. "The wholesale price index was 17.5 per cent above a year earlier, an unheard of rate of inflation for peacetime in the modern era," reported the Dec. 7 *New York Times*.

- "Today's index showed an almost unbelievable increase of 34.7 per cent in prices of refined petroleum products in a single month," said the *Times*. But it's not unbelievable to any driver or gas-station operator.

- "The salient feature of the November index," said the *Times*, "remained: Prices in the broad range of industrial commodities rose by 3.2 per cent, seasonally adjusted, the largest for a

month in the 25 years that records have been kept."

- To make matters worse, the Cost of Living Council allowed a whole series of price increases to American Motors, Ford and GM. Small cars, whose sales have been climbing because of the fuel shortage, got most



Direct effects of Arab oil boycott are yet to be felt in U.S. Oil brought by the last tankers to leave the Mideast before the embargo is still reaching the market.

of the price increases, according to the Dec. 11 *New York Times*.

- The cut into jobs caused by the fuel shortage is beginning to be felt. "Thousands of service station employees have been thrown out of jobs," reported the Dec. 10 *Washington Post*. There have also been layoffs in the auto industry and airlines.

The national unemployment rate jumped to 4.7 percent in November, "signaling the beginning of sharply higher joblessness as the result of the fuel shortage," the Associated Press said Dec. 7. It reported an increase of 200,000 people out of work.

With increasing layoffs caused by fuel shortages, there is speculation that the energy crisis could touch off a recession. The Nixon administration, largely on the defensive, has attempted to cool these fears.

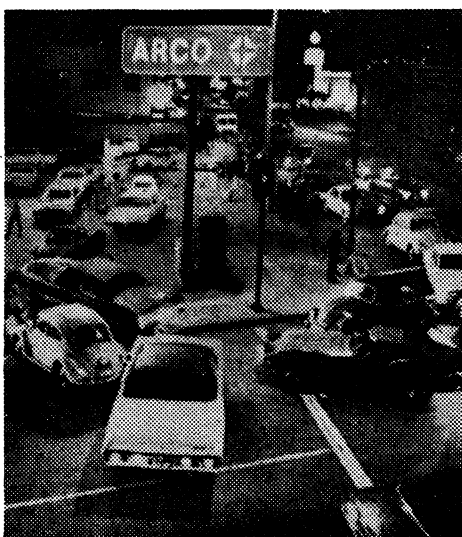
The president's top economist, Herbert Stein, told *Washington Post* reporter Hobart Rowen Nov. 30 that "the energy crisis will not cost the economy in 1974 more than 2 per cent in its normal growth and that unemployment will not exceed 6 per cent any time during the year." Only 6 percent! Six percent unemployment means 5.4 million out of work, even by the government's figures.

But at the same time oil industry executives are claiming that the energy crisis will go on for a long time. John Swearingen, chairman of Standard Oil of Indiana, claimed in Chicago that "1974 will be worse than 1973, and 1975 will be worse than 1974."

American Petroleum Institute President Frank Ikard said in Los Angeles Dec. 4 that the oil shortage would last "as long as most of us live."

To determine the possible recessionary effects of the energy crisis on the economy it would be necessary to know facts kept secret by the oil companies and the government: the actual reserves and inventories of oil available in this country, the real refining capacity, and the actual costs of oil production and refining.

Moreover the length and depth of the Arab oil boycott is unpredictable. Once it begins to directly affect the East Coast later this month, it will



Lining up for gas



Seven Pillars of Wisdom?

last roughly 90 days beyond the eventual termination of the boycott, according to figures that have been released. This is because it takes 30 days each way for the oil tankers to go to the Middle East and come back, and another 30 days to market refined oil after the Middle East crude has arrived.

But it is already certain that hundreds of thousands of jobs will be lost because of the fuel shortage, besides the problems of heating, driving, and inflation that are already being suffered.

According to the Dec. 5 *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, "An unemployment rate of 15% or higher for heavy industrial areas such as Cleveland, Akron, Detroit and Pittsburgh is foreseen as the result of an expected recession caused by the fuel shortages." The prediction came from a Bowling Green State University economist.

Even if the rate is considerably less, there is no reason why any workers should lose their jobs because of the profit-gouging policies of the oil trusts. The fight for a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay should become part of the struggle of working people against the energy squeeze and its many ramifications.

## Chicago--energy crisis and the airlines

By TERRY QUILICO

CHICAGO—Airlines, in a rush to increase their profits by exploiting the energy crisis, have announced cutbacks in flight services along with plans to lay off large numbers of workers. They cite the Nixon administration's decision to limit 1974 jet fuel consumption to 85 percent of the 1972 level. Among announced layoffs are:

- United Airlines. Effective Jan. 7, 350 pilots and 650 cabin attendants will be furloughed.

- Eastern Airlines. On Dec. 9, a spokesman for the International Association of Machinists (IAM) revealed after a closed-door meeting with an Eastern vice-president that the airline will lay off 5,000 employees by the end of the year.

- American Airlines. On Jan. 2, 214 pilots will be furloughed.

- Frontier Airlines. At least 150 workers will soon be laid off.

Ozark, North Central, Northwest, and Pan American have also an-

nounced schedule reductions or are studying layoffs and aircraft groundings.

Chicago has been particularly hard-hit by the announcement of four major airlines—United, TWA, Eastern, and Ozark—that they will curtail all service at Chicago's Midway airport on the city's southwest side.

The pullout is expected to sound the death knell for the airport, since United alone accounts for more than 50 percent of Midway's flights and hundreds of workers will be out of jobs as a result.

The airlines have long desired to pull out of the less profitable Midway in favor of Chicago's huge O'Hare Field. They were quick to seize on the fuel crisis as an excuse for leaving. In addition to airline workers at Midway, workers in area car rental agencies, motels, and restaurants will also be affected.

The airlines have everything to gain through the layoffs and flight cutbacks. By reducing the number of flights, they increase the number of passengers

on the remaining flights, thus increasing the average "load factor" and profit per flight.

According to the Dec. 3 *Aviation Week & Space Technology*, "Load factors are on the rise in most domestic routes. This is due in large part to the strike against TWA. But higher load factors are now predicted, with several carriers already approaching the 60% level. Beyond that point, space will be so tight in major markets during peak hours that many passengers will be turned away for lack of seats."

The industry magazine admitted that "the possibility clearly is that some low-traffic cities could be left without any service in the confusion." United Airlines is also reported to be holding discussions with the Civil Aeronautics Board (CAB) on the possibility of passing increased fuel costs on to passengers in the form of fare increases.

Among the few statements made by airline union officials is the remark of Captain William Arsenault, chairman of the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA). Arsenault told reporters

that the United layoffs may be "attributable to United's attempt to improve profits through capacity reduction agreements with the Civil Aeronautics Board."

The Reverend Jesse Jackson says workers should protect their jobs, which are threatened by the energy crisis. Jackson, director of Operation PUSH and a leader of the Coalition for Jobs and Economic Justice, said, "While the poor workers are being threatened with job losses, the energy crisis is an unprecedented boom for big business."

Jackson also said rank-and-file workers should demand that their unions present a list of demands to employers and the government to protect the workers from having to "option between welfare rolls and work rolls."

Further, said Jackson, "If the demands are not heeded, the unions should call for a national strike. . . . The workers' only protection is to just one day walk off their jobs. Without them, this country would be immobilized."



## Are the Arab regimes backing down?

# The oil boycott and world politics

By ED SMITH

High-level negotiations on the Arab oil boycott took place across the globe this week as representatives of the capitalist powers and the Middle East oil-producing countries attempted in secret to reach mutually acceptable terms.

At stake are the most lucrative of foreign imperialist holdings—the oil consortiums in the Middle East—mainly owned by U.S., British, and Dutch interests (with the U.S. holdings far outweighing those of the other two countries).

The fate of these investments is inseparably linked to the political situation in the Middle East.

Both the imperialists and the Arab regimes agree on the continued existence of Israel. But the Arab governments insist on sufficient concessions to quell



A German highway on Sunday

the mass pressures against Israel that drove them into the October war.

In the long run this is no solution. The history of the Middle East since the rise of Israel shows that "peaceful coexistence" between the Zionist settler-state and the Palestinian Arabs it dispossessed is utopian.

And even in the short run a settlement of the October war that will satisfy all the governments involved is proving extremely difficult to reach, largely because of Israeli intransigence. When Saudi Arabia and the other oil-producing countries initiated the oil boycott, the Saudi monarchy hinted that it would last until Israel withdrew from all the lands occupied in 1967, not to speak of those seized in October 1973. The "oil weapon" was designed to pressure Europe, Japan, and the U.S., hoping they would in turn pressure Israel into making a few concessions.

### Effect abroad

As far as the lesser imperialist powers are concerned, the boycott has taken a toll. This is especially true of Japan, which has no internal sources of oil, and must look to the Arab countries, Iran, and Indonesia, for all its supplies of this crucial energy source.

*Mainichi Shimbun*, a major daily, recently de-



Japanese official in Abu Dhabi

clared that "Japan has entered a catastrophic stage" in which "the very existence of the nation" is jeopardized.

On Nov. 22 Tokyo offered a statement that supported the diplomatic position of the Arab states. Tokyo said that if Israel did not withdraw from the occupied territories, Japan might have to "reconsider its policy toward Israel."

In Europe the Arab boycott has also had an impact. It includes the ending of Sunday driving and the lowering of heat across the continent. "In Italy," *New York Times* correspondent Terry Robards wrote from London Dec. 10, "they are talking about the end of 'la dolce vita,' in West Germany the people complain about huge price increases for fuel, in the Netherlands there is talk of reopening exhausted coal mines and in Denmark the number of highway accidents has fallen sharply as a result of lower speed limits."

Under pressure from the oil boycott, a number of European governments have "tilted" toward the diplomatic stance of the Arab states.

### Effect in U.S.

Representatives from the Arab regimes have been coming to the U.S., the central citadel of world imperialism, in hopes they could make gains at the bargaining tables.

In the United States the situation is more complex than it is in Europe and Japan. On one side the Arab oil boycott dovetailed with the policies of the oil trusts themselves, who had already created an artificial fuel shortage to drive up U.S. oil prices and to put on pressure for their long list of energy-squeeze demands.

Not the least important item on this list was stirring up an anti-Arab climate to be utilized if Washington decided to intervene in the Middle East with U.S. military forces. A barrage of propaganda was unleashed to persuade Americans that the oil shortages here have been caused by the Arabs—even though to this day the effect of the



Arab foreign ministers with Nixon

boycott has not begun to be felt in the United States.

Moreover, the U.S. oil interests stand to profit from higher fuel prices in both Japan and Europe, since they own so much of the Middle East's oil. In fact, every Middle East crisis since World War II has increasingly shifted the balance of oil power and profits to U.S. companies.

But there is another side to this process. The imperialists view Israel as a critical link in their chain of control in the Middle East. They especially do not want to make concessions under the pressure of political and military measures by the Arab regimes.

Nor do the imperialists favor moves by these regimes for a bigger share of oil revenues, however justified that is from the standpoint of the Arab peoples themselves. The military coup in Chile offers a recent lesson on the extent to which the imperialists will go to keep the ownership and

control of raw materials within the orbit of their world power.

The Arab oil boycott consequently has a momentum of its own, which could go much further than Washington desires. This is particularly true if the American people refuse to swallow the anti-



U.S. troops on desert maneuvers

Arab propaganda and increasingly turn the fuel crisis back on its central contrivers, the oil barons and their agents in the Nixon administration.

Under these circumstances, the Arab oil ministers were not greeted with open arms in Washington this week. Two of the most influential capitalist dailies, the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*, hinted at the possible necessity of "teaching the Arabs a lesson."

The Arab oil ministers adopted a softer tone than previously. Belaid Abdesalam, the Algerian minister, declared in Washington Dec. 8 that he had been "encouraged to a certain degree" by his discussions with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

Saudi Arabian Sheik Ahmed Zaki Yamani said he had been talking with American businessmen about ways of "helping Saudi Arabia become industrialized," according to the Dec. 9 *New York Times*.

Both ministers "indicated that they preferred to do their shopping for equipment [especially military equipment—E.S.] in North America [rather] than in the Soviet bloc."

This is one way of saying that these regimes set their long-run sights on collaboration with world imperialism, above all with the United States. Their boycott, as they said in full-page advertisements, was begun "more in sorrow than in anger."

As Egyptian President Anwar Sadat changed his position on the impending Geneva talks (see story, page 17) the oil ministers asserted that they would begin to lift the boycott on the promise of Israeli withdrawal rather than on actual steps.

This news caused a three-day, 60-point rally on the stock market.

Nevertheless, it is impossible to know what terms will finally be reached and consequently how long the oil boycott will last or how deep it will go. Huge interests involving a number of countries are at stake.

In addition, no one can foretell either how far the American working people will go in fighting the fuel crisis created by the oil trusts, or how much pressure the Arab masses will bring to bear on their rulers to regain the lands stolen from them by Israel. These struggles could result in an outcome in the Arab East that is far from what the imperialists have in mind.

# Reporter's suit forces disclosure

## Expose FBI plot vs Blacks, socialists

By CAROLINE LUND

Two FBI documents made public Dec. 6 provide clear proof that government agencies have been secretly used for political persecution.

A 1968 directive from former FBI director J. Edgar Hoover lays out a "counterintelligence program" code-named COINTELPRO, designed "to expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize" the Socialist Workers Party, Black organizations, the Communist Party, and "New Left" groups. It was sent to FBI offices throughout the country.

Revelations surrounding Watergate had previously exposed Nixon administration projects for sabotage of radical groups through the White House "plumbers" operations and the secret Huston spy plan of 1970. The newest documents show that such secret government persecution took place under the Democratic Johnson administration as well.

This new information will un-

tion from the FBI on the nature of COINTELPRO activities and who they were directed against.

The new memos will also aid Black organizations such as Chicago's Operation PUSH, which are pressing for new investigation of the murderous police raids on the Black Panther Party during the period covered by the FBI memorandums.

### NBC's Carl Stern

The Justice Department turned over the two FBI documents to NBC television newsman Carl Stern. Stern, in collaboration with the National Press Club and Ralph Nader's Center for Responsive Law, had sued the Justice Department for the documents under the 1966 Freedom of Information Act. He sued after former attorney general John Mitchell and former acting FBI director Patrick Gray had refused to release the documents.

Washington, D.C., superior court Judge Barrington Parker ruled, however, in a summary judgement (without even hearing motions) that the Justice Department had to turn over the documents. The Justice Department appealed that decision, but the U.S. district court upheld the lower court ruling.

It took Stern a full 26 months to obtain the memorandums.

The Freedom of Information Act grants "any person" access to "identifiable" public documents without having to give any reason for wanting to see them.

Stern found out about the existence of the COINTELPRO project two and a half years ago. At that time there was a break-in at the FBI office in Media, Pa., and documents obtained from there were Xeroxed and sent to many congressmen and reporters. Stern decided to find out what COINTELPRO meant.

Asked whether he was satisfied by the disclosure of only the two documents, Stern told *The Militant* he had written the Justice Department asking whether there weren't others.

"For example," he said, "we had asked for three classes of documents: documents setting up the program, documents terminating the program, and documents altering or modifying the program. And while we did receive a document setting up the program and one terminating the program, we didn't receive anything in that latter class."

"So we've written a letter inquiring, 'Hey, didn't you forget about that



Hoover, LBJ. Watergating tactics through the FBI were carried on under Johnson administration as well.

third class?"

Stern's new inquiry also refers to paragraph three of Hoover's 1971 memorandum. This paragraph authorizes continuation of "counterintelligence" operations in specific cases, while "terminating" the COINTELPRO project as a whole.

"This certainly suggests at least the possibility that a counterintelligence project against one or more of these target groups was approved after April 28, 1971," Stern noted. "But we don't know, and that's what we've asked about."

### Other documents?

A Dec. 7 Associated Press dispatch cites "an informed Justice Department source" who said "the FBI possesses many other documents outlining specific activities on the nationwide operation." However, the source revealed, some of these documents "can't be found any more." This story has a familiar ring.

Despite its name, the "counterintelligence program" was never designed for gathering information, said the AP source, but rather was strictly for disruption. According to AP, "The operation included the use of agents to infiltrate New Left groups and incite possibly violent activities."

The two FBI memorandums are evidence that numerous previously reported activities by government agents were part of a systematic campaign. For example, the COINTEL project apparently included such activities as those by special FBI agent Robert Wall, who left the FBI and told reporters last spring that he had been involved in attempting to turn the antiwar movement and the Black movement against one another through forged letters and attempts at extortion.

The two FBI memorandums provide no information on the actual content of the disruption activities, and according to Stern, his suit did not encompass such information.

### Kelley defends COINTELPRO

Apparently anticipating public outrage at this police-state directive, current FBI Director Clarence Kelley held a news conference Dec. 7 to defend the COINTELPRO project.

He said he wanted to "explain" the project further "because of the miscon-

ceptions, misapprehensions, and false conclusions" that people might draw from the two documents. Claiming to share the public's "deep concern about citizens' rights to privacy and preservation of all rights guaranteed under the constitution," he said the government needed means to "meet the challenge of those who use any means to foment revolution."

In contrast with today, when "peace has returned," Kelley painted a picture of a supposed "atmosphere of lawlessness" during the late 1960s.

According to a UPI dispatch published Dec. 8, Kelley cited 300 acts of arson, nine persons killed and nearly 600 injured on college campuses during that period, as well as "threats to sabotage power and water supplies and to disrupt transportation and communications."

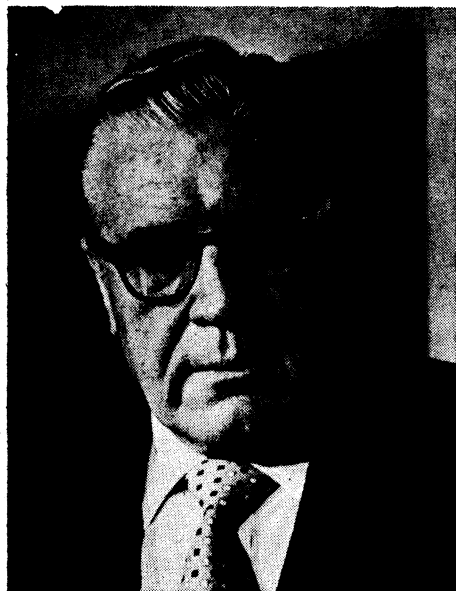
Kelley covers up the fact that the killings and injuries were overwhelmingly due to police and national guardsmen rioting against unarmed, peaceful antiwar demonstrators or Black students, as was the case at Kent State and Jackson State.

He ignores the fact that at virtually every recent frame-up trial of radicals charged with conspiracy to bomb, burn, or commit sabotage, it was government agents provocateurs who instigated and carried through such actions.

Kelley only echoed the 1968 Hoover memorandum itself, which charged the protest movements of the 1960s with "anarchistic activities" that "unlawfully [challenged] society to obtain their demands."

But there was nothing "unlawful" or "anarchistic," for example, about the massive antiwar marches that took place at that time and that were a central target of FBI disruption. These protests expressed the feelings of the clear majority of Americans that the government should stop carrying out an illegal, immoral war.

The protest movements that arose in the late 1960s were perfectly legitimate efforts by students, Black people, and others to put an end to racial injustice and a hated war. These documents show that it was the FBI that was out to commit acts of illegal intimidation, spending tax money to finance infiltration and incitement to violence against those who were simply exercising their democratic rights.



Nixon's new FBI chief, Clarence Kelley, defends COINTELPRO plot.

doubtedly strengthen suits now being brought by a variety of groups and individuals against the government violation of democratic rights. This includes the \$27-million suit by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance charging government harassment over the past several years.

Herbert Jordan, an attorney for the SWP and YSA suit, told *The Militant* that the Hoover memos provide important new evidence of disruption of the SWP. Through the suit it will be possible to demand further informa-



Militant/Dick Roberts

Nov. 15, 1969 antiwar march on Washington. FBI's disruption plan was aimed at stifling right to protest.



# FBI order: 'disrupt, neutralize' protesters

The following are the full texts of the two documents released by the FBI to NBC newsman Carl Stern Dec. 6. Stern sued the Justice Department for release of the documents under the Freedom of Information Act. The two communications were sent from then FBI director J. Edgar Hoover to all FBI offices throughout the country.

Emphasis has been added to highlight certain sections, except where indicated that emphasis was in the original.

## COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM INTERNAL SECURITY DISRUPTION OF THE NEW LEFT

Effectively immediately, the Bureau is instituting a Counterintelligence Program directed against the New Left movement and its Key Activists. All offices are instructed to immediately open an active control file, captioned as above, and to assign responsibility for this program to an experienced and imaginative Special Agent who is well versed in investigation of the New Left and its membership.

*The purpose of this program is to expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize the activities of the various New Left organizations, their leadership and adherents. It is imperative that the activities of these groups be followed on a continuous basis so we may take advantage of all opportunities for counterintelligence and also inspire action in instances where circumstances warrant. The devious maneuvers and duplicity of these activists must be exposed to public scrutiny through the cooperation of reliable news media sources, both locally and at the Seat*

*of Government. We must frustrate every effort of these groups and individuals to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or faithful adherents. In every instance, consideration should be given to disrupting the organized activity of these groups and no opportunity should be missed to capitalize upon organizational and personal conflicts of their leadership.*

On or before June 1, 1968, all offices are instructed to submit to the Bureau a detailed analysis of potential counterintelligence action against New Left organizations and Key Activists within their respective territories. Specific recommendations should be included for any logical immediate counterintelligence action. Recommendations submitted under this program must include all necessary facts to enable the Bureau to intelligently pass upon the feasibility of the proposed action. In instances where a reliable and cooperative news media representative or other source outside the Bureau is to be contacted or utilized in connection with a proposed counterintelligence operation, it will be incumbent upon the recommending office to furnish assurances the source will not reveal the Bureau's interest or betray our confidence.

Offices which have investigative responsibility for Key Activists should specifically comment in the initial letter to the Bureau regarding these individuals. As these offices are aware, these individuals have been identified as the moving forces behind the New Left.

*No counterintelligence action may be initiated by the field without specific Bureau authorization. [Emphasis in original.]*

Commencing July 1, 1968, and

every three months thereafter, each participating office should submit to the Bureau a status letter covering the prior 3-month period, including comments under the following captions.

- 1) Potential Counterintelligence Action
- 2) Pending Counterintelligence Action
- 3) Tangible Results

If necessary, a fourth caption "Miscellaneous" may be utilized for additional comments.

Recommendations for counterintelligence action should not be included in the 90-day status letters to the Bureau, but should be submitted individually by separate letter.

All Special Agent personnel responsible for the investigation of the New Left and Key Activists should be alerted to our counterintelligence plans relating to these groups. Counterintelligence action directed at these groups is intended to complement and stimulate our accelerated intelligence investigations. Each Investigative Agent has a responsibility to call to the attention of the counterintelligence coordinator suggestions and possibilities for implementing the program. *You are cautioned that the nature of this key endeavor is such that under no circumstances should the existence of the program be made known outside the Bureau and appropriate within-office security should be afforded this sensitive operation.*

The Bureau has been very closely following the activities of the New Left and the Key Activists and is highly concerned that the anarchistic activities of a few can paralyze institutions of learning, induction centers, cripple traffic, and tie the arms of law

enforcement officials all to the detriment of our society. *The organizations and activists who spout revolution and unlawfully challenge society to obtain their demands must not only be contained, but must be neutralized.* Law and order is mandatory for any civilized society to survive. Therefore, you must approach this new endeavor with a forward look, enthusiasm and interest in order to accomplish our responsibilities. The importance of this new endeavor cannot and will not be overlooked.

April 28, 1971

## COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAMS (COINTELPROS) INTERNAL SECURITY - RACIAL MATTERS

Effective immediately, all COINTELPROS operated by this Bureau are discontinued. These include:

- COINTELPRO - Espionage
- COINTELPRO - New Left
- COINTELPRO - Disruption of White Hate Groups
- COINTELPRO - Communist Party, USA

Counterintelligence and Special Operations

COINTELPRO - Black Extremists  
Socialist Workers Party - Disruption Program

*In exceptional instances where it is considered counterintelligence action is warranted, recommendations should be submitted to the Bureau under the individual case caption to which it pertains. These recommendations will be considered on an individual basis.*

You are reminded prior Bureau authority is required before initiating any activity of a counterintelligence nature.

# SWP W'gate suit goes after Nixon aides

Attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance presented motions Dec. 10 in U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York on why their charges against former Nixon aides H. R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman should not be dismissed.

The SWP and YSA are suing 19 current and former officials of the Nixon administration for unconstitutional spying, harassment, and violence against their members and supporters. Heading up the legal work on the suit is noted constitutional lawyer Leonard Boudin.

Defendants Haldeman and Ehrlichman moved for dismissal of the charges against them, saying that the New York court did not have jurisdiction over them because they had moved to California and Washington.

On Nov. 21 U.S. District Judge Thomas Griesa granted a similar motion for dismissal by another former Nixon aide, Tom Charles Huston. Huston is the author of the 1970 "Domestic Security Plan" approved by Nixon but allegedly vetoed by former FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover. The secret spy plan included stepped-up illegal government activities against radical groups.

Judge Griesa ruled that since Huston had left the government in 1971—long before some of the illegal burglaries, mail tampering, and other activities cited in the suit—the New York court had no jurisdiction over him.

Attorneys for the SWP can either appeal the judge's order or file against Huston in Indiana, where he lives, or in Washington, D. C., where he con-

cocted the plan in consultation with government intelligence agencies and others at the White House.

The attempt by Haldeman and Ehrlichman to invoke this jurisdictional loophole is even weaker than Huston's. SWP attorneys pointed out that an "intelligence-gathering" burglary of SWP member Norman Oliver's apartment in New York took place less than four weeks after Ehrlichman and Haldeman's resignations. The FBI's admitted "mail cover" of the SWP national office in Manhattan occurred while the two were still employed at the White House.

"Mere resignations cannot absolve official wrongdoers of responsibility for wrongful acts set in motion by

them while in office and occurring shortly after they abscond," stated the SWP's attorneys.

While Haldeman and Ehrlichman complained to the court about the inconvenience and cost of defending themselves against the suit in New York, the SWP's attorneys noted, "The burden of long-distance litigation should be borne by those who propagate long-distance lawlessness"—not by the victims of those illegal acts.

Both Haldeman and Ehrlichman were involved in many aspects of the government's activities against radicals. With the president, they initiated the interagency group that developed the Huston Plan. Ehrlichman was in charge of domestic political intelli-

gence from 1969-70 as White House counsel. During that period Haldeman was his "reporting channel" to Nixon. In his capacity as counsel he hired Tony Ulasewicz, a former New York "red squad" cop, for special operations against radical groups in situations in which Ehrlichman felt the FBI was doing an inadequate job.

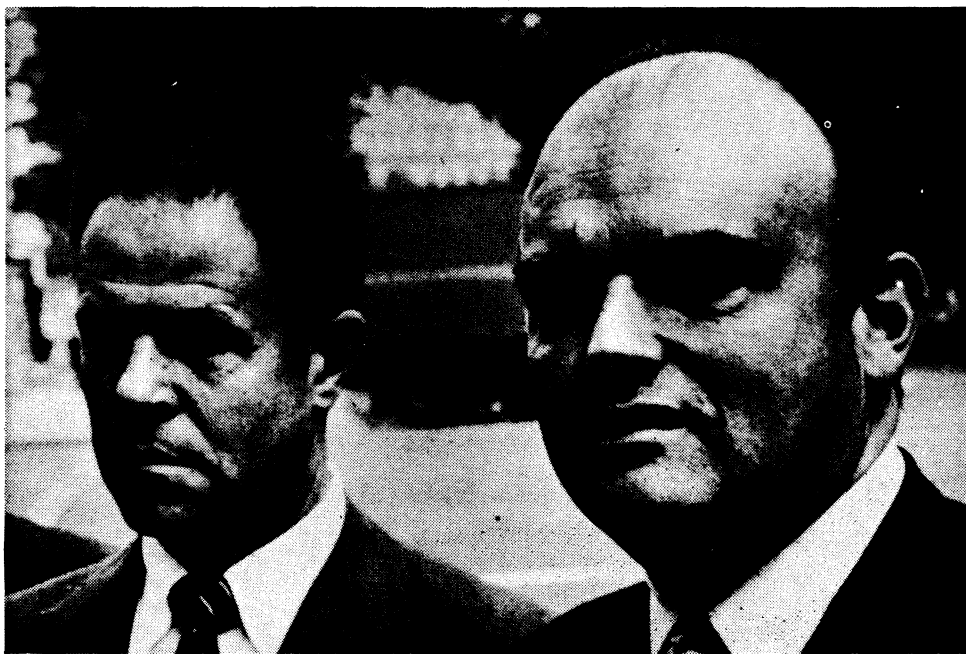
Later, as presidential adviser, Ehrlichman was in charge of the White House plumbers. This group, ostensibly set up to stop government leaks, rapidly expanded its activities to include burglary, wiretaps, and other illegal activity against radicals.

Once the Watergate revelations began, both Ehrlichman and Haldeman were actively involved in an operation Haldeman described as "containment" to prevent the Watergate disclosures from exposing other illegal activities of the government secret police apparatus.

This operation included the massive cover-up efforts of the White House and the paying of bribes to Watergate defendants. New York was a focal point of activities relating to the bribe money, and Ehrlichman and Haldeman dispatched an agent to New York to get the cooperation of John Mitchell, then Nixon's attorney general, in the bribery-cover-up scheme in February 1973.

These actions, clearly documented by the testimony of Ehrlichman and Haldeman before the Senate Watergate committee and substantiated by the testimony of John Dean, Tom Huston, Tony Ulasewicz, Watergate burglar James McCord, and others, establish a direct connection between the

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Haldeman and Ehrlichman are trying to use legal loophole to avoid charges of organizing criminal harassment of SWP and YSA supporters.



# Ramsey Clark appeals for aid to N.Y. bomb attack victims

By JEAN WALKER

"On the evening of Dec. 3, a high powered dynamite bomb wrecked the New York national office of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) and two other defense committees. Three people were injured, one suffered a fractured skull."

Thus begins an appeal from former attorney general Ramsey Clark for support to the committee, which is publicizing a suit by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against Nixon administration spying and violence against radical groups. Clark is an endorser of the PRDF.

The appeal continues: "Fear is the ultimate tyrant. We cannot permit violence to frighten us from our purpose—the exposure through the rule of law of political espionage and sabotage by government. It is more important than ever that we persevere in the important Watergate lawsuit filed by Leonard Boudin which PRDF supports. Indeed this bombing represents the sort of violence and intimidation the litigation was intended to expose and stop."

Clark asks for emergency contributions to PRDF and messages to New York Police Commissioner Donald Cawley (1 Police Plaza, New York, N.Y.) and Mayor John Lindsay at Gracie Mansion urging them "to insure speedy apprehension of the persons responsible for the bombing attack and to prevent a recurrence."

Another of the organizations housed in the bombed offices was the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). There is still no indication of who carried out the bombing or which group or groups it was directed against.

At a news conference organized by USLA supporters in Oakland, Calif., Dec. 5, lawyer Howard Moore also issued a statement condemning the bombing attack. Moore, the chief defense attorney for Angela Davis, stated that the "cowardly bombing attack" against PRDF and USLA "must not go unanswered."

"The history of struggles from Peter Zenger, Julian Bond, Angela Davis, the San Quentin Six, H. Rap Brown, the Chicago Eight, Daniel Ellsberg



Bombing of the PRDF, USLA, and CoDEL offices occurred a few days before revelation of FBI orders for disruption of left groups.

and Anthony Russo—these struggles show that the movement for civil liberties and political rights will not be intimidated into submission."

The third victim of the bombing was the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), which used the same office. CoDEL, a nonpartisan voting rights organization, is now in federal court on behalf of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese residents of New York City's Lower East Side who were the victims of racially discriminatory practices in last May's school board election.

A letter appealing for support to CoDEL was sent out following the bombing from Dr. Benjamin Spock, Ossie Davis, Dr. George Wald, and Florence Luscomb. The letter noted that as a result of its efforts on behalf of Lower East Side voters, "CoDEL has recently been the recipient of hate mail from persons who do not support the aims of the suit." It asks for emergency contributions for the committee.

In Boston, a statement of protest against the bombing was signed by such prominent figures as Dr. Harvey Cox of Harvard Divinity School, Dr. Barbara Roberts, professors Howard Zinn and Freda Rebelsky of Boston University, Professor Noam Chomsky of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Jeremy Genevieve of the United Farm Workers Union, and state representatives John Bussinger and Mel King.

Statements in solidarity with USLA came also from Professor James Petras, noted Latin American scholar; James Cockcroft of Livingston College, Rutgers University; and Paul Sweezy of Monthly Review Press.

In Houston, representatives of the Socialist Workers Party and the PRDF

held a news conference to draw attention to the recent exposure of the FBI's COINTELPRO project to disrupt groups that dissent, and to point to the possible connection between this program and the bombing of the PRDF office in New York.

In Houston the COINTELPRO revelations received front-page banner headlines, and the stories clearly pointed out that one of the targets of this disruption was the SWP. PRDF field secretary Michael Arnall noted that the FBI memos are confirmation of the charges against the Nixon administration made in the SWP and YSA suit.

Kris Vásquez, SWP candidate for school board in the last elections, charged that Houston police had worked hand in hand with the Ku Klux Klan during the period covered by the Hoover memo, to bomb and shoot up the offices of the SWP, radio KPFT-FM and *Space City* newspaper in Houston.

"We have the Hoover memos," she said. "Now let's have the Short memos," referring to Houston Police Chief Herman Short.

Benjamin Levy, former president of the Texas Civil Liberties Union, who also spoke at the news conference, testified that acts of violence against radicals were continuing in Houston, citing gunfire at his own home three months ago.

A message to the Lindsay administration demanding apprehension and prosecution of the New York bombers was signed by John Henry Faulk, well-known Texas entertainer; Celia Strada, chairwoman of the Houston Women's Political Caucus; Raza Unida Party leader Evy Chapa; and Professor Harvey Johnson of the University of Houston.

## Texas Chicanos: Que viva Chile libre!

By SARA JOHNSTON

HOUSTON—"United States Representative Drinnon: Let all the people from Chile come to the United States. I won't mind them coming to Crystal City. Let them get away from Augusto [Pinochet, head of the Chilean junta]," wrote a junior from Crystal City High School.

The letter was one of many written in response to an eyewitness account of the coup in Chile presented by Linda Wine, now on tour for the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

Wine addressed a number of Crystal City high school classes during her tour in southern Texas. Afterward, a class of 40 high school juniors immediately began writing letters to Pinochet, condemning his repressive regime.

"I too am poor, so it hurts me to know that other people are dying just because they are poor. Que Viva Chile Libre!" wrote a young Chicana.

Students in the class ordered a large quantity of literature from USLA for the many students who were unable to hear Wine speak. Three hundred had gathered to hear her, but the first scheduled meeting was not able to take place since Wine's arrival (by car) was delayed by the fuel shortage.

José Cruz, Crystal City High School principal, said he was interested in future USLA tours. "I have my own feelings on the importance of standing together with the people of Latin America. We Chicanos in Crystal City know what the word struggle means," he said.

The second stop of Wine's southern Texas tour was the Colegio Jacinto Treviño in Mercedes, a small town in the Río Grande Valley. Jacinto Treviño, accredited by Antioch College, also serves as a Chicano movement center.

Ramón Chacón, a Raza Unida Party activist and one of the directors of Treviño, decided to move the meeting to the United Farm Workers headquarters, because "the community here is very interested in learning more facts about the coup in Chile."

The meeting was attended by more than 100 people, mostly *campesinos* from Mercedes, students from Jacinto Treviño, Brown Beret members, and Raza Unida Party activists. Conducted in Spanish, it soon took on the character of a solidarity rally with the people of Chile.

A theater group presented a series of political skits, ending with a powerful scene linking the struggle of the Chicano people with the struggle of the Chileans. Shouts of "Victory to the Chilean people!" and "Solidarity with the Chilean liberation fighters!" arose from the audience.

"The Chilean people are heroic people," said Wine. "They need our support desperately. Can we turn our backs on them?"

"No! We are as one. Yankees out of Chile!" answered the audience.

Antonio Oregian, the local United Farm Workers organizer, also addressed the meeting, saying, "The Farm Workers Union condemns the new rightist regime in Chile."

A local Brown Beret leader said, "The Chicano people are truly internationalist. If the people of Chile only knew of the support for their cause, their courage would double many times over."

### PRDF News

The Political Rights Defense Fund has published the first issue of a newsletter called *PRDF News*. It contains articles on the latest legal developments and progress in publicizing the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against Nixon administration Watergating.

The newsletter, as well as the text of the Hoover memos on disruption of Black and socialist organizations, is available from the PRDF in bulk quantities. Copies of the newsletter cost 1 cent each.

Please send me \_\_\_\_\_ copies of *PRDF News* and \_\_\_\_\_ copies of the Hoover memos.

( ) I want to help with support activities. Send me a kit of PRDF literature.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Send to: PRDF, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

# Judge gags Salm Kolis and attorney

## FBI spy uncovered in San Diego frame-up against Socialist Workers Party candidate

By LARRY SEIGLE

SAN DIEGO, Dec. 12—The trial of Salm Kolis began here today despite defense efforts to get the case dismissed after an undercover FBI informer was exposed in the defense camp.

But instead of halting the trial, which has received extensive publicity here in the last few days, the judge issued a sweeping gag rule to prevent Kolis or her attorney from discussing any aspect of the case with reporters.

Kolis, 23, was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council in San Diego's Seventh District in the 1973 fall municipal election. She faces up to 14 years' imprisonment because the district attorney claims she falsified her address on a form she signed when she filed for office.

Kolis was arrested only a few days before the elections, which were held in September. She was handcuffed and hauled off to jail.

Yesterday the Committee to Defend Salm Kolis (CDSK) held a news conference on the steps of the courthouse to inform the public that a paid informer for the FBI had been submitting reports on defense strategy and other activities of the SWP. The informer, John Hollowell, who had been operating undercover in the SWP for 12 years, had attended many meetings in which the defendant and her supporters met to discuss how the legal defense would be conducted.

The widespread media coverage of the news conference yesterday outraged the district attorney, who suggested to the judge this morning that Kolis and her lawyer be barred from talking to reporters or issuing any public statements. The D.A. said the publicity violated "the people's right to a fair trial." He said a lot of the court's time would be "wasted because the defendant is making a cause."

The judge, Douglass Woodworth,



KOLIS: Prosecuted for being a socialist in Nixon's 'Lucky City.'

agreed: "I was concerned about the rather strangely extensive scope of newspaper and television coverage. It is hereby ordered that the defendant and her attorney are restrained and enjoined from making any statements whatever to the press or any medium of public communication until this trial is over."

This highly unusual gag rule shows how much the exposure of the undercover informant has revealed the case for what it is: a political trial designed to intimidate Kolis and others who insist on speaking their minds.

Yesterday Kolis's attorney, David Abern, demanded that the D.A. turn over "all material in possession of or to which the prosecution has access which results from the undercover surveillance of the Socialist Workers Party and the Committee to Defend Salm Kolis."

As the basis for this motion, Abern submitted an affidavit explaining that the FBI informer's daughter, Carla Hollowell, had met with the defense committee and confirmed that her father was a paid informer for the FBI. Carla Hollowell will submit sworn testimony on Kolis's behalf.

When the D.A. claimed that he was "unaware" of any political surveillance, however, Judge Woodworth denied the defense motion.

Mary Lipman, secretary of the CDSK, explained to reporters yesterday that the defense was demanding that the charges be dropped because the case against Kolis was "tainted" by the presence of the FBI informer in the SWP.

"This outrageous violation of constitutional rights shows the depth to which the government will sink in its efforts to silence those who choose to criticize its policies," Lipman said.

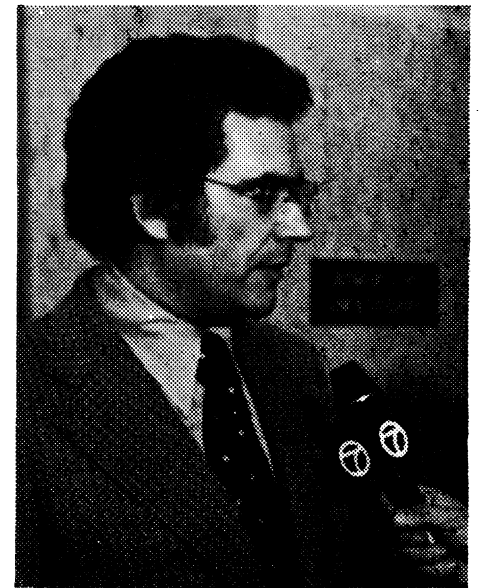
"This FBI surveillance is part and parcel of a nationally coordinated campaign of illegal surveillance, wiretaps, mail covers, infiltration, and other acts of spying and harassment against the Nixon administration's 'enemies list,' including the Socialist Workers Party and many other groups."

Lipman continued, "This illegal government spying is exactly what was done in the prosecution of Ellsberg and Russo, antiwar Vietnam veterans in Gainesville, the Camden 28, and other victims of political persecution at the hands of the Watergate gang."

Lipman explained that the case against Kolis from the very beginning was "a case of pure and simple politically motivated harassment and intimidation." She said the prosecution was "an attempt to silence a young woman who has committed no crime other than to express her views, no

matter how unpopular these ideas may be in the D.A.'s office or in the White House."

Kolis has repeatedly exposed the phony nature of the charges against her. "A more accurate charge against me," she said, "would be 'being a socialist candidate in a public place,'



Militant/Harry Ring

ATTORNEY ABERN: Can't talk to reporters.

or 'running for office in Nixon's Lucky City,' as San Diego is known to some Republicans."

It is precisely this message, now backed up by the startling evidence of government infiltration, that the D.A. and the judge here want to keep covered up by their gag rule.

Immediately following the imposition of the gag rule this morning the CDSK held another news conference. While Kolis stood silently, Lipman declared, "This gag rule is a violation of the rights of Salm Kolis to

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# Did FBI agent set up Fred Hampton killing?

By SUSANNE HAIG

CHICAGO—Black leaders here have called for new investigations into federal involvement in the 1969 police raid on Chicago's Black Panther headquarters. Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, two Black Panther Party leaders, were killed in the raid.

The possibility of federal involvement was disclosed through testimony of an undercover agent, William O'Neal, during the murder trial of Stanley Robinson, a former Black Chicago policeman. O'Neal testified at Robinson's trial that he had been paid by the FBI to infiltrate the Il-

linois Black Panther Party.

At the time of the murder of Hampton and Clark, O'Neal was the Black Panther Party security chief. He was reporting to special FBI agent Roy Mitchell. Although the FBI was being informed of the Panthers' activities by O'Neal, O'Neal was never called to testify at the trial of former Chicago state's attorney Edward Hanrahan for obstruction of justice in relation to the raid, nor was he even identified as an agent prior to the Robinson trial.

The call for a new investigation came at a Dec. 9 news conference at

the office of Operation PUSH. It was attended by Iberia and Francis Hampton, Fred Hampton's parents; William Hampton, Fred Hampton's brother; Reverend Jesse Jackson, national president of PUSH; Thomas Todd, lawyer and PUSH consultant; Bobby Rush, chairman of the Illinois Black Panther Party; Eugene Pincham, lawyer; and Herbert Reid, dean of Howard University Law School and staff director of the Commission of Inquiry into the Black Panthers and Law Enforcement.

The commission was responsible for conducting the independent investigation of the 1969 raid. The investigation had been called for by the Black community. The commission reported evidence of a high concentration of barbiturates in Hampton's blood and the presence of an unknown informer in the Panther organization at the time of the raid. Cochairmen of the commission are Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, and Ramsey Clark, former U.S. attorney general.

In November the commission had demanded the reopening of the investigation of the slaying of Hampton and Clark in connection with the publication of its findings, entitled *Search and Destroy*.

Ramsey Clark charged at that time that there was "probable cause to be-



Militant/Brian Shannon

HAMPTON: Murdered by cops

lieve" that Hampton was "murdered in the legal sense of the word" in the police raid.

Reid, staff director of the commission, feels that O'Neal may have been an agent provocateur and that government records may reveal new information about the source of the guns found in Hampton's apartment. The commission has charged that the raid was not the routine execution of a

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## SWP candidate demands probe

The following is a statement by Willie Reed, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for congresswoman in the first Illinois Congressional District.

The new evidence of possible federal involvement in the murderous police raid on the Chicago Black Panther Party in 1969 merits the immediate reopening of investigations into the raid and the killing of Fred Hampton.

There is a clear possibility that the FBI was at least partially responsible for setting up this entire

"search and destroy" operation. This would fit in perfectly with the secret FBI "COINTELPRO" project to disrupt Black organizations and radical groups from 1968 to 1971.

The Socialist Workers Party was also a target of the FBI disruption plan. We fully support the efforts of Operation PUSH and the Commission of Inquiry into the Black Panthers and Law Enforcement to demand full disclosure of the role of the federal government in the raid on the Panthers.



## Energy crisis

Working people throughout the country are angrily wondering what they can do about the mounting hardships being imposed on them by the energy crisis.

Thousands of truckers, blockading highways to protest fuel shortages, high prices, and reduced speed limits, rightly insisted they were not willing to see their earnings go down the drain because of a crisis they did not create. They were ready to take action to prevent this.

But the official leadership of the labor movement has said little and done less to defend working people from the spreading attacks on our standard of living. AFL-CIO President George Meany calls for "equality of sacrifice" and begs Congress for "firm guarantees that workers will not bear the brunt of energy cutbacks while employers boost profits."

But workers bear no responsibility for this crisis. It was deliberately concocted by the oil trusts for the sole purpose of boosting their profits at our expense. Why should we have to sacrifice jobs, wages, convenience, health, or a clean environment?

Every government energy measure, whether by Nixon or the Congress, will be aimed at enforcing sacrifices by the workers while giving millions in subsidies and tax breaks to the monopolies. To preach reliance on the Democrats and Republicans to do otherwise is either wishful thinking or—as in Meany's case—a cynical fraud.

The only solution is to mobilize the power of the unions, independent of the capitalist government, to defend the workers' interests.

While the Labor Department issues glib assurances that an "early warning system" will "ease the impact of the energy crisis on employment," thousands of workers have already been laid off in the auto, electronics, rubber, airlines, and other industries. Unemployment next year is expected to climb to at least 6 percent.

Meany's plea for better unemployment benefits is completely inadequate. The unions should press for a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay, to spread the available jobs, and for a massive program of useful public works to provide millions of jobs at full union-scale wages.

Inflation is being spurred to record-breaking levels by the latest petroleum product price increases—35 percent in November alone! And this is only the beginning.

The government has shown it is incapable of controlling prices. An unlimited cost-of-living escalator clause in every union contract, and in all social benefits, is the only protection.

The oil monopolies, which have demonstrated their utter incompetence to provide energy for the benefit of the people, should be nationalized under workers control. Such a measure should be only the first step toward a rational, planned economy administered by a workers government.

## FBI plot

The FBI documents recently forced into the open by NBC reporter Carl Stern, together with the Watergate revelations, tie together many occurrences over the past years into a deadly, vicious pattern.

They indicate that of the many raids and shootouts against Black militants, bombings and shootings aimed at socialist groups and underground newspapers, isolated acts of violence at antiwar demonstrations, and harassment of antiwar activists and Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican militants—all these acts were inspired or encouraged by the secret, organized drive by the government to, as Hoover put it, "neutralize" any movements that dare to dissent in this country.

These are the types of acts that are challenged by the suit of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against the Nixon administration.

There is no reason to believe the government has discontinued its disruption program. In fact the Hoover memo "terminating" the COINTELPRO projects specifically leaves the door open for continuing the plot against specific groups.

Now it has come out for the first time that an FBI agent had weaseled his way into the top echelons of the Illinois Black Panther Party just prior to the police slaying of Fred Hampton in 1969. Another government spy has been exposed in the frame-up of Socialist Workers Party Salm Kolis in San Diego. On Dec. 3, the offices of three civil liberties organizations in New York were wrecked by a bomb.

All supporters of democratic rights must unite to stop this violence and persecution against dissenters. Demand the reopening of investigations into the killing of Fred Hampton! Demand the dropping of charges against Salm Kolis! Support the socialist suit against government Watergating!

### Answer to ex-readers

I am a regular reader of *The Militant* and enjoy reading the letters sent in by your readers. In the past two months I've noticed that you've printed several letters of cancellation. Many of these readers have stated that they had enjoyed your paper until you took a "hysterical" position on the Mideast crisis.

These same folks can probably go along with your support of the Irish people, the oppressed natives of South Africa, or your support of Latin American peoples. But the Palestinians? Well, perhaps these ex-readers don't think of Palestinians as people.

They have canceled their subs because they have a problem: they're inconsistent. They probably once cheered on the civil rights workers in their efforts to obtain the "integrated hamburger," yet when Black people also wanted decent jobs, decent housing, and decent education, that was another story.

And now that we Blacks demand community control, these same lukewarm liberals are convinced that the "niggers are crazy."

*The Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party will eventually win the entire support of all oppressed people. They tell the truth!

Naima Jamal  
Oakland, Calif.

### Fountain Valley Five

Tonight I received my copy of *The Militant*. I speak of the Nov. 30 issue, with the article entitled "The real criminals in the Virgin Islands."

I am also cognizant of much of the information it mentioned because I am a Cruzan by birth. The influence of the Rockefeller group is very strong in the Virgin Islands. The golf course known as the Fountain Valley Golf Course belongs to Rockefeller's brother.

The golf course is significant because of the strong and courageous brothers, the Fountain Valley Five, who allegedly committed mass murder there. They have been made scapegoats to placate the imperialists and neocolonialists and their vile oppression against the Virgin Islanders, all people from the Caribbean, and the other parts of the world, such as Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

You see, I am one of the Attica indicted brothers, who have been witness to the actions of Governor Rockefeller's flunkies and lackeys who are protectors and servants of the state—actions against a physically helpless people, but a very politically fortified people, on Sept. 13, 1971.

The people in the Caribbean are historically attuned to all liberation fighters, and they (island by island) are awakening to the games the plutocrats play. This will eventually be an area of rapid liberation, as they shake off the yoke of capitalism, imperialism, and neocolonial racism.

A prisoner  
New York

### Women tower guards

On Nov. 19 five pretty young women appeared for roll call at the state prison here. The women were tower guards, and their weaponry

consisted of high-powered rifles, pistols, and Mace.

The ladies, all assigned to guard towers, are an improvement in our prisons. They, as the very inmates they now watch, were also imprisoned from the beginning of time and they know how it feels to be the underdog, the ignored, the abused and defeated.

It might be that they may watch a lot more than us inmates; they might watch the watchers. The women guards have already questioned the unofficial procedure used for escaping prisoners: no warning shot, shoot to kill.

A prisoner  
Louisiana

### Impressed

I was recently approached regarding a subscription to *The Militant*, and I was very impressed. Good luck with your work.

C. H.  
Princeton, N.J.

### Good guys, bad guys

I am in no way directly involved in Teamsters union. However, I sometimes work with drivers and have an opportunity for worthwhile talks with them. This gives me a chance to get a few subs to *The Militant*.

Recently in a conversation with one of the drivers I was trying to direct the discussion to the union contract and the way the company misinterprets it. However, the driver out-directed me. We were talking about the oil shortage and he blamed it all on the Vietnam war. So while my pride was hurt, I was pleased at the turn of the talk.

Every worker at our plants knows I am safe to talk to about radical politics. The company was thinking about firing me once because I was seen in an antiwar march.

Many young radicals these days try to line up people definitely as the bad guys and the good guys, and believe too much in directly attacking the bad guys. The books of Farrell Dobbs, *Teamster Rebellion* and *Teamster Power*, show how to work with all types in the unions in a way that will win the most for the workers.

D. C.  
St. Louis, Mo.

### Serious voter

I am a concerned voter, a person who still takes voting seriously. I voted for Maxine Williams [Socialist Workers Party candidate for Brooklyn borough president] in the last election as a protest against the larger parties, which to me are not doing any kind of a job.

I realized that she was not going to win because a) she ran on the SWP ticket and b) she is a woman. These are terrible handicaps in our sick society. I was hoping that if enough people felt as I did and she won, that we would have a big shake-up in local politics.

I write to ask how she did in the election. I would not like to see her give in or get disgusted with the results of the past election. Brooklyn was not ready for a woman borough president, never mind a socialist one. But there will be more elec-



# National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



## O Captain, My Captain...

As part of Nixon's Operation Candor, Labor Secretary Peter Brennan was recently sent to Montana to drum up "labor support." Brennan continues to masquerade as a "labor man," having been head of the New York State and City Building Trades Councils before joining the "Nixon team."

He invited some "union people" to lunch at the Butte Vocational-Technical School, and made other stops in Billings, Anaconda, and Great Falls. But no self-respecting union official would go anywhere near him.

Thomas Tracy, head of the Butte Trades and Labor Council, called Brennan a "Judas goat" and warned others to stay away. Teachers at the Butte Vocational School threatened to walk out if Brennan visited them, and waitresses at the school threatened not to serve him.

Owen McNally, president of the Anaconda Trades Council, said, "Peter Brennan is nothing more than a shill for Richard Nixon."

Some officials of the Montana Teamsters tried to help the trip by intimating that they had "inside information" of \$400,000 in federal funds for two local manpower projects if Brennan got a friendly reception. The offer didn't help. One union officer reported after a meeting of Teamsters and others that "while they'd like to have the 400 grand, they weren't going to prostitute themselves to get it."

This has not always been the case, and there are some in the union movement who have no choice in the matter at this late date. Such a relationship was exhibited last month at the convention of the Seafarers' International Union in Washington, D. C., in full view of everyone who wanted to watch.

This convention would have passed unnoticed if Nixon had sent his surrogate Brennan instead of going there himself to try to create the false impression that he has support in the ranks of labor. He made a poor showing. The 400 over-age delegates were unresponsive to his clumsy attempts at humor about the energy crisis. Nor were they impressed

by his unfitting portrayal of himself as the ship's captain who intends "to stay at that helm until we bring it into port."

SIU President Paul Hall tried his best to introduce Nixon as if it were an honor instead of an obligation. But like Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons, Hall is Nixon's captive now and must bow to the Nixon command.

Hall's present uncomfortable position is a direct result of his "political wisdom." For 25 years he has sought to win friends in Washington by freehanded contributions of union funds to the Democratic and Republican parties. In 1968 he handed a big bundle to Humphrey and a lesser amount to Nixon. This was a bad mistake.

The Nixon administration indicted Hall and seven other SIU officials in 1970, charging they illegally contributed \$40,000 in the 1968 presidential campaign and had conspired to spend \$750,000 illegally between 1964 and 1968.

For nearly two years the Justice Department kept these charges hanging over the heads of these SIU officials. Finally, in June 1972, a federal judge dismissed the indictment on the grounds that the Justice Department had failed to specify the particulars of its charges and had deprived the defendants of their right to a speedy trial.

The Nixon administration had apparently gained its purpose. A few days before the 1972 presidential election, Hall turned over a cool \$100,000 of union funds to Nixon's campaign. This is under investigation by Watergate Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski. And Hall has nowhere to turn except to Nixon.

At the recent AFL-CIO convention, Hall was the only member of the Executive Council who voted against the resolution to impeach Nixon. It is a sorry sight. Captain Nixon and his cabin boy Hall are caught in their own craftiness, each clinging to the other for support in stormy weather.

tions, and if things do not get better there will be more and more votes for the small parties. I just hope that if and when this happens the small parties do not become as corrupt as the big ones are today.

L. C.  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

In reply—Maxine Williams was credited with receiving 1,932 votes.

### 'Mr.' Jack the Ripper?

The *New York Times*, that most conservative of newspapers when it comes to questions of syntax and style, has been forced to make a major revision in its style book.

For years the *Times* had followed the policy of dropping the title "Mr." before the names of convicted criminals and men of "unsavory reputation." Anyone who has followed the *Times* Watergate coverage closely has probably noticed the problems this caused.

It was one thing to suddenly start referring simply to "Liddy" and "Hunt," the small fry who initially got their fingers burnt. But what about Mitchell, Vesco, Stans, and the other high-level CREEPs whose "unsavory" activities were being exposed daily on national TV? Not to mention the chief crook himself. As same conscientious copy editor must have pointed out to the *Times* brass, either Tricky Dick had to become simply "Nixon" or the old rule had to be scrapped.

The *Times* of course chose the easy way out. In the interests of democracy, no more distinction between pimps and popes, swindlers and senators—if they're male, they're now all Mr.'s. Wait till they do an article on Jack the Ripper.

Michael Baumann  
New York, N. Y.

### Who rules Japan?

With reference to your Nov. 23 article on "Who Rules America?": I recently investigated several of Japan's multinational corporations. Two of them—Sony and Matsushita (known in the U. S. as Panasonic)—listed significant stock holdings by the Moxley Corporation.

A little further investigation revealed a Moxley as an international vice-president of the Morgan Guarantee Trust Company. Still further investigation confirmed that Morgan—the second largest bank in the United States, and a significant holder of IBM, Kodak, Polaroid, and Sears stocks—is the controlling interest in both Sony and Panasonic of Japan. Remember that when you visit your local audio shop!

B. K.  
Cleveland, Ohio

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.

## By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



## More headaches for Army brass

One fight between Black and white GIs, one clash between Black GIs and military police, and one Black protest following an order to remove the Black liberation flag from a barracks add up to more racial headaches for the commanders of Today's Army.

The *New York Times* called them "three outbursts of racial violence," and they proved thorny for Major General Henry Emerson, commander of the Second Infantry Division in South Korea.

General Emerson had cooked up a series of novel programs hoping to prevent such "racial violence." Rap sessions, 18 hours a month required schooling, "harmony through music," and an "open-mind" policy to meet with the brass are some.

"The Gunfighter," as General Emerson is sometimes called, has campaigned against narcotics, excessive drinking, and venereal disease. "We're trying to get across the idea that off-duty they don't have to go to the ville," Emerson told the *Times*, referring to the local bars and brothels the GIs frequent. So he's set up an "official" recreation-resort on an island off the southern Korean coast, where GIs are encouraged to languish when on leave.

None of these gimmicks, however, have served to eliminate the racism that pervades the Army—Emerson's claim that "out-and-out blatant discrimination doesn't happen anymore" to the contrary.

In fact, the ostensible reason for the order to take down the Black liberation flag was that "racially divisive" symbols are forbidden. Nobody asked whether Black GIs might consider the red-white-and-blue banner of U.S. imperialism a repulsive symbol of racist oppression.

There was more than a little "blatant discrimination" to be seen when the brass moved to discipline 38 GIs allegedly involved in the incidents. Most of those arrested were Blacks; that's standard operating procedure—military "justice."

Twenty-seven were discharged, deemed unfit for further Army duty because of prior involvement in racial incidents. Four had the charges dropped and the others are awaiting court-martial, were sent to prison, or were dropped on the rocks in some other way.

And to hide its old-fashioned racism, the brass had dredged up a time-honored bogey. Horrors, subversion! An "underground" Black Socialist Club may be leading "a conspiracy to foment racial trouble," say some military investigators.

Fact is, socialists did not create the discrimination, brutality by MPs, unequal opportunity for advancement, or the other conditions Black GIs are protesting. For example, while 43 percent of the Second Division are Blacks or other oppressed minorities, only 20 percent of MPs and 23 percent of first sergeants are Blacks.

According to the *Times*, when news of the three incidents percolated out, it "touched off outbreaks among American forces elsewhere in South Korea."

These continuing Black protests in the military machine are a burning concern to the brass, especially considering the student upsurges that recently swept South Korea, Thailand, and Greece, and the ongoing crisis in the Middle East.

What will happen the next time U.S. troops are called into action against a revolutionary upsurge? Can these militant Black GIs be relied on to shoot down rebellious Koreans or, say, Arabs?

And if socialist ideas are sprouting, if a Black Socialist Club is organizing to combat the Army's racism, then even the most "liberal" and innovative officers see cause for swift repressive action, such as Emerson displayed with the 38 GIs.

How long will such Blacks believe the myth that they are there to preserve freedom, justice, and equality when they are denied it themselves?



**No fueling around**—The Defense Department flew two plane-loads of congressmen to the Georgia birthday party for former Representative Vinson, using an estimated 7,400 gallons of gas. Nine planes were also used to fly Naval Academy midshipmen and Air Force cadets to football games. But, we understand, the president watched the games on small-screen TV.

**Perfect harmony**—Deputy Defense Director William Clements said he saw no potential conflict of interest in directing the fuel conservation program of the Pentagon—the nation's single largest consumer of fuel—and holding \$90-million worth of shares in a Texas oil-drilling firm.

**Truth in marketing**—A San Francisco supermarket displays the cough medicine next to the cigarette machine.

**Don't bug the bug company**—Responding to legal action by Volkswagen, National Lampoon agreed to recall copies of an issue with a mock ad showing a floating VW with the caption, "If Kennedy drove a Volkswagen he'd be president."

**Morality dep't**—In a New York police department experiment, 51 cops were handed 'lost' wallets containing cash. Thirty percent were not turned in. The head of the police anti-corruption unit glumly commented: "It looks like it shows that perhaps putting on a uniform doesn't change a man's character." At least not for the better.

**Better than beef**—A recent New York auction took in a record \$7.8-million for 109 art works. Seventeen paintings and drawings by Picasso brought

\$2.5-million alone. We hear the top bidder modestly said, "I don't know what I like. I just know what pays."

**The right spirit please**—The Holy Shroud, a piece of linen believed by some to be Christ's burial cloth, was shown on Italian TV for the first time recently. The Vatican asked that viewers behave reverently and abstain from alcoholic beverages during the program.

**Double upper**—An article on the sports page of the Nov. 14 Washington Post reported that 21 of the 26 National Football League teams seek a spiritual boost with Sunday morning pregame chapel services. Another article on the same page reported that an estimated one-third of NFL players use amphetamines.



"True, But This Month It's Largely Due To — Ah, Yes, Here It Is —"

## Women In Revolt

### Black women and abortion

## Linda Jenness



It has been almost one year since the Supreme Court declared abortions legal in the United States. Although implementation is far from complete on a national level and there are still many battles to be fought, the effects of the ruling are already significant.

Recent information on abortions performed in New York City highlights the importance of this new freedom to Black women in particular.

During the year that ended June 30, 1973, Black women had 47.6 percent of the 69,776 legal abortions received by New York City residents, reports the Dec. 6 *New York Times*. White women received 39 percent of the abortions.

Tens of thousands of Black women in New York City alone have been spared the agony of illegal, back-street abortions. It is now much easier for Black and Puerto Rican women who wish to have an abortion to receive medically safe ones and the proper care.

Dr. Jean Pakter, director of maternity services and family planning for the Department of Health, told the *Times* that city hospitals previously re-

ported a "high" incidence of Black and Puerto Rican women receiving treatment for poorly performed and incomplete abortions. Now, Pakter reported, very few Black women require treatment for botched abortions.

Judith Reed, the head nurse at Harlem Hospital, reported to the *Times* a change in attitudes toward abortion among Black women. She said that when the abortion clinic first opened at Harlem Hospital it was met with some opposition from the community and "from individual Black men."

Now, Reed says, "we get a lot of younger women who feel no guilt at all about receiving an abortion." Reed and Pakter attribute this change in attitudes to two factors: legalization of abortion, and the women's liberation movement.

Although some sections of the Black community are still opposed to Black women having the right to choose abortions, on the charge that abortions are "genocide," thousands of Black women obviously disagree. At the recent National Black Feminist Organization conference one woman put it this way: "We are now making our own

decision. If a Black woman decides to have an abortion, how is it genocide? It's only genocidal if you are forced."

These statistics certainly refute the arguments of those who said that the fight to legalize abortions was a "white, middle-class" fight of no concern to Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicana women. Even one short year of legalized abortions, still inadequately implemented, has proved that precisely because Black women suffered the most from illegal abortions, they had the most to gain by legalizing them.

The effect of the Supreme Court decision on the lives of Black women, and the still greater effect it will have in the future, reemphasizes a basic point: because of the triple oppression suffered by Black women—as women, as Blacks, as workers—the demands raised by the women's liberation struggle are more immediate and real for them than for anyone else. And that is true not just of the demand for abortion but of the demands for childcare, equal pay and job opportunities, and equality in education.

## ¡La Raza en Acción!

### Don't buy scab groups

## Miguel Pendás



The United Farm Workers are waging a struggle for survival today in the face of formidable odds.

They are up against California's powerful agribusiness barons, who have enlisted the corrupt officialdom of the Teamsters union on their side. The cops act as goons for the growers. The federal government does its part by buying millions of dollars of scab produce. And the AFL-CIO hierarchy has not gone beyond token support for the UFW.

One kind of friend the Farm Workers can do without are those so-called socialists who seek to stab them in the back on the grounds that their struggle is not "revolutionary" enough.

In particular I am referring to two articles by Marty Moran in the Nov. 27 and Nov. 30 issues of the *Bulletin*, the newspaper of a small sectarian outfit called the Workers League, which falsely claims to be Trotskyist. The same articles appear on another page in Spanish, signed by Lucia Rivera.

The main obstacles facing the Farm Workers, you see, are not the growers, the Teamster bureaucrats, or the cops. "The greatest danger to the struggle," Moran/Rivera lecture us, "... comes from the Chavez leadership which seeks to confine the struggle of the farm workers to the bankrupt methods of American radicalism."

"Bankrupt methods" refers to the United Farm Workers' boycott of scab grapes, lettuce, and wine, which the *Bulletin* condemns as "middle-class" and "a reactionary diversion."

If this isn't enough to convince you to drink Gallo's Ripple, the *Bulletin* lays down a heavy "theoretical" rap. Apparently Moran/Rivera oppose any struggle for immediate gains for farm workers, even the simple right to union recognition. "Today, no reforms are possible," they inform us. "The economic and political crisis deepens by the hour. . . . Injunctions against pickets and mass round-ups of boycotters are taking place all over the Southwest."

They conclude that the Farm Workers must drop the "absolutely reactionary" boycott and "go beyond strike action" to a fight for state power.

Very "revolutionary." But while it is true that the fundamental problems faced by Chicanos and other working people cannot be solved under capitalism, nothing will be changed by merely issuing revolutionary-sounding pronouncements from the sidelines.

Masses of people will develop political consciousness of the need for revolutionary change, and for a program and leadership to accomplish this change, only in the course of struggles around immediate problems.

The boycott is an essential weapon for the *campesinos* and should not be counterposed to strike action in the fields. There is a long tradition of the use of boycotts in workers' struggles. Farm workers in particular must rely to a great extent on the boycott because of the difficulty of carrying out agricultural strikes under present conditions.

It is false to say, as Moran/Rivera do, that the boycott has never hurt the growers. It hurt them badly enough to force them to sign contracts in 1970. That was a historic victory for the union.

This time around, however, the contracts will be even harder to win. The *rancheros* are better prepared. To win this fight the boycott will have to be conducted on a much bigger scale. A greater focus on shutting down those who sell scab produce is needed.

Large picket lines can be organized at supermarkets. This is an important way of helping the *campesinos* win their fight. Yet the *Bulletin* slanders the Socialist Workers Party as "treacherous" and "reactionary" for advocating such a massive, effective boycott campaign.

Those on the lunatic fringe of the movement who attack the struggle in the name of socialism contribute nothing to either the cause of farm unionism or socialism.

# World Outlook

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

DECEMBER 21, 1973

## Workers join in

# Student protests continue in Thailand

By Ernest Harsch

While the eighteen-member committee assigned to draft the new Thai constitution has been plodding along, student ferment has continued. "The student movement that forced out the military regime," Tillman Durdin reported in the November 18 *New York Times*, "was confined to Bangkok. Now student groups have sprung up throughout the country, worker and professional organizations are proliferating and sometimes striking, and newspapers and politicians are reveling in free commentary."

"Upcountry, as well as in Bangkok, there are almost daily student demonstrations over some issue or other."

Fresh from the victories of October, the students have pressed on in their attacks on the corrupt hangers-on of the old regime. A few "unprogressive"

then minister of the interior, covered for Pramool. With Praphas's protection removed, Pramool became another victim of the limited purge that has struck those too closely tied to the old regime.

The new governor of Roi Et Province, Chai Ubondepracharak, has fared no better; "student agitators" have forced him out of office for his close association with the ousted military chiefs and involvement in the rampant corruption. And, according to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, the governor of Ang Thong Province, Vicharn Bansophit, was "so frightened by the recent demonstration staged against him by 4,000 students [that he] appealed to Bangkok to have him transferred within 24 hours." Vicharn is being investigated by the Ministry of the Interior on suspicion of corruption.

The November 11 issue of Tokyo's

out efforts to extradite his former colleagues.

The students' readiness to engage in action has also begun to spread to other parts of the population. Durdin reported in the November 18 *New York Times* that railway workers conducted a two-day strike against the government-run transport system and won pay increases and other benefits. Shortly thereafter, the river transport workers and the taxi drivers also raised demands for higher wages.

The ranks of the military, as well as some of the younger officers, have also been affected by the current mood. The November 18 *New York Times* gave a glimpse of the present attitudes of the soldiers when it reported that "some military cadets have threatened to burn their uniforms rather than wear them in public because of the antimilitarist mood."

As the political ferment touched off by the students spreads to broader layers of the population, the "caretaker" regime of Premier Sanya Thammasak is trying to channel all activity into the coming elections. The November 21 *Washington Post* reported that the Bangkok administration had called for an end to demonstrations and said that "petitions for changes should be submitted to the agencies concerned or to the prime minister's office."

The regime seems to have incorporated the powerful National Student Center of Thailand (NSCT), which called the first demonstrations against the military government, into its elections maneuvers. With full government backing, the NSCT has gone on a campaign in the countryside to "educate" and "motivate" the peasants, who constitute 80 percent of the Thai population, on democracy and the coming elections.

This limited perspective of the NSCT, however, is not the sole alternative for Thai students. The political differences within the student movement that were already apparent in October at the time of the upsurge have surfaced and produced a split in the leadership of the NSCT.

The public relations officer of the NSCT, Seksan Prasertkul, resigned at the beginning of November, followed shortly thereafter by Chiranand Pitpreecha, the secretary for general affairs. They formed the Free Thammasat group (Thammasat University was the main base for the October

student actions). Seksan called for a "people's democracy" and, according to the November 26 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, he wrote in a recent article: "It is necessary to substitute the military, police and Civil Service with the people as a base of power." Sombat Thamrongthangawong, the general secretary of the NSCT, had explicitly stated shortly after the overthrow of Thanom and Praphas that the NSCT had no intention of questioning the authority of the police.

Another student leader criticized the NSCT for its lack of internal democracy, called Sombat a "dictator," and blasted the NSCT leadership for the role it had played during the upsurge.

The October actions had been initiated by the NSCT to obtain the release of thirteen arrested activists. As the demonstrations grew and attracted students from all over Bangkok, the NSCT executive committee members negotiated with the Thanom regime and won the release of the arrested students. According to the November 26 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Seksan had been left in charge of the demonstrations in front of King Phumiphol Aduldet's palace. "Several student leaders, including Seksan, were denounced as 'communists' for refusing to disperse the mob after the NSCT notified them that the then Government had guaranteed the release of the activists and that the fight was over." It was at that point, on October 14, that the military attacked and carried out the bloody massacre that left hundreds of students dead and wounded. The massive response to the massacre swept the military leaders out of Thailand.

Commenting on the differences within the student movement, the *Far Eastern Economic Review's* Bangkok correspondent said: "The NSCT's attitude towards dispersing the mob during the crucial moments in return for the activists' release has become a 'sore point' in the eyes of other student leaders. It was apparent then that some student leaders were not simply after the release, but wanted something more."

That "something more" is what has continued to bring Thai students into the streets and what accounts for the growing number of strikes and demonstrations.

The threat of that "something more" has prompted the Sanya regime to play up the drafting of the new constitution and the preparations for elections, in the hopes of heading off the ongoing mobilizations.

One of the members of the committee working on the draft of the constitution remarked: "Previous constitutions were written out of fear. Fear that the people would take over, fear of the army."

The same can be said this time around.



Thai students carry dead comrade during October demonstrations.

university and high-school authorities have been forced by their students to resign, and some of the government bureaucrats closely tied to the ousted military leaders have gone into early "retirement."

The November 12 issue of the Hong-kong weekly *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported the arrest of Governor Pramool Sathatip for a murder he had been involved in while governor of Roi Et Province. (He was governor of Korat Province at the time of his arrest.) Pramool had arranged for a peasant who had criticized him to be killed, but the deposed military leader Praphas Charusathien, who was

*Mainichi Daily News* reported that the American, Japanese, and Taiwanese embassies had been put under round-the-clock guard after they were targets of student demonstrations. The students were protesting the temporary sanctuary given to ex-Field Marshal Praphas and Colonel Narong Kittikachorn in Taipei and to ex-Premier Thanom Kittikachorn in the United States. They demanded that the ousted leaders be extradited to face charges for their part in the massacre of students on October 14. The Taiwanese Embassy also received a bomb threat. However, General Kris Sivara, the present army commander, has ruled



## 'The stock market shuddered'

# British unions defy wage controls; Heath declares 'state

By Tony Hodges

London

The Tory government of Edward Heath declared a national state of emergency on November 13, "in view of the present industrial dispute affecting persons employed in the coal mining and electricity supply industries." The state of emergency came one day after 270,000 coal miners began a nationwide overtime ban to back up a wage claim prohibited under the Tories' Phase III wage controls.

Within hours of Heath's declaration, the government released its October trade statistics, revealing a record £298 million balance of trade deficit. "Today's events," wrote the November 13 London *Evening Standard*, "bear all the fearsome hallmarks of one of the worst economic crises we have seen for many years. The stock market shuddered when the news came over the City ticker tapes."

the November 13 *Evening Standard*, "was intended as a demonstration of its determination to face up to a challenge from the miners, electricity workers and others engaged in what Ministers regard as a trial of strength."

The government's emergency powers are similar to those invoked during the 1972 miners strike, when the militancy of the miners forced the government to retreat and grant a 20% pay increase in spite of its "voluntary" incomes policy. This time the Tories are defending a compulsory, statutory incomes policy and are determined to prevent the miners winning a second time. In 1972, the Tories introduced emergency measures too late to conserve coal stocks; this time they are taking no chances. "The [emergency] powers," wrote the November 14 London *Guardian*, "allow each minister to take over essential services and to eschew existing laws and regulations. The Department of Trade and Industry admitted that, with the nec-

from June 1972 to March 1973. In the first half of 1973 profit increases reported by the four major clearing banks were: 75% for Barclays, 77% for Midlands, 81% for National Westminster, and 96% for Lloyds.

Tory policy from Heath's 1970 election victory to Phase III has been to try to revive British capitalism's sagging fortunes by holding down wages and bolstering profits. Phase III was preceded by a six-month freeze on wages during Phase I and wage rise ceilings of £1 plus 4% on existing wages during Phase II.

But millions of British workers have now had enough of Tory attempts to erode their living standards. More than 6.25 million workers have submitted wage claims that challenge Phase III. Among them are 3 million engineers, 900,000 municipal workers, 300,000 railmen, 320,000 agricultural workers, 300,000 postmen, 400,000 civil servants, 220,000 hospital workers, and 170,000 bank employ-

ers in a report on October 10:

"In Barnsley, Mr Arthur Scargill, president of the Yorkshire area of the National Union of Mineworkers, said he could see no alternative to a strike by the miners, unless the union received an offer that would bring miners back to the level proposed by the Wilberforce Inquiry [which settled the 1972 strike], that would recognise their increased productivity and the conditions of their work, and would compensate them for the increase in the cost of living.

"The Stage III proposals simply did not fit into Mr Scargill's equation."

The Tories are very worried by the miners' threat to Phase III. An editorial in the November 12 *Guardian* expressed alarm: "There is no sign at present that the miners see things the Government's way or that anything will deter them from their overtime ban. . . . The miners are a community with a tradition of solidarity."

The government has decided to fight tooth and nail against the miners. In two speeches on November 16—one to a group of American bankers, the other to a meeting of Conservative party members of Parliament—Anthony Barber warned the unions that they could no longer expect to improve pay agreements through industrial action. "It is inconceivable," he said, "that any government could agree to a dispute being settled by an offer outside the limits laid down."

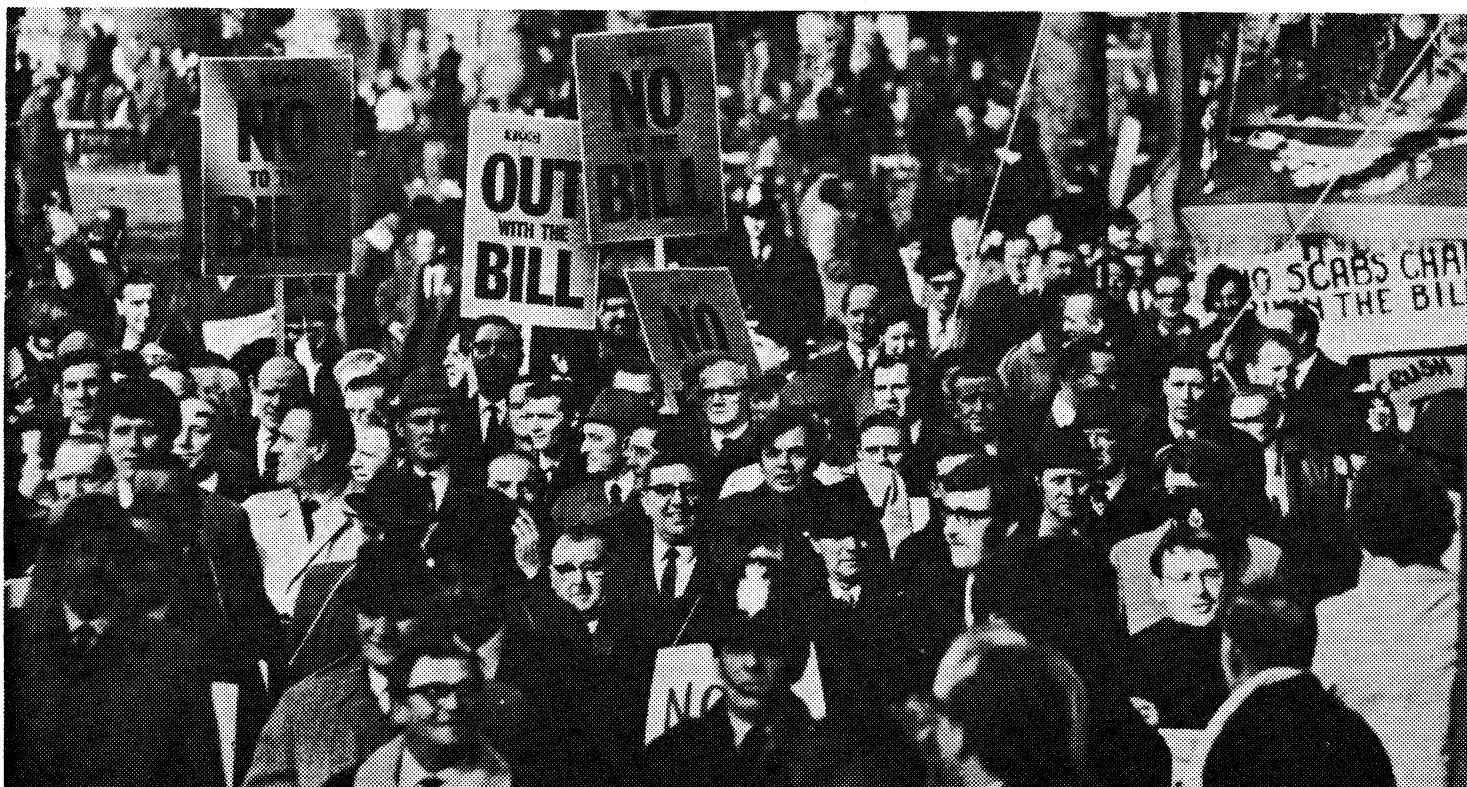
On November 21, the NUM national executive committee met to review the overtime ban and its continuing negotiations with the government. The NUM decided to keep up the ban and hold another national executive committee meeting on December 13. Then, if the government has still not yielded, the union may decide to organise a national referendum of its members to start a full-scale nationwide strike.

Other groups of workers have also begun to struggle against Phase III. Further compounding the government's energy problems, 18,000 electricity supply engineers began an overtime ban on November 1. Thousands of London railmen defied their union leaders and staged a one-day unofficial strike November 19.

Workers with previous no-strike records have moved into action. In Glasgow, firemen broke with their union leaders and held a ten-day strike that won big wage increases well beyond the Phase III limits. Half the country's ambulance crews are now operating an overtime ban following a strike by ambulancemen in Durham. A national conference on November 29 may call a national ambulance strike.

While the Tories are shaping up for a hard struggle to impose their statutory wage ceilings on the unions, they are making increasing use of their legal powers to restrict the unions' rights to strike and picket.

Under the Industrial Relations Act, unions can be forced to accept "solutions" to industrial disputes handed down by the National Industrial Relations Court (NIRC). On September 27, the NIRC ordered the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW) to halt a strike at the small engineering factory of Con-Mech in Woking, where the employers had re-



Tory policy has been to try to hold down wages and maximize profits. Above, part of February 1971 demonstration of 140,000 workers against Heath's Industrial Relations Bill.

The massive October trade deficit once again underlined British capitalism's inability to compete with its imperialist rivals. Exports were down £54 million in October, while imports were up £67 million. The October balance of payments deficit was £233 million, which if maintained would produce a staggering annual balance of payments deficit of £2,500 million.

The London *Times* expressed ruling-class fears in a November 16 editorial: "Everyone knows we are facing a very unpleasant winter, one of the nastiest winters since the war. Money has become desperately expensive, prices are still rising, almost every industry is rumbling with strikes and Britain's balance of payments is in huge deficit."

Meanwhile the coal miners were beginning to muster their strength for a long, hard battle to break through the Phase III wage controls. On November 12, some 270,000 miners began refusing to work overtime.

The swift imposition of a state of emergency by the government, wrote

essary order, troops could be sent down the mines. . . .

"Ministers can regulate the ports and all transport, and there are powers of requisition. The government can take over motor vehicles, aircraft, and parts of buildings, if it considers this necessary to cope with the emergency."

Most of these provisions do not come into effect at once. They are designed more as a threat to the union leaders to keep the rank and file in check.

Under Phase III wage-control regulations, which came into operation on November 7, wages cannot rise by more than 7% a year, even though prices are rising much faster. In October alone, food prices shot up 3.3%, the largest single monthly increase in food prices for twenty years. The Retail Price Index showed an annual rate of increase of 10.5% for October.

While working-class families are prevented by law from keeping up with skyrocketing prices, the big corporations are having a field day. The top twenty companies reported an average rise of 32.1% in profits per employee

ees—as well as the 270,000 miners already in struggle.

The miners' overtime ban had a big impact in its first week. Coming on top of the Arab states' cutbacks in oil production, the coal miners' strike could threaten the Tories with a major energy crisis. In the first week of the overtime ban, coal production was cut back 500,000 tons from its normal output of 2.6 million tons per week.

The ban means that safety and maintenance work is now being done during the week, rather than on weekends, thus taking away, as the November 17 *Times* put it, from "valuable coal-cutting time on Mondays and possibly Tuesdays." The *Times* predicted bigger output losses as the ban continued.

The miners have submitted demands for wage rises of £8.21 to £12.71. The National Coal Board offered rises of only £2.30 to £2.57, saying that no more was allowed within the Phase III guidelines. A *Guardian* correspondent summed up the anger of the min-

## of emergency'

fused to recognise the union. The AUEW, in line with its policy of non-recognition of the NIRC, refused to attend the NIRC's hearings and refused to stop the strike. On October 10 the NIRC seized £100,000 of AUEW assets for its refusal to comply with a court order.

On October 22, the NIRC also fined the AUEW £75,000 which, along with costs, was to be taken from the £100,000 seized the previous week. This was the biggest fine NIRC has imposed since the Industrial Relations Act became law in February 1972. It was the third time the AUEW had been fined by the NIRC.

About 300 demonstrators rallied outside the court and half a million workers struck on November 5 to protest the fine. Striking printworkers closed down all national newspapers and 50,000 autoworkers in British Leyland plants stopped work, costing the corporation £3.75 million. In London, 2,000 workers marched to a rally on Tower Hill.

The NIRC's fines, threatening the finances of the unions, are only a part of the Tories' legal assault on the working class. In February 1972 twenty-four building workers were arrested and charged with illegal picketing during the national building workers strike. The workers were charged under the 1875 Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act and were brought before a court in Shrewsbury in October. The case of the Shrewsbury 24 is a test for the government goal of suppressing the right to picket, determined as they are to prevent any repetition of the militant flying pickets that were so successful during the 1972 miners strike.

The November 13 *Times* reported that "an intelligence bureau has been set up at Scotland Yard to give police forces throughout the country early warning of when industrial unrest may turn into violence. . . . The intelligence unit will serve as a 'clearing house' for information so that provincial forces can be alerted in advance of possible trouble." Tory Home Secretary Robert Carr told Parliament that a coordinated plan had been devised by the police and the Home Office to ensure that "violent" industrial troubles would be "dealt with."

Similar threats also came from the coal merchants. Speaking in London on November 21, Leslie Chambers, director of the Coal Merchants Federation, said: "We have not got a strike at the present time, and this is a dispute with which we do not want to involve ourselves, but in order to honour our customers, we feel justified in calling on police protection or even troops."

This sort of sabre rattling is designed to frighten the trade-union bureaucrats, who are scared stiff of the struggles that lie ahead. The trade-union leaders—both "left-wingers" and unabashed right-wingers—proved themselves utterly incapable of putting up any fight against Phases I and II, thus allowing the Tories to bring in Phase III without any significant opposition. The Trades Unions Congress (TUC) held endless talks with the government, hoping to convince Heath to work out a "voluntary" rather than statutory wage-control policy that the bureaucrats could sell with greater ease to their discontented ranks.

These endless talks provoked the anger of many rank-and-file trade unionists, ultimately forcing "leftist" Hugh Scanlon, president of the AUEW, out of the talks, much against his will, when his union conference in July banned him from taking part.

Even after the announcement of Phase III the TUC refused to call off its talks and mobilise the working class in a united campaign against wage controls. The October 16 *Times* described the deliberations of the TUC's General Council, held to discuss Heath's package, as rejecting Phase III but "in a way that rules out any centrally organised trade union attack on the programme." The General Council rejected a proposal to call an emergency congress of the TUC and simply crawled back to the Tories for another round of talks. This time Scanlon was back with them.

No more treacherous role has been played than that by Joe Gormley, the miners' president, who warned the miners against striking in a speech on October 21. Gormley told an audience of miners that if they struck, the Tories would stage a snap election, blame the country's troubles on the miners, and

get reelected to office for a further five years. Gormley's whole approach suggested that miners should simply lie down and get trampled on by the Tories. Contrary to Gormley, who tries to frighten the miners into thinking they would be isolated from public support, it is obvious that millions of workers will look to the miners as leaders in the fight to preserve their living standards from the ravages of Phase III.

The Labour party leaders have acted no better. "Mr Wilson's position," wrote the October 25 *Guardian*, "is straightforward. While opposing the [Industrial Relations] Act, he thinks that people should not act outside the law to fight it."

But despite the misleadership of the union and Labour party bureaucrats,

dustrial Relations Act and the 1875 Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act must be repealed. All charges against the Shrewsbury 24 should be dropped.

Trade-union militants should demand that the union leaders fight for a sliding scale of wages to offset price rises and that price committees composed of trade unionists, students, women, pensioners, and tenants be set up to determine the real rate of increase of workers' living costs.

In addition to a sliding scale of wages, which in many cases would only retain low wages at their existing level, the unions should fight for a minimum weekly wage of £35. This is the only measure capable of achieving a decent standard of living and, together with the demand for automat-



British coal miners rally during 1972 strike.

the workers must act to counter the Tories' attacks on their standard of living. The TUC must stop all talks with the government and start to mobilise the working class in independent struggle against all wage controls. The unions must stick firm to the right of free collective bargaining and reject every form of government wage restrictions.

The unions must preserve their independence from the state and reject all attempts by the Tories to curtail the right to strike and picket. The In-

ic wage rises to offset price increases as recorded by working-class price committees, it poses a revolutionary challenge to the capitalist system.

As the miners launch their struggle to break through the Phase III pay limits, no task is more urgent than rallying the entire labour movement behind them. A congress of the TUC should be called at once to map out a united campaign of action by the whole movement against Phase III.

## Iranian intellectual arrested, tortured

The Iranian regime, in September, arrested Reza Baraheni, a prominent poet and literary critic. He had just returned to his position at the University of Tehran after spending a year

in the United States teaching courses at the Universities of Texas and Utah.

According to Robert Mezey, a professor at the University of Utah, Baraheni had expressed criticisms of the Iranian government while in the United States, and some faculty members at the university, it was reported in the university paper, the *Daily Utah Chronical*, believed that he was arrested because of an article printed before his return. Mezey described a letter that had been received from Baraheni's wife: "She wrote that this article was not a political one, but a piece of literary criticism. She also told us that she has seen Baraheni only three times since his imprisonment and that she had reason to believe he has been tortured."

Mezey went on to describe Baraheni as "a very distinguished novelist, poet and playwright—one of the foremost in his country. He is a prolific and serious writer."

A petition circulated at the University of Utah read in part: "It is clear that he is being punished because he is an intellectual actively engaged in his people's struggle to free themselves from poverty, illiteracy and oppressive government. We demand his release."

Baraheni's case received broad publicity in Austin, Texas, when the Iranian ambassador to the United States, Ardeshir Zahedi, spoke at the University of Texas there December 5. Zahedi was met by a picket line of 80 people chanting, "The shah is a U.S. puppet;

down with the shah!"

About 200 people refused to cross the picket line, but followed the protesters into the meeting, which was attended by a total of only 300. In response to questions about political repression in Iran and the cases of Baraheni and others, the ambassador asked one Iranian student his name, how long he had been in the United States, and the names and addresses of the people in the shah's prisons!

Zahedi was unable to satisfy the audience. The meeting ended to the chants of the demonstrators.

The demonstration would have been even larger, but many Arabs and Iranian students feared reprisals if they participated.



## Rifts among capitalists, military

# Bolivia: the workers movement revives

[The following article was published in the November 1 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly paper of the Argentine PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers party). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

At the end of October 1972, Colonel Banzer's government devalued the Bolivian currency by 66.66 percent, which in effect was a disastrous blow to the workers' standard of living. That is, it was as if the imperialist and Bolivian capitalists had reached into the workers' pockets and taken 66 centavos out of every peso they had.

However, the workers movement, which had been waging some partial struggles since the August 1971 coup d'etat that overthrew Juan José Torres, was able to respond to the situation:

"Today thousands of workers from various sectors of the labor force launched a mobilization to resist the government's economic measures, calling indefinite stoppages in their respective workplaces. La Paz's main factories were at a standstill. . . . Workers from the SAID textile factory, employing approximately a thousand white- and blue-collar workers, jammed the main thoroughfare of this city, which leads to the International Airport and connects up Bolivia's most important highways. Hundreds of workers gathered in downtown La Paz to begin a protest march." (*Clarín*, October 31, 1972.)

The struggle spread. In Cochabamba, ". . . in the central part of the country, factory workers declared their solidarity with their compañeros in La Paz. The strike could affect some 5,000 workers during a twenty-four-hour period. Unofficial reports indicated that in some areas prisoners were released [by the mobilized workers]." (*La Nación*, October 31, 1972.)

The most important immediate results of this uprising were a 20 percent raise won by the workers from the government and the return to the union membership of the headquarters of the La Paz Miners Federation—the strongest union in the Central Obrera Boliviana [COB—Bolivian Workers Federation]. The headquarters had been closed down after Torres fell.

The October explosion was preceded by a few limited struggles by the teachers and journalists unions, among others. Also, from his first days in office, there was friction between Banzer and various capitalist sectors.

Following the revolt in La Paz and in other cities, infighting among the various sectors of Bolivia's capitalists grew more and more intense. In one instance, Colonel Selich (Che Guevara's murderer), who was Banzer's right-hand man in the coup against Torres, was first recalled as ambassador to Paraguay and subsequently killed—accused of conspiring against the government.

Immediately following the La Paz actions, the Comité de Defensa de los Trabajadores [Workers Defense Committee] was formed, which was made up of rank-and-file factory delegates

tested in the struggle. At the same time, the left forces began to win trade-union elections from the slates that the government backed in its attempt to get a brake on the struggles by putting bureaucratic hacks in charge of trade-union reorganization.

During the last two months of 1972, Banzer had to confront demands for

ened to take action against any putchist sector of the armed forces that might attempt to prevent the elections from being held.

However, the date for the elections has yet to be set. In the first place, some sections of the MNR have called on their leaders to withdraw the party from the discredited ruling coalition,



Bolivian tin miners marched on La Paz with dynamite following Banzer coup in 1971.

higher wages and legalization of the trade unions, which came in conjunction with a continuous chain of sit-in strikes that defied the martial law imposed by the military.

On May Day 1973, some 15,000 workers marched through La Paz demanding that the COB be legalized. Popular ferment rose to a new peak during October this year in protests against the miserable raise of 6,000 pesos a month [US\$60] decreed by the government, an increase that seemed like a mockery in the face of galloping inflation.

At the beginning of this year, the Bolivian authorities proclaimed that the military would remain in the government for another five to ten years.

However, early last June the PSDB [Partido Social Demócrata Boliviano—Bolivian Social Democratic party], one of the parties composing the ruling coalition, came out with a position that calling free elections was the "only solution to the problems confronting the country." That is, in the face of the popular mobilizations, this was the only answer the imperialists and the bosses could come up with.

Confronted with this and other pressures, Banzer chose to retreat from the position he held at the start of this year. He pledged to call elections for mid-1974. At the same time, he sought to fuse the two coalition parties making up the government—the Falange Socialista Boliviana [Bolivian Socialist Phalanx] and the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario [Revolutionary Nationalist Movement] into a single party to back his candidacy.

On the other hand, a group of young military officers came out with a document in which they declared that they were "ready to break with the decrepit structures of the country in order to avoid increasing Bolivia's dependence on foreign capital." (*Clarín*, July 15, 1973.) At the same time, they threat-

ening the Banzer candidacy balanced precariously on one leg. Moreover, when a minister said recently on his own authority that elections would be held on June 2, 1974, and promised a broad amnesty for all political prisoners, including left-wingers, Banzer was quick to deny his assertions.

So, while the bank workers have been spearheading popular struggles recently, showing their solidarity with an imprisoned trade-union leader by calling a massive strike, Banzer and the capitalist parties have been issuing long statements trying to cover up the infighting that prevents them from uniting to confront the militant Bolivian workers.

The situation in Bolivia leads us to

draw some conclusions:

In October 1972, a year after the defeat represented by the August 1971 coup, the Bolivian workers showed that they were making a clear recovery.

Since 1972, workers combativity has continued to grow, while the crisis has been deepening and disunity reigns in the army, the government, and the capitalist parties.

The workers focused their struggle on restoring their traditional organizations, such as the Miners Federation and the COB, while at the same time they took advantage of all legal and semi-legal openings, such as trade-union elections, that facilitated the work of activists in reunifying the ranks of the labor movement.

Contrary to the expectations of some, guerrilla warfare has played no role in the revival of the mass movement in Bolivia. What is more, there hasn't even been a sign of guerrilla activity since the 1971 coup d'etat, either in the countryside or the city.

Despite pronouncements that they would stay in power for a decade, Banzer and his cronies were unable to accomplish their planned installation of a solid Brazilian-style dictatorship.

Contrary to the expectations of others, under the pressure of growing workers struggles, friction has increased between different Bolivian capitalist groups, and also between them and imperialism, prompting some sectors to demand elections.

A minister issued a statement, which was only half denied by Banzer, saying that all tendencies would be allowed to participate in the elections, "since this will also be a good way to find out just how many communists there are in Bolivia." (*Cronista Comercial*, October 19, 1973.) This led to general speculation that the Bolivian government was investigating the possibility of opening up talks with "all the leftist and ultraleft forces"—as the Buenos Aires daily *Clarín* put it in its October 9 issue—with a view to negotiating the conditions of their participation in the elections.

The Banzer dictatorship seems to find itself in a situation similar to the first stage of the Ovando regime. We hope that the Bolivian worker and student activists have drawn the lessons of Torres's fall and that they will take up the task of building the instrument that they needed to win in 1971—the revolutionary party.

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## As Ford fills Agnew's shoes

# Pressure mounts for Nixon's resignation

By LINDA JENNESS

Gerald Ford has assumed office as the 40th vice-president of the United States, succeeding convicted tax-dodger Spiro Agnew.

Even in the eyes of his congressional colleagues and the capitalist press, Ford's strongest feature seems to be his lack of a felony record.

"He has no more charisma than does Mr. Nixon, which is to say he is as plain as bread. He is not creative . . ." wrote the *Wall Street Journal*.

"Nobody's superstar," said the *Washington Post*.

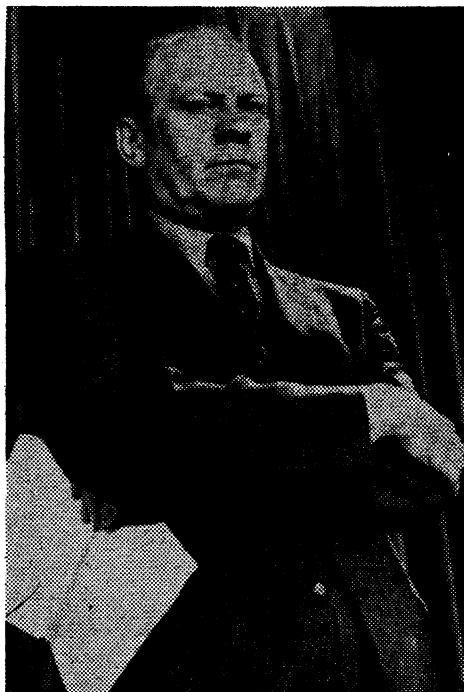
"Not a man of imagination or humor," opined Senator William Proxmire (D-Wis.)

The *New York Times* glumly observed, "Ford might well represent no improvement. His record on racial equality, civil liberties, economic justice and social reform certainly provides no ground for optimism. His knowledge of foreign affairs is thin . . . and his speeches are routinely partisan and banal."

Yet in the same editorial the *Times* urged Ford's elevation to the highest office in the land. Pointing out that Ford was confirmed by a Democratic-controlled Congress and has "impeccable credentials as a Republican party loyalist," the *Times* editors call on the GOP to dump Nixon and resolve the nation's "crisis of leadership."

Ford's confirmation is seen by many capitalist politicians as the green light for either pressuring Nixon to resign or impeaching him. "Ninety days," said one congressional Republican. "Ninety days, Gerry Ford will be President in 90 days."

Liberal Republican Senator Jacob Javits from New York openly declared that Ford's confirmation produced "a new situation concerning any call on the President to resign in the interest of the country." Javits said he and others would have to "give every thoughtful consideration to that possi-



FORD: 'Nobody's superstar'

bility."

Other Republicans have already given it so much consideration they are speculating that Ford will name soon-to-resign White House adviser Melvin Laird as his vice-president.

Conservative columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak pointed out why more Republicans would like to see a Ford in their future: "as the 1974 campaign comes closer, every Republican candidate is going to worry about the Nixon drag on his own race."

Representative Clarence Long (D-Md.) warned the Republicans, "If you keep the present incumbent in office for three more years the Democrats could win in 1976 with the Boston Strangler."

The day after Ford was sworn in, the *Chicago Sun-Times* and the *Chicago Daily News* joined the impeachment chorus. "The President's culpability seems to us to be beyond ques-

tion," they said in similar editorials.

The fact that sections of the ruling class would prefer Ford to Nixon is testimony to their concern about Nixon's total bankruptcy of authority and credibility.

"Never before have I seen a time when the country would not rally around the president," said one corporation chairman.

In a special study conducted this fall for the Senate Committee on Government Operations, the Louis Harris Poll showed that only 18 percent of the American people feel "a great deal of confidence in the White House." This is about a third of the number who have the same level of confidence in "local trash collection."

It's hardly surprising that cynicism grows deeper and deeper. In the saga of the missing-erased tapes, for instance, Nixon's story gets wilder and wilder.

Trying to explain the 18-minute erasure on a subpoenaed Watergate tape, General Alexander Haig, Nixon's chief of staff, resorted to what he called "the devil theory." He testified that perhaps some "sinister force," or "some outside source of energy" might have caused the erasure.

When that didn't go over too well, Haig challenged Rose Mary Wood's testimony. Wood, Nixon's personal secretary, claims she "accidentally" erased five minutes of the tape while talking on the telephone. But she swears she was not on the telephone more than five minutes.

Haig told newsmen he thinks Wood is responsible for the entire erasure. "I've known women who think they've talked for five minutes and then have talked for an hour," he said.

The U.S. capitalist rulers are worried about their ability to conduct their policies with an albatross like Nixon around their necks. As the *New York Times* put it, "The dangerous situation in the Middle East, the energy

crisis and inflation require a reinvigorated Presidency."

Columnist Joseph Alsop, a longtime Nixon apologist, was even more blunt. He wrote, "At home . . . we have both the energy crisis and its potential economic consequences. Abroad, there are half a dozen lurking dangers, of which several have life-or-death potential. Does anyone then, feel sure we can survive three years with a President crippled by incessant inquiry and incessant attack?"

These Democrats and Republicans who now call for Nixon's head aren't concerned about eliminating corruption, secrecy, or infringement of civil liberties by the government. They simply want to restore popular illusions that such evils are not inherently part of capitalist rule.

Ford's confirmation illustrates the impossibility of relying on Congress and the liberal capitalist politicians to take any meaningful action against the political methods symbolized by Watergate. The liberal Democrats fell right into line behind this notorious warhawk, opponent of civil rights, and antilabor hatchet man.

Virtually the only figures who felt compelled to vote against Ford were Black members of congress. Even among them, Representative Andrew Young (D-Ga.), a former civil rights activist, backed Ford with the lame apology that Kennedy and Johnson, too, had entered the White House with poor civil-rights voting records, and that he hoped Ford would rise to his new job.

One excuse offered for the liberals' capitulation, often echoed by the capitalist press, is to palm Ford off as the kind of person the public asked for at the polls in 1972. Tom Wicker of the *New York Times*, for example, wrote, "Gerald Ford, above all, is a conservative Republican, whose accession to the Presidency could not do

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## How Nixon became a millionaire in office

Richard Nixon's financial records show that since taking the office of president he has become a millionaire.

Nixon's salary as president is about \$550 a day, plus an expense account of \$137 a day. His fortune, however, was not made by saving his paycheck.

Nixon's wealth was amassed through real estate shenanigans, made under the tutelage of his multimillionaire buddies Bebe Rebozo and Robert Abplanalp, and through manipulation of tax benefits.

Forced by public suspicion to release a large volume of his financial records, Nixon may have gotten himself into even deeper trouble. Not only are many of the key questions left unanswered, but even one of his own accounting firms says he violated the tax laws.

Nixon's tax revelations are especially galling to overtaxed working people. The records show that the millionaire president paid only \$792.81 in taxes in 1970 and \$878.03 in 1971. That is less than a family of four trying to get by on a \$10,000-a-year income has to pay.

One of Nixon's tricks is to make enough "deductible contributions" to put him in a lower tax bracket. His biggest "contribution" was his collection of vice-presidential papers, which were assigned the dubious value of \$576,000. But now Nixon has to explain how he apparently took this

deduction after the tax laws were changed to prohibit it. About \$240,000 of Nixon's new wealth came from tax benefits for donating the papers.

It will also take some fast talking to explain why Nixon has not paid taxes in either California or Washington, D.C.

Nixon's financial papers have also revealed a series of shady deals in which he would buy property from Rebozo or Abplanalp and then sell it back to them at a handsome profit. In at least some cases, he paid no tax on the hundreds of thousands he pocketed in these transactions.

Now a Congressional committee is reviewing Nixon's tax returns. If the committee rules against him, Nixon promises he will pay the nearly \$300,000 in back taxes.

But even if Nixon is found to have broken the law, it's a safe bet that he, like Agnew, will not see the inside of a jail cell for this crime.

It should also be recalled that at the same time Nixon was dodging taxes in 1970 and '71, he was using the Internal Revenue Service to try to crack down on political activity on campuses. A set of IRS "guidelines" was issued over Nixon's signature in 1970. These were sent to colleges across the country threatening them with loss of tax-exempt status if they failed to stop political activity by students, faculty, and staff.

The White House also ordered the IRS to carry out special audits on Nixon's political opponents as a means of harassment.

The main question, however, is not whether Nixon's actions went beyond the limits of "legal" tax dodges for the rich. Most Americans know that tax evasion by the capitalists is standard operating procedure, as a Harris poll conducted last September showed.

Seventy-four percent of those polled agreed that "tax laws are written for the rich, not the average man." And 60 percent felt that "most elective officials are in politics for all they personally can get out of it for themselves."

The effect of the Nixon revelations in confirming these opinions has caused some distress in the ruling circles. The *New York Times* editors warned, "A tax system that depends upon the cooperation of millions of private citizens cannot long survive if it is shown that those who should set an example are instead taking advantage of loopholes and walking a narrow line between the legal and the illegal."

Their concern might be more truthfully stated this way: When someone under the public spotlight like Nixon is clumsy enough to get caught as a tax swindler, it threatens to blow the cover off the entire system of fleecing the workers to pay for the government and military that protects the wealth of the industrialists and financiers.



HOGS ARE BEAUTIFUL!

He should know. Nixon hogged a fortune by evading taxes and making shady real estate deals.

## Prepare for nat'l conference

# 300 East Coast trade-union women meet

By RUTHANN MILLER

PHILADELPHIA—More than 300 trade-union women attended the East Coast regional conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) held here Dec. 8.

The conference was an indication of the growing sentiment among union women for action around the issues that have been raised by the women's liberation movement.

Shelli Sonstein from the American

"We know there is a need for a change in our unions. We see that we are underrepresented in our unions. Our unions have not taken our needs seriously.

"But the unions are changing," Sonstein continued. She pointed to the AFL-CIO's recent endorsement of the Equal Rights Amendment, reversing its previous opposition to the ERA, as one example. To loud cheers and applause she asserted, "We forced that change. Union women forced that change."

Addie Wyatt of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workers, one of the keynote speakers, told the conference, "trade-union women are going to have to take the leadership of this movement if it is to accomplish real changes in the lives of women in this country."

Other speakers included Ed Toohey, president of the Philadelphia AFL-CIO Council, and Evelyn Dubrow, lobbyist for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

A panel discussion was held with speakers on three topics: Lillian Roberts from District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees spoke on organizing the unorganized women; Rosmary Trump of the Service Employees International Union spoke on involving women in trade-union activity; and Ruth Weyand of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers spoke on Affirmative Action Programs.

After showing a film about the Farah strike in El Paso, Texas, where

3,000 workers, mostly Chicanas, have been on strike for a year and a half, the conference broke down into state and union workshops. These workshops discussed ways of involving more union women in CLUW and bringing as many women as possible to the national conference.

Among the 35 international unions represented at this conference were the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workers, Int'l Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and the United Farm Workers.

While the conference was structured in a way that did not allow much time for discussion of the political issues involved, there was general excitement and enthusiasm for the national conference in March. It is at the national conference that the issues and direction of this coalition will be hammered out.

The closing speech was given by Edith Van Horn from the United Auto Workers. Van Horn said the trade-union movement owed a word of thanks to the women's liberation movement. "It's because of the women's movement that we are here," she said. "The women's movement has spurred us on to organize as trade-union women."

The national conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women will be held at the Pick-Congress Hotel in Chicago March 23-24, 1974. For more information write to Addie Wyatt, Chairwoman of CLUW, 4859 S. Wabash, Chicago, Ill. 60615.



Militant/Terry Hillman

Among participants at Coalition of Labor Union Women's conference were (left to right): Shelli Sonstein, Joyce Miller, Addie Wyatt, and Edith Van Horn.

This conference was a big first in size and aims. Its purpose was to "bring together women trade-union members to deal with our special concerns as unionists and women in the labor force" and to plan for a national conference of CLUW set for March 23-24 in Chicago.

Federation of Television and Radio Artists welcomed the unionists to the conference. "For over one hundred years, women have built the union movement in this country," Sonstein said. "Yet, for over one hundred years, we have been denied equal status with men. . . .

## SF campaign to enforce child-care victory

By CAROL LIPMAN

SAN FRANCISCO—One hundred and sixty people, representing a broad array of local child-care centers and programs, unions, government agencies, and other organizations, attended a Dec. 8 conference called by Child and Parent Action (CAPA) to map out an aggressive program to implement Proposition M.

Proposition M, an initiative demanding that the city provide low-cost quality child care for all San Francisco children, passed by a wide margin in the city elections in November. CAPA is the coalition that petitioned to get Proposition M on the ballot and waged the successful campaign for a "yes" vote.

Sylvia Weinstein, a CAPA cochairwoman, expressed the intent of the meeting when she stated during the opening session, "Even though Proposition M won, we still have to organize to enforce that victory. Unfortunately, politicians don't carry out the mandate of the people. We've got to help ourselves. We've got to rely on our own power."

Bringing greetings to the conference were John Kidder, commissioner of the San Francisco board of education, and John McCoy, representing Wilson Riles, state superintendent of public instruction.

Pat Crawford, another cochairwoman of CAPA and a member of the National Organization for Women, presented the proposal for action and a statement of purpose that became the main basis of discussion in workshops and the final plenary session.

By passing this proposal, she indicated, CAPA was demanding immediate action to expand child care by three city agencies most capable of

enforcing Proposition M: the mayor's office, the board of supervisors, and the board of education. For example, the following demand was addressed to the board of education:

"Into every school building" being reconstructed to meet California earthquake safety standards, "there must be new centers built with flexibility for round-the-clock, round-the-year programs for community use, such as: early childhood programs, children's centers, after-school programs, parent cooperatives, Head Start and CAP, and others."

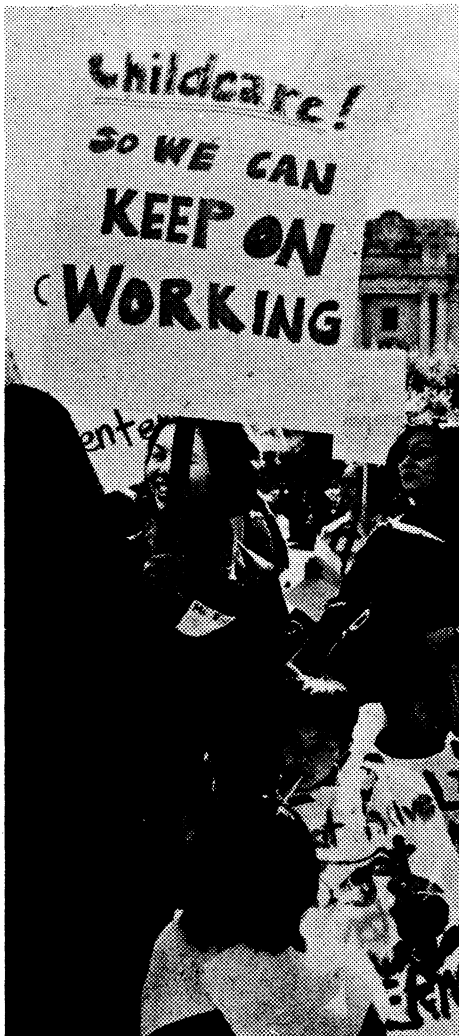
And, "the board of education must take immediate steps to absorb the huge waiting list of children who need child-care services now. The enrollment in elementary school has decreased by over 2,000 children in the past year, leaving empty classroom space that can easily be utilized for child-care programs."

The resolution ends by stating how CAPA plans to fight to win these demands:

"We will mobilize support from parents, teachers and the communities to press for implementation. We'll fill the meetings and hearings of the board of supervisors and education to press these demands. We'll go to the mayor's office. We're prepared to picket and demonstrate and . . . we'll plan a massive protest demonstration if the city fails to carry out the mandate from the voters."

"We're relying on the power of united parent and community action rather than dollars and empty promises to win these programs for our children. CAPA will hold another general meeting on Jan. 19, 1974, to discuss the city's response to our next activities." Participants in the conference attend-

ed workshops on topics such as financing expanded child care, parent-teacher-community control of child-care programs, and on-the-job child-care programs. All the workshops endorsed the action proposal.



Militant/Howard Petrick

San Francisco child-care demonstration last spring. More demonstrations are planned to demand implementation of child-care initiative.

Some of the city agencies sent their financial "experts" to the conference to explain how broke the city is. CAPA activists were skeptical, knowing how much money is spent on police and on unneeded freeways. These activists said they were sure money would be found if enough people let the city know in no uncertain terms, through public action, that they want expanded child care.

In addition, hundreds of thousands of dollars available for expanded child care were not used or even reported to the public by the city government this year.

The conference ended with a plenary session that adopted the action proposal and a new statement of purpose defining CAPA as an independent action-oriented coalition. It also established a new structure that will help CAPA become a broad coalition of all those interested in struggling for child care for all. Many of those present signed up for the new steering committee of CAPA.

A cross section of the child-care programs available now in San Francisco—25 in all—were represented at the conference. Government and city agencies such as the Office of Child Development of HEW, Economic Opportunity Council, State Department of Education, and the mayor's office were also represented.

Organizations attending the conference included the Children's Council, National Women's Political Caucus, National Organization for Women, Childcare Switchboard, Union Wage, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and several parents groups. A number of unions were also represented, including the American Federation of Teachers.



## UMWA convention plans organizing drive

# Miners approve new contract demands

By KAREN PEWITT

PITTSBURGH—With many delegates noting "This is my first convention" as they rise to speak, the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) convention here has made a series of important changes in the union constitution and approved substantial new contract demands.

The delegates have voted to change the constitution so that the national contract must be ratified by the membership. Among the contract demands adopted Dec. 10 are:

- A six-hour-a-day five-day week with double pay for overtime.

- A cost-of-living escalator clause to help miners keep up with inflation.

- Thirty days annual sick pay. (The current contract has no provision for sick pay.)

Delegates also approved a report from the Welfare and Retirement Committee, including proposals to raise pensions for soft-coal miners from \$150 a month to \$500 monthly, with a cost-of-living clause, over the life of the next contract. The proposal would also lower the retirement age from 55 to 50.

To finance this increase in the fund, the convention voted to demand an increase in the tonnage royalty paid



United Mine Workers President Arnold Miller.

by the coal companies from 75 cents a ton to \$2.40 a ton by 1977.

Negotiations are set to begin soon on a new contract. The present UM-

WA contract will run out Nov. 4, 1974. There has been much talk about the possibility of a long strike to win an acceptable new contract.

One of the best-received of the many guest speakers at the convention was César Chávez, president of the United Farm Workers. "You are celebrating your rebirth, and everyone in the labor movement in America today, and anyone in the country who is concerned with the social ills that affect us . . . are looking at you to see what you are going to do here today," he told the delegates.

After Chávez described the lettuce and grape boycott, which the UMWA endorsed, a film was shown depicting Teamster and police attacks on Farm Workers pickets. Miners then expressed their solidarity with the UFW by taking up a collection of more than \$2,600 among the 1,000 delegates. A motion for the UMWA to donate an additional \$10,000 to the UFW carried unanimously.

I. W. Abel, head of the United Steelworkers, received a much cooler response from the convention, particularly when he discussed the no-strike agreement he is trying to foist on steelworkers.

The featured speaker at a banquet

Dec. 8 was Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.).

There has been a heated debate over a proposal to approximately double dues, along with another motion to assess miners from \$1 to \$10 a month for the strike fund. Secretary-treasurer Harry Patrick argued in favor of the dues increase, saying that it would allow the UMWA to continue its campaign to organize the unorganized, such as the Brookside, Ky., miners, and to prepare for a major fight with the coal operators over the new contract.

The delegates passed a proposal to raise dues to \$12 a month, to be divided equally between the local, district, and international.

The miners have been outspoken during the discussion, which has been conducted in an open manner. They have demanded clarification on some points and rejected several reports, sending them back to committee for reworking.

Last week, delegates were angered to discover that several hated coal operators were sitting in the convention hall. They demanded that the bosses leave, and President Miller instructed the ushers to see the operators out.

## Ky. miners fight for union representation

By CINDY JAQUITH

BROOKSIDE, Ky.—In the 1930s and 1940s, Harlan County, Ky., was the scene of bloody battles by miners for the right to a union. The fruits of those bitter fights were lost again in the early 1960s when the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) was ousted from most mines in Eastern Kentucky, through a combination of corrupt union leadership, a decline in the coal industry, and automation.

But today as you drive toward Brookside, a small town in Harlan County, bumper stickers on many cars proclaim "UMWA—Here to Stay." The union is now fighting to regain its foothold here, beginning with the Brookside mine owned by the Eastover Mining Company.

Last summer, by a vote of 113 to 55, the Brookside miners voted to throw out the company union, the Southern Labor Union (SLU), and to affiliate instead with the United Mine Workers. But Norman Yarborough, president of Eastover, refused to recognize the terms of the UMWA national contract, thus forcing the men to go out on strike. They have been out since August.

The Brookside strike is the focus of the UMWA drive to organize unorganized miners, initiated under the new leadership of President Arnold Miller. In Eastern Kentucky, 15,000 of the 21,000 miners are not in the UMWA.

The union has thrown major resources into the strike, paying \$80 to \$100 weekly strike benefits and providing medical care for the strikers' families. Miller and UMWA Vice-president Mike Trbovich have both been on the picket lines here.

Houston Elmore, an international organizer for the UMWA in Brookside, is confident that Eastover will be forced to give in eventually. A victory at the Brookside mine will open the door to unionization of the other mines in the area.

Strikers interviewed by *The Militant*

stressed health benefits, pensions, safety, and job protection as the most important issues in this fight. "I was raised under the UMWA and it fed me my bread many a time. The union has hospitalization. They have a hospital card to protect their people, and women and children sure need it these days."

The UMWA health and retirement benefits are paid for through a 75-cent-a-ton royalty on coal produced. Eastover doesn't want to pay more than 50 cents a ton.

The miners also want stricter enforcement of safety provisions. One picketer explained that the last inspection at the mine showed 48 violations, including serious violations in the escapeways, which have existed since last March.

"In case someone wants to fire me, with the UMWA I've got someone to back me up," added another man on the picket line. Punitive transfers and firings were common under the SLU.

The increased demand for fuel now makes it more likely that Eastover will have to yield to the miners' demands. But so far, the negotiations have gotten nowhere. Yarborough is not even willing to accept the miners' right to strike.

But instead of shooting men on the picket line or bombing their houses as the coal operators did in the old days, Eastover is relying on court injunctions to restrict the number of pickets. The miners' response has been both creative and effective.

After strike supporters were arrested for "violating" picket limits, a retired miner-turned-preacher began holding "highway revival" services every morning near the picket line. Some days 500 people turned out for these services, which began at sunrise and lasted until the company realized it couldn't bring in any scabs that day.

Women strike supporters have also played a big role in keeping out scabs. They have formed their own

organization, the Brookside Women's Club.

Students at the University of North Carolina and Duke University have picketed the offices of Duke Power Company, the electric power conglomerate that owns Eastover. One focus of the students' protests has been Duke's request for a 17 percent rate hike.

To coordinate this work, some of the striking miners went to Duke University to meet student supporters. For one miner it was his first visit to a campus. "The student demonstrations at their height in the 1960s left

35 or younger, but the militant union tradition established here in the 1930s is still strong. This was brought home by a spirited strike rally held in nearby Evarts on Nov. 4, which more than 1,000 people attended. Speakers at the event included Mike Trbovich; "Granny" Hager, who organized roving pickets in earlier UMWA strikes; and Florence Reece, who wrote "Which Side Are You On?"

Houston Elmore says the rally was "an emotional event, with miners and their wives crying," as old union songs were sung. The meeting took place



Pickets at the Brookside mine

Militant/Cindy Jaquith

me with a bad impression of the universities," he said. "But after I visited the university and talked to several students, it certainly changed my outlook."

Unions have also lent support to the strike, including the North Carolina AFL-CIO, United Steelworkers, Textile Workers, Communications Workers, United Electrical Workers, and United Auto Workers.

Two-thirds of the men on strike are

just after the arrests of several strikers. Granny Hager captured the mood of the crowd when she declared: "These sidwinding, dirty, low-down, ornery, scabbing highway patrol is got no business coming on our territory!"

Florence Reece, who is in her seventies, sang "Which Side Are You On?" and concluded by telling the crowd: "Now you all know which side you're on, so stay on it and fight, fight, fight!"



# Behind UFT-Shanker raid on AFSCME

By FRANK LOVELL

Low-paid school aides in New York City are getting special attention for the first time in several years because of a jurisdictional raid by Albert Shanker's United Federation of Teachers (UFT) against the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), which in the past has represented them.

Of 25,000 school aides working as clerks, kitchen help, hall monitors, and other jobs, most are members of Local 372, affiliated to AFSCME District Council 37.

UFT organizers have been quietly signing up school aides on the promise that the Teachers union will win higher pay for them. The UFT has petitioned for an election, claiming that it represents the majority.

Efforts of AFSCME officials to retain their jurisdiction are reported at length in the Nov. 16 issue of *Public Employee Press*, biweekly publication of District Council 37. The front page shows an emergency meeting of Local 372 shop stewards Nov. 1 to mobilize against the UFT raid.

School aides interviewed by the union paper question the motives of the Teachers union. Shirley Reuling, an aide at PS 134 in Manhattan, wants to know "why do they want us now, when they've looked down on us for so long?" She says, "I've been here 12 years, and they can't fool me so easily."

One article, "The Iniquitous Tactics of Albert Shanker," explains that Shanker is "in an empire-building mood" since being elected to the AFL-CIO Executive Council at the federation's recent convention. He managed to get the post over the head of David Selden, president of the American Federation of Teachers.

Labor commentator John Herling is quoted to show that strong opposition to Shanker's candidacy developed at a heated session of the AFL-CIO Executive Council. "The opposition was led by Seafarers President Paul Hall, but he was joined in voting against Shanker's nomination by heads of the Electrical Workers, Communications Workers, AFSCME, Railway and Airline Clerks, Machinists, Rubber Work-



SHANKER: In empire-building mood

ers, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers."

Reporting on the "illegal raid by Shanker," the AFSCME publication quotes District Council 37 Executive Director Victor Gotbaum, describing Shanker as "a man who has polarized the City and disrupted the schools before." The reference is to Shanker's racist strike in 1968 of the New York school system against Black and Puerto Rican control of education in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school district, and to Shanker's current racist campaign against Superintendent Luis Fuentes in Manhattan School District 1.

Gotbaum promises that he will not let Shanker's raid "deprive a single Aide of a job or raise." AFSCME leaflets are warning school aides: "When finances are tight (as they usually are in the Board of Education) whose jobs would the UFT protect first—yours or Teachers'?" In the recent past the UFT has not supported school lunch programs in the poor districts. If these programs are lost, so are the jobs of the workers who serve the lunches.

AFSCME appears to rely heavily

on the AFL-CIO constitution, which the union paper says "bars union raiding."

Jerry Wurf, international president of AFSCME, has filed charges against the Teachers union under the Internal Disputes section of the AFL-CIO constitution. But as a vice-president of the AFL-CIO and a member of its Executive Council, Wurf knows that this is not the first raid, nor is it likely to be the last. He also knows that little has ever been done by the Executive Council to halt such raids.

One reason for this particular attempt by Shanker to raid a section of Wurf's union is the growing division within the ranks of the top union bureaucracy. Shanker is closely aligned with AFL-CIO President George Meany, while Wurf is one of Meany's critics. Their differences were expressed by Wurf before the AFL-CIO convention in a feature article for the Oct. 14 Sunday edition of the *Washington Post* titled "Labor's Battle With Itself."

Wurf dared to say that the union movement has been unsuccessful in its efforts to influence Congress. He cited the Nixon veto of the minimum wage bill as an example. "That Mr. Nixon did so, and that labor could not persuade Congress to override the veto, is one of the most telling facts about what's wrong with labor today," Wurf wrote.

He introduced a resolution at the AFL-CIO convention for a "commission on unionism" to study the problems of the labor movement. This was voted down by the Meany forces.

Wurf's central argument is that the union movement wastes its energies in jurisdictional disputes and fails to organize the unorganized. But he is also critical of Meany's brand of Democratic Party politics and his flirtation with Nixon in 1972.

There is little difference between Shanker and AFSCME representatives in New York politics. Gotbaum was more closely identified with the Lind-

Continued on page 22



Meeting of AFSCME Local 372 shop stewards. Union currently represents most of the 25,000 school aides in New York City.

## Civil liberties banquet stresses Watergate threat

NEW YORK — Fourteen hundred people attended the Dec. 7 banquet of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC) to celebrate the 22nd anniversary of the founding of the NECLC and the 182nd anniversary of the adoption of the Bill of Rights. This was the largest annual banquet held by the NECLC since its founding in 1951.

The overriding theme of the evening at the Americana Hotel was the threat to civil liberties revealed by the Watergate exposures. The NECLC has been a longtime fighter against government frame-ups and antidemocratic legislation of the Nixon administration.

The featured speaker of the evening, noted constitutional lawyer Leonard

Boudin, stressed that since the Watergate revelations, supporters of civil liberties have been able to take the offensive against the government. He called for a campaign to win amnesty for all the victims of Nixon's Watergate policies who are still exiled or in hiding—from Vietnam war resisters to the Weatherpeople.

Boudin headed the defense of Daniel Ellsberg in the Pentagon papers trial and is now handling the suit by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance challenging the constitutionality of government spying and sabotage against the left. His prediction at the banquet was that President would be out of office by the



BOUDIN: Rights supporters on offensive

end of February 1974.

Also speaking at the affair were *Washington Post* reporters Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, who were presented with the NECLC's Tom Paine Award for their investigative reporting on Watergate.

Another speaker was Frank Wills, the young Black night watchman who caught Nixon's "plumbers" red-handed at their Watergate burglary operation. "I was just doing my job," he told the banqueters, "and on June 17, 1972 [the night of the Watergate burglary], I think I did about the best job I could have done." He explained how his "eyes had really been opened" by Watergate and that he felt this was true for most of the American people.

## 2,000 students protest school cutbacks in Pa.

By HARVEY McARTHUR

HARRISBURG, Pa. — Two thousand students and faculty from Pennsylvania's 14 state colleges marched on the state capitol here Dec. 4 to protest cutbacks in education.

The cutbacks—called "retrenchment" by the state government—would result in 15 percent of the faculty being fired at most state colleges. Many special courses and programs would be ended.

Marchers chanted, "Save our schools—We need money" and "Down with tuition." Many speakers called for free

education through college for all students.

The rally was sponsored by the Commonwealth Association of Students, which includes the 70,000 students in Pennsylvania state colleges, and by the faculty association. Speakers included representatives of student governments and State Secretary of Education John Pittenger.

John DiPippa, president of the Westchester State College student government, pointed out that the median income of their families was only \$9,800 and that they could not afford a tuition increase. He and other speakers also opposed work-study programs and called for free tuition.

Secretary of Education Pittenger was greeted with boos as he tried to blame students for the financial problems of the colleges. He said they should lobby for a higher income tax instead of demonstrating.

The crowd applauded when a student stood up next to Pittenger with a sign that read, "Don't pass the buck, give it to us."

Organizers of the rally limited their aims to lobbying for more money in

Harrisburg. They asked that the legislators investigate state college finances but had no proposals for further action by students and faculty.

The Young Socialist Alliance helped build this rally. A YSA leaflet was distributed calling for free higher education, paid for by taxing the profiteering oil companies in Pennsylvania and eliminating federal war spending. The YSA urged more organizing and demonstrations by students across the state, pointing to the futility of relying on Democratic and Republican politicians.

# Mideast 'peace' conference: U.S., USSR attempt to thwart Arab liberation struggle

By TONY THOMAS

The U.S.-Soviet-sponsored "peace" conference is scheduled to convene in Geneva Dec. 18.

This conference is part of an attempt to thwart the Arab peoples' struggle for national and social liberation. It will seek to impose a settlement in the Arab East that guarantees the existence of Israel as a colonial settler-state, based on the expulsion and continued oppression of the Palestinian people.

In exchange for recognition of Israel by the Arab capitalist rulers, under U.S.-backed "peace" proposals, the Israelis would return some of the lands they occupied in the 1967 war while keeping major portions under the rubric of maintaining "secure boundaries."

The U.S. imperialists, the Moscow bureaucrats, the Israeli colonialists, and the Arab capitalist rulers will sit down in Geneva to negotiate the fate of the Palestinian people without any regard to their interests, wishes, or rights.

Whether or not some Palestinian representatives are eventually allowed to participate in the conference, it has no right to ratify this denial of the Palestinians' right to self-determination.

To top this off, U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger announced earlier this month that Washington would consider permanent stationing of U.S. and Soviet troops on Israel's borders to enforce a settlement.

Whether the Geneva negotiations can actually produce such an agreement is another question. Only in the past few weeks have Israeli and Arab leaders become amenable to participating in the conference in the first place.

The substantive negotiations will not even begin until January, after the Dec. 31 elections in Israel. The profound social and national antagonisms in the Mideast could blow the conference apart at any time.

One of the sharpest of these antagonisms is between the Arab peoples and the imperialist owners of the Mideast's enormous oil reserves. The current Arab oil cutbacks and boycott have posed the question of the Arab peoples' use of the oil resources in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

With the oil boycott placing mounting pressure on U.S. imperialism and seriously affecting the European and Japanese economies, one of Washington's prime aims is to pressure the Arab states to stop the oil cutbacks.

The *New York Times* and *Wall Street Journal* have openly toyed with the idea of imperialist intervention in the Arab East to stop the use of the "oil weapon."

And Kissinger, in his Dec. 6 press conference, warned the Arab states that their policies were "no longer appropriate." Before going to the Mideast, Kissinger conferred in Europe with leaders of NATO. He no doubt discussed the need for the imperialist powers to coordinate their fight against the oil boycott.

That the Geneva conference will convene at all is largely because of a recent Egyptian diplomatic concession.

Egyptian and other Arab leaders had previously stated they would refuse to participate in the conference unless Israel withdrew its forces to the lines of the ephemeral Oct. 22 cease-fire. Such a retreat would end the encirclement of Egypt's III Corps and the city of Suez as well as strengthen Syria's military position near the Golan Heights.

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat hoped a partial Israeli retreat would deflect massive popular opposition to his policies of concessions to Israel and the U.S., by showing that U.S.-backed negotiations would actually lead to an Israeli withdrawal. However, the Israelis refused to budge and have put off any further discussions on the cease-fire lines until after the Geneva conference begins.

Nevertheless, on Dec. 8 Egyptian Deputy Premier Mohammed Abdel Kader Hatem announced to Egypt's parliament that Egypt would take

part in the conference. He cautioned that progress toward a settlement would be slow and that Egyptian military forces would remain on wartime alert.

It has also become clear that in preparation for this conference the Israeli rulers are willing to make minor concessions to the Arab states in exchange for a settlement.

In a television interview in this country Dec. 9, Moshe Dayan, Israel's defense minister, rejected total Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab lands. However, he did say that Israel would "give up some of the territory in order to reach an agreement." Dayan also said in another statement that Israel is prepared to "bargain and give and take" in the negotiations and would "make a compromise" with the Arab states.

This approach is a shift from the more "hawkish" approach Dayan and other Israeli spokespeople have taken, such as Dayan's statement a few weeks ago that Israel was only "at the start of the war." This reflects pressure by U.S. imperialism, which believes that some Israeli concessions are needed to defuse the anti-Zionist, anti-imperialist sentiment in the Arab states.

However, even these more "flexible" Israeli statements have included only the possible withdrawal of Israel from part of Egypt's Sinai and some sections of the West Bank of the Jordan River. Israeli leaders still claim they "must" retain Sharm el Sheikh at the bottom of the Sinai, Jerusalem, and the Syrian Golan Heights.

This "flexible" approach retains as fundamental Israel's capacity to wage



DAYAN & KISSINGER: Talk of 'compromise' veils military build-up.

wars against the Arab peoples.

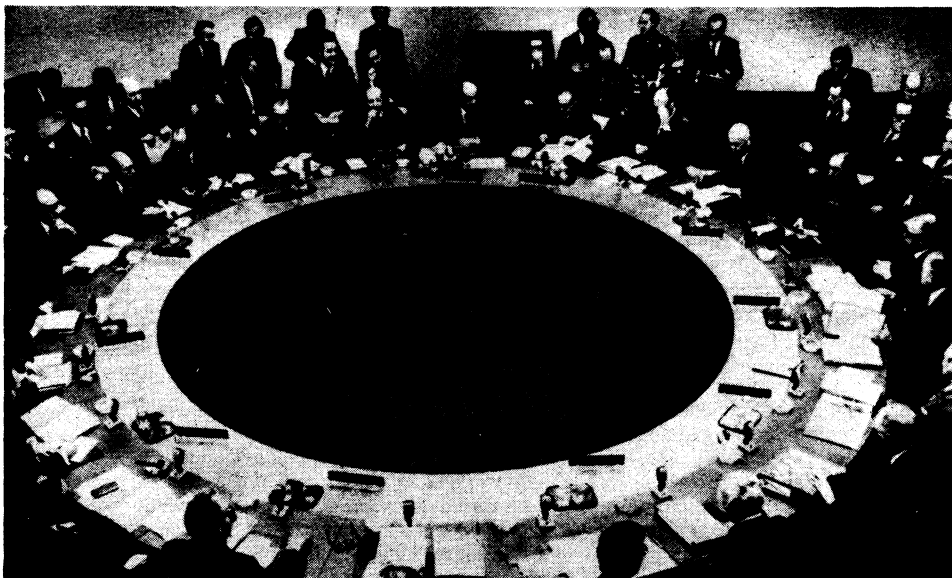
In his TV appearance, Dayan said Israel had in mind "territory" as one of the elements of a settlement. He also demanded sufficient weapons from the U.S. for Israel to hold this territory. Long-range missiles would not be enough, he indicated. "In order to really conquer a country," he said, "you have to do that with land forces—tanks and infantry."

One of Dayan's chief aims in the U.S. has been to demand increased military support to Israel. The *Washington Post* reported that Dayan brought an Israeli military "shopping list" for arms that "Nixon administration sources estimate would cost \$3 billion to \$3.5 billion."

The Israelis demanded 1,000 new tanks, roughly the equivalent of the entire U.S. annual production, but they were reportedly turned down. Dayan also requested U.S. missiles capable of delivering nuclear warheads, adding to widespread speculation that Israel has atomic weapons.

The *New York Times* reported that Dayan's requests went "beyond the \$2.2-billion that the Nixon Administration has already requested of Congress." One report said top U.S. officials "estimate that Israel—already heavily in debt to the United States and with its own economy stalled—will be unable to pay for virtually any of the new arms it needs."

Behind Washington and Israel's claims to be making concessions to the Arabs, their basic aim continues to be maintenance of Israel as a heavily armed base against the Arab national liberation struggle. This aim, including Israel's enormous military machine, is to be subsidized by the working people of this country, already gouged by war-bred taxes and inflation.



NATO meeting in Brussels. Kissinger is trying to coordinate fight against Arab oil cutbacks.

## SWP leader explains lessons of Mideast war

NEW YORK—An overflow crowd of 225 people packed into a New York University lecture hall Dec. 7 to hear Gus Horowitz, a member of the political committee of the Socialist Workers Party, speak on "War and Revolution in the Arab East."

In addition to drawing the lessons of the latest Israeli-Arab war, Horowitz presented the revolutionary socialist attitude toward the U.S.-Soviet-sponsored "peace" conference slated to begin this month.

"The main question," he said, "is not whether agreement can be reached on the diplomatic level based upon some variant of UN Resolution 242 [which provides for Arab recognition of the Israeli state and Israeli withdrawal from some of the territories occupied in 1967]."

"The real question is whether any such agreement can solve anything at all. Is Kissinger right in saying that peace is nearly at hand in the Middle

East?

"I don't think so," Horowitz said. "The key point in all the proposals is not the final border lines that will be drawn. The key point is the recognition of the Israeli state, a settler-colonial state and an imperialist beachhead in the Arab East."

"It means recognition of a state based upon the dispossession of the Palestinian people and the Arab people as a whole. And this means one thing: acceptance of continued imperialist domination over the Arab masses for the indefinite future."

"Can any such solution work? No way," he said.

"One of the key lessons that should be drawn from the latest war is that the détente between Washington and Moscow cannot contain the class struggle, and cannot bring peace and stability anywhere in the world. The class struggle will burst through any of the diplomatic agreements and ostensible

solutions."

Horowitz continued, "The realists are not those like Kissinger and Kosygin who think now is the time for a 'practical' solution."

"The realists are those—like the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance—who put forward the perspective of socialist revolution in the Arab East, the expulsion of imperialist influence from the area, the replacement of the Israeli state with a unitary Palestine, and the socialist unification of the Arab East."

Although one result of the war was to strengthen the Arab capitalist regimes, the more important effect was to inspire the Arab masses with renewed confidence and militancy. This in turn, Horowitz said, will provide "greater openings for the development of an alternative revolutionary Marxist leadership."

He also pointed to the likelihood of growing social contradictions inside

Israel, as the Israeli workers are called upon to make greater and greater sacrifices for the Zionist cause.

"The need by the working class in Israel to defend its class interests will force it into opposition to the needs of the settler state. The workers will raise, implicitly at first, and explicitly later on, a challenge to Zionism itself."

Horowitz warned of the continual threat of U.S. military intervention in the Arab East, which holds the danger of nuclear war. This highlights the importance of anti-Zionist educational activities to rally public opposition in the U.S. to any such move. Horowitz pointed out the exemplary role of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party in carrying out such a campaign, especially during the recent war.

Horowitz's talk was sponsored by the New York Young Socialist Alliance as part of a New York-New Jersey-Connecticut socialist conference.

# A special holiday subscription offer

The Militant is offering a special bargain for the holiday period. With each new \$5 one-year subscription or one-year renewal, you get free one of the selections of Pathfinder Press books and pamphlets listed here.

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## ...suit

Continued from page 7

two presidential advisers and the New York crimes against members of the SWP and YSA cited in the suit.

The SWP and YSA suit continues to gain broad support through the efforts of the Political Rights Defense Fund. On Dec. 6 the Kings County Democratic Coalition, which includes 17 Democratic Reform Clubs in Brooklyn and is affiliated with the New Democratic Coalition, unanimously endorsed the suit.

Other recent endorsers include James Bond, Atlanta city councilman; Ruth Ellinger, Texas AFL-CIO education and research director; Bill Haltom Jr., president of the University of Tennessee student body; Ed Davis, president of the Akron, Ohio, city council and member of the national board of Americans for Democratic Action; actor Ossie Davis; Marcus Raskin, co-director, Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C.; former senator Ernest Gruening; novelists John Hersey and Fletcher Knebel; Alexander Calder, artist; and Louisa Calder.

case has been pursued with a vindictiveness that makes clear the political nature of the decision to prosecute Kolis.

The media have highlighted the fact that 22 Democratic and Republican candidates in the recent election violated San Diego's new election financing law while not one of them has been indicted. The D.A. claims these violations were minor and "technical."

It is clear the D.A. wants to ram the case through quickly before public support and pressure can be mobilized. The exposure of the FBI informer, which brought the case into the category of major news here, clearly upset his plan. The Committee to Defend Salm Kolis is vigorously bringing the political and civil liberties issues in this case into public view, soliciting endorsements and raising funds to cover the court expenses. If the jury returns a verdict of guilty, the case will immediately be appealed.

For further information on the case contact CDSK, P.O. Box 5313, San Diego, Calif. 92105.

## ...Kolis

Continued from page 9

free speech, a violation of the rights of the news media to cover this trial, and a violation of the rights of everyone in the city of San Diego to be informed about what is happening in this case.

"I can speak for Salm Kolis even though for the moment she cannot speak to you herself. She will not be silenced either through the threat of a jail sentence or through this unconstitutional gag rule."

The rulers of this city are clearly trying to use this case to intimidate socialists and other politically active people. From the very beginning this

## ...Hampton

Continued from page 9

search warrant for illegal weapons, but rather a search-and-destroy mission.

O'Neal has been ordered to testify in a civil suit filed by Iberia Hampton. She is seeking \$3.8-million in damages for the death of her son. Hanrahan and 12 of the 14 police raiders are named as defendants.

U.S. Attorney James Thompson has stated that he knows of no new evidence that would warrant a new investigation. State's Attorney Bernard Carey said he will look into the new material presented but is not promising a new grand jury probe.

## Workers fight for union at Wash., DC, hospital

By SARAH SMITH

WASHINGTON, D.C. — George Washington University is the largest private employer in this city, and the G.W. university hospital is one of the school's largest areas of employment. Washington is an unorganized city, especially in regard to hospital workers; thus the struggle of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees to become the bargaining agent for the 900 workers there is an important one.

The struggle occupies the attention of hospital workers around the city, as well as that of students, the community, and of course the various hospital administrations.

The hospital workers, many of whom are Black, are fighting for higher pay (wages now start at \$2.68 an hour), better working conditions, and greater job security.

If G.W. Hospital were considered a profit-making institution, it would be required to grant a union election after the union had signed up 30 percent of the eligible workers. G.W. Hospital is considered a "nonprofit" institution, however, and has refused to grant an election, even though more than 50 percent of the eligible workers have signed up with the union.

The 19-month process of signing up a majority of the hospital workers has been augmented by large delegations going to the chief administrator of the hospital, Donald Novak, to demand the right to an election. Novak was always "out." On Friday, Nov. 30, more than 100 hospital workers sat in at the lobby of the

hospital to induce Novak to appear. Novak chose to call police instead, and 55 workers were arrested. Since then 24 workers have been fired and 45 others were put on five-day suspensions without pay. This includes most of the members of the union organizing committee inside the hospital.

A Dec. 6 rally in solidarity with the struggle of the hospital workers was attended by 150 people. Although 40-degree weather prevailed, the spirited crowd heard representatives of more than a dozen organizations.

Greg Palmer of the GWU Black People's Union (BPU) said, "We are dealing with the bread and butter issues of eating and survival. . . . We are determined to see this struggle through by any means necessary."

Reverend Douglas Moore of the Black United Front informed the crowd that although the GWU medical school gets \$6-million in public funding, it has graduated only two Black doctors in its entire existence. This is paralleled by the predominantly white composition of the Howard University medical school, despite Howard's overwhelmingly Black student body.

Speakers at the rally also included William Simons, president of the Washington Teachers Union; Charles Cassell of the D.C. Statehood Party; and representatives of the United Farm Workers Union, the NAACP, Local 41 at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare of the American Federation of Government Employees; the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; and the Young Socialist Alliance.



# The Militant sales drive: one step closer toward goal of a mass-circulation weekly

By LARRY SEIGLE

Our circulation drive this fall brought *The Militant* another step closer to our goal of being the mass circulation socialist weekly in the United States.

Our paid circulation has shot up by 310 percent since 1969, and our plans are to keep on growing.

This expansion itself is a reflection of the continued deepening interest in radical alternatives to the problems confronting the American people. Although still small relative to the whole population, the number of people interested in socialist ideas is a growing minority.

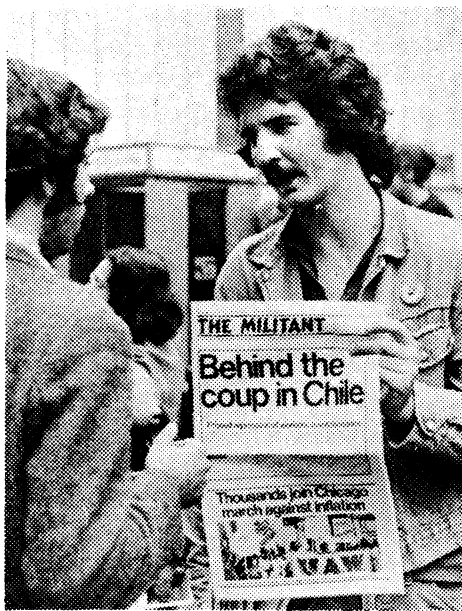
The average weekly street sales reported in *The Militant* scoreboard increased from an average of 6,500 during a similar campaign last spring to 8,500 this fall. We also sold a total of 16,800 introductory subscriptions, topping our goal of 15,000.

According to reports from some of the volunteers on the full-time teams who traveled across the country for 11 weeks selling subscriptions to *The Militant*, a number of people they talked with on campuses already knew about *The Militant*. Some had subscribed before, during earlier introductory subscription campaigns, and were glad to get another sub. Others had seen the paper occasionally, but under the impact of Watergate or other events, decided now was the time to subscribe and see what the socialists have to say.

## Value of subscription drive

During the past few years, *The Militant* has conducted major subscription drives to introduce new readers to the paper. These drives have been an essential part of the overall expansion of the paper.

An introductory subscription is superior to a single copy sale, since it means readers can see a number of issues of the paper instead of just one. This allows people to follow our coverage of unfolding events, and to see how socialists react to a wide va-



Militant/Sam Manuel

riety of events and issues.

Subscription campaigns are also essential in expanding the geographical spread of the paper, helping make our distribution truly national. As a result of subs sold by traveling teams, *The Militant* is mailed to hundreds of places where there are no bundles sold.

Also, the campaign spirit of a subscription drive increases the number of subs sold to new readers in the course of day-to-day political activity.

Based on the experience of the big sub drives of the last few years, we have made some adjustments in the way these drives are carried out.

For one thing, the quotas this fall



Militant/Mary Hendrickson

were generally somewhat lower, allowing the local units of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, who sell the bulk of the subscriptions, to put more emphasis on the single-copy sales drive and to give them greater flexibility in selling the subs in areas that will be politically most valuable.

The higher quotas could almost always be fulfilled, but it sometimes meant traveling hundreds of miles from major cities to big campuses with lots of dormitories. Under the pressure to meet the big quotas, campuses in the metropolitan area with few or no dorms, but where important political activity is carried out, were often passed up simply because it took longer to get subscriptions there.

In addition to expanding our subscription base in cities where the SWP and YSA are active, the lower quotas allowed us to concentrate more on getting subscriptions from people involved in day-to-day activity with us.

## Enthusiastic sales drive

Last spring *The Militant* experimented with a campaign to boost circulation through an intensive effort to expand weekly street-corner and campus sales of *The Militant*. This was so successful that it was repeated again this fall. The result has been to raise significantly the number of papers sold each week. Although the total sales have dipped since the drive ended, they remain higher than before the drive, indicating we have made lasting gains in this area.

The bulk of these papers were sold by units of the SWP and the YSA, but the campaign spirit encouraged dozens of individual readers to order bundles and sell each week.

The big advantage of the single-copy sales campaign as a method of increasing circulation is that it aids in the process of integrating *Militant* sales with other activities. As major events broke in which the SWP and YSA participated actively, sales of each week's *Militant* became a central part of this activity.

There were many examples of this during the fall:

- When meetings and demonstrations were held to defend the victims of the junta in Chile, sales of *The Militant* were an invaluable tool in breaking through the silence of most papers in this country about the plight of the revolutionary forces, and in drawing the lessons from the defeat.

Those who were following the events in Chile, and whose interest in world events was heightened as a result of the Chile coup, became part of *The*

*Militant's* audience.

- As the anti-Nixon "firestorm" swept the country and meetings and proimpeachment rallies were held, *The Militant*, which has given extensive coverage to the Watergate scandals and their significance, was well received on the campuses, on street corners, and in working-class areas.

With the SWP and YSA responding to these developments by stepping up socialist education about Watergate, posing a class alternative to the Nixon gang, and explaining the need to defend democratic rights through support to the socialist suit against Nixon, *The Militant* became the best weekly weapon for this campaign.

- When the October war erupted in the Middle East, and the bourgeois press began its barrage of anti-Arab propaganda, the sales drive became tied into work building and participating in Mideast rallies, debates, and teach-ins. The drive got a big boost from the friendly reception to the paper in Arab communities.

- Supporters of SWP candidates in the Nov. 6 elections took advantage of the sales campaign to combine street sales with the distribution of socialist campaign literature. In several cities, street corner tables were set up that combined campaigning, sales, and subscription work all into one.

- National efforts such as the campaign around support to the United Farm Workers Union, exposing the "energy crisis" ripoff, and many local issues, also became part of the sales drive.

In every case, the drive was successful to the degree that it helped revolutionists carry out educational and other activity around the burning issues of politics in this country and the world.

## Impact of Militant sales

The sales of each week's *Militant* are themselves a political action. Taken on a national scale, they are an activity of considerable scope and impact. A good illustration of this was the recent report issued by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith, a Zionist outfit, denouncing the "far left" for its activity during the recent war. The ADL singled out the SWP and the YSA as the most significant of these groups. What was it that they found most disturbing? That we had "churned out" so much "anti-Israel, pro-Arab propaganda!"

The magnitude and the breadth of this socialist propaganda is also an important factor in the struggle to establish the hegemony of authentic Marxism in competition with the Stalinists—of both the pro-Moscow and pro-Peking varieties—and others who falsely claim to represent revolutionary socialism. No other tendency on the left is capable of conducting anything like the sustained *Militant* sales



Militant/Mark Satinoff

and sub drives that have been carried out.

In his book *Letters from Prison*, written in 1944 while he was serving time under the Smith Act, James P. Cannon, one of the central leaders of the SWP, summed up the value of this kind of effort:

"Our distributors and sub canvassers should swarm like bees at every labor and radical gathering. . . . We should now reappear at the colleges also. Our aim should be to swamp all relatively progressive articulate circles with the volume of our propaganda; to psychologize them with the impression of our energy and aggressiveness. This is a weapon."

The continuing efforts to expand *The Militant's* circulation go hand in hand with our objective of increasing the size of the paper itself. Since 1968, we have grown from only eight pages to our current 28, and occasional 32, pages. And we're not going to stop with 32.

As our readership becomes bigger it includes a higher percentage of people new to socialist ideas. Many of

## Where we sold

During the sales drive this fall, a grand total of 115,380 single copies of *The Militant* were sold—an average of 10,489 weekly. This figure includes sales by units of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, individuals with bundles, and the traveling sales teams.

Based on reports sent in by Socialist Workers Party branches, the breakdown of their sales was as follows:

- 35 percent of the sales were on campuses. In addition, the big majority of introductory subscriptions were sold on campuses.

- 10 percent of the sales were at political meetings, rallies, or demonstrations, such as those around Chile, the Mideast, and Watergate.

- 55 percent of the single-copy sales were in working-class neighborhoods, including shopping centers, bus stations, and similar places, or at workplaces and union meetings. Many of these are predominantly Black, Puerto Rican, or Chicano areas.

these readers are attracted to *The Militant* on the basis of our coverage of just one issue that they are especially interested in. It is only gradually and over time that they are drawn into other sections of the paper.

For example, many Arab-Americans and foreign students have recently subscribed because of our coverage and stand on the Mideast. Other new readers are primarily interested in the farm workers, or Watergate, and read the paper primarily for our material on these subjects.

To give us adequate space to provide the variety of coverage that will appeal to this broad readership, we will need to continue to expand.

Our goal is to build *The Militant* into a big socialist weekly with a large nationwide circulation. This kind of paper will include a range of articles, features, columns, and news stories that will be of interest to activists in a variety of struggles.

We need a paper that can talk to people just beginning to think about socialism, as well as to more experienced readers.

In *Letters from Prison*, Cannon discussed a number of questions confronting the revolutionary party in

Continued on page 22

## Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia

**Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia.** Edited by Kathleen Gough and Hari P. Sharma. Monthly Review Press. New York, 1973. 470 pp. \$15.

"When India, Pakistan, and Ceylon gained home rule more than two decades ago, their leaders set forth certain goals for their futures. These included control of their own political and economic destinies, increased productivity and improvements in livelihood, education, and health, mixed private and state-planned economies, some cooperative institutions of production and distribution, and movement toward socioeconomic equality. Land reform and industrial development were central to these goals. All three nations were to be Western-style party democracies with progressively broadening franchise in elections at national, provincial, and local levels.

"By the late 1960s it was clear that these programs had failed or were failing. The three South Asian nations had more, not less, foreign investment



Bombay. Economic dependence of South Asia on imperialism has increased during past 25 years.

The greatest strength of the book is the analysis of the economies of the Indian subcontinent. In particular, there is ample documentation to prove that the economic dependence of these countries on imperialism has not decreased over the last twenty-five years, but instead has increased.

Gough's article "Imperialism and Revolutionary Potential in South Asia," Amiya Kumar Bagchi's "Foreign Capital and Economic Development in India: A Schematic View," Hari P. Sharma's "The Green Revolution in India: Prelude to a Red One?" and Paresh Chattopadhyay's "Some Trends in India's Economic Development" all confirm that since India, Pakistan, and Ceylon gained formal political independence from British imperialism in the late 1940s, the grip of foreign investment—especially that of the United States—has tightened.

Chattopadhyay points out that the share of "foreign assistance [to India] in total public sector outlays has grown from 9.6 percent in 1951-56 (First Plan Period) to 44.99 percent in 1967-68."

In Pakistan the same has been true, and this trend has increased since the 1971 war for Bangladesh independence. Hassan N. Gardezi explains that "after 1958, and with the advent of Ayub Khan's regime, dependence on foreign aid increased to enormous proportions, with the process of eco-

nomie planning completely dominated by foreigners—particularly a large contingent of Americans from Harvard University."

Thus, "Pakistan's heavy dependence on aid now makes it possible for the leading countries to regulate its basic policies governing taxation, prices, distribution of income, and national and international political commitments."

Gardezi also notes: "Almost 95 percent of the amount [of aid loans] spent to buy machinery and other capital goods must be spent in the donor country, which is usually the United States. This condition forecloses those sources of supply where the same goods could be bought and transported at much smaller cost. Having installed expensive American machinery, Pakistan becomes forever dependent on that country for the supply of spare parts."

Both Bangladesh and Sri Lanka are also dependent on foreign capital for their survival. The Sri Lanka regime is heavily in debt to the World Bank, for example. And the main contributor to the Bangladesh regime is the U. S. government.

Thus the struggle for the end of national oppression in India and the other countries of the subcontinent is far from over. This can only be brought about through the overthrow of capitalism and imperialism as part of the same revolutionary process.

Prescriptions put forth for leading the masses of workers and peasants to their national and social liberation are the greatest weakness of the book. Most of the writers who attempt an analysis of the strategy needed for the South Asian revolution support the basic theories developed by Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Communist party leadership.

Though the supporters of Mao's theories have disagreements on how they should be applied to India, Pakistan, or Bangladesh, they all agree with Mao's analysis of the role of the peasantry in the Indian revolution and the need to construct a "people's army" in the countryside. These supporters include many revolutionary militants in Bangladesh, despite the fact that during the 1971 war of independence Peking gave unconditional sup-

port to the butcher Yahya Khan.

This adaptation to Mao's theory by large sections of the revolutionary left throughout the subcontinent primarily flows from their support to Mao's analysis of the role of the peasantry in overthrowing foreign and native capitalism. Most of the left in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh view the poor peasantry as the main revolutionary force for destroying capitalism in the underdeveloped countries.

The Marxist position clearly states—and history has proven—that the central revolutionary force capable of overthrowing capitalism is the urban working class, supported in the main by the peasantry and by sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie. This also holds true in countries that are predominantly peasant in composition, such as India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.

Despite its weak points, *Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia* is an important source for anyone seriously studying revolutionary politics in the Indian subcontinent.

—MALIK MIAH



## Books

and foreign control of their economies than in the 1940s. All were heavily indebted to the United States, the Soviet Union, and various Eastern and Western European powers."

This is the political and economic reality for the South Asian people after twenty-five years of capitalist underdevelopment. And the situation is not getting any better.

The above quote was taken from an article written by Kathleen Gough, a British anthropologist who did research in India for several years, that opens the recent Monthly Review Press publication *Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia*.

The book consists of a wide range of well-researched articles on the economies of India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon), and Bangladesh. The "green revolution" in agriculture, the peasant structures of India and Pakistan, and the divergent ideas on what course should be followed by revolutionists are discussed.

## Jerry Ford on 'riots' and 'anarchy'

**Gerald R. Ford, Selected Speeches.** Edited by Michael Doyle. R.W. Beatty, Ltd. Arlington, Va., 1973. 246 pp.

"The publisher of this volume was motivated by a feeling for history in setting down some of my speeches," Jerry Ford writes modestly in the preface to this book. He writes that the book should be "felt to be a source of enlightenment or instruction," but also admits, "I do not expect everyone to love my speeches."

This collection, which runs from 1965 to 1970, gives a taste—bitter—of what we can expect from the man who has just become vice-president and may very well be president before 1976.

Ford was once dubbed the "Congressman's Congressman." But he is better the reactionary's reactionary. Posturing like Edmund Burke, Ford—along with John Tower, Barry Goldwater, and a few others—is a legislative darling of the conservatives and

## Books

racists.

During LBJ's reign, Ford was a rowdy protester of "federal power abuse." As a states' rights proponent, he opposed the "shrinking potency of the states" under Johnson's Great Society programs. And, he claimed, Johnson and "permissive" Democrats were wholly responsible for the social protest movements of the day.

Draft card burners! Ghetto riots! Communist aggression!

"Today, draft card burners and those who blockade shipments of military supplies cry for peace-at-any-price—while the seeds of Communist atrocity take root. And yet the appeasers speak of morality," he told a Texas law school gathering in 1965.

The "riots," according to Ford, were



a racial "spasm of anarchy and destruction" that can "arise from mistaken feelings of injustice."

"We do not choose to be in Viet Nam," he said in 1965. "We would not be in Viet Nam if the Communists would only leave their neighbors alone."

Of peace he said, "We will win our peace by resistance to evil. We will not buy it by compromise with evil. That will remain our purpose in Viet Nam and throughout the world—wherever brave men resist tyranny and long for freedom."

But speechmaking aside, Ford can display tact. He is a crafty party organizer, a zipper on the pants of the GOP seeking to close its open rifts.

A down-the-line Nixon man, Ford boasted "prophetically" in 1970, "I think President Nixon has managed to bring order to this country. He has managed to do so because he has brought order to the Presidency. We now find that the days of government by crisis have given way to crisis prevention."

—BAXTER SMITH



# Texas activist Mario Cantu: 'Chicanos and the people of Mexico are exploited by the same system'

By HARRY RING

SAN ANTONIO — Appearances, we know, are often deceiving. Mario Cantu, operator of Mario's Restaurant, is a good example of this.

His restaurant is well known in the Chicano community here. It's an attractive, popular place. Seeing him at the restaurant conveys the impres-

As the restaurant first expanded, the pressures increased correspondingly. Expansion involved heavy financial obligations and painful disagreements with his father on how to operate the business.

At 25, after having always been totally law-abiding, the pressure pushed Mario into gambling and

attack on the U.S. Congress.

Among the inmates, they were widely respected for the depth of their revolutionary commitment. Mario was one of many they helped to start thinking politically.

But Mario's real political development occurred after his release. In prison, he said, he became sympathetic to radical ideas but didn't really understand them.

Shortly after his release came the assassination of Martin Luther King and the TV spectacle of the Chicago police clubbing the Democratic convention demonstrators. Both events had a deep impact on his consciousness.

## La Raza Unida

His release coincided with the rise of Chicano activism, and he came into contact with José Angel Gutiérrez, Mario Compean, and others who initiated La Raza Unida Party.

Mario's first major activity was the organization four years ago of *La Semana de la Raza*, a week of cultural activity held twice yearly to commemorate *El Cinco de Mayo* and *El 16 de Setiembre*, the Mexican and Chicano holidays.

There had been festivals before, organized largely by Mexican-American businessmen. They focused exclusively on the past and were devoid of political content. Originally held in the barrio parks, they were gradually shifted to downtown auditoriums and banquet halls.

The idea of *La Semana de la Raza*, Mario said, was first proposed by Gutiérrez and Compean as a means to raise funds for La Raza Unida Party and to politicize people.

At first, Mexican-American politicians cooperated and park permits were issued. Mario brought theater and dance troupes from Mexico, and the festivals drew as many as 10,000 people.

"But that was when La Raza Unida was mainly in Crystal City," Mario said. "When it began organizing in San Antonio, the politicians began to feel different."

The politicians didn't like some of the things that were included in the festival. "One thing they didn't like," Mario recalled, "was that we had a booth for the Angela Davis defense committee."

A rival, conservative group was formed and given the park permits. La Raza Unida Party withdrew from the project. For the past two years, Mario has organized *La Semana de la Raza* on his own. It's not as big as the "official" ones in the city park, he said, but it says a lot more politically.

During this period, Mario also organized the *Centro Cultural Rubén Salazar*, a community center used by various groups that sponsors film festivals and other activities.

## Deportation activity

The center is now also the headquarters for TU-CASA, a recently organized counterpart of the Los Angeles CASA-Hermandad, the anti-deportation organization led by Bert Corona.

TU-CASA (the "TU" is for *Trabajadores Unidos*—United Workers) helps people facing deportation or hit with such problems as being cheated out of industrial compensation because of

their immigration status.

"But," Mario emphasized, "we are not a service or charity organization. We help individuals, but more than that, we try to deal with the problem as a whole, to deal with it politically."

## Capitalism

That means, he explained, educating people to understand the root source of their problems, to understand that it is the capitalist system that is responsible, and to develop the means to effectively fight back.

TU-CASA, he said, is now planning a series of classes. These will include English and the politics and economics of Chicano oppression.

Mario feels it is essential that Chicanos relate to the struggles of La Raza throughout the Americas, but most particularly in Mexico.

He believes this is necessary not simply because of the obvious ties between the people of Aztlán and Mexico, but because he sees a deepening social crisis in Mexico that could bring intervention by U.S. imperialism.

It is necessary, he contends, for the Chicano movement to develop close collaboration with the movement in Mexico. One activity to which he gives a high priority is support for political prisoners in Mexico.

Discussing the political needs of the movement, Mario says, "What binds us together, more than culture, language, and tradition, are the social



Militant/Miguel Pendas

Antideportation demonstration organized by CASA-Hermandad in Los Angeles June 16, 1973. TU-CASA aims to build the fight against deportations in Texas.

sion of a busy, successful Chicano businessman.

Cantu is successful. He's also a committed, radical-minded movement activist. Running the restaurant is squeezed into a full schedule of political activity.

In an interview with *The Militant*, he discussed his activity, his political thinking, and the things in his life

## In coming issues...

*The Militant* will report on efforts to build independent Chicano political parties—La Raza Unida parties—in Texas and Colorado. Harry Ring of our Southwest Bureau will discuss the issues now being debated within this important movement.

that shaped him into a movement activist.

Mario is an ex-convict. He served six years in the federal penitentiary and two years ago completed another four years of conditional release.

Mario's restaurant is in the barrio, where he was born and raised. Originally it was a small mom 'n' pop grocery from which his family eked out a meager existence. Sixteen years ago, when he was 21, Mario persuaded his father to let him open a little cafe at one end of the grocery.

The idea worked. The grocery is long gone and the restaurant now employs 40 people. It supports Mario's family and those of four relatives who help him operate it. But the success took its toll.

handling stolen goods. This went on for six months until he was entrapped by a federal agent into delivering some drugs from Mexico.

An Anglo lawyer advised him to plead guilty with the assurance he'd draw probation or a suspended sentence.

The judge gave him 15 years.

The lawyer, Mario said, had apparently forgotten that probation or a suspended sentence is precluded in narcotics offenses.

## Prison

In prison, Mario became a jailhouse lawyer. He won a retrial and a ruling—now a precedent—that the judge violated his rights by not informing him before he pleaded guilty that he could not expect probation or a suspended sentence.

Mario was convicted again in the retrial, but sentence was reduced to 10 years. After six, he won conditional release.

Like so many others, Mario learned a great deal in prison. He recalls that he entered prison with a sense of relief at being free of the pressures that had had such a devastating effect on him. He saw he was not alone in this, that many of the prisoners were there to run away from problems. Some were afraid to leave prison. The question was pretty clearly posed: What kind of a society is it that can make people prefer prison?

And in prison, he had his first contact with radical ideas. Part of his sentence was served at Leavenworth. There he met some of the Puerto Rican nationalists imprisoned since the 1954



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

MARIO CANTU: 'We must unite with our brothers and sisters in Latin America.'

conditions under which we live as a minority in this country and as working people. And we have to understand that both we and the people of Mexico are exploited by the same system.

"More and more," he continued, "Chicanos are realizing we must unite with our brothers and sisters in Chile, in Cuba, in Mexico, in all the countries of Latin America where they are fighting for their national independence."

The evolution of Mario Cantu's thinking has special significance because it is reflective of a process taking place within the movement. A growing number of activists are coming to recognize that Chicano liberation requires struggle against the capitalist system, which is responsible for the oppression of the Chicano people.



# Calendar

## BROOKLYN

**CRISIS IN GREECE.** Speaker: Theodore Stathis, United Hellenic Front. Fri., Dec. 21, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

## DENVER

**MILITANT FORUM PRESENTS A CABARET: REVOLUTIONARY POETRY AND SONGS.** Fri., Dec. 21, 8 p.m. 1203 California. Donation: \$1. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

## LOS ANGELES

**THE ENERGY CRISIS: FACT OR HOAX?** Speakers: Richard Spohn, director, California Action Group affiliated with Ralph Nader's Task Force; Dave Brown, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Dec. 21, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 463-1966.

## NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

**'ARSENAL.'** Film classic on Bolshevik Revolution in the Ukraine by Alexander Dovzhenko. Fri., Dec. 21, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near Fourth St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

## ...sales

Continued from page 19

a period of growth and preparation for further expansion. Although it was written nearly 30 years ago, the perspective he outlined for *The Militant* remains our outlook today:

"What kind of a paper will best serve the needs of the new party in the next period which lies immediately before us? We used to think, or rather take for granted, that as we broke out of the narrow propaganda circle and began to get a hearing from the workers, we should aim at changing the weekly into a daily. . . .

"It was also assumed that, as the paper became a 'mass' paper, it would be obliged to adapt itself to the political understanding of the average, if not the lowest common denominator, among its new readers; leaving the more complicated political and theoretical explanations to the monthly magazine. On closer analysis, with the question no longer speculative but concrete and immediate, both these ideas require radical revision.

"With our present resources and manpower, and those which can reasonably be counted on in the next period of expansion, a daily paper would devour such huge sums as to starve the other departments of our work and defeat our plans for a symmetrical development of the movement. The task of distributing a daily

would consume so much of the energies of our limited forces as to sacrifice volume of circulation for frequency of issue. . . .

"But what we have to do next is to reach more and more new people, catch their attention at the moment when they are just awakening from political indifference, and try to reach them with our message regularly. A big national weekly is ideally suited to this task. And this is a project within our means and potential resources, financial and physical. The whole situation cries out for concentration on the task of developing *The Militant* into an eight-page national paper, published at the cheapest price possible so as to facilitate not merely the expansion but the multiplication of its present circulation; a weekly which is not just another radical paper but the national paper, dominating the radical labor field."

After a prolonged historical detour along roads less favorable to the development of the revolutionary movement, the perspectives Cannon outlined in 1944 are once again immediately applicable to *The Militant*.

The fall circulation campaign was a step toward building this big socialist weekly. We can look forward to repeating this success, with minor modifications and adjustments as dictated by our experience, once again this spring.

## ...Shanker

Continued from page 16

say administration, and he tried unsuccessfully to wheedle favors from it.

Both Gotbaum and Shanker are seeking to curry favor with the new Beame administration. "The election of Abe Beame can be the beginning step in the painful process by which we emerge from the morass that threatens to engulf New York City," says Gotbaum.

Shanker says, "The party system, destroyed through the efforts of the Liberal Party, Reform Democrats, and the *New York Times*, has led the city to experience the same kind of political anarchy which existed in France throughout its history. A restoration of party structure is the only solution to successful city government." He thinks, like Gotbaum, that Abe Beame is the man to restore the power of the Democratic machine in New York politics. Both want to be part of that ma-

chine.

There is little chance that labor leaders who have their eyes fixed on such goals will be of much help to the low-paid school aides who hope to keep their present jobs and get a little more money for their work in order to meet rising prices.

## ...Ford

Continued from page 13

violence to the voters' overwhelming mandate of 1972."

The most devastating exposure of the "mandate of '72" myth is the overwhelming popular rejection of Nixon and his policies during the past year. The truth is that his election landslide was based first and foremost on his ability to withdraw U.S. troops from Vietnam.

Would the masses of working people or Blacks find Ford any improvement over Nixon? Hardly. Ford would simply mean a continuation of inflation, wage controls, energy crisis, racial oppression, and government through secrecy, bribery, fraud, and corruption.

The fact that Nixon's resignation or impeachment would now give us Ford as president emphasizes once again the necessity for a change not merely of individuals but of the entire political and social system. What is needed is to take power away from the handful of capitalists and bankers who now rule, and establish a workers government.

## Correction

In an article last week ("Coast to coast solidarity with bomb victims") we incorrectly identified Charles Hayes as an official of the United Auto Workers. He is a vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters.

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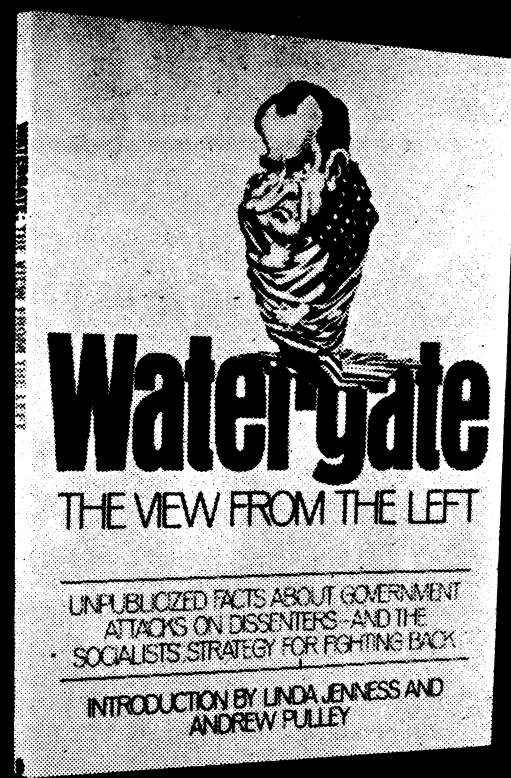
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# THE MILITANT

## Strike defies gov't order

# N. Calif. carpenters shut down job sites

By ROBERT WEST

SAN FRANCISCO—The month-old carpenters' strike in the Bay Area, although declared illegal, has continued to spread in defiance of government and contractor actions.

Judge Burke of the federal district court here granted the contractors a harsh and sweeping injunction against the Carpenters union Dec. 7.

It singled out most of the Carpenter business agents by name, as well as every official body of the union. By agreement between union and contractor attorneys, the international union officials in Washington were exempted from the judgment.

During the court hearing a spirited demonstration of 200 carpenters and other building workers demonstrated in front of the federal building. Officials of building trades and other unions voiced their support for the carpenters.

Judge Burke used an official order from Nixon's Construction Industry Stabilization Committee in Washington that arrived the same day, ordering the industry to pay no more than a 15-cent-an-hour wage increase.

The union has insisted for six months that its contract calls for a 65-cent-an-hour increase. It refused a previous suggestion from the government wage-control board to renegotiate its contract to include the lower wage increase.

Most of the other construction unions in the area have renegotiated their contracts, but the carpenters and the operating engineers have not.

The principal issue at stake has become crystal clear: Can the federal government step in and tear up a negotiated union agreement? Can the



Carpenters and supporters protest strikebreaking move by federal district court.

Militant/Steve Chaine

federal court make it stick?

On Dec. 10 the court received its answer. Rank-and-file pickets appeared at major work sites and succeeded in closing them down. For the most part other tradesmen respected the pickets.

At the various carpenter hiring halls, typed-out notices advised that any carpenter who wanted to would be dispatched to a job with the Associated General Contractors. This was in compliance with the court order, but there were no takers.

The ranks of the carpenters are prepared for a showdown fight. Although

no one has spelled it out, the issue is well understood.

If the government can force the union to renegotiate the wage agreement approved two and a half years ago, the union's function of defending workers' wages would be surrendered. The common generalization heard here is that "the government is becoming a dictatorship over the workers. . . . This is the Nixon game plan to break the unions."

The key to the present fight lies in the response of the other building trades. There are 12 different crafts representing 20,000 mechanics and la-

borers organized in the building-trades council in the Bay Area. The outcome of this action vitally affects their future.

The response on the first day of picket activity has been good. For the first time in many years the fate of the construction union lies in the hands of their ranks. The old alliance between the union leadership, the contractors, and one or another corrupt political machine has turned out to be a disaster.

The simple fact that the strength of the union lies in the militancy of its ranks has become a glaringly obvious truth.

## Meat cutters strike Calif. food chains

By WALTER LIPPMANN

LOS ANGELES—Three major Southern California supermarket chains were struck by 22,000 workers Dec. 3. Members of the Meat Cutters, Teamsters, Machinists, and Operating Engineers unions went out against Safeway, Lucky, and Thriftmart stores.

Union members voted 10 to 1 to reject what was termed an "insulting" company offer to raise wages 35 cents an hour the first year and 30 cents each during the second and third years of the proposed contract. In addition, the unions are calling for an end to compulsory overtime, and changes in work quotas and arbitration procedures.

The unions are calling for an unrestricted cost-of-living clause, while the companies insist that the clause have an 11-cent maximum.

In reply to the strike, the antiunion Food Employers Council, representing 60 of the largest chains, has locked out members of the striking unions at all member stores. John Bacon, FEC vice-president, said they did this because of the union's "awesome, inflationary cost demands." An estimated 100,000 workers will be affected.

Members of the Meat Cutters are particularly concerned with job security and the introduction of new technology. Many jobs are threatened and the companies are attempting to lower the wages of beginning workers.

The Meat Cutters have also struck Lucky and Safeway stores in Northern California. Safeway admitted that 160 of its Northern California stores were closed by the strike. Lucky claimed it kept 65 of its 109 stores open. The FEC in Northern Cali-

fornia also locked out nonstriking members of the Meat Cutters union.

Five thousand butchers are affected, and their picket lines have been respected by 10,000 retail clerks.

Butchers in Northern California won a victory when the Arden-Mayfield chain broke ranks with the other major chains and agreed to a 5.5 percent wage increase retroactive to Nov. 4. It also accepted the union's other strike settlement terms.

In a related development, 800 Meat Cutters walked off the job at four Los Angeles slaughterhouses that had supplied the supermarkets. After one day, slaughter was down from 5,200 head to 1,200 per day.

The following day, 1,000 members of Bakery Workers Union Local 37 left work, stating, "We just don't cross sanctioned picket lines. We are all members of the unions' Food and

Drug Council and we work together." These workers are employed by the so-called captive bakeries owned by the market chains that are being struck. They account for 35 percent of local bakery production.

At week's end, supplies in many markets were dwindling, meat counters were emptying out, and union officials said they would continue the strike if no settlement was reached.

Meanwhile, the strike against San Francisco Bay Area Sears department stores is now entering its fifth month. In another important Bay Area strike, 5,000 employees of the Kaiser Hospital Foundation walked off the job Dec. 8. Spokespeople for Hospital and Institutional Workers Local 250, AFL-CIO, said the strike was called when Kaiser refused to petition the Cost of Living Council for wage increases of more than 6.2 percent.