

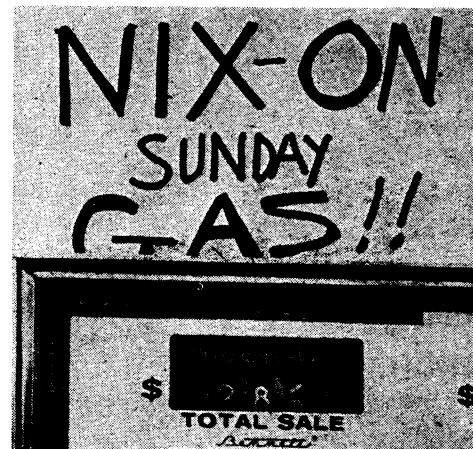
THE MILITANT

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

CAPITALISM & ENERGY CRISIS

**Prices, profits soar;
layoffs hit thousands**

—page 3

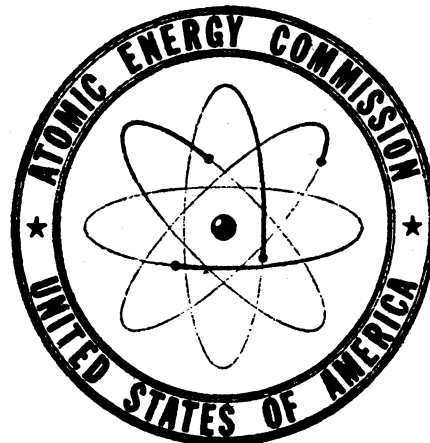


**Coal barons threaten
miners, environment**

—page 5

**Nuclear energy: peril
in hands of capitalists**

—page 6



THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 U.S. oil trusts drive up fuel prices
- 4 Contrast between miners' and rail workers' conventions
- 7 Court orders new election in NYC Dist. 1
- 8 Demonstrations shake Lebanese regime
- 9 How CP Mideast position denies Palestinian rights
- 13 Why did Nixon ditch 'Operation Candor'?
- 14 Issues facing Raza Unida parties
- 16 3,500 at congress of Argentine Trotskyists
- 17 Oregon Black activist fights extradition
- 18 History of Left Opposition: Soviet economy in danger

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

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 1 1973 in review: Overthrow of Allende & return of Peron
- 3 Crackdown on Soviet dissidents
- 5 Detente & the Asian revolution

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IT'S ABOUT TIME: For years the American Psychiatric Association (APA) has been a hated target of gay rights activists because it labeled homosexuality a "mental disorder." This classification helped justify discrimination against gays in the military, in employment, and in child custody cases, not to mention the degrading psychological effect it had on homosexuals.

But on Dec. 15 the trustees of the APA announced that they had unanimously decided to drop homosexuality from their list of "mental disorders," an important victory for the gay liberation struggle. The psychiatrists also called for local, state, and federal legislation to protect the civil rights of homosexuals, and urged the repeal of antigay laws.

While the new APA classification of homosexuality as a "sexual orientation disturbance" still leaves the door open to prejudice, the trustees emphasized that they believe "homosexuality . . . by itself does not necessarily constitute a psychiatric disorder."

One APA official explained that the long overdue move was "fanned by the organized homosexual community, which has vigorously protested the prejudice that derives from classifying their condition as a mental illness."

NYC DEMOCRATS KILL GAY CIVIL RIGHTS BILL: For the fourth time in three years, the New York city council has rejected a bill to outlaw discrimination against homosexuals. The bill was killed Dec. 20 before it even got out of committee. The 13 council members voting, all Democrats, defeated the measure 9 to 4.

The bill would outlaw discrimination in housing, employment, and public accommodations. It has been the focus of much activity by gay liberation groups in the past. This time, however, there were no demonstrations outside City Hall, because of assurances from legislators that the measure would pass, and cautions that protest actions might "turn off" city council members.

A meeting of gay organizations following the defeat denounced the vote as "yet another example of the cynical indifference to human beings demonstrated by the city council." The groups declared that they are "at the end of their patience" and will launch a renewed campaign to win passage of the bill this year.

VICTORY FOR INDIAN MILITANTS: It took a federal jury less than an hour to find three Indians innocent of government charges, stemming from the November 1972 occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in Washington, D.C.

Keever Locklear, Dock Locklear, and William Sargent were acquitted Dec. 19 on a series of charges, including possession of stolen BIA documents and threatening FBI agents. The documents—containing secret information on how the government oppresses Indians—were taken during the occupation in order to bring the truth about the BIA's role to the public.

The trial itself was one more example of the thousands of broken promises made by the government to Indians. At the end of the BIA take-over, federal officials made an agreement with the protesters that no one would be prosecuted for the action. Judge Arthur Stanley—a one-time sergeant in the Seventh Cavalry—wouldn't even allow this evidence in court, but the government's case fell through anyway.

SALAZAR FAMILY WINS SETTLEMENT: The Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors has voted to pay a settlement of \$700,000 to the widow and three children of slain newsman Ruben Salazar.

Salazar was struck in the head and killed by a tear-gas projectile fired by a sheriff's deputy during the police riot at the Aug. 29, 1970, Chicano Moratorium against the Vietnam war. Some 30,000 Chicanos demonstrated that day.

Salazar was a reporter for the Los Angeles Times and the Spanish-language TV station KMEX. His killing, and that of two others at the demonstration, evoked outrage in the Chicano community against this blatant police brutality.

The family had sued for \$1.5-million. In recommending the compromise, Judge Alfred McCourtney hastened to add that the settlement did not imply that the sheriff's office was guilty of any wrongdoing.

Expressing similar "compassion," County Supervisor Kenneth Hahn explained why he voted for the settlement. "It chills me, but this will avoid a long costly trial. A jury might vote even more money."

JURY FOILS GOVERNMENT AT 'BLACK LIBERATION ARMY' TRIAL: Joanne Chesimard and Fred Hilton, accused by the government of being members of the "Black Liberation Army," were acquitted of bank-robbery charges Dec. 28 in New York. It was their second trial; the first ended in a hung jury.

This time jurors told reporters they just couldn't swallow the testimony of the star prosecution witnesses, Avon White and John Rivers. White had admitted in court that he made a deal with the government to testify against Chesimard and Hilton, in return for the dropping of two bank-robbery charges.

The prosecutor had to concede that he had "no fingerprints, no pictures of the defendants at the bank, no guns," and none of the stolen money to produce as evidence.

No sooner was she acquitted than Chesimard was hit with a new indictment, charging her and four other alleged "Black Liberation Army" members with trying to kill two cops last year. Chesimard also faces murder charges in connection with the killing of a New Jersey state trooper. Hilton has been indicted on charges of attempted murder against two other policemen.

ANTIWAR DESERTERS LAUNCH AMNESTY FIGHT: "At the age of 17, a great vacuum cleaner passed through my neighborhood and took me and my friends off to war. I've been at war ever since and now I want to come home," Ed McNally told a New York news conference Dec. 19. The 24-year-old Vietnam veteran, who deserted in 1969, surrendered to the Army at the news conference, along with another deserter, 29-year-old Lew Simon.

The public surrender was organized by the Safe Return Amnesty Committee. After McNally and Simon explained



Army deserters Ed McNally, left, and Lewis Simon announcing plans to fight for amnesty.

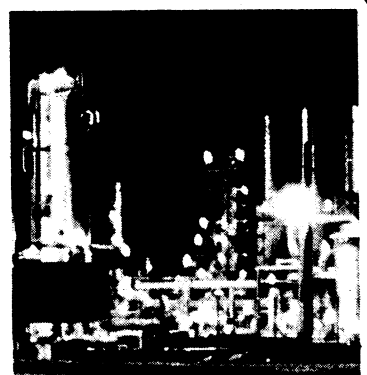
their actions to reporters, FBI agents handcuffed the two men and took them away. They face possible jail terms and dishonorable discharges.

However, Simon and McNally will be fighting for amnesty. They see their surrender as a test case, which they hope will set a precedent for the right of amnesty of all the men who deserted or resisted the draft during the Vietnam war.

In the words of Simon's father, "If they can give amnesty to Agnew and the rest, they can give it to my son."

—CINDY JAQUITH

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Poor nations hardest hit

U.S. oil trusts drive up world fuel prices

By DICK ROBERTS

As 1973 ended, a series of developments nationally and internationally underlined the world scope of the energy crisis and all the more cast light on its central cause—the drive of U.S. monopoly to raise world energy prices.

In the last two weeks of December, world crude oil prices were increased by as much as 130 percent. This began with the announcement that Arab-Persian Gulf states would more than double the taxes and royalties on Middle East crude.

This will not cut into the profits of the U.S. multinational corporations that own most of that oil because all their payments to foreign governments are deductible from U.S. taxes.

Higher oil prices mean higher profits for the oil corporations. Already in the first nine months of 1973, the five largest U.S. oil trusts—Exxon, Gulf, Mobil, Texaco, and Socal—had registered profit increases of 48 percent.

In its year-end issue, *Business Week* magazine listed Exxon stocks as one of the most favored investments recommended by financial experts for 1974.

World impact

The oil price rise on Middle East crude was shortly followed by comparable rises in Venezuela, Nigeria, and other oil-producing nations.

Although the estimates vary, it means that world fuel prices will rise and along with them the prices of virtually every other manufactured product. This is not only because of the direct impact of the higher oil prices but because higher oil prices will lift the prices of the other main sources of energy—coal and natural gas.

On Dec. 23, when the oil price rises were announced in Tehran, the shah of Iran noted in a news conference, "We must base this thing on a new concept. We must compare the price of oil to the other sources of energy—what is the real price for the extraction of shale, the extraction of gas, the liquification of coal?"

In other words, oil prices will be raised to the point where it becomes profitable to extract energy from sources that are now unprofitable. In

saying this, the shah was not speaking for the needs of the oppressed Arab and Iranian masses. He was speaking for the imperialists headquartered in Washington—who put him in power through a CIA-engineered coup in 1953 and who have subsequently built up his regime into one of the most heavily armed "subimperialist" states.

The *Wall Street Journal* hinted in an editorial Dec. 27 what the higher oil prices could mean in this country: "... a few dollars per barrel price increase would likely have the effect of tripling U.S. oil reserves," it stated.

This sounds fantastic, unless you are familiar with the language of the capitalists. The posted U.S. oil reserve figures, which are supposed to indicate a drying up of sources in the near future, are based on profitable production figures. Raise the prices and there's three times as much oil!

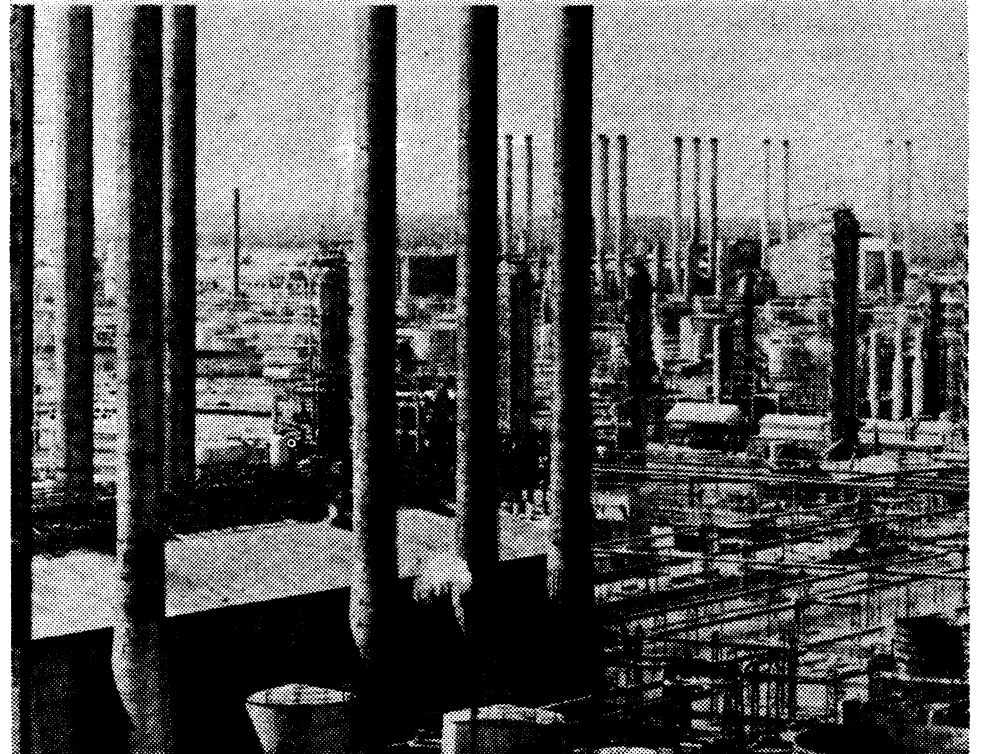
In the long run, higher energy costs will benefit the U.S. against rival imperialist nations.

The U.S. has large internal energy sources as well as huge overseas holdings. On the opposite end among the major imperialist powers is Japan, with no internal oil sources and with practically no ownership of foreign oil. There is every indication that these moves could bring about a major recession in that country accompanied by spiraling inflation.

Taking into consideration the increasing probability of recessions in the U.S. and Britain, the profit-gouging policies of the energy monopolists could precipitate the most serious world economic crisis since the 1930s.

In any event the underdeveloped capitalist nations will fare the worst. "The hardest hit victims... may turn out to be those who can least afford it," *Newsweek* magazine admitted Jan. 7. "The reason is unclear," it said, "but there is some speculation that the major oil companies have routed supplies originally bound for Black Africa to Europe, Japan and the U.S. And even if these nations were able to get the oil, the higher prices would in all probability demolish their painfully acquired exchange reserves."

The reason is actually quite clear. The bigger powers can pay higher prices, and they are doing so. This is a harsh new reminder that the un-



Oil refinery on Arab-Persian Gulf. Arab peoples remain in poverty while U.S. oil companies reap superprofits.

derdeveloped countries can have no perspective of meaningful social progress under imperialism.

Oil boycott?

The Middle East regimes made known two days after the price increase announcement that the oil cutbacks for all the capitalist powers, except for the embargo on the U.S. and the Netherlands, would be gradually eased.

Yet it is possible that the oil boycott has been greatly exaggerated. Two stages of the boycott process have been muddled in the capitalist press.

The first stage is a production limitation supposedly set by the Arab states. Here the information has been so misleading that even the British *Economist* ultimately declared, "the Arabs may not have cut production by anything like the amount that they say."

But there is a second stage, and that is the marketing of the oil (in however limited quantities) by the oil companies themselves. Here it is evident, as the quotation from *Newsweek* above suggests, that the oil companies are simply selling to the highest

bidders and that at least in some instances, no boycott existed at all.

Thus, according to *Time* magazine's Jan. 7 issue, "The Rotterdam-Antwerp pipeline, a key conveyor of crude from the supposedly embargoed Dutch port to Belgium, has been pumping as much oil as it did before the boycott began."

Time sent reporters to a U.S. refinery in the Bahamas that receives oil from the Middle East and markets it on the East Coast. "Borco has actually doubled its normal output...," they found out. "Records at Marbrok Marine Brokers in Freeport show that between Nov. 1 and Nov. 29, no fewer than 13 tankers out of the Libyan port of Ras Lanuf discharged crude at Borco."

It is a further piece of evidence that the oil trusts and the government are lying about the causes and extent of the fuel shortage. The *New York Times* felt compelled to complain on New Year's Day, "The world petroleum market has traditionally operated under shrouds of such murkiness that the business of arms smuggling seems like an open bazaar by comparison."

Inflation cuts real wages; layoffs idle thousands

The holidays saw motorists forming increasingly long lines to wait for ever-dwindling supplies of gas. But this was only one of the energy and related problems that are piling up one on top of the next.

• The pace of inflation registered in November was just as great as in

Both Nixon and Congress are obviously in league with the oil companies in bringing on the energy crisis and all its effects. How can working people fight back to maintain their standard of living in the face of this crisis? See editorial, page 10.

October, an annual rate of 9.6 percent. Food prices, which had somewhat leveled off in the past three months, surged again at a 16.8 percent yearly rate.

• These price rises meant that the paycheck-purchasing power of work-

ers continued to decline. Real wages fell 0.6 percent in November after a 0.9 percent drop in October. They are 3.3 percent below a year ago.

• The major oil companies unleashed a new round of price rises. Shell announced Dec. 31 that it would increase prices for gasoline, heating oil, and most other petroleum products. Other increases are expected.

• The increases are "legitimated" by legal footwork in the Nixon administration. Energy "price controls" were shifted from the Cost of Living Council to the newly formed Federal Energy Office. This office has authorized distributors of gasoline, heating oil, and diesel fuel to also raise prices to cover increased operating costs.

• The Federal Energy Office declared that fuel prices would rise 10 cents a gallon by March. Nationwide checks by the Internal Revenue Service meanwhile found that 26 percent of the truck stops checked were charging more than the law, such as it is, allows.



Unemployment lines in Detroit

• Layoffs are increasing and with them the probability of recession. GM announced indefinite layoffs of 38,000 workers, about 6 percent of its domestic work force, and furloughed another 48,000 for periods of up to 10 days.

• The Air Transport Association has warned that airlines may cancel more than 950,000 departures at 500 airports during the year. This includes the grounding of approximately 275

aircraft and the furlough or discharge of more than 25,000 workers.

• The Nixon administration is already talking about a possible 5.5 percent unemployment rate in 1974 compared with the current rate of 4.7 percent. Coupled with spiraling inflation it is stacking up to be a year in which workers will have a lot to battle for in wage negotiations. Contracts covering more than five million workers are scheduled for this year.

How United Mine Workers convention contrasted with rail workers gathering

By ED HEISLER

Last month when I attended the United Mine Workers (UMW) convention in Pittsburgh, I was struck by the differences between that gathering and the convention of my union, the United Transportation Union (UTU), which I attended in 1971.

I participated in the UTU convention as the delegate from Local 1433 in Chicago, and as the national secre-

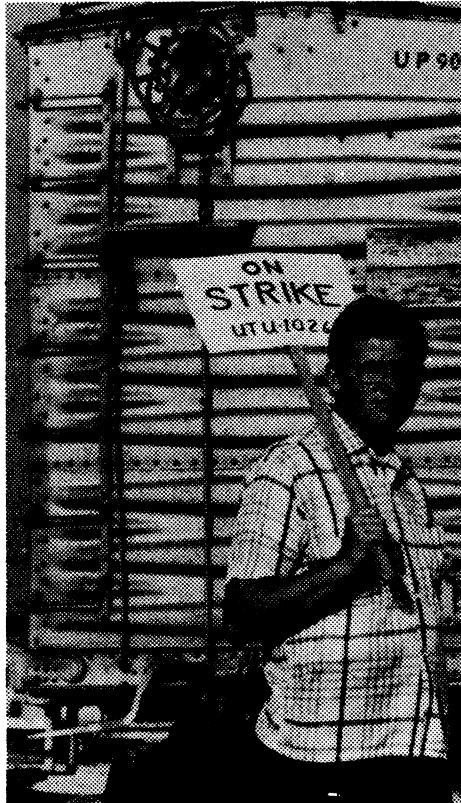
Ed Heisler is Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois.

tary of the Right to Vote Committee. This committee was fighting for the right of UTU members to vote on contracts.

The difference in atmosphere at the two conventions was very noticeable. The UTU convention was held at the plush Fontainebleau Hotel in Miami Beach, Fla. Many of the delegates looked at the gathering as a vacation; they were not interested in discussing the problems of the dues-paying membership. To promote this vacation atmosphere, the UTU officers organized golf tournaments and inexpensive trips to Puerto Rico and the Bahamas on weekends.

The mine workers held their convention near where most of the membership live and work.

UTU delegates were paid \$1,900 for the two weeks they were at the convention, plus travel expenses that sometimes ran as high as \$600 or \$700. The union spent more than \$9-million total for the convention.



Militant/Walter Lippmann

Rail workers face serious problems, but instead of discussing these problems UTU bureaucrats promoted vacation atmosphere at 1971 convention.

Delegates to the mine workers convention, however, received quite a bit less money. I talked to one delegate, for example, whose local gave him \$700 to cover travel, food, and lodging for the two-week convention.

In keeping with the vacation atmosphere of the UTU convention, all the international and many of the local

officers dressed like businessmen. If you asked one of them what he did for a living, he might answer, "I'm in the union business."

Most of the mine workers delegates wore casual dress—they looked like the workers they had come to represent.

Another big contrast was the way in which the two conventions were run. Every UTU local, regardless of size, got one delegate with one vote to cast at the convention. Thus a local of 10 members and a local of 1,000 were represented by the same number of delegates. Each local represented at the mine workers convention had a weighted vote more accurately reflecting the local's size.

Democratic discussion prevailed at the mine workers gathering. Delegates freely took the floor to express differences. But at the UTU convention, the international officers had their supporters stationed at all the microphones in order to control the discussion.

These delegates arrived at 6 a.m., hours before the sessions began, to take positions by the microphones. In order to counter this, those of us in the Right to Vote Committee had to arrive even earlier. We had an ongoing contest to see who could get there the earliest.

Another trick of the UTU bureaucrats was to send their representatives and field supervisors to mingle with delegates, so as to do a little arm twisting during the votes.

While the mine workers convention enthusiastically adopted a motion to have membership ratification on all contracts, we had to fight like hell

just to get a similar motion on the floor at the UTU convention. The international officers fought against our proposal, which lost narrowly. They ruled that it was defeated by 848 to 815 votes, and rejected a roll call vote on the issue.

The mine workers convention also adopted a proposal to move the union headquarters from Washington, D.C., to the coalfields. By contrast, after the UTU convention was over, the officers sent out a recommendation that the union headquarters be moved from Cleveland, where there are many railroad workers, to Hot Springs, Ark., where there are very few. I guess the officers prefer the climate in Hot Springs.

The leadership of the UTU made no proposals at the convention that in any way threatened the railroad barons with militant action in defense of workers' standard of living, job conditions, or safety. A number of delegates proposed a cost-of-living allowance in all contracts, but their proposal never hit the floor. Another proposal, for a six-hour day at eight hours' pay, also never got to the floor. But the mine workers voted to add both these demands to the new contract they will negotiate with the coal operators.

The militant attitude of the mine workers delegates was summed up in their determination to strike if they do not get a decent contract, in spite of the energy crisis. What happened at their convention is an inspiration to workers in other unions who are fighting for internal democracy and in defense of their standard of living.

'The rich, they are different from you and me....'

By CAROLINE LUND

The writer F. Scott Fitzgerald once made a comment that became famous: "The rich, they are different from you and me." The effects of the current fuel shortage reveal just how different they are.

The *New York Times* recently interviewed several millionaires about how they are affected by the energy crisis and found that most were not too distressed.

"We will survive," said one "philanthropist," expressing her concern about "the poor." "We're not used to being disciplined, but it won't hurt us. We've never really sacrificed—even in World War II. It could be good for us. Anything that's a sacrifice is character-forming."

A similar thought was expressed by Philip Johnson, an architect who has a sun-heated glass house. He finds "a wartime excitement about all this."

He continued: "And don't forget what wonderful friendships we made then [during the war] and how we lost our selfishness."

Decorator Melanie Kahane doesn't mind the fuel shortage because, "Lowering the thermostat is good for the sinus and fine furniture. Now my furniture will have the atmosphere it had in Europe."

Enid Haupt feels the same way. She is the former editor of *Seventeen* magazine, and says that cool temperatures are good for her vast orchid and exotic plant collection.

Multimillionaire Charles Revson complains that he doesn't know what to do with his 257-foot, 1,200-ton luxury

yacht. The shortage of diesel fuel may put a crimp in his usual world cruises.

Meanwhile, President Nixon is also doing his best to set an example on how to sacrifice. He flew a regular commercial plane out to San Clemente, Calif., for his post-Christmas vacation instead of flying with his usual jet fleet.

A Nixon aide said the president felt

the past year Nixon has taken four vacations at San Clemente, 13 at Key Biscayne, Fla., and 36 weekends at Camp David.

According to research by columnist Jack Anderson, the usual Nixon trip to San Clemente costs taxpayers \$46,000, not counting the \$25-a-day expenses paid to the 20 aides who follow him around.



Each of Nixon's trips to San Clemente in his jet fleet costs taxpayers \$46,000.

he had "scored points with the public" through the trip, by showing himself a "man of the people" ready to sacrifice like the rest of us.

If you find it hard to sympathize with the hardships involved in the president's trip, you will find it even harder when you hear this: During

When Nixon deigns to travel by car, he has a fleet of limousines at his service—air-conditioned, armored, weighing 10,000 pounds, and replete with two-way radio and stereo equipment.

Anderson also reveals how governors, generals, and other bigwigs are also not hurting for transportation

facilities, despite the fuel shortage. They are chauffeured to football games and resort areas on planes of the Air National Guard.

Each year Congress appropriates millions in tax money for this purpose to keep the state politicians happy.

While the rich are taking advantage of the fuel shortage to "strengthen their characters," preserve their fine furniture, pamper their orchids, and bloat their profits, working people are fighting to make ends meet in an entirely different world.

The *Michigan Chronicle*, a Black newspaper, recently pointed out that the fuel shortage means more to working people and the unemployed than gasless Sundays and lowering the thermostat to 68 degrees. "It means that many will be dying because cutting down on heat will at times mean no heat at all."

Those who live in dilapidated, poorly heated and poorly insulated housing will not have their sinuses improved, like Melanie Kahane. They will face pneumonia and influenza.

The *Chronicle* continues, "Not only will the poor be threatened by landlords, but by retailers of cheap, poorly-constructed heaters. Sales of heaters have boomed in past weeks and most were probably purchased by the budget-minded poor. An increase in the number of fires is a real threat."

While the jet-set rich and the capitalist politicians philosophize on the fuel shortage over their poolside cocktails, working people are footing the bill. That's the reality of Nixon's "equality of sacrifice."

Coal companies threaten environment, miners' lives in fuel blackmail scheme

By CINDY JAQUITH

The coal barons have laid down their terms for increasing production to ease the energy crisis. Their proposals amount to blackmailing working people in order to increase profits.

Speaking as president of the National Coal Association, Carl Bagge told a Dec. 20 news-conference in Washington, D.C., that the industry can produce 50 million more tons of coal this year than was previously planned, but only, he stressed, "if present handicaps to production are removed" and the coal giants get "full cooperation of both government and coal miners."

What are these "handicaps" and how will the government and miners be expected to "cooperate"?

Intensified strip mining

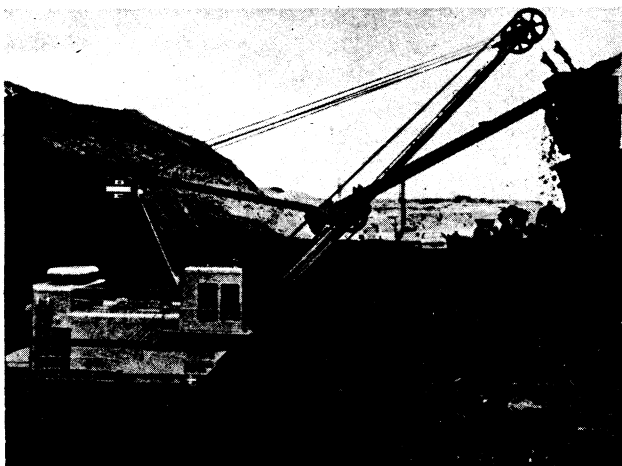
Bagge said that half of the 50 million extra tons will come from strip mining. Although he tacked on a dubious promise that the companies will restore stripped land, implicit in his remarks was the idea that the government should "cooperate" by relaxing environmental standards.

Secondly, Bagge stated that the coal companies will not tolerate "harassment or unnecessary mine closings" due to safety violations. He went so far as to call the present safety laws—as inadequate as they are—"not realistic."

Third, he called for "labor stability," a demand directed at recent wildcat strikes by miners over safety issues, and the threat of an industry-wide strike by the United Mine Workers (UMW) if the union fails to gain a satisfactory contract this year.

Lastly, Bagge had the gall to ask for no price controls on his industry, because of coal's supposed low profitability.

On the level of the environment alone, these proposals pose many dangers. According to testimony at Senate hearings in the spring of 1973, 90 per-



Coal companies want greater freedom to ravage environment through strip mining.

cent of the land dug up by strip mining has never been restored by the coal companies. There are an estimated 4 million acres of such wasteland in this country, increasing at the present rate of 4,650 acres a week. The "reclamation" promise made by Bagge is an empty one.

Only 1 percent of U.S. coal reserves are strippable, but the operators prefer this process. It requires fewer workers, and productivity per miner is higher than underground mining.

This increased productivity, with decreased labor costs, means higher profits. The coal bosses see no reason why reclamation expenses should cut into those profits. After all, they don't have to live in the Appalachian hills they have torn to pieces, unlike miners and other poor people.

Strip mining is not the only ecological danger, however. The operators are also pushing for increased use of high-sulfur coal, with its greater pollution. And the energy crisis will also be used as an excuse for the continued junking of mining refuse in huge slag heaps. These piles trap vast amounts of water that can burst forth at any time, causing floods like the Buffalo Creek, W. Va., disaster in 1972 that killed 125 people.

More dead and maimed

The coal operators are not satisfied with asking for freedom to destroy the environment. Bagge made it clear that miners' lives will also have to be sacrificed. Instead of improving on safety measures, the National Coal Association wants to cut back on what little already exists.

What this means in human terms was expressed



in the UMW 1973 officers' report distributed at the union convention. This report recalled "the boy who got run through the conveyor belt rollers because the company wouldn't spend \$20 to install a protective guard; the nine who were trapped at Blacksville and died because machinery was being moved improperly in violation of state law; the boy who had his legs sheared off by a runaway locomotive and got to thinking about what it was like to be 19 years old and legless, and put an end to everything with a Smith & Wesson. . . ."

The drive for profits claimed the lives of more than 140 miners in 1973. If the coal operators get their way, the toll will be greater in 1974.

Thousands of miners will also be injured. In the first six months of 1973, 6,221 miners were disabled and another 8,432 sustained non disabling injuries. More than 4,000 men died from black lung.

But the most brutal product of the operators' disregard for human lives are the fires and explosions that slaughter tens or hundreds of men at once, such as the Farmington, W. Va., mine blowup in 1968 that killed 78 men.

A disaster a year?

The callous attitude of the coal companies toward safety is matched by the government. When 38 men died in a 1972 mine explosion, the director of the Bureau of Mines coolly explained: "This disaster was not unexpected. We've had two good years since Farmington, and I think we can almost expect one of these a year."

This warped perspective was repeated in a federal government statement that with "only" 156 miners killed in 1972, it was "a good year, in terms of fatalities."

Is it possible to mine coal without crushing men to death, cutting off their limbs, or poisoning their lungs? The mine workers believe it is. At the recent United Mine Workers convention, delegates voted to demand a series of safety measures in their new contract, including the union's right to walk out of unsafe mines, full-time medical personnel in the mines, and tougher safety committees.

These demands were approved with the expectation—soon confirmed—that the coal companies would try to justify safety shortcuts because of the energy crisis. As UMW President Arnold Miller declared in his annual report:

"... we wonder about all the men who are somehow expected to be willing to die in the years ahead, to keep the lights burning. And we know instinctively that this is the time to draw the line—to say clearly and firmly that no energy crisis is worth that price."

Safety could well become a central issue if the mine workers are forced to go out on strike. Other key contract demands include a cost-of-living allowance, six-hour day at eight hours' pay, and higher pensions.

The coal companies' complaints about "labor instability" are a warning that they will try to blame the energy crisis on the just demands of the miners, if the UMW strikes. The bosses want to brand these demands as opposed to the "national interest" and make it easier for government intervention if that is necessary.

A situation with many parallels developed in the spring of 1946, when the UMW went on strike primarily around safety demands. In the previous 14 years, 28,000 miners had been killed and more than a million injured. In the words of UMW President John L. Lewis, every ton of coal produced was "smeared with the blood" of the mine workers.

The key UMW demand was for a health and welfare fund, to be financed by a royalty paid by the companies on every ton of coal mined.

The response of the coal operators was to label the UMW demands "time-killing trivia" aimed at "creating a national crisis." Newspaper stories tried to whip up a hysteria about food shortages, layoffs, and power cuts, all because of the miners.

President Harry Truman, a Democrat, called the strike a "national disaster" and sent federal troops into one Kentucky mining town to protect scabs. The Democrats and Republicans in Congress closed ranks behind his vicious attempts to smash the strike.

Nevertheless, the miners succeeded in winning a five-cent-per-ton royalty in spite of the coal operators and the "friends of labor" in Washington. The union may face a similar fight this year.

Green light

As if their other proposals were not outrageous enough, the coal bosses also want a green light from the government to raise their prices. Bagge also noted with pleasure that Nixon has exempted coal from his new "excess-profits" tax plan.

The coal operators like to picture themselves as small businessmen who never make a profit. The truth is that the coal companies are chiefly owned by the same big energy monopolies that contrived the fuel shortage in the first place. Only three of the top 15 coal companies, for example, are "independents." The three biggest companies—Peabody, Consolidation, and Island Creek—are respectively owned by Kennecott Copper, Continental Oil, and Occidental Oil.

What these capitalists are saying is that they should get superprofits from coal, as well as the billions of dollars they plan to rake in from oil and gas. And for every cent the UMW squeezes out of them in the new contract, they'll demand even higher prices.

The coal barons are thus providing one of the clearest pictures of what the energy crisis holds out for working people: more ravaging of the environment, murderous conditions in the mines, and higher fuel prices.

The determination of the United Mine Workers to fight back is one sign that the capitalists face a rocky road in their drive for more profits. This crisis also has the potential to bring other workers, environmentalists, and students into action against the antihuman proposals from the coal bosses.



Profits come before miners' safety in eyes of coal barons.

Nuclear power: promise and peril

Why capitalism can't meet energy needs

By CAROLINE LUND

The current fuel shortage has focused attention on society's needs for energy and the incompetence and unwillingness of the big oil monopolies to provide this energy.

Since the facts about energy production and reserves are kept secret, the oil monopolies and their friends in the government can attempt to bamboozle the American people with myths about the cause of the energy crisis.

The most widespread myth spread by Nixon and his gang of oilmen contributors is that the American people have been "living too fast"—that we have gotten spoiled from too high a standard of living and now must simply face the fact that energy supplies are going to run out if we don't slow down and accept some sacrifices.

They try to tell us it's all a big technical problem of the scarcity of energy sources, and that they are doing their best to come up with enough to meet our needs.

This is a lie from beginning to end. It is true that the main sources of energy now in use are finite, and will run out in the not too distant future if used at the current expanding rate. But there are other sources of energy that are virtually infinite, such as nuclear energy and solar energy.

These latter sources of energy have yet to be fully developed. But the technological know-how exists to figure out how to safely use nuclear and solar energy—if enough resources are devoted to research.

Why haven't the big capitalists done this already? Because that's not where the profits are.

The energy crisis is a product of the capitalist system of production for profit, not a result of scarcity of energy.

As everyone knows, capitalism is a dog-eat-dog system. In order to compete, the capitalist does everything the easiest way from his own narrow standpoint. Anything goes, if you can get away with it. The history books tell how the "robber baron" capitalists went wild in this country in the late nineteenth century—hacking down forests, draining the soil, tearing up the earth, working wage earners to the bone, all with no thought but amassing greater and greater profits.

The same thing is true in the energy field. The capitalist system of produc-

tion for profit induced the capitalists to go after fossil fuels—coal, oil, and natural gas. Fossil fuels are actually depositories of the sun's energy, formed in the ground through a process taking millions of years.

Fossil fuels are useful in many ways apart from burning, such as for plastics, synthetic textiles, fertilizers, synthetic rubber, and many other things. If human needs, rather than profits, were the criteria, it would obviously be better to use the limited fossil fuel supplies in more productive ways than simply burning them up for energy. But the capitalist system rules out such thinking ahead and planning for the benefit of humanity.

The capitalist system of ruthless exploitation did play a positive role initially in rapidly advancing the standard of living and technology of this country. But, as the energy crisis demonstrates, the capitalist monopoly system is coming more and more into direct conflict with the needs of the American people and all humanity.

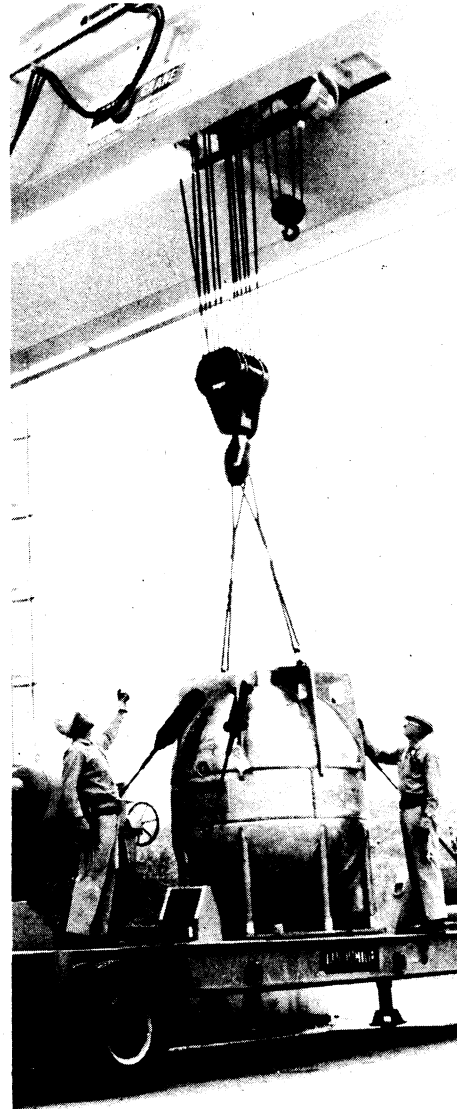
How do we see this problem in the current energy crisis?

First of all, the priorities set by capitalism for the development of resources clearly do not flow from the needs of the masses of humanity.

For example, nuclear energy was harnessed long ago, during the second world war, and billions of dollars were pumped into developing it as a weapon of mass destruction. The priorities of the capitalist rulers were not to develop safe, peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Their priority was to amass an arsenal of bombs capable of wiping out humanity many times over in defense of their "free enterprise" system.

On the other hand, the funding of research on controlled nuclear fusion, the safest source of nuclear energy, has been negligible. From its inception in 1950 until 1971, the U.S. fusion research program received only the amount of money spent on a single Apollo moon shot, according to the February 1971 *Scientific American*.

Another problem is that the capitalist system does not allow for planning and control of harmful social effects of energy production, such as pollution. In the case of development of nuclear energy, this problem is acute because the possible pollution problems are enormously greater than for fossil fuels.



Thirteen-ton carrier to transport radioactive wastes. Nuclear power companies have not yet figured out how to dispose of these wastes safely.

An article in the September 1972 issue of *Environment* magazine described the magnitude of the possible danger from a breakdown of the cooling system in one of the nuclear fission reactors that are used today in the U.S.:

"A large power reactor can contain fission products equivalent to the fall-out from many dozens of nuclear weapons in the megaton range. The uncontrolled release of even 5 or 10 percent of this inventory could bring death to persons from 60 up to 100 miles from the reactor. Persons hundreds of miles distant could suffer radiation sickness, genetic damage, and increased incidence of many diseases including cancer. . . . Several reactors now operating or under construction

are sited close enough to large urban areas so that each could put more than ten million persons within range of a lethal plume of radioactivity."

It is just this dangerous kind of fission reactor that President Nixon and the oil monopolies (who control most of the supplies of uranium used by these reactors) are now trying to promote as a "solution" to the energy crisis.

Last January the *New York Times* reported a "building boom for nuclear power plants" purchased by the utility companies.

But protection of the public against unsafe nuclear reactors is virtually nil. The Atomic Energy Commission, which is supposed to "regulate" the industry to protect the public, is also charged by federal law with promotion of commercial nuclear power development.

Henry Kendall, a nuclear physicist and leader of the Union of Concerned Scientists, has called the safety program for nuclear reactors "a national scandal."

The Union of Concerned Scientists has carried out a long struggle against the AEC, exposing its commitment to the billion-dollar nuclear reactor business. The record of the AEC has been one of trying to prevent and curtail research and public hearings on the dangers of present nuclear reactors, keeping its records of safety tests secret, and ignoring warnings of scientists on its own staff.

The irresponsibility of the AEC, the government, and the nuclear monopolies can be seen in the fact that *no method has yet been developed to safely dispose of the radioactive wastes produced by fission reactors*. Yet the use of these reactors is expanding and the wastes are piling up.

The competence of the AEC to "protect the public" can be judged from the leak of these radioactive wastes from an AEC storage facility in Hanford, Wash., last spring. Undiscovered for 51 days, more than 115,000 gallons of highly radioactive, boiling liquid waste seeped out of the corroded storage tank and into the ground.

With adequate research, perfectly safe nuclear reactors could be developed. But left in the hands of the capitalists, safety will come last because profits come first.

An illustration of this is the fact that

Continued on page 20

Energy crisis pretext to OK offshore drilling

By MARK SCHNEIDER

LOS ANGELES—The California State Lands Commission—at the urging of the powerful oil industry—recently lifted the ban on new oil drilling in the Santa Barbara Channel.

The lifting of the ban was pushed through under the cover of the energy crisis.

A moratorium had been placed on offshore drilling in state waters in March 1969. This was the result of public outcry over the Jan. 28, 1969, oil spill on the Santa Barbara coast, which is one of the most beautiful beach areas in the state.

During that massive blowout more than three-and-a-half million gallons of oil spilled out of an offshore Union Oil drilling operation and covered the beach area. The result was extensive damage to wildlife, marine biology, and recreational facilities.

The public protest not only brought the state moratorium, but also forced the city of Santa Barbara, the county,



1969 Santa Barbara oil spill destroyed wildlife.

and the state to file suit against Union Oil. This suit will go to court some time this year.

The moratorium allowed continued production on existing wells. The Dec. 11 lifting of the ban still forbids construction of new platforms and granting of new leases to oil companies.

The action by the State Lands Commission represents an attack by the oil industry and government on the ecology of the area and on the environmental movement.

The biggest threat to the environment lies in the probable new drilling to begin in nearby federally owned waters, where most of the oil lies. Lifting of the state moratorium will set a precedent and make it easier for the federal government to authorize drilling in its waters.

The California ruling will also limit the possibilities of passing federal legislation that would either ban channel drilling or would create an oil-

free sanctuary on 35 leases opposite the coastal city of Santa Barbara. Such legislation is pending before the House of Representatives.

In pressing for the moratorium in 1969, environmental groups noted that fail-safe drilling systems have not been developed, nor are there adequate backup systems for spill containment. Contrary to a huge oil company advertising campaign, present recovery systems, according to environmental groups, can recover only 20 percent of spilled oil.

Santa Barbara's most active ecology group is Get Oil Out! (GOO!). The organization points to the fact that public opinion in Santa Barbara is strongly opposed to offshore oil drilling. In October, some 250 people turned out for hearings on offshore drilling conducted by the Department of the Interior. On Dec. 9 nearly 100 people attended a GOO!-sponsored beachside demonstration against drilling.

Court orders new elections in NYC Dist.1

By EILEEN WELLS

NEW YORK — Federal Judge Charles Stewart announced Dec. 26 that he will order a new election for District 1's nine community school board positions.

Stewart's action, which represents a substantial victory for the parents and children of the Lower East Side, came in response to a suit filed by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund.

In the elections held last May 1, a predominantly white six-member majority, backed by the racist leadership of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT), was elected in place of a pro-community-control board made up predominantly of Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese parents. The district's pupil enrollment is 93 percent Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese.

The UFT-backed slate ran on a racist platform, with the removal of Puerto Rican District Superintendent Luis Fuentes the major issue. Following the election, the new majority repeatedly tried to take actions the community opposed. The board wanted to move the district's offices from a Black and Puerto Rican neighborhood to a white area on the fringe of the district and fire all personnel associated with Fuentes and supporting community control.

The court ruling will mark the first time that a federal court has overturned an election in a northern city on the grounds of racial discrimination.

Before the elections, CoDEL had filed a series of lawsuits aimed at winning more democratic elections. With the cooperation of the Puerto Rican Legal

Defense and Education Fund, CoDEL won language assistance guarantees for Spanish- and Chinese-speaking voters, including the city's first Spanish/English ballot.

The May 1 elections provoked widespread charges of fraud and discrimination against pro-community-control forces. At a hearing on May 8 organized by CoDEL in District 1, it was estimated that 1,000 voters had been prevented from voting. Four hundred residents of District 1 attended the hearing and heard overwhelming evidence of irregularities that had disenfranchised Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese voters.

In July, CoDEL published a report on the election that documented the illegal practices, including the moving of polling sites without warning in the Puerto Rican and Black areas; requiring written identification from Black and Puerto Rican voters but not from whites; the failure of some polling places to open on time; and active campaigning for the UFT-backed slate by election officials.

Following the publication of this report, Congressman Charles Rangel, the board of directors of the Citizens' Committee for Children, Dr. Kenneth Clark, and many others endorsed CoDEL's conclusion that a new election should be held in District 1.

In September, when it became clear that federal and state investigations were leading nowhere, CoDEL and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund filed a suit on behalf of the Coalition for Education.

Meanwhile, the illegally elected board was attempting to fire district personnel who supported community control

and to move the district office.

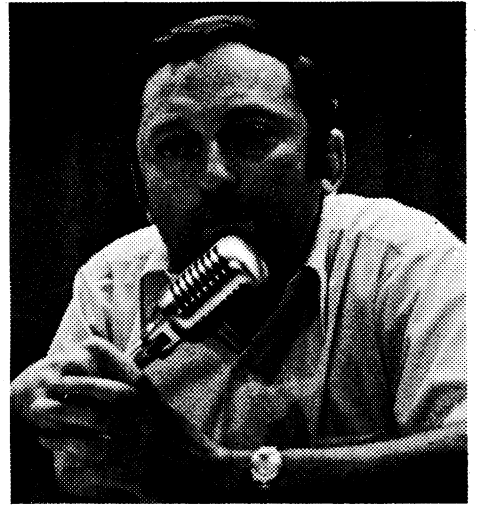
Hundreds of community residents mobilized for the open school board meetings at which all decisions of the board must be taken. Month after month these mobilizations prevented the new majority from implementing its design to take control of the schools away from the community. Finally, a court order blocked the board from moving the office or firing staff workers, pending the outcome of the suit challenging the validity of the elections.

In one final move, the board majority voted at a public meeting to suspend Luis Fuentes. This arrogant tactic was taken only after they had shielded themselves from several hundred angry community residents by retiring to a closed-in projection booth above the stage of the auditorium.

In response, parents began a district-wide boycott of the schools. On the third day of the highly effective boycott, community activists led a demonstration to the courthouse where the election suit was being heard.

Stewart reinstated Fuentes, pending a decision of the legality of the entire school board election, and the parents lifted their boycott and decided to wait and see how the judge ruled.

Stewart's Dec. 26 decision was greeted with enthusiasm by the pro-community-control forces. Georgina Hoggard, a current member of the school board, said, "This community has proved that it is not going to submit to the racist experiments of Adolph Roher and Albert Shanker in District 1 in crushing the will of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese people. There's a lot of hard work ahead, but we will



Militant/Michael Baumann

Adolph Roher, Shankerite chairman of present board, says no thanks—won't run again 'under any circumstances.'

do it!"

On the opposite side, the present chairman of the board, Adolph Roher, said he was "shocked and discouraged" and would not run again "under any circumstances." Roher has come to symbolize the majority's racist actions to the community.

Albert Shanker, UFT president, had publicly denounced the lawsuit in his weekly purchased column in the *New York Times*. He was less candid in greeting the decision, saying he supported the ruling and expected a UFT-backed slate to win again in a new election. Shanker attempted to cloud the issue by claiming that the irregularities had all been committed by Fuentes supporters.

The Presidents' Council of District 1, composed of the elected presidents of each school's Parents' Association, responded immediately to the court decision by spearheading the organization of a district-wide planning committee. This planning body is discussing who should run the district in the interim before a new election is held, how the new election should be conducted, and how to resolve the problem of money needed to keep the district operating at its present level.

One parent spokeswoman summed up the feelings of many District 1 parents after the victory announcement: "We were robbed of a fair election in May; since that time, the Shanker majority has tried to get rid of every gain we've made for our schools in this district. Their racist efforts are ended for now because the strength and unity of this community have heaved them out of office!"



Militant/Michael Baumann

Part of audience at recent District 1 school board meeting. UFT-backed slate won a majority in fraudulent elections last May, but continued mobilizations by community forced courts to call for new elections.

Frame-up trials set for Wounded Knee leaders

By GREG CORNELL

ST. PAUL, Minn. — The political confrontation that took place last year at Wounded Knee, S.D., shifts this month to a federal courtroom where the leadership of the American Indian Movement (AIM) goes on trial.

For the Indian leaders, the slew of indictments is little short of a wholesale frame-up designed to cripple their struggle and jail some of their key activists.

To protest the trial, which begins Jan. 8, several actions are in the works:

A rally the night before at the University of Minnesota will feature defendants Dennis Banks and Russell Means.

A protest is scheduled the next day at the court building.

Spearheading the defense work is the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, whose job is a massive one.

The court calendar of Indian trials tentatively looks like this: Jan. 8, St. Paul: Means and Banks go on trial on a 10-count conspiracy indictment. Their case was originally to have been tried in South Dakota but was moved after protests by AIM lawyers.

Feb. 4, Sioux Falls, S.D.: Nineteen defendants go on trial on a variety of felony charges. A predominant charge is "impeding a federal officer in the lawful performance of his duty." Another 91 defendants are to go on trial in Sioux Falls later. Attempts so far have been unsuccessful in moving the cases out of South Dakota. Defense lawyers want the trials out of the jurisdiction of federal Judge Andrew Bogue, who is accused of showing prejudice against all the defendants.

March 1, St. Paul: Four more Indian leaders are scheduled for trial — Clyde Bellecourt, Carter Camp, Leonard Crow Dog, and Stan Holder. They

also face a series of conspiracy indictments stemming from the protest actions at Wounded Knee.

The defense committee is also backing more than 100 other defendants in cases arising from a demonstration last year in Custer, S.D.; tribal cases involving civil rights questions on the Pine Ridge (S.D.) Reservation; and other defendants arrested in connection with activities at Wounded Knee or just before the Wounded Knee action.

Much is at stake in the coming months. The Wounded Knee protests drew major headlines during March and April of last year, and focused large-scale attention on the plight of Indian people.

"We did not break any laws," says Russell Means, "but in fact we went into Wounded Knee to uphold laws. The statement put forth by the Independent Oglala Nation inside Wounded Knee is that we were trying

to force the United States of America to live up to its own laws. They made those laws, we didn't."

Defense attorneys hope to make extensive use of an 1868 treaty between the U.S. government and the Sioux people to show that the central question is a consistent pattern of unkept agreements by the United States that has led to the oppression American Indians face today.

For months, the government has been preparing its case, in a trial that both sides recognize may have landmark repercussions.

The AIM leadership is optimistic.

Dennis Banks, AIM's Minneapolis executive director, says, "We are positive an American jury, when fully advised of the massive corruption on Indian reservations, the lies, unkept promises of BIA [Bureau of Indian Affairs], and deprivations of Indian people, will not fall into the same trail of broken treaties."

Arab masses resist Mideast deal

Demonstrations shake Lebanese regime

By DAVID RUSSELL

The chasm between the real forces at work in the Middle East and the diplomatic charade being played out at Geneva was spotlighted Dec. 16 when U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was unable to land in Beirut because of demonstrations there against the U.S. and the Geneva conference.

In the following days the four largest cities in Lebanon were rocked by strikes and demonstrations. According to sketchy Associated Press dispatches, Tripoli was brought to a standstill by a general strike lasting at least three days. A general strike also took place in Beirut, and the Western half of the capital was sealed off by barricades and bonfires. At least 4,000 people demonstrated in Saida, and

In keeping with its policy of focusing attention on the diplomatic activity in Geneva and the statements of politicians rather than on the mass struggles of the Arab peoples, the capitalist press downplayed the Lebanese events, and the scanty coverage simply stopped altogether after a few days.

A similar policy was followed in regard to Palestinian demonstrations within the territories occupied by Israel. Nevertheless, information is beginning to filter out. John Cooley described some of the resistance in an article in the Dec. 31 *Christian Science Monitor*.

During the October war itself, Arab workers from the Gaza strip and the West Bank of the Jordan River refused to show up for work and boycotted the Israeli labor exchanges. Is-

raeli Nablus a curfew was imposed on that town for the first time in four years.

Another incident is described by Cooley as follows:

"At 3 a.m. on Dec. 10, Israeli troops surrounded homes of eight prominent Palestinians and took the men blindfolded to the Araba desert, south of the Dead Sea. They forced them to get out and walk blindfolded into Jordan. One, the mayor of Bireh, a small town north of Jerusalem, was beaten and his arm injured by the Israeli soldiers because he refused to leave voluntarily."

"A week later, the eight men appeared on the East Jordan side of the Allenby bridge and were pushed forcibly back by Israeli troops when they tried to cross and return home."

But instead of intimidating the Palestinian population, the expulsions had the opposite effect. Girls at the Ibrahimiyah School in East Jerusalem demonstrated in the rain against the expulsions, despite four of them being arrested. Demonstrations also erupted at Bir Zeit College near Ramallah, and on Dec. 15 the college was ordered closed.

Dr. Hanna Mikhail, the head of the English department, was arrested and informed that she would be tried by an Israeli military court for "incitement, taking part in demonstrations, and activities against the public order."

In Egypt, no protests have been reported since November, when 135 students were arrested and a number of Libyans and Palestinians expelled from the country. However, it is clear that the same militancy shown by the Arab masses elsewhere is also present in Egypt, and pressure against Sadat's policies is building up.

New York Times reporter Raymond Anderson described in a Dec. 29 dispatch how the daily exchanges of fire along the cease-fire lines are "being reported in triumphant headlines on the front pages of Cairo newspapers."

Anderson explained that "the newspaper reports of unrelenting Egyptian military pressure on the Israelis are important to public opinion here, impatient as it is with the slowness of diplomacy to achieve an Israeli troop withdrawal."

The following day Anderson wrote that Sadat was trying to quiet "an

increasingly restive element in Cairo that seems to be agitating for military action."

Sadat's turn from rhetoric to limited military action was prompted in the first place by the pressure of the Egyptian people. Before being forced into taking action Sadat had promised that 1971 would be the "year of decision." In 1972 he announced the "year of inevitable confrontation," and in 1973 the "stage of total confrontation."

Even those who expect the Geneva conference to produce a stable peace settlement while preserving the Israeli state don't expect rapid results. The reaction of the thousands of Egyptian students who demonstrated against Sadat's policy of procrastination and compromise in 1972 and 1973 is not likely to be favorable as the talks drag on. And the response of the Egyptian masses will have far more importance for the future of the Middle East than the deals being cooked up in Geneva.



Israeli patrol in West Bank market. October war sparked renewed resistance to Israeli occupation.

further actions were reported in Tyre.

The Lebanese government declared martial law, and several deaths were reported.

The close link between the class struggle within the Arab countries and the Palestinian struggle for self-determination was clear in the demands of the protests, which were against inflation and the Geneva talks.

Israeli officials admitted to Cooley that one-quarter of the 70,000 Arab workers that commute to Israel from the occupied territories have still not returned to their jobs.

The Israeli occupation forces have begun blowing up houses of political activists, a form of punishment not used since 1971. After a grenade seriously wounded the military governor

Israel and the Arab revolution

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Two Cleveland union heads scab on UFW

Officers of the Retail Clerks Union and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters in Cleveland are doing their bit to help the California growers and Teamster bureaucrats destroy the United Farm Workers (UFW). They published a full-page ad in the Dec. 19 Cleveland *Plain Dealer* urging the embattled UFW to halt its picketing of food chains handling scab lettuce. The union heads called on shoppers to ignore UFW pickets.

Frank Cimino, president of Meat Cutters Union District 427 and son of a local Teamster official, claims that he is concerned with loss of jobs due to the UFW boycott. In fact, no workers have been laid off as a result of the boycott. During the first boycott in the late 1960s, and before Cimino was president of District 427, the support of the Meat Cutters union was a key factor in a successful effort to keep scab grapes out of Cleveland.

Reverend George Hrbek, chairman of the Interfaith Committee to Support the UFW, denounced the ad. He said supporters of the Farm Workers would continue picketing.

The scab ad argues that the food chains being picketed are unionized, and that people should patronize union stores. But this only proves that the union bureaucrats who sponsored the ad are scabs twice over—both for their public attack on the boycott, the last resort of the UFW, and for doing nothing to use the strength of their unions to force the food chains to drop scab produce.

The Farm Workers have considerable sympathy within the labor movement throughout the country, and Cleveland is no exception. On Dec. 16, for example, more than 400 people attended a "Farmworkers Fiesta" at the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union hall in Cleveland. The affair, organized on short notice, raised \$2,100.

Reaction in the union movement to the stab in the back by Cimino and David McDonald, president of the Retail Clerks, was strong. Jack Weir, executive secretary of the Cleveland Newspaper Guild, called for the ouster of the two food store unions from the Cleveland AFL-CIO Federation of

Labor (CFL). Other unionists are working to bring the issue before a meeting of the CFL Jan. 9.

The national AFL-CIO is on record in support of the Farm Workers and in opposition to the pro-grower role of the Teamster officials. At its con-



Militant/Herman Kirsch

UFW supporters picket Fisher-Fazio, largest grocery chain in the area.

vention in October, AFL-CIO President George Meany and Secretary-treasurer Lane Kirkland were placed at the head of a committee including UFW President César Chávez and representatives of the Retail Clerks, Meat Cutters, Distillery Workers, and Glass Bottle Blowers.

The committee was set up to work out "an approach to the strike and [lettuce, grape, and Gallo wine] boycott problems." Although local AFL-CIO unions have granted some aid to the UFW, no announcement has been made of any action by Meany's committee.

This inaction on the part of the national AFL-CIO is what made it possible for two major local unions to create such a breach in the ranks of labor.

The labor movement and other supporters of the UFW should answer this open strikebreaking move by massive actions in support of the UFW boycott. If Cimino and McDonald are not called to order by the labor movement, their shameful example may well be emulated in other cities.

By DAVE FRANKEL

For the last 40 years the U. S. Communist Party has been pushing one "peace" plan after another, all of which have been based on the collaboration of the Soviet bureaucracy with imperialism, and all of which have failed to bring peace.

In the 1930s they promised that peace would be guaranteed by "collective security" deals between Stalin and the "western democracies." In 1939, when Stalin turned around and signed a pact with Hitler, the CP again promised peace. More promises were forthcoming after World War II when the "Big Four" set up the United Nations. And now it's the Nixon-Brezhnev détente that's supposed to hold the key to world peace.

Like any inveterate snake-oil salesman, the CP

Palestine. . . .

What is the real position of the SWP on this? First of all, the SWP supports the right of the Israeli settlers to remain in Palestine, to maintain their own language and culture, to participate in the politics of the area, and to have the same democratic rights of freedom of speech, press, and assembly as others.

What it does not support is the right of the Israeli settlers to oppress the Arab masses and to maintain a separate state at the expense of the Palestinians. The Israeli state was set up by driving the Palestinians from their land. The problem in the Middle East is not that the Palestinians have some type of special privileges, and not that they are claiming any, but that they have been denied the right to live in their own land.

It is the Jewish settlers who have oppressed the Palestinians. The form of this oppression—the ex-

cessions to their French rivals, without the slightest reference to the Arabs who lived there. It was within this context that the two Palestinian nations emerged. Clearly, there is nothing sacred about the pre-1948 borders of Palestine."

By implying that Palestine was simply a creation of the imperialists, Foley tries to give a left cover to his position in favor of compromising the national rights of the Palestinians. The real nature of his position is graphically revealed by comparing his statement to one by Golda Meir on the same topic. In an interview in the *London Times* of June 15, 1969, Meir said:

"There was no such thing as Palestinians. When was there an independent Palestinian people with a Palestinian state? It was either southern Syria before the first world war, and then it was a Palestine including Jordan. It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist."

The national consciousness of the Palestinians developed and defined itself in the course of the 30-year struggle against British rule and Zionist colonization. What is involved is not the borders drawn by the British and French, but the national consciousness of the Palestinian people. Does the fact that the borders of Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam were drawn by the French imperialists legitimize trampling on the national rights of the peoples involved?

Palestinian rights an 'abstraction'?

Foley's final argument against the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination is that it would be impractical, "a Trotskyite abstraction." He writes, "the Trotskyites have not bothered to ask how the Palestinian nation is actually going to implement its right to self-determination. There are about 1.5 million Palestinians, some 900,000 of them refugees in the strict sense, scattered all over the Middle East and the rest of the world [Foley is mistaken. The UN lists about 1.5 million Palestinians as registered refugees. The total population is nearly three million—D. F.]. . . ."

This same argument was also raised about the

How Communist Party denies Palestinian rights with Mideast 'peace' fraud

gets indignant when someone points out the operation is a fraud. The latest example of this is the series of three articles by Tom Foley in the Dec. 11, Dec. 14, and Dec. 18 *Daily World*.

Foley's three-part hatchet job is aimed at the Socialist Workers Party's insistence that there will be no peace in the Middle East as long as the Israeli settler-state is maintained. He also takes exception to the idea that the Soviet bureaucracy's support to the existence of Israel within its pre-1967 boundaries is a violation of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

What Foley is concerned with, however, is not only the SWP, which is the most consistent defender in the U. S. of the Palestinian struggle, but the Palestinian movement itself. As will be seen, the CP places its support to the narrow interests of the Soviet bureaucracy above any concern about the rights of the Palestinians and the needs of the socialist revolution in the Arab East.

After informing his readers that the SWP is really

pulsion of the native population—dictates the specific character of the struggle, which is for the right of the Palestinians to return and establish their own state. This is central to the question of which nation should have the right to self-determination in Palestine.

This right originated as a demand for democracy, a demand that one nation should not oppress other nations. As such, it only makes sense when it is directed by an oppressed nation against its oppressor.

If the demand for self-determination were simply based on the right of people to set up a state of their own, then it would make just as much sense to call for self-determination for the whites in South Africa or Zimbabwe as for the Blacks.

As for Foley's argument that self-determination for the Palestinians means the "forcible retention" of the Jews in the new Palestinian state, the Palestinians offer the Israelis an equal role in a state that would represent both peoples. Those unwilling to accept a situation in which they could no longer oppress the Palestinians could leave, just as many French colonialists whose families had been living in Algeria for more than 100 years left the country after the Algerian revolution.

Foley vs. Lenin

By talking about the fight against national oppression in general, Foley avoids the specific character of the oppression of the Palestinians, and the specific demands they have raised to end their oppression. First and foremost of these is the demand for the destruction of the racist settler-state that has been the instrument for their dispossession.

In contrast to Foley, while Lenin insisted on the general right of secession, he insisted on each case being analyzed separately from the point of view of who was the oppressor and who the oppressed. In "The Right of Nations to Self-determination," Lenin calls for "the recognition of the right to secession for all; the appraisal of each concrete question of secession from the point of view of removing all inequality, all privileges, and all exclusiveness."

Palestine an imperialist invention?

Another of Foley's big complaints about the SWP is that it "accepts without question the idea that any Palestinian state must be identical with the old pre-1948 British mandate of Palestine, whose boundaries were drawn by British imperialists. . . ."

According to Foley, "'Palestine' is a Western term which did not exist under the old Ottoman Turkish Empire when it ruled the area, up to 1918. . . . the people who lived in 'Palestine' did not think in national terms, but described themselves as Muslims or Christians when asked what they were. Some, however, might have called themselves Syrians. . . ."

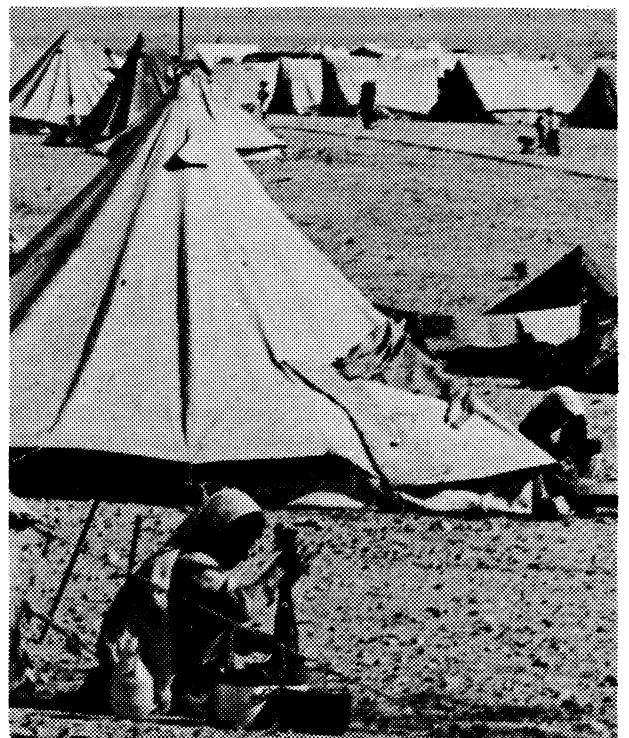
"After 1918, the borders of 'Palestine' were drawn up by the British imperialists, with some con-



Palestinian 'suspect' in Israeli-occupied territory. Communist Party talks about right of self-determination in general but ignores distinction between oppressed nationalities and their oppressors.

helping out Golda Meir and Moshe Dayan and pitting Palestinians and Israelis against each other by dreaming up "an entirely artificial 'national conflict' between all Palestinians and all Israelis," Foley keeps right on going. He asserts that the SWP "does not stand for 'complete equality of rights for all nations:' it says the Israeli nation has no rights, and the Palestinian nation has 'special' privileges that no other nation enjoys."

Furthermore, says Foley, the SWP "denies the Israelis the right to self-determination and advocates their forcible retention within the new



Palestinian refugees. CPUSA backs Moscow's betrayal of Palestinians' struggle to regain their homeland.

possibility of setting up a Jewish state in Palestine. The Zionists, with the help of a resolute leadership, the aid of Truman and Stalin, and in the context of the defeat of the social revolution in Western Europe and the temporary triumph of world reaction, were able to overcome the obstacles in the way of their reactionary scheme.

But today there is a new rise in the world revolution, headed by a deepening radicalization in the main imperialist countries themselves. The Palestinian struggle is part of this new revolutionary wave. The Arab masses have repeatedly shown their identification with the Palestinians and their willingness to fight alongside of them.

Foley's real problem is that it is not just the demands of the Palestinians that he thinks are impractical, but the perspective of the socialist revolution as a whole. He and the Soviet bureaucracy that he serves prefer to put their trust in deals with imperialism rather than in the revolutionary movement of the Arab masses. That is the difference between the CP and the SWP.

How to fight back

The real meaning of the fuel shortages is taking shape before our eyes. The giant monopolies, with cooperation from the government, are using this crisis as a pretext for increasing their exploitation of working people and ravaging the environment. This week's *Militant* describes the major fronts of the capitalists' offensive:

- Prices rose in both October and November at a whopping 9.6 percent annual rate. The effect of this inflation was to lower real wages by 0.9 percent in October and 0.6 percent in November.

- General Motors announced indefinite layoffs of 38,000 workers and a 10-day layoff for 48,000 others. The government itself forecasts a rise in unemployment to 5.5 percent this year.

- The president of the National Coal Association, Carl Bagge, utilized the fuel shortage as a cover to announce the coal industry's offensive against the United Mine Workers of America. In answer to the militant new objectives set by the recent UMW convention, the spokesman for the coal barons said that the energy crisis demands fewer safety rules, lower environmental standards, higher productivity, no strikes, and higher prices for coal.

- The drive is on to speed up the development of nuclear fission reactors, another industry that the oil monopolies have their fingers in. These reactors, as presently constructed, are unsafe and could result in catastrophic nuclear accidents.

- Industrialists are receiving bonanzas in terms of rights to destroy the environment. The Alaska pipeline, strip mining, offshore drilling, and the burning of dirty fuel will line the pockets of the profiteers. Our lands will be laid waste, our beaches polluted, and our eyes and lungs assaulted even more than they are already.

- In England the capitalists have taken drastic measures against the working people. The three-day workweek imposed by the Tory government will mean a 40 percent pay cut for 15 million workers and unemployment for six million more. All the main imperialist powers—not only Britain and the U.S.—are using the energy crisis to try to increase the capitalists' share of the pie at the expense of the workers. The capitalists in each country hope in this way to gain a competitive edge in the world market.

How can working people fight back for their right to a decent life? We will get nowhere looking to Nixon or Congress for solutions. The capitalist politicians—of both the Democratic and Republican varieties—are responsible for laying the groundwork for this crisis in the first place, and they are not about to challenge their millionaire partners in the oil companies.

To meet this emergency, the trade unions should call a congress of the labor movement, made up of democratically elected representatives of the union ranks. The congress should also be open to representatives from Black and Chicano organizations, the unemployed, unorganized workers, women's groups, the independent truckers, small gas station owners, and all those who have a stake in defending themselves against the profiteers.

These are some of the solutions that could be discussed and adopted by such a congress:

- To protect workers from the inflation caused by the monopolies, all wages and social benefits should rise automatically with the rise in the cost of living.

- To deal with the growing unemployment caused by shut-downs and cutbacks in production, shorten the workweek at no loss in pay so that the available work is spread to all those who need jobs. Begin a massive program of needed public works, providing millions of jobs at union wages.

- To tear away the veil of secrecy covering the manipulations of the oil companies and the government, demand that the books and records of these companies be opened to scrutiny by the workers.

- Any company that claims it can't afford, or refuses to adopt, adequate environmental protection standards should be nationalized and run under workers control in the interests of the masses of working people.

- Shortages, inflation, and destruction of the environment are all inherent in the anarchic system of production for private profit. These economic problems are ultimately political problems; to effectively confront the power of the capitalist class, working people need their own party, a labor party based on the trade unions.

Such a party could fight for a workers government that would take both economic and political power out of the hands of the monopolies and reorganize production on the basis of human needs rather than private profits.

The energy crisis is a world crisis. The fight for a socialist world is the only way forward for humanity from the crises, poverty, and war bred by capitalism.

Behavior modification

Thank you very much for all the information you have provided on behavior modification programs in prisons.

The firsthand accounts of these programs were especially valuable, since we psychologists only get the "therapist's" version of the treatment.

Baxter Smith's article in the Sept. 21 issue of *The Militant* was an excellent summary of the problem. I have used it and some of the other material in a couple of presentations to classes and professional audiences.

B. H.

Nashville, Tenn.

Free mass transit

This letter is in response to your articles on the energy crisis. There is a shortage of clean fuel, since, as Dick Roberts says, "the burning of oil (and even more so of coal) is polluting the air." [Dec. 7 *Militant*.] Aside from the question of overall shortage, then, a case could be made for fuel rationing on the basis of pollution abatement.

It seems to me that the Socialist Workers Party should connect its old programmatic demand for free mass transit to a socialist solution to the energy crisis. This demand also strikes at the pollution problem. We don't need more big cars, and the most harmful products of the auto can't be propped up forever just to save jobs. Auto workers in plants producing large cars should demand guaranteed jobs at no loss in pay or skill level while producing more acceptable products.

David Moore

Austin, Texas

Nixon convicted

We had a highly successful "The People, Yes, Nixon, No!" rally here Dec. 9, despite advance-notice blackout by TV and the newspapers.

About 400 people attended, with standing room only for many. Besides Corky Gonzales, speakers were: Charles Daniels (ACLU); Clemencia Martinez (Welfare Rights); José Garner (United Workers, University of New Mexico). At the end of the Teatro performance, Nixon was found guilty—then hanged—then burned (in effigy).

Betita Martinez

Albuquerque, N.M.

Daily World distortions

An article in the Nov. 16 *Daily World* about a Chile teach-in held in Denver recently quoted major speakers, making them all out to be uncritical supporters of the disastrous policies of the Allende regime.

I thought it would interest your readers to know what the speakers the *Daily World* mentioned—Pat Bell of the Communist Party, Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers Party, and José Calderon of the Colorado Raza Unida Party—actually had to say.

Besides generally picturing Allende and his close collaborator, the

Chilean CP, in flowery terms, Bell said that "the peaceful road to socialism would have been possible in Chile without the intervention of U.S. imperialism and the CIA."

Halstead countered Bell by pointing out that "the presence of U.S. imperialism everywhere in the colonial world is a *given*. Revolutionaries have to develop a strategy to fight it, not support one that only works in its absence."

Both Halstead and Calderon sharply criticized Allende for failing to do this by refusing to arm the Chilean workers and peasants.

Neither downplayed the role of the U.S. in the coup. However, Calderon pointed out, "Allende must share part of the blame for the coup because he didn't put his faith in or arm the workers and peasants who brought him into power. Instead he relied on the army—who threw him out of power."

The teach-in was sponsored by the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. It was actively built by the Crusade for Justice, Clergy and Laity Concerned, La Raza Unida Party, the Boulder United Mexican-American Students and Young Socialist Alliance, the Communist Party, and the Socialist Workers Party.

One hundred and fifty people from all over Colorado attended.

Skip Ball

Denver, Colo.

Sex stereotyping

It seems that the Bureau of the Census has just become aware of the 33 million working women in this country. The Census Bureau is in charge of the Occupational Classification System, which categorizes all jobs by occupational title. These titles, according to the bureau, "have become sex stereotypes" and consequently 52 of them have been changed. "Firemen" are now "firefighters"; "busboys" have become "waiters assistants"; and "clergymen" has been changed to simply "clergy."

While this reflects concern over the growing influence among women workers of the ideas of the women's liberation movement, it would be a much greater victory if equality in wages and job opportunities went along with the equality of titles.

Nat London

New York, N.Y.

A holiday gift

Enclosed is \$5 for a one-year subscription to *The Militant*. I am sending this as a holiday gift to my parents.

For the record: I support the struggle for the liberation of Palestine. This question is one I find interesting in your letters to the editor. We certainly need more education in this area.

C. N.

Chico, Calif.

Panglossian pundits

The editorial in a recent Sunday *New York Times* on the energy crisis was wonderful. Emphasizing the positive, the editors managed

Linda Jenness

Women in the Arab world



to find that it will have some good effects.

The lower speed limits could save up to 5,000 persons from death on the highways. Cooler department stores will somehow prevent colds. And, cold apartments will actually promote good health.

If an earthquake hit California, sinking half of it into the sea, these Panglossian pundits would probably observe that the San Andreas fault made a beautiful new coastline.

Michael Smith

New York, N. Y.

Kennedy clan

The *New York Times* recently ran a four-column picture that captured the warmhearted benevolence of Ted Kennedy and clan during a recent spin through town.

The occasion was the annual Christmas ice-skating and breakfast party, started by the late Bob Kennedy, for, er, "disadvantaged"—according to the *Times*—Black youngsters.

The photo clearly shows a row of eight people, five Black youngsters and three whites—Teddy, Ethel, and Jack's daughter, Caroline—grasping hands while skating at Rockefeller Center.

The caption proclaimed: "Skaters above are Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Mrs. Ethel Kennedy and Caroline Kennedy, who is daughter of the late President, John F. Kennedy."

Was it a goof or was it on purpose? At any rate, the Black youngsters had to defer to the Kennedys and were reduced to non-entities.

B. S.

New York, N. Y.

Newsweek 'expose'

While *The Militant* has been energetically exposing and documenting the contrived nature of the sudden "fuel shortage" and the windfall profits that have resulted for the huge oil monopolies, *Newsweek* magazine recently saw fit to print an "expose" of the oil industries' "activities" that nearly equaled the size of the full-page color ad for the Phillips Petroleum Company that appeared in the same issue.

The content of the "expose" itself amounted to little more than an apology for the blatant criminality of the oil industry. And the best analysis that *Newsweek* could offer concerning the cause of the fuel shortage was to blame it on "... controlled prices which have eaten into profits."

B. F.

Apex, N. C.

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.

After Malcolm X's second trip to Africa in 1964 he remarked: "One thing that I became aware of in my traveling recently through Africa and the Middle East, in every country you go to, usually the degree of progress can never be separated from the woman. If you're in a country that's progressive, the woman is progressive."

By that criterion, the Arab countries are a showcase of backwardness. Nowhere is the need for an international women's liberation movement more apparent. And nowhere is the relation between the struggle for women's freedom and the struggle for socialism more obvious than in the Arab world.

The reactionary sheiks and monarchs who rule in some of the Arab countries, such as Saudi Arabia and Jordan, set the stage for an oppression of women that smacks of the Dark Ages. Others, such as Egypt and Lebanon, are not much better.

In many Arab countries, a man is allowed to have four wives, whom he can divorce at will. The woman may not contest the divorce.

In the Sudan, 0.03 percent of married women between the ages of 15 and 44 years of age use contraceptives. Many marriages are still arranged by the family, and little girls are married off at as early an age as nine.

In Saudi Arabia, women are forbidden by law to drive a car. It is also against the law for women to be photographed. Even a woman's passport carries no picture of her.

In Egypt only 4.8 percent of the female population is in the work force, compared with 87.4 percent of the male population.

In Lebanon, article 562 of the penal code allows a man to kill his daughter, sister, or wife for the "honor of the family" because of "sexual misconduct." Sexual misconduct can include "flirting with boys,"

as in the recent case of a man who choked his 15-year-old daughter to death for that reason.

One of the best-known symbols of women's oppression in the Arab world is the veil.

A recent article in the *New York Times* by Fergus Bordewich describes the effect of the veil. Bordewich writes, "The whole point of the veil is to make you forget that there is a person inside it. . . . you learn after a time simply to ignore women, and beyond ignoring them to forget that they are there altogether. The veil becomes an apostrophe in place of a human being."

Bordewich points out that the veil is really a pragmatic compromise with necessity. Ideally the woman should remain totally hidden in her father or husband's home.

In some countries the women are allowed to look out through a small window in the veil. In other countries, even that is forbidden. Bordewich describes, for instance, the following scene: "She is fully swaddled in a bundle of white cloth. Like lines of elephants trundling along trunk to tail, whole families of women . . . can be seen swaying slowly down a street. A hand protrudes from each bundle and grasps the cloth in front. All swaying and slowly creeping in their blindness. The leader holds up her cloak like a tunnel in front of her and with her other hand feels for the guiding support of a wall."

The crushing weight of the oppression of Arab women gives their struggle a particularly explosive character. Their fight for freedom will be closely intertwined with the unfolding revolution in those countries. Their struggle is part of the overall struggle in the Arab world against national oppression and imperialist domination and against the reactionary regimes upon whose collaboration imperialism depends.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Labor and political action

Labor party talk is heard again in union halls and at some union conventions. Nothing official. No resolution for a labor party has been adopted by any union convention, state or national, for more than 20 years. But there is serious talk in the ranks and among some secondary officials of the need for independent political action by labor. This is new.

Since the 1955 merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the top union bureaucrats have stifled rank-and-file sentiment for a labor party. This is becoming more difficult.

The series of economic and political crises, beginning with the 1971 wage freeze and continuing uninterrupted right up to the present energy crisis, has greatly weakened the carefully fostered illusion that the Democratic Party can or will serve the needs of workers.

The following items are reflections of the developing trend:

● Last September the International convention of the independent United Electrical Workers adopted a resolution on political action. The resolution fell short of calling for a labor party, but it said the Republican and Democratic parties were both responsible for the war in Vietnam, for inflation, and for government wage controls. It said both parties "speak for corporate interests," and concluded that "no political party can serve both the rich and the poor, the employer and the worker. . . ."

● A couple of months ago a union member in Cleveland wrote me about a meeting of his local where a report was made, approvingly, that the AFL-CIO had endorsed the millionaire politician Howard Metzenbaum for the U. S. Senate in the 1974 election.

At the same meeting a guest speaker on "political education" berated the membership for Watergate, blaming union men and women for allowing corrupt politicians to sneak into office.

My correspondent spoke to the meeting about the consequences of supporting Metzenbaum: "Once this liberal Democrat is elected he will do the job he was elected to do for big business. He is like Nixon in this fundamental respect. He will not represent workers, neither those he employs in the open-shop printing plants he owns, nor any others."

He proposed that instead of endorsing employers

and their political agents it would be better for the unions to run prominent union representatives. Then he said, "Don't you think we should organize our own independent labor party?" This suggestion was roundly applauded and others spoke in favor of it.

● The recent convention of the United Mine Workers voted to set up the Coal Miners Political Action Committee (COMPAC), "a political action and lobbying arm. . . ." It is not a labor party. But the announced purpose is to involve rank-and-file coal miners in political action, and it may run miners for office when there is little choice between machine Democrats and Republicans.

UMWA President Arnold Miller told the convention, "We proved this year that coal miners can run an International union. In the years to come, I think we'll prove that coal miners can help run a state legislature, too, or a Congress."

If past practice is continued, such miner candidates will run in Democratic and Republican primaries. But the question is posed: If the union can put forward its own candidates, why not run independent of the capitalist two-party set-up?

● A recent meeting of the AFL-CIO Cleveland Labor Federation adopted a resolution on the energy crisis. It stated that workers and consumers must be represented in the administration of any necessary energy controls, not anyone directly or indirectly linked with the gas, oil, or utility industries.

The resolution further demands: no rationing through taxation; extended unemployment compensation and federal work projects for workers and communities hit by the energy crisis; no "unnecessary" sacrifices of environmental controls and goals; strict price controls on natural gas and petroleum.

Many of these demands are good for workers. Unfortunately, they are submitted to the Democratic Party for action in Congress. This means that nothing will be done about them.

Such demands can be won only when the union movement is mobilized to fight for them. This will require political action by the unions independent of the political instruments of the employers. This is why labor party talk inside the union movement today is timely and significant. It relates to the most urgent issues of the day, and there is no other way the unions can cope with them.



How about six feet under?—Alcoa's medical director, Dr. Bertram Drinan, suggested to a National Academy of Sciences pollution conference that people suffering from air pollution be segregated rather than requiring industry to install expensive cleansing devices. Those with heart ailments, he said, could be put in low-pollution areas or simply install air-scrubbing machines in their homes.

You could just burn them up—"It just burns me up when people suggest we're not the best country in the world."—Admiral Thomas Moorer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and a critic of the Watergate revelations.

You can all relax—The pope says the world situation is marked by

"fierce outbreaks of international conflicts, by implacable class warfare, outbursts of revolutionary freedom, the crushing of human rights . . . and unforeseen symptoms of worldwide economic instability." However, the pontiff assured, new wars will be staved off by the wisdom of world leaders.

No sacrifice too great—To help conserve energy, Massachusetts Governor Sargent gave up his nine-passenger Cadillac for a six-passenger Lincoln Continental.

Bang the drum precisely—Special reenlistment bonuses of \$3,500 are paid Army musicians under a program authorizing such payments for "critical military skills." Which reminded us of the book entitled *Military Justice*

Is to Justice As Military Music Is to Music.

Population control?—Under the Food for Peace program, 25 million pounds of tobacco were shipped abroad in 1972.

Balanced view—Billy Graham opposes a ban on Sunday driving because it would cut into church attendance (not to speak of receipts). But he doesn't mind ending Sunday gas sales. "This," he observed shrewdly, "would mean that the gas station operators could go to church."

Thought for the week—"The only cure for runaway inflation is a depression."—Otto Roethenmund, international banking and currency exchange official.



'Whenever I'm in the dumps, I just sit back and think of my hundred and fifty million dollars.'

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



An appeal from Mexico

The Dec. 5 issue of *El Campesino* contains an open letter from the editor, Antonio Orendain, to Luis Echeverría, the president of Mexico. In the letter Orendain demands that Echeverría explain the jailing of Ramón Danzós Palomino, a leader of the Mexican peasant movement.

El Campesino is published by the United Farm Workers in the small, predominantly Chicano town of San Juan in South Texas near the Mexican border.

Orendain explains in his letter that he met with Echeverría in San Antonio during the Mexican president's visit to the U.S. in 1972. Orendain at that time asked Echeverría what the Mexican government was doing to aid the boycott of lettuce and grapes being carried on by the Chicano farm workers here against the *rancheros*.

"We also discussed the question of political prisoners in Mexico, the existence of which you categorically denied," continues Orendain. "I am asking how it is that you justify the detention of Ramón Danzós Palomino?"

The open letter by *El Campesino* was written in response to a request from the Mexican peasant

movement for solidarity actions from farm workers in the U.S. A letter from the *Central Campesina Independiente* (CCI—Independent Peasant Central), of which Danzós Palomino is the general secretary, is reprinted on the same page with the open letter.

Danzós Palomino was jailed in Atlixco in the state of Puebla. But when supporters bailed him out they found that government agents were waiting outside the prison gates to rearrest him on phony charges.

A campaign to demand freedom for Danzós Palomino is being organized. A week of solidarity with the peasant leader and all political prisoners was held Nov. 18-24. His supporters are requesting letters of protest be sent to the Mexican president.

The letter closes with the slogan, "For Liberty and a Radical Agrarian Reform!"

Echeverría, as minister of the interior under the Díaz Ordaz regime, was to a great extent responsible for the bloody suppression of student demonstrators in 1968 in Mexico City. Hundreds were slaughtered in the *Plaza de Las Tres Culturas* (Plaza of the Three Cultures).

When Echeverría visited this country he denied there were political prisoners in Mexico. To this day there are political prisoners, many of whom have been in jail since before 1968.

Recently there was another of the periodic raids the Mexican government carries out against radicals. During the raids a few members of each radical organization are rounded up and charged with belonging to some fictitious terrorist organization that is supposedly conspiring to overthrow the government.

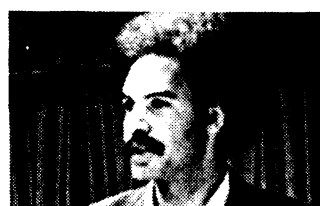
After visiting the U.S. and spreading his lies here, Echeverría returned to Mexico and did the same there. He told the Mexican people that the Chicano movement in the U.S. supported him.

The act of solidarity by the *compañeros* of *El Campesino* will help to expose Echeverría's lies. *El Campesino* also expressed its solidarity with political prisoners in Aztlán, urging support for the cause of Los Tres del Barrio in Los Angeles.

These actions by farm workers in support of political prisoners of *la raza*, be they in the U.S. or in Latin America, are an example for the whole Chicano movement to follow.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



The departure of David Dinkins

There they were, New York City's "big guns"—as Malcolm X sometimes termed such Black leaders—squabbling over who they wanted as Black deputy mayor in mayor-elect Abraham Beame's administration. When the smoke cleared in late November the results were a betrayal, a "backstabbing," and David Dinkins—a Black man said to have "roots in the community," who was appointed to the post.

The *New York Times* heard the rumblings and termed Dinkins's appointment "the climax of a week of fierce political infighting and angry criticism by blacks."

But the "big guns" fired a dud. A month later, on Dec. 28, a tearful Dinkins, who the big guns had claimed was the "best man" for the job, told reporters he was resigning, citing his failure to pay federal, state, or city income taxes for four years.

This story began after the Democratic primary in the city in June, which Abraham Beame won. Big gun leaders, totally subservient to the Democratic Party, lined up behind Beame. Their job was to hustle Black votes for his election. After

he won they expected a payoff—standard procedure.

Beame let it be known that he would fill one of the deputy mayor posts with a Black. This triggered the power struggle.

Originally William Tatum, deputy borough president under Percy Sutton, was hinted to be the choice. But a hastily organized grouping of local Black Democrats, prominent Black businessmen, and other assorted Black opportunists opposed his nomination, claiming he was not from "the community."

At a meeting with Beame late in November they made their feelings known. A few days later, Beame named Dinkins and the big guns called this a "milestone."

Dinkins, however, was known as a scoundrel even before his tax troubles were discovered. He was formerly the president of the city board of elections and in that capacity played an infamous role in the fight of Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese parents in District 1 to control their schools.

The *Times* said Dinkins has "outstanding accomplishments as president of the Board of Elec-

tions." One of these "accomplishments" was his vigorous opposition to the community struggle to control the schools. His "roots in the community" prompted him to oppose attempts to obtain bilingual ballots for Puerto Rican voters. He defended the outrageously undemocratic election procedures and tricks used by the city to ensure the victory of an anti-community-control ticket in the 1973 local school board elections.

These elections were so blatantly unfair that a federal judge was forced to recognize this and order new elections.

Although Dinkins is gone, the big guns claim they will come up with another Black to recommend to Beame, who is now doubly tarnished since another appointee has also resigned under shady circumstances.

But Dinkins got off easy. He simply missed out on a \$43,255-a-year job. He can now go back to full time at his law firm. The real betrayal was—and continues to be—against the Black masses because, unlike the big guns, they have no choice in who will be deputy mayor.

World Outlook

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

JANUARY 11, 1974

Latin America: 1973 in review

The overthrow of Allende and the return of Peron

[In this issue of World Outlook we are reprinting three of six articles from the year-end issue of the newsmagazine *Intercontinental Press*. The purpose of these articles, *Intercontinental Press* explains, is to summarize "the major events and trends that typified world politics throughout the year."

[For the complete year-end issue of *Intercontinental Press*, send 50 cents to: Intercontinental Press, P. O. Box 116, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. A six-month subscription to this revolutionary Marxist weekly is \$7.50.]

By Gerry Foley

The crisis point in Latin America in 1973 was in the "Southern Cone" of the continent, comprising primarily Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay.

In Chile, the right continued the offensive that it had begun in October 1972 and carried it to a conclusion, overthrowing the popular-front government of Salvador Allende. The workers parties supported by almost half the population were driven underground by a savage reign of terror.

In this same period, in combating the rightist offensive, the Chilean workers went to the brink of establishing their own direct control over society, of replacing the apparatus of the bourgeois state with organs of workers and popular power.

Between October 1972 and September 1973, Chilean society became polarized between the two fundamental classes: the workers pressing to reorganize the economy in accordance with their interests, that is, to conduct a socialist revolution, and the bourgeoisie pressing to contain the labor movement and force it back into subordination.

The more inexorably this polarization developed, the more desperately the reformist leaderships of the working-class parties tried to find ways of avoiding the essential choices, chasing after ever more elusive class-collaborationist deals. When the inevitable showdown came, the disoriented workers were left without leadership or direction in the face of a deadly military machine whose commanders were determined to "restore order" no matter what the cost.

The Allende regime was the latest of a series of bourgeois nationalist regimes toppled by U.S. imperialism and its native allies in the last two decades. Various factors gave it more staying power than most of its predecessors.

In the first place, Allende's accession to the presidency took place in the context of a powerful rise of the organized labor movement. Secondly, it

came in the context of the political weakness of U.S. imperialism resulting from its failure to crush the Vietnamese revolution.

In this situation, influential currents developed to the left of the reformist leaderships and obstructed their attempts to demobilize the masses or to contain the mass mobilizations within narrow limits. The largest of these currents were the left wing of the Socialist party and the Castroist MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left).

As the strongest coherent center on the far left, the MIR exercised a major influence and effectively criticized and exposed many aspects of the reformism of Allende and the Communist party, on which the Socialist president came to base himself more and more.

But neither the SP left wing nor the MIR went beyond left centrism to build an effective alternative leadership based on a revolutionary program.

In a long series of articles, *Intercontinental Press* analyzed the development of the rightist offensive, pointing out the dangers of the class-collaborationist policy of Allende and the Communist party. Several articles explained why the workers had to be armed to defend themselves against attacks by the bourgeois military and the rightist goon squads.

Almost every major article warned that the military could not be trusted to defend the government, that only the independent organization of the working class and the poor masses could block a reactionary coup d'état.

In this situation, the main workers organizations that arose were the cordones industriales (organs of workers management in local industrial concentrations). *Intercontinental Press* followed the development of these key formations step by step in reports from the exiled Peruvian revolutionary leader Hugo Blanco, who was active in one of the most important and politically advanced cordones, the Cordón Vicuña Mackenna in Santiago.

Throughout 1973, moreover, *Intercontinental Press* published the key political statements of Chilean workers organizations and left forces. These statements included the manifesto issued by the Cordón Vicuña in the aftermath of the June 29 trial-run coup, as well as the declaration of representatives of all political tendencies present in the cordón in support of this program.

The manifesto projected a strategy for countering the rightist offensive that might have prevented the coup if it had been taken up more widely and if the leadership had existed to

implement it:

"1. All plants will become part of the social sector of the economy; not one plant that is important for the workers will remain in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

"2. *Workers Leadership*. Production and distribution will remain in the hands of the workers, and the people will exercise complete control over community territory.

"3. *Popular Militia*. The organized people must protect their gains. Create a Defense Committee and arm it in every industry and neighborhood.

"4. The leadership of the defense, and the advance of the people will be assured only if they rest in the

persecutors in an attempt to woo the top brass, the rightist officers' hand was immensely strengthened for suppressing all opposition from the enlisted men.

In the wake of the coup, our correspondent in Chile, Hugo Blanco, became one of the junta's "most wanted Marxists."

Fortunately Blanco and a couple of his closest associates had not been taken by surprise by the coup and had planned an escape route. In Mexico City at the end of September they talked to a correspondent of *Intercontinental Press*, giving a first analysis of the military take-over and its effects. (See "Eyewitness Account of



Allende (right) with former interior minister General Prats (far left). Popular Unity wrongly put trust in the military rather than the masses.

hands of the organized working class."

Intercontinental Press also published a declaration of the PSR (Partido Socialista Revolucionario—Revolutionary Socialist party, the Chilean section of the Fourth International) explaining the need for developing the cordones into the basis of workers power.

Another important statement published in *Intercontinental Press* was the call of *Independencia Obrera*, the paper of the Trotskyist caucus in the Cordón Vicuña Mackenna, for organizing a defense for the sailors victimized in Valparaíso because they had opposed the putschist plans of their officers.

This affair was one of the last crucial tests of strength between the left and the right, whose plans for a military take-over were entering the final stage. When, instead of protecting its supporters in the ranks of the armed forces, the government backed their

Repression in Chile," *IP*, October 8, 1973.)

In Mexico City and later in Sweden, his new place of exile, Hugo Blanco has appealed for solidarity with the victims of the junta's terror.

In the wake of the coup and the mass roundups of socialist and trade-union activists in Chile, the grave problem of finding a country of asylum faces thousands of Chileans and Latin American political exiles who had been granted refuge by the Allende government. In the months since the military take-over, *Intercontinental Press* has reported the difficulties of the refugees from Chile in finding a place to settle, especially in Argentina, which is the most convenient and accessible place of exile.

Less than four months after the coup, it is becoming clear that the junta is having serious difficulties in maintaining its middle-class social

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...1973 in review: defeats but no reversal of radicalizati

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base and in "pacifying" the country.

In particular, the disastrous decline in the standard of living of the Chilean masses since the take-over has begun to worry the junta and its backers in Washington and in international financial circles.

The defeat of the Chilean workers in the week of September 11 was a stunning blow for which the Communist party in Chile and its mentors in the Kremlin hold full responsibility. They betrayed the Chilean revolution by presenting Allende's popular-front government as a model of peaceful transition to socialism.

At the same time that the rightist offensive was gathering momentum in Chile, the military dictatorship in Argentina was completing its retreat in the face of a growing popular mobilization. The radicalization that erupted in May 1969 with the protests against higher prices in the University of Corrientes cafeteria and that peaked in the Córdoba uprisings of June 1969 and May 1971 forced the military and the Argentine bourgeoisie to try to find a political formula that could win some popular support for the regime.

The generals and their bourgeois backers came up with the GAN (Gran Acuerdo Nacional—Great National Accord), a class-collaborationist scheme that involved bringing back the ousted populist caudillo Juan Perón and returning to a Bonapartist type of parliamentary rule.

The deal originally included the military sharing governmental power with the Peronists, but the minuscule vote for the candidates backed by the military in the March 11 general elections coupled with the gigantic popular upsurge in May when Cámpora, the Peronist candidate, was officially inaugurated forced the generals to give up any hope of holding on to direct governmental power.

The popular pressure had become overwhelming. Although a series of assassinations of top military commanders by guerrilla groups before the elections had brought threats from right-wing officers of renewed repression, mass demonstrations in the aftermath of the inauguration forced an unconditional amnesty for all political prisoners, including guerrillas who had been held in Argentina's dungeons for years.

The shift in the methods of rule by the Argentine bourgeoisie presented a challenge to the left groups that had become accustomed to fighting an open military dictatorship.

In particular, the guerrilla groups underwent a number of changes in this period. In the first place, the united front of the guerrilla organizations that had developed under the dictatorship split up. The Peronist guerrillas of the Montoneros and the FAR (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias—Revolutionary Armed Forces) and other groups gave political allegiance to the new government, although they declared their intention of maintaining their armed organization.

The Peronist organizations took a sharply critical, even threatening, attitude toward the guerrilla groups that refused to accept the political leadership of Perón.

In this period also, the main non-Peronist guerrilla organization, the ERP (Ejército Revolucionario del Pue-

blo—People's Revolutionary Army) went through a series of splits. One split appeared when a section of the organization calling itself the ERP-22 (for August 22, 1972, the date of the massacre of the guerrillas recaptured after a break from the Rawson prison) came out in support of the Peronist candidates. It campaigned for them in its own way, by a commando raid on an anti-Peronist newspaper, among other things.

Although it did not become generally known until later, the Fracción Roja (Red Faction) also broke away from the ERP in this period. In the summer of 1973, the main body of the ERP led by Roberto Santucho formally disaffiliated from the Fourth International, while the Fracción Roja continued to consider itself part of the international Trotskyist movement. The explanation that the Fracción Roja gave for its break with the ERP and its description of the incidents surrounding it were published in *Intercontinental Press*.

Two groupings proposed a left alternative to the Peronists in the March 11 general elections. The Communist party was the central organizing force in the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria (APR—People's Revolutionary Alliance), a popular-front type combination composed primarily of bourgeois liberals, including the Christian Democrats who backed the rightist military coup of 1955.

The APR won about 7 percent of the vote but did not emerge as a coherent political force. Its program, as the Communist party leaders themselves proclaimed, repeated the promises of the Peronists. In the special presidential elections of September 20, which was in effect a second round of the March elections, the APR and the Communist party supported Perón.

The only clear alternative in the elections was offered by the PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International). As soon as the government opened the way for the elections, the PST mobilized to win ballot status. Once it won the status of a legal party by signing up 30,000 supporters, it offered its place on the ballot to independent workers candidates.

Some 2,200 candidates ran on the PST ticket, including various prominent strike leaders. A significant number of militant workers and youth assembled around its program of independent working-class political action and of fighting for a revolutionary workers government.

Although the PST ticket, headed by Juan Carlos Coral and Nora Chiapone, won, according to the official count, only a little more than half a percent of the vote, or about 80,000 votes, it brought more solid results and made a more lasting impact than the 7 percent won by the CP's coalition with the old proimperialist liberals.

The non-Peronist guerrillas and the ultraleft groups called for various forms of abstention.

In the period leading up to the September presidential elections, the PST called on Agustín Tosco, the country's best-known non-Peronist union leader, to head an independent workers ticket. When he refused under CP pressure, it ran José Páez, the leader of the 1971 Córdoba uprising, along with Coral.

In the September elections, the PST vote rose to almost 200,000. Abstention dropped to a record low, and the right-wing direction of the Peronist leadership became clearer.

The contradictions in the Peronist movement took a spectacular turn when the old caudillo returned to the country. The mass rally organized to greet him at the Ezeiza airport broke up when right-wing Peronist goons opened fire on the left-wing contingents headed by the Peronist guerrilla groups.

Although Perón's statements in the aftermath of the Ezeiza massacre were ambiguous, he implicitly put the blame for the incident on its principal victims, the left Peronists, not on the rightist goons organized by the Peronist political and trade-union bureaucracy. Almost immediately after this, the caudillo began to push into the back-

litical formulas for "pacifying" the country have been followed very closely by *Intercontinental Press* in the past year. The campaign demanding the release of the Argentine political prisoners, in particular, was covered step by step.

Nineteen seventy-three was also a crucial year in the third country of the Southern Cone, Uruguay. Uruguay's traditional parliamentary form of government, which had been decaying since the drop in the world price for the country's principal products in the 1960s, was finally abolished by a military coup. A half-spontaneous general strike petered out while the Communist party-dominated union leadership waited for a "Peruvian" reformist current to appear among the putschist military officers.

Thus, only a few months before the only other mass CP in Latin America



Workers at pro-Allende demonstration. Hats have pictures of Castro and Allende.

ground the liberal and leftist figures who had kept the Peronist movement going during the years of military repression. In their place the trade-union bureaucrats and right-wing notables whose opposition to the military dictatorship was less than intransigent were brought to the fore. It became obvious that Perón had not returned to realize the ideals of the Peronist resistance.

Within a few days after his election as president, Perón issued a circular declaring "war on Marxism" and calling for a ruthless purge of leftists from the Peronist movement. Taking the mysterious murder of the Peronist trade-union bureaucrat José Rucci as a pretext, right-wing Peronist goon squads began a series of terrorist attacks on the left both inside and outside of the Peronist movement.

Parallel to this, actions of the type associated with the guerrilla groups have continued and in the most recent period have even increased. Their political objectives and impact, however, remain unclear.

In the months since Perón's election, the PST has concentrated on giving orientation to the battles of the workers and students resisting the efforts by the Peronist authorities to clamp down on independent mobilizations and to isolate and victimize the activists.

The retreat of the military dictatorship and the maneuvers of Perón and the Argentine bourgeoisie to find po-

led the workers unarmed and unprepared into a slaughter, the Uruguayan CP presided over a humiliating surrender to the military government established in June.

In Peru and Bolivia, military governments established in the preceding period remained in power in 1973. These regimes were established by very different types of coups. The one in Bolivia was staged to repress the revolutionary process that had been developing since the failure of the reactionary coup d'état led by General Miranda in October 1970. On the other hand, the Peruvian coup represented a shift from the crude repression of the 1960s, and it ushered in a period of anti-imperialist demagoguery and reformist experimentation. Nonetheless, in 1973, both regimes underwent a similar process of erosion.

As the Banzer regime, after seizing power in the coup of August 1971, moved to impose an austerity policy, the labor movement reorganized and fought back. In October 1972, only a little more than a year after the coup, the regime was already forced to make concessions to the workers.

In the final months of 1973, under the pressure of the reviving labor movement and the sharpening competition between Brazil and Argentina for access to Bolivian natural resources, the coalition backing the junta split. In November, the leaders of the MNR (Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario—Revolutionary Na-

n in Latin America

tionalist Movement, an old populist party turned reactionary) announced that their party was withdrawing from the government and adopting a "critical" stance.

Only the FSB (Falange Socialista Boliviana — Bolivian Socialist Phalanx, a rightist, pro-Brazilian party based in the province of Santa Cruz, which borders Brazil) continued to support Banzer.

During 1973 it became fully clear that the Banzer government has failed to stabilize the situation in the most volatile country in Latin America and that the chronic crisis in Bolivia threatens to erupt again in the near future in an acute form.

Next to the Chilean popular front, the reformist junta in Peru has been the Stalinist parties' brightest hope of "peaceful change leading to socialism in Latin America."

parliamentary rule went hand in hand with considerable political repression, and the defense of political prisoners was an important part of left activity.

In Venezuela, illegal strikes rose from 1,000 to 38,000 in the past three years and there were signs of a deepening radicalization among the youth. Political life was dominated by preparations for the December general elections, which were touted by U.S. imperialism as a model of "two-party democracy" for Latin America.

In order to gain some credibility for their parliamentary maneuver, the Venezuelan bourgeoisie had to permit freer political activity than usual, and in this situation a bloc made up of left dissidents expelled from the Communist party and of former guerrillaists tried to put forward a socialist alternative in the elections. Their ticket won about 6 percent of the vote.



Junta forces in Sept. 11 coup

In its reformist experiments, the demagogic military regime has benefited from the uncritical support of almost all the left and even from prominent former guerrilla leaders like Héctor Béjar. Only small far-left groups, including especially the Trotskyists led by Hugo Blanco, have opposed the junta's claims to represent the interests of the exploited masses in Peru.

The militant high-school teachers movement, closely linked with the radicalizing youth, has given the "progressive" junta its toughest opposition. In defiance of the government's class-collaborationist paternalism, it has waged an intransigent fight for recognition of its right to free collective bargaining.

The government succeeded in breaking the teachers' strike in September 1972 by heavy-handed repression, including deportation of the union leaders and of Hugo Blanco, who had spoken out in defense of the union. But within little more than a year, in November 1973, the militant teachers struck again, sparking a general strike in Arequipa, as well as other sympathy walkouts that paralyzed much of southern Peru.

In Colombia and Venezuela, conservative bourgeois parliamentary regimes remained relatively stable throughout 1973. However, the temperature of working-class and student struggles rose, in Venezuela in particular. In both countries, conservative

The Venezuelan Trotskyist organization, which grew rapidly in 1973, forming itself into the PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores — Socialist Workers party), gave critical support to the socialist alternative.

In particular, the PST tried to offer a consistent program to the radicalizing elements drawn around the MAS (Movimiento al Socialismo — Movement Toward Socialism) campaign and to combat the class-collaborationist theories of its centrist leaders, who have now begun to move rather rapidly to the right.

In Brazil, the keystone of U.S. imperialist policy in Latin America, the repressive military government apparently retained firm control throughout 1973, and there was little news of struggles within the country. However, *Intercontinental Press* carried several articles reporting the continued international protests against the permanent repression on which the relative "prosperity" in Brazil is based.

In all, despite the grave defeats of the workers movement in Uruguay and Chile, U.S. imperialism and its native allies did not succeed in 1973 in making any clear progress toward reversing the general radicalization in the Latin American region. And processes seemed to be developing in several countries that could lead in 1974 to important advances for the revolutionary organizations and the workers and peasants movements.

Year of crackdown

The struggle for workers democracy in the USSR

By Candida Barberena

The Kremlin's open collaboration with Washington, as registered in the détente, cast a somber shadow on the struggle for proletarian democracy in the Soviet Union during 1973. The witch-hunt, intensified in 1972 against participants in the democratic opposition, continued throughout the past year. The repression was directed toward abolishing once and for all the network of underground writings—the samizdat—and silencing the flow of uncensored and uncontrolled discussion.

The campaign to obliterate the samizdat journal *The Chronicle of Current Events* succeeded to such a degree that none of the scheduled issues was published in 1973. This result may have been achieved at least partially through the "hostage" tactic used by the political police (KGB). The KGB made it known that it had a list of the names of about thirty persons who would be faced with immediate arrest if *The Chronicle* were to reappear.

Issue No. 27, dated October 1972, was the last number to be published. The journal had previously come out fairly regularly every two months since April 1968.

The turn of the year marked the fiftieth anniversary of the formal founding of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (December 30, 1922). While the bureaucracy was proclaiming in commemorative articles and speeches that the nationalities problem in the Soviet Union has been solved, events testified to the contrary.

The Crimean Tatars utilized the celebration to issue a new appeal to the government and to the Communist party, demanding the right to return to their homeland in the Crimea. During World War II, Stalin deported the Crimean Tatars en masse to Central Asia, and abolished the Crimean Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, which had been established by the Bolsheviks in 1923.

In January an official campaign was launched against two Kirgizian historians. Professors K. Nurbekov and R. Turgunbekov were charged with "nationalism."

The opposition to Russification, which is the Stalinist solution to the nationalities problem, continued to be most marked in the Ukraine, the largest of the non-Russian republics.

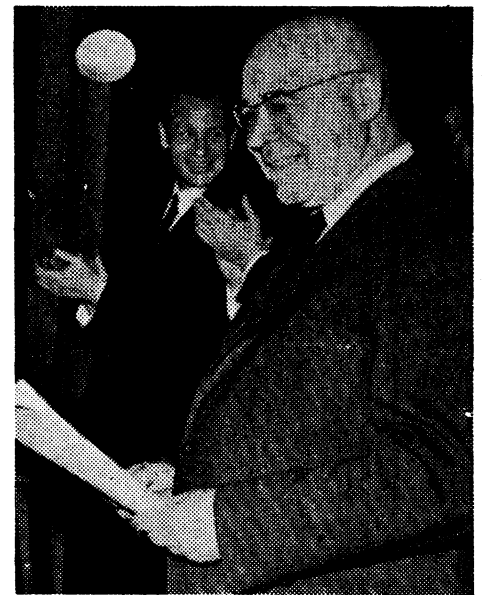
Scattered reports of trials of Ukrainian dissidents, apprehended during a 1972 crackdown, and reports of new waves of arrests continued to make their way abroad throughout 1973.

On January 30, by a decision of the Kiev Provisional Court, Leonid Plyushch, a mathematician and engineer at the Cybernetics Institute, was sent to a prison psychiatric hospital for an indefinite term of "treatment." Sentenced under Article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code ("agitation or propaganda carried on for the purpose of subverting or weakening Soviet power"), Plyushch was accused of having signed appeals to the United Nations protesting the persecution of intellectuals in the USSR,

and of having taken part in the allegedly illegal Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR, which collected the signatures. He was also charged for writing a letter in 1968 to *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, entitled "Lackeys and False Witnesses of Our Time," protesting against the injustices involved in the closed trial of Aleksandr Ginzburg and Yuri Galanskov in January 1968.

(Ginzburg received a seven-year sentence and Galanskov a five-year sentence in strict-regime labor camps for "anti-Soviet" activities, that is, for writing statements in defense of arrested dissidents that were circulated in samizdat. Galanskov died in November 1972 because of the harsh camp conditions.)

Plyushch answered by pointing out that the defendants were slandered in the Soviet press and that only in samizdat and samvydav (the Ukrainian term for underground writings) were the facts in the case available to Soviet citizens. KGB forensic medicine "specialists," including the notorious D. R. Lunts, diagnosed Professor Plyushch's case as one of "creeping schizophrenia with messianic and reformist ideas"—"la nouvelle maladie mentale"—politically known as the opposition.



PYOTR SHELEST: Dumped from Ukrainian party post for bending to nationalist sentiments of masses.

In February, Vyacheslav Chornovil, the Ukrainian journalist who first exposed the KGB witch-hunts and trials in the Ukraine in 1965-66, was sentenced to seven years at hard labor and five years exile by a court in Lviv. Chornovil drew the wrath of the Kremlin bureaucrats in 1967 for sending a letter and copies of documents to P. Yu. Shelest, then first secretary of the Communist party of the Ukraine. The enclosures protested closed trials of Ukrainian intellectuals. This collection was eventually published in English under the title *The Chornovil Papers*.

An untiring champion of and adherent to Lenin's principles of socialism and nationalism, Chornovil once wrote to a Soviet official in the Ukraine: "I categorically state, contrary to all illogical assertions . . .

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...Crackdown on struggle for democracy in USSR

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that I have always firmly adhered to the principles of socialism and continue to do so. But not of that socialism that tries to regiment not merely the actions but also the thoughts of individuals. I cannot imagine true socialism without guaranteed democratic freedoms, without the widest political and economic self-government of all the cells of the state organism down to and including the smallest, without a real guarantee—and not merely a paper one—of the rights of all nations within a multinational state."



ALEKSANDR GINZBURG: Got seven years for defending political freedom.

By the end of March it was clear that political persecution of oppositionists had taken on new dimensions. The Soviet secret police conducted new arrests and trials, some prisoners being resentenced, all behind closed doors.

In March, two other prominent Ukrainians, left-wing opponents of Russification, were sentenced. Ivan Svitlychny, a widely respected Ukrainian literary critic, received seven years in prison and five years exile. Yevhen Sverstyuk, a writer, was sentenced to five years in prison. In 1952 Svitlychny had opposed the limitations of "socialist realism" set for writers by official circles. Early in 1964 he was dismissed from his post at the Taras Shevchenko Institute of Literature. Svitlychny has also written the introduction to a collection of documents on the closed trials of Ukrainian jurists in 1961 (available in English in *Ferment in the Ukraine*). Yevhen Sverstyuk's main work is *Cathedral in Scaffold*, a series of essays in defense of a novel by Ukrainian writer Oles Honchar. The novel, *Cathedral*, was severely criticized by officials for its glorification of Ukrainian history. Sverstyuk and Svitlychny were both arrested in raids conducted in January 1972.

There were indications this year that the Ukraine party apparatus itself was feeling the effects of the resurgence of nationalism. This was one of the most vivid manifestations of the contradictions inherent in the Kremlin's Russification policies and Stalinist methods of bureaucratic rule. Pyotr Y. Shelest was removed from membership in the all-powerful Politburo of the CPSU in April 1973 and dumped as head of the Ukrainian Communist party in May.

The special pressures and problems flowing from Shelest's position as first secretary in the Ukraine were at the

root of his downfall. While ensuring the implementation of the Kremlin's policies calculated to Russify Ukrainian educational, cultural, economic, and political institutions, Shelest, the Kremlin's chief errand boy, was compelled to render lip service to the massive Ukrainian national pressure from below, present even within the local party apparatus. This he attempted with his book *O Ukraine, Our Soviet Land*, for which the bureaucracy condemned him, falling just short of attaching to Shelest the label of "bourgeois nationalist" used by the Kremlin to designate its nationalist opponents, including left-wing critics of Russification, even those who base their criticisms on the writings of Lenin.

It is evident that Trotsky's explanation of the dynamics of the Ukrainian nationalist movement retain the validity in 1973 that they held in 1939:

"Do the broad masses of the Ukrainian people wish to separate from the USSR? It might at first sight appear difficult to answer this question, inasmuch as the Ukrainian people, like all other peoples in the USSR, are deprived of any opportunity to express their will. But the very genesis of the totalitarian regime and its ever more brutal intensification, especially in the Ukraine, are proof that the real will of the Ukrainian masses is irrevocably hostile to the Soviet bureaucracy. There is no lack of evidence that one of the primary sources of this hostility is the suppression of Ukrainian independence."



PYOTR YAKIR: 'Confessed' to being paid agent at show trial.

One of the major developments of the year was the Kremlin's resurrection of yet another legacy of Stalin, trial by "confession," the central feature of the notorious Moscow "show trials" of 1936-38.

In August, Pyotr Yakir and Viktor Krasin, two prominent opposition activists, were sentenced to three years in prison and three years exile. Yakir is the son of Iona Yakir, a Soviet Army commander executed by Stalin in 1937. Pyotr spent his childhood in Stalin's prison camps and under police surveillance for being the son of an "enemy of the people." Since the late 1960s he has been a prominent defender of arrested dissidents and an opponent of "the revival of Stalinism," that is, the intensification of the repression. In 1969 he was instrumental in the formation of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR in which Viktor Krasin par-

ticipated.

The Yakir-Krasin "confessions" were calculated to conjure a picture of the defendants as the key figures in a foreign-inspired anti-Soviet conspiratorial and subversive network. The two activists were made to "admit" to having



PYOTR GRIGORENKO: Will not renounce views.

been merely self-seeking, paid agents for anticommunist forces abroad. The real target of the trial was the democratic opposition movement itself. It should be noted that the American Communist party swallowed the recantation reports without the slightest signs of embarrassment, as was evident in one lurid *Daily World* headline, "Two on trial in Moscow admit ties with former Nazi killers."

According to recent reports both Yakir and Krasin have now been set free.

In November it was reported that a third prominent figure had recanted. The official Soviet news agency, TASS, claimed that Ivan Dzyuba, a leading Ukrainian oppositionist, had renounced his views. Detained since April 1972, Dzyuba was sentenced in mid-March to five years in prison. He is best known for his book *Internationalism or Russification?*, a Leninist critique of the Russification policy currently being carried out by the Kremlin in the Ukraine and in other non-Russian Soviet republics.

Throughout the year reports continued to leak from sources inside the Soviet Union on the latest measures taken by Stalin's heirs to destroy Pyotr G. Grigorenko. A former Soviet army general and a prominent figure of the opposition movement, Grigorenko has been undergoing compulsory psychiatric treatment since 1970 because he dared to speak out in defense of arrested dissidents and oppressed nationalities in the Soviet Union and against the bureaucracy's rule and its departures from Leninism. The Kremlin's determination to compel Grigorenko, by threat of physical destruction and indefinite confinement, to renounce his views have been of no avail.

While the Kremlin's continuing persecution of proponents of proletarian democracy remained the focal point of international attention in 1973, the possibility of the détente facilitating democratization was broached in Soviet intellectual circles. For example Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov, a critic of the bureaucracy's economic and technological mismanagement, argued that Western imperialism should make its economic détente with the So-

viet Union conditional on the bureaucracy taking steps to democratize Soviet society. Sakharov's mistaken confidence in Wall Street's appreciation of democracy contrasts with the position of Roy and Zhores Medvedev. They do not go further than to contend that over the long term improved relations with Western imperialism would help foster "socialist democratization" in the Soviet Union. Although the Medvedevs have acknowledged that so far the détente has had the opposite effect, ultimately their hope for liberalization lies in "initiative from the top"—a view shared by Sakharov and other members of the Soviet elite intelligentsia who have directed their efforts toward trying to persuade the bureaucrats to reform themselves.

The official press attack launched against Sakharov in August 1973 for his apparent straying from the precepts of Stalinist "peaceful coexistence" was extended to include Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn. Solzhenitsyn is the Nobel prize-winning novelist who has been an outspoken critic of Stalinist methods of rule.

Solzhenitsyn has not only faced personal intimidation and harassment, but the Kremlin's sudden decision last year to join the Universal Copyright Agreement (UCA) ostensibly "in keeping with the current trend toward international relaxation of tensions," was a direct threat to the continued publication abroad of dissident literature that is forbidden publication in the Soviet Union. The provisions of the UCA would in effect make the Kremlin the automatic copyright holder of



ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN: Kremlin resorts to copyright agreement to suppress his works.

any published or unpublished manuscript by a Soviet writer, a convenient tool to sever even further the diminishing channels of communication between Soviet dissidents and the outside world.

It will require the perseverance of the movement for proletarian democracy in the Soviet Union together with solidarity from revolutionists around the world to dispel any remaining illusions that democratization can be realized in the USSR short of a political revolution.

The year in review

Detente and the Asian revolution

By Ernest Harsch

The echoes of Nixon's 1972 trips to Moscow and Peking reverberated well into 1973, setting the tone for a flurry of meetings and conferences, agreements, and accords, all designed to stave off the advance of the Asian revolution. "The object is control, the enemy is the future," remarked Tom Engelhardt in the April 9 *Far Eastern Economic Review*. "The US Government today is using a new instrument to do what empires have always done. It is taking out an insurance policy against its own demise." And the bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking have agreed to help underwrite that insurance.

The year 1973 opened with the most graphic example yet of the serious consequences that this arrangement can have on the maturation of the Asian revolution.

An interview with Seksan Prasertkul, president of the Federation of Independent Students of Thailand, originally scheduled for this issue, will appear in a future issue.

After the signing of the Paris accords on January 27, declarations about the "new era of peace" in Vietnam—albeit with a slight undertone of skepticism—blared over radios around the world.

What the accords represented, if not an end to the war, was an attempt by Washington to win through secret diplomacy what it was unable to win on the battlefield. In this respect, the failure of the U.S. imperialists to bomb the Vietnamese into submission was an important victory for the Vietnamese people and, in the final analysis, the world revolution—a victory toward which the antiwar movement made a significant contribution.

But the ultimate goal of the Vietnamese revolution—the overthrow of capitalism in the south—has yet to be

achieved.

The accords, which recognize maintenance of the Saigon puppet regime, also register the betrayal of the Vietnamese revolution by the bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking. Should Hanoi and the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of South Vietnam prove incapable of overcoming the limitations imposed upon them by the Soviet and Chinese Stalinists, the Indochinese revolution would face a severe setback.

The signing of the accords also had immediate repercussions in the rest of Indochina. Before cease-fire agreements could be concluded in Laos and Cambodia, Washington sought to soften up the insurgents through massive terror bombing.

In Laos, the moves toward a temporary settlement went further than in either Cambodia or South Vietnam. A cease-fire agreement was signed on February 22, and by September 14 an accord calling for a coalition government, the Provisional Government of National Union, had already been concluded. The Laotian agreement was much more favorable to the liberation forces than was the agreement in South Vietnam: It recognized the existence of the areas controlled by the Pathet Lao (about four fifths of the country) and gave them equal representation in the national government with the forces of the Vientiane administration.

Also, in contrast to Cambodia and South Vietnam, the liberation forces in Laos appear to have stopped far short of what they were capable of. In January, Sot Pethrasy, the head of the Pathet Lao office in Vientiane, said, "We do not want any splitting up of Laos. Our unchanging position is that the Laotian problem must be resolved by peaceful means. We could take over the entire country, but we are not doing so. This is proof of our goodwill." In this light, the Pathet Lao's military actions were simply a way of exerting pressure on the negotiations.

While the insurgent forces in Cambodia have come under an extreme amount of military pressure from the



Vietnam accords, signed early last year, have not brought peace.

massive U.S. bombing and political pressure from Peking and Hanoi, no cease-fire has yet materialized there. In an interview in Algiers in September, Prince Norodom Sihanouk charged that Peking and Hanoi had stopped supplying materiel to the Khmer Rouge in the effort to live up to their obligations under the Paris accords.

Washington, for its part, conceived of the January accords as a means of at least temporarily demobilizing the Vietnamese masses. Its strategy was twofold:

First of all it had to stabilize the highly vulnerable puppet regime in Saigon, which had survived only thanks to the Pentagon's massive air and ground support. The widespread antiwar sentiment in the United States made support on that scale no longer possible. Washington thus needed a breathing space in which to strengthen the Saigon regime to the point that it could defend imperialism's position in Indochina without the presence of U.S. pilots or ground troops.

This was what was behind the sections in the Paris accords legitimating the presence of U.S. "advisers" and the resupply of weapons and munitions used in "defensive" operations.

From Saigon's—and Washington's—viewpoint, it would have been folly to release the 200,000 political prisoners being held in Thieu's jails. Any forces opposing Thieu, even those calling themselves "neutralist," would tend to weaken the puppet regime. So the stifling of dissent is a matter of importance to the White House. Fred Branfman, an expert on South Vietnam, recently told a U.S. congressional committee: "While in Saigon, I learned that the political prisoner problem has actually been increasing since the Paris Accords."

The second immediate aim of U.S. imperialism was to roll back the gains made by the revolution in the south. While Washington was willing to accept, at least for the time being, the existence of a workers state in the north, the continued control by the liberation forces of extensive areas in

the south posed too much of a threat to Saigon. Using the accords as a cover, Washington gave Thieu free rein to attack and weaken the PRG positions.

The June 10 *New York Times* noted: "Almost all of the 300 villages that the Communists took over at the end of January, shortly before and just after the peace agreement, have been recaptured by South Vietnamese Government troops."

A report from Amnesty International in July observed that the CIA-organized Operation Phoenix, which was responsible for the assassination of more than 20,000 suspected cadres of the National Liberation Front (NLF), was still functioning: "Since the January Ceasefire the Phoenix Program has continued in operation while being adjusted to the political needs of the post-ceasefire period."

In September Nixon threatened to renew the bombing of North Vietnam if the SAM-2 missile sites at Khe Sanh were not moved north of the 17th Parallel. In mid-October, amid Saigon-inspired rumors of an impending North Vietnamese-PRG "offensive," Thieu began to escalate his "defensive" land-grabbing operations. By late November, this new counterrevolutionary offensive had already reached the stage where hundreds of bombing missions were being flown over NLF-controlled areas by the Saigon air force.

The PRG issued an order October 15 calling on its forces to defend themselves against "acts of war and sabotage" of the Paris accords. By December the clashes between the liberation forces and the puppet troops had again reached a high pitch. Washington stationed the aircraft carrier *Midway* off the coast of North Vietnam, thus implying a renewal of the bombing of North Vietnam if the strife developed into a major threat to the Saigon regime.

This new imperialist aggression would have been impossible without the acquiescence of Moscow and

Continued on following page



Victim of U.S. bombing in Cambodia, which continued after signing of accords.

...1973 in review: detente and the Asian revolution

Continued from preceding page

Peking. The détente, rather than ushering in a "new era of peace," has served to reassure the White House. Throughout the course of the Vietnam war, Washington watched very closely the responses of Moscow and Peking to its aggressive moves. The renewal of the bombing of North Vietnam, then the bombing of Hanoi, then the mining of Haiphong harbor, all posed challenges to the Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats. Their criminal refusal to provide adequate aid to the Vietnamese revolution made it possible for Washington to maintain its beachhead in the south and to escalate its genocidal war on the Vietnamese people.

Thus, on the basis of the past performances of the Stalinists in Moscow and Peking, Washington and Saigon felt secure in launching their current offensive. And they had no reason

The willingness of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats to collaborate with imperialism—and their ability to put pressure on liberation struggles—gives Washington much more flexibility in its attempts to safeguard the status quo in Asia. In particular, it opens the possibility of reducing its visible military presence in the area—a course that is especially useful in helping to undercut the widespread sentiment in the United States opposed to military intervention in the affairs of other countries. Such a "low profile" stance would, of course, be accompanied by stepped-up military and financial assistance to Washington's proxy regimes, and a readiness to intervene quickly in a more open way if developments prove too much for them to handle.

Following the Paris accords, preparations were made to apply a similar strategy to the rest of Asia. This involved a series of agreements and understandings among Washington, Moscow, Peking, Tokyo, and the other regimes in the area.

When Leonid Brezhnev visited India in November, he dropped a number of references to a "collective security plan" designed to safeguard the "independence" of Moscow's diplomatic allies in Asia. While no formal agreements were announced, the thrust of Brezhnev's trip was obvious: to assure New Delhi of Moscow's aid in stabilizing the Indian subcontinent and to strengthen Moscow's ties with the Gandhi regime as a diplomatic lever in Moscow's interbureaucratic disputes with Peking.

Peking, for its part, has for years had diplomatic and trade agreements with the regimes in Pakistan and Sri Lanka. In 1973 there were also signs of a possible rapprochement with New Delhi and Dacca—despite Peking's opposition to the independence struggle of Bangladesh in 1971. In May, President Marcos of the Philippines announced that Chou En-lai had given him "assurances" that the token aid from Peking to the Muslim rebels in Mindanao would cease.

Another outcome of the Washington-Peking détente has been the temporary settlement of the diplomatic dispute over Korea in the United Nations. The compromise agreement between Park Chung Hee of South Korea and Kim Il Sung of North Korea in effect sanctioned the status quo and dropped all mention of Kim's previous demand for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the south—an ar-

rangement that was also in the interests of Japanese imperialism, since the U.S. military presence in the south helps protect Tokyo's investments there.

While this series of agreements among the Stalinists and the imperialists may help "stabilize" Asia to a certain extent, Washington is still taking additional military precautions to ensure its control in that region.

A part of this military preparation is the arming and financing of Washington's proxies—the regimes in South Vietnam and Iran—which are militarily strong enough to intervene on their own in Washington's interests.



Thai students' and workers' struggle, which toppled dictatorship, will have repercussions throughout Asia.

In the past few years, the shah's regime has emerged as one of the strongest military powers in the Persian-Arab Gulf. More than 11,000 Iranian officers have received training in the United States and about 1,000 U.S. military personnel are stationed in Iran. In early 1973, Washington and Tehran arranged the biggest single arms deal ever made by the Pentagon: \$2-3 thousand million. Part of this military budget will go toward the building of two giant military bases on the Indian Ocean, at Chah Bahar and Jask. The shah has already intervened militarily to help crush revolutionary activity in the oilfields of Oman and has announced his readiness to come to the aid of the Pakistani regime to aid its counter-insurgency actions against the rebels in Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Province.

In the Philippines, Washington has helped organize the Philippines Internal Security Program and trained more than 10,000 police. U.S. "civilian" personnel are "advising" Marcos in his war with the Muslim insurgents.

In May, the U.S. undersecretary of defense told a group of Japanese businessmen that Washington "expects Japan to deploy its Self-Defense Forces overseas," and that the Japanese constitution "should be revised to enable the SDF to be so deployed." But whether all the legal niceties have been ob-

served or not, Tokyo's military activity in Asia has been on the rise. In early 1973, there were joint U.S.-Japanese and Japanese-South Korean naval exercises carried out in the Pacific.

But can this fragile network of interlinking agreements successfully control the Asian revolution? If the events of 1973 are any indication, the answer is No.

The greatest danger to the continued rule of the imperialists and their puppet regimes—a danger they are fully aware of—comes not from their bickering over the spoils, but from the struggles of the students, workers, and

Baluchistan and the North West Frontier Province, who first raised demands for greater autonomy, were met with a terror campaign on the part of the Bhutto regime. About 80,000 Pakistani soldiers were sent into the area, and the Baluchis, under the leadership of the bourgeois National Awami party, organized guerrilla bands in self-defense. Newspaper reports from Baluchistan describe the conflict as a "mini civil-war."

In March, President Marcos of the Philippines launched an offensive against the 3 million Muslims living on the island of Mindanao.

Nineteen seventy-three might also be called the year of the Asian student revolt. In October, student demonstrations in Bangkok sparked an uprising by students and workers that overthrew the U.S.-backed military regime in Thailand. The same month saw the first demonstrations by South Korean students since the imposition of martial law there in 1971.

Much of the bourgeois news coverage recognized the significance of these events and pointed out the potential danger they posed if students and workers in other Asian countries should take up the example of the Thai and South Korean students. Indeed, the reverberations were soon felt in Indonesia and Malaysia, as well as in the student struggles in Greece that broke out in November.

While the student actions in South Korea have not yet led to the overthrow of the Park regime, they have won important concessions. In early December, the much hated head of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) was ousted and Park announced that KCIA agents would be removed from the campuses.

The growing opposition to Japanese imperialism by Asian students is only one reflection of the problems that Tokyo will face in the near future. Japan's economic difficulties, which until November were chiefly characterized by skyrocketing inflation, were increased as a result of the reduction in Arab oil deliveries. Japan, which gets 83 percent of its oil from the Arab East, is particularly vulnerable to such a tactic. Some Japanese economists even predicted that Japan would face a severe recession as a result of the reduction. Labor unrest, which was highlighted in April by a strike of 3.5 million public service workers, could only increase in such an eventuality.

Whatever direction the events of 1974 take, the struggle for socialist revolution will require firm opposition not only against imperialism and its agents, but also against Moscow and Peking. In some cases, this lesson has already been drawn. An open letter by a group of ex-Naxalites (Maoists) in India is illustrative: "Moscow tells us Indira Gandhi is a 'socialist.' Thousands of revolutionaries have been killed by this 'socialist.' Peking tells us Bhutto is 'progressive.' We know how many workers died on the streets of Karachi and how many still languish in prison! Both Moscow and Peking tell us that Bandaranaike of Ceylon is an 'anti-imperialist.' She organized the murder of 8,000 comrades in one month alone in 1971!"

Recognition of the true nature of Stalinism in its various forms is an important prerequisite for the formation of a revolutionary Marxist leadership in Asia.

peasants.

The severe famine that swept across the Indian subcontinent during the year has only added to the continued instability of the region. Hunger riots, strikes, student protests, sporadic rebellions, all were part of the turbulent political atmosphere. The struggles for self-determination by the numerous oppressed nationalities in the subcontinent constantly raise the specter of a new Bangladesh: The Bengali-speaking population of Assam state in India has agitated for greater autonomy, and the Telugus in Andhra Pradesh called for the division of that state.

The bourgeois-nationalist Awami League regime in Bangladesh, which was brought into power after the 1971 war of independence against Pakistan, has resorted to imprisonment, assassination, intimidation, and fraud to maintain its hold on the country. The extreme poverty, the shortages of rice, and the frustrated aspirations of the freedom fighters are reflected in the increased criticism of and opposition to the Awami League. Both bourgeois and revolutionary currents have emerged to challenge the regime of Mujibur Rahman. As Major Jallil, one of the leaders of the liberation forces in 1971, stated early this year: "The struggle ended too soon."

In Pakistan, the administration of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto again faces a possible repetition of the Bangladesh experience. The Baluchis and Pathans in

Why did Nixon ditch 'Operation Candor'?

By LINDA JENNESS

Nixon's Operation Candor is now inoperative.

A few months ago, under intense pressure from fellow Republicans to "come clean," Nixon initiated Operation Candor. He agreed to release his financial records, issue summaries of some of the key presidential tapes subpoenaed by the Senate Watergate committee, and disclose White House material on the ITT and milk scandals.

That decision has now been "re-evaluated." The White House is offering two excuses for Nixon's retreat: the fact that part of a subpoenaed tape was played at a cocktail party, and the request of the Senate Watergate committee for more than 500 additional tapes and documents.

The real reason for the retreat is that Operation Candor has already done Nixon more harm than good and disclosure of the tapes would be disastrous.

"Most of the public and news media would read the transcripts and conclude that the President was involved in a conspiracy," a White House "source" told the *Washington Post*.

Another source said, "Any time you play something back it's the impressions of the listener that count . . . you would almost have to have been in the room at the time to judge . . . something could be said tongue in cheek and be very funny, but if it was meant seriously it could be very damaging."

It was also emphasized that the tapes contained "embarrassing language and attitudes" and that they show Nixon's concern with "petty" political retribu-

tions. The *Post* quoted one person as saying, "There are a lot of really nasty comments about individuals."

Not only do the tapes sound like good cocktail party material but something the American people ought to hear. What do "petty" political retributions include? Things like the order to "get" Daniel Ellsberg? Does "embarrassing language and attitudes" mean racist slurs, or perhaps sexist jokes? Are payoffs from the milk companies or ITT revealed on the tapes?

If so much damaging material is contained in the summaries of seven subpoenaed tapes, the effect of releasing 500 tapes and documents could be staggering. That's why Nixon has decided to fight the Senate request at all costs. White House officials say he will either ignore the request or tie up the decision in long court battles.

This latest decision by Nixon to squash efforts to regain public support by being "honest" throws into question his promised disclosure of material about the ITT and milk scandals.

Another factor in Nixon's decision to clam up was the public reaction to the first step in Operation Candor—the release of his financial records. Instead of "clearing the air," his financial statement showed that he had become a millionaire in office and paid much lower taxes than the average working person. Neither fact sits too well with the American people.

The president was so bitter at the press reaction to his financial disclosures that at one point he sarcastically asked if he would also be expected to "disrobe" in front of the press corps.



Nixon has 're-evaluated' decision to release summaries of subpoenaed tapes.

The new White House strategy, says the *Washington Post*, is "aimed less at regaining public support than avoiding the impeachment or forced resignation of the President."

Talk of Nixon's guilt is not limited to "the public." Two presidential aides who have consistently maintained that Nixon was not involved in the conspiracy to cover up Watergate, told the *Post* they are no longer "convinced."

And that's just one indication of the degenerating morale of the White House staff.

One senior White House official, who had argued for public disclosure of the tapes, said, "Even if the tapes are ambiguous on the question of the president's involvement in the cover-up,

my feeling is that ambiguity is better than conviction by 75 percent of the American people. To me, that's a definition of progress if we can show that."

Even General Alexander Haig, Nixon's chief of staff, has made pessimistic and cynical comments about the president's situation, reports the *Post*. He is "disillusioned," said one source. "He's gotten a real education and has seen some things he had trouble believing."

"Morale among the staff apparently is so low," continues the *Post*, "that senior presidential aides regularly joke with both insiders and outsiders about the deterioration of the Nixon Presidency and its possible demise."

How dairy owners butter up capitalist politicians

One of the myths capitalist politicians are anxious to promote is that their campaigns are financed by a flood of small contributions. To hear them tell it, crumpled one and five dollar bills from average people on the street put them in office.

But the Watergate revelations are proving to millions the reality of campaign financing: a handful of the super-rich bankroll the candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties.

The milk industry scandal is a case in point. In 1971 the milk companies donated \$427,000 to President Nixon's reelection campaign. In return, Nixon approved an enormous increase in milk price support. That's one reason the price of milk is up to 84 cents a half gallon, almost double what it was two years ago.

Under pressure from public exposure of the ITT and milk scandals, among others, eight corporations have been indicted for illegal contributions during the 1972 campaigns. They include Gulf Oil, Phillips Petroleum, Braniff and American Airlines, and Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company. Carnation and its chairman, H. Everett Olson, were the latest to be formally charged. Twenty-five more investigations are in progress.

The indictments amount to a slap on the wrist. So far, all the corporation executives have pleaded guilty to the charge of "nonwillful" violations and received fines of \$5,000 or less—a drop in the bucket for corporations that donated hundreds of thousands of dollars toward Nixon's reelection.

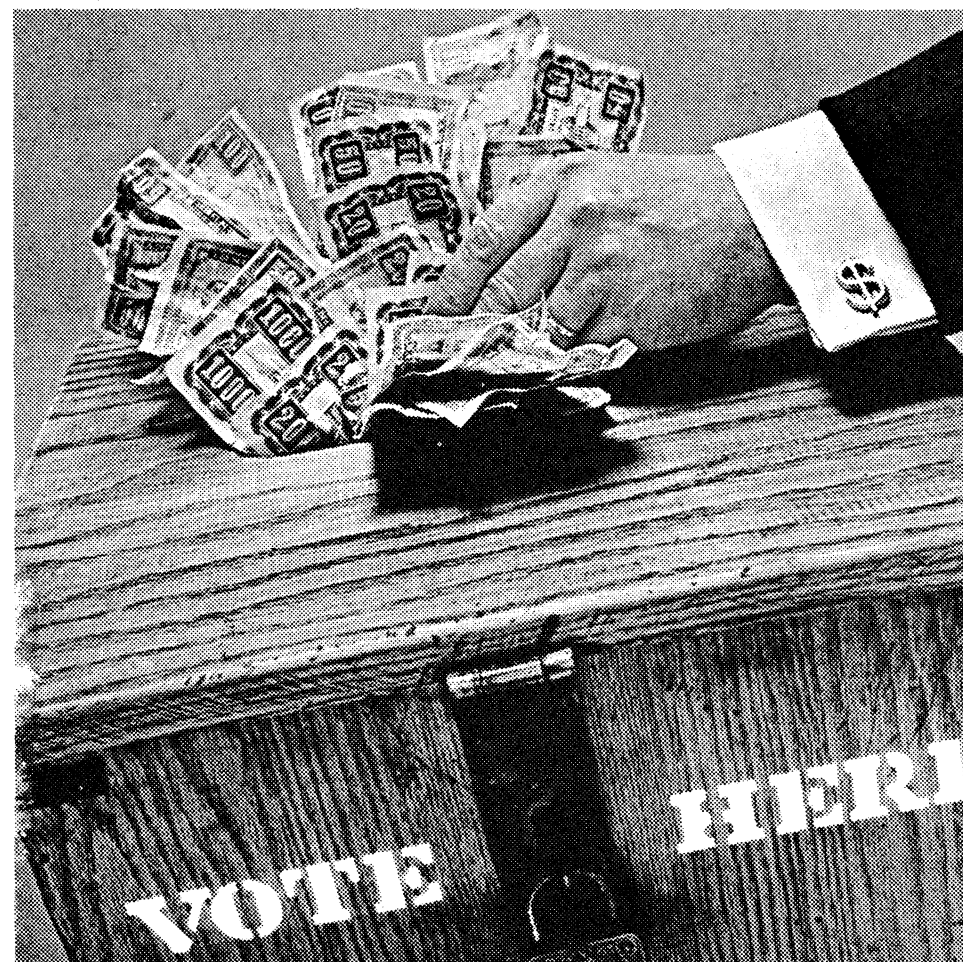
In the 1972 presidential campaign, much of the big money went to Nixon because most of the ruling class favored him over Senator George McGovern. The Democrats received their share, however, particularly in the House

and Senate races.

For example, at the same time the dairy owners were bribing the Nixon administration, they were bestowing similar favors on the Democrats.

More than \$266,000 in milk money went to Democrats in 1972 and 1973.

The *Los Angeles Times* reports that "many of the key positions in Congress and state government are occupied by Democrats and the milk producers have not hesitated to deal generously with them."



Milk money flows to both Democratic and Republican candidates.

Representative Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.) received \$54,000 from the milk interests for his 1972 presidential bid. He even received some of this money after George McGovern won the Democratic nomination. Although never a serious contender for the presidency, Mills is chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee and writes the tax laws. As a source close to the dairy industry told reporters, "It's not the party. It's the power. And the votes."

Just to make sure they had a foot in every door, the dairy corporations also contributed \$2,000 to Alabama Governor George Wallace; \$13,000 to Senator Hubert Humphrey; and \$750 to Senator Edmund Muskie.

They also sent \$5,000 to Senator Herman Talmadge (D-Ga.), a member of the Senate Watergate committee; \$9,100 to Senator Howard Baker (R-Tenn.), another member of the Watergate committee; and \$25,000 to Senator James Eastland (D-Miss.), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

"We're not, you know, trying to buy anybody," says the press secretary of Associated Milk Producers, Inc. For not trying to buy anybody, they certainly know how to put their money where it counts.

The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 was supposed to fill in some of the loopholes that allow the rich to control election campaigns. The law is a farce. "Money has a way of carving new channels," says Herbert Alexander, director of the Citizens Research Foundation.

The Watergate scandals have raised some talk of public financing of election campaigns, but even those promoting the idea are cynical about it. Susan King, executive director of the Center for Public Financing of Elections, told reporters, "I don't think anybody ever expects a situation where Citizen Jones in Podunk gets his phone calls answered as quickly as the president of United States Steel."

As long as the capitalist parties have a political monopoly in this country, decisions in government will be made, not on the basis of what is best for the majority of people, but by returning favors to the private interests that put the Democrats and Republicans in office to begin with.

Activists discuss the issues

By HARRY RING

It has been four years since the initial steps were taken to launch Chicano political parties—La Raza Unida parties—in Texas and Colorado.

Though still only small nuclei of what could become real alternatives to the Democratic and Republican parties for the masses of Chicanos, the Texas and Colorado Raza Unida parties have won impressive support when serious election campaigns were mounted. In a number of small, predominantly Chicano towns in South Texas, Raza Unida has won control over the local governments and school boards.

Chicano activists in other states have tried to follow the Texas and Colorado examples, but have not yet had the same degree of success.

As is inevitable in the formative

stage of such parties, a process of political differentiation is taking place, marked by questioning, discussion, and debate.

Initially, discussion focused mainly around the question of Raza Unida's attitude toward the Democratic and Republican parties. Some leaders and activists insisted on the need for a clear stand of independence from the two parties. Others were not so clear, favoring leaving the door ajar for supporting Mexican-American candidates, or other "good" or "lesser evil" nominees of the two capitalist parties.

This question was very much present at the first national convention of La Raza Unida parties in El Paso in September 1972. But only one of the two conflicting positions on the question was clearly put forward, and the issue was not fully clarified for many of the participants.

The Colorado delegation, led by Corky Gonzales, took a firm line of opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties. Within the Texas delegation there was a certain ambiguity on the question.

José Angel Gutiérrez, leader of the Crystal City party, had written an article shortly before the convention outlining a "balance of power" strategy that could open the door to supporting candidates of one of the major parties against the other as a means of gaining concessions.

Independence

In the convention discussion, the Colorado delegation and others argued that Raza Unida should not support Nixon or McGovern and

should be completely independent of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Gutiérrez did not present his "balance of power" strategy to the convention. If he disagreed with those arguing for an independent position, he did not say so in the floor discussion.

As the convention proceeded, it was increasingly apparent that the great majority of the participants, including most of the Texas delegation, favored an independent stand, and this was approved by a virtually unanimous vote.

In the election period that followed, Raza Unida in Texas and elsewhere did pursue an independent course. Since then, a recent trip to Texas by this reporter has indicated that if there is sentiment for making deals with

walked out when he found himself in a minority. At a subsequent meeting in Indiana, when a motion was introduced to scrap the present structure of the Congreso he simply adjourned the meeting.

In Texas itself, leading activists complain that the decision-making structure of the state party is too narrow and that party activists have difficulty influencing the decision-making process. There is particular concern about this since the Texas party members are by no means of one mind about the political problems confronting the organization.

The political questions in dispute among members and supporters of Raza Unida touch on very basic issues.

Political program

Some activists are concerned that efforts to win a big vote in elections mean watering down Raza Unida's political program. This, they contend, will lead to the party's being co-opted into the system.

There is no question that there are Raza Unida organizers, particularly in Texas, whose sights are pretty much limited to the elections and who are willing to water down the party's program in the quest for a big vote.

On the other side, there is what I believe to be a certain sectarian response among some activists in both Texas and Colorado to what they see as a drift toward purely electoral politics. The question is even raised as to whether it is worthwhile or even correct to run in elections.

It seems to me that serious participation in elections is essential to realize the potential of the Raza Unida parties as parties with mass support in the Chicano community. Most Chicanos still pull the lever for Democrats or Republicans. Raza Unida won't win them over without confronting these parties in the elections, explaining to all who will listen why these parties provide no real solutions to the oppression of the Chicano people.

Such participation in elections by no means makes it inevitable that the parties will degenerate into Chicano counterparts of the two major parties.

The key to avoiding that pitfall is maintaining a course independent of and in opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties. It is necessary to explain clearly and unambiguously that both major parties are representatives of the racist social system responsible for the oppression of *la raza*, and that the Chicano people can improve their lot only by opposing both parties.

At the same time, it is necessary to advance demands that correspond to the needs and interests of the Chicano people. Such demands must be comprehensible to the community and must also develop popular consciousness in the direction of more basic solutions.

Central to such a program is the concept of Chicano control of the Chicano community—control of the schools, health facilities, and other institutions affecting the lives of the people.

A rounded program would also highlight demands aimed at alleviating the economic exploitation of Chicano workers, the overwhelming majority of the Chicano population.

For example, such a program would demand preferential hiring for Chicanos to make up for past and present discrimination, cost-of-living escalator clauses to keep wages and social services abreast of rising prices, and a shorter workweek with

no loss in pay in order to provide jobs for all. Other demands would speak to the special needs of women, students, prisoners, and the "illegal aliens."

Properly explained, such a program is understandable and reasonable. It provides solutions that could alleviate the racist oppression suffered by the Chicano people.

At the same time, a mobilization to fight for one or another of the demands pits people against the government and helps them to understand what *la raza* is up against.

Blacks and labor

In addition to clear demands directed at all levels of the government, Raza Unida will have to convince Chicanos that even where they are a minority it is in their interest to take the road of independent political action.

If Chicanos unite in their own party they set the example for similar action by Black people and by the labor movement. Black misleaders and union bureaucrats to the contrary, Black people and working people in general have no more reason to stay in the Democratic Party or switch to the Republicans than do Chicanos.

If the Black community and the labor movement followed Raza Unida's example, the two-party system would be destroyed, paving the way for a government of working people, Blacks, and Chicanos to replace the government of the bankers and bosses.

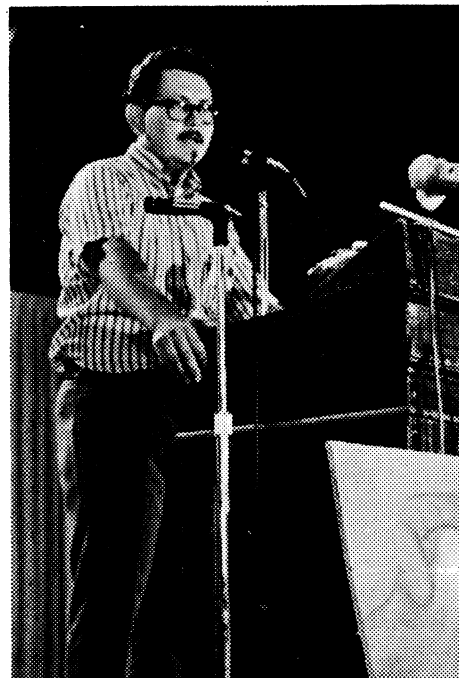
Year-round activity

It is also necessary to develop a perspective of year-round activity for the party. In many areas activity tends to cease or drop off after election day. This seriously hampers the growth of the party and bolsters the notion that, like the Republicans and Democrats, Raza Unida is interested only in winning votes.

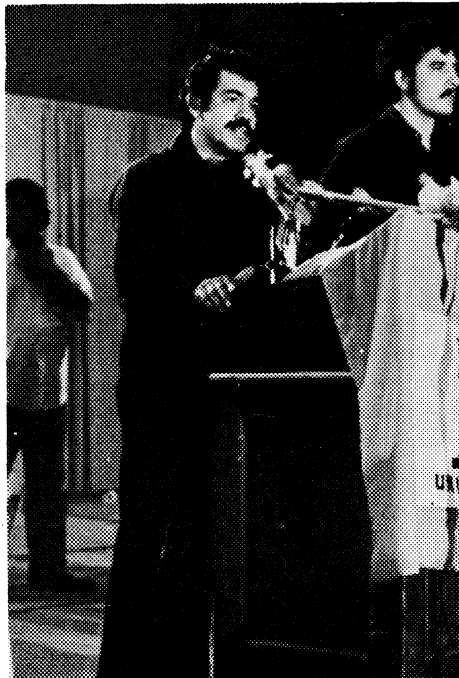
There are local, state, national, and international political issues all year long—issues to which the party should relate. There are campaigns around specific issues that can be organized.

There are marches, demonstrations, rallies, and other activities in the streets that Raza Unida can lead or help build. Support to the current struggle of the United Farm Workers is an obvious example. And there certainly is no end to the educational activity that the party can conduct for members and supporters.

Such a program of rounded political activity with the goal of mobilizing



Militant/Harry Ring



Militant/Harry Ring

Jose Angel Gutierrez (left) and Corky Gonzales at 1972 Raza Unida convention. Gonzales led forces committed to independence from Democrats and Republicans. Gutierrez had earlier proposed strategy that would have opened door to supporting certain candidates of capitalist parties.

either of the major parties—it is not visible. In discussions with party activists and leaders, the position of independence from and opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties seemed to be taken for granted.

New disputes

But since the El Paso convention new disputes have developed. Not all of them have been fully developed or clearly defined; some are obscured by arguments around organizational issues and lesser political questions.

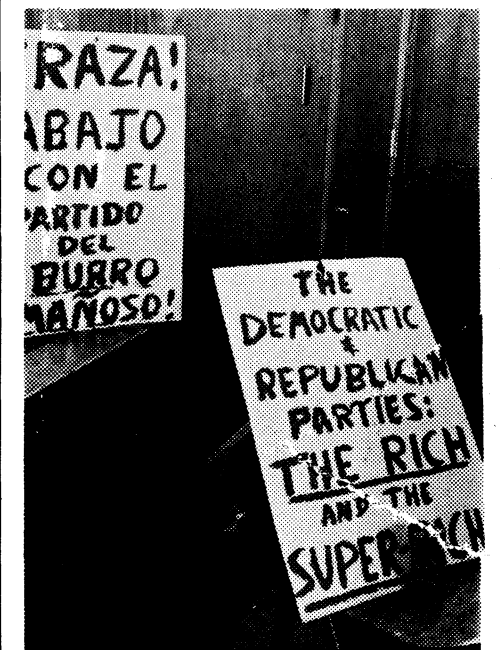
To some activists the present political dispute within the party seems to come down to an antagonism and power struggle between the Texas and Colorado parties—or, more concretely, between José Angel Gutiérrez and Corky Gonzales. But this is, I think, a serious oversimplification.

The Colorado party has generally taken more radical positions than the principal leaders of the Texas party, and they have pressed vigorously for their point of view.

They have charged that Gutiérrez has bureaucratically abused his position as chairman of the Congreso de Aztlán, the leadership body set up at the El Paso gathering, and that he has thwarted a democratic resolution of disputed issues.

That there is substance to these charges is confirmed by Raza Unida activists in California and elsewhere who do not consider themselves in full political agreement with the Colorado party.

At a meeting of the Congreso in Albuquerque, it is charged, Gutiérrez



Militant/Steve Ramirez

One issue now being discussed in Raza Unida is relationship between oppression of Chicanos and capitalist system.

facing Raza Unida parties

the masses of *la raza* would ensure that the party is a genuine alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties.

The system

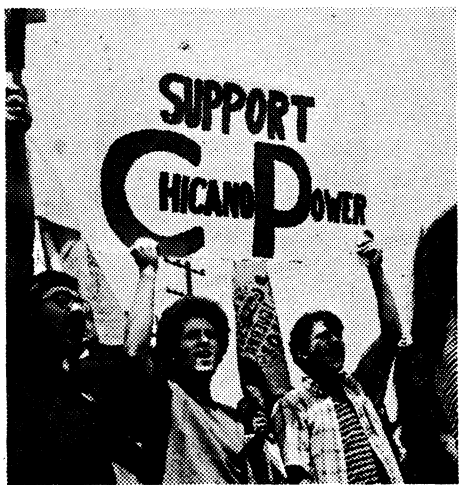
Another issue around which discussion is now developing is how Raza Unida should relate to "the system" and to the role of U. S. imperialism.

In Colorado, and among some in Texas and elsewhere, there is a growing consciousness that the party must stand in solidarity with the other anti-imperialist forces in the Americas. They consider it urgent that the party develop ties with the Puerto Rican independence movement and with militants in Mexico and in other Latin American countries.

Leading members of the Colorado party also now believe that Raza Unida must recognize that capitalism is responsible for the oppression of the Chicano, and that a social revolution will be necessary to win liberation.

These views were put forward at a conference sponsored by the Colorado Raza Unida Party in Denver last August. They have been publicized in the Denver Crusade for Justice paper, *El Gallo*.

The paper has also carried an open letter from José Calderon, state chairman of the Colorado party. It included a blistering attack on José Angel Gutiérrez, scoring the manner in which he has functioned as chairman of the Congreso de Aztlán.



Militant/John Gray

To achieve 'Chicano Power' Raza Unida parties have raised key demand for Chicano control of Chicano community.

Gutiérrez responded in an interview in the Oct. 20 *Chicano Times*, published in San Antonio. He also wrote an open letter that appeared in the November-December issue of *La Gente*, a Chicano student publication at the University of California at Los Angeles.

In essence, Gutiérrez argues that the party should stick to campaigning around immediate issues, put aside questions of ideology, and stay away from international concerns.

Chile, Cuba, Africa, may be important, he asserts, "but our people comprehend little of this. They want relief here and now."

If these questions are, as Gutiérrez concedes, important and if he is correct in his assertion that the masses do not comprehend them, the question for a serious political party is how to contribute to the process of helping the masses come to understand them. This question Gutiérrez simply skips over.

Similarly, he argues that "the rhetoric of Marxism, of socialism, can excite some people," but "the masses want deeds."

But if capitalism is responsible for the plight of the Chicano people—and it certainly is—and if La Raza Unida

Party is to make a meaningful contribution to advancing the cause of Chicano liberation, it cannot avoid the question of capitalism and the need to struggle against it.

Gutiérrez, however, apparently would like to avoid the question, preferring that those who think this way should simply go away. Let the radicals join one of the existing socialist parties, he declares, or build one of their own. He does not state where or when it was determined that there was no place in Raza Unida for those who feel that the party must consider the ideas of socialists, or where it was set down that the party ranks should not have the opportunity to consider the matter.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that Gutiérrez is speaking for the entire movement in Texas when he presents such views.

Ramon Chacon

For example, at the Chicano movement school Colegio Jacinto Treviño in Mercedes, I talked with Ramon Chacón, a leading faculty member.

Chacón said that he and others at Jacinto Treviño did not support either side in what they see as a power fight between Gutiérrez and Corky Gonzales.

He believes the movement has a good deal to learn from Gutiérrez in terms of building La Raza Unida. Corky, he says, has been a symbol for many young people in the movement; but, he said, many feel that Gonzales has not clearly enough defined and communicated his political positions and perspectives.

The people at Jacinto Treviño are very much absorbed with the political questions confronting the party, and their reading and discussion focus on many of the basic questions.

Chacón believes that one of the problems is that people like the activists at Jacinto Treviño do not have a sufficient voice in the party. The school is now planning a substantial expansion, and he hopes this will make it possible for them to have a greater voice in determining the political course of the movement.

Alberto Peña III

Within the leadership of the Texas party there are individuals who want to work in a practical way to build the party and at the same time to see it move closer to the perspective of seeking basic social change.

One of these is Alberto Peña III, an early member of the party and a lawyer associated with Ramsey Muñiz. Peña will be out campaigning for Muñiz in the '74 Texas governor's race.

"I think," Peña said in a recent interview, "we're wasting our time if we're just another Republican or Democratic party, only one that's controlled by *mexicanos*."

"I think we're going to have to come to grips with this," he said. "I firmly believe that it's time we get down and have a family talk. We have to formulate where we're going."

"If we're not going to be different from the Democrats and Republicans, I'd just pull out. I don't want to be wasting my time."

"Quite frankly," Peña continued, "I'm disappointed that there are very few people thinking about that. There's a general attitude that if we just keep running, all of a sudden everything else will fall into place. I don't believe that. I think you have to sit down and think, think about where we're going."



In addition to running in elections, activity such as support to the Farm Workers can provide focus for Raza Unida parties.

At the same time, Peña feels there must be full democracy within the party and room for all those who want to build the party. "Part of the price of this," he observed, "is that you're going to get some of the kind of politics that you don't necessarily want. That's another dilemma for the party."

Peña says that the party is still in the stage of development "where it is not ready to go beyond electoral politics at this point."

At the same time, he said, he is confident that as activists participate in the political process and as the nature of the oppression of the Chicano becomes more apparent, the level of awareness will grow.

"It's going slower than I would like," he said, "but I'm optimistic enough to think that in the future—in the near future—we'll be at a higher level."

Peña is also convinced Raza Unida can only grow on the basis of supporting and helping to develop the nationalist consciousness of the Chicano people.

"There's no question in my mind," he said, "that we have to be nationalistic. I know the Blacks have problems, I know that the Indians have problems. And I will support them in any way I can. But my priority is the Chicano."

Some day, he continued, he hopes the different movements will get together and work in a united way. "But we're not really organized yet ourselves. What kind of coalition can you have if the respective units in it aren't organized?"

Mario Cantu

One person who expresses strong criticism of the policies of the Texas Raza Unida leadership is Mario Cantu of San Antonio. Cantu does not hold formal membership in the party. He explains that as a former convict he cannot vote in elections or hold office within a party like Raza Unida that is recognized by the state of Texas as a legal party. Further, he indicates, the party is so structured that there is no real opportunity to win a hearing for dissident views.

Cantu feels he has much in common with the Colorado party. He is convinced that capitalism is the root source of the oppression of the Chicano people and that it will take a revolutionary struggle to win liberation.

A broad outlook, he argues, is essential. "The word '*raza*' does not just apply to Aztlán," he said. "America is a continent and it is a continental struggle."

The Raza Unida Party, he argues, must have an anticapitalist program, "or the Texas liberals will take it over."

"My idea," he said, "is that we shouldn't concentrate on elections. The *partido* should have people running. But the main emphasis should be on educating our people. If you compete within the system to get votes, you're in a bind. You have to modify your views."

La Raza Unida, Cantu said, "can't just appeal to those who vote. There are the immigrants, the people in jail, the people who aren't citizens."

"I feel very strongly," he continued, "that the legislatures, the laws, the courts won't solve our problems. It has to be done in the streets, through confrontation, through masses of people."

La Raza Unida Party, Cantu said, should be "an educational party, a revolutionary party, not just an electoral party. We must deal with the issues even if it means losing support. We can't afford in these critical times to compromise on issues."

Discussion needed

These and other talks with Raza Unida members and supporters in Texas and Los Angeles indicate that many activists are in the process of thinking through the disputed questions. Many do not consider themselves to be in agreement with any particular grouping in the party.

A democratic, reasoned discussion of the issues can only contribute to the further development of the Raza Unida parties.

Readings on Chicano Liberation

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3,500 attend special congress of

By NORMAN OLIVER

BUENOS AIRES—The largest gathering of Trotskyists ever held in Latin America took place here Dec. 15-16.

The event was the special congress of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party) of Argentina, which was attended by 3,500 people.

The 371 delegates to the convention were elected from PST branches in every major city in Argentina on the basis of one delegate for every 10 full members of the organization.

The convention was noteworthy for the impressive number of worker-militants, women, and youth who participated. A 61-year-old member of the PST's executive committee said, "I've seen more than 100 trade union and political congresses and they've been mostly older men. Here it is youth and women who predominate."

Also present were invited guests from Uruguay, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, exiles from Chile, and representatives from the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in the United States. Greetings were read from Trotskyist organizations in Australia, Venezuela, and Peru.

At the beginning of the congress the delegates elected an honorary presiding committee composed of Tulio Cardoso, an exiled Brazilian student leader and one of the founders of the Trotskyist Grupo Punto de Partida (Starting-point Group), murdered by the Chilean junta; Luis Vitale, noted Marxist scholar imprisoned in Chile; Mateo Fossa, a veteran Argentine unionist who joined the PST shortly before his death this year; James P. Cannon, national chairman emeritus of the Socialist Workers Party; Hugo Blanco, the Peruvian peasant leader now exiled in Sweden; and two veterans of Argentine Trotskyism.

A proposal from the delegates to include the entire Chilean working class in the honorary presidium was also adopted.

Growth of PST

The opening address to the congress was given by Juan Carlos Coral, presidential candidate of the PST in both the March and September elections last year.

Coral said that congresses of many



Avanzada Socialista

An impressive number of worker-militants, women, and youth from throughout Argentina participated in PST convention.

groups in the past had pretensions that they had launched a revolutionary party. All turned out to be failures. So when the PST was launched a year and a half ago, its claims were modest, though its aims were great.

"However," Coral went on, "our work in the last 18 months, culminating in this congress, shows that we were not the victims of a romantic myth, but have made much progress in building the revolutionary party of the Argentine working class."

"We have done so under conditions of considerable difficulty—the popularity of Perón; the economic offensive of the bosses; the 'Great National Agreement' of class collaboration; and the hostile criticism of the reformists, sectarians, and ultralefts."

"The latter condemned us for participating in the first elections, from which they abstained. But we said we are not going to put the party at the service of the elections, but the elections at the service of the party to promote the struggles of the workers."

Coral continued, "Our candidates and comrades went to all the factories to tell the truth to the workers. We told them that Perón is an agent of the

bosses, whose mission is to sidetrack them from the road of struggle for their demands."

"We refused to meet with Perón. Unlike other tendencies on the left, we don't talk behind closed doors with the enemies of the working class. We went alone against the stream. Our sole point of reference was the needs of the class struggle. That is the only road for revolutionaries to take." Here Coral was interrupted by several minutes of applause and chants.

As a result of its election campaigns and participation in the workers' struggles, the PST has grown significantly. It now has 60 headquarters. Despite the landslide support for Perón in the September elections, the PST received 190,000 votes, more than double its vote in the March elections.

Lessons of Chile

In his address Coral also spoke of the recent coup in Chile. He said the tragic defeat of the Chilean workers was the latest catastrophe of reformist policy.

The Communist Party in Chile, he said, "told the workers socialism could be achieved along the peaceful, parliamentary road. This was like the fairy tale parents tell children about

the stork bringing babies. The workers did resist and fight back, but their struggles were leaderless and disorganized. The indispensable element for victory was lacking—the presence of a revolutionary party implanted in the masses."

In its fall election campaign the PST gave priority to building a solidarity campaign for the Chilean workers and peasants. It helped organize a number of significant demonstrations against the coup.

The PST was the only party in Argentina to denounce Perón as an accomplice of the Chilean butchers for closing the doors of Argentina to refugees. Of those who did manage to get into the country, Perón exiled the Chileans to a remote area in northern Argentina and deported refugees from other countries.

Coral ended by saying that the new political situation in Argentina provides an "opportunity to train and prepare our cadres for the next large-scale upsurge of the working class, which the PST must get into a position to lead."

Fourth International

The central theme of the rest of the congress was, like Coral's speech, internationalism.

The main questions taken up were the issues facing the upcoming world congress of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization. The reports and discussions showed that the PST delegates were well-informed about the issues under debate. There were reports and discussions on the current world political situation, the strategy for building revolutionary parties in Europe, and a balance sheet of the developments in Bolivia and Argentina since 1969.

All the reports were adopted unanimously, with no abstentions. The congress voted to send a full delegation to the world congress of the Fourth International to put forward the PST's views on the questions on the agenda.

The reporter on the present situation in Argentina and the tasks of the PST stated that the prerevolutionary situation inaugurated by the Cordobazo (a mass uprising in Córdoba) in 1969 ended with the consolidation of the Peronist regime after the second election last year.

The relationship between the capitalist government and the working masses has changed. During the military dictatorships of Onganía and Lanusse the bourgeoisie was divided and its regime was opposed by 90 percent of the population.

Today the capitalist class is united in support of Perón. At this time, the



Avanzada Socialista

Juan Carlos Coral, recent PST presidential candidate, addresses opening session. Banner reads: 'For the construction of the mass revolutionary workers party for achieving a workers and popular government and a socialist Argentina.'

Argentine Trotskyists

overwhelming majority of the working class has been deluded into support of Perón. The middle class as well looks to Perón for a solution to its problems.

The new stage in Argentina is characterized by the PST as one of a precarious relative stabilization for the bourgeois regime. However, Perón's coming to power has also set into motion a dynamic that will undermine this stabilization.

The expectations of the Argentine working class and other exploited and oppressed layers have risen tremendously. They expect the new government to reduce and eliminate the social evils that plagued them under Onganía and Lanusse. The Peronist regime is incapable of doing this because it is a capitalist government. It is based on the power and interests of the capitalist class, which contradict the needs of the great

organize and act and where revolutionary socialists can speak freely.

While there are scattered acts of repression by the police and goons at the service of the union bureaucracy, at this stage Perón's government is relying on maneuvers with the working class for the benefit of the bosses. The regime has, under fire, granted small economic concessions to the workers.

The PST and the JSA form the only tendency on the left that has understood and taken advantage of these contradictions of the Peronist policy. Their aim is to promote and lead a break of the working class away from Peronism and toward independent working class struggle, both in the factories and in the political arena.

Erroneous positions

In a closing speech to the congress, Nahuel Moreno, general secretary of the PST, contrasted the PST's analysis of Peronism to the erroneous positions taken by other tendencies on the left.

He recalled how the PST had been severely criticized by the rest of the left for taking advantage of the opportunity to operate legally—something that all groups now do, including the ultralefts and even guerrilla organizations.

During the March elections the ultralefts raised the slogan "Neither coup nor election—revolution!" However, elections were held and no amount of shouting otherwise by the ultraleft and guerrilla groups could alter that fact.

The PST participated in the two national elections to provide an independent working-class political choice to the Argentine people.

Moreno explained how the Communist Party had earlier termed Perón a fascist and later, when they saw Perón was going to win, switched to support for Perón and his capitalist government. The CP, in its search for a "revolutionary" general representing the "progressive bourgeoisie," has now found him in Perón.

In the second elections not only the CP but some of the ultraleft organiza-

tions changed their tune and wound up giving either open or backhanded support to Perón.

The Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores - Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (PRT-ERP—Revolutionary Workers Party - Revolutionary Army of the People), a leading guerrillaist group, has succumbed to the pressure of left Peronism by joining and playing a leading role in the Frente Anti-Imperialista para el Socialismo (FAS—Anti-Imperialist Front for Socialism).

The FAS is a left-nationalist and populist formation with a class-collaborationist perspective. It is moving toward unity with a popular-front formation backed by the CP.

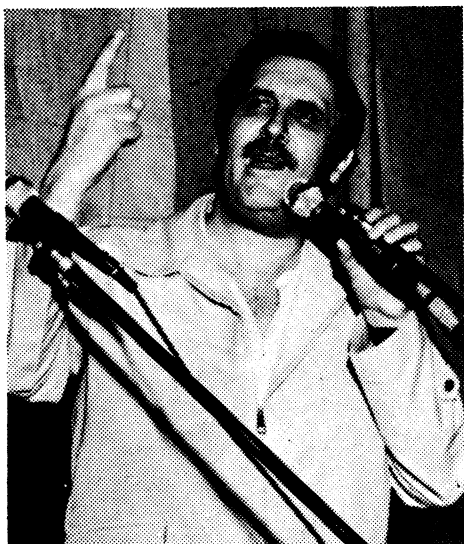
Moreno observed that the prospects for future growth of the PST were good if it continued to link itself with the workers in the fight against Peronist policies and the trade-union bureaucracy. The presence of hundreds of worker-militants at the congress attested to the PST's success in doing this.

Worker delegations

Working class militants throughout the country were invited to attend the congress, and many did so. Represented by delegates to the congress were factories in Tucumán and, from Mendoza, the building trades, steel workers, auto workers, insurance union, newspaper union, and postal union.

Also among the guests introduced to the convention were a steel worker from Tucumán, whose fellow workers raised the money for his transportation on the condition that he report back to them; the president of the student center of the Catholic University now on strike in Tucumán; two members of an opposition faction in Chrysler; a militant from the Córdoba auto union SITRAC—SITRAM; two workers who led a victorious strike at Perkins Truck Factory in Córdoba; a bank worker from Mendoza; and the entire internal com-

Continued on page 20



Avanzada Socialista

Nahuel Moreno, general secretary of the PST, contrasted PST's opposition to Peronism to adaptation by other left groups.

masses of the Argentine people.

Perón, through his "Social Pact," has asked for and received from the trade union bureaucracy a two-year pledge of "social peace," in which the working class is supposed to sit back and accept without complaint or protest every measure taken by the government. Perón has already imposed wage controls and other austerity measures on the workers.

Despite the Peronist domination of the labor organizations, many workers cannot and will not wait two years, and have been taking action for an improvement in their living conditions. During the week the PST convention took place, there were two factory occupations in Buenos Aires. While such struggles are usually around economic demands, they tend to become politicized due to the "Social Pact" and other forms of government intervention into the economy.

Some of the most important struggles today are undertaken by the students. In the high schools, where Peronist domination is weaker, these struggles have often been led by the Juventud Socialista de Avanzada (JSA—Socialist Youth Vanguard).

The PST and JSA's proletarian internationalism and uncompromising opposition to class-collaborationism make them a strong pole of attraction for revolutionary-minded youth. The JSA, a sympathizing youth organization of the Fourth International, is rapidly becoming the largest Marxist youth group in Argentina.

The outcome of all these struggles will be of great importance for the rest of Latin America. Argentina, following the defeats of the working class in Chile and Uruguay, is one of the few Latin American countries today where the workers have the right to



Avanzada Socialista

Chants of 'Workers fight, workers to power!' filled convention hall. Banner reads: 'For building the party of world revolution.'

Black activist fights extradition from Ore.

By STACEY SEIGLE

PORTLAND—Ronnie Williams is a 27-year-old Black activist fighting to prevent his extradition from Oregon to Alabama.

In 1972, Williams was convicted of assaulting a police officer with a deadly weapon in Birmingham, Ala. The charge stemmed from 1970, when Williams and some friends were shot at by police while trying to help a Black woman fight an illegal eviction notice. The cops wounded Williams in the neck and then arrested him for interfering with an officer.

The charge was subsequently changed to attempted murder, but then reduced to assault. In June 1973, after his last appeal had failed and he was scheduled to begin serving his sentence, Williams left Alabama and went to Oregon. Because of his activity against police brutality, Williams was convinced "I would never have gotten out of jail alive."

In an interview with *The Militant*, Williams explained that he had played a prominent role in exposing 23 cases in which Birmingham police murdered Blacks in 1970. The cops were acquitted on grounds of "justifiable homicide."

A broad public campaign is now being waged to convince Oregon Governor Tom McCall to deny Alabama's extradition request. The campaign centers on the atrocious conditions in the Alabama jails, to which Williams would be subject if he returned, as well as the blatant efforts by Birmingham's racist officials to stop Williams's political activity.

At least 19 people died in Alabama prisons in 1973. An affidavit from the American Civil Liberties Union, which was submitted to McCall in Williams's behalf, presents gruesome evidence of prison conditions in the state. The affidavit quotes a U.S. district court judge who outlined the case of a "... quadriplegic who had spent many months [in a diagnostic center] suffering from bedsores which had developed into open wounds because of lack of care and which eventually became infested with maggots. Days would pass without his bandages being changed until the stench pervaded the entire ward. The records show that in the months before his death he was bathed and his dressings were changed only once."

On Jan. 8 Governor McCall is to hear evidence presented by Williams's attorney against extradition. Dozens of affidavits have been sent from Alabama as part of the evidence, including statements by Birmingham city officials with whom Williams worked in the fight against police brutality.

Hundreds of letters have been received by McCall demanding that he allow Williams to remain in Oregon. Such groups as the Women's Auxiliary of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, the Urban League, and the Oregon State Democratic Party Central Committee have all made appeals.

Letters on behalf of Williams's right to remain in Oregon should be sent to Governor Tom McCall, State Street, Salem, Ore. 97301. Copies should be sent to the Committee to Defend Ronnie Williams, 2247 N.W. Irving, Portland, Ore. 97210.

HISTORY OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION

THE SOVIET ECONOMY IN DANGER

Second of a series

By DAVE FRANKEL

The New Economic Policy (NEP) was formulated by the Bolshevik Party under Lenin in 1921 as a means of reviving the Soviet economy—after the destruction and famine of the civil war years—through limited reintroduction of the free market.

The basic idea of the NEP was for the Soviet state to maintain control of the "commanding heights" of the economy, while utilizing the market to reestablish the link between the towns and the peasant economy. The peasantry was to sell its grain voluntarily in return for industrial products it could buy on the market.

From 1923 to 1928 the Left Opposition explained that for the NEP to work it was necessary to develop industry while encouraging the gradual collectivization of agriculture. Neglect of industrialization would result in a lack of manufactured goods and a new breakdown in relations between the town and country. Neglect of collectivization and of the organization of the mass of middle and poor peasants would result in the consolidation of a new class of rural petty capitalists, which would come to control the bulk of agricultural goods available for the market and would eventually challenge the Soviet power.

Both of these predictions were borne out in full in 1928. Having failed to foresee the crisis, having wasted five years, Stalin attempted to resolve it by administrative measures and the use of force. "It would be laughable to hope now that grain can be got

"We must smash the kulaks, eliminate them as a class We must strike at the kulaks so hard as to prevent them from rising to their feet again. . . ."

In May 1928 Stalin had insisted that the "expropriation of kulaks would be folly." Now he asked: "Can we permit the expropriation of the kulaks. . . ? A ridiculous question. . . . You do not lament the loss of the hair of one who has been beheaded. . . . We must break down the resistance of that class in open battle."

While the proportion of collective farms rose in 1929 from 1.7 to 3.9 percent, in 1930 it went up to 23.6 percent, in 1931 to 52.7 percent, and in 1932 it reached 61.5 percent. These collectives were organized by administrative fiat, at enormous human and economic cost.

Disaster in agriculture

With no political and economic preparation, Stalin's "offensive against the kulak" became in reality an offensive against the peasantry as a whole. Even in 1928, the "emergency" measures ostensibly directed against the kulaks had actually affected most of the peasantry.

Mikoyan, one of Stalin's supporters in the Politburo, wrote in *Pravda* in February 1928, "The main mass of the grain surpluses was in the hands of middle peasants, who were often in no hurry to sell if they could not buy the equivalent quantity of manufactured goods which they wanted, or if they were not driven to do it by the need to pay their debts to the state or the cooperatives."



Soviet factory workers during the drive for industrialization. Standard of living of the working class declined sharply during the 1930s.

from the kulak voluntarily," he said in April 1929.

Forced collectivization

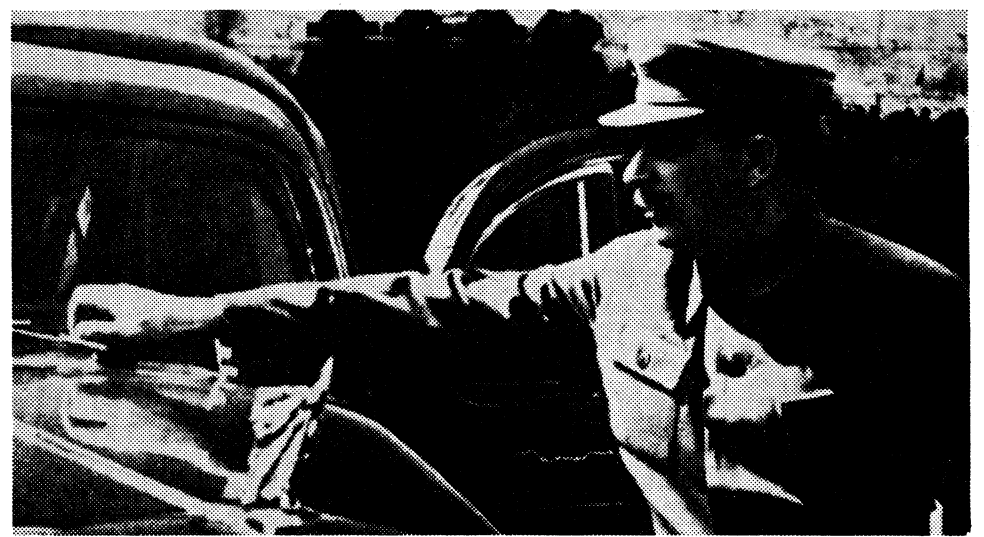
The five-year plan, approved in April 1929, had the goal of collectivizing between five and six million peasant households—about 20 percent of the total. A period of 20 years was envisaged before collectivization would be complete. In Stalin's view, "individual . . . farming would continue to play a predominant part in supplying the country with food and raw materials."

The response to the drive for collectivization was good among the five to eight million poorest peasant families. But in the last days of 1929, responding with bureaucratic empiricism, Stalin called for an all-out "offensive against the kulak." "Immediate and wholesale collectivization" was the order of the day.

Molotov, another of Stalin's lieutenants, put the problem more bluntly, saying, "we must strike at the kulak in such a way that the middle peasant comes to heel."

Collectivization degenerated into a virtual civil war against the peasant villages. At the Congress of Soviets in 1931 even the fiction of the kulaks was dropped. Molotov warned that the peasants had to decide "for or against the collective. Against the collective means supporting the kulak against the Soviet power."

The kulak families alone numbered eight to 10 million people, and most of them were deported to remote unpopulated lands in Siberia, where they were left without supplies. The peasants ate their seed rather than plant it and slaughtered their livestock rather than take it into the collective farms. Grain production fell from 83 million tons in 1930 to 69 million in 1932.



Stalin inspecting a limousine at the Stalin Automobile Works in Moscow. Privileges of bureaucracy were greatly expanded under his rule.

In 1929 Russia had 34 million horses. Only 16.6 million were left in 1933. Forty-five percent of large cattle and two-thirds of all sheep and goats were also slaughtered.

Hunger stalked the Soviet Union throughout the 1930s. During the entire decade grain production failed to exceed the 1913 level, and was often below it. In 1932 and 1933 there was actual starvation in the peasant villages.

Amidst this famine *Pravda* felt free to assure its readers that "the agricultural economy of the Soviet Union has become absolutely entrenched on the road to socialism." Stalin insisted that the "liquidation" of the kulaks, "the last capitalist class," was ensuring the advent of the classless society.

Adventurism in industry

In the meantime, the economic adventurism begun in the agricultural sphere was not long in making its appearance in industry.

Large-scale farming of the type envisioned in the collectivization plan required modern machinery, yet in 1929 more than 4.1 million wooden plows were still in use in Soviet agriculture. Less than 35,000 tractors were in use, and they provided only 2.8 percent of the motor power needed for Soviet farms.

In April 1929 Stalin, taking a leaf from the program of the Left Opposition, announced that "the key to the reconstruction of agriculture is the rapid rate of the development of industry." By the middle of the year the appropriation for capital investments in industry was raised to four times the amount that Stalin himself had demanded only a few months before.

The new policy of industrialization was welcomed by the Left Opposition, but after the first successes, which proved the accuracy of Trotsky's earlier predictions about the possibilities of industrial growth, the call went out from the Kremlin to "achieve the five-year plan in four years." In June 1930 Stalin ordered industry to raise its output by 47 percent for that year!

The projections for industry became delirious. Under the five-year plan, for instance, Soviet production of pig iron was supposed to triple, from 3.5 million tons in 1928 to 10 million by the end of 1933. But Stalin told the sixteenth congress of the CPSU in 1931, "Ten million tons of pig iron . . . is not enough. . . . At all costs we must produce 17 million tons in 1932." The USSR was just approaching this goal 10 years later, in the fall of 1941.

The workers pay

The industrial expansion of the 1930s was financed by the Soviet work-

ing class. By 1932 the real average wage was at most only half of what it had been in 1928. While the urban population nearly doubled during the 1930s, the output of clothing and footwear was stationary or declined between 1928 and 1935. New building provided no more than an average of four square yards per new town-dweller.

Unbearable working conditions caused a sharp decline in labor productivity and in the quality of products. The average productivity of labor fell 11.7 percent in 1931.

By the end of 1932 one day's absence from work was grounds for dismissal. To accelerate production, the hated piece-work system was reintroduced. That is, workers were paid for the amount they produced rather than for the amount of time worked.

In August 1932 *Izvestia* published a decree imposing the death penalty for those who stole "socialist" property. Another measure to maintain labor discipline was the imposition of the internal passport system in December 1932.

Supplementing the bureaucratic whip was the use of material incentives in the form of sharp wage differentials and special privileges for "model" workers. The extension of wage differentials among ordinary workers served as a cover for a huge expansion in the size and privileges of the bureaucracy.

As early as 1925 Stalin had warned, "We must not play with the phrase about equality. This is playing with fire." Now he decried the equalization of wages as a "reactionary, petty-bourgeois absurdity." The Bolshevik rule established under Lenin that party workers could receive wages no higher

Continued on page 20

FOR FURTHER READING

The following books by Leon Trotsky, the central leader of the International Left Opposition, explain in greater depth the issues in the fight against Stalinism.

- THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AFTER LENIN, 348 pp., \$3.45
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'I.F. Stone's Weekly'

I.F. Stone's Weekly. Produced by Jerry Bruck. Narrated by Tom Wicker.

I.F. Stone is one hell of a fine journalist. Reading his newsweekly, which he put out at his Washington, D.C., home entirely by himself for 19 years, was always an exhilarating experience. So is viewing Jerry Bruck Jr.'s 62-minute documentary movie. Bruck did it on a shoestring budget, following

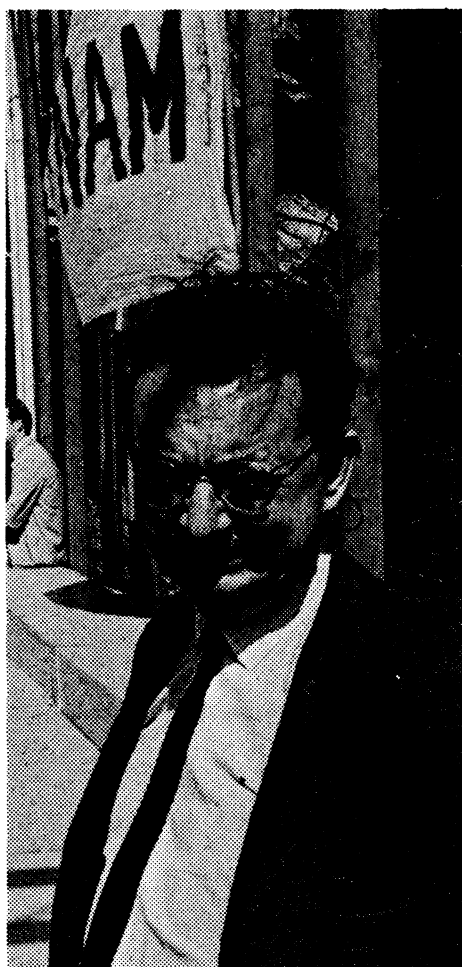


Film

Stone around on and off for three years.

One could say of Stone, as C. Wright Mills said of himself: "I try to be objective, I don't claim to be detached."

In the wake of Watergate, many



STONE: 'I really have so much fun I ought to be arrested.'

people share Stone's belief that "every government is run by liars and nothing they say should be believed." But when he started out in the witch-hunt days of 1952 with nothing but a list of 5,000 potential subscribers, some savings, and a passion for honest journalism, things were of course much harder. He made a go of it, though, eventually getting the Weekly's circulation well up into five figures.

Imagine the difficulties for an iconoclastic journalist in "official" Washington with no sources, few resources, almost entirely frozen out of the scene. It didn't hamper Stone, a man as indefatigable as he is curious.

We see Stone poring over news articles, the foreign press, news services, and volumes of government issue from the U.S. Printing Office. He then stores the load in files inscrutably indexed and filling up the room. His secret for producing good news stories is plain hard work (a 16-hour day) and a good memory.

He takes subscriptions himself over the phone at home, writes up his material, and takes it over to his printer to discuss layout. There is one wonderful shot of Stone trudging down the block to the mailbox with an armful of the Weekly. "I really have so much fun I ought to be arrested," he cracks.

While establishment journalists cranked out their insipid stories, Stone took apart the lies and deception of Washington. The problem with the reporters co-opted by the government, he explains, is that they "begin to understand there are certain things the public ought not to know."

Not Stone. He had the guts to expose the facts. Even when many leftists were hailing the Vietnam accords as a victory, Stone spoke out against the "peaceful coexistence" fraud.

The cold warriors Kennedy and Johnson, not to speak of John Foster Dulles, caught theirs in the Weekly. J. Edgar Hoover, Joe McCarthy, and Nikita Khrushchev were cows held unsacred by Stone. An impeccable civil libertarian, Stone championed James Kutcher's fight against the witch-hunters in the 1950s, and originated the title to Kutcher's book, *The Case of the Legless Veteran*.

Bruck has some footage of Stone speaking to a college audience. The students are committed, like Stone, but frustrated and asking for advice.

Stay out in the streets, demonstrating against the war, Stone tells them. And another thing, read. Learn something of our history. Remember, he says, Lenin and Trotsky studied the history of the French revolution.

Stone is 66, now a contributing editor of the *New York Review of Books*, a recipient of the Polk journalism award, and the holder of an honorary degree.

If there is any self-satisfaction involved, it is that of an irrepressible maverick who will continue to ferret out stories, capturing with wit and deft prose the outrage we all feel at a world that could be so much better.

—MICHAEL SMITH

Fuentes on fighting racism in schools

The Fight Against Racism in Our Schools by Luis Fuentes. Pathfinder Press (410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014). 1973. 25 cents.

More than five years ago, Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents in New York City's District 1 began a struggle for better schools. For too long they have been slandered and abused in the news media without a fair chance to answer. The publication of these two speeches by Luis Fuentes, a leader in this struggle and the city's only Puerto Rican school superintendent, therefore, comes as a breath of fresh air.

Fuentes explains that the parents are fighting racist policies that prevent their children from even learning to adequately read and write.

The funds provided for public education of Black and Puerto Rican children are too meager. There are not enough teachers, and more are being laid off all the time. There are far too few bilingual personnel to help thousands of children who don't know English. There are not enough classrooms and supplies.

In addition, the powerful United Federation of Teachers (UFT), led by Albert Shanker, is an obstacle to the struggle of the parents. The misleadership of this union vigorously opposes attempts to get more Black and Puerto Rican teachers, particularly bilingual teachers. It fights all attempts by parents to have more say over the administration, the curriculum, and the selection of personnel in the schools. Shanker's policy is to preserve the UFT as a white job trust.

Fuentes puts it this way: "I recognize that a principal ingredient in the establishment of these enmities between union and community is the folks up top—the political and economic structure which in

Pamphlets

the face of dramatic educational needs constantly comes up with empty palms. They have created a scarcity of resources and pitted the forces who must live with these schools against each other as enemies. Community and union should be allied, should be fighting together for government support of education. Nonetheless, this union leadership has irrevocably chosen the path of cooperating with those in government and business who manipulate and dominate this society."

Shanker has chosen the path of building a power base in order to elbow and knee his way to the top of the AFL-CIO hierarchy. Last summer he became a vice-president of the AFL-CIO. He is now moving to give American Federation of Teachers President David Selden the heave-ho and take over the national union himself. The educational needs of children from the most oppressed sections of the working class are scarcely his concern.

In his introduction to this pamphlet, Claudio Tavarez, a para-professional member of the UFT and a leader of the Coalition for Education in District 1, describes what the parents' struggle has accomplished so far, particularly under Fuentes's administration. Tavarez also underlines the importance of the independent action of the parents in winning these gains.

In concluding his introduction, Tavarez points to the struggle in District 1 as "a shining example for oppressed communities throughout the country."

This is Pathfinder Press's first publication by a Puerto Rican author, and its first publication about a struggle primarily involving Puerto Ricans. This makes it a particularly welcome addition to Pathfinder's wide range of inexpensive, popular pamphlets. Hopefully thousands of copies will be sold, not only to Puerto Ricans but to Chicanos, Blacks, and AFT members. A Spanish-language edition will be out soon.

—DOUG JENNESS



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Calendar

DETROIT

THE PEOPLE VS. WILLIE FARAH—A FILM. Fri., Jan. 11, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY

ENERGY CRISIS: TRUTH OR HOAX? Speakers: Dave Brown, Socialist Workers Party; other speaker to be announced. Fri., Jan. 11, 8 p.m. 1849 University, Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

...nuclear

Continued from page 6

all nuclear plants designed in the U.S. are the most dangerous possible type—fission reactors using enriched uranium as fuel. Plants designed for enriched uranium can be more compact and therefore cost a little less to build, thus giving U.S. reactor manufacturers a competitive edge to dominate the world market.

U.S. manufacturers have special access to enriched uranium because of billion-dollar plants built by the U.S. government in the 1940s and 1950s to separate out enriched uranium for producing nuclear weapons.

However, enriched uranium plants generate the greatest amount of heat and radioactive waste, as well as the highest probability of a catastrophic accident. Thus the militarism of capitalism, combined with profit considerations, have led the development of nuclear energy in this country in a direction of the least usefulness and the greatest danger to the masses of the American people.

To avert nuclear catastrophe or annihilation, and to provide the energy

needs for the development of humanity, it is necessary to take control of these matters out of the hands of the monopolies and the capitalist government that serves them.

The only solution to capitalism's long-term energy crisis is to fight for a workers government and a socialist system, where production could be planned according to human needs, not profits.

...PST

Continued from page 17

missions of a hospital and of gas workers from Mar del Plata. (Internal commissions are the executive committees of the factory committees elected in all major Argentine plants.)

Workers from the following places in the Buenos Aires metropolitan area were introduced to the convention: the internal commission of a glass works; a delegation from another glass works, one that was on strike and had just beaten back a police attack; a representative from the largest textile factory in Latin America; the teachers union; Mercedes-Benz; leaders from two banks on strike; and a leader of the construction workers in Neuquén.

These worker delegations were announced on the first day of the congress and more were introduced the next day.

The revolutionary fervor and enthusiasm of a party deeply immersed in the class struggle was manifested not only in the reports and discussions, but also in the colorful and spirited chants of the delegates and guests. "Workers fight, workers to power!" and "It will be wonderful when we bury the bosses and put the workers in power!" were two of them.

The trade-union report outlined continued efforts by the PST to mobilize the working class against the "Social Pact," the government, and the union bureaucracy that supports it.

Other campaigns projected at the congress were a campaign of solidarity with Chile; one against the dictatorships in Paraguay and Uruguay; and a campaign for complete amnesty for political prisoners in Bolivia.

The congress concluded with a rally where greetings were heard from the worker delegations and international guests. Several of the workers who

gave greetings announced they had decided to join the PST.

...left opp.

Continued from page 18

than those of the average worker was left by the wayside.

Trotsky welcomed the achievements of Soviet industry during the 1930s. Early in 1930 he pointed out that the tempo of development that had been attained, although "neither stable nor assured," gave "experiential proof of the immeasurable potentialities which are inherent in socialistic methods of economy."

Replying to capitalist economists who tried to explain Soviet industrial development by muttering about "exploitation of the peasantry," he said, "They are missing a wonderful opportunity to explain why the brutal exploitation of the peasants in China, for instance, or Japan, or India, never produced an industrial tempo remotely approaching that of the Soviet Union."

At the same time, Trotsky insisted that the brutal methods of the bureaucracy, its total concentration on heavy industry, its insistence on development at breakneck speed and on quantity at the expense of quality, its inability to allow democratic participation in planning or to draw out the initiative of the masses, all imposed unnecessary sacrifices on the Soviet people, and slowed down the real growth of the economy.

The achievements of the Soviet Union—indicated by the fact that its industrial power was catching up with Germany's by the end of the 1930s—were a reflection of the power of the economic forms established by the Russian revolution, not of Stalin's leadership. Far from being responsible for the advances in industry, the bureaucracy headed by Stalin—foreseeing nothing, delaying as long as possible, reacting to events in panic—served as a brake on the development of the economy.

But Trotsky's criticisms of the economic policies followed by Stalin, important as these were, were subordinated to another, more important consideration. Even if partial corrections were made in various policies—empirically and under pressure from the Soviet masses—the bureaucratization of the CPSU threatened its survival as a revolutionary party.

In Trotsky's view it was necessary to defeat and destroy the Stalinist bureaucracy in order to rebuild a genuine revolutionary party that could lead the Soviet Union and the world revolution forward. As Stalin's "left course" continued, the Oppositionists in exile began to divide over this question, a development that will be examined in the next article.

...King

Continued from page 22

pleaded guilty and in a deal got a 99-year prison sentence instead of death.

While awaiting trial he wrote of being sent to Memphis by a "blond Latin" known only as "Raoul." But at his trial he balked at saying there was a conspiracy. Now he contends he was made a fall guy for Southern white conspirators and was pressured into pleading guilty by his attorney.

Ray's brother, according to a June 11, 1968, AP dispatch, said a "rich Southern man" had put his brother up to the killing.

Ray is also suing to halt his transfer to the Federal Medical Center at Springfield, Mo., where Justice Department officials want to send him for physical and psychological testing. The Springfield Federal Medical Center is the location of START, a prison mind-control program.

Whether a conspiracy existed or not is yet to be established. But if Southern whites did conspire, there's no doubt they were emboldened to act by the atmosphere of violence fostered by the ruling class. U.S. involvement in the Vietnam war encouraged such attacks on domestic "troublemakers."

Hoover's hatred of Black organizations, along with the FBI documents and Nixon's 1970 spy plan, are further indications of this climate.

An independent investigation is needed to look into King's death and the circumstances surrounding it. Such an investigation, spearheaded by representatives of the Black community, could also unravel the truth about the 1965 assassination of Malcolm X, since the confessed murderer never told who had hired him.

Moreover, the investigation could demand that those responsible for those murders be brought to justice, be they Southern whites, Northern whites, or cops and officials, in uniform or not.

Socialist Directory

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Kalamazoo: YSA, c/o Gail Altenburg, 224 Douglas, Apt. 3, Kalamazoo, Mich. 49001.

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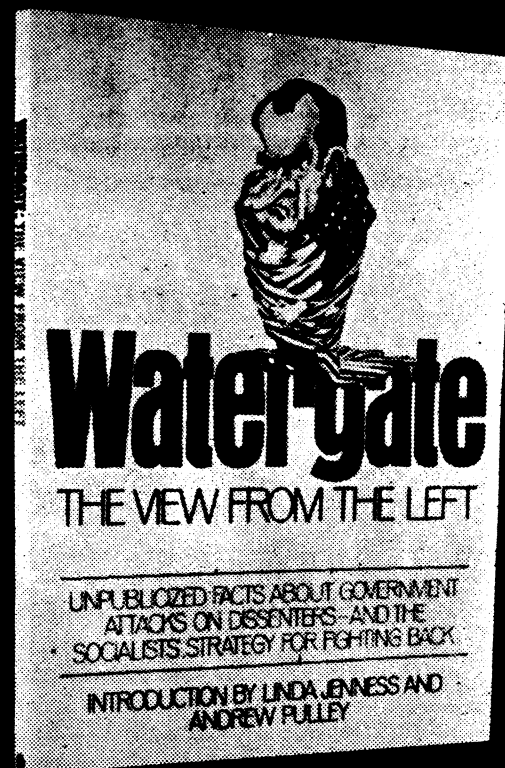
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FBI & the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King

By BAXTER SMITH

As Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. leaned over a second-floor motel balcony railing to greet Reverend Jesse Jackson and an acquaintance below, a .30-caliber rifle cracked in the distance. King died instantly, felled by an assassin's bullet. The date was April 4, 1968; the place was Memphis, Tenn.

James Earl Ray, alias Eric Galt, confessed to being the sole murderer of King and was convicted in 1969. But now he has filed a \$500,000 damage suit against the state of Tennessee, charging that he acted as part of a conspiracy with white Southerners.

In the suit Ray claims he was improperly represented by his attorney during the trial. He charges that his attorney failed to investigate the phone numbers of two Louisiana residents who he says had information about the plot. He is demanding a new trial.

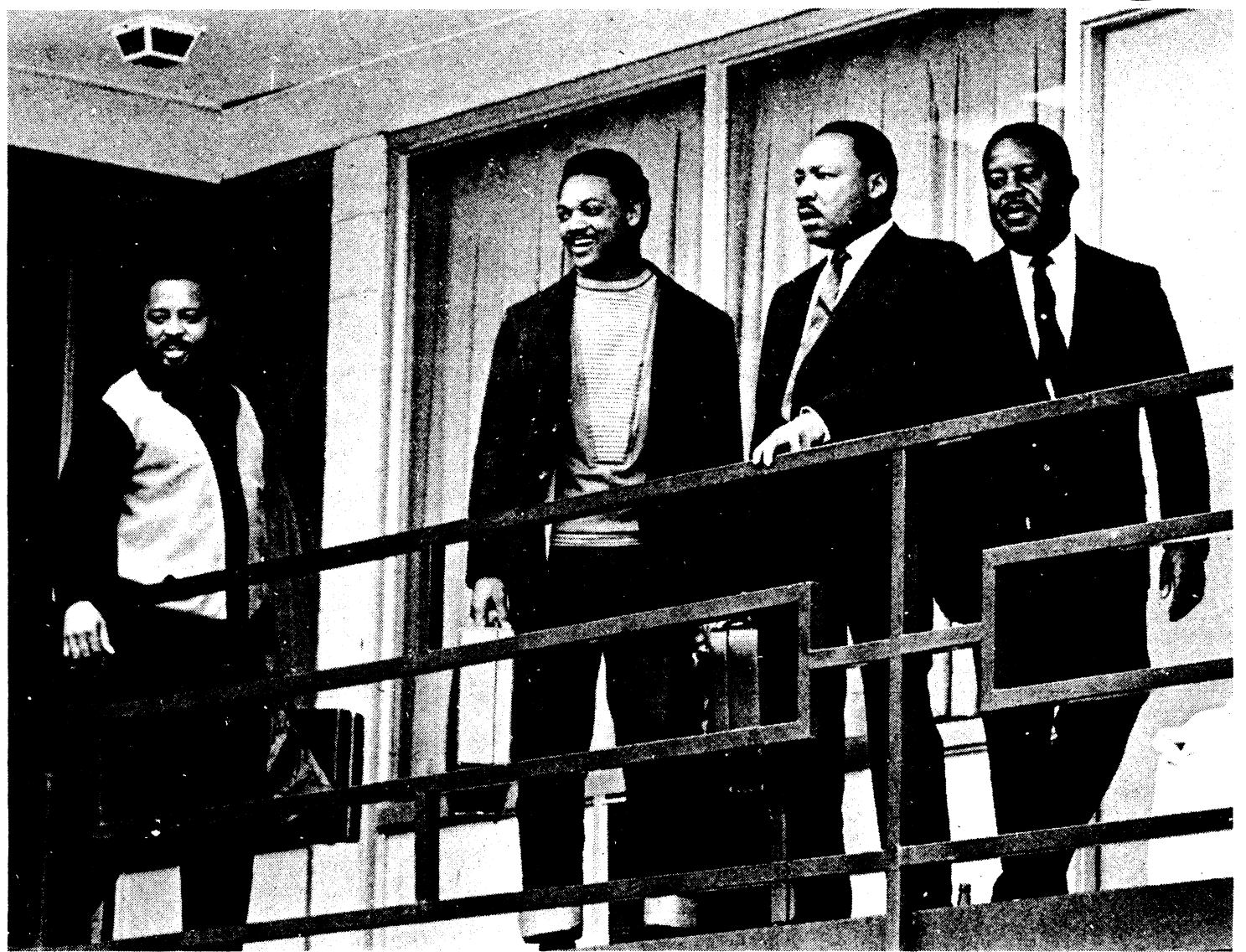
'Get King'

The FBI had kept the civil rights leader under constant surveillance. Last spring a retired FBI agent told the *New York Times* that then-director J. Edgar Hoover had been out to "get King." He stated that the surveillance of King was so extensive that he "couldn't wiggle. They had him."

In fact, Jesse Jackson's statement to a *Times* reporter following the murder hints at the surveillance. He explained what happened immediately following the shooting: "When I turned around I saw police coming from everywhere. They said, 'where did it come from?' And I said, 'behind you.' The police were coming from where the shot came."

Did police and government officials know of a plot to kill King? And that the killer was within footsteps of them? Or were they involved and under orders to remain silent?

Although the full story still hasn't been told, Ray's charges, coupled with Watergate and related revelations, are an indication of government complicity at least in the cover-up, if not in the deed itself. This information throws further light on the government conspiracy—under both Democratic and Republican administrations—to



Dr. King on motel balcony the day before assassination. Convicted assassin now claims murder was backed by white Southern conspirators.

thwart the Black liberation struggle through harassment, provocations, frame-ups, and assassinations.

COINTELPRO

According to two FBI documents recently disclosed as the result of a suit by NBC reporter Carl Stern, on April 28, 1968, FBI director Hoover instituted a "counterintelligence program" code-named COINTELPRO. It was designed to "expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize" socialist groups and Black organizations.

Open secret FBI files!

As the accompanying article indicates, it is possible that the FBI helped cover up—if not instigate—the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. This shows the need to force full disclosure of government secret-police operations.

A suit on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance seeks to halt all government spying, harassment, burglary, bombing, and other illegal acts against socialist groups, Black organizations, and all those fighting for social change.

The SWP-YSA suit seeks to force government officials to make public

secret FBI documents and others such as the 1970 spy plan. Present and former government officials are named as defendants.

Civil liberties attorney Leonard Boudin is representing the plaintiffs.

Supporting the suit is one way of getting out the truth about illegal government operations.

The Political Rights Defense Fund is publicizing the suit and raising money for legal expenses. To help with this work write PRDF, P.O. Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.

One of the COINTELPRO documents states in part: "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."

It continues: "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."

COINTELPRO was set up during an upsurge of the Black student movement and the wave of ghetto revolts that swept more than one hundred U.S. cities. The revolts were spontaneous outbursts of pent-up rage touched off by the murder of King, but they reflected deep discontent with the capitalist status quo.

As the COINTELPRO documents show, FBI agents were ordered to become involved in disruptive acts against Black organizations and individuals.

Hoover had publicly called the Black Panther Party the "most dangerous and violence-prone of all extremist groups." An ex-FBI agent recently admitted that

he was a security chief of the Black Panther Party in 1969 when Chicago cops killed Panther leader Fred Hampton and that he helped set up Hampton's murder.

Dark day in Memphis

King was in Memphis in support of striking city sanitation workers, 90 percent of whom were Black. In the week prior to his arrival, cop violence against a protest march resulted in arrests, injuries, and the death of a Black youth.

Although the strikers, with King's backing, planned another massive demonstration to publicize their demands, government officials issued an injunction prohibiting it.

Ray had been shadowing King for several days. Following the shooting he fled through Canada, England, Portugal, and England again, where he was captured at a London airport.

FBI officials knew of Ray's whereabouts in England prior to his arrest on June 8, 1968, but were slow to apprehend him.

Laxity characterized the FBI's pursuit of Ray and its handling of the case. It was two weeks before they announced that the fingerprints on the murder weapon showed that Eric Galt was in reality Ray.

In a rushed 144-minute trial, Ray

Continued on page 20