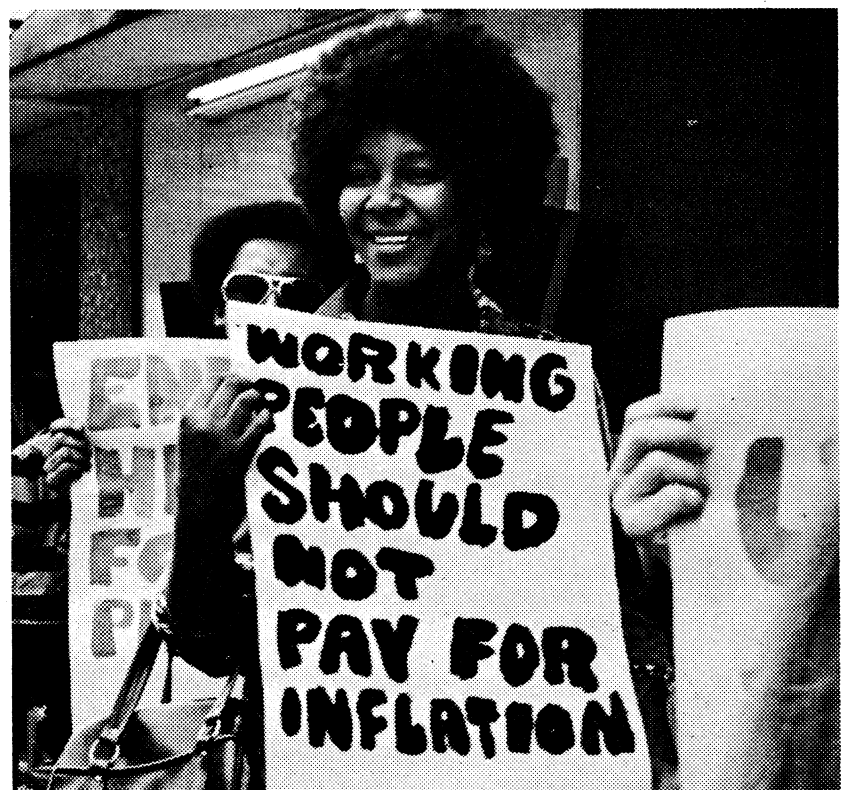


THE MILITANT

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

THE REAL STATE OF THE UNION

A SOCIALIST ANSWER TO THE DEMOCRATS & REPUBLICANS



Nixon's empty promises in his State of the Union message won't solve the problems facing the American people.
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EMERGENCY APPEAL TO SAVE IRANIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS: The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran has issued an urgent appeal for support to seven political prisoners sentenced to death by a military tribunal in Tehran. The seven belong to a group of 12 writers, filmmakers and journalists arrested more than a year ago by the shah's secret police, SAVAK.

The 12 were charged with plotting to assassinate the shah and kidnap three members of the royal family. "Undoubtedly," the committee appeal says, "during the long months of captivity, the twelve were pressured by SAVAK's methods of torture to obtain the necessary 'confessions.'"

The committee urges that "a very broad defense effort must be mounted. Letters, telegrams and delegations protesting the injustice of the sentences must be directed to the Iranian government and its representatives abroad. Past experience shows that the Iranian regime will not remain indifferent to world public opinion."

The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran has offices at 309A Low Library, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. 10027.

BLOODY SUNDAY COMMEMORATED: Two hundred people demonstrated in New York Jan. 26 in commemoration of the Bloody Sunday massacre in Derry, Northern Ireland, two years ago. The protesters demanded that British troops be withdrawn from Northern Ireland, an end to internment, and an end to the repressive legislation in both the north and south of Ireland.

The march through midtown Manhattan ended at the offices of the New York Times. There a delegation from the demonstration spoke to Leonard Silk of the Times demanding that supporters of Irish self-determination be given space in the Times to express their views.

Another demonstration, sponsored by the Irish Freedom Committee, is planned for Feb. 2. It will protest the brutal treatment of the Price sisters (see World Outlook section). The demonstration will be at the BOAC offices in Manhattan.

CAMPUS MEETING HEARS JENNESS: Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party 1972 presidential candidate, spoke Jan. 24 at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tenn., at the invitation of the Student Speaker's Bureau. Speaking on "Feminism and Socialism," Jenness discussed recent developments in the women's movement, especially Black women's liberation and the organization of trade-union women. She concluded with an explanation of the need for a socialist revolution to do away with the system that is the basis of women's oppression.

The audience of 60 people responded enthusiastically to Jenness's speech, and afterward several expressed interest in the YSA and one person decided to join. The *Women's Free Express*, a Nashville women's newspaper, interviewed Jenness and hosted a reception for her at the Nashville Women's Center.

The next day a conference on "Women and the Law" opened at Vanderbilt. Jenness was judged "too controversial" to take part in the conference, but conference participants indicated interest in the socialist analysis of the women's movement by buying \$30 worth of literature from a table set up by the Young Socialist Alliance.

BROOKSIDE MINERS WIN VICTORY IN COURT: An appeals court has overturned the injunction that limited the number of pickets at the Eastover Mining Company in Brookside, Ky. The miners at Eastover have been on strike since August, fighting for recognition of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) contract.

"It's a big morale booster for the people here," Dan McAlarnis, UMWA organizer, said of the court ruling. Eastover, a subsidiary of the giant Duke Power conglomerate, had tried to use the antipicketing injunction to break the strike. But despite the limit of three pickets at each entrance to the mine, not a single scab had been able to report for work since October because of the mobilization of women and other supporters of the strike.

The court ruled that there can be an unrestricted number of pickets outside the mine.

COMPANY OFFICIALS CONVICTED OF BUGGING UNION ORGANIZER'S PHONE: Two officials of the J.P. Stevens Company were recently found guilty of bugging the conversations of union organizers.

Larry Burroughs and Harold Guerry were found guilty of bugging the telephone of Al Motley, an organizer for the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department (IUD), while he was staying at the Wallace Motel in Wallace, S.C. The IUD and the Textile Workers Union of America are carrying out a joint drive to organize Stevens workers.

The company officials have appealed their conviction.

The TWUA and the IUD plan to continue their campaign against this Watergating with a \$64-million damage suit they have filed based on the same charges.

WOMEN DEFEND ABORTION RIGHTS (I): On Jan. 22, exactly one year after the U.S. Supreme Court decision upholding a woman's right to abortion, demonstrations were called to defend that right against recent challenges.

In collusion with the Catholic Church hierarchy, New York's Conservative-Republican Senator James Buckley has proposed a constitutional amendment to overturn the decision.

The amendment would in essence deny the use of Medicaid in obtaining legal abortions.

The National Organization for Women (NOW) sponsored a picket in front of Buckley's New York office to defend women's right to abortion and protest the proposed amendment.

Women from nearby midtown offices joined the march and headed for St. Patrick's Cathedral. There the marchers joined another pro-abortion demonstration, sponsored by Catholics for a Free Choice.

The proposed amendment would especially affect Black and Puerto Rican women, who, because of Medicaid, have been able to obtain safe and legal abortions.

ABORTION RIGHTS (II): In Seattle both pro- and anti-abortion rights forces showed that the issue of a woman's right to control her own body and reproductive future is far from being settled, despite the Supreme Court decision.

The well organized and financed opposition, including the National Right to Life organization, Seattle Human Life, and Archbishop Thomas Connolly marked the anniversary of the Supreme Court decision at a dinner meeting by announcing plans for a national campaign in 1974 for a constitutional amendment prohibiting abortions.

A letter issued by Archbishop Connolly was read in all Western Washington Catholic Churches warning "any Catholic doctor, woman or man who successfully and willfully effects and procures an abortion is by that fact excommunicated from the Church," and charging that women who choose abortion are "engaging in senseless slaughter."

In spite of this scare campaign, only 75 to 100 people showed up for the dinner. Pro-abortion rights advocates picketed outside the hotel where the dinner was taking place.

CLEVELAND TRADE-UNION WOMEN TO MEET: A statewide conference of Ohio women will be held in Cleveland on Feb. 24, sponsored by the Cleveland Council of Union Women.

Focusing on the theme "Union Women Organize for Action," the conference will discuss, in general meetings and workshops, the problems of women workers and what they are doing and can do about them through their labor organizations.

The conference will be held from 1 to 5 p.m. at Cleveland State University. Reservations may be sent to: Eileen Berlow, Cleveland Council of Union Women, Suite 606, 2108 Payne Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44114.

The conference is open to all women union members, retired union members, and those who are involved in current union organizing drives. —NORMAN OLIVER

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A socialist answer

'The real state of the union'

The following statement was issued at a Jan. 31 news conference by Maceo Dixon, cochairman of the Socialist Workers Party 1974 National Campaign Committee.

Nixon's State of the Union message was an insult to the working people of this country. While we face a daily crisis of shortages, rising prices, unemployment, and deterioration of the quality of life, all Nixon had to offer was a rehash of the same worthless promises and lies he has made for the last five years.

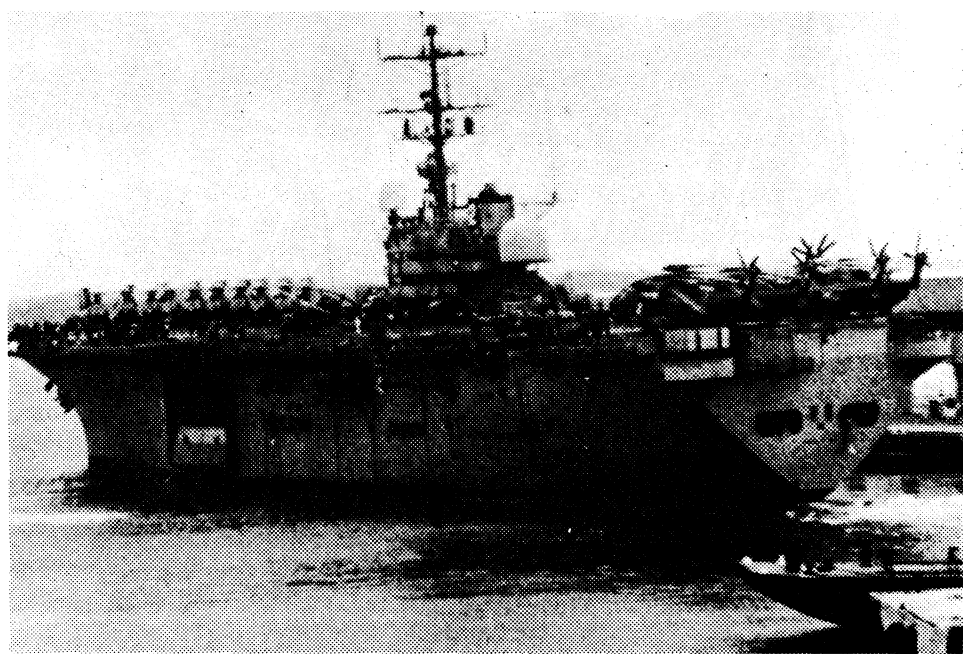
The mass murderer of Vietnamese proclaimed, "America is the greatest force for peace in the world." But the world knows that U.S. imperialism is the greatest prop for bloody dictatorships from South Vietnam to Chile to Greece to South Africa. The U.S. is the greatest danger to peace, as Nixon's nuclear sabre-rattling during the Mideast war demonstrated.

The real state of the union was highlighted in two recent news items. Last week Exxon revealed that its admitted profits for 1973 totaled \$2.44-billion — *the highest profits ever amassed by any corporation in history.*

A few days earlier, the Bureau of Labor Statistics announced that real wages — that is, the purchasing power of workers after taxes and the effects of inflation are deducted — *declined* by 3.3 percent last year, contrary to Nixon's lying assertion that our real income has increased.

This stark contrast, this latest confirmation of the ever-widening gap between rich and poor, belies all Nixon's glib assurances that American capitalism will provide prosperity and the good life for everyone.

"Our air is becoming cleaner and our water purer," Nixon declared with



U.S. aircraft carrier heads for Mideast during October war. Threat of nuclear war will continue until capitalism is abolished.

a straight face, just at the moment when the oil barons, under cover of the energy crisis, are rolling back the inadequate antipollution measures that exist.

Millions of people are beginning to sense that the present system is incapable of meeting their basic everyday needs, much less improving their standard of living.

The federal government demands that wage increases be limited to 5.5 percent a year. *But prices rose that much just in the last six months!* Last year food prices went up 20 percent, and fuel oil and coal prices jumped 45 percent.

The official figure for unemployment is nearly 5 percent, and rising fast as tens of thousands of workers are laid off.

It seems that every day we are hit with more breakdowns—in power, transportation, supplies of food and other necessities. With the complicity of the Democratic and Republican politicians, the monopolies deliberately restrict production and create artificial scarcity, leading to price explosions. Last spring it was meat; now it's oil; and we are told that shortages of metals, fertilizers, and grain are on the way.

Nixon asked Congress to back him in a tougher negotiating stance with the other capitalist powers of Europe and Japan. This reflects the growing international capitalist competition that is at the bottom of crises like the energy "shortage."

We are not going to have the "peace and prosperity" promised by Nixon.

Instead we will face new crises, with the danger of a world recession and more inflation looming in 1974.

The giants of industry, we discover, are accountable to no one but themselves. They lock away as "business secrets" the facts and figures on whether these "shortages" are real, how they came about, and how many millions in hidden profits the corporations are raking in.

To each "shortage" the government offers the same solution: bolster profits through higher prices and more subsidies and tax breaks, because, after all, the corporations will only produce for a profit. Human needs do not enter into their calculations.

Profit boom

While the corporations enjoy a record-breaking profit boom, working people are confronted with economic crisis every time we go to the supermarket, or try to pay the rent and utility bills.

Hardest hit are Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans, women workers, and young workers—the lowest paid, last hired, and first fired. For the unorganized workers, for people on welfare, for the poor and unemployed, for old people on pensions, the situation verges on disaster.

Nixon's "equality of sacrifice" rhetoric is a fraud. The burden of each succeeding crisis is unloaded on those least able to bear it. And then the profiteers have the gall to blame the situation on working people! They claim the root of the problem is that we've been living too luxuriously, eating too much, using too much energy.

What a bitter commentary on the irrationality of this outmoded capitalist system! At a time when advances in technology and the productivity of

Continued on following page

Socialist Workers Party announces 1974 National Campaign Committee

WASHINGTON, D.C., Jan. 31 — At a news conference here today answering Nixon's State of the Union message, the Socialist Workers Party 1974 National Campaign Committee announced plans to wage a vigorous campaign against the two capitalist parties in this year's elections.

The committee will be backing more than 100 socialist candidates in 15 states and the District of Columbia, campaign director Frank Boehm told reporters.

"This committee will spearhead the SWP's fight to halt the Watergate-style crimes against us and others fighting for social change," he explained.

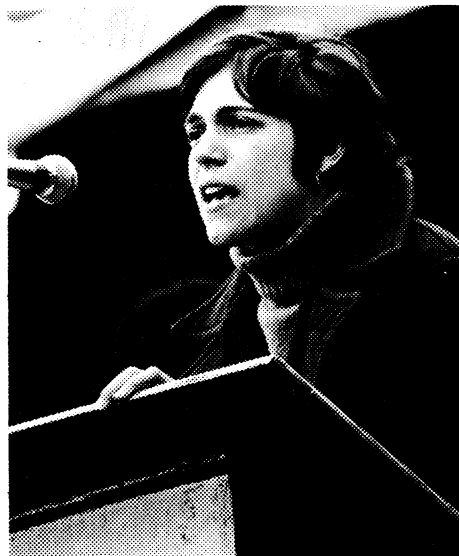
"We will be conducting national tours by leaders of the SWP in support of the many candidates we will be running, publishing national campaign literature, and mobilizing support for the lawsuit filed by the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance to end government harassment of socialists and other opponents of Nixon's policies."

In 1972, the SWP ran a highly successful presidential campaign, winning nearly 100,000 votes, the largest total of any radical party.

"Since the 1972 elections," Boehm said, "events have dramatically altered the American political scene—



Chairing SWP campaign committee are Maceo Dixon, a leader of Detroit fight against police brutality, and Debby Bustin, who was included on Nixon's 'enemies list' because of her antiwar activities.



Militant/Brian Shannon

most importantly, the revelation of the police-state methods utilized against opponents of the Nixon administration and earlier administrations, and the energy crisis.

"Today there are many more people who are seeking alternatives to the policies of the Democrats and Repub-

licans—both of whom share responsibility for the problems facing working people today."

SWP candidates have already announced their campaigns in Illinois, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New York. The socialist candidates in New York launched their campaign at a

news conference yesterday. At the head of their ticket are Derrick Morrison, running for governor, and Becky Finch, running for U.S. Senate.

The main speaker at the news conference launching the SWP 1974 National Campaign Committee was Maceo Dixon, committee cochairman. He contrasted "the real state of the union" to the situation portrayed in Nixon's speech and presented the SWP's program to meet the problems of the energy crisis, inflation, unemployment, war, and racism.

Cochairing the campaign committee with Dixon is Debby Bustin. She and Dixon will begin touring the country soon to speak on the socialist alternative to Watergate.

Both Dixon, 24, and Bustin, 26, have been personally victimized by Watergate-style tactics. Bustin was placed on the White House "enemies list" when she was national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War. Dixon was recently convicted on a frame-up charge of "deviating from a parade route" for his role in leading a Detroit demonstration against police brutality (see page 24).

In 1973, Dixon ran as SWP can-

Continued on following page

...Socialist alternative to Democrats

Continued from preceding page

labor mean that a world of plenty is a realizable goal, the avowed program of big business for the workers is the cynical appeal to tighten our belts, sacrifice, to "freeze with honor!"

At a time when medical research could put the eradication of disease within humanity's grasp, we can't get decent low-cost health care—because it's not *profitable*. Once again, Nixon rejected any socialized health-care system that would put the health of American people before private profit.

At a time when jobs are needed by millions of workers, low-cost housing, efficient mass transportation, schools, libraries, and hospitals are not built—because they're not *profitable*.

What future can capitalism offer to Blacks or other racially oppressed peoples? In his entire address, Nixon failed to utter so much as one word about racial equality, or put forward one single promise of progress for Black people. Instead he tossed in a few of his racist code words, such as attacking poor people on welfare as "unwilling to work."

Twenty years after the Supreme Court supposedly outlawed segregated schools, racist discrimination in education—as well as in housing, employment, and every other aspect of life—is still the reality. The situation is no better and often worse for Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Native Americans.

There has been no narrowing of the wage gap between Black and white workers. Black unemployment remains twice that of whites.

'Crime capital'

Nixon's only answer is to pump millions of dollars into armaments for police to terrorize the Black communities, and to try to whip up racist sentiments with demagoguery against "crime in the streets." Five years ago, he boasted, Washington, D. C., was on the verge of becoming the crime capital of the country, but now the crime rate is supposedly lower.

What unconscious irony! Today Washington is recognized as the undisputed crime capital of the entire world—not in the streets, but in the White House!

Racism, it is clear, is a fundamental feature of capitalism. Wall Street reaps billions in extra profits from racism, both because of the lower wages paid to minority workers, and because racism keeps white workers from realizing that their interests lie with the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican masses.

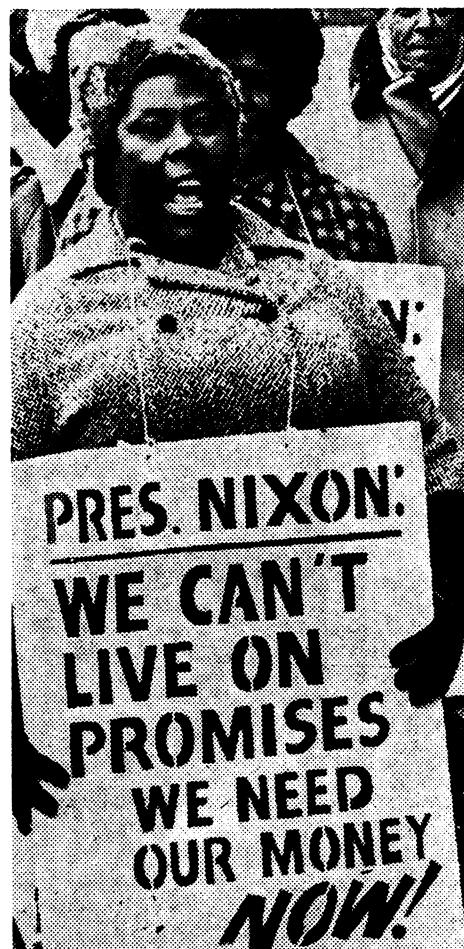
So, too, is discrimination against women necessary for the capitalists, because it is profitable to pay women workers less and force women to serve as unpaid housekeepers and raisers of children. This is what lies behind the stubborn refusal to grant equal pay, equal job opportunities, child-care facilities, and other demands of women.

\$100-billion for war

While Nixon proclaims the need to slash spending on social services, in the name of "fighting inflation," he is preparing to demand \$100-billion for the war machine next year. This is what the hoax of "peace" and "détente" comes down to: a 15 percent hike in the war budget, development of even more destructive weapons, and a "new" nuclear strategy that proclaims U. S. preparedness to launch an attack against Soviet missile sites.

The carnage in Vietnam stands as a warning: the blood-soaked profiteers don't stop to count the dead when their rule is challenged.

The U. S. military alert during the October Mideast war was a chilling



Last fall New York hospital workers struck against Nixon's wage controls, which keep wage increases far below inflation.

reminder that so long as U. S. imperialism exists it stands prepared to plunge the world into a nuclear holocaust to maintain its system of international exploitation.

Watergate

Nixon—who did not hesitate to bug his own brother—had the effrontery to piously proclaim his commitment to civil liberties, and his anxiousness to limit such things as electronic surveillance! But the ugly reality of the capitalist government's trampling on civil liberties has become clearer to many people.

From the burglary of the Democratic Party's headquarters, the chain of Watergate revelations has led to the exposure of a cesspool of corruption and criminality extending far beyond the Nixon coterie.

The real victims of Watergate crimes are to be found in the labor movement, in the Black community, among the student activists, and the socialists. We have been the targets of illegal spying, bugging, break-ins, provocation, and frame-ups, from Democratic and Republican administrations alike, all in the name of "national security."

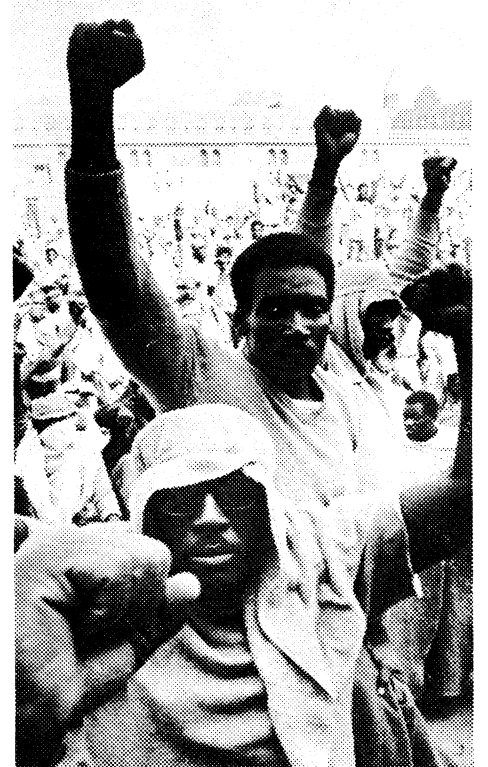
Under capitalist "justice" the big-time crooks and mass murderers like Agnew and Nixon walk around free, while the government plots vindictive prosecutions against those who dare to struggle for a decent life. Right now dozens of Native American activists from the Wounded Knee protest, and Black and Puerto Rican prisoners from Attica, face long years in jail in vicious frame-up trials.

Among the most insidious attacks on democratic rights are the restrictions being clamped on the trade unions through the wage controls, antiunion legislation, and strikebreaking court orders.

Secrecy

Concealment of their real aims and methods is the norm for the rulers of this country. They carried out secret bombing of Cambodia and Laos; they had secret Pentagon papers, secret diplomacy, and secret spy plans against dissenters.

When we put Watergate alongside the war in Vietnam, the wage controls, and the energy crisis, the conclusion is inescapable. This government, far from being an impartial guardian of the "public" interest, is in fact the executive committee of the capitalist class, tied to the bosses with a thousand threads of campaign contributions, payoffs, and secret deals.



Attica, 1971. Prisons are filled with the wrong people.

The mask of American "democracy" has been ripped away to reveal the true face of capitalist rule: rule by violence and deception; rule of, by, and for the rich.

'Agnew treatment'

The impact of these revelations has been so great that the ruling class is now debating whether it may be in their best interests to force Nixon out of office, in the hope of restoring confidence in the government as a whole. All the Democratic and Republican politicians would like to put Watergate behind us, as Nixon demands, but some think the only way this can be done is by giving Tricky Dick the "Agnew treatment."

Masses of people agree that Nixon should be in the jailhouse rather than the White House. But his removal alone—to be replaced by a Ford, a Rockefeller, a Jackson, a Kennedy, or any other capitalist politician—would not put an end to Watergating, inflation, racism, the energy crisis, or any other fundamental problems.

These problems were not caused by one evil individual, one rotten administration, or one bad party. They are products of a society divided into classes, where the exploiting minority rules over the vast toiling majority.

Millions of working people are angrily wondering what has brought the country to this impasse and are

...SWP '74 national campaign offensive

Continued from preceding page

didate for mayor of Detroit against Coleman Young. A longtime activist in the Black liberation movement, Dixon helped form the Black Moratorium Committee Against the War in 1971, and in 1973 was a leader of the Coalition to Abolish STRESS. This coalition mobilized the Black community to demand the disbanding of STRESS, a racist undercover police unit that was terrorizing Detroit Blacks.

As SWP mayoral candidate in Atlanta in 1973, Debby Bustin became a well-known figure on the picket lines in support of a series of strikes by Black workers. She also helped organize the demonstrations in Georgia for the right to abortion, as co-

ordinator of the Georgia Women's Abortion Coalition.

In addition to lending support to local SWP candidates while on tour, Bustin and Dixon will be urging support for the SWP and YSA suit.

At the news conference today, Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), reported on the recent government disclosures forced into the open by this suit. The PRDF is publicizing and raising funds for the SWP and YSA case.

Stapleton blasted Nixon's hypocritical statement about the "right of privacy" of the American people in the State of the Union speech. Stapleton said that new facts uncovered through the socialist suit show Nixon to be

an "enemy of the constitutional rights of all of us, as he has proved in action. His words about privacy are pure lies.

"We already have sworn admissions from federal officials that the government monitored the mail of the SWP. . . . The FBI further admitted that it operated a 'Socialist Workers Party Disruption Program' from 1961 to 1969. It has also admitted wiretaps on the Socialist Workers Party from at least 1945 to 1963," Stapleton said.

"In the last few days," he continued, "our attorneys have demanded all documents and relevant information relating to the wiretapping, disruption programs, mail covers, and harassing activities directed against the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist

Alliance, along with the specific reasons for their implementation.

"It is my opinion," he said, "that we will uncover a massive program of political discrimination and disruption based on nothing more than the government's fear of and hostility to the ideas of the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and others."

Delfine Welch, national organization secretary of the YSA, spoke at the news conference on the YSA's plans to win support among young people for the 1974 socialist campaign effort. She announced that 14 Young Socialist teams will tour college and high school campuses across the country this spring to campaign for the SWP candidates.

and Republicans

looking for a way forward. They are not willing to sacrifice their rights or living standards on the altars of "national interest," wars against people around the world struggling for national liberation, or a contrived energy crisis.

Today thousands of truckers are striking to protest the lowered speed limits and higher fuel prices. Recently auto workers in New Jersey demonstrated against Exxon, demanding "Stop the layoffs!" and "Stop the phony fuel shortages!"

Other workers have gone on strike in defiance of the government wage controls. Last spring women organized nationwide protests against soaring meat prices. The farm workers have organized strikes and boycotts to win the right to their own union and to end slave labor in the fields.

The Socialist Workers Party believes it is this sort of independent action by workers that we must organize and rely on, and not the promises of capitalist politicians. The Democrats tell us to elect them instead of the Republicans. Liberals tell us to put our faith in Congress to moderate the pillaging by the monopolies.

Windbags and phonies

But what is the record of Congress? For years that collection of windbags and phonies tried to pass themselves off as "doves" while they voted to approve every penny Johnson and Nixon needed for war. Now Congress is fumbling around and stalling on impeachment, despite the vast sentiment for kicking Nixon out.

The Democratic Party "friends of labor" in Congress passed the wage-control legislation and failed to override Nixon's veto of the minimum-wage bill. They share full responsibility for the oil depletion allowance and other multimillion dollar tax loopholes. This is not only an administration of the rich, it is a Congress of the rich.

What a disgusting spectacle it was to see this gang of sycophants giving Nixon a standing ovation, groveling in front of his lies and phrasemongering!

Labor party

Workers need to organize our own party, a labor party, based on the unions, to deal with the present emergency situation, and to begin to mobilize the political power of working people against the attacks by the boss class and their political agents.

Such a new party could win support from Black and Chicano communities, from the students, and women. It could fight for the interests of the independent truckers, small-gas-station owners, small farmers, and all others who are suffering from the policies of the capitalist rulers.

Here are some of the other key proposals the Socialist Workers Party puts forward and fights for:

- To discover the truth about the energy crisis and other shortages, workers need to open the books and records of the oil trusts and other monopolies. The secret deals and manipulations of these corporations should be exposed to full public scrutiny. The energy industry should be nationalized and run under workers control in the interests of the majority.

- To protect working people from the ravages of inflation, all wages and social benefits, such as welfare and pensions, should have cost-of-living escalator clauses so they rise automatically with each price rise.

- To counter the massive layoffs

caused by the energy crisis and provide jobs for all, the work-week should be shortened with no cut in pay, to spread the available work to all who need jobs.

- In addition, the government should finance a massive program of public works to build desperately needed housing, schools, hospitals, mass transportation, and child-care centers. This would provide thousands of jobs at full union wages.

- The military budget should be eliminated, immediately releasing \$100-billion for social needs. All U. S. military bases and fleets around the world should be dismantled, and aid to dictatorships like the Saigon regime ended.

- For an end to unfair taxation, abolish all taxes on incomes less than \$15,000 a year; 100 percent tax on all income more than \$30,000.

- Eliminate the gap between white and nonwhite workers, and male and female workers, demanding equal pay and preferential hiring for Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and women workers.

- For independence of the trade unions. Opposition to any form of wage controls. Repeal Taft-Hartley and all antilabor legislation. No restrictions on the right to strike.

A labor party could rally the workers and their allies to throw out not just Nixon but the entire corrupt government of the rich, and replace it with a workers government. Such a government would aim to take the monopolies out of the hands of private owners and begin planned economic development based on human need.

Labor misleaders

Such a fighting perspective is completely alien to the present misleaders of the trade unions—the Meanys, Woodcocks, and Fitzsimmonses. They have made well-paid careers out of collaborating with the employers and stifling workers' struggles. By sitting on government wage-control boards and providing cover for Nixon's antilabor policies, they bear a heavy responsibility for the decline in wages and working conditions.

In keeping with their role as agents of the boss class inside the workers movement, the union bureaucrats are often as corrupt as the capitalist politicians and run their fiefdoms with the same dictatorial methods Nixon tries to rule the country with. They will have to be swept aside and a new leadership constructed if the unions are to be transformed into organs of revolutionary struggle, instead of remaining a tail on the Democratic Party kite.

This road of uncompromising struggle of the workers for their own interests is the alternative the Socialist Workers Party proclaims as the only answer in 1974 to the perpetual wars and crises of capitalism.

The anarchy of production for private profit has become the greatest obstacle to human progress. All the schemes offered by Nixon, the Democrats, and their echo, the labor fakers, simply amount to tinkering with the capitalist system, slapping a band-aid on the decaying corpse and propping it up until the next crisis hits.

The time for tinkering and patchwork repairs is past. A great awakening is on the agenda, the class-conscious awakening of the American workers. When the workers take their destiny into their own hands, the construction of a truly democratic and humane society will begin. This is the perspective of the Socialist Workers Party. This is what we are fighting for.

Documents on spy plan sought in socialist suit

By SANDRA MAXFIELD

Although some of the documents on Nixon's 1970 secret spy plan have been "leaked" to the press, much of the plan remains hidden from the public, kept under lock and key. Now attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are demanding these documents, as well as White House tapes, as part of a suit against Watergate-style harassment.

This suit, filed on behalf of the SWP and YSA by constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin, charges the federal government with carrying out a systematic campaign of surveillance and intimidation against the socialists. As part of their evidence, the suit cites the 1970 spy plan, which was drawn up by Tom Charles Huston and approved by Nixon. The suit charges that:

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

As part of "pretrial discovery," the attorneys for the SWP and YSA have requested that the government produce all the documents related to this plan, including a report described in another document as an "assessment of the existing security threat, our current intelligence coverage of this threat, and areas where our coverage is inadequate."

This report is one of the documents turned over to the Senate Watergate committee by John Dean. Senator Sam Ervin (D-N. C.), head of the committee, has refused to make the report public on the grounds that it would endanger "national security."

The SWP and YSA are also demanding that Nixon turn over White House tapes of meetings held to discuss the plan. The tapes requested include those made at the meeting at which Nixon, J. Edgar Hoover, and others discussed how to step up repressive measures to stem the radicalization, and the meeting at which Nixon approved Huston's recommendations for illegal intelligence gathering.

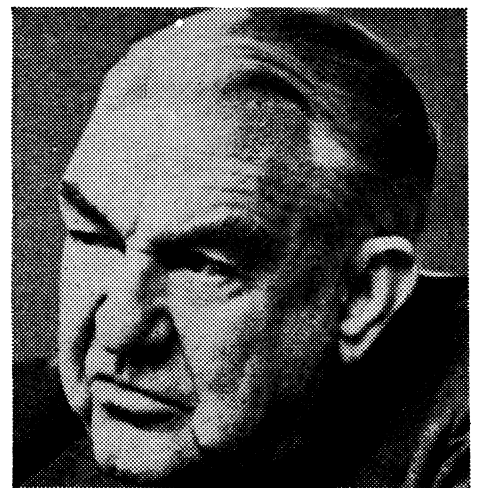
These tapes and documents, the attorneys contend, will help establish Nixon's direct involvement in the conspiracy to violate the rights of the SWP and YSA. This is important, since the government is now seeking to have the charges against Nixon dismissed on grounds of "presidential immunity."

Arguments on the motion to remove Nixon as a defendant will be heard in federal court in New York City soon.

In the meantime, there is fresh proof that the methods outlined in the secret spy plan were used against the SWP and YSA. As a result of the suit, the government has turned over documents relating to a mail cover on the SWP's national headquarters.

The material includes a letter written in January 1973 by L. Patrick Gray, who was then acting director of the FBI. On the basis of the SWP's presence on the attorney general's list, Gray ordered a secret inspection of all first-class mail going to the socialists.

Another document recently released



ERVIN: Socialists are demanding documents he wants kept secret.

outlines the methods used to keep the mail cover a secret. This is a memorandum from the chief postal inspector, William Cotter, who ordered a security check on all employees assigned to monitor the SWP's mail. Instead of filling out the official forms used for mail covers, Cotter specified that all information gleaned from examination of the SWP's mail should be recorded "on plain bond paper" and sent to the local FBI. At the end of the communication, Cotter wrote:

"NO COPY OR OTHER RECORD OF THIS MEMORANDUM SHALL BE MADE EXCEPT AS OUTLINED ABOVE. IT MUST BE RETAINED IN THE PERSONAL CUSTODY OF THE ADDRESSEE UNDER APPROPRIATE SECURITY UNTIL RETURNED BY REGISTERED MAIL TO HEADQUARTERS UPON EXPIRATION OF THE REQUEST."

It was as a result of this mail cover that FBI agents in New Jersey launched an investigation of Lori Paton, a 16-year-old high school student who wrote to the SWP for a school project. Paton's case is attracting wide attention, and was featured on the front page of the Jan. 28 *New York Times*. She is suing the FBI for violating her rights and the rights of all persons who wish to correspond with groups like the SWP.

The SWP and YSA suit continues to gain new endorsements. Lou Antal, president of District 5 of the United Mine Workers, and Congressman Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.) have both added their names to a fund appeal for the suit, sent out by the Political Rights Defense Fund.



Clip and mail to: Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.

() Please send me more information on this suit.

() Enclosed is \$_____for_____Feiffer buttons. (\$1 each or 30 cents each on orders of 10 or more.)

() Enclosed is \$_____to help cover expenses.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Socialist view of oil industry superprofits

By DICK ROBERTS

The oil companies make it sound like 1973 is the first year they ever made any money, and besides, what's wrong with making a little money? That's the capitalist system.

The answer is, plenty. The profit drive of capitalist corporations is where the trouble begins. Industry is not run for the benefit of society but to increase the profits of the owners. The energy crisis is one of the most glaring examples in history of what happens when industries are run "to make money" instead of to meet the needs of working people.

Socialists oppose capitalist corporations making any profits. This does not mean that in a socialist society industries would no longer make a surplus income over expense.

Such a surplus is necessary to renovate plant and equipment, to develop new technology, and to expand production. But under socialism, the uses of this surplus would be decided by a workers government, rather than by private owners. The surplus would be invested where society needed it—perhaps not even in the same industry, and in a world socialist society, maybe not even in the same country.

Surpluses of industries in more technologically advanced countries would be used to develop the industry of more economically backward countries, and the gap between rich and

poor nations would ultimately be closed. Long-term rational planning would alleviate the damage to the environment and give a new impulse to technological progress. Economic decisions of vital import to people would be publicly discussed and democratically determined.

The secrecy of capitalist operations is just the opposite of this. Published profit figures are notoriously unreliable. They deliberately obscure the income to the owners of the corporations. The huge salaries of the bosses are included under "wages" instead of profits. All kinds of bookkeeping devices, from tax write-offs to stock options for executives, are used to hide the truth about corporate finance, which is known only to the very top management and the board of directors.

However, corporations do publish some statistics, and we can find out more than they seem to think. Let's take a single example, that of Mobil Oil Corporation, the second largest oil company in the country and seventh largest U.S. industrial corporation, in terms of assets. Let's also go back a few years to 1970 in that dim, dark period when things were supposed to be so rough for the oil trusts.

According to its Annual Report for 1970, Mobil increased its earnings per share of stock from \$4.28 to \$4.77

in that year, an increase of more than 11 percent. It paid dividends of \$243,090,000. That is more than the gross national product of many of the smaller underdeveloped nations in Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

In 1970 the average yearly wage of production workers in American oil refineries was \$9,600. That is more than most workers make because the oil workers are unionized, but it is far from being well off.

In 1970, according to Mobil's proxy statement, its president, William Tavoulareas, had a "direct remuneration" of \$174,167 and "awards"—probably from stock options—of \$120,000. That comes to \$294,167 in one year. It would take an oil production worker 30 years to earn it.

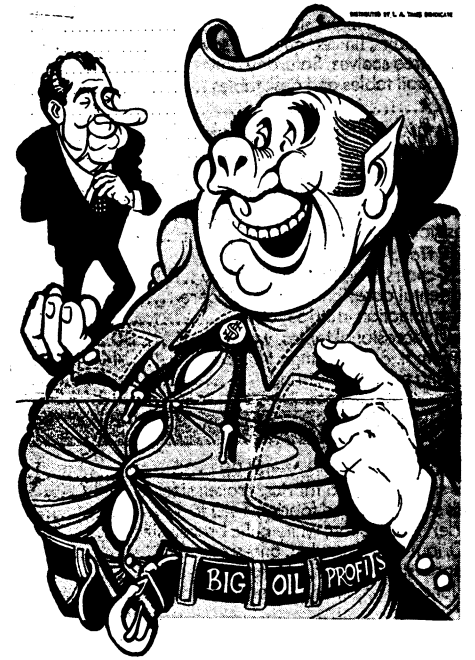
Even more well-rewarded for his service to capitalism was Mobil's chairman of the board, Rawleigh Warner Jr. Between Warner's salary and stock options he pulled in \$389,167 in 1970. That's more than 40 years worth of an oil workers' wage.

On top of this, Tavoulareas held 20,654 shares of Mobil and Warner 25,450 shares. The latter stock holding would have traded for about \$1,272,500 on Monday, Jan. 28, 1974.

But even these fantastic salaries and stock holdings are not where the "real money" is. Neither Tavoulareas nor Warner are members of the mighty ruling class families who have the biggest holdings in Mobil and who really call the shots.

A recent Senate study shows the largest stockholders of Mobil ("Disclosure of Corporate Ownership," published by the Committee of Government Operations). Two of them are Kane & Company and Cudd & Company, obscure names for two of the trusts funds of the Rockefeller family held in the Chase Manhattan Bank. The two trust funds own 5.2 percent of Mobil shares, 5,268,491 shares.

That would have traded for roughly \$263-million on Jan. 28! It is more



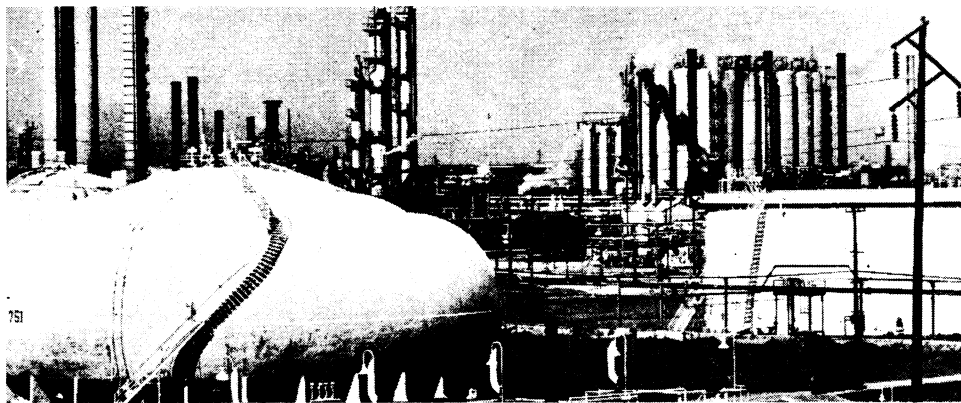
'It's Jus' Wunnerful, Mr. President, th' Way You're Gettin' Folks t' Tighten Their Belts!'

than the annual wage of 27,000 refinery workers. And it is just one of the comparably large holdings of the Rockefeller family in U.S. corporations.

The Senate study also showed that trust funds in the Morgan Guaranty bank held 2,954,564 Mobil shares, another gigantic bloc. This is the power center of the Morgan banking partners.

It is in such immensely wealthy trusts that the profits gouged from the labor of workers accumulate over the decades. They are owned by a tiny handful of families—the capitalist ruling class. And it is solely for the benefit of these families that giant monopolies like Mobil are run.

Doesn't the energy crisis really prove just the opposite of what the oil companies are saying? The corporations should be taken out of the hands of the wealthy! They should be nationalized under workers control! These are central demands in the fight for socialism.



In their huge operations, oil monopolies have many ways to hide profits

Oil 'profits tax' schemes won't tax a cent

By CAROLINE LUND

Congress is putting on a big show with its hearings on the energy crisis. But the only "solutions" being proposed—the various schemes for an "excess profits" tax—are complete frauds.

Even the capitalist-controlled newspapers like the *New York Times* have to admit this. After consulting "government experts on the taxation of the oil industry," *Times* writer Eileen Shanahan concludes:

"Some of the most popular proposals for changing the way the tax laws apply to the oil industry would not cost most oil companies a single penny in additional Federal income taxes. This is true of at least two ideas put forth by the Nixon administration, and is also true of other ideas being supported by such liberal (and presumably anti-oil company) politicians as Senator George McGovern of South Dakota."

The Jan. 27 *Washington Post* points out, for example, that the oil companies can use their foreign shipping subsidiary companies for getting around taxes. "For the parent companies, it is no trick at all to funnel profits in and out of the subsidiaries so as to manipulate the amounts of taxes owed in the United States," it explains.

The *Wall Street Journal*, house organ for the big capitalists, totally agrees. In fact, it says Jan. 25,

"Capitol Hill insiders predict the [oil] industry could even emerge with a few favors" from Congress and the Nixon administration.

The *Journal* quotes Charles Walker, whom they describe as "the top Washington business lobbyist," as saying, "When it all shakes out, I think we'll see a lot of rhetoric and some action but not that much in terms of radical change affecting the industry."

It stands to reason. After all, the Democrats and Republicans in Congress and the White House run the government, and their policies have put the oil monopolies in the position they are in today.

Politicians like Democrat Henry Jackson and Republican Charles

Percy—who, with their eyes on the presidency, now make a show of leading the charge against the oil companies—have known all along about the secret operations, tax breaks, and other government concessions that have enabled the oil companies to create the current crisis.

The Democrats and Republicans in Congress are devoted to the capitalist system, which is based on the drive for profits. These capitalist politicians will never treat the oil executives as the criminals they are.

Time magazine last week quoted a White House economic adviser who "contends that people who favor the tax [on oil profits] are unconsciously adopting a Marxist view that profit

is basically exploitation."

More and more working people are beginning to believe that this is precisely the truth. The monopolies are growing rich off the sweat and hardships of the majority, who work for a living.

To be able to fight for solutions to the energy crisis, working people have to break from the capitalist-controlled Democratic and Republican parties and build a labor party, based on the trade unions, that is devoted to the interests of the majority rather than the profit system.

A labor representative in Congress would cut through the sham proposals of the Democrats and Republicans by proposing the type of legislation that could get to the bottom of the energy crisis. For example, a bill authorizing employees of each oil monopoly to elect a delegation to inspect all the records in the executives' offices, with criminal penalties for any company official caught hiding information.

A workers' representative would cut through all the talk of phony "excess profits taxes" by pointing out that the oil monopolies have proved they have no right to any profits whatever and proposing nationalization of the energy industry under workers control. That is the only way to get the full facts on oil production and begin running the industry for the welfare of the majority.



Top oil executives swear 'to tell the truth' at Senate hearings. Only way to get truth is to open their books to public.

Ohio truckers spearhead national protest

By JIM SARSGARD

and HERMAN KIRSCH

ON ROUTE 224, Ohio—A highly organized protest has almost emptied the highways and turnpikes of trucks in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia. The protest is being conducted by the Independent Council of Truckers (ICT).

ICT grew out of the December 1973 highway tie-up that was so effective in this three-state area. The current protest, which began after a "coffee-break" vote on Jan. 24, has been harassed by the Highway Patrol, which the truckers here now call the "Ohio Gestapo."

The Ohio courts have issued an injunction barring the use of citizen band radios that are used by the truckers for communication. An injunction has also been issued against the protest itself.

The Ohio headquarters of the ICT is in a small trailer behind Joe's Truck Stop, on Route 224 between Akron and Youngstown. Muddy tracks inside the trailer are evidence of the hundreds of truckers who have stopped here for information or to give support.

While officers of the Owners and Drivers Club of Ohio, a division of ICT, were out meeting drivers in other cities, two strike supporters, Stan and Blondie, told *The Militant* that the present situation was intolerable for truckers. The protest was needed because of the cost of fuel, foodstuffs, repairs, and the many taxes truckers have to pay. "It boils down to survival," said Stan. "We can't afford to drive anymore."

Goldie, the wife of a trucker, has been without sleep for three days.

Goldie related the history of ICT. "It didn't start with the increase of fuel prices, up from 26.9 cents to 54

cents," she said. "It started 14 months ago as a loose organization of truckers who drive in every state in the country."

"Membership is a verbal agreement. The first vote we took was in a meeting last Dec. 17, and the vote was 75 to 60 to stop driving. We then gave the federal government and the state 30 days to do something for us."

Another trucker broke in to add, "It [the blockade on the Ohio and Pennsylvania turnpikes last December] was an explosion on the turnpike. Nobody planned it."

ICT, which claims a membership of 22,000, has sent delegations of hundreds to meet with Ohio Governor John Gilligan and Washington bureaucrats, but to no avail. "If anything, the harassment of highway patrols, especially here in Ohio, has increased," said one driver in the room. "We can't make a living driving 50 miles an hour."

Loaded trucks burn a gallon of gas every five to six miles. The drivers spend most of their time on the road, working 10 to 12 hours a day.

At a news conference after signing Teamster contracts in 1973, Frank Fitzsimmons, Teamsters president, estimated the income of independent truckers at \$25,000 a year. The estimate is misleading since the sum quoted is gross earnings. Independent truckers have to spend much of that income on their rigs, which cost \$25,000 to \$35,000, and on maintenance. The drivers must also pay for license plates in more than one state, fuel taxes, state axle-use taxes, and federal highway-use taxes, as well as turnpike fees.

Teams of protesters are presently stationed on many busy highway intersections waving down trucks to persuade their drivers to join the stop-



Ohio courts are trying to prevent truckers' use of citizen band radios to coordinate their protests.

page. The trucks are escorted to stations where, over a cup of coffee, new members are recruited to the cause.

ICT also includes company truck drivers who don't own their own rigs. Many of the independents are also members of the Teamsters union.

The demands of the ICT are: 1) an immediate audit of the oil companies' reserves and their refinery capacities in this country and abroad; 2) an immediate ceiling on all prices of petroleum products, including diesel fuel, gasoline, and lubricants; 3) a rollback of oil prices to the level of May 1973.

The Ohio division of ICT began its protest Jan. 17. Nationally the ICT

has set a strike target date of Jan. 31.

While we were leaving, one driver invited us to "see some action at the Roadway Express in Akron" the following day. "We don't promise, but chances are you'd get some good pictures," he said.

Truckers in New Jersey have also launched their strike ahead of the national strike date of Jan. 31. The Associated Press reported Jan. 28 that truckers had thrown up picket lines around at least four trucking companies in the vicinity of Rahway. One company representative admitted that half the independents at his concern had joined the strike.

Small oil dealers: 'End the price squeeze'

By JOHN RATLIFF

NEW YORK—On Jan. 24 more than 200 oil trucks from New York City and Long Island converged to parade through Manhattan and assemble at the federal building in Foley Square. The trucks, belonging to independent dealers, paraded down Second Avenue in single file decked with signs reading "Independent Fuel Oil Dealers Association—Help Us Lower Your Fuel Prices."

The independents were protesting the effort by the oil trusts to drive them from the distribution end of the business. Spokesmen for the association announced at a news conference on the steps of the federal building that they are being driven to the brink of bankruptcy by the pricing policy of the major oil companies in concert with the government.

According to the "two-tier" pricing system, domestic oil prices are supposedly federally controlled, while imported oil is uncontrolled. The independents always find themselves having to pay the uncontrolled prices.

As the independent dealers see it, the government is on the side of the major oil companies. "When [Energy Administration head] Simon goes to draw up regulations, he just meets with two or three representatives of the majors and gives them what they ask for," said one of the association's representatives.

He then led a delegation into the federal building to confront New York's branch of the federal oil bu-

reaucracy. Most of the independent owners assembled in front of the building and continued to talk to the news media and passers-by in Foley Square.

In an interview with *The Militant* Santos DiMartino, the owner of one oil truck from Deer Park, Long Island, gave more details on the major companies' squeeze play:



Independent fuel dealers parade through Manhattan to federal building.

"They're charging us up to 17 cents more a gallon than they charge their subsidiaries, when they will sell to us at all. I couldn't get any oil at all for January from any of the majors. I took them the paper I got from the federal government which was supposed to guarantee me an allocation for the month. When I showed it to them and demanded fuel, they just laughed at me and told me I was way down the list."

"I finally had to ask another independent who had been able to get some from his supplier to loan me enough to meet the bare minimum of my customers' needs. I've lost several customers already. When I ask them where they are taking their accounts, they are taking them to the same people who told me they didn't have enough to give me my allocation. I won't make it through another month like this."

DiMartino pointed to the record profits of the majors: "It's criminal and the government's working with them. They're working to ruin the small dealers now, but it's the consumer who pays for it in the end."

Danny Watts, another one-truck dealer, had been able to get oil in January but had to pay premium prices for it. "They tell us they're selling the independents foreign oil and the price is high because of the Arabs. One day at my supplier, right after I fueled up and paid 17 cents more a gallon than last month, one of their trucks pulled up to the same goddamn

rack and was charged the old price.

"When I asked what the hell was going on, they laughed and told me that they sold their people domestic oil. It comes from the same tank but when it goes into my truck it's Arab oil and when it goes to theirs it's American. But, they've got all the oil and can buy the government so what can we do. That's why we came here to let the people know what's going on."

Watts was sure the "oil crisis" was nothing but a trick to increase the major companies' profits and force the small supplier out of business. "There's as much fuel oil at the depot as ever before," he said. "The majors have more than enough whenever they need it themselves. They have enough to supply all our customers at prices lower than what they charge us and still have enough to supply all the new skyscrapers that are going up."

"But when we ask, there's no oil, or a new high price so that we can't compete with them, and they smile and tell us it's the energy crisis."

When asked if he also felt the federal government was on the side of the big oil trusts he replied, "Not on their side, it's more like the federal government is part of the majors, like it belongs to them."

Both DiMartino and Watts expected the oil companies to continue ruthlessly forcing them out of business until almost all the independents were finished. "Then they will charge whatever they want," said Watts.

One year after the 'peace'

The left and the Vietnam accords:

By DAVE FRANKEL

"The cease-fire accords announced Jan. 24 will not bring peace to Indochina. They signal a new stage of the civil war, and of Washington's intervention."

That was the assessment of *The Militant* one year ago, when the Paris accords on Vietnam were signed.

Others thought differently. The Jan. 25, 1973, issue of the pro-Moscow U.S. Communist Party's newspaper, the *Daily World*, ran a front-page editorial declaring: "The signing of the Vietnam peace agreement in Paris on Saturday will mark an historic victory for the people in Vietnam and for the world anti-imperialist struggle."

The pro-Peking *Guardian* was no more restrained. "CEASE-FIRE A GREAT VICTORY FOR VIETNAM,"



Pro-Moscow *Daily World* and Pro-Peking *Guardian* hailed 'peace' treaty as a victory for Vietnamese and organized campaign for its adoption . . .

said its top front-page headline Jan. 31, 1973.

The following week *Guardian* correspondent Wilfred Burchett predicted that the "unorganized, unpopular and corrupt Thieu administration cannot be expected to long survive on its own."

Unfortunately, as was repeatedly pointed out in *The Militant*, there was no reason to believe that the Thieu regime would be left "on its own." With 60,000 dead in the 12 months since the signing of the "peace" treaty, and with the Thieu regime still going strong, the Stalinists of both varieties have had to resort to some fancy footwork to reconcile their gushing praise for the Paris accords with the actual course of events in Vietnam in the last year.

Thus, the *Guardian's* Richard Ward, writing in a Jan. 30, 1974, article titled "Vietnam peace not yet real," feels it necessary to assure his readers that "needless to say, the Paris agreement was not a blueprint for prolonged war. To the contrary, in elaborate and precise detail, its articles and associated protocols, provided a plan for peace. . . ."

Ward takes note of the critics. "There were those observers in the West who said that it would never work, the peace agreement was naive. . . ."

"The war continues to be sure," Ward admits, "but who is naive? More to the point, why does the war continue?"

Now comes Ward's clincher: "The war continues in South Vietnam for only one reason: because the U.S., in complete violation of the Paris

agreement, is furnishing the money and war materials to the Nguyen Van Thieu regime enabling it to maintain the military conflict."

In other words, everything would have worked, if only the imperialists had kept their word! But, as *The Militant* pointed out a year ago, the flowery phrases in the treaty about "peace" and "democratic rights" were meaningless so long as the imperialist-backed Thieu dictatorship remained in power.

The *Daily World* preferred to ignore the anniversary of the great "victory" in Vietnam altogether. It limited itself to a few sentences in passing in its Jan. 18 editorial, saying, "On the eve of the first anniversary of the Paris peace agreement on Vietnam, the Nixon Administration is still violating the agreement and threatening to launch new aggression."

Detente in action

The fact is that the Stalinists cannot admit the real nature of the accords because they took political responsibility for them from the beginning, proclaiming them as a victory for the Vietnamese revolution, and subordinating the interests of the Vietnamese revolution to their policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. The Vietnam agreement was the first example of Nixon's detente with Moscow and Peking in action.

It is worth recalling the political context in which the Paris treaty was arranged.

Toward the end of 1971 Nixon increased the bombing of Vietnam to make up for the withdrawal of U.S. troops under his "Vietnamization" program. His trip to Peking in February 1972 coincided with a new peak in the bombing of North Vietnam.

Then, on March 23, the U.S. withdrew from the Paris peace talks, charging the North Vietnamese with "bullying the United States." One week later the Vietnamese launched their spring offensive.

As the Saigon forces reeled back in confusion and disorder, Nixon ordered the use of giant B-52 bombers against the cities of North Vietnam. Hanoi and Haiphong were devastated, and repeated strikes were also made against the system of dikes and canals in the North.

All this failed to stop the offensive in the south, and on May 8 Nixon announced he was blockading the coast of North Vietnam and mining its ports. Moscow and Peking did nothing. They didn't even announce an increase in material aid for the Vietnamese.

And, to top it all off, two weeks later, Nixon was received in the Kremlin with open arms.

The great betrayal

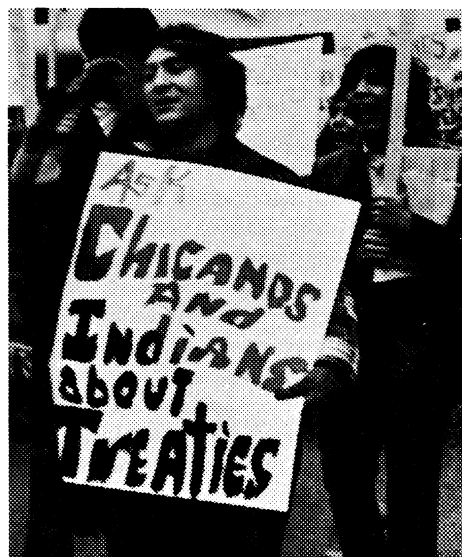
The entire world had watched Nixon's moves in Vietnam with horror. The antiwar movement rushed preparations for a nationwide demonstration in Washington planned for May 21. Dissent in the armed forces even reached into the ranks of B-52 pilots. And underlying the revulsion at the attempt to bomb and starve the Vietnamese into submission was the fear of a confrontation with the Soviet Union.

Instead of encouraging the unions under their leadership to organize protest strikes, instead of helping to build united mass demonstrations throughout the world, the pro-Moscow Communist parties around the world as-

sured their followers that peace would be guaranteed by Nixon's presence in Moscow, not by the actions of the masses.

The Kremlin's help in defusing the atmosphere of crisis and urgency was instrumental in preventing a mass explosion of antiwar sentiment that might have well exceeded the response to the invasion of Cambodia and the murders at Kent and Jackson State in 1970. As for Peking, it continued with its sectarian refusal to call for a united front for the defense of the Vietnamese revolution.

Militarily, the response of the bureaucrats was no better. Peking's military assistance to the Vietnamese fell "from \$145 million in 1967 to \$75 million last year," according to C.L.



Militant/Bruce Bloy
. . . but others in the antiwar movement, including *The Militant*, continued to demand total end to U.S. intervention.

Sulzberger in the May 24, 1972, *New York Times*. In contrast, on June 2, 1972, the first installment of \$300-million worth of military and economic aid was delivered by Peking to the military dictatorship in Pakistan. The equipment included 60 MIG-19 jet fighters, at a time when the Vietnamese didn't have enough planes to challenge the daily bombardment of their coasts and cities.

Had they wanted to, the Kremlin bureaucrats could have done for the Vietnamese what they did for the Egyptian and Syrian armies in the October 1973 Mideast war. They could have armed them with the most advanced missiles and aircraft. They could have given them hundreds of additional tanks and planes. And they could have mounted a massive supply airlift to bolster the Vietnamese defenses.

Coupled with the resistance of the Vietnamese and the tremendous support for their struggle within the U.S., this would have effectively tied Nixon's hands and forced him to back down.

But the bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking had made their deals with Nixon, and they kept the bargain. Left without effective military and diplomatic support, the Vietnamese were forced to bend to Nixon's terms.

'Peace is at hand'

On Nov. 1, 1972, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness replied to the announcement that "peace is at hand," saying:

"Nixon's top aide Henry Kissinger says that 'peace is at hand' in Vietnam. This is a lie.

"The nine-point 'settlement' that has reportedly been agreed to was wrung from the Vietnamese through the most extensive bombing campaign in history and through the threat of years more of the same terrible destruction.

"Already the U.S. is rushing military equipment to the Thieu government, and Thieu is preparing to carry out a bloodbath of repression against 'suspected communists' in Saigon-controlled areas of South Vietnam. Under the proposed agreement, U.S. troops are to remain indefinitely in Thailand and in the seas off Vietnam, ready to intervene again if the U.S. warmakers think it necessary. This is no peace!

"The nine points represent a formula for maintaining the capitalist system and a foothold for U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. . . .

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

"The proposed nine-point agreement does not resolve any of these fundamental problems in line with the needs and aspirations of the Vietnamese people."

In contrast to this assessment, the *Guardian* and the *Daily World* hailed the agreement as a victory. After all, if the accords represented a victory, then their mentors in Peking and Moscow respectively could hardly be accused of selling out the struggle.

The editorial in the Nov. 29, 1972, *Guardian* insisted that "the Vietnamese people are now preparing to complete the total expulsion of U.S. military forces from their soil," and both the *Guardian* and *Daily World* joined together in a "sign the treaty" campaign.

Even after the savage Christmas bombing on Hanoi and Haiphong, which was used to wring further concessions from the Vietnamese, the Stalinists still hailed the treaty as a

The Meaning of the Vietnam Accords

NIXON'S WORLD STRATEGY
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a balance sheet



U.S. bombing forced Vietnamese to make major concessions in Paris negotiations

victory.

The *Daily World*, in its Jan. 6, 1973, issue, even went to the point of labeling those who opposed the betrayal carried out by the Soviet bureaucrats as carriers of "Trotskyite Nixonism." They defined this as "a kind of chemical-bacteriological warfare to corrupt the minds of peace-loving people!"

In an article in the *Daily World* distributed at the Jan. 20, 1973, anti-war demonstration in Washington, D.C., attended by 100,000 people, CP leader Mike Zagarell called for read-



U.S. tanks, rushed to Thieu to prepare for 'peace,' line Saigon docks in November 1972.

ing the SWP out of the antiwar movement because it opposed the "sign the treaty" slogan.

Zagarell wrote: "the Trotskyites have been declared renegades throughout the world peace movement."

"Of all the nations in the capitalist world, our peace movement in the U.S. has the greatest responsibility. It is time that we begin to examine new and higher standards in the peace movement."

Despite such vicious slanders, a year of experience in Vietnam has shown conclusively that the SWP and YSA were right about the character of the so-called peace treaty negotiated in Paris. Those who hailed the treaty as a step toward peace and justice for the Vietnamese have been proved totally wrong.

The situation today

Before the cease-fire went into effect, the U.S. had already created the third largest air force in the world in South Vietnam. Since that time, it has

shipped an additional 500 aircraft to the Saigon forces, as well as 600 tanks, 200 naval vessels, 600 artillery pieces, and 500,000 tons of ordnance. Moreover, U.S. officials are currently discussing further military aid to Thieu to the tune of \$400-million to \$1-billion.

Approximately three-quarters of the population of South Vietnam remains under the rule of the Saigon regime. According to the U.S. Senate subcommittee on refugees, there were eight million refugees created by U.S. bombing in Vietnam from 1965 until mid-1972. The vast majority of these went to the towns held by the Saigon regime to avoid the bombing. These people have still not been allowed to return to their homes, and the bombing—now carried out by aircraft turned over to Thieu—goes on.

More than 200,000 political prisoners remain in Thieu's dungeons, and roundups of "suspected Communist sympathizers" continue unabated.

The U.S. Seventh Fleet remains poised in the waters off Vietnam, while U.S. B-52s remain in position in Thailand, Guam, and the Philippines. "Hanoi must still take into account the military forces of the United States in the event of an all-out attack," warned Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger Dec. 15.

Two appraisals

Writing in the Nov. 8, 1972, *Guardian*, Richard Ward claimed: "Having failed to implant a successful puppet regime in South Vietnam, the U.S. is compelled in the agreement to officially recognize for the first time the Provisional Revolutionary Government. The agreement equally provides for the establishment of a new government by democratic means and the release of the countless thousands of political prisoners in South Vietnam, thereby opening the way for final victory over the reactionary puppet elements."

The *Daily World* ran a similar statement by Leonid Brezhnev in its Feb. 1, 1973, issue, assuring the world that "a road for peaceful democratic development, for upholding true independence and for conducting the policy of national concord and unification opens before South Vietnam" as a result of the accords.

A more realistic appraisal was made by the Trotskyist movement. The Dec. 22, 1972, *Militant* reported on the international report made by Geoff

Continued on page 22

Black parley rejects Newark mayor's bid

By ROBB WRIGHT

and DERRICK MORRISON

NEWARK, N.J.—Amidst cries of "This convention isn't going to endorse anyone who won't appear before the people who elected him to office," the City Wide Political Convention here voted Jan. 20 not to endorse Mayor Kenneth Gibson's bid for a second term.

Dissatisfaction with the mayor was so great that Gibson's personal representative to the convention, Bernie Moore, was booed off the stage on the last day of the three-day gathering.

However, despite this display of anger, the delegates, who voted 69 to 29 against endorsement of Gibson, did not put up an alternative candidate for mayor. Elections for mayor and city council will be held in May.

The delegates did back five Black candidates for city council who attended the convention and agreed to run on the convention's platform. One of the candidates is incumbent Central Ward Councilman Dennis Westbrook. Another candidate is a policeman.

Organizers stressed that the meeting was the direct descendant of the 1969 Black and Puerto Rican Convention, which nominated Gibson for mayor, along with six Blacks and one Puerto Rican for the city council in the 1970 election. Gibson and three Black city council candidates were elected.

However, with the exception of Westbrook, none of these officials showed up this year. In fact, according to the comments of some participants, many Black Democratic politicians and community leaders had declared the convention off limits.

But this condemnation of the convention by the Black Democrats only partially explains why it attracted fewer than 300, while the 1969 meeting drew 3,000. The fault for this lay

at Gibson's and other Black politicians' "unaccountability" to the community. As one man at this year's convention put it, "It is sad what our local elected officials have done to us."

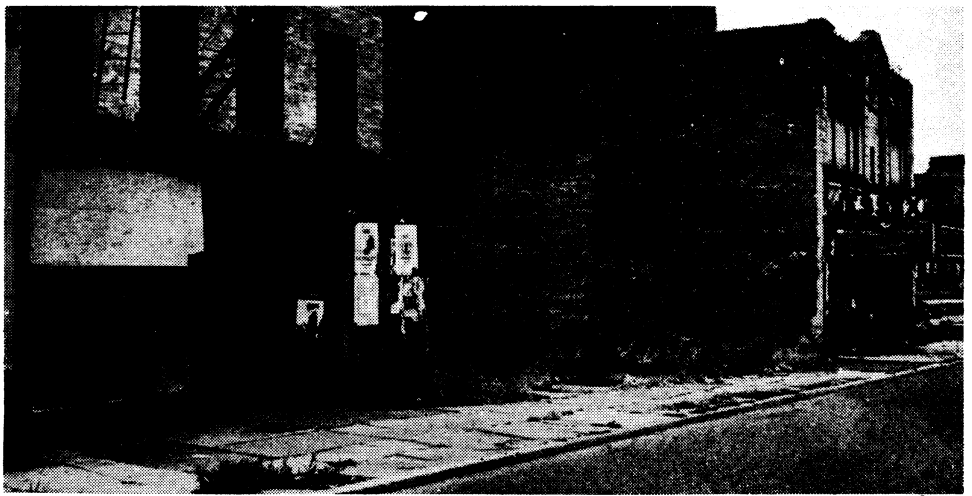
The response of CFUN and the convention organizers to this situation was not to boldly chart a campaign to build an independent Black party. Such a campaign could educate the masses of Black people that the source of their powerlessness lies with the racist, capitalist Democratic and Republican parties.

Instead, the organizers attributed Gibson's shortcomings to the majority-white city council and to the "bad" advisers surrounding the mayor.

Moreover, they stated that one can support the concept of a Black party and remain in the Democratic Party, too. All the convention delegates were working on some level in the Democratic Party. Even the most vocal opponents of Gibson, such as leaders of the Newark Federation of Students, a high school organization, stood for working in the Democratic Party.

As a result of Baraka's and CFUN's entanglement in the Democratic Party, they are being forced to water down their nationalist rhetoric. For example, this year's convention literature said, "in an effort to remove any problems some candidates might have with the designation Black and Puerto Rican Convention, we are using the name and the approach, of being the City Wide Political Convention."

Even the designations "Black" and "Puerto Rican" become an obstacle to wheeling and dealing inside the Democratic Party, and are therefore shunted to the side in favor of abstractions about "all of the people."



Mayor Kenneth Gibson's term in office has done nothing to relieve conditions of Blacks in Newark.

primarily with the organizers, chief among them, the Committee For a Unified Newark (CFUN), headed by Imamu Amiri Baraka.

Baraka and CFUN played the central role in organizing the 1969 convention. That convention was seen by many as a vehicle for organizing a struggle for Black and Puerto Rican control of Newark, a city more than 70 percent Black and Puerto Rican. Baraka and CFUN claimed that the convention would make the politicians "accountable" to the community and that real change would come after an election victory. But in the last four years, neither expectation has been fulfilled.

Some of the very activists who had worked and sweated for a Gibson victory four years ago are now disgusted

Gibson's major opponent in the race for mayor is the white racist State Senator Anthony Imperiale. Imperiale is so reactionary that even the Republicans rejected him as a candidate, but he ran for state senator as an independent and won.

Gibson and Imperiale will be viewed as "fierce" opponents. Because the forces at the City Wide Political Convention have not broken out of the two-party trap, they will eventually come down on the side of Gibson, notwithstanding their vote of nonendorsement.

But the interests of Blacks and other working people lie outside the two-party shell game. A Black Democrat is no alternative to a white racist Republican. Whichever one wins, Black and other working people lose.

Trade-union women

A new ferment is rising in the trade-union movement: women unionists are beginning to organize to fight for equal rights on the job and in their unions. This development is of great importance to the entire labor movement. It has special importance as an example for other superexploited sections of the working class—Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and the unorganized.

The potential significance of this beginning of organization of working women is suggested by the success of the numerous trade-union women's conferences held over the past year.

Last May 300 women attended the first women's conference of the California State Federation of Labor. In June, more than 200 participated in a Midwest planning meeting of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) held in Chicago. Last November, 400 came to a women's conference organized by the Teamsters union in St. Louis. In December, an East Coast planning meeting of CLUW attracted 300. And just last month, 650 women unionists turned out for a New York conference of trade-union women.

Participants in these meetings have included women union officials, rank and filers, and a significant number of Black women.

These conferences have discussed many of the problems facing working women: equal pay and job opportunities, passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, maternity benefits, child-care facilities, organizing unorganized women workers, unemployment, and layoffs due to the current energy crisis.

The new activity by trade-union women reflects the growing impact of women's liberation ideas on U.S. society and on broad layers of working-class women, not only trade unionists. This is reflected in the role of women in the United Farm Workers struggle, in the Farah pants strike, in supporting the United Mine Workers' strike in Kentucky, and in organizing activities by unorganized university employees, office workers, domestic workers, and stewardesses.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women has called a national conference for March 23-24 in Chicago, open to all union women. This conference should be publicized and built in a campaign spirit by all unionists—male and female. It can be of historic importance in launching a sustained struggle for the rights of women on the job, in the unions, and in society as a whole.

The struggle of trade-union women will be part of the fight to transform the unions into organizations that will take the lead in the fight for social justice and the rights of the most oppressed.

Two W'gate suits

Two parallel suits against illegal government spying are making an unprecedented challenge to the powers of the FBI.

Lori Paton, a New Jersey high school student, is suing the FBI because its agents investigated her for the "crime" of sending a letter to the Socialist Workers Party as part of a school project.

The SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance have filed their own suit to halt such mail interception and all other forms of government surveillance and harassment against their members and supporters.

Both these legal challenges have struck a chord of widespread opposition to secret-police practices. Sympathy for anyone fighting against these tactics is so great that even capitalist newspapers are lending their support to such suits.

Both the *New York Post* and *Chicago Sun-Times*, for example, hailed the Paton suit in editorials Jan. 29. "The action would invite special public interest at any time," the *Post* editors wrote, "but particularly now."

The *Sun-Times* editorial noted that Paton's suit "questions the power of the FBI to interfere with political inquiries or associations that would seem to be guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Constitution."

It is precisely this power—which the FBI arrogantly claims as part of its crusade against "subversives"—that is the focus of the challenge made by the two suits.

The *Sun-Times* editors also expressed their hope that "the Paton suit can get at the last vestige" of McCarthyite government practices, including use of the attorney general's list.

The growing support for these suits raises the possibility that they can lead to court decisions knocking down some of the secret-police practices the government defends as "legal."

God not a cop backer

A rally to build support for the Los Angeles police department failed to bring out Black Angelenos this week.

The event was organized by Reverend Claude Evans of the Garden of Gethsemane Baptist Church and was supported by a coalition of cops and city and county officials. They hoped that 25,000 to 50,000 people would show up from the Black community.

The 92,000-seat Los Angeles Coliseum was chosen as the site of the event. But only 350 people showed up.

According to Reverend Evans, "Whatever number we had today was because God wanted it. We will take it and work with it."

Walter Lippmann
Los Angeles, Calif.

Arab Liberation Front

Since *The Militant* is an outstanding paper and reflects the ideology and the sound position of the YSA, I feel compelled to write to you to correct a mistake that appeared in the introduction to a statement by Matzpen and the Lebanese Revolutionary Communist Group published on Jan. 25.

The Arab Liberation Front has no groups in support of any settlement or in support of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. The front reflects the ideology of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, which believes in the full liberation of Palestine and creating the Democratic Community in Palestine and in the unification of the Liberated Palestine with the rest of the Arab World in a United Socialist Arab State, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Arab Gulf.

Yours in struggle.

Ibrahim Ebeid
Palestine Liberation Organization
New York, N. Y.

More Indian coverage

It has been quite disheartening to see *The Militant's* coverage of the struggle of Native Americans in their land. The tail-ending of this struggle has had lip service paid to it before by other "radical" newspapers and magazines but has never achieved the consistent coverage you have given to the Black and Chicano struggles. If you really wish to present yourself as a defender of human and civil rights for oppressed nationalities in the world please pay more attention to this particular struggle than the *New York Times* already does.

R. V.
South Charleston, W. Va.

'Where is McGovern?'

I am writing this in reply to D. J.'s letter in the Jan. 18 *Militant*. I, too, compromised my principles and worked for the McGovern election in 1972. Looking back, I now see how futile it was to try to bring human decency into the American political mainstream by supporting a candidate of a "major" party. The difference between George McGovern and Richard Nixon is slim. What McGovern told youth and radicals one day, he would reverse the next when speaking to the "bosses."

We were cheated by the Democratic Party in 1972, as much as or more than in 1968. Where is our "lord and savior" McGovern now? Does "the man of the people," with all of his grassroots bullshit, speak up now against the Watergate conspiracy? What words does he say about the so-called fuel shortage? What does the Prince of Peace say about the "peace with honor" in Indochina, which has cost 55,000 human beings their lives this year?

M. M.
Dallas, Texas

Arab women

Linda Jenness's article on women in the Arab world [*Militant*, Jan. 11] was timely and to the point. I am sure it will be tucked away in the fold of many Arab women's dresses to be passed on. To have lived among them for a little while, one soon learns to realize how hard they struggle trying to improve their lot. While traveling in Syria and Lebanon in 1968, my wife and I saw many manifestations of the abuses suffered by women that Jenness enumerated. I could not help but compare the Arab women's dress requirements to those inhuman ones still practiced by many nuns.

John Enestvedt
Sacred Heart, Minn.

'Prisoner's Free Press'

I am writing in behalf of the Prisoner's Free Press Collective to let you and your readers know of our paper, the *Prisoner's Free Press*.

In it you will read the true story about the bloody jungle that exists in the prisons. You will be amazed when you read the news that is suppressed and covered up by the establishment news media.

Find out why crime pays, who it pays, and why the bureaucrats want and need crime and prisoners. Learn why prisons are a big business. Read about the guards and prison officials who are smuggling narcotics into the prisons. Read all this and more in the *Prisoner's Free Press*, P. O. Box 4731, Philadelphia, Pa. 19134. Be sure to enclose \$3.95 to cover one year's subscription.

A prisoner
Pennsylvania

Militant tells the truth

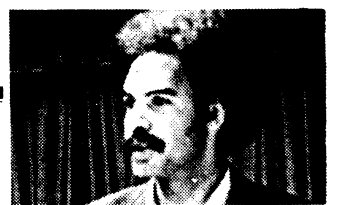
I am a Black Brother doing 40 long years in prison. I have been reading your paper here. I like it, it keeps me up on what is really going on in the free world—the truth—not like the other papers in the U.S. that tell lies.

A prisoner
Kansas

Big fools?

If your misinformation was not so annoying, it would be humorous. You've really got your gall accusing Israel of starting the wars and of being expansion-minded. You know damn well that the Arabs have, in all cases, attacked Israel and due to their comical ineptness, have lost the lands in question.

If you all were not a bunch of



Issues facing the Black press (II)

anti-Semites, you would realize that I am right. Also, it is most interesting that every time there is an article about some minority person facing charges, you say they are frame-up charges.

I guess I am to assume that all minority persons can do no wrong and that it is the racist decadent government preying on them. You're really bigger fools than I thought if you believe that.

If you've got the courage, please print this letter.

A reader
Duluth, Minn.

Workers democracy

The article in the World Outlook section titled "The struggle for workers democracy in the USSR" by Candida Barberena (*The Militant*, Jan. 11) was *very excelente!*

Developments show that the proletarian class (as opposed to the bureaucratic regime) will in the long run put a stop to this social injustice. The Russian people will demand their democratic rights.

The revolution does not cease by the mere artificial fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat takes power. Solidification of the proletarian rule (or people's rule, i.e., democracy) must be made explicitly clear. The Russian people threw off their former slave masters and they will do so again. The permanent revolution is a clear thesis that today we can observe in the developments and the emergence of the New Left Opposition in the Soviet Union.

I am on the side of freedom of speech for the Russian people. Speak out, Russia!

A prisoner
New York

For Coleman Young

Your newspaper, although being OK on some issues (Watergate) is very warped on others. The main article that upset me was the one on Coleman Young, the new mayor of Detroit. I was flabbergasted.

Basically you didn't dig Coleman because he ran as a Democrat and not SWP. I got news for you. There are some good politicians who aren't socialists. If Coleman had run as a socialist he would never have won. He's always run in the Democratic Party. His politics are very leftist in nature. He's been a fighter since his early days organizing unions and the CIO. He's always been for the people.

My girlfriend and her father worked for Coleman all summer and they are as much for socialism (and communism) as you are but they knew Coleman's stand on issues. I worked for him a little also and consider that Detroit has the best mayor in the country. Keep an eye on him. Maybe you'll learn something.

G.W.
East Lansing, Mich.

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.

I recently spoke with a number of editors and other people knowledgeable in the production of Black newspapers about the problems affecting the publication of the Black press.

Chief among these problems is that of obtaining sufficient advertising to finance publication. "You have to have advertising," said Pamela Haynes, city editor of the *Philadelphia Tribune*. "But the major downtown department stores here in Philadelphia won't advertise in the Black papers. And they can come up with all kinds of excuses, though they are making money hand over fist from Black people."

According to Francis Ward, a Black reporter with the Chicago bureau of the *Los Angeles Times*, white advertisers feel it is not worth advertising in the Black press. Blacks read and are more influenced by the white dailies, he explained.

Another problem Black newspapers must cope with, in addition to that of the rising costs of printing and news-gathering, is holding skilled news reporters. "After a couple of years they're going to get all sorts of offers from the [white] dailies," said Haynes.

But by far the most crippling problem facing Black newspapers is their conservative editorial policy.

The Chicago *Black X-Press*, edited by Lu Palmer, and founded May 19, 1973, (Malcolm X's birthday), reflects a militant nationalist viewpoint and has grappled with the real problems faced by Blacks.

In an interview Palmer stated: "In general the Black press has become kind of an establishment press. And as a result of this has lost a lot of its circulation. It's also lost a good deal of the confidence that Black people have in the Black press."

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



The next secretary of labor?

Many union officials have the mistaken notion that friendly politicians and "good guys" in the right government agencies are more helpful in negotiating better contracts than angry workers who want to close factories and tie up transportation.

George Meany and his cronies on the AFL-CIO executive council recently got the bright idea to hire a clever government functionary to work for the unions, thinking this would solve some of their present problems.

The man they wanted was W.J. Usery Jr., head of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, and a special assistant to Nixon.

Last October, Meany asked Usery to organize and coordinate AFL-CIO political education and community activities through a new system of regional offices in conjunction with state and local labor councils. The general idea was to mobilize union ranks behind "friendly" politicians and curry favor in government circles by preventing strikes. This would require a new department in the already top-heavy AFL-CIO structure. Usery was to be in charge of it.

He was to be Number 3 man in the union hierarchy—"the third constitutional officer of the federation," in line to become AFL-CIO president after Meany.

It is even more unusual for a government bureaucrat to be transformed into a union bureaucrat than the other way around. But strange things happen in these circles.

Top union officials are in daily consultation with heads of government agencies. They work hard together at fixing pay scales and settling strikes. They get carried away sometimes and begin to think they are serving "the public interest." They imagine themselves to be above the struggles of workers and employers. Mutual admiration develops among these sage associates. How could it be otherwise?

George Meany must surely have thought he had discovered an able assistant and worthy successor. Usery agreed. He promised to give up his government job and go to work at AFL-CIO headquarters no later than February this year.

Usery's qualifications for his new job were his experience as a labor mediator for the government; a onetime Grand Lodge representative of the International Association of Machinists; a registered Demo-

"I think there are a substantial number of Black people who are indeed serious about liberation. But I do not think that the bulk of the Black press is advocating a position that will eventually lead to complete liberation."

Some establishment papers, though, have done commendable reporting on certain issues. Although irregular in frequency, this news is due chiefly to alert reporters.

The *Philadelphia Tribune* is running an excellent series on the energy crisis, correctly illustrating the criminal role of the oil trusts. That paper has also carried courageous reporting on cop brutality in the city.

The *Afro-American* newspapers and *Carolina Times* often carry news of the southern Black student movement. In addition, the *Afro-American* (national edition) has noticeably increased its coverage of developments in southern Africa.

The San Francisco *Sun Reporter* often carries news of the prisoner movement in California and has run interviews with well-known Black prisoners.

The *Miami Times* has championed the cause of the Haitian refugees in the south Florida area, and focused attention on the conditions faced by Florida farm workers, many of whom are Black.

Though welcome, the quantity of this reporting is not sufficient.

The Black press today does not meet the need of the Black community for a truthful source of information not found in the white dailies. Such a source should contain information on all aspects of racist oppression, and offer solutions to fight it.

crat whose political opinions recommended him to Nixon.

His age was also thought by some to be in his favor. At 49, Usery is a generation younger than most AFL-CIO executive council members. His chances of soon becoming the next president of the federation looked good. It is a job that pays more than even an official Nixon adviser gets. Meany now pulls down \$74,776 a year, and the price of bureaucrats is rising faster than wages.

In addition, the president of the AFL-CIO seems to have real authority.

But, for some reason Usery decided to stay on with Nixon. Even if he was promised he would soon replace Labor Secretary Brennan, there doesn't seem to be much future in this choice. He must know there is also likely to be a shake-up in the bureaucratic crust of the union movement. He took the safer road.

Usery is not one to close off any options. While announcing his change of mind about the AFL-CIO job, he did so with great praise for George Meany. He had been "honored" he said. However, "events that have occurred since the executive council's action last October have caused me to believe that I might better be able to contribute to labor, to management and to our nation by accepting President Nixon's request that I remain with the government."

What Usery does "with the government" is not different from what Meany and associates expected of him as an AFL-CIO leader. It was reported Jan. 21 that he had "settled" the 188-day strike of Meat Cutters against Iowa Beef Processors. Usery and John Dunlop, director of Nixon's Cost of Living Council, will appoint an "impartial" arbitrator to decide within 60 days on wages, a cost-of-living clause, and the length of a new contract.

Iowa Beef pays about \$1 an hour less than other processing companies and is bent on breaking the strike and operating nonunion plants. The union officials in this instance pin their hopes on the "good offices" of erstwhile friend Usery instead of mobilizing the ranks of the union movement to ward off the open-shop attack.

Usery is the man who knows best how to cover up for the union-busting bosses. That is why his star is rising in the government bureaucracy.



Harry Ring is currently in New Zealand at the invitation of the Socialist Action League, the Trotskyist organization in New Zealand.

Sick snappers—Fifteen tons of snapper caught near a New Zealand oil refinery appeared to have been contaminated by eating shellfish affected by some pollutant in the water. Authorities said it was either a Christmas eve oil spill or detergents that had been used to clean it up.

Space-age message—To introduce Australians and New Zealanders to its revolutionary new encyclopedia, the Britannica Company called the world's first international news conference, with satellites tying in simultaneous meetings in Auckland, Sydney, Adelaide, and Melbourne. The briefing was delayed when the

Sydney participants got caught in a traffic jam. And copies of the new edition were not on hand because the plane bringing them from the U.S. was out of fuel.

Report from N.Z. labor front—The following item is reprinted in its entirety from the Auckland Star: "Drivers and freezers hands at the Papatoetoe plant of Birds Eye Foods Ltd. returned to work yesterday. The Star yesterday incorrectly reported that the men were from General Foods plant. The dispute, which started on Friday, was about lack of amenities."

Take a tranquilizer—New Zealand druggists said they faced a critical shortage of glass bottles for dispensing prescription medicines. A spokesman for the industry conceded there

was a great demand for glass bottles but opined that the complaints by druggists were "just a storm in a dispensing bottle."

The march of civilization—Despite the stiff competition from synthetics, a researcher for the wool industry said the future of the product was "very rosy indeed." He assured, "We can match synthetics in every way."

The bright side—"Recent reports from North America of an upsurge in demand for woolly long-johns may be taken as an augury that the wool industry, more than any other, is likely to benefit from the oil shortage. . . . Unless enough oil is forthcoming soon, Europe, North America and Japan are in for a bitter winter." — The Christchurch, N. Z., Press.



'I got a D in spying'

Women In Revolt

Last hired and first fired

"Unemployment is rising. . . . Nobody doubts that it will continue to go up. The only question now is how high it will rise," writes the Jan. 19 *Business Week*.

The energy crisis has already resulted in heavy layoffs. Sixty thousand auto workers have been indefinitely laid off by the auto makers. There have been 17,000 furloughs by airlines, with more expected. The U.S. Labor Department estimates that 100,000 people have lost their jobs in the last month.

The first victims are women and Blacks. "Under union contracts," continues *Business Week*, "the last hired were the first furloughed. In the auto industry, for instance, many of the low-seniority workers given indefinite layoffs were from minorities that fought for and won jobs in the years since the late 1960s. At a General Motors plant in Linden, N.J., everyone hired after Feb. 28, 1968, was affected. In addition to black men, about 350 women employed in assembly line jobs since August, 1970, lost their jobs." *Business Week* neglected to explain that the 350 women fired were all the women on the assembly line.

In the airline industry, for every pilot who was

laid off, two flight attendants were also furloughed.

The increase in unemployment, predicted by some labor officials to go as high as 10 or 11 percent, will greatly exacerbate an already unequal situation.

In 1972, for instance, official unemployment figures looked like this: white adult males (3.6 percent); white adult women (4.9 percent); what the U.S. Labor Department calls "minority" adult men (6.8 percent); "minority" adult women (8.8 percent); white teen-age men and women (14.2 percent); "minority" teen-age men (29.8 percent); "minority" teen-age women (38.6 percent).

A close look at these unemployment rates is very revealing. In 1972, the unemployment rate began to go down after the 1970-71 recession—but only for men. The figures for women stayed the same. Not until the end of 1972 and the first part of 1973 did the female unemployment rate begin to drop. Women were rehired, in other words, a full year later than men after the 1970-71 recession.

After being the last hired, now they are the first fired. The increase in unemployment from the October 1973 rate of 4.5 percent to the December one of 4.9 percent was due mostly to an increase

Linda Jenness



in female unemployment. While the adult male unemployment rate rose 0.2 percent, the increase for women workers was 0.7 percent.

Even though the gap between male and female wages has not narrowed in the last few years, women have made some gains in terms of employment. More women have entered the work force than ever before, and some job categories have opened up that have been traditionally closed to women. These gains are now being seriously threatened by the energy crisis layoffs.

Layoffs and unemployment will be serious agenda points at the meetings of trade-union women taking place around the country.

To meet the economic crisis confronting millions of working women and men, the labor movement should demand a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay to share the work more equitably; preferential hiring for women and oppressed nationalities to correct the gross inequities in jobs; cost-of-living escalator clauses in all contracts to offset inflation; and unemployment benefits at union wage levels for all those out of work.

iLa Raza en Acción!

Mercedes's finest get going

Miguel Pendás



Students at Colegio Jacinto Treviño do not think of their school as an ivory tower. At this Chicano school in the small Texas town of Mercedes in the Rio Grande Valley, movement activity is considered important.

Recently, Jacinto Treviño students have been leading an effort by Chicanos to curb the racist brutality of the Mercedes police. This has brought them into a head-on collision with local *gringo* bigots and their flunkies.

Activists have been circulating a petition demanding the ouster of police chief Lester Robert Park and three of his cronies. Park brought two of them along from Elmendorf, a nearby small town, where he was police chief prior to taking over the reins at Mercedes.

Why did the chief move from Elmendorf to Mercedes? Jacinto Treviño students have been publicizing some facts that may provide the answer to that question.

It seems that one of Chief Park's cops was charged with pulling a gun on a service station attendant who wouldn't sell him more than 10 gallons of gas. On the same day the chief himself was charged with deserting his child in Houston and is now free on bail.

Concerned by these goings-on, an Elmendorf

grand jury pursued the matter further and came across a motorist who had had the ill fortune to run a stop sign in Park's town. He was fined \$27.50 for running the sign, \$36 for a parking violation, \$48 for failing to appear in court, and \$70 for no apparent reason.

When it was further discovered that the motorist had paid the fines directly to Park and had never seen a judge or the inside of a courtroom, eyebrows were raised. A special Texas Senate committee decided to step in and investigate the matter and called on Park to explain himself.

But the chief decided to tough it out. He claimed "executive privilege" and refused to testify.

Added to the numerous grievances Chicano residents of Mercedes have against Park and his quick-on-the-draw crew, these revelations made the Jacinto Treviño petition very popular. The activists organized a community meeting Jan. 8, which was attended by well over 100 people.

Chicanos got up and voiced their complaints against the police to loud cheering and applause. Sensing that something was happening, Mayor Laborio Hinojosa decided to make an appearance to put in his two cents worth.

Hinojosa declared that he had usually found complaints like this to be unfounded. He did not

exactly hold the rapt attention of the audience—the Jan. 9 *Valley Morning Star* reports that some of his remarks were drowned out by coughing.

In an effort to shed some light on the whole matter, the *Valley Morning Star* sought the advice of the Reverend Oliver Sumerlin. The first deep thought the Baptist minister had to offer was that Jacinto Treviño's involvement in the struggle "is as ridiculous as a prostitute teaching the beauty of virtue to a Sunday school class of teenage girls."

A philosopher as well as a theologian, Sumerlin said he was "against all brutality, and this includes the brutality of lying."

Allowing his wit and wisdom to be expressed on the political plane, the good reverend went on to explain that such charges of police brutality should come before the "proper" bodies, not before "some political mass gathering or so-called 'people's court' as in Communist China."

Making a social-psychological observation I am sure will give us all some food for thought, the prominent spiritual leader concluded, "I would like to think that I have more intelligence than a false 'machismo.' After all, if a fellow's brain is smaller than his glands, he will constantly be in trouble." Amen.

By DERREL MYERS

SAN FRANCISCO—In the midst of a government-business offensive to drive down the living standards of American workers, an important struggle is taking place in San Francisco. The outcome of this battle between 300 strikers and the giant Sears Roebuck Company will have significance for all working people here.

To build for a Feb. 3 rally here in support of the Sears strikers, there have been demonstrations, news conferences, and leafleting, all publicizing the issues in the 24-week-old strike.

ers demanded that these politicians end their silence and take a stand on the strike. As a result, three members of the California state assembly and five members of the San Francisco board of supervisors were scheduled to speak at a Jan. 29 news conference in support of the strike. They also were to announce proposed legislation that the state of California boycott Sears.

Sears workers here walked out last August over the failure of the company to meet demands for health benefits, commission rates, and other issues.

Originally, there were seven unions on strike. They formed the Ad Hoc

meet the following conditions to participate in the commission pool: 1) be among the top five Northern California stores in sales; 2) move up one notch each month among the top five; 3) increase sales each year by 20 percent; and 4) sell warranty agreements with 70 percent of all sales.

The effect of the proposal would be to weaken Local 1100 in the appliance and furniture departments, where it is strongest. One striker summed it up: "We simply can't go back under these conditions. This proposal makes it crystal clear without a doubt that Sears is out to bust our union."

Since Local 1100 by itself could not

ning the Sears strike. We will take up ideological differences or differences on other social problems calmly around the fireplace."

At first glance, the odds in this strike appear in favor of Sears, the fourth largest corporation in the U.S., backed by a government bent on union-busting and depressing the living standard of working people. The strikers also face a divided labor movement that has not yet brought its power into action.

But before you lay your money down, it's worth taking a look at the cards held by the strikers, Local 1100, and the San Francisco labor movement as a whole. They are winning cards, if played right and in time.

The Bay Area labor movement is a powerful giant. The problem is that the unions are punching with five disunited fingers instead of a closed fist.

For example, it is estimated that business at the Geary Street and Mission Street Sears outlets, which are regularly picketed, is down to about 25 percent of its usual volume. If pickets were stationed each day at the 13 other Bay Area Sears stores, real economic pressure could be exerted.

With 500,000 union members in the Bay Area, the labor movement could easily provide such pickets.

Another problem is public education, beginning with union members. Thousands of workers shop at Sears every day because they simply don't know that the strike is still on and that the state AFL-CIO has called for a boycott of Sears.

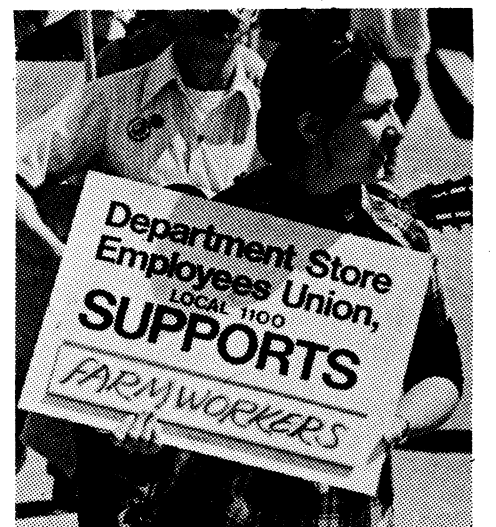
Ads in the mass media and more information in the labor press would help solve this problem. This task of education should be shared by the entire labor movement.

The 300 strikers' families have been existing on strike benefits of \$25 a week, food stamps, and in some cases welfare. The strike has already cost them \$720,000 in lost wages and it will cost Local 1100 more than \$300,000. Although there have been some generous contributions from other unions, it has not been enough. The economic burden of this strike and others should be carried by the entire San Francisco labor movement if victory is to be assured.

The experience of the Sears strikers is that working people sympathize with their demands. But if they don't actively support the strike, it is because they do not yet see others in large numbers doing so.

But as more and more people understand the issues in this strike, and see the militant example set by the strikers, they will be willing to join in this battle.

In the words of Bill Aldridge, a member of the union's negotiating committee: "We're just average people who've been pushed against the wall and are fighting back with the only weapons we know, ourselves. If we're different from other union people it's because we're learning sooner how to defend ourselves, how to stick together for our rights."



Militant/Howard Petrick

Local 1100's tradition of union solidarity sets example for entire San Francisco labor movement.

How S.F. labor can unite to win victory in Sears strike



Militant/Howard Petrick

These pickets at Sears' Geary Street store have reduced sales 75 percent. By throwing its weight behind the strike, San Francisco labor movement could multiply these gains all over Bay Area.

Five demonstrations have taken place at Sears outlets, including one by strikers' families that received coverage on three TV stations.

Tens of thousands of leaflets have been distributed, and strike supporters have been speaking to an average of three union meetings a day, urging solidarity with the strike.

Local 1100 of the Department Store Employees Union, the main union on strike, is mobilizing its entire membership for the Feb. 3 rally. Scheduled speakers at the rally include Sears strikers; Walter Johnson, secretary-treasurer of Local 1100; Jack Henning of the California AFL-CIO; Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU); César Chávez, president of the United Farm Workers; and John Crowley, secretary-treasurer of the San Francisco Central Labor Council.

Union support

The purpose of the Feb. 3 rally is to mobilize the united power of the San Francisco labor movement behind the strike.

Dozens of local unions have passed statements backing the workers out on strike. Painters Local 4 has called a special membership meeting to vote on a proposed \$1-per-month per capita assessment to aid the strike.

On Jan. 25 the San Francisco Central Labor Council held a meeting with public officials in which the strik-

Labor Support Committee, which, in the midst of the Sears battle, also lent support to striking beer drivers and hospital workers.

But while the speeches of many of the union officials at committee meetings were militant, their actions were not. Sears successfully pitted some of the unions against one another and broke the unity of the seven locals. Four smaller Teamster and electricians locals settled separately.

As a result of these settlements and pressure from the San Francisco Central Labor Council, which saw the united labor formation as a threat, the Ad Hoc Labor Support Committee died an inglorious death.

Word was spread throughout the labor movement that the Sears strike was a lost cause and would end soon. Officials such as Einar Mohn, of the California Council of Teamsters, told the press in early January that the Sears strike, by taking on a national corporation on a local level, was a mistake.

Aware of this lack of solidarity on the part of such union leaders as Mohn, Sears planned what it thought would be the coup de grace.

In early January, after 19 weeks of silence on the strikers' demands, the company came forward with a proposal. The offer was worse than the conditions Sears workers have now.

Part of the proposed "settlement" was a new sales commission arrangement, whereby a department would have to

bring Sears to terms, it was clear that every effort had to be made to mobilize the San Francisco labor movement behind the strike.

United labor meetings were held out of which came the call for the Feb. 3 rally as part of a broad campaign to bring the power of the entire labor movement behind the Sears strikers.

Among the unions working with Local 1100 in this effort are Painters Local 4, ILWU Local 34, Service Employees International Union, Rubber Workers, several American Federation of Teachers locals, Carpenters, and Machinists.

A number of these unions helped initiate last spring's United Labor Action Coalition rally here against high prices, and were active before that in the antiwar movement.

Local 1100 itself was in the forefront of the fight against the Vietnam war, and has supported the farm workers' struggle, the Teamster beer drivers' strike, and defense of the Delancy Street Foundation, a halfway house for ex-prisoners.

Walter Johnson summed up his union's nonsectarian approach to these struggles at a recent Militant Labor Forum here:

"We have been warned against working with some people and being associated with unpopular causes. Our answer was and always will be that we work with anyone on the basis of agreement on specific issues like win-

Painters union activist proposes

By NAT WEINSTEIN

SAN FRANCISCO—Building-trades workers are beginning to realize that they are in for some rough times. Big changes have been taking place in the industry. New construction techniques have been steadily eliminating jobs. New buildings going up require less labor to build and less to maintain than the older buildings they replace.

At the same time, antiunion forces have been chipping away at union positions in public and semipublic institutions like city housing and the University of California Medical Center here in San Francisco.

Nationally, big construction outfits have started an open shop drive that has reached crisis proportions in some traditionally union towns like Philadelphia.

Last year the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee (CISC), the government body set up to control wages in the construction industry, told the Northern California building trades to renegotiate their contracts around "suggested" wage levels considerably lower than their contracts called for. Only the carpenters made any effort to actively resist this unprecedented tearing up of legal contracts.

Carpenters' strike

A committee of rank-and-file carpenters organized a vigorous and militant strike effort that won significant support from building-trades workers, even though the strike was "unofficial."

But the carpenters by themselves, without the resources of their union behind them and without strike sanction from the building-trades councils, were unable to counter the government action.

By the time the carpenters took action last November, a widespread conclusion heard on the jobs was that all trades should have made a stand together back in the summer when most already-agreed-upon wage increases were due and when job action would have been most effective.

The whole experience points up the serious problems these unions face. If the pattern is repeated in this year's upcoming contract negotiations—each union standing on its own without real coordination and mutual aid support—it is certain to bring another setback.

What would have happened if there had been real unity last year and most if not all of these unions had announced as one, "No contract, no work!"?

In this regard, the key question in the minds of building-trades workers is whether a strike can be won "against the government." The answer to these questions becomes apparent when we look into the background of the government action.

The CISC is a tripartite government agency set up ostensibly to control wages and prices in construction. It includes equal representation from employers, unions, and "neutral" government appointees. The "public" and employer representatives can be counted upon to stand together on all major questions, so the board is stacked against the unions right from the start.

Why go through this "tripartite" charade?

The tripartite form is employed precisely because the government does *not* have the power to order



Militant/Howard Petrick

Nat Weinstein is an active member of Painters Union Local 4 in San Francisco. He is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and was its candidate for mayor of San Francisco in 1971.

wage cuts at its whim. It requires the cloak of impartiality to present its antilabor decisions as being "in the interest of the nation as a whole."

Second, the government needs to rope into this shell game the top officials of the workers' organizations. By sitting on these stacked committees, the union officials put their authority behind the decisions, even if they vote against some of them. They undercut rank-and-file resistance and ride herd on recalcitrant locals.

Around the time of World War II and the Korean war there were instances when the top union officials refused to serve on similar tripartite wage boards. These antilabor agencies consequently became "inoperative" without labor window dressing.

This problem of government intervention—from federal wage freezes and antilabor legislation down to injunctions by local courts—will continue to plague labor and, in fact, will grow as the employers' need to maintain profit rates at the expense of wage standards grows.

Why Meany collaborates

Why do AFL-CIO President George Meany, Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons, Steelworkers President I. W. Abel, and the like ignore the ominous lessons of recent events—not to mention the disastrous historical experience of labor collaboration with the government?

They hope that by demonstrating their patriotism and their indispensability to the government they can win Congress and various government agencies over to labor's side—away from the big corporations and banks. This delusion that the state power, whether headed by Republicans or Democrats, can be won over to the support of the workers is a trap that has led and will continue to lead to one disaster after another.

The function of government "anti-inflation" measures is to serve as the camouflage for state intervention on the side of the bosses in their drive for higher profits. Without this, the Northern California contractors, for example, would have been in no position to force a renegotiation of wages.

The fact that the CISC didn't lift a finger to cut contractors' prices points up the "anti-inflation" fraud. Since scheduled wage increases had already been incorporated in contractors' prices, the government intervention simply diverted wages out of workers' paychecks into the bank accounts of the bosses.

Ironically, before August 1971 Meany and Co. had been clamoring for Nixon to implement "wage and price" controls—the Democratic-controlled Congress's "anti-inflation" measure. This was meant to be a superclever tactic to embarrass Nixon, in pursuit of the pro-Democratic Party policy of the labor bureaucrats.

Gullibly taking Tricky Dick's word that he was opposed to controls, Meany virtuously demanded that Nixon grasp the alleged anti-inflation weapon.

Construction unions face open-shop drive

In recent years the building-trades unions have come under a double-barreled attack: First, government wage controls have been used to systematically drive down the wage gains of construction workers. Second, major construction companies have launched an open-shop drive on a scale not seen in this country for decades.

Here are some highlights:

- On Feb. 23, 1971, Nixon announced suspension of the 1931 Davis-Bacon Act, which had, in effect, required contractors to pay union-scale wages on all federally funded construction jobs. The avowed intention was to encourage low-wage, nonunion contractors to bid on this

work, which makes up 30 to 40 percent of all construction.

- Just a month later, in March 1971, federal wage controls were clamped on the industry, in a move that tested the ground for Nixon's general wage freeze edict of August 1971.

By the end of 1971, the head of the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee boasted of cutting average wage increases from 15-16 percent down to 11 percent. By 1972 percent. By 1972 the average raise was down to 6 percent; by 1973, to only 5.4 percent.

- The open-shop drive is spearheaded by the Associated Builders and Contractors (ABC), an association of nonunion employers whose membership has more than doubled in the last four years, to 5,500 contractors. In addition, the Associated General Contractors, with 9,500 members, estimates that one-third of its members are now open shop.

- In 1972, International Telephone and Telegraph began building a new \$10-million Sheraton hotel near Philadelphia, using Altemose Construction Company, an open-shop ABC outfit. After a local judge banned picketing within a mile of the site, Philadelphia construction unions organized a 24-hour work stoppage and a march of well over 35,000 workers in protest.

Despite this promising beginning the campaign fizzled out, and Altemose is still going strong.

- Last summer Shell Oil Company brought an ABC contractor in to build a \$20-million gas processing plant near Kalkaska, Mich. Union construction workers from throughout Michigan protested vigorously, and violent clashes erupted between the union pickets and

assorted scabs, pistol-packing foremen, Pinkerton guards, and state police. Many unionists were arrested.

Despite the militancy of the building-trades unionists, the final settlement in Kalkaska left Shell free to build the plant with nonunion labor:

- In what amounts to a rerun of the Kalkaska defeat, Dow Chemical has succeeded in using a nonunion contractor to begin a \$26-million project in Midland, Mich.

- As these examples point up, some of the biggest U. S. corporations are backing the open-shop drive. Last fall the director of construction for the giant E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company went before a convention of the ABC. He reported that after 25 years of dealing only with unionized contractors, du Pont recently began using nonunion labor, and now half of its construction is being done by open-shop firms.

How have the leaders of the building-trades unions responded to this growing threat? They have rushed to eliminate work rules, chided their members for not "doing a fair day's work for a fair day's pay," and helped keep wages down—all in the name of helping union contractors stay competitive with the open-shoppers. Cannibal unionism is on the rise, as well, as local officials scramble to try to hold onto enough jobs for their members.

With their backward-looking approach based on racism and collaboration with the bosses, these bureaucrats are proving totally incapable of defending their members against the wage-cutting and open-shop offensive. This is why the proposals outlined by Nat Weinstein are crucial to the survival of the building-trades unions.

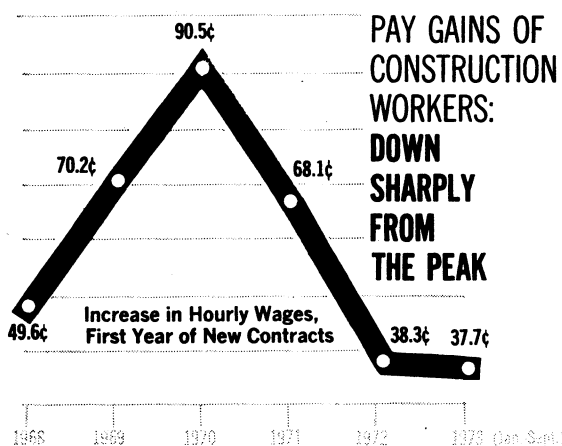


Chart from U.S. News & World Report shows decline in construction workers' wage gains, while inflation is higher than ever.

is program for building trades



Militant/Steve Chainey

San Francisco carpenters and supporters picket courthouse last fall after their strike was declared 'illegal.' Antiunion offensive includes intervention by capitalist government to aid construction industry bosses.

When Nixon did so, Meany couldn't even cry "betrayal" as he did when double-crossed by the Democrats. Nixon impaled him on his own spear.

It would be ironic justice were it not for the fact that union members instead of Meany were the victims of Meany's "cleverness." Those who have been hardest hit, of course, are the low-paid, unorganized workers.

The problem goes deeper than the political bankruptcy of the union heads. Misguided faith in capitalist party politicians reaches down the line into the ranks of the unions. Their confidence in the independent power of the organized workers has been undermined.

How can building-trades unionists begin to turn things around and seize the initiative from the bosses and their agents in the government and capitalist parties? I would offer the following suggestions to begin discussion on a program for the building-trades unions.

Unite the building trades

The archaic craft structure has to be replaced with one that really unifies building-trades workers. If it is unrealistic to expect that we can get to one big union in one jump, it is certainly realistic to begin a process of genuine collaboration in every phase of our relations with our common enemy, the boss class.

United action, running the gamut from cooperative enforcement of job conditions to joint contract negotiations, is imperative; above all, joint strike action when that becomes necessary. A good place to begin is in negotiations coming up this spring.

Here's another starting point: In every city, each union local has one or more business agents whose main function is to oversee enforcement of wages, hours, and working conditions on hundreds and thousands of separate job sites—but only in their own narrow jurisdictions. How much more effective this policing could be if each union representative functioned as part of a team representing the needs of *all* construction workers.

In today's scramble for ever fewer jobs, jurisdictional fights disrupt and poison relations between trades, while solving absolutely nothing. A unified building-trades union could take the road of fighting for a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay, pointing the way to a real solution to that problem.

New labor-saving techniques should be a blessing to workers. Instead, only the bosses benefit through lower production costs. What should be a boon to workers becomes the curse of unemployment.

What could be more reasonable than demanding the right of workers to benefit from increased labor productivity? If less labor time is required to produce the things society needs, the rational and just consequence should be shorter hours and lower prices.

Escalator clause

Instead of a periodic battle for wage increases that always lag behind inflation, a united construction union could win an escalator clause

pegging wages to the rising cost of living. This would free the union to demand *real* improvements in wages justified by the ever-increasing productivity of the workers' labor.

The escalator clause has the further advantage over past practice of stripping the employers of any semblance of a case that wage increases cause price rises. The onus for inflation would be borne exclusively by the boss class, who so rightfully deserve it.

Preferential minority hiring

The barriers erected to reserve dwindling jobs for a privileged white *minority*—those in the union already and those who have an inside track to get in when somebody retires—are suicidal and must be demolished. This racist method must be rejected for what it is: an antiunion, antiworker diversion introduced into the working class by the employers and their agents.

Prejudice based on race or sex or national origin leads only to disunity among workers and lower wages for both the superexploited prime victims and the "privileged" group. Only the boss profits from the cheaper labor that results and from the reduced fighting ability of a working class wracked by infighting.

The building-trades unions must earn the respect and confidence of the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican workers they have let down. Without the support of these millions, any fight to defend living standards can't be won.

To compensate for past crimes of exclusion of minority workers, a program of preferential hiring is urgently required.

In the face of the employers' open-shop drive, routine organizing by the separate crafts is completely inadequate. Nor can the unions be defended, much less strengthened, by the now-common practice of organizing bosses instead of workers—"organizing" that aims only at pressuring employers to hire union labor, not at enrolling *all* construction workers in the unions.

A campaign to organize the unorganized could be effective only through an inspiring united effort based on a forward-looking program like that sketched above.

Many nonunion building-trades workers have been in and out of unions. They leave for a number of reasons, least of which is antiunion conviction. They witness a narrow setup where only those exceptionally skilled or close to the boss or the union officials work enough weeks a year to get by. And even those men, when they get a little older and start to slow down, or when they lose favor with the high and mighty, lose more and more time.

The hiring halls are often a joke, and union working conditions in all too many cases are no better and sometimes even worse than non-union.

The *main* disenchantment with the union, however, is the absence of program and action pointing toward change for the better.

A campaign to unify the building-trades unions and fight for a sliding scale of wages and hours,

along with a broad social program for massive government-subsidized public housing, hospitals, schools, and child-care centers, would lay the foundation for rallying to the union banner not only nonunion workers but all who suffer from this irrational and antisocial system.

United labor action

What holds for the building trades applies in principle to the entire labor movement.

Efforts to promote the active collaboration of all unions have already had a modest start here in the San Francisco Bay Area. Last April 28, the first recent attempt was made to unite all Bay Area unions around a general protest demonstration against the effects of wage controls and inflation on working people.

Another recent step has been the campaign to build united labor support for the striking Sears workers.

Such steps must be carried further, to active support by all labor behind every embattled section of workers.

The times are right to apply the principle of labor unity in the political arena. The profound disenchantment of working people with Watergate-tarred capitalist politicians favors the launching of a labor party.

A step toward such a goal would be for unions locally to organize congresses to take up the above-mentioned general needs of labor. A prime consideration would be the nomination of independent labor candidates in local elections in opposition to capitalist politicians of both parties.

There are no limits to what can be accomplished with such an approach. The door would be opened for the labor movement to recapture the leading role it played in the great social struggles of the past. The workers would again become the champions of every oppressed and exploited layer of the population. Blacks, Chicanos, and women would see in a mass workers' political movement their powerful and dependable ally.

Such a wide-ranging social program could build a movement under the leadership of the organized workers that could surmount any obstacle—racism, sexism, war, inflation, unemployment, poverty, or pollution.

Such a movement could encompass tens of millions. It would by no means limit its political action to elections. Political influence could be exerted through mass protests, strikes, and demonstrations.

Such an outlook and orientation would speed up the realization among workers and their allies that *they are* the nation; they have the power. And when that realization dawns, the time when the country will be wrenched from the hands of the parasitic capitalists and run for the working people will not be far off.



Philadelphia construction workers demonstrate against open-shop contractor and antipicketing injunction in 1972. Open-shop outfits are aggressively moving into former union strongholds.

S.F. forum hears San Quentin 6 attorney

By MICHAEL SCHREIBER

SAN FRANCISCO—Defense attorney Howard Moore spoke to the Militant Forum here Jan. 25 about the latest developments in the case of the San Quentin Six.

Moore represents Fleeta Drumgo, one of the six Black and Latino defendants who were charged with murder and conspiracy in the alleged prison escape attempt in which George Jackson was killed Aug. 21, 1971. Moore formerly served as co-counsel to Angela Davis.

Moore's appearance at the forum came one week after the indictments against the six were thrown out of court on grounds that the grand jury



Militant/Michael Schreiber

HOWARD MOORE: 'The hope lies not in the courts but in the power of the mass movement.'

that handed down the indictments had been chosen from a pool that had excluded Blacks, Latinos, Chicanos, blue-collar workers, and youth.

"The grand jury was assembled over in Marin County," Moore said. "On the first of October it returned an indictment against the brothers [Fleeta Drumgo, David Johnson, Johnny Larry Spain, Hugo Pinell, Willie Tate, and Luis Talamantez] and Stephen Bingham, the young attorney who was working in the prison movement who

has not been heard from since Aug. 21."

A gag order was issued on the case. "So, I have a very difficult time telling you about this case primarily because I am afraid about what I can say," Moore explained.

Moore already has been cited for contempt by presiding Judge Henry Broderick. "This is an example of the way the trial is being run," he related. "It was my first day in court; I simply got up and asked for permission to talk [to argue the motion to replace Judge Broderick]. The judge told me to sit down, and I asked for further permission to address the court. He again told me to sit down. I didn't sit down fast enough and he found me in contempt of court and sentenced me to five days in jail and \$500 in fines. I got more time than Agnew."

Moore expressed the possibility that the dismissal of the indictments by acting Judge Vernon Stoll Jan. 18 could result in a statute that would prohibit the exclusion from the grand jury of Blacks, Chicanos, youth, and blue-collar workers.

But unless there's a mass movement, Moore continued, the precedent set by Judge Stoll's decision could be ignored by the courts. It's conceivable, however, that any person tried in Marin County who was indicted in 1971 or 1972 could have their conviction overturned, he said.

"There may be some other consequences that you may not see so readily," Moore continued. "The movement away from using the grand jury at all may be accelerated—by prosecutors who don't want to see their cases thrown in the wastepaper basket."

"The whole grand jury proceeding is a very unfair one. The accused cannot go before a grand jury. He has no right to a representative, to cross-examine witnesses, or to put in evidence favorable to his innocence," he said.

A municipal court is different, he said. "There you have a judge who makes a decision in open court rather



San Quentin Six can be freed through kind of mass pressure that won case of Angela Davis.

than a grand jury meeting behind closed doors. The only thing that separates the two is the discretion of the district attorney. If he feels his case is weak, he'll go before a grand jury," Moore explained.

It is not certain whether the state will file for a retrial. If there is no retrial Willie Tate, Fleeta Drumgo, and David Johnson should be granted parole dates by the California Adult Authority since they have relatively little time remaining in their sentences.

"Luis Talamantez should also get a date," Moore said. "He's in jail for robbery for less than a hundred dollars. And I think they can be forced to give him a date. Larry is in prison on a life sentence for first-degree murder, but there is even a parole custom for first-degree murder in about 12 years."

"The most difficult case is that of Hugo Pinell, for he is in for, among other things, a 'Section 4500' assault and manslaughter of a prison guard, which gives a life sentence without possibility of parole. It will take a radical reform of penology to release him."

"Here you have six of the men most hated by the California prison system at the mercy of the Adult Authority. But there's hope for everyone. The hope lies not in the courts but in the power of the mass movement."

On Feb. 21 at 10 a.m. in federal court in San Francisco, defense attorneys will press for a hearing to release the San Quentin Six from the maximum security adjustment center, to remove the gag rule, to obtain thorough medical examinations for the six, and to end the chaining and shackling of the six in the court room.

Phila. racists oppose school for Blacks

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS

PHILADELPHIA—Parents and students from Edison High School presented their case for a new school to the Philadelphia board of education Jan. 28.

The situation at Edison High School is becoming a major issue in local and state politics. The school is located in the heart of North Philadelphia, one of the oldest Black ghettos in the country, and the student body is almost 100 percent Black and Puerto Rican.

The school board voted to build a new school in 1969. Since that time, they have attempted to get state land for the school. Now, more than four years later, there is still no new school or any land to build it on.

In a letter to the school board that was read to the Jan. 28 meeting, Democratic Governor Milton Shapp cited "legal problems" as an obstacle to any "simple solution" in transferring the land. In essence, Shapp told the board and the Edison parents and students that the state would give the land to the city government, which could then lease it to the school board.

This maneuver is an attempt to let Shapp and the school board off the hook and place the decision in the hands of the city government. Mayor Frank Rizzo is a leading opponent of the new school at the proposed

site, which, he claims, would "ruin the stability of the neighborhood." The neighborhood of the proposed site is predominantly white.

The real issue is the right of Edison students to a new school and decent education. This is pointed out by the students and parents from Edison themselves, who are represented by such organizations as the Fifth District Community Coalition. At the school board meeting they effectively argued against the racist arguments of opponents of the new school.

Aaron Brown, student body vice-president at Edison, said the real threat is not gangs (as whites claim) but the dilapidated physical conditions of the school itself. Other students pointed out that the school isn't "fit for dogs." At Edison, students are struggling for the tools to "fight on our own behalf," according to Brown.

Another student, Ronald Lewis, pointed out that there were no gang-related incidents at the school. He compared the situation to the teachers' strike last winter, saying, "That was a walkout for money, this is a struggle for lives."

The prospects for victory for the Edison High activists are good. The school board is on record in support of the new school. At the Jan. 28 meeting a statement of support was made in the name of 18 prominent

Black political figures, including Black Democratic Congressman Robert Nix.

Edgar Campbell a Black member of the education committee of the city council, promised an "all-out fight" to get the proposed land for the school. The Philadelphia Federation of Teachers is on record in support of the new school, although the Edison chapter is opposed to the proposed site.

How much more foot dragging and shuffling the city and state politicians

and school board will do remains to be seen. An important factor will be the future activities of the Edison students and parents themselves.

A common sentiment was expressed by Edison student Phillip Hernández, who told *The Militant*: "The parents and students will have to force the board to build the new school."

In addition the activists have run up against opposition from the city government and police force. Since a student walkout Jan. 21, the school has been under surveillance by plainclothes and uniformed cops, and mounted police.

Tony Austin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in the 2nd C.D., attended the meeting and distributed a statement that read in part: "Here is a struggle for better schools and quality education which should be supported by all parents and students sincerely interested in quality education."

A new Edison High and other schools could be built, he pointed out, with money collected by taxing the profits of large corporations like Sun Oil Company. Sun made more than \$150-million in profits in 1972.

Austin closed his statement by noting, "Only the continued struggle of the parents and students against these politicians and their backers will win new schools and decent education."



Militant/Mark Satinoff

TONY AUSTIN: SWP candidate calls for getting money for new school by taxing corporations.

Wounded Knee defense boosted by tribal election victory; new legal moves initiated

By GREG CORNELL

ST. PAUL, Minn.—According to the U.S. government, the Indian leaders on trial here were unwanted interlopers when they moved in last year to occupy Wounded Knee, S.D., for 71 days.

Last week, however, the government had to swallow hard as Russell Means, one of the defendants, won a vote of confidence from Indians on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Means outpolled 11 other candidates in a primary for tribal president.

Unofficial results gave Means 667 votes in the Jan. 22 primary, with Richard Wilson, the current president, second with 511 votes.

Wilson and Means will meet in a Feb. 7 runoff.

Wilson, who operates a goon squad on the reservation, has been accused by Means and the American Indian Movement (AIM) of widespread corruption.

Wilson's one-man rule was one of the reasons for the Wounded Knee protest last year. Wilson opposed the occupation, threatening to run the Wounded Knee protesters off the Pine Ridge Reservation.

Means and Dennis Banks are on trial in St. Paul facing a slew of frame-up charges stemming from the occupation. The defense has put forth several motions that the charges be dropped.

In an interview with *The Militant*, Means termed the primary election vote "a rejection of Dicky Wilson's fascist philosophy." He said the vote proves the Wilson regime does not speak for the reservation's Indians.

Means stated that the vote was proof that the participants in last year's Wounded Knee action had the support of Indians there.

Means said his campaign program includes the issue of treaty rights—returning the land to Indian people; reform of the tribal government; return to "traditional ways"; a "reinstitution of traditional religion"; and an end to corruption in tribal governmental affairs.

Meanwhile, jury selection appeared to be nearing completion with 38 jury candidates selected and the defense and prosecution preparing to make their preemptory challenges that will reduce the panel to 12.

Judge Fred Nichol said he expects trial testimony to begin Feb. 11.

Nichol is a sophisticated operator with a warm and friendly demeanor, unlike the crude and harsh manner of Judge Julius Hoffman, who presided over the Chicago Eight "conspiracy" trial in Chicago, which this reporter attended four years ago.

Nevertheless Nichol's questioning of jury candidates here in St. Paul indicates his unswerving predisposition to the government's side. All jury

candidates have been asked by Nichol if they think the defendants are legally justified in committing criminal acts, even if the purpose is to "right past wrongs."

Most jurors are puzzled by the question. So Nichol then asks each juror if they agree that "good motive alone" is not sufficient to find a person innocent of a crime, except where learning the motive may aid in determining "intent" to commit the crime. The jury candidates think and invariably stammer, "Yes."

The judge's questions are fancy legal wrapping for the prosecution's contention that the occupation was illegal and that the centuries of persecution of the Indians are irrelevant.

Meanwhile, lawyers for the defendants have gone on the offensive, announcing a suit against President Nixon, Attorney General William Saxbe, Governor Richard Kneip of South Dakota, Richard Wilson, and others.

William Kunstler, defense attorney, told *The Militant* that the suit maintains that the defendants have been deprived of their civil rights and liberties by the very way in which the Wounded Knee trials are being conducted.

Kunstler said the suit argues that Means and Banks were chosen to be tried first, while most of the others are being tried in Sioux Falls, S.D., hundreds of miles away, to tie up the defense and exhaust its financial resources.

The need for two defense committee headquarters—one in Sioux Falls and one in St. Paul—has "stretched our resources badly," Kunstler said.

The suit also cites the reign of terror on the



William Kunstler

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Pine Ridge Reservation, alludes to the prejudicial security procedures at the trial, and asks for \$25,000 damages for each of the 129 plaintiffs. Another motion filed by the defense, asking that the trials of more than 100 Wounded Knee defendants be moved from South Dakota, was rejected Jan. 28 by Federal District Judge Andrew Bogue.

The defense says the anti-Indian atmosphere runs high in rural South Dakota, making it difficult to impanel unbiased jurors and making a fair trial impossible.

Kunstler said the defense has also asked that Judge Bogue disqualify himself from ruling on pretrial motions because he owns land in the Black Hills.

In prior trials, Kunstler explained, Bogue has withdrawn from cases in which Indian treaty rights have been involved since many Indians say that based on an 1868 treaty the Black Hills belong to the Sioux.

Harassment of all kinds continues against the Wounded Knee defendants.

Ted Means, Russell Means's brother and campaign manager in the tribal election, was arrested Jan. 28 as he entered a Rapid City, S.D., courtroom.

In arresting Ted Means the government contended that he had failed to show up for a hearing. He said he had never received a notice of the hearing.

All bondsmen in South Dakota refused to post bond for Ted Means, and the Wounded Knee Defense/Offense Committee was forced to raise money for the bail itself.

Russell Means charged that the arrest was another effort to influence both the tribal election and the outcome of the trial in St. Paul.



Militant/Greg Cornell

Dennis Banks (left) Russell Means, and defense attorney Mark Lane (right).

Militant sales campaign

Local areas experiment as drive begins

By SHARON CABANISS

Sales of the Feb. 1 issue of *The Militant* ("Unions say: 'Stop phony shortages!'") began our campaign to sell 10,000 papers a week by the end of May. This organized campaign will be in addition to sales by individual supporters throughout the country, on newsstands, and the special efforts of the 14 Young Socialist teams to sell 1,000 *Militants* each week beginning in March.

Although we do not have reports yet on the first week of the sales campaign, sales of January issues for many areas indicate we're off to a good start.

Minneapolis supporters in the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance topped their sales goal of 350 the week before the sales campaign began. Since they must contend with zero degree weather, almost all of their sales have been indoors. These include sales at the University of Minnesota, a food stamp office, unemployment lines, skyways, bus and train depots, the airport, libraries, laundromats, and entranceways to department stores.

Many locals of the YSA also made their weekly goals in January. These include Indianapolis selling their goal of 50; Logan, 20; and Madison, 35. Individual supporters in Glendale, Calif., and Street, Md., also report reaching their sales goals early.

As the sales campaign gets under way, areas

will be trying out new ideas for sales and reestablishing old ones. Supporters in the Lower East Side of New York have found an appreciative response to *The Militant's* coverage of the District 1 struggle for Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese control of their schools. A special leaflet reprinting a recent *Militant* article on that struggle aided supporters in selling 21 subscriptions in just 10 days.

For those interested in selling *The Militant* but unable to participate in organized team sales, Martha Harris from the Brooklyn SWP offers some useful tips. Harris, who always carries a bag of *Militants* "just as I do my keys," sells about 15 papers every week. A typical day includes selling at the day-care center where she leaves her child in the morning, at the store where she buys the morning paper, at the food store where she shops, and then on her job at Pratt Institute. During her lunch break, she often sells at the school cafeteria and in the lounges.

Another suggestion came from the West Side SWP in Los Angeles. Sales director Steve Schmuger reports reliable sales at lines waiting to see popular current films. The composition of these crowds is often youthful, many of them high school students. "It's not just that they're bored," reports Schmuger, "they are genuinely interested in *The Militant*."

Supporters and readers are encouraged to help in the sales campaign by taking a weekly bundle of *The Militant* to sell. Last week orders for new bundles were received from El Paso, Texas; Muncie, Ind.; Santa Cruz, Calif.; and Vermillion, S.D. If you can help, just fill in the coupon below and send it into *The Militant* business office.

Sell The Militant

Join *The Militant's* spring sales campaign by taking a regular weekly bundle to sell on your campus, at your job, or near where you live. The cost is 17 cents per copy, and we will bill you at the end of each month.

I want to take a sales quota of _____

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Answer to the 'Daily World'

Why defense of dissidents is not anti-Soviet

By CAROLINE LUND

The huge propaganda barrage being conducted by the Kremlin against Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn actually testifies to the fundamental weakness of Brezhnev and his gang of bureaucrats, despite their gigantic apparatus of repression.

The scope of the anti-Solzhenitsyn campaign shows the Kremlin bureaucracy feels threatened by any person or small groups of people who dare to stand up and fight for democratic rights and against the police-state regime in the Soviet Union. Their fear is that such acts of courage and determination by individuals will serve as examples to the masses of Soviet citizens.

The ability of the small group of Soviet dissidents to throw the Kremlin into major propaganda gyrations stems from the fact that the truth is on the side of the dissidents.

The power of the dissidents' movement extends beyond the Soviet border, and reaches into the ranks of Communist parties around the world, including the CPUSA. As part of its effort to inoculate their supporters against the dissidents, the CP felt the need to run two articles in their newspaper, the *Daily World*, Jan. 23 and 24. They are directed at the article on Solzhenitsyn's new book, *Gulag Archipelago, 1918-1956*, by David Frankel in the Jan. 18 issue of *The Militant*.

In the course of the two good-sized articles, CP writer Erik Bert musters only one basic argument, a faulty one, which he repeats again and again. It goes like this: *The Militant* champions the Soviet dissidents; the *New York Times*, CIA, and Radio Liberty champion the Soviet dissidents; therefore *The Militant* is furthering the goals of the CIA and counterrevolution.

For example, Bert says, "The Times, an astute voice of U. S. imperialism, speaks of 'freedom,' 'democracy,' and such like. The Trotskyites package the same imperialist anti-Soviet campaign in 'revolutionary' terms."

Or, later: "The CIA and the Trotskyites both champion the disruption-ori-



Solzhenitsyn and family. Kremlin fears his example of defiance.

ented samizdat [suppressed writings by dissidents, reproduced and circulated underground] publications.

Another amalgam cited is that both *The Militant* and the right-wing Ukrainian Congress Committee of America condemn Russification—that is, the various forms of chauvinist domination by the Great Russian nationality over other Soviet nationalities.

Or again, "The Trotskyites speak up for the 'Crimean Tatars.'"

"The Central Intelligence Agency also champions the Tatars."

(The Crimean Tatars are a nationality that originally lived in their own Autonomous Soviet Republic created by a decree of Lenin's in 1921. In 1944, Stalin accused the entire nation—which was occupied during the war—of being Nazi collaborators and ordered this people of close to a million deported to Siberia. Only in 1967 did the Supreme Soviet declare this nation "not guilty" of treason, but the Crimean Tatars are still forbidden to return to their homeland by Stalin's heirs.)

Bert's argument—a favorite of the Stalinists—is ridiculous. Just because the imperialist rulers claim to be for "freedom and democracy" inside the

Soviet Union or for the rights of oppressed nations does not mean that these demands are reactionary.

The imperialist rulers point to the repression and lack of democracy in the Soviet Union to try to prejudice workers throughout the capitalist countries against socialism.

In a similar way, the capitalists attempt to turn working people against trade unions by pointing to the lack of democracy, gangster methods, and



Pyotr Grigorenko, a communist and defender of the rights of Crimean Tatars, is being held in Soviet mental hospital because of his views.

corruption that exist in some unions.

Does this mean that union militants should try to deny that corruption and lack of democracy exist? Obviously not. Union militants must fight for democracy, against the bureaucrats that sit on top of the unions. Such a fight is not antiunion. It is the only way to strengthen the union movement for its fight against the capitalists.

Similarly, the fight for workers democracy inside the Soviet Union and other workers states is not "anti-Soviet" as the *Daily World* charges, but the way to strengthen the world struggle for socialism against the slanders and attacks of the imperialists.

In fact, the methods of argument in Erik Bert's diatribe might ring a bell with trade unionists who have come under fire from union bureaucrats for demanding more democracy. Such militants are usually labeled "disrupters" just as Bert labels the samizdat publications "disruption-oriented."

It is not "disruption" of the workers movement to tell the truth. Rather, it is those who try to hide the truth from the masses who serve reaction.

Bert ends by saying that *The Militant's* call for a political revolution in the Soviet Union is a call for "anti-socialist counterrevolution."

This is a slander. By "political revolution" the Trotskyist movement means a revolution that would throw out the ruling clique only—as opposed to the social revolution necessary in capitalist countries to change the system of property relations, not only the government. In the Soviet Union, the socialization of property relations was accomplished by the revolution in 1917 and must be preserved.

The real counterrevolutionaries are the Kremlin bureaucrats, who could dine and toast with Nixon at the 1972 Moscow summit while the Vietnamese were being subjected to murderous assaults.

The real counterrevolutionaries are the parasites in the Kremlin, responsible for leading the working class to defeats throughout the world—from Germany and Spain in the 1930s, to the most recent betrayal in Chile.

Black activist faces frame-up in San Francisco

By ROGER RUDENSTEIN

SAN FRANCISCO—City officials here are trying to railroad to jail Yvonne Golden, a teacher at Opportunity High School and a well-known Black activist.

The charges against Golden stem from a Jan. 8 board of education meeting called to discuss desegregation of the schools. A group of uniformed members of the National Socialist White People's Party attended the meeting. Participants were shocked and outraged both at the Nazi uniforms and at the leaflets the Nazis distributed, calling for "killing" Blacks and referring to Black people as "jibbering he-niggers" and "moronic jungle bunnies."

When a fight broke out between some spectators and the Nazis, the police Tactical Squad rushed in and arrested the spectators.

Several days later, Golden was arrested in her office at Opportunity High School, right in front of astonished pupils. Police claim Golden had "incited to riot" when she put forward a motion at the meeting to exclude the Nazis from the hall.

But the real reason Golden is being prosecuted is quite different. It is because she has been an outspoken opponent of the racist policies of the board and a leader in the fight to



Yvonne Golden is charged with 'inciting to riot' for demanding that Nazis like these be excluded from school board meeting.

achieve equal educational opportunities for Black people in San Francisco.

Golden's fight against racism goes back a long time. She was the organizer of the first Malcolm X Day in San Francisco in 1968, and she organized San Francisco's first Black Student Union.

In 1969 an attempt was made to transfer her from Abraham Lincoln High School, where she was then teaching. Vigorous protests from the Black community prevented the punitive transfer, marking the first time such a victory was won in this city. In 1971, another attempt was made to transfer her from Lincoln High School.

According to Dr. Thomas Shaheen, former head of the board of education and a defender of Golden, there has been "back-room" talk by board members for some time about the need to "rid the school system" of Golden.

At a rally of 500 people to defend Golden held Jan. 20 at Glide Church, representatives of Black organizations spoke of the problems faced by Black people in the schools. Among these are a tracking system that forces

Blacks into unemployment and low-paying jobs, a slowdown in hiring of Black teachers, and a plan by the board to put cops in the classrooms. This plan was revealed several months ago but was temporarily withdrawn because of protests from the Black and Chicano communities.

The rally, called on only a few days notice, was heavily attended by Blacks and had a militant tone. Supporters of Golden ranged from the Black Teachers Caucus to the Baptist Ministers Union. A representative of the Black Caucus of the American Federation of Teachers and Local 771 pledged support and urged others to go to their unions to get them behind the defense effort.

The principal of Opportunity High School and a representative of the schools' students reported that students and faculty are 100 percent behind Golden.

The day following the rally, 150 people met to form a committee to defend Golden against the frame-up and to petition for recall of Eugene Hopp, the racist president of the board of education.

World Outlook

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

FEBRUARY 8, 1974

Miners reject 'energy crisis' blackmail

Heath pushes confrontation with British workers

[Since the following article was written, the leadership of the British National Union of Mineworkers has ordered a vote by the miners on an all-out strike.

[The Heath government, confronted by widespread support for the miners, has engaged in desperate attempts to extricate itself from the situation of growing economic and political confrontation.

[On January 17—only three days after claiming the energy situation was worse than ever in Britain—the Heath government totally reversed itself and promised to move from a three-day to a four-day workweek. Its statement followed several exposés on TV and in the press showing that the government had been lying all along about the miners supposedly causing a severe energy shortage.

[Then on January 25, the day after the mine union leaders called for a strike vote, the government reversed itself again, vowing that the three-day week would continue indefinitely because of the threat of the miners strike.

[If the miners vote to strike, the strike could begin February 10. Two years ago they struck for seven weeks. That was the first miners strike since the famous walkout in 1926 that precipitated a general strike.]

By Tony Hodges

London

The measures announced by Edward Heath's Tory government December 13 are the most sweeping anti-working-class moves seen in a major capitalist country for more than thirty years. Heath ordered two-thirds of British industry onto a three-day workweek, forcing wage cuts and part-time employment on 16 million workers.

This massive onslaught on workers' living standards followed the government's failure to convince 270,000 miners to end a ban on overtime work launched November 12 to back up wage demands outlawed under the Tories' Phase III wage controls.

The miners have been demanding increases ranging from £8.21 to £12.71 in their basic rates, having suffered badly from inflation since their victory in the 1972 national miners' strike.

The government and the National Coal Board have refused to concede the miners' demands, saying that an increase of £2.30 to £2.57 is the maximum allowable under Phase III, which outlaws wage increases above 7 percent a year even though prices are rising far faster.

The effect of the overtime ban has been to force maintenance and safety work, normally carried out during weekends, to be performed during

weekdays, thus reducing normal coal-cutting time. Output has fallen by 30 to 40 percent.

In early December 29,000 train drivers joined battle against Phase III. Their demand for a £40 weekly wage was also refused by the government, which ruled that a weekly wage of £33.00 to £36.95 was the maximum possible under Phase III. The train drivers refused to work on Sundays and, during the rest of the week, launched a work-to-rule action that decimated train services.

The Tory Offensive

The Tories' reply to the challenges of the miners and train drivers was swift and massive. On December 13 Heath announced the three-day workweek, a national lockout of millions of workers forced onto part-time work. On December 17 the government unveiled a budget that slashes social services.

Sixteen million workers are now on a three-day week. About 2 million are registered as temporarily unemployed during part of the week in order to claim unemployment benefits. Many have not yet registered during their non-working days, because (so far) they are covered by 40-hour guaranteed week agreements in contracts and are ineligible for unemployment benefits. In many industries employers can and will suspend the 40-hour guaranteed week after two



A miner told British paper: 'Mr. Heath talks about the three-day week going on to the spring. . . . But whatever his limit the miners will outlast it.'

or three weeks' notice, so the number of workers registering for unemployment benefits in the coming weeks will soar.

The Confederation of British Industry (CBI) has considered proposing to the government that guaranteed-pay deals be statutorily suspended, freeing employers from their contracts and from having to pay workers for a 40-hour week while three-day work lasts, a provocative action that the ruling class has not yet felt strong enough to take. But even where workers are protected by a 40-hour guaranteed week, their take-home pay is

failing, particularly because of the stop in overtime payments, on which many workers have relied to protect their standard of living against the ravages of inflation.

While workers' wages are plummeting, there are no signs of any letup in inflation. In fact, with output already down by 17 percent, employers will try to raise prices—no doubt with the approval of the Price Commission—to safeguard their profits and offset the effects of rising unit costs of production. This will be in addition to further big increases in the prices of many basic commodities, such as food, as a result of Britain's entry into the Common Market.

On December 17 the Tories made further attacks on workers' interests in an emergency budget that took £1,200 million off public expenditure. The government reduced by £69 million the expenditure on health, and it suspended its hospital construction programme. Some £200 million was slashed from education spending, including a £70 million cut in building programmes affecting 110 universities and colleges and a £95 million cut in the buildings-replacement programme for primary and secondary schools.

The Tories justified their unprecedented action of putting millions of workers on a three-day week by claiming that it was made necessary by the miners' overtime ban. According to Heath, the overtime ban was rapidly depleting coal stocks and threatening the country with power shortages and blackouts if emergency measures were not taken.

Heath hoped that the suffering caused by the three-day week, combined with a big propaganda campaign to rally the nation, would slowly isolate and demoralise the miners, forcing them to settle within Phase III.

Continued on following page

Solidarity from U.S. miners

On January 21 the United Mine Workers of America sent a contribution of \$5,000 to the British National Union of Mineworkers in solidarity with their current struggle.

Along with the check, UMW President Arnold Miller sent a letter that read, in part:

"I am writing to offer the support of 205,000 United Mine Workers for the efforts of our brothers in the National Union of Mineworkers to win a living wage and such basic rights as portal-to-portal pay. . . .

"It is clear that the Heath government hopes to use the present crisis to break the strength of the labor movement in Britain. The vicious propaganda barrage leveled against British miners in recent weeks has one aim only: to make your union the sacrificial lamb for the Heath government's failings. . . .

"In many ways coal miners in Britain and the United States face similar challenges. You have your

Heath; we have our Nixon. Both dance to the tune of big business. . . .

"United Mine Workers are beginning to experience the same kind of propaganda attacks as British coal miners as we move toward contract negotiations. The big oil companies, which also control the coal industry, are trying to use the energy crisis as a club to beat down coal miners at contract time. Industry officials hope to manipulate public fears about fuel shortages to shift the blame for a nationwide coal strike, if one occurs, onto the coal miners.

"I do not think that the American public is going to be fooled by such efforts any more than the British public. The energy crisis is the creation of the oil industry. Coal miners, like the rest of the public, have only been its victims. . . .

The letter ends, "Please do not hesitate to call upon us for help."

...this is a struggle for a decent standard of living for

Continued from preceding page

The Tories were prepared to take these drastic steps out of fear that the miners might drive gaping holes in the wage-control programme. They knew that if the miners won their demands, other groups of workers would follow the miners' lead and defy Phase III. The Tories acted to defend their whole wage-control policy from possible collapse. In doing so, they acted on behalf of the entire British ruling class, for whom the maintenance of wage controls is an urgent necessity.

British industry, plagued by a long-term decline in profitability, outmoded and backward, and unable to compete effectively with its imperialist rivals, can solve its problems only by restoring its profits at the expense of the workers, particularly by lowering real wages.

That was the Tories' objective from the moment they formed their present government in 1970. At first they hoped that they could keep wages down "voluntarily" by relying on the cooperation of the trade-union bureaucrats. But these misleaders could not sell voluntary incomes restraint to their rank and file. The victorious miners' strike in January and February 1972 left the policy in ruins, forcing the Tories to rethink their strategy and introduce a statutory incomes policy in late 1972, starting with a complete freeze of wages under Phase I.

Phase II, which allowed minimal wages rises of £1 plus 4 percent (increases that could not possibly keep pace with price increases), followed in early 1973, and then, in the first week of November, came Phase III.

Phase III outlawed wage rises above 7 percent a year at a time when prices, as recorded by the Retail Price Index in October, were rising at an annual rate of 10.5 percent. Food prices were shooting up even faster—in October at an annual rate of 40 percent!

Legal controls on wages were only a part of the Tories' offensive against the working class. In 1972 the Industrial Relations Act became law, placing legal constraints on the unions' right to strike. This law set up a National Industrial Relations Court (NIRC) with the power to fine or imprison trade unionists who refused to comply with its orders, a power shown only too well last October 22 when the NIRC fined the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (AUEW) £75,000 for refusing to end a strike at the Con-Mech engineering factory.

In a similar vein, the Tories resurrected the 1875 Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act to prevent unionists from effective picketing, and in February 1973 used this act to arrest twenty-four building workers—the Shrewsbury 24—for illegal picketing during the 1972 national building workers strike. Five days after the announcement of the three-day week, three of the Shrewsbury 24 were gaoled, after receiving prison sentences of three years, two years, and nine months.

Despite all these blows against the rights and living standards of the workers, the British ruling class has made little headway in ending its economic difficulties. By the end of 1973 the Tories' profit-boosting measures had so far failed to spur investment and the modernisation of British industry, and British capitalists were meeting still rougher competition on the world market, a fact dramatically

underlined by continually worsening monthly balance-of-trade deficits. These now point to an annual deficit on the order of £2,500 million.

This was the context in which the miners struggle began and that forced the Tories to take their unparalleled action to defend Phase III. The Tories are prepared to stomach even severe cuts in profits, output, and exports in the short run in order to stand by their long-term strategic commitment to compulsory wage restrictions. As an industrialist quoted in the January 13 London *Sunday Times* put it: "I would prefer total chaos in the short term to the chaos if the government gives in."

Miners Remain Determined

But the Tories have so far failed to intimidate the miners. To the contrary, the provocative actions of the government have intensified their determination and militancy. On January 2, tens of thousands of miners, unimpressed by Heath's patriotic appeals, stayed away from work, forcing a quarter of the country's pits to close.

Ronald Faux, visiting the Seafield colliery in Scotland, wrote in the *Sunday Times* that he "met no one who believed the miners should call off their overtime ban, or that the ban was responsible for the power shortages."

Faux gave a picture of the appalling work conditions that are firing the militancy of the miners. "The faces here are so steep that if anything breaks off or falls, it can maim a man. Coal coming down a conveyor can suddenly avalanche. The injuries can be terrible. Five men were killed at Seafield last year in one accident," Mr Willie Clark, a power loader said. To the injured could be added the 600 miners a year who die less spectacularly from pneumoconiosis.

Trevor Fishlock, also writing in the *Sunday Times*, quoted a Welsh miner: "If Ted Heath would come to our colliery, I would take him by the arm and show [how] we work. We would go down the pit and walk two miles to the coalface, crouching because of the low roof. His eyes would sting with the dust and he would think his brain was coming loose with the noise of the drills. He would see us eat sandwiches with filthy hands and hear about roof falls and he would



Militant miners proposed a special conference of British trade unions to coordinate united response to government antilabor policies, but union tops squelched idea to keep all decisions in their own little club.

get tired just watching us dig coal for seven hours in all that din and muck."

Fishlock quoted another miner as saying: "Mr Heath talks about the three-day week going on to the spring. He is digging in. But whatever his limit the miners will outlast it. This is a struggle to get a decent standard of living for working people. We want nothing less than we have asked for, and it is no good offering us riches in the distant future on condition that we knuckle under now. We want the bird in the hand."

A most striking confirmation of the militant mood of the miners was the "woolyback" revolt in the Leicestershire collieries. Called "woolybacks" by the rest of the country's miners for their sheeplike complacency in past struggles, the Leicestershire miners threw off their old reputation in a dramatic rank-and-file revolt against their long-established right-wing leader, Leicestershire NUM secretary and national executive member Frank Smith.

Smith had publicly advocated an end to the overtime ban and accused communists of fomenting industrial conflict. Immediately, 450 men stopped work at two pits, Ellistown and South Leicester. No-confidence resolutions were passed by the miners lodges. The Area Council, which consists of delegates from each pit,

ordered Smith to retract his statement, and on January 12 he was hauled before a mass meeting of 700 miners to explain his actions. The meeting, in the most "moderate" coalfield in the country, where only 37 percent voted for the 1972 strike, voted unanimously to continue the overtime ban.

Heath likewise failed to intimidate the train drivers. Militancy reached boiling point on the railways January 10, when thousands of train drivers staged a wildcat walkout after British Rail, under the orders of its chairman, Richard Marsh, started sending home drivers without pay when they refused to stop working to rule.

Philip Ginger, the train drivers' branch secretary at London's Waterloo Station, said that his branch members were "fed up with pussyfooting around. We've had great difficulty at branch meetings keeping the men from voting for an all-out stoppage." He added: "It has only been through the leadership of our general secretary, Mr Buckton, that the public have had any trains at all." But the anger of the drivers forced their union leaders to call an official one-day strike on January 15.

Dangers to Heath's Policy

The Tories are also threatened by the likelihood of growing resentment as the three-day week begins to bite deep into workers' incomes.

On December 21, a mass meeting of shop stewards in the engineering industry in Liverpool suggested "strikes in reverse" if employers tried to suspend guaranteed pay deals, turning up to work on no-work days and striking on their allocated three working days. So far employers in the big engineering factories have not dared to suspend guaranteed 40-hour-week agreements.

On December 23, representatives of 100,000 engineering and car workers voted to stage sit-ins in factories if employers tried to cut wages. On January 12 workers walked out of several Lancashire textile mills after employers had refused to pay premium rates for Saturday work to workers forced onto a Thursday-through-Saturday workweek.

Heath's credibility could also take a knocking as the truth about coal stocks and the energy situation begins to spread, exposing the lies peddled to justify his emergency measures.



British unemployment office. Sixteen million workers face wage cuts and part-time employment.

working people'

On December 29, the London *Times* wrote that "it is almost certain that stocks are about the same as at this time a year ago, and slightly better than before the national coal strike of January-February 1972." According to the *Times*, coal stocks had been built up to unusually high levels in the months preceding the overtime ban, so that in October total coal stocks stood at over 35 million tons against less than 29 million in October 1972! The three-day week could boomerang against the government as workers see their standard of living slashed to solve an energy crisis based on myth and fabrication.

In addition to these problems, the three-day week will itself become an economic headache for the government if it continues much longer. The January 13 *Observer*, reporting a major survey of 120 manufacturing firms conducted by Business Decisions Ltd., revealed that "for most firms, February looks like being a critical month for a conjunction of difficulties: raw material supplies, cash-flow and profitability, and possibly labour relations (as companies gradually end guaranteed-week agreements)."

Firms will have to continue to pay vast overheads and fixed costs while output, already down 11 percent, continues to fall, confronting firms with big jumps in their unit production costs and a drop in profits in many cases to zero.

A General Election?

"The survey," the *Observer* continued, "raises the question of whether full-time unemployment and bankruptcies will have reached such serious proportions by the middle of February that the Government will be forced either to settle with the miners or go to the country [hold a general election]."

If he is unable to make the miners or train drivers knuckle under, Heath may soon be forced to turn to either of two alternatives: calling a general election on the gamble that he will win increased authority for continued confrontation with the miners; or giving in to the miners' demands and risking the future of the entire wage-control programme.

The *Guardian*, in a January 7 editorial entitled "Reconciliation, not class conflict or party war," stressed the dangers facing the ruling class in an election at this time. A Conservative victory would "leave the Government confronting bitter and hostile trade unions" and might dangerously polarise the country without offering any guarantee that the miners would be more willing to settle their dispute within Phase III.

In line with their record of bold confrontation with the unions, the Tories may well decide that their only way of standing firm on Phase III will be to attempt to rally popular support against the unions in a vicious, mud-slinging, antilabour election campaign, gamble on winning, and then with renewed authority fight it out with the miners.

Role of Labour 'Leaders'

None have proved more spineless in this crisis than the bureaucratic misleaders of the Labour party and the Trades Union Congress (TUC). At a time when the Tories have brought about a total shambles, with runaway inflation, part-time work, and massive wage cuts, the working-class

movement should be mobilising its huge potential strength against the government. But the established officialdom of the labour movement have done absolutely nothing. At first, Labour party leader Harold Wilson actually accepted the need for the three-day week; he criticised only its inequitable application!

The TUC General Council turned down demands that a special congress of the TUC be summoned immediately to coordinate a united response from the labour movement to the Tories' attacks, instead contenting itself with a special meeting of union presidents and general secretaries on January 16.

The crisis has sent so-called left-winger Hugh Scanlon, president of the AUEW, running for cover. Speaking on London Weekend Television January 13, he defied his union conference's opposition to wage controls by calling on workers to settle pay disputes within Phase III. "Our problem," he stressed, "is to get an offer to the limit of Stage 3, not to break it. I am saying that categorically."

Scanlon was echoing TUC suggestions to the government that it treat the miners as a "special case," granting them big wage increases in return for a TUC commitment to accept Phase III in other industries.

Jack Jones, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, another "leftist," explained it this way: "We say: Look, settle the miners' case as an exception. The legislation permits this, incidentally. We are not saying to the government: Drop all your legislation."

Both Jones and Scanlon are strongly supported by the Communist party in the trade-union movement. Indeed, Scanlon, along with Labour party National Executive Committee member Judith Hart and CP General Secretary John Gollan, will be the star speaker at a major CP rally.

Harold Wilson has been obsessed with the fear that Heath's confrontationalist attacks on the working class might strengthen militants in the unions and expose the bureaucracy to attacks from the left.

In a January 4 speech, Wilson accused the Tory government of being "God's gift to militants and troublemakers." He continued: "Every act of government creates new militancy, when what the country needs is leadership—leadership and conciliation."

The Labour leaders' capitulation before the Tories was confirmed on January 12, when the Labour party National Executive Committee and the parliamentary committee of the parliamentary Labour party jointly approved the text of the party's 1974 campaign programme. This document openly committed the Labour party to maintaining wage controls, criticising the Tories merely for their refusal to work out a pact with the trade-union leaders to apply a "voluntary" incomes policy with union backing.

While the Labour party leadership has clung throughout this crisis to its traditional class-conciliationist, right-wing policies, Wilson has dispatched his shadow minister of trade and industry, Tony Benn, to give radical-sounding speeches to party and union meetings to placate criticism from the left.

Benn began to vocalise the growing public resentment of Heath's attacks on the miners and the three-day week. He blamed the Tories for

Continued on following page

World news notes

Force-feeding of IRA prisoners

In Ireland and England, angry protest is mounting against the force-feeding of four supporters of the Provisional Irish republican movement being held in English prisons. The four are among eight who were sentenced to life imprisonment November 15 for setting off car bombs last March in downtown London.

The explosions were allegedly intended to protest the British government's referendum on the status of Ulster, which was boycotted by an overwhelming majority of the Catholic, nationalist population. The four are on a hunger strike demanding that they be transferred to Northern Ireland to be able to serve their life sentences close to their families. They are Marion Price, 19, Dolours Price, 23, Gerald Kelly, 19, and Hugh Feeney, 21.

The Irish Republican Information Service reports that "the volume of protest against their treatment is rising to a crescendo." Appeals for an end to the force-feeding (a process akin to torture) and the granting of their demand have been adopted by the Association for Human Rights in Northern Ireland and the Irish National Civil Liberties League.

On January 13 more than 400 people demonstrated in behalf of the four outside the home of the British ambassador in the Dublin Mountains. Thousands have signed petitions supporting their demands.



Demonstration in England in behalf of IRA prisoners.

New strikes in South Africa

A new upsurge of Black workers has hit Durban, South Africa. Some 10,000 went out on strike at ten textile mills in January. Police arrested 250 in a violent attack on the workers as they attempted to conduct a march through the city streets.

Just a year ago Natal province, in which Durban is located, was the scene of strikes by 50,000 Black workers, including bricklayers, textile workers, municipal workers, and laborers in several other industries.

This year, as last year, the central demand is higher wages. The average white worker in South Africa earns \$475 a month, while the average Black worker receives only about \$30.

General strike in Grenada

The government of Grenada, a British colony in the Caribbean, has been shaken for more than three months by mass demonstrations and strikes against widespread government repression and police brutality. Workers struck in various industries throughout December, after government secret police beat up members of the opposition New Jewel Movement with truncheons and axe handles.

The protests grew until a general strike was called beginning January 1. Demonstrations have been organized daily in the capital city of St. George's. The general strike was continuing as of January 23, according to a UPI dispatch. On January 21 a relative of the main leader of the New Jewel Movement was shot to death by police firing on demonstrators.

The New Jewel Movement is described by *New York Times* writer David Binder as made up of "young black radical socialists." It has spearheaded the opposition to the regime of millionaire Prime Minister Eric Gairy. Gairy is especially hated for his private armed guard of thugs, called the mongoose gang. The demonstrations have called for his resignation. The protests have been supported not only by the trade unions, but by businessmen, professional people, and the country's religious leaders.

Oil workers and dockers in nearby Trinidad have shown their solidarity with the struggle in Grenada by cutting off fuel shipments and other cargo ships bound for Grenada. Grenada, an island with a population of 110,000, is to receive independence from Britain February 7.



Indira Gandhi met with hail of shoes

Bombay general strike demands price cuts, rations

By Kailas Chandra

Bombay
JANUARY 10—The "Maharashtra bandh," a statewide general strike called by leftist unions for January 2, was a complete and unprecedented success. Even Maharashtra Minister of State for Home Affairs Sharad Pawar had to admit grudgingly that the bandh had been total. Of the 2,000 factories in Bombay, only about fifteen remained in operation, and those with depleted staffs. The impact of the bandh was felt even in small towns and rural areas. More than 3 million workers all over the state responded to the strike call, heralding an era of bigger struggles



Unemployed lines in India. Demand of strike was unemployment relief.

in the new year.

The bandh was called by the AITUC (dominated by the Communist party of India), CITU (Communist party, Marxist), HMP (Socialist party), HMS, Sarva Shramik Sangh (Lal Nishan party), and a section of the INTUC (Congress party) and the BMS (Jan Sangh party). The demands of the action included the slashing of prices of essential commodities by at least 25 percent, revision of the cost of living index,

unemployment relief, and adequate food grain rations.

The bandh began at midnight January 1, with the night-shift workers downing their tools and the road transport workers withdrawing their vehicles. By daybreak all industrial and business activities had come to a standstill in Bombay and in all the important cities in the state.

In Bombay over 1 million industrial workers and more than 100,000 workers of the port, dock, municipality, bank, and insurance offices stopped work. Government offices, commercial houses, shops, markets, cinemas, hotels, schools, and colleges were all closed. The newspaper employees, including journalists, also joined the strike, and as a result there were no evening newspapers on January 2 and none at all on January 3.

On the docks, loading and unloading operations stopped completely. Public transport came to a standstill. Several thousand workers of the two railway systems operating from Bombay (Central and Western) also joined the strike, their first strike action since 1948. All through-trains leaving the city were canceled and the local rail services were also suspended for the day.

The government came down with a heavy hand to break the bandh. According to a government statement, about 1,500 people were arrested in connection with the bandh, but the actual number was much higher. On the same day, the police opened fire at Wani, near Yeotmal district, on a crowd that was protesting the arrest of several leaders, including an elected legislator. Six persons were killed and many injured. The police also opened fire in Bombay, but there were no casualties. They used tear gas in many places and resorted to brutal baton charges in several urban centers.

The temper of the people was illustrated at a public meeting in Nagpur, the second capital of Maharashtra, where the audience refused to listen to a speech by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. As soon as she referred to the food problem as an all-India phenomenon caused by factors beyond the government's control, the entire crowd started shouting: "No bhashan (speeches), we want rations!" The protest was so loud that after seventeen minutes the prime min-



Slums next to skyscrapers in Bombay.

ister had to end her speech abruptly and leave under heavy police escort. The audience hurled several thousand shoes and *chappals* at the dais from which she spoke.

The grand response and the mighty solidarity of all sections of the working class and the toiling masses in Maharashtra in observing the bandh was unheard-of in the history of the working class in the state. The statewide general strike proved a success far beyond the expectations of the sponsors belonging to the traditional left parties.

The ruling Congress party sought an alliance with a semifascist organization, the Shiv Sena, in Bombay, to break the resolve of the working class to resort to common action against the Congress government. Deliberately with a view to frustrating the January 2 bandh of the working class, the Shiv Sena organized a "Bombay bandh" on Decem-

ber 18 with the support of the Congress party, ostensibly to focus attention on the "border dispute" between Maharashtra and the neighbouring state of Karnataka. On December 18 supporters of the Shiv Sena organized systematic attacks on non-Marathi-speaking linguistic minorities in the city. The police did not intervene at all.

For several days prior to the January 2 general strike, the Congress party, ruling both in Marathi-speaking Maharashtra and Kannada-speaking Karnataka, organized linguistic riots in the border towns of the two states to disrupt the working-class movement. The "Maharashtra bandh" was a fitting reply to the manoeuvres of the ruling class, coming as it did in the wake of the isolated struggles of workers, white-collar employees, and rural poor protesting against the antipeople policies of the government in almost all the states.

In Bombay nearly 200,000 cotton textile workers have been on strike since December 30 demanding a 25 percent increase in wages. The strike, led by three leftist unions (led separately by the CPI, the CPM, and the Lal Nishan party), is in defiance of a wage pact reached by the mill owners and the Congress-led Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Union conceding a nominal wage increase of Rs 25 (US\$3) a month.

Meanwhile an important election campaign was being fought from Bombay city for the Lok Sabha (lower house of parliament). The Congress party candidate was challenged by the CPI, Jan Sangh, and the Hindu Mahasabha in a four-cornered contest. The Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee, led by Rajni Patel, a former CPI man, made an alliance with the Shiv Sena to fight the election. The CPI candidate was Roza Deshpande, daughter of the party's chairman S. A. Dange. Polling was scheduled for January 3.

...Britain

Continued from preceding page

creating a phony crisis by fabricating claims that the country was on the edge of a serious energy crisis.

Benn was careful, however, not to propose any way forward for the working class other than to suggest establishing an enquiry by the Labour party into the country's real supplies of energy and the effects of the three-day week. As a top leader of the Labour party, Benn of course endorsed the party's commitment to an incomes policy.

Benn and Wilson reflect in their speeches the contradictory pressures they face during this crisis. As leaders of a party based on and created by the unions as a class alternative to the capitalist parties, they are forced to adopt radical rhetoric to appear attuned to the concerns and interests of workers in struggle. However, as privileged bureaucrats totally committed to the status quo, they pursue right-wing policies and aspire to govern a capitalist society themselves.

The Labour party and the TUC should adopt a fighting programme demanding a full week's work or full pay; the spreading of available work by reducing work hours with no cut in pay; full support to the miners and

train drivers; automatic wage increases to offset inflation; price committees of unionists, pensioners, women, students, and tenants to determine the real rate of inflation; and the repeal of legislation restricting the right to strike and to picket.

In support of such a programme, the Labour party and trade unions should organise rallies and demonstrations up and down the country to mobilise opposition to the Tories' attacks. But it is their fear of mobilising the working class in struggle to defend its rights and standard of living that has paralysed the established leaders of the labour movement before the Tory offensive.

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NLRB judge condemns Farah's antiunion drive

Farah Manufacturing Company "has engaged in a broad-gauged antiunion campaign consisting of glaring and repeated violations," a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) judge declared Jan. 28. The judge, Walter Maloney, ordered Farah to reinstate workers fired for union activities and to allow union organizing on the job.

The ruling is an important boost to the Farah workers in Texas, who have been on strike for the last 20 months. Most of them are Chicanas. Their strike has centered on ending the sweatshop conditions at Farah, one of the largest producers of men's slacks.

The average take-home pay for these women is \$69 a week. The strikers are fighting for a living wage, an end to speedup, and for job security.

They began organizing in 1969. In 1970, when the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union sought collective bargaining rights, Farah responded by firing union activists. The vicious antiunion campaign continued, and in May 1972, the workers walked out.

Some 3,000 workers are now on strike.

In his decision, Judge Maloney cited the long list of antilabor practices Farah is guilty of, including coercion of employees, firing union militants, and forcing workers to wear antiunion buttons.

Judge Maloney ruled that Farah must rehire six workers fired for union organizing and give them back pay, and reinstate all the other strikers at least on the old level of seniority.

In addition, he ordered Farah to allow the Amalgamated Clothing Workers access to company facilities for their organizing drive.

Union officials called the ruling "a monumental defense of the basic rights of working people."

Farah will undoubtedly appeal Maloney's decision to the full NLRB. If the company loses before the full board, it can still take the case to federal court.

The Farah strike has won broad support from students, Chicano organizations, women's groups, and other unions. The nationwide boycott of Farah slacks has forced the company to close four of its plants.



Drug and Hospital Union members in New York picket store selling Farah pants. Boycott has forced Farah to close four plants.

Dist. 65 workers go on strike at Barnard

By RUTHANN MILLER

NEW YORK — The Barnard College local of District 65, Distributive Workers of America, went out on strike Jan. 28. The union, which won a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) election several months ago, is composed mostly of women clerical workers.

While the college was forced to negotiate with the union because of the support shown by the NLRB election, it has steadfastly refused even the most minimal salary increases — offering a 0.5 percent increase at the last negotiating session. The union is asking for a minimum starting salary of \$130. The current lowest hiring rate is \$110.

The salary increases asked for by the women range from approximately 17 percent in the lower grades to 7 percent in the higher grades. These increases would barely bring their take-home pay above poverty level for people with families in New York City.

Other demands of the strike include a job classification system that would guarantee uniform treatment of all employees, cost-of-living increases to keep pace with inflation, adequate medical

and pension plans, and child-care facilities supported by the college.

Barnard College, while a separate women's college, has close ties with Columbia University. Columbia employs 2,000 clerical workers, who are involved in a union drive of their own to form a Columbia local of District 65.

Efforts to bring the Columbia employees into active support of the Barnard strike have been started by the Ad Hoc Committee for Organizing (District 65), the organization of Columbia clerical workers directing the drive at Columbia. The Columbia employees look forward to an NLRB election in March and union recognition, which will help bring the united power of the Barnard and Columbia workers to bear on the administrations of both these schools.

Many students have also become involved in the strike support effort. A meeting of about 100 students, two days before the strike, agreed to mobilize support for the picket line and to explain the issues of the strike to Barnard and Columbia students. On the first day of the strike large banners were hung out of dormitory windows saying, "Students support the District 65 strike."

Strikers at U. of Pitt. demand decent wages

By FRED STANTON

PITTSBURGH, Jan. 25 — Three hundred and sixty custodial workers of Service Employees International Union Local 29 have been on strike at the University of Pittsburgh since Jan. 15. The strike was provoked by the administration's withdrawal of its initial offer before the union could bargain or vote on it.

The majority of the cleaning women, janitors, and grounds keepers of Local 29 are Black and women workers. Their incomes are below the poverty level, and their pensions average \$25 a month after 25 years of service. Pitt has refused to grant union demands for decent wages, a cost-of-living escalator clause, equal pay for equal work, and a group pension paying \$125 a month.

The university seeks a contract that would mean lower real wages and provide for layoffs if an "energy crisis" hits the campus. Claiming insufficient funds to provide a decent living for those who keep the university clean, Pitt has nevertheless managed to find resources to build elaborate research facilities for business and the military.

Pitt has resorted to injunctions, scabs, threats, and lies to try to break the strike. An injunction limiting the union to two pickets per entrance has not been effective, since campus police have supported the strike. Pitt's offer of \$2 an hour for student scabs has found few takers.

An attempt by Pitt to trick the students into opposing the strike has also failed. Officials told dormitory residents that a raise for the workers

would be passed on to students in the form of higher fees. But Pitt has raised fees continually while freezing wages and laying off 43 janitors. The housing director has admitted a new rent increase was in the works before the strike began.

Students and faculty have organized support for the strikers through a strike support committee. A petition blaming the administration for not settling the strike and condemning its union-busting policies got 1,800 signatures in less than two days. A Jan. 24 rally of 100 heard speeches from representatives of the Farm Workers, Steelworkers, Miners, and Teachers unions.

JAN. 27 — At its union meeting today Local 29 voted 240 to 39 to accept a settlement that includes \$125 per month pension and a 70 cent per hour wage package over the next three years. These concessions were made by the administration yesterday.

While conceding better wages and pensions, the administration refused to grant the union's demand for equal pay for women. A 30 cent per hour raise for the first year of the new contract covers only the higher-paid job classifications. The lowest-paid workers, mainly women, will get only 27 cents per hour more the first year. This widens the wage differential between men and women workers.

The workers and their leaders credited Pitt student support for forcing the administration to bargain, and invited members of the strike support committee to the union meeting.

Auto pacts outdated as layoffs hit workers

By JOHN W. ANDERSON

DEARBORN, Mich. — Before the ink was dry on the 1973 Big Three auto contracts with the United Auto Workers these contracts were outdated. The

John W. Anderson is a UAW retiree and former president of Local 15.

issue of compulsory overtime was forgotten with the layoff of tens of thousands of workers. A 37 percent reduction in the sales of big cars has resulted in the second shift being laid off in some plants.

Hardest hit of the Big Three is General Motors, with Cadillac sales down more than 50 percent during the first 20 days in 1974. At the Fleetwood Fisher Body plant, where workers had been working 53 hours a week in recent years, they are now down to an uncertain workweek of 20 to 28 hours depending on the department.

The workers get 80 percent of their wages for the time not worked short of 40 hours, but this still leaves the worker with little more than 35 hours pay a week. Many workers have suffered a cut of almost 50 percent in take-home pay.

While the speed of the lines has been reduced 10 percent, it is reported that manpower is being reduced 20 percent on some operations. Speedup is the order of the day. At Fleetwood, as at some 70 other GM plants, local managements have refused to negotiate local agreements. Arrogant managements defy the union and seem prepared to provoke strikes in order to place the blame for the unemployment on the UAW.

The officers of Local 15, Fleetwood, who have been collaborating with

management for the last 25 years, are at a loss to know what to do. These flunkies of the international union will avoid a struggle with the company as long as possible.

Many of the workers who have retired from Fleetwood during recent years speak of conditions in the plant as if it were a forced labor camp. They say the UAW no longer functions in the interest of its membership. Of the 99 workers who retired from Fleetwood last year, 41 of these were retired on total disability. Under present conditions in the Fleetwood plant, 40 percent of the workers are physically unable to complete the 30 years of service required to get maximum pensions.

In speaking to a meeting of a hundred retirees Jan. 22, I suggested nationalization of the oil industry and the formation of a labor party. The applause I received indicated broad support for these ideas.



Many auto workers are getting 50 percent less take-home pay.

HOW THEY'RE KILLING THE OCEANS

Must the Seas Die? by Colin Moorcraft. Gambit. Boston, 1973. 194 pp. Cloth \$6.95.

How do you kill an ocean? With garbage. With oil. With industrial wastes. With DDT and its products. With radioactive wastes. British journalist Colin Moorcraft presents a frightening preautopsy on the oceans of the world with details of the destructive activities by industries and governments.

Sewage dumped into the oceans causes loss of oxygen, death of plant and fish life, concentration of poisons in seafoods eaten by humans, and the growth of dangerous microorganisms.

Two million metric tons of oil enter the world's oceans every year, about 10 percent from accidents (like the recent collision between a U.S. Navy ship and a private vessel). But 90 percent comes from day-to-day operations of tankers and ships, refineries and petrochemical plants, offshore oil wells, and the disposal of industrial oils.

Reports showed that in 1968 the U.S. deposited 48 million tons of industrial waste into the oceans along its shores. The European North Sea is being killed by tons of sulfuric acid, sulfur dioxide, and



Young people trying to rescue birds after disastrous oil spill in San Francisco Bay in 1971. Ninety percent of oil in oceans comes not from accidents such as this but from day-to-day operations of oil industry.

Books

gypsum from Dutch and German industry.

It is estimated that 25 percent of the annual production of DDT compounds ends up in the oceans, where they are absorbed by marine organisms, leading to adverse developments in growth, reproduction, and mortality. The residues from nuclear blasts, wastes from nuclear power plants and ships, the disposal of highly radioactive solid wastes—all are raising levels of radioactivity found in oysters, fish, ducks, birds, and marine plants.

Moorcraft, who writes for the London *Financial Times*, explains that what affects one sea, or the rivers leading into it, impinges on the life of all the other seas. On a worldwide scale, the oceans exert a stabilizing influence on the atmosphere. Without this watery "global thermostat," the continents would experience temperatures much like

those on the moon.

Human nutrition depends on the seas. Half of the world's population gets 50 percent of its protein from fish. The poultry industries of the U.S. and Europe depend on fishmeal for feed. These critical food supplies are threatened by the steady decline of marine plants (plankton), which play an indispensable part in the life cycle of fish.

Can the seas be saved? Moorcraft proposes as immediate measures research to better understand marine ecosystems, a worldwide monitoring program to determine dangers to marine life, and international regulations to prevent marine pollution. However, his own facts and comments indicate that no help can be expected from industry or governments.

For example, Moorcraft points out that the International Whaling Commission, established to

regulate that industry, "is very much a case of the poachers turning into game keepers."

Although the U.S. government spends thousands of millions of dollars on oceanographic research, almost all of those funds are used for military purposes; only a fraction is allocated to studying the decline of marine ecosystems and its causes. The current dumping of environmental regulations in the U.S. in response to the "energy crisis" blackmail by the oil companies shows how fast the politicians respond when profits are concerned, compared with their pace in passing pollution-control legislation.

The facts presented in this book indict both the profit-hungry businesses and the capitalist politicians and point to the need for a worldwide planned economy, to save the seas, the air, and the world's natural resources. — EVELYN SELL

'THE CHICANOS': SOME CRITICISMS

The Chicanos by Gilberto Lopez y Rivas. Monthly Review Press. New York, 1973. 187 pp. Cloth \$7.95.

This is one of the many books in recent years dealing with the history of Chicano oppression and the various forms the movement against that oppression has taken.

López y Rivas begins by presenting aspects of the social, cultural, and economic oppression faced by Chicanos. The second section of the book contains a series of articles and documents aimed at giving an overall view of the key issues raised by the Chicano movement. The quality of these is uneven.

Several articles included in this section do not

was unity among the delegates, based on common conditions of oppression which give them a common enemy. . . . There was also division among the delegates around questions of tactics. Nevertheless, the importance of the convention was that the forces of unity prevailed—not without a struggle—over the forces of division."

In reality, the El Paso convention reflected major differences, not over "tactics," but over the principled question of whether the Raza Unida parties should forfeit their independence for support to the Democratic or Republican presidential candidates. These differences came to the fore after José Angel Gutiérrez, founder of the Texas Raza Unida Party, put forward his "balance of power" strategy.

In an article published before the convention, Gutiérrez maintained that Chicanos, because they constitute a decisive voting bloc in several Southwestern states, should throw their vote to the "highest bidder," i.e., whichever capitalist candidate offered the biggest crumbs.

Many of the delegates correctly viewed this as a retreat from the concept on which these independent Chicano parties were founded. They opposed any support whatsoever to either Democrats or Republicans, with the Colorado delegation in the forefront of defending this position.

The advocates of the "balance of power" strategy didn't clearly spell out their views at the convention. However, the convention took a clear stand—by a near unanimous vote—against supporting either McGovern or Nixon or other Democrats

and Republicans. This was the real significance of the convention.

Questions of strategy continue to be discussed and debated in the Raza Unida parties. These embryonic independent parties are the most positive expression of the Chicano movement so far and can move the struggle forward. Any attempt to give a rounded picture of the Chicano movement today demands a serious and thorough evaluation of this important development.

— MIRTHA VIDAL

Books

accurately reflect the experiences of La Raza in the course of the struggle.

One article is "La Raza Unida Party in the Chicano Movement," written by López y Rivas and Jorge A. Bustamante in early 1973. Here the authors' effort to outline the rise and development of the independent Chicano parties falters considerably.

Summarizing what happened at the national convention of Raza Unida parties held in El Paso, Texas, in September 1972, the authors say: "There



Stephen Rose

Parent-teacher alliance discussed

N.Y.'s Dist. 1 mobilizes to stop budget cuts

BY KATHERINE SOJOURNER

NEW YORK—The proposed budget cuts in the Lower East Side's school district 1—which would eliminate as many as 114 teaching positions—are a new threat to the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese communities and to the education of the district's predominantly Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese student body. The severe cuts, ordered by the city's central board of education, would mean the firing of more than 10 percent of the district's teachers.

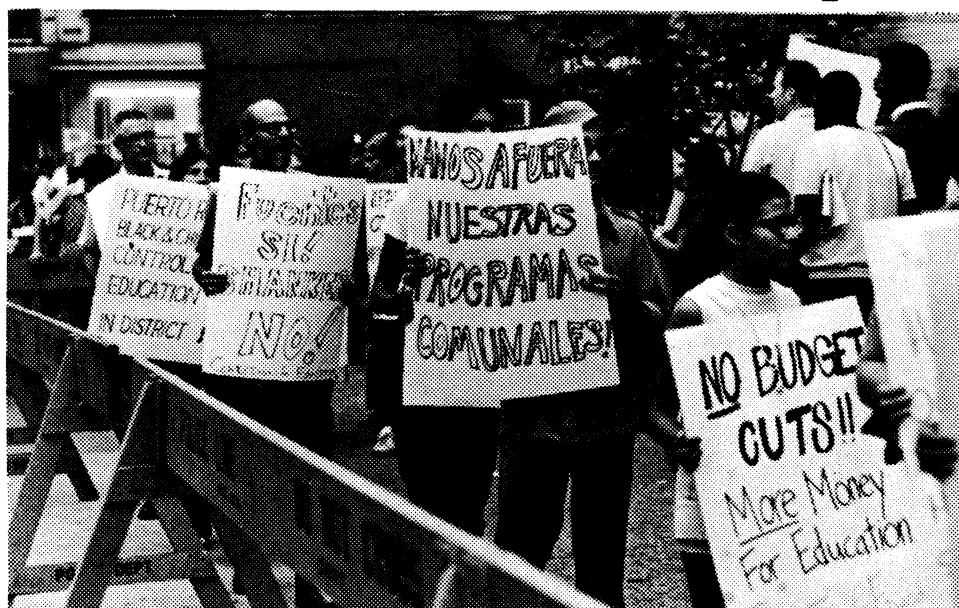
The district's Puerto Rican superintendent, Luis Fuentes, vigorously opposes any budget cutbacks. Fuentes delivered a letter to city Chancellor Irving Anker and the central board on Jan. 28 which stated: "After many meetings with parents, principals, and staff and community representatives, I have received a mandate of not taking any budget cuts. . . . I am committed to this mandate."

"The deficit, incurred by accrued overspending since September 1973, is the result of the irresponsibility of the former illegally elected school board. . . . This is a firm and irrevocable position based on the reasonable position that implementation of these budget cuts would result in District 1 providing less of an education to our children this year than last."

If the central board decides to ignore the demands of the District 1 community, and attempts to arbitrarily make the cuts, a militant response can be expected from parents. Six hundred parents met Jan. 24 and flatly stated: "No budget cuts!" A survey of the district's 20 schools conducted by the Parent Association presidents showed more than 80 percent opposed to any cuts.

An important question that has come up in the struggle against cutbacks is whether parents and teachers should unite in a common effort against the cutbacks. Many teachers, especially the older and more conservative ones, are in general agreement with the United Federation of Teachers bureaucracy, headed by Albert Shanker, and have been hostile to parents.

These teachers have opposed the right of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents to have more say over the education of their children and have swallowed Shanker's racist line that "community control means mob rule." Consequently, there is na-



A militant response can be expected from community if central school board goes through with cuts in school budget.

turally distrust among parents for teachers in the district.

Albert Shanker has done his best to fan the flames of distrust between teachers and parents in District 1—he sees any kind of alliance between parents and teachers as a threat to his privileged position in the union and his thirst for even more power in the labor bureaucracy.

Shanker is always ready to subordinate basic needs of parents, children, the oppressed communities, and teachers to his personal aspirations. In the present crisis, his *real* concern is not the firing of teachers. Rather, he is trying to use the crisis to further the divisions and as a launching pad for his latest false, hate-mongering charges against Fuentes and the District 1 community.

In a recent telegram to District 1 teachers, Shanker said: "Cutting teacher positions in accordance with Fuentes plan unacceptable to UFT. We demand that the padded District 1 payroll be reduced and that no teachers or school programs be eliminated. Cut the patronage pool and not needed educational services."

This is Shanker's phony approach to "defending" teachers. If he were really interested in saving the 114 teaching positions, he would instead *encourage* teachers to join with the parents in the fight the parents have initiated against the proposed cutbacks.

Shanker offers lots of promises and

flowery rhetoric about meeting the needs of teachers; but his record is one of betrayals. In 1968, 2,800 teachers were fired with no hearings by the city school administration—some for participation in demonstrations against the Vietnam war.

Shanker did not lift a finger in protest. In five years more than 5,000 teachers have been "excessed" by the city board with little more than a murmur from Shanker. By his own admission, there are more than 10,000 unemployed teachers in New York City. Where is his defense for these teachers?

The answer is that Shanker has no argument with past actions of the city's school government. At the present, many of the city's other 32 school districts are also threatened by cuts. But Shanker's fire is not aimed at his friends on the central board of education; his approach is to blame the Black and Puerto Rican communities and the decentralization law, and to hint that if all school government control were centralized there would be far fewer problems.

A prime reason for parent distrust of teachers is precisely this kind of divisive, bureaucracy-serving tactic used by Shanker. This makes it more difficult for parents to think in terms of an alliance with teachers to fight the cutbacks.

But within the last two weeks, some of the newer, younger teachers in the district have been coming to meetings. These younger teachers are directly

threatened by the cutbacks; they will be the first to go. It is really within Shanker's narrow interest to let these teachers get the ax, because they are the most likely to fight against Shanker's racist politics and his anti-community-control position.

Some of the young teachers—unfortunately not a large number at this point—are willing to join with the parents to struggle against cutbacks in the district. Some of them are beginning to see through Shanker's game and are angry at his lies and maneuvers.

Many teachers throughout the city and in District 1 supported the recent school maintenance workers' strike for better wages, and were disgruntled by Shanker's opposition to honoring the strikers' picket line. Some of the teachers ignored the orders of Shanker's chapter chairmen and women and refused to cross the maintenance workers' picket line.

The question of whether parents should seek allies among the teachers is an important one. Parents and teachers face a common enemy. The threatened cutbacks provide the basis for an alliance based on the demands of "No cutbacks in District 1!" and "More money for the district's children!"

The District 1 community faces a powerful array of forces, including almost all the Democratic and Republican politicians in New York City, the racist leadership of the UFT, and the central board of education. New allies willing to fight with the parents will be important in strengthening the struggle the parents are leading.

The advisability of a parent-teacher alliance is under considerable discussion among parents in District 1. At the Jan. 27 meeting of the district's Community Advisory Committee (a broad coalition of community activists and parents) one young Puerto Rican activist suggested that at the next meeting a major point on the agenda take up the differences between Shanker and rank-and-file teachers. This suggestion was accepted.

It is in the interest of both teachers and parents to unite and fight the cutbacks; but the burden is not on the parents, and they certainly are not going to give up the independence of their organizations. Teachers must make the decision to join the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese communities who have been leading the struggle for better education in District 1 for years.

Shanker pulls back from raid against AFSCME

By DOUG JENNESS

NEW YORK—Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT), has pulled back from a raiding operation against American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 372.

After several months of vigorous campaigning to sign up low-paid school aides now represented by AFSCME, Shanker retreated on Jan. 20 when the executive council of the UFT's parent body, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), called on him to obey an AFL-CIO order to desist. The vote was 13 to 5 with three abstentions. Shanker was not adverse to this convenient decision, being unprepared to defy the AFL-CIO order.

The AFL-CIO ruling had been made

a few weeks earlier, but Shanker made a face-saving pretense of ploughing ahead anyway toward the representation elections scheduled for Feb. 14. Following the AFT vote, Shanker stated, according to the Jan. 21 *New York Times*,

"We still believe that school aides will be better off as part of the union which represents the overwhelming majority of school employees. But the long-range interests of school aides, as well as all other school employees, rest on a strong, united labor movement. We are withdrawing from the school-aides election because it appears that the campaign might divide the labor movement."

He thus served notice of future raids. In his drive for expansion and power Shanker had gone a little too far this time.

The raid against the AFSCME local began last October when Shanker sent out a letter to UFT chapter chairmen and district representatives indicating that "no other November activity should have priority over this campaign."

Every week the *New York Teacher*, official publication of the New York State United Teachers, Inc., featured this drive on its front page. Thousands of dollars was spent on fancy literature to try to convince the aides, most of whom are hall monitors, clerks, and cafeteria workers, to sign up with the UFT.

Shanker promised bigger salaries and better fringe benefits than AFSCME offers. His slogan was "Here's your chance to catch up with other school employees."

Continued on page 22



SHANKER: empire-builder retreats, temporarily.

Calendar

BOSTON

THE MIDEAST: A LASTING PEACE? Speakers: Johnathan Brandow, from the Real Paper; Alan Einhorn, Socialist Workers Party; others to be announced. Fri., Feb. 8, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.) Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

BROOKLYN

HAITIAN REFUGEES IN THE U.S.: ASYLUM OR DEPORTATION? Speakers: Father Antoine Adrien, activist in Ad Hoc Committee to Defend Haitian Refugees; Sandra Martin, KODDPA representative at recent La Raza Unida antideportation conference in Chicago. Fri., Feb. 8, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A & S). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

CLEVELAND

SEXUALITY IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY. Speakers: Mary Waxman, writer for feminist newspaper What She Wants; Chris Gauthreau, Young Socialist Alliance; Bob Bresnahan, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 8, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

DETROIT

BLACK WOMEN'S LIBERATION: DOES IT WEAKEN OR STRENGTHEN THE BLACK MOVEMENT? A panel of Black women activists. Fri., Feb. 8, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

GRAND OPENING, WEST SIDE MILITANT FORUM. IN DEFENSE OF WOUNDED KNEE. Speakers: Carter Camp, former chairman of AIM and defendant in Wounded Knee trials; Julie Christensen, United People for Wounded Knee. Fri., Feb. 8, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

THE FIGHT AGAINST REPRESSION IN IRAN. Speakers: Babak Zahraie, former president, Foreign Students Council, Univ. of Washington, Seattle; Bahram Atai, secretary, Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran. Fri., Feb. 8, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near 4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

THAILAND: THE FIGHT AGAINST U.S. DOMINATION. Speakers: Somsak Pankam, associate editor, Kien Tang Daen; Ernest Harsch, contributor to Intercontinental Press. Fri., Feb. 8, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (near 105th St.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY

ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN AND THE SOVIET DISSENTS. Speaker: Milton Alvin, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 8, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave. (near Grove St.), Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

ST. LOUIS

THE LEFT LOOKS AT WATERGATE. Speakers: Richard Baron, ACLU; Bill Hirzy, chairman, St. Louis People's

Party, St. Louis Coalition to Impeach Nixon; Steve Chase, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 8, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland (at Euclid), Room 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

SAN DIEGO

SEXISM IN ADVERTISING, A SLIDE SHOW. Speaker: Becky Grothaus, National Organization for Women. Fri., Feb. 8, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd., Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE SOVIET DISSIDENTS: THE MOVEMENT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN THE SOVIET UNION. Speaker: Rich Robohm, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 8, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

...Vietnam

Continued from page 9

Mirelowitz to the twelfth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, held Nov. 23-26.

"Under military pressure from imperialists, and diplomatic and material pressure from Moscow and Peking," Mirelowitz said, "the Vietnamese have been forced into accepting a settlement that poses serious obstacles to the successful conclusion of their struggle. The nine-point plan broadcast by Hanoi on October 26 does not as a whole represent a victory for the Vietnamese.

"Let's look at what would happen if the agreement were carried out just as it says. In the first place, the capitalist state, Thieu's army and police apparatus, would be left intact and in control of the major population centers.

"The fate of more than 200,000 political prisoners in South Vietnam would remain unclear. The North Vietnamese have contended that release of these prisoners is part of the proposed accord, but the U.S. has insisted that this is a matter that will have to be negotiated later with the government of South Vietnam. . . .

"The question of which class will rule in Vietnam—the oppressed or the oppressors—is the question that must be settled before there will be peace. No election can settle that question in favor of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. The question can only

be settled favorably in the course of the class struggle in Vietnam, through a successful socialist revolution and the establishment of a workers state."

...Shanker

Continued from page 21

He failed to mention that the board of education has been cutting back on personnel, and the UFT hierarchy hasn't done much about it. Nor was there a word in the literature directed to the aides about Shanker's racist opposition to the struggle for Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese control of schools in District 1. This may have been because Local 372 backed the pro-community-control slate for school board in District 1 in last May's election.

The response of AFSCME's District 37 leadership, headed by Victor Gotbaum, was to view this raid primarily as a "legal" question. Consequently they relied heavily on the AFL-CIO constitution for their defense.

Why was this raid against another AFL-CIO union placed on the top of the UFT's priority list? Part of the explanation is Shanker's thirst for expanding the number of members under his domination. This has been central to his activity for the past few years.

In 1972 he forged a merger between the AFT in New York and the New York affiliate of the National Education Association (NEA) to form the New York State United Teachers, Inc. A few years earlier after a few run-ins with AFSCME he brought the para-professionals (teacher assistants) into the UFT.

Another reason is that the AFSCME leadership and Shanker are on different sides of a growing division in the labor bureaucracy. Shanker is tied in with AFL-CIO President George Meany, while AFSCME International President Jerry Wurf has expressed criticisms of the Meany leadership.

Furthermore, AFSCME has established friendly relations with the NEA at a time when the AFT was having merger discussions with the same organization. The raiding operation against AFSCME was in part a warning not to get in the way of these

unity discussions.

The merger discussions with the NEA are also a hot issue inside the AFT officialdom. The NEA opposes a merged union affiliated to the AFL-CIO. David Selden, AFT president, proposes this opposition be met with "trial affiliation." Shanker won't settle for anything less than outright affiliation like the merged organization in New York.

In December Shanker rammed a resolution through the executive council urging Selden to resign. Selden refused. At the Jan. 20 executive council meeting the Shankerites were successful in severely curtailing Selden's power. A committee of three vice-presidents, all Shanker men, was established with final authority over all Selden's papers, publicity, news releases, and financial expenditures. He was barred from using the union's mailing list.

So while Shanker had to pull in the reins on his raid against Local 372, he continues to push forward in his struggle to assume command over the AFT.

...Young

Continued from page 24

auto workers fight the layoffs. He has done nothing to help workers defend themselves from runaway prices of food, gasoline, and other necessities; nor to expose the energy fraud that the oil companies are contriving.

During Young's campaign, he received the support of the president of the United Farm Workers, César Chavez. But Young has not come to the aid of the UFW in their struggle to stop the sale of scab products in the city's supermarkets.

In his campaign, Young tried to convince Blacks that they "will not have to go outside the system in order to have some control over their own destiny."

His retreat from his early campaign promises on STRESS should be taken as one of the first signs that when the chips are down Young will side with "the system" against Blacks and others fighting for "some control over their destiny."

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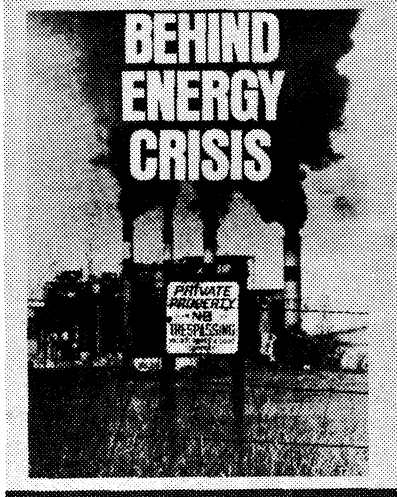
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Capitalist parties have no solutions

Why Coleman Young can't meet needs of Black people

By STEVE BEREN

DETROIT—Since Coleman Young took office last month, many Detroit residents, especially in the Black community, have been looking to this city's first Black mayor in the hope that he will take effective measures to cope with their problems.

Layoffs idling thousands of auto workers, skyrocketing prices, inferior schools, deteriorating housing, declining bus service, police brutality, street crime—all are seen by Blacks, now half the city's population, as urgent issues requiring decisive action.

But the Young administration's first official statements and actions point not in the direction of solutions but of maintaining the racist status quo.

A case in point is Police Commissioner Philip Tannian's announcement that the STRESS unit is being reinstated.

STRESS was a decoy-entrapment force that gained notoriety during the administration of Young's predecessor Roman Gribbs, a fellow Democrat. The terror unit was responsible for the death of 18 people, all but one of them Black. It was quietly shelved last year following vigorous protests in the Black community.

The Jan. 15 *Detroit News* reports that the head of the Felony Prevention Section, which absorbed the former STRESS officers, had claimed it "was no longer using a decoy program" and that was why the name STRESS was dropped.

But Tannian said the name would be used again because "we would be hoodwinking the public by not using it." He said the police were keeping open the option of using decoy units.

Tannian is an ex-FBI agent who was acting as temporary police commissioner under Gribbs. When Young took office he asked Tannian to stay on as



Coleman Young (left) receives praises of Henry Ford II (center) and Leonard Woodcock

top cop.

At the beginning of his campaign for mayor, Young had pointed to widespread police brutality and said he would abolish STRESS if elected. John Nichols, who resigned as police commissioner to run for mayor, campaigned on an openly right-wing "law and order" line.

Changed line

As election day drew near, Young departed from his earlier stance, advocating more of Nichols's rhetoric, often even outdoing him. He called for adding 1,000 new cops to the force. He said that though he opposed the excesses of STRESS, he would favor the use of police decoy units, the essence of the by then disbanded terror squad.

The Black liberal Young will be a more effective voice for "law and order" than the white reactionary Nichols would have been. This was demonstrated in Young's inaugural address, when he proclaimed:

"I issue a formal warning now to all those pushers, to all rip-off artists, to all muggers: It's time to leave Detroit. . . . And I don't give a damn if they are Black or white, or if they wear Super Fly suits or blue uniforms with silver badges—hit the road!"

Detroit News columnist Pete Waldmeir observed: "If the same words had been shouted by his mayoral opponent, John Nichols, the crowd would have been on its feet hollering to toss the honky out. But when the message comes from Coleman Young, some people listen."

Elation

More than 90 percent of the Black vote went to Young, and there was considerable elation and excitement at his victory. The election returns showed that the Black community can be a powerful force when united behind

a common political goal. And the Black community is still solidly behind Young, the great majority seeing him as someone who is working in their interests.

Actions such as his retreat on STRESS can be expected to tarnish Young's image, but it will take time for the illusions to fade.

Since the inauguration, there has also been a high degree of unity behind Young among many Detroit employers, union officials, and capitalist politicians.

At a Business and Labor Inaugural Luncheon on Jan. 3 in Cobo Hall, attended by more than 3,000, Henry Ford II and Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers, were brought together as guest speakers.

Ford and Woodcock tried to outdo each other with praise for Young's "leadership" and his ability to forge a "new coalition of business and labor." Ford and Woodcock and their friends in high places are counting on Young to keep a lid on the city, deflecting the militancy of any struggles that develop, particularly in the Black community.

In his inaugural address, as in earlier campaign talks, Young laid the basis for subordinating the interests of Black people. He said, "What is good for the rich people of this city is good for the poor people of this city. . . . It is clear that we have a commonality of interests. . . ."

Socialist view

Maceo Dixon, who was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Detroit, had explained in his campaign that just the opposite is the case. He said the interests of Black and working people are diametrically opposed to the interests of the giant corporations that run Detroit through the Democratic and Republican parties.

Dixon stood with the exploited and

oppressed and called for the building of a movement that could take the power out of the hands of the capitalists and put it in the hands of working people, in Detroit and nationally.

In a recent interview with *The Militant*, Dixon said that Young's victory was an expression of the desire of Black people for political power—a confirmation of the potential for building a Black party independent of the capitalist two party setup. "Young, as a Democratic politician," Dixon said, "will not be able to take the necessary steps to solve the problems we face. His loyalty to a racist, capitalist party will prevent him from representing Black people, working people."

Dixon, who was a leader of the campaign to abolish STRESS, scored Young's "anticrime" program of more cops.

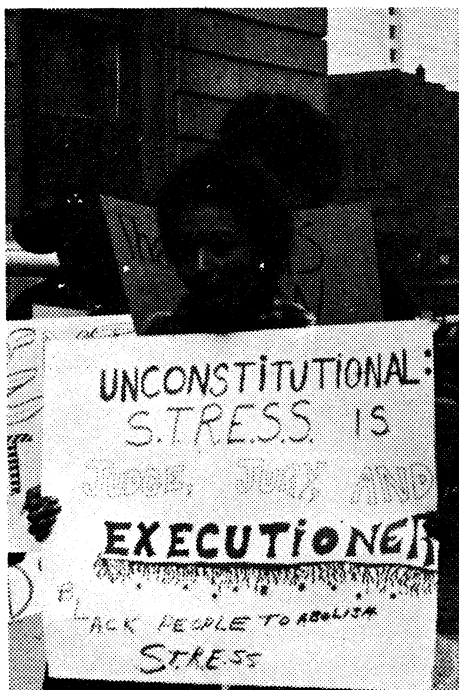
First of all, Dixon pointed out, "the real criminals are the rich and super-rich who exploit working people here and around the world. They are the ones who put Nixon and Agnew, crooks in their own right, in the White House. It is the capitalists and their servants—down to the cops on the beat—who are responsible for the poverty and oppression that breed street crime. These social conditions must be eliminated before such crime can be ended."

Dixon campaigned for an end to the police occupation of the Black community. He called for the creation of a force drawn from the community and controlled by democratically elected councils.

What about the problems of inflation and unemployment?

Young has not lifted a finger to help

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Militant/Gene Yzquierdo

April 1973. Demonstrations and other protests forced end to STRESS police squads. Use of such decoy units may resume under Coleman Young.

Dixon appeals 'parade' rap

DETROIT—Maceo Dixon, 1973 Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, was convicted Jan. 5 on an eight-month-old misdemeanor charge of "deviating from a parade route." He has been sentenced to five days in jail and a \$150 fine.

Dixon's attorney, James Lafferty, is appealing the verdict.

The charge stems from a march and rally last May against STRESS, a plainclothes police unit that was terrorizing the Black community.

The demonstration capped a campaign against the terror squad by the Coalition to Abolish STRESS. Dixon was a leader of the coalition. He was arrested nine days after the demonstration and charged with having led the marchers down the wrong parade route. This phony charge was part of a pattern of harassment of anti-STRESS activists.