

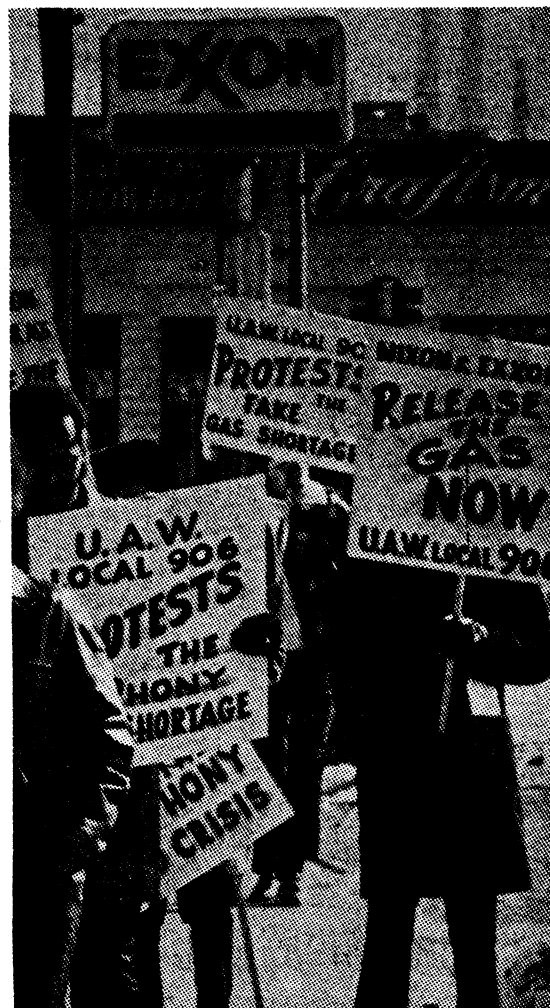
# THE MILITANT

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

## Secrets uncovered

# How oil trusts plotted to create fuel 'shortage'

— See page 10



## The battle for union democracy: dialogue with a steelworker

— See page 19

## Which road for Black struggle: Black party or Democratic Party?

— See page 24



## THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 Nixon's Vets Day denounced as mockery of social justice
- 4 Rally launches Colo. socialist campaign
- 5 Texas SWP, Panthers demand: Open police files
- 6 Supreme Court ducks Calif. election case
- 7 Hospital bosses fire socialist candidate
- 8 Socialist campaign hits streets of New York
- 9 SWP blasts Penna. death penalty
- 15 Riverside police assault frame-up victim
- 16 How Teamsters organized independent truckers in 1930s
- 18 Discussion on miners' contract opens
- 20 Kissinger's Moscow trip: behind secret talks
- 21 Washington examines prospects in Vietnam
- 22 Rebellion rocks Ethiopian regime
- 23 Interest in FBI documents spurs sales

- 2 In Brief
- 9 Campaigning for Socialism
- 12 In Our Opinion Letters
- 13 National Picket Line Women in Revolt
- 14 The Great Society By Any Means Necessary
- La Raza en Accion
- 24 In Review

### WORLD OUTLOOK

- 1 Argentine revolutionists call for united front against right
- 3 Chilean junta: type of regime businessmen like
- 4 Iraqi gov't threatens offensive against Kurds

## THE MILITANT

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**FBI BURGLARY AGAINST ANTIWAR GROUP EXPOSED:** In October 1970, the FBI broke into offices at Brandeis University in Massachusetts, stealing hundreds of documents belonging to the National Student Strike Information Center, an antiwar group that grew out of the May 1970 student upsurge.

According to George Kennedy, a Brandeis security cop who aided the burglars, the FBI stole lists of individuals and organizations, bank statements, and telephonerecords. Kennedy's account of the raid was reported in the **Boston Phoenix**, an alternative newspaper.

The G-men had the cooperation of the university, said Kennedy, who is himself a former FBI agent. While the agents went through the files, school security guards stood watch to make sure no one saw what was going on.

This particular burglary has added significance because it occurred after Nixon supposedly rejected the Huston spy plan in July 1970. That plan specifically recommended covert break-ins like the Brandeis operation, noting: "Use of this technique is clearly illegal: it amounts to burglary. It is also highly risky and could result in great embarrassment if exposed."

**BOSTON UFW SUPPORTERS HOLD RALLY:** Two thousand chanting, singing United Farm Workers supporters converged on Government Center Plaza on March 23 in Boston to kick off the spring boycott of non-UFW grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wine. The central focus of the boycott in New England, A&P supermarkets, was the target of many picket signs and chants.

The featured speaker at the rally, Richard Chavez, announced the launching of preharvest strikes in Arvin and Coachella, Calif. Noting the success of the grape boycott to date, Chavez pointed to the fact that grapes aren't usually available this time of year. Yet, there are plenty



Militant-Cliff Antunnes

March 23 rally in Boston to support UFW boycott.

on the shelves and tons in cold storage. "The growers are in trouble," he said, "and they know it."

The rally had broad endorsement from labor unions, political organizations, and religious groups. Among the marchers were representatives from two United Electrical Workers locals, International Pressmen and Assistants Union, Teachers Union Local 66, Leominster Joint Council of the AFL-CIO, Amalgamated Meat Cutters Local P-575, Drug and Hospital Union Local 1199, International Electrical Workers, and three locals of the Teamsters.

**HAITIAN RALLY PROTESTS REPRESSION:** Two hundred and fifty people, nearly all Haitians, assembled March 30 in the auditorium of Saint Theresa school in Brooklyn, N.Y., to hear dramatic testimony about political repression in Haiti. This included the testimony of one of the several hundred refugees now in Florida fighting deportation back to Haiti.

The people who attended the meeting came in response to an open letter released by several Haitian organizations. The letter was addressed to Wilson Florestal, who is the consul general of Haiti in New York. Last November, Florestal had sent a letter to Le Patriote Haitien and Realites Haitiennes, two groups that publish newspapers of the same names. In the letter Florestal expressed his willingness to meet with members of the groups "at the date, place and time of their choosing."

The open letter, signed by Le Patriote Haitien, Realites Haitiennes, and five other Haitian groups, was a stinging indictment of the regime of "Baby Doc" Duvalier, premier of Haiti. The groups are demanding freedom of speech, press, assembly, and association; the right of workers to form unions; the right to strike; the immediate dissolving of police terror squads; an end to economic concessions given American, Canadian, and French companies; the immediate release of all political prisoners and publication of the names of all those who have died in prison.

"Monsieur Consul," the letter went on to say, "we agree

to meet you on Saturday, March 30, 1974, at 5:00 pm. . . in front of the whole community."

The consul was "unable" to attend.

**MACEO DIXON INTERVIEWED BY BLACK NEWS-PAPER:** Maceo Dixon, cochairman of the Socialist Workers Party 1974 National Campaign Committee, was interviewed in the March 26 issue of the **Philadelphia Tribune**, Philadelphia's largest Black newspaper.

The front-page interview focused on how the Black community should respond to the recent disclosures of the FBI plot to disrupt the Black liberation movement. These new revelations came as the result of the FBI being forced to release documents that further corroborate claims that the FBI and other federal agencies were involved in the assassinations of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King.

Dixon, who is a plaintiff in the suit the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have filed against the FBI and the Nixon administration, told the **Tribune** that the FBI documents "point up the necessity for the entire Black movement to pursue its own investigation of these murders."

To aid this investigation, Dixon called for the release of all secret files on Malcolm X and Martin Luther King. He also demanded the publication of the full text of the FBI disruption programs.

**NEW PALTZ STUDENTS PROTEST CUTBACKS:** Nearly 1,000 students occupied the administration building at the State University College at New Paltz on March 26.

Students had held a series of large rallies beforehand to protest cutbacks in an experimental studies program, the firing of three women professors and one Black professor, and administration attempts to abolish a Third World dormitory.

When the administration refused to even discuss these questions, students decided on the occupation. There are 8,000 students on the campus.

The student government supports the demands and has made facilities available for organizing the struggle. Students have formed a broad ongoing organization to continue their fight for student control and are contacting other campuses in the state university system in the hopes of planning coordinated actions.

**MAGAZINE REPORTS ON CHILE DEFENSE ACTIVITIES:** The latest issue of the **USLA Reporter**, publication of the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), is now available.

This issue contains a roundup of Chilean defense activities around the world. The magazine also carries an article reviewing the present situation in Chile, especially dealing with the condition of Luis Vitale, a noted Marxist scholar and historian, who is in prison.

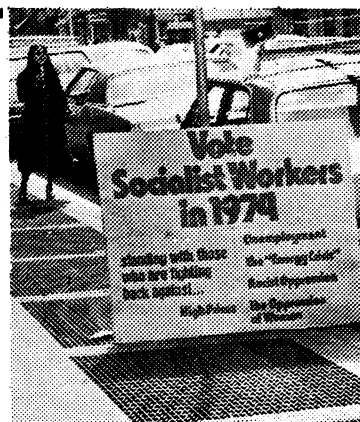
The **Reporter** also has articles on Colombia, Brazil, Peru, Guatemala, Puerto Rico, Nicaragua, and other countries.

To obtain single issues or bundles of the **USLA Reporter**, write: USLA, 156 Fifth Ave., Room 702, New York, N.Y. 10010. Telephone: (212) 691-2880.

— NORMAN OLIVER

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# Nixon's 'Honor Vietnam Veterans Day' denounced as mockery of social justice

By NORMAN OLIVER

A little more than a year ago, the last of 589 American prisoners of war returned from Vietnam. President Nixon hailed their return as the achievement of "peace with honor." Nixon told these veterans they should be proud that they were coming home on their feet and not on their knees.

Nixon was lying on both counts. The Vietnam accords didn't bring peace to Vietnam and the more than 2.5 million men who served in Vietnam weren't doing so with honor.

After fighting a war opposed by the majority of the American people, themselves included, Vietnam-era veterans returned to the U.S. to face a less than honorable existence of unemployment, meager veterans' benefits, inadequate health care, and a government that is unconcerned with their plight.

When Congress and President Nixon proclaimed March 29 "Honor Vietnam Veterans Day," it was nothing but a hypocritical attempt to display concern for veterans.

However, the problems that confront Vietnam vets won't be solved by proclaiming a national holiday. There were many Vietnam vets in Washington, D.C., on March 29 who protested this sham.

Several hundred Vietnam veterans, many of them disabled, jammed into a Capitol hearing room, where the Senate Veterans Affairs Subcommittee was meeting, to demand higher educational benefits and jobs.

Vietnam veterans are the hardest hit by rising unemployment, and the



VA head Donald Johnson met with disabled veterans in Los Angeles only after they held 18-day protest.

present GI bill gives vets inadequate support. One of the proposals discussed before the Senate committee, chaired by Senator Vance Hartke (D-Ind.), was an 8.2 percent increase in educational benefits. The Nixon administration has let it be known through Veterans Administration officials that it would support such a bill.

If passed, this increase would raise the present \$220 a month received by unmarried vets to \$242. This is far from enough to pay the soaring costs of education today. This money must cover all expenses.

As VA official Odell Vaughn pre-

sented this and other programs to the Senate hearing, the vets in the hearing room often shouted out their objections to his lies. At one point, when Vaughn was speaking about a program that pays full college tuition for seriously disabled veterans, someone shouted, "Why do you have to get shot to go to Harvard?"

Later, the Vietnam vets themselves were able to present their case to the Senate committee. Warren Nagle, from New York, read a GI Bill of Rights, which outlined the problems, from less than honorable discharges to inadequate benefits, that darken the future for vets.

Following this, Hartke announced that there would be more hearings in April. One vet shouted, "We don't want more hearings." Someone else shouted, "Starvation with honor!" As Hartke was gaveling the meeting to a stormy close, one vet exclaimed, "They walked out on us. They don't want to hear what we're saying."

"That's American justice, brother, that's American justice," answered a Black vet.

The day before the hearing, on March 28, a group of leaders from the newly formed American Veterans Movement (AVM) attempted to get an appointment with President Nixon to discuss the problem of Vietnam veterans. The AVM is the group that organized the 18-day occupation of Senator Alan Cranston's Los Angeles office last month until they got a meeting with VA director Donald Johnson to discuss poor conditions of VA hospitals.

After failing to get an audience with Nixon, Ron Kovic, a leader of the AVM, and six other vets occupied the top of the Washington Monument for about an hour. The take-over was ended when U.S. park police brutally ejected the vets, four of them in wheelchairs.

Kovic, who is paralyzed from the waist down, told a news conference afterwards, "This is Honor Vietnam Veterans Day, and they beat up three veterans and threw them out of their wheelchairs."

On March 29, Kovic and four other vets met with Nixon's domestic ad-

*Continued on page 26*

## Gov't officials let off scot-free

# Kent State grand jury indicts guardsmen

By CINDY JAQUITH

Eight of the Ohio national guardsmen at the Kent State massacre of May 4, 1970, were indicted by a federal grand jury on March 29. They are charged with violating the civil rights of the four students killed and nine students wounded the day the National Guard opened fire on a peaceful antiwar demonstration.

The students were protesting Nixon's invasion of Cambodia. The shootings, followed 10 days later by the killing of two Black students at Jackson State University in Mississippi, touched off the massive May 1970 student strike.

Five of the men indicted are held directly responsible for the shots that killed Kent students Allison Krause, Jeffrey Miller, William Schroeder, and Sandra Scheuer. The three other defendants are charged with also firing at the crowd, one with a pistol and two with 12-gauge shotguns.

The grand jury returned no indictments against any officers in the National Guard, or against any state or federal officials. According to J. Stanley Pottinger, head of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, no such indictments are likely.

The grand jury's decision opens up a new chapter in the Kent State case, which has been kept alive by the victims' families and by students, antiwar groups, and others determined to uncover the truth.

Their efforts have been frustrated every step of the way by government attempts to keep the lid on this explosive incident.

The first "investigation" into the Kent State deaths was conducted by a special grand jury appointed by Ohio Governor James Rhodes. Turning the facts upside down, the jurors indicted 25 students and professors for "rioting." Later, most of these outrageous charges were dropped for lack of evidence.

There has never been any proof that students opened fire on the Guard, the excuse originally cited for the shootings.

In fact, at the time of the state grand jury's deliberations, an 8,000-page FBI report had been prepared. This report, according to leaks in the press, stated that the "threat" of student violence was "fabricated subsequent to the event." However, the report was not shown to the state grand jurors, and it remains secret today. According to news accounts, the federal grand jury was given access to the report.

Another investigation of the shootings, by the President's Commission on Campus Unrest, found that the killings were "unnecessary, unwarranted and inexcusable."

Despite these reports, John Mitchell, then attorney general, hastily closed the case in 1971.

It was not until August 1973 — under the pressure of Watergate — that Attorney General Elliot Richardson agreed to reopen the case. Many new questions had been raised about the killings, including the discovery of an armed FBI informer at the scene, and the unexplained presence of national guardsmen who had not been assigned to the campus.

When Attorney General Saxbe took over in the Justice Department, he tried unsuccessfully to quell the growing momentum for a new grand jury investigation.

Saxbe was the Republican senator from Ohio at the time of the killings. A close ally of former governor Rhodes, Saxbe said two days after the massacre that "the blame rests not on the guardsmen, but on the way the children have been raised, buffered from the frustrations and disappointments of the world."

The new grand jury report, while acknowledging the violence of the government for the first time, specifically rejects the possibility of a conspiracy to kill the students. And it lets those who bear the main responsibility for the tragedy off scot-free.

As Bernard Miller, father of Jeffrey Miller, pointed out, the "higher-ups" have not been charged in this case. Instead, a few national guardsmen are being made the scapegoats.

"It's just like Watergate," Miller commented.

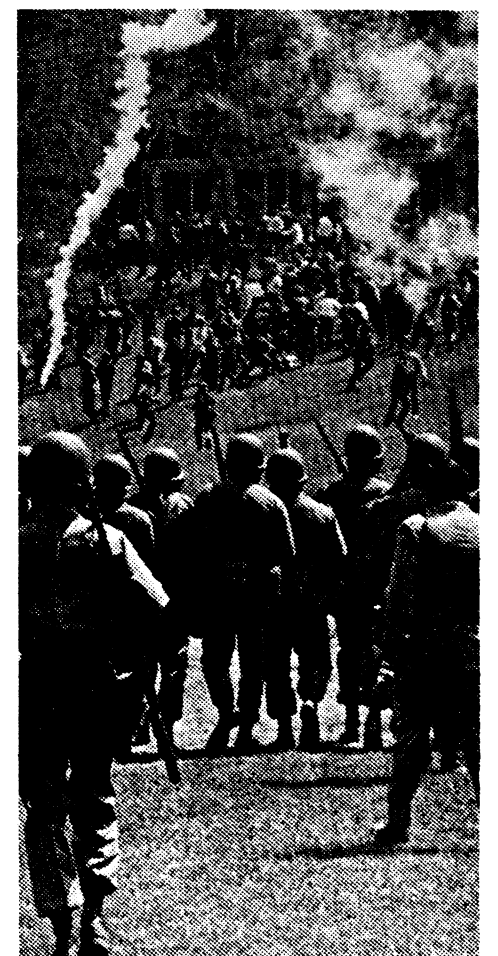
But just as the American people have not been satisfied with the sacrifice of Nixon's underlings for Watergate, it is unlikely that the new indictments will silence the demand for justice in the Kent State case.

The big questions remain: Did Rhodes consult with the White House before ordering troops into Kent? Did the Justice Department afterward conspire with Ohio officials to prevent the "investigation" from turning up the real facts?

What about the role of Nixon him-

self? Was he directly involved in a Kent State cover-up, as he was involved in the Ellsberg burglary cover-up?

The grand jury report leaves these questions untouched. As Bernard Miller explained, "It's not enough."



Kent State. New indictments will not silence demand for justice.



## Condemns big oil 'shale game'

# Rally launches Colo. socialist campaign

By RICH FEIGENBERG

DENVER—Colorado, one of the natural beauty spots of this country, is threatened with devastation as profit-hungry oil corporations begin a drive to exploit shale reserves estimated to contain three times as much oil as the entire Middle East.

The Democratic and Republican party politicians, both in Washington and here in the state capital, have done nothing to curb this profit rampage. In fact, the politicians of the two capitalist parties have legislated tax loopholes, sabotaged pollution controls, turned a blind eye toward monopolistic price-gouging, and in every respect served to safeguard the interests of the giant oil corporations.

But with the launching of the Colorado Socialist Workers Party 1974 election campaign at a March 22 rally, the voters of this state were given an alternative to this "two-party shale game."

Joel Houtman, a 27-year-old veteran who organized GIs United Against the War at Fort Huachuca, Ariz., is the SWP candidate for Congress from Colorado's 1st C.D.

Houtman explained that big oil "is

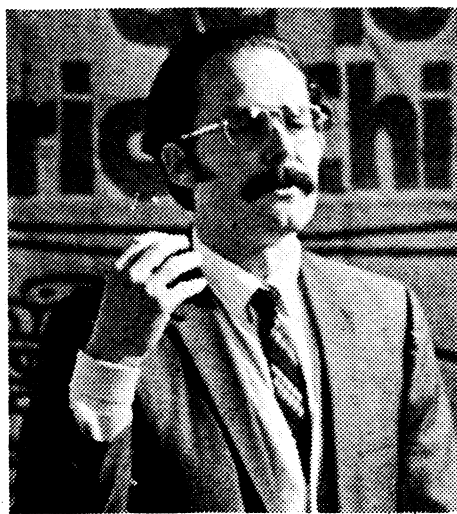
planning the most massive mining operation in the world. In the early phases, one-half billion tons of shale tailings [broken-up scrap rock] will be produced per year. The Denver Research Institute has produced evidence that the tailings are cancer-producing. The process will also increase the salinity of the Colorado River, making its waters unusable for agriculture."

Houtman said that while socialists are in favor of the development of new energy sources, this must be done in such a way as to meet human needs—not to boost profits for the oil monopolies.

To bring this about, he said, the books of the oil companies must be opened to the public and the oil corporations "must be nationalized under workers' control—not under some government agency that would be composed of oil executives."

Jack Marsh, a 37-year-old Teamster, is SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. He explained that the energy crisis was part of a wide-ranging attack on the standard of living of working people.

Marsh described how the leadership



Militant/Frank Lord

Jack Marsh, socialist candidate for U.S. Senate from Colorado

of his union, the Teamsters, has supported the Nixon administration up and down the line and has failed to lead any fight to defend the interests of working people. He blasted the Teamster-agribusiness attacks on the United Farm Workers and the recent efforts by the Teamster officials to sabotage the protests by independent truckers.

Marsh declared that his campaign would be "four-square on the side of the United Farm Workers and the independent truckers."

Marsh hailed the recent San Francisco city employees' strike, the protests of independent truckers, the strike of West Virginia miners against phony gas shortages, and the conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women as examples of workers taking action to defend their own interests.

"There is no eloquence equal to the eloquence of action," Marsh said, "and there is only one party upholding these examples and supporting these actions. It's not the Democrats and it's not the Republicans. The only campaign that is pointing to these actions as examples for American workers is the campaign of the Socialist Workers Party."

Nora Danielson, SWP candidate for governor of Colorado, chaired the rally and introduced a number of guests who voiced solidarity with the SWP campaign.

Danielson also pledged the SWP's support for the struggles of the Ameri-

can Indians and demanded an end to the frame-ups of the Wounded Knee defendants. Regina Dixon, a member of the American Indian Movement and a participant in the Wounded Knee seizure, addressed the rally. She expressed thanks to the campaign newspaper, *The Militant*, for spreading the truth about Wounded Knee while all the major press was distorting the story.

Lovida Lujan, from the Weld County Raza Unida Party, Los Apostoles de la Justicia in Greeley, and MI-CASA, told the rally that "the brothers and sisters in Weld County stand in solidarity with and support the nominees that are running" on the SWP ticket in Colorado.

A message was received from José Calderón, Colorado cochairman of the Raza Unida Party. The message said in part: "Throughout the year, your party has shown dedicated concern for the struggle of our people in Colorado and throughout the U.S. I hope you will continue to expose who the real criminals are."

Abdu Bsaies, an Arab student who is president of the Foreign Student Council at the University of Colorado in Boulder, also expressed solidarity with the SWP campaign.

A message was sent to the rally from

Continued on page 26

## Remarks by UFW organizer

Below are excerpts from the remarks made by Richard Longoria, United Farm Workers Rocky Mountain area boycott organizer, to the 1974 Colorado campaign kickoff rally of the SWP.

We as a union have made some political mistakes. A prime example was endorsing George McGovern for the presidency, which many people in the union were against but which was done anyway because a majority of the workers voted for such a thing. . . .

We've gone on record supporting the liberation movements in the Philippines against the Marcos dictatorship, the movement in South Africa against the white governments, and the movement in Angola against the Portuguese. We have condemned the right-wing coup in

Chile and supported the movement there. But we made a mistake, I think, in direct contradiction of these positions, in endorsing the Israeli side of the issue in the Middle East, which I was vehemently against and protested. . . .

I think that the Socialist Workers Party is one of the few parties we can go to, in terms of what we need and what we hope to get done, without any jockeying around. Here we can just lay it on the line on what we need and how we need it, and we can expect support, especially from the student movement, which has generated a lot of pressure against Gallo wines. And for the movement that has been generated, we owe our thanks to the party. Just in the crowd here, I can pick out the main people behind the movement on the different campuses. . . .

## Black leaders urge support for socialist suit

In the wake of the revelations about government disruption of the Black Panther Party and other Black groups, the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) has released a letter signed by 13 Black leaders who urge support for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance suit against the government as "an important first step in halting attacks on the right to dissent."

Signers of the appeal include Representative Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.); Georgia legislator Julian Bond; Black Panther Party leaders Bobby Seale and Huey P. Newton; and Dr. Ralph Abernathy, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Also, Robert Allen, managing editor, *Black Scholar*; Percy Sutton, Manhattan borough president; the Reverend Willie Barrow of Operation PUSH in Chicago; and Audrey Colom, vice-president, National Women's Political Caucus.

The appeal, addressed to Black groups and individuals, points out that "those concerned with defending civil liberties now have an opportunity to fight back by becoming sponsors

of the PRDF."

The PRDF is the nationwide civil liberties committee publicizing and financing the socialists' suit.

The Black leaders say that "the real victims of 'Watergating' are those engaged in protest."

"Socialists have not been the only



Georgia legislator Julian Bond, a signer of appeal for support to Political Rights Defense Fund.

victims. . . . From 1968 to 1970, the Nixon gang was at its height in 'dealing' with the 'Black problem.'" They cite "the murderous police attacks on the Black Panther Party."

The letter maintains that "disclosures of widespread governmental use of paid provocateurs and similar unconstitutional tactics raise obvious questions about the unresolved mysteries surrounding the assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King and Malcolm X."

The recently released and highly censored FBI "Counterintelligence Program-Black Nationalist-Hate Groups" dated March 4, 1968, indicates that one of the government's primary goals was to "prevent the rise of a 'messiah' who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement." That paragraph contains apparent—but censored—references to Malcolm X, who had already been murdered by that time, and Dr. King, who was murdered one month after the initiation of this "disruption program."

In urging support to the suit, the appeal asserts that "a victory in this case will mean a victory for the political rights of all."

Others who signed the appeal include Julius Hobson, D.C. Statehood Party; Margaret Sloan, National Black Feminist Organization; Josephine Hulett, president, National Committee on Household Employment; and attorney Conrad Lynn of the National Conference of Black Lawyers.

The PRDF is circulating this appeal widely. To order copies of the Black appeal and other PRDF literature send in the coupon below.

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

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

( ) Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_ booklets, "Challenge to the Watergate Crimes." (\$1 each or 75 cents each on orders of five or more.)

( ) Please send me more information about the suit, including a copy of the Black appeal.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

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# Texas SWP, Panthers demand: Open files on police infiltration!

By NELSON BLACKSTOCK

HOUSTON—On March 28 the campaign to end police use of Watergate-style tactics against the Socialist Workers Party and other radical groups here was brought to the office of Mayor Fred Hofheinz.

Confronted by a delegation of SWP candidates and other Houston citizens, the mayor finally felt forced to state that "the Socialist Workers Party is not now infiltrated, nor will it or any other legal political party be infiltrated under this administration."

However, the head of the Houston police department's Criminal Intelligence Division (CID) had previously stated that the question of whether the SWP is currently infiltrated by Houston undercover cops was classified information. Unsatisfied with Hofheinz's response, SWP gubernatorial candidate Sherry Smith replied, "I would like to hear that police officer say publicly that the SWP is not now and will not be infiltrated."

Moreover, Hofheinz refused the SWP's demand to open police files on the department's past infiltration and "disruption" of the socialists, Black groups, the antiwar movement, and the Pacifica radio station here.

The confrontation in Hofheinz's office was the latest in a series of events set off by the court-ordered release on March 7 of FBI secret memos outlining a plan for disruption of Black organizations and the SWP. These documents brought an admission by Joe Singleton, former head of the CID, that the local police had in the past infiltrated the SWP and other groups.

Accompanying Sherry Smith in the delegation to the mayor's office was Maceo Dixon, national cochairman of the SWP campaign committee; Paula Hawthorne of the Political Rights Defense Fund; Steve Edwards, a leader of the Houston Black Panther Party; and Don Sorsa, SWP candidate for state representative, 90th District.

Hawthorne read a statement to reporters assembled in Hofheinz's office calling for an end to secret police harassment of the SWP. It was signed by a broad range of individuals, including State Representative Ron Waters; Gertrude Barnstone, a former member of the Houston school board; Thorne Dryer, writer for *Texas Monthly*; ACLU attorney Ben Levy; the Reverend Webster Kitchell of the Unitarian Church; the Reverend William Lawson from the Wheeler Avenue Baptist Church; Ray Londo, vice-president of Postal Workers union Local 107; and several prominent professors from the University of Houston.

The statement demanded of Hofheinz an "immediate halt to the collection of illegally obtained information for secret files on the individual members and supporters of the Texas SWP as well as other Black, Chicano, and radical groups in this city."

"And furthermore, we call on you to release the entire record of police



Dixon confronts Houston Mayor Hofheinz (back to camera).

Militant/Nelson Blackstock

infiltration of the Socialist Workers Party."

Hawthorne also presented a separate statement demanding cessation of illegal police activity against the SWP and other groups that had been adopted by the Harris County Women's Political Caucus at its recent convention.

Steve Edwards pointed to the possibility of police complicity in the destruction by fire the previous weekend of a building operated by the Black Panther Party. Edwards also called for an investigation of the frame-up of Houston Panther leader James Aaron. Aaron was sentenced to two years in prison last year for allegedly assaulting a police officer and was recently sentenced to another year on a trumped-up charge of attacking a bailiff.

This type of harassment closely parallels the plan to destroy the Panthers that was revealed in the FBI memos.

At first Mayor Hofheinz had refused to meet with the delegation standing in his outer office, and sent one of his aides as a substitute. But about a dozen reporters had come to cover the event. When Hofheinz realized the attention this issue was receiving, he finally emerged from his inner office just as Sherry Smith was beginning to make her statement.

Joe Singleton made a public admission to the *Houston Chronicle* that he has ordered and carried out infiltration of the Socialist Workers Party," Smith said. "It was during Singleton's tenure in office that our headquarters was bombed."

"Fred Hofheinz was a candidate for mayor the year this bombing took place. His socialist opponent in that race, Debby Leonard, was accused of having planted that bomb. It was only after public outrage at the un-

checked activities of the Ku Klux Klan in this city, that arrests were made of Klansmen who took credit for terrorist attacks against Blacks, socialists, and antiwar activists.

"However, since that time, every single charge involving attacks on our party has been dropped. Those guilty of bombing, machine-gunning, and breaking into our headquarters have never been brought to justice!"

"It is in the interest of all people who honestly support democratic rights to have that full record made available. We demand to know what the role of the police was in Klan activities and if the terrorist attacks on the SWP were part of the program to, in the words of the FBI memo, 'disrupt and otherwise neutralize' our party."

Maceo Dixon explained to Hofheinz and the press that one of the reasons he was visiting Houston was to "collect evidence concerning the admitted infiltration of the Houston Socialist Workers Party by the police department."

"The information I am gathering will be examined in connection with the charges my party has filed against Nixon, Agnew, Dean, Mitchell, the CIA, the FBI, et al."

"These charges include illegal wiretaps, burglary, surveillance, mail-tampering, sabotage, and even terrorism to try to stop our opposition to government policies."

Following these statements, Hofheinz charged the delegation with using his offices for their own "partisan political purposes." Although he denied infiltration of the SWP, he avoided explicitly making a similar statement about the Black Panther Party, which according to a recent *Houston Chronicle* article, is assumed to be heavily infiltrated.

Hofheinz maintained that the previous illegal acts against the SWP were of no concern to him since they did not occur under his administration.

When asked by reporters for her response to Hofheinz's statement, Sherry Smith replied, "Mayor Hofheinz has not seen the last of us. If the mayor were truly concerned with democratic rights, he would be interested in bringing out the facts about the illegal acts against my party and other groups, whether they occurred under his administration or not. We want him to open those records."

## Thousands hear SWP leader on Texas tour

By KRIS VASQUEZ

HOUSTON—During a 14-day tour of Texas, Maceo Dixon spoke to a wide range of audiences in Dallas, Austin, and Houston at colleges and high schools, before Black community groups, and on radio and television. Dixon is a cochairman of the Socialist Workers Party 1974 National Campaign Committee.

In Houston his tour began with a confrontation over his right to speak at predominantly Black Yates High School. The media had called the school and asked whether they could film Dixon speaking there. The principal, uncomfortable about the prospect of such publicity, told the teachers who had invited Dixon that he had done an "FBI check" on Dixon and that he would not be permitted to speak.

The teachers argued with the principal for about two hours, and finally won out. Dixon was allowed to address a class of 140 students.

The students were very responsive to Dixon's talk on "The Energy Crisis and Watergate: How to Fight Back." Most of the questions dealt with Dixon's stand in favor of a Black political party. The Little Rock Black political convention had just taken place, and students wanted to know from Dixon, who attended the conference, "Why hadn't a Black party been formed at Little Rock?" They were interested in Dixon's views of what a Black party could do to fight year-round for the interests of the Black community.

Afterward 10 students asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Dixon was also scheduled to address a general assembly at another Black school, Kashmere, but again faced an attack on his right to speak. Refusing to say who was responsible, the principal told Dixon that "higher-ups" had threatened trouble if Dixon were allowed to speak. The principal canceled the meeting.

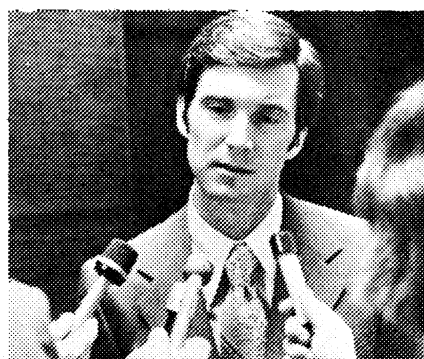
Dixon also spoke at predominantly Black Texas Southern University, as well as the University of Houston and Rice University.

The high point of Dixon's stop in Austin was his speech before a class of 250 at the University of Texas. "Throughout my speech," Dixon said, "the students would stop me and cheer and applaud—especially when I called for nationalization of the oil monopolies and of all basic industry under workers control."

In Dallas he spoke at a Black community center and at a community college. He found general agreement among Black audiences with his call for an independent Black commission of inquiry into the killings of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X, based on the new revelations of FBI plans to disrupt the Black movement.

"We need an independent inquiry," Dixon said. "Depending on government bodies to conduct this inquiry would be like setting the fox to watch the chicken coop, because the government is the one that's been attacking us."

In Houston Dixon spoke on seven radio stations, including three Black stations, totaling six-and-a-half hours of radio time. He also appeared on Channel 39 TV's "Black Viewpoint" and for 20 minutes on CBS-TV, and was interviewed by the *Houston Post*.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Sherry Smith and Panther leader Steve Edwards (right), Hofheinz (left).

## Bars filing fees in separate ruling

# Supreme Court ducks Calif. election case

On March 26 the U. S. Supreme Court handed down three separate decisions dealing with challenges to state election laws.

The court made a big concession to the movement to democratize election laws by striking down filing fees for poor candidates. On the other hand it upheld the entire election code of Texas, with its restrictive requirements for smaller parties.

On the central election challenge now pending in the courts—the attempt to knock down California's reactionary ballot laws—the justices chose to duck the issue. Under the guise of lacking enough evidence to decide on the constitutionality of the California code, the court sent the case back to the district court for further proceedings.

Observers had been anticipating a major ruling on the California challenge that would establish the framework for election cases for some time to come.

In 1968, the Supreme Court first opened the door to a series of assaults on ballot laws when it declared unconstitutional an Ohio law that required independent candidates to collect signatures on nominating petitions equal to 15 percent of the vote for governor. The court ruled that the 15 percent requirement, along with other restrictions, created an "entangling web" of laws that effectively barred any challenge to the Democrats and Republicans.

In 1970, however, in a landmark decision in a suit brought by Linda

Jenness, then the SWP candidate for governor of Georgia, the court upheld Georgia's requirement that smaller parties collect signatures of 5 percent of the eligible voters.

It is in this gray area between the Ohio law, which was struck down, and the Georgia law, which was upheld, that the California law falls.

In California, smaller parties must petition for 663,000 valid signatures or reregister 67,000 voters to win ballot status. Independent candidates must collect 331,000 signatures (5 percent of the vote in the last election) in a 24-day period. Moreover, no one who votes in the primary can sign a nominating petition.

These laws make it virtually impossible for independent candidates or smaller parties to win ballot status in California. For example, in 1972, California was the only major state where not a single party that was previously unqualified succeeded in meeting the criteria to put its national ticket on the ballot.

(The Peace and Freedom Party, which first won ballot status in 1968, was able to maintain its ballot line because once a party qualifies, it has to maintain a minimum party registration of only one-fifteenth of 1 percent of all registered voters.)

Last week's Supreme Court decision came on a case filed by Gus Hall and Jarvis Tyner, 1972 Communist Party candidates for president and vice-president, who sought to be put on the ballot as independents. Their suit was supported by many other parties, including the Socialist Workers Party, which submitted affidavits in support of a friend of the court brief filed by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL).

CoDEL, on behalf of the SWP, La Raza Unida Party, and several other smaller parties, has also filed a suit challenging the restrictions confronted by independent parties. That case, now in federal court in California, had been delayed pending the expected Supreme Court ruling on the Hall-Tyner case.

The court ruling sending the case back for further evidence, reached by a 6-to-3 vote, was based on the contention of the justices that the 5 percent requirement "as such, does not appear to be excessive . . . but to assess realistically whether the law imposes excessively burdensome requirements upon independent candidates it is necessary to know other critical facts which do not appear from the evidentiary record in this case."

The major missing "fact" cited by the court was whether eliminating all those who voted in the primary as possible signers makes the job of petitioning "substantially" more difficult. This fact actually was not missing from the record at all, however. As the three dissenting justices (Brennan, Douglas, and Marshall) pointed out, calculations based on the state's own figures show that eliminating all primary voters means that independent candidates in reality have to collect signatures from 9.5 percent of the pool of eligible signers.

The minority concluded that "the data leave no room for doubt" that the law is "unconstitutionally burdensome."

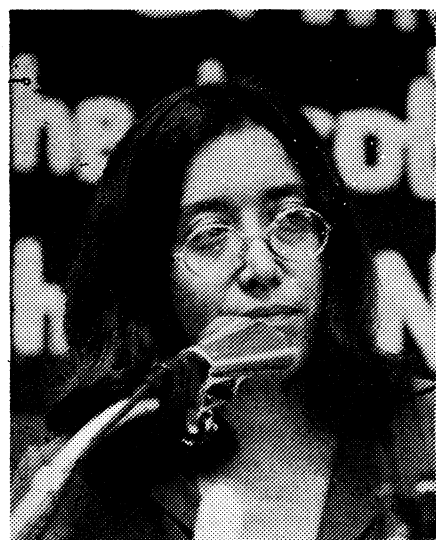
The Hall-Tyner challenge may now be consolidated with the CoDEL suit, and a trial held that would allow the smaller parties to present the evidence—which is overwhelming—that the California code presents nearly insurmountable barriers to all opponents of the Democrats and Republicans.

But the evidence alone won't be enough to convince Nixon's hand-picked court of the justness of the challenge, as the March 26 ruling clearly shows. It will take a massive public campaign to mobilize support from all supporters of democratic election laws to have these restrictions lifted.

In its decision throwing out the filing-fee requirement, the Supreme Court took note of the "increasing pressure for broader access to the ballot." It is precisely that pressure that can persuade the court to finally end the monopoly the Democrats and Republicans hold on the California ballot.

## Socialist placed on Calif. ballot

LOS ANGELES—The California secretary of state ruled March 27 that Mariana Hernández, Socialist Workers Party-endorsed candidate for superintendent of public instruction, will be on the ballot in the June 4 nonpartisan primary election. The decision was based on the March 26 Supreme Court ruling eliminat-



Militant/Walter Lippmann

Mariana Hernandez

ing filing fees for those who can't afford to pay them.

The secretary of state had previously indicated that Hernández would be denied ballot status because she was unable to pay the \$700 filing fee.

Hernández hailed the filing-fee decision as "an important step toward opening up California's restrictive and discriminatory ballot."

The Supreme Court ruling was also welcomed by Kitty Cone, California director of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL). In a statement released March 27 in San Francisco, Cone said CoDEL "applauds this decision to overturn California's legal tradition of limiting the voters' choice to those who can afford to buy a spot on the ballot. . . ."

"But there are still historic fights ahead to rid our state of the most restrictive election laws in the country," she added. "We intend to press forward in our fight against the other unconstitutional laws, and see this decision as an encouraging move."

# Unfair election law challenged in Massachusetts

By SUSAN LAMONT

BOSTON—The Massachusetts Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) announced a major lawsuit on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party and seven voter plaintiffs at a well-attended news conference here March 26.

The suit challenges the provisions of the Massachusetts election law that discriminate against smaller parties.

Explaining that these laws pose a "tremendous barrier" to smaller parties, CoDEL spokesman Tom Moriarty pointed out, "Since 1939, statewide ballot status for independent candidates has been secured through filing nominating petitions only three times. The onerous burdens involved in complying with the law as it stands have simply frightened off all but the most resolute—or wealthy—contenders."

"One of those three parties, the Socialist Workers Party, is the principal plaintiff in the suit just filed," Moriarty said. "In 1972, the Socialist Workers Party and its supporters were forced to gather over 120,000 signatures in order to insure ballot status for their candidates. This suit seeks legal recognition as a political party and ballot status for the Socialist Workers Party in Massachusetts."

Joining with the Socialist Workers Party in this suit are seven individuals,

who allege that their right to vote for the candidate of their choice is effectively denied by the Massachusetts election laws.

The voter plaintiffs are Rexford Weng, vice-president of the Massachusetts State Labor Council, AFL-CIO; Mel King, state representative and member of the Black Caucus of the state legislature; Dr. George Wald, Nobel Prize-winning professor of biology at Harvard University.

Also, State Representative John Busing; former corrections commissioner John Boone; Professor Howard Zinn from Boston University; and Florence Luscomb, a longtime activist in the movement for women's rights and a member of the Advisory Committee of the Massachusetts Civil Liberties Union.

Speaking at the news conference at the State House were John Busing, Florence Luscomb, and Donald Gurewitz, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Massachusetts.

Gurewitz said, "The SWP is suing to protect the rights of the thousands of voters who wish to express opposition to the two big business parties by voting for socialist candidates and to make it possible for insurgent political forces, like an independent Black political party or a labor party, to emerge."

"The Democrats and Republicans use their control of government to keep others off the ballot," Gurewitz explained, "because they seek to monopolize political power on behalf of the corporate interests they both represent."

Florence Luscomb told the news conference, "I was one of the millions of American women who participated in the struggle for women's suffrage. We had to overcome backward notions, established customs, reactionary laws,

and opposition from almost all political quarters in order to win the most basic democratic right for the women of America."

"Yet how limited and partial is that democratic freedom when in the voting booth my choice is, in effect, limited solely to the Democratic and Republican parties!"

The attorneys for the suit, Saul Shapiro and Jeffrey Denner, were also present at the news conference.



Militant/Betsy Whittaker

CoDEL spokesman Tom Moriarty at Boston news conference announcing lawsuit.



## Missouri nominee for Senate

# Hospital bosses fire socialist candidate

By NORTON SANDLER

ST. LOUIS—According to the myth of American "democracy" all citizens—not only lawyers and businessmen, but ordinary working people as well—have the right to present their political views and run for public office.

Reality teaches a different lesson, as Missouri residents recently learned. Within hours after Barbara Mutnick announced her campaign as Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senate, she was fired from her job as a typesetter at Jewish Hospital.

Hospital officials first demanded Mutnick's resignation, asserting that her socialist campaign would result in "bad publicity" for the hospital and that it was "against the policy of the hospital to allow employees to run for public office."

When Mutnick refused to resign, she was threatened with "disciplinary action" if she took a few hours off to announce her campaign at a news conference.

Nevertheless, Mutnick spoke at a well-attended news conference here March 12. She said her candidacy would provide "an alternative to the parties of big business, the Democrats and Republicans," whose policies serve only "to increase the profits of the rich while worsening the living standards and narrowing the rights of the American working people."

The launching of the statewide election campaign marks a big step forward for the Socialist Workers Party in Missouri. The St. Louis SWP branch formed last year is the first here since

the 1940s.

Mutnick challenged Democratic incumbent Thomas Eagleton to debate her, especially on the issue of abortion, "a newly won right for women which he arrogantly opposes." Eagleton was the keynote speaker at a huge anti-abortion "right to life" rally here last year.

Mutnick also condemned "the system of unequal justice that allows convicted Watergaters like Donald Segretti to serve out their sentences in sunny California prison camps playing golf and picnicking with friends while an innocent Black youth like J. B. Johnson slaves in a furniture factory in the Missouri State Penitentiary for \$15 a month."

After the news conference, Mutnick returned to her job, accompanied by a camera crew from KMOX-TV. When she attempted to punch in, however, she found her time card had been removed.

Shortly afterward, she was told she was suspended, and less than 24 hours later she was fired. By this time the hospital administration had scurried around for a "reasonable"-sounding charge. The best they could come up with was "absenteeism."

Mutnick explained to the media the real reason for the firing. She pointed out that Jewish Hospital is one of the targets of a union organizing drive by Local 50 of the Service Employees' International Union.

She said, "The Jewish Hospital administration is determined to prevent hospital employees from deciding for



Barbara Mutnick, SWP candidate for Senate, at picket line in support of hospital workers' right to unionize.

ourselves whether to form a union. They know that my campaign solidly backs the basic democratic right of all workers, including those at Jewish Hospital, to organize."

She said the firing was an example of the hospital's "long-standing tactic of axing anyone who so much as voices a pronoun stance."

"There are other planks of my plat-

form that I would wager hospital officials do not support," she added. "They don't have to vote for me—but they have no right to take away my job!"

Two organizers for SEIU Local 50 attended the campaign news conference to support Mutnick's right to retain her job.

A union-backed newsletter written and distributed by employees at the hospital featured the story of Mutnick's firing under the heading "Fired Employee of Month."

In the article, Mutnick said, "Lacking huge donations from multinational corporations like ITT or from such sources as the milk trusts, and not being independently wealthy, I had expected to continue working at Jewish Hospital during my campaign. But hospital officials decided otherwise. . . ."

Mutnick's firing is not the only undemocratic practice the socialist campaign must challenge. Plans for a suit seeking invalidation of discriminatory Missouri election laws were announced at the March 12 news conference.

The present law requires parties other than the Democrats and Republicans to collect signatures on nominating petitions equaling 1 percent of the total vote cast in the last gubernatorial election from each of the state's 10 congressional districts.

The suit will contend that such a distribution requirement is unconstitutional. Court rulings have struck down similar distribution requirements in other states.

## Georgia State stirred by YSA campaign

The following article on the Young Socialist Alliance campaign at Georgia State University is reprinted from the March 25 issue of *The Great Speckled Bird*, an alternative newspaper published in Atlanta.

By JON JACOBS

The Georgia State University Student Government Association (SGA), long a bastion of fraternity-oriented do-nothingism, came within a gnat's eyelash of becoming something very different early this month. Two members of the Young Socialist Alliance running for President and Vice-President of the SGA forced their respective elections into a runoff, and came close to winning.

Georgia State has a well-deserved reputation for student apoliticality. The mean age of the students is the late twenties, all of them commute, and interest in student elections has been generally very low. For the recent election, however, student interest was quite high.

Many students had been angered by an announcement, in late February, that the administration had decided that nine of the 28 people then serving on the SGA Council could no longer serve because they did not meet certain very technical requirements. Among the nine were two YSA members and Hugh Twiggs, the current SGA President. Student resentment was high and, when the Georgia State Paper and the SGA itself opposed the action, the administration announced that if the SGA did not purge itself, the administration would have to take action. The question of whether the student government was controlled by the students or by the administration became a major issue in the campaign.

In past years, the YSA, which has

been active at Georgia State for many years, has always run candidates for President and VP of the SGA. However, the election scheduled for February 25 and 26 was the first time YSA candidates had been written on the ballot. YSA ran a spirited campaign calling for student control of the student government, better evaluation of course quality, and adequate child care for the children of students. By concentrating on the specifics of their program, rather than on their overall Socialist politics, they polled the most votes (40%) in both the Presidential and Vice Presidential elections. [While the YSA did poll the most votes in the presidential election, YSA Vice-presidential candidate Eli Green ran second.—*Militant*] Both races were forced into a runoff, which was scheduled for March 5 and 6.

The administration and many professors were flabbergasted by the size of the YSA vote. During the runoff campaign, the administration provided unfair aid to Sloane, the non-socialist candidate, by giving him campaign lists of students with high averages who might be especially interested in politics, and made it difficult for the YSA campaigners to obtain supplies to which they had a right from school sources. Some teachers, especially in business courses, urged their students to get out the vote to "stop the socialists."

The Sloane campaign, which had no platform but opposition to the socialists, contented itself with sending fraternity boys running down the halls yelling about the red menace. They also distributed handbills associating YSA candidates with increased crime.

Despite the scare tactics, most students were convinced the YSA candidates were going to win the two

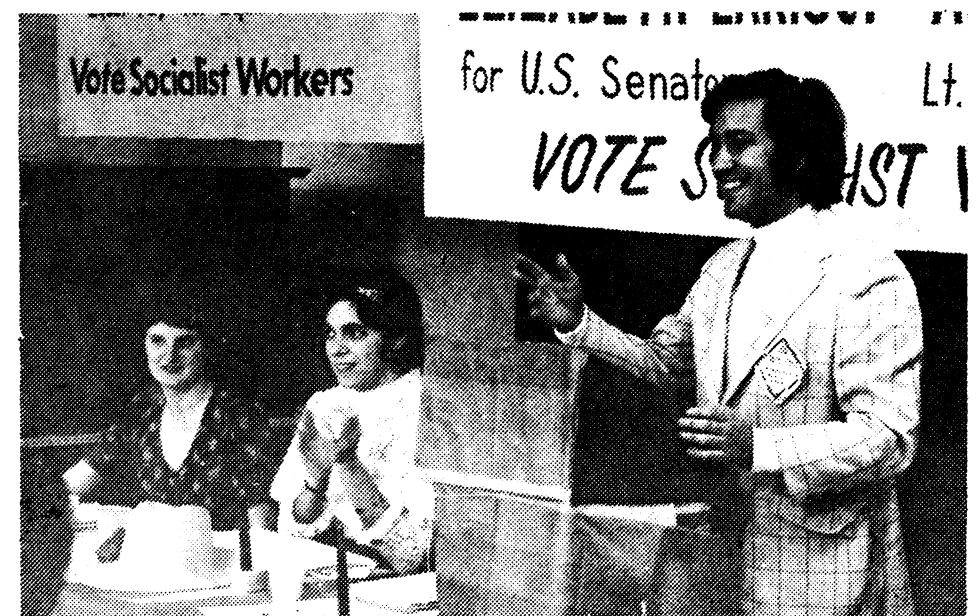
posts. Sympathy for the YSA candidates was increased when it was revealed that the administration kept special files on YSA members and other "troublemakers" in the University Security office. Nevertheless, when the votes were counted, Mike Weisman, the YSA presidential candidate, had lost by a vote of 1,853 to 1,451. The Vice Presidential candidate lost by approximately the same margin.

The YSA watched the vote counting closely and believes it was honest. Nor do they think that they lost because of unfair treatment from the administration. A YSA spokesperson told the *Bird*, "The reason we lost was because the campus was polarized. The Sloane campaign didn't get out the right wing vote, we did."

If the YSA candidates had won, they could have done little since the SGA is essentially powerless, but the loss had some important side-effects. For in-

stance, the SGA has voted to look into the actions of the administration during and before the election, and to hold open hearings on the matter. This investigation has stirred an unusual amount of student interest. The whole campus appears more politically involved, at least insofar as student issues are concerned.

Elections for the 28 representative seats in the SGA are coming up this spring. In the last elections, YSA won five seats, but they expect to do much better this time. YSA people tell us that they have hopes of winning a majority. What they will do if they win, given the powerlessness of the SGA, is unclear. At the very least, however, it would give them an unprecedented opportunity to frame the issues facing students from a socialist point of view—which could make Georgia State a very different place.



MIKE WEISMAN: Came 'within a gnat's eyelash' of winning student gov't election.



# Socialist campaign rallies hit streets of New York



Militant/Phil Reed

By ANDY ROSE

NEW YORK—It's a typical Saturday afternoon at 14th Street and Broadway.

The sidewalks are jammed with shoppers, mostly Puerto Rican and Black, bustling past the usual array of pretzel and roasted chestnut vendors, displays of handmade jewelry, and assorted bargain hawkers.

Then an ear-shattering loudspeaker cuts through the hubbub, and people for half a block around turn and stare.

"In just a minute a rally will begin here for the New York Socialist Workers Party candidates. The socialist candidates are the only candidates who stand on the side of the working people and have a program for fighting these skyrocketing prices and the phony energy crisis. They defend the Attica Brothers and the Wounded Knee defendants, and support the struggle for Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese community control of the schools in District 1. Our first speaker. . . ."

A table appears with socialist campaign literature and a few books and pamphlets. Several campaign workers spread out through the crowd, selling *The Militant* and the *Young Socialist*, the newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance.

A street rally bears little resemblance to a campus forum or other campaign meetings where an audience sits and listens to an extended talk on a particular topic.

The rallies are not expected to draw a crowd that stops to hear an entire speech. But hundreds of people pass by and many listen for a while. Dozens take campaign literature and buy copies of *The Militant*. Some stop at the literature table to sign a mailing list and talk about the campaign.

## Soapbox speakers

Rebecca Finch is the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from New York and a frequent speaker at campaign street rallies. "This is the way I imagine the soapbox speakers of the IWW and the Socialist Party must have done it in the early 1900s," she says.

"One of the most important gains is that we sell a lot of *Militants*. The rallies are a regular part of both the election campaign and the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* sales drives.

"Especially in New York, you hesitate to stop on the street for anything, because there are so many people

coming at you to beg or try to sell you something," she adds, nodding at the band of saffron-robed Hare Krishna freaks chanting across the street.

"The speeches and signs catch people's attention, though," Finch continues, "and once they see this is something they might be interested in, they're more likely to stop and buy a paper."

## Workers need own candidates

Several SWP candidates are present for the rally. Each gives a five- or 10-minute speech centering on one point, such as Attica, inflation, child care, schools, Watergate, socialism and democracy. But all keep hammering away at one theme:

"These rotten Democratic and Republican politicians are all tied hand and foot to the big corporations. They're all corrupt. They're all responsible for robbing our paychecks and protecting the profiteering corporations.

"Don't put your trust in the Democrats and Republicans. Working people need our own candidates who support our struggles and will work for our needs."

And every speaker urges, "Buy *The Militant*, the socialist campaign newspaper. It's the only newspaper that tells the truth about what's going on in this country."

A young Puerto Rican stops by the literature table to talk for a minute. He is chairman of Latinos United at a nearby university, and says the group has a subscription to *The Militant*.

He explains that he is a former member of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, and since the split in the PIP last year he has been studying the politics of many radical groups.

He agrees with most of what he reads in *The Militant* and particularly looks for the articles on the Puerto Rican struggle and on Watergate.

A truck from Phoenix House, a local drug rehabilitation center, pulls up next to the campaign sound car. Seeing *The Militant*, the driver hands out a quarter for a copy.

A high school senior who has never seen *The Militant* before buys a copy because of the back-page article on the Wounded Knee trials. Two of her friends, she says, are Cherokees who took part in the Wounded Knee seizure, and she's interested in reading a paper that gives the Indians' side of the story.

At another rally at 6th Street and Avenue D in the Lower East Side, several people stop who are already familiar with *The Militant* and the SWP because of their active involvement in the struggle for community control of the District 1 schools.

Others who are asked why they picked up *The Militant* cite the coverage of the Black Political Convention in Little Rock. Some remark, "I just want to find out what it has to say."

Finch believes that receptivity to the street rallies has improved noticeably since the New York SWP first tried them in 1972. "More people stop now and take literature. There's very little right-wing harassment. I remember in '72 sometimes the anti-abortion people would start screaming and give us a hard time, but not anymore."

What issues do people respond to? "It's not usually a question of one particular issue," Finch says, "but the whole idea of an alternative to all the things going wrong in society—high prices, Watergate, crooked politicians.

"More and more people are becoming convinced that the government is completely corrupt and tied to the big business interests. They don't yet agree with everything we say, but they are looking for an alternative, and they're willing to listen to us."

Organizing a street rally requires

some advance planning, but it is neither expensive nor difficult. "We check out possible locations beforehand with sales teams," Finch explains. "Then we get the permit, sound equipment, and a box of literature, and arrange for enough candidates and campaign supporters to speak and sell."

In New York, permits to use sound equipment on the street cost \$5 for each location and must be obtained several days in advance.

"As the weather warms up we plan to hold rallies just about every Saturday and expand the number of locations. Any busy street corner is a possibility," Finch says.

"Street rallies in other cities might be even more successful than ours are here, because there's not as much automatic resistance to stopping, and a rally would be more of a novelty.

"When rallies are held regularly in an area, the long-run gains are even greater than simply the number of papers sold or the number of people who sign up to support the campaign. The party becomes known as a serious political party to thousands of people who otherwise would never hear of us. They hear the name of the party and hear—even if very briefly—some of the positions we stand for, and they will remember us."

## Morrison tours Buffalo

By JANE ROLAND

BUFFALO—Derrick Morrison, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York, has just completed a week of campaigning in the Buffalo area along with a team of Young Socialists.

Everywhere Morrison spoke he emphasized the importance of the latest FBI disclosures concerning the secret police plotting against the Black movement.

Morrison will be attending the trials and participating actively in the defense of the Attica Brothers. He has demanded the dropping of all indictments against the 61 Attica defendants.

At a televised news conference on the steps of the county hall, a Buffalo support group for the Socialist Workers Party campaign was launched.

The first activity of the Buffalo Young Socialists for Finch and Morrison was a Saturday campaign blitz

in the downtown area. Campaign platform distributions and sales of *The Militant* met with a good response from Saturday shoppers.

During the week Morrison spoke to students at Erie Community College, the State University College at Buffalo, and the University of Buffalo.

At the meetings, 15 people signed cards supporting Morrison's campaign as a positive alternative to the Democrats and Republicans. Among those endorsing the SWP campaign were Don Goetsell, vice-president of the student government at Erie Community College, and Sidney Herring, professor of sociology at Buffalo State.

Before visiting Buffalo, Morrison's campaigning took him to Ithaca, where he participated in a rally at Cornell University in support of the Attica Brothers along with defendants Frank "Big Black" Smith and John Hill.

# SWP candidates blast Penna. death penalty

By CARLA HOAG  
and DELBERT MAXWELL

Supporters of the Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Party election campaign held meetings March 23 in both Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

Featured speakers were gubernatorial candidate Roberta Scherr in Philadelphia and senatorial candidate Christina Adachi in Pittsburgh.

The socialist candidates have strongly condemned the death penalty law recently passed by the state legislature. Governor Milton Shapp vetoed the bill March 23 on the basis of "personal, moral beliefs," but promised to cooperate with the legislature if his veto was overridden—as it was on March 27.

Roberta Scherr issued a statement calling the death penalty "a barbarous, inhumane measure which should be outlawed everywhere. Its main purpose is to oppress and terrorize the Black community and the poor, against whom it is mainly used."

Christina Adachi, speaking at the Pittsburgh campaign event, lashed out at her opponents for supporting the

graft, and accused him of actively attempting to block its investigation.

Rizzo insinuated the report was an "attempt to smear the entire police department with frivolous, unsubstantiated, or undocumented allegations," Philadelphia news media have launched a campaign to publicize "honest cops" on the force.

Meanwhile, none of the more than 400 cops accused by name in the report have been suspended, much less brought to trial.

At a news conference March 22, Tony Austin announced his campaign as SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from Pennsylvania's 2nd C.D. Pointing to the Crime Commission report, Austin said the cops "cannot be trusted to provide justice for Black and working people."

"In addition to directly participating in and protecting illegal gambling, drug sales, and prostitution, it is the police who carry out brutal assaults on the rights and lives of Black people, such as the 1969 murder of Joey Brooks, a 15-year-old retarded Black youth." One of the Crime Commission's revelations was that a policeman who witnessed this murder had then lied to protect another cop.

Austin compared the revelations to the latest FBI documents disclosing a plan of harassment and disruption of the Black movement.

Austin also demanded the removal of the racist and corrupt police force from the Black community, to be replaced by units drawn from and controlled by the Black community.

The major Democratic and Republican candidates, while campaigning for the death penalty, have at the same time been demanding more restrictive abortion laws on the basis of their "concern for life."

On March 20 the state senate passed an abortion bill requiring parental consent for abortions for women under 18 and a husband's consent for abortions for married women. It would also end state subsidies for abortions for women with low incomes.

In a statement released the same day, Roberta Scherr said, "The purpose of these measures is to make it harder, not easier, for women to obtain safe, legal abortions. Many women who do not wish to bear children would be forced to do so or to seek illegal abortions because of this bill."

Scherr called for an end to all restrictive abortion laws and for creating "free, safe abortion and contraception clinics available to all women, to be funded by the state."

The Pennsylvania SWP has announced several additional candidates for Congress.

Speaking at the Pittsburgh meeting of 50 people on March 23 were Karen Pewitt, running in the 20th C.D., and

Continued on page 26



Militant/Mark Salinoff

Socialist congressional candidate Tony Austin denounces racist and corrupt police force.

death penalty and the entire system of capitalist injustice.

"We all know there are two systems of justice, one for the rich and one for the poor," Adachi said. "If there were not two systems of justice, Richard Nixon, one of the biggest criminals in history, wouldn't still be sitting in the White House, and Spiro Agnew, a convicted felon, wouldn't be walking the streets a free man, while a Black man like George Jackson gets sent to prison for allegedly stealing \$70 and never gets out alive."

While the Democrats and Republicans call for the death penalty and expanding the police force to "prevent crime," a recently released report by the Pennsylvania Crime Commission provides further evidence of who the real criminals are.

The 1,404-page report details police corruption in Philadelphia that is "ongoing, widespread, systematic and occurring at all levels of the police department." "Philadelphia's finest" collect bribes estimated to total at least \$1-million a year from "gamblers, racketeers, bar owners, businessmen, nightclub owners, after-hours club owners, prostitutes and others."

The report also told of cops keeping drugs seized in narcotics arrests for resale, for their own use, or for planting as false evidence in frame ups.

The Crime Commission linked "law and order" Mayor Frank Rizzo, himself a former cop, to gambling and



LNS/Darby Holmes

PHILADELPHIA COPS: Killers who rake in \$1-million in graft each year.

# Campaigning for socialism

**RODRIGUEZ TOURS SAN DIEGO:** Forty students signed up to work on the campaign of Olga Rodriguez for governor of California during the Socialist Workers Party candidate's recent tour of the San Diego area.

Rodriguez addressed Chicano studies classes at Palomar College, San Diego City College, and San Diego State University. At Mesa Community College, campaign supporters organized an open-air meeting of 60 people. Rodriguez also spoke to 175 students at San Diego High School.

During the tour, the San Diego SWP announced the candidacy of Ken Davy for California state treasurer. Davy is a leader of the San Diego Young Socialist Alliance.

Both candidates spoke at a city-wide campaign event March 22 attended by 50 people. The meeting was chaired by congressional candidate Salm Kolis, who is fighting a frame-up charge of perjury brought against her because she ran as a socialist for San Diego city council last fall.

Rodriguez linked this political persecution of Kolis to the recently disclosed letter by J. Edgar Hoover ordering an "SWP Disruption Program" by the FBI because the SWP was "openly espousing its line on a national and local basis through running candidates for public office."

Rodriguez pointed out that in spite of such harassment and intimidation the SWP was campaigning more actively than ever before in San Diego. The meeting raised \$400 for the state campaign.

## BLACK VIETNAM VETERAN RUNS FOR CONGRESS ON SWP TICKET

The Indiana SWP has announced the candidacy of Greg Peterson, a Black Vietnam veteran, for Congress from the 11th C.D. Peterson will be facing Republican incumbent William Hudnut and former Democratic congressman Andy Jacobs.

Speaking at a March 19 news conference at the statehouse in Indianapolis, Peterson presented the SWP's position on the current busing controversy there. He attacked those "who mask their racism by bemoaning the 'tragedy and inconvenience' of busing" and supported the right of Black parents to decide to have their children bused to better schools.

However, Peterson pointed out that "the solution to the immense social and economic problems Black people face is not to be found in busing." He called for a massive, federally funded crash program to build and improve schools in the Black community.

Black parents, students, and faculty, Peterson said, must have the right to control these funds and to determine curriculum, facilities, and staff.

"If the Democrats and Republicans tell us there is no money available to meet our needs," he added, "let them eliminate the \$100-billion war budget which is financing corrupt dictatorships in South Vietnam, Greece, Brazil, and Chile, and which is protecting apartheid in South Africa."

## WASHINGTON SWP ANNOUNCES FRAENZL FOR U.S. SENATE

The Washington Socialist Workers Party has announced that Clare Fraenzl will be the party's candidate for the U.S. Senate seat now held by Democrat Warren Magnuson.

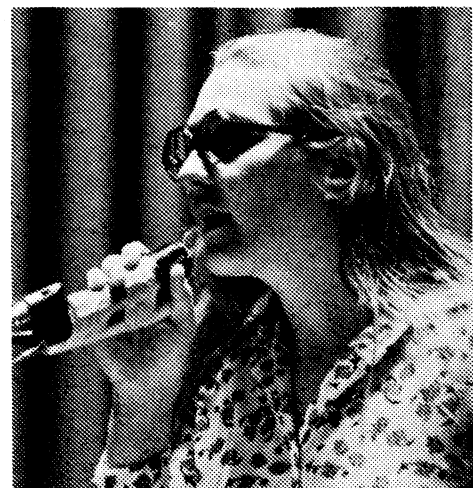
Fraenzl, 29, is a member of American Federation of State, County and

Municipal Employees Local 1488 at the University of Washington and has been active in the struggle of UW employees against discriminatory job classifications.

The SWP is also running Fred Lovgren for Congress from the 1st C.D., which includes the University of Washington. Lovgren is challenging the state's lone Republican congressman, Joel Pritchard. Lovgren is a longtime antiwar activist and former national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Southeast Asia.

Young Socialists for Fraenzl groups have already been formed at four Washington college campuses and four high schools. This month a team of Young Socialists will tour campuses throughout Washington to build support for the socialist campaign.

The campaign kickoff will be April 13 at the Socialist Workers campaign headquarters, 5623 University Way N.E., beginning at 8 p.m. Featured speakers will be Fraenzl, Lovgren, and Maceo Dixon, cochairman of the SWP 1974 National Campaign Committee.



Militant/Michael Baumann

Clare Fraenzl, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Washington.

## BOUTELLE DISCUSSES LESSONS OF LITTLE ROCK CONFERENCE

Following his return from the National Black Political Convention in Little Rock, Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate in California's 8th Congressional District, issued a statement on the convention's outcome.

"A motion calling for the formation of an independent Black political party was defeated by the delegates," he noted. However, Boutelle said, the strategy of supporting Democrats or Republicans has failed to bring any improvement in the conditions facing the Black community.

These conditions are worsening, he said, as "the meat shortage, energy crisis, runaway inflation, increased unemployment, and government cutbacks in social services all hit Blacks the hardest."

Boutelle, who is running against prominent Black Democrat Ronald Delums, declared that "the white American ruling class uses Black Democrats and Republicans as a way to keep Blacks politically tied to the system that exploits and oppresses us."

He said the SWP calls for a complete break with the two capitalist parties. "The simple fact is that if you belong to a party that is tied to big business, profit comes first and the well-being of working people gets the short end of the stick. An independent Black political party could really fight for the interests of our people."

— ANDY ROSE



# New proof of oil monopolies' lies,

By CAROLINE LUND

A *New York Times* reporter recently described the inside of the San Francisco headquarters of the Standard Oil Company of California: "The 18th executive floor . . . exudes a beige neutrality. Uniformed black stewards patrol the halls as combination messengers and security guards."

"Until recent years no women were permitted to work on this floor. Even today most of the executives' secretaries are men. . . ."

"There are no titles on the doors. One must know the exact suite number to find a particular executive."

It is behind the guarded doors of plush offices such as these that decisions were made by a handful of oil monopoly and government officials to deliberately create the energy crisis.

Information from the recent hearings of the Senate Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations

tic reductions in 1969 output in Egypt, Nigeria, Libya, Latin America, and Indonesia, while permitting production increases in Saudi Arabia and Iran, which they considered "politically palatable."

## Hold down production

According to the March 27 *Wall Street Journal*, "The oil economists also assumed that all the major international companies would act concurrently to hold production down rather than see prices drop."

To do this, the monopolies often had to use strong-arm tactics and trickery against the governments of oil-producing countries, who were pressing for greater production, which brought them greater revenues.

The *Wall Street Journal* report says that the Iraq Petroleum Company, a cartel of five multinational firms, "actually drilled wells to the wrong

agreement between private companies!

The government's "national security" pretext for keeping the Libyan document secret was even more blatantly hypocritical than their use of that argument in regard to the Pentagon papers. The agreement was not secret outside the United States, since all the foreign companies involved in it had copies. The sole purpose of government classification was to keep it secret from the American people.

After Libya nationalized some American oil holdings in September of last year, the companies, with U.S. government aid, tried to get other oil monopolies to boycott Libyan oil, as had been done with Iran in 1951.

But this time, as the *Wall Street Journal* put it, "the effort to shut off the world-wide market for hot oil [oil from the nationalized holdings] was a complete and embarrassing bust." European and Japanese capitalists were not willing to go along with the plan to protect U.S. concerns.

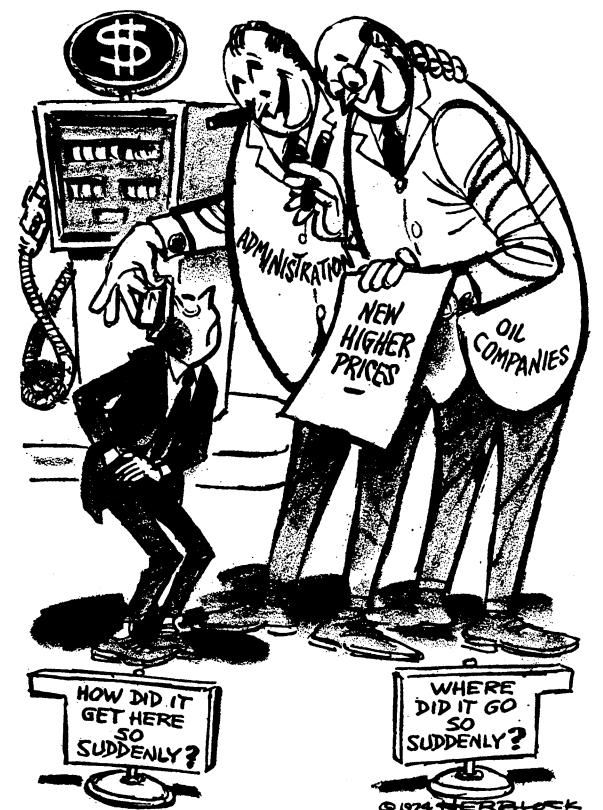
## Domestic shortage

In the United States, the oil monopolies had other devices for keeping their profits as high as possible. One was the system of import quotas on Arab oil, which until recently had been much cheaper than domestically produced oil. By keeping foreign oil out and forcing the American people to rely primarily on domestic reserves, the oil monopolies were able to increase their take by about \$7-billion a year, according to an estimate by Senator Philip Hart of Michigan.

The import quotas were initiated at the demand of the oil monopolists in 1959 by the Eisenhower administration, and maintained through the administrations of Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon. They were dropped by Nixon last April with the OK of the oil monopolies. They were no longer needed because imported oil prices had risen enough to match domestic prices.

Bob Wyrick and Brian Donovan, investigative reporters for *Newsday*, described one incident showing the working relationship between the oil monopolies and the capitalist politicians. "On Oct. 21, 1968, vice-presidential candidate Spiro Agnew appeared before a select group of oil company executives at the Petroleum Club in Midland, Tex., to seek contributions for the Nixon-Agnew campaign," write Wyrick and Donovan.

"The Texas oil producers were vitally interested in stopping an application to the federal govern-



"You Were Possessed By An Energy Crisis, But We Exorcised It"

ment by the state of Maine that would have created a duty-free trade zone for oil imports at Machiasport, Me. . . . [Agnew] knew the oil men in the audience were afraid that if the Machiasport plan was approved it would be the first step in letting in cheaper foreign oil and would eventually force down the price of domestic oil and hurt them in the pocketbook. . . .

"Agnew said that if he and Nixon were elected they would kill Machiasport," said Walter Davis, then a vice-president in Occidental Petroleum, who was in the audience."



Oil executives prepare to tell the big lie. Secret documents from Senate hearings show they deliberately created shortage.

is incontrovertible proof of the plot carried out by the oil monopolies to jack up their profits at the expense of the masses of people of the world. This information confirms what many Americans have suspected all along: the "fuel shortage" has been manufactured by the oil barons.

The subcommittee released oil company documents proving that world oil production was deliberately cut back because the monopolies feared a "surplus" would bring down prices. Thus the companies let their production machinery sit idle while the masses of people—especially in the colonial countries—were in desperate need of low-cost fuel.

As millions of Americans were wasting millions of hours of human time and energy sitting in gas lines, the machinery that could produce the fuel they needed was also being wasted by production cutbacks. In Africa, Asia, and Latin America the contrived fuel shortage is taking a much more drastic human toll in the form of increased poverty, disease, and starvation.

## Aramco profits

The lies used by the government and the oil companies to cover up this conspiracy are outrageous. While the monopolies and government were charging "Arab blackmail," the subcommittee documents show, oil company profits were rising in direct proportion to the Arab price hikes.

The Arabian American Oil Company, Aramco, raked in profits of \$3.2-billion last year on revenues of \$8.7-billion—almost double its profits from 1972.

Aramco is the world's largest oil producer. It sells its oil only to the four American corporations that own it—Exxon, Texaco, Standard Oil of California, and Mobil.

This is the first time Aramco's profit figures have been made public.

In 1972 Aramco legally got away with paying only one one-hundredth of a percent of its profits in U.S. taxes. This compares with the minimum of 20 percent paid by the average American worker.

Another pure lie is the oil company advertising saying, in essence, "We've been telling you for years that this shortage was coming," and blaming the crisis on wasteful use of energy by consumers together with Arab "intransigence." It turns out the oil monopolies have known for years, because they have been plotting the shortage for years.

A 1968 memo prepared by the economics department of Standard Oil of California (Socal) posed "the problem of accommodating a large potential surplus [of oil]. . . in '69 and over the next five years to 1973." The economists proposed dras-

tic reductions in 1969 output in Egypt, Nigeria, Libya, Latin America, and Indonesia, while permitting production increases in Saudi Arabia and Iran, which they considered "politically palatable."

## Government complicity

The government—including both Democratic and Republican administrations—has worked hand in glove with the oil companies to legalize this profit-gouging.

The first big present the government gave to the oil monopolies was a tax loophole—the 27.5 percent depletion allowance granted back in the 1920s. It was shaved to 22 percent in the late 1960s.

The next lucrative concession—which explains Aramco's miniscule taxes cited earlier—was the foreign tax credit, which allowed companies to subtract from their U.S. taxes all taxes paid to foreign governments. This tax loophole was added secretly by the State and Treasury departments in 1950, and did not become publicly known until 1952.

Then came the nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company by the Mossadegh regime in Iran in 1951. Again the U.S. government stepped in to further the interests of U.S. oil monopolies, and the CIA arranged the 1953 overthrow of Mossadegh.

Following the CIA overthrow, a new consortium for exploiting Iranian oil was worked out between Washington and London, with U.S. oil monopolies muscling in for 40 percent of the operation.

In the 1960s, U.S. oil monopolies had government backing again in their attempts to counter demands by the Arab and other oil producing states for more concessions in regard to control of their oil resources. This trend was expressed in the formation of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries in 1960.

In September 1969 the Qaddafi regime took power in Libya and began demanding higher prices for Libyan oil. The oil monopolies attempted to form a united front, codified in what was called the Libyan Producers' Agreement, to beat back these just demands.

In the Senate hearings on this development in February, Senator Charles Percy (R-Ill.) compared this pact to the arrangement between airlines for mutual aid against strikes.

The Justice Department smoothed the way for the Libyan Producers' Agreement by granting the U.S. oil companies immunity from antitrust prosecution for this collusion. Then the government helped the monopolies hide this conspiracy from the public by giving a "national security" classification to the Libyan Producers' Agreement—even though it was not a government document at all but an



# conspiracy

"Nixon got a ton of money out of us," said Jack Bradford, president of the petroleum club. The promise was carried out.

Meanwhile, shortages of oil began to develop in the United States. The oil monopolies had not found it profitable enough to expand their production and refinery capacity in this country.

## Making consumers pay

By 1972, as domestic shortages began to loom more ominously, the Nixon administration decided what to do about it—in conjunction with the oil monopolies, of course. Reporters Wyrick and Donovan quote a classified memo by Frank Mau, a State Department international economist and adviser to Nixon's oil policy committee, that stated:

"The domestic price of crude oil and products should be allowed to increase substantially. At a minimum, the domestic price of crude oil should be increased to \$4 a barrel. . . .

"The cost would be placed where it should be—directly on the consumer."

At the time of Mau's memo (October 1972), domestic crude oil was about \$3.39 a barrel. By the time of the Arab embargo last October, "new" oil had gone up to \$5.60 a barrel, meaning billions of dollars more per year flowing into the coffers of the monopolies.

All of the information that has come out about the roots of the energy crisis, through newspaper exposés as well as congressional hearings, has confirmed the analysis presented by *The Militant* from the very beginning.

In the Nov. 23 issue of *The Militant* Dick Roberts wrote: "For the energy crisis is a profit-gouging fraud from top to bottom. It is a conspiracy by the most powerful monopolies in the United States (and the capitalist world)—the international petroleum cartel—to drive up the prices of energy."

*The Militant* itemized what the oil companies wanted to get out of this crisis—higher prices, the driving out of independent producers, elimination of environmental regulations, and whipping up of racism against the Arab peoples. The latter was seen as desirable because the monopolies and their servants in the government never rejected the possibility of defending their Middle East investments through the use of armed force.

The monopolies have made significant progress on all of these goals.

## Results of monopoly

The international energy crisis has been an object lesson showing the inhuman results of the capitalist system of monopoly. Here is what capitalist control of the energy industry has meant to the people of the United States and of the world:

- It has meant the conscious, criminal waste of valuable machinery, embodying millions of hours of human labor, due to cutbacks in needed oil production.

- It has given the oil monopolists the ability to create artificial shortages to keep prices high—condemning the masses of people to manifold hardships and a lower standard of living.

- It has meant secret collaboration of the government with the oil monopolies to force the oil-producing countries to accept continued imperialist exploitation.

- It has meant placing the world in a constant danger of war, stemming from the cutthroat competition between imperialist powers for profits, from the need to crush any rebellion by the people of superexploited oil-producing countries, and from the capitalist need to confront the example of socialized property relations embodied in the Soviet Union.

- It has meant an inability to rationally plan and develop clean and safe energy sources to suit the long-term needs of humanity.

The answer to this inhuman system lies not in looking to the capitalist government to "control" or "regulate" the oil monopolies. The history of the oil industry shows that the government—Democratic and Republican administrations alike—has functioned as an executive committee to carry out the interests of the oil monopolies and the other giant corporations that dominate production in this country.

It is also utopian to think these monopolies can be "controlled" by the type of superficial legislation proposed by liberals in Congress. The companies are too powerful. They have budgets on the scale of whole countries. Aramco has even built its own "capital" city in Saudi Arabia called Dhahran. Their international connections, interlocking directorships, and secret financial arrangements make it impossible to "regulate" their power.

Despite the fact that antitrust laws have been on the books for decades, not even a single large fine has ever been imposed on the oil monopolies.

## Nationalize energy industry

The only way to make the energy industry serve the needs of the majority is to take the decision-making power out of the hands of the capitalist owners, through nationalization of the entire energy industry.

The energy crisis has illustrated what Marxists have always said about the monopoly stage of capitalism: that the private-ownership system no longer serves to advance humanity but rather begins to drag down production and all human living conditions with its economic crises, artificial shortages, poverty, wars, and destruction of the environment.

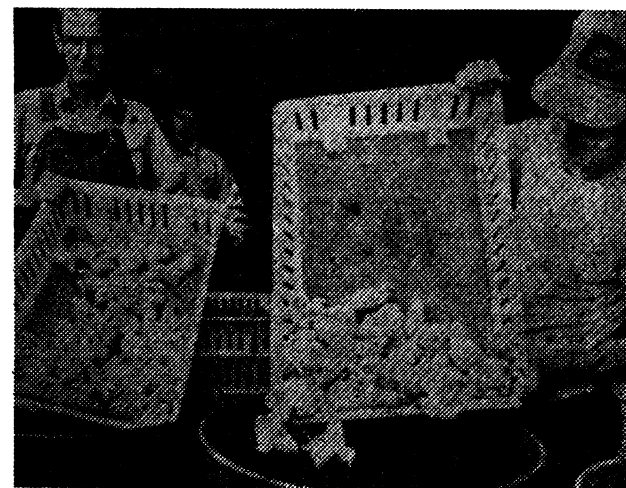
To fight for nationalization of the energy industry, working people need to organize themselves independently of the capitalist parties. They need a labor party, based on the trade unions, in order to begin an effective struggle against the policies of the Democrats and Republicans, who rule in the interests of the capitalist class.

# Oranges are destroyed to keep prices up

Along with the energy crisis, the number one question on the minds of American working people is the soaring price of food. Supermarket prices rose 3 percent in February alone.

A Senate study on nutrition has shown that high prices have forced Americans to alter their eating habits and cut back sharply on higher priced foods. The study found that more people are eating less well nutritionally, and more people are simply going hungry.

An article in the March 28 *New York Times* provided a glimpse of the causes of this situation. The reason for high food prices is not that it costs a lot to produce the food.



Chicks being smothered last June because they were 'unprofitable.'

The *Times* article dealt with the government marketing orders that limit shipments of oranges (as well as all other agricultural products) to the market by the growers. The function of these limits, or "prorates," is to create enough of a shortage to keep prices high.

The *Times* reports that the Agriculture Department's navel oranges marketing committee has decided on a new limit—"to market 65 to 70 per cent of the crop."

What happens to the other 30 or 35 percent of each grower's crop of oranges? They "are sold for processing or animal feed, below cost, or are destroyed," says the *Times*.

Appropriately, this article on navel oranges appeared right next to an article entitled "Rise in food cost in April foreseen."

Thus while hunger is increasing in the country, good oranges are destroyed. And while, as the Senate study on nutrition noted, human consumption of dog and cat food is increasing—human food such as oranges is being fed to pigs and other animals.

This is simply another example, along with the "fuel shortage," of how capitalist monopoly results in the creation of artificial shortages in order to keep prices high. American agricultural production is so mechanized and efficient that it could be turning out a huge abundance of food at minimal cost. But the private profit system precludes this happening.

In another development, the Department of Agriculture announced March 27 that it was buying up \$45-million worth of beef in order to "improve prices to cattle producers and feeders."

And five days later the *New York Times* reported that cattle raisers are planning to let their cattle continue grazing this summer rather than moving them to feed lots for fattening up for the market—because prices aren't high enough for them. This will mean "less beef for urban tables in a few months," says the *Times*, "and, the cattlemen and others say, the likelihood of a new spurt in prices for shoppers."

Meanwhile, the Labor Department reported that average real wages in February had dropped 4.5 percent from a year earlier, because of the rise in the cost of living. On the other hand, the Commerce Department reported that after-tax corporate profits have risen 27 percent from 1972 to 1973.

The current price squeeze on both food and fuel are examples of the antihuman implications of the capitalist private profit system. From a technical standpoint, both food and fuel could be plentiful and cheap. But decisions made from the standpoint of maximizing profits rather than satisfying human needs result in shortages, hardships, and hunger for the masses of people.

## Iran: crimes of oil monopolies

The events surrounding the 1951 nationalization of the oil industry in Iran show that the oil monopolies and imperialist governments stand ready to use brutal economic and physical force to maintain their right of exploitation.

The nationalization in Iran by the Mossadegh regime involved the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (now British Petroleum). But it represented a threat to the whole international cartel of the seven biggest oil monopolies because of the example it set for the colonial peoples.

The "Seven Sisters" made an agreement, approved by the Truman administration, to rearrange their fixed shares of production and supplies to make up for the losses suffered by the British company. Then they clamped a total boycott on Iranian oil, stopping shipping firms from transporting it.

In 1953 the CIA organized the overthrow of Mossadegh—whose nationalization program had been enthusiastically supported by the majority of the Iranian people—and set up the dictatorial regime of the shah. This enabled U.S. firms to move in on this formerly British territory and take 40 percent of the denationalized industry.

In his book *Iran: The New Imperialism in Action*, Bahman Nirumand describes the situation at the time of the nationalization. Poverty



Life expectancy was 27 years

among the masses was such that 80 percent suffered from chronic malnutrition. Every second infant died. The life expectancy of the peasants was only 27 years.

Meanwhile, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company was making profits of 180 to 200 million pounds a year from Iranian resources and labor—all of it going into the pockets of British capitalists, except 9 percent plus taxes, which went to the Iranian government.

## 'Social contract'?

The tightening price squeeze poses a real crisis for working people in this country. The latest Labor Department statistics show prices rising at the dizzying annual rate of 15.6 percent. As the last "controls" on prices are lifted, and as earlier wholesale price jumps reach the retail sales counters, more huge markups are expected soon.

This great payroll robbery has prompted angry demands for wage increases big enough to offset the toll of inflation. The ruling circles are becoming worried about how to stave off these demands and dampen the labor struggles that are inevitably coming.

The editors of the *New York Times*, for example, sharply denounced the contract recently won by New York City transit workers that includes, for the first time, a cost-of-living escalator clause. The *Times* warned that this concession would encourage other municipal workers to demand escalator clauses, and added, "it is delusive to pretend that these clauses, designed to protect the purchasing power of workers' pay, do not themselves fuel more inflation."

What is really "delusive"—and a deliberate falsification—is the *Times's* assertion that it is somehow inflationary to raise wages to match price increases that have already taken place! What the *Times* editors really mean is that in their opinion, workers—not the capitalists—should shoulder the burden of inflation.

Meanwhile, corporate after-tax profits last year hit an all-time high of more than \$70-billion. "A year to remember," *Business Week* called it.

Now a number of Wall Street economists have raised the idea of a "social contract" between government and labor. The *Times* endorses this idea, which it calls "the brainchild of Democratic economists who see it as the only way to stop labor from demanding huge wage increases to make up for last year's 4.5 per cent drop in real take-home pay. . . ."

Modeled on the "social contract" the new Labour Party government is trying to sell to British workers, this scheme would enlist the help of union officials in holding down wages in return for the promise of a tax cut.

A similar "social pact" has been imposed by the Peronist government in Argentina, with the aid of armed police and goon squad attacks on workers who demand too much.

The whole concept of a "social contract" is designed to cover up the fact that the profit-gouging corporations and the masses of working people have fundamentally opposing interests.

Such a "contract" would not slow down inflation any more than the now-discredited "wage-price controls" did. It would only be another maneuver for confusing workers and cutting real wages.

The miners in Britain refused to go along with the Tory government's schemes and false promises, and smashed through the wage controls there with a militant and successful strike.

An effective struggle in this country to catch up with rising prices will require similar class-struggle methods, aimed at winning cost-of-living escalators in all wages, pensions, Social Security, and other benefits. A key step forward would be recognizing that both the Democrats and Republicans pursue the same antilabor policies, and launching an independent labor party to fight in the political arena for the workers' interests.

## Minimum wage

The ballyhoo in Washington about the long-delayed increase in the federal minimum wage, which has been approved by Congress and awaits Nixon's signature, is still another example of the callous disregard of both capitalist parties for the lives of working people.

The minimum wage has remained a pitiful \$1.60 an hour since 1966. Just to compensate for increases in the Consumer Price Index since then, it would have to be raised to \$2.33 an hour—*immediately*. The bill, however, raises the minimum wage for most workers covered only to \$2 on May 1, \$2.10 on Jan. 1, 1975, and \$2.30 a year later.

It sets an even lower figure for farm workers and many service employees, while millions of others are denied the protection of even this rock-bottom wage floor.

"It is a good report on a good bill and the time has come to put ourselves on record for the workingman in this country," crowed Congressman Mario Biaggi (D-N. Y.), who failed to mention whether he had ever tried to live on \$2 an hour.

This outrageously inadequate measure is no real advance for lowest paid workers in the country, who already bear the worst hardships from inflation, and are falling further and further behind the soaring cost of living.

## Akwesasne Notes

We would like to commend you on your excellent coverage on Wounded Knee and to express our gratitude for your continuing support of our people. Too many white left groups act interested in us only when we are "in," and then forget that we exist as young whites lose interest in their Indian fad.

Perhaps you might mention *Akwesasne Notes* in *The Militant* some time so that those of your readers who are particularly interested in Native affairs could write us. In many cases, the vicious land thefts and other governmental atrocities perpetrated upon us would be stopped simply if the public knew about them. So we feel that it is extremely important that people be informed about Native matters; and you could help us a great deal by doing this, since I don't believe *Militant* readers are passive and apathetic types!

Gayle High Pine  
*Akwesasne Notes*

[Subscriptions may be obtained by writing to *Akwesasne Notes*, Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne via Roosevelt town, N. Y. 13683. *Akwesasne Notes* has no set subscription rate but accepts donations.—Ed.]

## A reluctant subscriber

Your publication has been radical rhetoric (among other things) to many, the truth to some, and at the least proof that we do have a relatively free press in this country. Since I mistrust all newsprint, yet rely heavily upon it to get a picture of the ever changing state of affairs, I believe if I'm ever to get a somewhat balanced view I must supplement that which I get from the establishment press with some divergent views. Enclosed is a check for \$1 to cover a three-month introductory offer of *The Militant*.

H. James Quigley  
*Cleveland Heights, Ohio*

## In support of PRDF

We, the undersigned, are all slaves and victims of the "prison business."

The many of us unequivocally endorse and support the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) in its efforts to raise funds in support of the Socialists' suit against the Watergateers and associates: the real criminals in America.

Our struggle is a just and onerous one, so let us all, en masse, across the Nation, in and out of our slave camps, unite and support the PRDF and the great freedom suit of the SWP and the YSA. We have no funds, but we contribute our hearts, spirit, and unity!

103 prisoners  
*Kentucky*

## For rights of youth

Most Americans have ignored, resisted, or even actively opposed most of the ideas that would have greatly helped and served the common people rather than the ruling class.

Why? Because of our great educational system, that's why. Because people are deprived of almost all their rights while they are young so

that by the time they get their rights, they have acquired the habit of submission and they consider themselves subjects of "the government."

They are forced to spend years going to school, where they are subjected to propaganda and treated as slaves. To free the people of America, we must abolish discrimination by age.

Joshua Huppert  
*Evanston, Ill.*

## COINTELPRO documents

After receiving the March 22 issues of *The Militant* we find that we have missed a lot of information. We are especially concerned about documents released under the Freedom of Information Act [COINTELPRO documents]. We would like to know if that information as printed in *The Militant* could be sent here.

After reading Baxter Smith's article and the memos, we feel it very necessary to gain as much knowledge about this information as possible. If the continuation of such acts is not stopped, it will continue to undermine the struggle.

A prisoner  
*Pennsylvania*

## Dial-a-Militant

I get *The Militant* each week and I believe all that is in it. I usually put the paper in a phone booth when I get through reading it.

Clem Gerhardtstein  
*Fremont, Ohio*

## Independent truckers

*The Militant's* coverage of the national truck shutdown, and especially the interview with Farrell Dobbs, has been excellent.

I disagree, however, with the interview's characterization of independent owner-drivers as workers with expensive tools. In my opinion, this grouping must, sociologically speaking, be placed in the petty bourgeoisie.

An independent trucker not only sells his or her labor power. They essentially are selling transportation of goods as a commodity and are capitalizing their own labor—an essential trait of the petty bourgeoisie's, as differentiated from a proletarian's, relationship to the means of production.

Not only is the cost of their "tools" (tractors sell anywhere from \$25,000 to \$80,000 and up) qualitatively beyond the cost of a craft person's shop tools, it is utilized in a different way. As another reader of *The Militant* here put it, an analogous situation would be asking a tool and die maker to not only have several hundred dollars worth of shop tools but to also have their own lathes, jig bores, pay the electricity, rent, etc. Such a tool and die maker would no longer be a proletarian but a petty job shop proprietor.

To sociologically classify these owner-operators as petty-bourgeois is not to demean them or suggest that they do not have a progressive role to play.

As a grouping they are economically unstable and very vulnerable to the deepening crisis of



## Why we need a labor party

American capitalism. They are certainly being affected by the current radicalization and are using proletarian methods of struggle. They can, and must, be won over to the side of the working class by struggle—as *The Militant* explained it—to transform the Teamsters union to mobilize and lead the fight of the independents as well as the fleet drivers.

Bill Onasch  
Minneapolis, Minn.

*In reply*—Bill Onasch is correct in placing the owner-operators in a sociological category standing between the capitalists and wage-workers. The owner-operator is a modern-day member of the type Marx described in *Capital* as "a hybrid between capitalist and laborer, a 'small master.'"

This broad and variegated category includes the very few at the top who have gathered together enough rigs and hired drivers to be on the verge of becoming full-fledged capitalists. It also includes at the other end the many truckers who hire no other labor power, and are often a payment or two away from losing their trucks.

*The Militant* interview concentrated attention on this key component of owner-operators from the viewpoint of developing a class-struggle union strategy. Namely, individuals who own a single unit of equipment that they operate themselves.

The more complex and contradictory aspects of the owner-operators' relationships—which bear on the forms, demands, strengths, and weaknesses of their struggle—were to a large degree set aside for this single purpose.

Their struggle, and those like it, deserves analysis in future issues of *The Militant* in the broader political context of the concrete development of the radicalization and class struggle in the U. S.

Farrell Dobbs's article in this issue on the teamsters movement of the 1930s throws further light on the background history of a complex and important question of revolutionary strategy and union tactics. (See page 16.)

### Save his sanity

I have just joined the Young Socialist Alliance in Bloomington, Ind., and like *The Militant* very much. This small contribution is all that I can afford at the time, but I hope it can help some prisoners somewhere.

I have a friend who is also very much a prisoner, in the U. S. Army, serving in Italy. He would like a *Militant* subscription, if it can be sent "in a plain brown package," as his personal status is questionable. This *Militant* could save this man's sanity for the rest of his term. I can also guarantee that the paper would find its way to many other readers there.

L. S.  
Bloomington, Ind.

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

The trade-union movement in this country ought to look closely at the outcome of the recent British elections and draw some practical conclusions about the advantages of independent working-class political action and the need for a labor party here.

The Labour Party in Britain failed to win a decisive victory in the Feb. 28 general election, largely because of its failure to put forward a program clearly based on defending the interests of the working class in its fight against the effects of inflation and other social ills. But the working-class vote repudiated the antiunion policy of the Tory government, turned former prime minister Edward Heath out of office, and made it possible for Harold Wilson to form a new Labour government.

The new government immediately granted a 35 percent wage increase to the striking miners, ended the Tory-imposed three-day workweek, and froze residential rents for the rest of the year.

The Labour Party is on record favoring repeal of the Tory-enacted Industrial Relations Act (the British version of Taft-Hartley). Wilson has also promised to halt the steep rise in food prices, tax heavily the exorbitant profits of the giant corporations, and take other measures to raise the workers' standard of living.

Of course, these are still promises. Wilson doesn't have much of a track record when it comes to defending the interests of the workers he is supposed to represent. But if he fails to satisfy the most pressing needs of working-class families and loses support of the unions, as happened in 1970 when Wilson sponsored wage-control legislation, then the new Labour government will not last long.

Whatever the subsequent course of events, the British working class is in a much stronger political position today than before the election, when the Heath government was jailing strikers, holding a tight rein on wages, and spurring the monopolies to raise prices.

The reason the British workers are now in a better position to defend themselves is because they have a party that is based on the union movement and independent of the political parties of the employing class.

If there were no Labour Party and the British workers were at the mercy of Heath's Conservative Party and Jeremy Thorpe's Liberals—as the workers here are at the mercy of the Democrats and Republicans—

there would have been no improvement in the relationship of forces between the workers and the capitalists after the vote against Heath.

In the U. S., workers have no choice. A shift away from Nixon puts the Democrats in power in Washington; a shift away from the Democrats puts the Republicans back. These shifts from one party of the employing class to the other do not improve the political position of the workers or of their unions. After every election the same antilabor policy prevails no matter which capitalist party wins.

Not so with the Labour Party in power. Even though reformist parliamentarians of Wilson's stripe, like the trade-union bureaucrats of our AFL-CIO, are anxious to find ways to make capitalism work, they are also under pressure from the workers to implement policies for the benefit of those who produce.

The British workers, the producers, are now in a position to fight to make their Labour Party more responsive to their needs and to press it to deliver on its promises. This is different from starting with nothing, without a mass party of their own.

Having the Labour Party in power will also greatly facilitate the fight to replace its bureaucratic leadership.

The union leadership, in Britain as here, is woefully inadequate. But with all its shortcomings, unions provide some protection against the bosses. Union members are better off than those who have no union. Even the present bureaucratized unions are better than no unions at all. The same is true of the Labour Party.

There will be criticism of the new Labour government by some union bureaucrats on this side of the Atlantic. But criticism of Labour Party faults from these sources has no merit, coming as it will from those cretins who support such empty slogans as a "Veto-proof Congress" and urge workers to vote for Democratic Party puppets of the employers.

When this practice of company unionism in politics is repudiated and abandoned by sizable sections of the union movement in this country, then will be the time for these people to talk about Labour Party failures. Until then, the most important discussion on the labor party question is the urgent need for a labor party in the United States and how to build it.

## Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



## Foul play in the Little League

Hundreds of thousands of young boys each spring look forward to playing baseball with the Little League. This spring 150,000 boys in New Jersey were benched. Why? Because the Little League directors would rather no one played than allow young girls to participate, too.

"We always assumed baseball was a boys' sport," says Robert Stirrat, a vice-president of the Little League. "We think most people always have felt that way. We assume they've accepted baseball as a male prerogative of some sort."

A lot of "assumptions" are being challenged nowadays, this one by young girls who want some of the action and are willing to fight for it.

The fight centers in New Jersey, where several girls took the Little League to court in a challenge to its "boys only" rule. The New Jersey Division on Civil Rights and the State Superior Court ruled that girls must be admitted. In retaliation, most of the New Jersey Little League teams have suspended operations.

Male officials claim that girls are inferior in bone and muscular strength. Wishful thinking on their part! Anyone who played sports between the ages of eight and 12 knows that girls can equally compete with boys at that age.

In Tenafly, N.J., where coaches and managers allowed girls to play, the girls proved they weren't inferior at all. In fact, the first draft choice by coaches and managers among the 150 eight-to-nine-year-olds in minor league competition was nine-year-old Amy Dickinson. "She was superior to all the boys," said the manager.

The antigirl officials also claim that girls are more susceptible to injuries. That doesn't make sense ana-

tomically. But it's a silly argument anyway. Protective equipment exists for both sexes in any sport.

When pressed on the question of "susceptibility to injuries" one official blurted out his real reasoning. He said that injuries to "the face and legs" are worse for girls because of "cosmetic damage." There's the crux of the argument. The Little League claims to teach boys "manhood" and develop "physical strength and courage." What they expect from a woman is a pretty face and undamaged legs!

Perhaps the most disgusting argument, however, is the one that attempts to turn a healthy sport into a lewd sexual confrontation. One League official put it this way: "I don't want my 10-year-old girl sliding into a base and having your 12-year-old boy tag her on the breast."

These kinds of comments reflect the hang-ups of the grown-ups, not those of the young baseball players. Even eight-, nine- and 10-year olds who are interested in sex can find a better place than the middle of a baseball diamond on a Saturday afternoon to engage in it! These young people just want to play baseball, that's all.

The whole fight is cruel. It's cruel to the girls who want to play and have every right to. It's cruel to the boys to be pitted against the girls in order to prove their "manhood." If not egged on by parents and coaches, the boys would have no objection.

On television news one night one of the girls was asked by a reporter why she wanted to play. "Because it's fun," she replied. "Can you play better than all the boys?" asked the reporter. "No," she replied, "it's not important how good you are. It's just fun."

Out of the mouths of babes. . . .





**Contagious disease dept.**—According to medical researchers at the University of Tennessee, nonsmokers can absorb sufficient nicotine to cause heart attacks simply by being in too close contact with heavy puffers.

**Skip the classifieds**—If you're looking for work, check out the vacancies on the federal bench. The reason for the openings, though, is that the pay's so bad most qualified lawyers can't afford to take the job. Wages are fixed—\$40,000 a year for life, including retirement. Also, you have to be able to snooze without snoring.

**A limited-opportunity employer**—If you can't qualify for judge, but things are really tight, you might consider a civil service job as head of a federal

agency. The reason for the openings is because top pay is fixed at a measly \$36,000. One federal expert says the people on top are so badly underpaid because the ones in the middle and on the bottom are overpaid.

**You can't have everything**—If being a judge or civil service executive doesn't appeal to you, then how about a job in a Canadian lumber mill? According to the *Wall Street Journal*, one boss up there says they can't fill jobs because of the isolation, lack of facilities for married people, low pay, bad working conditions, lack of image and status, and "because the work's hard."

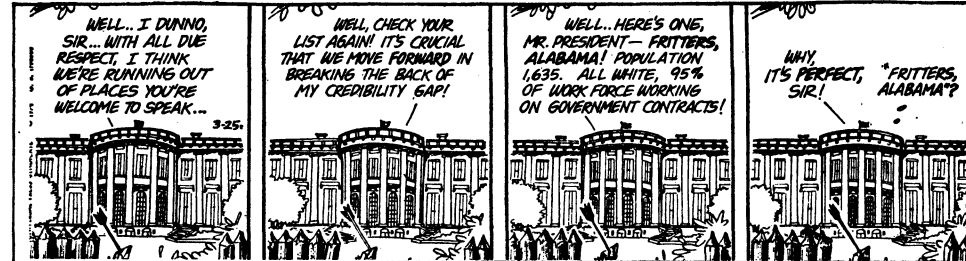
**Think ahead**—If our previous suggestions don't impress you, consider

this. A recent survey showed that almost 17 percent of bank directors are over 70, with 7 percent over 75. Directing a bank, the survey commented, "appears to contribute to longevity."

**Simple solution**—There's really no reason to wait to buy gas. For instance, a Miami builder burdened with

three family cars, including two Cadillacs, got tired of waiting in lines. So, for \$10,000, he bought a run-down service station with a modest monthly gas allotment, including 1,700 gallons of high-test. He found a mechanic to run the station, rent-free, and sell the regular gas to the public. He keeps the high-test for himself and a few close friends.

### DOONESBURY



By Garry Trudeau

## By Any Means Necessary

### Baxter Smith



# Morale sags in war-weary Rhodesia

Times have not always been bright for Rhodesia during the nine years since it broke away from Britain. Lately, due to United Nations-imposed economic sanctions and a step-up in guerrilla activity, the white settler regime has been especially hard pressed.

Consumer goods are hard to come by. Tourism and immigration have dipped to all-time lows. And the guerrilla war has taken a toll on the morale of the 270,000 whites, who are outnumbered 21 to 1 by Blacks.

During the first 10 months of last year, the net gain in white immigrants, 2,030, was down by 74 percent from the previous year. During the first nine months, the number of tourists fell by 35 percent.

In tackling these problems, the government has launched a "Settlers '74" campaign. "You deserve a better life. Come and get it," proclaims one slick brochure aimed at attracting more Europeans to the white-ruled state. "Most families have two servants," it continues. "And they are efficient and inexpensive."

But while the government is attempting to lure European immigrants, many white Rhodesians are fleeing the country as if someone had yelled "Fire!"

in a crowded theater. Draft-age white men, especially, are scarce these days.

The 1,500 white men who reach draft age each year face 12 months of army service. As a result, "The reaction of Rhodesian youth to the war and longer army service has been a veritable stampede of high school graduates out of the country . . .," wrote the *Washington Post*. "In one case, a train heading for South Africa included 60 draft dodgers. . . ."

This knotty problem has prompted the call-up of a "Dad's Army," 38- to 50-year-old reservists who augment the regular forces for one-month stints.

The Rhodesian army consists of only 3,500 regulars. But there is a 10,000-man Territorial Force, a sort of national guard. In addition, South Africa has an estimated 1,000 troops stationed in Rhodesia. (South Africa supplies Rhodesia with arms, ammunition, trucks, and French-built helicopters.)

The focus of the fighting is in the northeast, the Centenary district, some 100 miles north of the capital of Salisbury.

The district is primarily a farming area, populated by less than 100 families. A flinty lot, these stubborn settlers have erected a vast defense to cope with guerrilla activity, and even children can

be seen toting shotguns and packing pistols.

The March 25 *Newsweek* explains: "Most of their farms are now surrounded by 10-foot-high fences, and for extra protection the more inventive farmers have set up intricate systems of trip wires and booby traps around their homes. Some have arc lights that are turned on at night when guerrilla bands are known to be in the area. The windows of most homesteads are shuttered with steel mesh and sandbagged. And to combat the guerrilla tactic of cutting telephone wires, every farmhouse is being equipped with radio-telephones linking it to regional security headquarters."

Of course, none of this is included in the "Settlers '74" brochures. And one Information Ministry official even said: "Whatever problems we have, they are not as bad as Europe's and you can encounter them in sunshine and a better life in general."

Nonetheless, *Newsweek* writes, 1,000 new apartments still stand vacant in Salisbury.

Several readers have pointed out that in my last column I mistakenly said that the famous 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision was based on a Little Rock, Ark., case. The ruling actually involved the Topeka, Kans., school system.

## ¡La Raza en Acción!

### Miguel Pendás



# Racist schools under attack in Texas

Recent issues of *El Sol de Texas*, a Dallas Spanish-language weekly, report activities of Chicanos in South Texas fighting racist discrimination.

● The racist school system is under attack in Hondo, a small town near San Antonio. Chicana mothers began organizing *Familias Unidas* to fight the racist policies of the school board. When they tried to take their children out of school to protest the "no Spanish spoken in the classrooms" rule, some teachers responded by locking classroom doors to keep the *chicanitos* inside. Nonetheless, about 90 to 100 students walked out.

The second day of the walkout, some mothers were shoved and pushed by teachers in the school halls. Three mothers were arrested. But the movement built up steam in spite of retaliation by teachers and police.

Eventually, 200 students walked out of the town's elementary and high schools on a single day. Three hundred strong, students and parents marched through Hondo's business district Feb. 23, the tenth day of the boycott of classes.

A "freedom school" has been organized with teachers coming in from the Raza Unida Party-controlled school district in Crystal City, 100 miles away.

Eight demands were presented to a Hondo school board meeting attended by 150 parents and students. The main demand was that the students be allowed to speak Spanish in the schools. The board stuck by its racist rule.

Chicanos also demanded a relaxation of the dress code that forbids the wearing of blue jeans. Chicanos with big families simply cannot afford to buy the dress pants required. One angry mother said, "If you and the other Anglos in town would pay us a living wage, perhaps then we could afford to dress our sons and daughters to suit you."

The students and parents also complained that the ruling against long hair is enforced more stringently against Chicanos than Anglos. A demand for a recruitment program to provide more bilingual teachers for Hondo's school system was likewise rejected by the board.

● In Uvalde, 100 miles west of San Antonio, undocumented workers facing deportation to Mexico conducted a hunger strike in the local jail protesting the lack of adequate food.

Prisoners are only fed two "meals" a day. For breakfast they get doughnuts and coffee; at 5 p.m., a bowl of watery "stew" or chili. Federal authorities pay the Uvalde jailers \$4.50 a day to provide

food for their undocumented prisoners. Jailers say that they can't do any better. But, even at today's inflated prices, \$4.50 could buy more than doughnuts and diluted chili.

The scandalous conditions under which undocumented workers are held at Uvalde jail were denounced by San Antonio bishop Patrick Flores. A member of Los Padres, an organization of activist Chicano priests, said the prisoners went on strike in desperation in the hopes of arousing public opinion.

One young *mexicano* described how he felt: "When I was outside, at least I could eat roots, leaves, grass, or anything to calm my hunger. But here within these concrete walls, I cannot find even leaves to nibble on when they don't feed me."

The editors of *El Sol* contrasted the friendly attitude of the U.S. government toward counter-revolutionary Cubans (*gusanos*) to the harassment and deportation of poor *mexicano* workers without papers.

The *mexicanos* who are forced to come to this country in desperate search of work are refugees from hunger in their own country. If they were instead "refugees" from "communism," it would be a different story altogether.

## Beaten in courthouse

# Riverside police assault frame-up victim

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—The target of a legal frame-up and four of his supporters were beaten and arrested recently in a Riverside courtroom corridor in a new act of brutality by police there.

The police victims included Zarebu Gardner, Chukia Lawton, William Palmer, and Palmer's son, Mark, 14.

Along with Gary Lawton, Gardner faces a frame-up charge of killing two Riverside cops. Two trials have ended with hung juries, and the prosecution is going for a third trial.

Chukia Lawton, wife of Gary, has been a leading figure in the Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee, which is organizing support for Gardner and Lawton.

Apparently the central target of the present police attack was William Palmer. A leading activist in the defense committee and a longtime outspoken opponent of Riverside racism, he has suffered a series of victimizations by police there.

The members of the defense committee were in the courthouse March 25 for a slated appearance by Palmer, who faces a previous charge of assault on a police officer with a deadly weapon.

While the group was in the courtroom corridor, a plainclothes officer approached them and told Palmer that his son Mark, a part of the group, was wanted on a burglary charge.

When Palmer refused to let his son be taken without a warrant, the cop summoned reinforcements. A dozen cops suddenly appeared and attacked the group.

Chukia Lawton was choked until she fainted. She also suffered a sprained wrist. Gardner suffered a black eye and body bruises.

Gardner, Lawton, and Palmer were charged with felonious assault along with Beverly Roelle, a member of the committee. Mark Palmer was placed in a juvenile home on the burglary charge.

Palmer is still in jail under \$25,000 bond. The others were released after committee lawyers succeeded in getting their bail reduced to \$1,500 each.

Woody Diaz, a spokesman for the defense committee said, "None of the people tried to fight back. They were all knocked down and brutalized. Yet they were the ones charged with assault."

This latest police outrage came as the defense committee initiated a campaign of picketing at the courthouse

in support of the demand that the frame-up charges against Lawton and Gardner be dropped. The third trial for the two is slated for mid-May.

The victimization of Palmer and his son is a real example of how the Riverside police mount a systematic campaign against anyone who opposes

their racist practices.

In 1971 Palmer spoke out when police began beating one of his neighbors. The cops turned on Palmer, and he tried to flee. He was shot in the back and then charged with assault and interfering with a policeman. He was convicted and sent to jail for a year.

The assault charge for which he was in court when the present attack occurred stemmed from a New Year's Eve incident. Palmer was walking down the main street in Riverside with a rusty old hubcap that he had found in the street. He was stopped by a cop who accused him of stealing it and demanded to see his identification. When Palmer protested this, he was attacked and then charged with assaulting a policeman with a deadly weapon—the hubcap.

In addition to the suffering they have cost the victims, these police attacks have also been an added financial burden on the defense committee already drained by two murder trials and preparations for a third.

To make a contribution or get more information contact: Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee, P.O. Box 244, Riverside, Calif. 92502, or call (714) 686-2362.



Militant/Harry Ring

Chukia Lawton (center) addresses supporters outside a December 1973 court hearing. On left is Gary Lawton. Right is Zarebu Gardner.

# Attica defense challenges biased jury pool

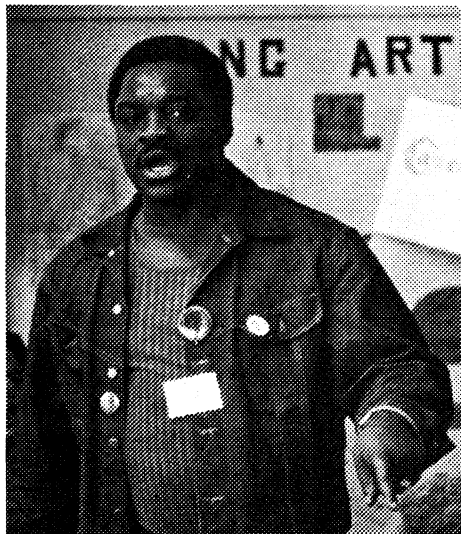
BUFFALO—Attorneys for the indicted Attica Brothers have filed a motion in the Erie County Supreme Court challenging the jury selection process and the jury pool.

"The defendants in these cases . . . have a right to a jury which is not the product of an illegal selection process. The present selection process in Erie County is not random, not mechanical, and not objective," said Haywood Burns, professor of law at the University of Buffalo Law School and former director of the National Conference of Black Lawyers.

Burns, along with other representatives of the Attica Brothers Legal Defense, joined with the Fair Jury Project in sponsoring a news conference here March 28. The news conference was called to announce the results of a six-month study of the Erie County jury system, which revealed that the pool of jurors selected for the Attica Brothers trial does not fairly represent Blacks, women, young people, or the poor.

"In the pool of qualified jurors," Burns told the press, "Blacks are

underrepresented by at least 34.3 percent, women by at least 68.3 percent, and people between the ages of 21 and 29 by at least 83.6 percent. The chances of these inequities occurring accidentally are the same as the chances of a poker player being dealt



Militant/Robb Wright

**BIG BLACK:** "There is no possible way for Blacks to get a fair trial in this country."

24 consecutive royal flushes."

Burns concluded, "The present jury selection process violates the Sixth and Fourteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution, similar sections of the New York State Constitution, the New York State Law, and the Appellate Division Rules and Regulations concerning jury selection."

Following the September 1971 rebellion at Attica Prison, in which 43 inmates and guards died, a special grand jury indicted 61 former inmates. Not one state or prison official has been indicted, despite the fact that the New York State Special Commission on Attica concluded that "there was clearly indiscriminate firing into congested areas" during the assault on the inmates.

Other representatives of the Fair Jury Project at the news conference spoke of the means by which the Erie County jury commissioner's office has discriminated against certain groups. For example, cards were found in the office with the notation "negro" written on them, yet no cards bore the designation "white." Women have been

granted exemptions even though they did not request them. Students seem to have been automatically disqualified, as have persons who were charged with crimes even though there was no proof of conviction.

Also at the news conference was Big Black, an indicted Attica Brother and national coordinator of the Attica Brothers Legal Defense, who described the significance of the jury pool study. "This is no surprise to me, nor does it surprise any of the Brothers," he said. "There is no possible way for poor people, especially if they are Black, to get a fair trial in this country. We have lived with discrimination all of our lives. We went to prison under these conditions, and we knew it then."

Also appearing at the news conference were Dorothy Teryl of the American Civil Liberties Union of Buffalo, and George Arthur, a Black member of the Buffalo common council.

Prior to the news conference, the Fair Jury Project sponsored a breakfast at which 150 people gathered to hear the results of the study.

# Watergate defendant had a hand in North Carolina frame-up

By BAXTER SMITH

An eight-week investigation by the *Charlotte Observer* has found that Robert Mardian, a former Justice Department official, approved a secret \$4,000 payoff to two men who testified against the Charlotte Three. The Charlotte Three are Black activists who were convicted in July 1972 of burning a riding stable in Charlotte, N. C., in 1968.

Mardian, who was then head of the Justice Department's Internal Security Division, approved the deal between federal officials and the two men. Mardian was indicted last month for conspiring to obstruct justice in the Watergate cover-up.

As a result of this bought testimony, Charles Parker, T.J. Reddy, and Jim Grant were sentenced to 10, 20, and 25 years, respectively, for allegedly setting fire to the Lazy B stable because the white owner refused to rent to Blacks. Fifteen horses died in the

blaze.

Based on this new information, the North Carolina Board of Paroles is considering recommending that Governor James Holshouser commute the sentences.

Vicki Reddy, wife of imprisoned T.J. Reddy, told *The Militant* in a phone interview that the new information was a breakthrough. She said that the defense committee had earlier asked the governor for a commutation and that the new evidence would weigh in their favor in a court appeal. "But we'll wait to see what action the governor takes first," she added.

The *Charlotte Observer's* investigation found that the two prosecution witnesses were each given \$1,000 by Treasury Department officials prior to their testimony. They were given another \$3,000 following their testimony in the Lazy B case and for testifying against Grant in an earlier, federal case.

In the federal case, Grant was convicted for helping the two flee to Canada to avoid charges of illegal possession of weapons and dynamite.

During their testimony against Grant, one of the two admitted that the federal government was paying him \$105 a week. As a further reward, the government agreed to strike prison terms they had acquired for armed robbery.

In September 1972 one of the two witnesses was arrested for slaying a man in Charlotte. His bail was set at \$4,000 and he was even freed pending trial. When the Charlotte Three were arrested, their bail was set at \$50,000. And today, despite the evidence that they were framed, they still languish in prison.

More information on the case can be obtained by writing North Carolina Political Prisoners Committee, P.O. Box 2712, Charlotte, N. C. 28201.

# How Teamsters union organized independent truckers in the 1930s



Teamster pickets battle cops during 1934 strike in Minneapolis

The truckers' militant action in February against the effects of the fuel shortage brought the problems faced by independent owner-operator truck drivers to the center of public attention.

The relation of these drivers to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters is a question of great importance to truckers and all who support their struggle. While the Teamsters union officialdom worked hand in glove with the Nixon administration to attack the truckers, many rank-and-file Teamster members sympathized with the independents, and some joined the shutdown.

The following article by Farrell Dobbs presents in detail the approach taken toward the independent owner-operators by the class-struggle-minded Teamster organizers of the 1930s. Dobbs contrasts this with the backstabbing maneuvers by the IBT bureaucracy today.

Farrell Dobbs emerged as a leader in the Teamsters union during the bitterly fought strikes in Minneapolis in 1934 that won union recognition for General Drivers Local 574. He went on to become the central organizer of an 11-state organizing campaign of over-the-road drivers.

This was the union's first real effort to organize the long distance haulers and resulted, after a six-month strike against the Omaha trucking bosses, in the Teamsters' first areawide contract. This victory marked a turning point in transforming the IBT into a powerful union organized along industrial rather than craft lines. Afterward Dobbs served on the staff of general organizers of the IBT until 1939.

Dobbs joined the Communist League of America (forerunner of the Socialist Workers Party) in 1934 and has been a central national leader of the Trotskyist movement since the late 1930s.

In *Teamster Rebellion* and *Teamster Power*, Dobbs has recounted the historic battles that built

the Teamsters union in the Midwest. *Teamster Rebellion* deals with the 1934 strikes; *Teamster Power* with the subsequent organizing drives. A third volume is in preparation.

Those who have read Dobbs's books will find this article a fascinating additional chapter. Others who have not yet had the opportunity to study these invaluable books are urged to order them from Pathfinder Press.

## By Farrell Dobbs

During the depression of the 1930s individually owned trucks appeared in the transportation industry in ever-increasing numbers. A major factor in this development was an intensive sales campaign by the auto corporations. Their caper was to induce the unemployed to buy themselves a job by buying a truck. Workers who could scrape up the down payment were allowed to meet the balance of the purchase price on a long-term installment basis. Incentive for such purchases was given by the federal government, which used individually owned trucks on its "make work" projects for the unemployed of that period. State, county, and city engineering departments followed suit, especially in connection with road work.

Comparable trends developed within private industry. Firms having their own fleets of trucks often kept a surplus of rigs on hand by hiring independent owner-operators, who usually found themselves payless—despite the time put in—when they were not actually hauling something. Fluctuations in business volume were thus compensated for at the expense of the owner-operators and to the profit of the fleet owners. Broker setups appeared in the form of companies that relied entirely on individual truck owners to move goods. In such

cases virtually the entire overhead cost of trucking operations was shouldered upon the owner-operators, thereby impairing their capacity to earn a living. These and other practices of a comparable nature held sway in coal and ice delivery, construction hauling, motor freight, and elsewhere in transportation.

Immediate profit-taking along the foregoing lines was not the only object the capitalists had in mind. Advantage was sought from ambitions that developed among independent owner-operators to expand their holdings and go into business for themselves. Illusions were fostered that such prospects were open to all individual owners, so as to trick them into identifying themselves with the problems of management. To the extent that the scheme worked, divisions were sown between owner-operators and the drivers of company fleets. Unionization of the industry was thereby impeded; the laws of the open-shop jungle could better prevail; and the trucking bosses were able to wax fatter in all respects.

These dangers to both categories of drivers were further accentuated by misleadership within the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Little attention, if any, was paid to the problems of the owner-operators. Although sporadic efforts were made to organize fleet drivers, IBT policy was so ill-conceived and so poorly executed that not much headway could be made in that sphere either. As a result the union remained weak, at best, and in several important respects it was quite impotent.

## Class-struggle policy

Such were the prevailing conditions throughout the trucking industry when Trotskyists in Minneapolis began to win leadership influence within the IBT during the second half of the 1930s. In shaping our overall class-struggle policy, close attention to the independent owner-operator question was included. On that score we began by taking full account of the realities of the existing situation. Drivers owning their own trucks had become a factor of major dimensions within the industry. To consolidate the union power, they had to be brought into an alliance with the fleet drivers. Before that could be done, however, a course had to be developed that would serve the owner-operators' interests.

Careful examination of all the factors involved convinced us that those owning one truck, who did their own driving, should be approached by the union as fellow workers. Proceeding accordingly, we set out to organize as many of these individuals as possible. They were then extended the democratic right to shape the demands that were made upon their employers, the leasing companies. On that basis the union as a whole followed through by backing them in struggles to improve their take-home pay.

## Policy proved valid

The validity of that policy was confirmed by the results that followed. In the major struggles of that period against the trucking employers generally, the union's owner-operator members served loyally. They both volunteered their trucks to transport pickets and shared in the picketing. A significant number of our casualties in battles with the cops were from among this category of workers. After the union had been consolidated, they continued to play a constructive role. Like other members of the organization, they looked upon those of their own kind who took an antilabor stance as finks and dealt with them accordingly.

Our course had checkmated the divisive schemes of the bosses. In Minneapolis the truck drivers and allied workers had emerged as a power, and the union was able to march forward in advancing the interests of all its members.

These experiences became an important asset when we launched an organizing drive in the over-the-road industry in 1938. There we found an even more complicated situation concerning independent owner-operators. Firms holding carrier rights issued by the government employed many of these independents, paying them flat rates by the mile, ton, or trip for rig and driver. It was truly a cut-throat setup. Diverse methods were used to heap inordinate trucking costs upon the owner-operators, thereby shaving down their earnings as drivers. At the same time devious patterns were woven to confuse the true nature of the employer-worker relationship and turn the individuals involved in an antiunion direction.

On top of that, propaganda attacks were launched—especially by legal tricksters claiming to speak for the owner-operators—which were calculated to discredit the IBT campaign. One such blast came from David I. Lipman, who purported to head a "Truck Owners and Operators Association." Through an article in the December 1939



issue of the *Transport Driver*, a publication circulated among owner-operators, he sharply criticized Teamster Local 710 of Chicago. He charged the union with "lack of regard for the truckmen's interests" and claimed that the IBT had no right to represent his clients.

John T. O'Brien, then head of Local 710, asked me to prepare a statement for the local in reply to Lipman. I did so and sent the draft to him on Jan. 3, 1940. It contained a quite extensive account of the owner-driver situation in over-the-road trucking. Concerning the confused patterns of employer-employee relations in the industry, the statement said:

"The individual owner-operator is by the very nature of his position a composite in one degree or another of the two distinct factors in the over-the-road motor freight industry—the owners of trucks and the drivers. There is a more or less clearly defined category of individual owner-operators, and there are other categories called by that name but who are in reality something entirely different.

"There is the individual who owns one truck which he himself drives. Ordinarily he operates under lease in the exclusive service of one operating company. He represents the owner-operator type of driving service in its purest form and deserves the fullest measure of consideration for his special problems.

"It must also be recognized that even in this group there is a tendency to operate free-lance on a catch-as-catch-can basis. These individuals who operate in this manner are commonly referred to as gypsies, skimmers, wildcatters, etc., and are found hauling for one company today, another tomorrow, and the next day trying to drum up business as a one-man company. They are a serious problem to the industry.

### Owner-driver-employer

"Even the most clearly defined type of owner-operator has a general tendency toward expansion, and the individual frequently becomes the owner of additional units of equipment. During this gradual process of accumulation he will first acquire one or two more pieces of equipment and will employ men to drive these while he continues as a driver of one of his units. As he continues to accumulate units he hires more and more men. This process transforms him into a combination owner-driver-employer.

"Finally he acquires enough equipment and hires enough men so that he must devote all or nearly all of his personal time to the problems of the management of his operations. He then is no longer in any sense a driver and is transformed into the status of an owner of trucks and an employer of men who does business with an operating company as a small fleet owner who hauls by subcontract under a lease system. Yet he continues to pose as an individual owner-operator and is erroneously posed as such by many others. We thus arrive at the ridiculous circumstance whereby, assuming such an individual to be the employer of ten men, which is not uncommon, the group is referred to as eleven individual owner-operators instead of being identified as an employer and ten employees, which is the true state of affairs.

"Occasionally a small fleet owner succeeds in acquiring the necessary operating certificates and permits and enough direct accounts to enable

him to abandon his service under lease to an established operating company and to launch his own company. This action, which represents the realization in fact of the secret ambition of every 'gypsy' individual owner-operator, brings into the full light of day the true nature of the employer-employee relationship between the small fleet owner and the men who drive his trucks.

"It now becomes clear how many operating companies have cleverly devised a scheme whereby they obtain driving service at substandard wages. The drivers are held in a state of continuous confusion by the ever-changing employment and equipment ownership relations between the drivers and small fleet owner on the one hand and between the small fleet owner and the operating company on the other. The operating company evades all responsibility for employment relations with the drivers by hiring through the small fleet owner, who in turn far too frequently pays for driving service at varying substandard wage rates by a wide variety of methods."

With reference to the scope of Teamster jurisdiction in dealing with this situation, the answer to Lipman asserted:

"A man who owns the truck which he drives is merely an employee who is required to furnish his own tools as a condition of employment. He has a full legal right to be represented by a labor organization. The IBT will not relinquish this right, nor will it permit the issue to be confused by parading in alleged individual owner-operators who are in reality something entirely different. The true nature of these masqueraders has already been carefully defined above. . . .

**'Our course had checkmated the divisive schemes of the bosses. In Minneapolis the truck drivers and allied workers had emerged as a power, and the union was able to march forward in advancing the interests of all its members.'**

"Those who are genuinely interested in the problems of the men who drive motor freight trucks across the highways will recognize that the IBT is approaching the problems of the individual owner-operators with the same serious consideration that it gives to the problems of the employed drivers (drivers employed on company-owned fleets—FD). The proper place for the individual owner-operator to get effective results is in the ranks of the IBT, shoulder to shoulder with the employed drivers."

An area committee, composed of representatives from key local unions, had been set up to lead the Teamsters' over-the-road campaign, to which Lipman and his kind were opposed. In dealing with the owner-operator question the committee had a clearly formulated perspective from the outset. The aim was to require leasing companies to pay individual owner-operators the cost of operating their equipment, plus its replacement value,



Bill Schleicher

Farrell Dobbs, central organizer of Teamsters' Midwest organizing drive in 1930s, and longtime Socialist Workers Party leader.

plus the union scale as drivers.

It will be noted that the union was concerned only with the cost of operating the equipment, not with helping to secure any profit from the operation. If we had supported any notion of earning a profit on the vehicle itself, impetus would have been given to the petty bourgeois aspirations inherent in the ownership of trucking equipment. Our aim was the opposite. We approached the equipment as expensive tools the individual owner-operators had been required to provide in order to get jobs as drivers. This served our objective, which was to make the leasing companies pay for the use of those tools, as though they were the owners. That would reduce their advantage down to having the owner-drivers buy the equipment initially, and there wouldn't be much percentage for the operating companies in such an arrangement. To the extent that we could succeed in that course, the trend toward an increase in the use of owner-operated rigs could be reversed; and a healthier situation could be established, with trucking firms again using their own fleets, operated by drivers paid on a regular wage basis.

### Fleet drivers win gains

In striving toward that goal we were aided by gains registered in securing higher wages and better conditions for fleet drivers. Those accomplishments were noted by the owner-operators, many of whom began to realize that they, too, would be better off as fleet drivers. As matters stood then and there, however, they needed immediate help to secure the cost of operation of their equipment. In the rebuttal of Lipman's allegations, union policy on this matter was described as follows:

"Payment for equipment service has been computed in a wide variety of forms, consistently to the benefit of the operating company and to the detriment of the owner-operator.

"Whatever the declared rate may have been, an elaborate system of deductions made the real earnings something considerably less. Almost all of the hazards of the road, including cargo damage and equipment layovers, not to mention personal layover expense, were transferred by the operating company onto the shoulders of the owner-operator. Fake charges for 'spotting,' 'backup,' 'inspection,' etc., further reduced his income until the owner-operator received very little actual compensation in the form of earnings which could be taken home to meet the household expenses.

"The IBT has again in this case sought to attack the problem at the root. Equipment service must now be paid for the full mileage operated, and there can be no deductions by the operating company for any reason whatsoever. A statement of legitimate charges may be presented to the owner-operator. However, if they are not legitimate he protests in advance of payment and is no longer in the position of trying to get money refunded which was improperly withheld from his pay.

### Company gouging quashed

"The operating company is now required to provide insurance, certificates, permits, travel orders, out-of-state vehicle tax, bridge tolls, etc., and to pay any legal charges involved if these are not properly provided. The owner-operator has been freed from the gouging methods of those companies which made compulsory the purchase of gasoline, oil, tires, repairs, etc., through a company agency, with an unearned profit extracted by the company at the expense of a further reduction in the owner-operator's earnings."

Apart from the cost of equipment operation, the union required that individual owner-drivers en-

*Continued on following page*



Truckers' militant protest in February won sympathy of many Teamster rank and filers, while IBT bureaucrats tried to stab it in the back.

# ...independent truckers

Continued from preceding page

joy the same wages and conditions as all other drivers. That category of earnings had to be paid separately from money received for rental of equipment. This made it harder for the leasing companies to cheat the individual owner-operators. Concerning the latter point especially, a passage in the reply to Lipman outlined the union's approach to the situation. It stated:

"The International Brotherhood of Teamsters has sought through the new Area Over-the-Road Contract to correct this condition by placing employment responsibility where it rightfully belongs—on the shoulders of the operating company, which is now held responsible for the driver's wages, social security tax, compensation insurance, etc., regardless of whether he is employed by the operating company or through a small fleet owner.

"Not least in importance in the general problem is the driver who is given a paper title to the truck by the operating company, usually on a deferred payment plan, and is then paid as an individual owner-operator, not as a legitimate business relationship, but as a subterfuge to escape the payment of the union wage scale.

"Thus we find that while there are men who drive as actual individual owner-operators and who have a real employment problem, there are other categories incorrectly referred to as owner-operators who vary, in different shades, from the truck driver who is being cheated out of his just compensation by the subterfuge of a fake truck sale, to the individual who is in reality a small fleet owner and an employer. If we intend to be logical we must begin by recognizing that the first problem for the individual owner-operator is to identify the malpractices committed in his name by the operating companies and then join hands with the employed drivers for their mutual protection."

As can be seen from this sketch of the earlier situation, progress was being made in shaping a viable policy toward independent owner-operators in over-the-road trucking. But the process was suddenly cut short when the Trotskyists were witch-hunted out of the IBT and its leadership in 1941.

## Teamster bureaucracy

Since then the Teamster bureaucracy has reversed the trends we had set into motion. Democratic procedures used by the union's area committee in the pre-1941 period have been replaced by dictatorial methods in the present-day IBT conferences. More concern is shown for the wishes of the employers than is manifested toward the needs of the workers. The problems of the fleet drivers are neglected in many respects. At the same time there has been an increasingly pronounced growth of independent owner-operators; and the union officialdom has little inclination and even less ability to cope with the situation.

As a result, the owner-operators are ceasing to look upon the IBT as the organization through

which they can undertake to alleviate the difficulties now confronting them. Those who remain members of the union are tending to organize themselves into factions, which act independently of the Teamster bureaucrats and, to an increasing extent, in cooperation with nonunion groups of owner-operators. Formations of the latter kind are springing up in various parts of the country. Cut loose as they are from trade-union influence, factors that cause individual owner-operators to dream of becoming small fleet owners assume greater weight in the shaping of their policies. The negative aspects of that outlook serve to create a situation in which the interests of all over-the-road drivers are impaired; and that happens at a time when the union has become enfeebled because of bureaucratic misleadership.

## Bosses' strategy

Under those circumstances it becomes possible for the big trucking firms to mount a major attack on the IBT by maneuvering to intensify the hostility of owner-operators toward the organization. To the extent that they may succeed in promoting such antiunion bias, every worker behind the wheel of a truck—owner-operators and fleet drivers alike—will be the ultimate victims. Only the bosses will be the gainers.

This danger can be averted through a shift in union policy toward application under modern conditions of the basic course that was being shaped prior to 1941. That would block the bosses from splitting the owner-drivers away from the organized labor movement. Instead, the catch-all category of independent owner-operators could be separated into its component parts. *Individual* owner-operators could be brought back into effective alliance with the drivers of company fleets. Small fleet owners, who masquerade under the designation "owner-operators," could be sorted out and placed in the employer category where they belong. Class lines within the industry would again become much clearer; and the workers would be in a better position to fight collectively in defense of their mutual interests.

There is an objective potential for such a turn in union policy which is manifested in diverse, confused form within the present opposition to the Teamster bureaucrats. What the situation now requires is the shaping of a course of action in support of the workers' just demands, aimed in the first instance at the bosses and their government. Within that framework steps can then be taken to oust the IBT bureaucrats from office, establish democratic procedures within the union, and make it a fitting instrument to serve the workers' cause.

Achievement of those ends requires an oppositional formation at all levels of the IBT based on a class-struggle program and capable of using class-struggle methods. Every militant worker and especially the socialists among them should be on the alert for realistic openings to help get such a movement started.

# Discussion on new miners' contract opens

By CINDY JAQUITH

The militant stance of the United Mine Workers (UMW) as contract negotiations in the coal industry draw closer has the mine owners and the Nixon administration worried.

The UMW Bargaining Council, which will conduct negotiations for the union, held its first meeting March 28-29 in Washington, D.C.

At the UMW convention last December, delegates approved far-reaching new contract demands, including increased safety measures, a cost-of-living escalator clause, a 30-hour week with no reduction in pay, and a tripling of royalties for the Welfare and Retirement Fund. The convention also voted that new contracts must be ratified by the membership.

The current contract between the UMW and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association runs out Nov. 12, 1974. Delegates at the UMW convention expressed a clear willingness to strike if an acceptable contract is not reached by then.

The coal operators have shown no intention of giving an inch on the miners' demands. In fact, citing the "fuel shortage," the mine owners are asking for a *relaxation* of the already inadequate safety standards, which they contend are standing



Demonstration by striking West Virginia miners. Government fears 'more serious trouble' in future.

in the way of increased production.

The miners, however, have stated that they will not sacrifice their lives or living standards in the name of the energy crisis. As one UMW official said, "If they think they can use the energy crisis to avoid reasonable concessions, there will be trouble."

West Virginia miners already demonstrated this by their walkout earlier this year against gasoline restrictions. Their strike—unauthorized by union officials—sent a tremor through the coal industry and the government.

"The Administration fears the wildcats are only a prelude to more widespread and serious trouble," reported the March 16 *Business Week*. In preparation, the magazine explained, a special "intergovernmental group" has been established under the direction of the Cost of Living Council. Its official purpose is to "develop a national coal policy for 1974."

In reality, this administration committee can be expected to do its utmost to keep the miners' wage demands down, weaken safety demands, and chip away at benefits.

However, the UMW will have a powerful weapon in its hands with the increased reliance on coal because of the energy crisis. According to *Business Week*, Nixon economists are already worried about a coal shortage; a nationwide strike would put the coal industry under great pressure in contract negotiations.

The other big fear of the coal operators and their friends in Washington is the impact of democratic reforms on the UMW.

"Both the government and the industry are worried that the UMW's new leadership has gone way out on a political limb in its bargaining promises to the rank and file," *Business Week* explained. "For the first time, whatever the leadership agrees to at the bargaining table must be submitted for rank-and-file ratification," the magazine added with obvious distaste.

The next stage in preparation for contract negotiations will be UMW district conventions, where delegates will discuss contract demands. After these meetings report back to the union Bargaining Council, initial discussions with the coal operators will begin.

## Books on Teamster struggles



**TWO BOOKS ON THE BATTLES THAT BUILT THE TEAMSTERS UNION AND THEIR LESSONS FOR TODAY:**

**TEAMSTER REBELLION** by Farrell Dobbs. History of 1934 Teamster strikes that began to make Minneapolis a union town. 192 pp. Paper \$2.25, cloth \$6.95.

**TEAMSTER POWER** by Farrell Dobbs. How Teamsters carried out Midwest over-the-road organizing drive in 1930s. 255 pp. Paper \$2.95, cloth \$8.95.

Monad Press books. Distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.



# Conversation with a steelworker

The following interview was obtained for *The Militant* by Ed Heisler, a railroad worker who was a leader of the Right to Vote Committee, a rank-and-file movement in the United Transportation Union that demanded the right to vote on contracts. Heisler is currently the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois.

Don Jordan is a leader of Steelworkers for Change. This group is one of those challenging the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), a no-strike deal cooked up by the steel corporations and Steelworkers President I.W. Abel.

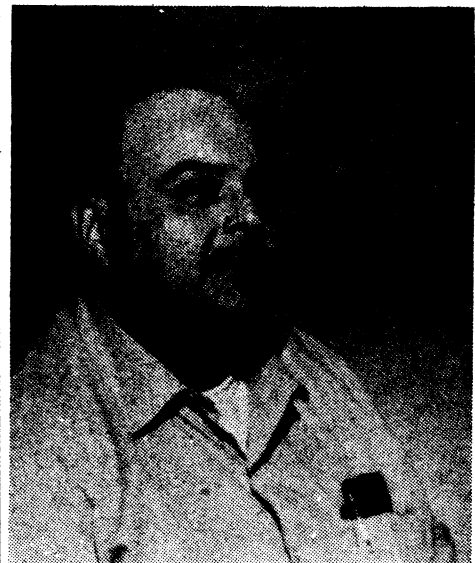
On March 26, after this interview, a federal judge ruled that the ENA was legal even though rank-and-file Steelworkers knew nothing about it in advance and weren't able to vote on it. The union isn't "a pure democracy," explained the judge, "but . . . a representative democracy." Although Steelworkers for Change was involved in the legal challenge to the ENA, it sees this as only one aspect of an overall fight against the Abel leadership and its policies.

**Heisler:** Who testified for the rank and file at the hearing?

**Jordan:** Jim Davis, national chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee of Concerned Steelworkers; Alice Peurala, co-chairperson of the District 31 Right to Strike Committee; Al Samper, co-chairperson of the District 31 Right to Strike Committee; and Joe Kransdorf, a member of United Steelworkers Local 65 and the District 31 Right to Strike Committee.

**Heisler:** What was the nature of their testimony?

**Jordan:** They all testified to the same facts: that we had no prior knowledge of the negotiations leading to the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA); that there had never been any



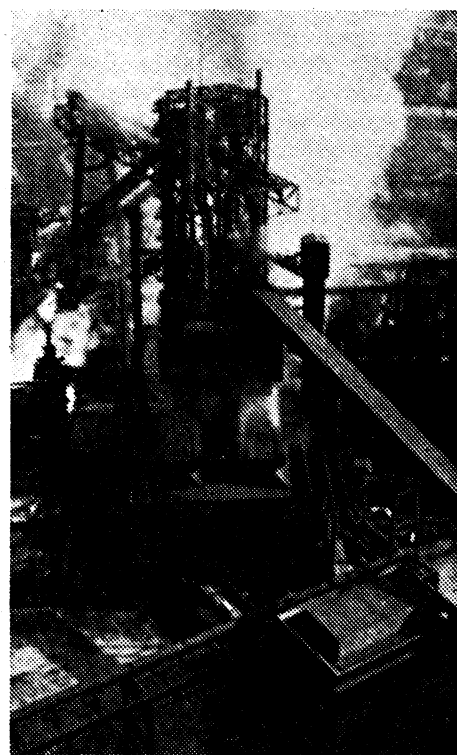
Don Jordan of Steelworkers for Change.

information given to the rank and file on this agreement; and that I.W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers of America, and the steel companies had negotiated for seven to eight months in complete secrecy.

**Heisler:** How did the union officials defend their secret negotiations?

**Jordan:** They said in their testimony we should have had some hint of the ENA from an editorial that appeared in *Steel Labor*, the official organ of the Steelworkers union. In that editorial, I.W. Abel said there should be some new approach to collective bargaining in the steel industry to eliminate the so-called boom-bust cycles in normal negotiations.

He invited all rank-and-file members to write to him on the subject. That was supposed to have been the



hint that he was planning to give up the right to strike. It was rather far-fetched in our estimation.

**Heisler:** What did I.W. Abel have to say at the hearing?

**Jordan:** When our attorney asked him whether he could have polled the United Steelworkers executive board or the Basic Steel Industry Conference of the union on the ENA, Abel replied, "Not if we wanted to achieve it."

When asked by the judge hearing the case why he couldn't have at least made an announcement in *Steel Labor* on what was happening in the negotiations on the ENA, Abel responded, "I didn't think it was necessary." I think that pretty much tells the story on I.W. Abel's relationship to the rank and file.

**Heisler:** What kind of activity is the District 31 Right to Strike Committee conducting in addition to the suit?

**Jordan:** A major activity has been leafleting the basic steel plants in the district to inform the membership that there is a committee in existence to defend the right to strike. The major effort now will be to raise money to pay for actual court costs. I might add that all the attorneys have donated their services.

**Heisler:** What is the attitude of the steelworkers to the ENA? Is there any confusion over what it represents?

**Jordan:** I can't speak for all rank-and-file steelworkers, but in my plant I don't think there is any confusion. The only problem is that they feel there's nothing they can do about it. The rank-and-file steelworkers don't realize what power they have.

**Heisler:** How does the ENA violate your right to strike?

**Jordan:** It not only violates the right to strike, it eliminates it. The union officials have guaranteed that there will be no strike in the industry and that any unresolved issues will be turned over to the board of arbitration. The companies have agreed to a minimum 3 percent wage increase a year.

**Heisler:** You mean an actual cut in pay?

**Jordan:** A further cut in pay. That's what we've been taking for a long time, and a 3 percent increase is ridiculous the way the cost of living is going up. Another little goodie they threw in is a one-time payment of \$150 for each worker.

**Heisler:** That's before taxes.

**Jordan:** Oh, of course!

**Heisler:** What's the present status of negotiations between the Steelworkers union and the companies?

**Jordan:** Well, that's something we really don't know because we're never informed of negotiations until there's been a final agreement. We read the newspapers to find out.

**Heisler:** I understand that steelworkers are not permitted to vote on their contracts. We can't vote on our contracts in the railway industry either. Is there much discussion among steelworkers on that issue?

**Jordan:** It's a very hot issue among the people in my plant, but again they don't feel that they can do anything to gain that right. It's very much a part of the rank-and-file groups that combined to initiate this suit.

**Heisler:** What kinds of discussions are taking place on the job about the energy crisis, inflation, speedup, etc.?

**Jordan:** Angry ones! Most people see the energy crisis as a hoax designed to drive independents out of business and to raise prices God knows how high.

**Heisler:** How do the steelworkers feel about the government?

**Jordan:** They think that's a hoax, too. People I talk to certainly have no confidence in the government, especially

to vote on a contract; we'll tell you what's good for you."

It's just their whole attitude. They don't really represent working people, they have no connection with working people, they're of a different class, if you will. They're not part of us.

**Heisler:** What did you think of the truck drivers' strike? The press really tried to do a job on them.

**Jordan:** Yes, they sure did. I'm all in favor of what the truck drivers did. They had a problem and they took action. They didn't wait for some bureaucrat in Washington to make a decision. They made a decision themselves.

**Heisler:** How much money do steelworkers make?

**Jordan:** Well, if you believe the company figures, we're making \$8.11 an hour including fringe benefits, but I find that rather difficult to believe.

**Heisler:** You mean you don't bring home \$330 a week like the steel companies claim?

**Jordan:** No, not hardly. I don't bring home \$330 in two weeks! Most steelworkers are hired as general laborers and they make \$3.68 an hour.

**Heisler:** That's all?

**Jordan:** That's right. That isn't too bad, Ed. I've been there 14 years and



Gary, Ind., March 3. Steelworkers protest no-strike agreement.

Militant/Bob Kissinger

this administration. They think they're in cahoots with the oil companies. I don't think they see it any longer as their government. I think this feeling is spreading.

**Heisler:** Do you think we're going to see some changes soon in the labor movement?

**Jordan:** I certainly hope so. It's very difficult to overthrow these bureaucracies. They control the machinery of the union. International conventions of our union are stacked. Many of the delegates are staff representatives who work for the International, and many small locals can't even afford to send delegates.

I don't say it can't be done. It can be done. It's a long hard struggle. Things like the ENA might just provoke a change in the union. A lot of people are very angry with it. They realized they never had the right to vote on contracts in the past, but this is something that goes to the heart of the labor movement, the right to strike. If they're going to try and take that away what the hell is left?

I wish a lot of rank-and-file steelworkers could have heard and seen I.W. Abel on the witness stand in Pittsburgh. The thing that struck me about him was his complete arrogance toward the rank and file. This whole feeling that "we know what's best for you people. You don't have the brains

I make \$4.41 an hour.

**Heisler:** I didn't realize it was that low.

**Jordan:** I realize it.

**Heisler:** I'm comparing to the wages of railroad workers. We're grumbling about our low pay and I'm making about \$5.60 an hour with eight years seniority.

**Jordan:** Are there any openings for switchmen on your railroad?

**Heisler:** We received a 4 percent wage increase in January this year, and our wages will remain frozen until 1975. We're going to be hurting pretty bad before this contract expires because of inflation.

**Jordan:** By that time maybe I'll be making \$5.00 an hour, but then I'll need \$10.

**Heisler:** Is there anything else you'd like to say to the readers of *The Militant*?

**Jordan:** I don't think this ENA is an isolated thing. I think it's tied to the last several contracts we've had in the steel industry, bringing in such things as the productivity clause and a joint union-management productivity committee.

It hasn't been too obvious in our plant yet but there have been some instances of reduction in crew sizes, elimination of jobs, doubling up of work, and I think this is just another step in that direction.



By DICK ROBERTS

Henry Kissinger ended three days of top-level secret negotiations in Moscow March 27. According to *Izvestia*, the meetings did not solve "all questions" but the "two countries have confirmed their resolve to steadily continue the improvement of Soviet-American relations."

The Western press was not so keen. Reporting from London, March 28, *Washington Post* staff writer Murrey Marder declared, "The United States and the Soviet Union failed to come even remotely close to an agreement to limit nuclear warheads in their Moscow talks, raising great doubts about the chances of concluding such an accord at a summit conference this summer."

Watergate apparently entered into the negotiations for the first time. The reports, however, were contradictory. *New York Times* correspondent Hed-

Assured Destruction, the SALT I agreement limited the number of missiles Washington and Moscow would build to defend cities to 1,618 for the USSR and 1,054 (technically superior) ICBMs for the U.S.

The idea was that defending cities could be interpreted as an "offensive" nuclear strategy since it could be aimed at safeguarding cities against a retaliatory second strike. Both sides would be allowed to continue to build and develop first-strike missiles so that if a nuclear war started, each side was assured of the ability to annihilate the population of the other side several times over. Supposedly, this assurance would serve to deter a first strike.

With this grim agreement, both sides pressed ahead with missile development. In August 1973 Moscow tested its first MIRV (Multiple, independently targeted re-entry vehicle). This gruesome weapon, long since perfected by the United States, is designed

war, when Nixon brought the world to the brink of nuclear holocaust, was a chilling demonstration of this.

### U.S.-Soviet trade

A whole bevy of U.S.-Soviet trade agreements have run into various amounts of trouble because of congressional opposition to granting the Soviet Union "favored nation" status in trade and the refusal of the U.S. Export-Import Bank to join banking syndicates in sponsoring loans to Moscow.

Opponents of freer trade with Moscow, largely arguing for the sake of the 1976 elections, have gained mileage out of the Soviet Union's anti-emigration policies and its suppression of dissident intellectuals.

Men like Senator "Scoop" Jackson (D-Wash.)—nicknamed the "Junior Senator from Boeing"—who applaud the ordering of billions of dollars worth of death-bringing bombers and their deployment to defend and extend the world power of U.S. imperialism—have hypocritically denounced antidemocratic policies in the USSR.

On this score there were indications that the Soviet Union may have made further concessions. One Soviet journalist told *Washington Post* correspondent Kaiser, "Remember, it is credits from the Export-Import Bank that are most important to us."

Perhaps more important is the apparent effect of the Soviet Union's deportation of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn in defusing the demagogic congressional opposition to relaxed trade measures with Moscow. "... by and large, Western diplomats privately concede, the bold stroke of expelling Mr. Solzhenitsyn has been a success for the Kremlin," *New York Times* correspondent Hedrick Smith reported from Moscow. "Privately, Russian dissidents voice some surprise that the protest in the West died down so quickly," Smith wrote.

### Middle East

The Moscow summit apparently marked a further slide in the Kremlin's halfway support to the Arab demand for Israeli withdrawal to pre-1967 boundaries. Up to this point, at least publicly, Moscow has supported this demand and backed Syrian opposition to the settlements so far worked out between Washington, Cairo, and Tel Aviv.

Prior to Kissinger's visit, Moscow was openly irritated at Washington's attempt to impose a settlement without even having the Soviet delegates present to rubber-stamp it. Moscow would rather have a settlement reached at the multipower talks in Geneva where the Soviet Union is present.

Kissinger insisted on going ahead with the talks planned in Washington between Israel and Syria, with the U.S. present as the "mediator." In Moscow, the Kremlin toned down its criticism of this move in return for a promise from Kissinger that the Soviet bureaucrats would be more closely consulted on further Middle East developments.

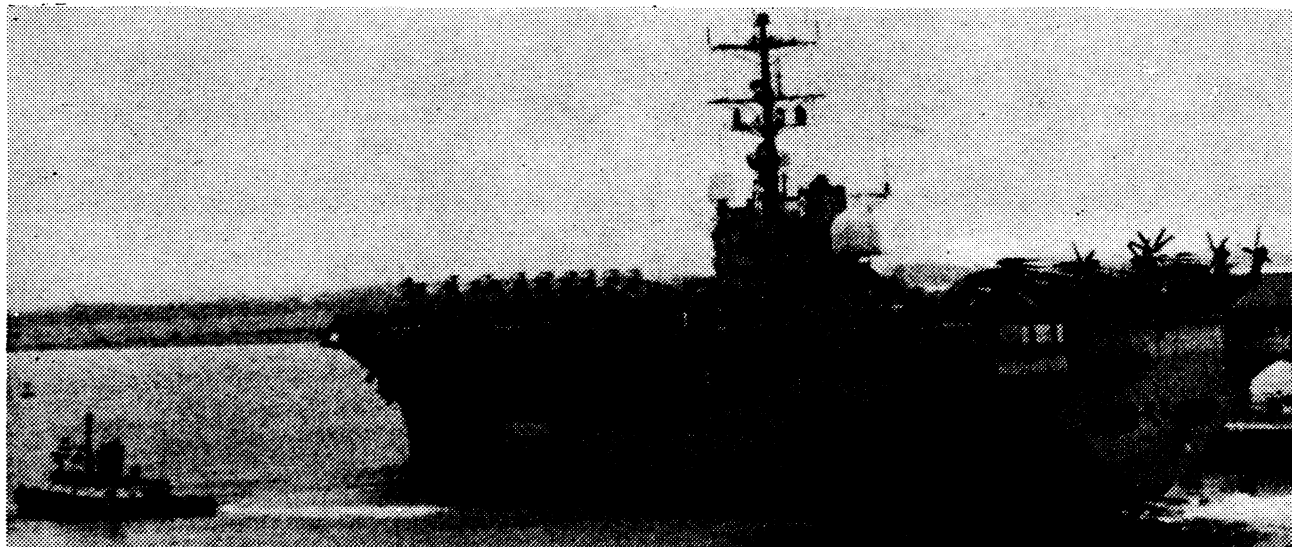
Behind these diplomatic niceties is the necessity from Washington's standpoint of getting the Kremlin leadership to back an imposed settlement. "Soviet influence in Syria remains strong," the *New York Times* remarked in an editorial March 29. "If necessary to insure that this influence is not exerted against a new disengagement accord, the United States and Israel should be ready to pay the modest price of a nominal Soviet role in certifying any Syrian-Israeli agreement."

But there are other more important "prices" to Moscow, above all the extension of U.S. trade and credit. Moscow has already shown in relation to Southeast Asia that the promise of U.S. technology can bring about a political settlement favorable to the West. The scene is now likely to shift to Washington, where tremendous pressure will be exerted on Congress to grasp the realities of world politics and tone down its pre-1976 campaign rhetoric.



BREZHNEV & KISSINGER: Their wheeling and dealing won't advance interests of working class.

## Kissinger's Moscow trip: behind the secret talks



U.S. carrier *Iowa* during October Mideast war. Real effect of detente is to embolden imperialists, making nuclear war more—not less—likely.

rick Smith stated categorically, "The Watergate factor was undoubtedly one reason for the disappointing results of the Brezhnev-Kissinger talks. For Mr. Kissinger came here with a weak negotiating hand and the Soviet leadership obviously felt no compulsion to rush toward compromise with a weakened Administration."

Equally categorical on the other side of this question was *Washington Post* foreign service correspondent Robert Kaiser: "... in Moscow this week, Soviet officials and senior journalists indicated in a series of interviews and informal meetings that Soviet experts on the United States ... were convinced that Mr. Nixon still had the authority he needed to reach new agreements with the Soviet Union."

The Soviet experts, according to Kaiser, "expressed a strong desire that Mr. Nixon remain in office."

"How can you do this to your country?" one Soviet television commentator asked."

### SALT II

These and other contradictory interpretations of the Kissinger-Brezhnev summit serve to emphasize the exceptional secrecy surrounding the talks. It is clear that the issues under discussion are ones the imperialists and top-level Soviet bureaucrats want to keep to themselves.

This secrecy is a further indication that the wheeling and dealing in Moscow will produce nothing to advance the interests of the masses of workers around the world.

Three subjects were apparently uppermost in the late-March summit: SALT II (the second round of "Strategic Arms Limitation Talks" between Washington and Moscow); U.S.-Soviet trade; and the Middle East.

The SALT talks, which have been held off and on in Geneva since 1969, are the trickiest and most secretive. At stake is the balance of nuclear weapons between the two superpowers. Ever since three years before the Nixon-Brezhnev summit in May 1972, where the SALT I accords were signed, the top military strategists on both sides have been attempting to work out formulas for some kind of slowing of the nuclear arms race.

SALT I showed the extreme limitations on such steps. Appropriately nicknamed "MAD" for Mutual

to spray out nuclear warheads in a number of directions including decoys so that it is virtually impregnable to defensive weapons.

Washington, even before this, pressed ahead with a new generation of MIRVs and the Trident submarine program, designed to build giant elusive nuclear submarines to be equipped with MIRV warheads. The 1974 fiscal year military budget, passed by Congress in October, gave a big boost to Trident.

Meanwhile Nixon's new war secretary, James Schlesinger, has been calling the "MAD" policy into question. Schlesinger has been talking up the idea of building a new generation of antimissile missiles, which would be aimed at destroying the defensive missiles supposedly safeguarded by SALT I.

On top of this, the October war in the Middle East may have undermined Moscow's naval position in the Indian Ocean, as Moscow's relations with Egypt have deteriorated and free Soviet access to the Suez Canal is put into question. There is the possibility that the United States could have submarine bases in the Indian Ocean with no USSR counterparts.

Given all these factors, a SALT II agreement with even the minor limitations imposed by SALT I is extremely unlikely. In Moscow, Kissinger was apparently fishing around for some sign that both sides would consider ceilings on MIRV strengths at some future date. Kissinger wants a piece of paper like this for Nixon to sign during his planned June 1974 visit to Moscow.

Mutual "arms limitation" is founded on the false premise, peddled by the Soviet bureaucrats, that the interests of world imperialism and the workers states can be reconciled—that the capitalists' drive to reconquer the ground lost to the Soviet Union, China, and the other workers states can be blunted permanently through secret negotiations.

The imperialist strategists are more realistic. As the balance sheet on "arms limitation" to date shows, these talks have not prevented Washington from developing and stockpiling ever more destructive weapons.

Moreover, the real effect of Moscow's "peaceful coexistence" concessions to imperialism at the expense of the world revolution—like in Vietnam—is to embolden the imperialists and make nuclear war more, not less, likely. The October Mideast

# World Outlook

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

APRIL 12, 1974

## Argentine revolutionists call for united front against rightist offensive

By Gerry Foley

"What happened in Córdoba leaves no room for doubt," the Argentine Trotskyist weekly *Avanzada Socialista* wrote in its March 6 issue. "A semi-fascist coup has occurred in this province. This is a very grave development and the workers must realize the full significance of this danger."

The putsch by mutinous police and labor gangsters who overthrew the provincial government of Córdoba on February 27 was not an isolated incident but the culmination of a whole campaign of intimidation against the workers and left organizations.

"In order to understand the threat the events in Córdoba represent," *Avanzada* continued, "the compañeros don't need to look very far beyond their factories and their own daily experience."

"At some time, for instance, every one of us has seen the trade-union bureaucracy and its goons in action. We have seen them arrive at the gates of factories where disputes were going on, not to join the picket line but to act as strikebreakers. . . .

"We saw them in action, for example, at Citroën, where, acting in coordination with the plant guards and with the blessing of the police, an armed bureaucratic gang hunted down the activists in order to break the last strike. We have just seen them at work in the Swift packing house in Rosario, where they roamed the various sections of the factory, beating up both male and female workers who were protesting against their starvation wages."

"And we have also seen these bureaucrats and their goons at work in Comodoro Rivadavia, where in a united front with the police they seized the headquarters of the oil workers, and when the ranks tried to protest they shot them down."

Three workers and possibly more were gunned down by police February 21 in the southern port town of Comodoro Rivadavia as they tried to march on their union headquarters, which had been occupied by a goon squad sent in by the right-wing labor bosses.

Until the Córdoba coup, this was the most violent episode in the bureaucracy's campaign to impose a tight rein on the union movement. Only iron-fisted control, the bureaucrats apparently felt, could keep the workers from pushing for wage demands exceeding the narrow guidelines

of the class-collaborationist Social Pact, on which Perón's second regime is based.

Violence and other types of reprisals against union militants had been escalating for months. Some of those attacked were workers selling *Avanzada Socialista* at plant gates. Also attacked were union activists belonging to the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International), which publishes the paper.

In late February, for example, three armed goons attacked a team of PST members selling *Avanzada* outside the gate of the Tensa factory in Buenos Aires. The team jumped in a bus and left, but the gunmen followed them.



PST presidential candidate Juan Carlos Coral speaks at rally in Plaza Italia, Buenos Aires, last year. Right-wing goons are trying to terrorize workers and left organizations.

One of the thugs tried to grab a PSTer's papers. There was a scuffle. A .45-caliber bullet dug a long gouge across the back of the paper salesman, Juan Carlos Cecere. In its course, the bullet went through the hand of one of Cecere's companions.

Not long before this, in mid-February, members of the PST who were handing out a leaflet on the metalworkers union elections outside the COR-MASI-CORNI foundry in Buenos Aires were also chased by armed goons. One PSTer was shot in the back with a .32-caliber pistol.

Other PST activists were expelled from their unions by the bureaucrat-

ic repression, like Víctor Giménez, a leading activist in the building workers union in the western Argentine city of Neuquén.

What the Córdoba coup demonstrated, *Avanzada* explained, was that "the same methods of gangsterism and terror that are being applied on a small scale in factories or unions . . . are now being applied on a grand scale in Córdoba, to rule a province. And the most sinister elements of the bureaucracy are doing this in the hope that they can extend this tomorrow to the entire country."

### Obregon Cano—A Cordoban Allende

*Avanzada* compared the Córdoba coup to the fall of Allende in Chile. Despite the smaller scale and the far less grave consequences, the political lessons were the same.

"A few days ago," the Trotskyist weekly wrote, "we published an account by the Chilean Socialist leader Jaime Flores, who is imprisoned in Corrientes. This comrade related the odyssey of the Chilean workers on the day of the coup. 'What should we do?' 'What is happening?' 'How can we resist?' were the questions that all our Chilean brothers were asking as the 'gorilla' offensive raged. These questions were not answered. There was no leadership, no party, no union, no union federation able to organize

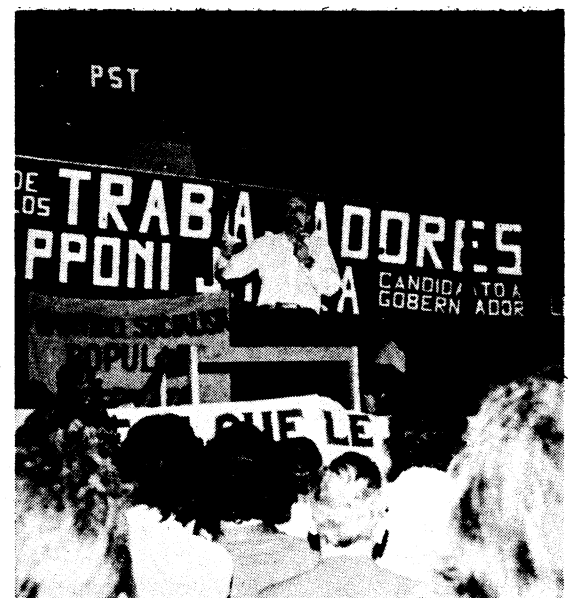
to 1970] when it was a lot harder, and did not do so in this case? Today, when there should have been a Cordobazo two or three times as big as the previous ones [the insurrectionary general strikes of 1969 and 1971], nothing, or almost nothing happened. How can this be explained?"

The difference was that the old centrist leaderships that led the opposition to the dictatorship were politically confused or co-opted by the Peronist regime.

"Something has changed in the leaderships, in the trade-union and political leaderships—which are virtually the same as in 1969—that explains the absence of a working-class and popular mobilization."

"And what has changed is the role played today by the CP, the JP [Juventud Peronista—Peronist Youth], the Tosco group [the non-Peronist militant wing of the unions], and the guerrillaist currents. Unlike what happened under the dictatorship, all of these leaderships functioned in Córdoba like a set of interlocking gears revolving around the Obregón Cano/Atilio López government, which in turn revolved around Perón's government."

"In complementary ways, both the guerrillaists, with their complete lack of a political line to put up against the government, and their inherent incapacity to mobilize the masses; and the trade-union and political leader-



and respond. As a result, the reactionary offensive was able to roll on as easily as a knife cutting butter.

"Leaving aside the difference of scale, the same thing happened in Córdoba. 'What should we do?' and 'What is happening?' were unanswered questions in the mouths of the Córdoba workers. For it should be said that the coup did not have the slightest popular support. But no one went out to fight against the fascists because they did not know how or where to do it."

"How is it possible that the people went out to fight against Onganía [the military dictator who ruled from 1966

ships mentioned, with their capitulation to Obregón and López, showed that they could not lead a Cordobazo."

"In reality, what these leaderships set in motion was a tragicomedy of intrigue, which was opened by the governor and deputy governor themselves. Their inglorious fall transpired behind closed doors, where the masses were shut out. When they were released from prison, they did not call for the support of the workers but of the federal police. When this was refused, they left for parts unknown."

"The same thing happened with the  
*Continued on following page*



## ...Argentine right hopes to beat back labor militancy

Continued from preceding page

leaderships that relied on them. On the day of the coup, they were nowhere to be seen; the only thing that appeared was communiqués signed by these leaders with vague 'instructions' that no one could carry out. The fact was that for months they had dampened down their powder. They had constantly discouraged mobilizations because, they said, these 'would play into the hands of the right.'

"All of the political and trade-union leaderships in Córdoba shared responsibility only two months ago for the ignominious sellout of the IME workers who were fired under the 'reduction-in-the-work-force law.' At that time, no leadership called for mobilizing effectively to fight the layoffs and denounce the miserable role played by the provincial government. As in Chile, the leaders chorused, 'We must not play into the hands of the right,' while the IME workers were being hit with a flood of dismissals and the right was attacking and preparing the way for the coup.

"The defeat in Córdoba marks the failure of the political line of all those who thought they could defend the workers and civil liberties and could still place their confidence in the government and refrain from attacking it. This represents either an error or a capitulation, because if the semifascist bureaucrats are not the same thing as the government, they are part of it and at present an indispensable part."



Peronist goons in action last year

In particular, the PST paper called on the youth who followed Perón in the belief that he intends to carry out a socialist transformation to draw the lessons of the Córdoba coup and the Peronist government's suppression of those who tried to protest in the name of Perón against the forcible ouster of an elected Peronist administration.

"The young people who were beaten up and jailed in Buenos Aires last Friday because they relied on a semiofficial promise that the Juventudes Políticas Argentinas [JPA—Argentine Political Youth Groups, the umbrella of the left Peronist youth organizations] would not be repressed, should now reflect deeply on the events in Córdoba. It was the policy of their cothinkers there that allowed a semi-



Militant workers struggles like the one by these plastics workers in Tucuman threaten Peron's economic policy.

fascist coup to triumph without a struggle."

*Avanzada* stressed the danger represented by the Córdoba coup and the repressive campaign:

"The events that have occurred in Córdoba are a dangerous defeat for the Argentine workers. When Obregón Cano and Atilio López fell, the semifascist gangs and the putschist police hierarchy—who have been confirmed in their posts—won their principal demand.

"Even if they do not get everything they ask, even if the interventor named is neither Osinde [the organizer of the Ezeiza massacre] nor Navarro [the putschist police chief], as they demand, and even if in the coming days a popular response begins to develop, for the moment the rightists . . . have won a victory."

### A Realistic Assessment

The Trotskyist paper warned that this threat could not be met effectively without a realistic assessment of the strength of the rightists and the aims of the Argentine bourgeoisie:

"The semifascist body—as we have already pointed out—still lacks feet and a head. That is, on the one hand it lacks mass support; and on the other, the Argentine bourgeoisie as a whole, although it uses the fascists, is not interested in pushing semifascism as such, but in advancing the 'great national accord.' That means maintaining a bourgeois parliamentary regime.

"This semifascist body is trying to win a base through the Peronist movement.

But that is hard to do, because while millions of Argentines still place their confidence in Perón, they also have a growing hatred of the Peronist trade-union bureaucrats and politicians. An index of this is the incapacity of these sectors to mobilize large masses in their public rallies, despite having the colossal union apparatus (and now, partially, the state apparatus) at their disposal.

"We have said that the only sector that could provide a head for this semifascist body is the Argentine bourgeoisie, and it does not yet have an interest in doing so."

The Argentine bourgeoisie, the

Trotskyist weekly said, knows too well the price it would have to pay for fascism: "The capitalists still bear the scars of the last two experiences with authoritarian regimes, which in the beginning they supported almost unanimously. We are referring to the 1955-58 'gorilla' regime and the Onganía dictatorship. In both cases, because of the reaction they provoked in the workers movement, these experiences ended badly. In particular, the 'Onganiato' provoked working-class and popular explosions that endangered the whole capitalist system.

"The bourgeoisie's fear of a semifascist or authoritarian adventure, which has been reflected in the 'serious' press in recent days, is simply the fear of the future reactions of the workers movement."

*Avanzada* called the semifascist goons and police the "watchdogs" of the capitalists: "It's one thing to have a dog in the garden to guard your property but another to let him come into the living room and establish himself as 'head of the household' and start to bark orders. The bourgeoisie has no 'problems of conscience' in backing a bureaucrat or a goon who breaks a strike or murders a class-struggle leader. But the distance between that and entrusting the leadership of the state to a goon or a declassed adventurer is a long one."

At the same time, the Trotskyist weekly warned against the opposite error. "Nonetheless, from this fear of a semifascist adventure shown by the majority of the bourgeoisie we should not draw the conclusion that is drawn by those who hope to be able to block the fascists by collaborating with, or supporting, the 'good bosses' . . . or the ones that they think are good. . . .

"In Córdoba the watchdogs showed the unmistakable signs of rabies. The bosses, their politicians, and Perón himself watched them in action not without a certain fear. But it was hard for them to put muzzles on these rabid dogs, because they cannot do without them.

"Because they don't understand this, both the JP and the CP, as well as other tendencies, have been making the mistake of trying to block the ultraright offensive by relying on and

supporting the present capitalist government. The consequences are obvious. The 'anti-Cordobazo' was the result of this capitulatory and suicidal policy."

The PST paper also criticized those who put the blame for the coup on the CIA and the imperialists alone:

"We should clear up the confusion that is shared by the Communist party, the JP, and the FAS [Frente Antimperialista y por el Socialismo—Front Against Imperialism and for Socialism, supported by some guerrilla groups and left nationalists]. For them, the brains behind this is the CIA; that is, Yankee imperialism. Let us leave aside the fact that, especially for the CP and the JP, this is an elegant and dandy way of absolving the government and the Argentine capitalists of responsibility.

"We don't say that the CIA doesn't have excellent relations with the semifascist groups or hold them as a reserve card. Nor that the Yankees were saddened by Obregón's fall. But it seems to us that the fundamental line of the foreign monopolies still passes through the 'great accord' and not through promoting civil war by means of the semifascist groups."

### What Must Be Done

For its part, the PST paper raised the slogan "No confidence in the government. Unite and mobilize independently against the semifascist gangs."

"Only with our hands free of any tie to, or compromise with, the government, only with an independent policy uniting all the political and social sectors determined to defend democratic freedoms can we halt the semifascist onslaught."

Concretely, *Avanzada* proposed a united front of the left and workers organizations for action against the rightist offensive. It supported the JPA decision to call a rally to protest the rightist outrages and called on the left Peronists to broaden their action to include all left groups:

"We think that it is only by mobilizing that we can halt the offensive of the right. But we are also sure that we can strike much harder if we coordinate our actions in a united way, that is, if the JPA invites all youth groups to participate and withdraws its confidence in the 'half promises' of officials like General Iñiquez [the federal police chief]. . . .

"We think that regardless of our different policies, the attacks of the fascist gangs and the rightist groups are hitting all our organizations in common, and we must respond in common.

"We recognize the representativeness of the JPA, and although we are not part of it we think that the PST as well as the JSA, which mobilized 5,000 compañeros for the Chile rally . . . and other tendencies of recognized weight in the student movement should participate in all the broad actions called.

"This cannot involve imposing conditions on the organizations participating—on the contrary. The slogans and the organization of every action should be discussed by all the groups taking part, each one of which should be able to take part under its own banners.

"So, we call on the Juventud Peron-

ista, the Federación Juvenil Comunista, and the Juventud Radical to organize a united demonstration, raising as the main slogan the immediate reinstatement of the authorities elected by the people of Córdoba."

The JSA issued a similar appeal in the youth supplement of *Avanzada*:

"Today the student movement that was able to strike back against the Onganía dictatorship in 1969 must take the lead in the defense of Córdoba, where the reactionary forces and fascist bands want to wipe out with blood and fire, by killing workers in the street and attacking trade-union and political headquarters, the rights that it took so many struggles to win."

"The Juventud Socialista de Avanzada appeals to all students, in every department and school, to discuss how to defend Córdoba. We must organize assemblies in every school, condemn these events in public statements and press conferences, and combat them by other measures democratically decided there."

"Likewise we must begin to plan a big united mobilization in defense of Córdoba, which today is also the defense of the democratic freedoms of the working class and the gains of the student movement itself."

In its own appeal for action, the PST paper said: "Obregón and López do not represent us. But the people of Córdoba elected them, and they are the only ones who can remove them—not fascist gangs or the central government."

An accompanying article called for a united front of struggle around three immediate demands: "1) reinstatement of the Córdoba government and its legal heads, Obregón Cano and López; 2) defense of the democratic and class-struggle unions in Córdoba threatened by the bureaucratic escalation; 3) release of all political prisoners."

"However, to be effective," the statement continued, "such a front must actually mobilize the workers and the popular sectors. It cannot stick to paper statements. It must organize central public rallies now and take militant actions. All the threatened unions, along with the Juventudes Políticas Argentinas, and all parties and student organizations, unions, and professional groups that agree with these objectives must begin immediately to organize a great national mobilization."

## Chilean junta

# The type of regime businessmen like

Last September's military coup in Chile may not have been very popular with Chileans, but U.S. business sees it as an unmixed blessing—and with good reason. The authoritative U.S. business weekly *Barron's* has been particularly enthusiastic.

The January 14 issue of the magazine carried an article by Robert M. Bleiberg entitled "The Junta Has Set Chile on the Road to Recovery"—an analysis so profound that it won the endorsement of Congressman Robert Huber of Michigan, who inserted it in the February 28 *Congressional Record*. Huber explained that the article would help to correct "a great deal of misinformation . . . circulated about recent events in Chile."

Bleiberg's article began with the happy citation of a *Wall Street Journal* report that at the end of December the Junta "bundled off \$19.5 million, mostly in small bills, aboard a commercial airliner to Miami, Fla., to pay the first installment of a U.S. debt."

"Again on January 7," Bleiberg continued, "the Journal carried the brief word that the Chilean government had returned to Dow Chemical Co. two

polystyrene plants seized by its ousted Marxist predecessor."

Chile under the junta, in Bleiberg's view, is little short of an economic heaven:

"On the economic front . . . there's progress to report up and down the line. As the case of Dow Chemical indicates, much of the property illegally seized [sic; laws passed by the Chilean congress are not valid until ratified by *Barron's*] from Chileans and foreign nationals alike has been returned; tentative overtures, aimed at reaching agreement with Anaconda, Cerro and Kennecott on compensation, are afoot. The new Chilean government has assumed full responsibility for Santiago's staggering foreign debt, and, as the episode of the small bills cited above suggests, has taken the first steps toward restoring its international credit."

The reality has turned out in some cases to be even rosier than Bleiberg had hoped. On March 13, for example, the *New York Times* reported that the junta and Cerro Corporation had agreed that the company would be paid \$41.8 million in compensation for its property nationalized in 1971.

Cerro itself had listed the value of the property as \$35.9 million.

And in the March 16 issue of the liberal weekly *Nation*, Copley News Service correspondent Penny Lernoux noted:

"Some 300 companies taken over by the Allende government are to be returned to their owners, forty of which are U.S. corporations. Dow Chemical Co. has regained control of its \$34 million Petrodow plant, although the junta says it eventually will reduce Dow's participation from 70 to 40 percent. Kennecott and Anaconda were virtually assured of some kind of compensation for their expropriated copper mines during talks in New York with Chile's foreign minister, Admiral Ismael Huerta. Huerta also held out the possibility of a joint venture to exploit the promising Abra copper deposits near the Chuquicamata mine. Abra contains one of the world's largest copper reserves, capable of producing nearly half of Chile's current output."

Lernoux also noted a fact that helps to explain the junta's ability to make payments on the debt to the United States:

"The prospect of compensation had an almost magical effect on the long-locked vaults of U.S. banks, which promptly agreed to provide a \$100 million credit line to the new government. Such haste may appear unseemly in view of the three-year freeze on any credits to Chile" before Allende was overthrown. Because of Congressional opposition, Lernoux continued, the U.S. government "so far has been able to extend only a \$24 million credit" to the junta.

These sums, of course, will further increase Chile's foreign debt, which was already at a level of \$3,500 million. But for U.S. business and its government, a junta willing to give away the national wealth and to shoot anyone who objects is always one of the best "credit risks" imaginable.



Chilean Ford plant in 1971. Sign at right says, 'We have said enough to Yankee imperialism!'

## Australia

# Socialists fight purge in Labor youth

Left-wing activists in the youth organization of the Australian Labor Party (ALP) are fighting a McCarthy-style purge. On February 17 the executive committee of the Victorian Young Labor Association (YLA) voted to expel thirty-two socialists from the association, including three members of the executive committee who had been elected only hours before.

Too cowardly to bring the expulsion motion before the YLA membership, the executive waited until after the conclusion of the February conference of the Victorian YLA to make its move.

The charges against the expelled members, who were given no opportunity to defend themselves, were their "support of the Fourth International," their opposition to the Labor party position in the December 1973

national referendum on government price and wage controls, and that they "supported revolution."

A Committee to Defend Socialists has been formed in the Victorian YLA and has gained broad support for the democratic rights of the expelled members. Protests over the undemocratic expulsions have come from the state council of the metal workers union, three members of the Labor government cabinet, and leaders of the Socialist Left of the Victorian ALP. Around twenty-five ALP branches have passed motions calling for the reinstatement of the thirty-two.

In addition, nearly all the branches of the Victorian YLA have opposed the expulsions, and on March 1 the Victorian ALP State administrative committee passed a motion pointing

out the broad disagreement in the labor movement with the procedures used in the expulsions.

The breadth of support for the expelled socialists was shown again, this time at the March 3 Victorian ALP State council meeting. A motion urging the reinstatement of the thirty-two lost by the narrow margin of 95 votes to 91. *Direct Action*, a revolutionary socialist biweekly published in Sydney, pointed out in its March 10 issue that "this vote reflected more the unwillingness of State council delegates to amend an administrative committee recommendation, and the argument that the ALP should 'not interfere,' than any widespread support for the YLA State executive's actions."

Also supporting the thirty-two are five Labor members of parliament.

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## Baghdad refuses to honor autonomy pledge

# Iraqi gov't threatens military offensive against Kurds

By Michael Baumann

Leaders of the Kurdish national minority in northern Iraq have rejected the Baghdad regime's March 11 proposal for limited Kurdish autonomy. The Kurds charge that the proposal, presented in the form of a fifteen-day ultimatum, does not fulfill the Iraqi government's 1970 pledge of genuine Kurdish self-rule.

According to the March 18 issue of the Beirut daily *An Nahar*, Iraqi Vice-President Saddam Hussein has responded by mobilizing 48,000 troops—more than half the Iraqi army—to force acceptance of the proposal. The paper quoted sources in Baghdad as saying that Hussein would launch a full-scale offensive against the Kurds after the March 26 deadline expired. A March 19 Agence France-Presse dispatch reported that Soviet-provided Iraqi planes had already begun to bomb areas held by the Kurds.

Thousands of Kurdish people have fled northward from areas controlled by the central government. "We have never seen anything like this exodus, even during the Kurdish revolts of 1961, 1965, or 1970," Dr. Mahmoud Osmane, a member of the Political Bureau of the Kurdish Democratic party (KDP), told a *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent. "Two thousand Kurdish policemen and hundreds of civil servants have defected from their government posts and joined us."

The Kurds, a non-Arab Muslim people, make up about one-quarter of Iraq's population of more than ten million; several million more live in surrounding areas of Syria, Turkey, the Soviet Union, and Iran. The Iraqi

Kurds, with the active help of their neighboring supporters, have carried out a long and bitter struggle for self-rule.

The current revolt stems from the Baghdad regime's refusal to carry out important clauses of the initial autonomy agreement negotiated with the Kurds in March 1970. That agreement, which established an armed truce



Baghdad promised Kurds autonomy after nearly a decade of open insurrection. Above, Kurdish troops.

after nearly a decade of open insurrection against the central government, appeared to offer a number of concessions to the Kurdish minority.

The central provision in the 1970 accord promised the Kurds "autonomy in the framework of the Iraqi Republic" within four years. A number of the Kurds' demands—especially those involving language rights and education—were to be implemented immediately. However, boundaries, finances,

legislative powers, and other specific details of the autonomy plan were to be negotiated in the four-year interim.

The final proclamation, issued unilaterally by Baghdad on March 11 of this year, fell far short of the Kurds' demands.

It failed to demarcate the borders of the Kurdish region, merely stating that it applies to "all regions of the Iraqi Republic where the population is majority Kurd."

In addition, it permits the central government to retain vast authority over the Kurdish area, as well as exclusive control over the extensive oil income from the disputed Kirkuk region. The Kurds charge that Baghdad has already "Arabized" Kirkuk by deporting 50,000 Kurds and replacing them with 10,000 southern Arabs.

Baghdad's plan also gives the central government the right to select the head of the proposed Kurdish executive council, as well as the right to dissolve the proposed legislative council. Furthermore, it accords the legislative council an "advisory" role only, with the Iraqi Supreme Court to have the final say on all disputed questions. The Pesh Merga, the Kurdish guerrilla army, is to be disarmed and integrated into the national armed forces.

The Kurds charge that apart from these unacceptable features, the proposal simply ignores a number of their demands that are crucial to the success of a genuine autonomy agreement. These include the following: 1) a democratically elected national parliament, 2) a Kurdish local assembly with real decision-making power, 3)

veto power over the nomination of central government officials dealing with the Kurdish region, 4) a locally administered budget proportional to Kurdish representation in the population, and 5) a program of industrialization (only three of Iraq's 100 factories are located in the Kurdish region) and local planning bodies to develop oil and mineral resources.

The March 19 *Christian Science Monitor* reported that the Kurdish leadership appears to have very little hope that the Baghdad regime, a coalition of the Baath party and the Iraqi Communist party, will meet their demands. "Justice for Kurdistan," an official of the KDP told the *Monitor*, "really means democracy in all Iraq, too."



The present Baathist regime seems unlikely to grant either."

The Iraqi CP's role in relation to the Kurdish question has in effect been publicly endorsed by the Kremlin. In an editorial in the March 14 *Pravda*, the Soviet bureaucracy hailed the central government's proposal as a "major milestone on the path of the progressive development of Iraq."

# Fourth International holds world congress

[The following press release was issued by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

The Tenth World Congress of the Fourth International (Fourth World Congress Since Reunification) was held in Sweden the last week of February. Some 250 delegates and fraternal delegates, representing forty-eight sections and sympathizing organizations in forty-one countries, took part in the proceedings.

The delegates paid their respects to the memory of the cadres of our movement who have died since the Ninth World Congress. These include Comrade Tomás Chambi, member of the Central Committee of the Bolivian section, killed while leading the La Paz peasant column that took part in the August 21, 1971, battle against the Banzer coup; Luis Mamani Limachi murdered by the Bolivian military dictatorship; Eduardo Merlino, murdered by the Brazilian military dictatorship; Nelson de Sanza Knoll, murdered by the Chilean military dictatorship; Luis Pujals, Pedro Bonnet, the other Trotskyist leaders of the PRT-Combatiente [Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores—Revolu-

tionary Workers Party], and their comrades, including those in Trelew, murdered by the Argentine military dictatorship; Peter Graham (Ireland), murdered; José Zuniga, peasant leader of the FIR [Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario—Front of the Revolutionary Left] in Cuzco, Peru, murdered; Georg Moltved (Denmark); Renzo Gambino and Libero Villone (Italy); Edith Beauvais and Charles Marie (France); Joe Baxter (Argentina); Lazaris (Greece); Maureen Keegan (Ireland); Kenth-Ake Andersson (Sweden); Vincent Raymond Dunne and Constance Weissman (United States).

The congress elected to its place of honor the Trotskyist comrades in prison in Spain, Chile, China, Bolivia, and Uruguay. As its honorary chairman, it designated Comrade Luis Vitale, prisoner of the junta in Chile and symbol of the revolutionary victims of repression around the world.

The following points were discussed by the congress:

1. A general resolution on the international situation. The reporter for the majority of the outgoing International Executive Committee was Comrade E.

Germain. Comrade Hans reported for the minority, and Comrade Luigigave the report for a third tendency.

2. A resolution on "Bolivia: A Balance Sheet and Line of Orientation." Comrade Serrano gave the report for the majority of the outgoing IEC, and Comrade Lorenzo gave the report for the minority.

3. A resolution on "The Political Crisis and Revolutionary Perspectives in Argentina." The reporter for the majority of the outgoing IEC was Comrade Saoul; the reporter for the minority was Comrade Arturo.

4. A resolution on the problems of armed struggle in Latin America. Comrade Roman gave the report for the majority of the outgoing IEC, Comrade Juan gave the report for the minority, and Comrade Willi for a third tendency.

5. A resolution on the problems of building revolutionary parties in West Europe. The reporter for the majority of the outgoing IEC was comrade Livio Maitan, the reporter for the minority was Comrade Roberto, and the reporter for a third tendency was Comrade Herb.

The resolutions presented by the majority of the outgoing IEC on each of

these questions were passed by a majority vote. The congress elected a new International Executive Committee in which the tendencies present received proportional representation.

The Congress also adopted unanimously the statutes of the Fourth International and appeals for solidarity with the striking British miners, the Chilean workers in struggle against the military dictatorship, and the workers and students in Greece. It also passed unanimously a statement of solidarity with Rohana Wijeweera and the comrades of the JVP [Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna—People's Liberation Front] imprisoned by the Sri Lanka government.

The Tenth World Congress of the Fourth International registered the significant gains made by several sections since 1969, as well as an increase in the number of sections and sympathizing groups. It concluded a long period of lively internal debate—marked by the publication of 150 discussion articles—with the unanimous acceptance of organizational decisions confirming the unity of the Fourth International in accordance with the rules of democratic centralism.

## Stalinist bureaucrats pressure Hanoi

# Washington looks at prospects in Vietnam

From Intercontinental Press

By MICHAEL BAUMANN

The Western capitalist press, particularly in the United States, has taken a notable interest in the recent session of the North Vietnamese National Assembly. Special attention has been given to the policy statement delivered to the assembly February 4 by Vice-Premier Le Thanh Nghi, who spoke on behalf of the Twenty-second Plenum of the North Vietnamese Communist party.

The attention of the press to policy statements of the North Vietnamese government reflects a very practical interest of the U.S. government. While it is never stated openly, the debate about Hanoi's "intentions" aims to evaluate the likely response of the North Vietnamese and the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of South Vietnam to the Thieu regime's continued violations of the cease-fire agreement.

This debate has been going on almost from the moment the agreement was signed in January 1973. Its continuation and intensification now rest on the unspoken assumption that Washington will continue to encourage Thieu to persist in the attacks on liberated areas of South Vietnam—and perhaps even to escalate them.

Nghi's speech was seen as significant by the U.S. press because of its apparent shifting of priorities in comparison with similar reports in the past. The section that drew the most attention was the following:

"In the period 1974-1975, the task of North Vietnam consists in quickly completing the healing of the wounds of war, striving to rehabilitate and develop economy and develop culture, continue to build the material and technical foundation of socialism, consolidate the socialist regime in all spheres, stabilise the economic situation and the people's life, consolidate national defence and endeavour to fulfil our duty to the heroic South."

### Top priority to economy

Western news analysts have attached great importance to the fact that this section lists aid to the anti-imperialist struggle in the South as the lowest priority, following seven political and economic tasks yet to be accomplished in the North.

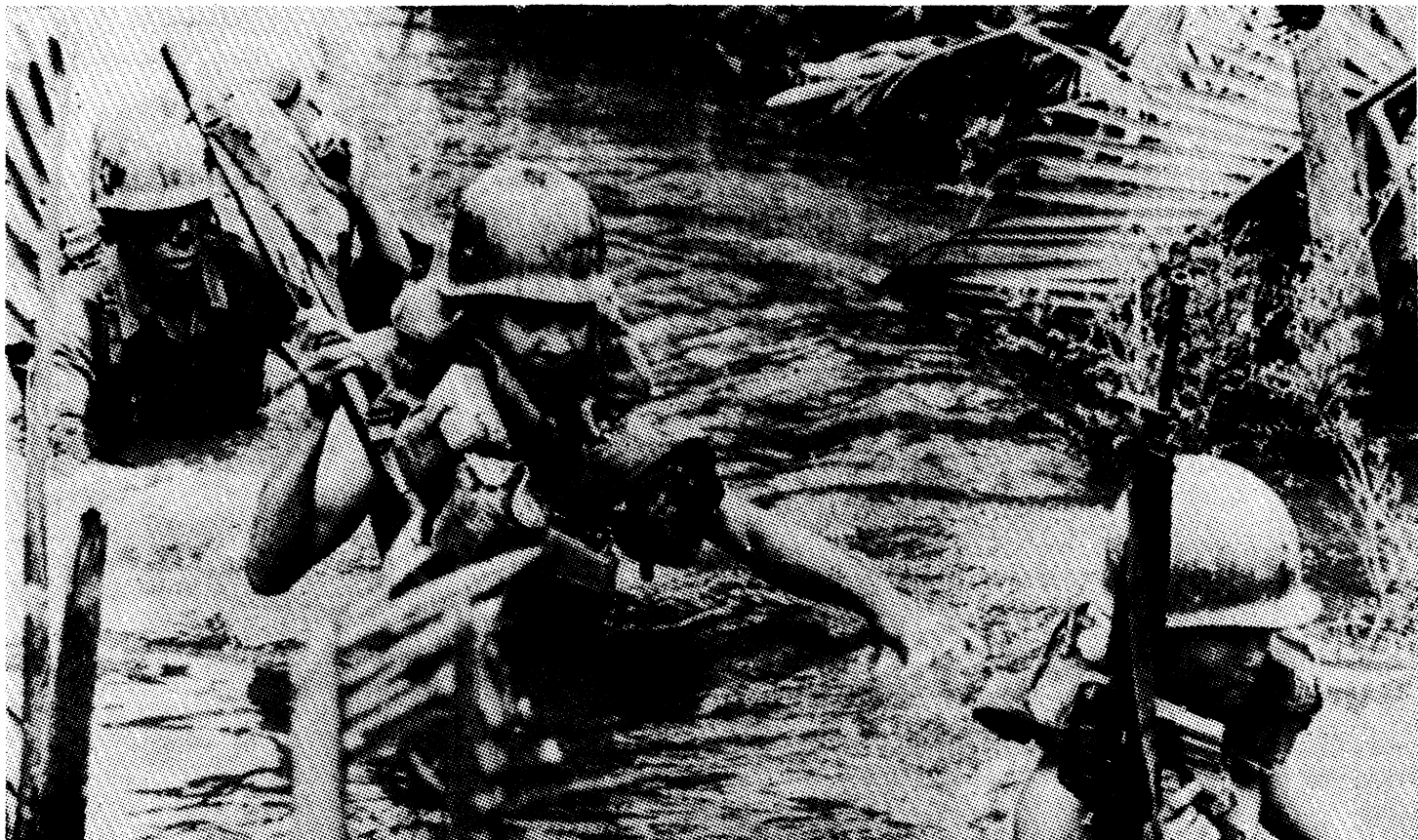
Coming as it does one year after the signing of the peace accords, and at a time when the Thieu regime does not seem to be giving any ground, the statement has created a stir in Western diplomatic circles.

Some Western analysts have been quick to seize upon the statement as proof that Hanoi intends to abandon the struggle against imperialism in the South.

The editors of the *Christian Science Monitor*, who have a reputation for reflecting the thinking of the State Department, viewed the speech as one in a series of recent indications that Hanoi "has decided to give top priority to rebuilding its war-shattered economy, and wants American aid for this purpose. In return it is prepared to abandon plans for a new large-scale offensive in South Vietnam."

"The decision," the March 13 *Monitor* editorial continued, "is said to be a follow-up to last December's meeting in Paris between Henry Kissinger and [Hanoi negotiator] Le Duc Tho."

Similar views have been put forward by another journalist who appears to have close connections with State Department and intelligence officials. George McArthur, Saigon correspondent for the *Los Angeles Times*, offered his analysis of Nghi's speech



Saigon troops on patrol. Attacks against PRG areas have continued, with encouragement from Washington.

in a February 17 dispatch from Saigon:

"The North Vietnamese Politburo, it is now considered virtually certain, has made a momentous decision to shelve at least temporarily any major military moves in Indochina in favor of sorely needed economic reconstruction.

"That is the message that Western experts read in speeches at the just-concluded session of the North Vietnamese Assembly.

"While the major speeches pledged continued support for the war in South Vietnam, it was equally evident that military plans have been sharply trimmed. The voice of Defense Minister General Vo Nguyen Giap was not even heard at the session.

"Many sources in Saigon agree that this means there will be no major offensive this year, as many had feared earlier. It means that Hanoi's military machine will be supported only enough to maintain the fighting at something like the present level. . . ."

Stating that the Hanoi leadership was "quite likely influenced by Russia and China," McArthur went on to write:

"The shift in priorities from war to reconstruction was clearly indicated in the assembly speech delivered by Vice Premier Le Thanh Nghi, the party's leading economic theorist and the man long responsible for international aid negotiations with Communist countries. The substance of the speech was incorporated in the state budget and the 1974 'state plan,' which the Assembly routinely adopted . . . February 9.

"Nghi's speech," McArthur continued, "was the keynote address. It far overshadowed the brief and routine military report, which was given by a little-known general well down in the Party hierarchy."

The North Vietnamese people, McArthur concluded, "have now been told that reconstruction is the main task. Not only that, Nghi ticked off a long list of priorities—and in Assembly speeches such things are carefully weighed. In two important sections of his report, Nghi listed military efforts, in both South Vietnam and Cambodia as dead last, though in each case he promised continued Hanoi support."

McArthur then cited the paragraph from Nghi's speech quoted above and

stated, "The internal debate on priorities between reconstruction and the war in the South is believed to have been churning within the Politburo since well before the Paris cease-fire agreements of January 1973.

### Role of Moscow & Peking

"The influence of China and the Soviet Union, was evidently on the side of reconstruction. Not only does Hanoi depend on both the Soviets and Chinese for munitions and essential economic help, it must [also] have something like 800 million tons of imported foodstuffs this year to feed its people."

McArthur's interpretation of Nghi's speech caps a long series of conflicting reports in the U.S. press about Hanoi's intentions toward the anti-imperialist struggle in the South. His evaluation contrasts with earlier Washington and Saigon predictions of a major Hanoi offensive in the South in the spring of 1974.

Nixon and his military advisers, it became apparent, found such predictions of an offensive useful in bolstering requests to Congress for hundreds of millions of dollars in military aid for the dictatorial Thieu regime. The "menace from the North" theme was also used in an attempt to cover up for Thieu's murderous attacks on the areas held by the liberation forces.

It has been more than a year since the cease-fire accords were signed, yet the Thieu regime continues to shell and strafe the areas held by the Provisional Revolutionary Government. It has also refused to let peasant refugees return to their homes and villages in the liberated areas and has refused to hold the elections called for in the accords.

Thieu's open violations of the cease-fire agreement naturally led to concern that Hanoi and the PRG would be provoked into a large-scale military response.

In October, press reports pointed to the fact that the liberation fighters were building a network of hard-surface roads in northwestern South Vietnam as an indication that Hanoi was planning a major offensive.

However, some U.S. sources in Saigon did predict at that time that a major push backed by Hanoi was un-

likely. Those analysts cited the fact that draft calls had been low in North Vietnam all year and that the North Vietnamese newspapers had been "devoted almost exclusively to economic reconstruction, in contrast to late 1971 and early 1972—before the last offensive," when they frequently discussed perspectives for large-scale military operations.

At the end of October, Thieu claimed in a national television speech that North Vietnam was preparing a major new offensive. The claim was discounted in some press reports, however, as a maneuver by Thieu to obtain more U.S. aid and to cover his own forces' "pre-emptive" attacks on the liberation fighters.

Predictions from Saigon of a major offensive by the North continued through November and December. On December 12, the *Wall Street Journal* devoted a lengthy article to an assessment of the evidence for and against such a view.

### Washington's view

In a dispatch from Saigon, correspondent Peter R. Kann presented what he claimed was the then current Washington position on the "menace from the North."

"U.S. and other analysts," he wrote, "are less convinced [than Thieu] that such an offensive is in the offing. But they consider it a real possibility. . . ."

Kann listed the factors weighing against an offensive, noting that Hanoi "has its own allies to worry about. . . . Russia and China each have important bilateral interests with the U.S., and neither nation is considered, by analysts here, to be eager for a major offensive and the resulting strains with America that it could cause."

A few days later, there appears to have been an important intervention on the part of Washington and Moscow. Le Duc Tho flew to Paris December 17 and held a closed-door meeting with Kissinger on December 20.

The joint statement issued after the meeting conveyed no more than the fact that Tho and Kissinger "exchanged views on matters of mutual interest in the context of the current situation."

Less than twenty-four hours later, *Continued on page 26*



# Renewed rebellion rocks Ethiopian regime

By TONY THOMAS

APRIL 2—The political crisis and mass upsurge that has gripped Ethiopia and Eritrea over the past several months is continuing.

On March 24, when 25 officers who had participated in the military mutiny in late February and early March were arrested, a second rebellion took place. Troops in the air force, one of the centers of the earlier mutiny, were prevented from taking action by a strong cordon of paratroops loyal to the regime that was placed around the air base at Debre Zeit. However, troops seized Asmara, the capital of Eritrea, for the second time.

The Asmara militants' demands included an end to the blockade at Debre Zeit, reforms of the civil courts, assurances that no reprisals would be taken against the leaders of the first mutiny, and trials of civil and military officials, including the new premier, for corruption.

Eritrea is a colony of Ethiopia, having previously been ruled by the British, the Italians, and the Turkish Empire. In 1952, against the wishes of the majority of Eritreans, the UN handed Eritrea over to Ethiopia. As a campaign of economic and cultural discrimination and massive political repression by the Ethiopian regime against Eritrea mounted in the early 1960s, Eritrean militants launched a guerrilla war to achieve independence.

The Ethiopian forces have used barbarous methods, borrowed from U.S. tactics in Indochina and Israeli tac-

tics against the Arab peoples. As much as two-thirds of the country has been reported to be under the control of the Eritrean guerrilla groups, the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) and the Eritrean Popular Forces (EPF).

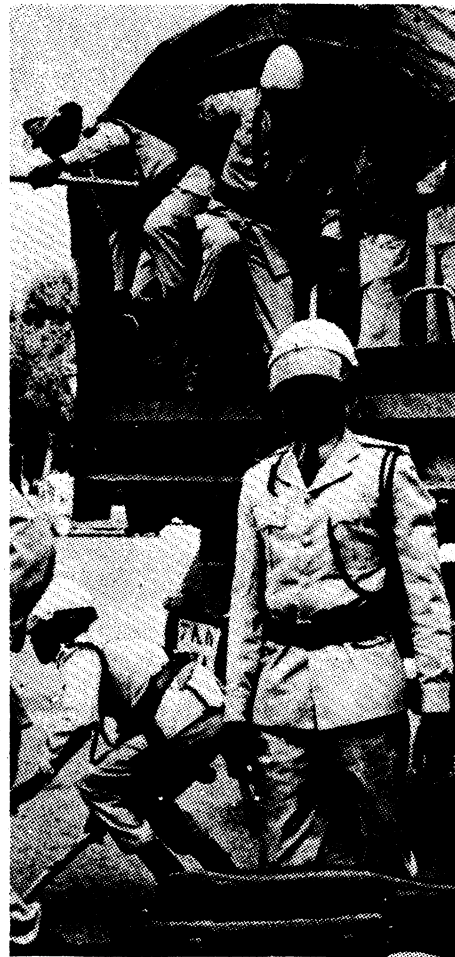
Leaflets distributed by the mutinous troops demanded legalization of the ELF. Massive solidarity within the Ethiopian armed forces with the Eritrean struggle could go a long way toward liberating that country.

On March 25 Emperor Haile Selassie yielded to the demands for investigations, and on March 28 a government broadcast announced that two army officers and six civilians had been picked to bring "to court those officials found lacking in integrity." On March 28 the troops in Asmara returned to their garrisons, although the situation remained charged, with the air force troops at Debre Zeit still surrounded by paratroops.

Meanwhile, there have been reports that the upsurge has had an impact on the more than 20 million Ethiopian peasants who live under feudal conditions under the power of the landholding aristocracy.

According to the March 29 *New York Times*, sources in Addis Ababa said that in the Langano area, about 16 miles to the southeast, groups of peasants were "burning things on their farms and protesting exploitation by landlords." The *Times* also reported that a number of the peasants had been killed by troops sent to crush the rebellion.

On April 1 students at Addis Ababa's Haile Selassie University announced they would not return to classes until the peasants' demands were met and until murder of political prisoners by the regime was stopped.



Ethiopian riot police in Addis Ababa.

Student demonstrations and clashes with the police were also reported in Addis Ababa, Dessye, capital of Wallo Province, and other areas. In Jimma, capital of Kaffa province, the students detained a number of local officials they suspected of corruption.

The struggle in Ethiopia has also seen a significant involvement by women. On March 17, less than a week after the end of the four-day general strike, thousands of women marched on Selassie's palace in Addis Ababa to demand equal pay and rights with men.

The March 19 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported:

"For the first time in the history of Ethiopia, several thousand women demonstrated in Addis Ababa on Sunday, March 17. They were demanding better working conditions and equal wages with men. Dispersed by the police near Jubilee Palace, they were able, however, to send a delegation to the emperor to present their grievances.

*Le Monde* also reported that "the 15,000 prostitutes of Addis Ababa are demanding the right to form a trade union. They distributed leaflets presenting their main demands: a fixed rate of payment and regular free medical examinations."

Other reports indicate that Addis Ababa's municipal workers have held demonstrations demanding their right to form a union and collectively bargain, based on concessions made to the Ethiopian labor movement following the general strike in early March.

## S.F. teachers' strike: longest, most militant yet

By BOB DAVIS

SAN FRANCISCO—The San Francisco teachers' strike—which began March 8, the day after city employers here went on strike—was settled March 27, a week and a half after the city employees had returned to their jobs.

Teachers had originally demanded a 15 percent wage raise; parity for substitutes and children's centers teachers; job security and fringe benefits for paraprofessionals; and a number of improved working conditions in educational programs.

What they got was a 6 percent raise and a higher maximum salary for regular teachers, 10 additional days' vacation, five more paid holidays and two more sick days for children's centers teachers.

They also won a cash equivalent

for paraprofessionals along with lower fringe benefits and a wage raise commensurate with the city employees' settlement; a 12 percent wage raise for substitutes, and preferential hiring rights consonant with the present affirmative action hiring policy; a few minor improvements in educational programs; and referral of other matters to committees.

The strike had been called and built by the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), which represents a little more than half the 4,500 teachers in this city. The California Teachers Association (CTA), which is slightly smaller numerically, vacillated between sitting on the sidelines and actually scabbing for most of the strike. It joined the strike for two days at the end, perhaps bending to pres-

ures from the ranks. But what strength the CTA added was more than offset by its immediate acceptance of the settlement outlined above.

Not only were the teachers hampered by this organizational division within their ranks, but the important labor solidarity that had been offered to the municipal workers during their strike by the transport workers, teachers, and others was not extended to them. Many cafeteria workers and janitors crossed the picket lines, often pointing with a shrug to the CTA teachers who were also crossing.

Furthermore, the final settlement offer was made by none other than John Crowley, secretary-treasurer of the San Francisco Central Labor Council.

Therefore, the AFT teachers, who

displayed more morale and more will to fight than ever before shown by teachers here, began to feel isolated. Even so, they at first rejected the offer in a 550-to-547 vote. Then, meeting again on a motion to reconsider, and with several executive board members publicly changing their vote because of the narrowness of the margin, another 200 teachers voted to accept.

Thus ended the longest, and certainly the most militant teachers' strike in San Francisco history. In spite of the fact that many teachers felt that more could have been won—with better outreach to the public and to other unions, among other things—still the settlement was in no way a defeat. The teachers feel stronger and more self-confident than before.

## Shanker takes new step toward control of AFT

By JEFF AMBERS

MONTREAL—Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) in New York City, took another step toward his goal of controlling the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) at a March 21-24 conference here.

The conference was the Second Annual Representative Assembly of the New York State United Teachers, attended by 1,836 delegates and 320 observers.

Delegates passed Constitutional Amendment 5, which will facilitate Shanker's bid for the presidency of the AFT this August. The amendment does away with restrictions on the number of official positions any one individual may hold concurrently.

One angry delegate asked during debate on this point: "If we passed this amendment, could one person hold office as head of a local, officer in the state organization, president of the AFT, and president of the AFL-CIO at the same time?"

New York State United Teachers President Thomas Hobart answered, "Yes."

Last year, the New York State United Teachers passed an amendment prohibiting anyone from holding state and local union office concurrently. This was done to limit Shanker's ability to consolidate power.

This year's convention rejected or referred to committee many important resolutions and amendments. Among

these were a resolution for the establishment of a statewide strike fund; a call for demonstrations against the Taylor Law, which prohibits strikes by public employees; and a resolution to allow some diversity of opinion in the state newspaper of the union, the *New York Teacher*.

A UFT-sponsored resolution opposing hiring quotas was passed, although 20 percent of the delegates voted against it. The resolution is aimed at preserving the white job trust in the UFT. While 65 percent of New York City students are Black and Puerto Rican, 90 percent of the staff is white.

More than one-third of the delegates at the convention were from the UFT, which elected its delegates on a slate-

voting, winner-take-all basis. As a result, the views of thousands of teachers who oppose Shanker's program were not represented. New York City delegates are elected for two conventions at a time.

The only organized group of delegates in opposition to Shanker was the "Grass Roots" caucus, with 10 delegates elected from counties surrounding New York City. The caucus supported amendments and resolutions designed to democratize the state organization. None of these proposals passed.

David Selden, president of the AFT, addressed the opening session of the convention. Helen Wise, president of the National Education Association, spoke to the delegates via a telephone hook-up.

## Interest in FBI documents spurs sales

By ROSE OGDEN

Supporters participating in the spring sales campaign sold more than 9,500 copies of the March 22 issue of *The Militant* (headlined "FBI plot to crush Black movement"). Additional sales of this issue include 1,707 copies sold by the 14 Young Socialist teams touring campuses throughout the country and hundreds of copies sold by supporters in cities not reported on the scoreboard.

Members of the San Francisco Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance set the pace by selling 1,051 copies—200 percent of their weekly sales goal. Seven hundred were sold in the first 24 hours by teams going out to strike meetings and picket lines, supermarkets, gas lines, and street corners. Almost 300 were sold to Black motorists waiting in gaslines.

Sales director Dean Reed reported an incident reflecting the respect *The Militant* has gained among workers. At a truckers' gathering, a representative from *Overdrive*, a magazine for independent truckers, bought 20 copies of *The Militant* to distribute.

San Francisco supporters had originally ordered a large bundle in anticipation of high sales around the San Francisco municipal strike. Although the strike was settled, they found that high interest in the exposure of FBI plans to disrupt the Black movement enabled them to greatly increase their sales.

Fifteen areas made their weekly goals. Most reported that increased sales were primarily due to high interest in the Black community and among Black students in the FBI



Militant/Robb Wright  
Good response in Black community pushed Militant sales to highest point of spring campaign.



The Militant gets around in La Grange, Ga., as photo from La Grange Daily News shows. Debby Bustin, cochairwoman of SWP 1974 National Campaign Committee, urges students to read the socialist weekly in speech at La Grange College.

documents. The 9,500 papers sold is the highest point reached so far in the spring campaign and tops the goal of last fall's sales campaign.

Atlanta was one area that went well over their goal for the first time. According to sales director Ed Fruit, "This issue sold tremendously in the Black community, where we sold 500. All you had to do was show people the documents actually reprinted in *The Militant* and they wanted to buy a copy."

St. Louis supporters also made their goal. "Sales in the Black community and on campus really made our goal for us," reported sales director Dave Welters. "Despite the fact that cold weather held sales to 93 on Saturday, we were amazed on Tuesday night when sales totaled 248. Most people who stopped to look bought *The Militant*."

Detroit supporters, who once again sold more than their goal of 400, reported that interest on predominantly Black campuses was high. They sold 161 to college students and 24 to high school students.

Finding a similar response, the Illinois-Wisconsin Young Socialist team reported, "Sales were fantastic. All the Black students we approached on the Illinois State University campus bought a copy of the 'FBI Memos' *Militant*. We sold 108 copies."

San Diego and Brooklyn met their goals also. San Diego sold 175 in the Black and Chicano communities, and Brooklyn reported selling 37 at a cam-

paign rally in Bedford-Stuyvesant as well as another 100 in the Black and West Indian communities.

New York Upper West Side supporters sold 100 in Harlem on a Saturday sale. Ike Nahem, who sold 39 of these, explained that "people were interested in discussing the FBI's role in the assassinations of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X."

Ray Markey, a New York librarian and SWP candidate for New York state attorney general, reported that a "steady stream of people stopped by *The Militant* on the periodical shelf. A number of people asked if they could sign it out, so I decided to accommodate them by bringing in a bundle to sell."

Facing similar government attacks to those against the Black movement, many Chicanos were interested in this issue also. Denver supporters sold 127 *Militants* at a rally protesting police harassment in the Chicano community.

Each week the business office receives requests from readers for weekly bundles of *Militants* to sell on their campus, where they work, or in their neighborhood. Last week new bundles were ordered by readers in Amarillo, Tex.; Columbus, Ga.; Raleigh, N. C.; St. Clair Shores, Mich.; and Toledo, Ohio.

Other readers are encouraged to order a weekly bundle to sell by sending in the coupon on page 27 to *The Militant* Business Office.

In addition to the single copies of

*The Militant* sold each week, many additional copies are sent out to subscribers. Our campaign to increase the subscription base of the paper closed in March with tremendous success. More than 8,200 new subscriptions were sold, 118 percent of the goal of 7,000.

Combined with this drive was a campaign to sell subscriptions to the *International Socialist Review*. More than 1,700 new subscriptions were sold during the drive, which is 143 percent of the projected goal of 1,200.

Next week's issue of *The Militant* will include a final scoreboard on *The Militant* spring subscription drive.

## Scoreboard

AREA	GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	%
San Francisco	525	1,051	200
Atlanta	500	631	126
Nashville	60	70	117
Detroit	400	446	112
St. Louis	325	338	104
Brooklyn	450	451	100
Columbia, Miss.	7	7	100
Dallas	10	10	100
Denton, Tex.	25	25	100
Logan, Utah	10	10	100
River Rouge, Mich.	30	30	100
San Diego	325	325	100
St. Cloud	25	25	100
Tucson	50	50	100
Vermillion, S.D.	20	20	100
Boston	700	650	93
Philadelphia	400	373	93
L.A. (West Side)	350	319	91
Oakland/Berkeley	800	730	91
Bellingham, Wash.	30	27	90
Iowa City	20	18	90
Washington, D.C.	400	336	84
Ann Arbor	35	29	83
Portland	325	270	83
Seattle	425	323	76
Houston	500	347	69
Cincinnati	50	34	68
Lower Manhattan	500	334	67
Upper West Side (NY)	475	319	67
Chicago	700	458	65
Denver	450	290	64
Cleveland	350	215	61
Twin Cities	350	209	60
Pittsburgh	350	186	53
L.A. (Central-East)	350	151	43
Austin	60	10	17
Huntsville, Tex.	20	3	13
Nat'l Black Political Convention		400	
<b>TOTAL SOLD</b>			
<b>LAST WEEK</b>	<b>10,000</b>	<b>9,520</b>	<b>95</b>

## End sought to ban on French Trotskyists

From Intercontinental Press

[The following statement on the struggle against the ban on the Ligue Communiste was published in the March 9 issue of *Rouge*, the French Trotskyist newsweekly.

[The Ligue, former French section of the Fourth International, was banned by the Pompidou government June 28, 1973, on the recommendation of then Minister of the Interior Raymond Marcellin.

[The ban on the Ligue followed an antifascist demonstration on June 21, 1973, in which clashes between antifascists and police, who were acting as a defense guard for the fascists, resulted in seventy-three cops being injured, including sixteen who were hospitalized.

[Alain Krivine and Michel Récanati, leaders of the ex-Ligue Communiste, were arrested for violation of the "anti-

wrecker law," which enables the government to charge any leader of any organization that sponsors a demonstration at which violence occurs with responsibility for the violence.]

For almost five months now, the leaders of the former Ligue Communiste have called on the Conseil d'Etat [State Council] to revoke the scandalous cabinet edict dissolving the Ligue. But for five months Mr. Marcellin, the former minister of the interior, has refused to send the council his brief replying to that of the ex-Ligue, thereby obstructing the work of that institution, which according to the law is supposed to pronounce judgment "in the shortest possible time."

We have just learned that shortly before his ouster Marcellin finally condescended to send his document. Now there are no further obstacles to open-

ing the procedure, and an immediate opening is to be hoped for. As soon as the date is known, the antifascists will demonstrate in the tens of thousands their desire to see the dissolution decree rescinded.

This same absenteeism on the part of the regime is evident in the preparation of the trial of our comrades Krivine and Récanati. Judge Bernard has closed the dossier, which has now been bound over to the public prosecutor for examination. There are two theories as to what may happen; the case may be dismissed, or it may be sent to the court of summary jurisdiction.

We can understand that the government hesitates to proceed with a trial in which numerous representatives of the workers movement would come to testify, and that would demonstrate in detail Mr. Marcellin's use of the po-

lice for tasks that are totally illegal even from the standpoint of bourgeois legality. Several dozen police agents have brought civil actions and are already demanding a minimum of three million francs compensation. While waiting for their cases to be disposed of, Krivine and Récanati remain out on bail and subject to probation. Récanati no longer has identification papers, except a probation card. He still has to appear before the judge every week. Our comrades cannot go abroad.

Two battles—one centering on the Conseil d'Etat, the other on the trial—are beginning to be prepared as one; and now along with that goes an additional achievement: Since January 9, the trade unions and left-wing parties are calling systematically for the prevention of any fascist meeting, in the same terms the revolutionaries did on June 21.



## BLACK POWER: HOW

*Strategy for a Black Agenda* by Henry Winston. International Publishers. New York, 1973. 323 pp. Cloth \$7.50, paper \$2.50.

By Tony Thomas

The title for Henry Winston's book, *Strategy for a Black Agenda*, is based on the "National Black Political Agenda," adopted at a Black political convention held in Gary, Ind., in 1972.

The Gary Black Agenda, accepted by most of the 8,000 Black delegates and observers who attended the convention, was a radical statement of aims and demands. It spoke of the social crisis facing Black people, blamed these conditions on "a society built on the twin foundations of white racism and white capitalism," and called for "fundamental change."

The Agenda denounced the "betrayal" of Black people by the Democrats and Republicans and called for "an independent Black political movement" to struggle for Black control of the Black community.

Though not the intention of the Democratic Party-oriented organizers of the Gary meeting, the logic of the Black Agenda was to move to construct an independent Black party that could mobilize the masses of Afro-Americans in uncompromising struggle against the capitalist status quo. This radical logic of the Agenda proved to be quite an embarrassment to Charles Diggs, Richard Hatcher, and Imamu Baraka—the key convention organizers—and it was soon shelved.

At the recent Black political convention in Little Rock further discussion on the Gary Agenda was ruled out of order.

Winston, national chairman of the Communist Party, appropriates the term "Black Agenda" for his book without explaining the content of the original document. And he lays out a "strategy" that runs counter to the independent thrust implicit in the Gary Agenda.

Winston falsely claims that his book is a revolutionary Marxist treatment of the Black struggle. But an examination of what he writes, and a look at the theory and practice of his party, shows that his view is nonrevolutionary and non-Marxist.

In order to cover up the Communist Party's reformist record, Winston has



Although King led many mass demonstrations, he played moderating role in Black movement.



Malcolm X addressing Harlem rally in June 1963. Spread of his nationalist ideas was significant factor in civil rights victories of 1960s.

to falsify the history of the Black liberation movement. The most telling example of this is his examination of the dispute that broke out in the mid-1960s between the supporters of Martin Luther King and the advocates of Black power in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

During the struggles of the 1960s, the Communist Party was a consistent supporter of the policies of Martin Luther King, as against the more militant stance of such figures as Malcolm X, and later, Stokely Carmichael and other Black Power advocates. Winston's *Black Agenda* attempts to justify this approach.

Winston has nothing but praise for King. He writes, "Though not a Marx-

### Books

ist, King was steadily moving toward a strategy that tended to coincide with the Marxist-Leninist concept of an anti-monopoly policy. . . ."

In contrast, Winston claims that beginning around 1965 Black radicals such as Stokely Carmichael, James Forman, and others, "began to step up their attacks on the Civil Rights struggle. They placed themselves in opposition to King, who was determined not to abandon, but to strengthen, the forces of the Civil Rights Decade, to deepen and broaden them into a realignment that could carry the struggle against poverty and racist oppression to a new level." (Emphasis in original.)

Winston suggests that the major point of controversy between Black Power supporters and King was whether Blacks should ally with other working-class forces. He gives the impression that in this debate King proposed a "working class" strategy while Carmichael and others proposed a divisive nationalist policy that "helped monopoly" by opposing a class-struggle orientation.

This is a distortion on all counts. The real issue at stake in the dispute over Black Power was whether or not the Black movement was to continue

to be subordinated to the liberal wing of the Democratic Party and the forces aligned to it.

King was for keeping the movement tied to the Democratic liberals. Carmichael and other Black Power advocates were beginning to question or to oppose support to the Democratic Party. In Alabama in 1966, SNCC helped build the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, an independent Black political party, while King supported Richmond Flowers, Democratic candidate for governor.

King was an ideological pacifist, who opposed self-defense of Blacks facing racist attacks, while supporters of Black Power defended this right.

### Role of SNCC

SNCC, one of the main activist organizations of the southern civil rights struggles, grew out of the lunch-counter sit-ins organized by Black students in 1960. For years, SNCC played a key role in organizing the struggles for voting rights and other democratic rights of Afro-Americans.

The move toward Black Power came when SNCC activists learned through their own experience in struggle that they could not rely on Democratic Party politicians or white liberals to eradicate racism. The Black Power slogan expressed the idea that it was only through taking their destiny into their own hands that Black people could make gains. It was a recognition that the liberal politicians could not be trusted, that they would sell out the struggle.

Support for Black Power did not presuppose a rejection of alliances with working-class whites. It was an expression of the feeling that Blacks should not have to wait for the radicalization of white workers before launching an independent struggle.

Far from being an isolated trend, as Winston implies, the call for Black Power met with a favorable response in Black communities throughout the country. Millions of Afro-Americans were inspired by the concept that Black people should develop the political power to take control over their political, economic, and social destinies.

The new Black consciousness was expressed in the rebellions that exploded in Detroit, Newark, and other cities. It was also expressed in the growth of support among Black people for the freedom struggles in the colonial world, in the explosion of struggles by Black high school and college students, and in the increased militancy and organization by Black workers in the plants.

### Black nationalism

The surge of Black pride and militancy that came on the heels of the spread of the nationalist ideas of Malcolm X is not even acknowledged by Winston as being a significant factor in bringing about the gains won in the 1960s. Instead, Winston has almost nothing but criticism for the Black nationalist tendencies, and all praise is given to the currents represented by King and others who resisted the nationalist radicalization.

Of course, King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the organization he led, did make a contribution to the battles of the 1960s. SCLC did, on specific occasions, initiate actions involving masses of Black people. But King and his supporters generally played a moderating role, trying to keep the struggle within limits acceptable to SCLC's white liberal benefactors.

When Malcolm X opposed both the Democratic and Republican candidates in the 1964 elections, Martin Luther King supported Lyndon Johnson (as did the Communist Party). King even joined with other Black leaders to call a moratorium on Black protests in the period before the elections in order to enhance Johnson's chances.

King always saw the mobilization of working people in struggle only as a means of pressuring the capitalist politicians, never as a means for creating, step by step, an alternative to capitalist rule. His outlook was limited to reforming the capitalist status quo, while Malcolm X, and later many Black Power advocates, saw the need for revolutionary change.

In posing the need to break the capitalist stranglehold over the politics

# IT WILL BE WON

of the Black community, the supporters of Black Power were the ones responsible for taking the movement to "a new level." They were attempting to advance the struggle without subordinating it to the needs of the "liberal" exploiters. Thus it was this trend that came closer to representing the real need for Afro-Americans—and white workers as well—to move to the direction of building a class-struggle leadership in the fight against oppression.

## Black Panther Party

To rationalize the CP's opposition to the militant nationalist currents of the 1960s, Winston preys upon the fact that many of the nationalist youth ended up going in an ultraleft direction.

The most important example of this problem was the Black Panther Party, which reached its height in late 1968 and early 1969. The Panthers spread on the basis of being a national Black political organization that supported Black control of the Black community and opposed the Democratic and Re-

no space in Winston's book is devoted to Malcolm X, the Black revolutionary figure of the 1960s who contributed most to outlining a strategy that could avoid ultraleftism and reformism.

## Anti-monopoly coalition

The concept put forward by Winston as the solution to the problems faced by the movement is that of the "anti-monopoly coalition." The closest Winston gets to defining this concept is to say that the "anti-monopoly coalition" is a bloc "involving the Black and white sectors of the working class, the Black liberation movement, the Puerto Rican and Chicano masses, and all others opposed to war and poverty."

Since the term anti-monopoly coalition is never more concretely defined than this, it is difficult to understand simply by reading Winston's book what he and the Communist Party think supporters of Afro-American liberation and socialism should do.

It is only by looking at other Communist Party sources, and at what the CP is doing in practice, that one dis-

politicians. This strategy is to culminate one day in the distant future in an "anti-monopoly" party, a third, "progressive," capitalist party.

One of the most recent examples of the CP's anti-monopoly coalition strategy was their support last fall for Coleman Young, who was elected on the Democratic Party ticket as mayor of Detroit. The CP's *Daily World* hailed Young's victory as an example of "independent political action."

Young's election was significant in that he is the first Black mayor of Detroit, and his election showed the potential power of the Black vote. Nevertheless, his candidacy was not "independent" of the capitalist parties. Young was supported by some of the biggest capitalists in Detroit. They favored his election as a way of nourishing the illusion among Detroit Blacks that something would be done about their conditions of life.

The CP is well aware of the coalition between Young and Detroit monopolists. James Jackson, national educational director of the CP, makes this explicit in the March 2 *Daily World* when he writes:

"For the successful realization of a program for civic improvements and to make gains in the fight to provide jobs for the unemployed and economic input for a revival of business activity, the administration of Mayor Young must have the cooperation of important sections of the industrialists. Such big capitalists as Henry Ford have their own need for the development of Detroit; they are coming from far different positions than Mayor Young and are motivated by the pursuit of their own special interests. The broadest alignment of class forces are both possible and necessary for addressing the problems of urban crisis which holds Detroit in its grip as it does scores of other cities of the country."

Thus, the CP spreads the illusion that through the Democratic Party, and through an alliance with "progressive" capitalists, the conditions of Black people can be changed. *The so-called anti-monopoly coalition includes the monopolists themselves!*

It's worth noting, if only in passing, that this same strategy—dressed up as "the peaceful road to socialism"—paved the way for the recent tragic defeat for the workers movement in Chile. There, it meant supporting the capitalist government of Allende and relying on the "democratic" capitalist army to combat the right-wing opponents of reforms being won by working people.

## Need break with Democrats

Experience after experience of the Black community—including the experience of electing Black Democratic Party mayors—shows that support to the Democratic and Republican parties has not led to the alleviation of the problems of the masses of people. These parties are dominated by the capitalist rulers, who profit from racial oppression and class exploitation.

A real working-class strategy is one that seeks to build a mass revolutionary workers party that can lead the struggles of working people and all the oppressed with the goal of taking power out of the hands of the capitalists.

Any break by working people with



STOKELY CARMICHAEL: Advocated break with Democratic and Republican liberals.

the two capitalist parties, such as the development of a mass Black party or a labor party based on the trade unions, would be a step in this direction. A Black party would also be an effective vehicle for winning immediate concessions from the capitalist government, and it would provide an example of workers' political self-reliance for Black and white workers alike. The development of a mass Black party would so weaken the Democratic Party that the labor movement would be compelled to reconsider its reliance on the Democratic Party and take the road of independent political action.

But the Communist Party calls neither for the creation of a Black party nor a labor party. They have been hostile to any trends within the Black and labor movements that move in this direction, just as they have opposed the development of the fledgling independent Chicano parties—the Raza Unida parties—in the Southwest.

Rather than posing a class-struggle strategy based on organizing the working class and its allies independent of their exploiters, the "anti-monopoly coalition" strategy of the Communist Party counsels collaboration with these exploiters.

Winston's book is nothing but a rationalization and cover-up of this non-revolutionary strategy.



Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, Henry Ford II (standing), and UAW President Leonard Woodcock. Communist Party's 'anti-monopoly coalition' means support to monopolists themselves.

publican parties.

The Panthers went off on an ultra-left tangent, substituting rhetoric based on their own recognition of the need for revolution for a program that could lead the masses of Blacks to hold such consciousness. Their "pick up the gun" rhetoric and their abstention from the real struggles taking place made it impossible for them to build an effective mass movement, and made them vulnerable to government attack.

Winston's criticisms of the Panthers are not based on the need to build a mass movement independent of the capitalist parties. He derides the Panthers' ultraleft errors, but fails to criticize their opportunist errors, most importantly, their turn toward the Democratic Party.

Winston implies that the only alternative to the ultraleft policies of the Panthers is the reformism of such figures as King. Purposely ignored by him is the revolutionary strategy of building a mass movement that is politically independent of the ruling class and its parties.

It is thus not surprising that almost

covers what the "anti-monopoly coalition" really is.

In an article in the July 1972 issue of *Political Affairs*, "Theoretical Journal of the Communist Party," William Weinstone, a longtime CP leader, gives this description of "the nature of an anti-monopoly coalition":

"It is an agreement in one form or another of various working-class and democratic-minded organizations and people—workers, farmers, professionals, intellectuals, youth, women, students, some sections of *small and medium businessmen and others*. It consists of people of various political views—Republican, Democratic, independent, Socialist, Communist and others." (Emphasis added.)

If by this the CP meant attempting to win over Black people and others who vote for Democrats or Republicans to struggles against racial and class oppression, this would be one thing. But, the practice of the CP shows that this is not what the "anti-monopoly coalition" means. It means winning over Black and white working people to support liberal Democratic (and sometimes Republican)

## For further reading...

**BLACK LIBERATION AND POLITICAL POWER: The Meaning of the Gary Convention** by Derrick Morrison, Tony Thomas, \$35.

**THE CASE FOR AN INDEPENDENT BLACK PARTY.** Socialist Workers Party, \$50.

**HOW A MINORITY CAN CHANGE SOCIETY** by George Breitman, \$50.

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**IRAN: A PEOPLE'S FIGHT TO SURVIVE THE SHAH.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., Apr. 12, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.), Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

## DETROIT

**GARY TO LITTLE ROCK: THE STRUGGLE TO WIN BLACK POLITICAL POWER.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., Apr. 12, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

## HOUSTON

**LA RAZA UNIDA PARTY AND THE RECENT ELECTIONS IN SOUTH TEXAS.** Speaker: Miguel Pendas, Southwest Bureau of The Militant. Fri., Apr. 12, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

## LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

**PROSPECTS FOR A BLACK PARTY.** Speaker: Omari Musa, participant in National Black Political Convention in Little Rock. Fri., Apr. 12, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 483-0357.

## LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

**BEHAVIOR MODIFICATION AND THE FIGHT TO GET THE VIOLENCE CENTER OFF UCLA CAMPUS.** Speaker: Mariana Hernandez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for superintendent of public instruction. Fri., Apr. 12, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 934-9050.

## NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

**VICTIMS OF WATERGATE SPEAK OUT.** Speakers: Marie Alcide, Committee to Defend the Democratic Rights of the Haitian People (KODDPA); Katherine Sojourner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 18th C.D.; others. Fri., Apr. 12, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near 4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

## PHILADELPHIA

**'ATTICA': A DOCUMENTARY FILM BY CINDA FIRESTONE.** A firsthand report on the Attica rebellion with interviews with participants. Fri., Apr. 12, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

## PITTSBURGH

**PROBLEMS OF WORKING WOMEN.** Speakers: Renate Jaeger, Coalition of Labor Union Women state convener for Western Pennsylvania; Candice Cohen, Medical Committee for Human Rights; others. Fri., Apr. 12, 8 p.m. 304 S. Bouquet St. (near Oakland). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

## SAN DIEGO

**THE MUNICIPAL WORKERS' STRIKE IN SAN FRANCISCO.** Speaker: Harry Ring, Southwest Bureau of The Militant. Fri., Apr. 12, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd., Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

## SEATTLE

**SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Maceo Dixon, cochairman, 1974 SWP National Cam-

paign Committee; Clare Fraenzl, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Fred Lovgren, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 1st C.D. Sat., Apr. 13, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way N.E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

## TWIN CITIES

**PRISONS: WHO ARE THE REAL CRIMINALS?** Speakers to be announced. Fri., Apr. 12, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**REPORT FROM THE CONFERENCE OF LABOR UNION WOMEN.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., Apr. 12, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

## ...Colo.

*Continued from page 4*

three leaders of the Associated Students at the University of Colorado, who said, "Change is imperative for Colorado's future and we know the SWP is dedicated to action on all the issues that confront us."

They added that they were "especially enthusiastic" about Joyce Tally's campaign as SWP candidate for Colorado University board of regents, because "we need a strong voice on the regents, and we know from working with Joyce that she will represent us both as a student and as a socialist."

In response to an appeal for funds to launch a statewide tour by Nora Danielson and other campaign projects, the 90 people present contributed more than \$1,800.

## ...vets

*Continued from page 3*

viser James Cavanaugh for an hour in the White House.

"Mr. Cavanaugh assured us," Kovic said, "that the administration will begin to respond to the fact that there is a national veterans crisis in this country."

"The people in this country don't seem to realize that the national veterans crisis is a powder keg," Kovic continued. "If something isn't done, the whole thing is going to explode," he said.

Kovic also said that the 6,000-member AVM and thousands of veterans in other groups are ready to set up tent camps in key cities across the

country if pressing problems aren't solved soon.

In another veterans action, 1,000 Vietnam vets rallied at the State University of New York in Farmingdale, Long Island, on March 29 to protest government neglect of their problems. The meeting was organized by the Long Island Collegiate Veterans Forum.

Bill Brown, a member of the group, told *The Militant* in a phone interview that what Vietnam era veterans were fighting for was "parity not charity." He listed some of the demands raised by the group: increased veterans' and disability benefits to bring them in line with the cost of living; improved employment opportunities for vets; and a review of less than honorable discharges to be carried out by Vietnam vets themselves.

The Veterans Forum has also called for a congressional investigation of the VA and for the resignation of VA administrator Donald Johnson.

## ...Penna.

*Continued from page 9*

Jon Teitelbaum, running in the 14th C.D. Debby Bustin, cochairwoman of the SWP 1974 National Campaign Committee, also spoke.

The Philadelphia meeting heard the announcement of Lea Tammi's candidacy in the 1st C.D. Other speakers at the meeting, attended by 100 people, were Roberta Scherr, Tony Austin, and Karen Detamore, an activist in the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee.

The enthusiasm for the campaign was indicated by the response to fund appeals. Supporters contributed \$1,100 in Pittsburgh and \$1,800 in Philadelphia.

## ...Vietnam

*Continued from page 21*

three important developments occurred. First, the Saigon regime's negotiators in Paris apparently provoked an incident, forcing the PRG delegates to walk out of the negotiating session.

Second, a similar incident occurred the same day in Saigon, and PRG delegates there walked out of a ne-

gotiating session.

Third, Moscow announced a program of economic aid to the Provisional Revolutionary Government in South Vietnam. According to a Decem-

ber 21 dispatch from Moscow by *New York Times* correspondent Hedrick Smith, "Pravda reported [today] that Moscow would send machines, farm equipment, oil products, fertilizers, metals, medicines, foods and other goods under an agreement signed by Vladimir N. Novikov, a Deputy Premier, and Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh, the Foreign Minister of the Vietcong's Provisional Revolutionary Government."

"Reflecting evident concern over the danger of sharper and more serious hostilities in Vietnam, the Soviet press also quoted Leonid Brezhnev, the Soviet Communist party leader, as reaffirming support for the cease-fire."

"Some Western observers," the dispatch continued, "saw the moves, in connection with the visit here of Nguyen Huu Tho, leader of the Vietcong's National Liberation Front, as part of a Soviet effort to bolster the fragile peace agreement. . . ."

"Soviet sources" also told Smith "that Moscow played an important behind-the-scenes role in arranging the meeting yesterday in Paris between Secretary of State Kissinger and Le Duc Tho. . . ."

"The Soviet explanation," Smith continued, "is that both Hanoi and the National Liberation Front were becoming increasingly restive and impatient."

Presumably their impatience stemmed from the fact that Thieu—backed by massive shipments of U.S. military aid—was continuing to bomb and strafe PRG-held areas of South Vietnam in violation of the cease-fire accords.

That fact, however, seemed to carry little weight in Moscow. Smith reported that Soviet officials appeared to rest content with trying "to appease the North and South Vietnamese Communist leadership both with more active diplomacy and with pledges of economic aid to the Communists in the South."

An alternate explanation, of course, would be that Moscow was holding the aid agreement as a club over the liberation forces in South Vietnam and over the Hanoi leadership, tossing in as a sweetener its promise to use diplomatic pressure to counter Thieu's cease-fire violations.

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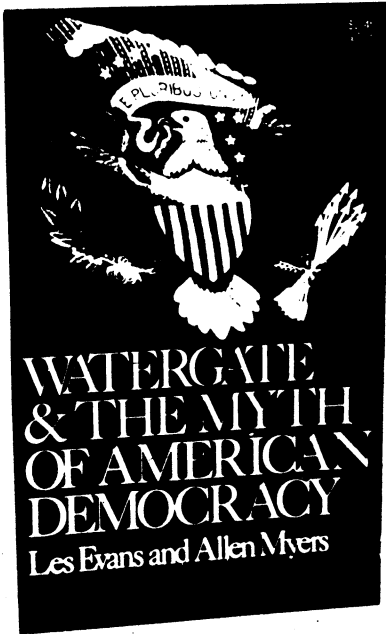
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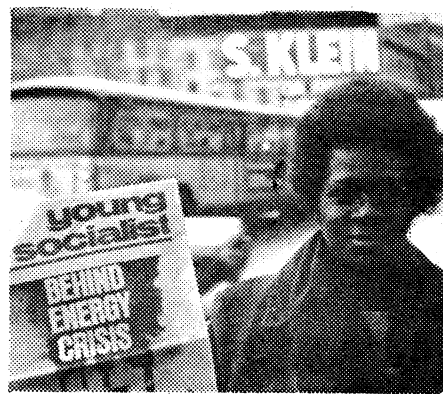


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## Gov't snared in own lies at Wounded Knee trial

By GREG CORNELL

ST. PAUL, Minn. — The U. S. government became further ensnared in its own lies last week as evidence of illegal activity by the FBI continued to mount at the Wounded Knee trial, now entering its fourth month.

Kenneth Tilsen, a defense attorney, told *The Militant* of even more devastating evidence to come. Tilsen called the case against the government "overwhelming."

"There are few trials," said Tilsen, "in which every day there is a new revelation of government misconduct."

The defense has filed motions that the charges be dropped against Russell Means and Dennis Banks, leaders of the American Indian Movement (AIM), who face lengthy jail terms if convicted for their role in last year's 71-day seizure of Wounded Knee, S. D.

Mark Lane, another defense attorney, outlined in an interview the main reasons why the defense is seeking dismissal.

### Illegal wiretaps

First, evidence of illegal wiretaps of defense conversations by the FBI has come to light. Government officials lied, Lane said, telling attorneys earlier that there were no illegal wiretaps. Further, important government witnesses have perjured themselves on the stand, he said.

In addition, Lane said dismissal will be sought because of "the suppression of evidence by the government."

Joseph Trimbach, the FBI agent who heads the Minneapolis Bureau and supervised FBI activity at



Militant/Greg Cornell

Defense attorney Kenneth Tilsen

Wounded Knee, apparently lied when he took the stand last week to state that he had "never participated" in the making of an affidavit seeking a wiretap.

"I've never seen one [a wiretap application]," Trimbach said in court.

The defense, however, showed this reporter a photocopy of an affidavit seeking a wiretap on Wounded Knee phones that was signed by Trimbach.

The signature is clearly legible and dated March 7, 1973.

Trimbach says in the affidavit that "the telephone which is sought to be tapped has been used extensively by the leadership of the American Indian Movement." He lists a number of persons he wants wiretapped, including Banks, Means, Clyde Bellecourt, Clara Camp, and Pedro Bissonnette.

The U. S. attorneys now trying the case supported the request for the wiretap, Trimbach's affidavit states.

The request apparently was denied and no "legal" wiretap — if there is such a thing — was ever authorized.

The defense, however, is expected to present evidence of extensive government electronic surveillance.

Lane told *The Militant* that the defense can prove the FBI had a key to the telephone company offices in Pine Ridge, S. D., near Wounded Knee. The FBI also had a schematic drawing of the entire phone cable system and had brought in about 15 technicians along with equipment to wiretap.

Lane said the FBI supervisors have lied during the hearing about a number of essential facts.

"For example," Lane said, "Tommy Hudson, a U. S. marshal, testified he did not have a key to the telephone company."

Lane said that Joe Pourier, the manager of the phone company and the chief installer and repair man, will testify that he himself gave Hudson the key. At the end of the siege, Hudson gave it back to Pourier.

Lane noted that FBI agent Thomas Parker, a wiretap expert, had already testified that he saw many gray wires coming out of the cables in the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in the area of the facility maintained by the FBI.

"Parker also insisted," Lane said, "that no FBI personnel put those wires in, that [rather] they were installed by the Bison State Telephone Company."

"Pourier will testify," Lane said, "that none of those wires were installed by the Bison State Telephone Company and that they were installed by FBI agents."

The actual trial is now in recess while the evidentiary hearing into government misconduct continues.

The hearing was ordered after the defense charged that the FBI had been monitoring a telephone used by participants in the Wounded Knee seizure.

Pourier testified he had installed the phone, and three agents testified they had listened in.

Several defense lawyers have taken the stand to testify that they were told during the seizure by government representatives that no tapping was in progress.

### 'Perfectly safe'

Lane told *The Militant* that "Kent Frizzell, the chief negotiator for the Department of Justice, told me that the telephone was perfectly safe. I told him I was going to be carrying on attorney-client discussions over the phone. He told me there was no way the government could hear me."

Frizzell took the stand March 19 to deny Lane's claim, asserting that the defense knew the Wounded Knee telephone was a "party line." "I wouldn't think any lawyer worth his salt" would use a phone under those conditions, Frizzell said.

Furthermore, U. S. attorney Richard Hurd makes the scandalous argument that since the phone line was installed by the government and the partici-



Militant/Muffie Page

Means speaks at Wounded Knee defense rally sponsored by Crusade for Justice in Denver.

pants in the seizure were "trespassing," they had no right to privacy.

The prosecution is using another spurious argument. It contends that the government could not be interfering in an attorney-client relationship, since none of the defendants had yet been charged.

### 'Prosecute everyone'

The defense countered March 22 by entering as evidence an FBI log, dated March 1, 1973, three days after the seizure began. The log states: "Mr. Gallagher from the Bureau advise that Attorney General wants all individuals prosecuted. There is to be no amnesty or bonds set. Identify all newsmedia that are on the scene so that they can testify later as to what they saw. Prosecute everyone of any crimes possible."

Ramon Roubideaux, an AIM attorney, testified that the log proved that "the government was unequivocal" in its plans to charge Banks, Means, and others.

Trimbach also appears to have lied concerning the monitoring of the telephone. He earlier told the judge that there were no wiretaps involved during the Wounded Knee siege.

Judge Fred Nichol last month ordered the FBI to turn over relevant files to the defense, after it was revealed that the FBI still held under wraps 316,000 separate documents on Wounded Knee.

William Kunstler reminded Nichol that one of the primary reasons for the dismissal of the case against Daniel Ellsberg, "as revealed by Judge Byrne's decision, is that the government had time and again failed to make timely production of exculpatory material in its possession." (Exculpatory material is any material indicating the innocence of the defendants.)

The defense has also questioned whether it is fair that the prosecution be allowed to determine which FBI files would be "beneficial" to the defense.

Even now, despite the court order, little more than 100 documents have been turned over.

In another development, Nichol threatened to dismiss the case if Attorney General William Saxbe and FBI director Clarence Kelley did not let the prosecution sift through FBI files to see whether any informers had infiltrated the defense team. Saxbe agreed to open the informer files to the prosecution. U. S. attorneys were still looking through them at *Militant* press time.

Nichol is expected to act soon on the defense motion of dismissal.

"One of the elements I'm going to consider," the judge said, "is whether or not there has been a deliberate refusal to comply with the discovery order, not on the part of the U. S. attorney, you understand, but it's the whole government is what we're talking about."

Indeed, the government action has been so gross that anything less than a dismissal would be criminal at this juncture in the trial. One government witness after another has been trapped in his own lies. As Lane observed, "everyone who knows anything is lying."

A dismissal would enable the court to avoid ruling on the validity of the 1868 Sioux Treaty, which made the Wounded Knee area Indian territory. The treaty question is an important issue for the Indian people.

Nonetheless, a dismissal would be a monumental victory for all Indians, and for the American Indian Movement, which the government is trying to destroy through the Wounded Knee frame-up.