
THE MILITANT

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

Workers, peasants mobilize

Ethiopia: mass revolt deepens

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Editor: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Business Manager: SHARON CABANISS
Southwest Bureau: HARRY RING

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NEW GRAND JURY SET TO INVESTIGATE ATTICA REBELS: In an April 11 decision, the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court ordered the empaneling of a second grand jury to investigate the 1971 Attica prison rebellion. Assistant Attorney General Anthony Simonetti said the new grand jury was needed to deal with "substantial additional matters" involving the revolt. Simonetti didn't tell the press what these additional matters were.

The original grand jury was established in November 1971. It has indicted more than 60 persons, all of them present or former inmates at the Attica prison. The defendants are faced with hundreds of felony charges.

Recently, according to an affidavit filed by Simonetti, the original grand jury has had difficulty reaching a quorum of 16 of the panel's 23 members. Simonetti is seeking a new grand jury to be better able to continue the state's prosecution of the Attica militants.

The Attica defendants have argued repeatedly for an end to the grand jury investigation. The continued investigation has intimidated prospective defense witnesses, many of them Attica inmates, because of the possibility of their being indicted as well. The empaneling of a new grand jury will maintain this roadblock to building an effective defense.

An effort to win public support for the Attica brothers is under way. Attica defendants have been speaking across the country on the case.

Celebrate 10 years of Intercontinental Press

The New York Socialist Workers Party is hosting a May Day banquet and rally on Sunday, May 5, to celebrate more than 10 years of publication of *Intercontinental Press* (IP). Known as *World Outlook* until 1968, IP has grown from a mimeographed format beginning in October 1963, to a printed weekly newsmagazine.

Intercontinental Press specializes in news and analysis of interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements. Its coverage of the opposition movements in the Soviet bloc countries has been unique. IP articles, written from a revolutionary Marxist standpoint, have been translated and reprinted throughout the world.

Speakers at the rally include Joseph Hansen, editor of *Intercontinental Press*, and Reba Hansen, business manager. Both are now celebrating their fortieth year in the revolutionary socialist movement. George Novack, a contributing editor of IP, will also speak, and Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *The Militant*, will chair the rally.

The event will be held at the Marc Ballroom, 27 Union Square West in New York City. The evening begins with a social hour at 4 p.m., dinner at 5:30, and the program at 7:30. The cost of the banquet and program is \$5.50 (children \$3). For those attending the program only, the cost is \$2.25. For more information and advance tickets contact New York Socialist Workers Party, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. Telephone: (212) 982-8214.

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS FIGHT FOR DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS: Scott Preston and Richard Benson, students at Otto Junior High School in Lansing, Mich., were expelled last month for selling their paper, *Tech*. Benson has been allowed to return to school, but Preston has been forced to attend a reentry school for high school dropouts.

The school principal said the disciplinary action was taken because the students did not receive permission to sell their papers.

Tech was formed to protest, among other things, the lack of democratic rights for students. Preston and Benson were in the process of organizing a demonstration around this and other issues when they were expelled.

A Committee to Defend Student Rights has been formed to build support for the fight against this obvious trampling of democratic rights. The committee has already published a fact sheet explaining the case and is now getting an initial list of sponsors.

STUDENTS PICKET FOR CHILD CARE: The Child Care Coalition at the University of Pennsylvania held a picket line outside the university president's office April 10. The picket line was called when President Martin Meyerson refused to meet with representatives of the coalition. Petitions with more than 2,000 signatures calling for university-subsidized child care were presented to Meyer-

son.

The coalition has won the endorsement of more than 25 campus groups, including AFSCME Locals 590 and 54, representing library and dining hall workers. In a referendum voted on in March, 60 percent of the undergraduate students voting favored university-subsidized child care.

SURREALIST JAILED IN MEXICO: Robert Green, an active participant in the surrealist movement, has been arrested without charge and imprisoned in Chiapas, Mexico. He had been sojourning in Mexico throughout the winter to paint, draw, and pursue other research.

Thirty-five other U.S. and Canadian citizens, and at least 150 Mexican Indians, were also arrested and held without charge. According to a press release by the Bulletin of Surrealist Information, "There are rumors of guerilla warfare in Chiapas and Oaxaca."

The release urges that letters protesting the arrests be sent to local Mexican consulates and tourist bureaus. Letters should also be sent to the warden of Penitenceria Cerro Huceo, Tuxtla de Gut, Chiapas, Mexico.

BOYLE CONVICTED OF MURDER: A jury in Media, Pa., has found W.A. Boyle, onetime president of the United Mine Workers, guilty of three counts of first-degree murder. Boyle faces a sentence of life in prison. The April 11 verdict concluded a series of trials involving the gunmen and instigators in the assassination of Joseph Yablonski, his wife, and daughter on Dec. 31, 1969.

Yablonski was an opponent of Boyle in the UMW. The jury found that Boyle ordered him killed and conspired through a chain of intermediaries to hire the assassins.

Boyle, 72 and in poor health, was already serving a three-year term for passing union money to the 1968 presidential campaign of Hubert Humphrey. That sentence also required Boyle to return \$50,000 to the UMW treasury and fined him \$130,000.

For 10 years Boyle held the UMW presidency at an annual salary of \$50,000 plus expenses. While paid well by the union, he served the interests of the coal trust until finally voted out of office by the miners in 1972.

Boyle is abandoned and disclaimed by his former sponsors and associates among the big mine owners as he finishes out the end of his life—broke, broken, disgraced and imprisoned.

WOUNDED KNEE DEFENDANT SPEAKS IN PHILADELPHIA: Indian leader Russell Means spoke before an audience of more than 300 at the First United Methodist Church in Philadelphia April 7. The meeting was sponsored by the American Indian Defense Committee. His topic was "Why Wounded Knee in '73."

In his talk, Means described the conditions leading to the Wounded Knee action, which he calls "the proudest hour of my life."

"We want our land and we want our treaty rights. We only ask that the government live up to its own laws," Means told the audience.

—NORMAN OLIVER

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Admits more attacks on SWP, YSA

Gov't turns over new evidence in Watergate lawsuit by socialists

By CINDY JAQUITH

While refusing to turn over evidence on many of their illegal attacks on the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, government defendants have made new admissions and released several new documents in their latest response to the socialists' Watergate suit.

Nixon and more than a dozen other Watergate figures, as well as the FBI and other federal agencies, are being sued for \$27-million by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). In their suit, filed by constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin, the socialists charge the government with carrying out a campaign of wiretapping, mail tampering, use of police agents, burglary, and bombing against them.

The new batch of government documents is in response to a second round of questions from the SWP and YSA based on previous admissions by the defendants. These questions, or "interrogatories," are part of the legal proceedings leading up to the actual trial of the case.

In response to earlier questions, the FBI conceded that it conducted an "SWP Disruption Program" from 1961 to 1969; that it carried out electronic

FBI. They cite in their suit similar experiences with their nominating petitions in Washington, D.C., and Ohio. Kelley's response denies this.

However, in Washington, D.C., SWP campaign workers were told by elections board employees that their petitions were requested by the FBI in both 1971 and 1972. And in Ohio, Secretary of State Ted Brown himself blew the FBI's cover, stating publicly that FBI agents frequently came into his office to look at petitions of independent candidates.

Gov't job discrimination

The government also released evidence to the SWP and YSA confirming that it discriminates against present and past SWP members seeking civil service jobs. Two documents were turned over from the Civil Service Commission on the case of Norma Lodico.

According to a 1973 memo from Acting FBI Director L. Patrick Gray, a "full field investigation" was done on Lodico by FBI agents after she was hired for a federal job. They discovered that she had previously been a member of the SWP, but had resigned in 1971.

Upon receiving this information, the



Petitioning to place the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot. FBI has admitted some of its tactics used to intimidate signers of such petitions.



Socialist Howard Petrick, given undesirable discharge by Army because of his political views, won honorable discharge after three-year court battle.

surveillance of the SWP beginning in 1945; and that it placed a mail cover on letters going to the SWP national headquarters in New York in 1973.

Campaign supporters

In the new legal papers, FBI head Clarence Kelley "admits that during 1972 or 1973, Bureau agents obtained from officials of the State of Washington the names of persons who signed petitions and certificates at the Socialist Workers Party nominating convention in . . . 1972."

Of course it would be hard for Kelley to deny this, since Washington Secretary of State A. Ludlow Kramer publicly disclosed this collection of names by FBI agents after it occurred.

However, Kelley forgot to mention a very important detail. After federal agents took down the names, many of the socialist campaign supporters were visited by the FBI in an attempt to intimidate them and drive them away from activity in support of the SWP.

The socialists charge that such harassment is a national practice of the

Civil Service Commission confronted Lodico with a whole series of questions about her political beliefs, demanding that she answer their inquiries if she wanted to keep her job.

Among the documents in her FBI file, she learned, was the letter of resignation she had written to the SWP in 1971. How did the FBI obtain this letter? *It was among the papers stolen in a fall 1971 burglary of the Detroit SWP headquarters!*

The Detroit cops have never been able to solve this break-in and now the reason is obvious. In fact, when one cop arrived at the scene of the crime he blurted out: "This looks like an FBI job."

The SWP and YSA suit charges the FBI with carrying out the raid. Kelley denies this in his response, but the Norma Lodico letter constitutes important new proof that FBI agents were involved in the burglary.

The government also denies in its response that GIs dismissed from the Army for their support to the SWP or YSA are given less than honorable discharges. This is an outright

lie; the SWP and YSA have documented seven cases where GIs received less than honorable discharges from the Army for the sole reason that they were socialists.

One well-known case is that of Howard Petrick, an SWP member who finally reversed his undesirable discharge through a three-year court case. Before his induction in 1966, Petrick informed the Army that he was a member of the YSA and SWP. Despite this knowledge, the Army waited until after he was in the service, and then "accused" him of being a socialist!

At first, the brass planned to court-martial him for "disloyal utterances"—in simpler language, exercising his right to free speech. But under the pressure of a national defense campaign in behalf of the socialist GI, the Army backed down.

Petrick was finally given an undesirable discharge in 1968, based on the government's contention that his continued presence in the Army was not in the "interests of national security." He was never accused of committing a single illegal act.

Petrick sued the government to obtain an honorable discharge and won his case in 1971. Many of the other socialist GIs who were similarly victimized are branded to this day with less than honorable discharges. In many cases, the Army was aware before inducting them that they belonged to the SWP or YSA.

Executive orders

Among the documents the government released in its latest response are four presidential "executive orders" on "internal security," dating back to 1939.

Generally not available to the public, these orders, along with the one setting up the attorney general's list of "subversive" organizations, constitute the presidential authority cited by the FBI in its surveillance and harassment of the SWP and YSA.

Three of these orders were issued by Democrats, yet more proof that the Republicans do not have a corner on secret-police operations.

All the orders follow the general format of the first one, issued by Franklin Roosevelt on Sept. 6, 1939. In obvious anticipation of a crackdown on the left and the trade unions as the U.S. entered World War II, Roose-

velt wrote: ". . . I request all police officers, sheriffs, and all other law enforcement officers . . . promptly to turn over to the nearest representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation any information obtained by them relating to espionage, counterespionage, sabotage, subversive activities and violations of the neutrality laws."

Roosevelt issued another, similar order on Jan. 8, 1943. Then Harry Truman updated this on July 24, 1950. The last order released to the SWP and YSA is dated Dec. 15, 1953, and is signed by Dwight Eisenhower.

Throughout these orders, there is not a bit of evidence that the "espionage" and "sabotage" the FBI is investigating actually exists. Eisenhower's 1953 order, for instance, refers to possible "violations of the Atomic Energy Act, including the illegal export or import of fissionable material . . . and the illegal . . . possession of any equipment or device utilizing fissionable material or atomic energy as a military weapon."

Is this what the SWP is being investigated for? Possession of an atom bomb?

Continued on following page

FBI memos on Black mov't

Due to the broad interest in the recently released FBI documents on "disrupting" and "neutralizing" the Black movement, *The Militant* is making available a reprint of material from our March 22 issue.

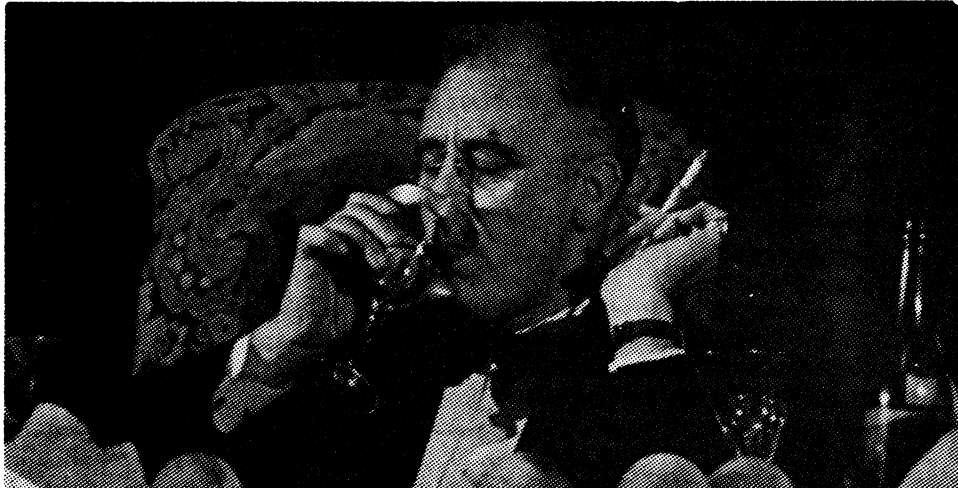
The reprint includes the article "FBI memos detail government plot to crush Black movement" and the partially censored FBI documents outlining the COINTELPRO operations against Black leaders and groups such as the Black Panther Party.

The reprint is four Militant-sized pages. The cost of bulk orders is:

- 4¢ each for 500 or more
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- 6¢ each for 50 to 99
- 7¢ each for 10 to 25
- 10¢ each for 5 or less

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...socialist suit



Roosevelt, a Democrat, was first president to authorize FBI's secret-police activities

Continued from preceding page

Despite such absurdities, the executive orders do underscore how closely local cops work with the federal secret police. This point was also made in a recent suit against Minneapolis officials by activists opposed to the ABM (antiballistic missile).

Members of the anti-ABM group were arrested in 1970 at a Minneapolis party on the pretext that they were serving liquor without a license. The victims successfully sued for damages in what was a case of blatant political harassment.

One of the government documents the plaintiffs obtained in the course of their suit shows how eagerly local cops report activities of the SWP. After

The Militant has obtained copies of the documents on secret Internal Revenue Service harassment of political groups. When these memos were made public by Senator Lowell Weicker (R-Conn.), the capitalist press reported only a tiny part of the revelations they contain. In our next issue, we will carry extensive coverage on these important documents.

the raid—at 1:30 a.m., in fact—the cops called the local FBI office. The FBI made this report:

"The Minneapolis Police Department advised that along with beer and liquor seized were some pamphlets having reference to the Socialist Workers Party and inquired if the FBI desired these individuals held for the FBI.

"The Minneapolis Police Department was advised that the FBI did not desire the individuals arrested held for the FBI."

In other words, in the minds of local cops, the mere possession of a

piece of SWP campaign literature is grounds for calling the FBI to see if the "criminals" should be bound over for subverting the government!

The SWP and YSA had also requested Nixon's tapes of his discussions on the 1970 Huston spy plan. The White House reply sounds familiar: "No such tape recordings exist." According to Nixon, the taping of his meetings didn't begin until 1971, although this story could become "in-operative" any day.

The government also refused to turn over the "Special Report of the Interagency Committee on Intelligence," a document that assesses the "security" threat in the U. S. One copy is in the hands of the Senate Watergate committee, which has refused to disclose its contents on the grounds of "national security."

The government also refuses to release FBI transcripts of conversations among SWP members that it wiretapped. The FBI claims that such transcripts "would be relevant only to the question of damages and should not be provided until and unless the court has ruled" on the legality of the surveillance.

The FBI has previously claimed that it ceased all wiretapping of the SWP in 1963. However, when asked by the socialists if there has been surveillance since then, the answer was equivocal: "... no plaintiffs have been the subject of direct surveillance." However, "certain plaintiffs were incidentally overheard during surveillance of parties not involved in the present litigation," the FBI admitted.

The FBI also conceded that it "has received information from sources outside of the Bureau concerning the activities of certain plaintiffs. As a matter of policy, however, the Bureau did not inquire as to the method by which such information was obtained. . . ."

Political Rights Defense Fund

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) is organizing support for the socialist Watergate suit and seeking contributions to help defray the growing legal expenses in this case.

Special appeals for funds to aid PRDF have come from Daniel Ellsberg, congressmen Ron Dellums (D-Calif.) and Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), former attorney general Ramsey Clark, the Reverend Jesse Jackson, Gloria Steinem, and others.

The PRDF has recently published a booklet on the socialist Watergate suit, "A Challenge to the Watergate Crimes." This booklet reprints FBI documents on counterintelligence operations against the SWP, and includes the charges made in the SWP and YSA suit, as well as the government's response. To order the booklet, send in the coupon on

this page.

Representatives of the PRDF are available to speak to meetings of students, trade unionists, Black activists, political groups, and others interested in fighting the use of secret-police tactics.

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

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UFW leaders expect to step up boycott effort

LOS ANGELES—The United Farm Workers plan to continue and step up the boycott of non-UFW grapes and lettuce, union representatives say.

The AFL-CIO officialdom, which had stalled for a year on endorsing the boycott, finally did so in April after the UFW agreed to drop its secondary boycott of stores carrying scab produce.

José Gómez, an aide to UFW President César Chávez, said that while the union will not conduct the secondary boycott, its basic strategy will not be changed.

"What will change," he said, "is that we will have a lot more labor people helping us on the picket lines. Because of this we'll be able to expand the number of picket lines at retail outlets across the country."

The boycott of Gallo wines will also be conducted as a primary boycott, Gómez said. Rather than boycotting stores that carry Gallo, picket lines will ask people not to buy Gallo wines.

While the AFL-CIO did not endorse the Gallo boycott, the UFW hopes to get support for it from unionists, Gómez said. He expected a widespread effort to involve students in actions around the Gallo boycott.

George Meany, president of the AFL-

CIO, has sent a letter about the boycotts to each of the federation's 900 state and local bodies. The letter states that "the success or failure of the UFW to win economic and social justice for farm workers will be heavily influenced by the energy and dedication with which the trade union movement pursues the boycott campaign."

Meany likened the UFW campaign to the boycott of Farah pants, which resulted in a victory for the workers, most Chicanas, earlier this year.

He also said that "experience has proved that the best method for getting a boycott message across to the public is by picketing and handbilling at retail stores selling the products in question."

Meany and the rest of the AFL-CIO brass certainly cannot be relied on to carry through on these promises. The past year of inactivity on their part shows they are less than eager for a real fight against the growers and their allies, the Teamsters union bureaucrats.

But statements like Meany's provide a valuable opportunity for renewed efforts by boycott activists to mobilize broad trade-union participation and strengthen the boycott.

Meany has also issued a reply to

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March of UFW supporters in Cleveland April 6 shows potential for boycott campaign. A number of unions endorsed and participated with banners.

Black, women leaders hit job bias pact in steel

By BAXTER SMITH

A long-awaited agreement supposedly designed to end racial and sexual discrimination in hiring, employment, and pay practices in the steel industry was announced April 15.

Nine major steel companies and the Steelworkers union accepted job guidelines approved by the Labor Department and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) and agreed to award victims of past discrimination \$30.9-million compensation.

As disclosed so far, the pact sets up "goals and timetables" to open new job opportunities for Blacks and women. It allows Blacks to transfer into departments previously reserved for whites, without suffering a cut in pay if the new job is lower in scale.

Herbert Hill, national labor director of the NAACP, which has initiated a series of lawsuits against discrimination in the industry, attacked the agreement. He pointed out that the pact does not eliminate the practice of dual Black and white seniority systems that has tended to lock Blacks into the lowest-paying, dirtiest jobs.

Hazy outlines of the pact were announced in December, but the talks became snagged over the back-pay figure. Former EEOC chairman, Wil-

liam Brown, who is Black, had insisted that the figure should amount to about \$500-million.

Hill also assailed the back-pay figure, which averages \$750 for the 40,000 to 50,000 workers involved. He said the NAACP would go back to court.

Hill singled out the consent decrees in the pact, which require a victim to waive his or her right to sue the company or union for damages suffered as a result of discrimination if the victim is to receive back pay.

He charged, "Through this agreement, the major steel corporations and the Steelworkers union are attempting to buy immunity from litigation under Title 7 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964." That section of the act permits lawsuits in cases of job discrimination.

Hill said the government, by backing the pact, "is more concerned with protecting the treasuries of the corporations and the union than in protecting the integrity of the law."

Ann Scott, legislative vice-president of the National Organization for Women (NOW), also criticized the plan. A statement issued by her expressed "major disagreements with the consent decrees" and criticized the back-pay and other guidelines.

Worker, peasant upsurge sweeps Ethiopia

By TONY THOMAS

The mass upsurge in Ethiopia continues to deepen with no end in sight. Layer upon layer of workers, students, peasants, and soldiers have joined the struggle with their own demands. The revolt rocking the semifeudal Ethiopian Empire is clearly one of the most important developments in the colonial world in recent years.

Under the headline "Peasant Revolt Sweeps Rural Ethiopia; Officials Flee," the April 15 *Washington Post* reports:

"A peasant revolt has erupted in the southern provinces of the country, with farms being burned down all along a 250-mile stretch of the country's most fertile area of the Rift Valley."

This area has recently been hit by the famine that struck northern sections of the country earlier. The real cause of the massive starvation—100,000 died in the north alone—is the feudal system under which roughly 75 percent of the peasants' meager produce must be handed over to aristocratic landholders.

The *Post* reports that in the town of Arba Minch, 15 people were shot on April 12, "at least three by the police." The regional governor had fled to Addis Ababa more than a week earlier, "his house burning down behind him." The mayor had gone into hiding while a new municipal government had been set up by the force of mass demonstrations.

Elsewhere in the country unrest continues. The *Post* states, "Inflation, the corruption of local officials, land reform and high taxes have resulted in impromptu mass meetings which go interminably outside the schools in the larger towns and at the market places in the bigger villages."

An April 11 Agence France-Presse dispatch says that "revolutionary committees and people's tribunals were being set up amid ever-growing hostility toward provincial governors and local authorities. . . ."

According to an Associated Press dispatch in Tokyo's *Daily Yomiuri* of April 3, 10,000 people had demonstrated in the town of Adi Ugri, 35 miles south of Asmara, the capital city of Eritrea. They were protesting "authorities who have not cared for



Rebelling troops. Ethiopian rulers have been unable to use army to crush popular rebellion.

electricity and water supplies." On April 9, hospital employees and other municipal employees in Asmara staged a wave of strikes demanding the dismissal of Asmara's mayor.

Eritrea is a colony of Ethiopia, seized in 1952 with the backing of the U. S. Eritreans have been the victims of a campaign of cultural and linguistic persecution, combined with economic discrimination by the Ethiopian regime.

In the early 1960s guerrilla actions were launched for independence from Ethiopia. There are two Eritrean armed struggle groups—the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) and the Eritrean Popular Forces (EPF)—who are said to control considerable portions of Eritrea's countryside.

The demonstrations and strikes in Adi Ugri and Asmara are the first major actions by the population of Eritrea since the upsurge began in February. Earlier protest actions in Eritrea had been limited to Ethiopian troops fighting the ELF and EPF.

Jimma, capital of Kefa province, was paralyzed by a general strike, according to the April 3 *Daily Yomiuri*. An April 1 AP dispatch reported that what it called "student vigilante groups" had detained a number of corrupt local officials in that area.

On April 7 mutinous troops of the

Ethiopian Army's Third Division took over the government radio station in Harar, the capital of Harar province. They demanded the removal of army deputy chief of staff, Lieutenant General Haile Baikedagne. The troops returned to their barracks after Baikedagne quickly resigned.

On April 12, units of the mechanized brigade of the same division arrested businessmen and officers in Jijiga, about 45 miles east of Harar. They demanded an end to food hoarding and profiteering, with swifter punishment of profiteers by the courts.

On April 10, 40 leaders of the rail union were arrested in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia's capital. This was after a policeman was killed in a train derailment. It was claimed that the train had been "sabotaged" by workers who were preparing a strike.

A dispatch in the *Washington Post* dated April 14 reported, "The country still faces strikes by bus workers, some trainmen, customs workers and finance ministry employees." An earlier dispatch stated that building workers, some hospital employees, and municipal workers were also on strike. Among the demands of the municipal workers was the dismissal of the mayor of Addis Ababa, who is appointed by Emperor Haile Selassie.

The *Washington Post* reported that

on April 11, 10,000 workers poured through Addis Ababa to demonstrate for sweeping social reforms in front of Selassie's Jubilee Palace. At the same time peasants were also streaming into the city to demand return of lands they claimed had been taken from them unlawfully.

University and high school students in the capital and regional centers continued strikes, demonstrations, and hunger strikes. High among the student demands were land to the peasants, an end to political repression of civilians and military, punishment of corrupt officials, and special emergency measures to deal with the famine.

In response to the first army revolts in February, Selassie installed the new government of Prime Minister Endalkachew Makonnen, made up of aristocratic "liberal" landholders. But this did not stop the upsurge. One factor appears to be that the rulers are unable to call on Ethiopia's 40,000-man armed forces to put down the revolt. Sections of the armed forces themselves have been a key force in the entire upsurge.

At this stage the government is limiting itself to blustering threats of social and economic ruin if the struggles continue, while granting minor concessions.



Famine victim. Landlords take 75 percent of produce from poverty-stricken peasants.

The rich get richer and the poor get...taxed

By ANDY ROSE

A post-April 15 exercise:

First, look at Nixon's published tax returns for the last few years.

Second, look at the Treasury Department report that 402 individuals with incomes over \$100,000 paid no income tax whatever in 1972.

Third, look at your own tax return. (CAUTION: This exercise not advised for those already suffering from high blood pressure.)

In fact, the tax swindle in this country is even worse than you probably thought it was. The U.S. Congress, which is responsible for the tax laws, every now and then debates the idea of tax reform. In their speeches, of course, all members of Congress are for the working taxpayer and against loopholes for the rich. These speeches make good reprints at election time.

Little or no actual change in the tax laws comes of this, but many interesting facts are let slip—such as the following, from the April 11 Senate debate.

Let's start with the question of who pays taxes. You do. Workers earning between \$8,000 and \$15,000 a

year make up 26 percent of the population and earn only 20 percent of the total personal income, but pay 36 percent of the individual income taxes.

But that's just income tax. Social Security taxes have been rising so fast that today more than half the taxpayers in the U.S. are paying more on Social Security than income tax. This payroll tax is generating about \$80-billion a year, or 30 percent of federal revenues. Keep that in mind next time you hear how generous the government is in paying out \$63-billion in Social Security benefits.

And this tax is *all* paid by workers. (The portion supposedly paid by the employer comes out of our pockets, too, in the form of higher prices and lower wages.) That's not even to mention the notoriously regressive sales taxes.

Who *doesn't* pay taxes? You guessed it. The rich. Here are just a few of the most glaring tax loopholes enacted by Congress, and the total amount given away *each year* to the giant corporations and wealthy individuals as a result: oil depletion allowance, \$2.6-billion; investment tax credit,

\$3.8-billion; and exemption for income on state and municipal bonds, \$3.3-billion.

The all-time whopper, though, is the tax break for capital gains (such as the gain from selling stock at a higher

"Here's two more returns claiming Nixon's lawyers as dependents—and here's one saying, 'If you find where I've chiseled, I'll pay'"



price than you paid for it). This is estimated to add up to \$20-billion a year.

But, it might be objected, doesn't this benefit the small investor as well? Sure. The average amount saved because of the capital gains loophole comes to a grand total of \$16.31 for tax returns with adjusted gross income of \$10,000 to \$15,000, and \$37.90 for returns in the \$15,000 to \$20,000 range. But for incomes over \$100,000, the average annual savings is \$38,126.29.

The tax rate on corporate profits is set by law at 48 percent. According to one study based on reports to the Securities and Exchange Commission, the effective tax rate on actual profits was 2.9 percent for Mobil Oil, 1 percent for ITT, 8.2 percent for Bethlehem Steel, and 8.5 percent for Honeywell. The average tax was 29 percent for a sample of corporations from the *Fortune* magazine list of the 500 biggest.

"Taxes," Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes supposedly said, "are the price we pay for civilization."

I demand a refund.

The CP and Chile: cover-up of a betrayal



By CAROLINE LUND

Demonstrations will take place throughout the country May 11 demanding an end to all U.S. aid to the Chilean junta, freedom for all political prisoners in Chile, and the immediate release of six prominent Chileans whose lives are in danger at the hands of the junta.

The call for the actions was initiated by five organizations—U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, Non-Intervention in Chile, Chileans for Democracy, North American Congress on Latin America, and the Medical Committee for Human Rights.

A debate over whether or not to endorse the actions occurred at a conference held last month in Chicago by the Chile Solidarity Committee and its affiliated groups. While the conference endorsed the May 11 demonstrations, it refused to accept the list of individual prisoners as a focus for the protests.

The list proposed by the five organizations included a broad spectrum of political views—from Clodomiro Almeyda, a leader of the Socialist Party; to Luis Corvalán, general secretary of the Communist Party; to Bautista Van Schouwen, a leader of the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left); to Luis Vitale, a leader of the Trotskyist movement.

Conference organizers at first tried to propose a new, longer list that left off Van Schouwen and Vitale. The latter are the only two on the list whose organizations criticized (in the case of Van Schouwen) or opposed (in the case of Vitale) the Popular Unity (Unidad Popular—UP) regime from the left.

Popular Unity was the class-collaborationist coalition that backed the capitalist government of Salvador Allende. Leading forces in the UP were the pro-Moscow Communist Party and the Socialist Party, both of which had mass followings in the trade unions.

When objections were raised to leaving Vitale and Van Schouwen off the list, conference participant Peter Orris finally proposed that no individual prisoners be mentioned at all. He contended that any list of specific names would have to be approved by the Popular Unity figures now exiled in Rome.

In its report on the Chicago conference, the U.S. Communist Party's *Daily World* reported that "the delegates decided to conform to the lead of the united Chilean Left in choosing which individual political prisoners should be emphasized in the demonstrations. . . ."

That is, the CP—whose supporters predominated at this conference—wanted to say that leaders of the Popular Unity forces represent the whole of the Chilean working-class movement, and that they should decide which currents should and should not be defended from the junta's terror.

The Stalinists were especially hostile to including the name of Luis Vitale, a longtime and well-known leader in the Chilean trade-union movement as well as a Trotskyist. The Chilean Trotskyists were the only current that consistently opposed the entire popular-front strategy of the Popular Unity, a strategy that left the Chilean workers defenseless in the face of the rightist plot.

To the CP's policy of preserving a capitalist government and institutions, the Trotskyists countered that the workers and peasants should be mobilized to take the land and the factories and institute a workers and peasants government. While the CP was telling the workers to trust in the army—in generals like Pinochet—the Trotskyists were doing all they could to warn the workers of a military coup and demanding that the UP provide arms to the workers.

The debate at the Chicago conference reflected two different lines on how



Teitelboim of Chilean CP. Stalinists say 'No debate over UP strategy.'

the working-class movement should defend itself in the face of attacks by the class enemy—the Stalinist line, and the line of revolutionary-Marxists.

For revolutionists, the coup in Chile posed two essential tasks. One is to help mobilize the broadest, most powerful international movement to demand an end to the repression and to defend the victims of that repression, no matter what their political views.

To this end, revolutionists are ready to work with anyone, no matter what their views on the Popular Unity strategy. This is the aim of groups like the U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, which deserves the fullest support.

But for revolutionary socialists there is a second task—that of drawing the political lessons of the bloody defeat in Chile. The truth must be told about the counterrevolutionary character of the program of the Communist and Socialist parties, which told the Chilean workers that socialism could be achieved peacefully in conjunction with "progressive" sectors of the capitalist class.

Without this critique it will be impossible to build a revolutionary party capable of leading the future struggle of the Chilean workers to victory. Instead, such reactionary bloodbaths will be repeated—in Chile and anywhere else this lesson is not understood.

These two tasks can and must be carried out at the same time. This has been the approach of the Trotskyist movement, the Socialist Workers Party, and *The Militant*: to express the sharpest, clearest denunciation of the policies of the CP and SP that led to the defeat, while being the most active defenders of the entire Chilean workers movement—including those currents we disagree with most strongly—against the terror of the junta.

Cover up betrayal

The approach of the CP is different, as illustrated in their attempt to exclude Vitale from the list at the Chicago conference. Their aim is not to build the strongest possible defense for the political prisoners. Rather, they seek to use the great sympathy for the Chilean people to give authority to the Popular Unity and cover up its treacherous role in laying the ground-

work for the success of the rightist coup.

This is the meaning of the CP's appeal to Rome for a list of "approved" political prisoners. This is the meaning of their advice that the Chile defense movement should "conform to the lead of the united Chilean Left."

The Stalinists are not interested in defending Chileans who are drawing the political lessons of the experience of the UP. This involves not only the Trotskyists, who were the most consistent opponents of the UP policy.

There are also the militant workers who were pressing the Allende regime for more take-overs of the factories. There were the thousands of peasant militants who had begun to take over the land against the decrees of the UP government. There were the soldiers who had warned of the preparation of the coup and for this were victimized under Allende.

Silence critics

The CP wants to read the Trotskyists out of the Chilean workers movement to try to silence them. The Stalinists cannot stand the truth being told about the criminal results of their counterrevolutionary policies.

A statement by the Chilean CP a month after the junta's take-over warns that "this is not the time to engage in debates about the mistakes committed by the government and the Popular Unity bloc as a whole. . . ."

The Stalinists are even ready to turn over critics of the UP to the junta's butchers, as shown by the refusal of the Kremlin bureaucrats to open the doors of the Soviet Union to refugees from Chile. According to *Washington Post* reporter Terri Swan, the Kremlin refused refugees because "many of them are Trotskyists or other unorthodox leftists."

Chile is one more in the list of bloody defeats of the workers movement brought about by the Stalinist policy of popular frontism. In each case—the CP bloc with the Kuomin-



CP wants to exclude from defense list Luis Vitale, Trotskyist leader imprisoned and tortured by junta.

tang in China in the 1920s, the French popular front in the 1930s and 1940s, the Spanish popular front in the 1930s, to name a few—gigantic workers' upsurges have been defeated by subordinating the interests of the masses of workers and peasants to the aim of a political bloc with sections of the capitalist class.

Following the defeat of the Spanish loyalists by Franco, the CP did exactly what they are now doing with Chile—trying to manipulate the great sympathy for the Spanish workers and peasants in such a way as to cover up the crimes of the popular-front policy and silence the critics of this policy. All this is designed to pave the way for the next bloody defeat.

This basic dishonesty is clear in the Stalinists' evaluation of the situation in Chile today. On the one hand, they regularly state that "fascism" now exists in Chile, because they think this puts the Chilean CP's continuing adherence to the popular-front policy in the best possible light. But on the other hand, they try to minimize the de-

feat sustained by the Chilean workers—in order, of course, to minimize their responsibility in that defeat.

Temporary setback?

Thus, in a Sept. 19, 1973, statement, the American Communist Party declared, "While the fascist coup in Chile is a setback, it is also a sign of weakness and desperation of imperialism."

Wrong! The coup was a *defeat*, a crushing blow from which the Chilean working-class movement will not recover overnight. And it was a sign that the Yankee imperialists are strong enough to impose rightist coups to defend their interests—when the workers are confused and politically disarmed as under the UP.

Chilean CP leader Volodia Teitelboim released a statement in October saying, "The death of Allende, the temporary defeat of the people, do not annul the validity of our program. . . ."

The exact opposite of the truth! The rightist coup and massive repression—with tens of thousands of workers slaughtered and imprisoned—are precisely a damning refutation of the CP's counterrevolutionary program of class collaboration. The UP in power refused to arm and train these workers to defend the gains they had made, telling them to trust in the army generals—who became their executioners.

To cover up for their wretched policy of telling the workers that the Chilean army would never support a coup, the Stalinists go so far as to prettify the Chilean capitalist class and army officers—leaders of a "fascist" coup, no less—claiming that such brutality and repression are alien to them. Teitelboim tries to cover up for the fact that Allende and his CP and SP backers preached trust in the capitalist army and accepted U.S. training and financing of the Chilean armed forces all along.

Thus, Teitelboim writes: "The coup bears the trade mark: 'Made in the U.S.'"

"Its whole style is alien to Chilean political ways and customs, including the professional and constitutional tradition of the armed forces of our country. It was a coup organized from the outside with elements worked over by the corrupting power of imperialism."

In order to build the most powerful international campaign in defense of the rights of the Chilean people, it is necessary to reject the lies and maneuvers of the world Stalinist movement. The factionalism of the CP weakens the movement in defense of Chilean political prisoners in this country and hurts the struggle in Chile.

All supporters of democratic rights should reject any appeals to "authorities" in Rome or anywhere else to exclude tendencies in the Chilean workers movement from the defense campaign. The only principled position is to defend *all* those victimized in Chile by the butchers trained and financed by the U.S. government that acts in our name.

The lessons of Chile

FURTHER READING . . .

ALLENDE'S CHILE: Is It Going Socialist? by Peter Camejo, 60 cents.

HUGO BLANCO ON CHILE AND PERU, 35 cents.

DISASTER IN CHILE: Allende's Strategy and Why It Failed, edited by Les Evans, paper \$2.95.

Order from: **PATHFINDER PRESS**, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Build for nationwide Chile protests

Organizations defending political prisoners in Chile are building demonstrations around the country, as the terror of the rightist junta continues unabated.

As the April 22 *Time* magazine reported, "Midnight arrests still take place, and torture is, by common consent, a tool of the government's newly centralized intelligence apparatus." Well-known political prisoners, for whom torture might prove embarrassing to the junta, are physically worn down through forced labor and starvation rations.

Former Allende defense minister, 6 foot, 4 inch José Tohá, weighed only 114 pounds, according to *Time*, when he was brought out of the notorious Dawson Island prison camp an alleged "suicide."

The demands of the May 11 protests are an end to all U.S. aid to the junta, freedom for all political prisoners in Chile, and the immediate release of six specific prisoners whose lives are known to be in grave danger.

The individuals are Clodomiro Almeyda, former foreign minister and Socialist Party member; Luis Corvalán, general secretary of the Chilean Communist Party; Orlando Letelier, former Chilean ambassador to the U.S.; Luis Vitale, well-known Marxist scholar and writer; Luis Figueroa, president of the now-banned Chilean trade-union federation; and Bautista Van Schouwen, a leader of the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left).

In New York a "Chile Action Week" is planned May 5-11 to rivet public attention on the plight of Chilean prisoners. Activities during the week will include forums on U.S. involvement in Chile, meetings on campuses and in



Political prisoners at concentration camp in northern Chile.

churches, and among trade unionists. A benefit concert for aid to Chilean refugees is scheduled for Madison Square Garden's Felt Forum on May 9. It will feature Pete Seeger, Arlo Guthrie, Phil Ochs, and others.

Activities on May 11 will include a dramatization of repression in Chile by the Living Theater, a picket at the U.S. State Department office, and a rally in Bryant Park.

The May 11 demonstrations are being organized nationally by Non-Intervention in Chile (NICH), the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), Chileans for Democracy, the Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR), and the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA). Many other groups are supporting the action as well, including the *Guardian* newspaper and the Chile Solidarity Committees.

For more information, contact

USLA, 156 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10010.

Harald Edelstam, former Swedish ambassador to Chile, toured Northern California from April 5 to April 8. The response to his tour was very enthusiastic. Many requests for speaking engagements could not be filled because of lack of time.

On April 5, 300 people attended a meeting at San Francisco State College. The next day Edelstam attended a cocktail party for him that was hosted by Congressman Ronald Delums (D-Calif.) and Ying Lee Kelley, a member of the Berkeley city council.

On the evening of April 6, Edelstam spoke to a meeting of 500 in the Newman Center in Berkeley. The meeting was sponsored by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), Non-Intervention in Chile, and the American Federation of Teachers local on the University of California campus.

After appearing on a two-hour talk show on KSAN in San Francisco, Edelstam attended another cocktail party, sponsored by Amnesty International.

On the last day of his stay in Northern California, Edelstam spoke to a crowd of 400 in Stanford. Also appearing at the meeting was Joan Baez. The gathering was chaired by Professor Richard Fagen, a USLA board member.

Edelstam was touring the area to win support for political prisoners in Chile. As a result of the meetings and social events, \$5,440 was raised to aid victims of the junta's repression. More money is expected as news coverage of the tour continues.

Steelworkers angry at wage pact

By HARRY MALONE

CHICAGO, April 13—Spring finally came to Chicago today, but for steelworkers it was not a day for festivities.

The steel industry is preparing for six years of "labor peace" on the basis of a deal reached yesterday between United Steelworkers President I.W. Abel and U.S. Steel Corporation Vice-chairman R. Heath Larry, chief negotiator for the 10 major steel companies.

A new three-year contract provides wage increases for 351,700 workers in basic steel of about 3.3 percent annually. This is far below the 5.5 percent raises allowed under government wage controls and miles behind the 15.6 percent present annual rate of consumer price increases.

A 28-cent raise will be paid May 1 and 16 cents more on Aug. 1, 1975, and again on Aug. 1, 1976. The present average hourly wage is \$4.42.

An escalator clause provides a one-cent-an-hour raise for every 0.35 point rise in the Consumer Price Index.

Steelworkers may now retire on full pension after 30 years of service at age 62 instead of 65. Pensions for 30-year workers are raised from \$265 a month to \$352.50.

News of the Abel-Larry deal brought mixed reactions among mill workers here in Chicago, ranging from astonishment to outrage.

One young steelworker had this to say: "I can't believe it! These 'increases' won't even keep up with inflation." An older Black worker exclaimed, "Strike. That's what we ought to do, strike!"

The steel contract follows in most respects the general pattern of new contracts signed already by Steelworkers officials in the can and aluminum industries. In all cases the terms lag behind those negotiated last fall by the United Auto Workers.

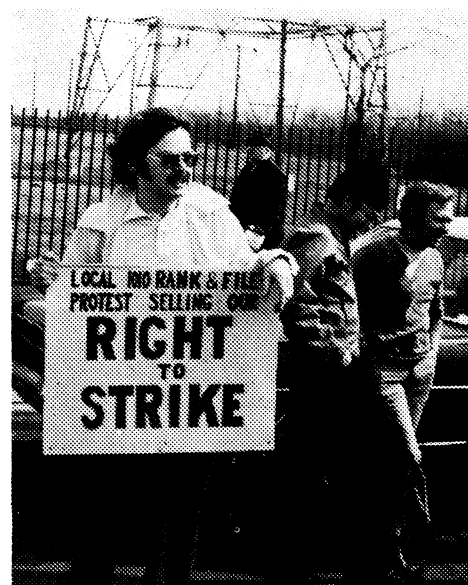
For example, auto workers under the Chrysler contract can retire after 30 years at \$650 a month beginning Oct. 1 of this year. After the steelworkers receive the 28-cent raise on May 1, they will be getting \$4.70, while auto workers receive about \$5.35.

The steel negotiations were conducted under the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) signed last year by Abel and Larry. This was an agreement to submit all unresolved issues to binding arbitration if a new contract were not drafted prior to April 15. By submitting the final version of the new three-year contract on April 12, Abel and Larry claim they have demonstrated the usefulness of ENA.

Many Steelworkers locals denounced ENA when it was signed last year and declared their intention to defy its no-strike provisions if necessary to win changes in wages and working conditions. The prediction of "labor peace for six more years" is based on the assumption that the ENA no-strike pledge will be honored by steelworkers this year and that the contract will be renewed in the same way three years from now.

Abel announced that the union's 600-member committee of local officials had ratified the new contract and that no further ratification is necessary.

The contract terms are far below what steelworkers had been expecting and less than union negotiators were asking. Opposition caucuses in the Steelworkers union had advanced the modest demands of \$1-an-hour raise now to compensate for rising prices, a \$500 monthly pension after 30 years service, abolition of productivity clauses in the old contract and the hated labor-management productivity committees, which sanction speedup in the mills.



Militant/Bob Kissinger

Steelworkers in Gary, Ind., protest no-strike deal.

The new contract is based on projected increases in productivity (hourly output per worker), which, according to Larry, is about 3 percent annually.

Larry says the wage increase is inflationary and that any increase that exceeds productivity gains is inflationary. He also implies that the industry will raise the price of steel again.

Steel companies are among the biggest price gougers and profiteers. Last November steel prices jumped 6.5 percent, and were boosted another 2.26 percent in February.

Profits for the industry in 1973 were \$1.2-billion, 66 percent more than the previous record set in 1972.

The projected six-year "labor peace" in this industry depends on how much longer steelworkers will endure the threat of unemployment combined with the aggravation of speedup and declining real wages.

Militant ex-prisoners cheer Olga Rodriguez

By MARK ZOLA

SAN FRANCISCO—Olga Rodriguez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California, concluded her week-long tour of the San Francisco area April 9 with a speech before a crowded meeting of 80 residents of the Delancey Street Foundation.

Delancey Street is a rehabilitation program for former drug addicts and former prisoners. It has made an impact in the city recently both through its own struggle to keep its residence in the Pacific Heights area and through its participation in such struggles as the Sears strike and the United Farm Workers boycott.

The predominantly Black and Latino audience greeted Rodriguez's speech with loud applause and shouts of "Viva Olga!"

Discussion afterward ranged from the SWP's fight to gain ballot status, to the need for independent Black and Chicano parties, to the SWP's position for abolishing all laws that treat the drug addict as a criminal instead of a victim.

Campaign literature and copies of *The Militant* were quickly snapped up. The former prisoners in the audience were particularly impressed with *The Militant's* wide circulation inside the



Olga Rodriguez, SWP candidate for governor of California, addresses veterans' rally at San Francisco City College.

prisons.

The previous day Rodriguez spoke at a well-attended news conference called by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws to focus attention on the challenges now in the courts to California's discriminatory election laws.

Rodriguez blasted one of her Democratic Party opponents, Edmund (Jerry) Brown Jr., who as secretary of state is the main defendant in a lawsuit against the restrictive election

laws.

"Brown is in the embarrassing position of trying to justify the fact that Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke, recently indicted for perjury, can attain ballot status by collecting less than 100 signatures, while myself, other candidates of smaller parties, and independent candidates are effectively excluded from the ballot," Rodriguez told reporters.

Reinecke was indicted for lying about the ITT case to a U.S. Senate subcommittee in April 1972. His case has become a major embarrassment to both capitalist parties, which hope to keep the issues raised by Watergate out of the California races.

Rodriguez has pointed out that blocking smaller parties from the ballot is a campaign "dirty trick" practiced by both Democrats and Republicans.

She debated a representative of Youth for Brown before 60 students at San Francisco State. When asked what Brown had done during his years in office for the Chicano community, his representative answered that Brown had "given" Californians the bilingual ballot.

Rodriguez shot back, "We may have won a bilingual ballot, but Chicanos cannot even vote for La Raza Unida party because Jerry Brown won't let them on the ballot."

Brown's position on the recent city workers' strike was that a special court, empowered to hand out stiff jail sentences, should be set up to handle union militants.

Rodriguez counterposed the socialist position of full support to the city workers, Sears strikers, and teachers in their attempt to beat back the attack on their standard of living. By the end of the debate a dozen people had signed cards endorsing the SWP campaign.

Rodriguez's speaking schedule here also included a veterans' rally at San Francisco City College, a brief address to members of Carpenters Local 22, and a city-wide meeting at the socialist campaign headquarters.

At the California State campus in Sonoma, 60 miles north of San Francisco, 100 students heard Rodriguez at a meeting cosponsored by the campus MECHA, a Chicano group, and the women's studies department. Later 30 people attended a dinner at the home of a campaign supporter.

Rodriguez also spoke before a meeting of Raza students at City College and to two classes at Lowell High School.

On April 6 she attended a conference on child care to indicate her support for the campaign to implement Proposition M, the successful ballot initiative calling for low-cost, quality child care for all, controlled by those who use it.

In a statement distributed at the conference, Rodriguez said, "In my campaigning across the state, I've met with hundreds of people who've been inspired with what has been done in San Francisco. But the passage of Proposition M was just the beginning. I urge everyone to participate in the May 11 demonstration demanding implementation of Proposition M."

Following the conference she participated in the Sears and United Farm Workers picket lines.

San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto is running for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination as a "friend of labor" and of the poor. His support in the predominantly Latino Mission District has eroded, however, because of such attacks on the community as cutbacks in the Model Cities program, an Alioto-sponsored plan to demolish sections of the Mission's residential areas for business use, and a police riot in Dolores Park.

Rodriguez spent her last day in San Francisco campaigning in the Mission District. In a statement distributed at a rally of 200 Mission residents protesting the cutbacks, she declared her solidarity with their struggle and called for "a crash program to build schools, housing, recreation centers, and provide jobs. These funds and programs should be controlled by democratically elected councils of the Black and Latino community."

Rodriguez's San Francisco tour was widely covered in the media. She was interviewed by five radio stations and three newspapers, including the two major dailies. The third paper, *El Mundo*, which serves several Northern California Latino communities, featured a front-page article on her campaign.

Challenges to Calif. ballot laws

SAN FRANCISCO—At a well-attended news conference here April 8, called by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), representatives of three major legal challenges to California's election code blasted the code as "the most restrictive in the country." They called for swift resolution of the important election law cases now pending.

The news conference followed the U.S. Supreme Court decision striking down California's filing fees and referring another challenge back to a lower court.

Kitty Cone, California CoDEL director, explained that "gross discrimination" in the ballot laws "forces people to register Republican or Democrat or else be excluded from running for office." She cited the high percentage of people who consider themselves independent and pointed out, "The effect of the California laws is to deny effective participation to a large number of voters."

Appearing at the news conference were Thomas Storer, plaintiff in a case challenging the provisions for

qualifying independent candidates; Raymond Chote, plaintiff in a challenge to filing fees; Vincent Hallinan, CoDEL attorney; Olga Rodriguez, SWP candidate for governor and plaintiff in CoDEL's suit challenging the provisions for qualifying new parties for the ballot; and Elizabeth Jacobsen, another plaintiff in the CoDEL suit and Libertarian Party candidate for Congress.

The extensive media coverage of the conference was an indication of the heightened interest in the fight against California's undemocratic election laws.



Vincent Hallinan, attorney in CoDEL challenge to California ballot laws.

Oregon socialists back strike by metal workers

PORTLAND—Twenty-six hundred workers from nine unions struck several Portland area member firms of the United Metal Trades Association April 2.

The main issue in the strike is the effect of inflation, fast becoming the key question in Oregon politics.

A statement issued by Socialist Workers Party candidates Stacey Seigle (governor), John Studer (U.S. Senate), and Robin Mace (Portland city council) condemned "the rat race where every three years working people have to fight hard just to try to catch up with what they've lost" because of inflation.

The statement supported the demands of striking workers for significant wage increases to make up for losses suffered under Nixon's wage controls, for a cost-of-living escalator

clause to offset spiraling prices, and for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay.

Metal workers at the Rayco Wagner plant have demanded a 32-hour workweek for 40 hours pay.

The SWP candidates also pointed out that the only people who can be trusted to fairly compute the effects of inflation are working people themselves. Government and industry statistics fall far below real price increases.

The socialists called for "joint union-consumer committees to make week-by-week checks to determine the real increase in the cost of living."

Senatorial candidate John Studer and several campaign supporters sold *Militants* and distributed campaign literature at five picket sites.

In other campaign developments, a

speaking tour by gubernatorial candidate Stacey Seigle led to the establishment of Young Socialists for Seigle committees at the University of Oregon at Eugene and Oregon State University at Corvallis.

"I found that students are questioning capitalist society even more deeply than at the height of the antiwar movement," Seigle said after the tour. "Watergate, inflation, and the energy crisis are forcing people to think through how capitalism functions, and they are becoming very responsive to the socialist alternative."

One person in Corvallis and three in Eugene decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Interviews with Seigle appeared in the campus and city press in both cities.

Calif. SWP candidates find few who back Symbionese Liberation Army's terrorism

The following interview with Dan Styron, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from California, and Olga Rodriguez, SWP candidate for governor of California, was obtained while both were in the San Francisco Bay Area on campaign speaking tours. The Militant interviewed them about the reaction to the Symbionese Liberation Army they have found during their tours.

Militant: What do you think about Patricia Hearst's supposed conversion to the SLA and the recent bank robbery in which she was involved?

Styron: Of course there has been a lot of speculation here about whether she was forced to make that statement and to participate in the hold-up, whether she was in on the "kidnapping" from the beginning, and so on. We have no basis for making a judgment about that.

What is important to realize is that none of these different possibilities about Patricia Hearst's attitude make the slightest difference in our political position on the SLA.

Our main tasks continue to be, first, to oppose the government's attempted "antiterrorist" witch-hunt and expose



Militant/Howard Petrick

STYRON: "We cannot exclude the possibility that the SLA is being manipulated by cops or right-wingers."



SLA's 'Cinque' during bank job. Terrorist actions, which tell the masses to trust in 'superrevolutionary' saviors, contrast sharply with...

the hypocrisy of denunciations of violence by capitalist politicians like Nixon and Reagan. And second, to explain why the strategy of individual terrorism is incapable of bringing about revolutionary change and only plays into the hands of the reactionaries.

Militant: What has been the reaction to your statements on the SLA?

Rodriguez: Because the left has been near-unanimous in its rejection of the SLA's tactics, most people I've spoken to—especially students—correctly assume that we oppose the kidnapping.

There has been a tendency on the part of many people who consider themselves radicals to fail to place the onus for violence in America where it belongs—on the U.S. ruling class and not on the mistaken policies of groups like the SLA.

We, on the other hand, have been pointing out that one important reason for rejecting these acts of terrorism is

that such tactics allow the most violent government in history to masquerade as a champion of peace and justice.

It is disgusting to see the capitalist rulers of this country—who have carried out acts of mass terror against the Vietnamese people, who support the most despotic regimes in the world, who lock millions into the prison of poverty in this country and around the world—trying to use the SLA's actions to pose as humanitarians.

Styron: Actually, the great majority of questions on the SLA have come from reporters for the capitalist press, which would like to discredit our campaign by linking us to the SLA.

But the majority of those who have attended my talks where this question has arisen have agreed with our position that the activities of the SLA have harmed the struggles of the oppressed rather than aided them in any way.

Militant: Have you found any support at all for the actions of the SLA?

Rodriguez: The overwhelming majority of people I have spoken to oppose the kidnapping.

A few, maybe one or two, have stated that at least the action of the SLA has exposed poverty in California. They believe the SLA has focused attention in a spectacular way on the poverty and hunger that exist, as well as forcing one who has profited from this oppression to distribute food.

Our response, which is very well received, is to point out that the poor do not need to be informed of their situation. They are already painfully aware of it. What the poor and working people need is a strategy for organizing their own power to change their situation.

Styron: I have found that contrasting the power of the San Francisco city workers in their recent strike to the

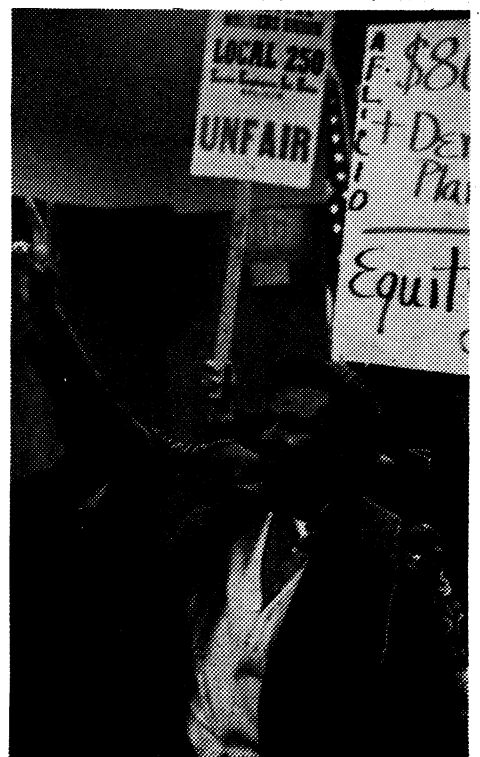
SLA's actions has been very useful to explain our position.

Ten thousand city workers walked off their jobs to defend their standard of living from attacks by the employers—in this case, the government. Then teachers struck and joined them on the picket lines.

Virtually all municipal services were shut down, as well as transportation. Court injunctions and slanders in the media couldn't make a dent in the strikers' solidarity. And they won some important concessions from the city. But the most important gain of the strike was the way it built the confidence of the workers in their own power and set an example for all working people and the oppressed of how to struggle effectively.

Workers made comments like, "We

Continued on page 26



Militant/Howard Petrick

... powerful strike by San Francisco city workers, who learned to rely on their own strength.

Campaigning for socialism

WASHINGTON, D.C., TEACHERS PROTEST SCHOOL BOARD PROPOSALS: Three hundred teachers, chanting, "No Contract, No Work!" rallied April 10 outside the contract negotiations between the Washington Teachers Union (WTU) and the school board. The protest was called by the WTU, which also held a meeting of 900 teachers April 4.

The board has made a series of proposals to cut back gains won in the teachers' last contract, which expired April 1. The board proposes to lengthen the school year by two weeks and the school day by one hour, both without additional pay.

It also demands unlimited class sizes (now limited to 26); the surrender of several planning sessions now used for classroom preparation; limitation of the grievance procedure; and lesson plans, to be checked by administrators at their request.

At the rally, Charles Moore of the WTU pointed out that the teachers' demands to limit the class size and ensure planning periods were important to upgrade education.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign distributed a statement by Anne Powers, a WTU member and SWP candidate for city council. The

statement supported the teachers and called for:

Reduce class sizes by putting every jobless teacher to work.

For a federally funded crash program to modernize and equip schools.

For a cost-of-living escalator clause for all teachers' wages as protection against inflation.

For community councils of students, teachers, and parents to determine school policies.

MORRISON TESTIFIES AGAINST CITY UNIVERSITY CUTBACKS:

Derrick Morrison, SWP candidate for governor of New York, was one of the few persons whose remarks were greeted by applause during recent public hearings called by the board of higher education.

The hearings concerned the controversial tenure policy at the City University of New York, which specifies that each department can allow only a certain number of employees to have tenure. Two hundred instructional staff members have recently been denied reappointment as a result of this policy.

Morrison condemned the tenure policy as a device to cut back the already inadequate instructional staff. He pointed out that it discriminates

against newer teachers, most of whom are young and many of whom are women, Black, and Puerto Rican.

Morrison stated, "The Socialist Workers Party proposes a crash program with federal, state, and city funds to provide more funds for education. Instead of firing teachers, more teachers must be hired."

Morrison proposed that democratically elected committees of faculty, students, and staff should be the only bodies that decide on the hiring, promotion, and firing of faculty or staff.

"The Socialist Workers Party also supports the right of faculty and staff to belong to the union of their choice. A union that represents the needs of the faculty is the only real guarantee of job security," Morrison concluded.

TEXAS SWP PRESSES FIGHT AGAINST COP INFILTRATION:

In a follow-up to a March 28 protest delegation to Houston Mayor Fred Hofheinz's office, SWP gubernatorial candidate Sherry Smith has released a formal letter of protest sent to Captain Bobbie Adams, Criminal Intelligence Division, Houston police department.

The letter reviews the revelation by a former head of the Criminal Intelligence Division that Houston cops had

infiltrated the SWP and People's Party II, a local Black organization.

The March 28 delegation presented Hofheinz with a statement, endorsed by a broad spectrum of citizens, calling on him to make a public statement that such infiltration had ceased.

Smith's letter to the police states: "Under public pressure in defense of the democratic rights of my party, Mayor Hofheinz did make a public statement dissociating himself from this illegal activity against my legal party. He said that under his administration there is no member of the Houston Police Department acting as an infiltrator of the Socialist Workers Party so far as he knows."

"Again your office was contacted by the media. Again they were told you would make no statement to affirm or deny what Mayor Hofheinz stated. We demand that you publicly reveal to the people of this city whether you have continued to violate the democratic rights of the Texas Socialist Workers Party by sending infiltrators into this party, which has been on the ballot since 1971 in this state. We demand that you release the entire record of past illegal activity carried out by the police against my party."

So far the police have not responded.

— ANDY ROSE

Socialist urges independent Black inquiry into gov't role in King, Malcolm murders

By DAN CAINE

CHICAGO—Willie Reid, pointing to the exposure of a government terror campaign against the Black liberation movement, called in a recent speech for a massive political counterattack by the Black community.

Reid is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 1st C.D. in Illinois. She was a featured speaker at a campaign meeting held here April 6 as part of a weekend of socialist education and organization.

"The government," Reid said, "is willing to use any and all means, including murder, to destroy the liberation movements of the oppressed. Now we have the evidence," she said, referring to FBI documents about plans to "disrupt" and "otherwise neutralize" the Black movement.

One document said a goal of the FBI was to "prevent the rise of a 'messiah.'" This order was dated just one month before the assassination of Martin Luther King in 1968.

Reid noted the extensive FBI surveillance and harassment of King, Malcolm X, and the Black Panther Party; the government's use of inform-



WILLIE REID: 'Now we have the evidence.'

ers and agents provocateurs; and the continuing effort on all levels of the government to suppress the facts about its illegal activities.

Reid voiced the SWP's support for the lawsuit announced by Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH to force disclosure of the complete and uncensored FBI files on such attacks. She appealed to all other Black organizations

to join in that suit.

In addition, Reid called for the formation of a Black commission of inquiry to get at the full truth about the murders of Black leaders and sabotage of the Black movement.

The Democratic and Republican politicians, who are responsible for the attacks on the Black struggle, cannot be trusted to conduct such an investigation. Reid called for a commission selected by the Black community and independent of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Also speaking at the April 6 event were Debby Bustin, cochairwoman of the SWP 1974 National Campaign Committee; Dennis Brasky, SWP candidate for Congress from the 9th C.D.; and Suzanne Haig, candidate for state treasurer. Greetings were presented to the Illinois SWP campaign by Jim Conway, a member of the Chicago staff of the United Farm Workers.

Seventy-five activists attended from four Midwest cities. They pledged a total of more than \$250 to finance SWP campaign teams to travel throughout the region this spring. After the meeting two people decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Debby Bustin, who was introduced as one of the victims named on the White House "enemies list," cited the Watergate revelations as evidence of the bankruptcy of the capitalist political system.

"In addition to being the year of Watergate," Bustin said, "1973 will be remembered as the year of the meat shortage, the wheat shortage, the job shortage, the money shortage, and of course the oil shortage."

She pointed to the creation of artificial shortages of vital commodities in order to raise prices and increase profits as a feature of the decaying capitalist system.

Working people are fighting back against these attacks on their standard of living, Bustin said. She stressed the importance of independent working-class political action, the formation of a labor party, and a class-struggle leadership in the trade unions.

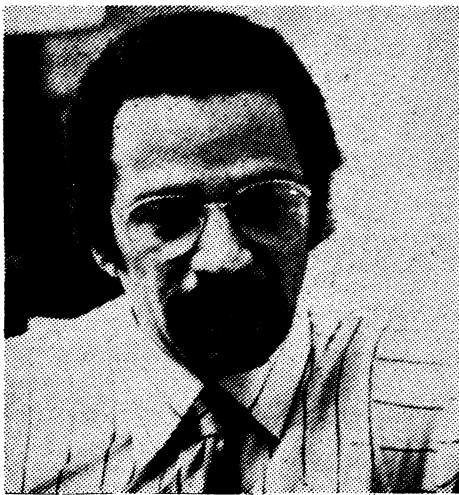
The weekend's activities also included presentations on the role of U.S. imperialism in Africa, the Puerto Rican independence movement, and a workshop to organize support groups for Ed Heisler, SWP senatorial candidate, throughout the state.

Conyers agrees to debate SWP candidate

By STEVE BEREN

DETROIT—Congressman John Conyers (D-Mich.), speaking at a church near Wayne State University on March 31, agreed to debate his only announced opponent, Hattie McCutcheon of the Socialist Workers Party.

Before the meeting McCutcheon and campaign supporters sold *Militants* and *Young Socialists* and distributed copies of a challenge to Conyers to debate.



JOHN CONYERS: 'I couldn't get to Congress' except as Democrat.

In his speech Conyers admitted that the Democratic Party has no answers to the problems of unemployment, inflation, and housing. He blamed this on the current leadership of his party and on bureaucratic procedures in Congress. He tied all hopes for social progress to an effort to reform the Democratic Party.

Conyers tried to justify his support for the leading Democratic contender for governor, Sander Levin, by arguing that the main goal in 1974 should be to defeat the pro-Nixon incumbent, Republican William Milliken.

Asked how he could justify his membership in the Democratic Party, Conyers answered, "I couldn't get to Congress any other way."

The open letter by McCutcheon, however, explained the impossibility of reforming the capitalist parties. Pointing to the Democrats' record, McCutcheon noted:

"It was under a Democratic mayor and a Democratic president that the 1967 Detroit ghetto rebellion was crushed. It was under a Democratic administration that the FBI attempted to crush the Black Panther Party and victimized and harassed Dr. King,

Malcolm X, and other Black leaders.

"The war in Vietnam was the bipartisan policy of both the Democrats and Republicans. And doesn't Watergate show that both parties are completely corrupt and beholden to corporate interests?"

"Especially since the Watergate revelations," McCutcheon continued, "many Blacks have realized that sup-



HATTIE McCUTCHEON: 'It is utopian to think that the racist Democratic Party can be reformed.'

port to the Democratic Party is a dead-end trap and are looking for a serious alternative.

"To overcome the present political powerlessness of Black America, it is necessary to break from the political parties of the rich and build an independent Black party. It is utopian to think that the racist Democratic Party—the party of Johnson, Wallace, Eastland, and Gribbs—can somehow be reformed into a vehicle for our liberation."

After the meeting, McCutcheon pressed Conyers further on these issues, with a crowd looking on. Conyers said he would like to see a Black party but that "now is not the time." He claimed the recent National Black Political Convention at Little Rock failed to establish a Black party because there is not enough support in the Black community for such a move.

McCutcheon retorted that while there is great sentiment in the Black community for an independent party, the Black Democrats are holding back the movement. "You went to Little Rock to convince the people there to remain in the Democratic Party and not form a Black party," she charged.

N.Y. SWP fetes new West Side headquarters

NEW YORK—Within two hours after the last lick of paint hit the walls of the new Upper West Side Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters, the videotape crew had arrived.

New World Communications was there to film the April 6 banquet celebrating the opening of the new headquarters, located at 2726 Broadway at 104th Street.

The move to significantly larger headquarters, with a spacious meeting hall and plenty of offices and work areas, is seen as a major step forward for the party, facilitating an aggressive socialist campaign drive on New York's West Side.

Before the film crew could finish setting up their equipment, they found themselves wedged into a crowd of

nearly 200 campaign supporters.

With a little jostling the cameras were maneuvered into position, and the banquet began.

Claire Moriarty, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress from New York's 20th C.D., was the first speaker. She is so far running unopposed for the seat currently held by Democrat Bella Abzug.

"We're going to play a few 'dirty tricks' on the Republicans and Democrats during this campaign," she said. "That is, we'll do a couple of things they don't expect."

"First, we plan to run on our real program," she said. "This is a big advantage for us socialists. If the Democrats and Republicans ever ran on their real program, they would

lose."

Moriarty contrasted the SWP's program for fighting inflation and unemployment to the antilabor policies of the capitalist parties.

Speaking next was Peter Camejo, a national committee member of the SWP. Camejo discussed the socialist suit against the government's illegal attacks on the party, and appealed for support to the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is publicizing and gathering funds for the suit.

Derrick Morrison, SWP candidate for governor of New York, spoke on the lessons of the energy crisis. Contrary to the hopes and expectations of the oil corporations, he said, public anger over inconveniences and price hikes was not directed at the

Arab peoples.

Protests such as those by independent truckers and victims of Con Edison rate increases have been directed at the real culprits—the monopolies and the U.S. government.

Morrison also pointed to the disastrous chain effect the contrived oil shortage may have on underdeveloped countries, leading to a fertilizer shortage, a food shortage, and mass starvation.

"This would be the result not of some natural disaster but solely of the corporations' quest for profits," Morrison said.

Ray Markey, SWP candidate for New York attorney general, appealed for funds for the campaign. All told, the evening raised \$1,200.

Puerto Rican superport debate intertwined with fight against U.S. Navy target practice

By CANDIDA BARBERENA

RIO PIEDRAS, Puerto Rico—New developments in the debate over a proposed superport for Puerto Rico have become intertwined with the issue of continued U.S. Navy target practice on Puerto Rican islands.

There has been much opposition from the people of this U.S. colony to the idea of a superport. Such a port would include oil transshipment facilities, refineries, power plants, and petrochemical installations, and would be capable of docking 250,000-ton oil tankers.

The opponents of the plan point out that such a superport would threaten the ecology of Puerto Rico, destroy beaches and fishing, lead to oil spills, and increase pollution without bringing any benefits to working people in Puerto Rico, only to the giant oil corporations.

Puerto Rican Governor Rafael Hernández Colón, however, decided to go ahead with the plan last September

Protests by Culebrans finally reached such levels that the U.S. Defense Department was forced last year to announce plans to move gunnery operations elsewhere by July 1975.

In an effort to explain how the gunnery and superport could coexist on Mona Island, Hernández said in March that he had authorized "direct coordination with the Navy so as to try to harmonize the latter's target practice on Monito and Desecheo with the proposed deepwater port on Mona Island or on Puerto Rico's western coast."

However, "harmonizing" the two operations would be extremely difficult. Besides the obvious incompatibility of a firing range and a petrochemical site, Mona Island lies in the course of an international sea lane.

What may actually lie behind this new proposal, in fact, is an attempt to play the Navy issue against the superport issue. The weekly magazine *Avance* suggested this as early as last October.

In the Oct. 1, 1973, *Avance*, correspondent Carlos Yamil Otero reported, "Some opponents of the superport feel that the 'play' with La Mona is no more than a game. [Representative] Benny Frankie Cerezo said that from the beginning the superport issue was a 'poorly iced cake,' and that the government opted for leaving the superport door open with the idea that if negotiations with the Navy reached a stalemate, the petroleum complex would be built on the mainland of Puerto Rico."

"In the government's estimation, the people would then psychologically agree to 'go ahead with the superport,' and there wouldn't be so much opposition even if the decision were to construct it on the mainland."

If this is indeed the strategy of Hernández, it may not work as well as he hopes. The April 11 *El Diario* reported that recently, when the possibility was raised of building the superport in Ponce, the second largest city in Puerto Rico, a "Committee of Ponce Citizens Against the Superport" immediately formed to block the idea.

Other developments, however, suggest that the Navy has no intention of



Militant/José G. Pérez

'Superport—poison' reads banner at recent demonstration in San Juan. The march, organized by proindependence and socialist groups, was called to protest U.S. mayors' convention.

leaving Culebra after all. According to the March 17 *El Mundo*, Secretary of the Navy John Warner has refused to recognize as final the decision to move the Culebra operations elsewhere. Warner indicated that he thought there should be new discussions between the Navy and the Puerto Rican government before a formal agreement is made.

"It had been announced that the Navy had received \$12-million to move to Desecheo and Monito," noted the Oct. 1 *Avance*. "Later, Washington sources stated that the Navy didn't

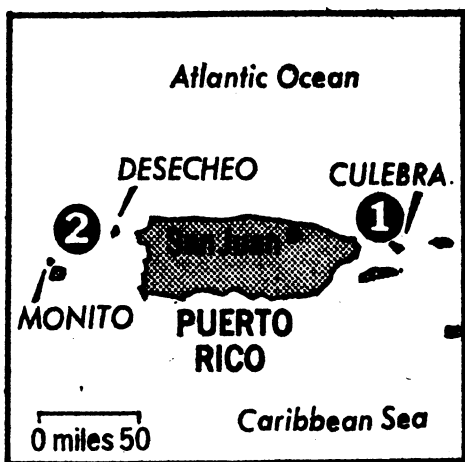
have those funds. And more importantly, the Washington sources said that the powerful U.S. House of Representatives military affairs committee preferred the Navy to remain in Culebra until 1985. Governor Rafael Hernández Colón was aware of this before approving Mona in his message as the superport site."

In addition to Hernández's selection of Monito and Desecheo for naval operations, the Navy presumably had recommended moving ship-to-shore gunfire support training from Culebra's northwest peninsula to either Vieques or Desecheo, and retaining air-to-ground targets on Culebra's inland reefs.

According to the March 17 issue of the *San Juan Star*, Washington sources said the alternatives were offered by the Navy in an effort to pressure Hernández into opting for partial Navy retention of Culebra in order to clear the way for a superport on Mona Island. On the other hand, Hernández has given Warner a commitment that Puerto Rico would not act in any way to interfere with Navy target practices in its new location, "specifically including construction of the proposed deepwater superport on the island of Mona."



Oil refinery in Puerto Rico. Opponents of superport complex fear it will increase already intolerable pollution levels.



and designated Mona Island as the site for construction of the complex. Now Hernández has announced that the U.S. Navy will be moving target practice to Mona Island and the neighboring islets of Desecheo and Monito.

At the present time, the U.S. Navy conducts shelling, bombing, and strafing on the inhabited islands of Culebra and Vieques.

This outrageous practice has led to the killing and maiming of inhabitants, as well as the destruction of fishing and the land itself.

New SWP candidates in L.A.

Garza, Gonzales to campaign for needs of barrio

By MARIANA ALARCON

LOS ANGELES—The California Socialist Workers Party has announced two additional candidates from the Los Angeles area: Raúl Gonzales for state senate and Virginia Garza for U.S. Congress from the 24th Congressional District.

Both candidates stated that the needs of the Chicano community would be an important focus of their campaigns.

While the 24th C.D. incumbent, Edward Roybal, is a Mexican-American, Garza charged that as a Democrat he is incapable of representing the interests of the Chicano people. "No solution to the problems facing our raza," she said, "can be found by supporting the political party of our oppressors."

Garza singled out the question of inadequate medical care for Chicanos and especially for undocumented workers from Mexico. "The problem is that health care, rather than being seen as a right, is a commodity that must be purchased—and the price is too

high for most Chicanos."

She cited the recently exposed "ambulance chasing" ring found to be preying on accident victims in the East Los Angeles barrio. Implicated in this ring, which falsely promised to take care of the patients' insurance needs, are three law firms, the county supervisor's office, the Mexican consulate, and others, known to Chicanos as *coyotes*.

"As long as people are unable to get basic needs met, there will be these attempts to take advantage of those, such as undocumented workers, who have no protection and are the hardest hit when in need of health care," said Garza.

She called for a crash program of federal financing to build hospitals and clinics and train medical personnel for the Chicano community, with all programs controlled by the community.

Raúl Gonzales, a 19-year-old restaurant worker, attacked the attempts by the news media and the sheriff and local police to create a scare campaign

about "violence" and gangs on the high school campuses.

The Los Angeles city council has held a lengthy debate on the issue. The major "solution" proposed was a stricter revision of the juvenile code. The council also advised that those sent to reform schools be adequately "reformed" before being released.

This council meeting followed the January killing of 17-year-old Martín Aguayo by a police officer on the Belmont High School campus, and recent police raids on five homes to "stop a shoot-out" allegedly planned for a local high school.

Gonzales charged that the antigang campaign "is an attempt to justify the killing of Aguayo. For this reason the cops point to his alleged membership in a gang."

"The press points to gangs in the Black, Asian, and Chicano communities and talks about 'violence-prone' individuals," Gonzales said. "They are pointing in the wrong direction. Those

responsible for violence are the police, who ride through our communities not to 'serve and protect,' but to harass and intimidate."

Gonzales further explained that violence is bred by a racist educational system, "which forces our people into unemployment or into the lowest-paying jobs."

In another SWP campaign development, the California Supreme Court ordered the certification of Manuel "Tank" Barrera's candidacy for Los Angeles County Sheriff. Barrera's name will now appear on the June 4 nonpartisan primary ballot.

Barrera had filed for ballot status but was unable to pay the \$990 filing fee. The victory in his case was a result of the recent U.S. Supreme Court ruling that the state could not keep candidates off the ballot because they could not pay a filing fee.

Barrera stated that "this decision is a major breakthrough for working people who are unable to pay exorbitant filing fees."

Vietnam cover-up

Now that the "peace" charade on Capitol Hill is over, it turns out the U.S. is still going to supply South Vietnamese dictator Thieu with all the arms and money he needs.

When the Pentagon requested an increase in the arms aid ceiling for South Vietnam from \$1.126-billion to \$1.6-billion, the politicians in Congress made dovish speeches and piously voted the request down.

But, lo and behold, the generals suddenly discovered an "accounting error." It seems \$266-million for military aid had been misplaced somewhere in the Pentagon. According to the *New York Times*, "this money was now available for the current fiscal year if Congress did not object. It apparently will not do so."

How convenient! Almost as convenient as the 18-minute gap on Nixon's tape. With this cynical deception, Congress got to disavow responsibility for a hated war during an election year, while the U.S.-financed fighting goes on as usual.

This fraud is just one example of the secrecy and lies by which continuing U.S. aggression in Vietnam is covered up. According to the Indochina Resource Center, the U.S. directly supplies 80 percent of Thieu's budget. Senator Edward Kennedy estimates the U.S. still spends \$4-billion a year to the Indochina war.

Money for the Thieu regime is concealed in the Army, Navy, and Air Force appropriations, in the "Commodity Import Program"—even in the "Food for Peace" program.

The overwhelming majority of the American people want the U.S. to end all backing to the corrupt Thieu dictatorship. But it goes on. Why? At any time since the war began, Congress could have ended it by voting a complete cut off of funds. It has never done so. Meanwhile, the Supreme Court refused this month to rule on whether the spring 1973 bombing of Cambodia was unconstitutional.

The Congress and Supreme Court are just as committed to the criminal policies of U.S. imperialism as are Nixon and the Pentagon. These murderers pass the buck for unpopular policies back and forth for the sole purpose of deceiving the public. That's all the "separation of powers" means—another cover-up.

Japanese strikes

Working people throughout the capitalist world face a common problem: rising prices are robbing them of purchasing power.

Japanese workers recently conducted massive strike actions for higher wages. Government and private transport workers launched what became the biggest work stoppage in Japan's history. Postal and communications workers, as well as teachers and other government employees, also walked out.

The strike brought the entire country to a virtual halt, demonstrating the mighty power of united labor action. The government employees went out despite the fact that strikes for them are illegal.

Through this determined strike action transport workers won major wage increases of between \$98.55 and \$101.80 more a month, or 29 to 31 percent over their current wage levels. The results of the transport workers' militancy is expected to benefit other workers as well by setting a pattern for future contract negotiations this spring.

Japanese steelworkers have been offered a monthly raise of \$98.20 even before going on strike. This is below the 30 percent pattern established by the strike. But even so it contrasts sharply with the settlement imposed last week upon steelworkers in this country.

The Steelworkers union officials here "won" only a 3 percent yearly raise in a three-year contract, pledging in advance not to strike. Even the substantial wage increases won by the Japanese transport workers simply represent catch-up pay—since the consumer price index rose 26 percent last year. But the American steelworkers' new contract dooms them to falling further and further behind the current U.S. inflation rate of 15.6 percent.

Capitalists in this country could be heard breathing a collective sigh of relief at the precedent set by the Steelworkers' contract. And, echoing the employers, the *AFL-CIO News* called the Steelworkers' no-strike pact "a pioneering concept in collective bargaining."

American workers, just like the Japanese, have an enormous potential power than *can* be put into action to defend themselves. In addition to substantial wage boosts, cost-of-living escalator clauses are necessary to keep up with inflation. But to make any progress at all in the battle against rising prices, workers need to maintain their most powerful weapon—the right to strike.

Letters

Every single word

Just received your letter informing me that I have been added to your subscribers list and I would like to thank you on my behalf and all the other political prisoners here. When I read *The Militant* I read every single word and so does everyone else (we pass your paper on to other prisoners when we are done).

We are very grateful for the Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund.

A prisoner
New York

Can pay now

Please find enclosed one check in the amount of \$2. It is for *The Militant* subscription I am already receiving through the Prisoner Subscription Fund. At the time I first began receiving *The Militant*, I was unable to pay the cost for the subscription. Since then, I have received funds in order to pay the cost, so that some other person, less fortunate than myself, may benefit from the Prisoner Subscription Fund.

A prisoner
Illinois

[*The Militant's* special Prisoner Fund makes it possible for us to send complimentary or reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to Militant Prisoner Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.]

A fighting Cub

I read about another example of discrimination against young girls, similar to what Linda Jenness wrote about in her column on the Little League in New Jersey. The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* had an article about Carrie Crossman, eight years old, from Dallas, who joined the Cub Scouts because she didn't get out of school in time to get to Girl Scout meetings.

But now the Dallas Boy Scout Council has refused her membership and refused to give her the two merit badges she earned. She is going to fight this discrimination in the courts if necessary, with the help of the American Civil Liberties Union and Women's Equity Action League.

The reaction of the boys in her den was interesting. The *Plain Dealer* said, "Carrie was to have received her badges at a March 30 banquet but the event was canceled when the den's nine boys voted unanimously to refuse their awards unless Carrie was given hers."

J. C.
Cleveland, Ohio

On the SLA

Who does one have to get permission from to make the revolution! Why does *The Militant* continuously scream terrorist!

I feel you do not understand the dynamics of revolutionary struggle. You deal with the first basic stage—economic struggle and electoral politics, which are necessary to some extent but are not the end. Without political struggle to protect these concessions won by the people and ideological struggle to guide and help the movement to develop with all revolu-

tionary people and oppressed people included, then you serve reformism, not revolution.

When political kidnappings, bombings, taking off the agents of repression, and bank robberies happen any place but here they are praised.

Don't say how much the SLA is causing us prisoners to be repressed. They cut out our programs when they want to anyway.

A prisoner
Pennsylvania

In reply—*The Militant* has carried many articles explaining the opposition of revolutionary Marxists to terrorism. For further discussion of the actions of the Symbionese Liberation Army, see article on page 9.

Women in politics

On April 6 the Kentucky Civil Liberties Union Women's Rights Committee held its annual Women's Rights Conference in Louisville. Anne Braden, coordinator of the Women in Radical Politics workshop, invited Alyson Valenza of the Louisville Young Socialist Alliance, along with members of the Communist Party, People's Party, and others, to present their positions on women's role in the process of social change.

Valenza's statements that women should break with the Democratic and Republican parties, and on the need for mass action to guarantee abortion rights and win passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, generated lively discussion at the workshop. A member of the Communist Party, although present at the workshop, declined to defend the CP's position on women's rights, in particular, their opposition to the ERA.

The conference was attended by about 150 people of all ages. Fewer attended than had originally been expected because of the extensive tornado damage in Louisville the previous Wednesday.

A reader
Louisville, Ky.

Militant on TV—I

I just finished watching the 5:30 CBS-TV national news with Roger Mudd. They had a big story on the miners' strike in Harlan County, Ky. These workers are waging a militant strike to get the UMW recognized as their union bargaining agent. I guess to emphasize that these miners mean business, the news program got a very good camera shot of several miners reading *The Militant*. They seemed to be reading it very intently.

I hope these miners and their families continue receiving *The Militant*, because I think your newspaper can help out their struggle as it has helped out the struggles of other workers.

Incidentally, your coverage of the Harlan County struggle has been really great. Keep up the good work!

J. H.
Houston, Tex.

Militant on TV—II

The Militant's coverage of the recently exposed memos detailing the FBI's disruption of the Black liberation movement seems to be having quite an impact. For example, photos of the issue that featured these secret documents were shown on the week-



Health & profits

ly television program "Black Journal."

The April 10 edition of this show (which I believe is broadcast on educational stations around the country) focused in on secret-police-type activities directed against Black activists and groups. As the host of the "Black Journal" delivered his introduction, five or six photos were flashed on a screen behind him. One of these photographs showed *The Militant* front page that read, "New Hoover memos: FBI plot to crush Black movement"; another showed the page featuring pictures of Malcolm and King, whose murders these memos link to the FBI.

As Malcolm X once said about *The Militant*, which he had seen read all over the world, "... if you put the right things in it, what you put in it will see that it gets around."

J. F.
New York, N. Y.

'Emasculated'

In reading the first issue of my new *Militant* subscription, I came upon the use of the word "emasculated" in the sense of "weakened" or "devitalized." I was shocked and disappointed, for I expect *The Militant*, which I consider a very good newspaper, to project a higher consciousness than the prevalent sexist one that equates everything effective with that which is masculine.

A. H.
Cambridge, Mass.

A vicious circle

It is self-evident that capitalism has evolved a workable system for evading its responsibilities to citizens in those nations under its control.

The pattern is simple. Programs are set up to aid those in need. Financial guidelines are established. Prices are jacked up. Occasionally benefits are increased, to compensate for the higher prices.

And as soon as a person gets an income above the set limits, *his benefits are cut off or reduced!*

Veterans' pensions are cut or reduced when Social Security is increased. Widows' allowances are sliced. Minor children get less, or food allowances are reduced.

It is the same with incomes. When you get a pay raise, you are on a treadmill that never ceases to pull you backward. A higher dollar income puts you in a tax bracket that grabs more of your earnings, and your hard earned increase is a tragicomic farce.

The result is always the same—"to those who have much, more will be given, while from those who have little, even that which they have will be taken away."

George J. Gessner
Kingsville, Texas

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.

A couple of years ago, while he was still hopeful of getting the Democratic nomination for the presidency, Senator Edward Kennedy was one of the chief supporters of national health insurance. In fact, he introduced a bill that would have come somewhere near providing such medical protection for every American citizen. Representative Martha Griffiths of Michigan introduced a companion bill in the House.

Kennedy took his subcommittee of the Senate Health and Welfare Committee on a tour, interviewing many people who had become bankrupt after major illnesses had struck their families. He wrote a book, *In Critical Condition*, in which he publicized these cases. He ended each chapter with an italicized list of what Americans need and would get under his proposed national insurance.

Those bills, along with another introduced by Representative Wilbur Mills and still another by the administration, died of starvation in the pigeonholes in committee rooms to which they were assigned.

The 1972 elections were over.

Now Kennedy is looking to 1976—another presidential election year. So he (and Mills in the House) have introduced new "national health insurance" bills in the two houses of Congress.

Under the Kennedy-Mills versions of "national health insurance" (compulsory) the covered worker would have to pay the first \$1,000 of the family's annual medical expenses, except for prenatal care and preventive dental care for children. Then the so-called national health insurance would become effective.

Nixon, with an eye toward softening up the public and making himself look like a good guy despite Watergate, also introduced an equally fraudulent "national health insurance" act just ahead of Kennedy-Mills.

Nixon was even more conscious of one of the most powerful lobbies in Washington—the insurancelobby. Under the Nixon bill, the first \$1,500 would be

paid by the insured (voluntary).

While differing on how to collect the premiums, both the Nixon and the Kennedy-Mills bills would provide that the insurance itself be purchased from private health insurance carriers.

According to Richard Lyons in the April 3 *New York Times*:

"Both plans would pay doctors' fees and hospital bills, subject to certain deductibles and co-insurance features that differ slightly." These same private corporations would "collect co-insurance and deductible funds, determine if bills submitted were valid and fair, and disburse payments."

"... Senator Kennedy pointed out that if the new proposal were enacted, the private health insurance companies would probably sell *additional policies to pay for those payments the plan would not cover.*" (Emphasis added.)

So far there is no way of knowing what these "certain deductibles and co-insurance" are, but as for most Medicare recipients, the fine-print clauses will be many.

Why can't this country, the richest in the world, provide its citizens with the means to health as a *right*? Because the capitalist government won't touch the profits the insurance companies, the doctors and dentists, the hospital supply corporations, and the pharmaceutical industry now reap from America's fast-growing list of human miseries. Profit is the name of the game.

Not that either the Nixon or the Kennedy-Mills bills would disturb that picture. Both so-called national health insurance plans make full provisions to assure that profit will remain paramount, health secondary.

Nixon, Kennedy, and Mills don't have to worry about paying their medical bills. To any one of them \$1,500 or \$1,000 is chicken feed—or something you take out of petty cash.

But to the average American wage earner, fighting inflation in an ever-losing battle, a \$1,500 or \$1,000 annual medical bill is catastrophe.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Coffee, tea, or equal rights?

"Just imagine starting a day of work that might take you to the beaches of Acapulco, the skyscrapers of Sydney, or the sugar cane houses of Fiji," reads a recruiting brochure for airline stewardesses.

A more truthful brochure might read: "Imagine a job where you have to cultivate an image as an airborne playboy bunny; put up with sexist jokes and manhandling; pretend you are uneducated, apolitical, and have a slave mentality. You'll be rewarded with low pay, hard work, irregular hours, petty harassments, and be worse off than your male co-workers to boot!"

Stewardesses are skilled workers, trained in the safety requirements of flying as well as basic medical techniques. For beginners, they can deliver babies, treat diabetics and epileptics during seizures, and evacuate a burning plane in 90 seconds. But the women are neither paid nor respected for that kind of work, because airlines concentrate on the "sex symbol" image of airline stewardesses.

The recruiting brochures are quite blunt. Airline stewardesses must be young, single, have a "glowing complexion," "pretty smile and excellent teeth." She cannot wear glasses, look "stocky," or bite her nails. In addition, the women must meet very strict height and weight requirements. In some cases the weight requirements are at least 10 pounds below the figure the American Medical Association says is healthy. For a stewardess 5 feet, 9 inches tall, for instance, the maximum weight is 135 pounds.

So when a federal judge on April 5 ordered Northwest Airlines to pay back salary and interest to all stewardesses who have been fired since 1965 for being overweight, the women had won an important battle. The court decision also prohibits Northwest from weighing the stewardesses in the future or even suggesting to them they are too heavy.

The ruling by a U. S. district court found the air-

line in violation of the Equal Pay Act and the Civil Rights Act. It further ordered the airline to pay back salary to women who since 1968 have received less money than men doing the same job and to reimburse stewardesses for each time they were forced to share a hotel room with another stewardess during layovers while male-coworkers were given a single room.

There are more battles to come. In 1971 the airlines were forced by a court decision to hire men as flight attendants also. Already the special treatment afforded these men is being challenged by the female stewardesses. For instance, married women are not hired, while married men are. Women are required to take classes in posture and makeup, the men are not. The women are overlooked for promotions in deference to the men.

Last, but not least, is the fight against the sexist advertising of the airlines. In 1971 National Airlines launched its "Hi. I'm Cheryl. Fly me to Miami," ads. Not to be outdone, Continental Airlines announced a new advertising slogan: "We really move our tail for you."

Continental, pretending innocence, claims the slogan is a logical extension of its "proud bird with the golden tail" slogan and applies not just to stewardesses, but pilots, mechanics, and chefs as well. The stewardesses know better. At the official presentation of the new campaign in Dallas, stewardesses staged a walkout.

In an attempt to pacify the stewardesses, Continental has suggested some "sharp rejoinders" for a stewardess to use when an "overplayful" passenger asks her to "move your tail." A sample answer: "Why? Is it in the way?"

An answer like that would really knock your average sexist dead, wouldn't it? I'm sure the stewardesses have thought of some much better ones!



Stoical Joseph—Elaborating on the pope's recent thesis that the Virgin Mary may have been an early women's liberationist, Father Henry Fehren adds that Joseph was no "male chauvinist pig." Writing in *The Catholic*, Reverend Fehren said it took a lot for Joseph to accept the fact that his fiancée was pregnant by the Holy Spirit, and then to wed her and remain celibate. Joseph's graceful acceptance of Mary's decision "to do her own thing," may qualify him as "patron saint of women's liberation," the father said.

So are the tapes—"Patience on Tapes Wearing Thin, Panel Warns President"—news headline.

Bon appetit!—Food and Drug Administration chief Dr. Alexander Schmidt says 49 percent of our food is now prepackaged, either in frozen or dried

form, and by 1980 it will reach the two-thirds mark. "We don't know how much of this food will be manufactured," he said, "but we do know that some chemical and pharmaceutical companies are making large investments in artificial hams, artificial cheeses, and similar new types of food."

A little something for everyone—Senator Edward Kennedy said racism stains every aspect of American life, but that it can be removed "if only we have the will to do it." He said that at a New York memorial meeting for Martin Luther King, not at that Alabama rally where he shared the platform with George Wallace.

The intelligence market—The Xerox Corporation has developed a spray dye to prevent documents from being xeroxed. You can read through it,

but when you put the document in the copying machine, the special green light used for reproduction causes the dye to flash, sabotaging the copying process. One report has it that the company is also developing a copier that doesn't use the green light.

Your tax dollar at work—If you think it was expensive to decorate that rumpus room, consider poor Carl Albert, speaker of the House. It cost him, or more precisely us, \$31,650 for new carpeting for his offices, \$21,000 for drapes, and \$44,000 for chandeliers.

Nothing to it—Harriet and Stan Getz (income well over \$50,000 net) are responding creatively to the inflation thing. They're now playing the stock market and using the dividends to pay the higher grocery bills. "We really haven't deprived ourselves of anything," they confided to *Newsweek*.



And hail to you, too, Chief . . .

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Hooray for Hammerin' Hank!

"He has good hands, also quick hands, gets ball away fast and accurately. . . . For a baby-faced kid of 18 years, his playing ability is outstanding." That was how a scout for the Boston Braves once described the baseball potential of Henry Louis Aaron.

During the 22 years that followed, capped just last week, Aaron's quick hands clicked with his strong arms and sharp eyes to make him baseball's greatest home run hitter.

It was a fastball off Dodger pitcher Al Downing blasted over a left-center-field fence that sent a hometown crowd in Atlanta into an 11-minute delirium and enabled Hammerin' Hank to surpass the Sultan of Swat himself, Babe Ruth, with 715 homers.

But the climb to the top for the spry, nimble outfielder with a chessy cat grin has sometimes been as tough as a three-and-two pitch with two outs and the bases loaded.

Aaron was born in 1934, 13 years before Jackie Robinson broke the color line and became the first Black to play in major league baseball.

In those days of white is right, it didn't matter how much talent you had. If you were Black, you simply had to stay back. There was the Negro American League, and Aaron barnstormed for its Indianapolis Clowns for \$200 a month before he was scooped up by the Braves.

As he approached the 715 mark, there were a bunch of sick fans who would rather see hell or high water than a Black man break Ruth's record.

As a result, Aaron bore the brunt of their racist abuse. He was also sent scads of hate mail (though the favorable mail outweighed it, one youngster writing: "I remember you when I bite into an Oh Henry candy bar").

"I don't mind it being mentioned every time I hit one. I suppose the newspapers have to do that. But the abuse, the resentment. . . . It's the kind of aggravation I don't have to take," said the 40-year-old Alabamian whose disposition is normally as cool as a mint julep.

One of the factors to temper Aaron's mood is the discrimination Black ballplayers have borne.

"The only stride the Black player has made is in salaries. We have been able to get some of the high salaries and that's it. We haven't been able to break the ice in any of the other areas," he said.

Case in point: 27 years after Jackie Robinson's feat, the talk of the sport today is: When a Black manager?

Although there are several Black baseball coaches, the owners seem skittish about putting a Black man in overall charge of the club.

"I don't think white players would resist taking orders from a Black manager," says Monte Irvin, who was elected to the baseball Hall of Fame after a career in the Negro leagues as well as the majors. "There are some Black quarterbacks now who give orders in football, and the other guys don't quit. Bill Russell did a good job in basketball."

"I don't think it'll be like the Jackie Robinson thing all over again," Irvin said.

But nevertheless, though a dozen or more Black ballplayers, including Hank Aaron, possess the wherewithal to manage a club, no offers have been forthcoming.

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



Raza Unida election campaigns

An article in the February issue of *La Raza* magazine makes the point that electoral activity can be used to build La Raza Unida Party. It is written by Fred Aguilar, an activist in the La Puente, Calif., RUP.

Aguilar recounts that the two campaigns the RUP has conducted in La Puente have received a favorable response from Chicanos, and for that reason can be considered successes.

La Puente is an industrial-residential, working-class suburb east of Los Angeles. There is a sizable Chicano community, although Chicanos are not the majority. In the campaign for city council, RUP candidate Ernie Porras made a good showing, coming in third out of five.

Through the Porras election effort, "the party was able to bring to surface the racist and corrupt system," writes Aguilar. They felt they had done well, Aguilar states, because now more people in the community were starting to ask questions about city government and their representatives.

In a later campaign for the local school board, RUP candidate Nellie Bustillos came in fifth in a field of eight.

One of the best methods the La Puente group has found to reach people in the community is by

carrying out door-to-door registration drives—before, during, and after elections.

Aguilar reports that registrar-activists would often find that Chicanos welcomed them into their homes for three to five hours at a time to hear about the *partido*. The activists explained, states Aguilar, "how La Raza Unida could be used as a vehicle to change the system which has not been responsive to the needs of our people and also the needs of other oppressed people."

"Some of the Anglos believed the *partido* to be a racist party," he added, "but its members explained to them the *partido*'s philosophy and why it was needed to represent the Chicano community."

The La Puente activists also feel that registration drives are important just because they help keep them in touch with the community. They now have 800 registered with the Chicano party.

This contribution by the La Puente RUP is particularly welcome, because especially in California, the opportunities for building the RUP through election campaigns have not been utilized to the fullest extent.

La Raza Unida missed a big opportunity last year by not contesting the mayoralty election in Los Angeles, which is 20 percent Chicano. Out

of 12 Democratic and Republican candidates, not a single one was a Chicano. The only Chicano candidate was Olga Rodríguez on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

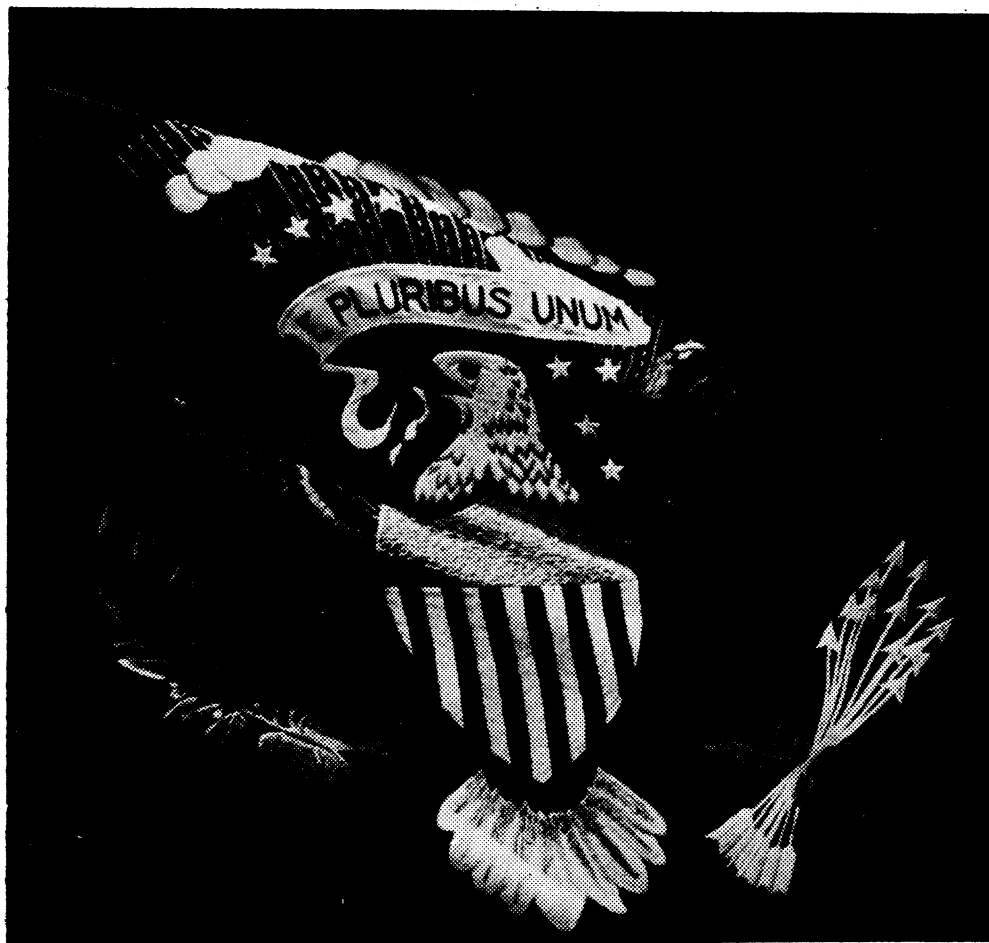
The 1974 gubernatorial race once again is a terrific opportunity to begin to establish the RUP in California, the way statewide campaigns in Texas and Colorado have established the *partido* there. Of the 30 capitalist party politicians scrambling to succeed Reagan, not one is a Chicano. Once again the only Chicano challenging that crew of fakers is Olga Rodríguez.

Her campaign is a powerful example of how independent political action can expose the Democrats and Republicans as the defenders of racist oppression and exploitation. She is getting a good response to her call for Chicanos and other working people to rely on their own struggles and to organize independently of the capitalist parties.

As Aguilar concludes, "Many people have said that the electoral process is not the answer to the problem or the means to use, but we in La Puente believe that the electoral process can be used as an effective means of bringing awareness and uniting our people toward a common goal to change the system."

Reply to ultralefts

Watergate & capitalist 'democracy'



In place of our regular World Outlook section, we are reprinting this week a special feature from Intercontinental Press on the Watergate crisis and the basic questions it raises for socialists.

Previous issues of *The Militant* have taken up the analysis of Watergate made by the Communist Party and by the Maoist groups in the U.S. pointing out their errors. In the following article, Allen Myers explores the twists and turns of the Workers League, the tiny ultraleft sect that publishes the *Bulletin*. The Workers League is in political solidarity with British sectarian Gerry Healy, head of the pseudo-Trotskyist Workers Revolutionary Party.

As Myers points out, the views of the U.S. Healyites exert such a negligible influence on the radical movement that they are generally not worth commenting on. Their analysis of Watergate, however, does raise important questions because they spell out so clearly misunderstandings that are shared by other groups on the left.

The following article originally appeared in the March 25 *Intercontinental Press*. It has been abridged somewhat for reasons of space.

The Watergate scandal, because it is unprecedented in U.S. history, has provided the various groups claiming adherence to revolutionary Marxism with an unusual opportunity to demonstrate their capacity to analyze a major political event and to advance a correct course of action in relation to it.

Particularly tested—and found wanting—have been the ultraleft organizations that under more normal circumstances mask their inability to relate to major political events with "intransigent" rhetoric. In the December 17, 1973, issue of *Intercontinental Press*, I described how their misunderstanding of Watergate was leading some of these groups on a reformist course.

This was especially clear in the case of the Workers League, the U.S. followers of Gerry Healy. I pointed out then that the Healyites, by their panicky acceptance of the liberal contention that Nixon's crimes are an abrupt break with the "American tradition" of bourgeois politics, had put themselves on the road of becoming apologists for "normal" capitalist democracy and its liberal defenders.

As a particularly telling example of where their errors were leading them, I cited the Healyites' attempt to provide a left cover for George Meany

and the other bureaucratic misleaders of the AFL-CIO when the latter broke their shaky alliance with Nixon and called for his impeachment in order to ease their return to the Democratic party fold. The Healyite paper, the *Bulletin*, on that occasion went so far as to say that "refusal [by the bureaucrats] to act against Nixon now would amount to the greatest betrayal in the history of the labor movement."

Unfortunately, rather than correct their errors, the Healyites have decided to pursue them no matter where they lead. In the January 25 and February 5 issues of the *Bulletin*, a two-part article by Melody Farrow takes the Workers League several steps further on its rightward path. The Healyites seem determined to demonstrate the truth of Lenin's observation that ultraleftism and opportunism are two sides of the same coin.

Farrow's article, billed as an "answer" to the Socialist Workers party (SWP—the U.S. Trotskyist organization) and specifically to my articles in *Intercontinental Press* and two articles by Les Evans and Cliff Connor in the December *International Socialist Review*, adopts the old debater's trick of accusing others of one's own failings. Thus, while defending the Healyite support of Meany's return to the Democratic party, Farrow accuses the SWP of "a very conscious turn towards alliance with the 'progressive' section of the labor bureaucracy and the liberal Democrats."

It is unlikely that Farrow herself believes the slander; her chief "evidence" in support of it consists of the assertion that the SWP does not mean what it says.

If it consisted only of that slander, Farrow's article would not be worth noting. However, the bulk of it consists of an unwitting demonstration of the Healyites' largely unconscious adaptation to reformism and liberalism. Since this adaptation is based in part on misunderstandings that have some currency outside the ultraleft sects, it may be useful to discuss them in some detail.

48-hour 'dictatorship'

What does Watergate reveal about U.S. capitalist democracy? In my series "Behind the Watergate Scandal," particularly in the November 26 and December 3 issues of *Intercontinental Press*, I argued that the continually increasing need of U.S. imperialism for a centralized and powerful executive was in conflict not only with real democratic rights but even with the

myth of bourgeois democracy.

Farrow, on the other hand, opens her article by revealing that the Healyites have extensive illusions about the ability of capitalism to provide and protect democratic rights. The SWP, she writes, is engaged in "a polemic against the Workers League and any tendency that sees in the Watergate events a threat to the democratic rights of the working class."

"The SWP has gone to great lengths to demonstrate that Nixon's actions in Watergate do not represent any significant departure from the traditional methods of capitalist rule in this country."

"They have concluded that Watergate merely reveals the 'undemocratic' nature of capitalism and attacks [sic] the repeated warning of the Workers League that the political methods of Nixon were a sharp move towards one man dictatorship."

It is true that we think that capitalist government is essentially undemocratic—without quotation marks. As long as capitalist government exists, none of the democratic rights won by the working class and its allies will be secure. The U.S. ruling class continually attempts to restrict democracy to the maximum extent possible without provoking a massive defensive response by the working class.

Elementary Marxism

The Healyites have forgotten this rather elementary Marxist lesson. The disagreement is not over whether Nixon poses a threat to democratic rights, but whether his threat is qualitatively different from that inherent in any U.S. bourgeois government. Farrow's answer is clear: To the Healyites, Watergate reveals a "significant departure from the traditional methods of capitalist rule in this country."

To show how the Healyites go wrong on this question, it will be useful to take a more detailed look at Nixon's supposed "move towards a one man dictatorship" as they portray it.

Farrow writes: "It is not, as the SWP states it, that we see a dictatorship already established and all rights eliminated. It is a question of warning the working class of the dangers in order to prepare it for the new political tasks it now faces in order to build the revolutionary movement." (Emphasis in original.)

Before correcting the SWP's misunderstanding of the Healyite position, Farrow might do well to circulate the quoted paragraph to the *Bulletin* staff, along with a request to avoid asser-

tions such as "the military has gained almost absolute power within the inner councils of the government." (*Bulletin*, January 15.)

Moreover, Farrow informs us a few paragraphs earlier that we have already survived a Nixon "dictatorship." She gives the following evaluation of the "Saturday Night Massacre" of last October, when Nixon put forward his phony "compromise" plan on the White House tapes and fired the special prosecutor, attorney general, and deputy attorney general:

"It was at this moment that a sharp break took place. What had been up to that point a series of gradual changes in the role of the president suddenly turned into a sharp and open clash between Nixon and Congress and the Constitution. In that 48 hours Nixon did in fact rule as a dictator."

The reality was considerably less

Bulletin NOW TWICE A WEEK!

**WE WILL NOT ACCEPT
DICTATORSHIP!**

By defining the crime and indicting the Watergate investigation, the Healyites moved to establish the fact of dictatorship in the United States. The fact of dictatorship is the fact of the rule of the ruling class. The fact of dictatorship is the fact of the rule of the ruling class. The fact of dictatorship is the fact of the rule of the ruling class.

Shortly after this Oct. 23, 1973, issue, *Bulletin* was able to assure its readers that 'dictatorship' had been 'weakened,' thanks to Congress, prosecutor Cox, the media, and the courts.

dramatic. During Nixon's 48-hour "dictatorship," Congress was not in session, having adjourned for the weekend. Nixon, far from clashing with that body or its members, secured the agreement of three prominent senators—Sam Ervin and Howard Baker, chairman and vice-chairman of the Senate Watergate committee, and John Stennis of Mississippi—to the phony "compromise" before announc-

Continued on following page

'... vast powers in Nixon's hands are



ROCKEFELLER: Lost his voice in U.S. government, according to Workers League.

Continued from preceding page
ing it publicly.

But during the weekend that looms so large in the Healyite view, Nixon did have vast powers concentrated in his hands. This authority is not mentioned by Farrow, but a Senate committee study of presidential powers described them as including "the power . . . to seize property, organize and control the means of production, seize commodities, assign military forces abroad, call reserve forces amounting to 2.5 million men to duty, institute martial law, seize and control all means of transportation, regulate all private enterprise, [and] restrict travel."

To this already impressive list should be added the not insignificant power to destroy the human race by launching nuclear, chemical, and bacteriological warfare.

If one wanted to argue that Nixon was a dictator during the weekend of October 20-21, 1973, his access to the powers cited would seem more impressive evidence than his unsuccessful attempt to put over a phony compromise and his dismissal of three appointees, neither of which actions "clashes" with the Constitution.

Why does Farrow not cite these far more convincing facts? Precisely because the vast powers in Nixon's hands, far from being a "departure," are an absolutely inescapable aspect of the "traditional methods of capitalist rule in this country."

The Healyite hysteria about a Nixon dictatorship thus turns into a "left" apology for the very real and very serious danger to the rights—and even the very existence—of the working class inherent in the "traditional methods" of rule of the capitalist class in the United States. Moreover, in exaggerating the conflict between Nixon's course and the traditional methods and institutions of capitalist rule, the Healyites go even further, implying that those methods and institutions can serve to protect democratic rights.

Who toppled the tyrant?

After all, if Nixon was in fact a dictator for two days, it is necessary to explain how the dictatorship was overthrown. Farrow does not deal directly with this question. However, at the time, the Workers League Political Committee issued a statement assessing

the state of the Nixon presidency.

The statement, which was printed in the October 30 *Bulletin*, described the "dictatorship" that Farrow claims existed only a week earlier as a "weakened and crisis-ridden government." Contrary to the usual Healyite practice, the statement did not invoke a nonexistent mass movement of the organized working class to explain the abrupt transformation of Nixon's presidency. In fact, the only mention of the working class is in the future tense, in a call for the unions to organize demonstrations demanding Nixon's resignation.

To whom, then, do the Healyites give thanks for the salvation, even if only temporary, of working-class democratic rights? Presumably to the individuals and groups mentioned as responsible for weakening the Nixon government. In their entirety, these were Congress, which was confronting Nixon in "a head-on clash"; fired special prosecutor Archibald Cox; the "news media, which like Cox have been relentlessly hounding Nixon's trail"; the American Bar Association; and Assistant Attorney General Henry Petersen, Judge John Sirica, and acting Attorney General Robert Bork.

Were they not blinded by their own rhetoric, probably even the Healyites would be able to see that their list would hardly constitute a very effectual leadership of an antidictatorial movement even if there were a dictatorship, such as they describe, to oppose and even if these groups had the inclination to oppose it.

Split in ruling class?

We may anticipate that, had she been aware of the contradiction in the Workers League position on this question, Farrow would have attempted to explain it away by reference to more powerful bourgeois forces behind the opposition to Nixon, basing herself on the major split that the Healyites claim to have discerned in the U.S. ruling class.

There are of course at different times disputes of varying intensity within the U.S. ruling class. As I noted in the December 17 article to which Farrow takes such exception, the only question on which the ruling class has a completely monolithic view is the desirability of maintaining its own power.

Such disputes as arise generally concern merely tactical questions, important as these may be. Consequently the groupings in these ruling-class debates tend to be fluid. The alignments in a debate on Indochina policy, for example, are not automatically duplicated in ruling-class discussions on policy in the Arab East or on dealing with the Watergate scandal.

Neither is it possible to draw a one-to-one correspondence between the different positions in these tactical debates and specific economic groupings. The holdings of the major ruling-class families are often so diversified that a policy that reduces the value of one portfolio may increase the value of another.

Disregarding this reality, the Healyites deduce from Watergate a deep and more or less permanent split in the ruling class along strictly economic lines.

To accept Farrow's description of this supposedly fundamental split would absolve the dominant sector of the U.S. ruling class of responsibility for the policies of the Nixon administration. Before considering this point, it is necessary to dispose

of some sleight-of-hand tricks Farrow uses to defend her analysis of the differences in the ruling class.

Cowboys & yankees

In the December 17 *Intercontinental Press*, I cited the major contributors to Nixon's 1972 campaign to demonstrate that his backing represented a very broad cross section of the U.S. ruling class—contrary to the position of the Healyites, the Communist party, and the Maoists, all of whom maintain, with slight variations, that Nixon represents the "cowboy" sector (Western and Southern new capital) of the U.S. ruling class in opposition to the "yankees" (the older, primarily Eastern, established capital). Farrow makes a brief bow in the direction of reality by acknowledging:

"It is true that at the time of Nixon's election campaign in 1972, he was supported by the capitalist class as a whole."

However, the Healyites consider it bad polemical style to admit that an opponent could ever be right about anything, so Farrow immediately attempts to take back with one hand what she has just given with the other. A rather lengthy quotation is necessary to give the full flavor of the resulting confusion:

"But it cannot be denied that those who have been traditionally closest to Nixon are the get rich quick speculators whose fortunes are largely the result of financial wheeling and dealing."

"This includes men like Bebe Rebozo, Robert Vesco, and Arnholt Smith, all under investigation for their shady financial empires, men who have carefully prepared and financed Nixon's rise to power."

"But it also includes all the major industries that mushroomed during the postwar boom, particularly the most corrupt monopolies like the oil and gas corporations."

"In fact, many of the traditional corporations only backed Nixon's 1972 campaign reluctantly and were practically forced to donate funds."

Nixon has indeed been "traditionally close" to men like Rebozo, Vesco, and Smith. But in 1962 his "cowboy" ties proved insufficient to win him election as governor of California. Nixon's political career appeared finished at that point precisely because



REBOZO & NIXON: 'Cowboys' hold White House reins now, say Healyites.

he had not been able to win any enduring support from broader layers of the capitalist class. At that point he abandoned his California base and started over again in New York: as a law partner of John Mitchell, Nelson Rockefeller's personal attorney.

That Farrow is not totally unaware of this part of Nixon's career is indicated by her attempt, in the third paragraph quoted, to amalgamate the oil and gas monopoly corporations with the Rebozos, Vescos, and Smiths.

Not only the oil interests are amalgamated with the "cowboys," but "all [!] the major industries that mushroomed during the postwar boom." Does Farrow know of any significant number of major industries that did not mushroom during the postwar boom? When major industries stagnate or decline, the situation is not called a boom, but a recession or depression.

'Dialectical' leap

In attempting to prove her point, Farrow has thus combined the two wings of the ruling class whose mutual antagonism she was trying to demonstrate. This "dialectical" leap is about as useful in explaining Watergate as is Mao Tse-tung's dictum "Two merge into one."

Since this is not what she is supposed to prove, Farrow immediately divides one into two again by asserting that the "yankee" corporations were "practically forced" to contribute to Nixon's campaign.

Nixon's fund raisers did round up large sums by methods that in some cases were clearly extortionate. This happened most frequently with corporations or individuals who needed a favorable ruling from some agency or were in trouble with the government. It is precisely newer capital, rather than established capital, that is most likely to find itself in such a position relative to the government, and, in fact, most of the cases of extortion by Nixon fund raisers that have been exposed involved cowboys rather than yankees.

The dairy cooperatives that gave \$400,000 in exchange for a price-support increase were formed only over the last two decades; Howard Hughes, the richest of all the cowboys, had to make a payoff to win Justice Department permission to acquire another hotel; most of the corporations that admitted illegally donating company funds were cowboy-type firms such as the smaller, independent oil companies. And then there is Robert Vesco, cited by Farrow as the example of the sort of cowboy to whom Nixon is "traditionally closest." Vesco was shaken down for \$250,000 in exchange for promises to help him out of difficulties with the Securities and Exchange Commission. Once the money was paid, Vesco, with reason, obviously felt that he had been double-crossed; while the Nixon gangsters manipulated the SEC to conceal Vesco's contribution to CREEP, they did not stop Vesco from being formally charged with looting the mutual fund company he headed. Yet Farrow would have us believe that operators like Vesco are more influential in the Nixon administration than the established capitalist families.

One outcome of all this confusion is that Farrow comes to the position of apologizing for the yankee capitalists.

"It is also clear [!]," she writes, "that it was the established section of capitalists who made the decision to discredit Nixon by bringing out every detail of the Watergate scandal such

an inescapable aspect of capitalism'

as the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* newspaper interests." (Emphasis added; grammatical and political confusion in original.)

No, Melody Farrow, that is not true, no matter how strongly your theories tell you it ought to be true. In the first place, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* were not at all equally involved in breaking the scandal; the *Times* reported very little that had not been reported elsewhere until the scandal had already begun to break out of control.

'Independent' press?

More importantly, if you really believe that those two papers have brought us or intend to bring us "every detail" of the scandal, then you are laboring under a liberal illusion about the "independence" of the bourgeois press. There are many very significant details about Watergate that have been hushed up by the press and more that will remain so: The use of provocateurs against the antiwar, Black, and socialist movements; what really happened, and on whose orders, at Kent State University; who in Congress was informed about the "secret" bombing of Cambodia; the other activities of the plumbers unit. These are a few of the examples that spring to mind. Even Farrow could probably think of some more.

The nonsense about the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* is only a prelude to further absurdity. Farrow goes on to tell us that Nixon has excluded the most powerful sectors of the capitalist class from influence over the government:

"Nixon set up a select group of military men and advisors with no traditional ties to the government who now make all decisions.

"The major corporation leaders who have always influenced the government through connections with Congress, the courts, and the entire government bureaucracy have now become concerned they have no voice in the government."

If that "concern" really existed, it would be worthy of study as an unusual incidence of mass psychosis affecting the commanding strata of U.S. capitalism. Unfortunately, however, the flight from reality is by the Healyites, not the major capitalists.

It is obvious that if the voice of yankee capital is without influence in the government, then Nixon must be pursuing policies opposed, or at least not approved, by the Rockefellers, Harrimans, Du Ponts, etc. Which of Nixon's policies would Farrow put in this category? Vietnamization? Détente with Moscow and Peking to hold back revolutions? The attempt to impose a wage freeze on the working class? The arming of Israel? She offers only one specific example of such alleged policy differences:

"Nixon's policy after the election to allow inflation to rise unchecked benefited the new section of capitalists."

We will take a closer look below at the Healyite attempt to relate Watergate to economic matters. Here we need note only two points.

First, Farrow's argument clearly assumes that with a different "policy" the capitalist government could control prices. That assumption is part of the stock-in-trade of Keynesianism, but it is not advanced by revolutionists who know the difference between Keynesianism and Marxism.

Second, Nixon's policy of restraining wages so that the working class pays for inflation—a policy followed



Athens, 1973. Washington's role in Greek coup was determined by U.S. ruling class, not 'plotted' behind their backs by Pentagon.

before as well as after the election—benefited the capitalist class as a whole, not merely the "new section."

According to the February 9 issue of *Business Week*, all U.S. corporations in 1973 raked in profits totaling \$126,500 million—a 29.1 percent increase over the 1972 figure of \$98,000 million. The sector with the greatest increase is of course the oil industry, which is dominated by yankee corporations.

Could the Rockefellers, Mellons, Du Ponts, etc. find any use for an additional "voice" in the government—except to say "thank you"?

But despite all the evidence to the contrary, the Healyites would have us believe that the yankee, or liberal, sectors of the ruling class are not responsible for Nixon's policies, that "they have no voice in the government." That sort of distortion of reality can serve only one political purpose. And that is to justify support for the capitalists on the "outside" against those "inside," those alleged to have sole control over the government.

Maoists & Democrats

The Healyites would do well to pause a moment and take a look a little further down the road they are traveling. What they would see is another group of ultraleftists, similarly frightened by their own rhetoric, in hot pursuit of the liberal wing of the Democratic party.

The Maoists of the New York weekly *Guardian* differ from the Healyites in that they proclaim Nixon a "fascist" threat rather than a mere run-of-the-mill would-be dictator. With that exception—which is not as significant as it might seem, since the Maoists have no idea of what fascism really is—there is little difference between the analyses provided by the two groups.

Writing in the February 6 issue of the *Guardian*, Carl Davidson provided another critique of the Trotskyist view of Watergate. In the process he provided a lesson, which it is to be hoped the Healyites will take to heart, of how easily ultraleft "intransigence" transforms itself into opportunism.

Davidson begins with a "left" criticism of the "right opportunists," the *Guardian's* designation for the pro-Moscow CP:

"The SWP would have a point to make, primarily against the revisionists tailing the Democratic party, if its argument rested on the difference between 'imminent danger of fascism' and 'steps toward fascism.' The right opportunists in this country have often exaggerated tactical clashes within bourgeois democracy into 'fascist threats' requiring left support for bour-

geois reformists, the most notable of which was supporting Lyndon Johnson against Barry Goldwater in 1964."

Readers who detect in Davidson's argument the implication that a truly "imminent danger of fascism" would require left support of bourgeois reformists are directly on the mark. In fact, the danger does not have to be very imminent at all to send Davidson wagging his tail behind the liberal Democrats and "right opportunists." After several paragraphs attempting to portray Trotskyists as defenders of Nixon, he writes:

"What the SWP actually demonstrates . . . is that it liquidates the question of fascism entirely under the guise of opposing the hysteria and paranoia fanned by the right opportunists. In this way they fall into the classic swamp pointed out by Georgi Dimitrov in his 1935 speech, 'United Front Against Fascism':

"Before the establishment of a fascist dictatorship, bourgeois governments usually pass through a number of preliminary stages and adopt a

number of reactionary measures which directly facilitate the ascension to power of fascism. Whoever does not fight the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie and the growth of fascism at these preparatory stages is not in a position to prevent the victory of fascism but on the contrary facilitates that victory."

However, the question is not *whether* to fight reactionary measures, which do of course facilitate the tasks of a fascist movement, but *how* to fight them. A real "united front against fascism" was never put into effect by the Stalinists. In Germany, in face of the rise of Hitler, the Stalinists refused to form a united front against fascism. Beginning in 1935, they shifted to the popular front."

This consisted precisely of what Davidson pretends to criticize the pro-Moscow CP for doing, namely tailing after the "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie. In the United States this took the form of supporting "liberal" candidates of the Democratic party.

Move over, right opportunists, and make room for the Maoists!

Pentagon spy ring

Unlike the Maoists, the Healyites have not yet reached the point of openly advocating class collaboration to meet the Nixon "threat." That is not because their analysis is superior, but because they understand less than the Maoists the logic of their position.

The *Bulletin* has already printed "explanations" of U.S. imperialism's actions and of Watergate-related events that are indistinguishable, except for their more hysterical tone, from the liberal apologetics that deny the existence of imperialism and portray the actions of Washington as the responsibility of a few "evil men." In accordance with this liberal view, the Healyites tend to locate these evildoers—except for Nixon himself—in the Pentagon.

In its January 18 issue, for example, the *Bulletin* carried an editorial en-

Continued on following page



The Marxist view of Watergate

WATERGATE AND THE MYTH OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY by Les Evans and Allen Myers. How Watergate confirms Marxist analysis of U.S. capitalism. 208 pp. \$9, paper \$2.45.

WATERGATE: THE VIEW FROM THE LEFT. Behind White House spying on Blacks, antiwar movement, socialists, and other dissenters. Anthology with an introduction by Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley. 96 pp. \$5, paper \$1.25.

THE WATERGATE CONSPIRACY: WHAT IT REVEALS ABOUT AMERICAN CAPITALIST SOCIETY by Allen Myers, Peter Seidman, and Barry Sheppard. 25 cents.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

...Watergate & U.S. ruling class

Continued from preceding page

titled "The Pentagon Plot Against the Working Class." It began:

"The discovery of a military 'spy ring' within the White House is a warning of the growing danger the working class faces as long as Nixon remains in power.

"The spying by Pentagon officials on Henry Kissinger and other members of the National Security Council and the stealing of classified documents concerns the basic rights of every worker."

Unease in Pentagon?

The *Bulletin's* explanation of the alleged connection between "the basic rights of every worker" and the protection of classified documents does not improve much on this already unpromising beginning. The editorial goes on to assert that Nixon's détente policy "created great unease within the Pentagon," which eventually concluded that it "could no longer leave the political defense of the system up to the Republican Party." Nixon, the fantasy continues, has been forced into a "new level of collaboration" with the Pentagon as the result of the Watergate scandal:

"The military has acquired enormous power in every section of the government. While they rule together with Nixon now, they will not hesitate, if they feel it necessary, to move independently and establish direct military rule."

Finally, the *Bulletin* assures us that the Pentagon chiefs are considerably more wicked than the civilian politicians:

"It was this military which plotted the coup d'état in Greece which brought another dictatorship to power and in Chile assisted the army to overthrow a democratically elected government, and then launched a reign of terror against the working class. This same military has now considered overthrowing Nixon."

Of more interest is the *Bulletin's* assertion that Nixon's détente policies caused "great unease" in the Pentagon. The Healyites do not have an inside line to the thinking of the military chiefs; the assertion is based on nothing more than acceptance of the liberal view that sectors of the U. S. ruling

For an in-depth history of the theoretical somersaults of the Healyites, the best source is MARXISM VS. ULTRALEFTISM: THE RECORD OF HEALY'S BREAK WITH TROTSKYISM. Edited with an introduction by Joseph Hansen, the 253-page collection contains articles by Hansen, Ernest Germain, George Novack, and others.

To order, send \$2.50 to National Education Department, Socialist Workers Party, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014.

class sincerely desire "peaceful coexistence" with the Soviet Union. The corollary of this view is that other sectors, and especially the troglodytes in the Pentagon, are constantly attempting to frustrate these good intentions. The Healyites, to be sure, go further even than most liberals—or writers of science fiction—in claiming that the generals have lost faith in the reliability of the Republican party as a defender of the system.

And in order to "prove" one absurdity with another, the *Bulletin* editors assert that it was the Pentagon that "plotted" coups in Chile and Greece.

In reality, if it were important to determine which organ of the U. S.

government carried out imperialism's instructions in those countries, most of the dirty work was probably done by the CIA rather than the Pentagon. But the Healyites' major mistake here is not naming the wrong instrument but confusing the instrument with the class that wields it.

For Marxists, it is elementary that the operations of the various branches of the state apparatus—whether CIA, Pentagon, Congress, president, or what have you—serve, and receive their direction from, the dominant sectors of the ruling class. But in the Healyite explanations, Nixon, the military, courts, etc. are treated as completely independent. On the increasingly rare occasions when the Healyites are reminded that there is a connection between governments and class interests, they get the connection exactly backward. We have already seen an exam-

lessly reactionary" but the working class is not among them. One of them is the notion, more popular with frustrated petty-bourgeois individuals than with workers, that "the Vietnam War, women's rights, and similar issues" are the sole concern of the "middle class" and have nothing to do with the working class.

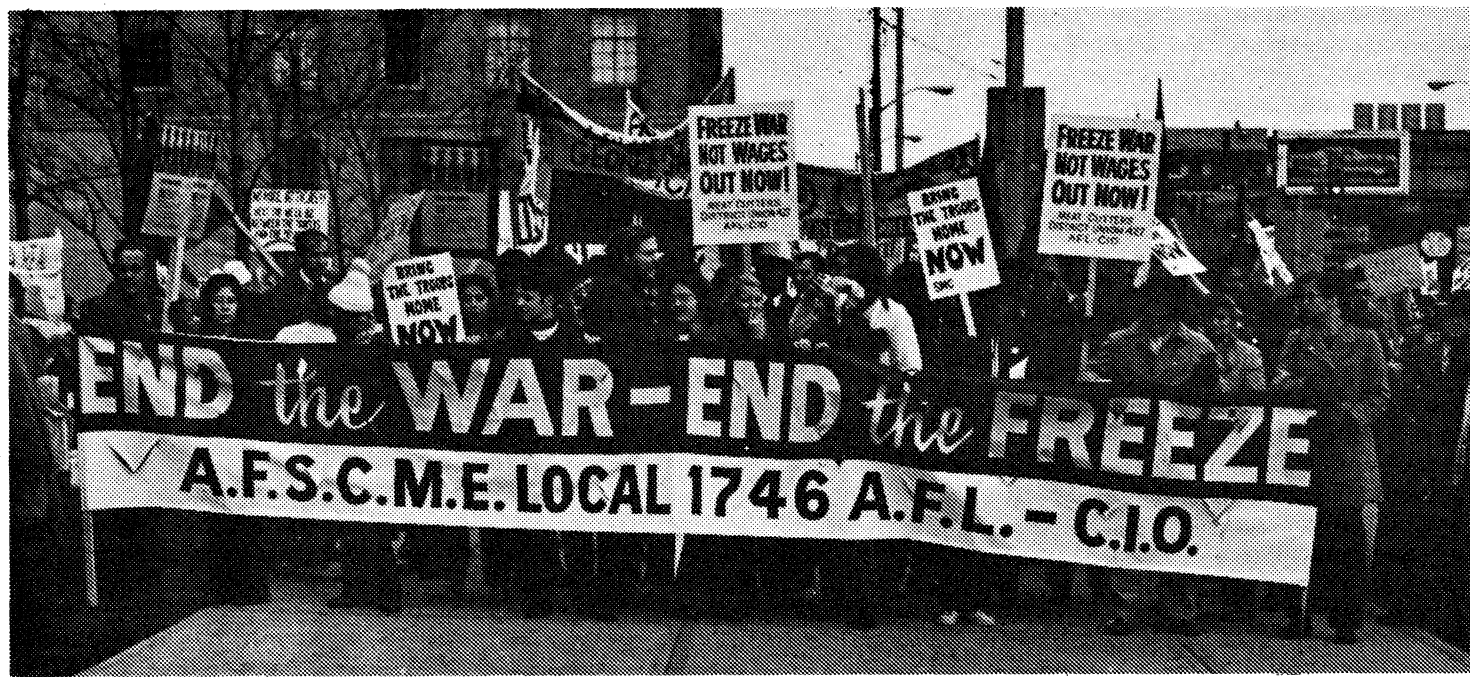
The SWP is justly proud of its role in the antiwar, nationalist, and feminist movements against capitalist oppression.

Moreover, the Trotskyists have recognized that these movements would have profound effects within the labor movement: speeding the molecular processes of radicalization, drawing sectors of organized labor into political struggles independent of the capitalist parties, and providing impetus for the formation of rank-and-file bodies (Black caucuses, women's caucuses)

rhetoric—to the point that nearly every issue of the *Bulletin* now declares that some part of the United States is in a state of "civil war" or that a strike poses the question of the working class immediately taking state power.

By the time the Watergate scandal began to unfold, the Healyites had convinced themselves that the fantasies of the *Bulletin* mirrored reality. Watergate was incorporated into their system of illusions as the culmination of the long-awaited "real" crisis. After all the *Bulletin* reports of "civil war," it would have been an anticlimax to declare that the scandal represented anything less than the imminence of "dictatorship."

Here was the "real" crisis suddenly before them; the bourgeoisie was about to impose a brutal dictatorship; and the Workers League was obviously too small and insignificant a group to prevent the catastrophe. They had no-



Militant/Herman Kirsch

Far from being a 'middle-class' issue, struggle to end war in Vietnam was deeply in interests of U.S. working class

ple of that in Farrow's argument that Nixon's rise to the presidency means the dominance of cowboy over yankee capital rather than Nixon's acceptability to the dominant sectors of the ruling class.

U. S. interventions in Chile, Greece, or any other country, let it be repeated, are the responsibility first of all of the dominant sectors of U. S. finance capital. Placing the primary blame on the Pentagon—or CIA or any other governmental organ—accepts the liberal argument that imperialism will cease to operate if "good" capitalists replace the "bad" capitalists in the government.

Source of errors

The Healyites' willy-nilly adaptation to reformism and liberalism stems from causes going back long before Watergate appeared on the scene. In attempting to misrepresent the positions of the SWP, Farrow inadvertently hints at the source of the Healyites' present rightward course. She writes:

"For years, the Socialist Workers Party turned its back on the trade union movement and the struggles of the working class and devoted itself to building mass middle class protests around the Vietnam War, women's rights, and similar issues.

"The fight of the Workers League for a labor party, for the political independence of the working class was ridiculed by the SWP because in their view, the working people were hopelessly reactionary."

Once again Farrow provides evidence that *Bulletin* readers are expected to be unfamiliar with the positions of those it attacks. The SWP does regard some things as "hope-

in opposition to the bureaucracies within the unions.

The Healyites, on the other hand, have consistently abstained from these movements, even evading the elementary duty of defending Vietnam against U. S. imperialism. Their "participation" in the antiwar movement, for example, consisted of occasional appearances at antiwar conferences—where they would sit in a tightly grouped phalanx to prevent the penetration of opposing ideas—to demand that the movement adopt the Workers League program. After the predictable refusal by the conferences to accept parental responsibility for such an orphan, the Healyites would return home to write *Bulletin* articles accusing the antiwar movement in general and the SWP in particular of betraying the Vietnamese.

Unable to understand what is going on around them, the Healyites have for years confined their activities almost exclusively to the production and circulation of the *Bulletin*. In order to reassure the faithful that the Workers League was not being left behind by historical events that refused to conform to its economist views, the *Bulletin* began blossoming with predictions that the "real" proletarian battles, the "real" crisis of imperialism, etc. were only just around the corner.

Spiraling rhetoric

But if you predict an event week after week and month after month, it eventually becomes necessary either to admit that your timing is a bit awry—at the very least—or to declare that the prediction has come true. The Healyites chose the latter alternative and thus caught themselves up in a spiral of constantly escalating

where to turn—except to Congress, George Meany, and the American Bar Association.

* * *

But wait! After the above article by Allen Myers was written, the Workers League demonstrated that it did indeed have one last place to turn to. The ultraleft/opportunist coin of Healyism was given another toss into the air and this time the ultraleft side landed face up. The Healyites decided to declare *themselves* the movement to oust Nixon.

Impatient at the congressional delay in dumping the president, they duly announced a march on Washington, Chicago, and San Francisco to "Force Nixon Out."

The actions occurred on March 16 and, according to the *Bulletin*, brought out 450 persons in Washington, 150 in Chicago, and 115 in San Francisco. In a dispatch from Washington that might more appropriately have been datelined Disneyland, a "Bulletin Reporting Team" called the Washington march "the biggest anti-Nixon demonstration ever held in the United States."

This estimate is in itself a telling comment on how far the Healyites have strayed from reality. Only an organization that is totally blinded by sectarianism—as the Workers League is—could conceive of contrasting a demonstration of 450 to the marches of 500,000 and more in the late 1960s and early 1970s against the war in Vietnam. Those marches may not have been "anti-Nixon" enough for the *Bulletin*, but they were "anti-Nixon" enough for Nixon and the ruling class, as Watergate has shown.

Wounded Knee judge admits government misconduct but refuses to drop charges

By GREG CORNELL

ST. PAUL, Minn.—U. S. District Judge Fred Nichol has announced that he will not dismiss charges against Indian leaders Dennis Banks and Russell Means, although the government engaged in illegal wiretaps and withheld evidence from the Wounded Knee defense.

The judge's decision—a travesty of justice—was announced to a packed courtroom here April 17.

The judge claimed the government's illegal behavior was not willful.

"I can't bring myself to the conclusion that the FBI has purposely suppressed evidence," Judge Nichol told the court. "The behavior of the FBI in this case is negligent at best."

Outside the federal courthouse the defendants and defense attorneys spoke to reporters afterward, blasting the judge for not dismissing the charges.

Defense attorney Mark Lane said a new motion for dismissal would be made soon that would reveal new facts about government misconduct. "We've only seen the tip of the iceberg," he predicted.

Defendant Russell Means said Nichol was afraid to make a decision to throw the case out.

Means and Banks face felony indictments that could put them in jail for life for their leadership roles in last year's seizure of Wounded Knee, S. D.

Judge Nichol spent about an hour reading his decision.

Much of his statement was critical of government behavior before and during the trial.

"If further misconduct occurs on the part of the government," Nichol said, "I would certainly consider a renewed motion by the defendants. It is my deepest hope and expectation that such a renewal should not be necessary."

Nichol's decision flies in the face of a mountain of evidence turned up in the last few weeks that has shown the government's behavior to be not only willful but criminal.

Courtroom spectators—virtually all supporters of the defendants—listened as Nichol argued that the government had not acted in bad faith.

Yet the judge admitted that the FBI monitoring of a telephone at Wounded Knee was illegal.

"This court concludes that the sole use made of the party-line phone at



Attica Brother John Hill and Indian leader Clyde Bellecourt outside courtroom. Hill read message of solidarity with Wounded Knee defendants.

roadblock 1 was for intercepting or monitoring wire communications coming out of Wounded Knee," the judge said.

As a result of the illegal wiretap, Nichol threw a bone to the defense. He said that any exculpatory evidence—that which indicates the defendant's innocence—that arose from the wiretap should be immediately turned over to the defense.

Any inculpatory evidence—that which might indicate guilt—that was derived from the monitoring will be suppressed.

He also ruled that the prosecution would be prohibited from introducing any evidence in court that it had failed to turn over to the defense prior to March 8, 1974.

It was as though Judge Nichol was wearing blinders—in utter disregard of the facts.

In his decision, for example, he referred to the testimony of Joseph Trimbach, the FBI agent who supervised FBI operations at Wounded Knee during the 71-day seizure.

Trimbach had at first testified that he knew of no wiretapping at Wounded Knee and had never seen a wiretap affidavit. After the defense had proved that the government had wiretapped and that Trimbach had signed

an affidavit seeking "legal" electronic surveillance, Trimbach had taken the stand a second time, to change his story.

Nichol, in his decision, said that Trimbach "had forgotten" about the wiretap and the wiretap authorization affidavit.

Nichol's remark drew a mixture of laughter and mutterings from some of the spectators. It was clear that Trimbach had not forgotten but lied.

Nichol said in his decision that the transcript "proliferates with what this court considers to be negligent and impedimentary conduct of the FBI" in not complying with a court order of last October to turn over exculpatory documents to the defense.

He ordered the prosecution to assume the "responsibility" of checking the FBI's files for more documents, rather than leaving it to the FBI. He asserted that "the FBI in this case failed as a 'servant of the law.'"

Although Nichol reprimanded the government for its "delays" in turning documents over to the defense, he seemed nevertheless impressed that the prosecution was turning documents over at all.

In fact, that has been the government's strategy for keeping the case from being thrown out of court.

The prosecution has been releasing

documents to the defense in eyedropper fashion—then turning to the judge and saying, "See, we're cooperating."

But in fact, those key documents that have been extracted, in part, were gained by the defense after intensive courtroom cross-examination or through its independent research.

As Mark Lane told *The Militant* after Nichol's decision, "I think there's a lot more in the FBI files—and a lot more that happened in real life that never got into the files."

Throughout the trial, data that should have been given the defense months before has been withheld as long as possible. On the final day of the hearing into government misconduct this week, for example, the prosecution gave the defense an internal Justice Department "white paper" purporting to describe the events at Wounded Knee last year.

The defense got a copy after an FBI agent blurted out the information about a "white paper" during the hearing last week. The attorneys demanded to see it.

The white paper includes a statement that the seizure of The Bureau of Indian Affairs office in Pine Ridge, S.D., might be "justified" as an expression of Indian self-determination.

In delivering his decision, Nichol's recitation of the evidence against the government read like an "indictment," as Kunstler said later to reporters.

Defense attorney Kenneth Tilsen observed afterward that the judge's conclusion—not to drop the charges in the face of the evidence—was "the fundamental contradiction."

The defendants urge continued support of their defense effort, demanding that the frame-up trial be stopped.

At an impromptu news conference after the judge's decision, defendant Dennis Banks introduced John Hill, a defendant in the Attica revolt and an Indian. Hill read a statement saying, "The Attica Brothers have vowed complete solidarity with our brothers and sisters" at Wounded Knee.

Hill, who is with the Attica Brothers Legal Defense in Buffalo, is on a tour in Minnesota sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund.

Dennis Banks, in a brief statement to the press, linked Kent State, Attica, and Wounded Knee together, calling them "identical struggles." His remarks drew cheers from the supporters that surrounded him.

...Boston racists attack school desegregation

Continued from page 28

schools, 36 percent are Black, although Blacks comprise only 16 percent of the city's population.

A National Education Association report released last fall found that Boston has the worst record among the nation's major cities in hiring Black teachers in proportion to Black students.

Because of the segregated nature of the schools here, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare ruled a year ago that Boston schools violated sections of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The ruling forced the cutoff of some federal funds.

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act says that systems operating dual schools are not entitled to certain federal funds. Boston was found to be maintaining separate grade structures, one for predominantly Black schools and one for predominantly white schools, in addition to running segregated schools.

These separate grade structures worked against Black students. Under

the state desegregation plan, all schools will convert to the same grade structure.

Meanwhile, because the school committee has thwarted school desegregation, some predominantly white schools in South Boston have become overcrowded. The quality of education at these schools has therefore dropped.

The state's desegregation plan is described as a short-term one because it is not meant to take into account changing housing patterns or new school construction.

At present, there are 68 so-called racially imbalanced public schools in the city. The state plan would reduce the number to 44. But the state education commissioner says that the number of students in "imbalanced" schools will be cut from 30,000 to 10,000.

Currently, some Blacks back the plan because they see it representing something better than the present situation.

Under the plan, approximately 10,-

000 students will be bused, and this has drawn everything from quiet acceptance to fear and opposition from many Black parents.

Blacks here vividly recall the Andrews Square incident last fall in South Boston, when a bus of Black students from the Columbia Point Housing project was pelted with bricks and bottles, preventing the students from getting off. Similar abuse and beatings have occurred, and many Black parents have grown jittery over the prospect of busing in the fall.

"I am ready to go to jail before I send my baby to South Boston," one Columbia Point mother told a reporter.

The state plan does not correct the situation. It even leaves many segregated schools. Moreover, it denies Black parents the right to send their children to a school of their choice without fear.

Under the plan, some Black students will go to predominantly white schools, but these schools may offer no educational improvement, and

state officials, not Black parents, will choose which ones.

The state plan says nothing about massive, preferential funding for Black education or Black control of the hiring and firing of school personnel. Nor will it alter the racist miseducation that is given in Boston schools.

Further, the plan does not speak to the deteriorating state of the public school system here as a whole, which is said to be among the worst in major U. S. cities.

But for now, a campaign to stop the racist drive against school desegregation must be built.

"These racists cannot be compromised with," says Gurewitz. "They must be dealt a defeat. The forces who oppose the attempt to maintain segregation in Boston must unite in independent action and take to the streets with our own demands. Action of this type can prevent the repeal of the Racial Imbalance Law and ensure that it will be implemented along lines determined by the Black community itself."

Reply to a reader

Socialists and the struggle against oppression of Jews in the USSR

One of the most valuable contributions your paper makes to the education of the American Left is in the area of nationalism and its relation to class struggle. I fully agree with your analysis of this problem in the United States, Palestine, and elsewhere.

Yet *The Militant* has been silent on the question of Soviet Jewry. It seems to me that the Yiddish population of the USSR is a nationality, and an oppressed one at that. Do the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party recognize their right of self-determination? Would this include the right to emigration to another country (Palestine included)?

Michael Kaufler
Madison, Wis.

In reply—Revolutionary socialists have always given unconditional support to the struggle against national oppression, and this includes the struggle against the persecution of Jews in the Soviet Union.

The national struggle was one of the driving forces behind the Russian revolution. Fifty-seven percent of the population of the tsarist "prison house of nations" was composed of nationalities subject to the dominant Great Russians. These included Finns, Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Georgians, Tatars, Armenians, and dozens of others. The Soviet government today recognizes 108 nationalities within its borders, of which Jews rank eleventh in numbers, with about 3.5 million.

Under tsarism, Jews were particularly oppressed; in fact, by 1917 the number of laws directed specifically against the Jews had reached 650. The Russian revolution set out to change all that. The Bolsheviks under Lenin recognized the Jewish population of the Soviet Union as a distinct nationality, and made anti-Semitic agitation and discrimination a crime.

Jews were encouraged to develop their own culture. Yiddish language schools were founded, Yiddish magazines, books, and newspapers were printed, and a Yiddish theater flourished.

Trotsky's view

Sentiment for the formation of a separate Jewish state on Soviet territory was never widespread. If a large section of the Jewish population of the



The tsar and tsarina. Nicholas II came to the throne in 1894. He took personal interest in organization of anti-Jewish pogroms, actively encouraging them.



Russian immigrants arriving at Lod Airport in Israel. While Jews inside USSR must be supported in struggle against bureaucratic oppression, in Palestine Jews are an oppressor nation.

Soviet Union demanded their own territory there, revolutionary socialists would certainly support them.

Leon Trotsky, who, along with Lenin, was the main leader of the Russian revolution, wrote in 1934 that "a workers government is duty bound to create for the Jews, as for any nation, the very best circumstances for cultural development. This means, inter alia: to provide for those Jews who desire to have their own schools, their own press, their own theater, etc., a separate territory for self-administration and development.

"The international proletariat will behave in the same way when it becomes master of the whole globe. In the sphere of the national question there must be no restraint; on the contrary there must be an all-sided material assistance for the cultural needs of all nationalities and ethnic groups."

Of course, this was totally different from the Zionist scheme to colonize Palestine. While the Bolsheviks would have supported the creation of a separate Jewish state on land taken from those nations that had oppressed the Jews, the Zionists pitted the Jewish people against another oppressed nationality, one that had had no hand in the oppression of the Jews.

The rise and consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy, however, led to the halting of the progressive measures taken by the Soviet government in its early years in regard to oppressed nationalities. As early as 1922 Lenin opposed an attempt by Stalin to ride roughshod over the objections of a group of Georgian Bolsheviks to a plan for administrative centralization.

"It is said that a united apparatus was needed," wrote Lenin. "Where did that assurance come from? Did it not come from that same Russian apparatus which . . . we took over from tsarism and slightly anointed with Soviet oil?"

Role of the bureaucracy

At first, violations of revolutionary policy towards oppressed nationalities were because of the backward prejudices and habits of the government officialdom, many of whom were former tsarist officials, as Lenin points out. This problem was compounded by the growth of bureaucracy in the Communist Party.

The approach of the bureaucracy was to operate by administrative de-

crees instead of patient political explanation. The rights and aspirations of various nationalities were subordinated to the convenience of the central administration—an administration composed largely of Great Russians.

Even under the best of conditions it would have taken decades for national rivalries and animosities to die out. This was especially true in the case of Russian anti-Semitism, given the history of pogroms, of tsarist encouragement of anti-Semitism, and of the hold of the Russian Orthodox Church on the masses of peasants.

The exclusion of the masses from political life and discussion guaranteed the continuation of national divisions.

Moreover, the bureaucracy not only stood as a roadblock to the intellectual and cultural development of the masses; it actively fostered national divisions to bolster its own rule. Writing in 1937 of the struggle against the bureaucratic degeneration of the revolution, Trotsky said:

"Not only in the country but even in Moscow factories the baiting of the Opposition back in 1926 often assumed a thoroughly obvious anti-Semitic character. Many agitators spoke brazenly: 'The Jews are rioting.'



Anti-Semitic poster put out by counter-revolutionary Russians during civil war depicts Trotsky as Kremlin ogre. Bolshevik soldiers are portrayed as being of Eastern nationalities to evoke 'yellow peril'.

I received hundreds of letters deploring the anti-Semitic methods in the struggle with the Opposition."

Or take another example: during the Moscow frame-up trials of the 1930s Zinoviev and Kamenev—Communist leaders known to the whole world by their adopted political pseudonyms—were designated as Radomislanski and Rozenfeld in order to accentuate their Jewish origin.

Forced assimilation

Today, the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy is aimed at the forced assimilation of the oppressed peoples into the Great Russian nationality. This is reflected in attempts to limit education in non-Russian languages, in restricting the circulation of non-Russian books and periodicals, and in the settlement of Great Russians among the minority nationalities.

In January 1972 an open letter protesting these policies appeared. It was signed by 17 Latvian Communists. They pointed out, "The 3,500,000 Jews residing in the Soviet Union have only one newspaper and only one magazine in their native language, and that only in their autonomous region. They are denied the right to have their own theaters, clubs, cultural and educational institutions, even in those cities where they number tens of thousands."

In a petition to the Soviet authorities in 1966 Svyatoslav Karavans'ky, a Ukrainian dissident currently serving a 25-year sentence in a Soviet prison camp, noted that "the attitude toward the Jews is the litmus paper that shows the degree of international consciousness of a given society."

Karavans'ky charged, "In Odessa, where there is a Jewish population of 150,000, there is not a single Jewish school. And the policies of admission to schools of higher learning? Again, in Odessa where the Jewish population amounts to twenty-five per cent, only three to five per cent of the Jews study in institutions of higher learning. . . .

"Can such facts advance the friendship of peoples?

"On the contrary, they help to develop in the Jews a feeling that they are an inferior nationality without equal rights, and drive them onto the road towards Zionism. And it must be admitted that never were the ideas of Zionism so popular among the

Israeli government threatens Lebanon with continued raids

By DAVID RUSSELL

Speaking April 13 in the wake of the Arab terrorist action that left 18 Israelis dead at Qiryat Shemona, Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan said: "If we cannot live in peace on our side of the border, then eventually the entire southern part of Lebanon won't be able to live in peace."

Dayan announced that houses in six villages had been blown up in an Israeli reprisal raid into southern Lebanon. "The people will find it impossible to live there," he threatened. "Their homes will be destroyed, and the whole area will be deserted."

Asked about the reported killing of a Lebanese woman and her 10-year-old daughter, Dayan claimed it was an accident. He assured reporters, "We tried to do this in a civilized manner."

Having driven 1.5 million Palestinians from their homeland, the Zionists then announce that they only want to "live in peace on our side of the border!" In search of this "peace" they have gone to war repeatedly, annexed Syrian, Egyptian, and Jordanian territory, and now threaten to make the southern part of Lebanon uninhabitable. All, of course, in the most "civilized manner."

Although the latest Israeli raid was not as murderous as the April 1973 expedition in which 40 people were killed in Beirut and a nearby town, or as earlier incidents in which villages and refugee camps have been bombed and napalmed, the aim was the same. It was designed to terrorize and demoralize the Arab peoples, and to put pressure on the Lebanese government to crack down on the Palestinian resistance groups. This latter demand, wrote Juan de Onis in the April 14 *New York Times*, is viewed in Lebanon "as an invitation to civil war."

There are 300,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon out of a total population of three million, and in conflicts between the Lebanese army and Palestinian guerrillas in 1969 and again last May, mass support for the Palestinians played a major role.

According to the Israeli communiqué on the raid, "no resistance was encountered from the Lebanese Army, which had evacuated the area." The reluctance of the Lebanese army to confront the Israelis—in contrast to its repeated attacks on the Palestinians—has prompted demands from the villagers for greater protection.

Tel Aviv attempts to justify its col-

lective punishment of whole towns and villages for terrorist actions by claiming that the people are "guerrilla sympathizers"—exactly the same justification used by the Nazis in World War II and by the U.S. in Vietnam. Although the method of terrorism adopted by some Palestinian groups is self-defeating and helps the Zionists portray themselves as victims, the real responsibility for the violence in the Mideast belongs squarely on the Israeli settler-state.

The Qiryat Shemona raid came the same day that Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir announced her resignation in the Knesset (Parliament). Meir's government was the latest casualty of the October war. The immediate cause of its downfall was the inability of Meir's Labor Party to unite on either the retention of Moshe Dayan in the cabinet or his dismissal as the key figure responsible for the military defeats suffered by Israel at the outbreak of the October war.

But underlying the debate on who was responsible for the military defeats is the whole crisis that has wracked Israel since the conclusion of the war. The war cost \$7-billion, and its economic effects are only beginning to be felt. Taxes and living costs have skyrocketed—food prices are up as much as 70 percent—and some government figures have called for an increase in the work day without any rise in pay.

The minister for posts and communications was quoted in the Israeli

daily *Ma'ariv* Oct. 28 as saying, "We must cut drastically the standard of living . . . and we must work more hours, more days, and freeze all labor contracts and wage levels."

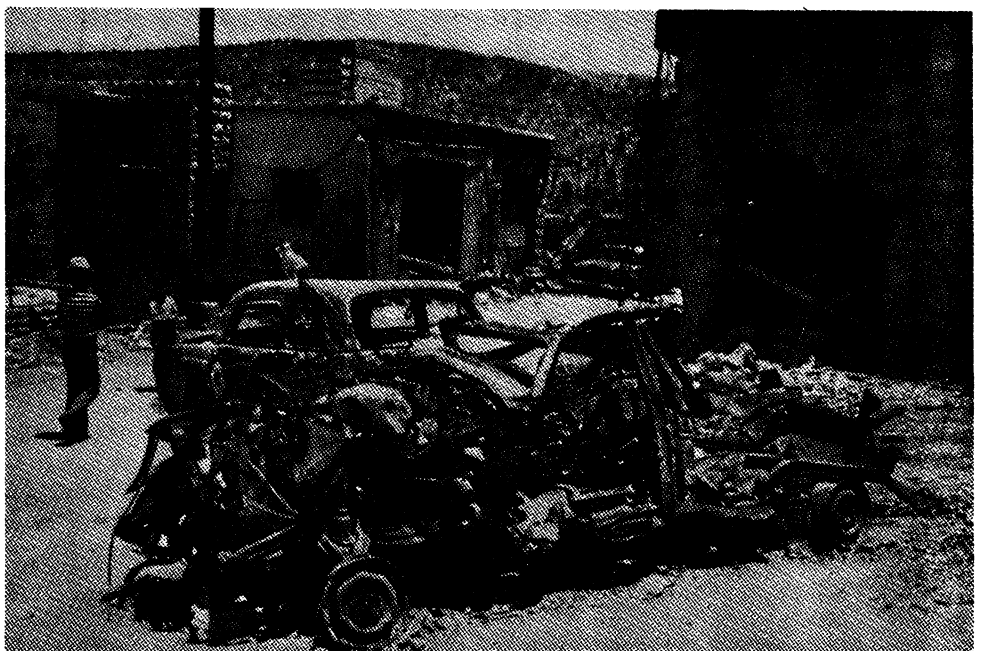
The bickering of the Israeli politicians and generals takes place against the backdrop of their need to increase attacks on the standard of living of the Israeli masses. Moreover, the illusion of military security has been punctured. A recent poll indicated that one in five Israelis between the ages of 18 and 29 was considering leaving the country.

New York Times reporter Terence Smith suggests in the April 14 issue of that paper that "new elections seem inevitable. If a strong new leader and united party emerge from them, Israel's crisis of confidence will begin to fade."

Newsweek correspondent Michael Elkins similarly argues that the problem is that "new faces and new ideas are needed. . . ."

But the fundamental problem—the ongoing war between Israel and the Arab peoples—was not caused by one or another Israeli politician, and it certainly won't be solved by elections. It was a result of the expulsion of the Palestinians and the establishment of the Israeli state.

Israel is a colonial settler-state that acts as a beachhead for imperialism in the Arab world. As long as the Palestinians are denied their right to self-determination, the conflict will continue.



Lebanese town of Hasbaya following earlier Israeli reprisal raid. Dayan's boast about Israeli government's 'civilized methods' should be judged in light of past massacres.

Jewish population as now. This is the consequence of discrimination against the Jewish minority."

Role of Zionism

As Karavans'ky explains, the policies of the Soviet bureaucracy have driven many Jews into the arms of Zionism. The Zionists, who have campaigned for the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel, are simply interested in building up the Jewish population of the Israeli state. They have no interest in fighting for the rights of Jews within the USSR. They have nothing to say to the millions of Jews—except to ask them to leave.

In contrast to the Zionists, revolutionary socialists raise a rounded program of demands designed to end the oppression of Jews in the USSR. The right of emigration is one part of this program. This is a basic democratic right, one particularly important in the case of oppressed nationalities. If individuals prefer to leave rather than live under conditions of such oppression, that is their right.

The right of Jews to leave the USSR is basically a question of relations between the oppressed Jews and the ruling Soviet bureaucracy. Socialists are opposed to the right of the oppressor to place restrictions on the oppressed.

However, the question of Jewish immigration to Palestine is one of the relation of Jews and Arabs. In this case the Jewish settlers have oppressed the Palestinians. Their right to come to Palestine should be decided on by the Palestinians.

In general, socialists favor the freedom of individuals to emigrate anywhere in the world. In the case of Palestine to day, however, the first priority must be the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian Arabs. After this is achieved, then the Palestinian people can decide on a democratic immigration policy based on capacities of the country.

While a genuine revolutionary regime in the USSR would not forbid Jews to emigrate, it would do everything in its power to educate the Soviet population on the nature of Zionist oppression and to support the Palestinian liberation struggle.

Finally, it should be noted that a strong stand in support of the rights of Jews inside the Soviet Union is not only correct from the standpoint of principle, but if adopted by supporters of the Palestinian liberation movement would be one of the most effective ways of undercutting the Zionists.

—DAVE FRANKEL

Further reading..

THE JEWISH QUESTION: A Marxist Interpretation by Abram Leon. 272 pp., \$7.95, paper \$2.95

LEON TROTSKY ON THE JEWISH QUESTION, \$.60

HOW CAN THE JEWS SURVIVE?: A Socialist Answer to Zionism by George Novack, \$.25

SOCIALISTS AND THE FIGHT AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM: An Answer to the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League by Peter Seidman, \$.60

Order from: **PATHFINDER PRESS**, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: (212) 741-0690. Write for free catalog.

No Haitian refugee deportations!

In response to government dragnet raids and deportation threats against Haitian refugees, the New York Ad Hoc Committee for the Defense of Haitian Refugees has called a demonstration and rally for April 27 in Brooklyn.

Earlier this month, Immigration authorities conducted raids throughout the Haitian community in Brooklyn and at workplaces in New Jersey. But this intimidation has not silenced the movement demanding asylum for Haitians in the U.S.

For many years, victims of the brutal Duvalier dictatorship in Haiti have fled to the United States. Since December 1972 hundreds have arrived in Florida, demanding political asylum. They have been harassed by U.S. authorities, jailed, and threatened with deportation back to Haiti,

where they would face imprisonment, torture, and execution.

The refugees are waging a legal battle over their status. Despite the fact that the question is still in the courts, Immigration authorities attempted to deport 10 refugees last month. On March 14, facing the prospect of immediate deportation, refugee Turenne Deville hanged himself in his cell in a Miami jail.

In a testament written on the day of his suicide, Deville wrote, "In Haiti's jail, there is no food, no water, one must drink his own urine, many stacked in one room. If sick, no medicine, no doctors, no shower to take bath. . . . Once there, one must be distorted. I can't go back."

Demands of the April 27 demonstration are: Asylum for the Haitian Refugees! No Deportations! Stop the Drag-

net Raids! Protesters will assemble at 12 noon at Utica Avenue and Eastern Parkway and march to a rally at Grand Army Plaza.

Supporters of the action include the Committee to Defend the Democratic Rights of the Haitian People, U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, North American Congress on Latin America, American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and New Beginnings Movement.

For more information and to volunteer your help, contact Ad Hoc Committee for the Defense of Haitian Refugees, 251 W. 80th St., New York, N.Y. 10024. Telephone: (212) 491-6580.

'The war at home': How U.S.

The War at Home: Vietnam and the American People, 1964-1968 by Thomas Powers. Grossman. New York, 1973. 333 pp. Cloth \$8.95.

By Fred Halstead

This book is a sort of liberal-"new left" version of the first half of the anti-Vietnam war movement in the U.S. It covers the period from the presidential campaign of 1964 to President Johnson's speech of March 31, 1968, when Johnson announced a partial halt to the bombing of North Vietnam and said he would not run again.

The book has two central theses: One, that the antiwar movement played an important role in forcing the Johnson administration to make these decisions; and two, that the March 31 announcement marked a fundamental turning point in U.S. policy toward Vietnam.

With the first point we can have no argument. With the second we must take issue.

Johnson's March 31 speech, according to Powers, was the point at which a strategy of escalation changed to one of disengagement in the long run. The rest of the time, from spring 1968

Fred Halstead was a central leader of the anti-Vietnam war movement. He is a member of the national committee of the Socialist Workers Party, and was the SWP's 1968 presidential candidate.

to January 1973, when the Paris accords were signed, the author views as an "end game" in which the logic of disengagement was an inexorable as the logic of escalation had been up to then.

But during the five years of on-again off-again negotiations between 1968 and 1973, the U.S. warmakers made repeated attempts to win a decisive edge militarily. It is stretching it a bit to call the invasions of Cambodia and Laos and the worst bombing in history an "end game."

Powers ignores the fact that the American ruling circles were maneuvering to disarm and disorient the antiwar movement. Their object was to turn the sentiment around to support for U.S. intervention as reasonable and justified, not to grant the people's demand that the U.S. get out of the Vietnam war.

The author views the history of the first three-and-a-half years of the antiwar movement as the story of how a movement forced to start outside the two-party system and take to the streets was able to affect the workings within that system—particularly within the Democratic Party.

But the real problem was to encourage the development of a movement of masses of the American people in action against the war, which could challenge and begin to shatter the cold war mentality that had dominated the American scene for decades. That could only be done by developing the movement as an independent power.

Anticommunism

To the author's credit, he recognizes that a key element in the cold war atmosphere was the witch-hunt



Fred Halstead speaking to May 9, 1970, antiwar rally in Washington, D.C. Antiwar movement helped break down anticommunist ideology through principle of nonexclusion.

within the U.S. In 1965, when the new anti-Vietnam war movement broke through, the anticommunism hysteria still engulfed the liberals and many radicals.

The word "hysteria" is used here advisedly and not as an epithet. It was not a question of criticism of policies of the Soviet government, or of revulsion at the crimes of Stalinism, or of honest differences of opinion or ideology. It was a question of refusing "communists" the elementary right to participate equally with others in social and political life.

(By "communists" was meant anyone in the so-called "totalitarian left." Powers repeatedly uses this epithet. Essentially it is applied to any tendency that thinks the 1917 Bolshevik revolution was a good thing.)

In commenting on the opposition of important liberals, pacifists, and radicals to the first mass march against the war in Vietnam because

Books

its sponsor, Students for a Democratic Society, did not exclude "communists" from building it, Powers says:

"The question of Communism was at the heart of American foreign policy. When all the official rhetoric had been pared to its core, the United States was fighting in Vietnam to stop Communism, or it was fighting for nothing at all. Nothing else could make sense of the origins of the war or the frequent decisions to continue it. . . .

"If opponents of the war granted the administration's basic premise, that Communism was dangerous enough to justify war, then the dispute over the war became one of detail. The movement's first task was to exorcise the fear of Communism, and thus to deny its validity as a basis for policy. To be effective, the movement had to oppose the war, not quibble over its proper conduct. To have excluded Communists from its own ranks would have fatally weakened their argument that fear of Communism was not a proper justifi-

cation for the devastation of Vietnam. The movement faced this dispute again and again, of course, but the openness of the SDS march in April, 1965, set a precedent which was widely followed."

This then was the first principle of the new antiwar movement—nonexclusion.

Unity in action

The great practical significance of the SDS call for a march on Washington against the Vietnam war on the basis of non-exclusion was precisely that it came from an organization that was viewed at that time as an accepted part of the old peace movement coalition. It allowed a unity in action that none of the small radical and pacifist groups that had opposed the war all along could inspire on their own.

The march on Washington was, unfortunately, the last great initiative taken by SDS in the antiwar movement. This default left a vacuum that the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE)—the dominant group in the old peace movement—soon attempted to fill.

Under pressure from the widespread antiwar activity, SANE dropped its previous position of refusing to deal with the Vietnam issue. It organized meetings in the summer and called a demonstration on Vietnam for November 27, 1965, in Washington. But it insisted on maintaining the exclusion policy, and consistent with this, its line on the war itself was equivocal.

As Powers puts it: "SANE was planning a thoroughly moderate demonstration of concern about, rather than unalterable opposition to the war."

SANE saw its role as working within the establishment—particularly among liberal Democratic politicians—to convince them that negotiations should begin over Vietnam. In line with this, any slogan flatly stating the U.S. should not be involved in Vietnam was considered a liability. It would shut off the friendly ear of establishment figures, all of whom accepted the basic premises of the cold war.

Thus, the slogan "Immediate Withdrawal" was to be excluded from the SANE demonstration.

But in the meantime the new antiwar movement had been having an entirely different experience in reaching out to strata of ordinary people beginning to have doubts on the war.

The call for the SDS April march had been first published in January 1965. In February, Johnson began sustained bombing of North Vietnam. In reaction to this, ad hoc committees arose across the country to organize quick demonstrations. Many of these then threw themselves into organizing for the SDS march. Teach-ins to explain the issues and win people to the new movement proliferated on the college campuses.

Committees to End the War in Vietnam or Vietnam Day Committees spread across the country. With the withdrawal of SDS from a leadership role, these independent committees became the backbone of the new antiwar movement—that is, the movement that grew up outside the exclusionary policy of the old peace coalitions.

These committees were nonexclusionary, almost always for "immediate withdrawal," and action-oriented. They accepted anyone who wanted to work against the war, including members of various radical tendencies, Democrats, independents, or anyone else. They were actually local united fronts for action against the war.

They found through experience that it was easier to appeal to the ordinary people they were reaching on the streets with a demand for getting the U.S. out of Vietnam lock, stock, and barrel than with the complicated and equivocal appeals that preoccupied the "negotiations" wing of the movement.

Powers pays little attention to the crucial debate within the movement between "negotiations" and "immediate withdrawal." He tosses it off by repeating a slander picked up from some opponents of the "immediate withdrawal" slogan that the sharp posing of this issue was an attempt by the Young Socialist Alliance to split the movement between moderates and radicals.

He fails to include the fact that within the period covered by his study, the demand for "immediate withdrawal" came to be the central demand of the major unified mass demonstrations against the war.

The Trotskyists in the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party had something to do with this development, to be sure; not by splitting moderates and radicals, but by leading the fight for the "immediate with-



JOHNSON: Forced out by mass antiwar sentiment.

antiwar movement began

drawal" wing to have its demand included and to organize itself as a national power within the broader movement.

A decisive battle in this struggle was fought out at the convention of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NCC), which took place in Washington over Thanksgiving weekend 1965—the same weekend as the SANE march.

The Trotskyists pressed to have the convention called for this particular time and place precisely to avoid "splitting the moderates from the radicals." Or to put it the hard-nosed revolutionary way: to avoid isolating the radicals from the moderates and giving the right-wing leaders hegemony.

Having the convention in Washington on Thanksgiving weekend allowed the nonexclusionary wing to organize itself and also to participate in the SANE march, which at least called for a bombing halt.

But just as it was necessary to avoid isolating the radicals from the moderates, so it was equally necessary to avoid subordinating the new antiwar movement to a renewed hegemony of the right-wing leaders. Not because the leaders of SANE were evil people.

On the contrary, they were an important part of the general antiwar thrust. But only a part, and politically the weakest part. Their political position made it impossible for them to lead a struggle for outright opposition to U.S. involvement in Vietnam—in a phrase: "immediate withdrawal."

They were talking mainly to congressmen and senators, whose immediate material interests lay in an entirely different direction. Johnson never let the Democratic and Republican politicians forget this, and they were not distinguished for their ability to forsake patronage and the financial backing of major corporations for ordinary human decency.

The activists in the independent antiwar committees and, in general, the 1,500 persons attending the NCC convention, were in a different position from the SANE leaders. Practically all of them claimed to be personally in favor of immediate withdrawal. Almost all the organizations they represented professed the same position.

The major exceptions were the Stalinists of the Communist Party and the youth group in general sympathy with it, the Du Bois Clubs. The Stalinists' hopes were centered on the same milieu with which the SANE leaders were concerned. The CP led the fight at the convention to prevent the "immediate withdrawal" wing of the movement from emerging as a national force.

Role of Trotskyists

As the Trotskyists saw it, "immediate withdrawal"—formulated at the time as the slogan "Bring the Troops Home Now!"—was at one and the same time the most popular and the most radical position. It went to the heart of the matter. It was the most effective for moving masses into action against imperialist policy.

But it was also clear that it was the radicals' position on the war that had mass appeal under the circumstances, not necessarily their views on everything else.

Powers writes: "The Trotskyists wanted to build a mass movement based

around the single issue of the war, while SDS, and the New Left in general, favored an attempt to create a broad radical movement which would emphasize other issues along with the war."

This is true as far as it goes.

The Trotskyists were concerned with the "other issues." But we knew there was not the kind of agreement on other questions that there was on the war among the groups and individuals that were active in the antiwar struggle. If a general multi-issue political program had been adopted it would have had to be that of a particular tendency, however vaguely worded. That would split the nonexclusionary wing a dozen ways.

In addition, the masses of people



1967 March on Pentagon. Trotskyists fought for position of 'immediate withdrawal' as best way to mobilize masses against U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

beginning to turn against the war were not ready to accept the general program of any of the tendencies. It was our view that to try to use the NCC convention to create a "broad radical movement" would be to isolate the nonexclusionary wing and to abandon the attempt to build a mass antiwar movement.

Powers says: "The Trotskyists were rigid in their politics and were thoroughly out of sympathy with the broader discontent of the student and civil rights movements which, in the beginning, were reluctant to accept socialism as the answer to all problems. The Trotskyists were certain they knew how to organize an end to the war and drove many of their allies half-crazy with takeover attempts."

This contains the false implication that the Trotskyists wanted the NCC convention to adopt a position favoring socialism. No. Powers has the whole thing completely upside down. The Trotskyists were "rigid" in their

resistance to any take-over for any particular multi-issue program—socialism, SDS's, the CP-Popular Front dream, Democratic Party, or any other.

Stalinist tactics

The CP's tactics were brutally simple: maintain control of the NCC apparatus. They had gained this accidentally at the NCC's formation at an ad hoc meeting at a Washington demonstration in August. With the apparatus under their control, they refused to adopt "immediate withdrawal" as a position, at the same time excluding any discussion of a national organization of antiwar committees favoring "immediate withdrawal."

Since the vast majority of those present at the convention favored "immediate withdrawal," this approach had to be accompanied by a certain dissimulation.

Hence the truly monumental campaign of slander against the Trotskyists, that we were trying to "take over" the movement. A piece of this survives in Powers's book, though it didn't survive in the movement when the two lines were tested before the ranks in the course of the next year.

In his description of the convention Powers says: "When the NCC held its first plenary session shortly after noon on Thursday, November 25, in Washington's Lincoln Memorial Congregational Temple, it was quickly apparent to those familiar with the techniques of parliamentary maneuver that the Young Socialist Alliance (Trotskyist) was attempting to take over the NCC, initially with the unwitting aid of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee."

Powers simply repeats the old "take over" slander he picked up from a press account of the time. No proof is offered and very little detail. He does not, for example, bother to mention what the parliamentary maneuver was. But I will!

The session opened with some technical announcements delivered by one of the convention staff, Lew Jones, who was also a member of the YSA. Jones announced several workshops and the rooms in which they would be held. Among these was a workshop for members of independent committees (local committees that were not local branches of national organizations such as SDS, YSA, Du Bois, etc.).

The purpose of the workshop was to discuss the formation of a national organization of such committees dedicated to "immediate withdrawal." Since no provision had been made, either on the agenda or in any one of 12 workshops, for discussion of this matter, a number of leaders of independent committees had issued a call for such a workshop themselves. This was entirely in the tradition of the new movement, where it was routine for anyone who wanted a workshop on a particular subject to call it.

That's it. That's the "maneuver." The Trotskyists had supported the creation of a form in which a question of burning interest to the delegates could be clearly and openly discussed.

Jones no sooner got the words on the workshop out of his mouth than the microphone was snatched from his hand. The Stalinists and their allies in this fight, including NCC chairman

Frank Emspak, delivered several long attacks on the initiators of the workshop, calling them splitters.

The next two days of the convention were dominated by the attempts to prevent this workshop from being held. In the end it had to be defended from those attempting to bust it up forcibly.

The argument of those opposed to the workshop was that the NCC itself comprised all the national organizations the independent committees for "immediate withdrawal" needed. That therefore, even to discuss forming a national organization of these committees was to discuss split. At the same time, when the motion was put to have the NCC adopt "immediate withdrawal," this was opposed on the ground that the NCC was a broad umbrella coordinating committee that must not adopt a position the "moderate" wing, such as SANE, could not support.

This point was, of course, in complete contradiction to the line of the Stalinists' "new left" allies in this fight—most of whom were distinctly beyond student age and not without a certain "old left" experience themselves—that the occasion should be used to launch a "broad radical movement." SANE and similar forces were not about to get mixed up in anything like that.

Results of debate

The convention battle was a costly one. Many of the young antiwar activists present were confused. I wouldn't be surprised if some of them packed their knapsacks and went home resolved never to attend another political meeting as long as they lived.

There is tragedy in that. Revolutionaries who are not concerned with winning people's sympathies are not worth their salt. But the tragedy—in the same human terms—would have been much greater if the principled battle had not been fought and if the nonexclusionary, "immediate withdrawal" wing of the movement had been buried just when it faced a truly historic opportunity to grow and influence masses of Americans.

As far as the "immediate withdrawal" workshop at the NCC convention is concerned: when it was finally held it didn't split the NCC. It established a caucus within the NCC and a regular publication called the *Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter*. This formation actually outlasted the NCC itself—whose apparatus simply refused to initiate any major antiwar actions after the one called by the convention.

The *Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter* continued on until the end of 1966, when, together with other groups, it helped to form a new organization, the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The SMC became the largest and most influential student antiwar organization in the country.

In general, Powers's account of the movement that put masses into the streets is sketchy and not always accurate. (He has me down as a leader of the Socialist Labor Party, for example, an error simply repeated from a *New York Times* article.) But his account of the effects of the mass movement in the streets on the Johnson administration is worthwhile reading.

Printers face loss of jobs as newspapers automate

By FRANK LOVELL

Negotiations for wages and working conditions in the newspaper publishing industry are stymied in two of the nation's major cities where some of the most prestigious and profitable dailies are published.

The issues in dispute stem from the new automated printing processes that have transformed the industry. At stake are the jobs of thousands of printers displaced by computerized cold-type print, and the future of the International Typographical Union, which represents the displaced Linotype operators and other printers not needed in the new electronic system.

In New York, ITU Local Number 6 concluded a four-day strike referendum April 8. Union members voted for strike action 4,662 to 590. Officials of the International union in Colorado Springs have withheld strike authorization pending further negotiations.

New York printers have been trying to negotiate a new contract with three dailies—the *New York Times*, *Daily News*, and *New York Post*—since their last contract expired more than a year ago on March 30, 1973.

Since July 27, 1972, the local union scale committee met 67 times with the publishers. Since March 29, 1973, 57 of these meetings were attended by ITU International representatives. The committee reports "very little progress . . . no results."

The publishers in the current round have secured a court injunction against the printers prohibiting job actions at the newspapers, which would strengthen the hand of union negotiators. Deprived of this weapon, the union negotiating committee is unable to persuade the publishers to budge from their first and last offer, which has the effect of phasing out the union if accepted. The temporary restraining order remains in effect until April 18, when the court will review further actions pressed by the publishers against the union.

In Washington, D.C., about 900 members of the Newspaper Guild (editorial and advertising department workers) walked out at the *Washington Post* April 8, but did not establish picket lines to close the paper.

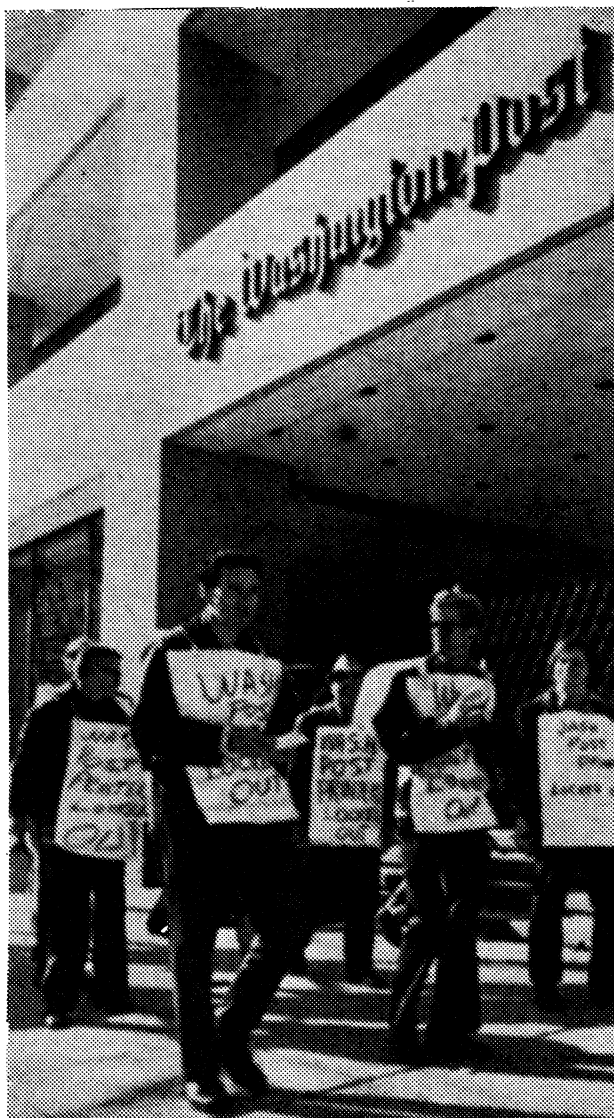
The reason given for this ineffective tactic was that Guild did not want to force Columbia Typographical Union Local 101 into a walkout. The D.C. printers, themselves involved in lengthy and sticky negotiations similar to those in New York, have been working without a contract since last Sept. 30 and continued working at the *Post* when Guild members walked out. The ITU local has tried a series of in-plant slowdowns to force the publishers to negotiate job security issues, all to no avail.

The printing-trades unions are badly divided, as revealed in a statement by the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild that implied its real reason for not picketing the *Post* is that it does not want to be morally obligated to support an ITU strike. Since ITU members work when the Guild walks out, it must be justifiable for the Guild to work when the ITU strikes. This negation of the principle of union solidarity reflects the pervasive antiunion pressure exerted by the publishers.

Other Washington printing-trades unions—Pressmen, Mailers, and Engravers—have criticized the ITU for holding up negotiations with the publishers. Members of these unions are not immediately threatened by the new computerized typesetting system, and their officials are prepared to accept the publishers' offer and disregard for the present the ultimate job-loss consequences of automation. The printers are being phased out and can no longer postpone the issue.

In New York, eight of the newspaper craft unions have accepted the publishers' offer of a \$13.85 increase in weekly wages across the board, and have signed contracts. The printers reject this wage pattern as inadequate to cover the increase in the cost of living over the past year, when they have worked without any wage adjustment, and certainly far below what is needed to meet the anticipated 10 or 12 percent jump in the cost of living for the coming year. The flat \$13.85 raise is based on the government's wage controls, which have limited raises to 5.5 percent. The cost-of-living index rose 8.8 percent in 1973, and is now rising at the rate of 15.6 percent.

Inflation makes wages a central issue in all



Printers picket Washington Post following lockout last year.

union negotiations. However, in the newspaper industry the *crucial issue* is automation, not wages. The New York ITU Local Number 6 scale committee has warned all members: "The employers demand that we surrender practically all jurisdiction of keyboarding for typesetting purposes not only to non-ITU members employed by the publishers but that, in addition, we accept keyboarding material for typesetting purposes from any and all outside sources."

From the point of view of the publishers, an article in the *New York Times* of April 12 by Damon Stetson confirms this. "The newspapers seek the right to send to their composing rooms news and advertising material in formats already prepared for entry into computers that could set type without any keyboard operation by printers."

"The union estimates," Stetson reports, "that 90 percent of its members' present work on typesetting machines, and similar keyboards would be eliminated under this plan."

The publishers proved at the *Washington Post* when they locked out the printers last year that the paper can be produced without printers, at least temporarily.

The *New York Times* and *Daily News* also have a jointly operated computerized plant that employs no printers and is capable of producing newspapers if the ITU can be isolated from the other crafts and provoked to strike while other unions remain at work.

Bertram Powers, president of ITU Local Number 6, has reported this to the membership, and a strike under these circumstances appears less likely than a lockout of printers by the publishers.

Computers cannot publish newspapers without workers, especially the Guild members who are trained to prepare copy for the computers. One of the consequences of this is that the Guild has displaced the more tightly organized ITU as the *pivotal union* in the newspaper publishing industry.

At this juncture in negotiations between publishers and unions a working alliance of printers and the Guild is the necessary combination to force concessions from the publishers. This applies in both Washington and New York. The outcome in these two cities will determine the fate of all unions in the newspaper publishing industry in most major U.S. cities for the next several years.

McDonnell Douglas—Murder, Inc.

There are many ways in which the profit system can be shown to be a system of legalized murder: the lack of medical care for those who can't pay; the destitution of those too old to work; the refusal of employers to assure safe conditions on the job, to name only a few. But this murderous underside of capitalism is largely hidden from public attention.

Sometimes this legalized murder occurs on a scale too big to be hidden. An example was the crash over Paris last month of a DC-10 jumbo jetliner. All 346 persons on the Turkish Airlines flight perished in the disaster.

These 346 people died because of conscious decisions made in the airplane corporation suites—decisions that said profits were more important than producing safe airplanes.

The DC-10 crashed because the cargo door came unlocked and flew off the plane. The loss of air pressure in the cargo hold caused the floor of the passenger cabin above it to collapse, rupturing control cables running from the cockpit to the plane's tail.

The company that produces the DC-10, McDonnell Douglas, knew very well that the cargo-door mechanism was unsafe. In June of 1972 the cargo

The American Way of Life

door flew off a DC-10 flying over the Detroit area. A crash was only narrowly averted. At that time, apparently prompted by the bad publicity, McDonnell Douglas announced it would make some changes in the design of the cargo door to make it safe. However, the DC-10 that crashed over Paris did not have these changes, even though it wasn't delivered to the Turkish airline until six months after the near-crash in 1972. McDonnell Douglas executives couldn't explain why the change hadn't been made.

What was the role of the Federal Aviation Administration in all this?

At Senate hearings on the DC-10 crash, a government official testified that following the near-crash, the FAA had made a "gentlemen's agreement" with McDonnell Douglas that the safer door design should be instituted. The FAA could have issued a mandatory order on the door design, but at the urging of the company didn't do so.

According to an account of the Senate hearings in the March 27 *New York Times*, a former FAA director testified that "he was not even sure the changes would have been made if they had been mandatory. This, he said, was because there was no regular F.A.A. follow-up even on mandatory decrees. Compliance was left, he said, to certification by the manufacturer under a system of trust he considered essential."

All the so-called regulatory agencies operate in the same way. They pose as protectors of the public interest while they act to promote the profit interests of big business. Most officials in the "regulatory agencies" come directly out of the boardrooms of the industry they are supposed to regulate, or make it into those boardrooms after their stint with the agency.

The government officials and McDonnell Douglas executives found it easy to operate according to their "system of trust" and "gentlemen's agreements" because they understand one another. They both have at heart the interests of the same class, the capitalist class and its profits.

A system of real control over corporations like McDonnell Douglas can only be forged by the working class. Representatives of the stewardesses, airline workers, pilots, and other unions would have no use for "gentlemen's agreements" with the corporations. Ultimately, the only way to stop such cases of mass, legalized murder is to nationalize basic industry, so that there is no profit motive to get in the way of safety considerations.

— CAROLINE LUND

Response to Militant 'fantastic'

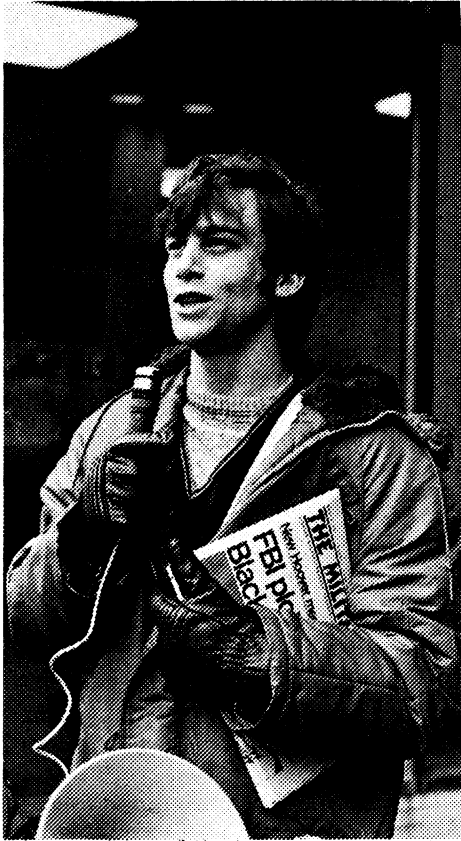
Coverage of women unionists sparks sales

By ROSE OGDEN

Interest in the founding conference of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) contributed to high sales of the April 5 *Militant*, which featured coverage of this meeting. A total of 8,712 copies were sold by the areas that sent in reports.

"The response was fantastic," reports Lenore Sheridan, Chicago sales director for the Socialist Workers Party. "Chicago is where the CLUW conference took place, and people were interested in *The Militant's* coverage. We completely sold out of this issue and want to order 25 more just to have on hand."

An Atlanta saleswoman took a copy



Militant/Janice Cline
Bernie Senter, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress from Cleveland, speaking at recent protest action.

to a local CLUW meeting. One woman from the United Auto Workers union was so impressed that she asked for 50 copies to distribute.

And Sandy DeMott from Nashville reports that "more women bought this issue than usual, and the increase was particularly noticeable among older women."

The Oakland/Berkeley Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance sold 851. "The great reception *The Militant* received in the Black community enabled us to go over our goal of 800," explains sales director Ernie Mailhot. They have the highest goal of any area.

Chicagoans also went over their goal, selling 751. They report that in addition to the good response to the CLUW coverage, interest in the back cover article headlined "Malcolm, King, Hampton: victims of FBI death plot?" also helped spur sales.

Other areas found a similar response. Atlanta sold 321 and Houston sold 370 in the Black community. And West Side Los Angeles supporters sold 50 at a Black social workers conference.

The city selling the highest percentage of their goal was Cleveland. More than 250 were sold on campuses, and another 45 at a United Farm Workers demonstration.

Reported sales of the April 12 issue (headlined "How oil trusts plotted to create fuel 'shortage'") total 7,772.

Oakland/Berkeley, Detroit, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, Athens, Indianapolis, Logan, and Nashville all met or went over their goals.

Oakland/Berkeley again sold the highest number—more than 800. They report that "plant gate sales went very well mainly because of the lead article on the oil trusts."

More than 200 copies were sold at an Angela Davis meeting in St. Louis. Sales Director Dave Walters notes that "although the bulk of them were prob-

ably sold to people who had not seen *The Militant* before, quite a few people mentioned that they were already familiar with it."

Pennsylvania campaign supporters in Pittsburgh combined a day of sales with collecting signatures to place SWP statewide candidates on the ballot. A total of 205 *Militants* were sold, and many people were introduced to the socialist campaign.

Houston reports selling 175 at parks in the Black and Chicano communities on Easter. Pedro Vázquez, SWP candidate for attorney general, sold 60 in less than two hours.

Our goal is to sell 10,000 single copies of *The Militant* each week through organized street sales. However, many *Militants* are distributed in addition to those listed on the scoreboard. Thousands are sent out to subscribers, and others are sold on newsstands and in bookstores and by supporters who do not send in weekly reports.

Some *Militants* are being used in classrooms. For example, a *Militant* saleswoman from Detroit, who teaches at a community college there, reports that she has been using *Militant* articles as a focus for class discussions.

The Texas/Louisiana Young Socialist team met a professor at a small college who had the same idea. "He wants to use *The Militant* every week in his classes," they explain. "He also said he will try to get other professors to use it too."

Members of the Upper Midwest Young Socialist team arrived on the Saint Scholastica College campus in Duluth and found that some people knew about *The Militant* already. In fact, the school newspaper had recently reprinted an editorial from *The Militant* on the energy crisis.

To help *The Militant* make its sales goal of 10,000, readers are urged to participate in weekly sales in their

cities. You can order a bundle to sell by sending in the coupon on page 27.

Requests for new bundles came in this week from the Black Unity Coalition in Knoxville and from a supporter in Little Rock, Ark.

Scoreboard below is for April 5 issue, headlined "Union women vow to fight for rights."

Scoreboard

AREA	GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	%
Cleveland	350	414	118
Lexington, Ky.	30	35	117
St. Louis	325	365	112
Chicago	700	751	107
Atlanta	500	530	106
Oakland/Berkeley	800	851	106
L. A. (West Side)	350	359	103
Athens, Ga.	35	35	100
Columbia, Mo.	5	5	100
Indianapolis	50	50	100
Logan	30	30	100
Nashville	70	70	100
Vermillion, S. D.	20	20	100
Pittsburgh	350	342	98
San Diego	325	317	98
Brooklyn	450	433	96
Houston	500	475	95
Portland	325	301	93
Detroit	400	364	91
Seattle	425	367	86
Twin Cities	350	288	82
Lower Manhattan	500	400	80
L. A. (Central-East)	350	277	79
Philadelphia	400	310	78
Ann Arbor	35	25	71
Huntsville	20	14	70
San Francisco	525	370	70
Tuscaloosa	10	7	70
Boston	700	420	60
Washington, D. C.	400	216	54
Denver	450	216	37
Upper West Side	475	105	22
TOTAL SOLD LAST WEEK	10,000	8,712	87

New interest in Soviet Union and Stalinism

The expulsion of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn from the Soviet Union and the debate beginning around his book *Gulag Archipelago 1918-1956* have brought to the fore questions about the nature and history of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the lack of democracy in the Soviet Union, and the feasibility of socialist democracy.

A new pamphlet and a new Monad Press book dealing with the struggle for democracy in the Soviet bloc are now available from Pathfinder Press. *Samizdat: Voices of the Soviet Opposition* edited by George Saunders (464 pp., \$3.95 paper, \$15 cloth) is a collection of the uncensored, clandestinely circulated writings of Soviet dissidents.

The political views expressed in *samizdat* vary widely, and a few anthologies have been published in English. But this anthology is unique. It offers, for the first time in English, a broad sampling of

movement. It includes a collection made by former major general Pyotr Grigorenko (now confined in a psychiatric prison-hospital) of the speeches at the funeral of the Soviet writer and Old Bolshevik Aleksei Kosterin.

The final section of the book, "Documents of the Protest Movement (1969 and After)" contains 17 complete pieces designed to provide a representative sampling of the diverse currents in the dissident movement. Included are the "Appeal to the United Nations" by the prominent Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights, and the "Appeal

for a Gradual Democratization" by academician Andrei Sakharov, historian Roy Medvedev, and physicist Valery Turchin.

In the pamphlet *Solzhenitsyn In Exile* by Allen Myers (35 cents), the author discusses Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn as an artistic and political figure, and contrasts his views to those of most other Soviet dissidents, who are fighting for democracy within a socialist framework.

In addition to these two new titles, the following are essential reading for understanding the gains made by the Russian revolution, its degeneration under the Stalinist bureaucracy, and the prospects for socialist democracy: *The Revolution Betrayed: What Is the Soviet Union and Where Is It Going?* by Leon Trotsky (\$2.95 paper, \$7.95 cloth); *Stalinism and Bolshevism* by Leon Trotsky (50 cents); *From Lenin to Stalin* by Victor Serge (\$2.45 paper, \$6.95 cloth); *The Struggle for Socialist Democracy in the Soviet Bloc* by Gus Horowitz (60 cents); and *The Case of Leon Trotsky: Report of Hearings on the Charges Made Against Him in the Moscow Trials*.

The Case of Leon Trotsky is available only in the cloth edition. Because of its relevance, however, Pathfinder is making it available for \$3.95. In it Trotsky discusses the main events of his career, presents the ideas and positions of Marxism, Bolshevism, and Trotskyism on a wide range of questions, explains the changes in the Soviet Union from Lenin to Stalin, and many other subjects. Between the covers of no other work by Trotsky can be found such an all-embracing account of his political and personal life, his ideas, and the events in which he participated.

The books and pamphlets listed above are available from the bookstores in the Socialist Directory or order directly from Pathfinder Press, Inc., 410 West St., New York, N. Y. 10014.

—PEGGY BRUNDY



Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn (left) in Germany with writer Heinrich Boll. Solzhenitsyn's undemocratic expulsion from Soviet Union has increased interest in Stalinism.

News from Pathfinder

articles and statements by Soviet dissidents who reject Stalinism without rejecting socialism.

Princeton Professor Stephen Cohen, author of the widely acclaimed *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution*, wrote that this focus makes the book "valuable and important. . . . These uncensored memoirs, petitions, speeches, and programmatic articles are further evidence that the non-Stalinist Bolshevik tradition remains a vital and inspirational force in Soviet political life today."

"Memoirs of a Bolshevik-Leninist" is the central piece in the book. It provides an eyewitness account of Stalin's rise to power and the anonymous author's moving personal experiences over many years in prisons and forced-labor camps.

The second section of the book illustrates the thinking of the "neo-Leninist" wing of the dissident

Calendar

BROOKLYN

ETHIOPIA: ROOTS OF THE REVOLT. Speaker: Tony Thomas, staff writer for *The Militant*. Fri., Apr. 26, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

CLEVELAND

THE CRIMINAL ROLE OF THE POLICE FORCE. Speakers: Marguerite Snyder, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 21st C.D.; Bishop Alvin Ward, Committee for a Police Review Board; Brother Diablo, director, Black Unity House. Fri., Apr. 26, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-3278.

DENVER

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN CONFERENCE & BANQUET, APRIL 26-27. Speakers: Nora Danielson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Colorado; Mike Livoda, eyewitness to Ludlow massacre; Don Huggins, *Overdrive* magazine, independent truckers organizer; Gary Kennedy, molybdenum miner. Fri., Apr. 26, 8 p.m.; Sat., Apr. 27, 10 a.m. & 1 p.m.; banquet: 7 p.m.; program: 8 p.m. 1203 California. For more information call (303) 534-7354.

DETROIT

ETHIOPIA: THE ERITREAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Apr. 26, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

HOUSTON

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE, UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON, APRIL 26-27. Fri., Apr. 26, 8 p.m., Pacific Rm.: Oil and Texas politics. Speakers: Rick Congress, Socialist Workers Party candidate for railroad commissioner; representative from Gulf Oil Corp.; Sat., Apr. 27, 11 a.m. San Jacinto Rm.: Young Socialists for Sherry Smith workshop; 1 p.m.: Chicanos and the 1974 elections. Speakers: Jose Calderon, chairman, Colorado Raza Unida Party; Kris Vasquez, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 18th C.D.; 3 p.m.: Crisis in American politics—Is impeachment the answer? Speakers: Harry Nash, People's Committee to Impeach Nixon; Terry Hardy, Austin Young Socialist Alliance. Donation: \$1 per session, \$2.50 for entire conference. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

INFLATION AND THE CRISIS IN THE U. S. ECONOMY. Speaker: Dan Styron, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Fri., Apr. 26, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 483-0357.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

HOW TO FIGHT GOVERNMENT FRAME-UPS: TWO CASES. Speakers: Salm Kolis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 41st C.D.; Rodolfo Sanchez, Los Tres defendant. Fri., Apr. 26, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

ROOTS OF THE ENERGY CRISIS. Speakers: Debby Bustin, cochairwoman, Socialist Workers Party 1974 National Campaign Committee; others. Fri., Apr. 26, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near 4th St.), Eighth Floor.

Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY

VIETNAM: THE POSTWAR WAR. Slide show by Chris Jenkins, Indochina Solidarity Committee. Additional speaker: Mike Maloney, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Apr. 26, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave. (near Grove St.), Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

PHILADELPHIA

THE QUESTION OF IMPEACHMENT. Panel discussion. Fri., Apr. 26, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

PITTSBURGH

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC—AFTERMATH OF REBELLION. Speakers: Jose Moreno, professor of sociology, Univ. of Pittsburgh; Ginny Burke, U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. Fri., Apr. 26, 8 p.m. 304 S. Bouquet St. (in Oakland). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

ST. LOUIS

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN BANQUET. Speakers: Barbara Mutnick, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Missouri; Derrick Morrison, SWP candidate for governor of New York. Sat., Apr. 27, 6 p.m., refreshments; 7 p.m., dinner; 8:30 p.m., program. Peacock Alley, 75 N. Ewing, Laclede Town. Donation: \$3.50; \$1 for program only. Ausp: Missouri SWP Campaign. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

SEATTLE

AMNESTY AND VIETNAM. Speaker: Fred Lovgren, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Apr. 26, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

TWIN CITIES

'CHILE WITH POEMS AND GUNS'—FILM. Speakers: Jane Van Deusen, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Minnesota; Marvin Johnson, U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. Fri., Apr. 26, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

...UFW

Continued from page 4

a letter sent him by Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons, who called on him to take steps to prevent violence in the fields.

Meany termed the Teamster letter "unmitigated gall, since everyone, including Fitzsimmons, knows that last year's violence in the California fields resulted solely and simply because the Teamsters imported goons into Coachella Valley."

Meanwhile, Lionel Steinberg, largest table grape grower in Coachella Valley, announced April 15 that he was signing a new one-year contract with the United Farm Workers. Stein-

berg is the only table grape grower in California still under UFW contract.

César Chávez hailed the agreement as a symbolic victory for the union. "As long as we have one contract we will have roots here, we will still have hope," Chávez told reporters.

...SLA

Continued from page 9

found we can really shut down the city."

The terrorist actions by the SLA, on the other hand, by their very nature exclude participation by the masses. They tend to defuse the power of the oppressed by telling them to rely on a small band of "superrevolutionaries" to solve their problems for them.

Rodriguez: Further, we point to the fact that the SLA has given ammunition to the reactionaries who want to defeat the Black, Chicano, and union movements. Especially in connection with Watergate, there have been disclosures of how the cops use agents provocateurs to encourage and even organize violence in Black and radical groups. Like the person who's now writing a book called *I Was a Weatherman for the FBI*.

Posing as the most "militant" types, agents have pushed misguided radicals to actions like bombings. Why? Because they know such actions do no real harm to the government, but isolate and disorient the radicals and set them up for arrest.

Styron: We certainly cannot exclude the possibility that the SLA is being manipulated by cops or right-wingers for just such a purpose.

Militant: Have the government and right-wing forces been successful in using the kidnapping to their advantage?

Styron: Of course there has been a great hue and cry from all reactionary quarters, attempting to smear as "terrorist" anyone who stands up against this government. Attorney General Saxbe is on a well-publicized campaign to do this. His call for updating the attorney general's witch-hunting list of "subversive" organizations is part of that campaign.

The California senate subcommittee on civil disorders has been holding hearings designed to whip up hysteria around the SLA. They have called for constant surveillance of all radical groups. They are especially attempting to link the SLA to prisoners organizing to fight against the inhumane and repressive conditions in California prisons.

This whole thing has already given prison authorities another excuse to further clamp down on prisoners, including screening mail more stringently than before. Already some of the campaign literature we have sent to California prisoners who requested it has been returned by the prison authorities.

Rodriguez: It is also important to call attention to the situation of Richard Little and Joseph Remiro, the two men charged with shooting Marcus Foster, the Oakland school superintendent. Although they have pleaded innocent, they are being held in prison under very bad conditions. And despite the fact that they have in essence already been tried and convicted by the capitalist press, the court has denied their request to move the site of their trial.

We absolutely deny the right of this government—the worst gang of bombers, murderers, and terrorists in the world—to put these men on trial for "terrorism." Regardless of our political differences with the SLA, we defend them against the "justice" of the capitalist state.

Styron: Even with the California press publicizing the shouts of law and order by Saxbe, Reagan, and other reactionaries, people aren't falling for it. Watergate has so discredited the government that people can see right through this attempt to use the Hearst kidnapping to attack the left.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

Tucson: YSA, S.U.P.O. 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-1512.

Los Angeles, West Side: SWP and YSA, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

Los Angeles—City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

Riverside: YSA, c/o University of Calif. Riverside, 1134 Library South, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Glenda Horton, 1253 S. 7th St. #70, San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 292-3289.

Santa Barbara: YSA, 760 Oak Walk, Apt. H, Goleta, Calif. 93017.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.-7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101. Tel: (203) 523-7582.

New Haven: YSA, c/o Jon Kegler, 1563 Chapel St., Apt. 3, New Haven, Conn. 06511.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, Box U-6014, Tallahassee, Fla. 32306.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

HAWAII: Honolulu: YSA, c/o David Hough, 447 Seaside Ave. #186, Honolulu, Hawaii 96815

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737, YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Dave Ellis, 309 E. Vermont, Indianapolis, Ind. 46201.

IOWA: Iowa City: YSA, c/o IMU, Univ. of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa 52240.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, Dept. of Entomology, Univ. of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans. 66045

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

Louisville: YSA, P.O. Box 8026, Louisville, Ky. 40208.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, 2103 Belair Rd., Baltimore, Md. 21213. Tel: (301) 732-8996.

College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, R.S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers' Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

Worcester: YSA, P.O. Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103 Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 668-6334.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Kalamazoo: YSA, c/o Gail Altenberg, 728 S. Burdick St., Apt. 3, Kalamazoo, Mich. 49007.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, P.O. Box 98, Warriner Hall, CMU, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls., Minn. 55414.

Tel: (612) 332-7781

St. Cloud: YSA, c/o Atwood Center, St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud, Minn. 56301.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4660 Maryland, Suite 17, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW JERSEY: New Brunswick: YSA, Box 445, Woodbridge, N.J. 07095. Tel: (201) 634-3076.

Paterson: YSA, P.O. Box 1532, Paterson, N.J. 07509.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Wiloughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Long Island: YSA, 20 John St., Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 2726 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

NORTH CAROLINA: Charlotte: YSA, c/o Gene Philpaw, 1023 Dorm '73 UNCC, Charlotte, N.C. 28213. Tel: (704) 537-3235.

OHIO: Bowling Green: YSA, Box 27, U. Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-9043.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553.

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Boston racists mobilize to stop school desegregation

By BAXTER SMITH

BOSTON—Twenty thousand white parents marched against busing here April 3 as part of an ongoing racist campaign opposing school desegregation.

A desegregation plan involving busing was ordered by the Supreme Judicial Court last fall and is slated for implementation in September. The court found Boston public schools to be in violation of the eight-year-old Racial Imbalance Law, which says that no school in the state can be more than 50 percent nonwhite.

The five-man Boston school committee is the body elected to govern affairs of the public schools here, but it has refused to implement the Racial Imbalance Law for the sole reason of maintaining white schools.

The all-white committee is a racist outfit whose members are unpaid but whose \$100-million-plus budget is larded with patronage in jobs, appointments, and contracts. It has taken the lead in whipping up the racial fears of whites.

School committee chairman John Kerrigan, who is said to keep a model of a school bus and a statue of St. Jude, the patron of the impossible, side-by-side in his office, has said:

"Integration is an important part of our society, but it shouldn't be forced on Boston. I firmly believe there's a conspiracy—a conspiracy of people who want Boston to become a Detroit, a New York City, a Philadelphia, cities which are predominantly non-white, predominantly poor."

Resistance to desegregation has taken several forms here.

A proposed referendum on busing, initiated by racist forces, is set for June. The Supreme Judicial Court ruled on April 16 that the referendum would be unconstitutional if it were binding.

At a recent meeting, 1,400 white



South Boston parents went so far as to propose boycotting the schools and setting up "freedom schools" if the court-ordered plan is implemented in the fall.

When some white residents in the Hyde Park area heard of how the plan would affect its schools, a rash of "For

Sale" signs—14 on one block—suddenly sprung up on lawns there.

The Massachusetts state legislature passed the Racial Imbalance Law in 1965. The law is a product of the struggles of the civil rights era and was designed to eliminate de facto segregation.

Each year since its passage the Racial Imbalance Law has come under fire in the state legislature. This year hearings on repeal were held the same day as the racist antibusing demonstration. Last fall it barely survived, when the governor vetoed a bill repealing it.

The school committee opposed the law because it means the predominantly Black schools in Roxbury would be desegregated and some Black students there would be placed in predominantly white schools.

Boston's Democratic Mayor Kevin White, a liberal, has bent to the pressure of the racists. He said, "I supported the Racial Imbalance Act. But from the very beginning, I felt strongly that the law was not working and that it should be amended."

Prominent Blacks, however, support the law and favor its implementation because it would mean that some Black students would have the opportunity for a better education than they are now getting.

Donald Gurewitz, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, is also opposed to repeal of the law. He says, "The Socialist Workers Party will fight for the right of Black students to go to any school they desire. If Black students believe they can get a better education by going to predominantly white schools, we are for their right to do that 100 percent."

But he is critical of the court-ordered plan for implementing the law. He points out that the plan leaves no room for Black parents to have a say about where they want their chil-

dren to go.

He tells of one instance in which Black students preferred to stay at a newly built high school that was predominantly Black, and says that in such cases Black students should have the right to stay there.

Another issue, he says, is whether or not Black students will continue to be denied the right to quality education.

"Black students are tracked into programs that prepare them for the worst paid and most menial jobs," he said. "A high percentage of Black students are pushed out of high school before graduation. The history and contributions of Black people are not taught in the Boston schools."

Gurewitz calls for greatly increased funding for education in Boston. He says, "If white parents are concerned with quality education for all, then let them demonstrate against the school committee and against the state legislature, demanding massive funding for a crash program to guarantee modern schools and ample numbers of well-trained teachers for all students."

"Let white parents be the loudest in demanding that whites not be given token handouts at the expense of Blacks. Let white parents insist that the Black community be the first recipient of massive aid to make up for the decades of discrimination and second-class citizenship Blacks have suffered."

Each year since the passage of the Racial Imbalance Law, Boston schools have steadily grown more segregated.

Just last year, white enrollment fell by 3,000, while Black enrollment jumped by 1,000. More than 70 percent of Black students attend schools that are at least two-thirds Black. And of the 97,000 students in the public

Continued on page 19

Black students in D.C. protest budget cuts

By JIM McCAFFERY

WASHINGTON, D. C.—"Stop the budget cuts now!" chanted some 1,000 Federal City College students who marched on the offices of the mayor and city council here April 11. They were protesting a decision to cut nearly \$1-million from the 1975 budget of the college, which is 95 percent Black.

To meet this proposed cut, the Federal City College (FCC) administration had decided to cancel all undergraduate programs for the 1974 summer quarter, to discontinue the teacher education program, and to leave vacant 17 faculty positions as well as several administration posts.

This action would affect the jobs of 160 faculty members, 733 students in teacher education, plus a large number of summer school students.

Moreover, FCC is to be considered for accreditation this year by a team from the mid-Atlantic colleges. It is felt that without a summer program

or a department of teachers education FCC has little chance of becoming accredited. These budget cuts would be a severe blow to Black education in Washington, D. C.

In the April 11 protest, students presented petitions to Mayor Walter Washington, who came out to talk to the students. After being booed by the demonstrators he finally agreed to approve the necessary funds for this year's summer school.

Students organized this militant demonstration in less than 24 hours, following the announcement of the budget cuts by the president of the college.

The next day 50 students picketed the home of city council member Marjorie Parker, the initiator of the cutbacks. The reason given for the cuts was to "equalize" the per pupil expenditure at FCC, Washington Technical Institute, and D. C. Teachers College.

Though inadequately funded, FCC currently receives more money than the two other schools.

Most FCC students feel that the best

way to equalize expenditures is to raise those of Washington Technical Institute and D. C. Teachers College to the FCC level.



Militant/Eric Simpson

Federal City College students make demands on Mayor Walter Washington, April 11