

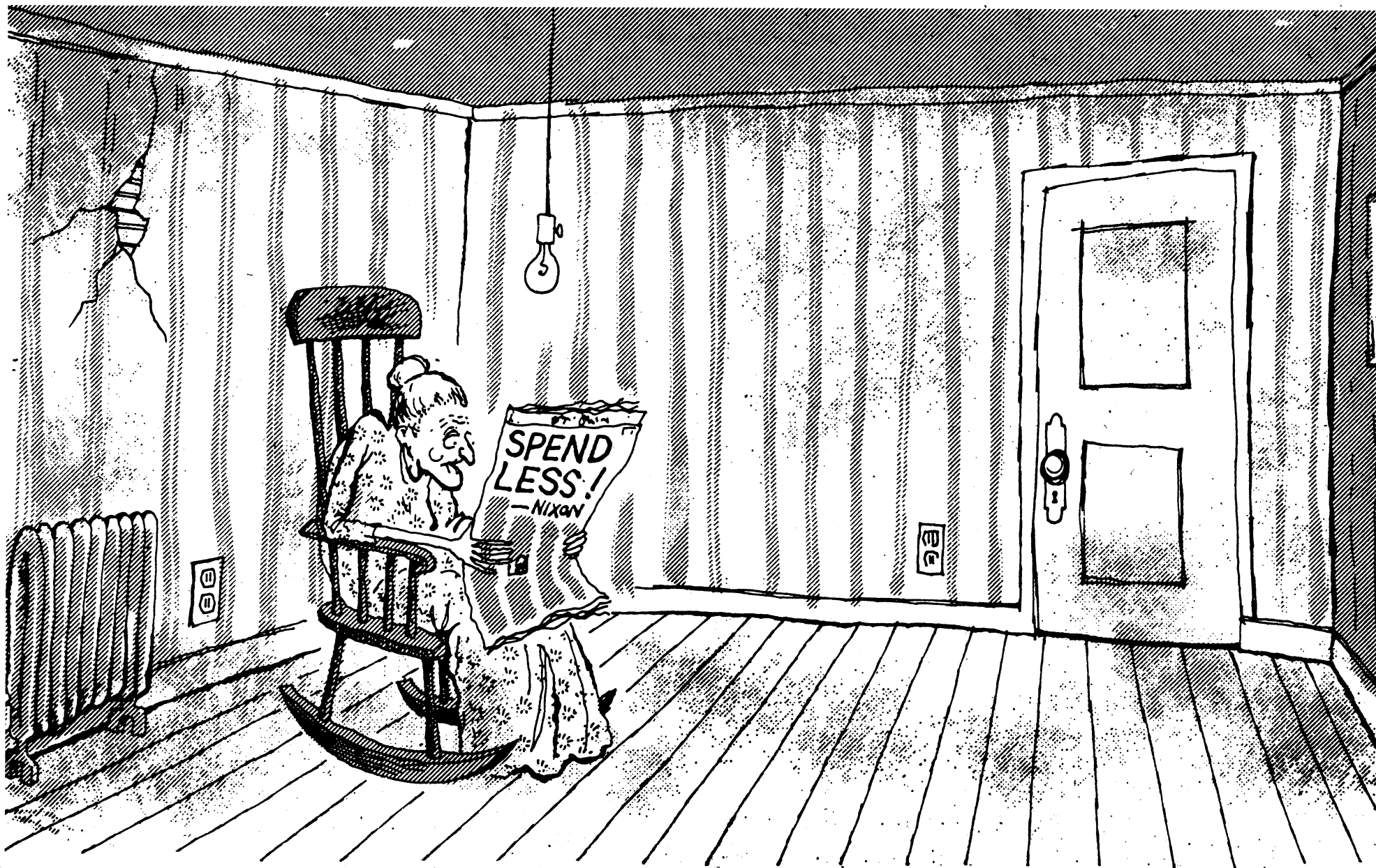
# THE MILITANT

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

Fewer jobs, higher prices

## Nixon 'game plan': deeper recession

— See page 9



By Auth for the Philadelphia Inquirer

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**Why they are voting to impeach/3**  
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## THE MILITANT

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Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

**PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM PROTESTED:** A spirited picket line of 80 people marched in front of the offices of the Intercontinental Airline of Portugal in San Francisco's Union Square on July 27 to protest Portugal's continued rule in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. Participants in the picket line chanted slogans such as "Freedom for the African colonies," and "General Spínola out of Angola."

Among those sponsoring the action were Robert Chrisman of **Black Scholar**; Black community leader Yvonne Golden; Ira Simmons, Berkeley city council member; Doctor Carlton Goodlet of the **Sun Reporter**; and James Lewis, Socialist Workers Party.

## Notice to our readers

As a result of rising costs caused by inflation and increases in second-class postage, **The Militant** must increase its subscription rates on Sept. 15.

In the past year alone, the cost of printing and mailing **The Militant** increased 21 percent. Second-class postage alone has already gone up more than 100 percent toward a planned 240 percent total increase. At the same time, prices continue to rise for all other publishing expenses—from photography to office supplies.

Before the new rates go into effect, all **Militant** subscribers can renew their present subscription now at the current rates of \$5 for one year or \$10 for two years. Regardless of when your subscription is due to expire, it will be automatically extended to cover the period of your renewal. All subscribers outside the United States must add an additional \$3 for every year they renew to cover foreign postage.

Readers who do not yet receive a subscription are encouraged to subscribe now at the old rates.

After Sept. 15, the new subscription rates will be \$4 for six months, \$7.50 for one year, and \$13 for two years.

This increase in our subscription rates will in no way cover all of **The Militant's** expenses. Unlike the capitalist press, which profits from big-business advertising, **The Militant** is a working-class newspaper sustained only by its supporters and paid circulation.

Many readers participate in our Monthly Militant Fund. If you can make a monthly pledge or a single donation, there is a space to indicate it on the coupon below. These contributions are invaluable in helping **The Militant** meet its ongoing expenses, and we encourage you to give whatever you can at this time.

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**SUIT FORCES NEW ELECTION IN UNITED STEELWORKERS:** At a recent news conference, Samuel Evett, director of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) District 31, announced that he had requested a new election for the post of district director. Evett defeated Edward Sadowski in a crudely rigged election in February 1973. District 13, the largest in the USWA, is made up of 300 locals in northwest Indiana and the Chicago area.

Sadowski charged Evett with election fraud and took his complaints to the U.S. Labor Department. His challenge won the support of many rank-and-file militants. The Labor Department brought suit for a new election and a favorable court decision is expected soon.

It is the pressure of this forthcoming decision that forced Evett to consent to another election, says Sadowski. Also, by calling an election, Evett will be able to prevent the inclusion in the court order of additional instances of fraud.

It is expected that the new election will take place in October.

**NEW YORK PICKETS DEMAND RELEASE OF MOROZ:** A three-day vigil in front of the Soviet airline office in New York City demanding the release of Valentyn Moroz, a Ukrainian political prisoner, publicized the Soviet dissident's plight.

At the end of the vigil, July 25, a small picket line demanded Moroz's release. Participants included members of the Committee for Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, the Coalition against Repression in the USSR and Eastern Europe, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the Socialist Workers Party.

Moroz began a hunger strike July 1 that has attracted worldwide attention to the brutal treatment he is receiving in Vladimir prison, where he is in solitary confinement. Soviet academician Andrei Sakharov issued an open letter recently to Leonid Brezhnev urging a review of this case.

For more on Moroz see **In Review**, page 24.

**UFW I:** After 14 months of picketing and demonstrating in front of A&P stores in New England, the United Farm Workers has finally obtained a commitment on lettuce and grapes from the chain.

A&P had filed for an injunction against the pickets but without success. At some stores A&P hired goons to harass the picketers; police were also used in an effort to halt the boycott. In its brief, A&P cited more than \$100,000 a week lost in sales due to the boycott. With the A&P victory, now all the major chain stores in eastern Massachusetts have agreed to carry only UFW lettuce and grapes.

**UFW II:** Four UFW pickets were arrested for being "disorderly persons" at a United Farm Workers picket line in Brooklyn.

The Hills Supermarket, where the arrests occurred, is one of two that UFW supporters have been picketing three days a week for the past few weeks. On July 26 UFW leader Cesar Chavez and 80 supporters had picketed the store.

The next morning there were three police cars and the store manager waiting outside of the store for the picketers. The manager tried to intimidate the pickets, but had no injunction. However, later in the afternoon the cops arrested some of the pickets on the spurious charge of being "disorderly."

Boycott supporters plan to protest this harassment by having even larger pickets at the store in the future.

*The last issue of The Militant before our summer break will be dated August 16. We will resume our regular weekly schedule with the issue dated September 6.*

**CONSTRUCTION WORKERS MARCH FOR JOBS:** Carrying picket signs like, "End the depression in New Jersey," 20,000 construction workers marched on the New Jersey state house in Trenton on July 29. Workers came from all over the state to add their voices to the demand for more jobs in the construction industry, which has been greatly depressed as result of the current recession.

The unemployment rate in New Jersey is 8 percent, compared to the 5.2 percent national figure. The Society for Environmental, Economic Development, a New Jersey-wide organization that includes the state Chamber of Commerce and the state AFL-CIO, reports that 30 percent of the state's construction workers are unemployed. Twenty thousand of these workers have lost their jobs in the past year.

The action, organized by the building-trades unions, had the support of the contractors, who allowed workers to take the day off if they were going to the demonstration.

—NORMAN OLIVER

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# After two years of Watergate

## Why politicians are voting to impeach

By CINDY JAQUITH

Millions of Americans watched it on TV last week as the House Judiciary Committee voted to recommend that the chief executive of the United States be removed from office for violating democratic rights and covering up the Watergate break-in. For the first time in a century, the full House will now take up the question of whether to impeach a president.

The American people have made it clear that they will be glad to see Nixon go. Popular outrage at Nixon's criminal deeds and opposition to his domestic policies, in particular his attacks on workers' standard of living, have forced his popularity rating down to an all-time low of 24 percent.

The performances of all the members of the Judiciary Committee brought rave reviews from the capitalist newspapers, TV commentators, and columnists.

A *New York Times* editorial July 27 hailed the "demonstration of the sincerity and idealism welling up" from the junior members of the committee. "No one watching . . . could harbor any doubt of the potential for statesmanship being nurtured in the Congress of the United States, waiting to emerge onto the national scene."

"We are the people of the United States," declared Alabama Democrat Walter Flowers on behalf of himself and the other 37 committee members.

*Times* columnist Anthony Lewis echoed this theme, writing July 29 that "it was impossible to be cynical as those 38 members of Congress, Americans not so different from the rest of us, voted to impeach a President."

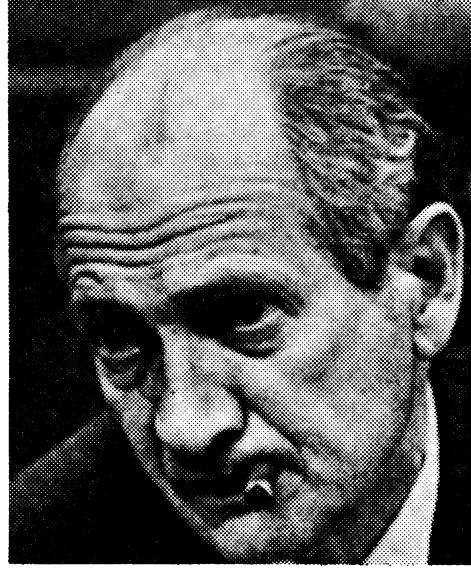
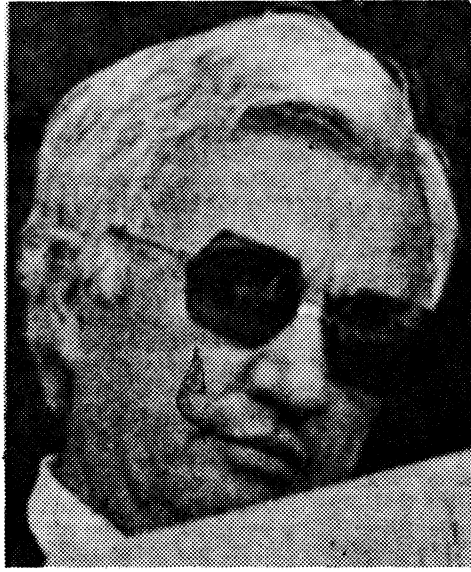
### Not so different?

They may not be so different from Anthony Lewis, but the members of the committee actually have little in common with the "people of the United States" they claim to represent.

These 38 lawyer-politicians, strutting and posing before the television cameras, patting each other on the back for their bipartisan efforts, do not represent the majority of this country.

America's working people have no voice on the impeachment committee, which is composed entirely of politicians of the Democratic or Republican parties, the parties of big business. They represent only one, tiny part of the population—the rich.

The deliberations of the committee



Judiciary committee members (clockwise from top right) Brooks, Sandman, Waldie, Hungate: Trying to restore confidence in capitalist government.

have been painted as an emotional, agonizing experience, in which each member of the panel wrestled with his or her conscience to determine the "truth." The Aug. 5 *Newsweek*, for example, described one session in the following terms:

"The decision was easy for none of the 38 men and women called upon to render it. For some, it was the most painful in a lifetime. Some voices cracked, uttering their ayes and nays into the hush of the hearing room. Others went thick with tension. James Mann of South Carolina blinked back tears. Barbara Jordan of Texas felt ill. Chairman Peter W. Rodino Jr. tried to talk to staffers afterward, then was overwhelmed and had to walk away to be alone with his emotions."

### Flag-waving rhetoric

This tear-jerker picture was complemented with flag-waving rhetoric about the significance of this moment for upholding the Constitution and "the law of the land."

But beneath the rhetoric and tearful theatrics, the members of the committee were making a cold, political decision on impeachment that had nothing to do with protecting the rights of the American people. If the truth was what guided them, they would have declared Nixon guilty a long time ago.

These politicians were faced with the fact that the "great institutions" to which they alluded so frequently have been severely exposed by Watergate.

Millions of Americans have come to the realization that U.S. "democracy" is a fraud, a great cover-up for the methods the U.S. ruling class uses to maintain its exploitation here and around the world.

As Anthony Lewis explained in the July 29 *New York Times*, "Something much larger than the person of

Richard Nixon was at issue in the committee's debate. It was faith in Congress, in democracy, in the constitutional system."

The 38 members of Congress saw their task as putting on the kind of show that would help restore that faith, help convince people that the institutions of capitalist rule are responsive to their needs.

### Back to 1968?

Illinois Republican Thomas Railsback, in arguing for the impeachment course, reminded his fellow politicians that "if the young people in this country think we are going to not handle this thing fairly, if we're not going to really try to get to the truth, you're going to see the most frustrated people, the most turned-off people, the most disillusioned people, and it's going to make the period of LBJ in 1968-1967—it's going to make it look tame."

Texas Democrat Jack Brooks concurred, saying, "We must put to rest the argument that the corruption we have witnessed in the last five years is only an extension of what has always been done."

The aim of these politicians, thus, was to point the finger of blame at Nixon, lay the bipartisan policies that led to Watergate entirely at his doorstep, and hope that people will believe that by getting rid of Nixon, Watergate has ended.

### Delicate balance

This required a delicate balancing act. On the one hand, the committee politicians had to draw up a bill of impeachment that would encompass enough of Nixon's crimes to make themselves look credible to the American people.

On the other hand, if too broad a list of his crimes were adopted—and Nixon were then convicted—it

would hamper the ability of future presidents to carry out the same policies.

The proposed impeachment articles that did pass included Nixon's participation in the Watergate cover-up, his illegal surveillance against dissenters, and his refusal to turn over subpoenaed material to the House Judiciary Committee.

Dropped were the charges on his concealment of the Cambodia bombing, his milk and ITT deals, and his income-tax evasion.

Impeachment Article II, covering illegal surveillance, gives a good illustration of the pressures felt by the committee. Nixon is charged in this article with using the Internal Revenue Service against dissenters, illegal electronic surveillance, setting up the "plumbers," denying the right to a fair trial, and the Ellsberg burglary.

The fact that these crimes were included shows how deep the revulsion against government secret-police tactics is. The committee majority obviously felt it had to denounce these practices to retain the appearance of being genuinely concerned with democratic rights.

### National security

The arguments against this article by Nixon supporters were rebuffed, but in such a way as to preserve the "right" of a president to use illegal spying when "national security" is threatened.

The phony "national security" argument was slipped in by charging Nixon with illegal activities "for purposes unrelated to national security." This was designed to leave future presidents free to carry out the very same attacks on democratic rights by simply invoking the national security excuse.

Texas Democrat Barbara Jordan spelled this out more clearly during the debate, when she said that surveillance has always been justified when it's against "subversives," i.e., union militants, Black activists, and radicals:

"There is no question about the right of the president to institute warrantless wiretaps even in the interests of national security. We don't quarrel about that. It dates back to 1940. President Roosevelt in a memo to his Attorney General, Attorney General Jackson, stating that it is in the interests of national security to prevent subversive activities to instigate these wiretaps."

"But that's not what we're concerned about."

### Supreme Court

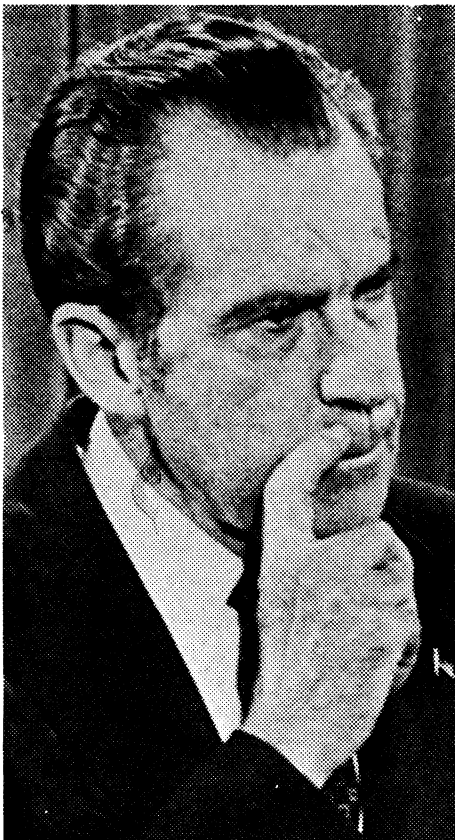
The House committee's move to uphold the national security gambit was the second time in a week that capitalism's "right" to bug, burglarize, and wiretap was upheld under the guise of ending Watergate.

On July 24, in its 8-to-0 ruling against Nixon on the White House tapes, the Supreme Court inserted a clause that codifies for the first time a president's constitutional "need to protect military, diplomatic or sensitive national security secrets."

"Never before had the Supreme Court given executive privilege such 'validity and importance,'" wrote *New York Times* columnist Tom Wicker July 26. Wicker pointed out that the national security clause "seems so broad and inclusive as to provide an umbrella for a huge proportion of Presidential activities."

In addition to upholding a president's right to commit crimes in the

Continued on page 26



NIXON: About to be (deleted)?



# Huston plan documents on antiwar & student movement

The documents reprinted here are from the "Summary of Internal Security Threat," the survey of radical and Black organizations commissioned by Nixon in 1970 as part of the Huston spy plan. Last week's Militant reprinted the part of the survey that took up the Black Panthers and other Black organizations, the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Communist Party, and Puerto Rican groups.

As a whole, the "Summary of Internal Security Threat" constitutes the list of targets for the campaign of illegal surveillance and harassment that Nixon approved in July 1970. The Huston recommendations called for mail tampering, burglary, increased use of police agents, and wiretapping.

As the documents reprinted here demonstrate, the plan was adopted in reaction to the massive student strike of May 1970, which threatened to spill over and involve broader layers of the population directly in action against the hated war.

The Student Mobilization Committee (SMC), discussed in this report under the "Antiwar Activists" section, played a prominent role during the May 1970 strikes, promoting the idea of "antiwar universities" that would reach out and involve working people in the fight against the Southeast Asia war.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have filed suit, charging that the Huston plan was used to spy on them, despite Nixon's claim that his approval of the plan was quickly rescinded. In addition to the socialists, several other groups mentioned here as targets soon became victims of precisely the tactics Huston advocated. The National Student Strike Information Center, for example, had its Brandeis University offices burglarized in October 1970 by FBI agents.

The documents here, along with those printed in last week's issue, are the entire "Summary of Internal Security Threat" as it has been released by the House Judiciary Committee. Extensive deletions—for "national security" reasons—were made by the committee before publishing the spy plan.

## Target: 'Militant new left groups'

PART ONE

### SUMMARY OF INTERNAL SECURITY THREAT

#### I. MILITANT NEW LEFT GROUPS

##### A. Assessment of Current Internal Security Threat

The movement of rebellious youth known as the "New Left," involving and influencing a substantial number of college students, is having a serious impact on contemporary society with a potential for serious domestic strife. The revolutionary aims of the New Left are apparent when their identification with Marxism-Leninism is examined. They pointedly advertise their objective as the overthrow of our system of government by force and violence. Under the guise of freedom of speech, they seek to confront all established authority and provoke disorder. They intend to smash the U. S. educational system, the economic structure, and, finally, the Government itself. New Left groups do not have a large enough number of rank-and-file followers, nor do they have a unity of purpose to carry out massive or paralyzing acts of insurrection. They do, on the other hand, have the will to carry on more militant efforts in local situations and an inclination to utilize more extreme means to attain their objectives.

1. Student Protest Groups. The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) has, in the past year, split into several factions, including the Revolutionary Youth Movement (RYM), which has control over 30 chapters; and the Worker Student Alliance (WSA), which consists of 63 chapters. The WSA faction

aims to build a worker-student movement in keeping with the aim of developing a broad worker-based revolutionary movement in the United States.

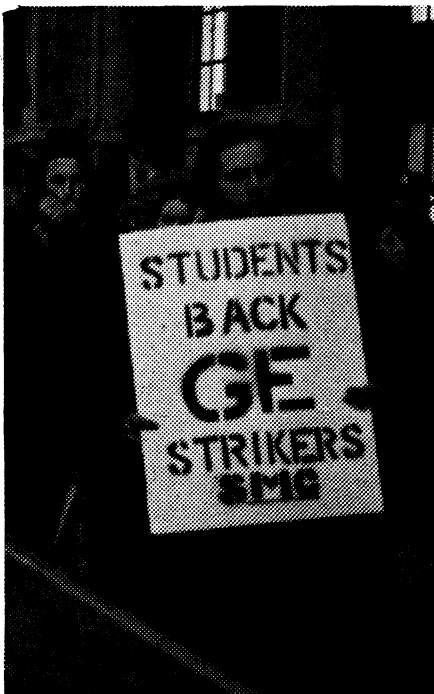
There are some 85 unaffiliated SDS chapters generally sympathetic to revolutionary tactics and goals. The trend of increased radical campus organizations is noticeable at campuses where recognition of SDS has been refused or rescinded and SDS members have banded together, with or without sanction, under a new title to attract student support. In addition, numerous ad hoc groups have been established on campuses and elsewhere to exploit specific issues.

The National Student Strike (NSS), also known as the National Strike Information Center, was formed following the entry of the United States forces into Cambodia and the deaths of four students at Kent State University. NSS, which helped to coordinate the nationwide student strike in May, 1970, has three regional centers and includes



Militant/Howard Perick

Nurses' demonstration during May 1970 upsurge. Growing impact of student protests on rest of population was major concern of capitalists in drawing up Huston plan.



Student Mobilization Committee to End War (SMC) built support activities for 1969 GE strike.



1968 Columbia University strike, led by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

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among its leadership SDS members and other New Left activists. The NSS has established a nationwide communications system of "ham" radio stations on campuses to encourage student demonstrations and disruptions. This communications capability may have a significant impact on campus stability in the coming school year.

The Venceremos Brigade (VB), established to send United States youth to Cuba to aid in the 1970 harvests, has continually received favorable publicity in Cuban propaganda media. To date, over 900 members of the VB have visited Cuba and another group of approximately 500 members are expected to follow suit. While in Cuba, VB members were individually photographed and questioned in detail about their backgrounds. Because of their contacts with Cuban officials, these individuals must be considered as potential recruits for Cuban intelligence activities and sabotage in the United States.

The greatest threat posed to the security of the country by student protest groups is their potential for fomenting violence and unrest on college campuses. Demonstrations have triggered acts of arson by extremists against war-oriented research and ROTC facilities and have virtually paralyzed many schools. There has been a growing number of noncampus, but student-related, acts of violence which increase tensions between "town and gown" and which constitute a marked escalation of the scope and level of protest activities. Few student protests are currently related to exclusively campus issues; virtually all involve political and social issues. Increasingly, the battlefield is the community with the campus serving primarily as a staging area.

The efforts of the New Left aimed at fomenting unrest and subversion among civil servants, labor unions, and mass media have met with very limited success, although the have attempted through their "Summer Work-Ins" to infiltrate and radicalize labor. The inability of these groups to subvert and control the mass media has led to the establishment of a large network of underground publications which serve the dual purpose of an internal communication network and an external propaganda organ.

Leaders of student protest groups have traveled extensively over the years to communist countries; have openly stated their sympathy with the international communist revolutionary movements in South Vietnam and Cuba; and have directed others into activities which support these movements. These individuals must be considered to have potential for

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recruitment and participation in foreign-directed intelligence activity.

2. Antiwar Activists. The impetus and continuity for the antiwar movement is provided by the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NMC) and the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC). The NMC is a coalition of numerous antiwar groups and individuals including communist "old left" elements. The SMC is under the control of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The NMC and SMC have announced a policy of "nonexclusion" which places no limitation on the type of individuals allowed to participate in demonstrations. This policy opens the door for violence-prone individuals who want to capitalize on the activities of these groups. Both groups profess to follow a policy of nonviolence; however, the very nature of the protests that they sponsor sets the stage for civil disobedience and police confrontation by irresponsible dissident elements. Various individuals in NMC and SMC are calling for more militant protest activities, a subject to be discussed at national meetings by both groups in late June, 1970.

Although antiwar groups are not known to be collecting weapons, engaging in paramilitary training, or advocating terrorist tactics, the pro-Hanoi attitude of their leaders, the unstable nature of many NMC advocates and their policy of "nonexclusion" underscore the use of the antiwar movement as a conduit for civil disorder. This is further emphasized by the NMC leadership's advocacy of civil disobedience to achieve desired objectives.

There is no indication that the antiwar movement has made serious inroads or achieved any more than a slight degree of influence among labor unions, the mass media, and civil servants. One group, however, the Federal Employees for a Democratic Society (FEDS), offers a means of protest for recent radical graduates employed by the Federal Government.

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The military and educational institutions are the prime targets of the antiwar movement. In addition to vandalism, arsons, and bombings of ROTC facilities, there has been stepped-up activity to spread antiwar sympathy among American servicemen from within through sympathetic members in the military and from without through such programs as "GI Coffeehouses" and the proposed National GI Alliance. The increasing access by members of the military to the underground press, the establishment of servicemen's unions, and organizations which facilitate desertions, have contributed significantly to the increasing instances of dissent in the military services.

NMC and SMC leaders are constantly speaking before student groups and endeavoring to use student radicals to further the antiwar movement. They have called for an end to the ROTC and have demonstrated, often violently, to force universities to halt war-related research projects.

The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), in its analysis of bloc intelligence, is of the view that the Soviet and bloc intelligence services are committed at the political level to exploit all domestic dissidents wherever possible. This attack is being conducted through recruited agents, agents of influence, and the use of front groups. It is established bloc policy to deploy its forces against the United States as "the main enemy" and to direct all bloc intelligence forces toward ultimately political objectives which disrupt U. S. domestic and foreign policies.

3. New Left Terrorist Groups. The Weatherman terrorist group, which emerged from a factional split of SDS during the Summer of 1969, is a revolutionary youth movement which actively supports the

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revolutionary leadership role of the Negro in the United States. It has evolved into a number of small commando-type units which plan to utilize bombings, arsons, and assassinations as political weapons.

There has been evidence of Weatherman involvement in terrorist tactics, including the accidental explosion of a "Weatherman bomb factory" in New York City on March 6, 1970; the discovery of two undetonated bombs in Detroit police facilities on the same date; and the blast at New York City police installations on June 9, 1970.

While Weatherman membership is not clearly defined, it is estimated that at least 1,000 individuals adhere to Weatherman ideology. In addition, groups such as the White Panther Party, Running Dog, Mad Dog, and the Youth International Party (Yippies) are supporters of Weatherman terrorism but have no clearly definable ideology of their own.

Adherents to Weatherman ideology are also found within radical elements on campuses, among those living in off-campus communes, among New Left movement lawyers and doctors, and the underground press. Individuals who adhere to the Weatherman ideology have offered support and aid to hard-core Weatherman members, including 21 Weatherman members currently in hiding to avoid apprehension.

They identify themselves politically with North Vietnam, Cuba, and North Korea and consider pro-Soviet and pro-Chinese organizations as being aligned with imperialist powers. In addition, some of the Weatherman leaders and adherents have traveled to communist countries or have met in Western countries with communist representatives.

Weatherman leaders and other members of terrorist groups are not known at this time to be involved in foreign-directed intelligence collection activity. The fugitive and underground status of many of these people, as well as their involvement in activities which would likely bring them to the attention of American authorities, would be a deterrent to contacts by foreign intelligence organizations.

#### B. Assessment of Current Intelligence Collection Procedures

1. Scope and Effectiveness of Current Coverage. Although New Left groups have been responsible for widespread damage to ROTC facilities, for the halting of some weapons-related research, and for the increasing dissent within the military services, the major threat to the internal security of the United States is that directed against the civilian sector of our society.

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Coverage of student groups is handled primarily through live informants and it is generally effective at the national level or at major meetings of these groups where overall policy, aims, and objectives of the groups are determined.

The antiwar movement's activities are covered through the FBI by live informants in all organizations of interest. This is supported by information furnished by all members of the intelligence community and other Federal, state, and local agencies. Key leaders and activists are afforded concentrated and intensified investigative coverage on a continuing basis and, in situations where there are positive indications of violence, electronic surveillances have been implemented on a selective basis. Informant and electronic coverage does not meet present requirements.

2. Gaps in Current Coverage. Established, long-term coverage is not available within student protest groups due to the fact that the student body itself changes yearly, necessitating a constant turnover in the informants targeted against these groups. His idealism and immaturity, as well as the sensitive issues of academic freedom and the right to dissent, all serve to increase the risk that the student informant will be exposed as such.

Generally, day-to-day coverage of the planned activities of student protest groups, which are somewhat autonomous and disjointed, could be strengthened. Advance notice of foreign travel by student militants is particularly needed. Campus violence is generally attributable to small, close-knit extremist groups among radical students. Coverage of these latter groups is minimal.

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The antiwar movement is comprised of a great many organizations and people which represent varied political, moral and ethnic beliefs. Current manpower commitments preclude optimum coverage of all antiwar activities on a day-to-day basis.

Existing coverage of New Left extremists, the Weatherman group in particular, is negligible. Most of the Weatherman group has gone underground and formed floating, commando-type units composed of three to six individuals. The transitory nature of these units hinders the installation of electronic surveillances and their smallness and distrust of outsiders make penetration of these units through live informants extremely difficult.

Financially, the Weatherman group appears to be without a centralized source of funds. Wealthy parents have furnished funds to some of these individuals, including those in a fugitive status. Many members have also been involved in the thefts of credit and identification cards, as well as checks, and have utilized them for obtaining operating expenses.

3. Possible Measures to Improve Intelligence Collection. To establish effective coverage of student protest groups would require the expansion of live informant coverage of individual campus chapters of these organizations. This would entail extensive use of student informants to obtain maximum utilization of their services for the periods of their college attendance.

Because of the great number of individuals and groups in the antiwar movement, an increase in the manpower assigned to these investigations would facilitate more intensive coverage. In addition, there are several key leaders involved in virtually all antiwar activities, including international contacts, against whom electronic surveillances and mail covers would be particularly effective.

Improvement of intelligence gathering against New Left terrorists depends on a combination of live informant coverage among key leaders and selective electronic surveillances. Because of the nature of the Weatherman groups, live informant coverage will most likely result through the defection of a key leader.

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TOP SECRET  
HANDLE VIA COMINT CHANNELS ONLY

THE MILITANT/AUGUST 9, 1974

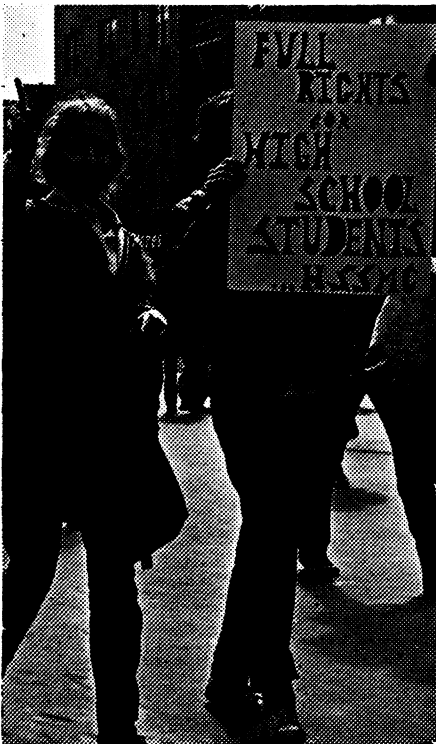


Cops during 1969 San Francisco State strike. Huston plan warned that free speech 'sensitivity' of students threatened ability of government agents to function on campus.



Dana Palmer

Atlanta antiwar march in 1967



Militant/Howard Petrick

'The military and educational institutions are the prime targets of the antiwar movement,' Huston plan said.

# Target: foreign 'intelligence'

TOP SECRET

## III. INTELLIGENCE SERVICES OF COMMUNIST COUNTRIES

### A. Assessment of Current Internal Security Threat

The threat posed by the communist intelligence services must be assessed in two areas: (1) direct intervention in fomenting and/or influencing domestic unrest; (2) extensive espionage activities.

Taken in complete context, these services constitute a grave threat to the internal security of the United States because of their size, capabilities, widespread spheres of influence, and targeting of the United States as "enemy number one." The largest and most skilled of these services is the Soviet Committee for State Security (KGE) which has roughly 300,000 personnel of whom some 10,000 are engaged in foreign operations.

1. Intervention in Domestic Unrest. There have been no substantial indications that the communist intelligence services have actively fomented domestic unrest. Their capability cannot, however, be minimized and the likelihood of their initiating direct intervention would be in direct relationship to the deterioration of the political climate and/or imminence of hostilities. The ingredients for a first-rate capability are present, including both the personnel and the ingrained philosophy and know-how for using such tactics.

Communist intelligence has shown a real capability to foment disorder in a number of trouble spots. The dissidence and violence in the United States today present adversary intelligence services with opportunities unparalleled for forty years. While fostering disorder and rebellion through communist parties and fronts is a potent weapon in the communist arsenal, their past success has been evident in clandestine recruitment efforts on campuses during times of unrest. H. A. R. (Kim) Philby, Guy Burgess, and Donald Maclean were all students at Cambridge during the depression period of the 1930's and were in the vanguard of what was then the New Left. Their recruitment and cooperation with Soviet intelligence wreaked havoc on British intelligence and also compromised U. S. security in those sectors where they had authorized access.

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TOP SECRET

For instance, about 900 members of the Venceremos Brigade, a group of American youths, recently completed a round trip to Cuba. This travel was financed by the Cuban Government. While in Cuba, they were exhorted to actively participate in United States revolutionary activities upon their return to the United States.

The communist intelligence services maintain contacts and exert influence among a variety of individuals and organizations through the exploitation of ideological, cultural, and ethnic ties. Most of these liaisons are maintained with some degree of openness with individuals associated with the Communist Party, USA, various of its front groups, other pro-Soviet organizations, nationality groups, and foreign-language newspapers. These contacts are exploited as sources for and propaganda outlets of communist intelligence services. Regarded individually, these efforts cannot be considered a major threat to our internal security; however, in total, they represent a sizable element of our population which can be influenced in varying degrees by communist intelligence service operations.

2. Intelligence Operations. Persistent and pervasive intelligence operations which have their inspiration and direction supplied by communist intelligence services represent a major threat to the internal security.

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TOP SECRET

Page 16 deleted by House committee

### B. Assessment of Current Intelligence Collection

1. Scope and Effectiveness. The scope of overall intelligence efforts is encompassed in the threefold goals of penetration, intelligence, and prosecution. Domestic implementation of these goals is delimited by agreement among United States intelligence agencies. Intelligence components of the United States military services are immediately concerned with protecting the integrity of their personnel and installations.

Methods used in these endeavors, employed in varying degrees by U.S. intelligence agencies dependent upon their specific tasks are: penetrations; defectors; double agent operations; physical, technical, and photographic surveillances; examination and analysis of overt publications; information supplied by friendly intelligence services; and COMINT.

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TOP SECRET

Pages 18 and 19 deleted by House committee

# Cops fail to halt Minneapolis street rallies

By FRANK BOEHM

MINNEAPOLIS—The city cops here have been forced to retreat from attempts to prevent the Socialist Workers campaign committee from holding street meetings to build support for its fight for an exemption from the state's public disclosure law.

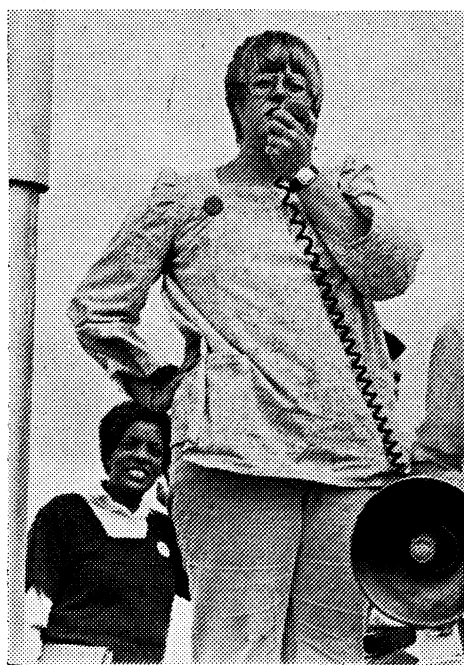
Police had stopped a rally in the afternoon of July 29, citing an old city ordinance that required a huge American flag to be displayed at all public meetings. The ordinance, however, had been declared unconstitutional several years ago after the cops had used it as an excuse to break up an antiwar rally on a street corner here.

After the afternoon rally was halted, the campaign committee notified the media and mobilized supporters to continue the rally that evening.

As TV cameras filmed the event, and evening shoppers stopped to listen, SWP candidate for governor, Jane Van Deusen, recounted the earlier confrontation. The cop who had stopped the meeting had refused to give his name, but Van Deusen took down his badge number.

"I challenge cop number 429," Van Deusen declared, "to stand in front of these cameras and all these people and tell us we have no right to gather because there is no American flag present. Where is cop number 429?"

She continued: "First they say they have the right to spy on and harass



Militant/Mark Allen

VAN DEUSEN: 'I'm not moving from this street corner.'

our campaign supporters. Then they have the gall to demand that we turn over the names and addresses of our campaign contributors to them. And then, when we protest, they try to say we don't even have the right to stand here on a street corner to mobilize support for our rights!

"Well, I've got news for them. First of all, they have no right to spy on or

harass our campaign supporters. Second, we're not turning over anybody's name to them. And third, I'm not moving from this street corner!

"I have every right to stand here and explain my views and no cop has the right to say I don't." The audience responded with applause.

During the course of the rally, several police cars cruised by without stopping as TV cameras recorded the scowls on the cops' faces.

"We established our right to stand here and talk," Van Deusen said. "But one thing is for sure—neither the Democratic nor Republican candidate for governor would ever run into trouble from cop number 429, or any other cop, for standing here speaking to a street rally, with or without a flag."

"When we take a stand in defense of democratic rights and appeal to people to support us in our fight, we can force the police to back down. And that's what we intend to do all the way down the line."

The rally was one of several held during the day to win support for the socialists' request, now pending before the State Ethics Commission, for an exemption from the new law requiring campaign committees to disclose the names and addresses of contributors. Additional rallies were planned leading up to the commission hearings set for July 30 and Aug. 1.

Sales of *The Militant* and distribution of leaflets explaining the SWP's views were given a boost by the street meetings. The Young Socialist Alliance is taking the major responsibility in organizing supporters to participate in this reach-out effort.

Additional activities, including future street meetings, appearances before campus and community groups, and media interviews are being lined up.

A representative of the Socialist Workers campaign committee is scheduled to address the executive board of the Central Labor Council here on August 14.



Militant/Mark Allen

Street rallies and Militant sales have been stepped up in Minnesota as part of fight against disclosure law.

# Fonda wins right to learn details of Huston plan

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—Acting in a suit filed by actress Jane Fonda, a federal judge here has ordered former presidential aide Tom Charles Huston to disclose what kinds of individuals or groups were to come under the scope of the 1970 secret spy plan he authored for Nixon.

On July 22, Federal District Judge Malcolm Lucas gave Huston 30 days to provide the information or refuse to do so on grounds of executive privilege. If the "privilege" claim is made, the judge will then rule whether or not it is applicable.

The court ruling was in response to a motion filed by Mark Rosenbaum of the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California. The ACLU is representing Fonda in the suit. She is seeking \$2.8-million in damages for violation of her civil liberties and is also seeking to enjoin the government, President Nixon, and various other individuals involved from further violations of her rights.

In the suit, Fonda charged that because she was an active opponent of the Vietnam war and the Nixon administration, she was subjected to il-

legal surveillance, provocation, burglary, and harassment.

In granting the ACLU motion relating to the notorious Huston plan, Judge Lucas limited the specific information he was ordering Huston to make available. He ruled that it wasn't necessary to disclose who helped Huston prepare the illegal spy plan or whether or not it was discussed in the White House or within the executive branch of government.

In arguing unsuccessfully against the ACLU motion, the Justice Department attorney asserted that "disclosure of such information could expose confidential informants and investigative techniques. . . ."

In the course of the hearings before the Senate Watergate committee, some of the facts regarding the Huston plan were made public.

In addition to illegal harassment of individual activists such as Fonda, the plan called for a campaign of surveillance, provocation, and harassment against the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Communist Party, and other radical organizations.

In addition to seeking the informa-



LNS/Vicky Smith

FONDA: Target of secret spy plan

tion from Huston, the ACLU will be seeking additional facts from all the major defendants in the suit—H.R. Haldeman, John Ehrlichman, Charles Colson, John Dean, and John Mitchell.

Pretrial depositions will also be sought from the FBI, CIA, IRS, and

other governmental agencies that have participated in the illegal activities against so-called subversives.

A significant legal point was established in an earlier decision by Judge Lucas. Government attorneys had argued that Nixon should not be included in the suit on grounds that the president was not subject to such civil suit.

Judge Lucas held that this was not the case and that the president could be included if he was "indispensable" to conduct of a suit. However, he asserted, Nixon was not "indispensable" to this suit, and he dropped him out.

Attorney Rosenbaum said that the judge's finding that a president could be sued for damages was a historic first and that the ACLU intended to pursue the entire matter further in the appeal process.

Like the suit being conducted by the Political Rights Defense Fund on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, the Fonda suit is already performing a valuable service in forcing further disclosure of illegal government activity. It will undoubtedly help slow the busy hands of the government plumbers.

# Leader of union women endorses socialist suit

By CONNIE PIPER

Olga Madar, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), has joined the growing list of labor leaders endorsing the suit by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance to force an end to illegal government surveillance and harassment. Madar added her name to the list of sponsors of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is organizing support for the case.

Another new sponsor is Abe Feinglass, international vice-president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, AFL-CIO. Previously Patrick Gorman, international secretary-treasurer

of the Meat Cutters, had endorsed the suit.

The PRDF also announced this week that it has received new support from several Black elected officials, including New York Assemblyman Arthur Eve, who has been active in defending the Attica Brothers, and Mayor Warren Widener of Berkeley, Calif. Widener was influential in the Berkeley city council's decision to pass a resolution of support to the PRDF last March.

The suit, filed by prominent constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin, seeks a permanent injunction against government infiltration, wiretapping, mail tampering, burglary, and other illegal harassment. The suit has al-

ready forced the government to admit that it initiated an "SWP Disruption Program" in 1961, conducted electronic surveillance of the SWP dating back to 1945, and monitored correspondence sent to the SWP national offices in New York.

The PRDF has issued an appeal for financial support from all defenders of civil liberties, to help meet the high expenses involved in the case. One of the recent contributors is Sol Silverman, president of Local 140, United Furniture Workers of America, AFL-CIO. Silverman donated \$25 from the union's Martin Luther King Memorial Freedom and Welfare Fund.

Another contribution of \$300 came from a benefit film series organized

by PRDF supporters in Berkeley. PRDF representatives gave brief explanations of the case and distributed literature at the film showings.

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

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

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

Name\_\_\_\_\_

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## 'Ethics Commission' holds hearings

# Evidence piles up as socialists press for exemption from Minn. disclosure law

By FRANK BOEHM

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Heads of eight federal, state, county, and local police agencies involved in political surveillance have been formally served subpoenas by the Minnesota State Ethics Commission, it was reported at the latest hearing, July 30.

All eight have indicated to the commission that they will comply with the subpoenas. The announcement came at the second Ethics Commission hearing held to determine whether the Socialist Workers campaign committee in Minnesota should be exempted from the disclosure provision of the new state campaign financing law. The socialists are demanding the exemption on the grounds that compelling them to disclose names of contributors would lead to harassment and illegal surveillance by the government.

The commission also decided to serve Philip Enlow, second in command of the FBI here, with a subpoena July 31. Joseph Trimbach, the local FBI chief, has been on vacation. The FBI has not indicated whether or not it will comply or move to quash the subpoena.

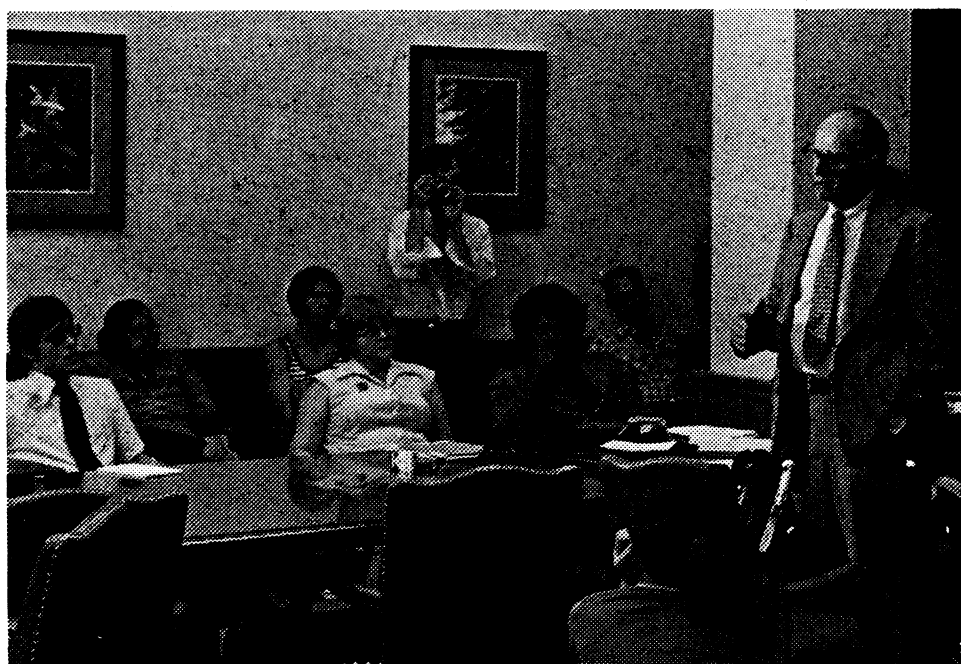
In addition, the commission voted to issue two more subpoenas. Called to testify about political surveillance were Morton Laver, Minneapolis postmaster, and Michael Burke, an FBI agent. They will be called to answer charges of mail tampering and illegal surveillance.

### Another victory

"Tonight's hearing resulted in another victory for us," Jane Van Deusen, Socialist Workers Party gubernatorial nominee, told reporters after the hearing. "Two more individuals involved in surveillance were subpoenaed, and it looks like the head cops will start to take the stand this Thursday."

Asked why the top officials apparently decided to comply rather than to move to quash the subpoenas, Van Deusen responded, "It has a lot to do with the fact that it doesn't look so good anymore for these Watergaters—whether here or in Washington, D.C.—to try to quash subpoenas or to simply 'stonewall it,' especially when everybody believes, as we do, that they're just covering up."

A Minneapolis Star reporter asked



Attorney Douglas Hall (right) argues at hearing that socialists can not be compelled to turn over names of campaign contributors without violating constitutional rights.

what Van Deusen expected the subpoenaed officials to say. "They're in a bind," she replied. "Either they will have to admit that they conduct illegal surveillance against us or they will perjure themselves. With the president of the United States being impeached right now for both these things, I have a feeling they're not too comfortable."

Questioning of the cops will begin Aug. 1. Among those slated to appear are the police chiefs of St. Paul and Minneapolis, the head of military intelligence at Fort Snelling, the state and University of Minnesota police chiefs, and the sheriffs of Hennepin and Ramsey counties.

Four hours of testimony at the July 30 hearing, the second in a series now going on, brought forth more evidence showing a pattern of systematic government harassment of members and supporters of the SWP and its candidates.

### Political Rights Defense Fund

Witnesses appearing on behalf of the campaign committee were Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF); Bill Peterson, a railway worker and 1972 SWP congressional candidate; Greg Guckenburg, chairman of the Minnesota Socialist Workers campaign committee; Ed Jurenas, SWP candidate for Congress, 5th C.D.; and Faith Shaver, a campaign supporter who examined photocopies of dossiers compiled by the University of Minnesota police department on the Young Socialist Alliance, the SWP, and their supporters.

Stapleton took the stand first. He was questioned intensely by interested commission members for more than one hour. He explained that the PRDF was organized to build support for a major legal challenge to the federal government's harassment and surveillance of the SWP and YSA. "Our stand against illegal government harassment of socialists leads us to support them in their fight for exemption from the disclosure provision of these campaign financing laws," Stapleton said. "Even a cursory reading of the material produced in the course of the suit we are supporting would lead you to conclude that disclosure of affiliation with the SWP can and does lead to all sorts of government reprisals."

Stapleton drew attention to one section of the government's answer to the SWP's legal complaint to underscore this point. The paragraph states

that "investigations are conducted with respect to persons who indicate they are members of SWP."

"Investigation" has come to mean anything from surveillance and intimidation to outright terrorism," Stapleton said.

### 'Monstrous violation of rights'

"So to us," he said, "disclosure of the campaign contributors is a monstrous violation of the rights of the SWP and those who wish to associate with it."

Stapleton also pointed out that it is a mockery of the democratic process to have a secret ballot and then take it away through forcing disclosure of who contributes to what campaigns.

Bill Peterson was the next witness. He reported that soon after he began to support the 1970 SWP campaign for governor, things started to happen. First, a burglary occurred where political files and correspondence were rifled while an expensive camera and jewelry were not touched.

When he ran for Congress in 1972, he testified, the FBI visited a neighbor in an attempt to secure information on his personal habits.

Greg Guckenburg, state campaign chairman, took the stand next. He provided information about the number of contributors the SWP campaign committee would have to report, the known number of those who have refused to contribute because of the disclosure provisions of the new law, and the number of known contributors who were disclosed in 1972 and 1973 reports who were subsequently harassed.

"But there's no way to tell," he emphasized, "how many potential contributors have not and will not come forward because they are aware of what could lie in store for them. We are convinced that the combination of government harassment and now disclosure has already resulted in significant financial loss for our campaign. As a matter of fact we know this has occurred already and we know of \$500 we have lost."

Guckenburg proceeded to emphasize these observations with a breakdown of the evidence submitted to the State Ethics Commission. The Minnesota law cites threats of physical coercion, loss of employment, economic reprisal, and restriction of the freedom of association as grounds for exemption from disclosure.

"We have documented 36 cases of threats of physical coercion. Four of

the affidavits before the commission show loss of employment, and three show economic reprisal. Another 41 cases clearly show actions by cops of one sort or another where the effect is to restrict freedom of association. Then there are 11 more cases of just plain harassment."

Following Guckenburg, Douglas Hall, attorney for the campaign committee, read a statement from the American Indian Movement (AIM) by Dennis Banks, its national director (see facing page). Banks was not able to attend the hearing.

Avis Foley, minority task force director of the Minnesota Women's Political Caucus, read a statement next. She pointed out that attacks on the democratic rights of the SWP "threaten all of us who are not always in line with the policies of the government."

SWP candidate Ed Jurenas took the stand to testify about the potential effect of disclosure upon garnering support from GIs. His testimony drew on his own experience in the Army from August 1970 to October 1971, during which time he was subjected to punitive assignments and transfers and was under constant surveillance, simply because of his socialist and antiwar views.

Even though his conduct and achievement were rated excellent, he said, he received no promotions. Instead he was sent to the 171st Infantry in Alaska.

When he refused to let the Army intimidate him into silence, he was transferred to the Presidio in San Francisco to await court-martial charges for his antiwar activities. A strong wave of protest forced the brass to back down and give Ed Jurenas an honorable discharge.

Hall asked whether the socialist candidates sought the support of GIs in their campaigns. "Absolutely," Jurenas responded. "They have a right to support whomever they would like and to contribute to political campaigns. But I can tell you from experience that any GI whose name is disclosed as a contributor to SWP campaigns is in for trouble. So here again this law cuts deeply into the rights of indi-

Continued on page 26



Syd Stapleton of Political Rights Defense Fund. Stapleton told commission suit has uncovered proof of government harassment of SWP supporters.

## Seattle debate on disclosure

SEATTLE—The Washington Socialist Workers campaign committee is demanding exemption from the disclosure provisions of the state campaign "reform" law here. The Public Disclosure Commission has agreed to a hearing on the case; a date for the hearing will be set shortly.

The issues involved in the socialists' case will be debated on Friday, August 9, at the Militant Forum, 5623 University Way N.E., at 8 p.m. The debate is titled, "Is Public Disclosure Election 'Reform'?"

Defending the "reforms" will be Steve Johnson, representing Common Cause, and John Price, professor of law at the University of Washington. Speaking for the socialists' rights to refuse to give the names of campaign contributors to the government will be Clare Fraenzl, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator, and Lauren Seldon, executive director of the Washington American Civil Liberties Union.



# New Stalinist treachery: CP betrays Minnesota rights battle

By DOUG JENNESS

MINNEAPOLIS — The Communist Party is stabbing a significant struggle for democratic rights in the back. The fight centers on the application of the Socialist Workers campaign committee for exemption from the unconstitutional disclosure provisions of Minnesota's new campaign "reform" law.

Representatives of the Socialist Workers Party and leaders of other organizations have been appearing before the Minnesota State Ethics Commission. They have argued that requiring the party to turn over the names of campaign contributors will discourage people from making contributions and will lead to harassment and surveillance of contributors by the FBI and other government intelligence agencies.

They have pointed to the documents that have come to light during the course of the Watergate investigations that confirm that members and supporters of the SWP are subjected to electronic eavesdropping, mail tampering, burglaries, and other forms of harassment.

In a statement presented to the State Ethics Commission, William Kunstler, attorney for the Wounded Knee defendants, argued, "If the SWP is required to disclose its members and contributors, they will be subjected in some quarters to the harmful effect of an unfortunate legacy of hate and ignorance that has done so much to bring us to the desperate straits in which we, as a people, now find ourselves."

Other prominent figures, including U. S. Representatives Bella Abzug (D-N. Y.) and Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.), and Hank Fischer, state chairman of the Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor state central committee, are also backing the SWP's position.

The Communist Party takes the opposite position. An article in the July



Soviet leader Brezhnev with honored guest in Moscow. Communist Party campaigns for detente and stabs struggle for democratic rights in the back.

gubernatorial candidate, to discuss collaboration on the two challenges.

A few days later the CP candidates canceled the meeting. On the eve of the July 23 meeting of the State Ethics Commission, called to consider the SWP's request, the CP publicly announced that it was withdrawing its request for exemption and expressed its support for the reactionary and unconstitutional disclosure law.

They argue that this law is "progressive" because it will help expose the financial ties between corporations and the Democratic and Republican parties. The reality, however, is that big business isn't going to have any problems formally abiding by the law and laundering its major contributions.

The law's real targets are small radical parties such as the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party, and La Raza Unida Party, as well as union participation in politics.

The antilabor nature of these election "reform" laws is becoming recognized in the labor movement. For example, the June 24 issue of "Memo from COPE," published by the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, concludes that the real aim of such "reforms" is "putting labor out of business politically."

The CP's endorsement of this reactionary law is consistent with its support of the initial indictments under the anticommunist Smith Act, adopted in 1940. This law made it a crime "to conspire to advocate the violent overthrow of the government."

It was first used by the Roosevelt administration at the beginning of World War II to railroad to prison leaders of the SWP and Teamsters Local 544 here in Minneapolis. The CP, 100 percent behind the government's war effort, applauded the jailing of these Minnesota labor leaders and even demanded longer sentences. In the late 1940s and the 1950s the same law was used to indict CP leaders.

Now the CP is again endorsing a capitalist antilabor law—a law that can and will be used against both the SWP and the CP. And this endorsement comes at the very moment that the SWP is seeking exemption from its reactionary provisions. While scores of other organizations and in-

dividuals are coming to the SWP's defense, the CP is knifing this defense in the back.

The *Daily World* reports that CP candidates Marquit and Flower have "growing confidence in the ability of the people to prevent the return of McCarthyism." This flimsy excuse for minimizing the consequences of the disclosure law totally covers up the reality that members and sympathizers of, and contributors to radical parties are continually subjected to harassment, attempted intimidation, and repression. The CP evades the fact that the disclosure requirement makes it easier for the government to wage its undemocratic attacks on the working-class movement and its organizations.

Why does the CP take the government's normal day-to-day attacks so lightly? The answer is Washington's détente with Moscow. The CP has made beating the drums for this détente its number one priority. CP forums are being held throughout the country to rally support behind imperialism's bloc with the Kremlin. The *Daily World* carries article after article explaining the need for a "united front movement" to support Washington's shift from "the cold war path of frontal aggression."

An article in the paper's July 5 issue reports on a CP central committee meeting held in early July. Headlined "CPUSA leaders open mass drive for detente," the article says that party General Secretary Gus Hall "drew a standing ovation from the CP leaders, who filled the meeting room as he urged a struggle to defeat Sen. Henry Jackson, AFL-CIO president George Meany and others who seek to plunge the nation back into cold war repression." But there wasn't even a single handclap for a struggle to defeat the capitalist government's Watergating of the working class and its organizations.

The Communist Party has no intention of launching a struggle to defend the working class against capitalist policies. Instead, Hall proposes to rally support for the prodétente capitalists. This class-collaborationist strategy only fosters illusions in the supposed "progressive" nature of these fakers, and leads to supporting the antilabor disclosure laws that the liberals have drawn up.

## AIM backs socialists' drive for exemption

MINNEAPOLIS — Pressure on the Minnesota State Ethics Commission intensified last week as the Socialist Workers campaign committee continued to gather support in its drive to win an exemption from the new election law. That law requires the committee to turn over to the government the names of its contributors.

On July 30, the American Indian Movement (AIM) released a statement from its national director, Dennis Banks, backing the socialists' stance. Banks referred to the FBI's "counter-intelligence" programs, pointing out that one of the objectives of these programs was to "illegally disrupt the legal political campaigns of the SWP."

Banks's statement continued: "Should the Commission fail to exempt the SWP and other political organizations similarly situated from the provisions of the law, the federal secret police and their plumber accomplices would be furnished with more intelligence for further illegal conduct. . . ."

"The laundering of contributions in foreign banks is a major party device designed to hide the big business origins of the funds and to preserve the status quo. When people joined together to bring about change through political action, no state should subject them to even greater police state restrictions. The SWP and other minority political parties should be exempted from the provisions of the statute."

The Democratic-Farmer-Labor (DFL) majority leader in the state senate, Nicholas Coleman, added his support in a letter sent to the Ethics Commission July 26. "I wish to add my support to [the socialists'] request for exemption from the disclosure requirements," Coleman wrote.

Coleman, who is a strong supporter of the new election law, told the commission, "If disclosure would result in even a few cases of such adverse reprisals, exemption is merited. The 1974 law was intended to open up the political process and not to impose inhibitions on any individual's ability to associate with the party of his choice."

The commission also received a statement from DFL State Senator Stephen Keefe, the chief author of the bill, supporting exemption for the Socialist Workers campaign committee.

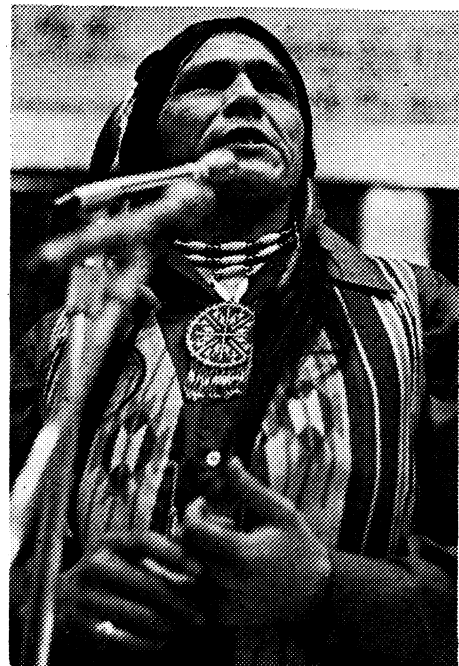
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CP leader Gus Hall opposes fight against antilabor campaign 'reform' laws.

25 *Daily World* reports that the reason the CP is not requesting exemption is because it would "create a false impression that the Party was undermining a law created to expose the illegal manipulations by which the corporations maintain their control over the Democratic and Republican parties."

This represents a 180-degree turn-about from the position announced by Erwin Marquit and James Flower, the CP candidates for governor and lieutenant governor, a week before. Following the initial publicity on the SWP's application for exemption, the CP publicly requested an exemption, too. They agreed to hold a meeting with Jane Van Deusen, the SWP's



Militant/Skip Ball

BANKS: Supports SWP's refusal to list names of contributors.

## Nixon calls for 'hard work'

# Government plans deeper recession

By DICK ROBERTS

In Los Angeles, July 25, President Nixon outlined a harsh program of economic measures aimed at stepping up the attack on wages and living standards in this country.

The mood of Nixon's speech was reflected in the reaction to it by the wealthy business audience.

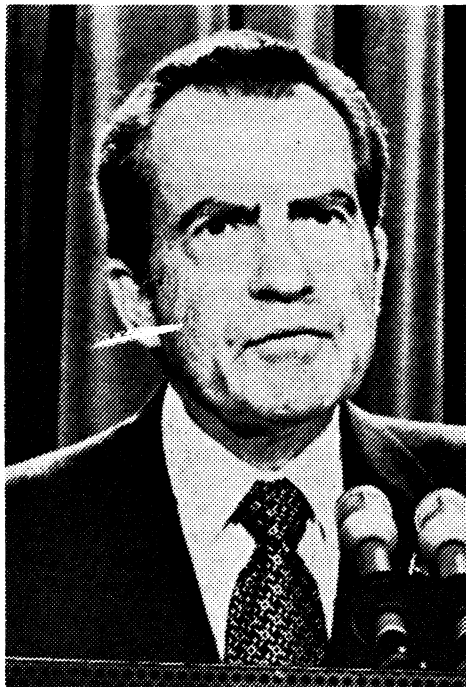
According to a reporter, "The 1,700 well-dressed men and carefully coiffed women crowding the meeting hall gave Mr. Nixon polite but not uproarious applause when he arrived. They applauded more vigorously during his speech when he said such things as that people should work harder and spend less or that the Government and the economy have been spending too much money on environmental control."

The measures proposed by Nixon included:

- Slashing Federal spending by \$12-billion. There is no talk of cutting back on the multi-billion-dollar weapons budget. Cuts will come in already-inadequate social, health, and welfare programs. Nixon also called for a reduction of 40,000 in the number of government employees.

- Holding to the tight-money policies of the Federal Reserve Board. These are aimed at keeping interest rates high in order to put the squeeze on businesses and home builders who cannot afford to pay the high interest rates.

Tight money can only result in further bankruptcies of small businesses, a decline in housing construction, and production cutbacks by big business.



NIXON: Eat less

Workers will be laid off at every stage of this process.

- "Adjusting" the Occupational Health and Safety Act. The president claimed that too much money is being spent to protect workers on the job. At the same time, Nixon called for *increasing productivity*. In other words, workers must work harder, under more dangerous conditions.

- Reducing expenditures on environmental protection. The White House hopes to build on gains already made by the oil trusts in the "energy crisis." Nixon said, "We often have a tendency to push particular social goals so fast or so far that other important economic goals are unduly sacrificed."

Nixon didn't have to explain that the other "economic goals" he had in mind were higher corporate profits—even though the profits of U.S. corporations, and especially the profits of the oil companies, are their highest on record.

The president rounded out this



Unemployed lines will grow as policies described by Nixon July 25 take effect

thoroughly reactionary attack on workers with an appeal for "labor responsibility" and a spirit of tightening the belt. He called for people to cut "one and a half percent in personal consumption expenditures—putting away 15 cents for every \$10 spent," claiming that this would combat inflation by reducing demand for goods.

### Recessionary moves

The whole gamut of Nixon's program is aimed at deepening the recessionary tendencies that are already present in the economy. Although governmental experts are juggling around with the definition of recession in order to pretend that it isn't taking place, the first half of 1974 has seen a decline in industrial output and an increase of unemployment. That is a recession.

The moves outlined by Nixon—decreasing federal spending, nonhiring of government workers, keeping money tight—can only result in furthering these trends. As fewer workers have jobs, their purchasing power declines, and the decline in demand leads to even further cutbacks in production. More workers are thrown into the ranks of the unemployed. The recession stretches out.

Ironically, Nixon's demagogic appeal for people to spend less money—as if they had enough money to spend any less—would in itself lead to further recession. The day after the president's speech a high administration official in Washington felt compelled to dissociate himself from this remark of the president.

The official, Sidney Jones, said, "We don't want a consumer boycott."

But working people are buying less because they simply cannot afford the exorbitant prices in the stores.

Much of the talk in capitalist circles about how to "cool off the economy" and "combat inflation" is nonsense. There is only one way for the capitalist economy to slow down inflation—it cannot stop inflation—and that is through recession.

As more and more people are laid off, as they are forced to reduce spending, and as they may be forced to accept lower wage increases for fear of further job losses, inflation is slowed.

The capitalists hypocritically blame workers for causing inflation when it is actually caused by deliberate gov-

ernment deficits, which pump money into the economy. The monopolists jack up their prices to soak up the cash.

Workers are always behind in this process, struggling for catch-up wage increases to try to keep up with spiraling prices.

If, nevertheless, the bosses can succeed in keeping pay increases down, this gives them higher profits and the leverage to keep their own price increases down. Since a recession is preceded by large inventory buildups, prices will stop rising so fast at a certain point, to trim the overproduced goods.

That happened in the previous (1970-71) recession, in which business was all the more aided by the New Economic Policy wage freeze. Price increases slowed down for about 18 months—and that is the only time in the past decade that price increases have slowed down in this country.

### Black incomes

What is more, significant layers of American workers were not able to recover from the 1970-71 recession in the brief period of economic upturn that followed.

This was revealed in the Bureau of the Census report July 23 that the gap between the median incomes of Black and white families continued to widen in 1973.

According to the July 24 *New York Times*, "The bureau also confirmed previous reports that the remarkable economic gains made by blacks during the nineteen-sixties slowed down, and in some cases were reversed, in the early nineteen-seventies."

The report said that the median income for a Black family of two adults and two children was \$7,269 in 1973 compared to \$12,595 for a white family. Everyone knows the miserable conditions that a family of four lives in with an income of only \$7,269 today.

These statistics reflect the fact that the more oppressed layers of the working class are harder hit by economic crisis. Black workers are indeed the last hired and first fired. If the economic upturn isn't long enough and strong enough, there is a good chance that they won't find steady jobs at all.

Nixon appeals to workers to tighten the belt. The belt is plenty tight enough.

### Congress

Interestingly, the TV ratings for Nixon's speech showed that almost as many people watched it as the broadcast of the impeachment debate in Congress. This was probably largely because Nixon's prime-time speech preempted all other broadcasts, while Congress gets only one major network at a time.

But there is a growing feeling that the "see how democracy works" show being put on by the House Judiciary Committee is not dealing with the most important issues.

Whether Nixon is impeached or not, unemployment and inflation are increasing. There seems to be no end in sight. Moreover, the same Congress that appears to be so active in the case of Nixon's impeachment is doing absolutely nothing to defend workers against these economic threats.

In fact, Congress has overwhelmingly supported Nixon's economic policies whenever enabling legislation was required. The plight of inflation-plagued people gets one or two speeches by windbags like Senator Hubert Humphrey, and that is about it.

## Where inflation doesn't hurt

There's one place where inflation isn't a problem in this country. It's Newport, R. I., the well-known summer watering hole of the American ruling class, recently visited by *New York Times* reporter Alden Whitman.

"Inflation? For the 250 or so super-rich American families summering in their enclave here, it is but a distant happening," Whitman says.

"Every night it's a different dinner party," Mrs. John Drexel III told Whitman. "It just exhausts me to look at my calendar."

Whitman talked to Mr. and Mrs. John Slocum in front of their Newport home, which has "at least seven master bedrooms."

One man told Whitman, "When your spendable income is a million bucks a year... inflation stings a little, but it doesn't really hurt."

"I have no problem with domestic help—I was born with them," said Mrs. Drexel, whose butler, Wingrove, has been in the family for 20 years. Others, though, echo Mrs. Katherine Warren, the founder and president of the Preservation Society, who said, "You can't find good help any more—people just don't want to work."

"Jane Pickens Langley, whose late husband, William, was an investment broker, lives in a splendid old house on Bellevue Avenue. She has a personal maid who doubles as a hairdresser, but she is also troubled about help. 'I don't see why more people don't become domestics,' she said. 'It's a lovely way of life, such a nice life. I let my servants have telephone calls and things of that type.'"



## Busing & the Court

The robes of Supreme Court justices are black instead of white. But the majority of the high court was motivated by the same racist contempt for the Black community as their brothers in the Ku Klux Klan, when they voted to effectively bar busing between city and suburban school districts July 25.

The 5-to-4 Court ruling came in the wake of a sustained racist offensive against the right of Black students to go to the generally superior white schools. President Nixon has openly expressed his opposition to court-ordered busing, white parents in New York have launched school boycotts, thousands of racist demonstrators have massed in Boston, and both houses of Congress have passed antibusing legislation. As Thurgood Marshall, the first and only Black ever to serve on the Supreme Court pointed out, the decision was "a reflection of the perceived mood that we have gone far enough in enforcing the Constitution's guarantee of equal justice. . . ." Marshall correctly attacked the majority decision as "a giant step backward."

Many court-ordered busing schemes don't address themselves to the basic problems of securing an equal education for Black students. At best they provide better schools for a minority of Black students, leaving the majority relegated to run-down, underfinanced facilities with fewer teachers.

But busing *does* pose one key question—the right of Black students to go to the schools of their and their parents' choice. The question of how to achieve quality education for Black children is one that must be decided on by the Black community—not by Congress, not by racist, white-dominated school boards and state legislatures, and not by the refined Klansmen sitting on the Supreme Court.

## Tax swindle

When Nixon delivered his "spend less" speech on the economy July 25, he rejected as "inflationary" the idea of cutting taxes to give some relief to working people. "This," he said, "would be like pouring gasoline on a raging fire."

Now the House Ways and Means Committee has labored and brought forth a tax "reform" bill, and if it is passed taxes will be cut after all. A small change in the standard deduction may save some low- and middle-income taxpayers a few bucks. But the big winners will be—surprise!—rich individuals and the big corporations.

One of the biggest swindles in the supposedly progressive U.S. tax structure is the tax break for "capital gains"—that is, profit from sale of stocks or real estate. Such income, which is a significant amount only for the rich, is taxed at *half* the rate of income from wages. The new bill actually *decreases* this tax, based on the length of time an asset is held. It will add up to a giveaway of some \$850-million a year to the wealthy.

The new bill also reduces from 70 percent to 50 percent the top tax rate for all or part of "unearned income." This is income from dividends, interest, rents, and other investments. The rationale for this move is to give the stock market a boost.

The tax "reform" bill leaves untouched other scandalous loopholes such as the oil-depletion allowance and the tax exemption for interest from state and municipal bonds.

The committee responsible for this bill, like the Congress that will approve it or some similar measure, is controlled by Democrats. This is just one illustration of the fact that the anti-working-class policies of the capitalist government are *bipartisan* policies. They will not be changed one iota by the election of a "veto proof" Congress; that is, an even bigger Democratic Party majority.

In contrast to the capitalist parties, candidates of the Socialist Workers Party are running on a platform that speaks to the interests of working people. They call for closing all loopholes on taxes for the rich and the corporations; for repeal of sales taxes and all others that tax the poor more than the rich; and for a genuinely progressive income tax ranging from *no* tax on incomes under \$15,000 to a 100 percent tax on incomes over \$30,000.

### The Militant gets around

Some of us were selling *The Militant* recently at the Chevy gear and axle plant in Detroit. The Democratic candidate for governor, Sander Lewis, was there shaking hands and hustling votes. When he saw the paper, he said to one of *The Militant* salespeople, "I see you people everywhere!"

*The Militant* gets around.

J.S.  
Detroit, Mich.

### New readers

Recently 10-15 of the prisoners here started to receive *The Militant*. On behalf of the inmates I want to take a moment to thank you for sending this informative paper. Already several other prisoners are inquiring about it.

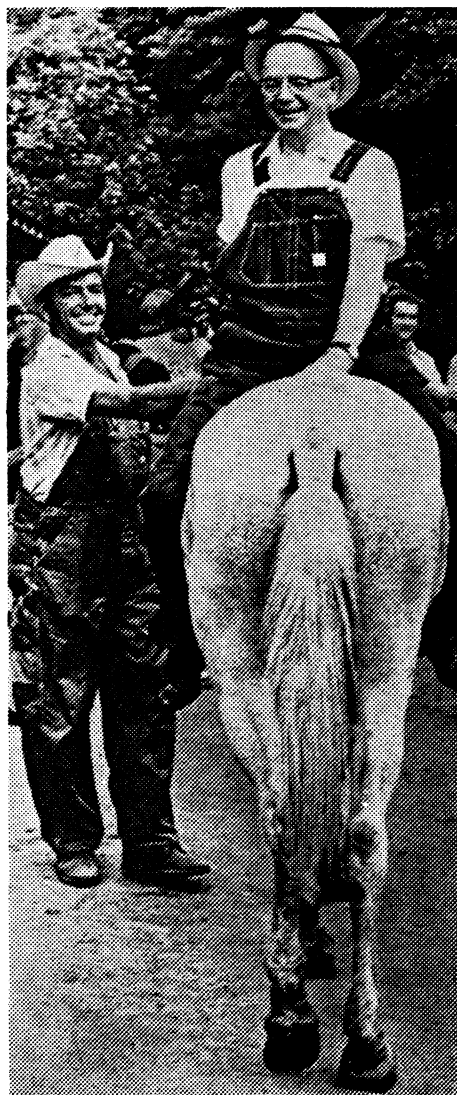
One of the recent articles that has captured our interest has been the reporting of the "Huston Plan." *A Prisoner*  
Oklahoma

### A horse's (expletive deleted)

*The Militant* recently quoted a response by Vince Eagan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia, to the Atlanta weekly *Great Speckled Bird*. The *Bird* had dismissed his candidacy as nonserious and Eagan noted that according to the newspaper's criteria, the racist buffoon Lester Maddox qualified as a serious candidate.

I'm enclosing a photograph of Maddox to illustrate Eagan's point.

C.C.  
New York, N.Y.



### Cynicism grows

After reading in *The Militant* about the Yankelovich survey, I thought you might be interested in a survey taken by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan.

The institute's Center for Political Studies's findings reveal that "at the end of 1973 persons cynical about the federal government suddenly out-

numbered those who had a great deal of trust by a ratio of two to one."

Distrust in the government has been steadily growing since 1964, the study says, but this is the first time that those distrusting the government outnumbered those trusting the government.

The report says that the "most disturbing" aspect of the study is that distrust is so great that "many Americans even question the validity of the election process."

"Surprisingly," the report continues, "the growth of distrust has not swelled the ranks of the Democrats but has instead accentuated a recent trend—begun in 1964—for voters to move away from allegiance to either major party. Independents outnumber those who identify with either major political party for the first time since the political surveys began measuring party identification in 1952."

E.J.  
New York, N.Y.

### Preparing defense

I would like to continue my subscription to *The Militant*, but only for the next four weeks. I am marked for trial in September and am getting my defense prepared. The two weeks before I go to trial I will concentrate on my case.

If they convict me, I will get life. That is why I have to miss *The Militant* for a while after the next four weeks.

I want to give you an example of the petty stuff the officials do here. The Fourth of July was a Thursday, and we got a halfway decent meal like we get on Sundays. The next Sunday we got the slop they had in store for Thursday!  
*A prisoner*  
New York

### On Portugal

Portuguese President António de Spínola, though boxed in a corner, has managed to bluff, wheedle, and stall on independence for Portugal's African colonies.

Last week he announced Portugal would immediately begin transferring power to the people of the colonized territories. So far, however, nothing has happened.

Your readers will be interested in some of the latest rumblings in the colonies, the tremors of which Spínola has no doubt felt in Lisbon:

- "About 2000 Black and White soldiers who recently completed basic training in Lourenco Marques, have refused to leave barracks to fight Frelimo," a dispatch in the July 20 Johannesburg *Star* said. African troops, the report said, "were the first to refuse to go to the front." The dispatch said the troops were supported by the staff of the military hospital in Lourenco Marques.

- All members of a crack group of Black troops in the Portuguese army have abandoned their posts in Mozambique, reports the *Star*, and joined Frelimo. A group of Portuguese navy marines "turned a blind eye while the troops defected."

- In Guinea-Bissau, Portuguese army "trucks are bringing PAIGC commissars to villages to assure the population that the guerrillas plan no revenge on those who co-operated with the Portuguese forces," the *Star* reports.

"In the north-west, PAIGC forces are warning Portuguese soldiers which roads are still mined. The two sides are working together to remove mines."

- A July 29 Associated Press dis-





patch from Kinshasa, Zaire, reports that two Angolan guerrilla groups "have decided to join forces to negotiate the independence from Portugal of the West African territory." The two groups are the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, and the National Front for the Liberation of Angola.

Another way to shake Spínola to his senses was pointed out in an interview Frelimo President Samora Machel gave to *Jet* magazine. He urged the mobilization of the American people in support of Mozambique. "Without the United States," he said, "Portugal would not be able to wage its wars (in Africa)."

Karari Nkomo  
New York, N.Y.

### Gary Lawton case

Gary Lawton and Zurebu Gardner, the two Black men accused of killing two white cops in 1971, face a third frame-up trial on Aug. 26. The two previous trials have ended in hung juries, with a majority of the jurors voting "not guilty."

Recently, three of the white jurors who sat through one of the two previous trials attacked the state's plan to hold another trial.

Louise Ziesing, who was on the first jury that heard the case, said, "It is a frame-up."

"It was worse than a frame-up," Russell Langdon said, also a member of the first jury. "If it had been a frame-up, they would have framed some evidence. You can bet they'll do it for the third trial."

Calvin Strong Jr., who was on the second jury, said, "In the beginning it was prosecution. Now it is persecution."

Ziesing also said that she suspects Lawton "had stepped on a lot of toes in the police department and they wanted to get rid of him. He was a leader in the Black community and trying to help the Black people."

The Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee is urging people to write District Attorney Byron Morton, 3535 Tenth St., Riverside, Calif. 92501, demanding that the charges be dropped against Lawton and Gardner.

Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee  
Riverside, Calif.

### Bound volumes

Please send me the bound volume of *The Militant* of July-December 1973. It will be a great help in researching the various struggles taking place and in getting the truth out about today's issues.

B. W.  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

In reply—Bound volumes of *The Militant* are available for the years 1965-1970 at \$15 a year. From 1971 through 1973 each year is bound in a set of two volumes, available at \$20 for the set. The January-June 1974 volume will be available shortly.

Bound volumes may be ordered from the Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.N. 10014.

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.

## Chicana feminism

LOS ANGELES—Consuelo Nieto is the author of an article examining the unique problems confronting Chicanas. It appears in the Spring 1974 *Civil Rights Digest*, a publication of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. The issue is devoted to "Sexism and Racism: Feminist Perspectives."

Nieto is a member of the Women's Rights Task Force of the teachers' organization, the National Education Association, and she is active in *Comision Feminil*, a feminist organization of Chicanas.

Anyone who has grappled with the particular problems of Chicanas will appreciate this thoughtful analysis. For those who have not, it's a good place to start.

Chicanas suffer both as women and as members of a national minority, says Nieto. Therefore, she feels that Chicanas should participate in the struggles of all women for equality as well as in the Chicano liberation movement. But, she adds, they will participate in the women's movement as Chicanas.

"For some it is sufficient to say, 'I am woman,'" writes Nieto. "For me it must be, 'I am Chicana.'"

For one thing, Chicanas share many problems with Anglo women, but because of racial oppression, these same problems are more acute for Chicanas.

As a teacher of adult education classes in the barrio, Nieto draws on personal experience when she asserts that many Chicanas today, young and old alike, want to break out of their traditional roles.

"How can I help my daughters so that when they get married they will be able to do things that my husband won't allow me to do?" was a question of great concern to the mothers in Nieto's classes.

Many Chicanas are questioning accepted norms regarding such things as divorce, remarriage, and birth control. The excruciating difficulty they face in this, however, is that their oppression as women is an integral part of Chicano culture and tradition.

Nieto shows how the Catholic Church has used its influence in the Chicano community to keep women in an inferior position.

When a Chicana rebels against her second-class status as a woman, she is often misunderstood by her own people. This often results in a very concrete personal problem: their husbands, fathers, and boy-friends will oppose them.

This lack of understanding on the part of men stems from some misconceptions. For one thing, many men take it as a personal affront to themselves that Chicanas want to take some control over their own destiny. And too, the objection is often heard that feminism is an "Anglo thing" and is a diversion from the movement for justice and equality for *la raza*.

To this Nieto answers, "I am here to fight with you shoulder to shoulder as an equal. If you can only be free when I take second place to you, then you are not truly free—and I want freedom for you as well as for me."

Summarizing what confronts the Chicana, Nieto says her task is threefold: first, to become involved in one of the Chicana feminist organizations currently emerging; secondly, to be involved with Chicanos in the Chicano liberation movement; and thirdly, to participate, as a Chicana, in the broader women's rights movement.

The Chicana is needed in the women's liberation movement, Nieto explains, "to provide the Chicana perspective as well as to provide support for the activities designed to help all women."

Nieto envisions the development of a Chicana feminism that will be an integral part of the *movimiento*. It will draw inspiration from Chicanas who are struggling for *la causa*—in the factories, in the fields, and in the barrios. The movement has much to gain from such a development.

## National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



## The struggle for jobs for all

Spiraling inflation has prompted many unions to demand cost-of-living clauses in their contracts. But massive unemployment (4.8 million by government figures, much higher in reality) also undermines the standard of living of the working class, and few unions are doing anything at all to protect their members against layoffs.

Union officials pretend there is nothing anyone can do about unemployment—like trying to fight the tides. Yet the demand for more jobs was once the central issue of many strike actions and union demonstrations. Jobs for all was one of the basic aims of the CIO movement in its formative years.

There are two ways to create more jobs to satisfy the needs of the working class. One is to reduce the hours of work. The other is to launch a massive public works program.

The unemployment crisis is not yet acute enough to force the union movement, as presently constituted, to mobilize its forces in a sustained fight to win jobs. But this will come sooner than the current crop of union officials realizes.

Some complacent bureaucrats include talk about shorter hours of work in contract demands, largely out of habit and without giving any thought to the meaning of such demands.

The United Steelworkers of America has a traditional 30-hour week demand that never gets mentioned when USWA President I.W. Abel meets with the steel companies.

Auto workers coined the "30 for 40" slogan: 30-hours work for 40-hours pay. But there is no sign that Leonard Woodcock and those around him in the leadership of the United Auto Workers have any intention of ever pressing the corporations for this demand, even though unemployment in the auto industry is at the highest level in many years.

The idea that every worker is entitled to a job will become a material factor when the millions who are forced out of work demand jobs and when this finds expression inside the union movement. Today we are witnessing the beginning of this process as

unemployment deepens. Young workers of this generation assume that everyone has a right to a job, that jobs ought to be available to all who want to work.

The fight for this goal must take into account the total work force. The hours of work should be shortened so that all available jobs are shared by all workers, with no reduction in weekly take-home pay.

A campaign for this demand could be started in particular industries as emergency needs require, or in geographical regions where there is acute unemployment. When massive layoffs hit the auto industry last winter, for example, the UAW should have demanded a shorter workweek in all auto plants: no layoffs and no cut in pay for anyone! Instead, some UAW members continue to work grueling hours of forced overtime while others are jobless, with their unemployment benefits fast running out.

The struggle against such a debilitating economic and social sickness as chronic inflation and unemployment cannot be confined to the limits of established trade-union bargaining procedures and the traditional methods of isolated single-industry strikes. Institution of the 30-hour workweek should be a *national campaign* of the labor movement.

This applies to the demand for a massive public works program, as well. At the moment the AFL-CIO is on record for a public works program of sorts, a kind of mini-WPA, which Congress is urged (but not very strongly) to approve.

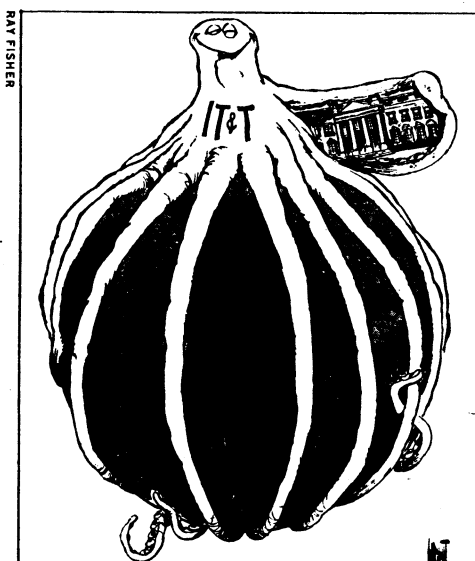
Public works should be a planned program of construction, not a temporary nonproductive make-work scheme. It should be a national project to build low-cost public housing, modern school facilities, hospitals, mass transportation systems, and other public construction that has been long neglected and is urgently needed.

When the union movement is determined to fight for a program of planned production, the blight of unemployment will begin to disappear—and so will inflation.



**Socialism anyone?**— Los Angeles area dairy interests dumped 40,000 gallons of skim milk into sewers because they had no market for it. Why not distribute it to poor people? Because, a spokesman explained, they couldn't afford to pasteurize it and put it in containers.

**Federal protection**—Merely because medical authorities have labeled sodium nitrate and sodium nitrite carcinogenics, knee-jerk food liberals have complained of the government's do-nothing policy on these additives to packaged meats. Meanwhile a company planning to market an additive-free hot dog reported that the initial response of the feds was that it couldn't label it a frankfurter unless it included the nitrate and nitrite.



"I get by with a little help from my friends."

**With a tape recorder for Brezhnev?**— We were touched by the concern expressed by the Senate Investigations Subcommittee regarding possible sale of U.S.-made surveillance equipment to Moscow. The committee fears the equipment might be used to suppress dissidents and minorities—something that could never happen here.

**Oh—Watergater** Charles Colson couldn't have really meant it when he said he'd walk over his own grandmother to get Nixon reelected, his wife Patricia told Marlene Cimonis of the *Los Angeles Times*. The reason being both his grandmothers were dead when he said it. Besides, she added, "What he actually said was he would walk around his grandmother to get Richard Nixon elected."

**With justice for all**—A New York lawyer was convicted in two cases of robbing elderly clients of some \$85,000. The presiding judge said that he used his lawyer's license like "a bank robber uses a submachine gun." He sentenced him to three years on each conviction.

**It figures**—California's Governor Reagan is a vigorous opponent of "welfare chiselers" who rip off the taxpayers. Recently the good governor and his wife took a two-day trip in his state executive jet to visit relatives in Phoenix. They paid \$282.13, the cost of two commercial tickets. The \$1,975.35 balance was paid, natch, by the taxpayers.

## Women In Revolt

## Linda Jenness



### Ms. features Black women

*Ms.* magazine hits the bookstands in New York on the nineteenth of each month, and I always look forward to picking up a copy. Sometimes it's disappointing, but not this month.

The August *Ms.*—with a cover photo of Cicely Tyson—features several articles on Black women.

The "Letters to the editor" column is filled with letters from Black women who attended the National Black Feminist Organization conference held in New York last October. Two of the most interesting are from a mother and daughter, both Muslims, from Ossining, N.Y.

The daughter, 12, writes that she had "heard black men talking about being the heads of their households and about women contributing to the black nation only by staying home, having babies, and keeping the house clean. Now I know that black women have talents and ideas that are needed in order to free all black people."

In an article titled "Money: Small Change for Black Women," Aileen Hernández outlines the hard economic facts of Black women's oppression. Hernández is a past president of the National Organization for Women and cofounder of Black Women Organized for Action in San Francisco. She uses the economic statistics to expose the myth of the "Black matriarchy"; the myth that the affirmative

action plans have made Black women the "most favored" in the job market; and the myth that Black women are taking jobs away from Black men.

Hernández takes on the Daniel Moynihan study, issued by the U.S. Department of Labor in 1965, which claimed that the problem facing the Black community was the "Black matriarchy."

"When racism denied the black man the ability to be the sole 'breadwinner' in the family," writes Hernández, "the black woman moved to fill the gap between a black man's earning and a family's need—usually by working at the most menial and the lowest-paid jobs in society. The result was far from matriarchal: thanks to the sex-stereotyping of jobs, for instance, even those few black women with one to three years of college and full-time work still earn less than a black man with one to three years of high school—and less than a white man with an eighth-grade education."

Hernández concludes with the prediction that Black women will not allow "white patriarchal systems to force her to decide whether she is black or she is a woman. She is both, and she will fight for the right to be both. . . . she will work for the causes that help rid her of the shackles of

both racism and sexism."

The feature story in *Ms.* is about Cicely Tyson, the young Black actress best known for her role in the movie *Sounder* and the television drama "The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman."

More important than the details of Tyson's life and career—interesting in and of themselves—is the article's focus on the role of Black women in theater, movies, and television.

Excerpts from *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* are also reprinted in this month's issue of *Ms.* This narrative of pre-Civil War slavery is one of the few in existence written by a woman slave, and it's worth buying the magazine just to read this one piece.

Each month *Ms.* magazine carries a story for children from the new collection of nonsexist children's books. This month's story is about Rosa Parks, the Black woman who refused to give her bus seat to a white man in Montgomery, Ala., in 1955. Parks's action sparked the famous Montgomery bus boycott, one of the opening shots of the civil rights movement.

All in all, this month's *Ms.* is a service to both the Black struggle and the women's liberation movement.

## By Any Means Necessary

## Baxter Smith



### From three-fifths of a man to...

One hundred six years ago, on July 28, 1868, a Constitutional Amendment was ratified by the states, proclaiming:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall . . . deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

The measure became known as the Fourteenth Amendment. It was ratified during Reconstruction, and it declared that, legally, a Black must no longer suffer the indignities of a person with the status of three-fifths of a man, but was entitled to full rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

Passage of the Fourteenth Amendment was a victory for the struggle of Blacks. It said that the federal and state governments must recognize that Blacks have the same rights as whites.

During the period following its passage, Reconstruction, unheard-of social reforms involving Blacks became a matter of fact. But a period of reaction began in 1876 with the Hayes-Tilden Compromise. Since then, Blacks have never enjoyed the same rights as under Reconstruction.

The slew of civil rights laws and measures that have been passed to grapple with the problem since then testifies to this.

An edict by the Supreme Court in 1954 ruled that school segregation was illegal. But today, school segregation continues.

A Civil Rights Act was enacted in 1964, allowing Blacks equal opportunity to housing, public facilities, and jobs. But the lack of equal opportunity in these areas continues.

Jobwise, a recent Census Bureau report found that Blacks are still relegated to the most menial, grueling, and low-paying jobs, and the situation is getting worse.

"The remarkable economic gains made by blacks during the nineteen-sixties slowed down, and in some cases were reversed, in the early nineteen-seventies," the *New York Times* says in discussing the report.

According to the report, the median income of a Black family of four in 1973, \$7,269, was 58 percent of the median income of a white family of four, \$12,595.

Housingwise, "in metropolitan areas, regardless of income, a substantial proportion of black families" still reside in "low-income areas," the *Times*

says.

And if this is not enough, when Blacks try to improve their status, their attempts are usually undermined.

Take the case of Kawaida Towers in Newark, N.J., for example, where racist whites have thrown up a flurry of obstacles to Blacks who simply want a roof over their heads. Or take the numerous instances of government harassment and disruption of the Black struggle that the COINTEL-PRO documents are revealing.

So, looking back on this anniversary occasion, we can see that in order to get our "forty acres and a mule," and to achieve the full civil and human rights implied in the Fourteenth Amendment, Constitution, and other laws, a socialist revolution against the entire capitalist order will be required. Because our plight today, it seems, is not much better than how Frederick Douglass described it before the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment:

"We raise de wheat, dey gib us de corn. We bake de bread, dey gib us de crust. We sif de meal, dey gib us de huss. We peel de meat, dey gib us de skin. We skim de pot, dey gib us de liquor, and say dat's good enough for nigger."

# Campaigning for socialism

**MICHIGAN: 35 SWP CANDIDATES ON BALLOT:** The Michigan Socialist Workers campaign sponsored a barbecue July 20 on "Racism and the 1974 Elections." Seventy-five supporters and friends of the campaign attended to celebrate the fact that a total of 35 SWP candidates will appear on the ballot this year.

In addition to a full statewide slate headed by Robin Maisel for governor and Ruth Getts for lieutenant governor, the SWP is running candidates in every one of Michigan's 19 congressional districts. There are also socialist nominees for several state house and senate positions.

In response to an appeal for funds by Maisel, supporters contributed more than \$2,000 so that the SWP can wage a large and aggressive campaign this fall.

One of the featured speakers was B. R. Washington, SWP candidate for attorney general. Washington outlined the historical development of capitalism and racism in the U.S., explaining, "The capitalist system needs racism. It has to have it to maintain



Militant/Martha Pettit

**B.R. WASHINGTON:** "We will never abolish racism until we abolish the system that needs and nurtures it."

substandard wages for Blacks, which are essential to its profits."

"We will never abolish racism until we abolish the system that needs and nurtures it," Washington said. "And that's why we as Black people will never achieve our liberation except through the fight for a socialist society."

**1,000 ATTEND CALIFORNIA SWP RALLIES:** The Socialist Workers campaign hit the streets throughout California July 20 with a series of outdoor rallies that drew a combined total of more than 1,000 persons.

Campaign supporters distributed 3,500 campaign programs in English and Spanish and sold hundreds of copies of *The Militant* and *Young Socialist* newspapers. Dozens of people signed cards endorsing the socialist campaign, and two asked to join the SWP.

One of the highlights of the day's activities was a street meeting in San Francisco's predominantly Latino Mission District. The featured speaker was Olga Rodriguez, SWP candidate for governor.

"We Chicanos are among the most oppressed, brutalized, and exploited people in this country," she said. "In addition, there are hundreds of thousands of *la raza* who work here in California and yet have no rights at all. These are the people my Democratic opponent Jerry Brown calls 'illegal aliens.'"

Rodriguez urged her listeners to attend and help build the Aug. 31 demonstration in Los Angeles in defense of undocumented workers and in opposition to the deportation raids conducted by the Immigration Service.

The crowd also heard Nat Weinstein, veteran trade unionist and SWP candidate for Congress from the 5th C.D. Weinstein pointed to the recent increase in strikes around the country as evidence of heightened militancy among rank-and-file workers.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union organizer Jack Rasmus addressed the rally, voicing his support for the SWP campaign.

Several street meetings were also held in East Los Angeles and Santa Monica, and campaign supporters set up literature tables in Berkeley and Oakland.

**HEISLER ADDRESSES CYPRUS DEMONSTRATION:** One hundred fifty people demonstrated at the Chicago Civic Center July 21 to protest the overthrow of Archbishop Makarios by the Greek military junta (itself since overthrown) and the invasion of Cyprus by Turkey.

The action was sponsored by a broad coalition of groups, including the Chicago Council on Justice for Cyprus, Cypriot Students of the Chicagoland Area, Chicago Organization for Democracy in Greece, Committee for a Free Greece, and Friends of the Panhellenic Liberation Movement.

Among those speaking at the rally was Ed Heisler, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois. "The masses of people in Cyprus are being used by both Turkey and Greece as mere pawns," Heisler declared. "Neither regime is concerned about the right of Cypriots to self-determination. Both regimes are using weapons supplied by the U.S. government, and both regimes oppress the working people of their own countries."

Heisler called for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cyprus, and for an end to U.S. military aid to both Greece and Turkey.

**INDIANA SOCIALIST PROTESTS FORMATION OF COP TERROR SQUAD:** It was announced July 18 that the Indianapolis police department was training 25 handpicked volunteers to form a "Special Weapons and Tactics" (SWAT) unit. The elite squad was to be on the streets of Indianapolis July 22.

This action was protested by Greg Peterson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress. In a statement to the media, Peterson pointed out that in Los Angeles it was a SWAT unit that spearheaded the massacre of six members of the Symbionese Liberation Army. In Atlanta and other cities these racist terror squads have been the targets of protests by the Black community because of their killings of Black people.

"There is no reason to believe that an Indianapolis version of SWAT would be any different from these licensed killers in other cities," Peterson declared.

Peterson demanded the abolition of SWAT and the removal of the current police force from the Black community, "to be replaced by a force drawn from and responsible to the community."

—ANDY ROSE

## Plight of D.C. tenants: soaring rents, eviction

By ANNE SPRINGER

WASHINGTON, D.C.—One of the central issues in the District of Columbia's first municipal election under a new "home rule" charter is the housing crisis facing the Washington metropolitan area.

As the suburban areas put moratoriums on new housing construction and the population continues to grow, a housing crunch has begun to squeeze low- and middle-income people out of the city.

Although three-fourths of the residents of D.C. rent their housing, they are competing in a rental market that has lost 11,000 units during the past four years.

Right now the apartment vacancy rate is only 1.8 percent and 7,275 families are waiting for public housing.

Under pressure from the public anger at spiraling rents, the city council passed a temporary rent control bill in May. The bill provided a convenient loophole for landlords, however, in that an apartment was not covered by the controls if it was "substantially rehabilitated." What this means in effect is that if a landlord paints a unit, the rent is raised.

Under the growing threat of rent controls, however, the powerful real estate interests in D.C. have stepped up conversion of apartment buildings into condominiums. In the past four years, more than 5,000 units—6 percent of the apartments in D.C.—were converted.

Hardest hit by the conversions are

### D.C. socialist petition drive

The Washington, D.C., Socialist Workers campaign has already collected more than 14,500 names on petitions in its drive to gain 25,000 signatures to put five candidates on the November ballot.

A week ahead of schedule, petitioning has already been completed for Nan Bailey, SWP candidate for mayor; Allan Budka, for city council chairman; and Toba Singer, for D.C. delegate to the House of Representatives.

Socialist campaigners are now gathering signatures to put Anne Powers and Sara Smith on the ballot as at-large candidates for city council.

The recently passed "home rule" charter, which provides for the first elected city government in D.C. in a century, requires 3,000 valid signatures of registered voters for each candidate. The SWP aims to far surpass the requirement by gathering 5,000 signatures for each of its nominees.



SWP candidate Toba Singer calls for federal crash program to build quality low-cost housing.

low- and middle-income residents. In three buildings recently converted, more than 60 percent of the residents were elderly tenants who could never afford to buy their apartments, as most were living on fixed incomes such as Social Security or pensions.

Large corporations see the tight housing market in D.C. as a lucrative area for investment with high returns. McLean Gardens, for example, which is slated for conversion into condominiums, is owned by Chicago Bridge and Iron Corporation, which grossed profits of \$30-million last year.

In an effort to mask the evictions of the 2,500 residents, many of whom had lived there for 30 years, the management sent tenants letters informing them that they will have the first opportunity to buy their apartments—for only \$30,000-42,000! A recent survey by the Tenants' Association found that more than 75 percent of the residents could not afford to purchase their apartments.

The tenants who are to be evicted from McLean Gardens are the latest to be thrown out on the street with little hope of finding suitable alternative housing. Recently Cathedral Mansions was converted, where many Spanish-speaking people had lived. Seventy percent of the Spanish-speaking tenants were forced to move out of the District because they could not find housing. Others had to move in with relatives or friends in already overcrowded conditions.

At recent hearings before the city council, Joe Davis of the Citywide Housing Coalition drew applause from the audience when he called for a moratorium on condominium conversions.

Toba Singer, Socialist Workers Party candidate for D.C. delegate to the House of Representatives, blasted Mayor Walter Washington's proposed

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# Detente: 'road to peace' or counterrevolutionary deal?

Not since the depression of the 1930s and the subsequent holocaust of World War II have the storm clouds generated by an anarchic and uncontrollable world capitalism appeared so menacing. Famine stalks the earth; threats of war in one place are no sooner contained—temporarily—than new conflicts burst out elsewhere; sudden shortages and breakdowns appear without warning; and hanging over all is the specter of nuclear annihilation.

Even in the richest country on earth there is no feeling of security or of confidence. Working people sense that world capitalism is in a deepening crisis. At home the continuing destruction of our environment and soaring inflation are punctuated with sudden shortages of the most basic products, while unemployment continues unchecked.

Never has the need for socialism been clearer. The gigantic problems facing humanity can only be dealt with by a cooperative, rationally planned economy organized on a world scale.

## Imperialist policy shift

The American ruling class is unable to solve any of the fundamental problems facing the great mass of the world's people. But it has no intention of relinquishing its power. The end of the postwar economic boom and the inability of the U.S. imperialists to crush the Vietnamese revolution while maintaining stability at home have resulted in a shift in their policies for world domination.

Instead of concentrating on the rollback of the conquests of the socialist revolutions in the Soviet Union and China, they have enlisted the Stalinist bureaucracies that hold power in those countries in the struggle against the rising tide of world revolution.

The campaign to sell detente has now reached a new stage. Henry Kissinger has called for what he says is "a national debate" on detente. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has scheduled hearings at which the tactical differences between Senator Henry Jackson (D-Wash.), Kissinger, and other ruling-class spokesmen will be discussed.

Newspaper columnists such as James Reston and academic figures such as Henry Morgenthau, who echo the views of the majority of the ruling class on this issue, have also joined in the effort to convince the American people that detente will eliminate the threat of nuclear war and is in the interests of peace. The most demonstrative indication of the bipartisan support for detente was the trip to Moscow by ranking Democrat and presidential hopeful Edward Kennedy.

## Stalinist campaign

The capitalists are not alone in trumpeting their new strategy for holding back the world revolution as the solution for the impasse humanity finds itself in. The U.S. Communist Party held a special meeting of its central committee after the recent Moscow summit to initiate "a drive for a united front movement in support of U.S.-Soviet detente." CP boss Gus Hall drew his customary standing ovation as he told his audience, "For the U.S., the question of detente has emerged at the very center of a basic crossroads struggle that affects every phase of our lives."

The CP is subordinating everything to this counter-revolutionary propaganda campaign, and it would like all those involved in the radical movement or in any independent struggle to do the same. Thus, Victor Perlo writes in the CP's *Daily World* magazine, "What this country needs very badly is a new peace movement, a movement for detente and disarmament."

"If the impeachment movement, environmentalists, the Black Liberation and women's rights movements, the Vietnam vets, the Chicanos and Indians and Puerto Ricans, the movement against repression and racism, the anti-monopolists and tenants and, this is especially important, the growing rank-and-file and other progressive trends in the labor movement . . . if all these groups join in a movement for detente, for disarmament, for maximum trade and cultural-personal relations with the USSR and the other socialist countries, then detente can become irreversible. . . ."

In a theme that will be echoed by the Stalinist candidates in this fall's elections, CP national chairman Henry Winston described detente as "the main all-pervasive issue upon which the salvation of mankind depends."

There can be no doubt that the very existence of humanity depends upon the prevention of nuclear war. But the question is precisely how to prevent such a war. This cannot be done through deals with imperialism at the expense of the revolutionary struggles around the world, but only through the mobilization of the great mass of the world's people to take the power out of the hands of the warmakers.

The policy of courting imperialism in the hope of getting it to agree to a stable division of the world into spheres

of influence is the same policy followed by Stalin before World War II. In the mid-1930s he promised that "collective security" pacts with France, Britain, and the United States would prevent war. Then in 1939 he turned around and announced that his pact with Hitler—the signal for the outbreak of World War II—was a historic contribution to peace.

Every time the Soviet bureaucrats make a cynical deal at the expense of revolutionary movements abroad, they talk about new strides toward world peace. In May 1972 Nixon was feted in Moscow while B-52s were pounding Hanoi and Haiphong, the waterways of North Vietnam were being mined, and its ports blockaded. The *Daily World* announced this meeting as a "triumph" for world peace and hailed Nixon's "acceptance of the principle of peaceful coexistence."

In contrast, the June 9, 1972, issue of *The Militant* carried a front-page editorial with the headline, "Not one step closer to peace".

Brezhnev's trip to the U.S. in June 1973—this time the B-52s were dropping their deadly cargo on Cambodia—was again hailed by the CP as "a milestone on the road to a lasting peace." The *Daily World* front page of June 23, 1973, said, "Nixon, Brezhnev Sign Ban on Nuclear War."

Within four months the Mideast war had erupted and humanity was threatened with extinction as U.S. forces were placed on a worldwide nuclear alert and Nixon rattled his hydrogen-bomb warheads.

The latest Nixon-Brezhnev summit was acclaimed on the front page of the July 5 *Daily World*. "Moscow Pact Greeted For Peace Assurance" was the headline. Less than two weeks later Greece and Turkey stood on the brink of full-scale war, U.S. and Soviet warships were rushing to the eastern Mediterranean, and Soviet paratroopers were placed on alert.

The counterrevolutionary Stalinist campaign in favor of subordinating the class struggle to the search for detente, and the imperialist campaign to whip up support for their new foreign policy initiatives, must be answered with an alternative analysis and an alternative course of action that can really meet the needs of the people of the world.

As an initial contribution to this task *The Militant* is publishing in two parts major excerpts from the report, "The Unfolding New World Situation," adopted by the national committee of the Socialist Workers Party in April 1973. (This report, given by SWP national secretary Jack Barnes, is included in a new book, *Dynamics of World Revolution*, published by Pathfinder Press.)

Although given six months before the October war in the Mideast and one year before world attention was focused on Portugal's African colonies as a result of the fall of the Caetano regime, the report stands up to the test of events since it was presented.

Events in Portugal showed once again the real nature of detente and of the Stalinist parties that support it. The Portuguese CP devoted its apparatus, its power, and its authority among the workers to upholding capitalism in Portugal and to justifying the continued occupation of the African colonies.

In the coming months the debate on detente within the radical movement and in the country as a whole will deepen. Revolutionary socialists must bring to all who are willing to listen the simple truth that detente cannot end oppression and exploitation, nor can it ensure the survival of humanity. Nothing less than the socialist revolution can do that.



Nixon was welcomed in Peking and Moscow while U.S. bombers were blasting cities and towns in Vietnam. Above, Bach Mai hospital in Hanoi.



Stalin was the initiator of 'peaceful co-existence' policy. Deals with imperialists failed to stop World War II and they won't prevent World War III.

## Dynamics of World Revolution

edited by  
Will Reissner

The four documents in this book deal with questions of vital importance to revolutionary socialists. Written for the world Trotskyist movement, they analyse the three sectors of the world revolution and their interaction—the proletarian revolution in the advanced capitalist countries, the colonial revolution in the "third world," and the political revolution in the Soviet Union and other workers' states.

Against this background, recent developments, such as the *détente*, the war in Vietnam, growing working-class militancy, the struggles of women, students, and oppressed nationalities are assessed.

Finally, the documents discuss the incapacity of the Stalinists and Social Democrats to provide revolutionary leadership and assess the progress being made by the Fourth International in the necessary work of building revolutionary parties. 192 pp., \$8.00, paper \$2.25

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

# ...the socialist analysis of unfolding world situation

By Jack Barnes

The world situation now emerging is qualitatively different from that of the post-World-War-II "cold war" period.

The detente between the major workers states and world imperialism signifies that the original post-World-War-II "cold war" framework of international capitalist economic and diplomatic relationships has been discarded and that American and world capitalism have shifted their strategy with regard to the world revolution.

## The cold war

The immediate postwar framework was laid out at three gatherings:

1. In the late fall of 1944 at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, the American dollar was made the basis for a new world monetary system. American imperialism's economic supremacy among the capitalist powers enabled it to establish the dollar as the universal equivalent in world trade and the currency that other countries would accept as the base of their own. The dollar was considered to be "as good as gold" throughout the capitalist world. But this turned out to be true only so long as American economic supremacy was unchallenged, giving stability to the dollar. And this didn't last as long as they hoped.

2. A little more than a year later, in Fulton, Missouri, Winston Churchill made his "Iron Curtain" speech, signaling the formal opening of the "cold war." The imperialists inaugurated the military-diplomatic policy of "containment." Their ultimate goal was to stop the extension of the world revolution, isolate the Soviet Union, and, if possible, overturn the workers states. This policy lasted almost a quarter of a century.

3. Then, one year later, at the 1947 Harvard University commencement exercises, George C. Marshall laid out the plan for reconstructing Europe on a capitalist basis, under the hegemony of an American capitalism armed with the atomic bomb. The Marshall Plan was launched with the calculated risk of reviving potential capitalist competitors in order to stave off the greater danger of socialist revolution in Europe.

These three pillars of capitalist world politics rested on the unquestioned military and economic superiority of American imperialism. Only the American colossus was in position to assume the role of world financier, world cop.

This period has now ended. The detente signals a major turn by American imperialism, a general decision by the ruling class to reorient its global strategy.

## Effects of Vietnam

Vietnam was an acid test. It laid bare the limitations faced by American imperialism in acting as world cop, maintaining a preponderant military position, keeping the international monetary system stable, and retaining world economic superiority in the context of a radical change in the political moods of the American populace itself.

The problems engendered and exacerbated by the Vietnam war made it necessary for the American imperialists to extricate themselves militarily from Vietnam, and better protect their interests vis-a-vis capitalist competitors. In so doing, they had to reorient their international strategy. A rollback of the workers states had to be deferred. What was immediately required was a detente with the USSR and China. This meant the end of Bretton Woods; it meant the end of the structure of interimperialist economic relations of the Marshall Plan and the post-Marshall-Plan era; and it meant a new stage in interimperialist competition, rivalry, and conflict, particularly over the vast potential markets in the workers states.

At home, Nixon's August 15, 1971, wage-price freeze speech signaled a new determination by the government to use its power as the executive committee of the ruling class to get greater productivity from the American workers, lower the rate of wage increases, and thus to maintain a little longer the edge in productivity it still has over Germany and Japan.

This reorientation by American imperialism does not arise from a genuine growth and economic strength relative to its competitors, but from a decline in its relative position. The political, military, and economic situation that was faced by American imperialism was becoming more and more untenable. A retreat was called for, not the initiation of a more aggressive world counterrevolutionary thrust. The attempt at establishing a new world equilibrium is designed to cut losses and regroup the still very considerable forces at the disposal of American capitalism.

The receptivity to Nixon's moves shown by Brezhnev and Mao derived not from positions of strength on their part but from positions of weakness flowing from their utopian efforts to build "socialism in one country" for a petty-bourgeois bureaucratic caste.

The contradiction between their own bureaucratic needs and the needs of the masses are particularly visible in the case of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, where domestic dissatisfaction and restlessness continue to mount. Brezhnev's stated goal? "Peaceful coexistence" (i.e., counterrevolutionary collaboration with imperialism) in exchange for long-term credits, equipment, and foodstuffs to help pacify their own dissatisfied masses at home.

## Ten elements of U.S. strategy

Let us single out ten of the major elements of American imperialist strategy in the new world situation.

1. *Acceptance of the workers states as here to stay for the next historical period.*

Washington's policy is to block any extension of the socialist revolution but to recognize that it is not now realistic to move toward a military rollback of the existing workers states. Basic parity, a "balance of terror," exists on the nuclear-military level between American capitalism and the Soviet Union.

2. *Recognition of the need for and the possibility of obtaining collaboration from the Chinese and Soviet regimes in holding back the colonial revolution, especially the tendency of national liberation struggles to develop into socialist revolutions.*

One of the big lessons the imperialists learned in Vietnam was the importance of assistance from these counterrevolutionary quarters. The collaboration of the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies became imperative to save imperialism in Vietnam, at least temporarily, in view of the economic and political situation faced by the American rulers internationally and at home. Moscow and Peking, following the Stalinist policy of peaceful coexistence, proved only too eager to render such assistance. And their assistance to imperialism will not be limited to the colonial world.

3. *Insistence that America's capitalist competitors share more of the economic and political burden of policing the world.*

Washington will still play the role of head cop, but the other capitalist powers will be called upon to take on more duties. No longer is U.S. imperialism simply going to play the role of quartermaster for junior partners. It is calling upon them to pay a larger share of the expense both directly and through trade and monetary concessions. At the same time, its nuclear arsenal puts it in a qualitatively different league from its capitalist competitors. Its nuclear capacities are only matched by those of Moscow; hence the central importance of the detente in the new international situation.

4. *The detente involves more than Washington, Moscow, and Peking. Each of U.S. capitalism's competitors is jockeying for maximum individual advantage.*

The West German ruling class has concluded "normalization" pacts with Moscow, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and others. In fact, "stabilizing" the German question, accepting two Germanys with clear boundaries was, along with the betrayal of the Vietnamese by Moscow and Peking, one of the preconditions to the evolution of the detente.

Besides West Germany, the other Common Market countries, plus smaller capitalist powers outside of Europe, including Canada, indicated that they do not accept U.S. imperialism's acting or speaking unilaterally for them vis-a-vis the workers states or each other. The Japanese rulers rapidly drew the necessary lessons from Nixon's "surprise" trip to Peking, and opened a thaw of their own in relation to China.

Because of their qualitatively larger economies and military resources, Washington and Moscow confront each other as super powers. In this "special relationship," the

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Winston Churchill's 'Iron Curtain' speech signaled the opening of the Cold War. The American ruling class has initiated a new policy with detente in order to enlist the aid of the Soviet and Chinese bureaucrats in holding back the tide of revolution.



Resolve of U.S. imperialists to shore up capitalism throughout the world and to roll back socialist revolution was symbolized by Marshall Plan. Above, Marshall is shown with Chou En-lai (left) and Mao (extreme right) in 1945.



# 'The class struggle has not been halted by Nixon, Brezhnev, and Mao'



Soviet oil rig. Competition among imperialist powers for raw materials and markets in workers states has intensified.



Soviet tank on Ussuri River. 'The Chinese correctly sense the danger represented by Brezhnev doctrine of limited sovereignty.'

*Continued from preceding page*

detente gives the U.S. capitalists an extra edge in the competition for the Soviet market. But the "special relationship" affects and is affected by fundamental shifts in policy by the rulers of all the main capitalist powers and by the bureaucracies of the deformed workers states, each acting in its own individual interests.

5. *The dollar has been dethroned and the entire structure of world trade, upon which capitalist prosperity has depended, has been threatened.*

The difficulties of arranging a new stable international monetary system are immense. The U.S. market remains the largest by far and U.S. overseas investments and loans far outweigh all others. Thus the U.S. inflation is internationalized and the crucial question behind all currency negotiations becomes—who will pay for the inflation of the dollar?

American capitalist superiority still prevails, but now it is first among equals—equals who demand to be treated as such and who will use all the means available to them to make sure that they are. This is the result of the deepening competition.

It is in this framework that the new bargaining over trade, monetary, and military arrangements takes place. This is why the capitalist class—in Europe, more and more in the U.S., and tomorrow in Japan—must force the working class to endure more intensive exploitation to make their "own" capitalism more competitive.

6. *The Soviet Union and China are no longer viewed by imperialism simply as fortresses of the class enemy with an alien set of property relations, to be militarily contained and rolled back. They are now considered to be economically vulnerable, increasingly open to the penetration of capital, increased trade, and the extraction of raw materials and energy resources—markets for which all the capitalist powers must compete.*

Previously, partial detentes and minor experiments in summitry were overwhelmingly political in character. As these unfolded we contended that the economic openings inside the Soviet bloc, in terms of markets, trade, and concessions (eventually investment concessions and mixed ownership), did not loom large in the considerations of the advanced capitalist states. This is no longer the case.

The potential scope of the markets, the resources potentially available, and the willingness of the bureaucracies to lower the barriers to the penetration of western capital have brought about a shift in imperialist policy toward the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China under conditions of intensified monopoly competition for markets. This makes the question of "who gets there first"—to the markets of the workers states—a central new factor in imperialist diplomacy.

7. *The fierce antagonisms engendered by the Sino-Soviet dispute can become even more explosive.*

The hostility arising from the narrow conflicting national outlook of the ruling castes in Peking and Moscow has already shown that they will resort to means verging on war to gain national advantage. The Chinese correctly sense the danger represented by the Brezhnev doctrine of "limited sovereignty" and they view the threat of the Soviet nuclear superiority in this light.

We can expect more and greater betrayals of the world revolution by both Moscow and Peking as they vie for the political and economic favor of world capitalism. That is the logic of peaceful coexistence, that is the historical logic of Stalinism.

8. *While Moscow and Peking's great betrayal has been consummated, the civil war in Vietnam is not over. The outcome is not definitively settled.*

The capitalist puppet regimes in Indochina are thoroughly corrupt and incapable of meeting the basic needs of the workers and peasants; and the price of maintaining them in power remains high for the U.S. rulers.

The masses have not been crushed, and the class struggle continues to unfold—but within the new political framework of the detente, with the imperialists pressing from one side and Moscow and Peking from the other.

The great obstacle to the continuing class struggle achieving an early victory is the concerted pressure on Hanoi from Washington, Peking, and Moscow. The Stalin-

ist nature of the Vietnamese leadership and its reliance upon China and the Soviet Union as its major source of material support makes it susceptible to this pressure.

9. *There is recognition of the political resistance at home to waging wars against the colonial revolution in the name of anticommunism.*

The domestic consequences of the Vietnam war among the American youth, and in the class struggle as a whole, were not anticipated by the ruling class. A repetition of such military adventures could have incalculable consequences inside the United States. The American rulers must now take into account their inability to gain popular support for such wars. This is a new historical limitation.

10. *The accords on Vietnam can prove to have a highly contradictory effect on the colonial revolution.*

A clearcut victory for the Vietnamese revolution would have enormously accelerated the revolutionary process elsewhere. Instead, the setback has served to dampen outbursts in other lands. Nevertheless, the stubborn resistance of the Vietnamese people and their capacity to force a military withdrawal of U.S. imperialism, after ousting the French troops, remains an inspiring example.

The U.S. retreat also encourages the semicolonial countries and smaller capitalist powers to engage in maneuvers aimed at winning greater elbow room. This has been especially visible in Latin America, which U.S. imperialism regards as its own backyard. These changes reflect the weakening of capitalism as a world system, one of the consequences of the intervention of U.S. imperialism in the Vietnamese civil war.

And we can add an eleventh point, which the American rulers may not see clearly enough to incorporate adequately in their strategy. While the detente may ease some of the economic pressures they and their competitors face, and result in some setbacks to the world revolution (as we have seen in Indochina), it will not guarantee maintenance of the status quo.

To the contrary, over the long run it exacerbates the already explosive contradictions not only in areas like the Arab East and the Arab-Persian Gulf—but especially in the workers states themselves. It increases the arenas of interimperialist competition and conflict.

And it plants the seeds of further upheavals in the class struggle and radicalization in the USA right in the center of this unfolding world process.

## No peace in the class struggle

What the detente entails, of course, is a shift in all international political relations: among the imperialist nations and blocs; between the imperialist powers and the workers states; among the workers states; between imperialism, the colonial and semicolonial countries, and the workers states.

The agreements between Washington, Moscow, and Peking are made on the basis of the current world relationship of forces; but the agreements themselves affect this relationship.

This alteration in the world political situation submits the political capacities of all the various tendencies that aspire to leadership of the working class to a major new test. Each is challenged to make a correct analysis and to arrive at the necessary political conclusions.

One of the problems in analyzing the situation is that we do not yet know the entire picture in detail. The important decisions are made in secret negotiations between representatives of top circles of the capitalist ruling class and the ruling bureaucratic castes. But while many of the agreements are hidden from the workers, enough facts do come to light to expose the broad outlines.

What both sides seek to accomplish in the detente, and a necessary ingredient of its success, is a large measure of stability, that is, class peace. But as recent events have indicated, stability and class peace are very elusive goals in this period of the decay and decline of capitalism as a world system.

The class struggle has not been halted, reversed, or annulled by Nixon, Brezhnev, and Mao; nor will it be. It continues, but within an altered set of conditions.

The problem is not the combativity or the revolutionary potential of the working class and its allies. The problem remains the crisis of proletarian leadership.

## On the economic front

Let us now examine some of the elements of the new situation in somewhat greater detail.

First, let us consider the economic situation in the capitalist world and the growing interimperialist rivalry.

The international recession that began in 1969 eroded the relative strength of the American economy. A much deeper downturn, with a far worse outcome for the American ruling class, was averted only because the German and American recessions did not coincide. The balance-of-payments crisis grew worse and worse and international confidence in the dollar crumbled.

On August 15, 1971, Nixon launched his international economic counterattack, which included a frontal attack on the American workers. Nixon laid the groundwork for what will eventually be transformed into an "incomes policy"—to use the British term—at home. But he did so in a tentative, "phased" way, calculated to preserve the cooperation of the labor bureaucracy and avoid a massive eruption of the class struggle on the economic front.





Militant/Terry Quilico

Working people in U.S.—the world's richest country—no longer feel secure about continuing employment and wage raises necessary to maintain their standard of living.

## 'Workers are no longer confident of good times ahead'

While there was some resistance, the American workers did not respond in an explosive way. Because of this, Nixon was able to accomplish his initial goal: even with the devaluation, he was able to slow down the rate of U.S. inflation in comparison with that of competitive capitalist powers and to slow down the rate of wage increases. Despite the worsening inflationary situation in the U.S., there have been much higher rates of inflation in Europe in the last three years, and the same will be true again this year.

Nixon's economic counterattack also included a new economic offensive in relation to the Soviet bloc markets. In this sphere for a number of years the European capitalists (and Japan to a growing extent) have developed lucrative trade relations. The so-called Eastern market has been their preserve, primarily because of the embargo or partial embargo maintained by U.S. imperialism. Nixon had to penetrate the preserve, and the machinery was set in motion with the detente. Trade concessions and growing economic relations were no longer to be solely the prize of the Germans, the Italians, the French, the British, the Belgians, the Dutch, etc. The American capitalists now enter the arena as a competitor in that field—and they aim to become the major beneficiary as rapidly as possible. They have both the economic resources—and the necessary nuclear arsenal in the closet—to strike the kind of bargain they envisage with Moscow.

During the 1969-72 world capitalist recession, the first since the post-World-War-II boom began, the rate of employment declined while inflation continued to mount—what the bourgeois economists call "stagflation." And the capitalists got off easy this time as the recessions in Germany and the USA did not have troughs simultaneously—an event which would have made the decline incalculably worse for every single advanced capitalist country. Stagflation and the threat of deeper world recession has left marks upon the consciousness of the workers.

Recently the *New York Times* reported the results of an expensive research project carried out by the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research. The researchers discovered that "consumer attitudes changed radically during the last few months, growing more and more pessimistic as food prices kept rising... a substantially larger proportion of families think they are now worse off than before and furthermore, expect to be still worse off in the future... Forty-four percent of those surveyed thought the rate of inflation would accelerate in the year ahead... A record low eighteen percent believe there will be good times for the next five years, while half expect a recession." (April 24, 1973.)

They didn't have to spend thousands of dollars to find that out. It is obvious that there is a change in attitude among American workers. Workers are no longer confident of good times ahead; they no longer feel secure about continuing employment and wage raises adequate to maintain their living standard. There is an important change taking place in the general consciousness of the class about what the social system, the boss, and the job have to offer them in the future. And the paltry results for the workers of Nixon's first few "phases" toward an incomes policy have reinforced this change.

### Logic of 'incomes policy'

What is the logic of a so-called incomes policy?

First, if partially successful, it will lead to a big profits boom for the capitalists. Why? Because they are holding down wages and not prices. That is exactly what is happening now in this country. It still seems like a recession to the unemployed workers, now numbering 5 percent of the workforce. And to all of us who are eating less meat but paying more, it certainly seems less than a boom. But to the ruling class, it is one of the great profit booms in post-World-War-II history.

No capitalist regime in this epoch, not even a fascist regime, has ever been capable of stabilizing and holding down prices—even if it wanted to. The entire purpose of an "incomes policy" is to keep a lid on wages, to halt or at least to slow the rate of wage increases. The purpose is to reduce labor's share of what it produces, while productivity rises, and thus to increase the rate of profit for the capitalists.

There is a second aspect to the logic inherent in an "incomes policy." Wage controls cannot be sustained without chipping away at the rights of the working class, both its rights within the unions and eventually its democratic rights as a whole. A class that is free to organize and strike, that has the right to decide the provisions of every contract, is not going to put up with wage controls in the face of mounting inflation that reduces its standard of living. So the ruling class is impelled to first attack these rights and then—if it plans to maintain an "incomes policy" for any length of time—to attack the political rights of the workers.

What are the prospects ahead for the world capitalist economy?

While there will be ups and downs and very possibly an extended period of economic competition and diplomatic maneuvering, and perhaps even periods of relative economic prosperity for the capitalists—which is certain-

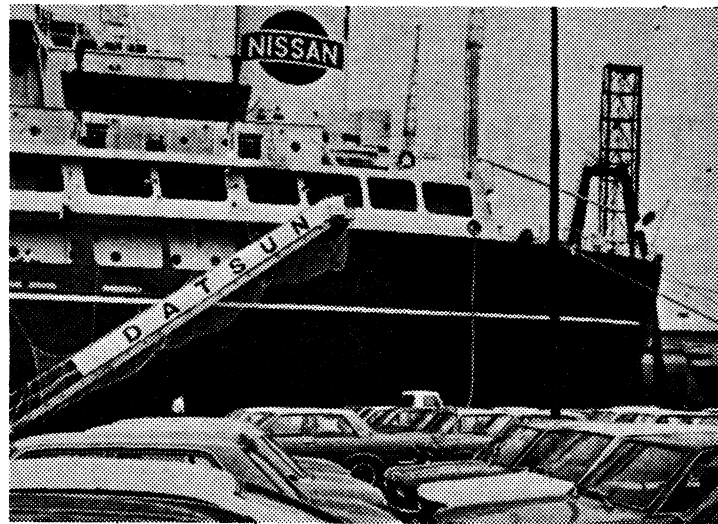
ly one of the goals of the detente—there is no possible return to the pre-1967 period.

There is no return to the period before massive payments deficits and the fall of the mighty dollar, before the new competitive squeeze caught up with American capitalism, before the social and economic results of the Vietnam war, before the May-June 1968 events in France.

We rule out the possibility of a new interimperialist war in the period ahead. American nuclear hegemony vis-a-vis its competitors is decisive. Besides, the capitalist ruling circles are convinced that the final victor, as in World War I and World War II, would be the socialist revolution. Thus, given the current political, economic, and military situation, the capitalist rulers will try to avoid dropping the H-bomb on each other.

While excluding that possibility in the immediate future, we will certainly see a continued deepening of the rivalry, competition, and infighting among the capitalist powers—not because they want to, but because they have to. In the course of this conflict they are going to demolish some of the current mythology about their harmonious relations, the mythology that formerly, surrounded institutions like NATO, the International Monetary Fund, and the Common Market. In reality the Common Market is not much more than a customs union, and not an irreversible one at that. The key is the fact that not a single one of the ruling classes is willing to surrender its national sovereignty, its ultimate reliance on state power to preserve its economic, monetary, and military interests.

We will witness a continuation of Japan's rise among the world imperialist powers. Prime Minister Tanaka, to be sure, politely met with Nixon, smiled, pledged eternal friendship, bought military hardware and commercial airplanes as he promised—but simultaneously he was preparing a trip to China to reestablish diplomatic relations. The continued economic penetration of Brazil, the competitive penetration of the Chinese and Soviet markets, and the reestablishment of the wartime "East Asian coprosperity sphere" have never ceased being goals of the Japanese ruling class.



'We will witness the continuation of Japan's rise among the world imperialist powers.'

And the goal of West German Chancellor Willie Brandt's policy of developing openings to East Germany and Moscow is not a bid for another Nobel Prize—unless this time it's one for economic "aggression," that is, competing successfully with Nixon for the "Eastern market."

In Italy, in France, and in Britain, the resistance of the workers to the various brands of incomes policies has hindered "their" bourgeoisie's capacity to more rapidly improve their competitive stance vis-a-vis U.S. capital. And this makes Rome, Paris, and London less receptive to the attempt by the American rulers to extract concessions from them in trade, monetary adjustments, and in underwriting the costs of U.S. occupation troops as their contributions to solving Washington's problems.

We see the smaller imperialist powers frantically attempting to maneuver within this new framework. This is reflected in the rise of bourgeois nationalism in Canada and Australia. The local capitalists want to see what "independent" moves are possible in view of the weakening of Wall Street's power and standing.

We will see more of this as some of the semicolonial countries and smaller capitalist powers attempt to gain room for maneuver aimed at gaining a larger share of the pie. They will not hesitate to shift their ties and change the relations that governed their actions in the past period. Policies like those used by the regimes in Peru, Chile,\* and Argentina will appear elsewhere, and the petroleum exporting countries won't be the only ones seeking to impose a better bargain.

What we are witnessing is a further confirmation of the judgment that capitalism is in its death agony. The new developments highlight the incapacity of American capitalism, the most powerful the world has ever known, to police, control, and dominate the world according to the pattern envisioned at the end of World War II. The much heralded "American century" has turned out to be somewhat shorter than one hundred years.

To be continued.

\*This speech was given before the September 11, 1973 coup toppled the Allende government.

# Greek regime tries to hold back mass upsurge

By DAVID RUSSELL

Welcoming the new Greek regime of Constantine Caramanlis July 24, U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger described its members as "old friends of ours."

But the warm words of welcome from the United States "were clouded by worry," reported Dana Adams Schmidt in the July 25 *Christian Science Monitor*.

"The common denominator of demonstrations all over Greece Tuesday and Wednesday hailing the return of Premier Caramanlis after seven years of rule by a military junta was the

cry: 'Out with the Americans,'" wrote Schmidt.

The popular mood of joy at the end of the dictatorship and anger and bitterness at its crimes was reflected in an incident described by *New York Times* correspondent Charles Mohr in a July 25 dispatch. Writing of the release of 45 political prisoners from the Aegean island of Gyros, Mohr reported, "As the ferry approached shore, the welcoming crowd shouted, 'The heroes are coming,' but soon began to chant, 'Poison for the dogs of the military police.'"

Washington's unswerving support of the Greek colonels was one of the main factors that enabled their inept and hated regime to survive as long as it did—a fact that is well known in Greece. Although considerable speculation has appeared in the capitalist press about the amount of power retained by the junta and its ability to reclaim power if things do not proceed according to its wishes, a move to restore the dictatorship after the events of the past two weeks would provoke a mass explosion.

Caramanlis, for his part, has done his best to dampen the demands of the Greek people for rapid change, using the excuse of the ongoing talks over Cyprus. His government is ruling by decree, and in speeches on July 25 and July 29 Caramanlis tried to justify holding up the return to democratic rights.

"In tonight's statement," reported *Washington Post* correspondent Dusko Doder July 29, "Karamanlis warned the Greek press to exercise greater restraint during the period of national crisis."

"Greek authorities today ordered the afternoon newspaper *Apogevmatini* to change its front page to eliminate an article reporting that Gizikis [the president under the junta, who was retained by the new regime] would re-



Turkish troops on Cyprus. Economic problems and Cyprus crisis are main immediate threats to stability of new Greek regime.

sign, that a general election would be held within six months and that a referendum will decide whether King Constantine is to be restored to the throne."

In addition, not one of the murderers and torturers of the junta has been arrested. Instead, Caramanlis has gone out of his way to appeal for "national unity." And Doder reports in a July 28 dispatch that the government "has sought to contain possible leftist demonstrations by practically closing down the Athens Polytechnic, the focus point of the leftist revolt in November against the military government."

Even in the case of the release of political prisoners, wrote the *Christian Science Monitor* July 29, "gendarmes reported that 'technical difficulties' were delaying release of some of the political detainees and prisoners, especially Communists."

Assessing Caramanlis's regime July 26, the *Monitor's* editors concluded, "The steps taken so far are encourag-

ing. Unlike Portugal, where all political activity had been suppressed for so long, Greece had political parties and politicians ready to go into action once the lid kept on them by the colonels was removed."

But, warned the *Monitor*, the politicians may still have trouble holding down the masses: "There are pressing economic problems, and Greece has one of the highest inflation rates in Europe with the inevitable consequence of restiveness among the workers."

Another source of instability for the new regime is the problem of Cyprus, although the possibility of war between Greece and Turkey receded July 30 when a new truce on Cyprus was agreed to at talks between Turkey, Greece, and Britain. It appears as if some of the 25,000 to 30,000 Turkish troops now on that island will remain as a permanent garrison, and that the Turkish minority will be granted greater autonomy than it had in the past.



Political prisoner just released from jail is carried by cheering supporters.

# Korea: savage repression embarrasses U.S.

By ANDY ROSE

Last year the U.S. government provided \$177-million in military aid and another \$142.2-million in so-called economic aid to the Park Chung Hee dictatorship in South Korea.

For the current fiscal year the Nixon administration wants to increase its arms subsidies to Seoul to \$241.5-million.

But the savage repression carried out by its client is becoming a serious embarrassment to Washington. Some "doves" in Congress have even felt compelled to voice objections as the foreign aid bill is being discussed.

On July 24 no less a figure than Secretary of State Henry Kissinger went before a Senate subcommittee to urge approval of the request. "Where we believe the national interest is at stake we proceed even when we don't approve" of police-state tactics, Kissinger reminded the senators.

In the past month, 87 South Koreans, mostly students, have been tried and convicted for dissident activities. Nineteen were sentenced to death, but five of the death penalties were later commuted to life imprisonment. Kim Chi Ha, one of the country's best-known poets, was among those whose sentences were commuted after an international outcry of protest.

Another 18 were given life sentences, and 50 more were imprisoned for up to 20 years.

Relatives of some of the prisoners have circulated a mimeographed letter telling of torture by water, electricity, and lack of sleep, based upon what they saw and heard in the courtroom.



Kim Chi Ha, dissident poet. His death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment after international protests.

Lee Kang Chul, a 26-year-old student, said, "I was tortured with electricity for 20 hours in a basement of the CIA building. I could no longer withstand the torture and I admitted the prosecution charges."

After the letter was reported by the foreign press, several of the wives and sisters of the defendants were picked up by the Korean CIA. In addition, one of the defense lawyers, Kang Shin Ok, is under arrest for objecting in court to death sentences given his clients.

The largest action since the crackdown began was a July 25 mass attended by 2,000 Catholics to protest the jailing of Bishop Daniel Chi. Chi

was arrested after reading a statement denouncing "violence, intimidation and fraud" under Park. He is reported to be prominent in a Catholic movement to organize unions among the super-exploited South Korean workers.

According to a dispatch from Seoul by *New York Times* correspondent Fox Butterfield, "At the mass Korean and foreign priests and nuns responded to the arrest by offering prayers 'for the release of those suffering from injustice' and 'for the restoration of democracy'..."

"Agents of the Korean C.I.A. moved among the worshipers taking pictures."

U.S. backing for the Park dictatorship was debated at a July 30 joint meeting of two House foreign affairs subcommittees. They heard a spokesman for Amnesty International, the worldwide organization for defense of political prisoners, testify that there are 1,100 political prisoners in Park's jails.

The spokesman, New York attorney William Butler, reported that prisoners are tortured and denied their rights in trials. He called for an end to U.S. aid until the South Korean regime halts these policies.

According to the *New York Times*, State Department and Pentagon officials told the same meeting "that South Korea faced such a severe threat from North Korea that a curtailment of American military aid might jeopardize the security of all East Asia."

The supposed danger from North Korea is Park's standard excuse for every wave of repression. His latest crackdown is a response to student

demonstrations for democratic rights last fall and this spring.

The massive roundup of protestors, followed by military trials and harsh sentences, has temporarily quieted the student movement, but Park knows he is sitting on top of a volcano.

Korean students have been inspired by the example of their counterparts in Thailand, who initiated an uprising last October that toppled the military regime there. They also look back to the 1960 student-led upsurge that swept away the previous South Korean dictator, Syngman Rhee.

Influential voices of U.S. imperialism are beginning to worry that if Park cannot develop more flexible means of stifling dissent, he is liable to go the way of his predecessor.

"What must be brought home to the Park regime," said a *Christian Science Monitor* editorial July 24, "is the danger it is bringing to itself, to South Korea and the delicate international balance of the whole region by its attempt to repress all political dissent."

The U.S. still has 38,000 troops stationed in South Korea, but the *Monitor* warned that it would be difficult to send them to Park's rescue because of the reaction that would be provoked at home.

The same post-Vietnam political climate that has the imperialists worried means that a good response can be won in the United States if efforts are made to expose Washington's role in propping up Park's police state. Broad support can be gained for demands to withdraw all U.S. troops from Korea and end all aid to Park.



# LA Water & Power workers win strike

By STU SINGER

LOS ANGELES—Workers at the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power (DWP) carried out their first strike in 30 years July 17-21, winning a total wage and fringe benefit increase of 11 percent.

A coalition of unions including the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW); the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); and the Engineers and Architects Association picketed all DWP facilities in L. A. in desert-like heat for five days, in defiance of a court injunction.

Up to 200 strikers picketed daily in front of the DWP office building in downtown L. A. during the week of the strike. Mass picket lines and confrontations with scabs indicated a combative spirit not previously shown by these city workers.

The DWP, although owned by the city of Los Angeles, is not directly controlled by the mayor or city council. Its management boasts of keeping wages lower than those paid to other city workers. The strike was called when the DWP management offered a 7.5 percent increase after the already higher-paid city workers had just won an 8.5 percent wage hike without strike action.

After a week of the strike, with power failures in some parts of the city, the DWP management finally granted the 9 percent wage increase plus 2 percent in fringe benefits. The hard-fought strike won DWP workers a better deal, and its size and militancy forced the city and courts to back down from enforcing the antistrike injunction—a lesson that was observed by thousands of other workers.

The strike was so effective that 7,500 DWP workers went out, although only 5,500 are in unions. The unionization of most DWP workers is very recent. Until a few years ago only the skilled electrical workers were organized, as members of the IBEW. A unionization drive began after a 1970 decision by the L. A. city council to allow collective bargaining for all city workers.

Although AFSCME and the IBEW will be running against each other in September to determine the bargaining representative for the DWP clerical workers, all the unions showed a united face during the strike. The DWP strike also received the full sanc-



Engineers on picket line Militant/Stu Singer

tion of the L. A. County Federation of Labor.

In a July 23 article by *Los Angeles Times* labor writer Harry Bernstein, DWP general manager Robert Phillips gave his analysis of the strike. Phillips, who just raised his own pay from \$68,000 to \$73,000 a year, opposed the settlement granted to the workers.

He said, "The DWP capitulated to the unions which had a stranglehold on this city. The unions allowed the system to function on a level they considered acceptable, but they could have shut off everything, anytime they wanted to."

Phillips complained that it was a shame the court injunction could not be enforced. "But realistically," he said, "it would have done no good to call in the National Guard because its members do not have the expertise to run the DWP and there are not enough skilled people to hire to replace the strikers."

It may break Phillip's heart to give a few more dollars to the workers who run the DWP, but he has a different attitude toward the oil companies. He recently agreed to a 300 percent price hike for the oil used to generate most of L. A.'s electricity. He then pushed through a rate hike to make the consumers pay for this gift to the oil monopolies. A number of strikers in conversations with *The Militant* contrasted this largess to the oil companies with management's obstinate opposition to giving the workers a modest pay raise.

## Speed-up, layoffs target of St. Louis auto strike

By BILL BREIHAN

ST. LOUIS—In late June several thousand auto workers went out on strike primarily over local issues at three large plants in St. Louis: two Carter Carburetor plants (United Auto Workers Local 819) that employ a total of 2,200 workers, and a General Motors assembly plant (UAW Local 25), where 5,700 are employed.

The strike at Carter Carburetor lasted more than a month before a settlement was reached and a new contract signed. The GM strike is now a month old with no settlement in sight.

Striking members of Local 25 told *The Militant* that the company has refused to meet them even halfway on most demands. They said they expect a long hard strike.

St. Louis is second to Detroit in auto production nationally, and next to Detroit and Lordstown, it is the biggest source of labor headaches for the auto magnates.

In February 1971, an unauthorized strike at St. Louis GM over racial discrimination in hiring, supported by the Congress of Racial Equality, resulted in the firing of nearly 100 Black militants. The UAW leadership lent its support to the company and refused to lift a finger in defense of the fired militants.

Since that strike and especially since GM combined its Chevrolet Assembly and Fisher Body plants two years ago into a single speed-up operation known as GMAD, the St. Louis plant has been a constant source of ferment.

In recent months there have been a series of firings of militants and union representatives for supposed sabotage, among other things.



St. Louis auto workers have been headache for auto magnates.

Like Detroit, St. Louis has been hit hard by auto industry layoffs. The St. Louis GM plant, which employed nearly 9,000 workers last fall, now employs only 5,700. One striker told *The Militant* that in his department it now takes 15 years' seniority to hold the most menial job and almost all employees with less than four years' seniority have been "terminated."

For workers still on the job the exhausting speed-up conditions at the GM plant have gotten worse while layoffs increased. One of the two key demands of the strike is to end the excessive forced overtime and increased work loads. The other important issue deals with more than 300 unresolved grievances concerning plantwide seniority rights that have arisen during the past few months.

During this period Local 25 has been working without a contract. The wage package that was settled between GM and the UAW at the national level almost a year ago resolved the money question, but a local contract was never agreed upon. It was not until the spring that the UAW international finally sanctioned a strike vote for the local.

Meanwhile, GM has been trying to dampen the rebellious attitudes of the workers with rumors that the plant is going to be shut down and relocated somewhere in the South. But so far the strike has been firm and the rumors seem to have had little effect on the strikers' determination.

## Chinese women strike SF sweatshop

By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

SAN FRANCISCO—The Great Chinese-American Sewing Corporation, one of the largest sweatshops in San Francisco, was struck by its 135 workers July 13.

More than 90 percent of the workers, mostly Chinese women, have signed up with the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

At a July 19 news conference many of the workers broke into tears when, speaking through an interpreter, they described the terrible conditions at the sweatshop.

Paid only \$2 an hour, and forced to labor under constant pressure by a

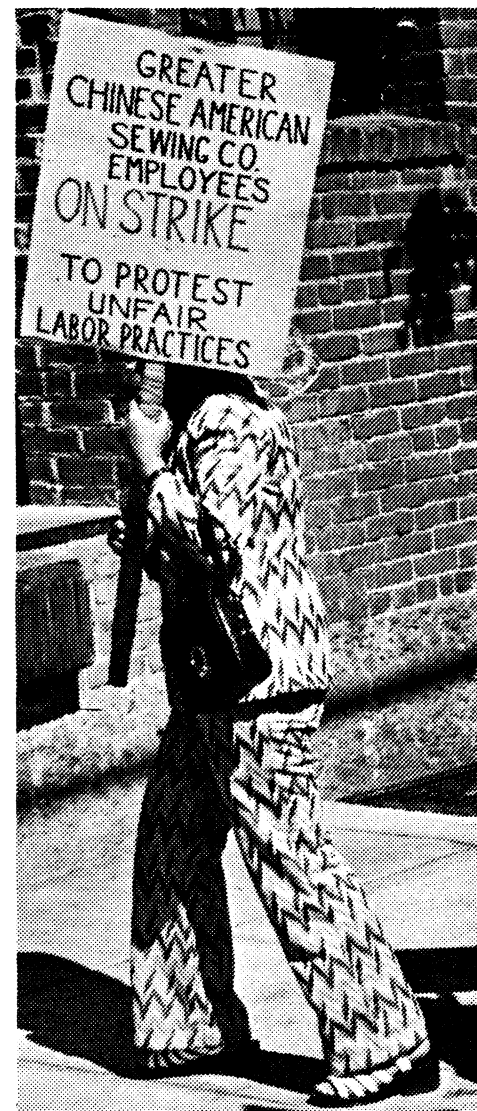
piecework system, the women were harassed by their bosses and threatened with being fired. They told of details such as only being allowed to use the restroom during official breaks, and even having to furnish their own toilet paper.

Conditions in the factory seemed so hopeless, the women said, that some of them thought about suicide. They appealed to the labor movement and the San Francisco community for support.

On July 17 the Great Chinese-American Sewing Corporation closed its doors. Douglas Tompkins, president of the Esprit de Corp. garment company, which owned the sweatshop, admitted that it was illegal to close the shop to thwart the union. He claimed, however, that the shop was losing money and would have been closed down even if there had been no strike. He also insisted that the Great Chinese-American Sewing Corporation was "one of the nicest sewing shops in the city."

These garment sweatshops are hidden in the back alleys of the Chicano, Filipino, and Chinese communities. Many of the workers are newly arrived immigrants who are here on work visas.

In order to be allowed into this country on such a visa, the workers must have jobs waiting for them. The employers use the threat of deportation to frighten the workers into submission. As soon as the workers begin to unionize, the manufacturers move into a new location and reopen under another name—a tactic apparently



Militant/Howard Petrick

being used in the current struggle.

These underhanded tactics have been successful, until now, in making San Francisco an open-shop town as far as the garment industry is concerned.

With the closing of the shop they had been working in, the garment workers began picketing the Esprit de Corp. factory. Thirty-eight workers were charged with obstructing a sidewalk and interfering with a police officer while picketing there July 18.

The strike has broad support in the Chinese community. By their public appeal for support, the workers in this struggle have brought the conditions in the sweatshops into the light of day and struck a blow for all those laboring in similar setups.

## New front in war on unions

# Lessons of California construction strikes



By ROBERT WEST

SAN FRANCISCO—Since mid-June, tens of thousands of building-trades workers in California have walked off their jobs in an effort to defend their living standards and working conditions against an aggressive offensive by the employers.

Nationwide it is estimated that 20 percent of the strikes going on are in the construction industry.

The building contractors, through their various associations, are demanding that the unions relax restrictions on tools and job conditions to "increase productivity." In exchange they are offering wage increases not even adequate to keep up with rising prices.

This latest demand for "productivity" changes in the work rules represents a new front in the mounting employer-government war on building-trades unions. It complements the unprecedented wave of open-shop challenges to traditional union strongholds throughout the country.

Moreover, it comes at the same time that the government's deliberately recessionary "tight money" policies are depressing the construction industry, increasing unemployment of building-trades workers.

### **Demands for speed-up**

"Productivity" is the contractors' label for a spectrum of speed-up and work-intensifying changes in job conditions, extending as far as the institution of flexible starting times—at the convenience of the employer.

The starting time issue is particularly insidious. It obligates workers to be on call between 7 a.m. and 9 a.m., forcing them to bear the loss if weather or some other factor delays the start of the job. Still more ominous is the obstacle this poses to detecting viola-

tions in the established workday limit and enforcing that limit.

The productivity changes go a long way toward reducing union working conditions to the level of nonunion competitors. In this way, it is argued, the union contractor can win contracts from nonunion "rivals." But for construction workers they mean fewer jobs, harder work, and less safety.

### **Officials retreat**

The response of the union officials in the current round of negotiations and strikes has been to retreat in the face of the employer attack.

Although this policy is being carried out at the local union level, it has its origins in the executive offices of the 17 different AFL-CIO building-trades unions in Washington, D.C.

Realizing that the wage controls had been completely discredited with construction workers, the employers and their government sought the help of the top union officials in keeping the lid on local union demands in the big spring and summer round of negotiations.

The union officials quickly signaled their willingness to increase productivity in exchange for "realistic" wage increases. Martin Ward, president of the plumbers union, spelled this out at a national building-trades conference in April:

"The end of the CISC [Construction Industry Stabilization Committee, the wage-control board] is something we have all looked forward to. However, I think all of us are realistic. If we are not realistic, we could face controls much worse than those of the CISC. This means we must look carefully at future negotiations both on a short and long-term basis. It is essential to protect the buying power of our members' paychecks. But we must also

be concerned about their job opportunities in the face of open-shop competition."

An even earlier indication of the shabby agreements being cooked up at the expense of building-trades workers was the contract signed by officials of Operating Engineers Local 12, covering Southern California and southern Nevada.

The new three-year agreement was arrived at last December, seven months before the old one expired. It provided for a pitiful 6 percent wage increase each year. In praising the pact, the contractors gave the game away. An Associated General Contractors (AGC) spokesman stated: "Both industry and union leaders are hopeful that this unprecedented agreement will set a nationwide pattern calculated to stabilize the business and encourage less restrictive work rules."

The union's business manager, Joseph Seymour, said: "We're looking toward the fullest possible production. We've agreed to reduced manning provisions to be sure that every operating engineer will be producing at full capacity."

Caught between the employers' growing appetites and the rising indignation of the ranks, local union officials have been hard put to come up with palatable compromises, and in a number of cases they have been forced to call their members out on strike. The policies of the officials, however, have limited these strikes to the most enfeebled half measures.

### **Unions divided**

While building contractors stand united throughout California under the hegemony of the powerful AGC, the unions, saddled with an archaic craft structure, are more divided than ever. Their attempts to resist the most arrogant employer demands seem cal-

culated to violate every rule of labor solidarity. No effort whatsoever has been undertaken to organize joint union resistance, even on the most elementary level—within the same union.

In Northern California, for example, cement masons, operating engineers, laborers, and Teamsters were kept on the job as their negotiators watched the progress of the carpenters' strike.

The carpenters union itself went into negotiations with its ranks divided. Carpenters, millmen, pile drivers, and sheetrockers—all members of the carpenters union—negotiated in each case separately with the employers.

The millmen struck earlier and settled with the mill operators. The pile drivers agreed to terms with the AGC on July 12 after going on strike in mid-June along with the carpenters. The Sheetrock carpenters worked throughout the strike because their contract does not expire until Aug. 1.

When the carpenters struck the AGC in Northern California, union officials ordered 30,000 of the 45,000 carpenters to continue working under terms of an agreement reached with the Homebuilders, the other important employer association here.

The pact with the Homebuilders included a \$1.75 increase in wages and fringes over one year, but gave up any improvement in working conditions for three years. So it was guaranteed that any settlement with the AGC would be on these terms or less. And when the strike ended after a month, that was all the carpenters got.

### **Ranks not mobilized**

Instead of shutting every job site down tight by mobilizing carpenters for mass picketing and appealing for solidarity from all building-trades unions, the carpenters' officials ordered only selective picketing of a few jobs. This left all other trades free to work.

A decision was made not to ask authority to assess working carpenters to pay picket and strike benefits. No strike bulletins were issued to the carpenters. No effort was made to involve the militant rank-and-file carpenters who led the two-month strike last winter against a CISC-ordered cut in wages.

In effect, the carpenters were told to go fishing for the duration of the strike.

Among the clearest examples of the policy of division and retreat were the Bay Area painters' contracts. Officials came to terms with painting contractors in San Francisco and San Raphael just before their contracts expired July 1. In separate negotiations, the San Jose district painters also came to terms with the contractors.

Restrictions on the use of the paint roller and spray gun were relaxed in the San Francisco contract and practically eliminated in the San Jose agreement. This means fewer jobs for painters.

And while officials in San Francisco were recommending acceptance of the settlement, union leaders in the Oakland-East Bay area were calling painters out on strike to try to win a wage increase without trading away jobs.

### **From retreat to rout**

The dismayed pattern of division and outright backstabbing was repeated throughout the state. Different crafts and different locals within the same craft talked separately, struck separately, settled separately, and organized little or no picketing.

The biggest strike began July 1 when 60,000 carpenters, laborers, and cement masons struck the AGC in Southern California. But the week before, Operating Engineers Local 12 had withdrawn from Southern California building-trades councils, announcing



that engineers would not honor the picket lines of other trades.

When negotiations between the carpenters and the AGC broke down and the AGC announced it planned to go nonunion, Local 12 and several Teamster locals declared they would work alongside nonunion workers so long as their own contracts were maintained.

This extraordinary scab move by the operating engineer and Teamster officials represents turning the retreat into a disorderly rout. It marks a deadly threat to the building-trades unions.

The real wages of building-trades workers will continue to decline. Despite howls from the capitalist press that construction workers' wage increases are "inflationary," the fact is that the rise in prices will outstrip the increases in the new contracts.

Construction workers will continue to be killed and injured in high numbers because their contracts do not provide for restricting the pressure from the employers to produce more and faster.

Greater unemployment will further undermine union conditions. The open shops will make greater inroads on traditional union bastions. The outlook is grim because of the officials' hock-shop method of bargaining—exchanging gains won in past struggles, bit by bit, for wage adjustments that don't meet the cost of living.

### New leadership needed

The defeats will continue until a new leadership with a program of struggle is pushed forward from the ranks of the construction unions.

The workers who will be building the projects planned for the next few years are young. They include former students, Vietnam veterans, some Blacks, and many other working-class youth affected to one degree or another by the radically changing attitudes of today. The militant strike against the wage controls organized last year by the rank-and-file carpenters showed only the tip of the iceberg.

These workers are learning that their real power lies not in their level of skill—which is disappearing—but in mobilization and organization of the workers themselves. Rallying the ranks, informing them and involving them in the struggle, will be a hallmark of the difference between the old leadership and the new.

### Program of struggle

Construction workers need a program of struggle for resisting the contractors' attack and launching a counteroffensive. The following are some of the main points that should be con-

sidered in such a program.

The central lesson of the California strikes is the urgent need to *unite the building trades*. The eventual goal should be one big industrial union of all construction workers. Intermediate steps can be proposed right now, such as cooperative enforcement of job conditions, joint contract negotiations, and above all, joint strike action. The self-destructive practices of working without a contract and working on jobs other unions have struck must be halted.

A priority task of the unions should be to fight for real cost-of-living escalator clauses in all contracts.

A campaign should be launched to meet the threat of unemployment resulting from the introduction of labor-saving techniques. To the degree they are genuine technological improvements and not work intensification, the new techniques should be welcomed—on the condition that their benefits are shared equally by all workers. A shorter workweek with no reduction in pay is the rational and just solution to the unemployment that plagues construction workers.

The unions cannot hope to win support from Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Asian workers—or from the unorganized white workers—until they stop serving as job trusts for a privileged white minority.

To win the confidence of workers of the oppressed nationalities and begin to compensate for their past exclusion, the unions must support the demand for preferential hiring of minority workers.

The only answer to the open-shop attack on the building-trades unions is to organize the unorganized workers. The current policy of accepting poorer wages and working conditions to "compete" with nonunion standards only benefits the contractors, and it defeats the very purpose of organizing into unions. This policy, if it is not reversed, will lead to the destruction of the unions.

The labor officialdom's policy of supporting the Democrats and Republicans, the political parties of the bosses, must be abandoned. These are the parties responsible for the wage controls, for strikebreaking laws and court injunctions, and for the current recessionary measures that are throwing construction workers out of their jobs.

To truly speak and fight for the interests of workers, an independent political party of labor is needed, initiated by the unions and based on the millions of workers and their allies, embracing the cause of all the oppressed, and aiming to establish a workers government.

# Scab threat withdrawn, S. Calif. strike settled

SAN FRANCISCO—Since the accompanying article on problems facing construction workers was written, the major Southern California contractors have been forced to shelve—at least temporarily—their most overt union-busting plans.

After having earlier threatened to start operating with nonunion labor, negotiators for the Associated General Contractors (AGC) and three other employer associations in 11 Southern California counties reached agreement July 27 with the carpenters union.

The tentative settlement was reached after the AGC in San Diego County and in Northern California came to terms with the carpenters.

Details of the Southern California contracts have not been released, but they are reported to include a total increase of \$3.75 an hour in a wage and fringe benefit package, spread out over three years. There is no cost-of-living escalator clause.

While it is impossible to tell yet what working conditions were traded away for the wage increases, the contractors made their objectives clear in the *Daily Pacific Builder*, an employer newspaper. They wrote that "in order to maintain the high standards of work efficiency-production ratio long established by the construction trades, work rules relating to carpenters' and laborers' on-site work function must be changed." In plain English, this means that laborers, who are paid much less than carpenters, should be allowed to do work presently reserved for carpenters.

The contractors were forced to back down from their announced plan to go nonunion only because the Operating Engineers and Teamsters unions reversed their decision to scab on the strike.

As reported earlier, Joseph Seymour of Operating Engineers Local 12 had ordered engineers to cross picket lines and work alongside nonunion workers. He justified this action by repeating the bosses' line that carpenters' wage demands were exorbitant. Lower wages should be accepted, he said, so that "pronunion" contractors such as the AGC could compete with the open-shop contractors of the Associated Builders and Contractors, which recently opened an office in Los Angeles.

Why did the Operating Engineer and Teamster officials reverse themselves? They probably had difficulty rallying their members to a policy of outright scabbing. In addition, they found they were in no position to wage an all-out jurisdictional war against the other trades as the tops of these unions moved to defend their own craft interests.

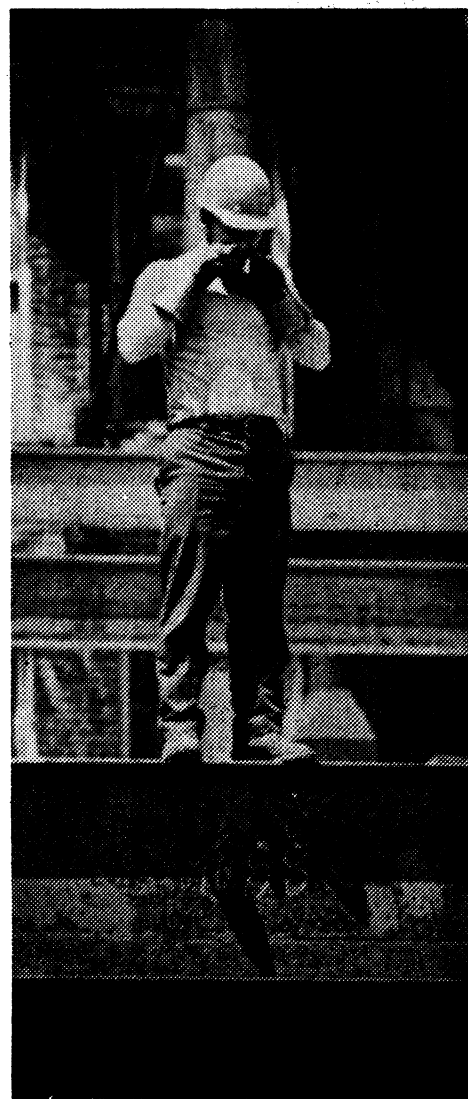
On July 25 Seymour announced, "We had the rug pulled out from under us by the capitulation of employers in Northern California and San Diego and it is useless to try and hold the line [against wage hikes] anymore." This from an official of a trade union!

Seymour said Local 12 wanted to reaffiliate with Southern California building-trades councils, on the condition that there be no "retaliation" by other unions.

A spokesman for the employers commented, "Well, at least we had some help for about three weeks or so, and that was an advantage."

Southern California Carpenters officials have not yet decided whether to submit their tentative settlement to a membership vote. Even if a vote is allowed, carpenters will work until it is taken in mid-August.

In contrast, the employers expect the largest meeting of contractors in



Officials of Operating Engineers, Teamsters, found union ranks didn't welcome plan to scab on other trades.

Southern California history to vote on the settlement. It may well be rejected because several of the large AGC members will argue that the wage increase is too great.

It could be seen in San Diego County that the deal is not being met with much enthusiasm by rank-and-file carpenters. It was approved by a margin of only three votes after a bitter debate, but a second vote had to be scheduled. The first was invalidated because the number of ballots did not match the number of carpenters registered to vote at the meeting.

Northern California Carpenters officials will definitely not submit their agreement with the AGC to membership vote.

The following are other recent developments in the maze of California construction strikes:

- Negotiators for cement masons in the 11 southern counties came to agreement with the AGC at the same time as the carpenters. San Diego County cement masons returned to work July 22.

- Laborers are still on strike in Southern California, but a settlement is certain if the employers approve the carpenters' pact.

- Plaster hod carriers walked off their jobs in four central California counties July 19.

- Contractors reached agreement with Plumbers union locals in the Oakland-East Bay area. The terms were different for each of the three areas that had struck. Oakland plumbers won an increase of \$2.07 an hour in wages and fringes in a one-year contract.

- Twelve thousand members of Pipe Fitters Local 342 in the East Bay remained on strike after rejecting the same increase accepted by the Oakland plumbers. In addition to picketing employers' shops, union pickets have been sent to facilities owned by Standard Oil, Union Oil, General Motors, and Dow Chemical. A total of \$350-million in construction projects has been shut down. — R. W.



Carpenters and supporters picket during strike last winter.

## How unions can fight back

**CONSTRUCTION WORKERS UNDER ATTACK:** How to fight back and rebuild the unions by Nat Weinstein, Frank Lovell, and Carol Lipman. 35 cents.

- The open-shop drive
- How to fight rising prices
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Order from:  
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## Issues facing printers union convention

By FRANK LOVELL

Contract language for wages and the retirement of printers at two of the major New York newspapers, the *Times* and the *Daily News*, was approved at a membership meeting of the International Typographical Union (ITU) Local 6 on July 28. Of the 10,000-member local, about 1,050—mostly newspaper workers—came to vote.

The three-hour meeting heard a summary reading of important changes in the contract and a report on highlights of the "historic" agreement, given by Local 6 President Bertram Powers. Then there was a long list of questions by members, which were answered in turn by Powers; and finally there was a "debate" on overall merits of the nature and acceptability of the agreement.

The union officials organized the meeting so as to limit debate in the final half hour to two speakers, one opposed and one in favor.

Local 6 Secretary-treasurer Thomas Kopeck spoke against the 11-year agreement, arguing that it is the last ITU contract and that it phases out the union while guaranteeing lifetime employment for those members now working at the *Times* and the *News*. He said, "We have let the typographical brotherhood down."

Powers responded that technological changes dictated the settlement, that all ITU members at the newspapers are fully protected, and that the next 10 years will bring greater changes than ever before.

The vote was 1,009 for and 41 against.

Basic terms of the settlement were announced last May after almost three weeks during which printers picketed the *News* and the paper continued publishing without skilled printers, using automated typesetting machinery.

The agreement that brought printers back to work gives the publishers unrestricted use of the most sophisticated computerized equipment, provides for the rapid phasing out of current methods of typesetting, and guarantees lifetime employment to all printers who were working under the previous contract.



Workers operating automated typesetting equipment at Washington Post

At the two newspapers 1,785 workers are directly affected. Their wages are raised \$40 weekly, to \$291.82 for a 34-and-one-half hour workweek on the day shift. Each of the 1,400 full-time printers will collect in excess of \$1,000 retroactive pay. Future raises will be 3 percent annually, plus a cost-of-living escalator equal to increases in the Consumer Price Index. After March 31, 1975, cost-of-living adjustments will be made quarterly, up through expiration of the contract on Mar. 30, 1984.

All workers are entitled to a six-month paid vacation before retirement, amounting to about \$7,500 at current pay rates. Those who retire within the first six months will collect an additional bonus of \$2,500. The estates of those who die before applying for retirement will collect nothing.

The average age of printers covered by this agreement is 56, and more than 200 of them are over 65.

The publishers seek to hasten the retirement process and eliminate all printers as soon as possible to cut labor costs under this agreement.

### Publishers' strategy

A two-page article in the July 29 *New York Times* by A. H. Raskin reviews step by step the year-long negotiations and presents the publishers' strategy and their expectations of the settlement.

He says 30 percent of all classified advertising is already taken on forms ready for automated typesetting, and the production changeover begins immediately. Within two months news dispatches from Washington and London will be set electronically.

Knowledgeable printers on the papers expect that their numbers may be reduced by half the first year.

Raskin, writing for the publishers, says, "These savings—at \$20,000 a year in wages and benefits for each printer eliminated—will swell the publishers' long-term profits by many millions."

The stage was set for this settlement by the new technology in newspaper publishing and the failure of old-line craft unions to adjust to the changing methods of production. The result is that printers and others have been forced out of the industry without compensation, their unions smashed in isolated strike actions.

This trend developed over the past decade and gained momentum this year. In April 1970 the San Rafael *Independent Journal* in the San Francisco Bay Area locked out printers and broke the union despite solid support from the union movement.

Last year the Omaha *World-Herald* locked out printers and refused to negotiate with the ITU. It continues to publish, and the National Labor Relations Board is still considering the

case.

This year pressmen, printers, and drivers in separate, isolated strike actions have been forced out of newspapers in Dallas at the *Morning News* and the *Times Herald*, in Akron at the *Beacon-Journal*, and in Kansas City at the *Star*. In all instances the issue was replacement of workers by machines, a sharp reduction in the work force.

Still to be decided is the fate of printers in Washington, D. C., where negotiations continue at the *Post* and the *Star-News*.

Publishers everywhere are on the offensive, armed with the new methods of printing, and they decide whether it is to their advantage in the long run to operate nonunion shops or to phase out the present work force under an agreement with craft unions that also dooms the old craft-union structure.

In some cases, as in New York and Washington, D. C., the publishers prefer to deal with newspaper workers through a union—providing the union is tractable.

Raskin reports that a new afternoon paper, the *New York Press*, is scheduled to begin publication early next year. "Unless legal challenges get in the way," says Raskin, "its plan is to have a simple plantwide contract with the Amalgamated Lithographers, Local 1, which has promised total freedom on use of new technology."

### ITU convention

The International Typographical Union, once the most powerful in the printing trades, will consider at its coming convention in St. Louis, Aug. 3-9, whether to try to form an industrial union in conjunction with other unions in the publishing industry.

This will not be the first time. When the Committee for Industrial Organization was formed in 1935, Charles Howard, then president of the ITU, was one of the original members. In those days it was a question of organizing the unorganized workers in the mass-production industries. Now it is closer to home, a question of reorganizing the disorganized crafts in the new mass-production publishing industry.

## Aged suffer in Nixon's 'war on inflation'

"Social Security: Promising Too Much to Too Many?" was the title of a special feature in the July 15 *U.S. News & World Report*. The right-wing newsweekly tried to show that the Social Security system is in danger of running out of money because of benefit increases in the past few years.

The *Wall Street Journal* approvingly cited this bogus study in a July 15 editorial warning that it would be "economic insanity if Congress con-

### The American Way of Life

tinues to hike benefit levels."

"What's to be done?" asked the *Journal* editors. "The first thing is that the public has to be told, by the politicians, that it is not possible to maintain the current [tax] rate schedule and benefit level." That is, either taxes must be raised or benefits cut. Or both.

One of the old people whom these capitalist rags would have us believe are living it up on their extravagant Social Security payments is "Harvey Smith" of Tallahassee, Fla. His story was told in

a recent Associated Press article:

"Harvey Smith celebrated his 67th birthday Thursday in a castoff cardboard box which has been his home for the past two months.

"The battered box barely gives Smith enough room to lie down, but he says it keeps the rain off and he doesn't get cold at nights.

"I have me a wool blanket I got down at the Army-Navy Store," says Smith, who stores his personal effects in a locker he rents for 50 cents a day at the bus station.

"His cooking, done on a camp stove, consists mainly of instant grits, oatmeal and blackstrap molasses.

"That's all he can afford on his monthly \$139.60 Social Security check, he says. . . .

"But Smith, who prefers that alias be used to protect his identity and his pride, tries hard to keep up appearances.

"Wearing a baggy suit and an old tie, Smith carries his toothbrush, razor and shaving soap in his inside pocket so that he can wash at a water faucet in another vacant lot next to the busy street where he has his cardboard home. . . .

"But Smith dreams of a new home.

"I need somewhere where I could make me a little hut about four feet high and eight feet long," he said. "I'd make the frame out of wood and throw cardboard over it and eventually cover it with plywood when I have the money."

There are untold thousands of "Harvey Smiths" in this country—old, alone, and unnoticed. The rulers begrudge every penny spent to even keep them alive. Capitalist society has no use for human beings when they become too old to serve as wage-workers.

Now, however, old people may be called upon to play an important role. By accepting further cuts in their miserable standard of living, they can become frontline soldiers in Nixon's "war against inflation."

— GENE ANDERSON



'Harvey Smith' breaking down his cardboard home



# Government rests case in AIM trial; defense files motions for acquittal

By GREG CORNELL

ST. PAUL, Minn.—Defense counsel in the Wounded Knee trial has filed motions for acquittal as the government has rested its case.

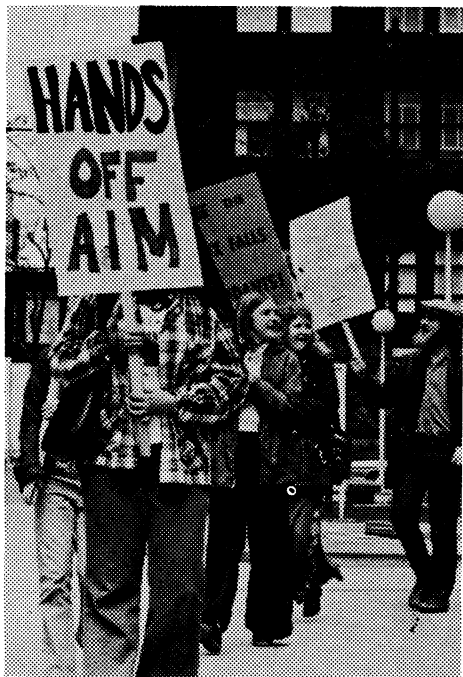
"The government has not linked Dennis Banks or Russell Means to any of the 10 counts," Mark Lane, one of the defense attorneys, told *The Militant*. Lane said briefs for dismissal are being prepared now.

Banks and Means, leaders of the American Indian Movement, are being framed by U.S. authorities for their role in last year's 71-day seizure of Wounded Knee, S.D.

The dismissal motions are expected to be argued Aug. 7, 8, and 9 before U.S. District Judge Fred Nichol, who is expected to make his ruling by mid-August.

The government's case, a web of innuendos, fails to concretely tie Banks and Means to any of the 10 counts in the felony indictment.

The government's contention is that the two Indians are guilty because of their mere presence at Wounded Knee when crimes were supposedly committed. The prosecution says that because the two led the seizure they are guilty. They do not have to have committed the crimes themselves in order to be convicted, the government says.



Militant/Mark Allen

Lane said an evidentiary hearing will be held by Judge Nichol this month on military operations conducted by the government at Wounded Knee last year.

Lane said the military intervention was extensive and illegal because it occurred without a proclamation by

President Nixon.

Nixon did not issue a proclamation, Lane said, "because nobody would have believed him."

In another development, Lane said he had received a statement from one of the leaders of the goon squad that was organized on the Pine Ridge Reservation that will "blow this case out of the water."

The goon squad was organized nearly two years ago to harass supporters of the American Indian Movement and, through violent actions, force Indians to halt their opposition to the corrupt reservation administration.

"We now know who set up the goon squad," Lane told *The Militant*. "We know who paid for it and what they did. It was set up by high-ranking officials of the federal government."

Lane said the statement will show that the goon squad was set up with federal funds. He said that some of the goon-squad members were white ranchers who would go out at night during the seizure and fire shots on their own.

The defense has argued that a U.S. marshal and FBI agent who the government contends were wounded by participants in the Wounded Knee seizure, were actually shot by white ranchers.

## Black prisoners demand 'trials or release'

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—Last March, Federal Judge Orrin Judd handed down a decision that said that prisoners held at the Brooklyn Men's House of Detention for more than six months (nine months for those indicted for murder) could file a request for trial. After such a request, a prisoner would have to be tried within 45 days or be released on his own recognizance.

The administration of Democratic Party Mayor Abraham Beame imme-

*Derrick Morrison is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York.*

diately got a stay on the order and appealed to the circuit court of appeals. On July 8, a three-judge panel of the court reversed Judd's order.

The Judd order was the result of a class-action suit filed two years ago by 13 prisoners at the Brooklyn House of Detention (BHD). Aided by lawyers from the Center for Constitutional Rights, the prisoners charged the courts with denying them speedy trials, imposing excessive bail, and forcing them to plead guilty without benefit of a jury trial in many cases.

Daniel Alterman, a lawyer with the Center, said that the reversal of Judge Judd's order shows the hostility of the appeals court to class-action suits, prisoners, and suits against judges and district attorneys. He said that lawyers working on the suit would request consideration of it by all nine judges of the appellate court. If this request is turned down, the suit will be appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

In this order, Judge Judd documented the long trial delays. He wrote, "In December 1972, there were 644 defendants who had been in BHD for more than six months. During the first three months of 1973, the Legal Aid Society obtained twelve acquittals of defendants who had been in jail for periods ranging from twelve to fourteen months. Four BHD inmates who testified in this court in April 1973, had been confined from thirteen to seventeen months awaiting trial."

*Continued on page 26*

## Custer, SD: 3 get racist sentences

By GREG CORNELL

Three persons arrested in connection with a demonstration by the American Indian Movement (AIM) in Custer, S.D., last year were sentenced July 30 to the South Dakota State Penitentiary.

Defense attorney William Kunstler termed the sentences "—savage and vindictive."

Circuit Judge Joseph Bottum handed out the sentences, the heaviest yet against AIM supporters involved in the protests.

The three were framed by South Dakota authorities in the face of a protest by AIM in February 1973 in Custer that turned into a police riot.

The AIM demonstrators took to the streets after state officials failed to bring a murder indictment against a white man who killed an Indian.

Killed was Stanley Bad Heart Bull, son of Sarah Bad Heart Bull, who is one of the three persons sentenced July 30.

Sarah Bad Heart Bull has six children living at home, defense attorney Mark Lane told *The Militant*.

Also sentenced were Robert High Eagle and Kenneth Dahl, who were each given five to seven years.

After Judge Bottum announced the sentences, Lane told the judge, "You make me ashamed to be a member

of the same profession as you. I'm sure your political career will be advanced by your savage sentences."

Lane said the defense will appeal the convictions.

Bottum ordered the two men to begin serving their sentences immediately. The judge, in a pathetic gesture that did little to hide his racist sentences, gave Sarah Bad Heart Bull a 24-hour delay before she begins her sentence, "for the sake of her children."

A total of 19 persons, 18 of them Indians, were arrested in the Custer demonstration. Lane said he feared even heavier sentences in other cases that will be coming to trial.

## Rodriguez winds up tour in N. Calif.

By DOUG HEWELL

BERKELEY—Olga Rodríguez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California, ended a two-week tour of the Bay Area July 19 with a speech at the Militant Forum on Portugal and the African revolution. Eighty people attended.

At Laney Junior College in Oakland, La Raza Student Union sponsored a talk by Rodríguez on "Racism in the U.S. and the Two-party System."

Rodríguez drew a round of applause from the 85 people present, most of them Black and Chicano students, when she stated: "The two capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans, are equally to blame for racism and are equally determined to maintain the system of racist oppression that prevails under capitalism."

"The only course for Black and Chicano activists to fight our oppression is to break with these twin parties of racism," Rodríguez said.

After she spoke, 16 people signed cards endorsing the socialist campaign as a positive alternative to the Democrats and Republicans.

At Nevelles', a Chicano art gallery, a "Taco and Tequila" party was organized by Chicano activists and the Young Socialists for Rodríguez. Fifty people came to talk to the socialist candidate.

At the University of California at Berkeley, Rodríguez debated representatives of her Democratic and Republican opponents, Edmund Brown and Houston Flournoy. A number of questions from the audience concerned Proposition 9, the political "reform" initiative passed in June.

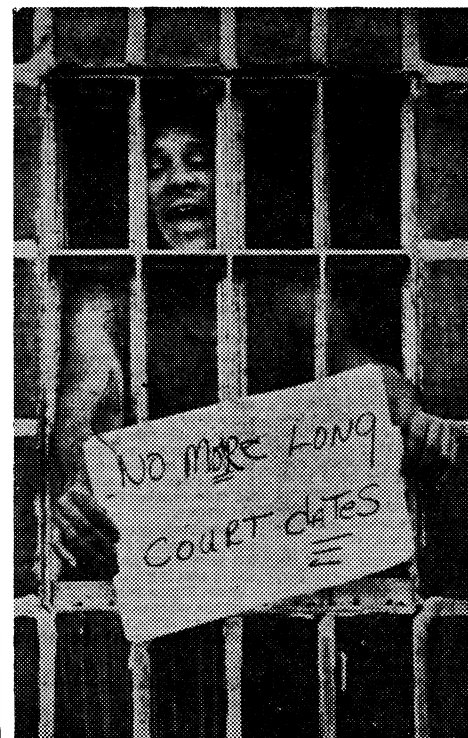
Among other things, Proposition 9 sets down stringent requirements for reporting to the state the names and addresses of campaign contributors. It also says the state will audit the financial books of all political committees—a term defined so as to include

many labor, student, and community groups. Proposition 9 was vigorously opposed by the California AFL-CIO.

Brown's representative defended Proposition 9 and boasted that it had been authored by Brown while he was secretary of state. Flournoy's representative was unsure of his candidate's position.

Rodríguez denounced the measure, saying, "Its real purpose is to strengthen the political stranglehold of the Democratic and Republican parties, while intensifying the difficulties faced by smaller parties."

She explained that the disclosure provisions would do nothing to alter the capitalists' control of the Democratic and Republican parties. They would, however, make it easier for the state to victimize contributors to independent campaigns like that of the SWP, thereby intimidating people from making contributions.



Prisoners wait months, even years, for a trial.

## Protest writings of a Soviet dissident

Report from the Beria Reserve by Valentyn Moroz. Translated by John Kolasky. Cataract Press. Toronto, 1974. 162 pp. Paper, \$2.95.

By Marilyn Vogt

"A small group of people in Kiev scattered sparks all over Ukraine and where they fell the ice of indifference and nihilism, that had accumulated over long years, began at once to thaw."

Thus Valentyn Moroz describes the effect of a dissident literary circle in the 1960s in Ukraine on the political and cultural life of the Ukrainian SSR, frozen by decades of Stalinist repression.

He describes the radicalization in the 1960s in Ukraine in his essay "In the Midst of the Snows," one of the notable documents in this collection of Moroz's writings recently put out by Cataract Press, a new publishing house specializing in Ukrainian dissident writings. The publication of the collection

### Books

coincides with the beginning of Moroz's hunger strike in his solitary-confinement cell in Vladimir prison.

Although he was not in Kiev as were the others, Moroz was one of this "small group of people"—the "generation of the sixties" in Ukraine. And this small group was to produce some of the most politically sophisticated anti-Stalinist but prosocialist literature to make its way abroad in the past decade.

#### Russification

This particular essay of Moroz's concerns the activity of the most prominent figure in this generation of radicals, Ivan Dzyuba, who in his book *Internationalism or Russification?* criticized the Stalinist policy toward non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union—that is, Russification—from a Leninist point of view.

Written in 1965, *Internationalism or Russification?* was an inspiration to young Ukrainians to fight in the name of socialist democracy against the political repression and the Russian chauvinism of the ruling bureaucracy.

Most of those in the forefront of this struggle fell victim to the waves of repression that have swept Ukraine since the mid-1960s. Moroz and Dzyuba were among the hundreds who were arrested.

In November 1973, sick with tuberculosis after more than 18 months in KGB prisons, Dzyuba succumbed to the relentless police pressure and signed a statement, published in the official press, renouncing the ideas in his book.

"In the Midst of the Snows" is a product of the events surrounding the repression campaign against Dzyuba and Dzyuba's response to it.

In the course of the campaign, Dzyuba was threatened with expulsion from the Ukrainian Writers' Union. Under pressure, Dzyuba released a statement in 1970 that temporarily satisfied the bureaucrats. In this 1970 statement, Dzyuba said, "I reject the term 'nationalist' regardless of how it is interpreted. . . ."

Moroz wrote, "It is difficult to believe this. Absolute rejection of nationalism 'regardless of how it



Prisoners in one of Stalin's forced labor camps. Repression in Soviet Union has hit oppressed nationalities such as Ukrainians hardest.

is interpreted,' is Stalin's and not Lenin's thesis. Lenin never took such a stand. Lenin, as is known, interpreted the nationalism of an oppressed nation in a positive sense. Here Dzyuba not only departs from Lenin but from himself."

Moroz asks, "Has Dzyuba still not really comprehended the elementary police truth that having admitted A, triple pressure will be applied on him to admit B. Many, having embarked on this road, have also admitted B."

What is needed, Moroz maintains, is intransigence—to live up to the phrase, used in a derogatory manner by Poles and Russians, "stubborn as a Ukrainian."

Moroz is a stubborn Ukrainian. It was on July 1, 1974, that he began his hunger strike in Vladimir prison. He is there serving part of a 14-year term he received for his activities, mostly his writings upholding the democratic and national rights of the Ukrainian people against the Great Russian chauvinist bureaucrats' repressive policies.

#### Won't recant

The bureaucrats are trying to destroy Moroz mentally and physically because he is intransigent and won't recant his views. In addition to the starvation diet at Vladimir prison—where he is to serve six of the 14 years—he has been subjected to further barbarities. He was placed in cells with mentally insane inmates, harassed and knifed by criminal cellmates, and administered brain-damaging drugs. Since 1972 he has been in solitary confinement.

He has launched the hunger strike to back up his demand that he be transferred to a labor camp. Otherwise, he says, he will carry on the hunger strike until death, for he fears the treatment he is receiving will succeed in driving him insane and he would rather die than lose his reason.

*Report from the Beria Reserve* contains Moroz's principal works written between April 1967 and November 1970. Moroz does not call himself a Marxist or a Leninist. However, he continually points out the hypocrisy of Stalin and Stalin's heirs. Although they claim to represent communism, their practices reflect more than a concerted and vicious effort to repress any ideas that might upset the status quo, which ensures their power and privilege.

"Could the most inveterate anti-communist invent a more effective means of undermining the position of communism in the ideological struggle with the West" than those in the Kremlin who identify "Soviet power with chauvinism, Stalinism and lawlessness?" Moroz asks.

The collection provides several different sides of Moroz's thinking. Moroz wrote the title essay, "Report from the Beria Reserve," in April 1967 in a solitary-confinement cell where he was serving a four-year term after his arrest in 1965 for dissident activities. This essay explores the mentality of those individuals in the bureaucracy's repressive apparatus—the "empire of cogs," the gray mass of mindless enforcers.

Whom will it inconvenience if the masses of Soviet people begin to fight for their democratic rights, Moroz asks. And he answers: "Those who will lose their privileges with the complete wiping out of the lawlessness of Stalin: first of all the KGB; then the chairman of the collective farm who fears that if all legal norms are actually complied with, he will not even be appointed swineherd; then the academician who climbed to his chair over the corpses of betrayed comrades in 1937; finally the chauvinist who will have to give up his program of Russification."

"These are the forces which defend the past and block the path of progress with dead weight. Only *they* require people to be cogs. Yet they steadfastly pose as protectors of society and defenders of 'socialist legality.'"

The touchstone of Moroz's thinking is his commitment to the rights of the Ukrainian people and his opposition to the Stalinist bureaucrats who repress and destroy creativity and independent thought.

In a May 15, 1968, declaration to the head of the Ukrainian Communist Party, when speaking of the rising opposition to Russification in Ukraine, Moroz stated:

"'Not to allow' a new trend is impossible. It will emerge regardless, but perhaps in foreign attire as an argument in the hands of an opponent. . . ."

"Will today's Ukrainian communists succeed in finally resurrecting Lenin's policy of Ukrainianization and declare a decisive war against Russian chauvinism in Ukraine? This will determine the success of the ideological struggle with the West."

#### A model fighter

However, Moroz is not a Marxist and his writings exhibit a high degree of subjectivity in many instances. He is searching for and upholding what he feels to be genuine expressions of Ukrainian culture, tradition, and values in the face of the prefabricated "culture" and hypocrisy that pervade present-day Ukrainian life under the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Despite the shortcomings of his thinking, what he is opposing is Russification, and against Russification he has been a model fighter.

Moroz is furthering the process of building a movement in Ukraine of workers, students, and intellectuals who will fight to abolish the repressive Stalinist bureaucracy and restore socialist democracy in Ukraine. That is why the bureaucracy wants him destroyed. And that is why revolutionists must come to his defense.

In 1939, Trotsky expressed what the attitude of a revolutionist must be toward the struggle of the Ukrainian people against the oppression of the Stalinist bureaucracy: "Of importance to me is your attitude toward your national destiny and not the 'socialistic' sophistries of the Kremlin police; I will support your struggle for independence with all my might!"

The same holds fully true today.



Soviet bureaucrats in front of Kremlin in 1973. To maintain their privileges they must get rid of 'stubborn Ukrainians' such as Moroz.



# Iranian Students Association expels activists

From Intercontinental Press  
By PARVIZ FOROUGHI

The Iranian Students Association in the United States (ISA-US) held its twenty-second annual convention in Los Angeles June 29-July 7. The convention was attended by 76 delegates from local chapters of the ISA and more than 300 Iranian students. ISA-US is a member of the World Confederation of Iranian Students, and two of its secretaries attended.

A positive step taken by the convention was the reaffirmation of the ISA's opposition to the shah's military intervention in Dhofar. The general consensus was for continued efforts to expose the shah's aggression. However, no concrete action was projected.

In an extremely backward step, the convention, at the insistence of the ISA leadership, expelled more than thirty activists. This undemocratic move was occasioned by differences of opinion between the leadership and the expelled students on questions ranging from defense policy to the role of the national bourgeoisie in revolution and the nature of Stalinism.

Among those expelled are Babak Zahraie and Bahram Atai, who two years ago were the target of deportation efforts by the U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service because of their activity in the movement against U. S. aggression in Vietnam and the struggle to defend political prisoners in Iran. An extensive defense campaign involving large numbers of stu-

dents and professors forced the government to back down.

Those expelled included four students from New York and about thirty from universities in Texas. The ISA declared them all to be an "anti-Confederation group."

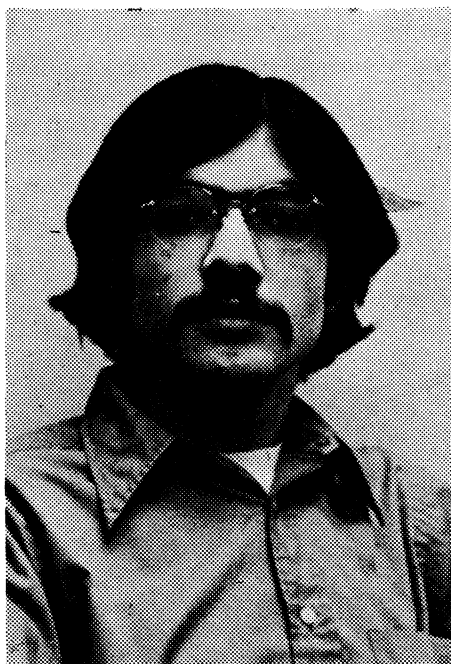
Those who were expelled were not informed before the convention that the leadership intended to bring charges against them. Even during the convention, it was not made clear on exactly what basis they were being expelled. Individuals reflecting the viewpoints of different factions in the ISA leadership—which consists of different Maoist groups as well as bourgeois nationalists—spoke in favor of the expulsions, but each presented a different charge.

Some of the leaders condemned the group for having a "humanistic approach" in their defense policy and for having included in their defense effort prisoners of the shah who were not revolutionists, or even those who had recanted. These ISA leaders argued that calling for the freedom of such prisoners was going against the Confederation.

They also charged that the defense policy of the group was devoid of "anti-imperialist" slogans. Other leaders condemned the group for having participated in the defense of political prisoners through organizations other than the Confederation.

During the day-long "trial," the leadership of the ISA also brought forward charges based on questions of a historical and theoretical nature. One example was the charge that "certain members of the group" do not recognize Mossadegh (a bourgeois-nationalist prime minister whose government was toppled by a CIA-engineered coup in 1953) as the leader of anti-imperialist struggles in Iran. It was also charged that members of the "group" had "insulted" Ho Chi Minh.

Seven minutes each was allotted to six members of the "group" to defend themselves. In general, the six discussed the importance of a broad defense of all the shah's political prisoners and the need for the organization to work seriously toward that end. As for the differences in political views, the six explained that the solution to such questions did not lie in expulsion but rather in a democratic discussion that would provide a political education for all. They also pointed to the constitution of the Confederation and argued that the charges were unconstitutional.



Militant/Michael Baumann  
Babak Zahraie, one of more than 30 activists expelled from ISA.

The Confederation's democratic struggle against the dictatorial regime of the shah has played an important role abroad. As a result, it has come under attack from the regime, which imprisons any known member. With the cooperation of its allies, the Iranian government continues its harassment against members of the Confederation living abroad, threatening to refuse to renew students' passports.

In a situation like this, the expulsions are a serious blow to the achievement of the tasks before the Confederation, for it is clear that the problems the Confederation faces cannot be solved by such bureaucratic methods. What is necessary is *unity in action* of all forces opposed to the shah's regime. This cannot be brought about except by a conscious effort to mobilize the maximum number of forces in defense of political prisoners and democratic rights in Iran, and in opposition to the shah's aggression against the people of Dhofar. But unfortunately the leadership of the ISA-US has ignored this fundamental fact and instead has championed the fight for excluding the activists.

The turn in Peking's relations with Tehran, and the Chinese Maoist leadership's presentation of the shah as an "anti-imperialist leader," has confronted Maoist supporters of different shadings in the ISA with the need to choose between the interests of the Iranian student movement and those

of the Chinese bureaucracy. Despite the threatening atmosphere, many students have begun to question Mao's political support of the shah and his endorsement of the shah's aggression in the Arab-Persian Gulf. (See, for example, *Peking Review*, June 22, 1973.)

Instead of allowing such discussion to be carried out in a democratic atmosphere, the leadership of the Confederation is trying to avoid it by means of expulsions. The irresponsibility of the ISA leadership toward its central duty of consistent struggle for the release of political prisoners threatens to divert the Iranian student movement into a blind alley. The different political groupings in the leadership have turned the ISA into a battlefield of factional disputes over whose program is going to replace the ISA constitution.

During the first two days of the convention, a fierce faction fight took place between different groups around whether the slogan of "overthrowing the regime" should be added to the statutes. The debate was abstract and inconclusive, but leading groups went so far as to threaten each other with expulsion.

After the vote to expel Atai, Zahraie, and the others was taken, a group of students, including the representative of the Iranian students from Boston, protested the measure. Later a number of discussions between those expelled and other students attending the convention took place outside the convention hall. The expelled activists have decided to appeal their expulsion at the congress of the World Confederation, which is to take place in Europe this fall.

The variety of literature being circulated outside the convention hall indicated the rising interest of Iranian students in political questions. Three books in particular were the topic of debate and discussion: *Stalin*, published by Mazdak (a compilation of short articles, including a Persian translation of Lenin's Testament); Trotsky's *Permanent Revolution*, published by Fanus (available for the first time in Persian); and a collection of speeches and articles by Stalin, published by the Moscow Institute of Foreign Languages.

In addition, a group of students outside the convention hall handed out literature on the case of Dr. Shariati, a prominent theologian and intellectual who was imprisoned by the shah in September 1973.



Shah of Iran. Expelled activists urged united defense of all the shah's political prisoners.

# Argentine Trotskyists arrested in dragnet

From Intercontinental Press

The investigation of the murder of Arturo Mor Roig, former minister of the interior, and of David Kraiselburd, editor of the La Plata daily *El Dia*, "has led up to yesterday to the death of six persons, the arrest of about thirty, and the wounding of several without the authorities having yet indicated how any of them were involved in the two deeds, no doubt because of the secrecy of the indictment," according to the July 21 issue of *La Opinión*.

Mor Roig was assassinated on July 15 in San Justo, a suburb of Buenos Aires. Kraiselburd was shot on July 17 when the police closed in on the house in which he was being held captive. He had been kidnapped June 25 for undisclosed reasons.

In the resulting witch-hunt, twenty-eight members of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—a sympa-

thizing group of the Fourth International) were seized by the police in a raid on the local headquarters of the party.

The press was informed of the police raid and the arrests by Benito Llambi, the minister of the interior.

Shortly after Llambi's disclosure to the press, Alfredo Nocetti Fasolino, the federal judge in charge of the case, ordered the release of the twenty-eight members of the PST "for lack of evidence."

This is the first time that such a large number of members of the PST have been seized by the police. The arrests took place during a wave of attacks mounted by ultrarightist groups against the PST.

Four members of the PST have been butchered in cold blood, others have been wounded, and various local headquarters have been raided and sacked.



Militant trade unionists at Villa Constitución in April. PST has been active builder of left wing in unions.

# Calendar

## CHICAGO

**THE SIXTH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS: ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR AMERICANS.** Speaker: Dennis Brutus, delegate to the congress. Thurs., Aug. 8, 8 p.m. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

## DETROIT

**AFRICAN LIBERATION AND THE REVOLT IN PORTUGAL.** Speakers to be announced. Fri., Aug. 9, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

## HOUSTON

**WHY CAMPAIGN 'REFORM' SCHEMES ARE A FRAUD.** Speakers: Jean Savage, Socialist Workers Party; others. Fri., Aug. 9, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose, Second Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

## LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** The history of the Russian revolution: its lessons for today. Wed., Aug. 7, 8 p.m. and Sat., Aug. 10, 10 a.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: 25 cents per session. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (213) 483-1512 or 483-2581.

## LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

**PORTUGAL AND THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION IN AFRICA.** Speakers: Reverend Alvin Dortch, Black community leader; Omari Musa, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 28th C.D.; others. Fri., Aug. 9, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

## SAN DIEGO

**WHY NIXON IS MY FAVORITE ENEMY.** Speaker: Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Aug. 9, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

## SEATTLE

**DEBATE: 'IS PUBLIC DISCLOSURE ELECTION REFORM?'** Speakers for disclosure: Steve Johnson, representative of Common Cause; John Price, professor of law at University of Washington. Speakers against disclosure: Clare Fraenzl, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; Lauren Selden, executive director, Washington American Civil Liberties Union. Fri., Aug. 9, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

## TWIN CITIES

**SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL.** History of the Russian revolution. Weds., Aug. 7, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**MAO'S CHINA TODAY.** Speaker: Les Evans, editor, International Socialist Review. Fri., Aug. 9, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

## ...W'gate

*Continued from page 3*

name of national security, the impeachment committee also decided to

protect the right of the government to carry out wars in secrecy. Liberal Democrats on the committee joined with right-wing Republicans such as Charles Sandman of New Jersey in giving the proposed impeachment article condemning the secret Cambodia bombing a resounding defeat.

As Walter Flowers (D-Ala.) pointed out, to impeach Nixon for Cambodia would be trampling on a time-honored, bipartisan policy of conducting wars behind the backs of the American people:

"We might as well resurrect President Johnson and impeach him posthumously for Vietnam and Laos as impeach President Nixon for Cambodia.

"We might as well resurrect the memory of John Kennedy for Santo Domingo and the Bay of Pigs. President Eisenhower had his U-2 incident. President Truman in Korea. . . ."

Having set the impeachment process on its course, the rulers of this country stand to lose quite a bit if Nixon escapes conviction. For one thing, the carefully cultivated image of Congress, prettied up somewhat by the House Judiciary Committee, would be shattered by a Senate failure to convict.

In a column in the July 31 *New York Times*, James Reston pointed to another consequence of not removing Nixon. ". . . even if the President manages to squeak through by a few votes, he will have to preside over a lame-duck Government that will not have the votes or the confidence to deal with the serious economic and political problems of the next year and a half."

How, Reston asked, "could he hope to govern the country effectively for eighteen months, and preside over the 200th anniversary of the nation with only a quarter of the people having confidence in his leadership?"

"What's best for America," Reston concludes, (meaning what's best for continued capitalist rule) is to get rid of Nixon.

## ...hearing

*Continued from page 7*

viduals to freely express their ideas and associate with the candidates of their choice, and it cuts across our ability to gain support from them."

The final witness of the evening was Faith Shaver. She testified briefly of seeing Xerox copies of the dossiers from University of Minnesota police

reports on meetings and activities of SWP campaign supporters, including activities of the YSA. These files were to be kept in the university archives, Shaver said, but are now reported to be "missing."

Following the hearing, Van Deusen told the media that the written and oral evidence accumulating would leave the commission with no other reasonable alternative but complete exemption for the SWP campaign committee.

The *Minneapolis Tribune*, reporting on the hearing in its July 31 issue, cites an anonymous commission source as saying that while "the SWP case is well organized, there has been a tendency among the presentations to fall back on the ideological roots of the party."

However, Ronnie Brooks, one of the original drafters of disclosure legislation, was quoted in the article as saying that "the SWP case fits the purpose of the exemption clause."

The *Tribune* article also quoted the source as saying that the commission will rule on the evidence in the "immediate future."

Van Deusen said that this makes it crucial that telegrams and statements continue to "deluge" the commission, as one member has characterized the number of statements received so far.

## ...support

*Continued from page 8*

State Representative William Ojala, an independent running for Congress in the 8th C.D., also has endorsed the effort.

Additional support continues to be received from supporters around the country. Several labor leaders have joined the large number of political figures and movement activists who have sent messages to the commission. Among them are David Creque, a member of the executive board of the Alameda County (Calif.) Central Labor Council, and Maxine Jenkins, of the Service Employees' International Union Local 400, in San Francisco.

Jenkins told the commissioners, "I oppose the harassment of SWP members and supporters by the police and FBI, and support the SWP's right to be exempted from disclosing names of financial contributors to their campaigns until the government stops this harassment."

Additional messages of support for

the exemption fight are being sought. They should be sent to the State Ethics Commission, 74 State Office Building, St. Paul, Minn. 55155, with copies to the socialist campaign headquarters at 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls., Minn. 55414.

## ...housing

*Continued from page 13*

bill on condominium conversions. This bill proposes to alleviate the mass evictions by allowing the tenants 120 days to move.

Singer explained that the housing crisis resulted from the fact that housing is built only if there is a profit to be made, not for human needs.

"The socialist candidates," Singer said, "call for a crash program to build quality public housing, to replace the shoddy, dilapidated housing throughout the District." Shedemanded that rents be rolled back to no more than 10 percent of a tenant's income.

## ...prisons

*Continued from page 23*

Long delays are one of the chief causes of overcrowded jails. The BHD, which has a capacity for 840 people, housed an average of nearly 1,400 people during 1973, almost 170 percent of its designed capacity. About 1,000 prisoners are now in the BHD.

In a visit I had with Paul Coppolla, a supporter of my campaign for governor, he told of conditions at the jail. Coppolla has been waiting more than two years to go to trial. Jail officials have segregated Coppolla and eight others from the rest of the prisoners, claiming they are a security risk because of their radical political outlook. The prisoners, however, have initiated a suit against the jail officials for \$450,000 in damages for their segregated confinement.

Coppolla told of the general lack of recreation facilities. The gym has been made into a cell area due to overcrowding. Prisoners spend about eight hours a day outside their cells doing nothing, usually sitting against the walls. These conditions, plus the anxiety of not knowing how long you must wait for trial, make the Brooklyn House of Detention worse than a regular prison.

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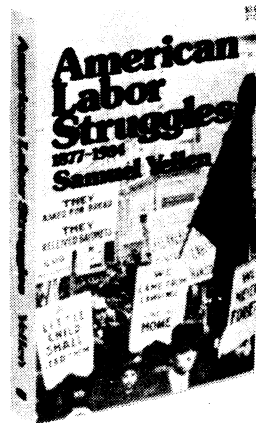


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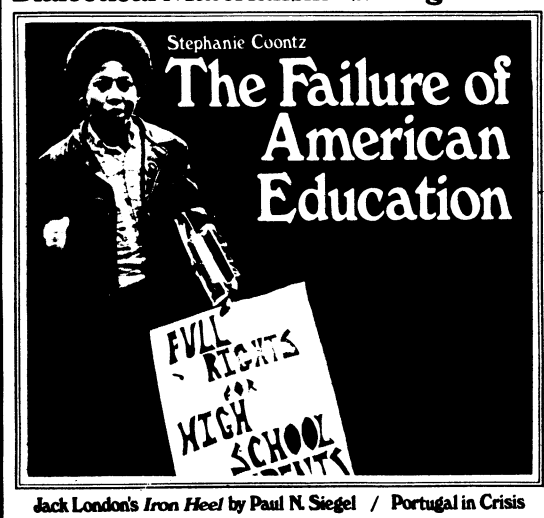
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# THE MILITANT

## 3,000 march in N.Y.

# Parents and children say 'Day care for all!'

By MARTHA HARRIS

NEW YORK — Out of the subways and chartered buses, and from down the streets, 3,000 people converged on City Hall July 24 chanting, "Day care, not welfare!"

The demonstrators, mostly Black and Puerto Rican, were protesting cut-backs in New York City day-care services. In spite of pouring rain, hundreds of children, parents, and staff members of the day-care centers carried banners in Spanish, Chinese, and English, proclaiming: "Day care is a right, not a privilege. Quality day care for all children." Hanging from umbrellas were signs reading, "Free! No fee!" and "Our taxes for our day care!"

At issue is a new fee scale that restricts the use of day-care facilities to welfare recipients or people whose net income falls below a certain level. The net income for a family of four, for example, cannot exceed \$9,400 a year. In addition, "allowable deductions," such as rent and medical expenses, will no longer be considered in the fee decision.

The new schedule was effective as of July 1, but will not be fully implemented until Sept. 1. Unless \$10-million in city money, and matching state funds, are allocated, 5,000 children will be thrown out of the centers in September. The new fee scale would force some parents, now paying a small fee, to pay as much as \$70 a week for the service.

One woman from the Bronx told *The Militant* that unless the necessary funds are allocated, "I will be off day care's list. They tell me \$6,600 is all I can earn. \$6,600 for a family of two cannot pay rent, buy food, clothe my child, and pay \$11.25 for day care. No way! There used to be exemptions for child support, medical expenses, Con Ed, and telephone, but I can't claim them now. My child has been in a center for four weeks, and was on a waiting list for more than a year."

Another woman, from Brooklyn, said, "I work in a center. I was on welfare for four years, and the cut-backs would mean going back on it. It's likely our center would close, and I'd have no job. I pay \$7 a week for my two children to be in the center now, and you can't get a private babysitter for that."

New York City's 430 day-care centers take care of about 40,000 children. The centers also provide after-school care for older children. Children are picked up after school and taken to the centers until a parent gets out of work.

Speakers at the rally in front of City Hall included Carol Bellamy,



Militant/Martha Harris

**New day-care fees will force many working parents onto welfare and keep thousands of children out of day-care centers.**

New York State assemblywoman; Bronx Borough President Robert Abrams; State Senator Mary Anne Krupsak; and Brooklyn City Councilman Fred Richmond.

Also addressing the crowd was Rebecca Finch, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senate. Finch said, "Adequate child care, controlled by those who use it, is our right. Instead of fighting for more child care, the politicians in City Hall are cutting

back on already inadequate funds."

One parent who spoke at the rally pointed out that in 19 countries day care is free. But in this country, the richest in the world, there are totally inadequate funding and programs.

Delegations from District 65, Distributive Workers of America and District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees participated in the demonstration.

In response to shouts of "We want

Beame. We want Beame!" a delegation of parents was admitted to City Hall to meet with Deputy Mayors Paul Gibson and James Cavanaugh. The delegation reported back to the demonstration that Mayor Beame "promised" he would allocate the \$10-million if the state would match the funds.

Not relying on such promises, the angry supporters of day care set a city-wide planning meeting for July 31 to discuss what action to take next.