

THE MILITANT

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

CHILE COUP



Santiago. U.S.-armed and trained soldiers during recent right-wing coup.
Special coverage, pages 3-6.

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME 37/NUMBER 35
SEPTEMBER 28, 1973
CLOSING NEWS DATE—SEPT. 19, 1973

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Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Telephone: (213) 463-1917.

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Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: Domestic: \$5 a year; foreign, \$8. By first-class mail: domestic and Canada, \$25; all other countries, \$41. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$32; Mexico and the Caribbean, \$30; Latin America and Europe, \$40; Africa, Australia, and Asia (including USSR), \$50. Write for sealed air postage rates.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly: England and Ireland, £1.20 for 10 issues, £4.50 for one year; Continental Europe, £1.50 for 10 issues, £5.50 for one year. Send banker's draft directly to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

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

NEW SUPPORT FOR RIGHTS OF FRENCH COMMUNIST LEAGUE: A growing number of prominent individuals are demanding that French President Pompidou repeal the June 28 decree banning the Communist League. Among the most recent signers of the petition are Charles Garry, a civil liberties lawyer who has defended many Black Panther Party leaders; Irwin Silber, executive editor of the *Guardian*; and Gloria Steinem, editor of *Ms.* magazine.

Others who have signed recently include Eqbal Ahmad, one of the Harrisburg Seven antiwar defendants; Fred Branfman of Project Air War; and Abe Bloom, national coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition.

The Communist League was banned following a demonstration June 21 protesting a racist meeting called by the French fascist organization New Order.

The defense effort is in great need of financial support. Donations can be sent to the defense committee in this country or in France. In the U.S., contributions can be sent to the Committee for the Defense of the Communist League, 2310 Creston Ave., Apt. 6A, New York, N.Y. 10468. Checks should be made out to Francoise Collet, secretary-treasurer of the committee.

Donations can also be sent to the Committee for Defense of the Rights of the Communist League, c/o Michel Foucault, C. C. P., Paris 26-15, France.

An appeal to readers: Help sell Militant subs

Save the weekend of Sept. 29 for the first big *Militant* subscription blitz. Hundreds of *Militant* supporters will be out selling subscriptions that weekend as part of the effort to gain 15,000 new readers this fall.

The *Militant* is offering an introductory three-month subscription for \$1. The drive to increase our readership is part of the *Militant's* forty-fifth anniversary expansion campaign. There will be another subscription blitz at the end of October.

Next weekend, supporters aim to kick off the drive by getting 4,000 subscriptions. These will be sold in college dorms, at high schools, in housing projects, and at work places. In several cities supporters plan to set up tables at busy intersections, on campuses, and outside supermarkets.

The *Militant* and *Young Socialist* teams traveling around the country will make a special push during the weekend to reach new readers. The teams have pledged to get 7,200 of the 15,000 new subscriptions.

In addition to *The Militant*, three-month subscriptions to the *International Socialist Review* will be sold for \$1.

Militant readers are encouraged to support the Sept. 29 weekend. Buy a subscription if you haven't already and help sell to others if you can. To find out about sales plans, contact the Socialist Workers Party or Young Socialist Alliance in your area (see *Socialist Directory*, page 22).

FINAL BODY COUNT: The Defense Department has issued the final U.S. death toll of the war in Indochina. Of the 56,371 U.S. dead since Jan. 1, 1961, six out of every 10 were in the Army; nearly three of the remaining four were Marines. More than 60 percent of those killed had been in uniform less than two years. Fewer than 13 percent had been in the military for more than five years. Sixty-nine percent were 21 or younger when they died; fewer than 8 percent were 30 or older. Servicemen of the rank of private or corporal accounted for 69 percent of the deaths. The largest number of deaths, 14,053, occurred among 20-year-olds.

PUERTO RICANS PRESS FOR SPANISH BALLOT: The Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund has filed suit in federal court asking that Spanish translations of the \$3.5-billion transportation bond issue, as well as the 10 constitutional amendments on the ballot, be made available at New York voting booths in the November election.

The group won a similar suit calling for bilingual voting materials for the community school board elections last May. "The decision of the board of elections to run another all-English election is an abuse of the rights of over a million United States citizens who are Puerto Rican and live in New York," says Cesar Perales, executive director of the group.

WOODCUTTERS STRIKE: More than 2,000 Black and white woodcutters in southern Alabama and Mississippi went on strike in early September against some of the giant paper companies, the Southern Conference Education Fund reports. The strike was called by the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association (GPA).

The woodcutters struck against the same companies in the fall of 1971. That strike was significant because of the unity forged among the Black and white workers.

They resisted all efforts by the companies to divide them and eventually won a pay increase.

On the third day of the present strike, Scott Paper Co. and Allied Paper Co. sought a court injunction to stop the strike. They told the court that the strike had cut the flow of wood to their yards by 80 percent.

GPA President Fred Walters, says the present strike came because woodcutters can no longer work under existing conditions. "We have to furnish our own tools—trucks, power saws, and accessories. The last few months of inflation have made life impossible for us."

REACTIONARIES SEEK TO REVIVE DEATH PENALTY: Since the June 1972 Supreme Court decision outlawing the death penalty as applied in U.S. courts, 19 states have passed new death-penalty laws. Bills to reinstate capital punishment are pending in 10 other states, and 16 people are now on death row as a result of convictions obtained under new laws.

The racist character of these laws and of the whole legal system that they are a part of is indicated by the fact that 11 of the 16 men on death row are Black. The Supreme Court's 1972 decision failed to rule on whether the death penalty is unconstitutional on the grounds of cruel and unusual punishment. The right-wing campaign for restoration of capital punishment ensures that this issue will come before the court again.

POLICE MURDER CHICANA IN SCHOOL ATTACK: On the night of Sept. 3, 1973, in Santa Fe, N.M., police staged a massive attack on the Escuela Tonantzin, an independent Chicano school. Nineteen-year-old Linda Montoya was wounded by police gun fire and died three days later. Many others were arrested and beaten.

According to the Tonantzin Investigating Committee, Montoya was shot down while surrendering with her hands up in the air. Some 80 police who were on the scene destroyed books, murals, canvasses, and other art equipment in the school.

Two Chicanos who came the next morning to see what had happened were arrested, charged with "assault with intent to commit a violent felony," and held on \$50,000 bond each. Nine Chicanos arrested the night before were held on \$50,000 bond each, and another was held on a bond of \$10,000. The committee charges that local officials conspired to close the school down.

ANTIWAR ACTIVIST TO BE DEPORTED: Michael Cullen was one of the Milwaukee 14, a group of antiwar activists who raided a Selective Service office in September 1968 and destroyed draft records as a protest against the Vietnam war. He, like the others, was convicted and served a year in prison. But unlike the others he has not been allowed to resume his previous life.

Citing the Milwaukee 14 action, the United States Justice Department's Immigration and Naturalization Service ruled in August that they would hear no further appeal on his deportation.

Cullen, who is 31 years old, came to this country from Ireland 12 years ago but never acquired U.S. citizenship. He is now a leader of the Catholic Worker movement and has said he will not fight the deportation order.

—DERRICK MORRISON

YOUR FIRST ISSUE? SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT



BEHIND THE COUP IN CHILE: The role of U.S. imperialism, the lessons of the Popular Unity coalition, and the danger the coup poses for Latin American revolutionists. . . . For analysis on the latest developments in Chile, read *The Militant*.

Introductory offer-\$1/3months

- () \$1 for three months of *The Militant*.
- () \$2 for three months of *The Militant* and three months of the *International Socialist Review*.
- () \$5 for one year of *The Militant*
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Vows to 'exterminate Marxism'

Junta tightens grip despite resistance

By DAVE FRANKEL

SEPT. 19—The military junta that overthrew the Allende government eight days ago appears to have consolidated its control over Chile, at least for the time being.

Yesterday the junta announced the end of restrictions on foreign news-

"The Sumar Textile Factory in Santiago's industrial zone was repeatedly bombed by air force planes. One report said more than 500 were killed in that factory alone. Hospitals reported receiving so many dead that the bodies were just being stacked in the wards."



Carabineros in Santiago taking prisoners

men, including censorship of articles sent abroad, and reporters say that resistance to the coup has tapered off.

In the days immediately following the coup the armed forces had to use all the weapons in their imperialist-supplied arsenal to subdue the opposition. The presidential palace, and some factories held by workers, were bombed by Hawker Hunter jets supplied by Britain, along with Sherman tanks and helicopter gunships provided by the U.S. government.

According to the Sept. 24 *Newsweek*, "the ferocious street fighting was reminiscent of the Tet offensive in Vietnam in 1968." An Associated Press dispatch reported police estimates that there had been 500 to 1,000 people killed as of Sept. 12, while *Newsweek* wrote:

In light of these reports, the junta's claim that only 95 people were killed and 300 wounded in the week of fighting following the coup seems highly unlikely.

General Augusto Pinochet, chief of the new junta, has vowed to "exterminate Marxism," and today's *New York Times* reported that "Dozens of houses, bookshops and buildings belonging to left-wing political parties are being raided in the search for Marxist literature. One raiding party seen late at night in Santiago's main street was piling the contents of a bookshop on the pavement to await a truck that was to remove the material for incineration."

One government announcement said that 26 newspapers and magazines have been told to stop publishing be-

cause they were opposed to the goal of "depoliticizing Chile."

More than 10,000 political refugees from elsewhere in Latin America had entered Chile under Allende's rule. The junta has singled out these exiles for attack as "subversives." It justified the coup by saying the armed forces had to "intervene in order to safeguard the destiny of the country, seriously threatened by extremist elements."

About 5,000 prisoners, many of them political exiles, are being held in Santiago, according to the junta. It also announced yesterday that those held would be tried by military courts. An Associated Press dispatch quoted General Pinochet as saying, "The courts are going to be very severe with foreigners. . . ."

Both the *Times* and AP have reported eyewitness accounts of summary executions of political prisoners being held in the national stadium in Santiago, and the *Times* also reported that some prisoners were being tortured to death. Reuters reported

that 250 people were deported to Bolivia yesterday—an action which may well be equivalent to a death sentence, given the reactionary character of the regime there.

Widescale arrests have also been reported in Concepción, Valparaíso, and Valdivia. Some 3,000 persons were arrested in Valparaíso alone, according to the Sept. 13 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Razón*. That is 1 percent of the entire population of the city.

There are as yet no reports of large-scale executions or a generalized slaughter in the working-class neighborhoods. But it is clear that a very extensive roundup of activists and leaders of the workers' movement has been in progress since the first moments of the coup, and that many militants are in grave danger of torture or death.

Although armed resistance to the junta was fierce in certain areas, it was also sporadic and scattered, a

Continued on page 22

International reaction to coup

International reaction to the rightist coup in Chile has ranged from the open delight of the military dictatorship in Brazil to the angry statement of Fidel Castro denouncing the U.S.

Cuba requested a special meeting of the United Nations Security Council to discuss the coup, and Raul Alarcón, the Cuban delegate to the UN, said, "It is not difficult to know where the main responsibility lies. The trail of blood spilled in Chile leads directly to the dark dens of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Pentagon."

"I cannot prove it," declared Argentina's Juan Perón in Buenos Aires, "but I firmly believe it was North American intervention."

And James Goodsell, *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent in Latin America, lamented that "one of the sad facts of life in Latin America is that the United States denials of meddling in Latin American affairs have lost their credibility."

Demonstrations throughout the world protested the coup. The largest reported were in Italy, where more than 300,000 people took to the streets, and in Paris, where some 30,000 marched.

Thousands demand 'End repression in Chile'

The right-wing military takeover in Chile has sparked demonstrations and picket lines in cities across the U.S.

Protests have centered on the junta's abrogation of civil liberties and jailing of political refugees granted asylum under the Allende regime. Demonstrators also scored U.S. complicity with the coup and repression in Chile.

Actions have occurred at federal buildings, on campuses, and at the offices of ITT and its subsidiaries. The picketing of ITT indicates widespread revulsion at ITT's previous attempts to topple the Allende regime.

Two protests occurred in New York City. Nine hundred people marched from Union Square to Herald Square Sept. 15 chanting "Watergate and Chile, Nixon's the one" and "Hands off the political refugees."

The action, called by the Committee for Solidarity with Chile, saw participation from other groups, including the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). More than half of the demonstrators were Latin Americans, including a large contingent of Dominicans.

Timed with the opening of the General Assembly of the United Nations Sept. 18, a group of 250 protested at the UN against U.S. involvement in the coup and then marched to ITT headquarters.

On the same day, four Nobel Prize laureates urged the UN to send observers to Chile to protect the civil liberties of both Chileans and political refugees. The group consisted of Fritz Lipmann and Edward Tatum of Rockefeller University, Salvador Luria of MIT, and George Wald of Harvard.

In New York, USLA is planning an indoor rally for Oct. 3. USLA has put out a special letter to all its affiliates and supporters urging participation in building emergency protest actions.

The letter stresses the need for a con-

tinuing campaign in defense of victims of political persecution in Chile. It points to the danger threatening the lives of Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco and other political exiles.

More than 1,000 people demonstrated in San Francisco's Union Square Sept. 15. Among the speakers were Angela Davis of the Communist Party, Lew Pepper of USLA, striking United Farm Workers, and several Chileans.

The action was organized by the Ad Hoc Committee against Intervention in Chile, which includes USLA, Com-

munist Party, North American Congress on Latin America, Young Socialist Alliance, New American Movement, Socialist Workers Party, and others.

The rally was carried live on two Bay Area radio stations. A picket of some 25 junta supporters marched once around the demonstration and then left.

Two hundred demonstrators picketed the White House Sept. 11 in an action called by the Common Front for Latin America. Participants included representatives from Vietnam Veterans Against the War, USLA, SWP, Young Workers Liberation League, and UFW. Alice Arshatz spoke for the United Mine Workers and expressed solidarity with the struggles of the Chilean mine workers.

Two demonstrations in the Detroit area, including one at the University of Michigan, each drew about 250 people. Four hundred people demonstrated in Boston on Sept. 13. Actions were also reported in Cincinnati, Austin, Houston, Pittsburgh, Madison, Chicago, and Indianapolis.

Candidates of the Socialist Workers Party for local offices around the country marched in many of the actions, and released statements denouncing U.S. complicity in the coup and defending democratic rights in Chile.



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Nine hundred marched in New York Sept. 15 against repression in Chile

'From expansion to recession overnight' U.S. sabotage of the Chilean economy

From Intercontinental Press

"The Chilean economy," Joseph Novitski reported in the *New York Times* a full month before the Chilean congress formalized the election of Salvador Allende in 1970, "went from expansion to recession almost overnight, according to the outgoing Government."

From the moment of its election in 1970 until it was toppled by military coup, the Unidad Popular regime was subjected to an economic squeeze by U.S. imperialism designed to undermine the popular support for Allende by creating economic chaos and shortages of necessary goods. The overnight recession referred to by Novitski was created by encouraging wealthy Chileans—who needed little

As early as February 1970, more than six months before the popular vote for president, ITT cabled instructions to Chiltelco to compile a list of the leading U.S. corporations in Chile. The information, it was later revealed, was needed in order to put together a united front of the major corporations. During the succeeding months, ITT representatives were regularly in touch with the CIA to discuss ways of preventing Allende's election, and Harold Geneen, president and chairman of the corporation, even offered the CIA \$1 million to help defeat Allende.

An ITT internal memo of September 30, 1970, discussed the "unfortunately heavy probability that Allende will take office in November" and complained that "immediate and effective action" to "exert pressure on Allende" was not likely by the Nixon administration. For the longer run, the memo expressed optimism about the prospect of "silent pressure" through the "drying-up of aid and instructions to U.S. representatives in the international banks to vote against or abstain from voting on Chilean loans." This optimism was to prove well founded.

William R. Merriam, an ITT vice-president, later told a U.S. Senate subcommittee that in February 1971 he assembled a committee representing U.S. companies with major investments in Chile to work out a joint anti-Allende strategy. Included were representatives of the Anaconda and Kennecott copper corporations and the Bank of America. "We have these ad hoc committees all the time in Washington. It's just a form of life," Merriam testified, and there is no reason to doubt his word.

As ITT had "hoped," U.S. representatives on international credit agencies blocked loans to the UP government. World Bank officials admitted in September 1972, for example, that no new loans had been granted to Chile since Allende's election.

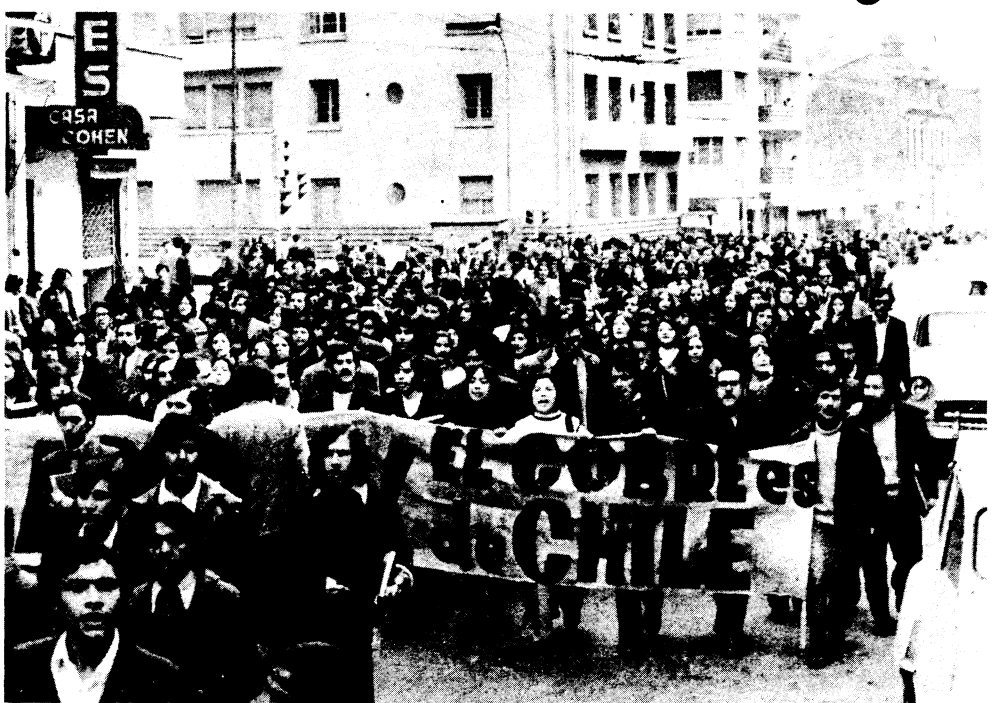
Even with the most generous of intentions, the UP government was simply unable to pay the full amount of the "compensation" demanded by the copper corporations. The inability was aggravated by a decline in the world market price of copper. In December 1972, Finance Minister Orlando Millas estimated that this decline had cost Chile \$187 million in 1971 and 1972.

Chile's foreign-exchange reserves, which totaled \$335 million in November 1970, dropped to \$100 million by the end of 1971 and only \$80 million a year later. In August 1972, Chile became the first country in the International Monetary Fund to exhaust its Special Drawing Rights completely.

Meanwhile, throughout 1972, Kennecott conducted a campaign in courtrooms around the world, tying up Chilean copper exports with lawsuits seeking to have shipments declared Kennecott's property. The campaign continued even after Allende agreed, in February 1972, to pay a Kennecott subsidiary \$84 million and made a down payment of \$5.7 million.

Partially in response to this Kennecott campaign, Canadian and Dutch banks suspended all credit to Chile in October 1972.

When Allende spoke to the United



Banner in Chilean demonstration against Kennecott Copper Company says 'The copper is Chile's.' Kennecott conducted campaign to tie up Chilean copper exports.

Nations General Assembly in December 1972, he complained of the "financial strangulation" of the Chilean economy caused by a U.S.-organized economic blockade. While complete figures on Chile's foreign trade are not available, the U.S. Department of Commerce reported on August 3 of this year that U.S. exports to Chile had declined 50 percent since Allende took office.

Allende complained particularly of Chile's inability to purchase food, medicine, equipment, and spare parts. The blockade on spare parts is a particularly insidious form of U.S. imperialist control over underdeveloped countries. Every time any part of a machine made in the United States—which means virtually all machinery in a country like Chile—wears out, the entire machine becomes useless.

The results of this economic warfare could be seen not only in short-

ages—such as the lack of truck parts that was one issue in the prolonged truck owners' strike—but in a galloping rate of inflation. Between May 1972 and May 1973, prices in Chile rose at a rate of 238 percent.

As long as the UP government refused to repudiate the national debt or to take serious measures against U.S. imperialist interests, Nixon could afford to take his time and gradually build up the economic pressure. By March of this year, when negotiations on the refinancing of Chile's debt to the United States were broken off without results, Washington was reported to be insisting on the payment of \$700 million for nationalized properties before it would consider an extension of the repayment period.

For Chile there was no way out within the limits of the capitalist system that the Unidad Popular respected to the end.



ITT president Harold Geneen with former CIA head John McCone. The two discussed how to dump Allende.

encouragement in any case—to send their funds abroad. During the first two weeks of September 1970, the Chilean central bank was forced to supply Santiago banks with 688 million escudos [at that time approximately \$30 million] to cover unexpected withdrawals.

Six years earlier, Washington had indicated the extent of the stakes it considered involved by spending \$20 million to secure Eduardo Frei's victory over Allende in the 1964 presidential election. Considered as an insurance premium, the sum was relatively small: According to U.S. Department of Commerce data, at the end of 1968, U.S. corporate holdings in Chile were valued at \$964 million. During that year, U.S. corporations averaged a profit of 17.4 percent on invested capital. For mining enterprises, the major area of investment, the rate was 26 percent.

Some of the backroom maneuvers of the corporations and the Nixon administration against the UP government have been documented because of the failure of International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) executives to shred incriminating evidence before it fell into the hands of columnist Jack Anderson. When the Allende government seized ITT's subsidiary, the Chilean Telephone Company (Chiltelco) in October 1971, additional evidence was discovered in the files.

For pre-coup analysis by leader of Socialist Workers Party: "Allende's Chile: Is It Going Socialist?" by Peter Camejo. 60 cents. Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

U.S. 'clarifies' its role in Chile

After working for three years to strangle and undermine the Allende government, Washington and Wall Street have been forced to mute their obvious satisfaction with the military coup in Chile. They would like to dampen charges that the coup was planned or assisted by the U.S. Also, U.S. rulers are still not sure whether the junta will be able to keep the lid on.

Dan Morgan, writing in the Sept. 12 *Washington Post*, reported administration officials as saying privately that while the U.S. welcomed the departure of Allende, "this could be offset if the country was plunged into a civil war. . . ."

At a Sept. 13 news conference—the second in as many days—White House deputy press secretary Gerald Warren and State Department spokesman Paul Hare tried to explain away some incriminating details.

Assistant Secretary of State Jack Kubisch had originally informed members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the U.S. received warning of the coup the night before its execution. This warning, according to the Sept. 13 *Washington Post*, was passed on to "the highest level" in Washington, and

a decision was made not to warn Allende.

Administration officials later claimed that word of the impending coup was sent by routine telegram, and that they knew nothing of it.

In the meantime there were reports that four U.S. ships en route to Chile for joint maneuvers with the Chilean navy had been suddenly ordered to veer away in order to avoid giving an impression of intervention. The problem was that the ships apparently changed course before the coup began.

Another incident that gave rise to questions was the trip to Washington of Nathaniel Davis, U.S. ambassador to Chile. Davis was called to Washington Aug. 29, and was expected to stay awhile. Instead, he returned to Santiago after just two days.

"The purpose of the visit was not to report on any coup attempt," Hare assured reporters. "He [Davis] returned to Chile immediately . . . because of the tense situation there and the desirability of having an Ambassador in the country during this period."

Hare did not add that this was to the best of his recollection at this point in time.

Before the coup

Hugo Blanco tells of life as political exile



BLANCO: His life is endangered by the Chilean military dictatorship's attacks on leftist political refugees.

The following are major excerpts from an interview with the Peruvian Trotskyist Hugo Blanco, obtained in Santiago, Chile, before the military coup. The interviewer was Birgitta Nyblom, a correspondent for the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.

Blanco's comments give a picture of some of the hardships he has faced as a political exile: arbitrary jailings, deportations, isolation from his family and the political life of his country. Blanco, like thousands of other refugees from Latin American dictatorships, was able to find a temporary haven in Chile. The Allende regime gave asylum to an estimated 10,000 to 15,000 political exiles.

Now the freedom and the lives of these refugees are in imminent danger. The Chilean military junta has labeled them "extremists" and "undesirable elements." Foreign nationals have been ordered to report to the police, and summary executions of many leftists have been reported.

There is no word yet about Hugo Blanco's situation, but he undoubtedly stands high on the list of potential victims of the military's repression. His role in the early 1960s as a leader of peasant unions involving hundreds of thousands of Peruvian peasants made him famous throughout Latin America as a revolutionary mass leader and a Trotskyist.

Blanco was arrested in 1963 for his role in the peasant struggles. The Peruvian government's desire to execute him was frustrated by a worldwide defense movement that won support from thousands of unions, political figures, and other prominent individuals.

Supporters of civil liberties must rally again to the defense of Hugo Blanco, as well as the thousands of other threatened political refugees in Chile. An international campaign of protest must demand, "Stop the arrests and reprisals! Hands off the political refugees!"

* * *

"I received an offer, in an indirect way, from the military regime in Peru to work in the land reform," reports Hugo Blanco, the peasant leader from the highlands who was freed in early 1971 after seven years in prison.

"I was very glad to. But I made one condition: The land reform would have to be carried out in line with what the peasants wanted."

That was the last Hugo Blanco heard about the offer.

Half a year after he was released from prison he was deported to Mexico. He was kept in jail there a short time.

Following intense negotiations with the Peruvian ambassador, Hugo Blanco was issued a legal passport instead of the false one he had been sent with. He traveled to Argentina, and was held in prison there for three and a half months.

"Prison conditions were awful," he says. "Physically, they were better than in Peru, but morally speaking they were much worse. The hostility of the guards was terrible."

Hugo Blanco has been in Chile since the end of last year, thanks to the general secretary of Chile's Socialist party. He happened to visit Argentina, and obtained a transit visa.

Hugo Blanco's residence permit in Chile runs out in January, and he does not know what will happen then. When he himself applied, he couldn't get a visa to any Latin American country.

"But you could go to Sweden!"

"But Sweden is so far from Peru,"

he replies. "And things are probably too quiet for me to be able to live there."

Hugo Blanco laughs. He is homesick.

"What I want most is to be able to return legally to Peru."

Just as in Mexico and Argentina, a condition Hugo Blanco must observe in Chile is that he not take part in, or make statements about, the country's political affairs. He lives with his ten-year-old son in one room and a kitchen in Santiago, and earns a living writing articles.

A while back, Hugo Blanco requested permission from the Peruvian embassy to make a short visit to his home town in Cuzco, since his mother was seriously ill and had asked him to come. He was to make the trip secretly and allow himself to be under

"This only worked to the government's disadvantage. The report about me as a national leader only meant that as soon as a group of workers got involved in a struggle, they asked about me and invited me to give a speech about imperialism or some other subject. Then they could discuss methods of struggle with me."

As a result, Hugo Blanco was arrested for twenty-four hours during a miners strike. The same thing happened during the teachers strike in September 1971. He was on the way to the drugstore when he was arrested.

"But," says Hugo Blanco, "one should not exaggerate the situation in Peru. They put people in jail for a while. Some are killed, others deported. Then comes a softening up. Peru does not have a regime like those in Brazil or Bolivia. Proof that there



Demonstrators in Peru demand Blanco's freedom during the international defense effort mobilized in the 1960s that saved Blanco's life. A similar protest campaign is needed now to defend exiles in Chile against junta's repression.

surveillance the whole time.

The police in Cuzco checked with his mother and verified that she was near death.

But Blanco did not receive permission to make the trip.

"That was a heavy blow for me," he says. "My mother was the one person I loved most."

Hugo Blanco is not yet forty years old. It is ten years since he was taken prisoner in the town of Zurite, and two years since he was deported from Peru. What happened during the half a year that he was out of jail, in Peru?

He reports that he was forbidden to return to Cuzco and the valley of La Convención, where he organized the peasants. He was allowed to stay in Lima, but was not allowed to leave it.

"The government thought I should stay in the capital city of Lima, after I had been a peasant leader. I would be like a fish on dry land there!"

"But as a matter of fact, it is in the workers movement, in Argentina and Peru, that I got my training," says Hugo Blanco. "I was a local peasant leader in the mountains. But the government characterized me—this is what they said when I was put in prison—as a national leader, which I was not."

is not a total state of repression in Peru is that the regime now neither puts us in prison nor kills us—it deports us."

Hugo Blanco is a Trotskyist, a member of the Fourth International. He has noticed that within the workers movement some people have a third-world orientation of working in the slums—what are called "barriadas" in Peru, and "favelas" in Brazil.

"I met people in Peru and Mexico who carried out this kind of work. In Chile, on the other hand, I don't know any. I think that it is an inappropriate form of work."

"Instead, mass movements must be organized, particularly within the working class. For me, the struggle of the workers in their factories is the most important. You can see this in a practical sense in Chile. You can also see it in Peru."

"But what about the valley of La Convención?" I wonder.

"I believe that what I did in La Convención was correct, for the peasant movement was in the vanguard at that time. But now the situation is different. The working class is in the front lines—in Peru, Argentina, Chile, and in Latin America as a whole."

LAND OR DEATH: The Peasant Struggle in Peru

By Hugo Blanco. 178 pp. \$6.95, \$2.45 paperback.
Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Previous line no obstacle

Daily World covers up CP betrayal

By DAVE FRANKEL

The *Daily World* and its predecessors have a long and treacherous history as the voice of Stalinism in the U.S. When it comes to servile adulation of the Kremlin bureaucrats, crude slanders of revolutionary fighters, and falsifications of history worthy of Stalin himself, the *Daily World* stands second to none.

Nevertheless, I was somewhat taken aback when I read the column by John Pittman in the Sept. 14 issue of the Communist Party newspaper. Pittman's thesis is one *The Militant* would agree with: that it was to be expected that the armed forces would turn against the workers and peasants in Chile. What is startling is that for the last three years the *Daily World* has



General Augusto Pinochet led military coup that resulted in CP writer remembering Marxist theory of the state.

argued for exactly the opposite position.

Only two weeks before the right-wing coup that brought Allende down, C. Pinto assured the readers of the Aug. 28 *Daily World* that "the Chilean Armed Forces, despite pressure from the right, have maintained a professional role and perform their duties."

According to Allende and the Chilean Communist Party, the "duties" of

the armed forces included upholding the Popular Unity government. The editorial in the Aug. 15 *Daily World* stressed that "the inclusion of four military commanders in the cabinet, and its reconstitution as the National Security Cabinet, testifies to the acuteness of the peril, and to Allende's determination to quell the fascistic threat."

It is clear that in the CP's view, the threat did not come from the military. The military was supposed to "quell the fascistic threat."

In fact, the March 3 *World Magazine* carried an article on Chile by Barbara Blumenthal explaining that "the October [1972] crisis ended with the formation of a cabinet in which ministers representing the organized workers and the armed forces became the new reinforcing pillars of the government's position."

'An absurdity'

Pittman seems to have a different view. He notes that the "coup casts doubt on the claim by the U.S. establishment media that the Chilean military has been 'non-political' for 45 years."

Clearly, only "establishment media" would make such a claim. As Pittman scornfully says, "Anyone familiar at all with the Marxist-Leninist theory of the State knows that the very idea of a 'non-political' military is an absurdity."

Since Pittman is expounding theory, it's worth seeing what the theoretical magazine of the CP, *Political Affairs*, had to say on this question. In December 1970 it printed a report by Orlando Millas on Allende's electoral victory. The report was presented in the name of the Political Committee of the Chilean Communist Party.

"The conspirators," Millas wrote, "are exasperated by the patriotic position of the armed forces which, faithful to the legacy of O'Higgins, maintain a strictly professional position. . . ."

"For the preservation of national sovereignty," he continues, "it is of primary importance to reject all efforts to involve the armed forces in this type of [political] dispute. This is the dirty game of the reactionaries, whose purpose is to set the armed forces in opposition to the people. This would be an attack on the integrity of their mission. . . ."

Now that the armed forces have compromised their "integrity" by staging a coup and killing thousands of workers, Pittman's hindsight is truly remarkable:

"It seems probable," he writes, "that many Chileans accepted this absurdity and relaxed their vigilance in the comfortable belief that the armed forces would remain neutral throughout the intensifying class struggle in both the Chilean and international arena."

Where could people have gotten such an idea? As Pittman observes, "A glance at Chile's history will reveal no grounds for such an illusory belief. Chile's military, like the military of every class State, has never been neutral. In the State of Chile's capitalists, it has been the pliant tool of the big landlords, capitalists and imperialists."

What Chilean CP said

One would think that if "many Chileans" were the victims of "an illusory belief"—in fact, "an absurdity"—as dangerous as this one, their leaders would warn them and begin to prepare them to meet the danger.

However, Pittman fails to cite any such warning by the Chilean CP against trust in the military. The reason is simple.

The CP supported bringing the military into the cabinet, and as early as 1969, CP head Luis Corvalán opposed proposals to arm the masses as being "equivalent to showing distrust in the army." (*Drapeau Rouge*, organ of the Belgian Communist Party, Jan. 1, 1970.)

Another example of the policy of the Chilean CP is a speech of Corvalán just six weeks ago, quoted in the July 31 issue of *Chile Hoy*.

"Because the workers took some immediate security measures against the recent attempted coup and maintained these precautionary measures, some reactionaries have begun to send up a howl, thinking that they have found a new issue to use to drive a wedge between the people and the armed forces. They are claiming that we have an orientation of replacing the professional army."

"No sir, we continue and will continue to support keeping our armed institutions strictly professional."

Pittman asserts that "there is some evidence that President Allende never held the illusion of a non-political military, but tried to win the armed forces for the program of his coalition government."

Perhaps Pittman was privy to Allende's secret thoughts. But what was told to the Chilean masses is on record. Allende opposed efforts to arm the masses or to politicize the ranks of the armed forces. In his May 21, 1971, speech to the Chilean Congress, Allende's most important policy statement that year, he declared:

"The Chilean Armed Forces and the Carabineros, faithful to their duty and to their tradition of non-intervention in the political process, will support a social organization which corresponds to the will of the people as expressed in the terms of the established Constitution. . . ."

"The difficulties we face are not in this field."

Pittman's article is a crude attempt to shift the blame for the defeat in Chile off the leaders of the Popular Unity coalition—including the Chilean CP—where it belongs.

The Chilean Stalinists, with the ac-

tive support of their cohorts around the world, took the lead in deflecting the Chilean workers and peasants from the path of socialist revolution, and in leaving them unarmed and unprepared in the face of the military repression.

Militant's record

In contrast to the *Daily World*, *The Militant* has no need to cover up its history. As early as our Sept. 25, 1970, issue, Dick Roberts warned that



Presidential palace in flames. Allende found his trust in the military misplaced.

"It would be naive to believe that U.S. imperialism would stoically tolerate a peaceful subtraction of Chile from the world capitalist market—even if this were what Allende really intended to attempt."

David Thorstad predicted in the Dec. 24, 1971, *Militant* that "Allende's reliance on the capitalist state—that is, the army, police and functionaries—will leave the workers and peasants politically unprepared and immobilized in the face of this right-wing threat."

In an article printed the week before the coup, in the Sept. 14 *Militant*, Gerry Foley explained that "the tendency to create a 'parallel army' is inherent in the situation; it is the logical and essential next step for the Chilean workers, and it goes hand in hand with splitting the ranks of the military."

"There is still no real revolutionary party in Chile that can initiate the process of organizing a workers army or of splitting the ranks of the armed forces. The MIR's [Movement of the Revolutionary Left] defense of

Continued on page 22

From The Militant, Dec. 22, 1972

NIXON ARMS CHILEAN ARMY

The Nixon administration announced Dec. 8 that \$10-million in U.S. military aid would go to the Allende government in Chile this year, despite a halt to other U.S. economic aid. Nixon had declared last January that the U.S. would stop all aid to any country that nationalized U.S. property without adequate compensation—a category that would seem to include Chile. But when reporters asked about the apparent contradiction, administration officials would only say that military aid was another matter and refused to explain further. According to the Dec. 9 *New York Times*, they "strongly denied suggestions in some diplomatic quarters here that the military aid was designed to court the Chilean armed forces in the hope that they might overthrow the Allende Government."

The arms agreement, concluded last May between the U.S. and the Allende government, includes at least one C-130 air force transport plane and possibly tanks, armored personnel carriers, and trucks.

And Allende asks the Chilean workers and peasants to trust in this U.S.-financed army to defend the gains they have won under his regime!

Resignation rumors chase Agnew

Ervin retreats on Senate W'gate hearings

By CINDY JAQUITH

"... the truth can only be revealed by the carrying out of the Senate investigation in a full and fair and courageous manner." These were Senator Sam Ervin's words last June as he defended the Watergate hearings from the attacks of White House supporters.

Four months later, "Senator Sam's" thirst for the truth about Watergate has abated considerably. He and his associates on the Senate committee now want to get the hearings over as quickly as possible.

"It is better to concentrate on key witnesses and not go into so much detail so we can't see the forest for the trees," Ervin told reporters last week. It was a weak attempt to justify the slashing of the fall hearings down to a mere 18 days.

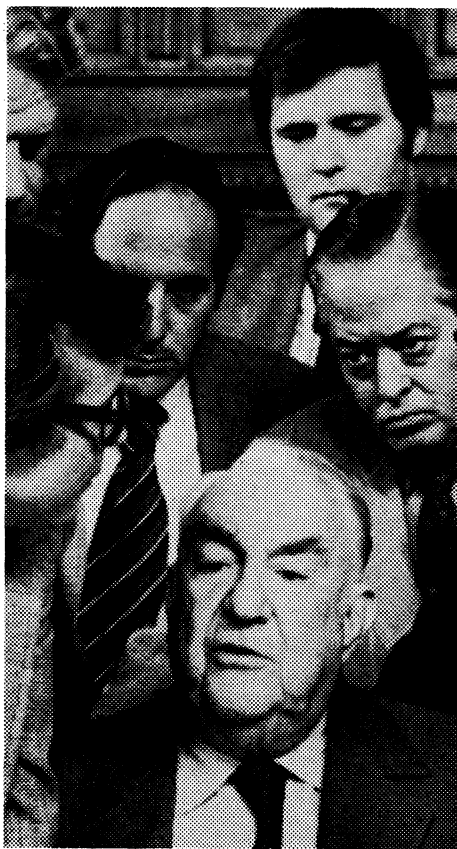
During the first round of hearings, the senators held 37 days of inquiry. With two more phases to go—illegal campaign financing and "dirty tricks"—the committee could easily come up with another 37 days of testimony. Ervin, however, has set Nov. 1 for the end of the hearings, despite the fact that the committee has until February to make its report.

One "official" explanation of the reduced hearings is that a broader investigation might produce a "backlash" among voters, especially Republicans.

Not so, reports *Time* magazine. "Certainly most professional Republicans want the investigations ended," the editors explained, but as for the voters:

"In Southern California's San Fernando Valley, Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak interviewed 94 voters in two precincts that have supported Nixon for years and found that by better than three to one they wanted the Ervin hearings to continue."

The senators also say they were too overworked and understaffed to gather enough new information for the hearings. They don't plan to even take up such major issues as ITT's relationship to the White House, Nixon's



ERVIN and Senate committee: Afraid that hearings will touch too close to home.

on's pardon of ex-Teamsters president James Hoffa, or the financing of the San Clemente estate.

"The plans could change," noted the *New York Times*, "if some scandalous information is unexpectedly developed. . . ." As if the revelations concerning the use of millions of taxpayers' dollars to fix up the Western White House were just a routine affair!

The real reasons behind the senators' retreat were discussed in an article in the Sept. 18 *New York Times* by James Naughton. Naughton pointed to the "possibility that prolonged hearings would foster a belief that 'all politicians are crooked.'"

The impact of the scandal has already brought many Americans to that conclusion. As Maynard Jackson, Democratic candidate for mayor of Atlanta, put it, "These days a politician is about three cuts below a used-car salesman."

And the latest Gallup poll shows that those identifying themselves as Republicans have dropped to 24 percent, while Democrats remained stationary at 43 percent. The increase went to voters who consider themselves independent—33 percent.

Naughton also uncovered another reason for the senators' decision to cut the investigation. "... the campaign finance hearings in particular might produce embarrassing references to the Senators and their colleagues," he explained, turning up fresh scandals about their own sources of campaign funds.

As for further probes of Nixon's guilt, *Newsweek* reports that "the committee has no evidence that will resurrect the question of the President's personal involvement in Watergate or other shady activities." In fact, the committee has recently been discouraging talk of impeaching the president. Senator Howard Baker, vice-chairman of the hearings, told reporters that "public opinion stops short of that."

It is Congress, however, that has "stopped short"—or rather chickened out—when confronted with the impeachment question. The Watergate hearings have no doubt given Democrats and Republicans alike a feel for just how devastating a full-scale investigation of Nixon would be for the capitalist government as a whole. It is easier to go along with the president's call to "get on with the business of government."

Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) did call for impeaching the president if he refused to turn over his tapes on the order of the Supreme Court. But now the U.S. Court of Appeals has offered the White House an out-of-court compromise on the tapes dispute, and Kennedy has dropped his suggestion.

Impeachment forecasts for Agnew, on the other hand, abound. News commentators have even begun sizing up the possible replacements for the

vice-president if he is ousted for his role in a Maryland bribery and extortion operation.

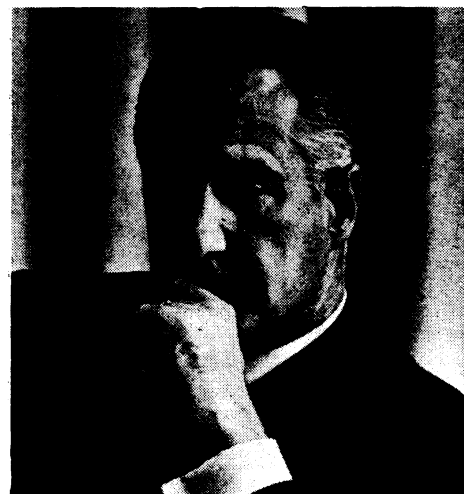
Newsweek's editors wrote in their Sept. 24 issue: "President Nixon has already all but cut his Vice President adrift, and Washington crawled with rumors that Mr. Nixon expected Agnew's resignation soon." But a friend of the vice-president predicted that Agnew "ain't going anywhere—unless of course Nixon brings in the same crew that took care of Allende."

Speculations aside, Agnew's fortunes took a decided dip when Attorney General Richardson gave the Maryland grand jury the go-ahead to investigate him. Richardson's move coincided with the revelation that three former Agnew aides are ready to testify that they collected bribes for the vice-president when he was governor of Maryland.

One person involved in the case tried to make a fine distinction between Agnew's method of extortion and that of other criminals. "It was not like a Mafia shakedown," he said. "It was more that you were expected to make payments in return for work."

Amidst the rise in food prices and threats of higher taxes, the disclosure of an Agnew "freebies" set-up struck a particularly sour note for most Americans. Over the years the vice-president has gotten free food from

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AGNEW: Too many freebies

I.F. Stone, Arthur Miller back SWP suit

Journalist I. F. Stone, playwright Arthur Miller, and cartoonist Jules Feiffer are three of the new endorsers of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), the organization publicizing a suit by socialists against government Watergate-style harassment.

Dr. Robert Heilbroner, ex-FBI agent William Turner, and Professor Noam Chomsky have also recently endorsed PRDF's civil liberties campaign.

Attorney Leonard Boudin filed the \$27-million suit on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and

Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) on July 18 in New York. The defendants are Richard Nixon and 19 other past and present government officials.

The suit charges illegal harassment of SWP and YSA members and supporters by government agents, including use of burglary, bombing, surveillance, and wiretapping.

Chomsky discussed the suit in his article "Watergate: A Skeptical View" in the Sept. 20 *New York Review of Books*. He refers to the White House "campaign against the Socialist Workers Party, which in the post-Watergate climate has filed suit to restrain government agencies from their perpetual harassment, intimidation, surveillance, and worse."

Other recent endorsers of PRDF include: Dr. Linus Pauling; Professor Howard Zinn; George Novack, author; Conrad Lynn, National Conference of Black Lawyers; Gloria Steinem, editor of *Ms.*; David McReynolds, War Resisters League; Abe Bloom, national coordinator, National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC).

Also, Edith Tiger, National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; John Roberts, director, Massachusetts Civil Liberties Union; and Philip Hirschkop, chairman, Virginia Civil Liberties

Union.

Speaking on "Nixon vs. the Bill of Rights—How to Fight the Watergate Crimes," PRDF representatives will begin national tours on Oct. 1. Syd Stapleton, PRDF national secretary, will tour the West Coast, and National Field Secretary Mike Arnall will travel through the Midwest and New York. Later in October, field secretaries Cathy Perkus and Janice Lynn will tour the East coast.

Local PRDF chapters are arranging meetings for the speakers with students, trade unionists, Black organizations, and women's liberation and community groups. The speakers will urge their audiences to actively join in supporting the SWP suit as an effective and aggressive way to fight against the government's illegal assault on the political rights of radical groups.

Portland and New York PRDF supporters have already scheduled cocktail parties to raise funds for the case. Campus chapters of PRDF have been chartered at the University of Texas in Austin, Boston University, the University of Massachusetts in Boston, and the University of Pennsylvania.

In a new legal development in the suit, Attorney Boudin filed a brief on Sept. 17 requesting that the court de-

ny, or at least defer decision on, a motion to drop charges against defendant Tom Charles Huston.

Huston is a former Nixon aide and author of the White House's 1970 secret spy plan. The SWP suit charges that Huston is guilty of depriving members of the SWP and YSA of their constitutional rights. Boudin's brief maintains that further evidence of Huston's guilt is contained in the still-secret portions of the 1970 plan.

Huston contends that he cannot be sued in New York State because he never committed a crime there. However, Boudin's brief maintains that a May 1973 burglary at the Brooklyn, N.Y., home of plaintiff Norman Oliver is an example of evidence sufficient to defeat Huston's motion.

Oliver is the SWP's mayoral candidate in New York City. The burglars stole files containing political material from his apartment and left untouched such other items as a TV and stereo.

Thousands of dollars are needed to conduct the legal and publicity campaign planned by PRDF. To contribute funds or to arrange a meeting for a representative of PRDF, contact: Political Rights Defense Fund, 150 Fifth Avenue, Suite 311, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone (212) 691-3270.



Eli Finer

FEIFFER: Endorses Political Rights Defense Fund.

Chrysler 'very pleased'

New auto contract offers little to workers

By FRANK LOVELL

Officials of the United Auto Workers announced a tentative agreement with Chrysler Corporation Sept. 17.

"Chrysler is very pleased with the terms of the new contract," according to Chrysler Vice-President William O'Brien, who negotiated the settlement for the company.

Auto workers, who face spiraling prices for food and other necessities, will feel differently. The tentative settlement offers them no prospect of keeping wages abreast of inflation, and no promise of easing the murderous pace of work in the plants.

However, this settlement is expected

tration.

The 25-cent average first-year raise will bring the average wage to about \$5.25 an hour. Second- and third-year raises are 15 cents each, or about 3 percent annually.

A new cost-of-living formula will provide a penny per hour above the basic wage for every 0.35-point jump in the U.S. Labor Department's Consumer Price Index (CPI). This improves the previous wage-escalator clause, which granted one cent an hour for every 0.4-point rise in the CPI.

During the past three years auto workers received 40 cents an hour

of the gains from the new escalator formula.

Reports of the settlement have also mentioned a special cost-of-living index to measure inflation in both the U.S. and Canada. The aim is to equalize wages for auto workers in both countries.

Before the strike the union negotiators put heavy stress on the demand for voluntary overtime; but here, too, the workers have gained little.

The company retains the right to schedule overtime and require all workers to comply. However, work beyond nine hours is no longer compulsory, nor is Sunday work. In addition, every third Saturday may be turned down, providing that a worker 1) has been on the job the two preceeding Saturdays; 2) has notified the company on Monday that he will not work the following Saturday; and 3) maintains a perfect work record during that week.

Thus, under what is touted as "voluntary overtime," a worker may be forced to put in nine hours a day for 17 out of every 21 days.

Although company representatives complain of giving up "management prerogatives," these terms do not restrict the company work schedule. They hope this will contribute to a more stable and disciplined work force.

The settlement of disputes over health and safety conditions in the auto plants serves the same purpose. It was agreed that a labor-management committee would be established in each Chrysler plant. But these will apparently deal with alcoholism and drug abuse rather than speedup and size of work crews.

The company agreed to a new pension plan, which grants retirement at \$700 a month after 30 years work, regardless of age, and continues at the same level after the retired worker begins collecting Social Security at age 65. Thus the UAW appears to have won the "30 and out" demand advanced in the 1970 negotiations. Total removal of the age limit, however, will

be stretched out over the next six years.

Auto workers have not yet had an opportunity to examine the full text of the secretly negotiated contract. Chrysler workers will begin voting in the locals this week, but the company and the union leadership are trying to get workers back on the job before ratification.

It appears unlikely that the new agreement will be accepted without hitches. Most of Chrysler's operations are concentrated in Detroit, where the majority of the work force is Black. More than 70 percent of the strikers there have less than two years' seniority, and the speedup methods in the antiquated Chrysler plants, combined with the racist policies of the company, have sparked deep resentment.

The seething anger of the auto workers was shown in the series of spontaneous work stoppages and walkouts that hit Chrysler's Detroit plants in recent weeks. Most were protesting the hot, grueling, unsafe conditions in the plants.

In the middle of the pre-strike negotiations Chrysler fired, suspended, or reprimanded 1,500 Detroit workers for walking out during the heat wave. The disciplinary action was later rescinded, but the companies are clearly worried about the militancy of these young Black workers.

The UAW officialdom is trying to demonstrate to the auto barons that the union can discipline the workers and guarantee steady production. The bureaucrats' performance has not endeared them to the auto workers.

The period following agreement on the national wage pattern is traditionally devoted to the settlement of thousands of local grievances, mostly related to working conditions.

In addition, the UAW is still negotiating with Chrysler for 10,500 salaried workers. Negotiations with Ford and General Motors continue. Representatives of those companies say they are not committed to the terms of the Chrysler settlement.



UAW officials Fraser (left) and Woodcock at press conference where terms of proposed settlement were announced. Rank-and-file auto workers will not be jovial over 3 percent wage increase and 'compromise' on overtime.

to become the pattern for the next three-year union contract in the auto industry. It was agreed to after a perfunctory weekend-long strike.

The money package was reported to be an annual increase of either 3 or 7 percent, depending on whether wage increases for the workers or additional labor costs to the company were considered. On either basis the increase was within the wage-control guidelines of the Nixon adminis-

under the old formula, far from enough to match inflation. The new formula is a compromise of the modest UAW demand for a penny for each 0.3-point rise in the CPI.

In addition, the union heads have agreed to give up one cent of cost-of-living increase each quarter, starting next March, to defray the cost of fringe benefits. This giveaway, amounting to 10 cents over the life of the contract, will wipe out some

Lettuce: the shameful record of the Teamsters

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—The bribery and conspiracy indictments of two Salinas growers and a former Teamsters official (see story, page 24) are an outgrowth of their collusion to thwart the United Farm Workers drive to unionize lettuce workers. That collusion made necessary the present union boycott of iceberg lettuce.

A review of the facts exposes the shameful union-busting record of the Teamster officialdom, going right up to its president, Frank Fitzsimmons.

During the UFW's fight for a contract in the vineyards in the late 1960s, the union was also organizing lettuce workers in the Salinas Valley. In July 1970, shortly after it won the grape contract, the UFW petitioned for a union election in the lettuce fields. The growers responded by seeking out the Teamsters and signing a five-year "sweetheart" contract with them.

In August, while Teamster bureaucrats were hypocritically declaring they got the contracts because they had the workers, the UFW called a lettuce strike. Seven thousand workers responded to the union call, making it the biggest single farm strike in U.S. history.

In September, however, the growers found a cooperative local judge who banned all strike activity with the fake

claim that the walkout violated California's jurisdictional strike act. Apparently feeling that it didn't have the strength to defy the injunction, the UFW turned to the launching of a lettuce boycott.

Six months later, in March 1971, Frank Fitzsimmons negotiated an agreement with George Meany. According to the terms of the agreement, the Teamsters were to withdraw from the lettuce fields and not enforce their contracts.

The lettuce boycott was suspended



Lettuce growers and Teamster bureaucrats supported Nixon in '72.

and the growers resumed negotiations with the UFW. The growers strung out the negotiations until November of that year. Then, when the harvest was finished, they broke off the talks. The boycott was resumed.

A year later, in December 1972, Fitzsimmons was a featured speaker at the annual convention of the powerful ultra-reactionary agribusiness gang, which goes under the name of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

Fitzsimmons proposed to the assembled union haters that they join him in an alliance against the "revolutionary" United Farm Workers. The next day he announced that the contracts with the lettuce growers (which he had agreed to repudiate) were being "renegotiated."

The character of the ongoing conspiracy between the lettuce growers and the Teamster misleaders was spelled out by the California Supreme Court this past December. It finally ruled on the UFW appeal against the original decision banning the strike.

Reversing that decision, the State Supreme Court ruled 6-1 that the UFW and the field workers had been the victims of a conspiracy. The court found that in signing the pacts, "there is no indication that any thought was given to the possible wishes of the

field workers whose interests were purportedly to be represented by the Teamsters."

Nailing down the "sweetheart" character of the agreements, the court declared:

"The Teamsters and growers proceeded to negotiate detailed contracts governing such specific subjects as wages, hours and other working conditions; although the field workers were the individuals who would primarily be affected by such provisions, these workers were never consulted during the negotiations and they were never given the terms of the contracts or even to indicate whether they desired to be represented by the Teamsters."

Declaring this "the ultimate form of favoritism," the court upheld the UFW's right to strike. It was, of course, two years after the fact.

The present indictments in Salinas point up again the reactionary nature of the grower-Teamster conspiracy against the Farmworkers. They add a bit more to the picture of the slime with which the Teamster officials have befouled themselves. They also confirm the urgency of full support to the United Farm Workers by every supporter of human justice and the elementary principles of trade unionism.

By JOSE G. PEREZ

SAN JUAN, P. R. — President Nixon's latest proposals to solve the "energy crisis" would have a severe social and environmental impact not only on the U.S. but also on the island of Puerto Rico.

In addition to a go-ahead for the Alaska oil pipeline, widely condemned by environmentalists, Nixon's statement included endorsement for building a "superport"—a deepwater port that could handle the new 250,000 ton "supertankers." These supertankers are the most efficient and economical

will provide only a few thousand jobs, "satellite" plants such as textiles and plastic manufacturing plants offering tens of thousands of jobs would be attracted to Puerto Rico by the cheap source of raw material.

- Tax revenues would be generated from the superport and related industries, alleviating the burden on the ordinary taxpayer and providing more money for socially beneficial government spending.

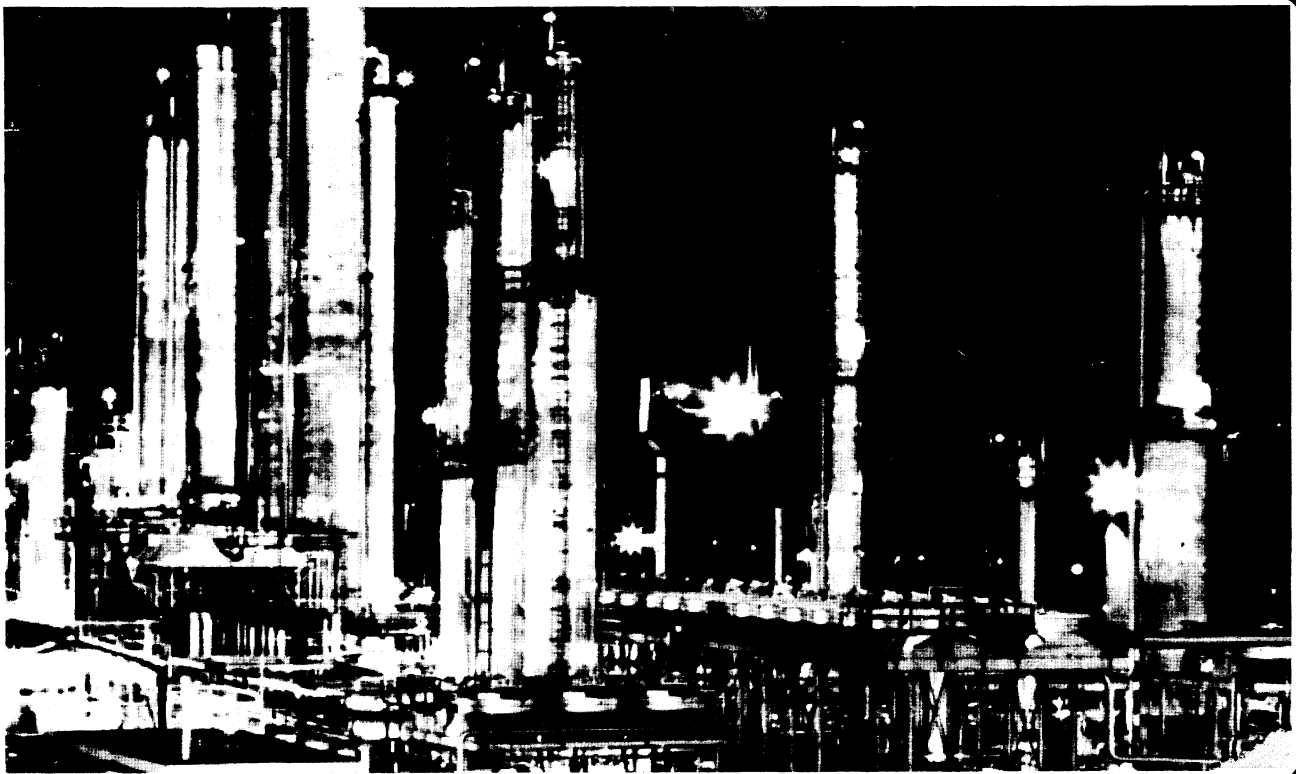
- A superport would cut the costs of gasoline, electricity, and other products because it would make cheaper crude oil available to the com-

The overwhelming majority of all profits derived from the superport and petrochemical industries will go to the same place they go today: to the Yankee bankers and industrialists who own the oil companies. The superport would only reinforce Puerto Rico's status as a colony of the United States.

- A superport in Puerto Rico would be no guarantee of lower gasoline or fuel prices. The big oil monopolies are in business to make profits, and lower costs would mean higher profits.

The weight of the evidence is completely on the side of those opposed to the superport. Neverthe-

Why Puerto Ricans say 'No' to U.S. superport



way to transport oil from the Middle East to the United States.

Nixon did not specify where such a port would be built. However, congressional committees and government agencies have been discussing this proposal behind the scenes for several years.

Aware of these discussions, some states have refused to allow such a port to be located in their waters. Two years ago Delaware passed a law forbidding such a project, and more recently New Jersey's Governor Cahill also rejected the idea. States with coasts on the Gulf of Mexico are not enthusiastic about having the superport, either.

Another place had to be found, and it was.

On Sept. 16, Puerto Rico's Governor Rafael Hernández Colón announced that he approved of the proposal to build the superport on Puerto Rican territory. The proposal was first publicly announced by his lame-duck predecessor at the end of last year. Since then it has created considerable controversy in the country.

The main force pushing the superport project is the government's agency in charge of industrial development, headed by Theodoro Moscoso.

Before taking his present job, Moscoso was head of the Commonwealth Oil Refining Corporation, which is dominated by the Rockefellers and is listed by *Fortune* magazine as one of the 500 biggest U.S. corporations.

The superport project is also backed by Puerto Rico's Planning Commission, and by most leaders of Puerto Rico's two major parties.

Rationales for superport

The major arguments used by the superport's backers are:

- Puerto Rico's U.S.-owned petrochemical industry needs to expand, even though it is already the third largest in the world. At present, it imports most of its crude oil from Venezuela. Some also comes from Algeria.

However, the cheapest crude oil is available from the Arab-Persian Gulf, and it is there that the U.S. oil monopolies are looking to increase their imports. The least expensive way to do this is with supertankers.

- Puerto Rico now imports large quantities of naphtha, a petroleum derivative used as raw material for certain kinds of fuel and plastics. Mideast oil has the highest percentage of naphtha, and the construction of naphtha-deriving refineries would make the petrochemical industry in Puerto Rico self-sufficient in this product.

- Puerto Rico's rapidly expanding population needs more jobs. Although the superport itself

panies.

Opposition to building the superport is widespread among all layers of the Puerto Rican population. The Puerto Rican Independence Party, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and other pro-independence and socialist forces oppose the superport and are bringing the facts about its effects to the Puerto Rican people.

The Puerto Rican lawyers' organizations and many labor, student, professional, civic, and political groups are objecting to the project. So is Roberto Rexach Benitez, head of the Puerto Rican House of Representatives Environmental Quality Committee and a prominent leader of the governor's own party.

Some of the major objections raised by these opponents of the superport are:

- The environmental impact of such a massive petrochemical complex in Puerto Rico could be disastrous. In addition to the danger of oil spills, the industrial pollution dumped in the air and water and the depletion of underground fresh water supplies would totally upset the ecology of such a small island.

- Despite the petrochemical industry's promise of 35,000 jobs when refineries were first established, the industry has never provided Puerto Rico with many jobs.

At present it employs only 4,700 workers, according to government statistics, and many of these are skilled technicians and administrators brought from the U.S.

The refining process uses only a small labor force of technicians, and the "satellite" industries, which were promised before and are now promised again, will not materialize.

Plants that produce such things as textiles and plastics and use more labor are most likely to be placed near their markets. It is more expensive to transport finished products, such as clothes, from Puerto Rico to the U.S. than it is to transport oil derivatives from refineries in Puerto Rico to manufacturing plants in the U.S.

Since the petrochemical industry was first established in Puerto Rico 17 years ago the official unemployment rate has remained between 11 and 15 percent. The real figure is at least twice that large.

- The economic costs of such an industrial complex will not be recovered by taxes the government will receive. The natural resources that will be destroyed more than make up for this. In addition, it has been a long-standing policy of the Puerto Rican government to grant major tax breaks to industries.

less, the governor of the island has given the go-ahead to this project.

The government of Puerto Rico does not make decisions to serve the interests of Puerto Rican working people, but rather the interests of the small group of U.S. oil moguls, bankers, and industrialists who rule both the U.S. and Puerto Rico.

U.S. laws apply to Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Congress can veto anything Puerto Ricans might decide. And, if Puerto Ricans should try to take their destiny into their own hands, the U.S. armed forces are there to make sure the U.S. imperialists keep running the show.

Protests needed

However, the superport project will not be implemented without a fight, and it is possible to force the United States to back down if enough mass pressure is applied.

A demonstration protesting the superport and calling on the United Nations to take up the colonial status of Puerto Rico will be held in New York City on Sept. 24. The action, sponsored by the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and other Puerto Rican organizations, will begin at 2 p.m. at Delancey and Essex, on the Lower East Side, and march to the UN Plaza for a rally.

Already a campaign to stop the superport is beginning to take shape in Puerto Rico. It has the potential to become massive. Demonstrations numbering in the thousands have been held, and a Committee of Citizens Opposed to the Superport has been organized.

This Committee, which includes both radicals and many other prominent figures as well, is organizing forums and public meetings all over the island to expose the superport.

The Puerto Rican Socialist Party and Puerto Rican Independence Party have also brought the issue of the superport to the United Nations and to the conference of nonaligned nations recently concluded in Algeria.

Exposing the designs of the U.S. oil monopolies before world public opinion is the job not only of Puerto Ricans but also of those throughout the world, and especially in the U.S., who support the right of the Puerto Rican people to determine for themselves how they will develop their economy and run their island.

The tax surcharge...

On Sept. 14 Melvin Laird announced that the White House is weighing plans for a "10 percent tax surcharge." Two days later this was denied by Treasury Secretary Shultz, who said the idea had long since been discarded by the White House.

A trial balloon shot down? Probably not. Tax increases have become the stock-in-trade of the federal government's "countercyclical" economic measures—devices to cool off the economy when inflation threatens to get out of hand.

The Nixon administration has already adopted several measures of this sort. Nixon's attempts to cut back federal spending on health and welfare programs and the "tight money" policies of the Federal Reserve are all of the same type. The object is to reduce government and corporate spending in order to induce a "limited recession."

Spending will be cut back in certain sectors, leading to layoffs of the work force. The reduced spending power of these workers without jobs will work its way back to production and cause even sharper spending cut backs.

The main object of these devices is to limit the spending power of workers and to "soften up" the work force to pressure it to accept lower real wages. The crassest example is Nixon's recent veto of the minimum wage bill—keeping the pay of the lowest-paid workers at the lowest possible level in the midst of spiraling inflation.

The income-tax surcharge is no exception. It requires an across-the-board tax rise for all individuals regardless of their wages. And this is in the context of tax laws that are notoriously unfair to workers begin with. The government provides hundreds of loopholes for big business and wealthy individuals to escape taxation. It has been revealed, for example, that at least 11 major U.S. corporations paid *no federal taxes at all* for 1972.

We believe the tax structure should be completely reversed. Taxes to support the capitalist government should be paid by the corporations and their owners, who profit from the capitalist system—not by the workers.

We call for abolishing all taxes on incomes under \$15,000 and imposing a 100 percent tax on all incomes above \$30,000. All profits of the war industries and industries that pollute the environment should be taxed 100 percent. These measures would make billions of dollars available for programs to build desperately needed housing, public transit, schools, libraries, and hospitals. Work on these socially necessary projects would also provide jobs for the millions of unemployed.

Instead of Nixon's schemes to make the victims of inflation pay the cost of fighting it, we call for escalator clauses pegged to rising prices for all wages, pensions, welfare, and Social Security benefits, as the only step that can protect working people from the ravages of inflation.

...Nixon's home free

One of the few people who doesn't have to worry about a tax increase is Richard Nixon. From the figures released on his finances so far, it appears that the president hasn't paid any taxes for years.

The Internal Revenue Service has a special tax bracket for people like Nixon—they're called "zero taxpayers." This is not a category for people too poor to pay taxes, but rather a title for those who are rich enough to claim phony deductions and get away with it.

Nixon, for example, makes \$200,000 a year as president, plus untold thousands from sales of property and other financial ventures. Yet in 1970 he claimed more than \$210,000 in deductions.

Of course if you pay no taxes yourself, you can spend other people's tax dollars with much greater abandon. Pat Nixon, for instance, recently decorated the interior of a new presidential jet at a total cost to U.S. working people of \$1,785,000. The Defense Department has announced it spent \$436,467 on "improvements" at Nixon's Key Biscayne home and the Bahamas estate of Robert Abplanalp, presidential buddy.

Needless to say, the Internal Revenue Service looks the other way when Nixon and his millionaire friends file their returns. As the Watergate scandal has shown, IRS agents are too busy cooking up phony tax charges against radicals and other White House "enemies" to bother with the real criminals.

Fast for Attica martyrs

In your Sept. 7 *Militant* there was a letter titled "Sept. 13—Attica Massacre." Here at the prison I'm doing time in, some of the prisoners are still thinking of the Attica Massacre. We are posting signs on our cells that we are fasting for all the prisoners at Attica that died. So post a letter to the prisoner at Springfield, Mo., that there are some that heard him.
A prisoner
Iowa

Watergate

Cindy Jaquith mentioned in her article on public loss of confidence in the government (*Militant*, Sept. 14) that: "While only a quarter of the people surveyed felt Nixon should resign or be forced out, 'an overwhelming 82% say they are disgusted' with Watergate, *Time* reports."

Some bourgeois commentators have gloated over this "sophistication" shown by the American people. They think we realize "politics is politics," that we share their cynical disregard for democratic rights and civil liberties, that we are reconciled or resigned to governmental corruption, secrecy, and lies.

The fact is that we have no more confidence in any of the possible Nixon replacements that we do in Nixon himself. This goes for Spiro Agnew, and for John Connally and Nelson Rockefeller, who have been discussed as appointive replacements for Agnew.

It is clear that we will have to look beyond the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties to solve the governmental crisis.

Dayne Goodwin
Logan, Utah

Let 'em eat cake

One of the arguments raised by those opposed to young people holding office is that age brings maturity and common sense. I read with interest an interview with the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Herbert Stein.

By capitalist standards, Stein is mature, experienced, responsible, and capable of leadership. By socialist standards, his was another attempt by a capitalist representative to make his twisted view of reality seem rational and, in so doing, displaying his utter disdain for women and poor people.

Attempting to convince us that inflation is all in our heads, sage Stein said: "The housewife has an exaggerated view of high prices because housewives are excessively dominated by increases in the cost of food."

The aged mentor admitted it would be difficult to convince angry housewives that their feelings about high prices are exaggerated because it's like "trying to tell a housewife that the world is round when she can look outside her door and see that the street looks flat."

In closing, he grudgingly admitted that some people are worse off this year than last, but sloughed it off in his eminent wisdom, à la Marie Antoinette, by saying, "There are always people who are worse off."

Linda Nordquist
Detroit, Mich.

Jose Paez

The article on the Argentine elections in your Sept. 7 issue by Caroline Lund contains one sentence that is not completely accurate. The article correctly states that José Páez, the vice-presidential candidate of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores [PST—Socialist Workers Party], was "a leader of SITRAC-SITRAM, the rebel union of auto workers in Córdoba that has been in the forefront of the struggle against the military, the capitalists, and the Peronist trade-union bureaucracy."

But a later sentence is not quite accurate: "Because of his role in these struggles, Páez was ousted from the union by the bureaucracy."

What actually happened is that in October 1971, the Concord and Materfer plants of the Fiat corporation in Córdoba, which were organized by SITRAC-SITRAM, were taken over by the military, which outlawed the two-plant union and barred from the plants several hundred union activists, including Páez and the other officers of the union.

Páez was not removed from his union post by any union procedure, bureaucratic or otherwise, but simply by military decree. It is true, however, that the top Peronist bureaucracy of the CGT (Confederación General del Trabajo—the General Confederation of Labor), to which SITRAC-SITRAM was affiliated, did not oppose this action by the military dictatorship.

Fred Halstead
Los Angeles, Calif.

Reply to Social Democrat

This letter is in response to a letter from a "Social Democrat" in the Sept. 7 *Militant*. He states that the bureaucracy and repression in the Soviet Union has been caused by democratic centralism and the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

Democratic centralism is the principle of democratically discussing programs and tactics (within a party) and then voting on the resolutions, with this final decision binding on all members. One could abolish the democracy and have bureaucratic centralism or abolish the centralism and have everyone scatter chaotically with no set program or goals.

The "dictatorship of the proletariat" is a fundamental concept of Marxism. This term means the working class organized as the ruling class. This is a democratic method of government contrasted to the current exploitation of the many to benefit the few.

The Russian bureaucracy arose for many reasons, which any Marxist, even a pseudo-Marxist, should investigate. The Soviet Union was wasted by WWI—production in 1917 was far from prewar production and created great want and poverty. The best revolutionaries were killed in the civil war. The Soviet Union was invaded by all the imperialist powers, including the U.S. The people, on the whole, were poorly schooled and illiterate. Russia was blockaded. Space does not permit me to continue:

This Social Democrat should read *The Revolution Betrayed* by Trotsky and *State and Revolution* by Lenin before he opens his mouth to please his foot again.

Eric Huffman
Seattle, Wash.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Keep on truckin'

Swedish NCLC?

On Aug. 15, I and some other Swedish Trotskyists went to a public meeting held in Stockholm sponsored by the tiny "ICLC" (International Caucus of Labor Committees). It was nothing less than an attempt to launch a Swedish version of the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC).

We were treated to an hour-long economic analysis, laced with comments concerning that "idiot [Ernest] Mandel" and those "idiots in the Fourth International."

What it all amounted to was that capitalism was in a deep crisis and there were no revolutionary organizations in Europe that could cope with the necessity of overthrowing capitalism within the six to seven years left to us before Fascism takes over. Luckily there existed an NCLC in the USA, they said. Our job here and now was to organize a revolutionary alternative, in other words, a Swedish NCLC.

During the question period, I enquired of them if they were going to solve contradictions that developed between themselves and other Swedish left groups in the same manner in which they do in the USA, i.e., with iron bars and baseball bats. There then developed a long and oftentimes heated debate.

They said that since the American Communist Party (CPUSA) was a Stalinist and thoroughly corrupt CP, with a long history of betraying the working-class movement, they don't consider the CPUSA to be a part of the left. They said the CP should get the same treatment as the "fascist gangs" it allies itself with. They claimed—falsely of course—that NCLC's "Operation Mop-up" against the CPUSA was a success and that the CPUSA "was crushed."

We Swedish Trotskyists have been forced to defend ourselves against the violence of the Maoists in the Communist League of Marxist-Leninists (R)—"R" for "revolutionary." In other words, we have a long history of defending ourselves and as a result we aren't worried about the possibility of a Swedish NCLC.

L. Weaver
Stockholm, Sweden

'Represents my interests'

Please send *The Militant* to my new address. As a student who is working full-time as a temporary factory worker to stay in school, it is useful to receive a newspaper that represents my interests, rather than those of the bosses—on campus and off.

D.M.
Geneseo, N.Y.

Communist & Catholic too?

The Catholic press reports a Catholic priest in Venezuela is a candidate for office on the Communist Party ticket. Can you be a Communist (Socialist) and a Catholic at the same time?

J.M.J.
New York, N.Y.

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.

On a cross-country trip today you might pass, or be passed by, one of more than 22,000 women truck drivers. The number of women truckers is growing so fast that a National Women's Trucking Association has been formed, and truck stops have been forced to expand their facilities to accommodate the women drivers.

Gail Ricker, one of many women who team up with their husbands, says that when she started driving three years ago rest room facilities on the road were only for men. "Now all the major stops have clean places, some of them with showers and lounges." Union Oil, Texaco, and many independent truck stops have begun to offer "For Women Only" facilities.

There would probably be a lot more women drivers, but executives of trucking firms are still reluctant to accept women. Their excuse is usually that the work is "too hard" for women, which the women drivers are proving a lie.

One executive, however, admitted to the *Wall Street Journal* that he was against women drivers simply because he still likes to think of trucking as "a man's world." He hastened to add that he didn't want to be identified for fear he'd get "all those libbers on my back."

But many of the men who work with the women truckers have a different opinion. They can evaluate the work these women do firsthand and have developed a new respect for them.

A dispatcher for Leonard Brothers Trucking Com-



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

New squeeze on pension funds

This week's National Picket Line is a guest column by James Mendieta. Mendieta is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Brooklyn, N.Y., district attorney, and a member of the Transit Workers Union.

Industrial pension funds are under investigation in Washington, and new legislation is being drafted to protect workers who are supposed to benefit from them.

A lot of money is in the pension fund pot, all of it taken from workers' wages. It is estimated that about a third of all capital available for investment in this country—about \$160-billion—is in these pension funds, and this amount increases by \$10-billion a year.

These vast sums are controlled by employers, insurance companies, and bankers. They make enormous profits by cheating workers, who usually get little or nothing from their pension plans. This particular racket is becoming a national scandal.

In New York State, the pensions of public employees have come under attack, but in a different way. The state legislature sneaked through a new law in a special summer session on July 26. The purpose is to roll back pension benefits.

Here is how it works. A two-tier system of pension payments has been established, one for *old members* (those workers in the State Retirement System before June 30, 1973) and *new members* (those hired after June 30). The pensions of all new members have been sharply reduced.

There are other divisions, too. Cops, naturally, get the best treatment. They, along with firemen, can retire on half pay after 20 years. Teachers are eligible for retirement at age 55 after 30 years of work.

Sanitation workers can collect half pay, but must work 25 years. Transit workers (bus and subway employees) have to put in 25 years too, but they can't collect until age 55. All others must work until 62, or take substantial cuts in their pension payments.

Pensions for all new workers are now based on a three-year average instead of their year of highest earnings. Their pensions are limited to 60 percent of the first \$12,000 of final salary and 50 percent of salary in excess of \$12,000.

Thus a New York City social worker can collect an annual pension of \$8,333. This is possible only after age 62, plus 25 years' service. Few qualify.

A school-lunch helper after 25 years may collect a maximum \$3,465 annual pension, at age 62. Hard-

pany was asked by the *Dallas Morning News* if he felt the women could do the job. "You'd be amazed," he said, "these gals can handle a rig better than a lot of men. It'd blow your mind."

Why are women in increasing numbers taking to the road? A variety of reasons are given. Many couples, both married and unmarried, have teamed up on the road for companionship, to travel, and boost their income.

Gail Ricker put it this way, "He'd come home, take a shower and leave again. I didn't feel married. So I decided to join him. And I love it. Why, we've been to just about every state and we don't get lonely for each other."

Other women have become truck drivers because the pay is much better than what they could earn as secretaries, teachers, or waitresses.

Still others are consciously striking a blow for women's liberation. Jean Sawyer, who is organizing the National Women's Trucking Association, has been a driver for about a year. It's a steady job with decent pay, she says, but also, "I like to do things men think I can't."

Jean Sawyer is five feet tall and weighs less than 100 pounds. Sometimes she has to wrench herself out of the seat in order to work the 13 gears on the diesel she drives. "I can do anything with a truck that a man can do," she says. Nobody seems to disagree.

ly any workers in this category will ever collect the full pension.

New workers in the Transit and General categories are the hardest hit, partly because they are the lowest paid to begin with. These categories are being filled by Blacks and Puerto Ricans. Not only are they the last hired, first fired, and lowest paid. Now a new discriminatory practice has been added—lower pensions.

These new regulations apply to all government employees in the state. They were recommended to the state legislature by the Kinzel Commission on Pensions, a creature of Governor Rockefeller.

Otto Kinzel and the other members of his commission are all presidents and vice-presidents of large corporations and utilities. Most of them are connected with the administration of some kind of private industrial pension fund paid for by workers, but the benefits in all cases are far below even the inadequate pensions of state and city employees.

One of the aims of these finance manipulators is to drive down the pension benefits of public employees to levels prevailing in private industry. If they can do this, their misuse of private pension funds may appear less scandalous. Besides, whatever they steal from the pension funds of public workers can be used by Rockefeller and the other bankers who run state and city government.

The long-range aim of the Rockefeller-Kinzel scheme is to create two groups of workers, those who think they have it made on a state or city job and those who know they don't.

This is used to undermine the existing unions, pointing out to new workers that the unions fail to protect them. Public workers can drop out of unions and not pay dues. Consequently, the unions are making a show of fighting. But union officials are relying mostly on "friends of labor" in the Democratic and Republican parties. They are counting on them to repeal reactionary legislation and enact protective laws.

A statewide coalition of public employee unions, led by District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, has challenged the constitutionality of the New York law.

There is no harm in demanding better laws or in asking the courts to revoke unjust ones. But there is also no chance of making any real gains until the union movement stops depending on capitalist politicians and organizes its own independent, mass political party to protect workers' interests.



Reminder to Sec'y Butz—Bianco Zamperia, a lion tamer, was putting his team through their act in northern California when one of the lions attacked him from behind, sinking her teeth into his butt. Zamperia blamed the high price of beef. "She would never attack me," he said, "except that I have not been able to feed her and the others anything but chicken. They like beef but it is too expensive."

Sound capitalist arithmetic—Porsche displayed a prototype car designed to last 20 years or more. But, the company hastened to assure, they would not be mass producing it. "Doubling the life span of a car should not raise

the selling price by more than 30 percent," a company representative explained.

That's a relief—Fears that the nation will become less brainy because the upper class is breeding less are unfounded assures a Chicago psychologist who checked out the statistics.

Progress report—The Rabbinical Assembly, representing Conservative Judaism, ruled that women may be counted along with men in establishing the required quorum for congregational worship. Orthodox Judaism still only counts men. A spokesman for the Rabbinical As-

sembly said the ruling was "a radical departure from traditional Jewish practice."

News item—In a report to Congress, the General Accounting Office asserted that government agencies have been lax in enforcing federal antipollution laws.

How relevant can you get?—A Beverly Hills hair stylist is featuring non-hair wigs with political and ecological overtones. For the politically conscious, he's offering a wig marking Nixon's China visit. It's made of ping pong balls. For those concerned with ecology, it's a Mother Nature wig, made from orange and lemon peels.

Heavy experiment—A Federal Trade Commission study indicates that the difference between various soap products may be somewhat less than advertising claims suggest. For instance, a TV commercial showed a drop of oil dispersing more rapidly in a solution of All detergent than in competing brands. The sponsor neglected to mention that the rapid-dissolving All was being used at double the normal recommended level.

They'll die with joy—President Nixon assured the Republican National Committee that he will personally stump for the party's congressional candidates in 1974 and '76.

iLa Raza en Acción!

The Texas Rangers—'Rinches'

Miguel Pendás



"The Mexican Side of the Texas Rangers" is the name of an interesting and informative article in the Aug. 31 issue of the biweekly *Chicano Times*, published in San Antonio. The article is an excerpt from a book entitled *With a Pistol In His Hand* by Americo Paredes.

The article was printed in response to an editorial appearing in the *San Antonio News* extolling the virtues of that crew of racist murderers on the occasion of the opening of the Texas Ranger Museum in San Antonio.

Paredes explains that Chicano folklore has coined the word *rinches* from "ranger" to refer to these professional killers. The word has also come to mean any mounted and armed *gringos* looking for Mexicans to kill. Border patrolmen and possemen are also *rinches*.

The racist cultural heritage of America is loaded with books and movies picturing the Texas Rangers as heroes who rid the border region of lawlessness—an almost superhuman breed of men.

The Texas Rangers were actually a mob of cowardly bushwhackers and ruthless assassins.

Paredes came to this conclusion, not from watching Gary Cooper movies, but rather through careful historical research and interviews with Chicanos who have firsthand knowledge of the *rinches*'s foul deeds.

According to Chicano folklore, the Texas Ranger always carries a rusty, old gun with him. When

he kills an unarmed Mexican, he drops the gun beside the body and claims to have killed in self-defense.

A wholesale butchery of Mexicans was carried out by the Rangers at least twice, according to one historian cited by Paredes: after the Cortina uprising in 1859 and during the Pizana uprising of 1915. The tactic of "collective guilt"—later used by Hitler's Nazis—was employed on a large scale. It is estimated that as many as 5,000 Mexicans were killed in 1915 in retaliation for the uprising. This was merely an intensification of an established practice that was carried on all the time, but on a smaller scale.

Paredes spoke with Josefina Flores de Garza of Brownsville, who actually lived through the "orgy of bloodshed" in 1915. Garza, then 18, was the eldest child in a big family that lived on a ranch. During the Ranger "executions," most Mexicans fled to the town seeking refuge. Her father refused to run.

When a gang of *rinches* arrived, they surrounded the place and called her father to come out. As he stepped to the door, they cut him down. When he fell, the two boys ran to him. They too were shot and killed as they bent over his body.

No doubt the incident was reported back to Austin (Ranger headquarters) as a "rough fight" in which the Rangers, although "severely outnumbered," managed to subdue the "criminals" without

sustaining any losses. That is the way the fictitious history of the Texas Rangers was written.

The next time you see a Hollywood movie about the incredible feats of the Texas Rangers, remember the story told by Josefina Garza.



PTUI!, NEXT THING YOU KNOW, THESE MEXICANS WILL WANT TO GOVERN THEMSELVES. UNGRATEFUL WRETCHES!

By Any Means Necessary

Army brass: from green to 'blues'

Baxter Smith



Everyone knows the Army wears green and the Navy wears white and blue, uniforms that is.

During the past year, though, the Navy's worn the "blues" due to "problems" from Black sailors. Last year's *Kitty Hawk* rebellion is one example of such "problems."

The malady seems contagious, 'cause now the Army's got the blues. But the Army's blues don't stem from what to do about Black rebellions—yet. Theirs concern the mere presence of Blacks, in growing, disproportionate numbers.

Ever since the Army ended the draft in January, Black enlistment has shot up. Thirty five percent of those taking the oath these days are Black. And, according to Army brass, that's almost three times what should be, and a cause for concern. (Blacks comprise 13.5 percent of the total U.S. male population between the ages of 18 and 35, the desired enlistment age).

Today, Blacks account for 18.6 percent of the Army's enlisted ranks, but the present enlistment ratio, if continued, will significantly boost that figure.

Compounding the situation is the high rate of

Black reenlistment. In the fiscal year 1971, 51.8 percent of eligible Blacks reenlisted. By comparison, 32.5 percent of whites re-upped. During the fiscal year 1973, 62 percent of the Blacks re-upped.

Publicly, the brass is claiming there's no worry. Privately, they're sweating bullets.

Lieutenant General Robert Taber told a news conference recently, in response to a question on limiting Black recruits, "The measure of the man we want in the armed forces is his performance on the job. We don't have a quota on Irish . . . on Jews . . . on blacks. We want good men. I think the Redskins have a pretty fair team and I never hear anyone discussing what the percentage of blacks are on the Redskins football team."

One of the Army's highest-ranking generals, wishing to remain nameless, was more honest when he told the *Washington Post*, "certainly those results have got to be disturbing. If that keeps up it is going to be troublesome . . . damn troublesome. It will be the beginning of the kind of Army which would not be an acceptable Army for the American people."

Perhaps the general is haunted by memories

of the incident during the 1968 Democratic Party convention when a group of Black GIs refused "riot duty" in connection with the Chicago protests.

But what are the reasons for the high ratio of Blacks in the Army?

The *Post* feels that "rising pay and opportunities within the services, plus perhaps a poor job market on the outside" have figured in the Black reenlistment rate.

There's no question that a "poor job market on the outside" is a major factor. Department of Labor statistics, which are always conservative, say that 9 percent of Black adults and 15 percent of Black teen-agers are unemployed.

It's doubtful that many Black vets had the opportunity to learn a skill in the Army—11 percent of Black vets, by Department of Labor reckoning, are unemployed. Opportunity for advancement in the Army? That doesn't hold water. In 1964, 3.4 percent of Army officers were Black. Today, nine years later, it's still less than 4 percent.

Duty to God and country? Forget it.

What's left? Steady pay, no layoffs, plus three hots and a cot.

World Outlook

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

SEPTEMBER 28, 1973

Wave of solidarity strikes in France as Lip workers fight on

By Jon Rothschild

Capitalists speak more freely when they talk among themselves than when outsiders are listening in. Listen, then, to an extract from an article on the June 19 seizure of the Lip watchmaking plant by its workers in an employers' magazine published in the Franche-Comté region of France:

"French society as it is conceived by the government of the country and by most of the ruling classes has rarely been so threatened in its principles as now, to judge by the Lip affair. The threat did not come in a spectacular manner, but the action of the Lip personnel, as calm as it may appear, is not for that reason any less insidious. By this we mean that in other situations of general social agitation or of political disturbances, the illegal acts that are committed, while they may be numerous, do not always carry grave consequences for the institutions of society. . . .

"The Lip affair is something else again. Calmly, and without creating any great distress, it is denying or transforming property rights; it is bringing to light a great weakness on the part of the employers; it is showing that public power and justice can be defied or even mocked; and it is doing all this with the moral support of the greater part of the population, and, we repeat, it is doing it calmly."

This extract was reprinted in a special joint issue of *Rouge* and *La Brèche*, Trotskyist newspapers published in France and Switzerland respectively, with an introductory remark noting that it "well expresses the employers' discomfort in face of the exemplary character of the struggle of the Lip workers." The employing class, however, expresses its unease not only in words. The occasion for the special issue of *Rouge-La Brèche* was the French bourgeoisie's move on August 14 to put an end to the "Lip affair" with a timely intervention by 3,000 troops from its political police. The police assignment was to evict the Lip workers from the occupied factory in Besançon, the town that is the center of the French watch-making industry. That job was accomplished. But the Lip affair has not been ended—far from it.

Lip is the best-known and largest watch company in France. It was recently purchased by Ebauche SA, the Swiss trust that also owns the Longines company. On June 19, faced with the discovery of a company plan to carry out massive layoffs—a prelude to an almost complete dismantling of the factory—the 1,320 workers at the plant in the Palente section of

Besançon took over the plant. From that date until August 14 they organized production on their own, administered the operation, and sold the watches produced directly to the public at a 40 percent discount—all very calmly.

Immediately, the struggle of the Lip workers to maintain their jobs became a symbol for the whole European workers movement. Most distressing to the French capitalist class was not the "loss" of a relatively small factory, but the political and social implications of the Lip action, the message summed up in the huge sign hung up by the workers in front of the factory: "It can be done. We are producing, we are selling, we are paying ourselves."

The Pompidou regime tried to defuse the Lip struggle through a negotiation process. Minister of Scientific and Economic Development Jean Charbonnel drew up a "plan" to "restructure" the factory, and dispatched a special emissary, Henri Giraud, whose job it was to sell the Charbonnel plan to the workers. The workers were willing to negotiate. But they saw no reason to evacuate the factory while talks went on; and they insisted that whatever settlement was arrived at, there could be no layoffs, there could be no dismantlement.

Several times, the government carried out small-scale police operations against the Lip workers. But massive solidarity, not only in France but throughout Europe, held the regime back from moving seriously against Lip. The attack finally came in the middle of August, at the height of the vacation period, a time when, according to government calculations, repercussions of the police attack would be least heavy. That may prove to be yet another miscalculation by the Pompidou government.

The Police Action of August 14

The cops' reoccupation of the factory was done early in the morning. At 5:30 a.m., according to the August 15 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, troops from the CRS (Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité—Republican Security Corps) set up roadblocks around access routes to the plant.

The CRS operation was well planned and succeeded in taking over the factory quickly. But the cops had come prepared to inflict whatever casualties necessary on the workers. They were armed with rifles, clubs of various kinds, grenades, and tear-gas launchers.

By 6:30 a.m. the Lip workers in the city were informed that the cops were moving on the factory. Workers

delegates began streaking through Besançon in cars equipped with loudspeakers, broadcasting the news to the population. By 7:30, a crowd of more than 1,000 had gathered in front of the factory on the opposite side of the CRS cordon.

The August 24 issue of *Rouge* described the reaction in Besançon to the police occupation:

"First, there was Kelton, a plant that had never gone out; 300 women workers took to the streets chanting 'Lip-Kelton, same fight.' At Rhodia-

ing the Lip plant, ceaselessly demanding that they account for their presence. Little by little the cops' resistance began to weaken; the tension was so great that on the Rue des Gèraniums they had to be relieved constantly. But in spite of that, two of the cops fainted.

By 3:00 p.m. the demonstration had built up to more than 10,000 persons—with no preparation, no publicity except for that carried out by the workers with their bullhorns. A completely unprecedented action for the month of August in France.

The spontaneous desire of the crowd of workers was to confront the CRS and to take back the factory. In fact, the first leaflet issued August 14 by the CFDT (Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor) indicated that this would be the goal



Workers at Lip make decisions about their struggle at meetings like this one.

ceta the strike was nearly complete; just one engineer stayed in the plant. At the entrances to the post office, the employees were discussing—'Should we go down there?' 'Yeah, let's go'—and they set out, on foot or by car, to Palente. By 6:30 the railroad station was jammed, trains were blocked. The electricity and gas workers cut the power to factories that were not yet on strike, as well as to the occupied Lip factory.

"All the industries sent delegations: Social Security workers, Spiraux, the family assistance workers, Compteurs Schlumberger, Maty, Weil, Microméga. Each delegation made up its own banners and signs. The railway workers grabbed an old cloth and wrote their slogans with coal; others looked around desperately for old cardboard to make signs out of.

"By 9:00 a.m. it was decided to call for a demonstration in the city for 3:00 p.m. People returned to their factories and to other places to call on others to walk out and come to Lip. During the entire morning, constantly, there was a crowd of 3,000 people surrounding the cops guard-

of the action.

But the local leaders of the Communist party-dominated CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor) convinced the demonstrators to go to the police station downtown instead of to the plant. It is possible—with a crowd of 10,000—that the factory could have been retaken but for that decision.

The Solidarity Movement Spreads

The August 14 demonstration developed into a twenty-four-hour general strike in Besançon. And the mobilization continued after that. Some factories that had been on vacation August 14 went on strike as soon as they were scheduled to come back to work. The August 31 *Rouge* indicated something of the prevailing mood: When the workers at the Mischler factory in Besançon returned to work from vacation, the employer came into the plant to ask: "When are you planning to walk out for Lip?"

A leaflet put out by workers at Rhodia
Continued on following page

'The only legality we recognize: no layoffs, no

Continued from preceding page

diaceta announced that they were prepared to "walk out whenever the Lip workers ask us to, any time, day or night. . . . For the struggle of the Lip workers is the struggle of the whole working class."

Many other plants in Besançon took the same attitude. But the solidarity movement was not at all restricted to the Besançon area. The *Rouge-La Brèche* dated August 17 reported strikes going on in more than forty factories in various provinces. Street demonstrations had occurred in Toulouse, Dijon, and Caen within one day of the police attack on the Lip factory. The railroad workers conducted a one-hour national strike; in some areas, the action was extended to twenty-four hours.

Solidarity meetings and demonstrations also took place in Switzerland.

Many unions began spontaneously to set up local liaison committees to carry on solidarity work. The August 31 *Rouge* quoted from a leaflet put out by the Besançon municipal workers:

"The struggle for the Lip workers is not over. Lip needs the help and support of all the workers in the country. A Lip liaison and support committee will be created among the municipal employees (whether unionized or not). To be effective, this committee must include many volunteers."

But despite the local initiatives and the obvious militancy being displayed by workers all over France, the cen-

On September 7 workers in Liege, Belgium, inspired by the Lip struggle, took over a bankrupt metalworking plant. The workers, facing loss of their jobs, threatened to blow up the plant and surrounding houses, but on September 10 they won a promise from the Belgian premier to review their case. Earlier, a government subsidy that would have allowed the factory to continue in operation had been denied.

One metal-press operator explained that "we asked the government for aid many times and never got it. They forced us to become pirates and make a little noise."

tral leaders of the national union federations have not moved to organize the solidarity movement on a nationwide scale. On August 16 a mass meeting was held in Besançon at which Georges Ségué, head of the CGT, and Edmond Maire, head of the CFDT, shared the platform. There were union delegations from many areas of France at the meeting. In Paris on August 22 a successful meeting was also held. But despite the promising beginning, no national framework has been set up by the union bureaucrats.

After the August 22 solidarity meeting in Paris, the union leaders and the reformist workers parties called for a meeting to discuss how to continue the solidarity movement. *Rouge* and *Lutte Ouvrière* asked to attend this meeting. They were excluded. "We can only regret this," wrote S. Triton in the August 31 *Rouge*, "for any exclusion at all weakens the support for the Lip workers." She went on

to explain that *Rouge* had wanted to attend the meeting to make three proposals:

"1. That a national placard be issued by the unions in 500,000 copies.

"2. That a national twenty-four-hour general strike, to be accompanied by united solidarity demonstrations, be called.

"3. That committees of solidarity with the Lip strike be created everywhere.

"These proposals correspond to three needs of the movement: to extend popularization of it much further; to give the solidarity movement a second wind by a centralized initiative able to stand against the regime from a position of strength; to construct a deeply based united rank-and-file solidarity movement."

The meeting, Triton reported, adjourned without making any concrete decisions. General declarations on the need for extending solidarity were issued, but no organization of the movement was planned. She noted that the Communist party has yet to produce a single national poster on the Lip struggle. The parties of the Union of the Left (the CP and the SP) have been willing enough to proclaim unity in meetings and press conferences; unity in action is something else again.

Repression at the Lip Plant

While the reformist workers parties have restricted the impact of the solidarity movement, the Lip workers in Besançon, encouraged by the spontaneous eruption of sympathy strikes, demonstrations, and messages, have continued to fight on. The CRS occupation of the factory soon began to take on the aspect of an occupation of a city under wartime conditions. For an entire week after the August 14 takeover, workers and youth in Besançon gathered daily around the factory to manifest their feelings for the police.

For about a week, the crowd outside the factory stayed at about 2,000 a day. The crowd would shout at the cops, and would applaud when a cop would faint from standing outside too long in the heat. At certain points, the cops launched tear gas into the crowd and charged into it, beating anyone they could get their hands on.

Charles Pialet, a militant of the CFDT who has emerged as a major leader of the Lip workers, told a gathering of several hundred workers on August 15 that "we will transform the police intervention into a political defeat for the government."

The Lip workers did several things immediately to make sure that the police action did not crush the movement. An antirepression commission was set up and has been gathering testimony from victims of police brutality and distributing instruction sheets to the workers on what to do in case they are arrested.

But the workers are also trying to maintain production and sales of watches so they can support themselves. But with no factory? "The regime hoped to bring us to our knees by occupying our plant," declared Pialet. "But they don't understand that wherever the workers are, that's where the factory is. The factory is not the walls, it is the people. Tomorrow [August 16], the Lip flag will fly over



Lip sign before police attack said 'It is possible: we produce; we sell; we pay ourselves.'

the Jean Zay gymnasium."

Jean Zay is a local school. In its gymnasium, the Lip workers have established what they call the "New Factory." The August 30 *Le Monde* published a report by a representative from Agence France-Presse who visited the "clandestine workshop."

"We can make about 80 to 100 watches a day here," the head of the shop told the reporter. "That represents about 15,000 francs daily for ensuring our wages. So this operation is not purely psychological."

The August 31 *Rouge* reported that from the New Factory the struggle goes on. The commissions set up by the workers when they first took over the plant continue to function. The popularization commission has put out the seventh issue of *Lip Unité*, the strike bulletin. A series of tape cassettes telling the Lip story is being produced and distributed. A film on the struggle is in the works.

The commission for organizing trips is functioning, sending workers all over France to organize educational and solidarity meetings. The restaurant commission, created to take over the plant cafeteria, is serving 1,000 meals a day. The production and sales commissions, their ability to operate reduced by the police occupation, are resuming their work with the products of the New Factory.

And the workers have ensured that no one will be running the Lip factory in their absence. "The factory is not going to operate without us," a workers statement declared. "We did not damage any machinery, but we removed some vital parts from each machine without which the shops cannot function. We chose especially to set aside pieces of the machines that are either very new or very old, so it will be difficult to replace these vital parts."

On August 31, the Lip workers held their second "wildcat payday" since they took over the plant. According to the unions, 1,167 pay envelopes containing a total of 2,200,000 francs were handed out. Each worker who accepted the pay signed the following pledge:

"I honestly affirm that I have received neither unemployment nor social security benefits for the period August 1-31, 1973. I am engaged in a struggle to defend my employment,

to prevent the dismantling of the plant, and to protect the gains already made. I will continue this fight, decided on and led by all the Lip employees. This pay represents the wages that are due me for the month of August. It has been raised by the sale of the watches."

The disbursement of August salaries was conducted under tight security (to prevent government interference) in the Lux movie theater in Besançon. Outside, the marquee advertised the current feature: Woody Allen's "Take the Money and Run."

What Next?

When the police moved against the factory, Minister of Scientific and Economic Development Jean Charbonnel explained that the action was necessary because his totally reasonable offers for settling the Lip dispute had been rejected owing to the "intransigence of certain of the employees' delegates." He claimed that he was only interested in "restructuring" the Lip company so that production could resume (in fact, it had never been interrupted) and so that "the greatest possible number" of Lip employees could be "rehired."

Charbonnel's "plan" for settling the dispute in fact closely parallels the scheme devised by Ebauches SA, the Swiss trust that has acquired the Lip company and has been planning to "rationalize" it by virtually dismantling the operation. The Charbonnel plan involves dividing the present Lip company into three or four groups and calls for reducing the work force by at least 25 percent.

The workers have insisted — and continue to insist after the August 14 police attack — that they will accept no solution that entails any layoffs, any dismantling, or any retraction of the gains they have already made.

Negotiations between the Lip leadership and government representatives are currently going on. The form of the negotiations is in the image of the conduct of the Lip struggle so far. All the unions are represented; general assemblies are held at which proposals and reports are made. The negotiators, Suzanne Triton reported in the August 31 *Rouge*, have rejected "secret diplomacy." All the sessions are taped, and the workers are able to listen to what has gone on.

Lip workers fight on dismantlement'

As to the content of the negotiations, there are grounds for some concern. The solutions put forward by the reformist workers parties are hardly ones that answer to the needs of the Lip workers.

The Communist party and the CGT have proposed that sufficient French capital — public and private — be found to buy back the Lip company from Ebauche. Controlling shares, the Stalinists suggest, should be held by the Institut de Développement Industriel (IDI — Institute for Industrial Development), a paragonovernmental organ fueled by private capital. The trouble is that it is hard to find a capitalist in France today who is willing to take on the Lip operation, whose very unprofitability was the reason it was sold by its original owners to the Swiss trust, whose aim in turn is to radically "restructure" the company.

On August 28, CGT head Georges Ségué sent out a letter to all CGT unions warning that it is "very important for yourselves, for all work-

ers, and for public opinion generally, that you affirm at all times your desire to move at the earliest possible time by means of true negotiations to a satisfactory solution. . . ." And he cited as examples of "satisfactory" solutions cases in which workers had accepted layoffs.

The members of the ex-Ligue Communiste, formerly the French section of the Fourth International, have been demanding the nationalization of Lip under workers control. The August 24 *Rouge* noted that the pure and simple expropriation of Lip was the only solution that corresponds to the workers interests; and pure and simple expropriation means nationalization without compensation.

At the same time, *Rouge* warns that the workers control of the Lip factory must be seen primarily as a means of struggle, and not as a solution in and of itself. As a means of struggle, the workers occupation has proven its worth. But there can be no thought of an "island of socialism" in a capitalist sea.

"In struggle, when the Lip workers ran their factory, when they solidly organized their movement, they also did work *outside* the factory at the same time. And the question will inevitably come up sooner or later: How can the gains of this fight be guaranteed? How can we make sure that things don't slide back to the 'way they were before'?"

The only way, *Rouge* writes, is to systematically impose workers control — over pay scales, work rates, selection of supervisory personnel, hiring and firing — and to combine that struggle for control with the generalized political struggle to destroy the bourgeois state.

It remains to be seen whether the combined action of the reformist bureaucrats and the capitalist regime will be able to impose the Charbonnel plan on the Lip workers. A big test will come during the month of September, when the vacation period ends. If the solidarity movement continues to develop as broadly as it has so far, it may well be difficult for the bureaucrats to keep control of the situation.

Meanwhile, the negotiations go on. In an interview published in the August 17 *Rouge-La Brèche*, Charles Piaget reiterated that despite the police occupation of the plant, the workers would hold firm to their demands.

"The only legality we recognize," he said, "is 'no layoffs, no dismantlement.' Everything else is the legality and justice of the employers."



CHARLES PIAGET: Workers won't yield on "no layoffs, no dismantling."

World news notes

Black miners shot in South Africa

South African police shot to death eleven Black workers and seriously injured twenty-seven more Sept. 11 while quelling a protest over inadequate pay. The killings occurred at the Western Deep Levels mine, one of the world's biggest and richest gold mines, situated near Johannesburg.

Protests at the mine, which employs 15,000 Black workers, were begun by machine operators whose pay had just been raised to \$73 a month. Inflation in South Africa, which is expected to run about 12 percent this year, also contributed to dissatisfaction.

The *New York Times* reports that Prime Minister John Vorster "paid tribute to the police, who, he said, had acted 'with considerable restraint' under the circumstances."

Abortion rights case in Canada

On Aug. 15, Québec police arrested Dr. Henry Morgentaler, well-known advocate of women's right to safe and legal abortion, in his Montreal clinic. His nurses and patients (15 people in all) were also taken into custody but released later that night without charges.

Four charges were brought against Morgentaler under the abortion section of the Canadian Criminal Code. They were brought under a preferred indictment, a procedure by which the case goes directly to trial without a preliminary hearing.

Dr. Morgentaler already faced three similar charges, any one of which could result in life imprisonment. He was not released from custody until two days after his arrest — and then only under condition that he not leave Montreal and that he not speak to the media about his case or his "cause" (that is, his views on abortion).

The police action against Morgentaler followed a similar raid on the clinic of one of his close associates, Dr. Yvan Macchabee. Dr. Macchabee's files were seized and similar charges were brought against him.

On top of this, Dr. Morgentaler was arrested once again Aug. 30, and six additional charges were brought against him.

A supporter of the growing abortion rights movement in Canada since its inception, Dr. Morgentaler was first arrested in 1970, only weeks after he had spoken at an abortion rally in Ottawa. The demonstration was the first cross-country action of the Canadian women's liberation movement.

Less than two months after the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion in the U.S., Dr. Morgentaler publicly declared that he had performed thousands of medically safe — though illegal — abortions over the past few years. He went on to declare that he did not consider this a criminal act — that it was the law, which would have prevented him from helping these women, that was criminal.

Shortly thereafter, he applied to the Québec government for legal status for his abortion clinic.

The Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws (CWC) has resolved to make defense of Morgentaler and Macchabee its top priority. "These charges are not simply victimizations of individual doctors — they are the government's latest and most direct way of attacking the abortion-law repeal movement and turning back the gains we have already made," says Joan Campana, staff coordinator of CWC.

Food for profit, not the hungry

Over the next twelve months the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization anticipates a nine million ton wheat shortage in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, the Philippines, and the African countries stricken by drought south of the Sahara desert. Substantial shortages are expected in several other countries as well, reports Roy Prosterman in the Sept. 14 *Wall St. Journal*.

He says that "there may be from 10 million to 30 million incremental deaths in these countries as a result of starvation and of diseases rendered fatal by malnutrition."

Prosterman explains, "The expected nine million ton shortfall of wheat in certain less developed countries compares with anticipated total world production this year of 330 million tons, up 20 million tons from last year. None of the industrialized countries is in the slightest danger of going hungry, and there is in fact ample grain."

Nevertheless, Prosterman says, U.S. "Food for Peace" shipments are being decreased 40 percent for rice and 66 percent for wheat.

He appeals to the self interest of his readers on Wall Street and in Washington:

"If nothing is done to head off the impending disaster, the starvation of millions could be accompanied by a widespread breakdown of social and political order that would bring chaos to Asia. . . ."

However, the fact remains that the price of wheat has jumped from \$2.06 a bushel in April to an unheard-of \$5.05. And under capitalism, food is produced for profit, not the hungry.

What Went Wrong?

What went wrong on Chile's "road to socialism?" Read the current issue of *Intercontinental Press* for the main facts and a Trotskyist analysis of the downfall of Allende.

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Appeal for international support

Mozambique fighters denounce Portuguese crimes

[Recent revelations of massacres of civilians conducted by Portuguese troops in Mozambique have placed Lisbon's colonial wars in Africa in the center of international attention, provoking broad opposition to complicity on the part of European governments.]

[The following communiqué on the massacres and world reaction to them was released July 13 by FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique — Mozambique Liberation Front). We have taken the text from the August 10 issue of *Rouge*, French Trotskyist weekly. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Recently, world attention has been drawn, with a mixture of horror and indignation, to the testimony of Spanish and British missionaries describ-



Atrocities provoked protests in Britain against visit of Portuguese Prime Minister Marcelo Caetano.

ing the massacre by the Portuguese armed forces of nearly 400 Mozambique civilians in a village in Tete Province.

While hailing the international condemnation and denunciation of this act of genocide, FRELIMO would like to stress the fact that this massacre should not be considered an isolated incident. In fact, such massacres by Portuguese troops in Mozambique are common; they are inherent in colonial domination.

As early as 1960, more than 500 villagers in Mueda in northern Mozambique were massacred with grenades and machine guns during a peaceful demonstration demanding independence from the Portuguese authorities.

Several times, FRELIMO has published detailed accounts of other Portuguese atrocities against the people of Mozambique. These accounts (some of them submitted to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights) described the bombing and destruction of entire villages, the deportation of populations, the torture and mur-

der of prisoners of war, and the Portuguese army's utilization of chemical warfare against the liberated territories. We will recall just a few examples:

- In June 1970 Portuguese troops came to the village of Joao in Tete Province, assembled all the inhabitants they could find (sixty persons in all, some of them children), and ordered them to dig an enormous hole "so that you will be able to protect yourselves from bandits." The inhabitants obeyed. Then the Portuguese told them to climb inside "to see if it's big enough to hide you." The hole was not big enough; the inhabitants dug deeper. Then the soldiers said, "Try again." The people climbed inside once more. When all the inhabitants were inside, the Portuguese opened fire. They murdered the sixty people and buried them there.

- In another village, in Xidecunde, in February 1972, Portuguese soldiers locked sixteen persons (men, women, pregnant women, and children) in a house and then tossed in grenades. Fifteen persons were killed, among them four women and six youngsters. Only one person survived, a woman who had an arm torn off by one of the grenades.

- On September 28, 1972, in Angonia in Tete Province, the Portuguese locked nearly thirty persons in a house and then set it on fire. All the people inside were burned alive. They had been accused of knowing the hiding places of some FRELIMO guerrillas.

- At the beginning of December 1972, after successive FRELIMO attacks in the city of Tete, Portuguese troops combed neighboring villages and arrested sixty persons. They were locked in a house and burned alive.

- In May 1973 Rhodesian troops from Mucumbara massacred fifteen persons in a village. Others were taken away in helicopters and were never seen again.

- At the end of 1971 Portuguese soldiers in Tete ordered civilians to leave their villages; then, when the civilians were on the road to their destinations, the soldiers attacked them from helicopters and massacred them.



FRELIMO militants

In our reports we have also denounced an infamous practice that has become common among the Portuguese soldiers: the murder of pregnant women by slicing their abdomens open with bayonets and ripping out the fetus, with the aim, according to their own declarations, of "preventing the birth of new terrorists." Sometimes, they put explosives inside the body of the murdered woman,



Portuguese troops at work in Mozambique

so as to kill other villagers during the burial.

More recently, others in Mozambique, in particular the missionaries, have raised their voices to condemn these crimes. We recall, for example, the glaring evidence given by the White Fathers of the Missionary Congregation when they decided to leave Mozambique in May 1971 because they were so revolted by the crimes and tortures being inflicted on the people of Mozambique.

In October 1972 Father Alfonso de Costa, a Portuguese priest who was expelled from Mozambique, revealed during a press conference held in Europe that he knew from an unimpeachable source that more than a thousand Mozambique civilians had been massacred just in the province of Tete between March 1971 and May 1972.

The colonial repression spares no one. In June 1972 some 1,800 persons were arrested in southern Mozambique, accused of being in contact with FRELIMO or of working for it. In January 1973 two priests were arrested and sentenced to five months and twenty months in prison for having denounced the activities of the Portuguese army. In mid-June 1972 thirty African representatives of the Presby-

terian church were arrested and imprisoned; two of them, the head of the Presbyterian church in Mozambique and a member of the local ecclesiastical council, were assassinated in prison. When the authorities announced their deaths in December 1971, they claimed that they had committed suicide.

There is no need to look very far for the reasons for these acts of barbarism. It is enough to quote the commander in chief of the Portuguese army in Mozambique, General Kaulza de Arriaga: "Portuguese strategy in Africa must lead toward creating a balance between the black and white populations." After having approved the export of slaves to Brazil, he affirmed the present aim of Portugal's action: "... on the one hand, the growth of the white population; on the other, the limitation of the black population." He could not have been more explicit.

It is the fascist policy of genocide, reinforced by the frustration of the colonialist troops, who have suffered setback after setback in their war against the people of Mozambique, that is the real cause of these bestial acts.

Such is the context in which the atrocities denounced by the British and Spanish priests should be understood.

Several times we have expressed regret that world opinion, that people who love peace and freedom, had not played their full role in denouncing and condemning Portuguese colonialism. We hope that world reaction to the recently revealed crimes of the Portuguese army indicates a growing understanding of the real nature of Portuguese colonialism and of the imperative necessity of fighting it.

Interview with Jose Paez

Socialist union leader challenges Peron



PAEZ: PST vice-presidential candidate is well known as militant union leader in Cordoba.

By MIRTA VIDAL

BUENOS AIRES—Four slates have entered the presidential race here, to be decided in a special election Sept. 23.

These include the slate of Perón and his wife, Isabel Martínez; the Balbín and de la Rúa ticket of the Civic Radical Union; and the right-wing slate of Manrique and Raymonda of the Progressive Democratic Party. These three tickets represent the interests of the Argentine ruling class. All three have consistently sided with the bosses, the landed aristocracy, and the imperialists.

The only working-class opposition to these bourgeois candidates is the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Party—PST), whose candidates are Juan Carlos Coral and José Páez.

I spoke with Páez while he was in Buenos Aires for a brief stop in the midst of a hectic campaign tour.

Páez is 37. When he was 20 he started working in the Fiat Concord auto plant in Córdoba. His role in the struggles waged by the Fiat workers has won him nationwide fame as one of the most able and respected trade-union leaders in Córdoba.

The first wave of large-scale upsurges of the working class in the recent period began in Córdoba in 1969. The Fiat workers were in the forefront of that struggle.

In 1971, another huge mobilization of the working class in Córdoba shook the entire nation. Again the combative rebel union—called SITRAC-SITRAM—provided the political leadership and took the front line at the barricades.

Páez explained the events that set the stage for the second *Cordobazo*, as the rebellion is commonly known.

"SITRAC-SITRAM was formed to represent the workers' interests against

the hard-line repression of the Fiat bosses, and in opposition to the trade-union bureaucracy of the CGT [the large Peronist-controlled trade-union federation].

"Initially," explained Páez, "we had carried out work stoppages in solidarity with workers in other unions inside the CGT. But in January 1971, seven *compañeros* from Fiat were fired and the 3,000 workers took over the factory in protest."

The takeover was a complete success and all the workers' demands were met. But the crisis led the governor of Córdoba to resign, and he was replaced by the extreme right-winger Uriburu.

'Viborazo'

"Uriburu then announced that he had come to 'cut off the head of a snake,' that is, the 'communists' in the trade-union movement," Páez continued.

"In March of that year, the workers again took to the streets. This time they took over not only the factory but an entire town."

Because the Spanish word for snake is *vibora*, the second *Cordobazo* is also known as the *viborazo*. Under the impact of the *viborazo*, General Levingston, then president of Argentina, was forced to resign, and General Lanusse took power.

Lanusse, seeking to weaken the workers movement and stay the growing crisis threatening the ruling class, called for the Great National Agreement (GAN)—a pact between all sectors of the Argentine bourgeoisie. The GAN included an agreement with Perón, allowing him back in the country after 18 years of exile.

SITRAC-SITRAM then called two workers congresses to form a class-struggle left wing in opposition to the GAN and to the trade-union bureaucracy, which went along with the GAN. But at the same time the police, working with the bosses and the CGT bureaucracy, launched an attack on the workers movement. This attack succeeded, through intimidation, in isolating the most militant sectors from the rest of the organized labor movement.

"In October 1971, 500 Fiat workers were fired and 12 of them were arrested," Páez explained.

"I was then persecuted by the police and charged with a series of terrorist acts carried out by various guerrilla groups," he continued. "In fact, I had to spend nine months underground, unable to work or see my family."

"During that time, various government agencies conducted 36 searches for me in my neighborhood. They surrounded my house and intimidated my family."

Although Páez was fired from Fiat

two years ago, the question of his reinstatement is still being argued in the courts.

"Each time I go back to the Fiat factory to join the workers on a strike or a picket line, I am arrested and detained."

"That happened just a few weeks ago," Páez recalled. "On Aug. 22 the steelworkers took over the factory, demanding recognition of their union—SMATA—as opposed to joining the UOM [the CGT-affiliated Steelworkers Union]."

"As soon as I reached the factory gates, some plainclothes cops in an unmarked car grabbed me and started to drive away. I yelled, and the workers began throwing rocks to try to stop it, but the car got away. I was taken to the police station and detained for an entire day."

Workers Front

With the decision by the ruling class to hold elections, the repression eased and Páez was able to resume open activity.

"It was then," he said, "that I joined the Workers Front and became the gubernatorial candidate for the city of Córdoba in the March 1973 elections." The Workers Front, formed at the initiation of the PST, fielded nearly 2,500 working-class candidates in opposition to the capitalist candidates in the March elections.

"The role of the PST in the March elections finally convinced me of the need to construct a revolutionary workers party, and I joined the PST."

Most of the support for the PST campaign, Páez pointed out, has come from the most advanced sectors of the labor movement. This support could be seen in the Aug. 18 meeting of the Workers Front, which nominated the slate of Coral and Páez. Four thousand people attended the convention.

In view of the certain Peronist victory, some organizations on the left are calling for casting a blank ballot on Sept. 23. This is being done in lieu of abstaining, since voting is compulsory in Argentina. I asked Páez what he thought about this tactic.

"The problem," he replied, "is that the workers are looking for an alternative. Casting a blank ballot does not pose any alternative. And what's more, that tactic does not let you differentiate yourself from sectors of the extreme right wing that also call for casting a blank vote, such as one organization called Family, Land and Property. I think that this tactic represents the position of those who have no position."

What about organizations on the left that call themselves socialist but say we have to vote for Perón because the working masses are behind him, I asked.

"These fall into two categories," Páez replied. "On the one hand you have the Peronist youth, who actually have faith in Perón's ability to move the country toward socialism."

"We point out to them that Perón is surrounded by people who not only are not socialists, but are ultrarightists. We tell them that the only way out is the socialist alternative. And not some time in the future, as Perón demagogically tells the youth. We want socialism now."

"We say to them that if Perón really wanted socialism, he would organize the working class. But neither the workers nor the youth will have any say in Perón's government. We think that the next three or four months will demonstrate that we are right, so we say to them, 'Let's continue our discussion.'"

On the other hand, Páez explained, there are groups that consider themselves part of the socialist vanguard but still support Perón. Among these is the Communist Party.

"When Perón took office in 1945," said Páez, "the CP instead supported Braden, a Yankee ambassador, because they were following Moscow's line of 'combating fascism' by uniting with sectors of the ruling class, and they claimed that Perón was a fascist. In 1955, when Perón was overthrown and the labor movement was threat-



PERON: Bourgeoisie hopes he can establish stable capitalist government in Argentina. His only working-class opposition in coming election is the PST.

ened by the right wing, the CP attacked the trade unions.

"They have always failed to put forward any real alternative for the working class. And today, they make the same mistake by supporting Perón."

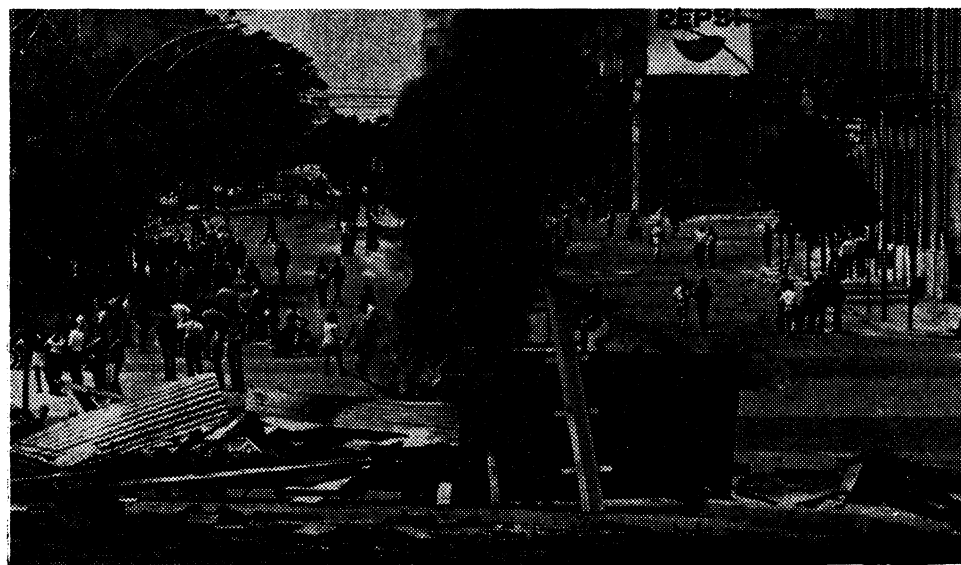
But it should be pointed out," continued Páez, "that this is an error of the CP leadership. The ranks were not consulted in that decision, and many of them are opposed to supporting Perón."

The PST, in contrast to every other party on the Argentine left, is taking maximum advantage of the brief election period to spread socialist ideas.

"We point out," said Páez, "that elections are not the means by which the workers will take power. But through our access to the radio, television, and press we explain to the masses our program for changing society. We point out that the *Cordobazo* sets the example."

While we talked, a call came from *Siete Dias*, a leading establishment weekly magazine, requesting an interview with Páez. In the office next door, a schedule of radio and television appearances was being mapped out. Along with the other parties, the PST candidates will have more than two hours of TV time before the elections, as well as time on various radio stations.

As we reached the end of our discussion, Páez rushed off again, this time to address a campaign rally in the nearby province of Neuquén.



Barricade burning during the second 'Cordobazo' in 1971. Rise of powerful workers' struggles forced Argentine military to end its dictatorship and bring back Peron.

Crisis and Repression in Argentina

By Peter Camejo. 32 pp. 60 cents. Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Imposed by Washington, Moscow

Laos accord is setback for revolution

By DICK ROBERTS

Six months following the Feb. 21 cease-fire agreement in Laos, a treaty has been signed to establish a coalition government in the deeply divided nation. It is the third such attempt in the 20-year-long Laotian civil war.

Despite the long struggle of the Laotian people against the proimperialist Vientiane regime, which was backed by U.S.-financed Thai mercenaries and murderous U.S. bombing, the agreement cannot resolve the social problems of the Laotian workers and peasants.

The new coalition, which aims to uphold capitalism in Laos, is a dangerous trap imposed largely through pressures from Washington and Moscow. The terms undoubtedly reflect secret understandings reached in Nixon's summit meetings with Brezhnev.

This means that the "Articles of Accord" released Sept. 14 do not tell the whole story. There are secret agreements behind them.

Nevertheless the accords that have been made public represent a grave setback to the Laotian revolution. The 200 U.S. "advisers" and the 17,000 Thai mercenaries are supposed to be withdrawn within 60 days after the formation of a coalition government. However, the U.S. will continue supplying funds and hardware to the Vientiane army.

A "Provisional Government of National Union" is to be headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma, the longtime figurehead of "neutralist" capitalist forces in Laos.

Key to the accords is the division of ministries. The proimperialist Vientiane government received the essential portfolios: Finance, Interior, and Defense.

This leaves the Vientiane government—a government that is notorious for its close links to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency—in control of the military apparatus. With the disastrous example of Chile before us, it should be clear why this places the

revolution in grave jeopardy.

So long as the proimperialist forces control the army and the police, no promises of "neutrality" on their part are any guarantee of safety to the liberation struggle.

Of course there is a crucial difference between the Chile of the Allende period and the Laos of today. Laos is militarily divided. The Pathet Lao is armed and it controls roughly 80 percent of the 91,000 square miles of Laos, including about a third of its nearly three million people.

Past repeated?

And this makes the new 1973 Laotian coalition very similar to the two previous unsuccessful coalitions of 1957 and 1962. Both of those were formed with representatives from both sides. The agreements in 1957 and 1962 also left the Pathet Lao in control of large areas of the country.

But in both cases the agreements were sabotaged by sectors of the military in collusion with the CIA when these forces believed that the time was ripe to escalate the counterrevolution. We know the bloody results of the collapse of the 1962 Geneva accords on Laos—a decade of U.S. bombing that forced tens of thousands of people to live underground in terror.

Correspondents have speculated on the reasons why the Pathet Lao agreed to these new accords, which are clearly unfavorable to the revolution. They note that the terms of the February cease-fire were more "heavily weighed in favor of the Pathet Lao, reflecting their overwhelmingly superior position on Laos' mountainous battlefields," as *Washington Post* correspondent John Burgess put it Sept. 14.

Not only did the Pathet Lao make concessions on the central question of the ministries, Burgess points out, but they "withdrew their demands that their troops and police be stationed at airports, fuel and ammo dumps and other strategic centers around the cities. Insuring their own safety is par-



After 20 years of civil war, another coalition government won't resolve social problems facing Laotians.

ticularly important to the Pathet Lao in view of past experience."

According to the *New York Times*, Moscow played the pivotal role in bringing about Pathet Lao concessions. The turn appears to have come in early September when Souvanna Phouma announced that the military would support him in a coalition government. "One reason for his confidence," the *Times* reported Sept. 8, "was a gathering last night at the residence of the Soviet military attaché, which brought together five key generals from the Royal Laotian Army and five military members of the Pathet Lao delegation in Vientiane. . . .

"The idea behind the meeting—which reportedly received midwifery assistance from the United States Embassy—was to bring together the two groups that eventually will have to carry out the bulk of the accord and soften the distrust that has accumulated during 20 years of war."

The Associated Press stated bluntly in a dispatch from Vientiane Sept. 12 that the way was cleared for agree-

ment "by a Soviet pledge to support neutralist Prince Souvanna and to refrain from partisan support of the Pathet Lao."

Elections promised

The articles of accord also promise elections in which the Pathet Lao would undoubtedly have an advantage—if the elections were held. But the whole history of Indochina in the past three decades warns that the proimperialist forces will not allow elections unless they are in a position to control the outcome.

And they will move to crush their opposition at the most timely moment in the meantime. The *New York Times* reported Sept. 14, "Some rightists in Vientiane believe that the Pathet Lao, with diminished North Vietnamese political support, will be much less formidable opponents than in the past."

Nevertheless, the same paper reports, "The Pathet Lao representatives here . . . stress that they have 'struggled' for this agreement and that they intend to carry out its letter and spirit."

Colo. Labor Council fights Meany trusteeship

By FRANK LORD

The Colorado Labor Council (CLC) met in Denver Sept. 7-8 for its biannual convention. The assembly took up as its first order of business AFL-CIO President George Meany's threatened imposition of a trusteeship on the CLC.

The 143 delegates, officials of half the state's trade unions, resolved to continue the year-long fight against trusteeship. Under trusteeship, the CLC officers would be forced to vacate their positions and turn over all financial and material resources to a Meany appointee.

The would-be trustee, Paul Healy, arrived in Denver from Chicago in July of this year.

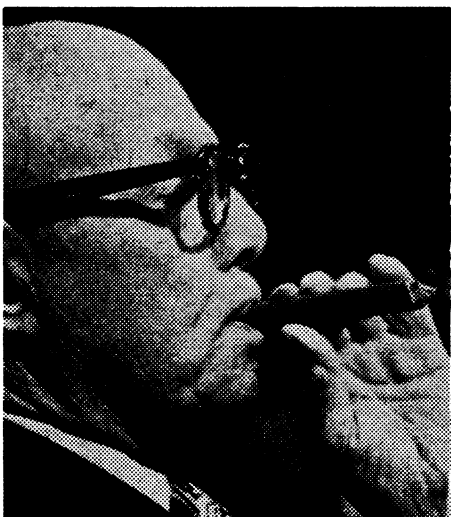
The dispute began in August 1972, when the Colorado Committee on Political Education (COPE) Conference endorsed George McGovern in the 1972 presidential election. At the time, Meany was offering backhanded support to Nixon through an avowed "neutrality" in the presidential race. He ordered central labor bodies not to endorse a presidential candidate, although local affiliates were permitted to do so. Meany demanded that the CLC rescind its endorsement of McGovern. When the CLC refused to comply, Meany announced he was ordering trusteeship of the council as of Sept. 19, 1972.

The CLC responded to this threat by going to court. On Oct. 2, 1972, the

Federal District Court of Colorado enjoined Meany from taking over the CLC. A special convention of the council voted 210-11 to support the action of its leadership.

Meany appealed the injunction to the U.S. Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals. The appeals court dismissed the injunction as of Aug. 8, 1973, but it also refused to give Meany the necessary legal authorization to put the CLC under trusteeship.

On July 5, 1973, the appointed trustee attempted to oust the officers of the CLC and administer the council's affairs. The CLC defeated



MEANY: Attempting to quarantine the CLC for backing McGovern in 1972.

the move, and Meany countered on July 9 by requesting all international unions with Colorado affiliates to pay no per capita revenue to the CLC.

Meany's attempts to quarantine the CLC met with limited success. His order was carried out by about half the CLC affiliates.

While this necessarily threw the council into a financial tailspin, many unions that could no longer lend financial support have continued to send delegates to CLC functions.

The recent convention began with a report from CLC officers outlining the projected course of negotiations with Meany.

The convention adopted a resolution to attempt to negotiate the dispute, and to oppose the trusteeship "by all appropriate measures" in the event that negotiations fail. There was no opposition voiced in the time allotted for discussion, but the final vote showed 95 delegates for, 12 opposed.

The delegates considered a total break with the AFL-CIO as suicidal. They felt that the AFL-CIO's enormous resources would allow it a free hand to move in and take over the relatively weak CLC locals.

A resolution to reform campaign spending in favor of public financing of campaigns received the most discussion of any point on the agenda.

Three delegates spoke for the resolution and five against it. Those who opposed the resolution said it would strip labor of its "political clout" by denying it the right to make financial contributions to political campaigns.

The resolution passed 59-50 and was then amended unanimously to make it more general.

The CLC's fight against Meany's dictatorial rule over the AFL-CIO does not, however, represent any break with support to capitalist politics. The delegates were opposed to Meany's "treachery" in the 1972 elections from a solidly pro-Democratic Party stance.

The delegates passed several resolutions in support of Colorado labor struggles, including the Steelworkers, who are negotiating with Dow Chemical, and Local 154 of the Rubber Workers, currently on strike against Gates Rubber Co.

The convention unanimously passed a resolution supporting the United Farm Workers Union after hearing a report from Richard Longoia, state coordinator of the UFW support committee.

The resolution called on all unions to support the boycott of table grapes and iceberg lettuce. At the same time, it proposed a call on the AFL-CIO convention to "treble and quadruple the efforts of all international unions" to make the boycott effective.

Thirteen Blacks killed in seven months

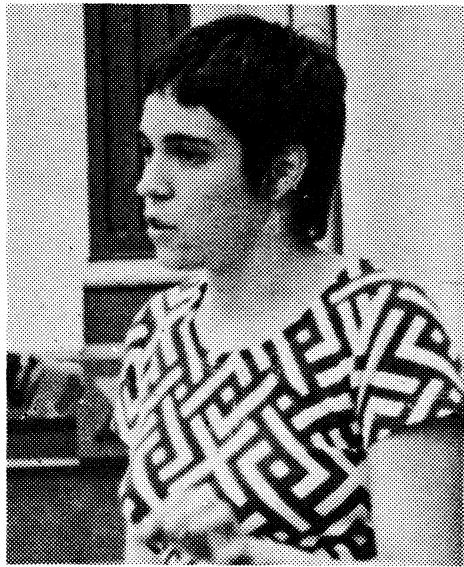
Atlanta socialists hit reign of cop terror

By TERRY LUNN

ATLANTA—During the past seven months white cops have killed 13 innocent Black men here. Hundreds of people are demanding that these killers be brought to justice, yet not a single cop has been brought to trial or even suspended from the force.

Debby Bustin and Joel Aber, Socialist Workers Party candidates for mayor and city council president, recently joined a picket line of more than 100 angry Atlantans, mostly Black, outside police headquarters.

The action occurred during a meeting of the Aldermanic Police Committee, a do-nothing body that is supposed to act on citizen's complaints against the police. The demonstration protested cops who had kicked a 15-year-old Black woman and sent her to the hospital with internal bleeding.



BUSTIN: Scored Maynard Jackson and other Democratic candidates for refusing to oppose police brutality against Blacks.

Not one of Bustin's 10 opponents or Aber's five opponents in the city elections came to the picket line.

On Sept. 15 a panel of prominent Black citizens, sponsored by the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ, concluded two days of hearings about police brutality by inviting the mayoral candidates to present their solutions.

Two of the four leading Democratic candidates, incumbent Sam Massell and former Congressman Charles

Weltner, did not even show up despite promises to attend the hearings. Vice-Mayor Maynard Jackson and State Senator Leroy Johnson, the other leading contenders, both of whom are Black, did testify.

The panelists questioned the candidates closely. When asked how the police could be trained in better human relations, Bustin said that sensitivity sessions and psychological testing proposed by the other candidates were meaningless gimmicks.

Bustin asserted that minor reforms of the present police structure would not solve the problem. Instead, she called for replacement of the present police force in the Black community with police units elected and democratically controlled by the community.

Short of such a step, she said, "The only training we can give the police, as long as we have the present police apparatus, is 'training' by the community—the training instilled by large numbers of people demonstrating and protesting, teaching the police the lesson that repression and brutality will not be tolerated."

Leroy Johnson told the panel the solution is more police. Maynard Jackson said he plans to beef up the size of the Stakeout Squad and the Downtown Foot Patrol, two new police units that are responsible for most of the 13 killings.

The solutions proposed by Jackson and Johnson were no surprise. While the socialist candidates have been putting up posters demanding, "End Racist Police Terror," all the Democratic candidates are calling for more cops.

Massell boasts that his administration has enlarged the police force by 50 percent and hired as police chief "a tough, honest cop like John Inman." Jackson, Weltner, and Johnson reply that Massell hasn't increased the number of police fast enough. All four plan to retain Chief Inman.

Since his appointment last year, Inman has come to symbolize racism and police brutality in the Black community. When Atlanta was awarded \$20-million in federal law enforcement funds, Inman used the money to set up the Stakeout Squad, an entrapment unit; the Downtown Foot Patrol, which

virtually occupies the central Black shopping area, aided by helicopters and closed-circuit TV; and SWAT (Special Weapons and Tactical Unit), an elite "riot" squad.

All four leading Democratic mayoral candidates are running law-and-order campaigns calling for further police occupation of the Black community. Billboards boast, "Leroy Johnson will be tough on crime," and "Weltner will make war on the criminal element," while Maynard Jackson says that cops should be "tough, yet humane."

The socialist candidates have a different view. In a recent debate among the candidates before the Black Women's Coalition, Aber got an enthusiastic response when he took on the reign of terror by Inman's goons.

"Debby Bustin and I are unequivocal," Aber said. "Unlike our opponents, we'd fire Inman! But that wouldn't fundamentally change things. We'd go much further. We'd abolish the Stakeout Squad and the Downtown Foot Patrol, the terror units which are committing murder in the Black community."

"Maynard Jackson's campaign leaflets say the cops should be 'tough, yet humane.' What does that mean:

'Kill 'em, then kiss 'em'?" Aber asked.

"Police who are trained to shoot first and ask questions later can never be humane. Police whose duty is to protect private property instead of human rights can never be humane. They will always be racists and killers unless people mobilize to stop them."

Speaking again on the question of police brutality, Bustin and Aber were warmly received when they addressed 400 first-year students at Spelman, a Black women's college at a dinner meeting of the major candidates.

Bustin told the women: "It is the candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties who are always scurrying around and telling people not to demonstrate because it might hurt their chances to get elected."

"When I was demonstrating with the people of the Capitol Homes community to protest the police shooting of 14-year-old Pamela Dixon, it was a Jackson campaigner who came to try to convince us to stop demonstrating over the shooting."

"But people didn't stop demonstrating and Maynard Jackson, Leroy Johnson, Charles Weltner, and Sam Massell couldn't hide from those protests down at the court house."



Militant/Sarah Ryan

Demonstrators hit police brutality after cops shot 14-year-old Pamela Dixon. Response of Democratic mayoral candidates is to call for more cops.

Ohio newspaper strike in eleventh week

PAINESVILLE, Ohio—"The strike at the *Painesville Telegraph* has exposed shocking facts about the wages and working conditions of unorganized workers just 30 miles from Cleveland,"



Militant/Howard Petrick

SCHERR: Cleveland SWP mayoral candidate supports Painesville strikers.

said Roberta Scherr in a recent statement to the news media. As the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, Scherr called for full support to the Painesville strikers.

Members of Cleveland Typographical Union No. 53 have been picketing the *Telegraph*, a medium-sized daily newspaper, since July 6 over the refusal of publisher Don Rowley to pay his employees a living wage. The union has involved workers from all departments—composing room, layout, editorial, and circulation—in the struggle.

"At the *Telegraph*," Scherr pointed out, "one composing room employee makes \$140 a week after 25 years and another \$106 after 22 years. A 40-year veteran reporter earns \$130 a week and another makes \$94."

"Top pay in the circulation department is \$135, and most of the employees earn \$80 per week. Starting rate without a college degree is the federal minimum of \$1.60 an hour. All these figures are before taxes and other deductions."

The strike has won considerable support

from the labor movement and from readers of the *Telegraph*. In addition to picketing, the strikers have organized "cancel the *Telegraph*" teams that go door-to-door urging people to end their subscriptions to the newspaper.

According to Barb Schechter, one of the organizers of the cancellation drive, 50 to 100 people drop their subscriptions each day. This is on top of the more than 10,000 *Telegraph* readers who cancelled their subscriptions on the basis of earlier appeals from the strikers.

The only other local newspaper in competition with the *Telegraph*, the *Willoughby News Herald*, has an agreement with Rowley not to print any information about the strike. *News Herald* reporters are warned not to go near the *Telegraph* strikers.

Rowley has also relied on the police to intimidate strikers. In late August, the cops presented 10 strikers with contempt of court citations based on phony management charges of "harassment" and "abuse."

The union has answered these

charges by pointing out how the police have systematically sided with the newspaper owners. For example, John Funk, a striking reporter, was hit by a scab's car, which then fled the scene. More than 12 witnesses observed the hit-and-run incident, but the cops accepted the management's statement that Funk "jumped onto the car."

Other physical assaults and threats from scabs have been similarly ignored by the cops. This has changed the attitude of the strikers, many of whom thought at the outset that "the police are on our side." It is now becoming clear that the cops are not there to protect the strikers, but to defend Rowley's property and guarantee "business as usual."

At the beginning of the strike, many of the workers hoped that a "quick blow" against the newspaper would be enough to win their demands. The strikers now realize that, given the balance of forces, no single blow can substitute for consistent hard work. Having developed considerable self-reliance and organization, they are determined to win.

Feliciano found guilty on bomb possession charge, will appeal

By HELEN SCHIFF

NEW YORK—Cries of "Free Carlos Feliciano!" and "Que Viva Puerto Rico!" greeted the not-guilty verdict for the charge of placing a bomb at a General Electric building in the frame-up case of Carlos Feliciano.

But the crowd, supporters of Feliciano who had packed the courtroom for seven days, was stunned into silence by the jury's verdict of guilty to charges of possession of explosive materials, bombs, and a pistol.

The verdict came at two a.m. Sept. 19, after more than 12 hours of deliberation.

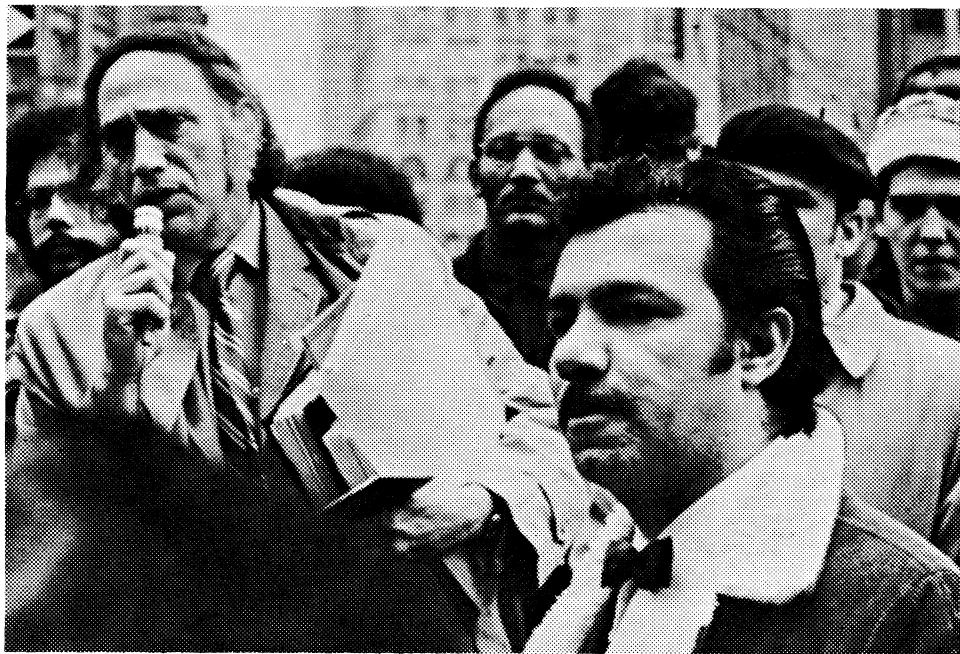
This was not the first attempted frame-up of the Puerto Rican nationalist. He faced basically the same charges in the Bronx and was acquitted in 1972. Both the present case and the one in the Bronx stem from the arrest of Feliciano on May 16, 1970, when a pipe bomb was allegedly found concealed in a loaf of bread in the trunk of his car.

Immediately after the arrest, Manhattan Assistant District Attorney John Fine claimed that Feliciano was a member of a foreign terrorist organization responsible for some forty bombings in New York City.

This statement exposed the government's real purpose in prosecuting Feliciano—to discredit the Puerto Rican independence movement by linking it with terrorism. Feliciano has been a member of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party since 1947.

In July of this year, attorney William Kunstler revealed startling new facts that further proved the prosecution's case was fabricated for political reasons.

The district attorney admitted in a pretrial hearing that the decision to put Feliciano and other Puerto Rican nationalists under surveillance was made by the New York City "Red Squad" (Bureau of Special Services and Investigation) after consulting with the FBI, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico police, and the President's Special Security Service.



Attorney William Kunstler (with microphone), and Carlos Feliciano (right), address supporters after a 1972 court hearing.

Another blow to the Manhattan case was the suspension from the police force of one of the prosecution's main witnesses for taking a \$15,000 bribe.

The only witnesses brought to the stand by the prosecution were New York City cops. The testimony of Sergeant Dunn under cross examination from Kunstler revealed the shaky grounds on which the Manhattan case is based.

According to Dunn, Feliciano was placed under surveillance in March 1970 because his fingerprint was found on a newspaper wrapped around an unexploded bomb in the General Electric building on Feb. 9, 1970.

What remained unexplained was the lapse of five weeks from the time the bomb was found until the fingerprint was identified as Feliciano's. (Fingerprints can be identified in as little as one day.)

It was not until May 16, 1970, that Feliciano was finally arrested.

Dunn testified that Feliciano was not questioned about the Feb. 9 bombing when he was arrested, nor was he in-

formed that his fingerprint has been found on a newspaper wrapped around a bomb.

Another of "New York's finest" testified that he had obtained a search warrant for Feliciano's apartment on false grounds. He was the only person present when bomb materials were allegedly found there. No fingerprints were ever found on any of these materials.

Further testimony revealed that this same cop had testified in an attempted frame-up of Black Panther Party members.

The judge for the case, Arnold Fraiman, would not allow defense attorney Kunstler to call witnesses who could help prove the government's conspiracy. It was unnecessary, he said, because they had already testified in the Bronx case. Nor would he allow Feliciano's former attorney to be called.

Feliciano is now out on bail and the defense committee has announced it will appeal his case. A demonstration has been called by the committee for Oct. 12, the day he is due to be sentenced.

Cambridge tenants hit new rent increase proposal

By DIANA TRAVIS

BOSTON—About 65 Cambridge, Mass., citizens attended a Sept. 5 public hearing called by the rent control board. The board is considering granting a general adjustment to maximum rents as a result of a small increase in the city's tax rate.

Tenants, small owners, and about five big landlords were present. The first hour was given to proponents of the rent increases, namely the landlords.

Carl Barron, president of the Cambridge Property Owners and a wealthy landlord, was the first to speak. He claimed that unless the rent increases were allowed, the landlords would not make a fair profit and the value of property in Cambridge would decline.

Alden Gifford, another big landlord, claimed he was providing a service for those who did not want to own their own houses. So, he argued, landlords should be allowed to raise rents so that they can keep up the property.

Opponents of the rent increase spoke for the second hour. Jane Strader, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Cambridge city council, presented a statement in behalf of all the SWP candidates in Cambridge. The statement called for no rent increases and no taxes on property valued at less than \$30,000.

Strader said funds for the school system and low-income tenant-controlled housing should come from the rich tax-free corporations that own more than half the land in Cambridge. She also demanded that the \$81-billion military budget be eliminated and those funds turned over to programs that meet the needs of working people.

In addition, she called for rents to be no more than 10 percent of a person's income and for opening the financial records of big landlords and banks so people can see exactly the kind of profits they are making.

Joe Cirincione of the Cambridge Tenants Organizing Committee (CTOC) pointed out that landlord Alden Gifford's apartments violated numerous health code provisions. Furthermore, he said, Gifford had charged illegal rents and lied to the rent control board about some of his 1967 rent levels, which rent control in Cambridge is based on.

In an interview with *The Militant*, Dan Hodges of the CTOC said that the tenants' group opposed any rent increases. He said that rents had increased by 89 percent from 1960-70, while operating expenses for the landlords had only increased by 30 percent. "CTOC believes," he said, "that there should be no landlords and that housing should not be looked on as a commodity."

CTOC was instrumental in the long and hard fight by Cambridge tenants that finally resulted in the present rent control board. Hodges pointed out, however, that the board is not under tenant control and as such is not meeting the needs of tenants.

The rent control board is scheduled to hold public hearings on further rent increases in October. "This is where the real battle is going to take place," Hodges said. The landlords will be coming out in full force seeking rent increases of 10 percent or more.

Kolis fights frame-up perjury charge

By MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

SAN DIEGO—Salm Kolis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council, is fighting a frame-up charge alleging that she gave a false residence address when she filed for office.

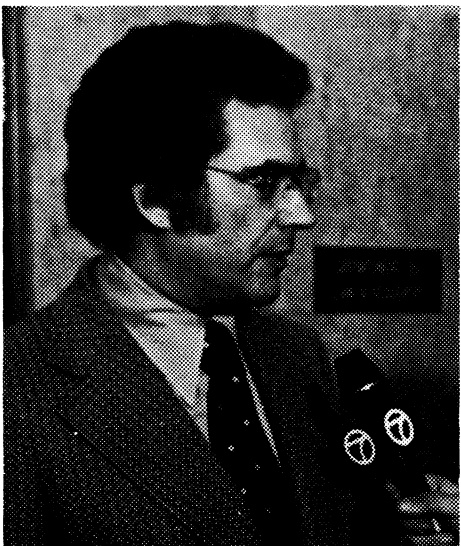
In a campaign speech Sept. 12, she released some new evidence on the hypocrisy of the district attorney's case. "The DA would not be trying so desperately to find something wrong with my residency if I were a Democrat or Republican," she stated.

"In 1966, when the current mayor of San Diego, Pete Wilson, ran for the 76th Assembly district, he lived outside the district so he registered at an apartment inside the district. A private investigator interviewed the residents of the apartment building and could find no one who recognized Wilson's name or picture.

"The neighbors indicated that three other families had lived there during the time when Wilson claimed to reside there. These and other details in the investigator's report were not turned over to the DA for prosecution—in fact they are still, seven years later,

locked up in the safe of the Republican Central Committee."

The local NBC-TV affiliate ran Kolis's statement on Wilson and on the national Socialist Workers Party suit against the government as the



Militant/Harry Ring

Los Angeles attorney David Aberson will represent Salm Kolis at preliminary hearing.

lead story that night and featured it again the following day.

At a news conference on election day, Sept. 18, Kolis told the press, "The city government may think that this interest in my case and concern about such obvious political harassment will subside after today's election and that they will be able to railroad me at this Friday's preliminary hearing and my future trial.

"But Watergate showed masses of people that those in power don't pull fraud and criminal acts out of their bag of tricks just at election time. They use them against political opponents 365 days of the year. I plan to use my defense against this phony charge to tell everyone I can reach who the real criminals are in this society."

The preliminary hearing Sept. 21, at which Kolis will be represented by Los Angeles attorney David Aberson, will be open to the press and public. It will be followed by a news conference in the San Diego county courthouse.

New steps to overturn NY school elections

NEW YORK — In the midst of a growing controversy over last May's community school board elections, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) filed suit Sept. 18 challenging the legality of the District 1 school board.

Charging racial discrimination in the election, the suit seeks to overturn the May 1 results and calls for a new election in the district.

The suit also seeks a preliminary injunction prohibiting the present board from moving the district office, firing key personnel, or cutting back vital programs.

Attorneys filed the suit in federal district court on behalf of the Coalition for Education in District 1, candidates on the Coalition's slate, and many Puerto Ricans, Blacks, and Chinese who were denied their right to vote.

The Shanker leadership of the United Federation of Teachers poured tens of thousands of dollars into a racist scare-campaign to defeat the Coalition's candidates, who favored

Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese control of District 1 schools. More than 90 percent of District 1 parents are Puerto Rican, Black, or Chinese.

Registration and ballot materials for the May 1 election were made available in Spanish and Chinese only after a successful lawsuit by CoDEL. The board of elections then changed the polling places of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese voters without notifying them.

Voting booths were located in middle-income, white housing projects, but not in the more populous low-income projects.

The election itself was marked by widespread harassment and racist treatment of nonwhite voters by white election inspectors. These inspectors are chosen by the New York county chairmen of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Election illegalities are also coming to light in other New York school districts as well. The May 1 election in Brooklyn's predominantly Black District 17 was overturned by a state court last week because of forged voter

signatures.

Parents in Harlem who are challenging the widespread election fraud in District 5 recently won a favorable ruling against a motion to dismiss their case. They are challenging the election, in part, on the basis of irregularities in the count. The person who was in charge of the counting is a witness on their behalf.

Ewald Nyquist, the New York commissioner of education, has reacted to the numerous complaints about the school board elections by calling a public hearing for Oct. 9. CoDEL will testify at the hearing.

The NAACP-CoDEL suit also charges that the selection of election inspectors by the Democratic and Republican parties tends to discriminate against voters of oppressed minorities in all elections.

"To my knowledge," stated CoDEL National Secretary Judy Baumann, "this is the first suit to overturn an election in a Northern state on the grounds of racial discrimination. It is also the first to involve Puerto Rican or Chinese voters."

Funds are urgently needed for the legal expenses of filing the suit. Contributions can be sent to CoDEL, 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011.

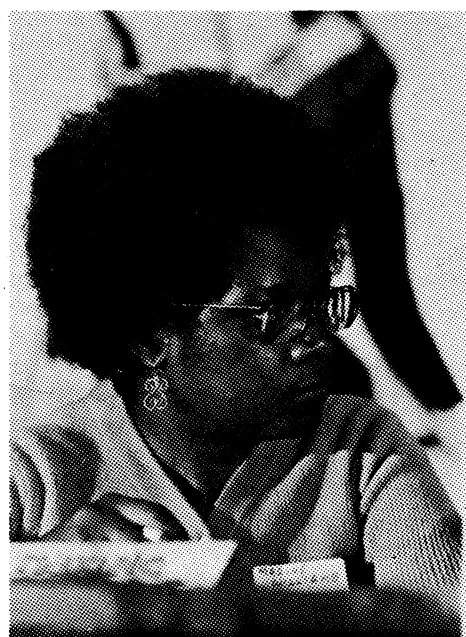


Militant/Michael Baumann

District 1 activist expresses widespread view of school board elections.

NY socialists oppose racist school picket

BROOKLYN—Ten Black children from the Tilden Houses project in the Brownsville section of Brooklyn had to cross a picket line of jeering white parents earlier this month in order to enter school. The school, PS251 in Dis-



Militant/Mark Satinoff

WILLIAMS: 'The issue is the right of the Tilden Houses children to a quality education.'

trict 22, is located in the Flatlands section of Brooklyn.

The previous day, a group of white parents had closed the school, locking themselves inside early in the morning. Although the parents left when the NAACP obtained a court order to have them removed, they set up a picket line and announced their intention to boycott the school until the Black children left.

Their action, they said, was prompted by fear that the school would become "over integrated." The presence of 10 more Black children, they claimed, would "tip the school's racial balance."

As the children crossed the picket line, the white parents chanted, "Integrate another school!" They held signs bearing such slogans as "Canarsie won, so can we," and "Our school is not a bus depot."

The controversy at PS251 is another chapter in the Tilden Houses parents' fight for quality education for their children.

For more than 10 years, children from this housing project have been bused to schools in District 18, in the Canarsie section of Brooklyn, because

of overcrowding in the Brownsville schools.

Last year, white parents in District 18 launched a racist boycott of the schools to halt the busing of Tilden Houses students.

Parents from Tilden Houses, led by Reverend Wilbur Miller, responded to the boycott with legal action and counterpickets outside the schools. They also called several demonstrations at the office of the board of education. The board, however, sided with the white parents and barred the Tilden Houses students from attending Canarsie schools.

This fall, two days before the opening of school, the board of education assigned the Tilden Houses children to other areas, Districts 20, 21, and 22.

Racist forces in the Flatlands community (District 22) then launched the same sort of campaign the Canarsie parents had organized. This action points to the need for a stronger counter-campaign by the Tilden parents and all who support them.

Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, and Maxine Williams, SWP candidate for Brooklyn borough presi-

dent, attacked the racist actions of the board of education and the Flatlands residents, and expressed their support for the Black children and parents of Tilden Houses.

In a Sept. 13 statement, the socialist candidates said:

"We condemn the racist boycott of PS251 undertaken by members of the school PTA and supported by the Jewish Defense League and Italian-American Civil Rights League.

"The issue here is not tipping the so-called racial balance of the school, but the right of the Tilden Houses children to a quality education. The schools in Brownsville, where the Tilden Houses are located, are overcrowded and in grave disrepair.

"This callous action by the board of education makes it clear once again that the only integration plan acceptable in District 22 or any other school district in New York City is to recognize the right of the Black community alone to decide where Black children will attend school.

"Rather than boo the Tilden Houses students and boycott PS251, the white parents should join those of Tilden Houses to demand quality education for all New York schoolchildren."

Detroit teachers preparing for long strike

By MIKE KELLY

DETROIT—Michigan's third week of school finds the Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT) and 22 other teachers unions in Michigan still in the streets. More than half of the 20,000 teachers on strike belong to the DFT. In the past weeks, some 12 strikes of other teachers were settled.

Detroit teachers are preparing for a long strike. The board of education has refused to move significantly on any of the issues in the strike.

Teachers are demanding a 9.7 percent pay raise to make up for rising prices, future protection against inflation in the form of a cost-of-living clause, and smaller class size. Last year, the DFT voluntarily gave up a pay increase because of a school financing crisis.

Detroit's board is refusing to negotiate these issues unless the DFT

capitulates and accepts an "accountability" (merit pay) scheme. The board wants the authority to decide which teachers will get pay increases and when they will get them.

To date, the board's attempts to stimulate a back-to-work movement have failed. Their efforts to set the Black community against the union have met the same fate. Few teachers have crossed the picket lines.

The board's strategy now seems to be an effort to wear the teachers down. DFT members receive no strike benefits, and only 1,000 have qualified for food stamps.

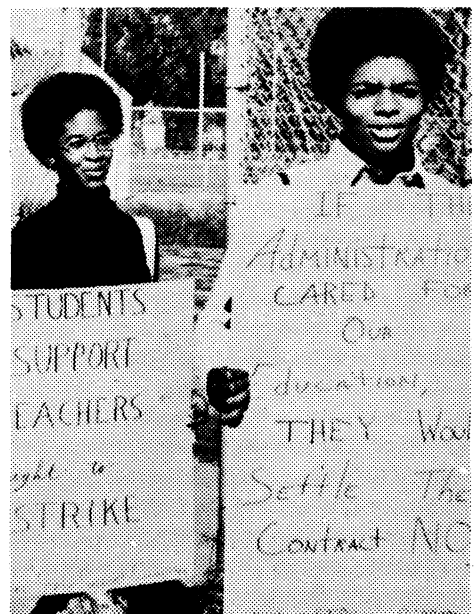
In other strike action, the Wayne County Community College Federation of Teachers, Local 2000 of the American Federation of Teachers, settled its two-week-old strike. In a one-year contract, the union won a 6.3 percent across-the-board wage boost for full- and part-time teachers; a cost-

of-living clause with a \$65 ceiling, applicable to all teachers; and an improved package of medical, dental, and optical benefits.

The teachers had been demanding a 12 percent pay increase. The board of trustees initially offered 3.5 percent with no cost-of-living clause, and broke off negotiations when the teachers refused to accept it. Apparently, the board felt the union wouldn't strike, since it had never done so before.

Trustees were shocked when the picket lines went up. The strike was solid, and no teachers crossed the picket lines. Nonteaching personnel—members of other unions—honored the picket, and the union aggressively sought and won student support.

Although many in the union thought the overall package lagged behind rising prices, they felt the strike was a successful first effort by the union.



Militant/Linda Nordquist

Students at Mumford High School picket in support of striking Detroit teachers.

Fifth of a series

By TONY THOMAS

The right-wing military coup in Chile is the latest setback to the world revolution. Once again the treacherous policy of the "people's front" paved the way.

Allende's Popular Unity regime proclaimed that it was leading the way to socialism, but in practice it sought to keep the struggles of the working class and peasants within bounds ac-

ceptable to the Chilean ruling class and the army.

that in order to struggle against the fascists it was first necessary to defeat the "social-fascists." Ernst Thaelmann, head of the KPD, wrote, "We Communists, who reject any accord with the SPD leaders . . . repeatedly declare that we are at all times ready for the antifascist struggle with the militant Social Democratic and Reichsbanner comrades and with the lower militant organizations." However, Thaelmann explained, "an alliance between the KPD and the SPD is impossible . . . for reasons of principle."

International. He simply asserts that the Comintern called "for a united front of all working-class organizations against fascism, on the basis of which would be built an even broader popular front which was in contradiction to the fascists, including even the temporary and wavering allies to be found in the camp of the bourgeois-democratic capitalist governments."

In reality, the conservatized Stalin bureaucracy in the Soviet Union decided to fight fascism, not in a revolutionary fashion, but through a

working class took place that could have led to successful socialist revolutions. In both cases the workers' movement was diverted and eventually defeated because of the Comintern's popular-front policy.

In February 1936 a popular-front government, including capitalist, Social-Democratic, and Stalinist politicians, was elected in Spain. In July, Francisco Franco launched a profascist military uprising, which initiated a civil war.

The immediate response of the Spanish workers, peasants, and soldiers was a revolutionary struggle against the capitalists. Workers seized factories, peasants seized the land, soldiers and sailors mutinied against pro-Franco officers. If these actions had continued they could have rallied the overwhelming masses of the Spanish people, including those in territory held by the fascists, into the struggle against Franco. Their logical culmination would have been a socialist revolution.

But in the name of maintaining an alliance with the "democratic" capitalist forces, the popular-front government repressed these struggles.

Workers militias and rebellious soldiers and sailors were put back under the control of "regular" officers, many of whom betrayed the struggle and went over to Franco. The popular front handed seized factories and land back to the capitalists and landlords. While Franco's main base was the Spanish colony of Morocco, the popular front refused to call for independence for that nation—a step that could have rallied the Moroccan people in the struggle against Franco.

Although the Stalinists claimed that these policies would preserve the "unity of the antifascist forces," in reality they weakened the struggle in two ways.

First, the capitalist politicians and officers always proved to be more opposed to the workers than to Franco. One after another they sabotaged the Republican side in the civil war or openly deserted to Franco.

Second, the Spanish masses were demoralized by the refusal of the Republicans to offer any improvement in social conditions, by the suppression of their struggles, and by the murder of thousands of worker militants by the popular-front government and Comintern agents.

This betrayal of the Spanish revolution, even more than the military power of Franco, ensured the victory of the fascists. This is what Davidson is trying to foist onto revolutionary-minded militants in this country.

'No criticism'

Attacks on the standard of living of the working class and the growth of a fascist movement led to turmoil in France at the same time. General strikes, factory occupations, and the formation of workers councils marked French politics in the mid-1930s.

In 1936 a popular-front govern-

Continued on page 22

The Guardian & Trotskyism

Lessons of 'popular front' defeats in Spain, France



German Communist Party's refusal to engage in united action with Socialist Party aided Hitler's rise to power. Photo shows result of this policy: Nazis marching to raid CP headquarters. 'Die Rote Fahne' (sign on building) was CP daily newspaper.

strategy of military and diplomatic deals with the "democratic" imperialists of Western Europe and the U.S. against Nazi Germany.

To gain such deals, the Stalinists turned the Communist parties into pressure groups for the formation of governments involving the "liberal" exploiters. They used their influence in the working class to limit its struggles to what these "progressives" would accept.

Popular-front governments were one of the main devices for accomplishing these aims. Popular fronts included capitalist politicians as well as Social Democrats and Stalinists. In some cases, the Stalinists supported governments that included *only* capitalist parties, such as in the U.S., where they supported Franklin Roosevelt.

With the turn toward popular frontism, the Stalinists also began to adopt theories about the peaceful transition to socialism through such "people's governments," dropping the Marxist-Leninist position that a working-class revolution is required to reach socialism. The theory of popular frontism remains a key strategy for both pro-Moscow Stalinists and pro-Peking Stalinists like Davidson.

Conspicuously absent from Davidson's article is any assessment of the historical record of popular frontism. Did it lead to successes or did it lead to failures? The reason this Stalinist-hack-in-training omits the historical balance sheet is simple: in every country where it has been applied, from Spain in the 1930s to Chile in the 1970s, popular frontism has led only to defeat and disaster for the working class.

In both France and Spain in the 1930s, large-scale upsurges of the

This was called the "united front from below"—SPD workers were invited to join the KPD or its front groups, but united action with the SPD leaders and organizations was forbidden. The KPD even thought that Hitler's coming to power would quickly set the stage for a revolution led by themselves. "After Hitler, us!" they declared.

As Trotsky warned, this sectarianism led the KPD to disaster. Hitler was able to come to power virtually without a struggle, even though the KPD and SPD were both mass parties that could have led millions of workers in a fight against the fascists. It was only *after* the Nazi victory, when faced with the danger of attack on the Soviet Union by Germany, that the Comintern reversed its line completely and came up with the popular-front policy.

Stalin

Davidson's *Guardian* article maintains that *both* popular frontism and the "social-fascism" line were correct and blames the defeat in Germany on errors of the KPD leaders. He fails to explain why the theory of "social-fascism" was dropped by the Comintern in 1933 and never revived. But then, Davidson never worries about either historical facts or consistency. All that matters is to claim that Stalin never made a mistake!

As in his other attempts to provide a "theoretical" justification for Stalinist policies, Davidson shrilly denounces the Trotskyists. The Trotskyists, he writes, "objectively served the interests of the fascists," and "worked against the defense of the Soviet Union" during World War II.

As usual, Davidson falsifies or at best gives a distorted picture of the positions taken both by the Trotskyists and by the Stalinized Communist

'Social-fascism' in Germany

Popular frontism was not the Stalinists' initial response to the threat of fascism. After the defeat of the Chinese revolution in 1927, the Comintern took a sharp turn to the left. During this period they pursued ultra-left and sectarian policies, including splitting from the existing trade unions to form "red" unions.

On the basis of this ultra-left line, the German Communist Party (KPD) minimized the danger of Hitler's Nazis and refused to build a united-front defense against fascism with the reformist Socialist Party (SPD). After all, Stalin had proclaimed the theory that "the Social Democrats and fascism are not antipodes but twins."

Thus the SPD was dubbed "social-fascist" and the KPD press insisted



Spanish agricultural workers on their way to join antifascist fight in 1936. In Spain, CP backed Popular Front government and subordinated workers' struggles to the 'progressive' capitalists.

Help sell the W'gate book

At the recent Socialist Workers Party convention a workshop was held to discuss distribution and promotion of Pathfinder literature this fall. One of the decisions made was to put special emphasis on sales of the new Pathfinder book *Watergate: The View from the Left* (\$5, paperback \$1.25).

The book is based on *The Militant's* excellent coverage of the Watergate scandal and is one of the first serious studies of Watergate to appear in book form.

Results of this special sales effort have already been very good. Weeks before the book was printed, orders for it had come in from more than 125 bookstores and wholesale distributors in 23 states. All these orders resulted from the efforts of Pathfinder supporters. In Portland, Ore., for example, John Lemmon visited several bookstores that had

News from Pathfinder

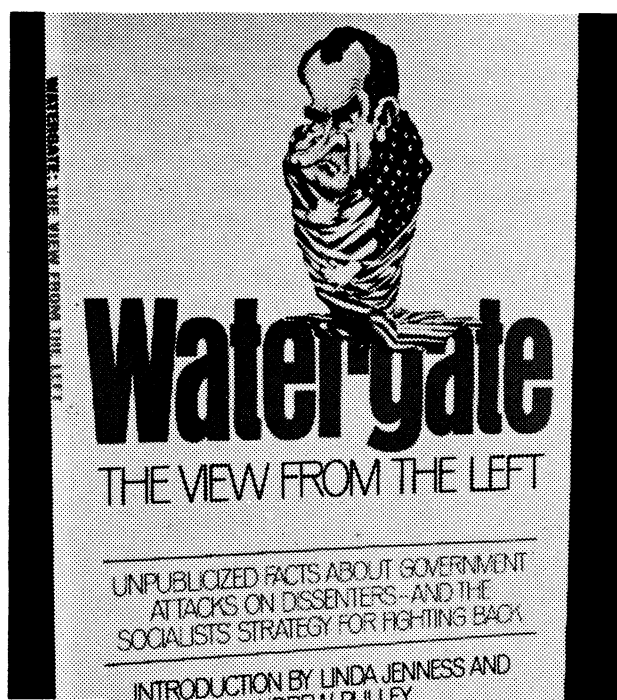
not previously carried Pathfinder books. Four of them ordered small quantities.

In addition to persuading major bookstores, libraries, and professors to order the book, Socialist Workers Party branches in several of the larger cities have set ambitious sales goals. They plan to experiment with new ways of advertising and selling the book at college campuses, high schools, and meetings. Boston is setting the pace with a goal of 150 copies. Chicago has taken a quota of 100 copies, and Houston has ordered 75.

To help publicize the book, Pathfinder has printed an 11 by 17 inch poster. It features the book's cover, with a space at the bottom where bookstores can stamp their name, address, and hours.

Watergate: The View from the Left documents government political repression against dissenters. Here are a few examples:

- Right-wing Cuban exiles (*gusanos*), organized and financed by the CIA, have staged terrorist raids on dissenters within the United States.
- Growing evidence points to police complicity in the assassination of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X.
- In case after case, the chief advocates and



organizers of violence in the protest movements have turned out to be paid government agents.

These are Watergate revelations glossed over by bourgeois publishers, newspapers, and magazines. The articles in this book expose the pattern of Watergate-style secret-police operations used by Republican and Democratic administrations alike to disrupt demonstrations and to jail and physically attack dissenters. They give a socialist analysis of whose interests these attacks serve and propose a way to fight back.

Watergate: The View from the Left presents a report on the campaign launched by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance to expose these attacks and mobilize public pressure to defend the rights of dissenters. It also includes a report on the unprecedented legal battle they are waging.

If you would like to help in the effort to circulate this book to thousands of people, contact the bookstore in your area listed in *The Militant Socialist Directory*, or write directly to Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

—PEGGY BRUNDY

DA: 'All coloreds look alike'

The case of J.B. Johnson

By NORTON SANDLER

ST. LOUIS—J.B. Johnson is a 23-year-old Black man serving a "natural life" sentence in the Missouri state prison in Jefferson City. He is in on a frame-up conviction for the murder of a white cop, James Boevengloh, during a jewelry store holdup Jan. 23, 1970, in University City, Mo.

An all-white jury drawn from older residents of the overwhelmingly white network of suburban communities that surrounds St. Louis convicted Johnson on purely circumstantial evidence. No one has identified Johnson as having been in or near the jewelry store where Boevengloh was shot.

In fact, Robert Lee Walker, who was apprehended at the store, has recently signed an affidavit that names another man who is now dead, not Johnson, as being with him at the time of the robbery. A third man was killed by cops during the holdup.

Johnson's case has been widely publicized by

phony drug charges. After one arrest the police beat him so severely that he couldn't stand up.

The trial began Sept. 11, 1972, in an atmosphere carefully cultivated to sustain the racist law and order demagoguery surrounding the case.

After failing to get Johnson to "cop a plea" in exchange for a 10-year sentence, the prosecution "eliminated the three Black people that came up for the panel, they eliminated anybody that tended to tell the truth," explained Lorena Tinker.

"The final jury panel had 13 people out of 33 that had relatives or friends who were policemen. They had a foreman who was a former deputy sheriff," she said.

I asked about the role that Judge Herbert Lasky from the wealthy, white suburb of Clayton had played during the proceedings. "He was very prejudiced in favor of the prosecution," she answered. "For instance, the widow of the slain white police-



St. Louis frame-up of J.B. Johnson (left) is being exposed as a result of work by defense committee in his behalf. At right are leaders of defense effort—Mary Watkins (left), Johnson's mother; Lorena Tinker; and Jesse Todd—during interview with *The Militant*.

the major newspapers. St. Louis County's "on the make" prosecutor, Gene McNary, has ruthlessly used Johnson's life as capital to boost his political stock in law and order circles.

Johnson's case is being appealed to the Missouri Supreme Court and will be handled by civil liberties lawyer William Kunstler. Kunstler agreed to join the defense team last spring because of his belief that "thousands of J. B. Johnson's" have been jailed in this country.

Work on publicizing the frame-up has been handled by the J.B. Johnson Defense Committee. The committee has been spearheaded by Johnson's mother, Mary Watkins, who has worked for the past three and a half years to win her son's freedom. The committee's activities have made the case well known to St. Louis's Black community and civil libertarians.

I recently spoke with Watkins and two other committee members, Lorena Jeanne Tinker and Jesse Todd, after one of their regularly scheduled meetings.

They explained that Boevengloh had been the second cop killed in "U" City in a five-week period, and that newspapers and politicians had whipped the residents of this suburban area into a "law and order frenzy."

Moments after Boevengloh was shot the cops launched a dragnet for a young Black male. J.B. Johnson, who happened to be the first young Black they found, was dragged from a taxi at gunpoint, searched several times, jailed, and questioned relentlessly by McNary and his chief assistant, Noel Robyn.

Several hours later the cops claimed they discovered two stolen rings in the shoes Johnson had been wearing in the prison cell.

Watkins described what ensued: "I went out to see what was happening later that night with J.B., and they said they were holding him as a suspect. I was really upset to know this. The bondsman told me J.B. could not get out on bond, that they wouldn't give him a bond. J.B. was there nine months before he could get a bond."

The bond was eventually obtained by petitioning the Missouri Supreme Court, which first set it at \$50,000 but later reduced the figure to \$25,000.

Johnson's time out of jail, however, was just another episode in the continuing nightmare. The cops arrested him five different times—twice on

man was encouraged by the prosecutors to sit in the court right in the front row most of the time. She would cry openly. When the defense tried to get her eliminated, the Judge refused to put her out," Tinker said with disgust.

During the trial, jewelry store owner Adam Bakos tried to brush aside his inability to identify Johnson with the racist quip, "All coloreds look alike to me anyway."

Prosecutor Robyn in summation stated, "Let's face it, to many of us they do look alike." On both occasions Lasky arrogantly shrugged off defense objections.

Lasky later promised the defense committee that Johnson would be allowed to remain in the county jail pending appeal. This past spring the defense committee organized weekly demonstrations outside the jail to protest the role of all-white juries.

"McNary said if we didn't stop the demonstrations they would take J.B. to Jefferson City. We wouldn't stop and found out it was true; they did take him to Jeff City," said Watkins.

The committee is demanding that Johnson be granted a new trial on the basis of the two new affidavits that have been obtained. In addition to the statement signed by Robert Lee Walker, there is another from a friend of Johnson's who corroborates his statement that he was shooting craps with friends at the time of the shooting.

The committee is circulating petitions requesting

Contributions to help defer legal expenses should be sent to the J.B. Johnson Defense Committee, 622 N. Euclid, St. Louis, Mo. 63108.

Governor Christopher Bond to intervene on behalf of Johnson's efforts for a new trial. Todd explained that they are doing this "because of the fact he was tried by an all-white jury and on the basis of no evidence."

J.B. Johnson now spends his days in what his mother describes as "virtual slavery" in the furniture factory at the Jefferson City state prison. He has been paid a total of \$5 for his work the past two months.

Letters demanding a new trial for Johnson should be sent to Judge Herbert Lasky at 7900 Forsyth, Clayton, Mo. 63105.

In Review

STRIKE!

STRIKE! by Jeremy Brecher. Straight Arrow Books. San Francisco, 1972. 329 pp. Paper \$3.95.

In 1877, an upsurge of the American working class occurred on a scale so massive it rocked the nation. Sparked by railroad workers in Martinsburg, W. Va., rebelling over a 10 percent pay cut, the strike wave spread to Pittsburgh, where rail workers burned rail yards; to Allegheny, Pa., where strikers coordinated the efficient dispatch of passenger trains, and just as efficiently sidetracked freight cars.

The strike wave followed the course of the rail lines, throughout Pennsylvania, up to Buffalo, into

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Ohio, through Chicago, south to Louisville, St. Louis, and Galveston. It spread beyond the rail workers to include the unemployed and other sections of the working class. It gained sympathy, even support in some cases, from local militias sent in to suppress it.

In East St. Louis, strikers virtually controlled the city for a few days through an elected executive committee. In the end, the strike was quelled only by thousands of federal troops.



Troops shot down workers in Baltimore during 1877 strike.

In this book, Jeremy Brecher details how time and time again the U.S. government—as well as state and local authorities—was obligated to represent the employing class in its attempts to crush or at least derail the struggles of the workers.

The Homestead steelworkers' strike in 1892, for example, faced for four months the combined weight of strikebreakers, armed Pinkerton agents, and the Pennsylvania state militia. In Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, the governor declared martial law and sent in federal troops against striking miners the same year.

The 1894 Pullman strike was supported by more than half a million rail workers throughout the country, and 75,000 non-rail workers in Chicago alone. It was necessary not only to send in federal troops, but to arrest Eugene Debs and others. The government also tried to intimidate supporters of the strike by declaring martial law and branding all those who opposed the order as "public enemies."

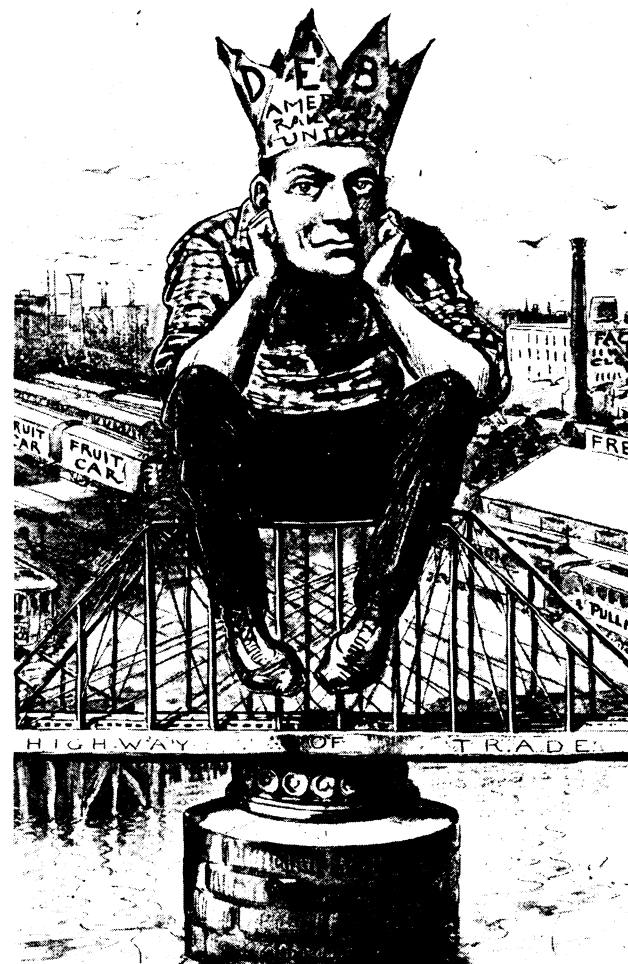
In San Francisco, Minneapolis, and Toledo in 1934, in the rise of the CIO, in the great post-World War II strike wave, and even more recently in the 1970 postal workers' strike (when the Wall Street brokers were paralyzed by the mail tie-up), the capitalist class has called upon and received ready assistance, often armed and brutal, from the agencies of the government.

Brecher also shows how in the course of many of these struggles, workers cut across sex, race, and craft lines to unite against their enemies. During the strike wave of 1877, for example, Black and white workers joined forces. The skilled workers organized with the unskilled against Carnegie in the Homestead strike, and women played an active role in the sit-down strikes of the 1930s.

He explains how during World War II the employers, government, union leaders, and Communist Party combined in an effort to coerce, restrict, and intimidate the working class into docility. However, unofficial "quickie strikes" multiplied. According to Brecher, "The number of such strikes began to rise in the summer of 1942, and by 1944—the last full year of the war—there were more strikes than in any previous year in American history."

Looking at the working class today, Brecher points out the growth in militancy among public service workers; the increase in the number of women and Black workers; the rebellions in the ghettos, prisons, and on campus; and the significant role of the antiwar movement in the radicalization that began in the 1960s.

However, Brecher draws a number of false conclusions. While he correctly condemns the reactionary role played by the union bureaucracy,



Cartoon portraying Eugene V. Debs as leader of 1894 Pullman strike.

he classifies the unions themselves as an obstacle to workers' struggles. His own example of the role of the American Railroad Union under Debs certainly refutes this.

He also rejects the importance of revolutionary parties, including the Bolshevik Party in Russia, in providing leadership in the class struggle. Instead, he lumps together all parties calling themselves "socialist" and considers them a bureaucratic, self-serving obstacle to the workers.

Again he contradicts his conclusion with his own example—the Minneapolis Teamsters' strike of 1934, led by militants of the Communist League of America, forerunner of the Socialist Workers Party.

Despite these weaknesses, Brecher's book helps fill the gaps in our knowledge of U.S. labor history.

—JEANNIE REYNOLDS

THE U.S. HEROIN EMPIRE



The American Heroin Empire by Richard Kunnes. Dodd, Mead, and Company. New York, 1972. 204 pp. \$5.95.

The American heroin empire is a \$20- to \$40-billion-a-year business with holdings in Southeast Asia and the Middle East; with processing plants in France, Hong Kong, and Laos; with trade routes stretching through South Vietnam, Panama, and Mexico to the United States; with corporate directors in the crime syndicates, in the pharmaceutical companies, in the CIA; with retail distributors on the nation's campuses and in the ghettos of the major cities, wearing business suits,

Books

street clothes, or police uniforms.

It's a highly profitable business with a captive market—the hundreds of thousands of heroin addicts forced to direct their entire lives toward the one goal of getting enough money for their \$100-a-day habits.

In this book, Richard Kunnes gives an impassioned overview of heroin addiction as a serious social and political issue. Unlike the reams of official sociological studies that simply gloss over the real causes for the spread of heroin addiction, Kunnes places the heroin epidemic in the context of the United States' intervention in Southeast Asia, the radicalization on the campuses and in the Black communities, and good old American profit politics.

Heroin addiction skyrocketed in the United States

during the same period in which the opium and heroin produced in Laos, Thailand, and Burma has increased tenfold. It's no coincidence that the Meo and other hill people who grow the opium, the Laotian and Thai generals who process it into heroin, and the military aircraft that transport it are all connected with the CIA and the U.S.'s military intervention in Southeast Asia.

The New York City police department, for its part, has won the well-deserved reputation of being neck-deep in the heroin traffic. But the rampant corruption resulting from heroin's high profitability reaches all the way to the federal government's special narcotics agents who use their knowledge to protect the corporate directors of organized crime or to set themselves up as junk merchants. The arrest of the victims—the heroin addicts themselves—simply becomes a way of filling arrest quotas and of giving a public cover to the clandestine operations of the police.

Nor is profit the only motive behind the police involvement in the heroin trade. Heroin is also used as a political pacifier. As one informer for the Los Angeles police department told the *New York Times*, "The police had allowed and encouraged narcotics to be sold in the black and Chicano communities to create a dependency on heroin and undercut political involvement."

As Kunnes points out, so long as the alienation of capitalism drives people to seek escape from their daily lives and so long as the dealers in junk have the police to protect them, heroin or some other narcotic will find a ready market. It will take the destruction of the capitalist system itself to eliminate the conditions that the heroin empire thrives on.

—ERNEST HARSCH

Militant 45th Anniversary Fund

Our traveling sales teams need your contributions

By ANDREA MORELL

As part of the *Militant's* forty-fifth anniversary expansion drive, we are sending 14 teams of young people out on the road this fall. The teams will travel for eight weeks, bringing *The Militant* and *Young Socialist* to 150 campuses and cities in 44 states.

Their goal is to sell tens of thousands of *Militants* and YSs, as well as 7,200 *Militant* subscriptions, in conjunction with our national circulation drive. They will also be distributing books and pamphlets from Pathfinder Press, holding public meetings, and winning young people to the revolutionary socialist movement.

Fifty-six volunteers have joined the teams. This

Andrea Morell is the chairwoman of The Militant's 45th Anniversary Fund.

week I had a chance to talk with members of the *Young Socialist* team that will travel throughout New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut. I asked them why they had volunteered.

Marguerite Snyder, the team captain, explained to me how *The Militant* helped convince her to join the Young Socialist Alliance. She had been a member of Students for a Democratic Society on Long Island but became fed up with its undemocratic procedures and male chauvinist leadership.

"Then one day, while I was talking to a friend about socialism on a street corner, Maxine Williams [now the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Brooklyn borough president] overheard our conversation. She invited me to an SWP campaign rally.

"I went to the rally and bought a subscription to *The Militant*. I liked the ideas and was im-



Militant/Michael Baumann

Marty Goodman (left), Marguerite Snyder, and Steve Craine pack up *Militants* and other literature before setting out on the road. They are members of the Young Socialist team that will tour New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut.

pressed with its professionalism—it was understandably written—which made me think that the YSA and SWP must be very serious organizations. So I joined." Marguerite said she is quitting her job as a secretary to go out on the team.

Marty Goodman, another team member, joined the YSA last March. He was one of the top *Militant* sellers in New York's Upper West Side YSA during last spring's circulation drive.

Marty had previously been a member of the Communist Party for four years and was once state chairman of the Florida Young Workers Liberation League. "I became disgusted by the rotten role of the Soviet bureaucracy in Vietnam and the particularly shameful role the American Communist Party and the YWLL played in glorifying Nixon's trip to Moscow," he told me.

"I felt that the YSA was a principled organization. It is a serious organization, and the people in it are dedicated. You know they're really about the business of making a socialist revolution," he explained.

Another volunteer on the team, Steve Craine, said he became convinced of the need for socialism when he went to Cuba on the Venceremos Brigade. "Now I want to talk to other people about socialist ideas," he explained. "One of the best ways to do this is to sell as many *Militant* subscriptions as possible."

The fourth member of the team, Sue Wald, quit her secretarial job to join the team. "The YSA gave me a perspective—how to get from here to a socialist society. I felt that if by going on the team I could bring that same feeling to other people, it was very important—more important than my job."

The Texas team is already out on the road. After five days in New Orleans, team captain Don Sorsa reports: "While we were on campus, people continually came up to our literature table and bought things. Fifty people signed our mailing list, and we are now publicizing a meeting for those interested in joining the YSA."

"Many people remember the *Young Socialist* team that was in Louisiana last spring," he added, "and say they're glad we're back."

In the first few days the team sold 50 *Militants*, 130 *Young Socialists*, 30 *Militant* subscriptions, and \$25 in Pathfinder literature.

We need thousands of dollars to cover the expenses of all 14 teams for the eight weeks they will be traveling. To pay for the teams' gas, literature, food, and other costs, we are relying on contributions to the *Militant* Forty-fifth Anniversary Fund.

The goal of this fund is to raise \$20,000 by Dec. 15. A large part of the money will go to meet the teams' expenses. The funds will be also used to increase *The Militant's* on-the-spot coverage of national and international events, and to cope with soaring costs of paper and postage.

To date we have raised \$13,154.99 toward our goal (see chart). For the remainder we are depending on our readers.

If you haven't done so yet, please send in your contribution today. If you give \$45 or more, you will receive a complimentary copy of the special anniversary book, *The Militant: 45 Years in the Struggle for Socialism*.

Supporters find new locations for sales drive

By NANCY COLE

SEPT. 19—During the second week of the fall *Militant* sales campaign, sales jumped to more than 8,000 from the previous week's total of 7,122. This is another big step in our drive to sell 9,500 copies a week by Nov. 18.

Most areas report no one large sale, except for Chicago, where 473 *Militants* were sold at the Sept. 8 inflation protest. Many cities experimented with sales locations, taking advantage of every opportunity to get *The Militant* out.

Chicanos attending Mexican Independence Day celebrations in different parts of the country were eager to read *The Militant's* analysis of the crisis in Chile. Denver supporters sold 100 in the city and another 20 in Greeley, Colo. The Oakland/Berkeley supporters sold 145 at a celebration, 100 of those by one salesman. And Houston supporters sold 210.

Twenty-eight papers were sold at an Arab festival in Detroit; 26 in Brooklyn's Haitian community; and 62 at a Joan Baez benefit for the farm workers in San Diego. Both Lower Manhattan and Twin Cities have begun sales at local hospitals, and Los Angeles reports modest success in selling at football games.

Boston supporters organized sales teams to go through the dormitories of Boston University and MIT last week. They sold 27 *Militant* subscriptions and 64 single copies. This helped publicize a successful Young Socialist Alliance forum on Chile at Boston University.

Members of the YSA report some other exciting results from *Militant* sales. Portland YSAers met two people while selling *The Militant* who expressed interest in joining the YSA. In Seattle during sales at the park (where a total of 67 were sold), one person who bought a *Militant* later called the forum hall to find out how to join the YSA. Los Angeles reports a similar experience.

The YSA's monthly newspaper, the *Young Socialist*, is conducting a campaign for 10,000 monthly sales. Brooklyn YSAers sold 50 YSs at a Chile protest last week, bringing their total to 484 YSs so far this month. Chicago has sold 375 YSs during September out of their monthly goal of 650.

Six new areas were added to the scoreboard this week—Amherst, Baltimore, Bloomington, Huntington, Indianapolis, and Nashville. If you can help in the campaign by taking a weekly bundle of *Militants* to sell, send in the coupon on page 23.

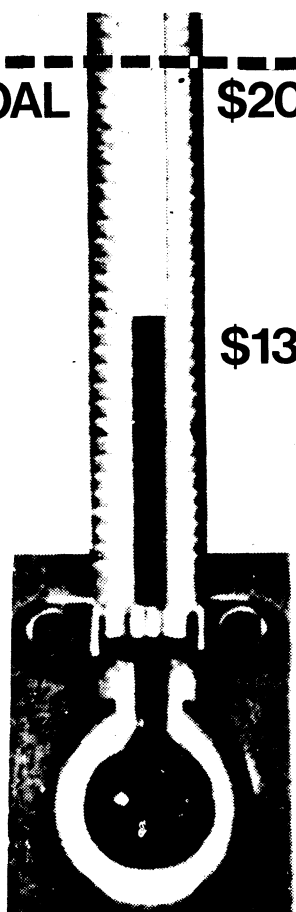
Militant scoreboard

AREA	GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	% SOLD
Chicago	700	1,047	150
St. Louis	175	199	114
Houston	450	484	108
San Diego	350	372	106
Austin	120	123	103
Nashville	40	40	100
Atlanta	400	393	98
Pittsburgh	300	280	93
Philadelphia	375	336	90
Seattle	400	336	84
Upper West Side	475	384	81
Amherst	40	32	80
Indianapolis	50	40	80
Detroit	400	315	79
Washington, D.C.	350	272	78
Lower Manhattan	450	345	77
San Francisco	500	387	77
Los Angeles	500	363	73
Oakland/Berkeley	900	627	70
Cleveland	400	270	68
Bloomington	75	50	67
Brooklyn	450	301	67
Portland	300	201	67
Denver	375	223	59
Boston	700	386	55
Huntington	90	40	44
Twin Cities	425	171	40
Baltimore	15	4	28
TOTAL SOLD LAST WEEK	8,021		
GOAL	9,500		

Militant Fund Drive

GOAL \$20,000

\$13,154



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Calendar

BOSTON

SOCIALISTS SUE THE U.S. GOVERNMENT. Panel discussion with endorsers and participants in Political Rights Defense Fund. Fri., Sept. 28, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.). Donation: \$1, unemployed 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

DETROIT

UNITED FARM WORKERS UNION STRUGGLE. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Sept. 28, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) TE1-6135.

HOUSTON

POLITICAL RIGHTS: NIXON'S DIRTY TRICKS AND HOW TO FIGHT BACK. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Sept. 28, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

THE SUPERPORT VS. PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE. Speaker from Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Fri., Sept. 28, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor (near 4th St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

THE GREAT SUPERPORT DEBATE: WHO OWNS PUERTO RICO? Speakers: Dick Garza, Socialist Workers Party; Alfredo Lopez, Puerto Rican Socialist Party (U.S. Branch). Fri., Sept. 28, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (at 105th St.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY

THE UNITED FARM WORKERS NATIONAL CONVENTION: A REPORT. Speaker to be announced. Fri., Sept. 28, 8 p.m. Tan Oak Room, Third Floor, Student Union, University of California (Berkeley). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-1358.

SAN DIEGO

CONSUMERS VS. INFLATION. Speaker: Dan Styron, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Sept. 28, 8 p.m. 4635 El Cajon Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

SAN FRANCISCO

CHILE: ANATOMY OF A COUP. Speaker: Roland Shepard, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Sept. 28, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

TWIN CITIES

GRAND OPENING OF NEW SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS IN MINNEAPOLIS. Sat., Oct. 6, 25 University Ave. SE. Refreshments: 5 p.m.; Dinner: 6 p.m.; Hall Dedication: 7:30 p.m. Party to follow. Speakers: Harry Ring, Militant Southwest Bureau; Jane Van Deusen, SWP mayoral candidate in Minneapolis. Donation: \$3, dinner and program; \$1, Hall Dedication only. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

COUP IN CHILE: CAUSES AND LESSONS. Panel discussion. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Sept. 28, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. NW, Fourth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (202) 783-2363.

...Chile

Continued from page 3

fact that is an indictment of the leadership of the Chilean working class. Both the Communist and Socialist

parties preached reliance on the armed forces and persistently refused to arm the masses and prepare them for the confrontation that was clearly in the offing. The Chilean Communist Party was accurately described in the Sept. 13 editorial of *Le Monde* as a "party strictly faithful to the Soviet Union and one that throughout the forty difficult years of its history has rarely been found wanting in moderation."

The dilemma of the workers was indicated by a vignette printed in *Newsweek*: "Luis Paredes, a young factory hand and a militant socialist, looked up at the fighter plane buzzing overhead. For three days, Paredes had stayed close to home waiting in vain for promised instructions from the leftist Labor Federation to take to the streets against the army."

The masses of workers, like Paredes, were not organized to fight the coup. But the problems are just beginning for Chile's new junta. It inherits an economy in ruins as a result of three years of sabotage by the Chilean capitalists and their imperialist backers.

Inflation is expected to run 350 percent this year. Agricultural production has dropped 40 percent as a result of the refusal of landowners to plant crops. Industrial activity is down 50 percent as a result of the withdrawal of capital from Chile. There is an acute shortage of foreign exchange and a huge foreign debt.

As *U.S. News & World Report* sees it, the solution to these problems "is likely to involve a drastic belt-tightening program—leading in turn to widespread criticism of Allende's successors."

The magazine quotes one industrialist who explained: "There is a small group of experts who realize that it will take five or 10 years to put Chile together again. Almost everybody else seems to think it can be done in a very short time—and they will be very unhappy when they see it cannot."

...CP

Continued from page 6

the political rights of enlisted men could have an important impact and lead to serious work within the armed services. But so far this organization has conspicuously failed to raise slogans to prepare the way for arming the masses and creating a popular army. Its demands for giving the right to vote and better treatment to soldiers are not a sufficient program for work in the army, and time is rapidly running out."

As the class-struggle sharpened in Chile, criticism of Allende's policies grew in the working class, and the CP increasingly became his main base

of organized support. The CP was the firmest advocate of slowing down the nationalizations and curbing mass struggles, to the point of actively participating in repression against the workers' movement. It slandered as "provocateurs" those who called for arming the masses.

Having given total, uncritical support to the policies that paved the way for the coup, the *Daily World* is now trying to rewrite history and conceal its real positions. Pittman's column is as contemptible a cover-up as has ever appeared, even in those pages. But it will take more than his belated reversal to wipe out the record of the CP's treachery.

...W'gate

Continued from page 7

a vice-president of Food Fair Stores, Inc.; free liquor from a Maryland businessman; and more than a 50 percent discount in rent at the ITT-owned Sheraton-Park Hotel.

Unfair? Nonsense, said an Agnew chum. The vice-president "has lived a very austere life as far as luxuries are concerned. His wealthy friends want to bend over backwards to satisfy their friend, who is making a sacrifice for public service."

...lessons

Continued from page 18

ment, headed by Socialist Party leader Leon Blum, came to power. It included ministers from the Radical Party, the largest capitalist party in France at that time. Although the CP fully supported the popular front, it didn't participate in the government itself for fear of offending "progressive democrats."

Maurice Thorez, then general secretary of the French CP, explained the popular-front policy in a pamphlet, *The Unity of the French Nation* in 1936. In regard to the reformist Socialist Party, Thorez wrote, "We have agreed to such concessions as renouncing the right to criticize the Socialist organizations and leadership. . . ." Compare this with Thaelmann's statements just four years earlier!

Blum tried to push the workers' struggles in France away from a political confrontation with capitalism and into a struggle for minimal economic demands. He relied on the military staffs, most of whom were pro-fascist and supported Philippe Petain's pro-Nazi regime a few years later—just as Allende, 35 years later, relied on Chile's military and police.

The popular front refused to grant the right of self-determination to the French colonies in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean. It also participated in the "democratic" imperialists' blockade of Spain, refusing to give military or economic aid to the antifascist fighters.

After the popular front had diverted and demoralized the working-class upsurge, it was deserted by its capitalist allies and fell from power.

The Trotskyists believed then and believe today that defending the workers' states like China and the USSR against imperialist attack, as well as the final crushing of the fascist danger, can only be accomplished through the international extension of the socialist revolution.

Trotskyists proposed the working-class united front as the correct tactic for the immediate struggle against fascism. The tactic of the united front was developed in the 1920s by the Comintern when it was under the revolutionary leadership of Lenin and Trotsky.

Recognizing that large sections of the masses are still under the leadership of reformist and capitalist forces, the united front calls for unity in action around specific issues in the interest of the working class. Such a policy would advance the struggle as well as expose the incapacity of the reformists to lead an effective fight.

Trotskyists opposed support to people's front governments or any other sort of *programmatic unity* with reformists or capitalists. They proposed that upsurges like those in France and Spain be deepened and generalized, aiming toward socialist revolution.

In his article on popular frontism, Davidson falsely states that Trotskyists "opposed the united front with the national bourgeoisie in the colonial countries invaded by the fascists." He conveniently forgets that the popular fronts in France and Spain, and Stalinist supporters of "democratic" imperialism in the U.S., Britain, and Canada, opposed national liberation struggles against these imperialists as counterrevolutionary.

Chinese Trotskyists and the world Trotskyist movement supported the united front in China between the Chinese Communists and Chiang Kai-shek for the struggle against Japan. But they opposed Mao's popular-front policy of giving political support to Chiang as the leader of the Chinese people.

Davidson refuses to report these facts to the *Guardian's* readers. He also refuses to report the policies carried out by the American Stalinists or the experiences of popular frontism today. These questions will be the topic of the next article in this series.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Darren Crown, 2321 'E' St., Sacramento, Calif. 95816.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Krista Zane, 514 1/2 San Benito Ave., Los Gatos, Calif. 95030. Tel: (408) 354-2373.

Santa Barbara: YSA, 712 Bolton Walk #204, Goleta, Calif. 93107.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.-7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101. Tel: (203) 523-7582.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Sarah Ryan, 1806 Lake Bradford Rd., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and

YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Jerry Crist, 3843 Washington Blvd., Indianapolis, Ind. 46205.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, c/o Dave McKim, 2103 Belair Rd., Baltimore, Md. 21213. Tel: (301) 732-8996.

College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, R.S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speaker's Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

Worcester: YSA, P.O. Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, P.O. Box 98, Warriner Hall, CMU, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) Second Floor, Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

St. Cloud: YSA, c/o Alwood Center, St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud, Minn. 56301.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: SWP and YSA, 4660 Maryland, Suite 17, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Wiloughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Long Island: YSA, P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

OHIO: Bowling Green: YSA, Box 27, U. Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-9043.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553, YSA—(216) 391-3278.

OREGON: Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh: SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 7353 Oakland Station, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 422-8185.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, SWP, Militant Bookstore, Harriet Tubman Hall, 1801 Nueces, Austin, Texas 78701. Tel: (512) 478-8602.

Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon.-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, c/o James Levitt, 145 N. Butler, Madison, Wis. 53703. (608) 251-5716.



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A Young Socialist Pamphlet. Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014

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Jiri Pelikan on

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THE MILITANT

New bribery, conspiracy indictments

Did Teamsters, growers plot to kill Chavez in '70?

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—Important new revelations may soon come to light regarding the criminal conspiracy of California growers and Teamster officials to try to destroy the United Farm Workers Union.

It is not precluded that the new developments could lead to further information regarding a 1970 plot to assassinate UFW leader César Chávez.

On Sept. 13, a federal grand jury indicted two Salinas Valley growers and a former Teamster Union official on bribery charges and for illegally conspiring to combat the UFW.

It is charged that the growers bribed the Teamster official, and that the money they gave him was used to hire armed goons during the 1970 UFW lettuce strike in Salinas.

The two indicted growers are James Martin, head of the Growers Service Center, which was created at the time of the lettuce strike, and Thomas Hitchcock, a lettuce wholesaler.

The indicted former union official is Theodore Gonsalves, who was secretary treasurer of Teamster Local 748 in Modesto. He was suspended from union office last winter for spending \$25,000 of union funds for "unauthorized activity" in the Salinas Valley area. He is charged in the present indictment with accepting a \$10,000 bribe from the growers.

Guns & dynamite

At the time of the lettuce strike, police found guns and dynamite buried in the backyards of several of the goons, who were eventually convicted of illegal possession of the weapons.

Revelations about the role of Gonsalves and his cohorts came as a result of Chicano opposition to the racist practices of the Teamster local.

The Teamsters have contracts with food processors in the Modesto area, where many Chicanos are employed. These Chicanos are discriminated against in job opportunities by the union and employers, and are denied real voice in union affairs. In one



Militant/Miguel Pendas

UFW leader Cesar Chavez addressing farm workers rally in Los Angeles this summer. Recent indictments of California growers and Teamster officials may uncover new information on conspiracy to assassinate Chavez.

instance, Chicano members won a discrimination suit against the Teamsters.

It was during this fight against the racism of the Teamster bureaucracy that information began to come to light about irregular financial practices and illegal ties with the growers.

According to David Talamante, a Modesto Chicano activist who was involved in these exposures, it is estimated that in his capacity as union secretary-treasurer, Gonsalves may have depleted a union trust fund of nearly a million dollars without proper authorization.

\$100-a-day goons

Large sums were given to the campaigns of various major party candidates, and there were such reported expenditures as \$25,000 for a limousine. The strikebreaking goons on the union payroll were said to be knocking down as much as \$100 a day.

As the revelations of wholesale misuse of union funds became public, the Western Conference of Teamsters stepped in. They named their director of organization, William Grammi, trustee of the union, and he suspended Gonsalves from office.

Grammi is a principal lieutenant to Einar Mohn, head of the Western Conference and a key figure in the present Teamster drive to help break the Farm Workers.

A power struggle soon erupted within the union local. It included a business agent, Frank Carolla, who was reported in a three-way feud with Gonsalves and Grammi. Carolla too was suspended, and shortly afterward it was publicly disclosed that he had been present at a motel where the alleged grower payoffs were made to Gonsalves.

This information was presented to

a federal grand jury, but according to U.S. Attorney James Browning, there was "insufficient evidence" and the jury declined to act.

The UFW charged the case had been killed because of the ties between the Teamster officialdom and the Nixon administration.

New evidence

This past July, when the Watergate revelations were putting a new light on the administration-Teamster relationship, Browning decided there was "new evidence" of bribery and conspiracy. He sent the case back to the grand jury, which resulted in the present indictments.

It was during this period of the asserted grower-Teamster conspiracy that it became known that there was a plot to murder César Chávez.

In July 1971, federal agents warned the Farm Workers that several men had been hired to assassinate Chávez. They said these men were also being paid to destroy certain UFW records.

The agents of the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) division of the Treasury Department had received the information from a professional police informer who had been invited to join the plot. The ATF agents provided the UFW with a photo of the man allegedly assigned to do the actual assassination of Chávez.

The government's information had come from Larry Shears, a Bakersfield police informant. He said there was a \$25,000 "contract" to kill Chávez and another of \$5,000 to burn union records. He named the men who had approached him about burning the records at the union headquarters in Delano. They told him the records had to be burned before Chávez was killed.

One government official speculated that union records might contain in-

formation on growers' tax-dodging activity.

Shears took his information to the ATF, and it was agreed to put him on the federal payroll. He was to receive \$10,000 from the government for providing information on the case. He actually received only \$500, along with a voucher from the ATF acknowledging it was payment for information about the assassination plot.

Shears, who had taped some of his discussions with the federal agents, then also made his information available to the United Farm Workers. It was at this point that the government apparently decided to sweep the whole matter under the rug.

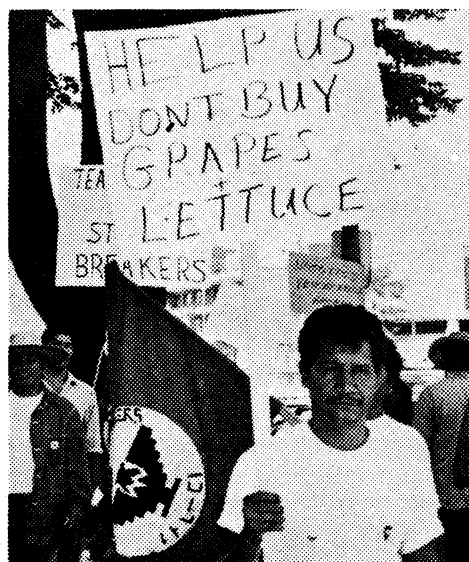
Shortly after Shears's disclosure the two alleged key assassination figures were jailed on other charges. One was picked up for an unrelated murder and is now serving a life sentence. The second was set up by agents for a narcotics buy and is now doing 10 to 20 years.

The man jailed on the narcotics charge had nearly \$30,000 in cash at his home when he was busted. He said he had been given \$25,000 to burn union files but, he claimed, not to kill Chávez.

UFW attorney Jerry Cohen told reporters at the time, "All I can say is that's a lot of money just to burn files."

At that point the federal probe was abruptly terminated. The union demanded a congressional investigation, but to no avail.

The present indictment of the growers and Teamster officials in Salinas, Cohen declared, "substantiates our charges that the growers will stop at nothing to block the UFW. We demand a far broader investigation into the Teamster-grower conspiracy to kill off the UFW."



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Farm workers' picket line in Cleveland.