

THE MILITANT

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

Eyewitness accounts of Chile bloodbath

Interviews with Hugo Blanco, other
exiles, on right-wing junta's repression

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Mexico City. Part of demonstration of 100,000 to protest Chile coup. U.S. protests, pages 9, 10.

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME 37/NUMBER 37
OCTOBER 12, 1973
CLOSING NEWS DATE—OCT. 3, 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.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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.

MICHIGAN STUDENTS OPPOSE TUITION HIKE: Students at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor are organizing a tuition strike to roll back a 24 percent fee hike passed by the board of regents this summer.

The Student Action Committee, which is coordinating the strike, held a rally of 250 students on Sept. 28, despite pouring rain. Militant correspondent Marty Pettit reports the protesters then lined up in front of collection windows in the registration area and successfully prevented cashiers from accepting payments.

Strike leader Ruy Teixeira said, "A lot of people see this whole struggle, which hopefully will become nationwide, in terms of people's struggle for the democratic right to education. The university raising tuition is an attack on that right."

The Student Action Coalition has gathered 5,000 signatures on petitions to the regents that include demands for: rollback of tuition, implementation of Black students' demands agreed to by the university in 1970, and adequate financial aid for students who need it.

STEELWORKERS PICKET ABEL: Thirty-five rank-and-file steelworkers from the Chicago area picketed I.W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers Union, when he spoke to a national conference of representatives of union safety committees Sept. 22. The steelworkers were protesting Abel's "experimental negotiating agreement" with the big steel companies that bargains away the steelworkers' right to strike.

In a leaflet aimed at the meeting, the picketers pointed out the sharp increase in disabling accidents on the job and a proposed section of the United Mine Workers constitution that advocates the right of miners to refuse to work under dangerous conditions.

The USWU coke advisory committee is "recommending shorter working hours and early retirement to combat the high incidence of cancer among coke plant workers," the leaflet said. It added, "If we allow the right to strike to be given up, how do we persuade the steel industry to make these important contract changes necessary to our health?"

The picket line was organized by the Defend the Right to Strike Committee, which intends to call a larger action when the regional conference of District 31 is held in Chicago Oct. 12 and 13.

CHICAGO STUDENTS PROTEST ARRESTS: More than 200 students demonstrated Sept. 27 to protest the arrest of 38 Puerto Rican and Latin students the previous day.

The arrested students have been charged with criminal trespass and interfering with a public institution of higher education by the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle Campus, because of a nine-hour occupation of the administration building lobby.

The Puerto Rican and Latin students were protesting the eviction that day of the Puerto Rican recruitment program from its office. Student records and files and staff personnel belongings were taken away without the consent of the students or staff.

Militant correspondent Terry Quilico reports the university is attempting to submerge the student and staff-run program into the more general Education Assistance Program.

TERRORISTS FIREBOMB COMMUNIST PARTY HEADQUARTERS: In the early hours of Monday, Oct. 1, a terrorist was seen throwing a firebomb into the national headquarters of the Communist Party in New York City. The offices were unoccupied. The lone witness immediately called the fire department. Damages were estimated at \$2,000 by CP spokespersons. The bombing was the fourth attack on the building in the past year.

FORT WORTH FIVE DEFENDANT GRANTED CITIZENSHIP: Overruling the federal government, Justice Joseph Hawkins of the New York State Supreme Court granted Matthias Reilly U.S. citizenship. The government opposed granting citizenship on the basis of Reilly's jailing in Texas, along with four other New York Irish-Americans, for refusing to answer questions about alleged gunrunning to Northern Ireland. The charges are widely viewed as a frame-up. Reilly and the four—known as the Fort Worth Five—are free on bail.

U.S. JUDGE JAILS IRANIAN STUDENT: Parviz Shokat, a member of the Iranian Student Association, was sentenced to six months in jail and a \$250 fine on Sept. 7 for "intimidating a foreign official." Another Iranian, Kambiz Ghaemmagham, was sentenced to three years probation and a \$250 fine for the same charge.

Shokat, Ghaemmagham, and four other students had originally been charged with "assault on a foreign diplomat" as a result of a heated discussion with an Iranian consular official. The incident occurred at a celebration

in San Francisco last March of the tenth anniversary of the CIA-backed coup that brought the shah of Iran to power.

Widespread protests forced the dropping of the assault charges. But Shokat and Ghaemmagham pleaded guilty to the lesser charge of "intimidation" to bring the case to an end.

The Iranian Student Association has urged protests against these sentences, especially the imposition of the maximum jail term on Shokat. Write to: Honorable Judge Williams, Federal Building, Nineteenth Floor, 450 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco, Calif. 94102.

WOODCUTTERS DEFEAT INJUNCTION: A victory was won by the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association Sept. 21 when U.S. District Judge Virgil Pittman ruled that woodcutters and wood haulers are "employees," not "independent contractors." The ruling has the effect of legalizing the strike of more than 2,000 Black and white woodcutters against the giant pulp and paper companies in southern Alabama and Mississippi.

The Scott and International paper companies had sought an injunction against the strike by claiming the woodcutters are independent contractors.

But court testimony of a company official revealed that the companies help finance wood dealers, who in turn hire foresters to tell the cutters which trees to cut and how to cut them. The dealers loan the cutters money to buy their equipment—trucks, saws, parts, gasoline, etc.—and deduct the money owed from their paychecks. As a result, the cutters are in constant debt to the dealers, who are in effect their overseers.

For information on the strike contact: Fred Walters, president, Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association, P.O. Box 53, Eastabuchie, Miss. 39436. Tel.: (601) 582-5184 or 477-8133.

BLACKS CONVICTED IN MISSISSIPPI: "Seven citizens of the Republic of New Africa were convicted in U.S. District Court" in Biloxi, Miss., reports a Sept. 25 news release from the Southern Conference Education Fund.

The charges stemmed from a shootout at RNA headquarters in Jackson, Miss., two years ago. The charges against the two women and five men included conspiracy to assault federal officers, conspiracy to possess weapons, and assault on a federal officer.

The RNA charged that police and FBI agents had attacked the house where the shooting took place.

Sentences for the seven ranged from three to 22 years. Judge Walter Nixon set their appeal bonds at amounts from \$5,000 to \$25,000. In state trials last year four RNA people were convicted on charges stemming from the same incident. Three were sentenced to life; one received two 10-year sentences.

One defendant, Addis Ababa, told the court, "We are innocent of any conspiracy and you know it. We were railroaded by this unjust court, but you can't stop the struggle. You can jail us, beat us, even kill us, but Black people will be free."

—DERRICK MORRISON

YOUR FIRST ISSUE? SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT



HUGO BLANCO, Peruvian peasant leader: From his exile in Chile he brought *Militant* readers reports of the growing crisis there. In an interview this week obtained in Mexico, Blanco and other Latin American exiles give firsthand accounts of the rightist coup and draw the lessons of this tragic defeat for working people. Subscribe now so you won't miss such features in coming issues.

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Farm Workers' struggle goes on

The UFW-Teamster talks



El Malcriado

'To the extent the Teamsters have been forced to talk peace, credit goes to the stubborn fight waged by the United Farm Workers and the boycott activities of its supporters.'

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—On Sept. 28 it was reported that an agreement had been reached between the United Farm Workers and the Teamsters that would end the Teamsters' union-busting role in agriculture. But as of Oct. 2, there is no agreement.

At the union's constitutional convention in Fresno Sept. 21-23, UFW President César Chávez told reporters negotiations with the Teamsters would resume in a few days. Then Sept. 28 the *Los Angeles Times* reported agreement had been reached and described some of the purported terms. It is believed the story was leaked to the *Times* by Teamster officials.

AFL-CIO President George Meany and Teamster head Frank Fitzsimmons then announced jointly that agreement had been reached in "principle," but "subject to examination by legal counsel of the parties involved."

Initially Chávez told TV reporters the proposed agreement was a UFW victory because the union would now confront "only one giant"—the growers.

UFW officials have since declined comment. But it is apparent that either the Farm Workers are weighing the implications of the reported terms or are taking a close look at the fine print.

According to the original account in the *Los Angeles Times*, the Teamsters agreed to renounce all the sweetheart contracts they had signed with table and wine grape growers and with some lettuce growers. The Teamsters would, however, maintain recently renewed pacts with Salinas Valley lettuce growers, but assertedly would not renew them when they expire in 1975.

Continue boycott

The UFW in turn—according to this account—would continue its boycott of scab grapes and wine, and of lettuce from fields where the Teamsters renounce their agreements.

The growers quickly declared they would not let the Teamsters cancel the contracts. But if the Teamsters do actually repudiate them, they are reduced to worthless scraps of paper.

It was further agreed, according to the *Times*, that Meany and Fitzsimmons would be the "final determiners" of differences arising under the agreement. Meany, the paper noted, had earlier declared readiness to stake his "personal integrity" in the peace-keeping effort. However, unless his integrity exceeds his general lack of enthusiasm for strikes and boycotts this may not prove decisive.

It was also reported that under the agreement the UFW would abide by AFL-CIO policy in conducting boycotts. That is, the union would have to gain sanction from the AFL-CIO national executive council for any boycott it wished to conduct.

Such sanction would be needed for the present boycott of Safeway and A&P, major sellers of scab produce, as well as of table grapes and such scab wines as Gallo, Gil, and Franzia.

A number of unions, including some that have supported the Farm Workers, take a dim view of the Safeway and A&P boycotts. At least two—the Retail Clerks and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters—have contracts with

these chains.

(The boycott is having an effect. Safeway disclosed Sept. 25 that during the past nine months—while the food industry has been enjoying a record rip-off take—its profits declined 5 percent from the same period last year.)

AFL-CIO sanction

It has not been reported if the UFW has sought formal AFL-CIO sanction for the Safeway and A&P boycotts. But it has applied for sanction to conduct the Gallo wine boycott. The AFL-CIO executive council is to act on the request at its next meeting, Oct. 17.

Inside workers at the huge Gallo plant in Modesto belong to the AFL-CIO Distillery and Wine Workers. UFW workers have been on strike at Gallo grape ranches since their contract expired in June and the company signed a sweetheart pact with the Teamsters.

Pending AFL-CIO sanction for a Gallo boycott, the UFW has indicated its support for a student boycott of scab wine initiated by the National

Student Association and various student governments.

At the time the purported agreement with the Teamsters was announced, Gallo strikers were organizing a nationwide tour to familiarize the public with Gallo union-busting.

Meanwhile, it is understood that negotiations with the Teamsters are continuing. Further plans for a scheduled national boycott tour by Chávez have not yet been announced.

Victory

If the Teamsters are actually compelled to renounce the bulk of the phony contracts they have signed with the growers, and if the UFW is not severely restricted in its boycott activity, it will be a significant victory for the Farm Workers.

With the Teamsters ending their obstructionist role in the fields, the UFW would find it easier in several key respects. Many unions depend on agreements with the Teamsters to honor their strike picket lines. For some smaller ones, that's often the only real weapon they have in bringing the boss to terms.

Such unions have been reluctant to cross the Teamsters. If the Teamsters step aside, such unions would be freer to help the Farm Workers.

Fake issue

Some union supporters are confused by the grower-Teamster claim of a "jurisdictional dispute" in the fields. With the air cleared of that fake issue, more public support for the boycott could also be won.

The fact that the Teamsters continue to negotiate indicates what a black eye their image has suffered as a result of their scandalous actions. At the same time, their record of treachery in relation to a series of previous agreements makes clear that it will take more than Meany's "integrity" to enforce a settlement—even assuming an adequate one is signed.

To the extent the Teamsters have been forced to talk peace, credit goes to the stubborn fight waged by the United Farm Workers. And equally important has been the boycott activities and financial aid of its supporters.

Intensification of such support activity can prove a meaningful contribution to a favorable outcome of the present negotiations.

60 Cleveland supermarkets bow to UFW boycott

More than 60 food markets in the Cleveland area have yielded to the demands of the United Farm Workers Union to stop selling scab lettuce and grapes.

The success in some cases has been almost spectacular. Some Bi-Rite and Safeway stores in Independence, Ohio, have gathered up the disputed produce in boxes and bags, presenting these as a token offering to the UFW pickets outside the stores.

The president of 14 Eagle supermarkets sent every store manager a letter telling them to discontinue sale of lettuce and table grapes.

The formation of a Greater Cleveland Labor Committee in support of the United Farm Workers was announced Sept. 25 by Robert Brindza, director of District Council

78, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

The purpose of the committee, Brindza said, "is to bring together all of organized labor in the Cleveland area in support of the farm workers and to combine our efforts in their behalf."

Cochairmen of the committee include local officers of the Auto Workers, Steelworkers, Painters, Teachers, Communications Workers, Transit Workers, and others.

In Los Angeles on Sept. 20 the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California board of directors unanimously voted to support the United Farm Workers Union.

The ACLU board said, "Because members of the UFWU have been denied their First Amendment and other constitutional rights, and have

been subjected to intimidation, physical abuse and harassment by the authorities, growers and the Teamsters, we support the United Farm Workers Union."

The ACLU said it would now implement its position in a number of ways, including filing civil suits against Kern County, Calif., sheriffs for their strikebreaking activities.

Seventeen farm workers were arrested in Elizabeth, N.J., Sept. 11 for sitting-in at the Wakefern Food Corporation, a wholesaler for Shop-Rite supermarkets, in support of the grape and lettuce boycotts. Their trial on trespassing charges began in the Elizabeth municipal court on Oct. 2, but no decision was reached and the cases were continued.

Feiffer designs Nixon button for Political Rights Defense Fund

A new Watergate button is out, designed by cartoonist Jules Feiffer to help raise money for the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF).

The button will be sold by PRDF activists across the country in their campaign to win support for the suit by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) against government Watergate-style harassment.

Dr. Benjamin Spock, former attorney general Ramsey Clark, Eugene McCarthy, and John Leonard, editor of the *New York Times Book Review*, have recently endorsed PRDF's civil liberties campaign.

The \$27.5-million suit, filed in July by attorney Leonard Boudin, charges Nixon and other government officials with unconstitutional harassment. It cites evidence of burglary, mail tampering, bombing and wiretapping directed against the SWP and YSA. The plaintiffs seek an immediate injunction to stop these illegal tactics and a ruling to declare the attorney general's list of "subversive" organizations unconstitutional.

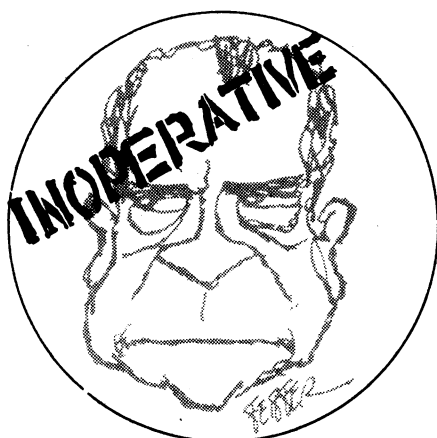
Other recent endorsers of the suit include psychoanalyst Erich Fromm, comedian Dick Gregory, author Francine duPlessix Gray, and antiwar activists Philip and Daniel Berrigan.

As part of the nationwide drive to publicize the suit, Boston supporters of PRDF held a news conference Sept. 25 at the Community Church, a well-known center of political activity.

Participants in the news conference included suffragist Florence Luscomb; Jim Besson, director of the Boston United Farm Workers Union Organiz-

ing Committee; and Donald Gurewitz, SWP candidate for school committee and a plaintiff in the suit. Reporters from the *Boston Globe*, the *American Herald Traveler*, Boston University *News* and four radio stations attended. The *Globe* reported that "a number of rallies and news conferences by political figures are being held to support the fund."

The news conference announced that PRDF had already secured endorsement from 25 people in the Boston



Watergate button designed by Jules Feiffer.

area, including State Representative Barney Frank; Dr. Barbara Roberts, Harvard Medical School; and Russell Johnson of the American Friends Service Committee.

At a meeting on "Socialists Sue the U.S. Government," sponsored by the Boston Militant Forum, Representative Frank told the audience of 60: "I am

glad to associate myself with the Political Rights Defense Fund. Suits like these will encourage all those who have been harassed by the government to fight back." Janice Lynn, PRDF National Field Secretary, and John Powers, SWP candidate for Boston city council, also spoke at the meeting.

Lynn explained that "excellent attorneys and favorable public opinion are not enough—PRDF also needs money to present the issues in this case as widely as possible."

National PRDF representatives Syd Stapleton and Michael Arnall are now touring the West Coast and Midwest to publicize and raise money for the defense effort.

To contribute, to order the new Feiffer button, or to arrange a meeting for a PRDF speaker, send in the coupon below.

Clip and send to: Political Rights Defense Fund, 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 311, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.

() Please send me more information on this suit.

() Enclosed is 50 cents for one Feiffer button. (25 cents each on orders of 10 or more.)

() I would like to arrange a meeting for a PRDF speaker to explain the case to my school or organization. () Enclosed is \$_____ to help cover expenses.

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Boudin tells of gov't attempts to discredit him at Ellsberg trial

By CINDY JAQUITH

In his testimony before the Senate Watergate committee, E. Howard Hunt revealed that part of the government's massive campaign to discredit Daniel Ellsberg involved a slander effort against one of Ellsberg's defense attorneys, Leonard Boudin.

Boudin is now representing the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance in a \$27-million suit against government harassment of radicals.

Hunt told the senators that he wrote a derogatory article about Boudin and gave it to former White House counsel Charles Colson to distribute to reporters. Material from the article later appeared in a story by Jerald terHorst of the *Detroit News*, according to Hunt.

In an interview with *The Militant*, Boudin commented on Hunt's testimony and other sabotage efforts directed against the defense team in the Pentagon papers trial.

Boudin said he recalled very few articles in the press attacking him. "There were only one or two red-baiting stories that appeared in columns, I think. Generally speaking, the press concentrated on the issues in the case," he said.

The apparent lack of success of the White House slander campaign was also confirmed by Jerald terHorst, who has stated that Colson gave him an eight-page article on Boudin. However, terHorst said, he used only carefully checked facts in the story he later wrote on the attorney. Boudin himself provided much of the information, terHorst said.

The moves to discredit Boudin in the press were part of a pattern of attacks on the Ellsberg defense, the attorney said. In May 1972, he pointed out, a gang of Cuban exiles was hired by the government to physically assault Ellsberg while he addressed an antiwar rally in Washington, D.C. Upon learning of this plot, the Pentagon papers defense lawyers filed for mistrial.

"In that motion for mistrial," Boudin said, "we anticipated many things that were revealed six months later. That is, we already said that there had been a campaign by Liddy, Hunt, Mitchell, and Stans, to discredit Ellsberg. That motion was denied, but of course we were proven right six months later."

The government also wiretapped the conversations of defense consultants, Boudin said. This was revealed by Judge Matt Byrne, who presided over the trial. Byrne admitted inadvertently that the government had recorded at least one discussion involving a member of the Ellsberg defense team.

"We never really learned who it was that was wiretapped," Boudin told *The Militant*, "although I know that James McCord testified he had overheard a conversation of mine."

Boudin said he considered the extent of government attempts to disrupt the Ellsberg defense "unprecedented," indicating the fear in the White House of the popular support for the Pentagon papers defendants.

Colo. court indicts agent who once spied on YSA

By JON HILLSON

DENVER—Revelations here have exposed the recent spying activities of Robert Wilkinson, a former government agent who once infiltrated the Denver Young Socialist Alliance.

On Nov. 10, 1971, Wilkinson was expelled from the Denver YSA for being an agent. His information-gathering extended beyond the YSA to include the Colorado antiwar movement.

Before infiltrating the YSA, Wilkinson had been a federally trained narcotics agent in Albuquerque, N.M., and an employee of the Burns Detective Agency in Colorado. Denver and Colorado Springs media had employed him under questionable circumstances. He was registered by the Denver police to carry firearms.

This summer Wilkinson was indicted for illegal eavesdropping and unlawful possession of wiretap devices in Fort Collins, Colo. On Sept. 19, in a different case, the Jefferson County grand jury leveled two counts of illegal eavesdropping and one count of criminal libel against him.

The Jefferson County charges against Wilkinson resulted from a private investigation he conducted against Michael Coon, chief of the intelligence division of the Department of Safety in Lakewood, Colo. Wilkinson was hired to "get dirt" on the police official by the owner of a local tavern who was being harassed by Coon.

Wilkinson hired prostitutes to extract information from Coon, and recorded their activities on film and tape. News of Coon's "misconduct" reached his superiors and he resigned amid a scandal.

Wilkinson's methods of gathering information are very similar to those associated with White House "plumber" G. Gordon Liddy.

Whether Wilkinson was acting on the orders of higher-ups when he spied on the YSA and antiwar movement is not yet known. The Watergate revelations, however, have shown that freelance spies, detective agencies, and local police departments are an integral part of the network of harassment and provocation against radicals organized by Washington.

The use of agents to spy on the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party is one of the charges against the government in the \$27-million suit filed by the two organizations. The suit demands a halt to all Watergate-style harassment of the YSA and SWP.

History of an undercover cop

The October *Young Socialist* describes the history of Louis Anchill, an agent provocateur who once infiltrated the YSA and tried to victimize its members. Anchill recently testified as a government witness at the trial of the Gainesville Eight. The YS explains how Anchill functioned and what can be done to fight this type of government attack.

Also in this issue, "Why Chile's Allende Fell" and an interview with United Farm Workers boycott activists.

To obtain a copy, send 25 cents to Young Socialist, Box 471 Cooper Sta., New York, N.Y. 10003.



Attorney Leonard Boudin (center) describes SWP suit at July news conference. At left is YSA National Secretary Andrew Pulley. Linda Jenness, SWP presidential candidate in 1972, is seated at right.

CHILE: Three who escaped

Firsthand accounts of repression in Chile



Book burning in Santiago

[About a week after the bloody coup in Chile, the Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco, who had been in exile in Santiago, was able to escape to Mexico. His exit was arranged by the Swedish government, which has offered him asylum. Blanco was accompanied by the Argentine Trotskyist Eduardo Creus and by a Brazilian comrade, Julião Bordao. On September 28, they gave the following interview in Mexico City to a correspondent of *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. How extensive has the repression been in Chile?

Blanco. The military began their repression in advance of the coup, aiming to disarm and demobilize the people. They began raiding plants. For example, they raided an electronics plant in Arica in the North. In Santiago there were several raids, including one on a cemetery. All these searches were carried out under the cover of the so-called Arms Control Law, which was passed by the right-wing bloc in parliament at the culmination of the last offensive against the government in October 1972. The UP [Unidad Popular—Popular Unity, the class-collaborationist ruling coalition] did not actively oppose it, however. The UP deputies abstained and Allende did not veto it.

In the South, they raided the Lanera Austral factory, where they killed some workers. In the same area, the military launched a repression against peasants who demonstrated their opposition to the June 29 attempted coup. Some were dragged across the ground by helicopters or tortured in front of their families. Sailors who showed opposition to the coup were also tortured and imprisoned. All of this was part of the softening-up process that preceded the take-over. As a final test, in Santiago they raided the Cobre Cerillos factory in the Cordón Cerillos and the Sumar factory in the Cordón Vicuña Mackenna. Three days after these raids, they made their strike.

These escalating raids enabled the right to test the strength of the workers movement, its capacity to resist. They also started the process of selective repression aimed at decapitating the workers movement and the left parties. The strongholds of the left in the factory belts, shantytowns, and schools like the Universidad Técnica were hit, and vanguard militants were seized and imprisoned. Throughout this first phase of the repression, the military and the police had the acquiescence of Allende and the UP leadership.

When they launched their massive terror on September 11, the military were also aided by the faltering defensive line of the UP government. The UP government had called on the workers to maintain a constant guard on the factories. They did not

Interview with Hugo Blanco, Eduardo Creus, and Julião Bordao.

call for seizing the factories but only for guarding them. They meant that the workers should continue working for bosses and even imperialists and that after doing back-breaking labor all day, carrying out the UP's order to produce more and win "the battle of production," they should stay on at night doing guard duty. Obviously this meant that those who did stay were mainly the vanguard. Most of the workers tired of this. So that it was essentially the vanguard that was trapped in the factories when the military launched its attack.

On the day of the coup, the military launched a massive strike against the factories and the shantytowns, seeking to massacre the vanguard. At the same time, they tried to round up all the leaders of the left parties as well as the UP ministers and deputies.

Next, the repression was directed against the intermediate cadres. The activists in the factories were fired, arrested, and murdered. The universities were closed. The University of Concepción, a well-known center of the far left, was shut down and formal-

ly abolished. The diplomas of its graduates were revoked. In the Universidad Técnica, the military carried out a massacre on the first day of the coup, slaughtering about 600 persons. There was also a massacre at the Instituto Pedagógico.

There are reports that every fifteen minutes a body is cremated in Santiago. Many persons have seen bodies lying in the street. Murders have been seen in broad daylight. For example, if someone goes out for bread or something like that, he is likely to be bullied by the Carabineros [Riot Police], and anybody who protests is simply shot down. There was one occasion when the Carabineros started beating people in a food line and when some persons objected, the whole line was slaughtered.

The football stadiums have been turned into gigantic prisons in Santiago, Concepción, and Antofagasta. The island of Quiriquina has also been converted into a prison. Innumerable military tribunals have been set up. There are ten in Valparaíso alone, for example. There are a lot of executions going on, and the junta is threatening to punish any kind of resistance with death. Any act of sabotage in word or deed is supposed to be punishable by summary execution.

An all-embracing campaign of intimidation against the population began at 3:00 p.m. on September 11, when the junta gave the order that everyone was to remain in their homes, that no one could be on the streets. Many people could not get home. For example, I had to walk thirty-five blocks to get to my home. The next day there was a curfew around the clock. It was only lifted on Thursday [September 13] at noon. The people were kept imprisoned in their homes. It was certain death to be on the street.

While the military held the population pinned down and atomized this way, they carried out almost indiscriminate mass raids. They broke into the houses of everyone who had been denounced by some rightist or another, beat up whatever persons they

found, tortured the inhabitants in front of their families, shot some on the spot, and dragged others away to prison, where, needless to say, they continued torturing them. The troops destroyed everything they could not carry away. They were given free rein to take all valuables. This is the way the putschists egged on the soldiers to carry out the repression. They offered them booty.

The brunt of the repression was directed against the cordones [industrial belts] and the shantytowns. Massacres took place in the squatters' settlements of Lo Hermida, La Legua, and Nueva Havana. Many of the nationalized factories where organization of the workers had reached its highest level were razed. This happened to the Sumar and Cristalería plants in the Vicuña Mackenna Cordón and to the Cobre Cerillos plant in the Cerillos Cordón, as well as many other factories.

The armed forces were turned into a murder machine. Many persons were killed immediately on being taken prisoner, or the next day, as it occurred to the military. The objective of the repression was to clear the left out of all the factories and centers, by killing them, driving them out, and arresting them. In this way the workers movement was decapitated.

Q. What is the situation now of the political exiles who found refuge in Chile under the UP government?

Blanco. The campaign against foreigners is a very important aspect of the repression in Chile. Being pointed out as a foreigner, especially one from another Latin American country, can mean instant death. This campaign is obviously not the work of the Chilean bourgeoisie or the putschists alone. Most of the foreigners played no role in the government. This is obviously an action directed by the imperialists, by the CIA.

Chile has been turned into a trap. Or since the Chilean national an-

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them says that the country will be either the refuge of the oppressed or the grave of the free, perhaps we should say that it has been turned into a tomb.

Since Chile had opened its doors to political refugees, many revolutionists were concentrated there. Mainly these were Brazilians. There were also Argentines, Uruguayans, Bolivians, Dominicans, Venezuelans, and others from the Central American countries. So the coup was an excellent opportunity for the imperialists to trap this entire vanguard. At the same time, it could piously wash its hands of the affair. The blame was on the junta. The imperialists and the other Latin American bourgeoisies could look on innocently. They were not the ones killing, jailing, and torturing this vanguard, only the Chilean junta. But this was really an international repressive operation by the various bourgeoisies, headed by the imperialists.

lifted, I had to get out of my house. I took refuge in the Swedish Embassy and later in the home of the Mexican ambassador, which I was finally allowed to leave to come here to Mexico. But many Chileans who had taken refuge in the embassy and in the ambassador's house were not given exit permits, and in some cases only some members of families were allowed to leave. For example, there was the case of Alejandro Chilén Rojas. They gave visas to his wife and daughter-in-law and grandson. They are here in Mexico City. But he was not allowed to leave. His crime was mainly publishing books. He worked for the Mantú publishing house.

The Mexican Embassy deserves special credit for getting refugees out. They are doing everything they can. But don't think that it is easy to get into the embassies. They are surrounded by police. The day before I left I saw them capture three persons who were trying to make it into the ambassador's home.

ple in the shantytowns who were pushing for direct distribution of food and other supplies. Finally the repression of the right escalated, and they began attacks on factories and the poor neighborhoods while Allende was still in office.

In this whole process, the role of the Communist and Socialist parties was to act as a brake on the popular mobilization. Part of their policy was the "dialogue" with the right and the campaign for production. They did not tell the workers to organize so as to advance the process, but to work harder and harder, even in the factories that were still in the hands of the imperialists.

Although the masses were on the offensive throughout most of the UP government's term in office, they were held back by their reformist leaderships. When the right went on the offensive in October, the reformists kept the masses in a strictly defensive position. The workers saw the need to arm and talked about organizing defense committees. But the Allende government said that there could be no armed forces but the Carabineros and the military.

Q. Did opposition to this reformist policy develop in the Communist and Socialist parties?

Creus. In the CP I saw only individual dissidents. In the SP there were dissident currents but in the end they capitulated to their reformist leaderships. The real effect of these left currents was to reinforce reformism. Militant workers joined the SP in the hope that they could win it over to a revolutionary line and they became trapped in a reformist structure.

Q. How extensive was the resistance to the coup?

Creus. There was no organized resistance. The workers wanted to fight. But in the absence of a genuinely revolutionary organization there could be no organized resistance. There was some resistance by snipers. There was some resistance by groups besieged in places like the Instituto Pedagógico, but they were slaughtered. They tried to put up a fight in the Universidad Técnica, but they were massacred. There was resistance in the shantytown of La Legua, but there was a massacre there like the one in Lo Hermida.

Q. To what extent were the workers armed?

Creus. The left organizations had a lot of guns. But these weapons were not in the hands of the workers. They were kept in special arsenals by the leaderships. This was another aspect of the bureaucratic organization of the left parties. Even if the leaderships had wanted to arm the workers, there was no organization suited to this task. There was the case of the governor of Talca, for example. He wanted to resist and did put up a fight with some persons but it was only a small group.

It was no good having guns, if they were not in the hands of the workers. And there was no organization to enable the workers to resist in an organized way. So, the resistance was mini-

mal, the amount of weapons in the hands of the workers was minimal. But with the proper organization, the resistance could have assumed gigantic proportions.

Q. Did any splits show up in the armed forces?

Creus. There were two types of opposition to the coup. There was a sector of the officers who were against the take-over. It was led by Prats. But it was very weak. Nonetheless, this division could have been exploited by the proletariat if it had had a really revolutionary leadership. A reformist leadership could not take advantage of it. When Prats told Allende that the only way out was to fire sixteen generals, Allende said he didn't



Militant/Ben Atwood

BLANCO: 'We have to develop a worldwide campaign to restrain the repression. . . .'

have the strength to do it. So, Prats and the other anticoup officers had to resign.

The common soldiers were another matter. Among them there were revolutionary elements ready to fight alongside the working class. There was murmuring in the armed forces against the putschist plans, rather than active opposition. In the absence of a revolutionary organization, such opposition could take only an isolated, atomized form. There was a case of a Carabinero who shot a lieutenant and a captain and called on the others to join him. But he was alone and so no one else followed him and he was killed. It is probable that such incidents occurred in many places but in a disorganized way.

The case of the sailors in Valparaiso shows how the reformists disorganized any opposition in the army. When the sailors manifested their disapproval of the June 29 coup and the military's plans for a take-over, the officers repressed them. And the government endorsed this repression. It approved it first by its silence and later explicitly.

Q. There are some elements in the U.S. Communist party that accuse the revolutionary left of provoking the coup by promoting the nationalizations and a socialist policy. What is your opinion of that?

Creus. Those who provoked the coup were not the left, because the only thing that could have stopped the coup was the advance of the struggles of the working class, toward more nationalization, workers control, mea-



'This is a defeat of catastrophic proportions.'

For example, the Uruguayan and Brazilian governments backed up the junta in this campaign by claiming that the persons from their countries who went to Chile had the objective of developing terrorist operations. Thus, they gave the junta carte blanche to murder the Uruguayan and Brazilian compañeros.

There was an enormous pogrom, similar to the Nazi persecution of the Jews. Leaflets were dropped from airplanes and helicopters. The radio stations called on the people to turn in all foreigners who had come to Chile to kill Chileans. That gave rightists who didn't like foreigners a chance to run to the nearest police station and sic the military and police on everyone they knew about. There was a good probability that those arrested, especially if it was by the army or the air force, would be killed on the spot.

Q. How were you able to get out of the country?

Blanco. As soon as the curfew was

Creus. I would like to add one thing to what Hugo said about the repression. There were wholesale expulsions of activists, mainly from the factories of the nationalized sector that had been seized by the workers. The junta itself has said that 15 percent of the workers in these plants have been fired.

Q. What has the Chilean experience shown about the theory of the "peaceful road" to socialism?

Creus. This theory did not have much to do with reality. The class struggle never stopped. The workers occupied factories and the peasants took land without asking the permission of the UP. On the other hand, the rightists kept up a constant attack on the government. They pressured the government to use the police to repress the workers who wanted to advance the process of socialization. For example, on many occasions when the workers occupied the factories, it was the Allende government itself that cleared them out. On other occasions, it repressed the peo-

defenseless people'

asures that would have strengthened workers power, including the arming of the proletariat. These measures, as well as encouraging the soldiers to resist the coup, are the only thing that could have blocked it. But instead of advancing this development, the UP leadership held all this back and even assisted the repression. So it is not the revolutionary left that provoked the coup but the reformist leaderships—fundamentally the Communist party, and also, of course, the SP leadership.

Q. What about the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left]? What kind of an alternative did it offer to the reformist leadership of the UP?

Julião Bordao: At no time did the MIR really seek to win the masses away from the UP's reformism. This is the key for assessing the MIR. In the period before Allende took office, the MIR's political line could be characterized as ultraleft. They raided banks and did all the things that are called urban guerrilla warfare. But at no time did they try to win the masses away from reformism. Instead they threw themselves into vanguardist actions.

Then when Allende was elected, the MIR changed its line, but they really just turned the coin over. From a policy of urban guerrilla warfare, they turned to capitulating to Allende, essentially to an opportunist line. Although they retained their organizational independence from the UP, they were drawn in fundamentally behind its policy. The line of the MIR in fact became integrated with that of the UP. They launched attacks periodically on the UP, but the central aspect was their support for it.

That is, just as they did not seek to win the masses away from the reformists in the first phase of their activity, so they did not do so in the second. They tended in fact to support the left wing of the Socialist party, helping it to keep the most militant workers from going beyond the framework of the UP.

Creus. As the comrade says, the MIR was unable to build an alternative mass leadership. It should be noted that the MIR did nominally have a caucus in the union movement, the Frente de Trabajadores Revolucionarios [FTR—Front of Revolutionary Workers]. But this was only an appendage of the MIR and suffered from all its defects. The MIR was essentially a bureaucratic organization and the FTR also suffered from this bureaucratism. It was impossible by such methods to organize an independent workers vanguard.

The social base of the MIR was first of all peasants and then the inhabitants of the shantytown belts around the cities. They had very little in the workers movement. This led them in an opportunist way to underestimate the cordones industriales, which were the vanguard of the working class. They put their emphasis on the comandos comunales, which combined the shantytowns and some other sectors and in which the workers were included but in a diluted way. No real comando comunal existed; there were only embryos that

were not even on the level of the cordones. We were not against the comandos comunales, but we thought that the fundamental thing was to strengthen the cordones industriales, which should have been the axis of the comandos comunales.

Along with their opportunism, it should be noted that there were spontanéist and adventurist attitudes in the MIR. At times they planned seizing factories and streets in sudden actions that were not prepared by previous mobilization of the masses and by discussion. This obviously led to failures. At times they tried to substitute the action of groups of their own members for that of the masses. For example, when they tried to take some factories back from the rightists who had occupied them while the workers were out, they wanted to have Mirista groups do it, instead of trying to organize the workers themselves, who were beginning to see the need to do this. This happened specifically in the AG factory.

As the comrade said, they failed to put up their own candidates in elections when they had the strength to do so. Instead they gave uncritical support to the leader of the SP left wing, Altamirano.

Q. What is the role of the fascist groups in the repression?

Creus. Everybody is calling the junta a fascist government. We don't think that what exists in Chile is fascism. I don't say this to try to prettify the junta any or to minimize its guilt. This does not mean that it is any less barbarous; it could hardly be any more barbarous. The fact is that if the military has not established a fascist regime, it is not because it doesn't want to. Fascism, as we define it, is a mass movement. It involves political gangs repressing the masses. But there are only the em-



Soldiers retrieving a corpse. Thousands of workers have been killed.

bryos of this type of fascist gangs in Chile.

At present, the repression is being carried out almost entirely by the armed forces. If the fascists have been involved in any of this, we have no news of it. On the other hand, the fascists are playing a role by informing on leftists and by offering the junta trucks and everything it needs. But the repression, the massacres, is being carried out by the armed forces.

Q. How great a defeat do you think the Chilean workers have suffered? How soon will they be able to recover?



Tanks in Santiago during the coup

Creus. The working class has suffered a very grave defeat. The entire vanguard is being crushed. The leadership in the cordones and the left parties is being annihilated—not just the top leadership, but the intermediate leadership and now even the activists in the factories. The entire student body at the University of Concepción, for example, has fallen under the repression. It is a defeat from which it will take a long time to recover.

Blanco. This is a defeat of catastrophic proportions because it comes in the context of a series of defeats in Latin America. The coups in Uruguay, Bolivia, and Brazil, for example, have reinforced the reactionaries. Argentina is one of the few bulwarks left. In the present situation, it represents a great hope for a new rise in Latin America.

Q. What can we do outside Chile to help minimize this defeat?

Blanco. We have to develop a worldwide campaign to restrain the repression in Chile. In the first place, we have to stop the executions and killings, many of which take place every day. Secondly, we have to win more humane treatment for the prisoners and force the military to abolish its special tribunals. The demonstrations that occurred throughout the world in the wake of the coup had an immediate effect. A few days after the initial massacres, it was evident that they were trying to apply some restraint. So, I think that this campaign must be continued in order to save many lives from the slaughter that is going on every day.

The situation of the foreigners in Chile is extremely grave. The world has not seen such a hysterical pogrom since the years of Nazism. This is something that should interest not just the left organizations but all or-

ganizations that claim to uphold human rights.

The demand should be raised that the Chilean government give exit permits to all political exiles and give them safe-conduct passes out of the country. Chile has signed the Latin American treaty on asylum, and if it denies the right to leave to one single exile it is violating this treaty. So, we must demand that this treaty be respected and that the cordons around the Latin American embassies be removed.

At the same time, we have to fight to assure the exiles new places of asylum and keep them from being re-

turned to their countries. For example, sending some Brazilians back to their country means just killing them in Brazil instead of Chile. The organizations that defend human rights must campaign to get the exiles out and to a place where they will be in no danger. There are in fact Brazilians who have been forced to take refuge in their own embassy because in the face of the kind of terror the Chilean junta has unleashed, they preferred to die in their own country.

It should be pointed out that many of the Brazilians who were in Chile had never participated in the revolutionary movement but were studying, or working, or had some other non-political reason to be in the country. But the fact that they have to escape from Chile—because it is a capital crime there now to be a Brazilian—means that they cannot return to Brazil, because going back under these conditions means that they would unquestionably be regarded as political criminals.

It is important to expose the junta's almost unprecedented campaign of terror against the population. Despite stories of armed resistance, what has been going on has been essentially a massacre of a defenseless people.

Hugo Blanco on Chile & Peru

A revolutionist's assessment after the first year of the Allende government. 16 pp., 35 cents.

PATHFINDER PRESS, INC., 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014

New confirmation of mass executions

By DAVE FRANKEL

Grim confirmation of the many reports of mass executions in Chile was carried in the Oct. 8 issue of *Newsweek* magazine. *Newsweek's* John Barnes visited the Santiago city morgue and saw for himself the appalling evidence of the junta's work.

"One hundred and fifty dead bodies were laid out on the ground floor, awaiting identification by family members," Barnes wrote. "Upstairs, I passed through a swing door and there in a dimly lit corridor lay at least 50 more bodies. . . .

"Most had been shot at close range under the chin. Some had been machinegunned in the body. Their chests had been slit open and sewn together grotesquely in what presumably had been a pro forma autopsy. They were all young and, judging from the roughness of their hands, all from the working class."

The next day Barnes returned. "There were more bodies, perhaps 70, and they were different from the day before."

Barnes reported, "Workers at the

For analysis by Chilean Trotskyists before the coup, see World Outlook section.

morgue have been warned that they will be court-martialed and shot if they reveal what is going on there. But I was able to obtain an official morgue body-count from the daughter of a member of its staff: by the fourteenth day following the coup, she said, the morgue had received and processed 2,796 corpses.

"No one knows how many have been disposed of elsewhere; a gravedigger told me of reports that helicopters have been gathering bodies at the emergency first-aid center in central Santiago, then carrying them out to sea to be dumped. One priest informed me that on the Saturday after the coup he had managed to get into the City's Technical University, which had been the scene of heavy fighting, on the pretext of bless-



Chilean family in shantytown slum. Junta's bloodbath is aimed at terrorizing workers and urban poor into submission.

ing the dead. He told me he saw 200 bodies, all piled together. Tales like that abound in Santiago, and though information is almost nonexistent for the rest of Chile, the presumption is that the executions have followed a similar pattern in other cities."

Barnes's story highlights the whitewash that the American press as a whole has been giving the junta. The *Washington Post*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *New York Times* have all downplayed the dozens of accounts of mass executions, stressing that such reports have been circulated by opponents of the junta. As of Oct. 1 the junta claimed to have executed 19 people.

Reign of terror

All indications are that the reign of terror is continuing. New arrests are announced each day. On Sept. 30 the junta announced the establishment of a system of neighborhood telephones to allow citizens to turn in people they believe to be "extremists."

Even the Roman Catholic hierarchy, which has offered to cooperate with the military regime in the "reconstruction" of the country, has expressed some reservations at the extent of the repression.

Marvine Howe reported in the Oct. 1 *New York Times* on the case of the Reverend Juan Alcina, a Spanish priest of the Catholic Action Workers Movement. Alcina was arrested and the Archbishop notified of his detention. Several days later, his body was fished out of the Mapocho River with ten bullet holes in the back.

In another case, Howe wrote, "A Chilean priest, Miguel Woodward, who lived and worked in a slum district of Valparaiso and taught a course in trade unionism in the Catholic University, was arrested and beaten 'savagely,' according to church sources. He died from his wounds in a Valparaiso hospital."

The systematic terrorism of the junta makes even more impressive the display of defiance that took place Sept. 25 at the funeral of Pablo Neruda. Neruda, the Nobel Prize-winning poet and former Communist Party presidential candidate, died of cancer Sept. 23.

Several thousand people turned out for his funeral, despite a cordon of troops and police with machine guns and rifles around the cemetery. The mourners sang the "Internationale,"

heard speakers, and dispersed without incident.

Apparently the junta was reluctant to intervene after the international scandal that resulted from the sacking of Neruda's home. All the poet's books were seized, and some of his papers have been reported missing. The junta is trying to blame the destruction on a 10-year-old boy.

The junta has tried to justify its barbaric repression by manufacturing a specter of "left-wing terrorism," and claiming that it acted only in order to forestall a coup by Allende. However, Jonathan Kandell reported in the Sept. 27 *New York Times* that Chilean officers began to plot their coup last November. "In April, the government somehow found out that we were plotting and they started to consider ways of stopping us," said one officer quoted by Kandell.

According to Kandell, "By August of this year, the military leaders had rejected any thought of a civilian political solution and had encouraged middle-class unions to continue their prolonged strikes against Dr. Allende's Government to set the stage for a military take-over."

"We would have acted even if Allende had called a plebiscite or reached a compromise with the political Opposition," said an officer deeply involved in the plotting of the coup."

Right-wing offensive

Since the coup, the junta has not limited its activities to mass executions. It is replacing all university rectors with its own appointees and purging school textbooks. Nationwide wage increases set for Oct. 1 have been canceled, and a wage freeze has been imposed.

Efforts to undo the gains won while Allende was in office and to attract foreign capital to Chile are also proceeding. The junta has indicated that more than 400 of the 500 enterprises that came under government control during the past three years will be returned to their former owners.

On Sept. 28 Chile's new foreign minister, Admiral Ismael Huerta, told U.S. copper companies that "the door is open" for resumption of negotiations on compensation for their nationalized holdings. The attitude of the U.S. capitalists was featured in bold type in the Sept. 29 issue of *Business Week*, which warned: "U.S. prospects hinge on how Chile settles

claims of the copper companies."

That *Business Week* expects the junta to pay up was indicated in the title of its article: "A future for business in Chile." No doubt the first paragraph of the story reflected some of the feelings that U.S. executives prefer to keep private for the time being. It read:

"I am laughing for the first time in a long time," says Andronico Luksic, a Chilean businessman. "I sing in the shower and my days are full of plans."

Junta: 'Now you will pay'

Newsweek reporter John Barnes gave the following account of an interview with a mother of two from the Pincoya población (shantytown slum). She said:

"Soldiers raided our población last Saturday at 8 in the morning. In the section where we live, they rounded up about 50 men and held them until a police lieutenant came to take his pick. When the lieutenant saw my husband, he made him step forward and told him: 'Now you will pay for all you people have done.' The *carabineros* took him and a few others to the police station, and the rest were arrested by soldiers."

Barnes writes that "for three days, she and the other women of Pincoya searched for their men in police stations and the two soccer stadiums where thousands are incarcerated. It was only after they heard that a 17-year-old boy from their block had been found at the morgue — shot in the head and chest — that they made the journey to see the lists of the dead. There they found her husband, Gabriel, as well as every adult male from one block of their población."

Barnes also related an interview with a resident of another población. "On the day the coup took place, he told me, he and one of his sons saw ten high-school students marched from their school, their hands over their heads, after a brief skirmish with *carabineros*. They were forced to lie face down on the ground, and then a policeman walked the line of prone youngsters, spraying them with machine-gun fire."



Victim of junta's repression in Santiago.

USLA Reporter

15,000 copies of a special issue of the *USLA Reporter* have just come off the press. The *Reporter* is the publication of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

The eight-page magazine, geared to the emergency situation in Chile, will feature: eyewitness accounts of the repression from Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco and other refugees just out of Chile; reprints of published accounts of the coup that haven't been picked up widely in the U.S.; an analysis of the meaning of the coup for democratic rights in Chile and action proposals for what can be done about it in this country.

The *USLA Reporters* are 15 cents each, with discounts for bulk orders. Send or call your orders to: USLA, 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 311, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-2880.

USLA is in touch with a number of people who were in Chile during the coup and are willing to speak at protest meetings about what they saw. Contact the committee to arrange a speaker for your area.

CHILE: Protests

'Humanity stands aghast' at massacres

No letup in int'l outcry against Chile junta

By CAROLINE LUND

OCT. 2—Expressions of protest and revulsion throughout the world continue to confront the Chilean military junta and its backers in Washington.

Internationally, actions have multiplied—from England, where more than 5,000 persons marched on Sept. 16; to Cuba, where 200,000 protested Sept. 17 at the call of the Central Organization of Cuban Trade Unions. A demonstration of 100,000 took

unanimity," Fullbright stated. "Not one expresses approval, or even acceptance, of the coup. On the contrary, they express dismay, strong suspicions of U.S. involvement, and deep concern over the fate of Chilean supporters of the Allende regime and of the foreign exile community in Chile."

Prestigious professional organizations have condemned the outrages of the Chilean junta. The Authors League of America, representing 6,000 writers, released a statement saying that it "deplores the book burning and suppression of writers by the Chilean Government."

Another statement addressed to the junta came from Grove Press, which has published the poems of Chilean Communist Pablo Neruda, who died during the coup.

"Humanity stands aghast at your infamous sacking and butchery of the literary testament of Pablo Neruda," it said. "Your act recalls the worst days of Hitler's Third Reich."

An appeal against the Chilean generals' "reign of terror" was released by leading American scholars including Jerome Wiesner, president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and John Lewis, dean of the Woodrow Wilson School of International Affairs at Princeton University.

Local street demonstrations and protest meetings continued into the third week after the coup, with no sign of letup. Some Latin American defense groups in the U.S. have called for a national week of protest against the Chilean military regime Oct. 8-15.

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) sent Judy White, editor of the *USLA Reporter*, to Mexico City to meet with exiles from Peru, Brazil, Uruguay, Bolivia, and other countries, who have escaped from Chile. She gathered eyewitness testimony on the repression and discussed with them steps to coordinate the defense campaign in this country.

More than 300 people rallied at



Patricia and Adam Garrett-Schesch, who witnessed executions in Chile's national stadium, will speak at USLA rally in N.Y. Oct. 12.

place in Mexico City.

In this country, the feelings of the American people were indicated when Senator William Fulbright (D-Ark.) reported that thousands of letters, telegrams, and even long-distance phone calls had bombarded the Foreign Relations Committee.

"What is unprecedented is their

New York protest rally

The New York chapter of USLA is building a mass meeting Oct. 12 to protest the repression in Chile. Featured speakers will be Patricia and Adam Garrett-Schesch, who were held for a week in Santiago's national stadium.

The meeting is scheduled for 8 p.m. at MacMillan Auditorium, Columbia University, 116th Street and Broadway.

Speakers will also include columnist José Torres; attorney Conrad Lynn; Allende aide Mark Cooper; writer Annette Rubenstein; Chester Feuerstein, president of New York Society of Clinical Psychologists; Dr. Benjamin Spock; Edward Boorstein, formerly economic adviser of Salvador Allende and the Bank of Chile; Dave McReynolds; Judith Ma-

lina from the Living Theater and USLA; and David White, vice-president of Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Union.

The event has been endorsed by a wide spectrum of individuals and organizations, including the United Farm Workers Union; Washington Square Methodist Church; Third World People's Coalition; Psychologists for Social Action; Socialist Workers Party; Young Socialist Alliance; James Harrison, U.S. chairman of Amnesty International; and the Reverend Bill Wipfler of the Latin American department of the National Council of Churches. (Organizational affiliations of individuals are for identification purposes only.)

Sproul Plaza at the University of California in Berkeley Oct. 2. Protesters heard speakers from USLA, the North American Congress on Latin America, the Young Socialist Alliance, and others.

In Denver more than 200 people joined a picket line at the federal building Sept. 28. It was sponsored by the Crusade for Justice, USLA, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist

Alliance, and several professors and religious figures in the Denver community.

Participating in the action, which was reported in the *Denver Post*, were more than 100 students and teachers from the Escuela Tlatelolco, a Chicano school, and members of the Union of Mexican-American Students at the University of Colorado in Boulder.

Continued on page 22



San Francisco

USLA urges: Defend those in danger!

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has begun a campaign on behalf of well-known Latin American figures who are known to have been arrested or are being hunted by the Chilean military butchers.

USLA learned Oct. 3 that the junta has announced plans for the execution of Luis Corvalán, the Chilean Communist Party leader who is among the list of intended victims USLA has publicized. USLA has sent the Communist Party USA a message conveying outrage at this report and inviting the CP to send a speaker to the Oct. 12 meeting planned for Columbia University to protest such brutal acts of terror.

Many others in Chile face the danger of the same fate announced for Corvalán. USLA is asking that telegrams and petitions of protest be sent to General Augusto Pinochet c/o the Chilean Ambassador to the U.S., Chilean Embassy, 1736 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Such telegrams should demand that the safety and demo-



Militant/Della Rossa
Los Angeles. 'Free the political prisoners!'

cratic rights of the following individuals be assured:

Pedro Enriquez, lawyer for the Chilean MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left); Theotonio dos Santos, noted Brazilian political economist; Vania Bambilla, noted Brazilian political economist; Ruy Mauro Marini, Brazilian political scientist; Ernani Maria Fiori, Brazilian philosopher; Gustavo Beghaut, Uruguayan director of Latin American studies at the Sorbonne.

Also, Juan Lechin, Bolivian trade-union leader; Elsa Peña vda. Hernández, widow of Dominican revolutionist Homero Hernández; Anna Napoleon, Haitian political refugee; Julio Cortazar, Argentine writer; Emma de Torres, wife of Juan José Torres, former president of Bolivia, and a leader of defense efforts for Bolivian political prisoners.

Also Hugo Gonzales Moscoso, leader of the Bolivian POR (Combate) (Revolutionary Workers Party); Patricio Gussman, Chilean filmmaker; Maria Ester Gilio, Uruguayan lawyer who defended many Tupamaros; Guillermo Lora of the

Bolivian POR (Masas); Angel Parra, Chilean singer; Guillermo Cahn, Chilean filmmaker; Pedro Chaskel, Chilean filmmaker; Ulrick Joly, Haitian political refugee.

Two names recently added to the list are Alejandro Chilén Rojas, Chilean Socialist Party leader; and Haime Barrio, economic adviser to Allende.

Three names from the original USLA list have been removed because they are no longer in immediate danger, owing to international pressure on the junta or other factors. They are: Chilean Socialist Party leader Carlos Altamirano; Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco; and Mario Pedrosa, Brazilian art and social critic.

USLA asks that letters describing protests about these individuals be sent to local newspapers to help increase awareness of the situation in Chile, and copies of all protests should be sent to USLA to be used in further publicity. USLA's address is 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 311, New York, N.Y. 10011.

Chile defense urgent!

The world is only beginning to grasp the horror of the coup in Chile.

Working people and poverty-stricken slum-dwellers mowed down with machine guns. Worker militants tortured in front of their families. Victims beheaded and mutilated. A pogrom against "foreigners." The workers defenseless, unorganized, and betrayed by their leaders in the Communist and Socialist parties. A whole generation of young, militant trade unionists and revolutionary-minded workers massacred.

And sitting on top of the corpses, the bankers, businessmen, and landlords of Chile are celebrating. "I am laughing for the first time in a long time," one of them told *Business Week*, as the junta prepared to hand over to the capitalists more than 400 enterprises that had been taken over by the workers.

The situation in Chile demands that the weight of a massive international defense movement be thrown into the balance to stay the hand of the butchers.

Our first goal must be to stop the massacres, executions, and torture, and to demand exit passes for the thousands who are trying to escape Chile.

In the United States we need a continued, emergency mobilization of all democratic forces. Students should organize massive protest rallies and teach-ins. Trade unionists should propose that their unions come to the defense of their brothers and sisters in the outlawed trade-union federation of Chile. The Chicano and Puerto Rican communities should mobilize to aid the Chilean people—fellow victims of the racist Yankee imperialists.

We in the U.S. have a special responsibility to take up this defense campaign. Behind the Chilean coup stands the government that acts in our name. It is the U.S. imperialists who armed and trained the Chilean generals to do their dirty work for them. The Chilean military brass are simply junior partners of the imperialists in Washington, who will stop at no limits of barbarism to maintain their system of exploitation.

Many working people in this country—their eyes partially opened by the revelations surrounding Watergate and the secret history of the Vietnam war—are already convinced that the Democrats and Republicans in Washington secretly backed the rightist coup in Chile.

Washington's role is further confirmed by the U.S. government's refusal to aid the political refugees from the slaughter in Chile.

At the same time that Washington shuts out refugees from the Chilean rightist terror, State Department officials are falling over themselves to waive immigration quotas to let 20,000 Cuban counterrevolutionaries enter the U.S. from Spain.

Continue the campaign to get out the truth about Chile!

End the massacres, executions, torture!

Free the political prisoners!

Open U.S. borders to refugees from Chile!

Open CIA and government files on Chile to let the American people know the role of the U.S. government in the coup!

...but not this way

It is not unlikely that the Sept. 28 bombing of the New York ITT building was carried out by police or right-wingers in an effort to discredit the protests against U.S. complicity with the coup and repression in Chile. More and more evidence has come to light recently that instigating violence has been a favorite tactic of government provocateurs out to destroy the student, antiwar, Black, and Chicano movements.

Even if the bombing really was a frustrated act of outrage against the coup by the Weatherpeople—as is claimed—its effect was to hinder, not help, the building of an effective movement. Such terrorist actions only give the U.S. rulers—who are the real perpetrators of violence around the world—a handle to smear all protests as "violent" and discourage people from participating.

Instead of such impotent gestures, our task is to build a campaign that mobilizes masses of people to denounce the repression in Chile and bring the maximum pressure to bear against the junta and its Washington-ITT backers.

King-Riggs match

Someone commented that the reaction of women—and many men—to Billie Jean King's victory over Bobby Riggs was reminiscent of the response in Black communities back in the late 1930s when Joe Louis whipped Max Schmelling, who was built up as a representative of Adolf Hitler's "master race."

One example of the response to King's victory was a spontaneous demonstration of 500 undergraduates at Smith College, the country's biggest all-women college. The women poured out of the dorms and opened the usually locked bell tower to mark the occasion. According to the news report, they carried a sign, "Today tennis—tomorrow the world."

H.R.

Los Angeles, Calif.

Consumer protests

Anger at constantly rising prices keeps deepening across the entire population. I realize it is hard for *The Militant* to keep up with all the protest activities taking place, so I would like to let your readers know of some recent events in the New York area.

On Sept. 18, the Harlem Consumer Education Council and the Food Action Campaign held a day-long educational conference on the situation facing the American consumer and responses to it. Keynote speakers included José Angel Gutierrez of La Raza Unida Party and Florence Rice of the Harlem Consumers Education Council.

Consumer protests have not been confined to the major cities. In New Jersey, a demonstration sponsored by two consumer groups, Until Prices Drop and Stop These Outrageous Prices, was held in Hackensack on Sept. 8. In conjunction with this action, 32,500 signatures were collected on a petition demanding rational economic policies.

M.T.

New York, N.Y.

Hunt's tall yarn

E. Howard Hunt, opening Senator Ervin's second Watergate show, spun a tall yarn for us that shouldn't pass unnoticed.

Hunt, the author of some 40 spy fictions and a former Hollywood scriptwriter, exceeded his past fantasies when he asked us to accept as fact that he directed the Watergate burglary because he believed the Democrats were being funded by Castro. Yes, Castro!

Hunt didn't talk about the 1961 invasion of socialist Cuba, authorized by Democrat John Kennedy, and directed by Hunt. Nor did he mention that after secretly visiting Cuba in 1960 he came back and recommended that Castro be assassinated.

Why a government Hunt wanted overthrown and a popular leader he wanted murdered would reciprocate by financing a party that shares Hunt's wishes was a question left unraised by "Senator Sam" and his probing colleagues. I doubt it could be answered convincingly. In any event, Hunt has a 35-year stretch to look forward to. He self-pityingly pointed that out to the senators, saying he would ultimately die in jail.

Before he checks out, maybe he'll use some of his idle time to come up with a better story.

Michael Smith

New York, N.Y.

Solidarity with prisoners

On Sept. 5 in Indianapolis, 15 people picketed and leafleted at the Indiana statehouse in solidarity with Indiana State Prison inmates at Michigan City.

The demonstrators carried signs saying "Stop Institutional Racism!" and "Support the prisoners' just demands!"

The picket line was called following the take-over of several cellblocks at the prison to dramatize miserable living conditions there. Several hostages were taken, and were subsequently released unharmed. The prisoners presented a list of 25 demands and requested press conferences and access to reporters.

The amount of publicity given to the take-over and the overwhelming public sympathy for the prisoners pressured Indiana Governor Otis Bowen to personally investigate the conditions at the prison. He agreed that living and working standards were indeed intolerable and stressed the need to avoid an "Attica" in Indiana.

Despite his investigation, however, Bowen refused to consider the demand to fire racist Warden Lesh. Bowen's solution was to raise the pay of the guards and institute a training program for them!

Represented on the picket line were CEPAC; United Afrikans for One Motherland, International; the Young Socialist Alliance; and the Young Workers Liberation League.

D.E.

Indianapolis

'Widows get robbed'

Your readers might be interested in an editorial that appeared in the Sept. 7 *Tulsa Daily World*. Titled "Widows Get Robbed," the editorial said that Oklahoma "collects about \$5 million a year in estate taxes from widows, which widowers in similar circumstances would not have to pay. . . .

"As matters now stand, if a typical farmer outlives his wife, he pays tax on only half the estate. If the wife survives her husband, however, she may have to pay on 100 percent of the value. The law illogically and irrationally presumes that her work as a farm wife made no contribution to the estate.

"The law should be changed."

M.M.

New York, N.Y.

Overthrow of Allende

The overthrow of the Allende government affects all concerned with the democratic movement for socialism. As a De Leonist I hope that the working class, the students, and all oppressed peoples everywhere will learn from this tragedy and prepare for the eventual final mass struggle.

The main lesson from the Allende coup is that it is unreasonable to collaborate with the oppressive forces. They cannot be trusted, because their interest is opposite to the interest of the oppressed.

The capitalists are the true advocates of violence. Socialism is the hope of humanity.

Paul A. Pallazola
Gloucester, Mass.



Myths about pensions

For years now the major industrial unions in Canada have carried on a campaign of creating the myth that company-union pensions are a major cost item in union negotiations.

It is a fact, however, that the company-union pensions the UAW negotiates are a no-cost item. Pension funds are both administered and financed from tax rebates. I have stated this when running for office in union election campaigns and have never been challenged by either the company or the union.

The pension funds are secretly managed and controlled by the company—and we could assume the provincial and federal government—and are completely financed by government largesse. Only employees whose applications (after 10 years' service) have been approved by the company's pension committee have their pension plan funded.

I am in favor of a company-union pension agreement as a step in introducing comprehensive social security legislation for all Canadians. The corporations have a long record of opposing all progressive social legislation as an unwarranted cost. I expect any company would logically apply for any tax dodge that would benefit their employees, without any kudos.

Hugh Dowson
Toronto, Ontario

Auto contract

The news media is again rendering its usual services to the auto companies and the UAW bureaucracy by exaggerating the gains made in UAW-Chrysler negotiations. If one compares the 1973 agreement with that of 1970 one finds little difference.

The annual improvement factor remains the same, although the union leadership has repeatedly pointed out its inadequacy. The Cost of Living Allowance formula continues to be less than adequate to cover rising living costs. Most fringe benefits take effect the second and third years of the contract.

The \$700-monthly pension doesn't take effect until 1978—two years after the end of this contract. The voluntary overtime clause establishes a 54-hour week, what many production workers have been putting in. The health and safety language is just more rhetoric with no enforcement provisions.

There is not a word on production standards or on limiting "management's prerogatives." The new hire-in gets 45 cents under the rate for the job classification. It is no wonder Chrysler Vice-President O'Brien expresses his pleasure with the agreement. It assures high profits for the companies, little for the workers.

John Anderson

Dearborn, Mich.

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

El Grito de Dolores

Sept. 16 celebrations in Los Angeles this year were large, involving tens of thousands of Chicanos and *mexicanos*. This is the day that is commonly known as Mexican Independence Day. It commemorates not the day Mexico won its independence from Spain, but rather the day the independence struggle was launched.

Hernán Cortés was the first white man to land on Mexican soil. From the day his force arrived in 1517, the *conquistadores* savagely suppressed and exploited the native Indians. A racial caste system developed with the pure-blooded Indians at the bottom and various layers of *mestizos* (mixed blood) and *criollos* (creoles) in the middle. On top was a tiny handful of arrogant, wealthy Spaniards.

It was a creole priest who is credited with having made the Mexican Declaration of Independence, although it was a verbal, not a written one. On Sept. 16, 1810, Don Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, vicar of the town of Dolores, issued *El Grito de Dolores* (the Cry of Dolores), calling on his parishioners to revolt. This is generally regarded as the call-to-arms in the struggle for independence from Spain. Each year the words of Don Miguel are repeated in celebrations of that historic event.

In Los Angeles, the biggest event each year is the parade sponsored by the business-dominated Civic Patriotic Committee. Thirty-five thousand were there this year to watch *charros* (Mexican cowboys), floats, bands, and drill teams. As usual, the parade was led by a bunch of Anglo politicians and *vendidos* (sellouts).

Agustín Alachea, official representative of that notorious murderer of students, Mexican President Luis Echeverría, led the parade, along with Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke and Senator Alan Cranston. We haven't seen Senator Cranston in East Los Angeles in a while.



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

Miners paper: new content

All unions put out an official weekly paper or monthly magazine, and some have both. They are mailed to every member. They are supposed to inform workers about what is going on in the union, in the country, and sometimes they carry articles about world developments. If war is declared they will have a notice about that.

Mostly such publications tell about some of the things the union officials are doing, though not everything or even the important things. They report the latest list of retirees, where strikes have been called, what new contracts have been negotiated. They usually carry a monthly financial report, and a listing of deaths. They are not easy to read, and not very informative for most members.

The *United Mine Workers Journal*, which is published twice each month and is now in its eighty-fourth year, used to be one of the dullest of all union publications. It must have been livelier in the beginning, but it deteriorated badly over the years. It was nothing more than the house organ for the union bureaucracy.

Then the miners kicked the corrupt Boyle gang out of union office. The front cover of the December 1972 *Journal* showed a picture of Arnold Miller taking the oath of office as the new president. Since then the official publication of the UMW has not been the same.

The format hasn't changed, but the content is new. It is no longer written for and about the union officialdom. It is written about miners and their problems, and it even has a new section—a letters to the editor page—that is written by miners. This is a departure from the kind of material appearing in most union papers.

One of the things Miller promised when he campaigned against Boyle was democracy in the union. When elected he and the others on the Miners For Democracy slate announced that "the safety of our membership must and will come before the profits of the coal operators."

The *Journal* in 1973 has reflected the determination

Last election, I think it was.

In recent years a new element has been introduced into the traditional celebrations. More and more Chicanos commemorating the struggle of the Mexican people to get the Spanish boot off their necks see a connection with the Chicano struggle for self-determination here in the U.S.

This was shown very dramatically in 1970, when 100,000 people showed up to watch a parade of some 10,000. Many were there to protest the brutal police suppression of the Chicano Moratorium demonstration against the Vietnam war only 17 days before.

This year a militant spirit was evident at *La Feria de la Raza*, a fair sponsored by California State University at Los Angeles. The traditional aspects of 16 de Septiembre—such as *charros*, *mariachis*, Mexican food, and even skydivers with red, green, and white parachutes (the colors of the Mexican flag)—were there.

However, there were also literature tables for Chicano magazines and radical political groups. La Raza Unida Party had a booth and was registering people in its drive to get on the 1974 California ballot.

In the stadium, thousands heard attorney Antonio Rodriguez relate the case of Los Tres del Barrio, three Chicano antidrug activists jailed by the government. All the events were free, and I heard one estimate that as many as 20,000 people had attended *La Feria* throughout the weekend.

Sunday evening, before the concert by singer José Feliciano, the emcee, a Chicano disc jockey, led the crowd in shouts of "Chicano Power!" and "Viva la Raza!"

These are signs that Chicanos are becoming increasingly aware of their identity as a people with a common oppression and a common destiny. The spirit of independence is alive and well in Aztlán (the Southwest).

of the miners to see that these promises are kept. Democracy is being restored through district elections, now held in several union districts that have not had elections for more than a quarter century.

A convention of elected delegates from all locals of the union is being held this December. It will be in Pittsburgh, where rank-and-file miners can attend even if they are not delegates, not in Florida or Hawaii, where most union functionaries and their hangers-on like to go at union expense.

When the convention call was sent out this summer, the *Journal* opened its pages for preconvention discussion. It invited all members of the union to write letters about what actions ought to be taken at the convention and what should be done to strengthen the union. This is a departure from the usual union procedure. It also makes the *Journal* exciting, a paper miners can read with interest.

Mine union officials are now projecting a big campaign to organize the nonunion mines, and a campaign to make all mines safe. Both projects are close to the needs and lives of miners, as some of the letters show.

A young Kentucky miner wrote recently that he wants miners' disability pensions changed. He works for the Peabody Coal Co., and if he gets hurt he must have 20 years in the mine to collect a pension.

"I have 17 1/2 years to go," he writes. "If I were to be disabled before I get in my 20 years, my family and I have nothing. I don't believe a young miner should have equal rights as an older miner, but I believe if a man has ten years and is totally disabled he should be entitled to have the [same] benefits as the man with 20."

A report in the latest issue of the *Journal* shows why young miners think a lot about safety and why they must prepare their union for action against all the injustice and danger of coal mining. "Wilbert Dougherty, a 21-year-old UMWA miner with three weeks experience underground, was killed August 29 by a roof fall at Consolidation Coal Co.'s Matthews Mine in Claiborne County, Tenn."



They put up with enough as it is—The president's \$10-million jet got a \$285,000 interior redecorating job in order to relocate the staff quarters. According to Associated Press, "Pat Nixon had reportedly expressed displeasure because the staff quarters were situated between the presidential suite and the VIP lounge, requiring family members and guests to walk through the staff quarters to visit the president."

Speedy thinker—In New York there was a shortage of garbage collectors until they raised the pay. This was cited by Mitchell Fein, a speedup expert who argues it's false to say people want their jobs made more interesting. All the workers care about, he com-

plained, is wages and conditions. And he wants to speed them up just to make the time go quicker, right?

Love some of thy neighbors—The American Baptist Churches of the Pacific Southwest vetoed an affiliation bid by the Metropolitan Community Church of Costa Mesa, Calif., a gay congregation. It would prove costly to accept the gay church, a spokesman explained, because "the Baptist group is voluntary and many conservative members would quit in revulsion."

Slums, what slums?—With a straight face, the Los Angeles Times reports the "belief" that government and builder efforts have "brought the na-

tion to the verge of a housing surplus." It cites an American Enterprise Institute report that only 8 percent of American homes have substandard plumbing and that the same percentage is overcrowded. The study was made in Grosse Pointe and Scarsdale?

The New Action Army—An Army general told a Senate subcommittee that 36 percent of the service's officers and 70 percent of enlisted personnel are either problem or heavy drinkers.

Worse than poison—A new FDA rule will permit the agency to forgo public announcement of the recall of dangerous food or drugs where such warning might frighten people to death. It's better, the agency feels, just

to quietly let those responsible for the dangerous item in on it. "Once it's all over we can make it public," a spokesman said. And, if need be, you can always inform the next of kin.



Women In Revolt

Cindy Jaquith



'Too short' means men only

The Long Island Rail Road will stop at almost nothing to keep women from working on their trains. That's what Carol Wagner, a 29-year-old teacher, found out when she tried to get a job there. In a phone interview, she described her 14-month battle against the LIRR's discriminatory policies.

Carol is currently awaiting a court decision in her suit to force the LIRR to hire her as a trainman.

"I always wanted to work on the railroad," she told *The Militant*. She also wants the job because it would pay far better than the \$156-a-week job she holds now.

Last year she applied with the LIRR to be a trainman, and they rejected her on the grounds that she was "too short." Carol is five feet tall; the railroad said they don't hire anyone under 5 feet 7.

It was simply "an attempt to thwart women from becoming trainmen and engineers," she explained; height was not the real issue. Proof of this is the fact that the LIRR has quite a few male employees who are shorter than 5 feet 7.

The company thinks they've found a way to get around that embarrassment, however. They have announced that all workers under 5 feet 7 no

longer meet "standards" and will be transferred to new jobs.

Height has never been a requirement before, according to Carol. "It's ludicrous," she said. "You never find a company that knowingly hires men under 5 feet 7 and then 10 or 15 or 20 years later decides these men can no longer do the job."

The LIRR wasn't even very subtle about it—they announced their new height rules the day after Carol had a hearing on her case. "What they want to do is get rid of the evidence," she said.

In addition to hiding the evidence the LIRR is obviously banking on the old trick of pitting the more privileged workers against the less privileged. Unfortunately, there are trainmen who have fallen into the trap.

Some of the men under 5 feet 7 are "absolutely furious because I brought up the whole issue," Carol said. They think her fight threatens their job security. There is also what she called "a small minority" of trainmen who "never wanted women in the first place" and are dead set against her getting the job.

Carol has talked to some of these men, explaining that the LIRR is just trying to use them in an effort to deny her equal rights. Hopefully these workers will eventually realize that it's in their

interests to support her fight.

Carol pointed out that many of the younger workers already support her. "The men are up in arms about conditions on the railroad," she said. Workers have encouraged her, saying, "Anything you can do to the railroad, go to it!" Others have told her that "a woman deserves a chance to have a job."

Most of her students, who are high-school age, back her too. She added that "the ladies at the bank are rooting for me."

When asked what effect women's liberation had on her decision to take on the LIRR, Carol said, "Three or four years ago when I thought I wanted to work for the railroad I applied for a clerk's job, thinking that's a nice woman's-type job and they won't turn me down." But they did, saying she was "over-qualified." She went to work as a teacher instead.

Carol said the growing number of women fighting for equal rights helped her decide to apply for the trainman position. "I wouldn't have been encouraged to do it five or 10 years ago because people would have thought of me as more of a curiosity," she said. Now she feels challenges to sex discrimination by women like herself are "more or less an accepted thing."

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Sun and fun in Rhodesia

If the job routine and Jack Frost get you down this winter, don't despair. Hertz, Avis, Pan American, and TWA have perfect getaway plans. They have one vacation spot where there's plenty of sun, and it's warm (in some ways even hot), and if you can afford it and are ideologically so inclined, just lay your American Express card on the counter and you're off. To Rio, the Caribbean, maybe Tahiti? No, to Salisbury—garden capital of Rhodesia.

The U.S. business firms that sell you such pleasures are breaking the law. But don't worry about the government stepping in to put a stop to this profitable traffic. It won't, unless publicity forces it to.

Federal law—Executive Order 11419—says it's a no-no for U.S. firms to conduct business with white-ruled Rhodesia. The Treasury Department and the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) are now said to be checking into violations of the law documented in a recent study by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

In 1968, a United Nations Security Council

resolution forbade member states from having further relations with Rhodesia after the white minority there refused to grant majority rule to Africans.

In the same year, presidential Executive Order 11419 defined the limits for U.S. firms. Besides proscribing imports and exports, this order prohibits activities that "promote or are calculated to promote" the sale of any commodity or product "to any person or body for the purposes of any business carried on in or operated from Southern Rhodesia."

Direct or indirect transfer of funds to Rhodesia is illegal. U.S.-owned or chartered aircraft are forbidden to fly to Rhodesia or "in coordination with any airline company constituted or aircraft registered in Southern Rhodesia."

That's the law. But, TWA and Pan Am will sell you an air ticket to Salisbury. Pan Am, for example, in 1972, transferred approximately \$200,000—an increase of almost 200 percent from 1971—to Air Rhodesia for connecting flights to Salisbury.

Hertz and Avis will reserve you a car with an affiliated concern in Salisbury. And you can pay for all this, and for goods bought in Rhodesia, with a Mastercharge, American Express, Carte Blanche, or Diners Club card.

According to the Carnegie report, the responsible government agencies do not monitor U.S. firms for possible trade violations. The FAA, for example, says it "relies on complaints about possible sanctions violations."

The UN resolution prohibits tourist solicitation of any sort. Yet some U.S. travel agencies package tours to Africa that include Rhodesia. And Air Rhodesia and the Rhodesian National Tourist Board have offices in New York City. Tourism, of course, is big business.

So far, Washington hasn't said whether it intends to do anything about these illegal acts. The executive order provides penalties of up to 10 years in jail and fines of up to \$10,000 for convicted violators. But don't expect any immediate indictments.

World Outlook

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

OCTOBER 12, 1973

Occupy Argentine plant

Fiat workers in Cordoba fight union bureaucrats

[The following report of the occupation of a Fiat factory in Córdoba, Argentina, near the end of August was published in the August 30-September 7 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

The confrontation between the Fiat workers in Córdoba and the trade-union bureaucracy does not date from yesterday. Ever since a class-struggle leadership arose in SITRAC [Sindicato de Trabajadores Concord—Concord Workers Union] and SITRAM [Sindicato de Trabajadores Materfer—Materfer Workers Union], the workers have ceased to put up with the preponderance of the bureaucrats. The military dictatorship, the bosses, and [José] Rucci [head of the CGT (Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor)] attacked this class-struggle leadership mercilessly. Their unions were banned at bayonet point. San Sebastián, minister of labor under Levingston and Lanusse, decreed that the Materfer and Concord workers had to join the Unión Obrera Metalúrgica [UOM—Metallurgical Workers Union]. This is being continued under the Peronist government and labor minister Otero.

But the workers want to be affiliated with SMATA [Sindicato de Mecánicos y Afines del Transporte Automotor del Automóvil—Union of Automotive Machinists and Allied Trades]—a union that, unlike the UOM, has a class-struggle, combative leadership in Córdoba. Up to now, the resistance of the Materfer and Concord workers has prevented the UOM bureaucrats and goons from consolidating an organization in those plants.

The occupation of the Fiat Concord plant on August 21 represented a big step forward in this process. The sparks that set off the explosion of worker indignation were the nonpayment of wages at the middle of the month, and the statement from the UOM indicating that 1,800 workers had voted in the elections it organized, whereas in reality not even 300 had done so.

Thus a general assembly was called in which it was decided to take over the plant, making three demands: immediate payment of salaries; recognition of the provisional committee and the affiliation with SMATA; and guarantees that there would be no reprisals by the bosses. Eighty hostages were held inside the plant, among them

executives and members of the board of directors.

The entire automobile workers movement in Córdoba, the students, and the organizations of the revolutionary left mobilized in support of the Concord workers. What follows is a chronicle of the occupation and of this moving expression of solidarity.

First Day of Occupation

All the SMATA factories are abandoned at 2:00 p.m. and 6:00 p.m.; Grandes Motores Diesel [GMD—Big Diesel Engines], which is a subsidiary of Fiat, does not even begin work because of the failure to meet the payroll. There are work stoppages in the automobile outlets. In the afternoon, the sixty compañeros of the Delegate Corps at IKA (Santa Isabel) quit work and come to Concord.

At 7:00 p.m., two minibusesloads of students arrive. A delegation of the PST and the JSA [Juventud Socialista de Avanzada—Vanguard Socialist Youth] also arrives at Concord with banners and placards. The Perkins workers on both shifts quit work; the afternoon shift arrives at the Concord gates with a big sign that says "Perkins Is Here." They receive the biggest applause from the Concord workers.

Second Day of Occupation

Early in the morning the police put up a barrier of armored cars and patrol cars and prevent anyone from getting near the plant. Relatives who bring food cannot get through. At 10:00 our vice-presidential candidate, Compañero Páez, arrives and is arrested by the police. Compañero Gregorio Flores vigorously denounces this act of repression over a megaphone.

At noon, 300 workers from Perkins march on Concord. Pressure begins to be exerted on the police, with some hand-to-hand struggling taking place. One officer says, "One has to know how to lose," and shoots his tear gas pistol from an armored car. It is a signal for a retreat. The barrier has been penetrated. Everyone rushes toward the factory fence and gates.

The SMATA Delegate Corps again decides to stage a two-hour work stoppage per shift that is to be observed in all the plants. Within the student movement, the Juventud Socialista de Avanzada stands out as an agitator for solidarity actions with Concord.

It is August 22. The CGT has called a meeting in honor of the Trelew martyrs. Our party and youth group, Socialist Groups, the Revolutionary Socialists, Acción Proletaria [Proletarian Action], and rank-and-file sectors of

the Peronist movement attempt to link the meeting to solidarity with Concord. First there is a march on the legislative building, and from there it proceeds to Concord. It is led by the PST and the JSA. Upon reaching Plaza Velez Sarsfield, more than twenty minibuses are "taken" and, filled to capacity, they leave for Ferreyra. Once again, faced with the assault of 1,500 compañeros, the police pull back in disorganized fashion and retreat. Chants resound: "Let's get rid of the union bureaucracy" and "SMATA, right on; hit Rucci hard."

Minutes earlier, Compañero Páez had arrived at Concord after just being released; at the request of the workers, he speaks. When the demonstration arrives, he welcomes it on behalf of the compañeros of the Concord

workers] must say where they stand. SMATA has already taken a stand, for in this case there can be no doubt: Either you are for the workers or you are for the bosses."

Other speakers follow. Flores points out that López does not deserve the confidence that the Córdoba workers movement has placed in him. Rubén Regnone of the Materfer Commission expresses solidarity and says that the armed thugs of the UOM and the plainclothes police who are loose in that plant have prevented any concrete measures of support for Concord from being taken.

All night long on the other side of the gates a bonfire is burning. Therevolutionary songs that are sung there testify to the continuing sense of solidarity.

Third Day of Occupation

At noon, more than 1,000 workers from GMD, Perkins, and Thompson Ramco again break through the police barrier and reach Concord. The plant sirens are blown to welcome them; various speeches are made. Then minibuses and trucks on Route 9 are "expropriated," and there is a march to Kaiser Santa Isabel, where a rally of 8,000 workers from both shifts is held. Salamanca calls for solidarity with Concord, and says: "López told me yesterday that he doubted that 10,000 auto workers would support the compañeros. We must show him that this support does exist."

His words are greeted with thunderous applause. A caravan of 5,000 workers marches toward the governor's office. From there 3,000 go on to Ferreyra. As the caravan goes past the bullpen, the police attack with gas and bullets. The demonstration disperses, and only small groups reach Concord.

During the night, the police reinforce their barriers.

Fourth Day of Occupation

The Concord workers are in high spirits and in a mood for struggle. More than 1,000 workers gather in a general assembly in the morning. Salamanca and the Commission report on the negotiations. The company agrees that it will pay what it owes and not take reprisals; the provincial government agrees to arrange a meeting with the minister of labor to discuss the question of union affiliation.

In a completely disciplined fashion, a vote is taken to end the occupation. And thus closes another episode in the heroic struggle of the Córdoba workers movement, which can take pride in having fought a battlewell.



JOSE PAEZ: PST candidate for vice-president was arrested during occupation of Fiat plant in Cordoba.

Commission. The first thing he does is pay homage to those who died at Trelew.

Next a compañero from the Commission speaks. He expresses thanks for the solidarity, joins in paying respects for Trelew, and denounces [Governor] Atilio López, who is proposing negotiations on the basis of firing twenty militants named by the bosses and ending the occupation. Then, Salamanca, general secretary of SMATA, says: "Atilio López and Tosco [head of the union of gas and electric power

Sept. 1 statement warned of confrontation

What Chilean Trotskyists said before the coup

[The following statement by the Central Committee of the Partido Socialista Revolucionario (PSR—Revolutionary Socialist party), Chilean section of the Fourth International, was adopted September 1, days before the military coup that overthrew the government of Salvador Allende. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

1. The national political situation is taking a crucial turn toward a definitive solution of the question of power. The need to bring an end to the period of instability is resulting in important changes in the political arena that are altering the relationship of forces between antagonistic classes, as well as bringing about modifications within those classes. This will lead to a confrontation within a very short period of time.

2. The UP [Unidad Popular—Popular Unity] government, as it was constituted in September-November 1970, has exhausted its possibilities. At the present time it conforms to the needs of neither the proletariat nor the bourgeoisie. In spite of its obvious rightward evolution, and in spite of the concessions it has granted, it does not satisfy the demands of imperialism

and in the cordones industriales [assemblies of rank-and-file workers in a local industrial concentration]. The determination to advance the socialist revolution raises the level of consciousness among the workers, who are preparing to stop the bourgeois offensive arms in hand.

5. Caught up in this offensive, the government, from one concession to another, has changed its character; it is losing its possibilities for progressive action and, by turning to the right, is becoming objectively separated from the masses that supported it. Its features of Bonapartism sui generis are evolving, giving it the characteristics of a bureaucratic-military government. This accentuates its separation from the workers and peasants as a whole.

6. The workers and peasants movement is going through a stage of extraordinary development that is giving an indication of the real power it has at its disposal. Important sectors of national industry—the most decisive sectors—are under its control. It is proceeding by various means to ex-

and in the cordones industriales [assemblies of rank-and-file workers in a local industrial concentration]. The determination to advance the socialist revolution raises the level of consciousness among the workers, who are preparing to stop the bourgeois offensive arms in hand.

8. The radicalization that is under way—the increasing maturity of political consciousness, which is a direct product of action by the masses—is opening up a chasm between the struggling masses and their reformist leaderships; this chasm is widening day by day. Broad vanguard layers with links to the workers as a whole are quickly coming to understand both the need to destroy imperialism and the national bourgeoisie, and the urgency of building a genuine revolutionary leadership. The reformist leaderships are attempting to obstruct this positive evolution by temporarily staving off the unleashing of a forthright antibourgeois offensive, which, by its very dynamics, would also put an end to the illusions that the present government is still able to muster.

9. There is a visible lessening of the possibilities of politically controlling the masses by means of the reformist leaderships. The ranks of the workers parties are being greatly affected; as an integral and decisive part of the workers movement, they already cannot reconcile their approach with that of their own leaders, and they are threatening to open up a struggle within their own parties. Healthy revolutionary currents are searching for an organization, pointing the way to political shifts that will create the prerequisites for the formation of the revolutionary party.

10. It is the interaction of all these phenomena that is inevitably leading to a confrontation between the classes within an ever diminishing period of time. It is a life-and-death necessity for imperialism and the national bourgeoisie first to contain, and then to crush, this workers movement that is in practice expropriating them. The bourgeoisie understands clearly that even a capitulation by the government that did not yet reflect agreement on an offensive against the workers movement would not be enough. It is this determination that will decide how much time the bourgeoisie grants to the present government before throwing all its forces into overthrowing it.

11. It is these social and political factors that make the solution to the question of power, of spreading the revolutionary process, and of the triumph of that process possible only in the arena of armed struggle. Now the broad masses of industrial workers and peasants are preparing for struggle with this fundamental understanding. The class struggle is spreading within the armed forces; there too a breach has been opened between the ranks and the leadership. The troops, sensitive to their class origins, are joining in the general mood of the workers, and are unleashing contradictions within the repressive bodies of the bourgeois state.

12. The Partido Socialista Revolucionario places its participation in this process of armed struggle at the center

of its activities; it does so with complete clarity and determination. The possibility of being a decisive nucleus in the formation of the party of the socialist revolution, and of working for the victory of that revolution, is inconceivable without involvement in preparing



The Allende government did its best to contain and hold back the militancy of its supporters.



Right-wing demonstrators in Santiago

and the national bourgeoisie; the bourgeoisie takes advantage of these very concessions to push for the government's complete capitulation—as a first alternative—while at the same time organizing to forcibly overthrow it.

3. Toward this end, the exploiters are using all means, legal and illegal. They have divided up their tasks among the various sectors: To outright terrorism is added partisan political pressure through mass mobilizations, strikes by union sectors they control, and attempts to split the workers movement itself with the aim of strengthening their social base. At the same time, they are stepping up their work inside the armed forces in order to push them into carrying out a coup d'etat.

4. The bourgeois class is on the political offensive at the moment, and is exerting its aggressiveness even outside its own parties. This reflects a

propriate private property; in manufacturing plants and agricultural firms, it is combining forms of workers control over production with direct administration, and it remains firmly determined not to return them to the former owners.

7. This situation shows how vigorous the offensive of the workers is—an offensive that is putting its stamp on the entire period. While a general political mobilization has not yet taken place, it is clear that preparations for it are being made on the basis of the substantial levels that have been attained. What we are experiencing is a stage during which forces are being accumulated within the working-class movement, one of the main characteristics of which is the military preparations that are spontaneously occurring among the rank and file, at the very heart of the class, in the factories, in the peasant committees,

and carrying out armed struggle. For us it is not a matter of substituting ourselves for the class but of participating without reservation in order, united with the broad masses, to lead the inevitable armed confrontation in which the most active sectors are already involved, having responded to the initiative of the working class.

13. Let us reaffirm the tasks laid down in the August 10 resolution of the Political Bureau:

a) Crush the bourgeois counterrevolution, and particularly its most active focus—the truck owners' strike. Support the initiative taken by the cordones industriales and the comandos comunales [municipal commands] to requisition the vehicles of the strikers.

b) Reject any deal and all dialogue with the enemies of the workers.

c) In order to crush the bourgeoisie and go beyond the reformists the power of the workers and the people must be strengthened in its genuine, rank-and-file form: the cordones industriales and the comandos comunales. No return of factories to their former owners. Continue the expropriation of the national bourgeoisie.

d) Build revolutionary unity as a tool for moving forward in the revolutionary process. Concretize this unity on all levels with the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left], MAPU (G) [Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria (Garretón)—Movement for United Popular Action (Garretón)], and advanced sectors of the PS [Partido Socialista—Socialist party].

... the Littlejohn case

Continued from page WO4

The "one last raid" was the robbery of Allied Irish Banks in Dublin on October 13, 1972, which netted £67,000 [about \$170,000]. It was a notably sloppy job carried off with an insouciance that suggested an unusual feeling of security. Kenneth was arrested in England just as he was getting ready to buy a restaurant. He was extradited to Ireland for trial, where he and his brother together got thirty-five years.

Why did the British authorities agree to extradite the Littlejohns? The case was obviously a sensitive one, since they tried unsuccessfully to have the hearings held in secret. Many observers had an explanation. The Littlejohns were not the only agents operating in Ireland.

Nineteen days after the mysterious explosions in Dublin that occurred just as Lynch's new repressive legislation was coming up for a vote, Irish police arrested two spies. British officials have admitted that one, John Wyman, was an agent working for the Ministry of Defence. The other man, Patrick Crinnion of the political branch of the Irish police, was apparently his accomplice. The two were released not long before the Littlejohns were returned to Ireland.

"The serious spying charges were dismissed," the *Sunday Times* noted August 12, "because Mr Condon [the attorney general] refused to tell the court what was in the files. Both men were convicted on minor charges and given three month's jail, but then were immediately released because they had served three months on remand, and they flew together to London on February 13. Inevitably there has been considerable speculation in Dublin and London that Wyman and Crinnion were exchanged for the Littlejohns."

In any case, it seemed clear from all the press reports that prior to his arrest Kenneth Littlejohn had acted like a man who had nothing to worry about, and once he was handed over to the Irish authorities he turned very sour on his ex-employers.

Littlejohn's revelations about British intelligence adopting a policy of assassinations in the summer of 1972 are especially interesting. It was about

this time, when the mass movement had fallen to a low ebb in Northern Ireland and the spotlight of public opinion was no longer on the actions of the British forces, that a wave of unexplained murders began in the North that has terrorized the population and accentuated the decline of opposition political activity.

Public opinion in Ireland has begun to suspect that British intelligence has been carrying out a reign of terror against Irish people both North and South. In particular, speculations have centered around the December 2 killer bombing.

"The police discovered that the cars used for the bomb attack had been hired in Belfast by a man with an English accent and driving licence," the August 12 *Sunday Times* reported. "Last week, an Irish Minister said: 'You would have difficulty in finding anybody here who does not believe that those bombs were the work of British agents.' The Minister said Irish police investigation is now concentrated on that theory."

Furthermore, it has become apparent that the Irish government was a willing accomplice of British intelligence activities in Ireland. The September issue of the *United Irishman*, the monthly organ of the Official republican movement, published the photograph of a circular sent to police officers on August 18, 1971, a week after the introduction of internment in the North, ordering cooperation with British agents seeking information on members of "the IRA and other subversive groups."

Already the public reaction to the Littlejohn revelations threatens to disrupt the open collaboration between Dublin and London established during the downturn in the movement. A dispatch from Dublin in the August 15 *London Times* warned that "if there are any more unexplained deaths," the Cosgrave government would find it hard to maintain the policy of cooperation. "It is vitally important that this lesson should be learned in Whitehall and Belfast." On the other side, it is important that supporters of the Irish struggle take advantage of this opportunity to focus political opinion against both regular and "special" repression of Irish militants.

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World news notes

Cashing in on martial law

Some people in the Philippines might miss elections and freedom of the press after a year under martial law, says Daniel Southerland in the Sept. 21 *Christian Science Monitor*. On the other hand, "most of the businessmen here could not be happier. They say that martial law has given the Philippines a chance for an unprecedented economic boom."

Furthermore, "foreign businessmen investing here seem to agree. Applications from foreign investors . . . have doubled over the past year."

It's true that "the traditional ills of poverty, unemployment, and the unequal distribution of wealth still nag the Philippines," but Southerland isn't fazed. After all, "a number of business indicators are on the upswing."

U.S. plans new bases in Pacific

In recent years the U.S. government has had to deal with increasing opposition to its rule in Micronesia, the so-called Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Micronesia came under U.S. control following World War II. The latest U.S. maneuver in dealing with the demands of the Micronesians for independence has been to separate the negotiations on the future of the Marianas Islands from talks dealing with the islands as a whole. The Marianas comprise the northern one-third of Micronesia.

The U.S. plans to turn the Marianas into a "commonwealth," like Puerto Rico, making them a U.S. possession. A Reuters dispatch last July explained that "the primary interest of the United States in the talks was the acquisition of additional land for military installations."

The Marianas are within striking distance of Japan, the Philippines, and China. Admiral John McCain Jr. had earlier warned that "if the Trust Territories are not kept under the immediate control of the United States, the next fall-back position is Honolulu, and that's a long way back."

The island of Guam, used as a base for B-52 raids on Indochina, is geographically part of the Marianas, but it was seized by the U.S. in 1898. Now the U.S. wants to use two-thirds of the island of Tinian and an airfield on Saipan for military bases. Tinian was the base from which the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were launched.

A referendum will be held before the islands become formal U.S. possessions. But the worth of such referendums has been shown by a recent incident in American Samoa. The governor there was charged with having manipulated a referendum to ensure that the Samoans would not choose independence. He was also charged with intimidating a government employee who was being interviewed by the press.

Criminal charges were ordered dismissed by Samoa's attorney general, who also happens to be the governor's defense lawyer. The assistant attorney general who brought the charges was fired.

Guinea-Bissau declares independence

On Sept. 24 a people's assembly convened by the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands declared the independence of the Portuguese colony. Portugal maintains about 27,000 troops in the 14,000 square-mile territory, but three-quarters of it is controlled by the liberation forces.

Although Portuguese officials were quick to dismiss the declaration of independence as a "propaganda stunt," by Sept. 28 at least 13 countries had recognized the rebel government.

Wildcat strikes shake up West Germany

The biggest round of wildcat strikes to hit West Germany since 1969 has focused attention there on inflation and the rights of immigrant workers. The strikes began in mid-August, and by mid-September they had involved some 150,000 workers. Almost all were from the metal workers union, the biggest in the country and normally the pacesetter in wage negotiations.

The strikes were spearheaded by foreign workers, especially Turkish ones. About 2.4 million of West Germany's 22 million workers are foreigners, and of these 500,000 are Turks. As in France and Switzerland, immigrant workers from Turkey, Yugoslavia, Italy, Greece, Spain, and North Africa get the worst jobs and the lowest pay.

Last winter the metal workers union, whose leadership is closely tied to the governing Socialist Party of Germany, agreed to a wage increase of 8.5 percent—not enough to keep up with inflation and taxes. The first wildcat strike broke out at a small plant near Düsseldorf and involved mainly Turkish women workers. Soon after, the Ford Motor plant in Cologne was forced to stop production when workers walked out over the firing of 300 Turks who returned from their vacations late.

Of the 20,000 workers on the plant's assembly line, only 6,000 are Germans. An emergency strike committee set up there included eight Turks, an Italian, and two Germans.

Ford charged that the "chaos" at its plant was caused by radicals, and the West German Employers' League called for "a decisive fight against advocates and instigators of wildcat strikes" to guarantee "the inviolability of the current system of justice."

But as one German worker told reporters, "We are all in the same situation. Prices are rising much faster than our pay."

The case of Kenneth Littlejohn

How British intelligence organizes assassinations & bombings in Ireland

By Gerry Foley

"One of my main functions was to assassinate a man called Shamus [sic] Costello, who was the effective Number 1 of the Officials [the Official Irish republican movement], and who had been trained in Moscow. I was also to assassinate another high up member in the Officials, Sean Patrick Garland, who I believe was trained in Cuba. . . .

"I was also told to assassinate MacStiofain (then Chief of Staff of the Provisional IRA) in the summer of 1972, just after operation Motorman. Keith and I waited in a car outside MacStiofain's house, which is at 32 Blackcastle, Navan, Co. Westmeath—but we never saw him. The instruc-

alent,' as Kenneth put it, 'of a Cuba on Britain's doorstep.'

The August 12 London *Sunday Times* reported that Kenneth Littlejohn first came in contact with the Official IRA while he was on the lam from a payroll robbery charge in England. A professional thief, he tried for a time to get into another racket: "He decided to set himself up in what he called the 'rag trade,'" the London *Sunday Times* continued, "and hit upon the idea of exporting leather hotpants from County Kerry to England. He formed a company called Whizz Kid Fashions (Ireland) Limited with Robert Stockman, who was to emerge, two years later, as the 'third man.'"

Kenneth Littlejohn's business ven-

in the August 8 *Guardian*. "A South London schoolteacher, Mrs. Barbara Hughes, who got to know the younger brother then, when she was a youth worker in Bromley, said she had visited Lady Onslow's Kensington home with Keith Littlejohn on one occasion. . . .

"Mrs. Hughes . . . said that Keith Littlejohn was very much the young Borstal [reform school] boy making good during the first half of 1969. He had a steady job and was profiled in the Observer colour supplement."

Perhaps the charitable Lady Pamela thought that a secret mission in Her Majesty's service was just the chance for an adventurous, restless youth.

The authorities, in any case, do not seem to require any character references for the kind of job Littlejohn applied for.

The elder Littlejohn, however, insisted on meeting with a high official before agreeing to work for British intelligence. Lady Pamela arranged it. At her house he met Geoffrey Johnson Smith, an undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Defence. This was admitted in a Whitehall statement August 6.

This special treatment raises the question of what kind of a deal was made. Kenneth Littlejohn claims that it included immunity from prosecution for any criminal offenses committed in the Twenty-Six Counties and the wiping out of the charges already pending against him in the U.K. Whitehall denied this. However, the August 10 *Time Out* noted: "No explanation to counter Kenneth's version of the 'deal' is offered to show why (1) he should have an ex-directory Ministry number; (2) the Scotland Yard extension of Inspector Cameron Sinclair of the Special Branch should be in his possession."

As for Kenneth's part of the deal, *Time Out* explained: "Kenneth alleged that Douglas [his superior], in London before and after Operation Motorman, provided him with a death list of prominent IRA men, Provision-

al and Official, who he was to assassinate. It was in many ways a paradoxical demand for the British to make. Kenneth has always claimed that the information he gave to Johnson Smith at the original meeting at Lady Onslow's house concerned the assassination attempt by the Official IRA in Belfast on the life of Stormont Home Affairs Minister John Taylor in 1971."

But the patriotic bank robber's main task was to take part in a campaign of provocations designed to isolate the IRA:

"Littlejohn says that his brief from Douglas Smythe and another MoD [Ministry of Defense] man, 'Oliver,' was to join the IRA Officials, collect information and act as an agent provocateur in the South, with the long-term aim of stirring up public opinion in the Republic against the Officials, although this is denied in the Government statement," the August 12 *Sunday Times* reported. "The object was to force the Premier Jack Lynch to bring in anti-IRA legislation—which, as it turned out, is exactly what happened."

This is the description the elder Littlejohn gave of his career in Her Majesty's service, as related by the *Sunday Times*:

"In fulfilling his *agent provocateur* role, Kenneth Littlejohn claims he took part in two petrol bomb attacks on police stations in the Republic, at Louth and Castlebellingham in September 1972. There were also a number of bank robberies in the South, and one in Newry, Ulster, although there is no evidence that Littlejohn was involved. He only admits to having knowledge of them. But the Officials suspected him of carrying out raids—not for the movement, but as a freelance. In September, they said they wanted nothing more to do with him, so he joined up with other expelled Officials and together they planned the one last raid—the biggest in Irish history.

"Smythe did not know of Littlejohn's expulsion from Official circles. Littlejohn says that the raid was simply a continuation of his *agent provocateur* role, but from all the evidence, it seems probable that he wanted money to start a restaurant—and a new life—in England. He was no longer 'wanted' for the Smethwick [payroll] raid; he claims he had been promised immunity in England for any criminal activity in Eire, and he thought he deserved the gratitude of the British Government for a hard year's spying. His only reward, he says, had been three payments of £25."

Continued on page WO3



Provocateurs hired by the British were responsible for bombings in the Republic of Ireland.

tions we were given were that MacStiofain's body was to be blown up so that it was completely unrecognisable. We should also take his car to Dublin Airport, and thereafter money would be sent from Canada to his family so that it would appear that he had absconded with IRA funds. They [the British secret service] would also spread rumours to this effect, which they had previously attempted to do so."

This was the statement given to the magazine *Time Out* (August 10-16) by Kenneth Littlejohn, a convicted bank robber and acknowledged agent of British intelligence.

Kenneth Littlejohn and his brother Keith claimed to have infiltrated an Official IRA "Special Forces Group," according to the British magazine:

"The Officials have long been regarded by Intelligence as a potential threat to the British Isles. In conversations we had with both brothers [we found out that] the Officials' commitment to lasting social revolution and the creation of the 32 County Workers Republic in Ireland had created the fear amongst British intelligence that the Officials would ultimately be responsible for the 'equiv-

ture ended on a sour note when a Kerry leather merchant demanded payment for a couple of thousand "hot pants," and the English entrepreneur's check bounced.

As a failed businessman, there was nothing left for Littlejohn to do but ask the British government to nationalize his operation. He hoped that the contacts he had developed in Ireland would make the proposition interesting to the exchequer.

What the enterprising Englishman hoped to sell, he said, was his knowledge of the plan to assassinate the Belfast home minister, John Taylor, and the identity of the Official IRA leader who allegedly commanded this mission. This information could be expected to interest the British authorities, and Littlejohn already had an intermediary in mind. His younger brother Keith, in prison in England, had attracted the attention of a society matron interested in wayward youth. She was a friend of the British secretary of state for defence, Lord Carrington.

"Keith Littlejohn was a friend and frequent visitor of Pamela Lady Onslow as early as 1969," James MacManus and Jackie Leishman reported



Northern Ireland has been beset by a wave of unexplained murders. Many suspect that British intelligence is responsible.

190,000 back class-struggle campaign

Argentine voting shows gains for PST

Most support from workers' neighborhoods

By MIRTA VIDAL

BUENOS AIRES—While throngs of Peronist youth poured into the streets here on election day, Sept. 23, to celebrate Perón's landslide victory, celebrations of a different sort were taking place at the local headquarters of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party).

At the Dean Funes party branch, PST youth and members of the Juventud Socialista de Avanzada (JSA—Socialist Youth Vanguard) waved red flags and chanted socialist slogans to hail the vote for the PST. In other branches, too, a mood of festivity and combativeness for the struggles to come was clearly evident.

Nearly 190,000 votes, or 1.6 percent of the total, were cast for the PST slate of Juan Carlos Coral and José Páez. By comparison, in the elections last March, the PST received just under 80,000 votes, or 0.6 percent.

Of the three capitalist slates in the presidential race, the ticket of Perón and his wife received almost 62 percent of the votes.

Balbin and de la Rúa of the Radical Civic Union received 24 percent, a slight increase from the March elections. The right-wing slate of Manrique and Raymonda of the Popular Federalist Alliance received 12.1 percent, less than in previous elections.

Some ultraleft tendencies and certain extreme right-wing elements advocated casting a blank ballot, but these elections saw the lowest percentage of blank ballots in any election in the history of Argentina.

A breakdown of the PST vote reveals that the greatest support came from areas with the heaviest concentration of industrial workers. In a number of working-class neighborhoods, the PST's percentage of the vote rose to 2.5 or 3 percent.

In the Province of Buenos Aires, where 80 percent of Argentines live and work, the PST received almost 2 percent. In the capital, the percentage rose to 2.5.

In the city of Córdoba, stronghold

of the most combative sectors of the workers' movement, the PST almost doubled its vote from the last election. In the most proletarian neighborhoods in that city, such as San Vicente, Altamira, Empalme, and Urquiza, it got 2 to 3 percent.

Perón was backed by the trade-union bureaucracy and by the decisive sectors of the capitalist ruling class. His victory showed that the illusions of the Argentine masses that Perón will bring about social progress are still very deep.

Nevertheless, the election results confirm that support for the PST and its revolutionary-socialist program is growing among the most advanced workers. In many key areas, the strength of the PST in relation to the Peronists has more than doubled.

Interview with Juan Carlos Coral

The following interview with Juan Carlos Coral, presidential candidate of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party), was obtained by Phil Courneyeur. Courneyeur is in Argentina as correspondent for Labor Challenge, the Canadian revolutionary socialist biweekly.

Q: How do you evaluate the election results for the PST?

A: It was the most advanced workers, the militants, who voted for us. The increase in our support comes from the growing consciousness among the political workers of the need for a workers' party.

We used the election campaign as a tool to aid the many workers' struggles taking place. Not only did José Páez (PST vice-presidential candidate) and myself speak at factories, but we turned over much of our free radio and TV time to workers to discuss their struggles before mass audiences.

Because our main aim was to use the campaign to extend and consolidate the influence of our class-struggle program and our party among the advanced workers, we are very

pleased with the results—a doubling of our vote.

Our campaign lasted less than three weeks. We devoted the last week almost entirely to mobilizations in defense of Chile against the military coup.

Q: Do you think that the coup had much impact on the thinking of Argentine workers?

A: Yes, a big impact, certainly among the vanguard of the workers. In part, our growth reflects the fact that the advanced workers are beginning to draw the lessons from the tragic experience in Chile. Our campaign drew attention to these lessons: the trap of popular frontism, the absolute necessity of building a mass revolutionary workers' party and of arming the masses.

There is a big discussion going on in Argentina—if Allende failed, how can Perón possibly get anywhere? The PST will make important gains in this discussion.

Q: What were the other big issues, aside from Chile, that your campaign took up?

A: We did not gear our campaign only to general socialist propaganda. Rather we stressed putting forward concrete demands and solutions to actual workers' struggles.

We spelled out concretely what it means to break from imperialism. We called for expropriating and placing under workers' control such huge corporations as ITT, Fiat, and Siemens, and especially those companies workers have struck or occupied.

We've had some success in popularizing these demands, above all because we raise them as participants in the factory struggles. When workers have occupied their factory it is very logical to pose the concept of workers' control of production.

After the last election, in March, the bosses and the union bureaucrats signed what they call the "Social Pact." We denounced this agreement, which involved a two-year wage freeze, as a sell-out of the rights and needs of the workers.

In the plants, when the bosses say that they can't afford a pay increase, we say, "Open your books."

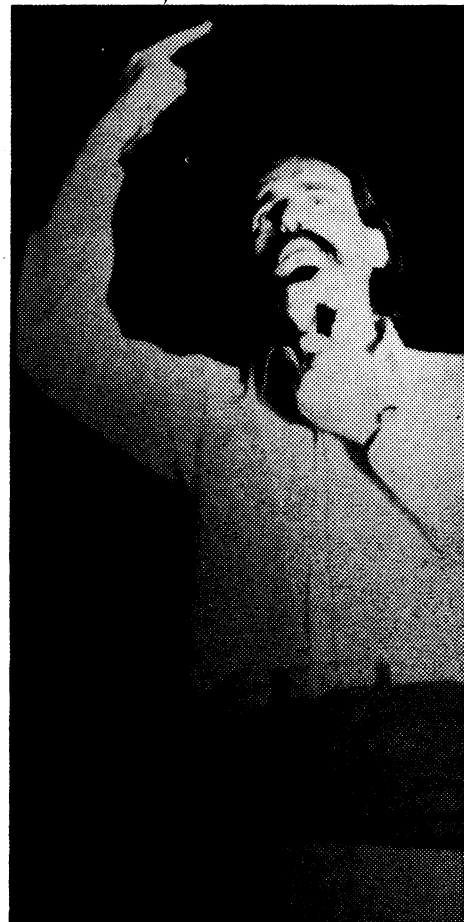
When Gelbard, the minister of economics, granted me the customary interview given to presidential candidates, I called upon him to make available to all unions and workers exact figures on the transfer of wealth out of Argentina by the big corporations.

He replied that such information could only be released by decision of the cabinet. In other words, the cabinet protects the foreign corporations who exploit our country—even to the point of making economic data a "state secret."

Q: What success did you have in reaching wider audiences?

A: We reached many tens of thousands on radio and TV. We had two one-hour long TV programs in Buenos Aires; also I went on nationwide radio and TV—every single network—for eight minutes two days before the election.

Our rallies and meetings in most of
Continued on page 22



CORAL: 'We used the election campaign to aid the workers' struggles.'

Revolutionists oppose Rucci assassination

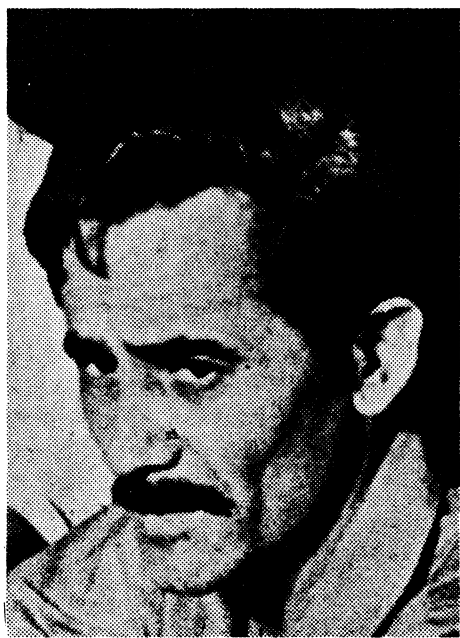
The following statement on the assassination of José Rucci was published in the Sept. 26 issue of Avanzada Socialista, weekly newspaper of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Party) of Argentina. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.

Rucci, head of the Confederación General del Trabajo (General Confederation of Labor) was killed by terrorists on Sept. 25. He was a prominent leader of the right wing of the Peronist movement and maintained control of the CGT by gangster methods.

Police attributed the killing to the August 22 Faction of the ERP (Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—Revolutionary Army of the People). But other sources report that a communique from the guerrilla group denied responsibility. The ERP was outlawed by the Peronist government Sept. 24.

There are signs that the killing will serve as a pretext for Perón to step up repression against both the left

wing of the Peronist movement and especially the revolutionary socialist opposition to his government.



RUCCI: His assassination by terrorists will serve as pretext for repression.

As we go to press, we have just heard the first news of the deaths of José Ignacio Rucci and his driver as well as the mortal wounding of one of his companions. We do not know who is responsible for this action.

Whoever did this, we must state once again, in the case of this killing of one of the most resented bureaucrats and one whom we have most criticized, that the method used against Rucci was not a working-class method and therefore is alien to us.

We have continually opposed Rucci, and there are attacks on him in this very issue which was printed before his death, but we have done so from the standpoint of defending workers democracy and the interests of the working class. We want the workers to have genuinely representative leaders that they can respect and who are democratically elected. Therefore, we have fought the clique that today controls most of the unions as well as the national federation and of which Rucci was a part.

But it is the workers themselves, by

mobilizing and making their opinions felt in a democratic way, who will clean out this clique by their own class methods and replace it with a new leadership.

Therefore we condemn this action, since it was not carried out by the workers, even though it may be claimed that it was done in their name and because of their feelings and their needs.

At the same time, we call attention to the danger that this action may be used by the union bureaucracy to step up its constant campaign of persecuting militant activists and class-struggle tendencies.

As regards the problem that the CGT has now of choosing a new leader, we say that the only ones who have the right to choose a replacement are the rank and file, who have never been consulted. We call for holding factory assemblies and scheduling a National Congress of Rank-and-File Delegates of the CGT to select a new general secretary.

Opposed by union heads

Chi. Gateway strikers win wage hike

By DANIEL CAINE

CHICAGO—A spontaneous one-day walkout by 1,300 workers at Gateway Industries here recently was similar in some ways to rank-and-file actions that shut down several Chrysler plants in Detroit this summer.

The workers involved were overwhelmingly Black, the sector of the work force most victimized by inflation and economic exploitation. At Gateway, 90 percent of the participants were women, mostly Chicanas and Black women.

The main issue was wages, but as with Chrysler workers, working conditions were also emphasized, especially the harassment of workers and backbreaking speedup on the production lines.

The Gateway workers walked out Sept. 10 in opposition to the terms of a new contract negotiated by officials of Local 781 of the Miscellaneous Warehousemen's Union. The Gateway plant, on Chicago's south side, manufactures seat belts and soap products.

Paul Rhoden, a rank-and-file strike leader, charged that union officials were deaf to the workers' demands. These demands included an immediate \$1 an hour wage increase with a cost-of-living escalator clause, improved working conditions and benefits, and a one-year limit on the contract. Starting wages at Gateway were as low as

\$2.60 an hour.

Union officials had agreed to a two-year contract with a 35 cents an hour increase and none of the other provisions demanded by the workers.

Union heads refused to reopen negotiations with the employers and threatened dismissal of workers who would not vote on the contract as it stood.

The workers elected a committee to discuss the contract with the union officials. When the officials refused to meet with this committee, 1,325 work-

ers—virtually the entire work force—voted to walk off their jobs.

Reverend Ed Riddick of Operation PUSH, a major Black community organization in Chicago, addressed a strike rally and pledged PUSH's support.

Faced with the walkout, union officials resumed negotiations with the bosses and quickly emerged with an 80 cents an hour increase.

The workers also won a limited cost-of-living increase of eight to 11 cents an hour, effective September 1974.



Daily Defender

Gateway Industries workers demanded living wage, escalator clause, and better working conditions.

3,000 attend AIM defense meeting

By JOHN LINDER

MINNEAPOLIS—A national campaign in defense of the "Wounded Knee 600" was launched at a symposium held here Sept. 25. The symposium, which drew more than 3,000 people, was sponsored by the American Indian Movement (AIM), the Wounded Knee Offense-Defense Committee, and the University of Minnesota Department of Indian Studies.

The purpose of the meeting was to publicize the victimizations taking place as a result of the Wounded Knee occupation earlier this year. Speakers at the symposium included AIM leader Russell Means; Clyde Bellecourt, cofounder of AIM; Angela Davis, representing the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Wounded Knee legal defense lawyers Mark Lane and Ken Tilsen; and Min-

nesota State Senator Allan Spear.

More than 600 people have been arrested as a result of the 71-day occupation of Wounded Knee. At least half of these face indictments that could bring sentences of life, or worse. Russell Means, for example, faces 23 charges and could be sentenced to 180 years.

One hundred and fourteen persons face federal indictments in South Dakota; 127 are under investigation for federal indictments; approximately 25 face indictments arising out of events in Custer, S.D.; 100 face Pine Ridge tribal charges; and others face state and federal charges elsewhere.

Speakers at the symposium pointed out that these charges were an attempt to eliminate an entire layer of Indian activists and to destroy AIM.

Efforts are under way to move the Wounded Knee trials to Minneapolis.

This would allow the largest possible mobilization of supporters at the trials.

One willing partner in the U.S. government's smear campaign against AIM is the John Birch Society. While the symposium was taking place, this reactionary organization was sponsoring a speech by Johnson Holy Rock. Billed as a "genuine Indian," Holy Rock's talk was supposed to expose the "rapists and looters of the American Indian Movement armed with guns from Moscow."

The symposium crowd, some 20 times the size of the Birchite audience, was ample evidence that racist smears and red-baiting will not stop a massive defense of the Wounded Knee 600.

Contributions are needed. They should be sent to the Wounded Knee Offense-Defense Committee, P.O. Box 147, Rapid City, S.D. 57701.

Chicano students arrested in N. Mex.

By MIKE COLLINS
and CONNIE ALLEN

LAS VEGAS, N.M.—State police arrested 41 Chicano student activists at New Mexico Highlands University here Sept. 25.

The cops broke into the administration building to arrest the students, who were peacefully sitting in after the school president had repeatedly rejected their attempts to discuss their grievances with him.

The Highlands Chicano Student Justice Committee, the group leading the protest, is demanding that the school administration end its harassment and firing of activist Chicano professors. University President Frank Angel has systematically eliminated professors who show a commitment to the Chicano struggle.

The students also demand Chicano student control over hiring of teachers for the Chicano studies department, and full funding for the department instead of the present cutbacks. Chicanos make up 60 percent of the Highlands student body.

They want Juan José Peña, chairman of the New Mexico Raza Unida Party and one of the teachers fired by Angel, named director of the Chicano studies department. Raza Unida Party members have been leaders in the struggle for student control.

The Chicano students want Highlands to be opened up for use by the community in northern New Mexico. They also support similar demands raised by Black and Native American students.

Within two days of the Sept. 25 arrests, the Chicano students had

raised \$30,000 in the Las Vegas community for release of the 41 arrested students. The student senate approved a resolution that no disciplinary action be taken against those arrested. A campus boycott of classes, organized in support of the Chicanos' demands, was about 30 percent effective.

On Sept. 27, with cops ringing the hearing room, the New Mexico board of regents held an open hearing where they listened to the students' grievances. More than 250 students attended.

The regents have taken no action on the students' demands, but say they will make a decision when they meet Oct. 12 in "executive (closed) session."

The Chicano students anticipate a long struggle.

Trotskyist leader jailed in France

Another leader of the banned Communist League of France has been imprisoned, as the defense campaign against the ban continues in France and internationally.

The Pompidou regime had a warrant out for the arrest of Michel Récanati, formerly a member of the political bureau of the dissolved League, ever since July. Récanati, who turned himself in Sept. 17, is charged under the notorious "antiwrecker law." According to this law, leaders of an organization can be held responsible for illegal acts committed by anyone in the course of a demonstration it sponsors.

The Communist League is being victimized because of a demonstration it organized June 21 against a fascist meeting held to whip up sentiment against immigrant workers in France.

The newspaper *Rouge*, formerly the organ of the Communist League, has been allowed to continue. Asserting its right to exist in the face of the government repression, *Rouge* sponsored a mass meeting Sept. 20 in the Mutualité hall. The meeting, addressed by ex-political bureau member of the League Alain Krivine, attracted more than 4,000 people, according to the Sept. 23-4 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*.

Professor Noam Chomsky is one of the most recent signers of the petition circulating in this country in defense of the rights of the Communist League.

The petition states: "We the undersigned view with alarm the action of your government in banning the Communist League. The right to form political organizations is one of the most basic of democratic freedoms. While not necessarily agreeing with the views or actions of the Communist League, we believe it must have the right to exist if democratic norms are to be observed in France."

The petition demands: "Lift the ban on the Communist League. Drop all charges against leaders or members of the League."

Supporters are urged to reproduce the petition and circulate it to friends and acquaintances. Signed petitions and contributions to the defense campaign should be mailed to: Françoise Collet, 2310 Creston Ave., Apt. 6A, Bronx, N.Y. 10468. Checks should be made out to Françoise Collet, or sent directly to the French defense committee c/o Michel Foucault, C.C.P., Paris 26-15, France.



CHOMSKY: MIT professor signed petition in defense of rights of Communist League.

Subscription blitz weekend gains 5,405 new readers

By SHARON CABANISS

Militant supporters across the country mobilized last week to sell 5,405 new subscriptions to *The Militant*—far surpassing our blitz weekend goal of 4,000.

Most of these subscriptions were sold by members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, and by SWP campaign supporters. They spent long hours canvassing dormitories, at sales tables on city sidewalks, and approaching thousands of people to introduce them to *The Militant*.

Cleveland and Detroit supporters led the way by more than doubling their weekend goals, selling 439 and 418 subscriptions respectively. They did this by organizing special two- and three-day teams to visit regional campuses. There they found an enthusiastic response to *The Militant* and to radical ideas in general.

Other supporters mobilized for dorm sales during the day and at night in the cities. They aimed for subscription sales well over their weekend quotas because supporters in both cities will be involved in extensive petitioning in October to put SWP candidates on the ballot. They wanted to be certain to make their subscription goal before the next blitz weekend at the end of this month.

Nationally, the largest portion of subscriptions were sold in campus dormitories at night, but many other locations yielded good results. Brooklyn YSA members got 50 subscriptions at Brooklyn Community College, a commuter campus, by selling in cafeterias, at literature tables, and to professors.

Other supporters sold in married students' housing and in off-campus student housing areas. Boston teams went to a working-class housing project, where six subscriptions and 23 single copies were sold.

New York supporters in Lower Manhattan ran into difficulties selling in apartment buildings because people were hesitant to open their doors. But one supporter overcame this by enlisting the aid of a friend who introduced him to the tenants in the building. He sold five subscriptions.

In Brooklyn, supporters set up sidewalk tables where they had previously had high sales of single copies. With a large sign saying "Read the newspaper of the socialist campaign," they sold 17 subscriptions and 58 single copies.

Subscription scoreboard

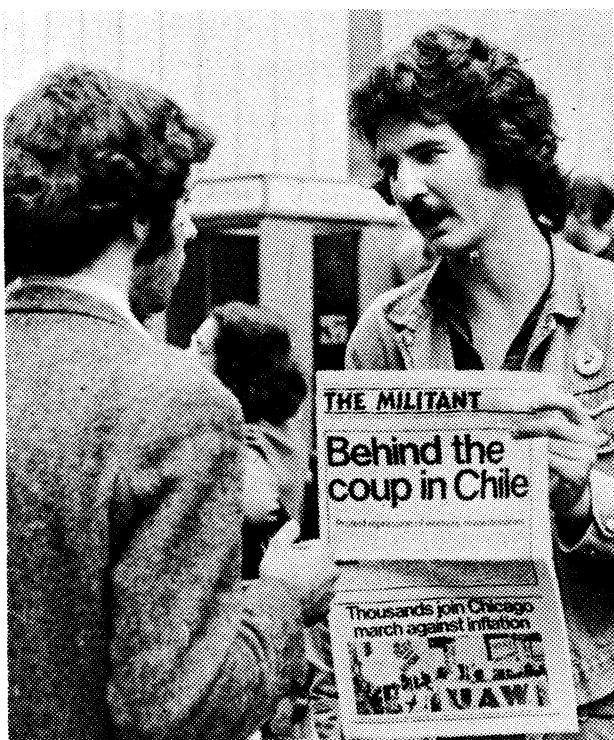
AREA	QUOTA	SOLD	%
Cleveland	175	439	251
Detroit	200	418	209
Philadelphia	175	285	163
Seattle	175	271	155
San Francisco	250	372	149
Denver	150	191	127
Houston	150	178	119
Austin	60	70	117
San Diego	200	222	111
Upper West Side	200	214	107
Los Angeles	300	317	106
St. Louis	100	106	106
Chicago	350	363	104
Brooklyn	200	206	103
Lower Manhattan	200	204	102
Washington, D.C.	175	179	102
Pittsburgh	100	101	101
Bellingham	13	13	100
Lexington	10	10	100
Twin Cities	225	225	100
Logan	25	24	96
Portland	150	137	91
Oakland/Berkeley	350	313	89
Boston	350	309	88
Atlanta	175	110	63
Central New Jersey	25	13	52
Mt. Pleasant	25	11	44
Bloomington	100	38	38
Hartford	25	6	24
Madison	50	11	22
Columbus	25	3	12
Indianapolis	25	3	12
San Antonio	25	1	4
Worcester	25	1	4
Cincinnati	50	1	2
General		40	
TOTAL SOLD	5,405		135
GOAL	4,000		100

Sales at political meetings also produced good results. Seven subscriptions were sold at a Chicago meeting of PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) to activists in the Coalition for Jobs and Economic Justice. San Diego supporters sold 12 *Militant* and *International Socialist Review* subscriptions at a Pacific Coast Conference on Latin American Studies.

All sellers reported interest among students in a wide range of issues covered by *The Militant*. Lee Artz of Detroit sold 26 subscriptions in a few hours by pointing out that *The Militant's* World Outlook section is taken from a newsmagazine that translates articles from all over the world.

Boston sellers found interest in *The Militant* from supporters of the United Farm Workers' struggle. "Many of them were people who had not shown interest in *The Militant* before," reported Ruth Getts, subscription blitz director, "but they changed their minds because of our extensive coverage of the UFW struggle."

In addition to selling thousands of subscriptions, many sellers met people who were interested in finding out more about the revolutionary movement. Sales teams in Lower Manhattan and Pittsburgh report that they each met four people interested in joining the YSA and supporting SWP election campaigns. A team in DeKalb, Ill., met



one person who bought a subscription in the dorm and then helped sell subscriptions to other students.

The *International Socialist Review* is also conducting a subscription drive, aiming for 2,500 new readers. Although complete results are not in from the weekend, *ISR* subs sold well in many areas. Especially popular was the combination offer of three months of the *ISR* and *The Militant* for \$2.

A supporter in Chicago took the *ISR* around to professors in the humanities department at one school. He sold 12 subscriptions; almost every teacher he talked to bought one. One professor was interested in using the magazine in his classroom.

Our 14 traveling sales teams report success on the campuses they have visited thus far. The Pittsburgh team has sold 242 *Militant* subscriptions; team members in St. Louis have sold 292; and the Philadelphia-D.C. team has sold 144 subscriptions to *The Militant* and 6 to the *ISR*.

Our national goal is to sell 15,000 new *Militant* subscriptions this fall. The teams plan to sell 7,200 of these and the remainder are to be sold on the second national blitz weekend, scheduled for Oct. 27.

Already supporters are planning how to meet and surpass their goals for the weekend—by going back to dorms where people were not home, by visiting new schools, and by finding new sales locations. Also, during weekly sales of single copies of *The Militant*, sellers will be encouraging regular readers to get subscriptions.

This week's scoreboard does not include the sales by the *Young Socialist* and *Militant* traveling teams. We will report on their sales and the results of the second blitz weekend in the next subscription scoreboard.

Militant sales drive tops goal

By SHARON CABANISS

Supporters of *The Militant* sold 10,328 copies of our Sept. 28 issue!

This is higher than the best week of last spring's sales campaign and is well over our fall goal of 9,500.

Because of the subscription blitz scoreboard, we are not running a sales scoreboard this week. But we can report that supporters in 14 areas made or surpassed their weekly sales goal: Atlanta, Austin, Boston, Brooklyn, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, Madison, Philadelphia, St. Louis, San Diego, Seattle, New York's Upper West Side, and Washington, D.C.

Seattle is in the lead nationally by selling 632 copies, 158 percent of their weekly sales goal of 400. Los Angeles is next with 763, 153 percent of their weekly goal of 500. Oakland/Berkeley supporters sold the largest number, 789, and Boston sales reached 751.

Many sales resulted from the subscription blitz that *Militant* salespeople were involved in, but all areas report that the main selling feature was the paper's coverage of Chile. Wherever protests around events in Chile occurred, sales were high.

The Militant was also popular at other political events. Upper West Side supporters sold 40 copies at a Puerto Rican protest at the United Nations. Philadelphia supporters sold 29 *Militants* and five copies of the new Pathfinder book, *Watergate: The View from the Left*, at a special class on Watergate. Pittsburgh readers sold 18 papers at a picket line protesting a speech by Hubert Humphrey; supporters in San Francisco sold 51 at a demonstration against repression in the Philippines; and 15 *Militants* were sold at a J.B. Johnson Defense Committee meeting in St. Louis.

In Chicago's Black community, supporters sold 83 *Militants* on Saturday despite rain. Brooklyn and Upper West Side sellers sold 25 and 72 copies respectively at an Afro-American Day Parade in Harlem. Philadelphia supporters report they sold 42 papers in the Black community on Saturday, where they found much interest in *The Militant's* coverage of rising prices.

If you can help in the sales campaign by taking a weekly bundle of *Militants* to sell, send in the coupon on page 23.

Amnesty Int'l backs Sostre

By DERRICK MORRISON

Amnesty International, the prestigious worldwide organization for defense of political prisoners, has taken on the case of Martin Sostre.

An Amnesty International spokesman said, "we became convinced that he had been the victim of an international miscarriage of justice because of his political beliefs."

Sostre was convicted as a narcotics dealer in 1968 and sentenced to 31 to 41 years in prison. But it is widely recognized that he was imprisoned because of his activities in the Black movement in Buffalo, N.Y.

Meanwhile, Sostre has been indicted on new assault charges that could lead to life imprisonment as a "persistent felony offender." In a letter to federal Judge Irving Kaufman, Sostre described the origin of the charges.

Last May 19 Sostre, held in solitary confinement in Dannemora, N.Y., refused a demand by prison guards to submit to a rectal examination. The guards then assaulted him. Sostre submitted a complaint to U.S. District Court, which the court acknowledged receiving.

Shortly afterwards, a Clinton County grand jury indicted Sostre on three counts of assaulting the guards who beat him. On July 6 before taking him to a county courtroom for arraignment on these charges, guards again demanded a rectal search of Sostre. He refused and was again beaten.

This repression is continuing despite a federal judge's ruling that the rectal search is "dehumanizing" and "needlessly degrading."

For more information write to the Martin Sostre Defense Committee, P.O. Box 839 Ellicott Station, Buffalo, N.Y. 14205.

B'klyn SWP campaign in final drive

By MARTHA HARRIS

BROOKLYN—Maxine Williams got an enthusiastic reception at the Socialist Workers Party campaign banquet and rally here Sept. 29.

Williams is SWP candidate for Brooklyn borough president. Her remarks were frequently interrupted by applause from the crowd of 125, which included activists from the recently formed National Black Feminist Organization.

Williams spoke of the shameful school conditions in New York City and denounced the cuts in school lunch, work-study, and bilingual programs.

"The quality of education will not begin to improve," she said, "until the billions of dollars spent on the so-called defense budget are instead geared into programs of education, health, jobs, and housing."

James Mendieta, a transit worker, is SWP candidate for district attorney. He charged that the proposed transportation bond issue will do nothing for the people of New York, "but will further line the pockets of Rockefeller and his banks."

Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for mayor, scored talk in the media that there are no issues in this campaign—that the campaign is a "sleeper."

He said, "The housing crisis, school crisis, cop brutality, inflation, unemployment—those issues aren't asleep, and neither is the Socialist Workers Party campaign."

Oliver is correct. The Brooklyn SWP

campaign is certainly not asleep. Maxine Williams has a growing list of speaking engagements crowding her schedule until election day Nov. 6.

These include street corner rallies in Brooklyn and meetings at predominantly Black and Puerto Rican high schools. She attended a luncheon at the offices of *Ms.* magazine Oct. 3, and will participate in a conference on prisoners' rights Oct. 7.

Campaign supporters at the Brooklyn rally heard Mark Friedman, SWP

candidate for Brooklyn councilman-at-large, speak on the continuing struggle of the United Farm Workers.

Joel Britton of the editorial staff of *The Militant* urged those present to help build the broadest possible defense of civil liberties in Chile in the face of the recent reactionary coup there.

More than \$1,600 was contributed or pledged to keep the campaign in high gear during the last six weeks before the elections.



Militant/Jon Britton

Maxine Williams, SWP candidate for Brooklyn borough president, addresses Brooklyn campaign rally.

Thousands vote SWP in Seattle primary

By FRED LOVGREN

SEATTLE—Gary Johnson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council position one, received more than 7,000 votes in the Sept. 18 primary election here.

Johnson's total amounted to almost 9 percent of the vote. The Democratic and Republican candidates received 49 and 42 percent respectively.

Johnson attributed his showing to growing discontent with the policies of a city council that acts in the interests of big businessmen and bankers instead of Blacks, women, and working people.

Only 90,000 people in this city of 500,000 voted in the formally non-partisan primary—one of the lowest turnouts in recent history.

In the mayoral race, Democratic incumbent Wes Uhlman will now face Republican Liem Tuai in the November election.

Craig Honts, SWP mayoral candidate, polled less than 1 percent of the vote. Campaign supporters speculate that the difference between the number of votes for Johnson and for Honts was due to many people being unwilling to vote for a socialist for the key municipal post, even though they might vote socialist for a lower office. In addition, there were eight contenders in the mayoral race but only three for city council position one.

The SWP also ran Louise Pitell, who received more than 2,700 votes for city council position four, and Clare Fraenzl, who received some 400 votes for school board position three.

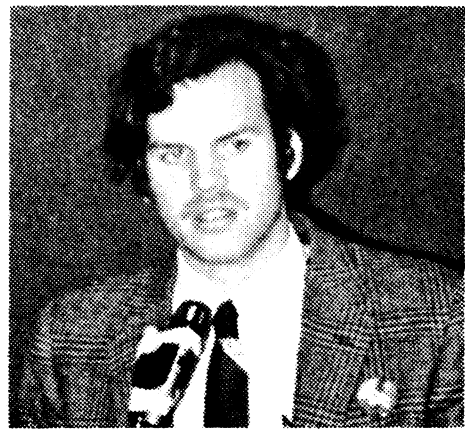
Another SWP candidate for city council, Eric Huffman, was denied a place on the ballot because of his age. Huffman is a student at Franklin High School.

The last week before the election saw intensive campaigning by the SWP candidates. They spoke to more than 700 people at public meetings, appeared on television five times, spoke on four radio stations, and were covered by the major newspapers nine times.

Their most successful meeting was at Nathan High School. Each of the SWP candidates spoke to a crowd of some 500 students. As a result, 18 students endorsed the SWP campaign and two asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

At a news conference Sept. 20 the SWP candidates announced their intention to continue campaigning through the November elections. They said they would demand equal time from the news media as write-in candidates.

The next major event in the Seattle SWP campaign is a banquet and rally Saturday, Oct. 20.



Militant/Shelby Harris

HONTs: Seattle SWP mayoral candidate.

Court orders bilingual ballot in NYC

NEW YORK—In a decision with national implications, the Federal District Court for the Southern District of New York has ordered New York City's board of elections to provide all voting materials in Spanish as well as English for the general election Nov. 6.

The ruling was made in a suit filed by the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund (PRLDEF) on behalf of three Bronx residents born in Puerto Rico who neither speak nor read English.

In his ruling Sept. 27, District Judge Charles Stewart said conducting an election in English only "violates plaintiffs' rights under the Voting Rights Act of 1965; the Voting Rights Amendments of 1970, which enforce the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States; and the Civil Rights Act of 1871."

Although the court order applies only to the coming November elections, PRLDEF plans to return to

court after the elections to obtain a permanent injunction binding for all future elections.

Democratic Assemblyman Luis Nine announced Oct. 1 that he plans to present a resolution to the next session of the State Assembly demanding that the court order apply to elections throughout the state.

The court order requires Spanish translations of all candidates' names, ballot instructions, and referendums on the ballots or voting machines in districts with 5 percent or more Spanish-speaking voters. It also requires Spanish interpreters at all such polling places.

The suit noted that three-fourths of the Puerto Ricans living in New York City speak Spanish as their primary language while "thousands upon thousands of such persons neither speak, read, write nor comprehend English." More than one million Puerto Ricans live in the city.

By EILEEN GERSH

PHILADELPHIA—On the basis of an unsubstantiated claim, an investigation was launched recently into the eligibility of Bruce Kaufman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for district attorney, to appear on the ballot.

Although the period for challenges had expired, Kaufman's opponents in the race reportedly questioned his right to be a candidate on the grounds that he is not an attorney.

The city commissioner then confirmed that Kaufman had the necessary residency and registration qualifications, that he had presented the legally required signatures in favor of his candidacy, and that his name

This decision is similar to one issued in February in a case brought by PRLDEF on behalf of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws and many Puerto Rican and Chinese voters with regard to the city's May school board elections. At that time PRLDEF pledged to continue court action until Spanish is required in all elections.

Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, hailed the ruling. "The decision in this case represents an enormous victory for democratic rights," he told *The Militant*. "Until now hundreds of thousands of Spanish-speaking voters have been denied their right to participate in the electoral process."

"The growing political awareness and activism of Puerto Ricans is ultimately responsible for this ruling," he continued. "As a minimum, this ruling should immediately be extended to Chicanos and other Latinos throughout this country."

would appear on the ballot.

In an interview with the local ABC-TV affiliate, Kaufman said, "My candidacy is legitimate. It is up to the people to decide who they want for district attorney."

Kaufman called a news conference for Oct. 3 and offered the Democratic and Republican candidates the opportunity to voice their opinions as to whether his name should be on the ballot.

Kaufman will be attending debates scheduled for the major party candidates and has been offered a guest column in the *Philadelphia Bulletin*. As a student at Philadelphia Community College, he is also receiving coverage from local campus media.

Kaufman demands rights in Phila. race

Paul Le Blanc for mayor

Socialists launch campaign in Pittsburgh

By SARA GATES

PITTSBURGH—The Socialist Workers Party announced Paul Le Blanc as its mayoral candidate and Christina Adachi and Andrew Nakrin as candidates for city council at a well-attended news conference Sept. 25.

As the NBC-TV evening news reported, "There's a new political party

Constitutional parties. This was noted by the ABC-TV affiliate, which reported, "The political campaign for mayor of Pittsburgh was begun today in earnest, not by the Democratic or Republican parties, but by the Socialist Workers Party."

In his opening statement Le Blanc blasted the "economic dictatorship of the big corporations" and cited the mayoral race in Pittsburgh as an example of this that is less ambiguous than usual. "Both parties have basically the same program," Le Blanc said. "Now, in Pittsburgh, they also have the same candidate."

"We believe that working people and oppressed groups need to organize their own strong, independent organizations in order to force the corporations and politicians to meet some of their basic, immediate needs," he said.

He cited the struggle of the United Farm Workers Union as an example of what is needed, and urged support to the UFW-called boycott of scab grapes and lettuce and A&P stores.

Le Blanc, 26, has been active in the antiwar, civil rights, labor, and socialist movements since 1965. He was formerly a leader of Students for a Democratic Society and the New American Movement. In 1969 he was an active supporter of the Black Construction Coalition's struggle for jobs.

He participated in the recent statewide strike of social service employees, and has helped organize support for efforts of the Hospital Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. He has also been active in the Neighborhood Consumer's Union.

Christina Adachi, a Japanese-American, condemned the action of the state

welfare department in denying abortions to women on welfare. "The Supreme Court ruling legalizing abortion states unequivocally that a state may not deny a woman the right to abortion during the first six months of pregnancy, and the state welfare department's decision is in clear violation of this ruling," Adachi said. "If elected, the Socialist Workers Party candidates would make fighting this, and all other attempts to encroach upon the right to legal abortion, a priority."

Andrew Nakrin, a 21-year-old graduate student at Duquesne University, presented the SWP's program for youth, including free education through the university level. He also announced the formation of Young Socialists for Le Blanc, which will campaign in support of the SWP candidates.

The news conference was attended by reporters from three radio stations and both the morning and evening newspapers, as well as the local NBC and ABC-TV affiliates. Reacting to the obvious lack of a political campaign in Pittsburgh up until now, one reporter told the candidates he was glad to see them on the scene.

Undemocratic election laws will prevent the candidates from appearing on the ballot, since the filing date is past. It will be a write-in or "sticker" campaign. But there is precedent for this type of campaign in Pittsburgh; it's the way the incumbent Flaherty won the Republican nomination.

The candidates and their supporters celebrated the opening of the SWP campaign headquarters at 304 South Bouquet with an open house Sept. 29.

SWP hits U.S. role in Chile

The SWP candidates marched in a picket line Sept. 25 at the University of Pittsburgh, demanding an end to repression in Chile.

Paul Le Blanc, SWP mayoral candidate, issued a statement that charged, "The ITT and other corporations and the U.S. government itself played a major role in preparing the economic crisis and military coup in Chile."

"The U.S. government, with the approval of both the Republicans and Democrats, trained and supplied the Chilean army and police, which are now carrying out mass arrests and executions. State Department claims that the U.S. isn't involved in the tradition of the Watergate cover-up and the big lies about the Vietnam war."

in Pittsburgh." The municipal election campaign was launched by the newly formed Socialist Workers Party branch, the first here since the 1940s.

Le Blanc is the only candidate running against incumbent Mayor Pete Flaherty, who has been nominated by the Democratic, Republican, and



SWP candidates Andrew Nakrin, Paul Le Blanc, and Christina Adachi at news conference announcing their campaign.

Militant/Carol McAllister

Black students greet Bustin with cheers

ATLANTA—When Debby Bustin, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Atlanta, spoke to an assembly of 1,000 students at all-Black Douglas High School, she found herself facing the most enthusiastic audience of her campaign.

All 11 candidates for mayor were invited to speak to eleventh and twelfth grade students Sept. 27. Bustin was the last to speak of the six who showed up.

Students started cheering before she even began. Bustin opened her remarks by referring to a comment by State Senator LeRoy Johnson, who told the students that when he became the first Black since Reconstruction to be elected to the Georgia legislature, "the walls of the capitol did not crack and the ceiling did not fall in."

Bustin said that if there were a socialist government in Atlanta, "the

walls of every public housing project would crack and fall, to be replaced by decent and pleasant homes for all."

This brought loud applause.

Then Bustin reminded the students that Democratic Party mayors have been running Atlanta for years and have not removed slums or ended poverty and crime. She said, "I am the only candidate for mayor who protested loud and long when a 14-year-old Black girl was shot in the stomach by a white cop."

At that point she was interrupted by cheers from all parts of the gym. She raised her fist and almost every student stood with a clenched fist, continuing to cheer.

Reference to police terrorism finds a strong response in Atlanta's Black community. Since February, 13 Black men have been killed by Atlanta cops. In addition, Bustin's stand against

police terrorizing of Blacks is well known.

WAOK, Atlanta's largest Black AM radio station and one of the only sources of facts about these police crimes, has carried news about Bustin's campaign. Through this coverage, many Douglas students were already aware that Bustin is the only candidate for mayor who has spoken out against this wave of police killings and to call for the firing of the racist chief of police, John Inman.

In the three minutes allotted to Bustin at Douglas, she was only able to say about eight sentences because she was interrupted by applause so often. Channel 5 TV filmed all of this and showed it on the noon news, but by the six o'clock news the crowd's response to Bustin was edited out.

When Bustin finished, the three ma-

yor Democratic Party candidates huddled on a corner of the stage to decide if they should stay.

Senator Johnson was furious with Bustin's reception. He got up three times to answer questions from students; each time he attacked Bustin. He was booed and hissed more each time, and Bustin was given the chance to answer. At the end about 100 students crowded around Bustin to wish her luck and ask questions.

Afterward one woman student said, "She is for the people, to the people and by the people. I believe that if she can't do it no one can."

A male student said, "I admire her determination to run because of her sex and her stand on the Black community."

Bustin has been invited to return to Douglas to speak before a number of classes.

Scherr debates rivals in Cleveland

By ROBERT DOLGAN

CLEVELAND—Roberta Scherr, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, recently debated her opponents in the Cleveland mayoral race at the City Club.

The debate between Scherr, Republican incumbent Ralph Perk, and Democrat James Carney, was carried live over eight radio stations and covered by the *Cleveland Press*, the *Plain Dealer* and all three TV networks.

The *Plain Dealer*, Cleveland's major newspaper, quoted Scherr as saying, "If I didn't run, thousands of people would stay home, because they wouldn't have anybody to vote for. I expect my votes to come from those

people who feel the capitalist system is outmoded."

The article continued, "It was easy to sympathize with this spunky Miss Scherr as she went into the cauldron to challenge her high-powered rivals. Her voice quaking a bit at the start, she looked the way Joan of Arc must have looked 500 years ago."

Earlier that week, Scherr was interviewed for 15 minutes by WKYC-TV and for six minutes by WEWS-TV. She also spoke to the student body of the Urban League Street Academy. Twenty people at that meeting endorsed her campaign and three decided to attend the Young Socialist national convention to be held New Year's weekend in Chicago.



Militant/Dave Paparella

SCHERR: "I expect my votes to come from those people who feel the capitalist system is outmoded."

On July 9 Communist Party leader Dorothy Healey announced her resignation from the party she had been identified with for 45 years. For 20 years Healey was Southern California chairwoman of the CP, and for many years she was a member of the CP Central Committee.

Her resignation was followed by that of Al Richmond, another longtime CP leader, who in 1937 had been the founding editor of the CP's West Coast newspaper, the *People's World*, and who had remained its editor until

has been as an apologist for the bureaucratic overlords in Moscow. Its aim has been to promote peaceful co-existence between American imperialism and the Kremlin, with all else—including the interests of the American and world socialist revolution—subordinated to that aim.

Dorothy Healey and Al Richmond are longtime public critics of a number of aspects of the policies and functioning of the Communist Party, and to some extent the policies of the Kremlin. They make some valid and cogent points in their criticism.

Considering how much is wrong

policies in the history of the Stalinized Communist Party. And that is quite a bit.

In the period of the rise of the CIO, the CP, along with the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas, worked to divert the growing sentiment for independent political action back into the Democratic Party.

Since 1936, from Franklin Roosevelt to George McGovern, in every presidential election, the CP has in practice supported the Democratic Party or another pro-capitalist political party.

More recently, the CP has shown an

The crisis that hit the CP in 1956 shattered the totally monolithic grip of the ruling bureaucracy in the party. For the first time since the Stalinization of the CP in the late 1920s, dissident tendencies appeared. Large sections of dissenters walked out of the party; others, however, like Healey and Richmond, did not leave. They had their own base within the party in California and were able to establish a certain independence from the central bureaucracy of the party in New York.

Prague Spring

This went on until 1968 and the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Kremlin to crush the movement for socialist democracy called the Prague Spring. Healey and Richmond decided it was impossible to try to defend that criminal invasion, and publicly voiced criticism in direct contradiction to the position of the Central Committee of the CP.

Their criticisms had little in common with a Marxist opposition to that invasion. But they did criticize, and this helped contribute to a new crisis within the CP.

This was too much for the central leadership of the party. Gus Hall came out to California and made it clear to Richmond and the staff of the *People's World* that their dissent would no longer be tolerated. Richmond took the hint, and resigned as editor of the paper.

The final straw for Hall and company was the publication of Richmond's book.

Dorothy Healey said in explaining her resignation from the party that it was not only a matter of her disagreement with the party's condemnation of the book, but that even more important was the issue of internal party democracy. She noted—and I take her word for it—that there had been no prior discussion of the decision that this book was "a weapon in the hands of the class enemy."

There is a certain curiosity here, when you consider Dorothy Healey's record. She never publicly dissociated herself from any part of the whole

If you are interested in reading further on the development and nature of Stalinism, order these pamphlets and books:

STALINISM AND BOLSHEVISM, by Leon Trotsky (32 pp., 50 cents).

IN DEFENSE OF BLACK NATIONALISM: An Answer to the Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation League, by Tony Thomas (32 pp., 60 cents).

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AFTER LENIN, by Leon Trotsky (348 pp., paper \$3.45).

THE STALIN SCHOOL OF FALSIFICATION, by Leon Trotsky (368 pp., paper \$3.45).

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

list of bureaucratic expulsions from the CP—beginning with those of the supporters of Leon Trotsky's criticisms of Stalin's policies in 1928—on which the CP membership was also not consulted, before or after.

As Richmond's book makes clear, Healey's and Richmond's resignations are not a break to the left. They are a call for more "reasoned" apologies for Kremlin policies, and for a continued reformist policy in the United States. The book, and Healey's endorsement of it, confirm that Healey and Richmond remain Stalinists in their basic politics.

A "reasoned" apologetic for the Kremlin is no better than a mindless one. In terms of political content, it is not worth a nickel more.

HEALEY, RICHMOND: LEFT THE CP BUT REMAIN STALINISTS

1968.

Dorothy Healey's public explanation for her resignation was her disagreement with a directive from the CP Central Committee characterizing Richmond's history of the CP, *A Long View from the Left*, as "a weapon in the hands of the class enemy."

Richmond's book reflects the views of many CP members on the West Coast, including Healey. In general, they want more leeway to criticize some of the policies of the Kremlin that



Militant/Walter Lippmann

HEALEY: Confirms there's no democracy in Communist Party.

prove embarrassing to them in their work in liberal circles, including the "progressive" wing of the Democratic Party. For example, they have criticized the Soviet invasions of Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968, as well as Soviet mistreatment of intellectuals and Jews.

The resignation of Healey and Richmond provoked discussion in the CP and in radical circles in California.

The following are excerpts from a talk by Harry Ring of The Militant's Southwest Bureau on the meaning of the resignations. It was given at the Los Angeles Militant Forum Aug. 31.

To make comprehensible the resignations from the Communist Party of Dorothy Healey and Al Richmond, we have to start from a basic political proposition. And that is that the Communist Party is a reformist party, not a revolutionary party.

It is a reformist party that has done incalculable damage to the struggle for socialism. Its program and practices make a grotesque mockery of the Marxism-Leninism to which it professes to adhere. It is a thoroughly bureaucratized party that for decades has not had anything resembling working-class democracy for its membership.

The CP's principle political function

with the policies of the CP and the Kremlin, that is not much of an accomplishment.

The main political thrust of their criticisms, however, must be characterized as coming not from the left of the Communist Party but from its right.

More palatable

If the Communist Party were to accept the leadership of Healey and Richmond, it would follow the same basic reformist course that the CP has been committed to since the 1930s. Their criticisms boil down to the argument that they could carry out this reformist course better—more effectively, more realistically, more intelligently—and they would make it more palatable.

What Al Richmond says in his book is that his political conceptions today come down to stressing the need for autonomy of the various parts of the world Communist movement. He be-



RICHMOND: His book endorses major reformist policies of CP.

lieves that the Communist parties should not have to be totally subservient to Moscow. They should not simply be mindless, blind apologists for the Kremlin. They should be treated with a degree of equality. They should be given the right to speak a bit for themselves and to dissociate themselves from some of the more unpalatable aspects of Kremlin policy rather than put themselves in the awkward position of trying to explain away things that often cannot be explained away.

Reformism

But if you read Richmond's book carefully, you find that he and Healey endorse all the major reformist

implacable hostility to the manifestations of the new radicalization of the 1960s. This was seen by their opposition to the Black nationalism of Malcolm X, the Chicano nationalism of La Raza Unida Party, and the feminism of the new women's liberation movement.

It is not a matter of the Communist Party's being incorrect on all these questions. You cannot be that consistently wrong by accident.

No, it is not a matter of the CP's



Militant/Flax Hermes

HALL: Considered memoirs of CP leader a 'weapon in hands of class enemy.'

trying to make a revolution in the wrong way. What has to be understood is that the Communist Party is *not* trying to make a revolution, and they reserve their main opposition to those who they recognize *are* trying to make a revolution.

That is the essence of Communist Party politics. And it's a starting point for viewing the meaning of Richmond's and Healey's resignations.

Witch-hunt

A few more words of background are necessary. The Communist Party suffered extremely heavy blows in the 1950s. It was the principle target of the witch-hunt of that period. Then in 1956 came the Khrushchev revelations about the terrible crimes of Stalin, for which the CP had long been apologizing, followed by the Kremlin's invasion of Hungary. This caused a mortal internal crisis in the party.

Al Richmond estimates that in one decade, from 1948 to 1958, the CP lost two-thirds of its membership.

In the past three to five years, however the Communist Party has begun to recruit again and to assert its influence in various political movements. And as the CP began to reestablish itself and break through the isolation it had suffered for so long, it began to take care of internal business.

Washington state on trial

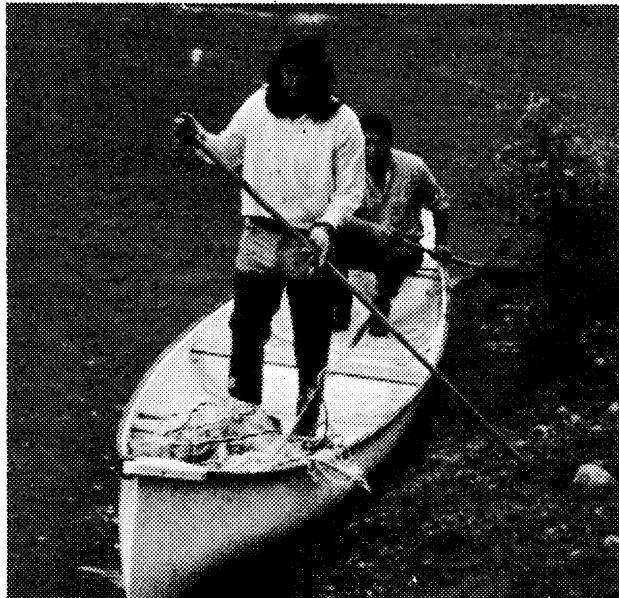
Indians fight for fishing rights

By KATHY SLEDGE

TACOMA, Wash. — The Washington game and fisheries departments are on trial here for robbing 14 Indian tribes of their fishing rights. The federal government has filed suit on behalf of the Indians, who are fighting to regain the right to fish outside their reservations.

The Indians' struggle dates back to 1854, when the Medicine Creek Treaty was signed, taking away the Indians' land on Puget Sound. The treaty did grant the tribes continued fishing rights in their "usual and accustomed places," however, whether on or off the reservations.

Despite a 1968 Supreme Court decision upholding the off-reservation fishing rights, the state of



'Fish-in' in Washington, 1968. Indian struggle continues for right to livelihood.

Washington says the Indians can fish only on their reservations and then only for a limited amount of fish, "so as not to deplete the resources."

The state game department has placed a blanket ban on the netting of steelhead (a type of trout) and other fish by the Indians, declaring the steelhead game fish only. Some 100 Indians currently face trial for fishing off the reservations, and the arrests continue as the trial here goes on.

State officials have continually charged that the tribes do not know how to regulate their off-reservation fishing and thus threaten the conservation of steelhead and salmon.

At the trial, however, biologist and fisheries expert Dr. James Heckman testified to the contrary. The Indians "know much more about the fish and fishing than many of us learn in college," he said. According to Heckman's figures, the Indians take only 5 to 6 percent of the total catch in the area, the rest going to sports fishing and commercial catches.

Over the past 50 years the annual salmon catch

has dropped from 16 million pounds to three million. The Indians have pointed out that construction, the removal of gravel from spawning grounds, flooding, and agricultural and industrial pollution have depleted the fish runs—not the tiny amount of tribal fishing.

The state places conservation of profits above conservation of fish, the Indians argue. They point out that "the state owes its loyalty to the commercial fishermen and to the sportsmen," not the Indians.

The tribes depend on fishing for an important part of their livelihood. Each tribe has its own conservation practices, and it would be self-defeating for them to knowingly damage the fish runs.

Although the federal government has filed the suit on behalf of the 14 tribes, the Indians view the aims of the government with distrust. At the trial, this reporter spoke with one Indian who said that individual tribe members are not at all satisfied with the way the federal government is representing them.

A member of the Yakima tribe said: "Many other tribes wanted to pull out. But we decided that we want to go through with the suit and pour into the case every bit of fact, research, biology, history, and anthropology we can and use the courtroom as a tract to get the record straight. It also helps to inform the public of our struggle."

"If we don't win at this level," he continued, "we will have under us a solid and complete legal basis for further reviews once it reaches the Ninth Circuit Court."

The Indians believe that the state fisheries department and the federal government are very close to each other in the case. "They could practically sit down and agree on this case between themselves right now," said Fred Lane, tribal coordinator.

Lane also pointed out that "the state has failed to recognize the fact that the treaty rights of Indians never belonged to the state in the first place. They were original rights held by the Indians before there was a state and reserved for themselves in an honored agreement with the federal government while Washington was still a territory."

Furthermore, the federal government has allowed the state to develop two completely different cases. The fisheries department argues that it does recognize treaty rights, and simply asks the court to determine the scope of those rights so it can regulate them. The game department, on the other hand, says the Indians have no treaty rights, and refuses to concede that it should allow any tribal fishing at all.

Despite these obstacles, the Indians say they are determined to "fight as our ancestors have for over 100 years for our rights, as the original inhabitants of this land, to fish and sustain ourselves."

Ex-cop 'solves' crime wave

Albany, N.Y., the upstate base of Nelson Rockefeller's empire, has always been known as a wide-open town. But it did seem strange that the local cops could never crack a professional burglary ring that had been operating there as long as anyone could remember.

After all, it shouldn't have been too hard to figure out who was milking the city's parking meters to the tune of \$700 each week. Or to find out who was breaking into one local department store so regularly that employees had to start chaining the door shut at night.

A former Albany policeman finally cleared up the "mystery." When an unusual burglary turned up on his beat, he testified at a recent police-corruption hearing, the first thing he used to do was "to look around the squad room and think, 'Who was in my territory last night?' My first reaction was, I thought it was the police."

And he should have known; he'd been burglar-

American Way of Life

izing local stores himself ever since he joined the force.

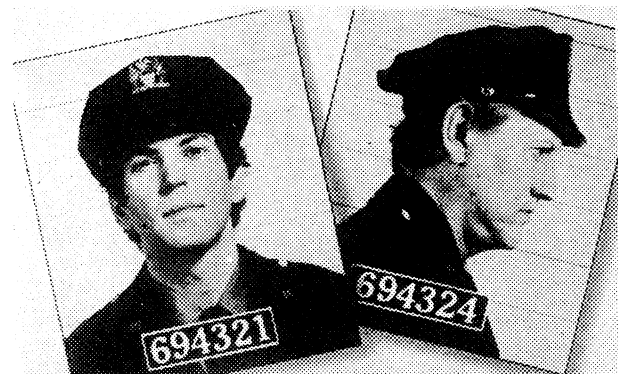
For a while, he said, Albany cops had an informal agreement, a sort of honor system, to rob only the stores on their own beats. That didn't last too long; the possibilities of "poaching" on other beats just got too tempting.

"I tried to protect my own territory," the informer testified, "but to no avail." The other cops "would make calls to pull me off my patrol. It would leave my area unprotected. Or they would wait until I went to get gas."

Certain officers "had their own specialties," he said. "Some were referred to as 'crashers' or 'breakers'—they would literally break in the door or window or go right through the wall."

He himself was more sophisticated and fashioned his own special tools for quicker, less conspicuous break-ins. He was especially proud of a steel bar and screwdriver combination he devised to pry open difficult locks.

The parking meter rake-off created a few problems. The way it first worked was that an officer



Albany, N.Y., cops: Pimps and thieves.

would pay his sergeant to get parking meter duty. He then had to split the take only with his squad car partner.

This led to a serious decline in morale on the force. Not everyone could be on parking meter duty, and those left out felt they were being cheated of their fair share of the take.

The problem was eventually solved by dividing the loot among the entire squad. This seemed to work out well, each man's share ranging from \$25 to \$35 a week.

Some cops on the force supplemented their incomes by taking bribes from prostitutes. For at least two plainclothes detectives, however, even this wasn't enough. They went into the business themselves and became pimps. When news of this began to leak out, one detective was allowed to resign without charges. The other? He was promoted to sergeant.

Being a cop in Albany apparently has so many "fringe benefits" that you don't get on the force by simply going down and taking the civil service test. Instead, you go to the local Democratic Party ward leader, fork over a hefty down payment, and pledge to keep the "contributions" rolling in as long as you're on the force. No questions asked after that.

—MICHAEL BAUMANN

Ignore back-to-work order

Detroit teachers: 'We won't go!'

By MIKE KELLY

DETROIT—Some 8,000 of the 10,600 members of the Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT) met Sept. 30 to hear a court order read to them.

The order, signed by Wayne County Circuit Court Judge Thomas Foley, ordered the teachers back to work and threatened them with stiff fines and jail sentences.

As the order was read teachers angrily shouted, "We won't go!" The teachers continued to show the same unity and determination that have marked their five-week strike against the Detroit board of education. This is already the longest teachers' strike in the nation this fall.

A ruling by Judge Foley is expected soon either fining the union, arresting its leaders, or both. Union President Mary Ellen Riordan has said the union officials will go to jail if necessary.

There appears to be some movement on the part of the board of education on the wage issue, but other major issues remain unresolved. The DFT is

demanding a 9.7 percent wage increase, a cost-of-living escalator clause, and a smaller class size.

The board of education is demanding that teachers accept the "accountability" (merit pay) plan, which gives arbitrary power to the administration to decide if teachers advance in pay. The teachers reject this plan as a union-busting tactic.

Last week the union circulated thousands of leaflets explaining the issues of the strike. This was done in the face of efforts by the board to mobilize sentiment in the Black community against the striking teachers. About 70 percent of Detroit's 278,000 students are Black. So far the board's efforts have failed.

A three-week teachers' strike in Youngstown, Ohio, ended Sept. 26. Nevertheless, the board of education there is pressing contempt of court charges against 1,520 teachers and other employees on the basis of injunctions issued during the strike.

A lawyer for the Youngstown teachers called the board's action "recrimination and reprisal."

Water lords: corporate pollution

The Water Lords by James M. Fallows. Bantam Books. New York, 1972. 294 pp. Paper \$1.95.

This book describes a Ralph Nader project that sought to analyze the industrial and environmental crisis in Savannah, Ga. It is an excellent case study of corporate destruction of the environment.

The river in Savannah has played a central role in the city's history, providing a livelihood in the catches of oysters and shrimp. James Fallows, who headed this study, writes:

"At times the water in front of city hall literally boils as pockets of hydrogen sulfide and methane gas rise from the wastes on the river bed.

"The situation remains the same for several miles," Fallows continues, "until the river undergoes a final calamity as it passes the American Cyanamid factory. There some 690,000 pounds of sulfuric acid flood into the river every day, killing fish and running into the marshes alongside of the river. The river water near the plant, often as caustic as concentrated laboratory acid, has seared the skin of small children who have unwittingly dangled their arms in the water."

The *Water Lords* points out the arrogance with which the pulp mill bosses look at the public. They do not recognize responsibility for what passes out of their smokestacks or drainage pipes. The pollution control boards—instead of restricting the industrialists—are themselves pawns of these polluters.

Annual investigation into the pollution activity

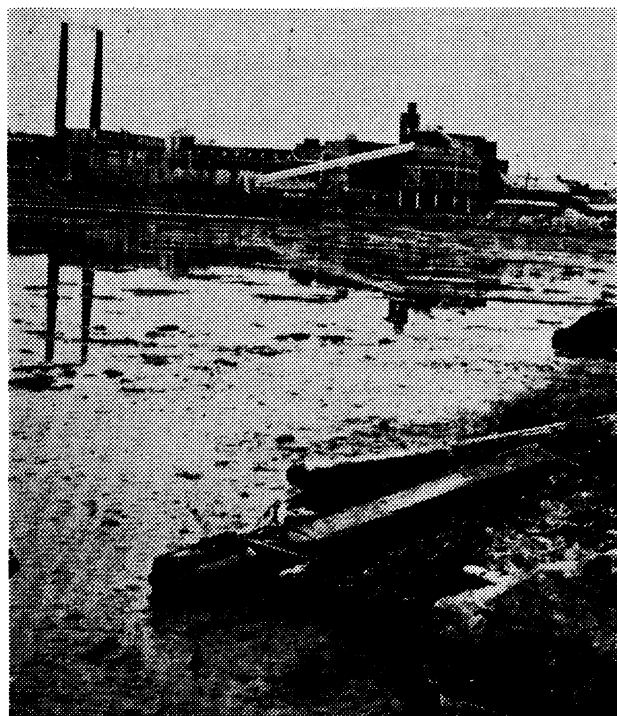
Books

of the pulp mills is usually limited to what was produced and how much of it. The Nader study project found that when the Savannah corporations bothered to reply at all, their reports were generally falsified.

This book urges stronger air and water quality control laws in polluted cities and recommends that citizens bring legal action against corporations that pollute. The report's inadequate proposals follow from its inadequate appraisal of the role of the corporations. In his conclusion, Fallows compares these companies to little children who must be taught to clean up after themselves, the parents being the government.

The U.S. government will never undertake a serious attack on pollution. This book itself exposes two impotent pollution enforcement conferences held in Savannah in 1965 and 1969. Any real industrial planning, such as pollution control, would run counter to monopoly capitalism's operation as an unrestrained culture on our economy.

—VAUGHN HOGIKYAN



NATO-armed Portuguese soldiers in Guinea-Bissau

How NATO arms Portugal

Portugal and NATO. Published by Angola Comité (Da Costastraat 88, Amsterdam, Holland). 1972. 80 pp. 75 cents.

Portugal is a weak country, with one of the lowest standards of living in Europe. For the last 12 years, however, it has been able to carry out an extensive military conflict in Africa against liberation fighters in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique. Portugal's secret is that the Western imperialist powers in NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) have been supplying it with extensive amounts of military equipment.

This pamphlet documents how military equipment is surreptitiously delivered to the Portuguese. The Portuguese Navy, for example, has 104 of its 168 vessels serving in Africa. Almost the entire fleet was donated, subsidized, or built by the U.S., Germany, France, Britain, and other NATO powers. More than 20 major vessels have been given to the Portuguese by the NATO powers since the African war erupted in 1961.

According to this pamphlet, most aircraft in Portuguese hands are not donated directly by the U.S. or Germany, but are received after being "used" by "third parties" such as Norway, Turkey, or Italy. Special NATO-designed aircraft, including the Puma helicopter, and the G-91 fighter, designed

Pamphlets

for ill-prepared airfields such as in Angola or Guinea, have reached the Portuguese through these channels.

The pamphlet cites another means by which U.S. military supplies reach Portugal: CIA subversion. In 1965 a British pilot was arrested by U.S. authorities for illegally ferrying B-26 bombers from the U.S. to Portugal. Previously, a Portuguese request for these World War II-vintage planes had been publicly turned down.

"The pilot was tried for smuggling these planes without licenses or approval from the State Department," the pamphlet says, "but was acquitted when the defence claimed that the CIA and government departments had known what was going on from the beginning."

Boeing has sold the Portuguese government-owned TAP airline a number of long-distance 707 and 747 aircraft "for civilian purposes." These aircraft were immediately "leased" to the Portuguese military to carry troops to and from Africa.

One of Portugal's major military suppliers is West Germany, partly due to the dictatorship's former links to Nazi Germany. When West Germany was initially banned from having arms factories on its soil after World War II, German corporations set up their factories in Portugal, also supplying the Portuguese armed forces. When Portugal's African war erupted in Angola in 1961, the Germans increased their investments in Portuguese munitions plants by \$10-million.

—TONY THOMAS

Humanism and socialism

Humanism and Socialism by George Novack. Pathfinder Press (410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014). 1973. 158 pp. Cloth \$6.95, paper \$2.25.

Every morning you wake up, grapple with the alarm clock, and ask yourself, "Why the hell do I have to go to work?"—Right?

After you've read George Novack's *Humanism and Socialism*, you'll have the answer. You have to go to work so your boss can make a profit:

"Labor is irreplaceable in the functioning of capitalism because wage labor is the source of the surplus value that sustains the system and motivates the owners of the means of production in the process of accumulation."

But Novack doesn't leave it at that. He doesn't—as a bourgeois philosopher might—leave you lying there, stunned, alarm clock in hand, wishing you'd never asked the question in the first place.

He takes that sentence apart and, in 150 pages, puts it back together in a way that tells you not only why you have to go to work but what you can do about it.

"If we are subject to natural and social necessities [like getting up and going to work]," he writes, "then what room is there for freedom of choice?"

"Marxism answers that our lives are not exclusively determined for us by external and uncontrollable factors but also by us as consciously acting and reacting beings. . . . Participating in an organized and disciplined way in the struggle for socialism can be the highest assertion of per-

Books

sonal freedom."

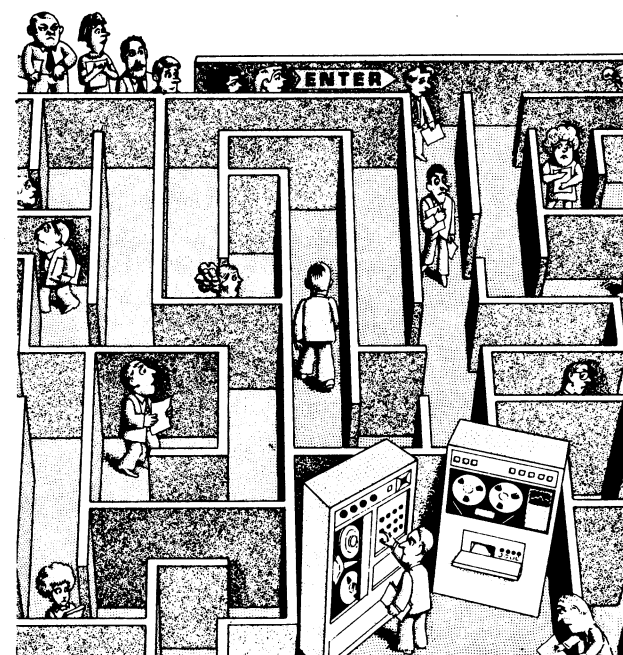
Humanism and Socialism appeared in the Sept. 10 *New York Times*' listing of recently published books. It is listed correctly, if a little unassumingly, as "a discussion of Marxist theory."

But the *Times* did not say how significant a contribution it is. Novack confronts the same questions that have defined the philosophical works of Simone de Beauvoir and Jean-Paul Sartre: Are humanism and socialism compatible? Is Marxism equipped to deal with questions on the meaning of life? Or is it of value only for economists and social theoreticians?

Novack explains the labor theory of human origins—that the ability to make tools and engage in productive labor is what differentiates humanity from other primates. He uses this theory itself as a tool to evaluate the notion of progress.

Most importantly he focuses on what the Czechoslovaks called "socialism with a human face." He takes Marxist philosophy back from the dilettantes and sterile academicians who merely interpret the world and offers it to those who are out to change it.

—CLAIRE MORIARTY



Militant 45th Anniversary Fund

Readers boost fund drive by \$1,000 in one week

By ANDREA MORELL

The Militant Forty-Fifth Anniversary Fund received a boost from subscribers and sympathizers around the country this week, bringing us \$1,013 closer to our goal of raising \$20,000 by Dec. 15. Contributions and pledges ranged this week from \$1 to \$600.66, and letters accompanying the donations show they come from diverse sources.

A Maryland supporter sent a pledge for \$45 with this note: "I just sold two paintings, but won't have the money for another month. I hope a lot of people get to see your coverage of Chile—they sure aren't getting even decent objective reporting

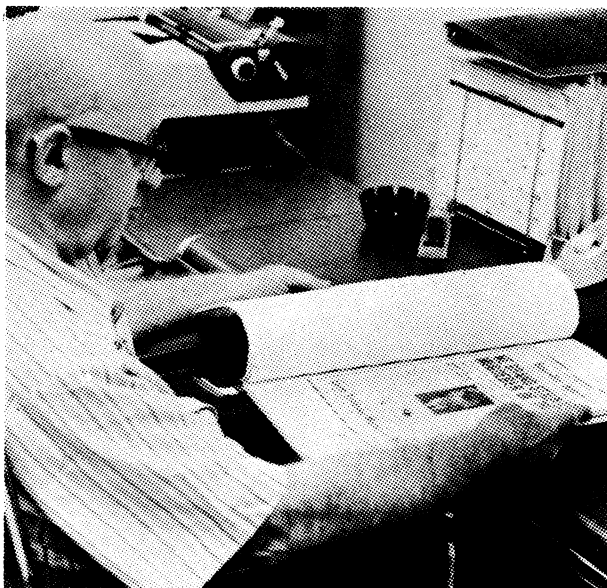
Andrea Morell is the chairwoman of The Militant's 45th Anniversary Fund.

from the normal sources—much less a good analysis."

A Canadian reader sent \$45 and wrote, "*The Militant* is one of my favorite newspapers. It has the right combination of truthful content and bold design."

Another *Militant* enthusiast from California unexpectedly came into \$600.66. She explained, "I had already planned to pledge \$45 and pay it off a month at a time. But when I received this check, my first impulse was to send it in to you right away." That's the kind of impulse-spending we're for!

And right in line with the Fund's motto, "From each according to their ability," a supporter in New Jersey sent in a dollar bill with the message, "When you live on Social Security, it takes time to save a dollar."



James Kutcher looks through his copy of *Militant* anniversary book. All contributors of \$45 or more receive the commemorative book.

The Fund's very first contributor was James Kutcher, who gave \$500 at the *Militant* Anniversary kick-off rally in August. Kutcher is a veteran socialist and was the central figure in one of the most important civil liberties cases during the witch-hunt of the 1950s.

Kutcher lost both legs during World War II in Italy. The government nonetheless fired him from his job in the Veterans Administration, revoked his disabled veterans pension, and tried to evict him and his elderly parents from a public housing project because of his open socialist views and his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. Kutcher and thousands of supporters across the country won the case after an eight-year court battle, forcing the government to reinstate him with full back pay.

The Militant was in the forefront of the Kutcher battle. When the victory was won, *The Militant's* front-page headline announced, "Legless Veteran Wins Gov't Job Back After Eight-Year Fight." The story of this fight is told by Kutcher in *The Case of the Legless Veteran*, a book available from Pathfinder Press for \$2.95.

The Militant has been a consistent champion of civil liberties throughout its 45-year history. We have given front-page coverage to many battles for democratic rights. They have included the fight to save Hugo Blanco's life, the free speech rights of GIs, and the current suit of the SWP to stop the use of government Watergate tactics against socialists and other dissenters.

Today *The Militant* is conducting a major campaign to help organize protests against the slaughter in Chile, and to defend political prisoners jailed by the military junta.

The \$20,000 we are aiming for through the Anniversary Fund will enable us to continue and expand these efforts.

Meanwhile, on the inflation front, we reported two weeks ago that Post Office rates for periodicals had skyrocketed—up 19 percent in just one month—and that we needed funds to defray the extra expenses.

The Post Office is now seeking another 38 percent increase by the first of the year. The justification given for this new increase shows the Catch-22 mentality of the U.S. government. Although earlier increases have helped drive many publications, including *Life* magazine, out of business, the Post Office claims the new boost is necessary because a number of publications have cut their weight and size to reduce postage costs, resulting in a loss of postal revenue.

Although the government would like to make publications like *The Militant* financially prohibitive, our supporters have shown they won't let this happen.

Now more than ever, your contribution is needed. If you give \$45 or more, you will also receive a complimentary copy of the special anniversary book, *The Militant: 45 Years in the Struggle for Socialism*. Please send whatever you can today.

7,000 W'gate books sold

The special sales effort for the new Pathfinder book *Watergate: The View from the Left* is off to a flying start. In the two weeks since the book was printed, more than 7,000 copies have been shipped out.

By comparison, Pathfinder's best selling book in 1972, *Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory* by Ernest Mandel, sold 9,500 copies during the entire year.

Much of the success can be credited to the Pathfinder supporters who have been visiting campus and other bookstores around the country, taking orders for the Watergate book. The book, which documents government repression against political dissidents, can already be purchased in more than 500 bookstores. In New York and California, supporters contacted companies that distribute books nationally. One of these companies is sending five to seven copies to each of 218 bookstores in 38 states.

In addition, Socialist Workers Party branches and Young Socialist Alliance locals have set their own sales goals for this special effort. These goals range from 5 to 150 copies and total 930.

New York SWP branches are using the book to publicize and gain support for the legal suit launched by the SWP and the YSA to end government harassment of their members and supporters. The Watergate book reflects the views of the plaintiffs. One chapter describes the suit, and the 1972 presidential election platform of the SWP is printed as an appendix.

Through continued sales efforts for this book, thousands of people will read the socialist analysis of the Watergate crimes and learn of the strategy to fight back.

Campaigns to sell especially important books and pamphlets are not new for the SWP and YSA.

News from Pathfinder

Many such campaigns have been reported in the pages of *The Militant* during the last 30 years.

The Sept. 8, 1945, issue of *The Militant* reported that 410 copies of *Jobs for All: A Fighting Program for Labor* by Art Preis were sold in less than two and a half hours at a CIO rally in New York. The first press run on this 10-cent pamphlet was 20,000.

At the height of the McCarthyite witch-hunt of the 1950s, SWP branches launched a special sales effort around *America's Road to Socialism* by James P. Cannon, *The Case of the Legless Veteran* by James Kutcher, and *McCarthyism: American Fascism on the March*. Branches of the SWP in Minneapolis and St. Paul sold 1,345 copies of the McCarthyism pamphlet.

More recently, at the beginning of the antiwar movement in 1965, the YSA sold thousands of copies of *War and Revolution in Vietnam* by Doug Jenness.

Over the years, these special sales efforts have introduced thousands of people to revolutionary socialist ideas. The sales of the Watergate book will do the same thing.

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

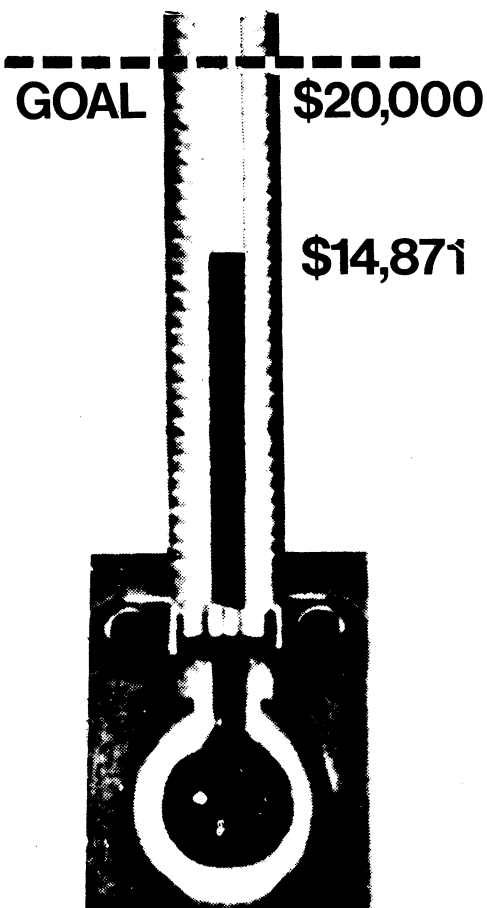
You can get five copies of this \$1.25 book to sell by sending \$4.00 to Pathfinder Press.

—PEGGY BRUNDY



This Spanish translation of Pathfinder's pamphlet 'The Watergate Conspiracy' was published recently in Venezuela.

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Calendar

BERKELEY

NIXON VS. THE BILL OF RIGHTS: HOW TO FIGHT THE WATERGATE CRIMES. Speakers: Syd Stapleton, national secretary, Political Rights Defense Fund; Doug Gordon, plaintiff in PRDF suit. Fri., Oct. 12, 8 p.m. Tan Oak Room, Fourth Floor, Student Union, U.C. Berkeley. Donation: \$1 h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

CHICAGO

CHILE: WHY ALLENDE FELL. Speaker: Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party. Opening of new forum hall. Sat., Oct. 13, 8 p.m. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 427-0280.

DENVER

THE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION VS. THE PEOPLE OF COLORADO—A panel discussion. Speakers: Joel Houtman, Socialist Workers Party; and others. Fri., Oct. 12, 8 p.m. 1203 California. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

HOUSTON

NIXON'S DIRTY TRICKS: HOW TO FIGHT BACK. Speakers: Mike Arnall, field secretary for the Political Rights Defense Fund; and others. Fri., Oct. 12, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

LOS ANGELES

GALA BANQUET TO CELEBRATE THE 45TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE MILITANT. Sat., Dec. 1 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Gourmet meal, entertainment. Admission: \$6, students \$4. For more information call (213) 464-9759.

MINNEAPOLIS

UNITED FARM WORKERS: CHICANO POWER. Speakers: Tomas Padilla, UFWU organizer; Hank Scheer, Socialist Workers Party candidate for 8th Ward. Fri., Oct. 12, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Fourth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

PHILADELPHIA

HIGH PRICES: WHO'S TO BLAME? Speaker: Stephanie Coontz, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 12, 8 p.m. University of Pennsylvania, Second Floor, Houston Hall, 3714 Spruce St. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 75c. Ausp: Philadelphia Socialist Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

...protests

Continued from page 9

In Chicago 250 people turned out last week to hear Professor James Petras speak on Chile at a meeting sponsored by the Coalition in Support of Allende's Chile. Teach-ins have been organized by professors groups at three university campuses in the Chicago area, to take place in the coming week.

The third demonstration in Chicago since the coup is planned for Oct. 13 at 1 p.m. at the federal building. It is sponsored by the Committee in Solidarity with the Chilean People, USLA, and others.

According to Frank Grinnon at the USLA national office, the teach-in and campus protest meeting has been one

of the most widespread and successful ways of building public awareness and pressure against the repression in Chile. As in Chicago, multiple campus meetings are slated in Boston, Los Angeles, New York, and other cities in coming days.

"Concern about Chile is still very high," Grinnon told *The Militant*. "For example, the other day our office got a call from the student body president at Macomb College in Warren, Mich. He had somehow heard about the protest meeting planned by New York USLA [see box on page 9]—he thought it was a demonstration—and wanted to know if he should organize a couple of busloads of students from Macomb to come in to New York for it.

"I suggested that for now he plan an action out in Michigan instead," Grinnon said.

Another example Grinnon mentioned was a person who called from the University of Indiana at Bloomington: "He said they had had a couple of demonstrations of 100 or so on the campus already, and wanted to know what to do to build a USLA chapter.

"I suggested that they try to develop some kind of protests in which more of the students and faculty could participate, not just the radical groups. For instance, to organize a big protest meeting and try to get the president of the university, heads of departments, and heads of student groups to speak, with articles in the campus press."

"Another thing students can do," said Grinnon, "is press the universities to offer jobs to Chilean refugees. When the military took over in Argentina in 1966, they purged the universities just like they're doing now in Chile, and many of these people were able to get out of the country and get jobs because of action taken at universities in this country."

Hundreds of students and professors at Indiana University extension in Indianapolis have signed petitions demanding safety for Latin American political exiles in Chile.

The local chapter of USLA in Cleveland found broad response to the initial national statement by USLA demanding, "End the terror of the Chilean military dictatorship! Stop the arrests and reprisals! Hands off the political refugees! Free all Chilean political prisoners!"

This statement was signed by Alan Davis, president of the City Club of Cleveland; Joseph LoConti, president of Cleveland State University student government; Richard Nieber, vice-president of District 7 of the United Electrical Workers union; Joseph Haggerty, vice-chairman, Welfare Rights Organization; and Roberta

Scherr, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Cleveland, among others.

...Agnew

Continued from page 24

examination of the evidence could bring to light new scandals that might implicate some of the Democratic Congressmen themselves.

Moreover, an investigation into Agnew's crimes—the bribes he took from big corporations in the form of "campaign contributions," the favors he did in return—would further confirm the deep-seated feeling in the population that Democratic and Republican officials are mere tools of big business. It would also underscore the pervasiveness of corruption in all levels of government, as cynically summed up by one Republican: "What's money? Everyone has done that sort of thing one way or the other."

Nixon, meanwhile, apparently didn't count on Agnew resisting the role of scapegoat. Now the president faces a dilemma. As R.W. Apple explained in the Sept. 30 *New York Times*, "...the longer [Agnew] fights, adding to the already crippling effects of Watergate, the harder it will be for Mr. Nixon to redirect his own and the public's attention to the nation's other business."

But the most serious challenge to the White House may be yet to come. At some point, the courts will have to decide if Nixon should turn over his Watergate tapes to federal prosecutors. The Agnew crisis has left the president little room for maneuver in that event.

The Oct. 8 *Newsweek* pictured the problem in this way: "For a nation already traumatized by the endless scandal of Watergate, the prospect was appalling: in one thoroughly plausible scenario, the U.S. could have a Chief Executive in outright defiance of the law, a Vice President refusing to step down even under the cloud of an indictment, and an Administration altogether too tarnished to function."

...PST

Continued from page 13

the key centers were attended by double the numbers in March. For example in Cordoba 500 came out last March; this time more than 1,000 people came to our rally.

We sold more than 30,000 copies of our newspaper *Avanzada Socialista* during the short campaign.

Q: How did you do in the schools and universities?

A: Many of our biggest meetings were on campuses, especially on Chile. There is no doubt that the JSA (Juventud Socialista de Avanzada—Socialist Youth Vanguard) has grown during the campaign. One powerful sign of this was their contingent at the big Chile demonstration. Some 2,000 youth marched with the banners of the JSA.

Q: What did the Communist Party do in the elections?

A: They supported Perón. They are trying to build an Argentine version of the popular front, so they support Perón as a "progressive" bourgeois force. They had to do a real twist because only a few months ago the CP argued that Peronism equalled fascism.

The CP is pursuing exactly the line that led to the catastrophe in Chile—reliance on the capitalist class and the good will of the armed forces, not on the mobilization of the working class with its own program and its own arms.

Q: What plans do you have to continue the work in defense of Chile?

A: We are going to call for the formation of a broad, united-front solidarity committee. Our first task is to help get exiles and political prisoners out of Chile, and pressuring the Peronist government to lend them aid.

We, of course, have a big job of explaining the lessons of the coup, not only in Argentina, but within the Latin American vanguard. This question will be a big aspect of our propaganda and educational work in the next period.

Just published

"Revolutionary Strategy in the Argentine Elections" is a newly-published 128-page bulletin on the March elections and the campaign of the PST and the Workers Front.

It includes many articles and documents reprinted from the PST's weekly newspaper *Avanzada Socialista* as well as reports and interviews from *Intercontinental Press* and *The Militant*. This compilation is invaluable for understanding the background to the current situation in Argentina.

Order from National Education Department, Socialist Workers Party, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. \$1.95 each.

Socialist Directory

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CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

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. Tel: (916) 447-5242.

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.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, Dept. of Entomology, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans. 66045.

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, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

St. Cloud: YSA, c/o Atwood Center, St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud, Minn. 56301.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: SWP 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.

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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.

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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.

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Agnew: chickens come home to roost

By CINDY JAQUITH

If the Maryland grand jury currently investigating Spiro Agnew returns charges against him, it will be the first time in U.S. history that a vice-president has been federally indicted while in office.

Moreover, it will be the first time a vice-president has faced criminal charges at the same time that the president is widely believed to be guilty of crimes.

"The nation is now passing through as grave a crisis of leadership as it has ever experienced," concluded the editors in the Sept. 30 *New York Times*. This "debilitating situation at the summit of Government cannot long continue," they warned.

The question on the minds of the *Times* editor and other spokesmen for the U.S. ruling class is whether the government can withstand the blow of an Agnew impeachment after all the other Watergate-related scandals.

The fact that Agnew is now under the gun is particularly embarrassing because of his carefully groomed image as a "law and order" man. As the saying goes, chickens come home to roost.

The charges Agnew faces read like an indictment of a crime syndicate chief: bribery, kickbacks, extortion, fraud, and conspiracy. According to Assistant Attorney General Henry Peterson, "We've got the evidence. We've got it cold."

'Kangaroo trial'

In an effort to defend himself, the vice-president wails that "publication of distortions and half truths" about him have led to "a cruel form of kangaroo trial in the media." His lawyers say the numerous leaks about his case will prevent Agnew from receiving a fair trial.

While Agnew has supporters in the right wing of the Republican Party, there has also been a chorus of liberals speaking out for the vice-president's "rights."

Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), for example, has called for an end to "the deliberate campaign of abuse" against Agnew. Kennedy, no doubt with his eye on the '76 campaign, says the vice-president "deserves the nation's respect for his demeanor in this unprecedented situation."

This sudden concern for civil liberties on the part of some liberals and conservatives is pure hypocrisy.

As Black Congressman Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.) pointed out, "The vice-president claims he cannot receive a fair trial in the federal courts of our great land . . . this appears to violate the law and order concepts under which he was elected."

Indeed, the vice-president's past record on pretrial leaks by his colleagues is far from impressive. When Nixon publicly accused Angela Davis of terrorism after her arrest, Agnew did not speak out about "fair trials." Nor did he defend the rights of the



Now the squeeze is on Spiro

Berrigan brothers when J. Edgar Hoover charged them with plotting to kidnap Henry Kissinger several months before the antiwar activists were indicted on these frame-up charges.

But the Watergate revelations have demonstrated that when radicals are on trial, the government goes much further than denunciations in the press. Wiretapping, burglary, bribery, and other illegal tactics are all part of the "fair trial" that defendants like Daniel Ellsberg or the Gainesville Eight have received.

Kid gloves

In contrast to the way the government treats radical defendants, the vice-president is being handled with kid gloves. It is now known that Attorney

General Richardson offered to ignore some of the bribery charges against Agnew if he would plead guilty to a lesser charge. The vice-president's lawyers, however, held out for dropping all the charges in return for Agnew's resignation.

This was too much for the Justice Department to concede. In the wake of Watergate, they are afraid to give the slightest impression of a cover-up.

The vice-president has hotly denied that he engaged in plea bargaining, since it weakens the main prop in his defense—the contention that Assistant Attorney General Henry Peterson is out to get him.

Of course Agnew's attack on Peterson is only a delicate way of saying that he thinks Nixon is the one pulling the strings. As the Oct. 8 *Time* maga-

zine pointed out:

" . . . Agnew, as part of the Nixon administration, knows better than most that Peterson is hardly a sovereign agent, that Richardson by his own admission has been making the hard decisions on Agnew, and that Richardson reports to the man who put him in his job: Richard Nixon." *Time* called the situation a "harrowing spectacle of the President and Vice President of the U.S., both under suspicion for different reasons, maneuvering against each other for survival."

That seems to be the way the rest of the population looks at it too. More than a third of the people now believe Nixon has been "unfair" to Agnew, according to a *Newsweek* poll. At the same time, 58 percent are in favor of Agnew resigning if he is indicted.

This poll was little comfort to Agnew last week as headlines across the country blared the rumors of his impending resignation. The vice-president finally decided to take the rumors head-on.

'I will not resign!'

Agnew's arrogant response was delivered in his speech at the Sept. 29 conference of GOP women in Los Angeles. "I will not resign if indicted, I will not resign if indicted!" the vice-president declared.

In the meantime, W. Clement Stone—the man who gave \$2-million to Nixon's 1972 campaign—announced the formation of the Agnew Defense Fund.

But even fat cats like Stone may not be able to bail the vice-president out. Agnew's options have been significantly narrowed.

When his negotiations with the Justice Department broke down, the vice-president went to the House of Representatives demanding an investigation of the charges against him. Agnew apparently hoped that the Democrats controlling the House would be too timid to impeach him, thus ending the case.

But for reasons of their own, the Democrats don't want to touch his case with a 10-foot pole. From a purely partisan point of view, if Agnew stays in office the Democrats have a better chance of winning the 1976 elections.

John Connally's sudden burst of speaking engagements no doubt has the Democrats worried that he may soon be in the No. 2 spot. That possibility was obviously in the back of Robert Strauss's mind when the Democratic National Committee chairman urged Nixon to nominate a "nonpresidential" replacement if Agnew leaves office.

Democrats

But a deeper reason for the Democrats' unwillingness to start impeachment proceedings now is a fear of the snowballing effect. Already some of those named in the charges along with Agnew are Democrats. A full-scale

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