

THE MILITANT

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

Behind Israeli aggression

—pages 8-9

Pentagon threatens 6th fleet intervention

For the fourth time in the last 25 years full-scale war has broken out between Israelis and Arabs. The imperialist rulers of the United States, who have armed and financed the Zionist state

Already the U.S. is rushing arms and warplanes to Israel. According to the Oct. 11 New York Times, the Pentagon "has refused to confirm or deny" reports that Israel is flying military supplies from the United States and from U.S. bases in Britain and West Germany.

The government has also declined comment on a report in a Virginia newspaper that witnesses saw a plane with Israeli markings loading missiles and bombs at the Ocean Naval Air Station in Virginia. According to the eyewitnesses, the Israeli markings were covered over as the plane was being loaded.

Across the country, Democratic and Republican politicians have taken the lead in whipping up anti-Arab senti-

ment. In New York City, Democratic mayoral candidate Abraham Beame reflected the tone of this campaign: "The Arab world must be taught a lesson they'll never forget," he said.

The capitalist-controlled mass media has condemned the "military adventurism" of Egypt and Syria. They denounce these states for having the temerity to try to take back Egyptian and Syrian territory seized by the Israelis through military aggression in the 1967 war, and occupied by the Zionists since then.

The attempt to brand the Arab states as aggressors is used to justify the Israeli policy of terror bombing of Arab population centers. On Oct. 9, Israeli jets struck Damascus, inflicting heavy

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Editorial

of Israel, have alerted the U.S. Sixth Fleet, and moved marines closer to the battle zones.

If Israel needs more than the arms, money, and diplomatic backing already provided by Washington, the U.S. government stands ready to intervene directly. Such a move would raise to a new height the ever-present danger of a world nuclear conflagration.



Militant/Paul Boutelle

Palestinian refugee camp, Lebanon. Zionist occupation of Arab lands is root of Mideast crisis.

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SPEAKING TOUR DEFENDS THIEU'S PRISONERS: Nearly 400 people attended an Oct. 7 rally at Columbia University in New York City in defense of South Vietnamese political prisoners.

Speakers included Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden, leaders of the Indochina Peace Campaign; Jean-Pierre Debris, a French schoolteacher imprisoned for two years in South Vietnam for handing out antiwar leaflets; and Robert Chenoweth, who was a prisoner of war in North Vietnam for five years.

The four are on a month-long speaking tour of 25 U.S. cities to alert people to the plight of the 200,000 political prisoners in Thieu's jails. They explain that the



Jane Fonda and Jean-Pierre Debris are on speaking tour for Indochina Peace Campaign.

brutal incarceration and torture of these prisoners is financed by the U.S. and call for a complete cutoff in U.S. aid to the South Vietnamese and Cambodian regimes.

Debris gave a firsthand account of torture in South Vietnamese jails. Fonda narrated a slide presentation on the role of Vietnamese women in the liberation struggle.

CHICAGO BUS DRIVERS STRIKE: An estimated 500 bus drivers belonging to Division 241 of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) began a strike against the Chicago Transit Authority Oct. 9, reports Militant correspondent Terry Quilico.

The action had a two-fold purpose. One was to support members of the Chicago Metal Trades Council who have been on strike against the Transit Authority since Sept. 24. The other was to register opposition to the way the ATU leadership is negotiating a new contract with the Transit Authority. The workers have been without a contract since Nov. 30, 1972, because of the union leadership's reliance on an arbitration board to approve a new contract.

When the leadership did nothing in response to the Sept. 24 strike by a brother union, the ATU members took over a union meeting the night of Oct. 8 and decided to act. The wildcat strike affected bus service on 50 lines and shut down nine lines during the morning rush hour of Oct. 9.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON TO FREE PUERTORICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS: The United Front for the Defense of Puerto Rican Political Prisoners has called for a march on Washington Oct. 30 to demand unconditional freedom for five Puerto Rican political prisoners held in the U.S.

The prisoners are Oscar Collazo, Lolita Lebron, Andres Figueroa Cordero, Rafael Cancel Miranda, and Irving Flores. They have been jailed more than 19 years as a result of attacks on President Truman and Congress in the 1950s, carried out to demand independence for Puerto Rico.

The United Front includes the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, El Komite, and several defense committees. It can be contacted at P.O. Box 3, Planetarium Station, New York, N.Y. 10024.

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SEATTLE LAW BANS JOB DISCRIMINATION AGAINST GAYS: A city ordinance forbidding employment discrimination against homosexuals was signed into law by Seattle Mayor Wes Uhlman, according to the Oct. 10 Advocate.

The law prohibits discrimination in both city offices and private employment, and provides for creation of a hearing panel that is empowered to levy fines of up

to \$500 when discrimination is proved.

There was little opposition to the measure in government circles. The only city councilman to vote against the bill was Liem Tuai, Republican candidate for mayor.

Meanwhile, in Los Angeles the city attorney, Burt Pines, caused a stir when he endorsed State Assembly Bill 992. Bill 992, which is sponsored by Assemblyman Willie Brown, a prominent Black San Francisco politician, would remove from California criminal law the 'crimes' of adultery, sodomy, and oral copulation between consenting adults.

In response to Pines' action, L.A. Police Chief Edward Davis called for upholding society's 'sanctions' against homosexuality.

FEDERAL COURT TO HEAR PETITION OF SAN QUENTIN SIX: The San Quentin Six filed a petition Sept. 21 to have their case moved from the California state courts to the federal courts. A hearing on the petition is scheduled for Oct. 11 in the Northern District Court in San Francisco.

This is the second year of struggle for justice by the San Quentin Six, six Black and Latino prisoners who face murder and conspiracy charges stemming from the events of Aug. 21, 1971, when George Jackson, outspoken Black prisoner-author, was shot by San Quentin guards.

Marin County Judge Henry Broderick is openly hostile to the six and their lawyers. For example, at the Sept. 21 proceedings in his court, defense attorney Howard Moore Jr. rose to argue in support of his motion to disqualify Judge Broderick. The judge sentenced Moore to five days in jail and a \$500 fine for contempt of court.

When some of the six protested this ruling, they were taken to a holding tank near the courtroom. There they were chained, shackled, and bolted to the floor. Judge Broderick's proceedings were ended when notice arrived that the petition for removal to federal court had been filed.

The six indicted prisoners are Johnny Larry Spain, Luis Talamantez, Fleeta Drumgo, Willie Tate, Hugo Pinell, and David Johnson.

CONNECTICUT YSA HOLDS CONFERENCE: Thirty young people attended a statewide conference sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance Oct. 6 in Hartford, Conn. Five decided to join the YSA.

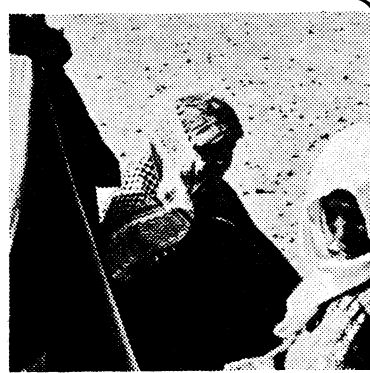
One new YSA member, Cindy Comstock, had been McGovern campaign coordinator for 17 Connecticut high schools in 1972.

Ed Doughtie, a member of the Hartford YSA and the Black Student Union at Greater Hartford Community College, spoke on the current struggle at GHCC to defend the right of Black people to higher education, under attack by the city government.

The featured speaker was Sam Manuel, a national leader of the YSA. Manuel discussed the struggle for Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese control of schools on Manhattan's Lower East Side, a struggle in which he has participated.

—DERRICK MORRISON

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WHAT'S AT STAKE IN THE MIDDLE EAST?: The Militant goes to the root of the problem—the creation of the Zionist settler-state on the homeland of the Palestinian people—and we take sides in defense of the right of the Palestinians to self-determination. For straightforward coverage of the unfolding situation in the Mideast, read The Militant.

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Reign of terror grips Chile



Chilean soldiers round up prisoners. No halt seen in torture and mass executions.

From Intercontinental Press
By GERRY FOLEY

"It pains me," a spokesman of the junta said, "to see everybody getting concerned about corpses that don't exist." (*Le Monde*, October 4.)

If their military operations had been staged with textbook precision, the generals were much less precise in keeping their stories straight.

"Admiral Toribio Merino himself admitted in an interview with the Dutch TV station Vara," the October 1 *Der Spiegel* reported, "that 3,500 civilians were killed." Officially, the junta claimed that only 95 had died in their "textbook" operation. "The lie is so cynical," the *Dagens Nyheter* correspondent Bobi Sourander wrote, "that it makes you boggle."

Almost three weeks after the military coup, the full extent of the repression was still far from clear. But enough information had leaked out to send shock waves through the world press. Sourander compared Chile to a country under Nazi occupation.

"Myth after myth about the heroic resistance that is supposed to have taken place in the first days is dying out," the Swedish correspondent wrote in the September 30 issue of the prestigious Stockholm daily. "There were reports of full-scale battles between military units in Santiago. Nothing like that happened. A few hundred snipers resisted for a few days in the cities. That was all. . . ."

"When the military effectively cleared out the factories by shelling them with heavy weapons and sending helicopters over them, the resistance was sporadic and badly organized.

"It led to brutal retaliatory strikes that were rumored to be on the scale of extermination operations. And in this flood of rumors, it suddenly became uninteresting—after some sources had said that all the workers had been shot by the military—that hundreds of workers in one factory, Qumar Nylon, were arrested and col-

lectively tortured.

"The myths are dying just when Chile's military junta needs them. Its soldiers and officers ran amok for five days in pogroms the like of which has seldom been seen since the heyday of the Nazis. . . ."

"Dead bodies are being found in working-class areas. A refuse truck carrying a corpse drives by. Fresh bodies are found in large numbers. Fear spreads and generates treachery and cowardice.

"Everyone knows that the terror is continuing, but no one knows what its dimensions are.

"Already the political persecutions have gone down to the lowest levels. Leftists who cut their hair, took off their ties, and went meekly to work two weeks ago are beginning to disappear. Workers who led union actions in the factory and tended their machines with their heads down for a week after the coup are beginning to be arrested. In the slums, a van comes with soldiers. A few names are called and a few men taken away."

The military continues to cordon off sections of the city of Santiago to conduct "searches" in the sealed-off sections. The October 1 *Der Spiegel* described the results:

"At night when the curfew has emptied the streets, mop-up squads move in. In the morning, passersby find huge pools of blood on the sidewalks, or corpses covered with newspapers, as for example, on the business street of Huérfanos. Slum dwellers fished forty-five bodies out of the Río Mapocho not far from the Pudahuel airport, and in the center of Santiago itself several bodies piled up against a bridge over the Mapocho.

Junta 'disciplines' workers

Despite the demagogic promises it continues to make to the workers, the junta has obviously opted for naked terror to "restore discipline" among the work force.

In the October 7 *New York Times*, Jonathan Kandell reported: "Under the first few weeks of the military Government, a rigid labor discipline has been put into effect. Union activity has been suspended. Workers—motivated mostly by fear of losing their jobs—have apparently cut absenteeism sharply. And working hours have been increased by resurrecting a half day of work on Saturdays."

In the same issue of the *Times*, Marvin Howe said that the junta's economic policy "has not been spelled out in detail," but that it had "made strong appeals for foreign capital, particularly American capital," and that "initial measures indicate a squeeze on the workers and encouragement to producers."

One measure indicating a "squeeze on the workers" was the junta's freezing of wages and refusing to grant the cost-of-living increase due September 30 under the Allende government's law. Since prices have gone up 320 percent over the last year, this step means a drastic cut in the workers' buying power. At the same time, moreover, the currency was sharply devalued.

"What this means," Howe wrote, "is that food and petroleum imports, which came in at the lowest rate of 25 [escudos] to the dollar, will go up in price by over 1,000 percent."

Once the Chilean bourgeoisie decided to unleash the generals, it had to accept the consequences at least for the time being. These included handing over economic management to the most retrograde elements and accepting the unforeseeable costs of brutal, irrational, and corrupt military rule. But some voices in the imperialist center that armed and trained the local repressive machine began very quickly to express fears that the overkill in Chile might hopelessly undermine the political bases of bourgeois control over the society.

On October 1, the Senate passed the Kennedy Amendment calling for suspension of military and economic aid to Chile until "assurances" are given of decent treatment for political refugees. Even if the bill passes the House of Representatives, Nixon need not respect it any more than he has various resolutions calling for an end to the Vietnam war. But it is an indication that an important sector of the ruling class in the United States is worried about the political repercussions of the slaughter.

U.S. worries

In its October 7 issue, the *New York Times* issued a new warning that Chile was "Still Off Course."

"In a country as bitterly polarized as Chile had become during the Allende Government's attempts to impose drastic Socialism opposed by the majority, prompt pacification and reconciliation could not be expected. But the junta will surely render these imperative long-run goals impossible if it carries out what seems to be a plan to try every major figure of that Government within its reach before military tribunals on charges of treason."

In their determination to impose "order," the military risked destroying all the links between the bourgeois political system and the workers, thus making it impossible for the capitalists to regain any measure of cooperation from the working class.

"The trial of Luis Corvalán, the Communist party secretary-general, is a case in point. Strange as it seems to those unfamiliar with Chilean politics, the Communists not only had played by the democratic rules but had been a force for moderation and compromise within the Allende coalition, repeatedly critical of the more revolutionary Socialists."

The experienced imperialist leaders understand that mere terror cannot long maintain production in a coun-

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...terror

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try like Chile, even when there is a high unemployment rate. Furthermore, pure military rule has generally proven quite unstable in countries as developed as Chile. Given unlimited opportunities for looting and extortion, the ground-level command structure quickly becomes utterly corrupt. And as the top command becomes involved in directly running the economic life of the country, the contradictions in the bourgeoisie tend to become reflected in its own ranks in an acute way. Every conflict of economic interests threatens to turn into a civil war. With the military facing the bitter hatred of the decisive masses of the country, the inevitable faltering of the regime could produce a violent explosion.

"No soldier or Carabinero can venture into certain poor areas on the outskirts of Santiago except in vast army operations," *Le Monde* reported October 4. "Many have already been killed."

Parties discredited

By backing the coup that has produced General Pinochet's murderous regime, the bourgeois parties have been hopelessly discredited in the working class. The "communitarian socialism" of the Catholic Christian Democrats is not likely to attract many workers after the party has backed a take-over by the murder machine, financed and trained by the United States, that has already slaughtered so many of "the Lord's beloved." As for the bourgeois parties' pretense of devotion to democratic principles, that has been shattered for the foreseeable future.

"The members of parliament who talked themselves hoarse defending the Congress from Allende's assaults," Ramiro de Casbellas wrote in the October 2 issue of the Buenos Aires liberal daily *La Opinión*, "did not bat an eye at the abolition of the legislative branch."

As for the reformist parties, whose leaders and activists are now being cut down in the general slaughter of the working-class organizations, their parliamentary course has also been widely discredited.

"They have not defeated our socialism but only the bourgeois reformists," a worker told Bobi Sourander. "Allende was a coward. He should have given us weapons, us workers. We don't trust bourgeois leaders with bourgeois ideas any more. . . . They wanted to make a revolution with official cars." (*La Opinión*, September 29.)

In the absence of organized resistance by the masses, it was difficult for the ranks of the armed forces to break free from the discipline imposed by their officers. But there is evidence that the unspeakable cruelty and bloodthirstiness of the chiefs has driven an unbridgeable gap between them and the mass of men in uniform.

"Witnesses claim that soldiers shot their officers when they ordered them to execute prisoners," the October 1 *Der Spiegel* reported.

"Another soldier paid with his life for refusing to carry out such an order. He was shot as he threw away his helmet and rifle in protest. The reason was that one of his comrades guarding a line of people standing at a bread outlet in Santiago's Mapocho district shot a child who was crying."

CHILE: Eyewitness accounts

'Entire shifts of workers arrested'

By CAROLINE LUND

The Chilean junta, attempting to clean up its bloody image, is now making statements that political refugees who manage to reach "safe havens" in Chile will be left alone, and that human rights are being observed in Chile.

These assertions are contradicted by the testimony of James Ritter, a 29-year-old American professor who taught physics at the University of Chile in Santiago prior to the Sept. 11 coup. Ritter was picked up by the military when they made a sweep through the San Borja housing project in Santiago Sept. 23. He was held four days in the national stadium, where thousands of Chileans and non-Chileans have faced torture, executions, and brutal interrogation.

Ritter, who was able to leave Chile Sept. 29, is now speaking in this country about the brutal repression he witnessed in Santiago.

In a telephone interview with *The Militant*, Ritter said he had received relatively better treatment than most prisoners because he was an American. But he was able to speak with other prisoners who gave him a view of the horror faced by the mass of the prisoners.

For example, he spoke with students from the Technical University who had been held since the first day of the coup. They told Ritter that during the first days the guards had been ordered to fire right into the crowds of defenseless prisoners in the stadium.

Ritter stressed that working people have been hit the hardest by the repression. "Of the 650 prisoners in my section—which was the best section, the provisional liberty section—about



Santiago

600 were Chileans, almost all workers, most of them in their work clothes."

Many were arrested right on their jobs, he said. "It's not only a crime to strike now, but a crime not to go to work. And sometimes the troops come into a factory and arrest an entire shift of workers."

"People are working at gun point in the factories," he stated.

He told about one worker who was beaten with rubber hoses filled with cement and then dumped in Ritter's section in a semiconscious, semiparalyzed condition. "They wanted him to confess where the guns were kept in that factory, but the truth was that that factory had no arms," Ritter said.

Ritter said other prisoners had told him that in the first days of the coup, groups of prisoners in the stadium had been singled out and made to

run around in circles while they were shot at until all had fallen—in full view of the other prisoners.

"It was not a systematic shooting of the militants," Ritter explained, "but simply an attempt at mass terror and intimidation."

Asked what had been his experience with the U.S. embassy in Chile, Ritter said he and other Americans he spoke to "received absolutely no assistance from the American embassy. They refused to expedite people's getting out of Chile."

Ritter said that as of the time he left Chile, many foreign embassies were still surrounded by Chilean troops to prevent political refugees from attempting to get asylum. "The American embassy can be entered freely," he said, but that's because it has refused to grant asylum.

Student victim of junta's slaughter

By KATHY SLEDGE

SEATTLE—David Hathaway, 24, was the roommate of Frank Teruggi, an American graduate student who was found riddled with bullets in the Santiago morgue early this month. He was among those murdered by the Chilean junta as "foreign extremists."

On Oct. 9, Hathaway told *The Militant* what happened to him and his roommate in the wake of the military



Frank Teruggi, slain U.S. student

coup. On Sept. 20, just 15 minutes after the 8 p.m. curfew, Frank and Dave were sitting at home when police entered, looking for foreigners.

Hathaway said the "antiforeigner hysteria" was whipped up by the junta "to use foreigners in Chile as scapegoats. They tried to blame all Chile's problems on these 14,000 'foreign guerrillas' who had come into Chile under Allende to 'provoke violence

and civil war,' to 'kill Chileans,' and to take jobs away."

The police ransacked their house but could only find a few Marxist books and magazines, mostly in Frank's room. Frank was a student of economics at the University of Chile, and Dave was at that timeworking as a lathe operator in a Santiago factory after completing studies in sociology.

After spending a night in jail, the two were taken to the national stadium and placed in a cell with other foreigners. About six hours later, Frank Teruggi was called out of the cell by the guards. He was not seen alive again.

Dave was informed of his death by the U.S. consulate and was taken to the morgue to identify the body. It was so riddled with bullets, however, that Hathaway could not identify it. The body was finally identified as that of Teruggi by the fingerprints and a dental plate.

"It's hard to say why Frank was killed," said Hathaway. "Many foreigners suspected of being 'extremists' were beaten, but this brutal treatment was very arbitrary."

"One night they brought four or five Chileans into the corridor right in front of the two cells of foreigners and beat them violently with gun butts and clubs for two or three hours. I don't know why they did it, knowing that we would probably go out and tell about what they were doing."

"In fact, among the foreigners in my cell, there was an agreement, an understanding, that this story had to be told to everyone, and that when we got out we would take the truth out to each of our countries about

the terrible conditions in Chile."

Hathaway estimated there were about 7,000 people in the stadium. It was overcrowded. People had to either sleep overlapping each other or take turns, sleeping in four-hour shifts. The first two days he was there, no food was given to the prisoners; on the third day, they got only some bread and coffee.

When asked how he was released, Hathaway emphasized the important role of international pressure, especially from the United States. He felt that cables, letters, and other forms of pressure from the U.S. had forced the U.S. embassy to make a deal with the military.

"They agreed to release us [the American prisoners] if the embassy guaranteed that we would be out of the country in two to three days. I was given 72 hours to leave Chile."

For a revolutionary perspective on the Chilean events:

**Allende's Chile:
Is It Going
Socialist?**

By Peter Camejo. 60 cents.

**Hugo Blanco on
Chile & Peru**

35 cents

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Nat'l action week hits Chile repression

By CAROLINE LUND

While the military rulers of Chile continued their mass arrests and executions, vowing to "clean" the country of "undesirable, negative, and dangerous elements," widespread protests continued in this country against the rightist regime.

As *The Militant* went to press, a national week of protest against the Chilean junta was getting under way. Teach-ins are planned on major campuses across the country Oct. 8-

See World Outlook section for 'U.S. imperialism's stake in Chile coup.'

15, culminating in rallies and marches on the weekend.

The actions are being organized by a number of organizations, primarily the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), the Chile Solidarity Committee, Non-Intervention in Chile, and the North American Congress on Latin America.

In New York City more than 500 demonstrators turned out at the United Nations Oct. 8 to protest the appearance of Chilean Foreign Minister Ismael Huerta at the UN. Huerta was intending to use the General Assembly as a forum from which to whitewash the dictatorship in Chile and ask for support. His speech was put off because of the Mideast situation, so about 200 demonstrators came back to the UN the next day to again protest Huerta's presence.

A broad range of political groups, Puerto Rican groups, USLA, and the Chile Solidarity Committee participated in both actions. Carrying a banner that read "Hands off the political refugees in Chile" were Norman Oliver and Joanna Misnik, the Socialist Workers Party candidates for mayor and city council president in New York.

New York meeting

A broad, united protest rally is scheduled in New York for Oct. 12. Initiated by USLA, the rally has the backing of the United Farm Workers

Union; the Joint Board of the Fur, Leather and Machine Workers union; Carlos Feliciano Defense Committee; the Latin American Student Organization at Columbia University; Black Panther Party; former Senator Eugene McCarthy; Joan Baez; Betty Friedan; Socialist Workers Party; International Socialists; and many others.

Speakers are to include several eyewitnesses of the repression in Chile; Dolores Huerta of the Farm Workers; Dr. Benjamin Spock; and other trade unionists and movement figures. USLA has sent a special invitation to the Communist Party USA to have a representative speak at the rally regarding the situation of Luis Corvalán, the leader of the Chilean Communist Party whose life is in grave danger.

Woodcock appeal

On Oct. 5, Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers union, released a statement appealing to the Chilean junta for the life of Corvalán.

Woodcock's statement says, in part, "The carrying out of the sentence of death on Luis Corvalán . . . would be an act of high barbarism, against which all civilized men must protest."

"Both as an individual and as president of the United Auto Workers, I ask military leaders of Chile to reconsider while there is still time."

Corvalán is one of many political figures for whom a special campaign is being waged by USLA. The defense committee is asking organizations and individuals to send telegrams of protest to General Pinochet of Chile demanding guarantees of safety for 21 persons who are known to be either hunted by the junta or in the junta's hands.

Worldwide protests have already had an impact in the case of Luis Corvalán. Rumors that Corvalán was to be executed last week sparked numerous protests, including in the United Nations General Assembly. The Chilean junta felt enough pressure that it was forced to announce that Corvalán was still alive and had yet to face a military trial.



Indiana University students in Bloomington march against Chile repression. Steve Yeater

In numerous cities, the offices of ITT have been the target of protests against the crimes of the Chilean junta. In Cleveland Oct. 6, 150 people marched outside the Sheraton Cleveland Hotel, a subsidiary of ITT. The march then went through downtown Cleveland, culminating in a rally at Public Square.

The action was broadly endorsed. Sponsors included USLA, various political organizations, National Lawyers Guild, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and AFSCME Local 1746 Welfare Chapter.

At the demonstration, a meeting was announced for the next week to form a committee to plan further actions against the abrogation of human rights in Chile and U.S. intervention in Chile.

Campus actions

An Oct. 7 teach-in at San Francisco State University drew more than 150 students. It was sponsored by the Associated Students and USLA. A number of Latin American students and faculty of the Raza Studies Department helped organize the event.

Petitions were circulated to be sent to General Pinochet demanding the release of all political prisoners and an end to the repression.

In numerous cities, campuses were centers of protest activities. Some 500 students came to a meeting at the University of Wisconsin in Madison Oct. 4 to hear Patricia and Adam Garrett-Schesch tell of their arrest and imprisonment by the Chilean military.

At Brown University in Providence, R.I., more than 300 students heard two Brown graduate students tell how the U.S. had strangled the Chilean economy to lay the groundwork for the military coup. The audience contributed to a fund for Chilean refugees, and an ad hoc committee of faculty and students is discussing plans for a teach-in on Chile in the future.

On Oct. 4, 115 students at Indiana University at Bloomington protested political repression in Chile and U.S. complicity with the junta. The same evening, the Indiana University student senate passed a resolution condemning the actions of the junta.

Thirty people signed up on the demonstration to work with the newly formed campus chapter of USLA, indicating the depth of interest in the situation in Chile.

The action was initiated by USLA and endorsed by the Young Socialist Alliance; Young Workers Liberation League; Organization of Arab Students; *Common Sense* (a local underground paper); Milton Fisk, president of the local chapter of the American Federation of Teachers; and three leaders of the United Farm Workers Support Committee.

Speakers on Chile

The latest issue of the *USLA Reporter*, publication of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, states, "We hope to assemble an international team of people who were in Chile at the time of the coup to tour every major city in the U.S. in the coming two months. . . . That way we will reach as many groups and media with the facts of the Chilean situation as possible."

Those interested in arranging for a speaker on the repression in Chile for teach-ins or other protest meetings are asked to contact USLA at 150 Fifth Ave., Suite 311, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-2880.

The USLA national office in New York has received reports of debates over Chile taking place in numerous student government bodies around the country. David Mucci, recording secretary of the student senate at the University of Kentucky, informed USLA that the student senate had voted to endorse the text of a USLA protest statement to be sent to the Chilean embassy in Washington, D.C., with a copy to the local press.

The Associated Students' Council of San Diego State University voted Oct. 3 to endorse and help build a teach-in on Chile sponsored by USLA and other groups, as well as to endorse the week of protest Oct. 8-15.

In addition, the nineteenth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Council of Latin American Studies passed a resolution deploring the military coup and condemning "the action of the U.S. government and multinational corporations" in erecting a trade and credit blockade around Chile prior to the coup. It demands the release of all political prisoners and their free exit out of Chile if they desire.



New Yorkers picket Chilean foreign minister at United Nations Oct. 9. Militant/Baxter Smith

Sixth of a series

By TONY THOMAS

In previous articles we have challenged the Maoist positions of the *Guardian* on popular frontism and the problems of revolution in colonial and semicolonial countries. The differences between the *Guardian* and Trotskyism on these questions were put to the test by the tragic events in Chile last month.

The *Guardian's* position ever since the victory of Allende in September 1970 was one of support to the basic

not mean a socialist revolution. It is defined as a first—capitalist—stage of the "two-stage" revolution that the *Guardian* recommends for semicolonial countries like Chile.

Curiously enough, none of these facts about the "domination" of the Chilean CP and the "disarming" of the class struggle were ever presented by the *Guardian* in its entire three years of coverage of the Popular Unity. None of these ideas were raised, not even in the 12-page "special supplement" on Chile the *Guardian* published in its June 14, 1972, issue and later circulated as a pamphlet. Its author was none other than Stephen Torgoff.

those channels and the government could no longer contain it, the capitalist army launched its coup.

In his pamphlet Torgoff acknowledged that under Allende the capitalist class was "still the dominant class. Its court system continues to send peasants to jail. Its police confront marching workers. The army, the very heart of the bourgeois state, remains untouched."

But did Torgoff or the *Guardian* expose or condemn the reformism and class-collaboration of the CP and other parties in the Popular Unity coalition for supporting such a situation? In June 1972 he wrote, "The leading ele-

military. It allowed passage of an arms control bill that was used by the military to launch raids against militant working-class organizations. When the coup took place, Allende was still trying to moderate working-class resistance and make deals with the Christian Democrats and the military.

Allende and the Popular Unity did not represent the Chilean revolution. In fact, a successful revolution in Chile would have had to be made *against* the Popular Unity government.

The Chilean revolution was the upsurge of masses of workers taking control of the factories and demanding arms; it was the soldiers and sailors tortured by the military with Allende's approval because they refused to participate in a coup; it was the peasants and Mapuchi Indians who seized the land, only to be attacked by the army and police.

And the role of the Popular Unity coalition was to push back these forces at every stage, because they threatened to go beyond what was acceptable to the Chilean ruling class.

Revolutionary strategy

A revolutionary strategy in Chile would have politically *opposed* the Popular Unity coalition as an obstacle to the Chilean revolution. It would have worked to build a mass revolutionary socialist party that could win the allegiance of the Chilean workers and peasants away from the Popular Unity and lead their struggles to victory.

A revolutionary party, instead of vacillating before the capitalists and military as the Popular Unity did, would have prepared the working class for the inevitability of an armed confrontation. As opposed to the Popular Unity's class-collaborationist schemes, it would have told the workers to rely on their own strength. It would have organized mass armed self-defense of the working-class movement.

This is the strategy the world Trotskyist movement proposed for Chile.

The *Guardian* stood opposed to such a revolutionary strategy. Its criticisms of the Popular Unity were always within the context of political support to the government and its perspective. On that basis, suggesting to Allende that he arm the masses or adopt other revolutionary measures was senseless—because the essence of Allende's program was opposition to such steps. Instead of educating and steeling the masses, the strategy raised by the *Guardian* would merely serve to reinforce illusions that the Popular Unity could defend the interests of the Chilean working masses.

Revolutionists would have taken the lead in a united-front defense of democratic liberties and the workers organizations with the parties of the Popular Unity, and would even have demanded of the government that it arm

Continued on page 22

The Guardian & Trotskyism

Left cover for 'Popular Unity' betrayal in Chile



Chilean military chiefs. *Guardian* perpetuated illusions they would remain neutral in the class struggle.

strategy of the Popular Unity coalition.

This strategy of forging a coalition government with capitalist parties, on the basis of upholding capitalism and restraining the struggles of the Chilean masses, led to the defeat of the revolution in Chile. At best the *Guardian* provided a left cover for this betrayal.

Criticizes CP

The Sept. 26 issue of the *Guardian* carries an article by staff writer Stephen Torgoff entitled "Revisionism and counter-revolution in Chile." The thrust of this article is to blame the defeat on the Chilean Communist Party.

The *Guardian's* aim in this article is apparently to score a few factional points in the Sino-Soviet dispute, since the Chilean CP supports the Moscow bureaucracy and not the Peking bureaucracy, which the *Guardian* backs.

Torgoff claims that "from the start" the Allende government "was dominated by the Communist party," and that the CP's policies "disarmed the working class ideologically, held back their independent organization and struggle for power, halted the formation of a broad anti-imperialist united front and even strengthened the repressive apparatus of the state under the guise of helping the police and army deal with 'extremists.'" Much of this is true.

But what alternative course would Torgoff have proposed? What Allende should have done, he now says, was to "widen and deepen the mass movement, tap the limitless energy and initiative of the workers and peasants, create new forms of popular power and prepare the masses to establish a democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants."

In case readers aren't up with Maoist-Stalinist terminology, *Guardian* ideologue Carl Davidson has specified that this "democratic dictatorship" does

Torgoff's recent article hides the fact that for the past three years the *Guardian* has been a staunch defender of the Popular Unity government and its policies, which indeed "disarmed" the Chilean proletariat.

On Nov. 7, 1970, the *Guardian* wrote, "If Allende, candidate of the Popular Unity Front (UP), is to accomplish anything of substance during his reign, he must (1) stay alive (there are serious assassination threats) and (2) stay in power by weakening and neutralizing—but not yet alienating—the military, political and economic forces [i.e., Chile's ruling class—TT]. Also, he must strengthen the power and support of the workers and peasants and some middle sectors while not alienating them through precipitous action which might counter Chile's history of bourgeois democratic institutions—in which the people take pride, which allowed for Allende's election."

Torgoff's 1972 pamphlet pointed out that because Allende received only a plurality of votes in the 1970 presidential election, and not a majority, he was elected on the basis of a vote in the National Assembly. The majority in the National Assembly was held by the Christian Democratic and Nationalist parties—the two main capitalist parties behind the recent coup.

Allende received Christian Democratic support in return for promising publicly not to interfere with the government bureaucracy, police, and armed forces, all of which were loyal to the Chilean ruling class.

Upheld capitalism

Despite the many positive reforms the Popular Unity carried out, it was in essence a government pledged to maintain capitalism. It served to curb the struggles of the Chilean working masses by confining them to parliamentary and electoral channels. When the struggle threatened to go beyond

ments of the UP coalition consider themselves Marxist-Leninists and are fully aware of the nature of the bourgeois state. In that sense they are not reformists and they do not claim that the question of power has been resolved." He concluded, "The UP cannot create socialism, but it can prepare the masses for the struggle."

In fact, the *Guardian* itself reflected all of the reformist illusions with which the Popular Unity coalition disarmed the Chilean masses. For instance, a Dec. 22, 1971, *Guardian* editorial supported Allende's fatal view of the "neutrality of the armed forces" in the class struggle. The *Guardian* editors wrote:

"At this point Chile's army, wooed by both left and right, is still maintaining its neutrality in upholding constitutional order. *What direction it will take when the chips go down in the future cannot be predicted.*" (Emphasis added.)

As the confrontation between the working class and the forces of reaction grew imminent, the Popular Unity only made more concessions to the



Mass meeting of Chilean workers. Revolutionary strategy would have been based on such independent mobilizations and construction of revolutionary party, not on promises of Popular Unity government.

Cold reception from Latin American regimes

Chilean refugees handed over to police

From Intercontinental Press

"As the refugees began to leave the plane, the persons standing on the observation deck began to raise their voices in the Venezuelan national anthem," the Caracas *El Universal* wrote in its October 3 issue.

The Venezuelans fleeing the reactionary terror in Chile were not, however, greeted with patriotic solidarity by their government. Behind the gates waited the Disip, the political police.

"While the interrogation of the Venezuelans by the Disip and immigration officials took almost three hours, the questioning of the Chileans will be still more prolonged, since they have to be registered and their activities investigated.

"Because of reports that many persons went on board with false names, the Disip functionaries fingerprinted the passengers so as to be sure of their identity.

"It is said that several of those who took refuge in the Venezuelan em-

bassy and were in difficulty with our authorities . . . gave the diplomatic officials false names."

Thus, apparently the Venezuelan police were not reluctant to take advantage of the junta's pogrom against citizens of their own country, as well as others, to settle a few scores with political oppositionists. There is no reason, after all, to expect that many common criminals would have fled



PERON: Putting Chilean refugees in 'semi-concentration regime.'

to Chile. In almost all cases, the persons "in difficulty with our authorities" were probably political offenders.

Nor, for all its pretenses about being anti-imperialist, has the Peronist government shown a very fraternal attitude toward the refugees from the blood thirsty proimperialist officers who have seized power across the Andes.

"Deputy Hector Sandler said yesterday that Argentina was not obeying international asylum laws in the way it was handling refugees from Chile," the English-language *Buenos Aires Herald* reported in its October 3 issue.

"The deputy protested that the way in which they were received at Ezeiza in a 'semi-concentration regime,' had little difference with the conditions at the embassy where they sought asylum.

"Sandler said that only legislators had been allowed to see the foreign non-Chilean refugees (who have been

given 72 hours to choose another country to go to) and among them were pregnant women, children, and 'at least one person with hepatitis' who had not received proper medical attention. Sandler said there were difficulties in giving the refugees any other form of assistance, which they needed as the Chilean police had only let them leave the country with the clothes they had on and virtually no money."

Another government apparently has not shown much interest in aiding the foreigners being tracked by the murder squads of the junta, not even its own citizens.

"A young American woman from Madison, Wis., with a 2-year-old baby, said she had first gone to the American Embassy for help," Marvine Howe reported in the September 29 *New York Times*. "The woman, who would not give her name, said she was told at the embassy to see the Chilean police. 'And so I came to the Swedish Embassy for help.'"

How Swedes helped Hugo Blanco escape

From Intercontinental Press

"The world-famous Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco, whose life was endangered by the military coup in Chile, is coming to Sweden soon," Ulf Nilson wrote from Santiago in the September 24 issue of the Stockholm daily *Expressen*.

This report confirmed earlier ones in the Swedish press. "A few days ago *Expressen*, among others, reported that Blanco—who is considered Latin America's most wanted man—had



BLANCO: Aided by 'The Black Carnation.'

found refuge in the Swedish Embassy in Santiago. This was denied for various reasons by the Foreign Ministry in Stockholm. It was, however, a fact that Blanco's escape was helped along by Swedes—not necessarily diplomats."

Nonetheless, Nilson gave the Swedish ambassador main credit for getting the Peruvian revolutionist out of the hands of the junta.

"Blanco's rescue was entirely the work of Harald Edelstam, who is now repeating the kind of rescue operations he carried out in World War II Norway, where he was known as 'The Black Carnation' for his completely undiplomatic exploits as an agent.

"Today Ambassador Edelstam intervened personally. By means of a tech-

nique I am not permitted to disclose, he was able to get Blanco to the Mexican Embassy in Santiago. Mexico and Chile have a treaty that says Santiago cannot deny Latin Americans who take refuge in the Mexican Embassy safe-conduct out of the country. Edelstam bid adieu to his good friend, who is on his way to Stockholm."

On the same day that Nilson's report appeared, Sweden's most prestigious daily, *Dagens Nyheter*, carried a brief interview with Hugo Blanco in Mexico City.

"The Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco is tired and grimbut unbroken, even though once again he is on the run, this time from Chile," Hans-Ingvar Johnsson wrote in the September 24 issue of the Stockholm morning paper. "He appealed strongly for solidarity with Chile."

Blanco told the Swedish journalist: "First I was forced to leave my home in Peru, then my village, then I was deported from my native country, and now I have been expelled from my continent."

Johnsson commented: "Hugo Blanco, thirty-eight years old, former leader of a movement that sought decent conditions for the peasants in his country, was sitting this foggy Saturday in a cold hotel room in Mexico City on the fringe of his part of the world."

"A few days ago in Chile he saw Latin American generals take power another time; once again he saw friends and sympathizers taken away or killed."

A summary of Blanco's history was given in the September 25 issue of *Dagens Nyheter* by Birgitta Nyblom: "His story begins, we can say, in the 1950s. Here briefly is how it goes:

"Hugo Blanco was born in the city of Cuzco in the Peruvian Andes. In these mountains lies the valley of La Convención, where he came at the end of the 1950s to work as a subtenant farmer. He came directly from Argentina, where he had studied agronomy and gotten trade-union experience by working while he was in school.

"Blanco had learned about the peas-

ants' hard lot through his father, who was a lawyer and often took up the cause of the poor peasants. The big landowners had always treated the Indian peasants as living property.

"Hugo Blanco got them to demand payment for their work. He began organizing all the peasants into unions: the tenants, subtenants, subsubtenants, and laborers—that is, all those who were exploited by the landowners.

"A substantial peasant movement started up, whose program included a just division of the land. It set up schools and clinics. The peasants seized the landowners' uncultivated land, occupied it, and began to farm it.

"In 1962, Hugo Blanco carried out a land reform in La Convención. It meant that the union authorized peasants who were badly treated by landowners to take the land they tilled. This example resounded through Peru. It was the big landowners, Hugo Blanco stressed, that the union opposed, not the small proprietors.

"But police and soldiers were called out to drive the new owners off the land. Many peasants were killed in the villages. The unions had to organize self-defense. In November 1962, some 5,000 soldiers were sent in. Hugo Blanco and 300 peasants attacked a

police station to get arms to defend themselves. In the ensuing battle, two policemen were killed.

"Hugo Blanco was hunted down like an outlaw, and after a half a year he was captured and imprisoned. After spending three years in prison without a trial, he was sentenced to twenty-five years at hard labor for rebellion.

"He was sent to the island penitentiary of El Frontón, while a military prosecutor was demanding his death. International public opinion took up Hugo Blanco's defense. The protesters included Bertrand Russell, Isaac Deutscher, and Jean-Paul Sartre. In the international week for the release of political prisoners in the fall of 1968, the Swedish branch of Amnesty International in particular appealed for the freedom of Hugo Blanco and his fellow prisoners through a poster campaign.

"Hugo Blanco and forty-one other prisoners were released in 1971, when the government in Peru changed hands. But after a half year of freedom he was deported, following his participation in a trade-union meeting during a teachers strike. Then he came to Mexico. Later he went to Argentina under a legal visa, but was imprisoned there. After that he was given asylum in Chile."



Demonstration of Peruvian peasant union led by Hugo Blanco in early 1960s

Roots of the Middle

By TONY THOMAS

OCT. 10—A New York radio station carried this dispatch: "A young Egyptian housewife, left at home while her husband served at the front, said . . . that she doesn't like war, but 'when a killer is in your house, you have a right to defend yourself.'"

This Egyptian's statement sums up the basic issue in the current Arab-Israeli war: the right of the Arab peoples to return to the land that has been stolen from them by the Zionists. This land includes the territory occupied by Israel in its 1967 expansionist war against the Arab states, as well as Palestine itself, whose inhabitants were driven from their homeland with the establishment of Israel in 1948.

The U.S. government, which has militarily, economically, and politically backed Israel since the beginning, must be held responsible for this denial of the right of self-determination to the Palestinian people. Without the backing of U.S. imperialism, the Zionist settler-state could not exist.

Washington has armed Israel to the teeth. The cornerstone of U.S. policy in the Mideast is to maintain Israel as the dominant military power in the region, and to use Israel as a foothold for imperialism against the Arab peoples.

During the current fighting, Nixon would prefer to avoid direct U.S. military intervention, which could have explosive repercussions inside the United States and around the world. But if Israel suffers major reversals in the struggle, Washington is fully prepared to intervene directly—just as it did in Vietnam.

To demonstrate this determination, the U.S. Sixth Fleet has already moved to waters off Crete, only several hundred miles from the war zone. And the helicopter carrier *Guadalcanal*, with thousands of marines, has been moved into the eastern Mediterranean.

The Pentagon has refused to comment on possible U.S. intervention, while reaffirming the U.S. "commit-



Israeli jets supplied by the U.S.

ment to Israel."

It is against Israeli aggression and its imperialist backers that the current Arab war is directed. All who support the struggle for self-determination, democracy, and peace in the Middle East should be on the side of the Arab states in this war.

'First shot'

The Israeli government has claimed that Egypt and Syria fired the first shots in the current war and are therefore the aggressors. But the question of which side moved first on the military front is irrelevant in determining where responsibility for the war lies. The very existence of the Israeli state is based on *permanent aggression* against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, and has been since 1948.

There is ample evidence that the Israelis have long desired a new war as an excuse to further their expansionist designs against the Arab states.

The Oct. 9 *New York Post* reported that months ago Israeli military experts had told its correspondents that "the Israeli military was hoping for a 'full-scale invasion' to give them the reason to cross Suez" and "destroy the Egyptian Army."

Moreover, statements by Israeli leaders since the current conflict began make clear that their aim in the war is not only to hold on to the territories occupied in 1967, but to grab even more territory.

Major General Aharon Yariv, special adviser to the Israeli chief of staff, declared Oct. 9 that Israeli troops would take whatever they can get away with: "I would emphasize to the enemy that violation of the cease-fire lines [from the 1967 war] is not a one-sided game."

The Oct. 9 *Washington Post* reports that Lieutenant General David Elazar "made it amply clear that Israel would not respect the cease-fire lines in its pursuit of the enemy."

Israeli designs on Lebanon

Another sign that from the start the Israelis have seen a new war as an opportunity to increase their colonial hold in the Arab world was the attack they launched yesterday against Lebanon. According to news reports, the Israelis bombed a military radar station 18 miles east of Beirut and armored units crossed into Lebanon, despite the fact that Lebanon had not previously taken part in any military alignments against Israel, including in the 1967 war.

Israel's designs on southern Lebanon—the scene of several Israeli invasions and bombings in the past two years—have been noted by observers of the Middle East for some time. The *New York Times* reported Oct. 9 that Lebanon's leaders had a "chronic fear" that "Israel will one day take advantage of a war with the Arabs to seize Lebanese territory up to the Litani River, which is a valuable source of water in the semi-arid region."

'Going home'

The Israelis have had the nerve to claim that the Arabs have "invaded" Israeli territory. This "invasion" consists of Egyptian troops entering the Sinai Peninsula—internationally recognized as *part of Egypt*—and Syrian troops moving into the Golan Heights—internationally recognized as *part of Syria*!

"The many battle communiques," noted the Oct. 8 *Wall Street Journal*, "may have obscured that fact to outsiders—that the war isn't being fought in Israel itself but on occupied Arab territories. . . . The attack by the Arabs Saturday is viewed by them not as an assault on a foreign land but as an attempt to return lost lands." The *Wall Street Journal* doesn't mention that "Israel itself" is also "occupied Arab territory" seized in the same way as the Sinai and the Golan Heights.

French Foreign Minister Michel Jobert was reported to have commented on the Israeli charge of Arab aggression by asking, "Is it necessarily unforeseen aggression to try to go home?"

The Oct. 9 *New York Times* reported that Ashraf Ghorbal, a close adviser

of Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat told a Cairo television show "that all Egypt wanted was recovery of occupied territory in the Sinai Peninsula and recognition of the basic rights of the Palestinians."

Ihsan Abdel Kuddus, an Egyptian journalist close to Sadat, reported the *Times*, "said that Egypt was not interested in any cease-fire resolution adopted by the United Nations Security Council but would go on fighting as long as the reason for it—the Israeli occupation of Egyptian territory—continued."

The partition of Palestine

The origins of the current war go back to the establishment of Israel, with the backing of imperialism, in 1948. The Zionist state was created by a United Nations "partition" of Palestine. The land was divided between its Arab majority and the minority of Zionist settlers, with the latter receiving the choicest parts of the country. This partition was carried out over the opposition of the overwhelming majority of Palestinians.

At the time of the partition, the Israelis launched a war and seized the remainder of the Palestinian-held territory, except for the Gaza area on the Mediterranean (which was administered by Egypt) and the West Bank of the Jordan River (which was taken by Jordan).

During and after the 1948 war, the Israelis attempted to drive Palestinians out of Israel. Massacres and bombings were carried out against unarmed and defenseless Arab villages. Arab refugees who fled to avoid the battle zones were not allowed to return to their homes. Property and land of the refugees were seized by

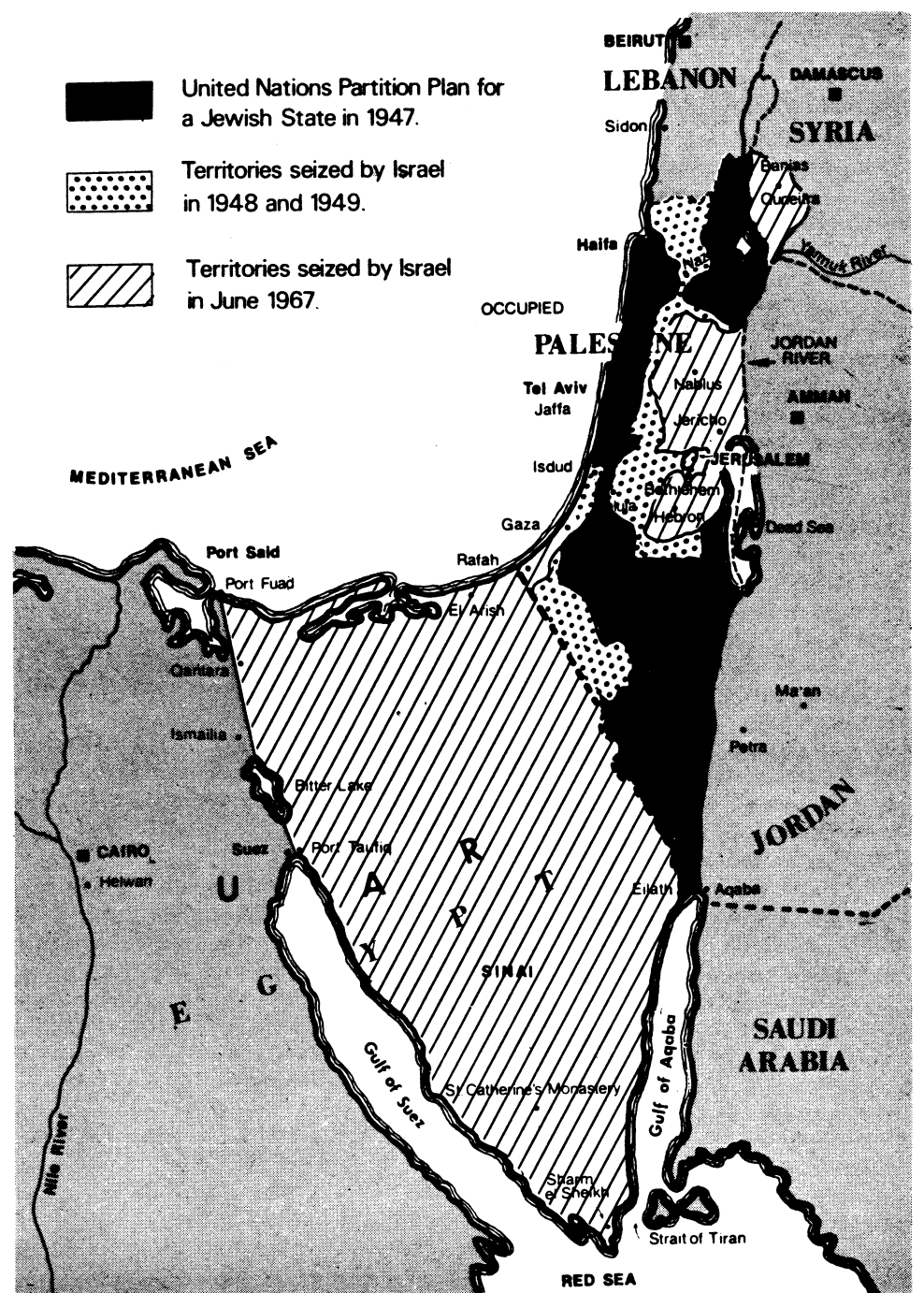
Socialist candidate backs Arab states

Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, issued a statement to the press Oct. 10 on the Mideast war. Oliver denounced his capitalist opponents in the mayor's race, who have all called for support to Israel.

"Egyptian and Syrian troops have entered *their own territories*," Oliver declared. "The Socialist Workers Party supports the right of the Arab nations to fight to regain the territories seized from them by Israeli aggression. . . ."

"The SWP supports the right of the Palestinian people, driven off their land by the Zionist colonization, to regain their stolen homeland, and establish a democratic, secular Palestine. The SWP is unequivocally opposed to the maintenance of Israel as a racist, exclusionist, settler-state established at the expense of the Palestinian people."

Oliver called attention to the danger of direct U.S. intervention, and demanded that "all U.S. military and financial aid to the Israeli government be immediately stopped. We oppose any attempt to send U.S. troops to the aid of Zionist aggression. U.S. troops have no more business fighting on the side of reactionary Zionism against the Arab people than they did propping up the reactionary South Vietnamese dictatorship against the will of the Vietnamese people."



Israel has expanded more than 400 percent since 1948

East conflict



Palestinian refugees. More than 1.3 million live in such camps, dispossessed by Zionist Israel.

the Israeli government.

While the Zionist "law of return" opened Palestine to massive colonization by Jews from around the world, Zionist laws forbid Palestinians who fled to other Arab countries to return to the land where they were born. Those Palestinians who remain within Israel are treated as second-class citizens under repressive laws that restrict their political rights and control where they can live and work.

In short, Israel is a settler-state built on a foundation of oppression and discrimination of the Arab peoples. In that regard it is similar to the South African or Rhodesian settler-states.

Israeli domination of Palestine is based on the fact that Israel, thanks to aid from the U.S. and other imperialist powers, is an advanced industrial nation with an imperialist economy.

The Arab states remain oppressed and semicolonial countries, and the goal of unifying the Arab peoples is still to be reached. Despite limited anti-imperialist measures taken in countries such as Egypt, Libya, Iraq, and Syria, U.S. and European imperialism dominates the economic life of these countries, thwarting their development.

The Arab states, like the other capitalist countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, remain underdeveloped countries. Israel, as a military and economic bastion of world imperialism in the Mideast, stands as a major obstacle in the path of economic and social progress for the Arab peoples.

Economic exploitation

The *New York Times* of Sept. 4 printed an interview with Aharon Dovrat, a leading Israeli economist and businessman, who explained some of the economic factors involved in the 1967 war and the repression of the Arabs in the occupied territories.

Before the 1967 war, Dovrat said, Israel "was suffering a genuine depression." Now, he noted, the Zionists have "a million new consumers in the occupied territories and a new source of labor." Scores of fortunes were made out of war-inspired projects, exploitation of Arab workers in the seized lands, and captured Egyptian oil and other Arab resources.

Since the 1967 war, the Israelis have continued their military terrorism against the Arab states. Between 1967

and 1970, Israel launched scores of naval, air, artillery, and commando attacks on Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Egypt. These attacks included major bombing of Cairo and Egyptian population centers and several "retaliation" raids in Jordan in which entire villages were destroyed.

In 1970, when Jordan's King Hussein massacred tens of thousands of Palestinian and other opponents of his regime, he received complete support from Israel and the U.S., both of which made preparations to intervene if the Jordanian regime was endangered by the popular revolt.

In 1972 and 1973, Israeli terrorism increased, centering on Syria and Lebanon, where the Palestinian resistance movement was strongest. Supposedly in retaliation for the death of 11 Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics, Israel launched bombings and shellings that killed hundreds of Arab villagers. Several commando raids, air attacks, and a full-scale invasion have been launched this year against Lebanon, because that country grants asylum to Palestinian militants.

This record makes it clear that Israel's permanent mission in the Middle East is to maintain the suppression of the Arab national liberation struggle through military aggression and terrorism.

With astonishing logic, Israel has always claimed that these aggressive acts since 1948 were "defensive." However, statements by Israeli military experts attempting to explain defeats in the current war expose these claims as lies.

The Oct. 9 *New York Times* reported from Tel Aviv on the mood of Israel's military officers. Among the reasons for "somber" mood, the *Times* said, "was that for the first time in Israel's 25-year history the Israeli forces were not able to attack first." To them, "It seemed unnatural and strange to be on the defensive. . . ." (Emphasis added.)

U.S. responsibility

The U.S. shares the aims of the Israelis in keeping the Arab peoples demoralized and blocking the Arab national liberation struggle. U.S. control over the bulk of the Arab world's oil depends on these results of Israel's aggressive policy. U.S. military aid has been refused to all the Arab states, except for Jordan and Saudi Arabia, which have used their military power

not against Israel but against the Arab masses.

Of all the countries in the world, Israel has the largest percentage of its budget devoted to military expenditures, the highest per capita military expenditure, and the biggest ratio of regular armed forces to population. U.S. economic and military aid makes this possible.

The U.S. gave \$300-million in arms aid in 1967 alone and in one of several arms deals in 1970, the U.S. gave Israel \$500-million in military equipment. In times of Israeli military action, such as during the current war and in 1967, U.S. armed forces have stood by to intervene if needed to protect the Zionist state.

According to today's *New York Times*, the Pentagon "declined to discuss whether the United States was considering a sale" of additional warplanes to Israel. "Administration officials sought to discourage rumors that Israel had already asked about immediate purchase."

The danger of U.S. intervention in the war is very real. The imperialist rulers of this country will not hesitate to risk a world nuclear holocaust to protect their interests. The savage inhumanity of the U.S. warmakers was demonstrated for all to see in the horror inflicted on Vietnam. They are quite capable of doing the same thing—or worse—in the Mideast.

The only road to peace in the Mideast is to end the Zionist occupation of Arab territories and to grant the demands of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland with equal social, political, and religious rights with the Jewish population.

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History of Zionist aggression

One of Israel's main aims has been to push back attempts of the Arab peoples to attain national liberation. To achieve this, Israel has carried on a permanent campaign of military aggression and terrorism with the support of the U.S. and other imperialist powers who benefit from the exploitation of the Arab masses.

Israel's attempts to demoralize the Arab masses and to maintain their exploitation stem from the fact that the Zionist state was established through military conquest. If the Arab peoples controlled their own resources they would be able to reverse that conquest.

In 1956, in response to mass anti-imperialist pressure, Egyptian President Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal and several other imperialist holdings. This anti-imperialist act prompted an invasion by Israel backed up by French and British military forces. Israel seized the Gaza strip, while Britain and France landed troops in major Egyptian cities.

Massive opposition to this invasion among Egyptian and other Arab peoples, as well as demonstrations by trade unionists and youth in Britain, forced the Israelis to withdraw.

In 1958 a nationalist upsurge swept the Arab countries. The reactionary pro-U.S. monarch of Iraq was overthrown and replaced with a nationalist regime. Proimperialist rulers in Jordan and Lebanon were threatened by massive popular opposition.

To stem the tide, the U.S. sent troops into Lebanon, while Britain landed forces in Jordan to support King Hussein's reactionary regime. Israel supported these actions and declared that it would launch a war if the Hussein monarchy was in danger of being overthrown by the people of Jordan.

In 1967, in the face of another upsurge of Arab nationalism, Israel demanded control of the Egyptian Straits of Tiran and an end to Syrian backing of Palestinian freedom fighters. Israel also felt threatened by the left-leaning nationalist regime in Syria.

In June 1967, the Zionists launched a war against the Arab states, claiming that the Arab national struggle "threatened the existence of Israel." As a result of the war, Israel was able to expand its hold on Arab territory. Gaza, the Sinai Peninsula, the West Bank of the Jordan River, and the Golan Heights (an area of Syria bordering on Israel and Lebanon) were added to the Zionist holdings.

After the Israeli military triumph, thousands of Palestinians were driven from the West Bank by Israeli military attacks and seizures of property. Torture, executions, and bombings of entire districts have been routinely meted out by the Zionists in their drive to maintain their conquest of these territories.

In March 1971, the *Christian Science Monitor* reported an Israeli "wave of terror" in the Gaza strip. According to the *Monitor*, "Practically every male in Gaza [which has a Palestinian population near 400,000] has been beaten. . . ."

The *Monitor* reported, "One girl student living alone with her grandmother came home to find that the grandmother and a small child had not escaped beating."

It is this occupation that the Arab states are fighting to end.

...Israeli aggression

Continued from page 1

civilian casualties. Syrian officials reported that 100 civilians were killed or wounded. The fact that the Israeli bombers were not looking just for military targets was emphasized by the revelation that the Soviet cultural center had been heavily hit.

The next day, the Zionists struck again at civilian targets in Syria. The industrial city of Homs was bombed for a second time. Two port cities were attacked. Again, Syrian officials reported heavy civilian casualties.

The true aggressor is the Israeli state. The cause of the current war, as in the previous wars in the Mideast, is the existence of the colonial settler-state of Israel, established on land belonging to the Palestinian people. The Jewish state in Palestine, created with the backing of Western imperialism, was built through the forcible expulsion of the indigenous Arab population, and in violation of the Palestinians' democratic right to self-determination.

To establish such a state, the Palestinians had to be driven from their land. This was done in 1948, and 1.3 million people still live in refugee camps as a result of that war.

Such a situation could only be achieved and maintained with the support of imperialism. The U. S. arms and finances Israel, and in return Israel acts as a bulwark against the Arab revolution.

The Zionists maintain that the establishment of Israel was necessary to provide a safe refuge for world Jewry, but this has been shown to be a tragic lie. As *The Militant* wrote on Jan. 15, 1971, "... the creation of the Israeli state, which is by its very nature hostile to the surrounding Arab peoples and is therefore on a perpetual war footing with regard to the Arab states and people, makes Israel today the most dangerous place in the world for the Jews to be. This dangerous situation will persist until the mass of Israeli Jews break with Zionism and join with the Arab masses in a common struggle against imperialist domination of the Middle East."

At the time of the Six Day War in 1967, the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization, stated, "The task of the international workers movement is to form a bloc with the Arab peoples in their revolutionary struggle against the State of Israel and its imperialist masters. . . ."

The current situation confirms the correctness of this view as never before.

In the United States, opponents of Zionism have the responsibility of countering the barrage of propaganda in the capitalist press. Our job is to tell the truth about the conflict in the Middle East, to expose the lies of the Zionists and their backers, and to win supporters for the rights of the Palestinians and the other Arab peoples.

This can be done through teach-ins, meetings, and forums on campuses and in communities throughout the country. A united effort is needed by revolutionary socialists, Arab and other foreign students, Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican militants, and all others who support the rights of the Arab peoples. An educational campaign must be launched featuring meetings, information tables, literature distributions, and statements to the mass media.

In the coming weeks *The Militant* will play a key role in this campaign. We will carry extensive news, analysis, and background coverage on the crisis in the Middle East. Wide distribution of *The Militant* can play an important part in getting out the truth, and cutting through the mass of lies, distortions, and anti-Arab accounts that are being served up to the people in the United States.

We urge our readers and supporters who are already participating in our circulation building campaign to increase their bundles of *The Militant* to meet the new situation we face. We also appeal to new readers to join in helping to spread the truth about the war by ordering bundles of *The Militant* to sell and distribute.

In appreciation

I would very much like to subscribe again to *The Militant*. *The Militant* has done much for me—so much I couldn't really explain it with ink and paper. Not only did you heighten my intelligence and make me conscious of what's going down, but you also gave me an inner strength so I will not fall, new humanistic values strong enough to defend my beliefs during verbal confrontations.

The Militant is one of the most open and thorough papers on the left that I've ever read. There were times when I was really discouraged about the apathetic ways of people—but it was just a glance at your paper, at the faces of the oppressed, the picture of an innocent Black child slain by police, that would bring me back to my feet.

A prisoner
Pennsylvania

Views on Africa

Early this year a new factor was introduced into the largely stalemated war in Africa against the Portuguese.

During five weeks in March and April, 11 Portuguese military aircraft were destroyed in the sky over "liberated Guinea." The majority of these "kills" were obsolete bombers and fighters only for "colonial wars," but four were Fiat jet bombers provided to Portugal through NATO; replacement will be embarrassing, for in using NATO equipment in Africa Portugal violates its treaty obligations.

The provision of ground-to-air missiles by the Soviet Union to the PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands, is rivaled in its significance only by the initiation of revolutionary struggle itself. With some control over its airspace, nationalist forces in Guinea may now consolidate their gains and seriously consider moving against colonialist positions in towns and along the coast. The nationalist cry "Vitória é certa!" (Victory is certain) seems even more certain today.

The Soviet Union has been the major source of armaments for nationalist forces in Angola as well, while in Mozambique it shares the role with China. One awaits anxiously to see whether or not such weapons will appear in southern Africa, or, if these liberation movements—as those in Southeast Asia—will continue to struggle with inadequate supplies of antiquated materials.

S. S.
Decatur, Ga.

'Secret police'

One fact the Watergate revelations have brought to light is that the White House and the Committee to Re-Elect the President began to set up a separate secret police apparatus in addition to the FBI and other official, legal police agencies. A private and secret apparatus such as the "Dirty Tricks Department" would seem to be something new.

This type of semilegal and illegal parallel apparatus also grew up in France and Algeria just before the coup d'etat which brought De Gaulle to power in May 1958. These groups of right-wing thugs were indispensable to the plotters of the coup. The De Gaulle regime replaced the parliamentary system in France with a

Bonapartist one-man rule which severely restricted democratic rights. This change was supported by the French capitalists, who had ceased to trust their own parliamentary system. De Gaulle, gathering the whole state power in his own hands, succeeded in doing what Nixon seems to have been trying to accomplish for himself.

Even though Nixon's cover has been blown away, the objective conditions which made him proceed as he did are still there.

David Keil
New York, N. Y.

Read by many

Please put me on your list of subscribers. I can guarantee your paper will be widely read, and it will be filed for reference after circulation. The institution is reluctant to cooperate in allowing us to receive "questionable" periodicals, but I do have a permit for yours and a few others.

A prisoner
Kentucky

Needs his own copy

I would like to begin subscribing to *The Militant*. Last year I was able to read my roommate's here at Michigan State University and didn't need to buy my own.

I found the articles on the Portuguese war in Africa very interesting since most of the news media seems not to have even heard of it. Please try to get in more information on the African and Irish situations as they are important struggles for freedom which should be noted.

J. R.
E. Lansing, Mich.

The Three Marias

I would like to know what is happening as far as the Three Marias are concerned. These women were arrested for protesting against the way women are treated in Portugal. Therefore, if they are in jail, it is for political reasons.

The Three Marias are supposed to be tried this month, aren't they? It is a threat to the feminist movement. If the government wins it can happen in every country. It can be used to prevent feminism from spreading around the world. The silence around this case can prevent women who are still untouched by the movement from becoming aware of their condition.

A reader
France

Reply—The trial of the Three Marias is now scheduled for late October. Coverage of their case is planned for following issues of *The Militant*.

Likes Chile coverage

I just finished reading your account of the Chilean revolution and I was so tremendously impressed by the weight of your articles that I immediately decided to write to ask for your three-month new subscription deal. Here at Dartmouth one has a chance to meet a lot of people, and one of my good friends is from Mexico City. She feels she knows



more about the Chilean problem since she does not receive all the so-called "biased American news" from our nation's various media. Well, even she was pleased by the content of *The Militant*.

Again, my compliments on your periodical.

R. B.

Hanover, N. H.

Oh, it was sad

I thought you might appreciate this story which, I was told, is true:

One stock broker complained to another, "In this market, trying to advise my clients to get out of one stock and into another is like shifting deck chairs on the Titanic."

Could those guys be learning?

James Johnson

Philadelphia, Pa.

Soviet dissidents

Marilyn Vogt certainly deserves the best compliment for such truthful writing on the new frame-up of Soviet dissidents (Sept. 14 *Militant*).

It's true that Pyotr Yakir, one of the prominent opposition activists, was the son of Iona Yakir (1896-1937), the chief commander of the Red Army in the Ukraine, whom Stalin executed for allegedly serving Hitler, the Mikado, and Trotsky.

I would just like to add that another prominent opposition activist mentioned in Vogt's article, Viktor Krasin, was the son of Leonid Krasin (1870-1926), a distinguished engineer and active revolutionary in czarist Russia, as well as one of the most effective diplomatic representatives abroad for the Soviet government.

Because L. D. Trotsky and L. B. Krasin were closely associated for many years, there is no doubt that if L. Krasin had not died in 1926, later on his fate would have been the same as that of Iona Yakir.

J.M.

Macedonia, Ohio

Marilyn Vogt replies—After checking through the printed sources available to us, we were unable to verify this relationship between Leonid and Viktor Krasin. We also contacted Vera Litvinovna, who is the granddaughter of Maxim Litvinov, the Old Bolshevik who served as a Soviet diplomat during the 1930s. Vera Litvinovna and Valery Chalidze have lived in New York since late 1972 when Chalidze, Litvinovna's husband, was deprived of his Soviet citizenship by the Soviet government because of his protest activities in the USSR.

Vera Litvinovna reported that although many people have thought that Viktor and Leonid Krasin might be related, in fact they are not.

In addition, the *Chronicle of Current Events* gives 1929 as Viktor's year of birth. This would preclude the possibility of his being the son of Leonid, who died in 1926.

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

The 'Respect Life' campaign

Cardinal Cooke personally took to the pulpit recently to kick off the Catholic Church's "Respect Life" program. This anti-abortion project, which began in 160 dioceses and 18,000 parishes across the country, will continue into 1974 with rallies, youth programs, and special masses.

The Cardinal warned Catholics that any involvement with abortion would mean automatic excommunication: "Nor can any convenience—psychological, matrimonial, economic, cultural, or social—permit any Catholic to perform, undergo, or encourage a direct abortion. To do so is to commit a grave personal and social sin against God and humanity. In so doing so a person separates himself from the Catholic community and communion."

In the last few years there has been a dramatic increase in the number of Catholics who support a woman's right to choose abortion and an increase in the number of Catholic women who have abortions. Cooke felt compelled to respond to these changing attitudes. "Catholics must not be misled," he said. "There is no 'new theology' on abortion. . . . It is a serious and heinous sin for any Catholic—priest or doctor, parent, husband, or friend—to encourage a girl to undergo an abortion."

With a flourish of hypocrisy Cooke continued, "If we oppose unjust wars, criminal assassinations, political murders, and terrorist hijacking; if we move against life-damaging poverty, pollution, hunger, and neglect, then we must not condone abortion."



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

It's all on paper

Some startling revelations about food prices and profiteers are in store for shoppers if Congress investigates commodity exchange markets as promised. If the inside operators are forced to testify, it could be better than the Watergate hearings.

The Chicago Board of Trade is the largest commodity exchange. This is where contracts for future sales of soybeans, corn, and wheat are bought and sold. Inflated prices for these grains are all passed on to the consumer. Of course, there are no bins of grain at the commodity exchange markets. The Chicago Board of Trade is only a place where buyers and sellers meet to contract for future deliveries.

Suppose a speculator figures that the current September price of corn—\$1 a bushel, for example—is too high and is going to drop. He orders his broker to *sell a contract*. That is, make an agreement to sell corn in Chicago at a future date, let's say March, at the current price.

Let's say the broker sells 5,000 bushels for \$5,000. Then in March, the speculator must purchase 5,000 bushels of corn to be delivered, whatever the price. If the price has indeed gone down, as he predicted, to say 50 cents a bushel, he only has to pay \$2,500 for the March delivery and he pockets the \$2,500 difference as profit.

It's all on paper. Most of the buyers and sellers in the Chicago Board of Trade know nothing and care less about farming or what it costs to grow wheat or corn. They are speculators. They come to bet on whether prices will rise or fall. The biggest operators can bid up futures contracts far above the value of the commodities. The government price controls, which went into effect two years ago, were never an obstacle.

The *Washington Star-News* recently ran a series of articles about food speculators. They told the sorry story of a 33-year-old Iowa farmer, George Redman, who lost \$60,000 this summer in the commodities market. He noticed last April that soybeans were selling for \$5.52 a bushel on the Chicago Board of Trade, almost three times what it costs to grow them. So he figured that the price would drop, and went to a broker and sold a futures contract on soybeans at the April price. But the price of soybeans did not drop; it soared to the historic high of \$12.90 a bushel. Redman lost a bundle on the soybeans deal.

That's a little hard to swallow in light of the fact that Cooke did not oppose the war in Vietnam. I suppose he considered that a 'just' war. And, I haven't noticed any solutions to poverty, pollution, hunger, and neglect coming from the Catholic Church hierarchy.

Finally, the Cardinal called upon Congress to pass constitutional amendments that would reverse the Supreme Court ruling legalizing abortion.

This so-called Respect Life program is part of a national right-wing drive to reverse the gains made by women through the Supreme Court decision. These forces, spearheaded by the Catholic Church hierarchy, are lobbying for a variety of constitutional amendments and are also pressuring legislatures and hospitals not to comply with the Supreme Court decision.

The "right-to-life" forces have also initiated the Committee of Ten Million, which is attempting to obtain 10 million signatures on petitions in support of a bill that would guarantee constitutional rights to a fetus from the moment of conception. They have sponsored picket lines at abortion clinics, hospitals, and various conventions.

While it would be difficult for these reactionary forces to totally reverse the Supreme Court decision, they are certainly trying to chip away at it in any way they can.

The millions of women and men who support abortion rights must respond to these attacks on women's right to control their own bodies.

He decided to try corn to recover his losses. In July the price of corn on the Chicago exchange was \$2.29 a bushel. Redman knew it was bound to go down because, as any Iowa farmer knows, corn can be raised cheaper than that. So he sold a futures contract on corn at this price. All he needed to do was wait until the market dropped and then cash in, he thought. But the price of corn did not drop either. It shot up to \$3.80.

The time came for Redman to purchase the corn for delivery at the higher price. His broker urged him to get out of the market and take his loss. But at this point an unusual thing happened.

Redman said no. He decided instead to actually deliver the 10,000 bushels of corn in Chicago. He noticed that he could buy corn at the grain elevator in his hometown for \$2.32 a bushel—much less than the inflated price he would have to pay in Chicago.

Such a thing had never happened before in the memory of Redman's brokers, and it created a big problem for them. Corn on paper is one thing; 10,000 bushels of corn on trucks rolling into Chicago is quite another.

The broker gave Redman the addresses of three of the biggest operators in Chicago: Cargill, Continental Grain, and Indiana Grain. None of them wanted Redman's corn. Ultimately he found a buyer and sold the corn at a cash price of \$2.68 a bushel, still much lower than the exchange price. Redman felt lucky to have cut his losses by almost \$11,000.

Overall, it was an expensive experience for Redman. But it demonstrated that the futures prices that are passed on to consumers today are not the real exchange value of grain and livestock. They are jacked up by extraordinary profits reaped by the big speculators and food monopolies.

Working people, who are hardest hit by these high prices, should demand that the big food processors and supermarkets open their books and allow a public accounting of the prices they are charging. The small farmers are also hit in many ways by the squeeze play of the food speculators and price gougers.

When the industrial unions take up these demands to open the books of the food monopolies and to nationalize the food processing industry, they can make a firm alliance with these farmers.

That will be the day the price manipulators squeal.



Stands to reason—Wouldn't you get hard-nosed about hanging onto a job that pays \$62,500, plus \$10,000 expenses? And with such fringe benefits as having a supermarket firm stocking the household larder for free, a good old banker buddy who takes care of the liquor pantry, and a retired manufacturer friend who lays \$15,000 cash gifts on you. Not to mention that you're but a heartbeat, or maybe a police whistle, from the really cushy job.

Getting touchy?—President Nixon proclaimed Sept. 15-Oct. 15 Clean Up America Month.

No mug shots please—Federal agents in San Francisco seized and destroyed 2,000 coffee mugs with a picture of the president on a \$3-bill. The Secret Service said the mugs violated a law forbidding circulation of anything that

looks like U.S. currency. A somewhat stronger case could have been made for Food and Drug Administration confiscation on grounds the mugs could cause stomach distress to morning coffee drinkers.

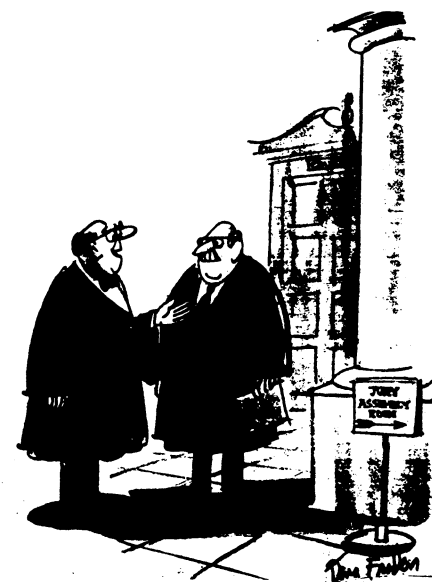
The kid brother's a printer?—We were intrigued by the Treasury Dept. response to Senator Montoya's query about the president ordering the Secret Service to tap his brother's phone. Treasury spokesmen refused to affirm or deny this ("executive privilege," natch). But they did volunteer the information that the nine court-approved tap jobs done by the S.S. since Nixon took office all involved counterfeiting.

Decorating tip—We've a suggestion for the people doing the \$285,000 redecorating job on the presidential jet. For a mod look, design a wall-paper with facsimiles of bills about

to be, or already vetoed by our economy-minded president. Like the "inflationary" \$2.20 minimum wage, or the one that would add a nickel to school lunch subsidies.

Only royalty could be so thoughtful—When Britain's Princess Anne marries the event will be telecast worldwide by satellite. And if you're at a meeting and miss it, the whole ceremony will be available on LP.

Contented cows, greedy pigs, and all that jazz—Buy a piece of beef for that special occasion. If it's a Swift product, you'll know it comes from a contented cow. The company found that the cattle are happier and produce better meat when music (steerio?) is piped into the pen. And Mr. Swift, we presume, hums and taps all the way to the bank.



"I never worry too much about being fair-minded, because I know that in the end justice always triumphs."

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



How red-baiting weakens UFW defense

The following is a guest column by Jose G. Perez. Perez is a member of the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance and spent part of the summer covering the UFW grape strike from Coachella, Calif., for the Young Socialist newspaper.

During the first week in October, I was in New England speaking at a number of Young Socialist campus forums in support of the struggle of the United Farm Workers Union.

One of my stops was at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, a large campus with a very active boycott group. However, the UFW defense activists there were troubled. A member of Social Democrats, USA—an outfit associated with the George Meany wing of the labor bureaucracy—had been red-baiting the group.

His arguments were the same as those of all red-baiters: nobody should help the local UFW support committee because—horror of horrors!—known socialists were active builders of the group. And—even worse!—the committee had reproduced

articles from *The Militant*, among other newspapers, to help inform the Amherst community about the UFW's life-and-death struggle.

The UFW activists did not fall for this blatant anticommunist witch-hunting. At the same time, they felt that if they had thought out their arguments in advance they might have been able to counter the red-baiter more effectively.

With this incident in mind, I included in my talk some comments on red-baiting and how to fight it. Here is what I said:

"The most effective aid to the United Farm Workers Union is a massive, united defense of the farm workers' right to unionize, focused on the nationwide boycott of scab grapes.

"Committees and groups to build the boycott should be formed everywhere in direct collaboration with UFW boycott offices, and should be open to everyone willing to help build the boycott.

"I know that a few individuals have been trying to exclude socialists and communists, saying that the participation of socialists and communists would turn some people off. I think that excluding

anyone from the boycott committees is a very bad idea and would only weaken the movement.

"The thing to do with these red-baiting attacks is to take the offensive against them. First of all, it should be made clear to everybody that the committee is open to anyone who wants to help with the boycott. Whether they're socialists, pacifists, or liberals, or even if they voted for Nixon. The points of view of people in the committee on other questions doesn't matter as long as they're willing to build the boycott.

"Then we have to explain that these kinds of arguments—by dividing the movement—only help the growers. And, of course, these witch-hunting methods create an atmosphere of fear and intimidation. The smallest concession to red-baiters can create a situation where people feel they can't contribute their ideas on how best to build the boycott.

"The net effect of red-baiting is to divide the movement, to create a witch-hunt climate, to weaken *La Causa*. That's why it is important for all supporters of the UFW, not just socialists, to answer red-baiting whenever it comes up."

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



'A political con game'

A federal minimum wage bill was laid to rest by the House of Representatives last month. With it died the promise of a meager wage gain for many Black workers.

About one million household domestics, mostly Black women, would have been covered for the first time, along with employees of federal, state, and local governments—if the House had overridden Nixon's veto of the \$2.20-an-hour minimum bill.

Nixon claims to favor a minimum wage increase to \$2.30, but he wants it stretched out over the next three years. The vetoed bill would have raised the present \$1.60 hourly minimum to \$2 an hour by the end of the year and \$2.20 by next July for most workers.

Although the bill would've helped, what is needed is a \$5-an-hour minimum wage for all workers and regular cost-of-living increases to keep wages up with prices.

Nixon vetoed the bill because he claimed it was "inflationary." But the bill would not even have raised wages above the 5.5 percent wage increase limit of the Cost of Living Council.

Even an immediate raise to a \$2.20 minimum, an increase of 37.5 percent, is less than the 38

percent rise in food prices since 1968—the last time the wage minimum was increased. Besides, Nixon's contention that wage increases cause inflation is a fake. The truth is that war-related spending—such as the \$20.9-billion military appropriations bill okayed by the Senate last week—is what fuels inflation.

Nixon argued that enactment of the bill would have added to unemployment rolls since employers could not afford to pay such "high" wages to workers. For this reason, among others, he favored including a minimum of \$1.60 for teen-agers in the bill, as an "incentive" to employers to hire people under 18.

There is a certain logic to proposing lower wages as the way to reduce unemployment—if your first concern is the corporations' profits. But Black people have already tried this scheme and found it doesn't work—we already get paid less than whites, but we have higher unemployment, too.

Bayard Rustin, cochairman of the Social Democrats USA, wrote his ideas on the bill's failure in the Oct. 2 *Philadelphia Tribune*. He bemoans the fact that 23 too few representatives voted to override the veto.

Rustin writes, "Our most immediate goal is to elect candidates committed to social change to Congress next year. . . ."

"Blacks can play a pivotal role here. Many of those who opposed the minimum wage are southerners. . . ." Then he urges us "to support liberal candidates."

Rather than call for a break from the two-party system, Rustin, who mistakenly calls himself a socialist, wants Blacks to trek the same route they have for years—through supporting liberal Democratic candidates to achieve our needs.

Rustin laments the fact that many southerners opposed the bill. But he forgets to tell us that these southerners are all Dixiecrats—members of the Democratic party—the party he'd like to see more candidates elected from.

Not just the Dixiecrats are to blame, though. Several northern Democrats opposed the bill, too. Once again Dixiecrats and northern Democrats closed ranks against the needs of Black folks.

Brother Malcolm X, unlike Rustin, knew better. He once said, "What is a Dixiecrat? A Democrat. A Dixiecrat is nothing but a Democrat in disguise. They have a con game going on, a political con game, and you and I are in the middle."

World Outlook

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

OCTOBER 19, 1973

Global struggle for raw materials

U.S. imperialism's stake in Chile coup

By Dick Roberts

The September 11 coup in Chile reconfirms a central tenet of Lenin's theory of imperialism: the *ever increasing* need of the advanced capitalist countries to monopolize sources of raw materials in the underdeveloped world.

Lenin wrote in *Imperialism* (1917): "The principal feature of modern capitalism is the domination of the monopolist combines of the big capitalists. These monopolies are most firmly established when *all* the sources of raw materials are controlled by the one group. And we have seen with what zeal the international capitalist combines exert every effort to make it impossible for their rivals to compete with them; for example by buying up mineral lands, oil fields, etc. Colonial possession alone gives complete guarantee of success to the monopolies against all the risks of the struggle with competitors, including the risk that the latter will defend themselves by means of a law establishing a state monopoly. The more capitalism is developed, the more the need for raw materials is felt; the more bitter competition becomes, and the more feverishly the hunt for raw materials proceeds throughout the whole world, the more desperate becomes the struggle for acquisition of colonies."

A number of aspects of the development of imperialism in the period after World War II seemed at first glance to contradict Lenin. Most of the colonial possessions of Dutch, French, and British imperialism in Asia and Africa won formal political independence. Imperialist investment as a whole proceeded more rapidly in the advanced countries than in the underdeveloped countries. Furthermore, investment in the underdeveloped countries increasingly shifted towards manufacturing industries, rather than the agricultural and extractive industries that constitute sources of raw materials.

The net fixed assets of all U.S.-owned foreign affiliates in 1970 was \$69,012 million. Of this 51% were located in only six countries: Canada, 27%; United Kingdom, 11%; West Germany, 7%; France, 4%; and Belgium-Luxembourg, 2%. Mexico and Brazil occupy a special position in U.S. investment in the underdeveloped world. In 1970, Mexico had 2% and Brazil 3% of total U.S. foreign investment.

U.S. foreign investment in the rest of the world stood at \$29,862 million (44%). In terms of industries this broke down as follows: agriculture 1%; mining and smelting 4%; petroleum 42%; manufacturing 34%; public utilities 8%; trade 4%; finance 3%; insurance, negligible; other 4%. (*Implications of Multinational Firms for World Trade and Investment and*



Chilean copper mines contain 21 percent of world's proven copper reserves.

for U.S. Trade and Labor, Committee on Finance, United States Senate, February 1973, pp. 404-5.)

Moreover, nationalization is increasingly taking place in the "neocolonies." Before Salvador Allende was elected president of Chile in 1970, Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei Montalva had formed "mixed companies," in which the Chilean government owned 51 percent, of the giant U.S. copper companies Anaconda, Kennecott, and Cerro. Even more noteworthy is the increasing ownership of Middle East oil demanded by the Arab and Iranian governments.

Nevertheless, none of these developments contradicts Lenin's basic thesis. The overwhelming majority of raw materials in the underdeveloped world remain owned and controlled by imperialist monopolies. This is increasingly necessary from the standpoint of profits. And to the extent that one or another neocolony has succeeded in nationalizing or partly nationalizing foreign holdings, imperialism's drive to tighten its hold elsewhere has been all the more reinforced.

The increasing instability of U.S. oil holdings in the Middle East, for example, is certainly one of the factors that impelled Nixon to press for victory in Southeast Asia, with the potential reward of oil leases in the South China Sea. Moreover, it is a factor in Washington's détente with Moscow. The imperialists are hoping to gain Moscow's help in maintaining U.S. control of oil resources in the Middle East and at the same time are looking toward a long-term, possibly more

stable, source of natural gas in the Soviet Union's Siberian fields.

Raw Materials Consumption

Central to imperialist strategy is the fact that the United States consumes more raw materials than can be domestically produced. The disproportion is growing. Harry Magdoff emphasizes this point in *The Age of Imperialism* (1969). "It is true," writes Magdoff, "that in recent years technical innovations have increased the utility of domestic ores. Nevertheless, the tendency to increasing reliance on foreign sources of supply persists, partly to get one's money's worth out of an investment already made, partly as a protective device to keep the lesser quality ore sources in reserve, and partly for immediate financial advantage where foreign ores are more economical. As specialists in the field see it, in the absence of a further breakthrough in technology that would make the very low grade iron ore, derived from taconite and similar rock, decidedly cheaper than foreign ore, the prognosis is for increased reliance of our steel industry on foreign sources of ore. Thus, it is anticipated that about half of the iron ore to be consumed in 1980 will be met by foreign sources, and that by 2000 the import ratio will reach 75 percent."

Magdoff cites the example of the jet engine—a commodity whose usefulness to the imperialists goes far beyond commercial air travel. Of the six critical materials used in the jet engine, three are entirely imported:

columbium from Brazil, Canada, and Mozambique; chromium from South Africa, Turkey, Rhodesia, the Philippines, and Iran; cobalt from Zaire, Morocco, Canada, and Zambia.

The physical dependence of the United States on foreign sources of raw materials is summarized in the following list adapted from *U.S. News & World Report*, December 4, 1972. Of the total world output of key minerals each year, the United States uses the following proportions:

Natural gas	57%
Silver	42%
Lead	36%
Aluminum	35%
Petroleum	32%
Tin	32%
Nickel	30%
Copper	27%
Steel	19%
Coal	16%

Thus, according to *U.S. News*, "with 5 per cent of the world's people, [the] U.S. consumes 30 per cent of world's minerals."

There is hardly a sharper expression of the fundamentally predatory character of imperialism. What is most important from the standpoint of the present discussion, however, is that dependency is increasing. A 1971 report by the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the U.S. Senate declared: "The United States consumes between 30 and 40 percent of the total world [nonfuel] minerals production. If present demand trends continue and unless future recycling and reuse augment supply, the U.S. de-

Continued on following page

...Chilean copper key in imperialist struggle for

Continued from page WO1

mand for primary minerals is expected to increase an estimated 400 percent by the year 2000."

A projection of the increasing dependence on imported minerals adapted from U.S. Department of the Interior data appeared in an article by Lester R. Brown in the November 5, 1972, *New York Times*. It is summarized in the following table showing minerals imported as a percentage of minerals consumed by the United States in the given years, with projected figures for the year 2000:

	1950	1970	2000
Aluminum	64	85	98
Chromium	—	100	100
Copper	31	0	56
Iron	8	30	67
Lead	39	31	67
Manganese	88	100	100
Nickel	94	90	89
Phosphate	8	0	2
Potassium	14	42	61
Sulfur	2	0	52
Tin	77	—	100
Tungsten	—	50	97
Zinc	38	59	84

Brown, a senior fellow with the Washington Overseas Development Council, wrote, "In per capita terms, Americans consume perhaps 20 times as much metallic ore as the average person living in the poorest countries.

"If the consumption levels of these countries should ever begin to approach those now prevailing in the rich countries, pressures on mineral supplies, particularly of the scarcer minerals, would quickly become a matter of global concern.

"For example, in 1967 the average American consumed approximately one ton of steel, while worldwide [per capita] consumption was 0.17 tons. To raise the present global population to United States consumption levels would require a sixfold expansion of production."

Brown, of course, finds such an expansion inconceivable. And it is inconceivable under conditions of monopoly rule. Yet it would be a different matter under social conditions in which world production was planned and run for the benefit of the world's population instead of the privileged few.

Monopoly Control

It is not only a question of physical consumption—the *use value* of commodities—but also a question of who owns them. After all, one could argue, precisely because the U.S. need for raw materials is increasing, the neocolonies have an advantage. They could take over the companies and sell the raw materials to the United States in a seller's market, with demand exceeding supply, and consequently at ever higher prices! However, monopoly profit rates in the extractive industries depend on the ability of the monopolists to exploit the labor of the underdeveloped countries and to sell the product under world market conditions in which production (and consequently prices) are controlled. Only through *cartelization*—the rigging of world production and prices by a few monopolists in each industry—can the monopolists suppress self-defeating cut-throat competition and maintain monopoly profit rates. And that requires private ownership and the political power to coerce governments.

For example, the ability of the U.S.-dominated international petroleum cartel to keep Japanese oil investment in the Middle East at a minimum, and consequently to keep Japan dependent on Western oil, is primarily a political not a monetary question.

Paul Sweezy described a "classical" situation in his 1958 study of the profit structure of Standard Oil of New Jersey. He restated the results of his investigation in his and Paul Baran's

That is because the percentage of Exxon's holdings located in the Middle East—where the ratio of profits to investment is highest—would be much greater than it was in 1958. Additionally it should be underlined that the *reinvestment* of the extractive industries' profits in the foreign nations where they are located is sufficient for the expansion that is undertaken in most cases. The ratio of profits to initial investment is thereby all the

foresaw in 1928 did not solve the central contradictions of imperialism that brought it about. They are re-emerging on a world scale. And since a new interimperialist war is virtually precluded because of the even greater hegemony of the United States today than in the 1920s when Trotsky was writing, it is all the more incumbent upon us to pay attention to the ways in which imperialism "resolves" its contradictions short of interimperialist



'The people demand the copper for Chile,' says slogan painted before recent coup.

Monopoly Capital (1966). In 1958, the percentage distribution by region of assets and profits of Standard Oil (now Exxon) was as follows:

	Assets	Profits
U.S. and Canada	67	34
Latin America	20	39
Eastern Hemisphere	13	27

"While two thirds of Jersey's assets were located in North America, only one third of its profits came from that region," Sweezy and Baran wrote in *Monopoly Capital*. "Or to put the point differently, Jersey's foreign investments were half as large as its domestic investments but its foreign profits were

more increased.

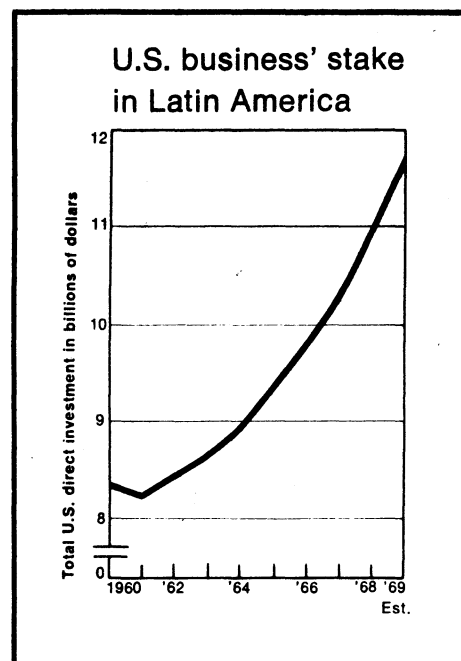
Further, under the now prevailing conditions of intensified competition among monopolies of advanced capitalist countries for international markets, the monopolies' need for control of raw materials *will be exacerbated*. As control of markets for finished products is undermined by international competition, the monopolists have ever greater need for access to and control of sources of cheap raw materials. The search for these resources will take on a more rapacious and frenzied character. The underdeveloped world cannot escape the vicissitudes of intensified international monopoly competition. In fact, it will be forced, as always in the epoch of imperialism, to bear a disproportionate share of the burden of imperialist contradictions.

When to this is added the fact that the No. 1 bastion of imperialism, the United States, which already consumes 30% to 40% of the world's raw materials, aims to increase its share at the expense of its imperialist rivals as well as of the neocolonies, the explosive content of the struggle for raw materials is clearly revealed. "In the period of crisis the hegemony of the United States will operate more completely, more openly, and more ruthlessly than in the period of boom," Trotsky wrote in the 1928 "Draft Program of the Comintern." "The United States will seek to overcome and extricate herself from her difficulties and maladies primarily at the expense of Europe, regardless of whether this occurs in Asia, Canada, South America, Australia, or Europe itself, or whether this takes place peacefully or through war."

The interimperialist war that Trotsky

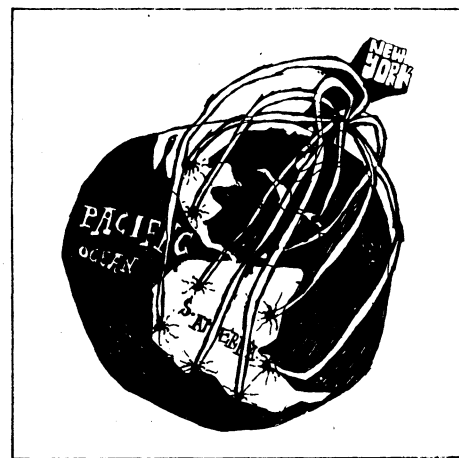
world war.

U.S. investment in Latin America has been on a sharp upswing since the early 1960s, as the graph from the September 12, 1970, issue of *Business Week* shows.



Before Allende was elected in 1970, Chile was taking its place alongside Mexico, Brazil, and to a lesser extent Argentina and Puerto Rico, as a rapidly expanding market for U.S. multinational investment. Second only to Brazil, Chile had received \$600 million in U.S. "aid" (primarily military hardware) during the six-year period of the Frei government.

In their contribution to *The Chilean Road to Socialism* (Dale L. Johnson, ed., 1973) entitled "Multinational Corporations and Chile," James D. Cockroft, Henry Frundt, and Dale L. John-



twice as large as its domestic profits. The indicated profit rate abroad is thus four times the domestic rate."

Moreover, we can be certain that if the study were repeated today, the results would be even more pronounced.

domination

son wrote: "At the time Allende assumed office, more than one hundred U.S. corporations had established themselves in Chile. Among these were twenty-four of the top thirty U.S.-based multinational corporations. These included the major auto producers, four of the biggest oil companies, Dow and DuPont chemicals, International Telephone & Telegraph (ITT), and other big industrials. In recent years the ranks of the industrials had been joined by multinational banks and corporations operating in the service sectors."

The book value of these investments was nearly \$1 thousand million, with ITT's telephone company ranking highest, at \$200 million, according to *Business Week*, April 10, 1971.

Cockroft, Frundt, and Johnson describe the operations of another conglomerate, the Rockefeller International Basic Economy Corporation: "IBEC operates in thirty-three countries and in 1970 derived 60 per cent of its profits from Latin America, although only 33 per cent of its assets were in the region. In Chile, IBEC has a ready-mix cement plant, a petroleum-products manufacturing and marketing concern, a construction firm, a mining enterprise, and four investment and management companies. Through these investment companies Rockefeller interests have penetrated many Chilean firms. IBEC now participates in thirteen of the twenty-five largest Chilean corporations and controls over 50 per cent of the stock in three of them. In short, IBEC in Chile operates as ITT does everywhere: it grows by achieving financial control of more and more independent firms."

Thus the most powerful sector of U.S. finance capital, the Rockefeller empire itself, tries to solve the problem of overproduction of capital, of "superabundant capital" as Lenin called it in *Imperialism*, by swallowing up small manufacturing firms in Latin America. Finance capital, which has already monopolized the extractive industries, spreads into manufacturing and services.

That process will tend to weaken the indigenous bourgeoisies and tie them more closely to the imperialist power. Sectors of the "national bourgeoisie" are transformed into a rentier class. They relinquish their own firms for the "blue chip" securities of the American firms that have bought them out. This, by the way, becomes an added cause of the balance of payments deficits of the underdeveloped countries: The indigenous bourgeoisie invests more in the U.S. stock and bond markets than U.S. corporations invest in the underdeveloped countries.

In Chile, however, the economic centrality of the copper trusts still dwarfed the relatively small-scale incursions of foreign capital into the manufacturing and service industries. When the book value of all U.S. investment in Chile stood at roughly \$1 thousand million, with ITT at \$200 million or 20%, the book values of the copper firms were: Cerro, \$15 million; Kennecott, \$80 million; and Anaconda, \$186 million. Thus, even in 1970 the interests of the copper firms amounted to 28% of total U.S. investment.

But this understates the case because these are figures after Frei's 51% na-

tionalization. The April 10, 1971, *Business Week* stated: "The total U.S. investment in copper in Chile is generally said to be around \$600-million." So that in book-value terms the copper interests prior to Frei's nationalization came close to 50% of U.S. investment.

An ironic admission of the understated book values of these corporations came in Anaconda's claim in 1971 that "the new Marxist government of Chile has stolen \$1.2 billion [milliard] worth of mines and properties from the Anaconda Company."



Mural on wall during Allende government: 'The people continue to be exploited.' During 1953-68, U.S. mining and smelting companies were bringing in returns of almost 15 times investment.

The *Wall Street Journal* reported January 6, 1971, that "Anaconda stands to lose heavily by the expropriation. Its Chilean holdings have been valued at about \$400 million in three major mines. The company estimates that two thirds of its total annual copper sales of \$600 million come from Chile." The same article reported that a quarter of Kennecott's copper was mined in Chile. These two firms had reaped monopoly profits for decades.

In *The Chilean Road to Socialism*, the Chile Research Group at Rutgers University notes: "According to the U.S. Department of Commerce, in the period between 1953 and 1968 U.S. mining and smelting operations in Chile (about 90 per cent copper) earned \$1,036 million, while new investments and reinvestment of profits together totaled only \$71 million." A return of almost fifteen times investment. This is the typical monopoly profit rate in the extractive industries of the underdeveloped world (although the rates in petroleum tend to be higher).*

An indication of the long-term importance of the Chilean copper companies in the world investment patterns of U.S. imperialism is the close ties of these companies to the central financial sectors of the American ruling class. Cockroft, Frundt, and Johnson observe: "The Stillman-Rockefellers First National City share control of Anaconda Copper with the Morgan interest group. Ten of the twenty-four top multinationals in Chile share directors with First National City Bank.

*It may be asked why, if the profit rates are so high in the extractive industries, the imperialists do not invest more in these industries? The answer is that monopoly profit rates depend on restricted production. An increase in investment does not produce a proportional increase in profits. Thus, the raw-materials monopolies tend to become closed off. They cannot provide extensive outlets for "overproduced capital," which consequently tends increasingly to flow into manufacturing investments in the underdeveloped countries.

"The Morgan interest group has a strong presence in Chile through its ties to Kennecott Copper and other corporations present in the country. The Morgans [partners in the Morgan banking group] also have an interest in Anaconda copper (as well as another major copper producer not in Chile, American Smelting and Refining)." The third of the major copper firms in Chile, Cerro, was founded by the J. P. Morgan Co. in 1902.

In the period just prior to Allende's coming to power, the copper trusts had begun a large expansion

imperialist investment.

From the outset Washington believed that it was too risky to directly intervene with U.S. military forces in Chile, given the world unpopularity of the U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia and the political sophistication of the Chilean masses themselves. The *New York Times* spelled out this opinion from the start. "There is no point in trying to minimize the importance of what has happened in Chile," the *Times* editors lamented on September 6, 1970, as they announced Salvador Allende's election victory.

"This result, unprecedented in the Americas and virtually without parallel anywhere, is a heavy blow at liberal democracy. It may mark the demise of the ailing Alliance for Progress, which was undertaken 'to improve and strengthen democratic institutions.'"

The words, of course, are the hypocritical jargon of liberalism, but the meaning is plain enough. In the same editorial the *Times* emphasized: "All the United States can do in this situation is to keep hands off, behave correctly and hope for the best. Dr. Allende is a Chilean, preferred by a plurality—though not a majority—of Chilean voters. . . . Whatever troubles Chile may face would only be compounded by even the appearance of American interference."

That analysis signified that world imperialism would resort to behind-the-scenes strangulation: The Chilean market was boycotted and its credit was cut short. But overt and covert "aid" to the Chilean military—where the imperialists' best hopes remained—was continued.

Lenin's central political message in *Imperialism* (and Trotsky's theme in the "Draft Program of the Comintern" cited above) was that the world imperialists, having "divided" international markets among themselves, do not bring humankind closer to peace. They prepare the ground for further war.

There cannot be a long-term perspective of "peacefully coexisting" with the oppressive system of imperialism. Whether one is talking about the relations between postcapitalist states and imperialism or between the neocolonies and the big powers—or between the workers of the advanced countries and their own ruling classes—the watchword must be "prepare for the final struggle." The Unidad Popular's failure to grasp this central principle of Leninism was its fatal error.

Behind-the-Scenes Strangulation

Marxists are not "economic determinists" pure and simple. In fact, the level of class consciousness of the Chilean workers—and of oppressed peoples internationally—was more determinative of the specific history of Chile in the Allende period than the place Chile occupied in the sphere of U.S.

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Thousands join political strike

Immigrant workers in France fight back against racism

Last month immigrant workers in France took a major step forward in fighting back against mounting racist attacks. For the first time, immigrant workers called a general strike in Marseille, which spread to numerous French cities, involving tens of thousands of Algerian, Moroccan, Tunisian and other immigrant workers.

The climate of racism in France was exemplified in an editorial published near the end of August in *Le Mèridional*, a mass-circulation daily in Marseille, the second largest city in

death to natural causes).

The list includes only murders. It does not deal with the many beatings or attacks on Arab cafes and neighborhoods.

Concurrently with these "unofficial" acts of violence, the Pompidou government stepped up "legal" harassment of the immigrant workers. Throughout the month of August, Minister of the Interior Raymond Marcellin instituted expulsion proceedings against immigrants, declaring on August 4: "I will continue to expel all foreigners who disturb public order."

followed Boumedienne's policy of "moderation."

So the Algerian workers, together with Moroccans and Tunisians, have turned elsewhere for support in protesting this racist violence.

On September 3, North Africans throughout the Bouches-du-Rhone area (around Marseille) went out on strike to protest "the racist campaign led by sections of the press aimed at isolating the Arab workers from the French population." The Mouvement des Travailleurs Arabes (MTA—Movement of Arab Workers), which called the strike,

organization, being itself somewhat taken by surprise by the massive response of the immigrants to its strike call. On September 7 an antiracist meeting was held in Marseille sponsored by about twenty organizations, among them *Rouge* and the MTA. It was addressed by Alain Krivine, a central leader of the ex-Ligue Communiste, as well as by representatives of the MTA and several other immigrant workers solidarity groups. About 700 persons, according to *Le Monde*, attended the meeting.

The next day, about 120 delegates representing neighborhood committees of the MTA met to discuss further action. They decided to call for a general strike of immigrant workers in the Paris area on September 14, the first such strike ever held.

"We are striking against racism, not against the French workers," said a statement released by the meeting. The strike was to be highlighted by a 2 p.m. meeting at the Paris mosque "to pay homage to all victims of racism." The MTA appealed to French workers



Immigrant workers rally Sept. 14 in Paris during strike against racist attacks.

Rouge

France. The editorial said in part:

"We have had enough of Algerian thieves, Algerian thugs, Algerian braggarts, Algerian troublemakers, Algerian syphilitics, Algerian pimps, Algerian lunatics, and Algerian killers."

The pogrom atmosphere suggested by this editorial was more than just a mood. On August 25 a Marseille bus driver was killed by a mentally-disturbed Algerian worker. The Algerian was assaulted and nearly lynched by a mob, and the incident was followed by a wave of racist killings.

In mid-September the Amicale des Algériens (Brotherhood of Algerians, commonly called the Amicale) released a list of 11 Arab workers who had fallen victim to pogromist violence between August 25 and September 19:

Laaï Lounes, a sixteen-year-old, beaten to death August 28; Abdel Ahab Hemahan, 21, died in Marseille August 29 after having his skull smashed; Said Aounallah, 27, shot to death in Marseille on the night of August 25-26; Rashid Mouka, 26, shot to death in Marseille August 25; Hammu Mebarki, 40, wounded August 26, died August 29 in Marseille; Said Ghillas, 40, attacked August 29 in Marseille, died the next day; Bensala Meknef, 39, found seriously wounded died September 29 in Marseille; Rabah Mouzzali, 30, shot to death August 25 in Perreux; Ahmed Rezki, 28, shot to death in front of his home in Metz August 29; Mohammed Benbourek, 43, found floating in a river near Maubeuge September 9; Said Ziar, 43, arrested September 15 in Tours, found dead the next day (a physician called in by the police attributed the

The Algerian workers in France are supposed to be under the protection of the Algerian government. But the Boumedienne regime has done next to nothing to defend the rights, or even the lives, of its nationals. On September 5, for example, Boumedienne himself told the Paris daily *Le Monde*:

"We observed the greatest moderation when Algerians were murdered, so as not to incite hatred[!]. But there are situations that are hard to accept. It is a question of dignity."

The Amicale des Algériens, the French-based organization (semiofficially tied to the Algiers regime) that is supposed to look after the interests of Algerian workers in France, has

appealed for support from all anti-racists.

"Official sources" cited by *Le Monde* said that 60 percent of the 30,000 North African workers in the area responded to the strike appeal. In the city of Fos, the September 4 *Le Monde* reported, "the strike was 100 percent effective, with about 3,000 North African workers on strike. It was also 100 percent in Aix-en-Provence."

The strike spread to Toulon, where, according to an Associated Press dispatch, "A majority of Toulon's 20,000 Arab workers stayed off their jobs."

The breadth of the MTA-organized response to the racist wave surprised the traditional organizations. The Amicale was especially surprised, reported the September 7 *Rouge*, formerly the organ of the Communist League, banned by the French government. "As was the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor], whose local leadership had declared in a statement published in the Communist party daily *Marseillaise* that it would give no support to a 'political maneuver that threatens to isolate the immigrants.'"

The size of the strike was particularly significant in that it was scarcely organized at all. The September 5 *Le Monde* reported that in Fos (where the strike was 100 percent effective) it was built by a handful of MTA members who hung up posters and started a telephone campaign.

"These strikes," wrote the September 7 *Rouge*, "were an initial response and, at the same time, a first step in consciousness. They marked a re-awakening, an embryo of organization."

The MTA also realized the need for

to join in the mosque meeting. Strike committees were set up to organize the action and to "make contact with French workers organizations."

The Paris strike, while not quite so solid as the ones in the south, was big enough to make an impact on the Paris economy. The September 15 *Le Monde* reported that nearly all foreign workers in the Citroën auto plants walked out, that most construction sites in Montparnasse were shut down, and that the giant Renault Boulogne-Billancourt factory was heavily affected. The number of strikers ran into the thousands.

The significance of the strike was discussed by a leader of the MTA in an interview in the September 21 *Rouge*. He referred to the fact that for about a year, immigrant workers had been conducting hunger strikes against repressive measures taken against them.

"But that was not enough," the MTA leader told *Rouge*. "The hunger strikes demonstrated the absolutely desperate situation of the immigrants. But they were a defensive form of action. In Marseille, Paris, and Toulouse we have just now waged a battle for the right to strike, for the right to be fully recognized as workers. That will enable the immigrant workers to look at themselves in a totally different light. It has created a relationship of forces so there can be unity with the French workers without paternalism."

The MTA is continuing its organizing drive. A main focus of activity at this point is trying to prevent the government from expelling immigrant activists from the country. Already two expulsions have been prevented by determined action.



'Stop wildcat immigration' says poster of New Order, a fascist group.

Segretti's dirty tricks only part of vote fraud

By CINDY JAQUITH

Phony orders for pizza and limousines, bogus news releases on stolen campaign stationery, and rented hecklers at candidates' meetings—these are a few of the "dirty tricks" played by Donald Segretti's crew during the 1972 presidential campaign.

Although he was paid by the Republicans to sabotage the Democrats, Segretti's recent testimony at the Senate Watergate hearings gives an insight into the corrupt campaign practices of both capitalist parties.

Segretti and his assistants were hired to disrupt primary campaigns of the Democrats, intensify divisions between the different contenders, and discredit the candidates themselves. Among the "pranks" played by Segretti's men were the following:

- They put an ad in a Florida newspaper asking Senator Edmund Muskie: "You wouldn't accept a black or an American Indian; would you accept a Jewish running mate?"

- They sent letters to convention delegates pledged to Eugene McCarthy—on McCarthy's own stationery—asking the delegates to vote at the convention for Senator Hubert Humphrey.

- Masquerading as Muskie workers, they ordered pizza, flowers, and liquor for a Muskie dinner. They also tried to rent an elephant but couldn't make the arrangements.

- They paid a young woman to run nude in front of a hotel where Muskie was staying. The woman screamed, "Muskie, I love you!"

- In a letter sent out on Muskie stationery, they accused Senators Humphrey and Henry Jackson of "sexual improprieties."

These practices were the product of deliberate planning at the White House. In the summer of 1971 President Nixon's appointments secretary, Dwight Chapin, hired Segretti. Nixon's personal lawyer, Herbert Kalmbach, gave Segretti \$46,000 for his work, from secret funds left over from the 1968 Republican campaign.

"The impression was given to me that these so-called pranks were performed by both parties in the presidential campaigns and that there was nothing illegal or improper in such traditional activities," Segretti explained.

In Florida, he enlisted the help of Martin Kelly and Robert Benz, who also testified recently at the Senate hearings. Kelly was an active Young Republican, and Benz had worked on previous GOP campaigns. "Mr. Benz and Mr. Kelly seemed knowledgeable as to the inner workings of a political campaign," Segretti told the senators.

Benz and Kelly rounded up more assistants, including a mysterious man

named "Duke," a former Nazi Party member. According to Benz, Duke's work was "exemplary."

All three dirty-tricks experts felt their activities were well within the range of practices conducted by both parties. Benz went so far as to point out that the senators themselves were probably more familiar with these activities than they might like to admit: "I think that in most all the elections, including probably some of the senators who are sitting around this table here, have always desired information on their opponents. . . ."

Democrat Sam Ervin, head of the Watergate committee, angrily sputtered back that he had never engaged in illegal means to influence an election.

"Only you would know that, senator," Benz replied bluntly.

Capitalist politicians are concerned that the Watergate revelations may do serious damage to the facade of U.S. electoral "democracy." The fact is that the whole two-party system is a gigantic dirty trick. The two capitalist parties conspire together to preserve a monopoly of political power.

They use the election laws, not to protect the right to vote, but to protect themselves against challenges from independent candidates and parties.

They pass bipartisan laws designed to make it difficult, and often impossible, for smaller parties like the Socialist Workers Party or La Raza Unida Party to get on the ballot. These laws are aimed at discouraging these parties, and preventing the formation of an independent Black party or a labor party based on the unions.

The U.S. electoral system is built on the power of the dollar. Since there is no public financing of elections, the rich have an unbeatable advantage. They control the television and radio stations, the daily newspapers, and all other sources of mass information.

They use this control to preserve their control by denying fair and equal coverage to candidates running independently of the capitalist parties. The media then spouts an unending stream about how the only "realistic" candidates are those backed by capitalist parties.

And senators like Sam Ervin are now helping to tighten the two-party monopoly by supporting the repeal of even the totally inadequate "equal time" provisions currently on the books.

These undemocratic election laws and discriminatory practices of the mass media are the real "dirty tricks" the Senate committee ought to be investigating. Such an investigation—the last thing the Watergate committee wants—would reveal far more about how the elections in this country are rigged than all of Donald Segretti's activities put together.

Ellsberg backs SWP suit

Student forums popular on how to fight W'gate

Dr. Daniel Ellsberg, a prominent victim of Watergating by the Nixon administration, has endorsed the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), the group supporting a suit by socialists against government harassment. Attorney Leonard Boudin, who successfully defended Ellsberg in the Pentagon papers trial, filed the suit in mid-July on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

Ellsberg endorsed the PRDF after

At the University of Texas in Austin, Mike Arnall told an audience of 60: "Everyone here is a potential victim of illegal government harassment against protesters. Most of us were active in the movement against the Vietnam war. How many here boycotted meat last April? How many joined in recent actions against the repression in Chile?"

"All of us are likely to be involved in a protest movement in the future. This suit is important to everyone

"AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL!"



Militant/Steven Fuchs

Political Rights Defense Fund spokesman Michael Arnall explains SWP suit against government Watergating at Austin forum.

speaking at a University of Delaware symposium on Watergate entitled "Crisis in Confidence." Supporters of the PRDF at the meeting secured Ellsberg's support and distributed material about the suit. They also sold several copies of the new book written by plaintiffs in the suit, *Watergate: The View from the Left* (available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014).

The SWP and YSA are suing Richard Nixon and other past and present government officials impli-

who wants to protect the right to dissent."

Arnall struck a sympathetic note during an interview at Houston's Pacifica radio station, KPFT. A wave of fire bombings by the Ku Klux Klan in past years has hit both KPFT and the Houston SWP headquarters. The SWP suit charges White House participation in the planning of such attacks, citing as evidence the March 1971 bombing of the Houston SWP campaign office.

After the interview with Arnall, KPFT station manager Thorne Dreyer endorsed the PRDF.

Other recent endorsers of the suit include Eqbal Ahmad of the Harrisburg Seven; Julius Hobson, Statehood Party, Washington, D.C.; Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, chairman, Denver Crusade for Justice; attorney Howard Moore, who defended Angela Davis; and feminist attorney Florynce Kennedy.

PRDF's campaign will cost more than \$40,000 in legal and publicity expenses this year alone. To contribute to the campaign, to arrange for a speaker, or to order the new Watergate button designed for the PRDF by Jules Feiffer, send in the coupon on this page.

Special offer on the book "Watergate: The View From the Left." Five copies for \$4 (regularly \$1.25 each). Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

cated in the Watergate disclosures. The plaintiffs seek an immediate injunction to stop illegal government harassment, such as burglary, wiretapping, mail tampering, and bombing. The suit also calls for a ruling that the attorney general's "subversive" list is unconstitutional.

Meetings about Watergate are popular on campus, according to PRDF representatives Syd Stapleton and Michael Arnall. Both are currently on speaking tours to publicize and raise money for the civil liberties effort.

Stapleton's talks drew 50 students at Centralia College in Centralia, Wash.; 75 at Spokane's Gonzaga University; and 40 at a Young Socialist Forum at the University of Washington in Seattle.

Craig Honts, the Seattle SWP mayoral candidate and a plaintiff in the Watergate suit, and attorney Michael Withey spoke with Stapleton at the Seattle forum. Withey is also building support for the "Peoples' Law Suit," initiated by the National Lawyers Guild in an effort to invalidate the 1972 presidential election.

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.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____



Majority counsel Sam Dash displays phony poster at Senate hearings. Ervin committee isn't investigating bigger tricks, like unfair election laws designed to protect two-party monopoly.

Teamster-UFW pact still not signed; boycott goes on

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 8—Teamster union negotiators are delaying signing an agreement with the United Farm Workers regarding jurisdiction over field workers. Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons has been in the hospital for tests and this has been the formal reason given for delaying the agreement.

In collusion with agribusiness interests, Teamster officials have worked to block unionization of the field hands by the UFW. At the behest of growers, the Teamsters have signed sweetheart contracts with grape and lettuce growers to block legitimate UFW contracts.

In negotiating sessions with the UFW and AFL-CIO officials at the end of August, the Teamsters agreed to certain general terms for a settlement.

According to unofficial accounts of the preliminary agreement, the Teamsters would renounce sweetheart pacts recently signed with grape growers in the Coachella and San Joaquin valleys.

They also were said to have agreed to repudiate some of the phony agreements they signed with lettuce growers. Other contracts they have with lettuce growers in the Salinas Valley would

be retained until expiration in 1975 but would not be renewed.

In return, it is understood, the UFW would drop its boycott of lettuce marketed by Salinas growers under Teamster contracts. The grape boycott, however, would continue until the growers

enter into collective bargaining and sign contracts with the UFW.

Meanwhile, as the Teamsters stall on signing the agreement, the United Farm Workers and their supporters are continuing both the grape and lettuce boycotts without letup.



El Malcriado

Publishers win on automation issue

Six-week St. Louis newspaper strike ends

By BARBARA MUTNICK

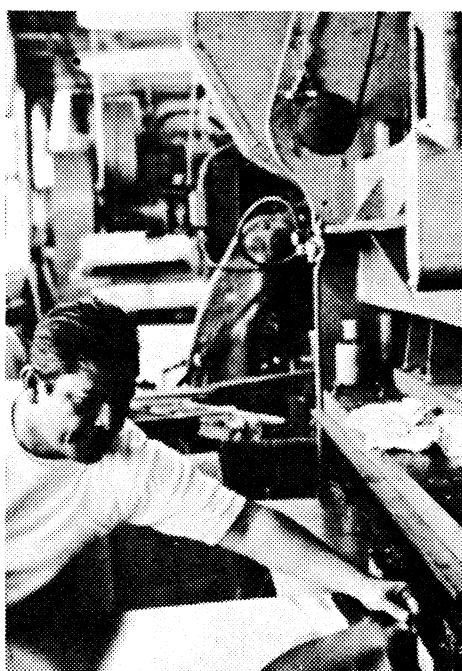
ST. LOUIS—The longest newspaper strike in the history of St. Louis ended Oct. 4 when International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) Local 610 voted nearly unanimously to ratify a three-year contract.

The strike had closed both major dailies in the city for 46 days.

Centering on the issue of automation, the strike and settlement will have a significant impact nationally, especially in the newspaper industry. Although the strikers made gains through the new contract, the employers won the high-stakes issue of automation.

Evarts Graham Jr., managing editor of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, said the company "got what it had to get . . . the right to automate."

The Pulitzer-owned *Post-Dispatch*—which also prints the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* for the Newhouse chain—claimed a new, technologically advanced delivery system made the jobs of 32 dockers obsolete. The dockers,



New equipment threatened loss of jobs for St. Louis newspaper dockers. Automation is issue of growing importance for printing-trades unions.

all members of Teamster Local 610, load newspapers on and off delivery trucks. Denying that the new equipment would make the jobs unnecessary, the Teamsters insisted on maintaining the 32 dockers.

The 170 delivery drivers for the two papers were also on strike.

Under the agreement, none of the 32 dockers presently employed will be forced out of a job, but the company was given the right to eliminate the jobs through attrition.

The *Post-Dispatch* is the largest daily in the country to have replaced its older letterpress equipment with new, automated photo-offset. Although the strike did not involve this replacement, it is likely that the newspaper magnates are looking ahead to other such conflicts, hopeful that this settlement will set a precedent for further job reductions when they deem them necessary.

The *Post-Dispatch* and *Globe-Democrat* laid off their 2,000 and 240 employees respectively at the beginning

of the strike. They tried unsuccessfully to block payment of unemployment compensation to members of the Newspaper Guild and other workers—while the owners collected sizable amounts in company strike insurance.

Harold Gibbons, recently forced out of his post as president of Teamsters Joint Council 13 by Teamsters head Frank Fitzsimmons, agreed at Fitzsimmons's beckoning to enter the negotiations as the IBT president's personal representative. At several points in the long negotiations he released public statements announcing "progress," which Local 610 officials found necessary to deny.

Other terms of the contract affecting both dockers and drivers include a \$1.10-an-hour wage increase over three years with a cost-of-living clause to be computed quarterly. In addition, the pension plan was modified to allow Teamster members to retire after 20 years of work at age 57 with \$450 a month for life, or at 60 with \$550 a month.

Texas activists map antideportation fight

By NELSON BLACKSTOCK

SAN ANTONIO, Texas—Seventy-five antideportation activists attended an emergency conference in defense of undocumented workers held here Sept. 29.

The conference, called in response to stepped-up harassment and deportation of so-called illegal aliens by U. S.

immigration authorities, was sponsored by Trabajadores Unidos-Centro de Acción Social Autonomo (TU-CASA—United Workers-Center for Autonomous Social Action).

TU-CASA was formed in San Antonio six months ago on the model of CASA led by Bert Corona in Southern California.

In one month of dragnet raids in Los Angeles this summer, more than 11,000 men, women, and children were arrested. Most were deported to Mexico the day they were "captured." Similar raids have taken place in New York City. Another massive roundup in the Southwest was reportedly conducted Labor Day weekend.

Mario Cantu, director of TU-CASA, spoke on the need for mass action by Chicano and Mexican workers to combat their exploitation.

"Women's rights, the gains of Black people in the civil rights movement, and the organization of labor were not won through the courts, but through mass confrontations in the streets," Cantu said.

A major theme of the conference was the importance of combating the Rodino bill, which passed the House last May and is now pending before the Senate Judiciary Committee.

The Rodino bill, which is supposed to make it illegal for employers to hire undocumented workers, would only facilitate the exploitation of these

workers at the lowest wages and under the worst working conditions. It would also mean increased harassment of all Raza workers, who could be forced to provide proof of citizenship or other "legal" status at any moment.

Undocumented workers serve as a pool of low-cost labor—brought in and hired in times of boom, fired and deported during economic slumps.

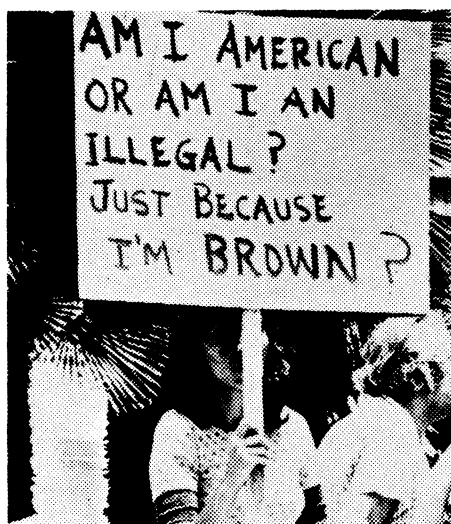
Soledad Alatorre of Los Angeles CASA told of her organization's current campaign against the Rodino bill. CASA is sending 1,000 letters a day denouncing the bill to Senator Edward Kennedy of the Judiciary Committee, she said, and collecting the letters and money for postage on the streets in Chicano communities.

Mario Obledo, director of the Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund and counsel to TU-CASA, told of plans for class action suits in defense of undocumented workers.

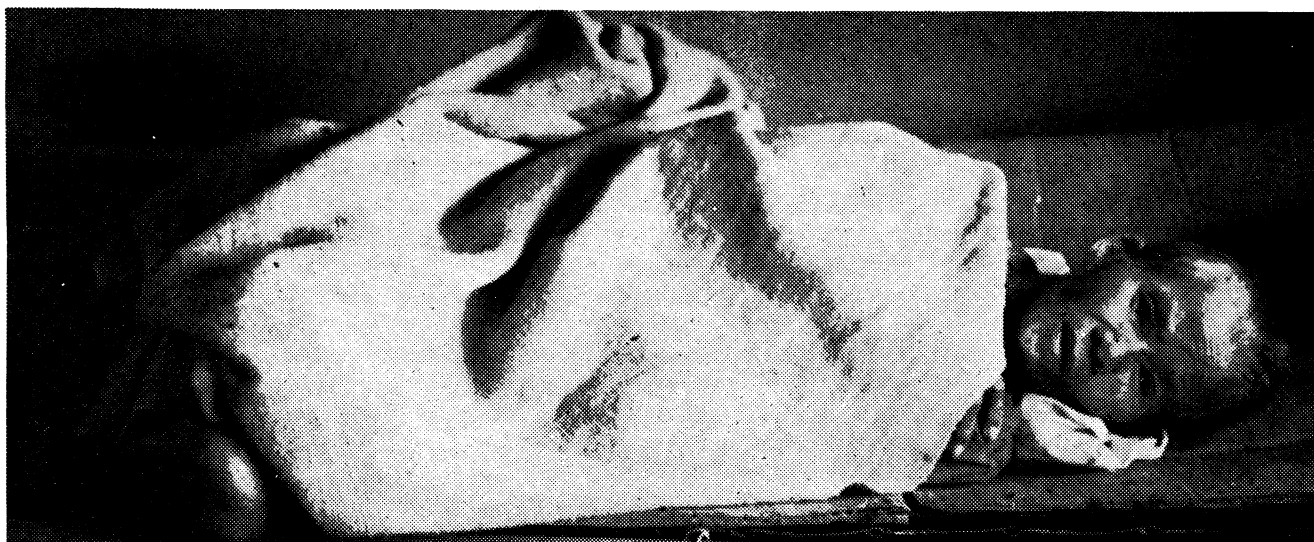
Other activists and legal experts also addressed the conference and conducted workshops.



MARIO CANTU: Heads San Antonio anti-deportation organization, TU-CASA.



Militant/Walter Lippmann



Woman torture victim



Leg shackles: made in U. S. A.

U.S. finances police state, torture in South Vietnam

By DICK ROBERTS

Continuous police surveillance of all citizens. Frequent and increasing political arrests without charges and without trial. Long torture sessions and even longer imprisonment. These are the grim realities of life under the military dictatorship in South Vietnam today.

Nguyen Van Thieu's regime is holding from 200,000 to 400,000 political prisoners. Thieu's army, police force, and surveillance and prison systems are directly financed by the Nixon administration.

Detailed, eyewitness accounts of Thieu's police practices were recently given to the U. S. House of Representatives Asia and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee by Indochina specialists Don Luce and Fred Branfman. Their statements appeared in the Sept. 18 *Congressional Record* (pp. S 16786-91).

"While in Saigon I learned that the political prisoner problem has actually been increasing since the Paris Accords," Branfman said. "Not only has the GVN [Government of the Republic of South Vietnam] steadily continued to arrest people on political grounds, but it has even begun arresting members of groups which had not been touched since 1965."

Branfman referred to the arrests, three months after the "cease-fire," of four trade-union leaders. "I learned in June from released prisoners that Mr. Pham Van Hi [one of the union leaders] was tortured to death in prison. This was later confirmed by the *New York Times* on September 4. . . .

"I was also given a list of 33 University students arrested after the cease-fire," Branfman said. "All had been candidates on slates for University elections opposing pro-GVN student slates."

Surveillance

Branfman described a system of national police surveillance that reminds one of Orwell's *1984*. " . . . all Vietnamese over the age of 15 are required to carry ID cards on pain of imprisonment," Branfman said. "These cards are linked to a central computer containing bio-dossiers of more than ten

million Vietnamese. Every family is required to keep a 'Brown Book' listing all people staying in the house. Surveillance is carried out by 120,000 uniformed and plain-clothed political police, as well as tens of thousands of part-time informers who spy on friends, neighbors and fellow employees."

According to Don Luce, "Surveillance methods are being taught to police trainees in the U. S."

"The Computer Science Corporation of El Segundo, California, has reportedly received a contract from the U. S. Agency for International Development to provide computer services to the police agencies in south Viet Nam."

Branfman reported that "every night

Paris accords

Among the provisions of the Paris accords on Vietnam being violated by the U. S.-backed Thieu regime:

"The United States will not continue its military involvement or intervene in the internal affairs of south Vietnam." (Article 4.)

"All Vietnamese civilian personnel captured and detained in south Viet Nam shall be treated humanely at all times, and in accordance with international practice."

"They shall be protected against all violence to life and person, in particular against murder in any form, mutilation, torture and cruel punishment, and outrages against personal dignity. The detaining parties shall not deny or delay their return for any reason, including the fact that captured persons may, on any grounds, have been prosecuted or sentenced." (Protocol on Prisoners, Article 8.)

after curfew thousands of police fan out through the cities and hamlets. . . .

"36 prisoners and relatives of prisoners reported that arrests can take place anywhere. At school, the market, work. People had been snatched off Hondas, picked up strolling down the street."

Branfman found that "in most cases

. . . it is peasants who are arrested during mass sweeps."

There has been no letup of the notorious torture of political prisoners since the cease-fire, according to Branfman. "All prisoners reported that they had been repeatedly tortured during the interrogation period. The most frequent of the many tortures described were:

"(1) The electric tortures, where they said they were given electric shocks to the ears, limbs or genitals. All said that these electrical shocks had affected their nervous system and hearts. . . .

"(2) The water torture, in which water would be poured down the throat, inducing a sensation of drowning. . . .

"(3) Various forms of beatings. Prisoners would be beaten with clubs, kicks or rubber truncheons. . . .

"In addition, women interviewed described stripped naked by interrogators and being subjected to various sexual indignities."

Since signed confessions are extracted in these "interrogations," the so-called trial is a mere formality. Branfman witnessed a morning session of the Military Field Court. "The entire process took about 10-15 minutes per defendant. . . .

"No evidence was presented, for or against. There were no witnesses, no cross-examination."

U. S. support

Don Luce detailed the U. S. financing of these operations. " . . . contrary to the Paris Agreement, the U. S. is pumping very substantial amounts of money [more than \$18-million] into the police and prison system," he said.

Luce also reported, "The shackles which are used to immobilize prisoners are manufactured by Smith and Wesson of Springfield, Massachusetts."

"Provincial interrogation centers, where the worst torture takes place, have been built by American contractors. The U. S. Department of the Navy awarded a \$400,000 contract for the construction of the 'New Tiger Cages' to the American firm Raymond Morrison, Knudson-Brown, Root and Jones (RMK-BRJ)."

Luce emphasized that a central object

of the police operations is to terrorize the peasants who are presently living in urban refugee centers in order to prevent them from returning to their homes in National Liberation Front territory. Luce cited "Article 6" of Thieu's January 1973 "Decree-Laws" which declares:

"Arrest and detain those persons who incite people to create disorder and confusion or to leave those areas controlled by the government in order to go into communist-controlled zones or vice-versa. If they protest, they will be shot."

Said Luce, "In effect, the millions of refugees created in the last decade are now imprisoned in refugee camps and squalid city slums, doomed to futile and desperate lives by a government too fearful of its own people to allow them to go home."

The CIA

The direct links of the police terrorization program to the CIA are easy to trace. This is because a large part of the terrorist operations were inherited from "Operation Phoenix," the CIA's pacification-through-assassination program. Under Operation Phoenix, thousands of peasants were rounded up and shot on a quota basis — allegedly for belonging to the NLF.

Branfman explained that "about half the ex-prisoners I interviewed had been detained by the Security Committees. In most cases they had only found this out months or even years after the hearing had taken place. In some cases they did not find out until after being released from prison."

"The Phoenix program, under Ambassador William Colby, used the Security Committees as the main organ for imprisoning people swept up by Phoenix. As a result, the Security Committees are probably responsible for the sentencing of most political prisoners in jail in South Vietnam today."

Branfman could have added that Colby, the Mittrione par-excellence of South Vietnam (role played by Yves Montand in the film *State of Siege*), was rewarded for his bloody deeds. Colby is the present director of the CIA.



Survivors from Thieu's torture chambers

'Frisco NOW supports Seligman in elections

By GEORGE COX

SAN FRANCISCO—The San Francisco chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) has decided to support Carole Seligman in her campaign for the S.F. board of supervisors. Seligman is one of five Socialist Workers Party candidates in the election, which will be held Nov. 6.

The NOW decision came after Seligman spoke at a NOW meeting. "The NOW cannot endorse candidates," the statement read, "but they can recommend . . . we recommend Carole Seligman in recognition for all the work she did for the child-care initiative."

Seligman has been active in Child and Parent Action (CAPA), which gathered 20,000 voters' signatures on petitions to place a child-care referendum on the Nov. 6 ballot. The proposal, (Proposition M) says that the city and county of San Francisco shall finance "low-cost quality child care." Policy will be decided by the parents and faculties at each center.

Seligman has been campaigning hard around the child-care issue and in support of Proposition M.

The SWP candidates are also supporting another initiative, which has been denounced by the capitalist media and the major bourgeois contenders. This is the "30 hours work for 40 hours pay" proposition. The SWP favors shortening the workweek with no reduction in pay as one of the ways to fight unemployment.

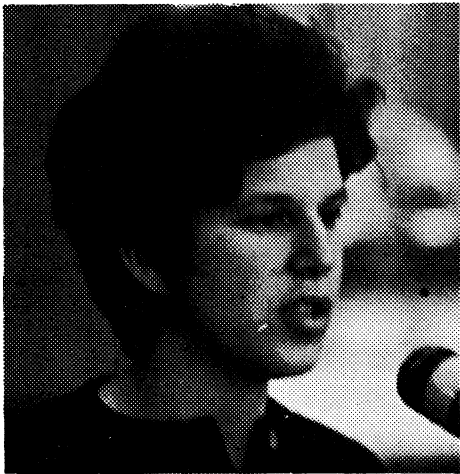
The socialist candidates have been speaking at candidates' night activities

throughout the city, and have begun weekly speak-outs on Saturday afternoons. The first such rally was held Oct. 6 in Union Square. One hundred people listened to the candidates.

The news media is beginning to pay attention to the socialist campaign, and KPOO radio attended the speak-out and interviewed the candidates for a special program. Other Saturday speak-outs will be held throughout the city during the next few weeks at shopping centers and on street corners.

Requests have come from four TV stations to tape the candidates on special shows.

The final event of the campaign will be a rally Oct. 27 at the campaign headquarters at 1519 Mission St., to which all campaign supporters are invited.



Militant/Ed Weaver

SELIGMAN: An active fighter for child care.

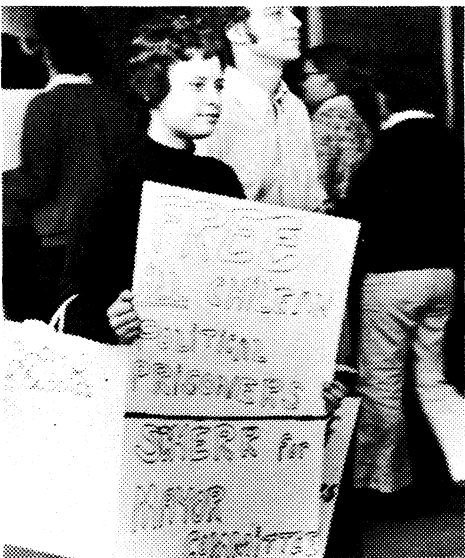
Scherr seeks write-ins in Cleveland runoff

By DAVID PAPARELLO

CLEVELAND—Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign of Roberta Scherr for mayor of Cleveland gathered to watch the election returns at the Cleveland Plaza Hotel Oct. 2.

The spirited campaign celebration was attended by supporters from Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland State University, Cuyahoga Community College, the Urban League Street Academy, and supporters from the community at large. About \$250 was raised during the course of the evening, and six new campaign supporters decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

The election night celebration marked the completion of the special 10-day campaign blitz before the Oct. 2 primary election. The blitz was launched at a campaign banquet held Sept. 22 featuring Roberta Scherr and Andrew Pulley, the 1972 vice-presidential candidate of the SWP.



Militant/Janice Cline

SCHERR: Joins picket line to defend political prisoners in Chile.

During the course of the 10-day reach-out campaign, 425 subscriptions to *The Militant* were sold, and dozens of endorsers of the Scherr campaign were collected. At Cleveland State University, 50 new endorsements were gathered during the first two days of school.

In addition, Scherr appeared on numerous TV talk shows, debates, and newscasts. She also addressed the Americans for Democratic Action, the League of Women Voters, the Cleveland Ethical Society, and other community organizations.

Scherr polled 1,126, slightly more than 1 percent, of the votes in the nonpartisan primary. Only 102,983 votes were cast in what was the lowest voter turnout in Cleveland's recent history.

Scherr was quoted in the Oct. 2 edition of the *Cleveland Press* as saying, "The light voting turnout indicated to me that most voters feel there is no choice between Ralph Perk and James Carney, so it isn't worth voting."

Immediately following the completion of the election returns, Scherr announced plans to run as a write-in candidate in the Nov. 6 general election. Her announcement was reported on all three television networks, by both major newspapers, and by several radio stations.

Scherr explained the purpose of the write-in campaign. She said, "I don't think that the 1,126 people who voted for me on Oct. 2 or the hundreds more we will reach in the next month should have to sit out the general election because there is no alternative to the capitalist parties on the ballot. I am running to offer that alternative and encourage my supporters to write in a vote for the Socialist Workers Party on Nov. 6."

Socialists make impact in D.C. school bd. race

By CHUCK PETRIN

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Gilbert Padilla, secretary-treasurer of the United Farm Workers Union, will highlight the program at the D.C. Socialist Workers school board campaign banquet and rally Oct. 20. Padilla will be joined on the speaker's platform by Nan Bailey, SWP candidate for the Ward 2 seat on the D.C. school board, and Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for mayor of New York.

Throughout the school board campaign, the SWP candidates have helped publicize and win support for the lettuce and grape boycott initiated by the UFW. At a recent meeting of the board of education, SWP at-large candidate Erich Martel exposed the board's failure to honor its previous resolution endorsing the boycott. He demanded that immediate steps be taken to remove all scab lettuce from the cafeterias of the D.C. public schools.

Martel, a teacher at Cardozo High School, also called on the board to invite UFW representatives to speak at high school classes and assemblies to explain the truth about the Farm Workers' struggles.

"The history books used in schools," he pointed out, "are full of glowing tributes to the corporate minority that owns the factories and agricultural lands of this country. We think the school board has an obligation to correct this distorted view of the building of American society by teaching students the real history of the struggles of working people and all of the oppressed to control their lives."

An activist in the Washington Teachers Union, Martel was recently instrumental in the formation of a WTU ad hoc committee to organize teacher support for the UFW boycott.

Other SWP candidates in the Nov. 6 school board election are Omari Musa, an at-large candidate, and James Harris for the Ward 3 seat. Musa is an activist in the African Liberation Support Committee. Harris, 26, was the 1971 SWP candidate for D.C. nonvoting delegate.

In other activities, Nan Bailey last week fired the first public rounds in what is expected to be a heated exchange over the board's recently published "Draft of Rules Affecting Students."

In a sharply worded statement pre-



Militant/Pamela Starsky

BAILEY: Backs bill of rights for D.C. high school students.

sented at a school board meeting, Bailey condemned the draft as "a crude attempt to codify the continuing denial of fundamental democratic rights and freedoms to students. It is an attempt to portray students as 'troublemakers' who have to be controlled and disciplined."

"It tries to shift the blame for today's crisis in the schools," she said, "from the racist policies of the federal and city government to the very victims of these policies, students. At least one-



MUSA: Socialist candidate for school board.

fourth of the draft is devoted to the purposes and procedures for disciplinary suspensions and expulsions, while little more than one page even makes reference to student rights."

Bailey proposed that a city-wide conference of students be organized to adopt and implement a student bill of rights. She added that student policy-making boards should be set up in all the schools to run student activities, handle disciplinary matters, and participate in the general operation of the schools. Students should also be represented on the board of education, she stated.

After the meeting, a student leader from McKinley High School, impressed with Bailey's defense of student rights, pledged her support in building the SWP election campaign and in helping to organize future challenges to the board's rules.

Young Socialist supporters of the SWP campaign have organized a series of candidates' debates at several D.C. colleges on the topic "The Crisis in Education."

In addition to the socialist candidates, those participating in the debates will include Barbara Simmons, a member of the D.C. Democratic central committee; Charles Cassell, a current member of the board and former Statehood Party candidate for D.C. non-voting delegate to Congress; and Robert Lindsay, chairman of the D.C. Young Workers Liberation League.

For more information on the SWP campaign or to purchase tickets for the Oct. 20 campaign banquet and rally contact the SWP at 1345 E St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004. Telephone (202) 783-2363.

Jackson in runoff with Massell

Heavy Black turnout in Atlanta elections

By TERRY LUNN

ATLANTA—The results of the Oct. 2 elections here indicate that this city, which is now 52 percent Black, is soon going to have a Black city administration.

Black Democrat Maynard Jackson captured 47 percent of the vote for 11 candidates for mayor, just missing the absolute majority that would have put him in office without a runoff.

Black Democrats won an outright majority on the school board and will occupy at least half, and possibly two-thirds, of the city council seats.

Sixty-five percent of the Black voters went to the polls, a record turnout, compared with only 45 percent of white voters. In an overwhelming expression of the desire to win Black representation in government, more than 90 percent of the Black vote went to Black candidates.

Maynard Jackson must now face incumbent Democratic Mayor Sam Massell in a runoff. Jackson is favored to win.

Atlanta is thus likely to join the small list of major U.S. cities that have elected Black mayors. In contrast to cities such as Los Angeles, Newark, and Gary, Ind., however, Atlanta will also have a majority Black city council and school board. According to the Joint Center for Political Studies here, no other city of more than 250,000 has more than one-third of its council seats filled by Blacks, with the exception of Washington, D.C., where the city government is appointed by the Congress, rather than elected.

An indication of the determination of Black voters to win Black political power was the upset victory of Hosea Williams, who won a runoff spot in the race for city council president.

Williams, of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, is widely known here for his participation in a recent series of strikes by Black workers. He had been a last-minute entrant into the formally nonpartisan race, running as a Democrat. Williams said he was running to expose a deal cooked up by sections of Atlanta's white ruling class and influential Black Democrats to elect a slate of Maynard Jackson and white banker Wade Mitchell.

Jesse Hill, Jackson's campaign manager and probably Atlanta's richest Black citizen, planned to mail out a "ticket" to every Black voter in Atlanta, listing Jackson and Mitchell, in an attempt to deliver the council presidency to Mitchell instead of Williams.

Nervous about charges of his complicity in the deal to sell the Black vote, Jackson had his namewithdrawn from this "ticket." Black Democratic State Legislator Julian Bond, also nervous about rumors he was in on the deal, at the last minute became William's official campaign manager.

Black voters rebelled against Mitchell and pushed Williams into the runoff with white liberal Wyche Fowler.

While the election returns were being counted Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Debby Bustin and city council presidential candidate Joel Aber held a celebration at their headquarters, attended by 100 enthusiastic supporters and visited by the major media. Bustin was credited with 360 votes, and Aber with 453, in the hotly contested race in which intense pressure was exerted on Black activists and other militants to vote for the Black Democrats.

In a live election-night interview on WAGA-TV Aber said, "Despite our

small vote total, we consider this entire election campaign a tremendous victory. Debby Bustin and I forced the other candidates to respond to the other issues, for instance the police killings of 13 innocent Black men. In a debate with me last week, Alderman Wade Mitchell said, 'Mr. Aber, your persistence has finally paid off. I'm finally going to reopen those 13 files.'"

Bustin and Aber were asked by reporters whether they will support Maynard Jackson, Hosea Williams, or any other candidates in the runoff. "We cannot support any capitalist party candidate," Bustin said.

"The Democratic Party," Aber said in a news conference today, "is run by the wheelers and dealers who buy and sell our votes, by the Wade Mitchells, Jesse Hills, and Lester Maddoxes. I hope Reverend Williams will realize the obvious contradiction and break with the Democrats."

Atlanta Constitution editor Reg Murphy was quite worried about Williams making the runoff. According to Murphy's analysis, election results showed Blacks voting Black "instead of voting for the best man" in a situation "which causes grave concern about the future of the city's politics." Murphy complained, "If there is a last straw on the back of racial harmony in Atlanta, Williams will be it."

"What would be blatant racism among white candidates is taken as a right by Williams and the Black cause."

But not every political analyst for the capitalist press is as worried about Williams as Murphy. Joe Ledlie wrote in the Atlanta Journal, "Some longtime political observers were viewing Williams' surprise showing in the first



JACKSON: Favored to become Atlanta's first Black mayor.

round as a sign that the flint-voiced, barrel-chested activist has turned the corner in his career as an anti-establishment gadfly to become a 'respectable' part of the Atlanta political process."

But Atlanta's white rulers have good reason to be concerned. Although Hosea Williams remains a Democrat, his majority vote in Black precincts against the advice of most prominent Black Democrats reflects increasing impatience with control by the rich, and the growing determination of Black people to control their own communities. This goal can begin to be achieved, as Bustin and Aber explained in their campaign, only through a break from the capitalist parties and the creation of an independent Black political party.

Badillo endorses Beame for mayor of N.Y.

By JOANNA MISNIK

NEW YORK—Congressman Herman Badillo, smiling broadly and seated next to Abraham Beame, the Democratic nominee for mayor of New York, last week announced his endorsement of Beame. Beame has been tagged by all the pollsters as a shoo-in.

A New York Times editorial the following day observed: "Most of the leaders of political reform in this city appear to have decided that the mayoral election can be dispensed with this year. The multiplicity of hitherto undetected virtues they are discovering in Controller Abraham Beame reflects their conviction that he has the mayoralty won a full month before anyone goes to the polls and that the course of wisdom for them is to scramble aboard his bandwagon now."

"The latest hitchhiker is Representative Herman Badillo. . . ."

In the four-way primary contest for the Democratic mayoral nomination, Badillo upset predictions and won a runoff spot with Beame. Badillo's success was the result of an unprecedented turnout of Puerto Rican and Black voters. With the field narrowed, Beame defeated Badillo in the June 26 runoff by a 3-to-2 margin.

The contest between Beame and Badillo was heated. Beame's racist strategy relied on encouraging the backward attitudes of some white voters who opposed Badillo because he is Puerto Rican. Badillo labeled Beame a "malicious little man" who "calls me Herman because he can't pronounce Badillo."

Before the primary, Badillo angrily announced that he would not support

Beame if he won the Democratic nomination. Badillo said Beame had slandered the poor, Blacks, and Puerto Ricans by saying they came out to vote "because the numbers runners got them out." After he lost the runoff, Badillo initiated legislative hearings on the conduct of the race, trying to bring to light the racist tactics employed by Beame.

Many Puerto Ricans and Blacksmistakenly supported Badillo, believing he represented their interests. Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party can-

didate for mayor, explained that Badillo, like all capitalist party politicians, is interested in furthering his career in the Democratic Party. And that requires playing ball with the bankers, landlords, and corporation owners who control the Democratic Party.

Loyalty to the rich who run the Democratic Party explains how Badillo can now turn around and blithely endorse a man he has called a racist and a slanderer of Puerto Ricans and Blacks. When reporters recalled

to Badillo the enmity between him and Beame in the primary, Badillo replied, "that's natural in political campaigns and belongs to the past."

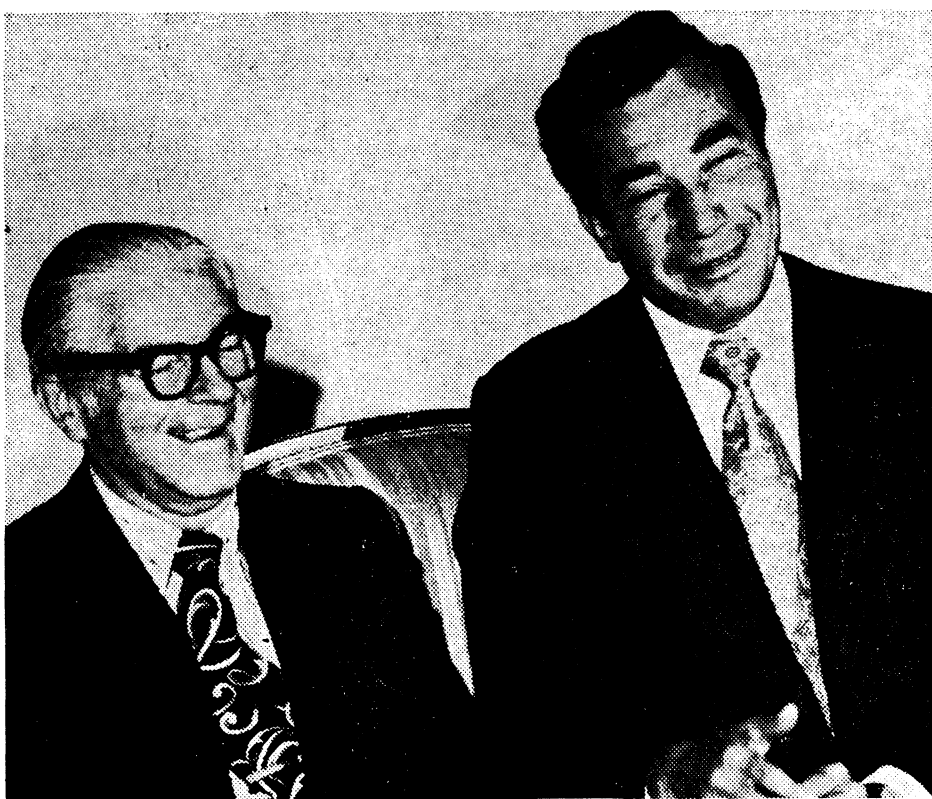
Loyalty to the Democratic bosses also prompted Badillo to instruct his supporters not to file the nominating petitions they had collected to place his name on the ballot as an independent.

During the primary, Badillo tried to prove to the Democratic Party power brokers that he could be of use to them. He bases his career on trying to channel the growing Puerto Rican militancy into the deadend of reliance on capitalist party politics. His job is to "sell" Puerto Ricans the notion that the racist Democratic Party can be reformed and made responsive to their needs. His endorsement of Beame is fully consistent with this approach.

Badillo's endorsement of Beame will help open the eyes of the thousands of Puerto Ricans who believed he was running to advance their struggle against racist oppression.

Norman Oliver and the other Socialist Workers Party candidates oppose all the candidates of the Democratic, Liberal, Republican, and Conservative parties. These parties represent the rich, not working people, Blacks or Puerto Ricans.

Unlike the SWP, the Communist Party campaigned for Badillo, and kept its own mayoral candidate, Rasheed Storey, under wraps until after the primary. With its support to Badillo, the Communist Party played right along with the Democratic Party bosses who were using Badillo to corral Puerto Ricans into the trap of capitalist party politics.



Beame (left) and ex-rival Badillo. Badillo once termed Beame a racist but now claims that 'belongs to the past.'

Detroit teachers stand firm, defy injunction

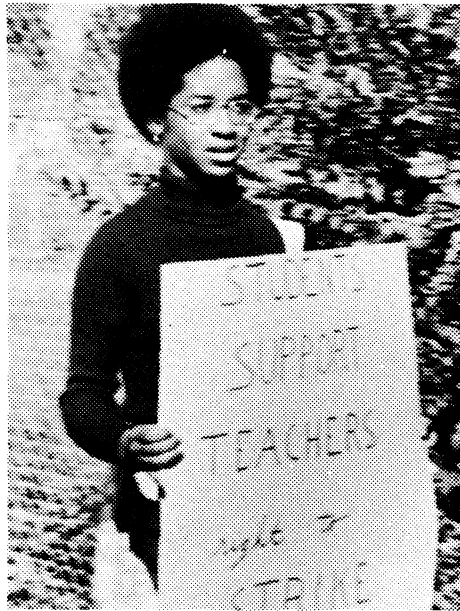
By MIKE KELLY

DETROIT, Oct. 8—The 10,600-member Detroit Federation of Teachers (DFT) is standing firm in the face of a back-to-work injunction and heavy fines as the teachers' strike here enters its sixth week.

The United Auto Workers union and the Michigan AFL-CIO called a mass demonstration Oct. 11 at the school board offices to show support for the striking teachers.

While union support for the strike is strong, the Black community in Detroit is divided over what attitude to take toward it. The DFT has yet to adopt an unambiguous stand in favor of Black control of Black education and opposed to racist discrimination against Detroit schools.

Such a stand is needed to win Black community support that could be decisive for the embattled union. Seventy



Militant/Linda Nordquist

HAWKINS: SWP candidate for school board is organizing high school students to support strike.

DETROIT—The Socialist Workers Party is running Maceo Dixon for mayor, Rachele Fruit for common council, Lee Artz for central school board, and Trudy Hawkins for region five school board.

Dixon, 24, has been ruled off the ballot as "too young" to be mayor. He is actively campaigning for write-in votes at the same time as challenging the discriminatory ballot ruling in court.

The campaign headquarters is at 3737 Woodward Ave. For more information call (313) TE1-6135.

percent of Detroit's 270,000 public school students are Black, while nearly 60 percent of the teachers are white.

On Oct. 4, Wayne County Circuit Court Judge Thomas Foley found the DFT in contempt of court for defying his back-to-work order.

He fined the union \$11,000 a day and levied personal fines amounting to \$1,000 a day against its three top

officers. He also ordered the union to pay the cost of running the school system during the strike, estimated at \$100,000 a day.

These fines may be the largest ever imposed on a teachers union.

More than 6,000 teachers rallied at the Masonic Temple Oct. 4. Mary Ellen Riordan, president of the DFT, reported on the fines imposed by Foley, and the teachers responded with cries of "Hell no, we won't go!"

Riordan later said she had not urged the teachers to return to work. This would have purged her of the contempt charge. But, she said, the striking teachers "would have killed me if I'd told them that."

David Selden, national president of the American Federation of Teachers, appeared at the rally and offered the support of the national AFT.

The DFT is demanding a 9.7 percent wage increase to equal the rise in the consumer price index for the last two years. It has been two years since their last raise. In addition, the DFT wants a cost-of-living escalator clause

to protect teachers against further inflation.

The union is also demanding smaller class sizes—many classes now number 40—and adequate school supplies and textbooks.

School board negotiators have taken a hard line against any wage increase without teacher "accountability." This is a disguised "merit pay" plan by which school administrators would decide if a teacher's performance "merited" a pay raise.

The DFT calls this a thinly veiled union-busting scheme, since it would give the administration a tool to discriminate against militant teachers and favor those friendly to the administration.

The union says it is in favor of establishing teaching criteria so long as final control is not left to the administrators.

Detroit parents seem evenly divided between those who support the board and those who support the union. Hundreds of parents have debated the issues in community meetings.

Most parents agree that teachers, like themselves, are badly in need of a pay raise to catch up with inflation. But the issue of accountability divides the parents.

Black parents are gravely concerned over the poor education their children are receiving. Some blame the teachers, and many mistakenly think the school board's plan would make teachers accountable to the community. That is the position taken by the Black Christian Nationalists, a large group led by the Reverend Albert Cleage that opposes the strike.

The DFT leadership's refusal to speak out in favor of Black community control sows such confusion. In order to forge a firm alliance with the community, the teachers will have to face the accountability issue squarely. That means not only rejecting the school board's demand, but also supporting the just demands of the Black community for quality education under Black control.

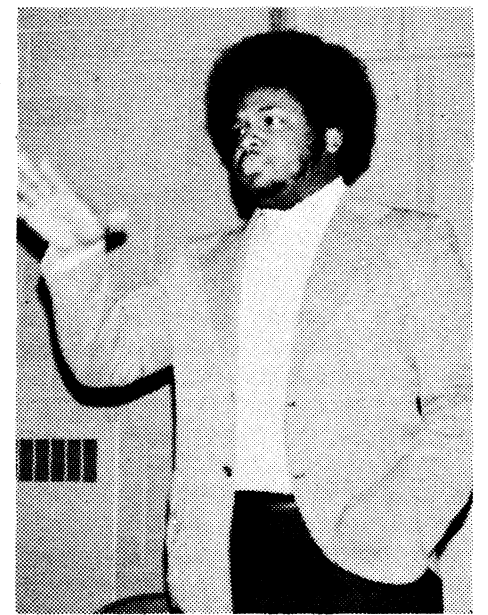
A number of prominent Black politicians, including Congressman John Conyers, State Representative Jackie Vaughn III, and City Councilwoman Irma Henderson, called a hearing on the strike for Oct. 8. Some 200 people, almost all Black, turned out.

Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate, spoke in support of the striking teachers and against the school board's accountability scheme.

The *Detroit News* reported, "The feelings of the crowd on accountability were best summed up by Maceo Dixon of the Socialist Workers Party. Dixon said, 'What we mean by accountability is that the teachers be accountable to the Black community to help figure out the curriculum—but that isn't all, and that isn't what the school board is asking. We want the school board accountable to the Black community. And the superintendent.'"

Dixon was interrupted often by applause and shouts of "Right on, that's right!" His statement was also carried on television.

Continued on page 22



Militant/Gene Yzquierdo

DIXON: 'We want the teachers, school board, and superintendent accountable to the Black community.'

NY court ruling favors District 1 activists

NEW YORK—Federal Judge Charles Stewart issued an order Oct. 9 temporarily restraining District 1's community school board majority from firing three procommunity staff members. The three are supporters of the right of the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese majority to control the schools in the district.

The judge granted the order in response to a motion filed by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund on behalf of the Coalition for Education in District One.

The coalition is suing for new elections in District 1 because of wide-

spread racial discrimination and vote fraud in the May 1 elections. The election gave a majority on the new board to opponents of community control, who were backed by the United Federation of Teachers.

The restraining order will remain in effect pending the outcome of the legal challenge to the elections. A trial on the election issue has been set for Oct. 15 at the U.S. courthouse in Foley Square.

The new school board majority had been planning to fire the three staff members at a public school board meeting set for the evening of Oct. 9. Community residents were prepar-

ing to hold a demonstration before the meeting to mobilize community opposition to the move. At the last minute, however, the board majority decided to cancel the meeting.

In addition to the federal court order, two hearings were held on Oct. 9—one before State Commissioner of Education Ewald Nyquist, and the other before a legislative committee. Both hearings were to study the need for reform of the method used to elect community school boards.

At the Nyquist hearings, the Coalition for Education in District One held a news conference to publicize their demand that the commissioner call for new elections. Miriam Gonzalez, a community leader, spoke for the coalition: "The announced focus [of these hearings] is to find means to ensure 'more orderly and democratic' community school board elections in the future. . . . In District 1, we are justifiably concerned about the present, because our community school board is at this time dominated by members who were illegally elected. . . . we are saddled with a board we did not elect, and who are now in fact attacking the communities who were disenfranchised by the irregular procedures May 1."

At the news conference, John Ratliff of CoDEL announced that support for the call for new elections has come from Dr. Kenneth Clark; Congressman Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.); Jona-

than Kozol, author of *Death at an Early Age*; and Henry Saltzman of the Citizens Committee for Children.

Babette Edwards of the Harlem Parents Union also spoke. She denounced the elections in her district and called on Nyquist to overturn elections in any district where such irregularities have occurred.

At the same time, the Education Committee of the state legislature was also holding hearings. Speakers defending community control included Luis Fuentes, the superintendent of District 1, and Judy Baumann, national secretary of CoDEL.

Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for mayor of New York, and Eva Chertov, SWP candidate for city council in District 3, expressed their support for the call for new elections in a statement released Oct. 8.

"The persistent antiparent and anti-education actions of the UFT-supported majority on the board confirm that the only guarantee that District 1 schools will be run in the interests of the 97 percent Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese students is when that majority controls its schools," the socialist candidates declared.

Oliver and Chertov pledged to "tell the truth about the racist attacks on the District 1 students, parents, and staff" and urged support to the demands of the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese community.



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Community control activists register their sentiment at a recent District 1 school board meeting.

A reply to the Communist Party

In defense of the Soviet dissidents

By DAVE FRANKEL

The Communist Party's *Daily World* is on a campaign. Hardly a day passes without a column on the perfidy of the Soviet dissidents, especially of Andrei Sakharov, the physicist who played the major role in developing the Soviet hydrogen bomb.

This is part of a well-orchestrated effort by the world Stalinist press. But the vigor with which the *Daily World* has been wielding the hatchet on the Soviet dissidents has undoubtedly been reinforced by the need to straighten out members of the Communist Party who find the crackdown on the Soviet oppositionists hard to take.

As Tom Foley explains in the Sept. 21 *Daily World*, "there are many new people in the progressive movement in the U. S. who have never dealt with such questions before."

In other words, a number of young people have been attracted to the CP, thinking it represents the revolutionary traditions of its early years. Many no doubt assume that Soviet citizens have and are able to exercise democratic rights. They do not realize that the Stalinist degeneration of the revolution resulted in the crushing of workers' democracy and in the totalitarian rule of a bureaucratic caste.

'Capitalist agents'

Foley tries to justify this suppression of democratic rights by comparing the USSR to a trade union. "Imagine, if you will, a situation where the capitalist bosses or their agents, under the pretext of 'freedom,' demanded the right to attend all meetings of the trade union. Not only this, but also insisted on speaking at trade union meetings . . . on the grounds that in democratic organizations such as trade unions, 'opposing views' should be presented to the members."

"Suppose also that these advocates of 'freedom' demanded the right to present their views in the trade union newspaper, and to organize friendly discussion groups to present 'opposing views' within the trade union itself. . . ."

Waxing indignant, Foley says, "The

bosses cannot be allowed under any pretext whatsoever to deprive the workers of one iota of their hard-won power, to pre-empt space in their newspapers or disrupt their organizations."

"And that," he insists, "is precisely why there is no room anywhere in the Soviet news media, in Soviet publications, or in Soviet schools and colleges, for 'opposing views' presented by spokesmen for imperialism, racism, fascism and the like."



Prison near Moscow. Soviet bureaucrats and their apologists argue that persecution of dissidents is really 'workers democracy' in action.

Since the *Daily World* has labeled Sakharov "the call-girl of imperialism," and his views an "incitement to anti-Soviet war," the argument is ended as far as Foley is concerned.

Who's to decide?

More important than what is stated in Foley's argument is what is left out. If the views "presented by spokesmen for imperialism, racism, fascism and the like" are to be suppressed, *who's to decide which views this includes?*

In a democratically run trade union, for instance, any member has the right to get up and express his or her views. The trick in Foley's argument is that

anybody who doesn't line up behind the conservative bureaucratic chiefs in Moscow is branded as an agent of imperialism, racism, fascism, etc., and treated accordingly. This has nothing to do with workers' democracy. In fact, it is directed against the Soviet working class.

The Soviet workers have never had the opportunity to hear the views of any of the oppositionists being persecuted by the bureaucracy, in order to make their own judgments.

Workers' democracy means the right of the working class as a whole to discuss and debate alternative political ideas and programs, and then decide on them. This right has been suppressed in the Soviet Union in the interests of the special privileges and continued rule of the bureaucratic caste.

Hypocrisy of capitalists

The Stalinists at the *Daily World* have been making much of the fact that right-wingers in the U. S. Congress, notably Senator Henry Jackson (D-Wash.), have seized on the repression of dissidents to try to whip up opposition to Nixon's detente with Moscow. The demagogic appeals of these capitalist politicians for democratic rights in the Soviet Union ring more hollow than ever in light of what recent events such as Watergate and the U. S.-inspired coup in Chile have shown about the concern of the rulers of this country for "democratic rights."

But the *Daily World*, as usual, has things backwards. The responsibility for handing this argument to the anti-communists lies not with those who have insisted on their right to speak out. It lies with the bureaucrats' repeated attempts to stifle opposition to their policies within the workers' states through force and terror.

The fact that the capitalist ideologues have been given plenty of material to work with in their never-ending drive to discredit socialism in the eyes of the working people is the fault of those who insist that the degenerated Soviet workers' state is actually the true and ideal face of socialism. The capitalists, naturally, are only too happy to echo this contention.

Slander

One of the major elements in the current Stalinist slander campaign against the dissidents is the repetition of recent statements by Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov—often out of context—to portray them as proimperialist and antisocialist.

The Soviet democratic movement is without question a heterogeneous movement, and includes some whose ideas are erroneous along with others who have drawn correct conclusions and advance progressive and even revolutionary views. But the dominant trend and thrust of the movement is wholly progressive, directed against the bureaucracy and for socialist democracy.

Some recent statements from Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn reflect illusions about the nature of Western imperialism, and other questions. But the blame for the political confusion lies squarely with the bureaucrats in the Kremlin.

In case after case, Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn have seen friends and associates sent to prison for activities supposedly protected by the Soviet constitution. They have seen their own views distorted and lied about by the government that rules in the name of Marxism and Leninism. They have observed the special privileges that the bureaucrats protect. They have seen the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia to suppress the development of socialist democracy there. And they have been told year after year they were seeing socialism in action.

The fact that the bureaucracy consciously insulates the Soviet people from international politics, preventing them from obtaining foreign newspapers and magazines, except those of the pro-Moscow CPs, ensures that such political shortcomings will be widespread.

The remarkable thing is that despite these obstacles, the overwhelming majority of those demanding the democratization of Soviet society, and their counterparts in Eastern Europe, are consciously pro-socialist, while maintaining their opposition to the bureaucracy.



SAKHAROV: Developer of Soviet hydrogen bomb is target of slander campaign.

The duty of revolutionary socialists around the world is clear. Just as we are for the right of freedom of religion in the Soviet Union, we must also support the right of free political expression and debate. If the working class is incapable of discriminating between various political doctrines, then the task of building a genuine socialist society is impossible—as is the idea that the workers will make a revolution.

The Stalinist bureaucrats in the USSR show, by their unending war on the dissidents, their own lack of confidence in the socialist future, and their fear of the working class.

The Stalinist school of falsification

A sample of the Stalinist method of using smears, slanders, and outright falsifications against critics can be seen in the way the Communist Party's *Daily World* responded to the interview with Jiri Pelikan that appeared in the Aug. 31 issue of *The Militant*.

Pelikan, who was a participant in the 1968 workers' upsurge in Czechoslovakia, told *The Militant* his views about the need for democratic rights. And he described the mass working-class support for the "Prague Spring," a movement for socialist democracy, not a return to capitalism.

Daily World columnist Eric Bert begins his task of refuting Pelikan by making an amalgam. He lumps together articles marking the fifth anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia carried by the *New York Times*, the Maoist *Guardian*, and *The Militant*. He charges that they all have a "common heartbeat" of "anti-Sovietism."

To back up the absurd contention that Pelikan's view is the same as that of the *Times*—which saw in the 1968 upsurge a hope for capitalist restoration—Bert is forced

to resort to complete fabrications about what actually appeared in *The Militant*.

Bert writes that, according to Pelikan, the program of the 1968 reform movement "included abolition of 'state ownership of the factories.'"

But here is what Pelikan in fact said:

"The movement for the renaissance of socialism, known as the Prague Spring, was nothing other than an attempt by communists and socialists to solve this deep crisis by developing a socialist alternative. In fact, nobody advanced the idea that the factories and banks should be restored to private owners."

"The main goal of the movement was to give workers and citizens a real influence over the economic and political development of their state; to transform the state ownership of factories, directed by a leading bureaucratic group, to a real collective ownership by the workers through forms of workers democracy, particularly by creating workers councils and other forms of self-government."

Sweatshops in the Sun

Sweatshops in the Sun by Ronald B. Taylor. Beacon Press. Boston, 1973. Cloth \$6.95.

"We would drive day and night, day and night, you know?" Ricardo said. "I was little then, but I remember I would get up next to the back wall. [Their father had built a wooden camper to protect those riding in back.]

"I remember I would look down between the wall and the back and I could see the white line going past. I would watch it until I got dizzy. Sometimes I would get sick, but mostly it would put me to sleep. You were always going. You never belonged any place. You are driving and people are looking funny at you, as you go by."

Ricardo and Juan are the sons of a Texas migrant family that settled in the Willamette Valley of Oregon. Both were attending a university in the Pacific Northwest. They were four years out of the migrant life, but they had not forgotten it.

"Sometimes you gotta stop, you get so tired. You park on a side road somewhere and you rest, but you don't stay long, because you don't want to get in trouble. Sometimes the cops run you off, tell you get the hell away. It's not very easy to travel from here to there, sometimes you feel the prejudice. They won't let you in a restaurant or they chase you off from the bathroom at the gas station."

The great majority of children working on farms do so because they must if their families are to



Books

survive. There is a terrible difference between earning some pocket money and having to work so your parents and brothers and sisters can eat, can afford a place to live and a few clothes to wear. That difference is the difference between children's work and child labor.

The problem is particularly acute for Chicanos. According to a United Farm Workers Union estimate, Chicanos now comprise half the migrant farm labor force in this country. These workers face all the misery of life in the fields, with the added burden of racial oppression.

Each year untold thousands of children are employed legally and illegally to harvest the nation's crops. The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 set a minimum age of 16 for employment in industries producing goods for interstate commerce—



which includes virtually all the large produce growers. Yet, in 1970, according to the American Friends Service Committee, one-fourth of the farm wage workers in the United States were under 16.

In *Sweatshops in the Sun*, the author has succeeded in contributing understanding to the complex problems these children, and their parents, face.

The book gives examples of how poverty recycles children into poverty. It tells how migrant children by the thousands not only live in poverty, go hungry, and suffer from malnutrition, but in addition live incredibly uprooted lives.

It is estimated that 80 percent of the farm worker mothers are malnourished, and, as a result, the fetus is malnourished. The migrant mother works all during pregnancy, travel is undertaken during the same time, and finally there is the delivery in a rural cabin or in the fields.

One Chicana had accepted the inevitable. She had absolutely no control or influence over what was happening and what was about to happen. Both she and the child in her womb were undernourished. Her diet for the past three months had been mostly corn tortillas, green chili, and beans.

She was worried about having enough milk to nurse the baby. She hoped her husband had found work so there would be enough food for her other children. These were things of immediate concern. Hospitals, clinics, doctors, preventative medicines, vitamins, specific nourishing foods—a nurse had passed out suggested diets in Spanish and English—were so many impractical thoughts. Such things were not possible.

Some burning social problems need to be exposed not once, but again and again. *Sweatshops in the Sun* serves an important purpose. It stands as a reminder of an acute social problem that is still very much with us. —MARGARET MORA

American Graffiti

American Graffiti. A Universal Picture. Directed by George Lucas. 1973.

American Graffiti is a superb evocation of the final period of 1950s youth culture.

Set in 1962 in a California suburb, the film opens as the twilight of the summer's last Saturday begins to draw everyone's "wheels" toward the hamburger drive-in—the unofficial headquarters for the start of a night of cruisin', pick-ups, and just hangin' around.

As the film carries us through the varied, often hilarious adventures of the night, it is not a single story that unfolds. Rather, it is several different but intertwined stories of a group of friends immersed in the typical rituals and dilemmas of the era: deciding whether or not to go to college, getting out of a "serious" high school romance, winning a big drag race, razzing the cops, getting hold of some brew, making it with a date, and endless driving up and down the streets of town.

All of it is punctuated by the radio music and irreverent patter of the legendary Wolfman Jack, his throaty howl emanating from everyone's dashboard.

If you're already suffering from overexposure to fifties retrospectives, let me stress that this is not just another tiresome, sentimental parade of memorabilia. Beautiful photography, director George Lucas's loving attention to the subtlest details of sight, sound, and place, and the masterful, often moving performances of the leading actors combine to produce an impressive work

Film

of cinematic art, rich in humor and insight.

The one lapse in the film's otherwise remarkable air of authenticity is the emphasis on rock songs of the late fifties. To be sure, 1962 was still the "fifties," but the declining phase nonetheless. And this was reflected in the music of that period, probably the least memorable in the history of rock.

This flaw detracts from an important point the film makes so well in many other ways—that by this time the illusory freedom of the automobile and the world of rock and roll were exhausting their inherently limited possibilities as avenues of escape and rebellion for America's dissatisfied youth. As John Milner, the film's champion dragster and perpetual adolescent, remarks, "There was a time when it would take you all night to make just one trip around town. But no more. Things have really changed."

Although the next few years saw more intense forms of cultural rebellion in the forms of "heavier" music, long hair, and drugs, these attempts to secede from the surrounding social misery and suffocation were ultimately as self-isolating and ineffective as their milder predecessors. Fortunately, in the same years, the deeper social ferment of the Black struggle and the antiwar movement was prodding young people toward an understanding that the roots of their alienation lay in an irrational social structure that oppressed Blacks, Vietnamese, women, Chicanos, and workers.

Transformed into action, this awareness placed the country's youth in the forefront of powerful movements for social change with the promise of more basic and enduring solutions than offered by cruisin', Little Richard, or even Mick Jagger.

For a heady appreciation of the short yet immense distance between then and now, I urge you to see *American Graffiti*. —BILL KAUFMAN

Militant 45th Anniversary Fund

Help us keep pace with the soaring price of newsprint

By ANDREA MORELL

The soaring cost of newsprint is one of the main ways *The Militant* is feeling the squeeze of inflation today. Newsprint prices have climbed steadily during the past year. Another \$10-per-ton increase is expected throughout the industry by Jan. 1, 1974. One Canadian supplier has already announced a \$15-per-ton raise, the largest in 20 years.

The Militant is depending on our readers' contributions to ensure that we do not have to cut back in the face of these rising prices. This week supporters came through with \$1,229.55, another big boost toward the Anniversary Fund goal of raising \$20,000 by Dec. 15. Letters from contributors show the kind of enthusiasm that makes

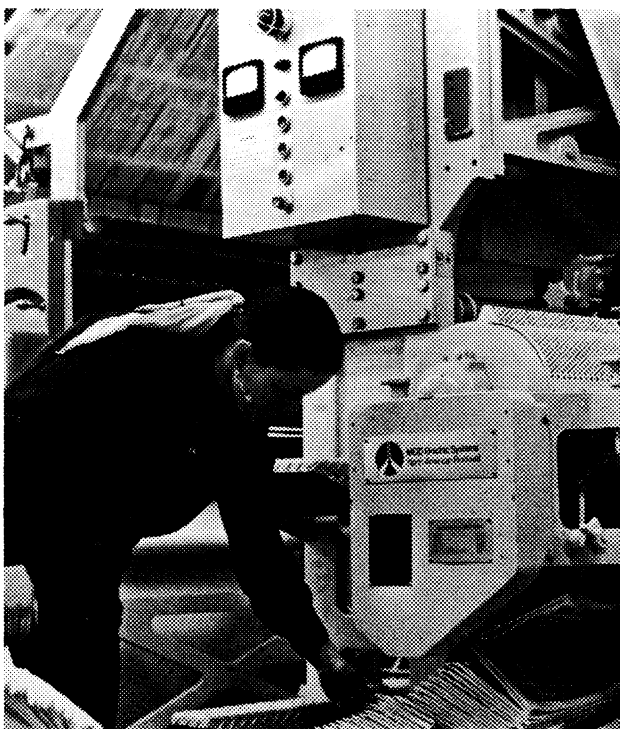
Andrea Morell is the chairwoman of *The Militant's* 45th Anniversary Fund.

us confident we can reach this goal.

A reader in the South pledged \$495 with this explanation, "I have just recently gotten married and been given some money that I really don't need. So I would like to pledge \$45 a week for the 11 weeks remaining in the Fund Drive."

A Maryland supporter sent \$4 and wrote, "Please excuse the smallness of the size of this contribution, but it is the absolute limit of what I can afford at this time. I am moving to Los Angeles this afternoon. I wish you all the luck in the world in your campaign to expand your readership, but then again, the people who are introduced to your paper will find that they have been lucky too."

A resourceful Connecticut supporter started his own *Militant* fund drive. He described it this way: "Enclosed is \$16 to pay for literature for our



Militant/Jon Britton

To keep *The Militant* coming off the press in the face of rising newsprint costs, we need your donations.

brothers and sisters in prison. Every week there are at least two letters in *The Militant* from prisoners either expressing their solidarity or requesting literature. Knowing that you do send *Militants* out to them on request, I started a little drive to help defer the cost of the paper. I found that people who contributed were willing to give and also expressed their solidarity with our fellow comrades behind bars."

A Florida reader said, "This contribution of \$45 is a great sacrifice in these times, with high prices and the cost of living. However, the work of *The Militant*, and particularly the traveling sales teams and their efforts to reach new people with the ideas of socialism, is so important that I only regret that I cannot give more for such a worthy cause."

As part of *The Militant's* Forty-Fifth Anniversary celebration, we have sent out two national *Militant* subscription teams and 12 *Young Socialist* teams. Their goal is to sell tens of thousands of *Militants* and *Young Socialists*, as well as 7,200 *Militant* subscriptions, in conjunction with our national circulation drive. They will travel for eight weeks, visiting cities from coast to coast.

A large part of the fund will pay for gas, literature, food and other expenses of the teams.

Initial reports from team members show an excellent response to their efforts. In two days at the University of Kansas in Lawrence, the St. Louis *Militant* team sold 65 *Militant* subscriptions, and 200 single copies. Team correspondent Jim Gotesky said they found students in general very receptive to the paper.

The Southeast *Young Socialist* team's activity has centered in Tennessee, where they helped form a new local of the Young Socialist Alliance at Memphis State University.

The Minneapolis team spent five days at St. Cloud State College in Minnesota. Team member Joel Hodroff told us, "The mood on campus is similar to last spring, with everyone willing to try our press at least once. The freshmen students are very open to our ideas. They bought the overwhelming majority of *Militant* subscriptions and three joined the YSA."

At St. Cloud, the team held five classes, organized a forum on socialism, and held a film showing of "Who Invited US?", an exposé of U.S. imperialism. The team also sold 167 *Young Socialists*, 172 *Militants*, and 90 *Militant* subscriptions.

Sally Whicker, national coordinator of the *Young Socialist* teams, told me that altogether the teams have reported selling 1,951 *Militant* subscriptions; 3,038 copies of the *Young Socialist*; 96 *International Socialist Review* subscriptions; and \$546 worth of Pathfinder Press literature. Twenty-eight young people have also decided to join the YSA as a result of talking with team members.

Your contribution to the Forty-Fifth Anniversary Fund will help keep these teams on the road. If you give \$45 or more, you will receive a complimentary copy of the special anniversary book, *The Militant: 45 Years in the Struggle for Socialism*.

Berkeley, LA make gains in sales drive

By NANCY COLE

Sales of our Oct. 5 issue totaled 8,799 as we completed the fifth week of the campaign to sell 9,500 copies weekly by Nov. 18.

Supporters in the Oakland/Berkeley area made their highest sales yet during this campaign and the second highest number nationally. With a total of 825 sold last week, they're well on their way to weekly sales of 900.

Of those 825, 512 were sold during their subscription blitz (the final total of which was 395 subscriptions, not 313 as early reports indicated last week), and 130 at the University of California campus.

Los Angeles leads this week's scoreboard in percentage of goal sold with sales of 621, or 124 percent. Two cities raised their quotas—Austin from 120 to 140, and St. Louis from 175 to 225.

Examples of sales that have spurred on such increases include 105 in St. Louis's Black community and 13 at a General Motors assembly plant during the afternoon shift change.

In the "overcoming all obstacles" category, members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in Chicago managed to move to a new headquarters and forum hall in addition to selling 255 *Militants* in the Black community the same day. Their week's total was 510.

Sales were down nationally from the previous week's total of 10,328, which had been achieved through subscription blitz mobilizations and heightened interest in our Chile coverage. However, last week's sales were up almost 600 from what they were two weeks ago.

Atlanta sales director Tom Fiske finds the most effective method of selling recently has been to point out that while many papers are blacking out coverage of the bloodbath in Chile, *The Militant* is a good source of information.

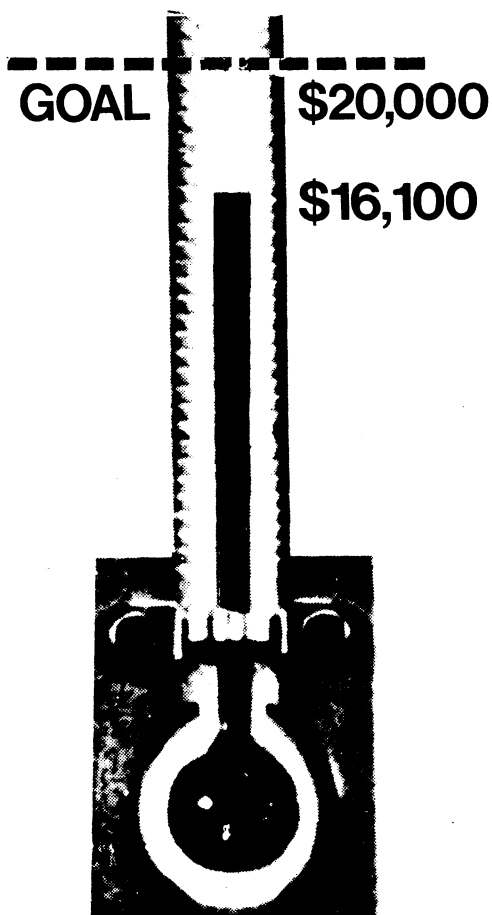
There are five weeks left until the end of the sales campaign. All areas are now planning their final push to make and maintain the goals they have set.

Many of those supporters out selling *The Militant* every week are members of the YSA who also sell their monthly newspaper, the *Young Socialist*. The YS's goal is to establish monthly sales of 10,000 by the end of November. Sales of the September issue reached record-breaking levels. More than 8,200 were sold, and October sales should be even better. Already YSAers from the Upper West Side in New York have sold 530 YSs in just one week.

Militant scoreboard

AREA	GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	% SOLD
Los Angeles	500	621	124
Detroit	400	473	118
Austin	120	129	108
Portland	300	324	108
St. Louis	225	244	108
San Francisco	500	525	105
Philadelphia	375	384	102
San Diego	350	352	101
Atlanta	400	400	100
Cincinnati	50	50	100
Huntington	60	60	100
Indianapolis	50	50	100
Lexington	25	25	100
Louisville	30	30	100
Upper West Side	475	472	99
Lower Manhattan	450	442	98
Denver	375	347	93
Oakland/Berkeley	900	825	92
Pittsburgh	300	266	89
Washington, D.C.	350	300	86
Seattle	400	341	85
Lawrence	10	8	80
Boston	700	550	79
Madison	50	38	76
Chicago	700	510	73
Houston	450	304	68
Columbus	15	10	67
Brooklyn	450	289	64
Twin Cities	425	260	61
Cleveland	400	170	43
TOTAL SOLD LAST WEEK		8,799	
GOAL		9,500	

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Calendar

BOSTON

THE RACIST CAMPAIGN AGAINST BOSTON'S BLACK COMMUNITY: WHAT'S HAPPENING? WHO'S TO BLAME? WHAT TO DO ABOUT IT? Speakers: John Powers, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council; others. Fri., Oct. 19, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.) Donation: \$1, unemployed and over 62, 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

BROOKLYN

WHAT ARE THE REAL ISSUES IN THE MIDEAST WAR? Speakers: Mark Friedman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Brooklyn councilman-at-large; Nathan Israel, Israeli teacher; others. Fri., Oct. 19, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

CLEVELAND

AFTERMATH OF ATTICA. Speakers: Big Black and Rahamm Karaja, both prisoners during 1971 Attica rebellion. Fri., Oct. 19, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c, strikers free. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

DENVER

HOW DETROIT'S BLACK COMMUNITY FOUGHT POLICE TERROR. Speaker: Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Detroit. Fri., Oct. 19, 8 p.m. 1203 California. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

HOUSTON

MIDEAST WAR—WHY? Panel discussion with Arab students, others. Fri., Oct. 19, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Speakers: Tony Thomas, staff writer for The Militant; others. Fri., Oct. 19, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near 4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

ISSUES IN MIDEAST WAR. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Oct. 19, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (near 105th St.) Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY

BEHIND THE WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Oct. 19, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave. Berkeley. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

SEATTLE

CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND RALLY. Speakers: Mirta Vidal, Militant reporter recently returned from Latin America; Craig Honts, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Seattle. Sat., Oct. 20. Dinner 6 p.m., rally 8 p.m. 6556 35th Ave. N.E. Donation: \$4, h.s. students \$2.50; rally only, \$1.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (206) 523-2555.

TWIN CITIES

WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Panel discussion. Fri., Oct. 19, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E. Minneapolis. (new location). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

CAMPAIGN RALLY AND BANQUET. Speakers: Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York; Gilbert Padilla, United Farm Workers

secretary-treasurer; Nan Bailey, SWP candidate for D.C. school board Ward 2. Sat., Oct. 20, 5:30 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W. Donation: \$4, h.s. students \$3. Ausp: D.C. Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (202) 347-1317.

...left cover

Continued from page 6
the workers.

Such demands could help defend the workers' gains against the capitalists and at the same time expose the Popular Unity—just as the Bolsheviks' armed defense of the Kerensky government against a counterrevolutionary coup prepared the way for the workers' seizure of power in November of 1917.

However, such a policy requires recognizing the capitalist, antirevolutionary character of the Popular Unity coalition and the impossibility of it "preparing the masses for the struggle"—as Torgoff and the *Guardian* said it was doing.

If the working masses of the world are to avoid new defeats like that in Chile, they will have to reject the class-collaborationist policies that are peddled not only by the Moscow-oriented Stalinists of the Communist Party but also by the *Guardian* and its teachers in Peking.

...Detroit

Continued from page 18

Trudy Hawkins, SWP candidate for region five school board, was also well received at the hearing. Hawkins, a student at predominantly Black Mumford High School, has been an active builder of student support for the teachers' strike.

"We always hear talk of how our schools are deteriorating and that we need more money," she said. "How are the schools to be financed?"

"Nixon has a war budget of \$84-billion. Eighty-four billion is being spent on bombs, planes, and guns, while we need money for our schools.

"This is where the money should come from to give the teachers higher wages—from those who can afford it, from the rich and the federal government," Hawkins said.

"One thing is for sure. There should not be any more millage or property taxes. There should not be any more taxes put on us working people.

"The tax burden of financing the schools should not be on our backs, but on Chrysler, Ford, and GM."

The financial crisis of the Detroit

school system is closely tied to the question of Black control. As Detroit schools have become increasingly Black, the Michigan state legislature has steadily shifted aid to the white suburbs.

For example, the state has been reimbursing rural and suburban districts for 50 to 60 percent of transportation costs of their pupils while reimbursing Detroit for only 5 percent.

White suburban school districts receive as much as \$51 more a year per pupil in state aid than Detroit.

Last year a financial crisis almost closed down the schools. Unfortunately, the DFT leadership has not advanced a program for solving the problems of the Black schools.

The DFT should demand a crash program of funding for Detroit schools and work for a coalition of teachers, students, unions, and the Black community to fight for this demand.

Such a fighting alliance is in the interests of both teachers and the Black community, whose common enemy is the school board.

The DFT's demands for smaller classes and other school improvements are a step in the right direction. If the union adopted a correct stance on Black control, the combined power of the DFT and the Detroit Black community could win higher teacher pay, better schools, and an end to discrimination. They could also set an example for teachers unions throughout the country.

Teachers from the Warren, River-view, and Armada, Mich., school systems also hit the bricks Oct. 8. All three had earlier agreed to work without a contract while negotiations went on but decided that this was getting them nowhere and that strike action was necessary.

A total of six Michigan school systems are on strike now. At one time this fall, teachers in 37 districts were on strike. Teachers were forced back to work in 11 districts by court orders.

There is speculation that some of the other districts now working without contract or forced back to work by injunctions may follow the militant example of the DFT and strike.

Correction

In last week's In Brief item "U.S. judge jails Iranian student" the second sentence in the second paragraph should have read: "The incident occurred at a celebration in San Francisco last March of the tenth anniversary of the shah's 'white revolution.'"

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION (Act of August 12, 1970: Section 3685, Title 39, United States Code)

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7. Owner (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual must be given.) Joseph Hansen, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Farrell Dobbs, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

8. Known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total bonds, mortgages or other securities (If there are none, so state). None.

9. For optional completion by publishers mailing at the regular rates (Section 132.121, Postal Service Manual) 39 U.S.C. 3626 provides in pertinent part: "No person who would have been entitled to mail matter under former section 4359 of this title shall mail such matter at the rates provided under this subsection unless he files annually with the Postal Service a written request for permission to mail matter at such rates." In accordance with the provisions of this statute, I hereby request permission to mail the publication named in Item 1 at the reduced postage rates presently authorized by 39 U.S.C. 3626. (Signed) Sharon Cabaniss, Business Manager.

10. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates.

11. Extent and nature of circulation: Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: A. Total no. copies printed (net press run), 32,655; B. Paid circulation: (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales, 11,920; (2) Mail subscriptions, 19,479; C. Total paid circulation, 31,399. D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means: (1) Samples, complimentary, and other free copies, 707; (2) Copies distributed to news agents, but not sold, 0. E. Total distribution (sum of C and D), 32,106. F. Office use, left-over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing, 549. G. Total (sum of E and F—should equal net press run shown in A), 32,655.

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The fall of Spiro T. Agnew

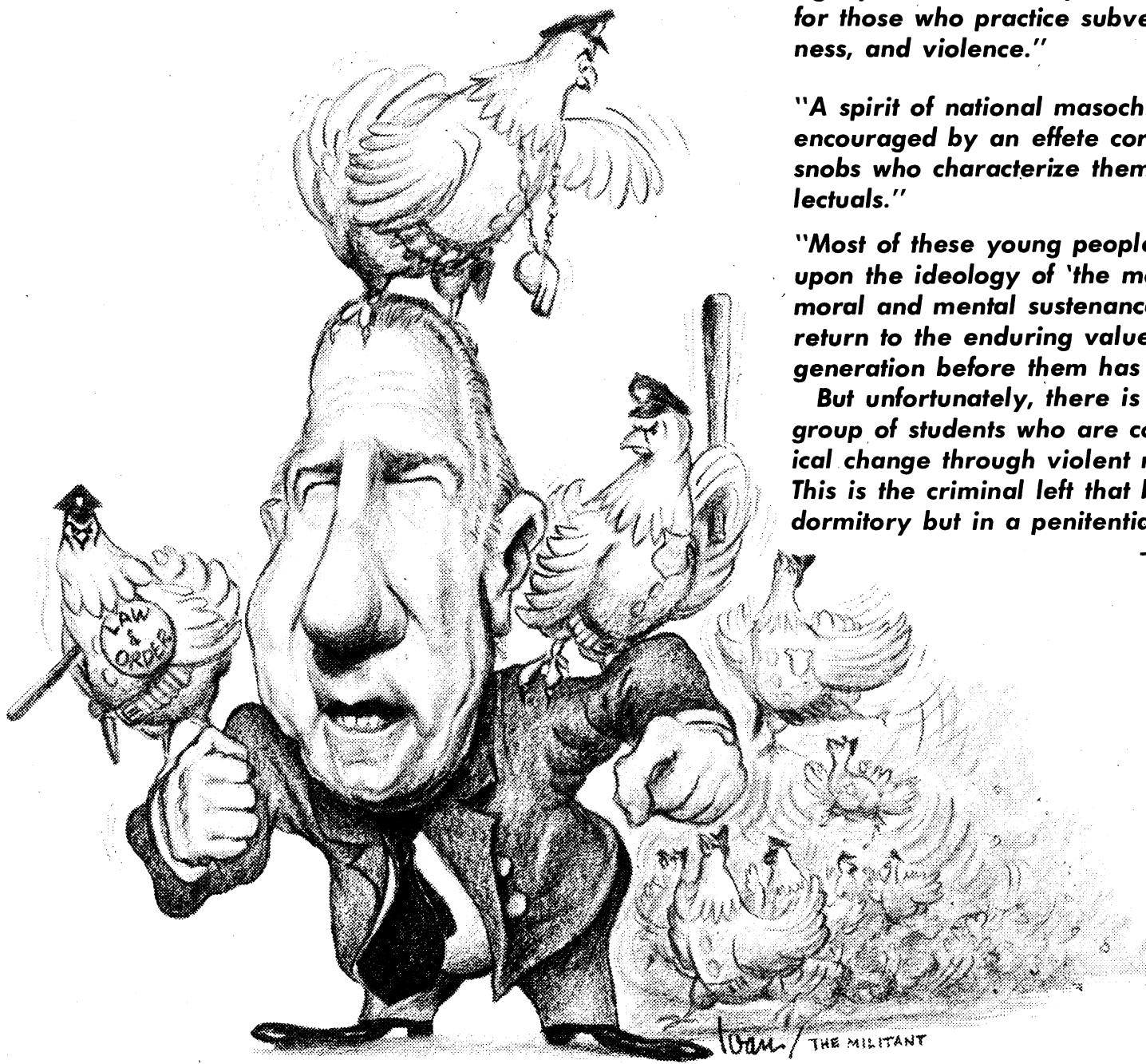
"The time has come to recognize that the only way to bring us—the participating citizens of a great country—together is to forthrightly declare our rejection and contempt for those who practice subversion, lawlessness, and violence."
—April 24, 1970

"A spirit of national masochism prevails, encouraged by an effete corps of impudent snobs who characterize themselves as intellectuals."
—Oct. 19, 1969

"Most of these young people who depend upon the ideology of 'the movement' for moral and mental sustenance will in time... return to the enduring values, just as every generation before them has done."

But unfortunately, there is a much smaller group of students who are committed to radical change through violent means... This is the criminal left that belongs not in a dormitory but in a penitentiary."

—April 28, 1970



By CINDY JAQUITH

Spiro Agnew's resignation is the most compelling evidence to date of the crisis confronting the rulers of this country as a result of the Watergate scandal.

Agnew's move is unprecedented in U. S. history—no vice-president has ever had to step down in the face of an indictment on federal charges.

Millions who have been outraged at government corruption and deceit undoubtedly feel Agnew's downfall couldn't have happened to a more deserving person, except Nixon himself. And it is all the more fitting, since Agnew based his career on his reputation as a "law and order" man.

There has been much speculation that Nixon arranged the investigation of Agnew in an effort to divert attention from his own Watergate crimes. But the impact of the Agnew affair will be the reverse—it will fuel the growing conviction that capitalist politics are crooked from top to bottom. Even before Agnew threw in the towel, the *New York Times* was predicting that the developments "hardly seemed likely to foster public confidence in the Nixon administration."

The exposure of Agnew's ill-fated attempt at a cover-up is one way in which his resignation will help shatter public confidence in the White House. Since August, he has been blasting the charges against him as "damnable lies." He has insisted that he couldn't get a "fair trial" because of "leaks" to the press. In a last-minute frenzy, he had reporters subpoenaed in the vain hope that this might delay the inevitable.

But after all the bluster about his innocence, at his Oct. 10 hearing in federal court Agnew pleaded "no contest" to the charge that he had evaded \$29,500 in federal taxes while he was governor of Maryland.

In a two-minute statement read to the court, Agnew admitted he had received "campaign contributions" that never went to his campaign or into his tax reports. He made a feeble effort to distinguish between these "contributions" and outright bribes by arguing that this sort of practice is common in Maryland politics.

It's also common at the White House, according to evidence in the Justice Department's hands. The Oct. 10 *New York Post* reported that a 440-page

Justice Department document on Agnew portrays him as "a man who, upon entering public life, went directly to his friends with claims of financial hardship and promises that payoffs to him would bring lucrative government contracts."

The government document describes how Agnew brought his shakedown operation to the vice-president's office in 1968, where he continued to receive cash payments from at least one firm as late as last December.

However, there are no plans to bring any federal charges against Agnew for these crimes. Instead, in return for his "no contest" plea to the tax evasion charges and his resignation, Agnew is getting off with a slap on the wrist—a \$10,000 fine and three years' probation.

Attorney General Eliot Richardson went so far as to plead for "compassion for the man," since Agnew "has been punished so severely by being forced to resign." Needless to say, this compassion on Richardson's part is reserved for those in the service of the capitalist class. The Justice Department's record with respect to Black

and Chicano activists and socialists and other dissenters has been quite the opposite.

Richardson also explained at Agnew's hearing, "It is unthinkable that this nation should be put through a long period in which the man next in line for the presidency would be facing criminal charges." He was not expressing any moral indignation, but rather pointing to the danger posed to the government's credibility if Agnew remained in office much longer.

"I have been saddened by this whole course of events," Nixon wrote to Agnew, perhaps with an eye on the latest public opinion surveys. The most recent Gallup poll, taken in late September, shows that confidence in his administration has plummeted by six percentage points since the Agnew case reached crisis proportions. Only 32 percent of the population approves of the way the president is handling his job.

It is unlikely that Agnew's demise will do much to improve Nixon's abysmal standing. If the president's support continues to erode, the capitalist rulers may consider giving him the Agnew treatment.