

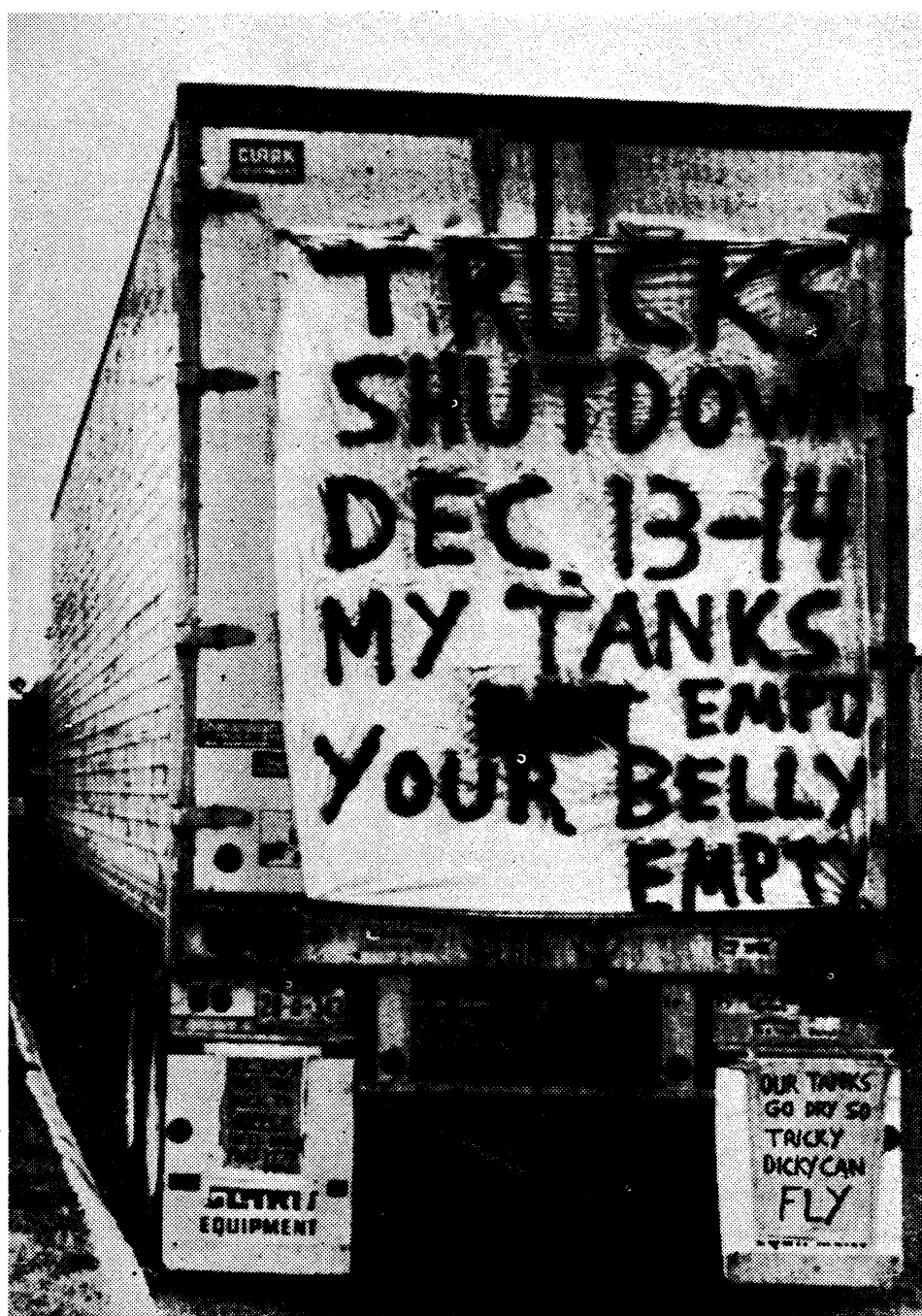
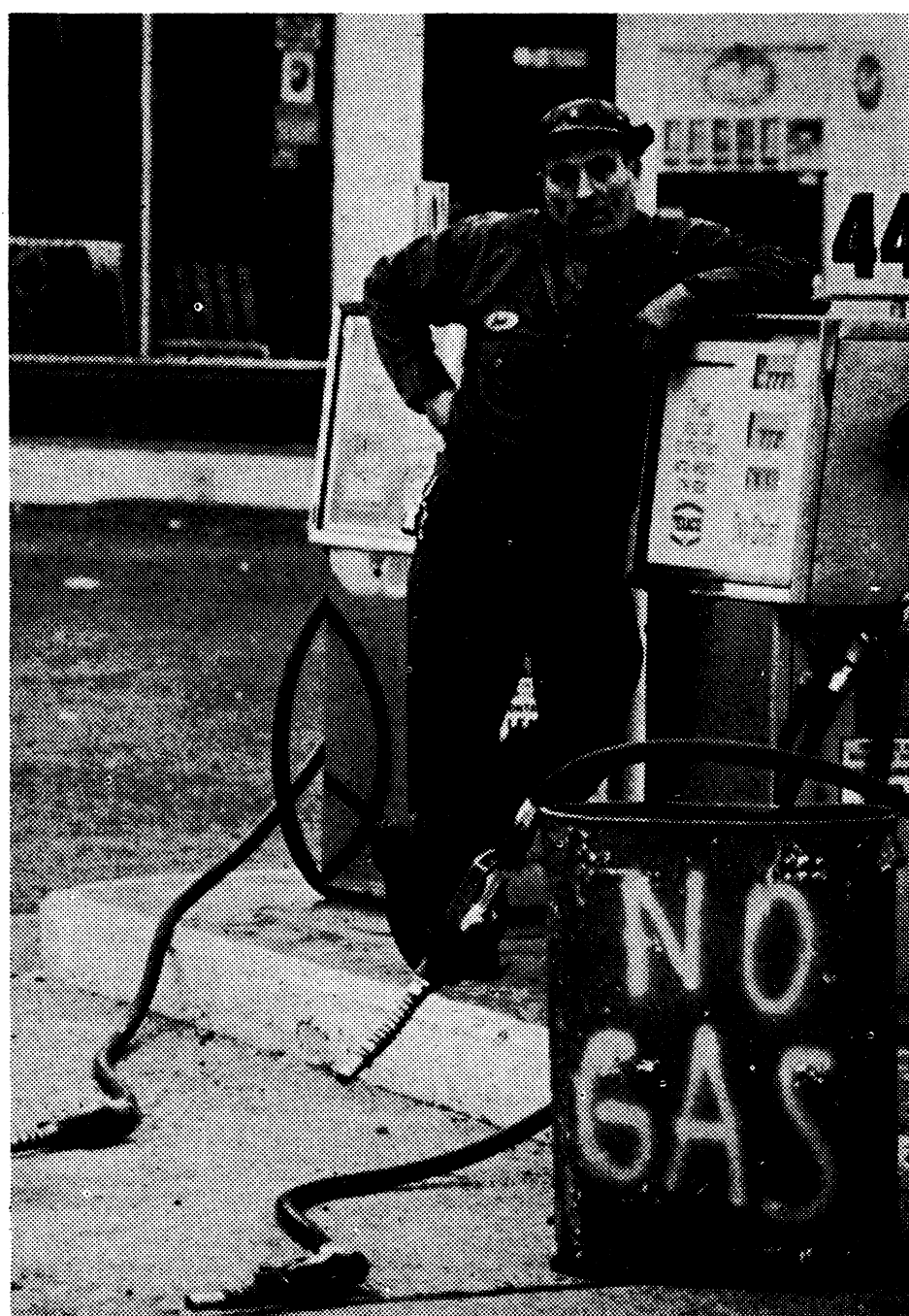
THE MILITANT

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

A socialist program

How to fight energy crisis

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PUERTO RICO A COLONY, UN SAYS: A victory was scored by the movement favoring independence for Puerto Rico when the United Nations voted to declare the island a U.S. colony.

The resolution, initially adopted by the UN Committee for Decolonization, reaffirms the "inalienable right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence." Discussion and a vote on the resolution, which has been put off for some time under pressure from Washington, came after strong protests by the Cuban ambassador, Ricardo Alarcon. The vote on the committee's report was 104 in favor and 5 against, with 19 abstentions. Voting against were France, Britain, South Africa, Portugal, and the U.S., which objected to it as an intrusion into the "internal affairs" of the U.S.

DANIEL BERRIGAN FALSELY ACCUSED OF ANTI-SEMITISM: The American Jewish Congress (AJC) has protested plans to present the Reverend Daniel Berrigan with the Ghandi Peace Award. The award is granted by a group called Promoting Enduring Peace. Berrigan was a prominent opponent of the Vietnam war.

The AJC objects to a recent Berrigan speech to the Association of Arab-American University Graduates.

Berrigan characterized Israel as a settler-state seeking a biblical justification for crimes against humanity.

Speaking of the oppression of the Palestinians, Berrigan said, "the slave became master, and created slaves." Also created was "an elite of millionaires, generals and entrepreneurs. And the price is being paid by Israel's Oriental Jews, the poor, and the excluded, prisoners."

Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, president of the AJC, responded to Berrigan's criticism of American Jewish leaders who "were capable of ignoring the Asian holocaust in favor of economic and military aid to Israel." He said that he had done as much as Berrigan against the war in Vietnam, and accused Berrigan of "old-fashioned theological anti-Semitism."

Holiday schedule

This is the last issue of *The Militant* before our holiday break. We will resume our regular weekly schedule with the issue of Jan. 11, 1974.

If you subscribe to *The Militant* and plan to move soon, don't forget that the post office does not forward newspapers. Send your old address label and your new address to *The Militant* business office at least two weeks before you move to ensure that you will not miss any issues.

THREE BANKS YIELD ON LOANS TO SOUTH AFRICA: In July the National Council of Churches announced it was organizing a campaign to reverse the policy of nine U.S. banks found secretly lending money to South Africa.

To date three of these banks have announced they will cease. The three include Merchants National Bank of Indianapolis, City National Bank of Detroit, and Central National Bank of Chicago.

These banks were among 40 U.S., Canadian, and European banks organized by the European-American Banking Corporation and lending \$210-million to the white settler-state. Their share of this was \$2.5-million.

THIRD TRIAL FOR GARY LAWTON: Forty people gathered on the Riverside County, Calif., courthouse steps to protest the setting of a third trial for Gary Lawton and Zarebu Gardner. The trial date is March 4.

The two previous trials on frame-up charges of killing two white cops have ended in hung juries.

Among those attending the rally was Nadine Owens, a young Black juror who pressed for acquittal in the second trial.

CAMPUS MEETINGS SCORE U.S. BACKING OF GREEK COUP: The Militant has received reports of several campus meetings protesting the coup d'etat in Greece.

Sixty students attended a forum at the University of Washington in Seattle. The gathering was cosponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance and the Greek Student Organization. Speakers included Stamitis Tsitsopoulos, a former linguistics professor at the campus, and George Kontanis, a participant in the 1965 student-worker upsurge in Greece and a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

Two teach-ins were held in Indiana to protest U.S. backing for the Greek military. On Nov. 28, the YSA

and Hellenic-American Society held a teach-in at Indiana University at Bloomington. Speakers included Nick Petropoulos, professor of sociology at Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis (IUPUI), and George Lianis, professor of engineering at Purdue and a graduate of Athens Polytechnic University. An editorial based on their talks appeared in the campus daily two days later entitled "Greece: Apparently a U.S. Engineered Coup."

The following day, the two speakers appeared at a similarly sponsored teach-in at IUPUI.

'HUMANITARIAN' AWARD: A picket line was held Dec. 8 in front of the Olympic Hotel in Seattle to protest the awarding to Senator Henry Jackson (D-Wash.) of the Albert Einstein Humanitarian of the Year award.

While receiving the award from the Zionist-American Technion Society for his "steadfast defense of Soviet Jewry" and the state of Israel, the hypocrisy of it was just as clear as Henry Kissinger's Nobel Peace Prize, reports *Militant* correspondent Craig Honts.

Among the more popular chants were: "Einstein was a man of peace, Jackson is a man of war," and "Jackson is good for war, not for the Jewish people."

About 50 people participated, including activists from the Organization of Arab Students, Radical Arab-Jewish Alliance, Young Socialist Alliance, Communist Party, Radical Women, and others.

SECOND TRIAL FOR ALLEGED BLACK LIBERATION ARMY LEADERS: Joanne Chesimard and Fred Hilton, described by police as leaders of the Black Liberation Army, face a second trial on bank robbery charges in New York City. The first ended in a hung jury Dec. 14.

The trial was marked by bullying as Judge Lee Gagliardi threatened to gag the defendants, refused to allow their attorneys time to prepare the case, harassed supporters of the defendants, ordered the defendants removed when they tried to speak in court, and cited Chesimard's lawyer for contempt when she protested these goings on.

Chesimard also faces charges in connection with a gun battle in New Jersey between highway cops and herself and other alleged members of the BLA.

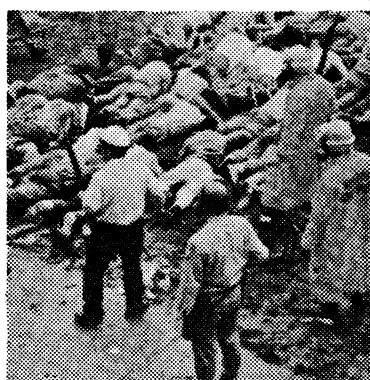
HAVE YOUR WAGES GONE UP 29 PERCENT SINCE '67?: The House of Representatives has passed a bill to allow cost-of-living pension raises to two retired World War II generals.

Generals Omar Bradley and Carl Spaatz will get 29 percent boosts, raising their booty to about \$2,500 per month. The 29 percent figure is the estimated increase in living costs since the generals' pay was raised in 1967. The bill now goes to the White House.

No mention was made of cost-of-living raises to surviving enlisted men and draftees from World War II. Nor was provision made for more pay for the disabled, or to widows of men who gave their lives during "America's hour of need."

— BAXTER SMITH

YOUR FIRST ISSUE? SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT



ATTICA: *The Militant* supports the 'Attica brothers' who face frame-up charges stemming from the 1971 revolt. Follow the major legal developments and the defense campaign — subscribe now.

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Socialist program to fight back

Energy crisis: monopoly offensive to rob workers

By CAROLINE LUND

The current energy crisis is convincing a growing number of Americans that the capitalist system and government are totally incompetent to provide for the everyday needs of the majority of people of this country.

This system is now unable to make available the fuel we need, just as last spring it proved unable to provide enough meat and other foods at reasonable prices.

In both cases it has been working people, consumers, and owners of small businesses who have been forced to pay the price and bear the sacrifices stemming from these shortages created by big business.

With the current energy crisis we are seeing a new offensive by the capitalist class and its government to grind down the living standards, real wages, and social benefits that have been won by working people.

We are going to have to pay more and take longer to drive to work. We are going to be paying more rent and getting less heat. We will have to

shell out more money for less electricity.

Working people will suffer on the job, as the capitalists take advantage of the energy shortage to cut back on heat, light, safety standards, and pollution measures.

Thousands of jobs will be lost. Rising unemployment will exert a downward pressure on all wages.

The energy crisis is affecting not only the pocketbooks of working people but the quality of life in general. Children will get less education, with the threatened school closings. The already deteriorating environment will get worse faster. Competition for oil sharpens the constant threat of international confrontations and war.

Magnitude of crisis

All indications are that this crisis is a serious one and that grave problems are in store for working people for years ahead.

An economist who testified Dec. 11 before the Congressional Joint Economic Committee predicted unemployment would rise to at least 10 per-



Children freeze in classrooms, while heating companies get more profits through higher rates and lowered pollution standards.

Truckers' strike has wide impact

Independent truckers conducted a nationwide strike Dec. 13-14 against high fuel prices and government-imposed speed reductions.

The Dec. 14 *Washington Post* stated that "truck-related businesses in widely scattered sections of the country reported their operations way below normal or shut down."

In some areas truckers continued the strike for several more days, with Ohio drivers holding out the longest. Ohio was the focus of the first truckers' protests that began Dec. 3. The *Post* reported that drivers in the Ohio-Pennsylvania area were labeled by authorities "the Vietcong of trucking."

"We were fairly effective for just a bunch of unorganized truck drivers," said driver Mike Saunders on Interstate 70 in Ohio.

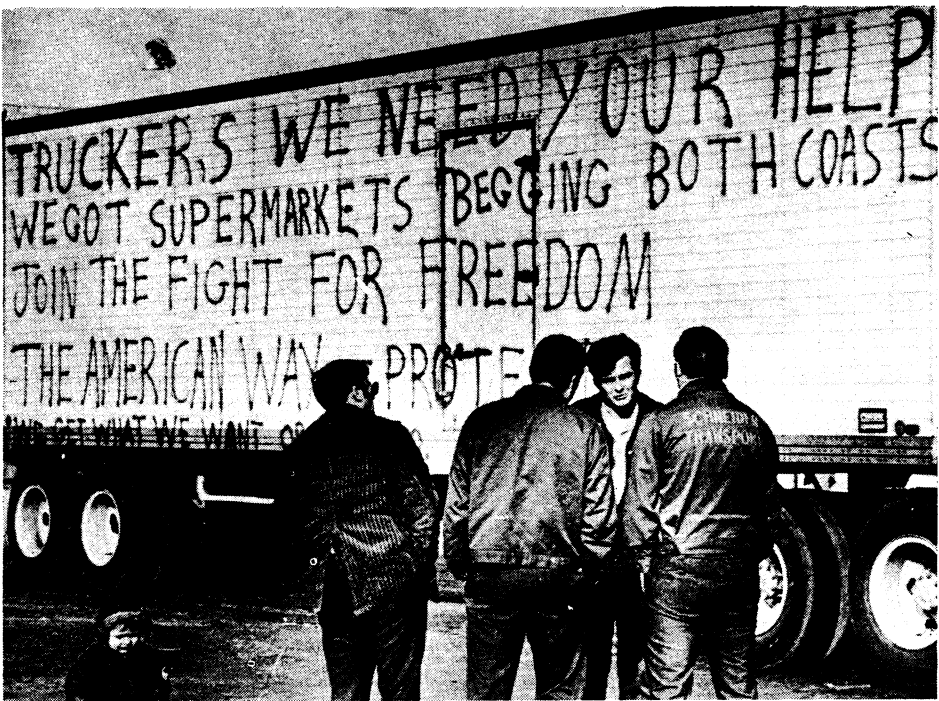
Teamsters union officials refused to support either the two-day strike or the previous protest although many Teamster drivers participated.

However, on Dec. 18 Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons announced that the union will demand reopening of the national contract wage provisions to aid drivers hurt by the fuel shortage.

The union will ask for higher wages per mile to make up for the losses from the new 55-mile-an-hour speed limit. The union estimates that an average 10-hour run will now cover only 300 to 350 miles, instead of the previous average of 500 to 550.

If followed through, this move by the Teamsters would set an important example for other workers who are being forced to bear the brunt of economic dislocations caused by the energy crisis.

One organization of independent truckers, the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers, vowed to call another strike in January if the truckers' demands are not granted.



Trucker in Connecticut organizing support for two-day strike against fuel prices, speed limits.

cent. Twenty-five percent of the country's 220,000 gas stations are expected to close down, throwing thousands of employees out of work.

The wholesale price index for November jumped up at an annual rate of 21.6 percent, an indication of how consumer prices will be climbing in future months.

One of the problems is that there is no way of finding out exactly how serious this crisis is or how long it will last. None of the information required for answering these questions is available to the people or even to the government. As the Dec. 12 *New York Times* reported, "the Government knows nothing about the reserves of oil and gas except what is voluntarily reported by industry organizations, on an unaudited basis with no penalties for filing false information."

Furthermore, this is a worldwide crisis. A recession in this country, if it coincides with recessions in other capitalist countries, could have disastrous consequences for workers here and overseas.

Still another danger stemming from the energy crisis is war. The wealth and power of the oil monopolies—as well as most other monopolies—are based on the superexploitation and enforced poverty of the masses in the Arab countries and the rest of the colonial world. Thus U.S. economic problems are closely linked to the possibility of war whenever these oppressed peoples rise up to fight for their freedom.

War danger also stems from the sharpening competition between the imperialist powers for control of oil and other raw materials. Reporting from Paris on U.S.-European tensions over the oil crisis, *New York Times* reporter Clyde Farnsworth recently wrote, "Such competition . . . [could] create a whole series of economic problems, high political tensions and ultimately, in the view of many European experts, another world war."

An imperialist war to maintain control over resources in the Mideast or elsewhere would inevitably turn into a nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union.

Why the shortage?

Everybody is discussing the energy shortage and what caused it.

Even though virtually no one believes Nixon anymore, the president offered his explanation at a press conference Nov. 18. He claimed, "We are running out of energy today because our economy has grown enormously and because in prosperity what were once considered luxuries are now considered necessities."

Nixon's energy chief William Simon recently gave his opinion on the reasons for the crisis: "We can continue with a lifestyle we are accustomed to, but we will have to change our wasteful ways."

In short, they say, the American people are to blame—we're living too luxuriously and we're too wasteful!

This lie has been contradicted with revelations practically every day showing how the oil monopolies and the government are responsible for deliberately manufacturing the current crisis.

It is confirmed from more and more sources that: 1) Shortages resulting from inadequate refining capacity could be foreseen years ago, but the Nixon administration did nothing about it; 2) The oil monopolies have always had a policy of restricting supply to keep prices and profits up; and 3) the oil monopolies have been aided and abetted in getting their stranglehold on the industry and the country by Congress, through such giveaways as the oil depletion allowance and tax loopholes on foreign profits.

Meat shortage

Nixon and his gang tried to put over the same lie in trying to explain the meat shortage last spring. Agriculture Secretary Butz told consumers the problem was that they were used to eating too much.

But in that case too, it was revealed that the shortage was contrived by manipulations of the giant food monopolies. Just as seven oil monopolies control 70 percent of all oil production in the world, so 50 food monopolies are estimated to control nearly 60 percent of the food industry.

Just as the oil monopolies deliberately decided not to build any more refineries in the U.S., even though they knew demand for oil was increasing, so the beef monopolies deliberately

Continued on following page

How to fight against layoffs,

A high-contrast, black and white photograph showing a massive, dark, and billowing cloud of smoke or fire rising from a city. The cloud is dense and textured, with many smaller, lighter clouds within it. At the base of the cloud, the silhouettes of buildings and structures are visible, suggesting a city being destroyed. The overall scene is one of devastation and tragedy.

A black and white photograph capturing a large-scale protest or demonstration in an urban setting. A dense crowd of people, seen from behind, is moving down a street. Many participants are carrying large, hand-made signs. Prominent signs in the foreground include one that reads "SHELL POLLUTED THE PEOPLE", another stating "ROYAL DUTCH SHELL HOME OF TOXIC FUMES AND NOISES MOST POISONOUS GASES", and a third on the right that says "Health and Safety still 90 days old". The background features multi-story city buildings and some trees on the left. The overall atmosphere is one of organized public dissent.

A black and white photograph of a young child wearing a hooded jacket, holding a small box. In the background, a school bus is visible with the text "GEORGE'S COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS" on its side.

● On Dec. 11 California ended its four-year ban on offshore drilling for oil and gas. This opens the way for a repetition of the massive explosion of an oil well off the coast of Santa Barbara in 1969, which covered the area with oil, killing birds and fish and fouling beaches.

high prices & fuel shortages

and other burning questions. Such a congress could discuss how to fight for solutions in the interests of the majority of people of this country.

Delegates to such a congress could be democratically elected from the trade unions, from Black and Chicano community organizations, from plants where the workers are unorganized, from student groups, from the independent truckers organizations, from small gas-station owners and employees, from women's groups, from environmental organizations, from workers throughout the oil industry itself.

Such a congress would be much more competent to confront and decide on solutions to the issues posed by the energy crisis than are the handful of superrich who run the oil monopolies, or their agents in Congress.

Business secrets

One of the first problems that would confront such a congress of labor in seeking solutions to the oil crisis is the problem of how to find out all the capitalists' secrets about the workings of the industry. What are the real oil and gas reserves? How much fuel could be produced if refineries were run at full capacity? What are the problems in developing alternative sources of energy? How are the Arab countries exploited by U.S. monopolies? What are alternative sources of energy?

The workers in the oil industry are in the best possible position to assemble this type of information. Some of it is available to them already, since they in fact do the work—not the billionaire monopolists. Other types of information could be found relatively easily.

Elected delegations of workers in each plant, and for the industry as a whole, could invite themselves into the managers' offices to have a look at their books and records.

If the capitalists object to making this information available to the public, they expose their own duplicity. The congress of labor could point out to the country that the oil monopolists have created chaos through their secret policies. The disastrous results of their policies affect the lives of all of us, therefore representatives of working people should have the right to exercise control over these economic decisions.

The congress of labor could hold public hearings to present information gathered by the workers on the real energy situation.

In addition, elected factory and office committees could demand veto power over unsafe working conditions and any attempts by the bosses to make the workers pay for problems the capitalists have created.

For workers in some industries, the fight for safe conditions on the job will coincide with the struggle for protection of the environment. For example, the strike by oil and chemical workers last year raised the issue of the right of the workers to know what kinds of dangerous chemicals were being secretly used by the chemical companies.

The United Mine Workers union is fighting for safety in the mines, and for ecological controls on the mining industry, since their homes and families are the first to be endangered by the slag heaps and coal dust belched out by

the coal companies.

One of the messages of UMW President Arnold Miller at the recent miners' convention was that all the coal in the earth was not worth the life of one miner.

This is the spirit in which a congress of labor would approach the entire energy crisis and the general dragging down of all conditions of life in this country. Human life and needs would come first, not profits.

These are some of the other solutions to the burning problems of the day that the congress of labor could discuss and propose to fight for:

- To solve the problem of the massive layoffs and unemployment being created by the energy crisis, the work-week should be immediately lowered to 30 hours with no cut in pay. This would spread the available work to all those who need jobs.

- All wages, Social Security benefits, and unemployment benefits should automatically rise with the cost of living, so that working people don't have to bear the burden of rising prices caused by the food and oil monopolists.

- In addition, a massive program



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Meat shortage and energy shortage were both caused by monopolies jacking up prices.

of public works would both relieve unemployment and also help satisfy the crying need for low-cost, quality housing, more hospitals, schools, child-care centers, mass transportation.

- A 100 percent tax on income over \$30,000 could provide revenue to finance some of these projects. The justice of such a tax is even more obvious in the context of the Watergate disclosures of how Nixon and the rich get out of paying taxes.

- Dismantle U.S. military bases and fleets throughout the world, and end military aid to puppet dictatorships like the Saigon regime. This would save enormous amounts of both fuel and money that could be turned to constructive purposes.

This wealth could be used instead to aid the Vietnamese, the Arabs, and other oppressed peoples in developing their resources and in closing the gap between the poor and rich nations that has been maintained by the imperialist monopolies.

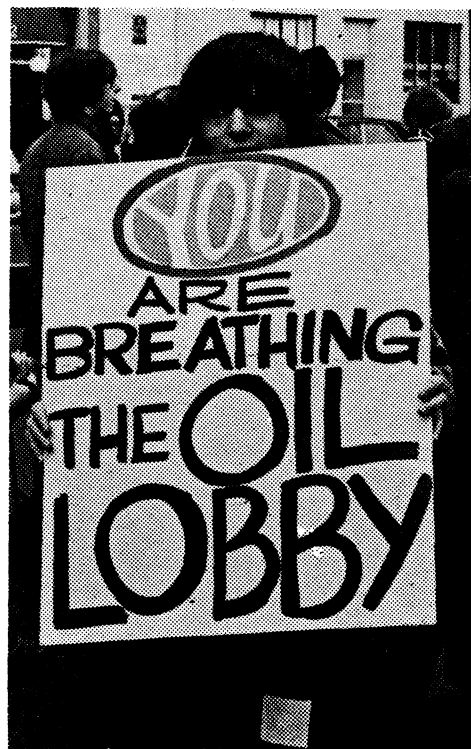
- The congress of labor would fight to close the gap between white and nonwhite workers, and male and female workers, demanding equal pay and preferential hiring for Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, and women workers.

Workers government

The next major problem a congress of labor would come up against is the need for a political party representing the working class, to confront the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties on the political level. One of the first actions of a congress of labor would be to move to the construction of a labor party.

The only solution to the energy crisis, the meat shortage, inflation, destruction of the environment, and threat of war is for the workers to take the monopolies out of the hands of their private owners and to set up a workers government as well, to rule in the interests of the overwhelming majority.

The capitalists and their Democratic and Republican parties have no answer to the crises facing this country. Their perspective is cutthroat competition with the other imperialist powers over control of the fuel supplies of the



Militant/Howard Petrick

earth.

They pit working people of this country against working people of other advanced capitalist countries as well as against the workers and peasants of the underdeveloped countries.

And all the imperialist governments are out to grind down the standard of living of workers in their countries to gain the advantage over their imperialist competitors.

The monopolists are ready to squander the entire resources of the world in their ruthless drive for profits. They make it impossible to live a dignified, human existence. Their system is decaying and breaking down, as shown by the crises and wars and nuclear threat that are multiplying in frequency and in danger.

The growing crises facing this country reveal more than ever the need to build a revolutionary socialist party that can lead the working class and its allies to take power out of the hands of these madmen and criminals. The U.S. economy and the world economy must be totally reorganized on a socialist basis of production for human needs rather than profits.

No shortage of oil for napalm, bombers

While Nixon administration officials were telling the American people that they "waste" too much fuel on heating, cooking, and driving to work, the Pentagon announced that the U.S. is providing the hated Saigon regime with massive amounts of fuel for its war against the peasants and workers of South Vietnam.

Each day the Pentagon sends 23,500 barrels of oil (each barrel containing 42 gallons) to Saigon and Phnompenh for running tanks, bombers, and other instruments of death and destruction.

The hypocrisy of the government in supplying fuel for war, while American working people are being squeezed, is most blatant. In the letters column of the Dec. 4 *Los Angeles Times*, devoted solely to the energy crisis, one person wrote:

"We have just finished a war of many years that caused a shortage of nothing except American lives.

Now, with the war over, we are asked to believe that while there was sufficient fuel for tanks, planes and trucks, there is not sufficient [fuel] for cars, homes and industry. Phooey! I do not believe it."

In his Dec. 11 column, Jack Anderson revealed that during U.S. B-52 raids on Vietnam last January, 995,000 barrels of oil were shipped to Saigon.

In 1969, at the height of U.S. involvement in the Vietnam war, the Pentagon sent nearly 44 million barrels to Saigon.

But even this does not show the extent of oil gifts to the Saigon puppet regime, Anderson says, "for the U.S. supplies much of South Vietnam's civilian oil needs too. These figures, apparently, are known only to the oil companies."

And this doesn't even count the millions more barrels used by the U.S. itself in its war on the Vietnamese

rebels. For example, the fuel for U.S. bombers, and the petroleum that went into making the tons of napalm dropped on Vietnamese villagers—men, women, and children.

In addition, there are the millions of barrels of fuel used to maintain the hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops at bases throughout the world, as well as the Sixth and Seventh Fleets, constantly cruising the seas.

The U.S. capitalist ruling class and its Democratic and Republican agents in Congress see to it that the Pentagon has plenty of fuel for terrorizing the world. That's how they choose to use our resources and the resources of much of the rest of the world. And, of course, working people have to pay for this destruction through high taxes. Now they want to make us pay in still other ways for their system of war, economic chaos, and soaring profits.

Bosses blame fuel crisis on miners

British gov't orders massive job, pay cuts

By DICK ROBERTS

British workers are being hit with the harshest antilabor policies that have been adopted in a major capitalist nation since World War II.

Most of British industry has been ordered onto a three-day workweek starting with the New Year. This drastic slash at jobs and wages was ordered by Conservative Prime Minister Edward Heath on Dec. 13.

In less than a week the Conservative government followed this up with the announcement of the largest budget reduction in British history and reductions on consumer credit. These steps can only lead to massive unemployment and recession.

The immediate target of the antilabor policies are 300,000 coal miners, railwaymen, and electrical workers. Led by the miners, they have conducted a month-long slowdown in a battle for wage increases above government imposed limits, in order to catch up with spiraling prices.

"The cost of living in the first half of 1974 looks like [it is] rising at nearly doubled the 9 1/2 per cent reached in 1973," the British *Manchester Guardian* reported Dec. 15.

But the more basic aim of the British ruling class is to cut away at the wages of all British workers in order to salvage a position for British imperialism in the struggle for world markets. It was news of a further sharp deterioration in Britain's balance of trade deficit—expected to reach a record gap of \$3.5-billion this year—that precipitated the announcement of deflationary economic policies.

London has witnessed a huge decline on its stock market—a loss of more than \$20-billion worth of paper money. The value of the pound fell last week to almost \$2.30, its lowest point in history.

It is hard to recall a gloomier mood than in the British financial press. The *London Times* could only find hope in the belief that 1974 was unlikely to be as bad as the year of the Black Death.

Coal miners in lead

The National Union of Mine Workers has been conducting a slowdown, refusing to work overtime. There are 260,000 miners whose basic wages range from \$53 to \$83 for a five-day week. Even with overtime the average earnings of the miners comes to only \$104.



Engineers march in support of miners

But the British workers, like workers in this country, have been subjected to a series of profit-gouging government economic controls, so far in Britain, Phases 1 to 3.

In the British Phase 3, wage increases are limited to 7 percent. But prices are rising at nearly three times that rate. In October alone food prices shot up 3.3 percent, an annual rate of 40 percent.



Striking miners face 'harshest antilabor policies since World War II.'

The cut in coal production resulting from the miners' slowdown, coupled with the slowdowns of the railwaymen and electrical workers, and the indirect effects of the Arab oil boycott have created an energy crisis in Britain that may be even deeper than in the United States.

But there, as here, it is impossible to get at the vital facts about energy production, which are kept secret by the monopolists and their government. The Arab boycott is only indirectly affecting Britain, because from the standpoint of the Arab regimes the British government is supposed to get favored treatment for its allegedly pro-Arab policies.

It is the owners of the oil, above all the U.S. multinational giants—Exxon, Texaco, Mobil, Socal, and Gulf—along with British Petroleum and Shell, that are actually determining who gets how much of the reduced oil shipments from the Middle East. And their policies in this regard—since they are undoubtedly selling only to the highest bidders at exorbitant profit rates—are secret. (And, they may not have cut oil shipments at all, according to the British *Economist*).

In any event, the effect of the coal slowdown on Britain is also questioned by unionists. Writing in *The Times* Dec. 17, David Basnett, general secretary of the General and Municipal Workers Union, noted, "First, no figures have been given publicly of the shortfall of supplies to the power stations and how much is due to oil shortages and how much to coal shortages. Secondly, the figures that have been released show that so far about one week's supply of coal has been lost, and we were told that we had stocks for 14 to 16 weeks."

Nevertheless Heath's reduction of the workweek to three days was blamed directly on the coal miners. It has already been accompanied by power cuts and the demand that people heat only one room in their homes or apartments.

The *Wall Street Journal* estimated that "when the three-day week takes effect Jan. 1 . . . about 16 million British workers will face some jobless days."

In terms of take-home pay, that is two-fifths of it right there. Overtime

work is also forbidden, which amounts to an additional 10 to 16 percent reduction in all pay, according to the Dec. 15 *Economist*.

Labour Party reaction

In face of this massive attack on workers the response of the parliamentary British Labour Party has been typically "statesmanlike," that is, subservient to the demands of British capitalism. Labour MPs have been asking that the government economic measures include some penalties for the wealthy—higher taxes on the rich, laws against real estate speculation, etc.

They hope that such palliative steps will make the "equality of sacrifice" atmosphere easier to sell. This thought was perhaps best expressed by the liberal capitalist journal, the *Manchester Guardian*. "You cannot command a Dunkirk spirit in a casino society," it declared.

A major argument put forth by labor spokesmen has been that the government should settle each of the union-employer disputes on its own merits rather than launch this frontal attack on all workers. Professor Nicholas Kaldor, a Labour Party economist, argues that the new economic measures would cost 800 times more than paying the miners' demands.

But these positions are far from reflecting the rank-and-file militancy of the strikers and the hundreds of thousands of British workers who support them. A *New York Times* correspondent in London complained, "The first response of a working man here to an

British workers don't look at it that way. They have taken the lead in the class struggle in advanced capitalist countries against ruling-class attacks. "In 1972," reported the Dec. 19 *New York Times*, "a total of 2,080 working days were lost in British labor disputes for every 1,000 workers. By comparison, the Italian figure was 1,680 working days. . . . In the United States the figure was 870 working days."

Near panic

The momentum of the British labor struggle has sent chills down the backs of ruling classes, in this country as well as abroad. The *Christian Science Monitor* declared from Boston, "The stakes are high. . . . Under this [energy crisis] is a social and political decline which, if it turned into a rush, could lead to national bankruptcy, anarchy, and even revolution. Britain's crisis is that serious."

The *Monitor's* viewpoint reflects not so much the longtime affinity of the Boston Brahmins for the British aristocracy as a genuine sympathy evolving from shared mutual difficulties. The declining industry in Massachusetts makes that state lag in the U.S. economy much as Britain lags in the world economy.

In any event, the *Monitor* warns, it would be the "greatest folly" for other countries "to allow themselves to think that Britain could go down without harm to others. That is not so. Western Europe, North America, and Japan are linked together inseparably. What others can do to help Britain through this crisis, they had better do—for their own sakes, as



Railway employees demonstrate. British workers have taken lead against capitalist attempts to drive down wages.

appeal from Mr. Heath is not that he is being called upon to help his country, but that he is being asked to help Mr. Heath, Mr. Heath's friends, and all the people who benefit from Mr. Heath's friends."

The attack on labor represents another step in the attempt by the British ruling class to shift its problems onto the backs of working people.

The days of the British empire are long since over. Throughout the post-war period British monopoly has been slipping further in the battle for world markets. The British rulers would like to make up for this by drastic slashes in the pay of workers, reducing the costs of British goods, and thus enabling British capitalism to once more compete at home and abroad.

well as for Britain."

If that is true for the world's ruling classes, it is all the more true for the working classes of the world. The sharp intensification of monopoly competition threatens to bring on increasing attacks on workers, sharper inflation, more frequent and deeper recessions, with the real danger of these leading to international recession.

Only the triumph of socialism in the competing imperialist nations can bring a halt to this international crisis, which is increasingly eroding the living standards of workers the world over. As a start on this revolutionary path, American workers should give their utmost support to the struggle of their sisters and brothers in Britain.

Socialist to demand new trial

Salm Kolis convicted on perjury frame-up

SAN DIEGO—Salm Kolis was convicted Dec. 17 on a frame-up charge of perjury. Sentencing is scheduled for Jan. 14. Kolis faces a maximum sentence of 14 years in prison.

The day after the verdict was announced, the Committee to Defend Salm Kolis (CDSK) held a news conference here to announce plans for an appeal. The committee also made public new evidence showing that two key prosecution witnesses had been subjected to political pressure to force them to testify against Kolis.

The committee will seek a new trial based on this information.

Kolis was a Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council in the last San Diego municipal election. She was charged with falsifying her residence on her filing papers.

Kolis explained at the trial that she had made arrangements to share a house with Marcia Marshall. She gave Marshall's address when she filed for office, since she expected to be moving in immediately. However, the arrangements fell through when Marcia Marshall's father, who owned the house, ordered his daughter not to have anything to do with anybody from the

Socialist Workers Party.

Both Marshall and her father, John Gamber, testified against Kolis at the trial.

After testifying, however, Marshall approached the defense committee and explained that the whole thing began when the district attorney's office contacted her father and asked if "he was aware" that his daughter had been "seen in public places" with members of the SWP. Gamber was given a police photograph of Marcia Marshall at an antiwar demonstration during April 1973.

Marshall now admits that her father's fear that this picture and other "evidence" would jeopardize his government job was a primary factor in his testifying against Kolis and pressuring his daughter to do the same.

Kolis released this new information to reporters, and added: "This proves that, contrary to the DA's statement during the trial, the government's illegal surveillance of the SWP and other groups was used by the prosecution in this case."

Just prior to the trial, the CDSK had uncovered an FBI informant who



Militant/Larry Seigle

Salm Kolis explaining case to reporters outside San Diego courthouse. At rear is Mary Lipman, secretary of defense committee. David Aberson, attorney for Kolis, is at right.

Some questions for the DA

On Dec. 12, the day the trial of Salm Kolis began, the judge issued a sweeping gag order to prevent Kolis from discussing any aspect of the case with reporters.

Immediately after this ruling, the Committee to Defend Salm Kolis (CDSK) issued the following statement, prepared by Michael Pancer, chairman of the Legal Panel of the San Diego ACLU, and Jim Webb, CDSK chairman. Webb was a candidate for city attorney in the last election. He survived the primary but lost in the run-off to John Witt, the current city attorney.

In view of the actions taken today, the Committee believes the following questions must be answered:

1. Is the DA so concerned about the public learning about his selective enforcement of the law that he must resort to the highly unusual

and prejudicial procedure of a gag order?

2. Why is a senior DA, who usually prosecutes murderers, drug pushers and robbers, assigned to the Kolis case when the alleged violation consists of listing the wrong address on a City of San Diego election form?

3. Why did the DA's office advise the grand jury that John Witt's (San Diego city attorney) violation of the Government Code should not be prosecuted because the punishment—a misdemeanor—was too serious for the crime?

4. Why are the Nixon Administration criminals, e.g., Spiro Agnew, allowed to plead their cases before the national media yet in San Diego a socialist candidate cannot exercise her right of free speech?

5. What criteria does the DA's office use in deciding what cases to prosecute—are they political?

had been privy to defense strategy meetings. The informant had been operating in the SWP 12 years. The defense demanded that the prosecution be ordered to turn over all government documents, wiretap logs, and other secret information that might bear on the case.

The motion was denied after the DA claimed that he was "unaware" of any such information. This denial will be part of the grounds for appealing the conviction.

The judge refused to allow the jury to hear any of the information on secret police surveillance. "If we had been allowed to bring out in the trial," Kolis stated, "the information concerning the FBI informant and other illegal surveillance by the government, I am sure the jury would have rejected the frame-up charge against me."

The government was so determined to keep this information from becoming known that the judge took the highly unusual step of imposing a gag order on Kolis during the trial. While such orders themselves are not unusual, they are almost always applied to the prosecutor and the cops to protect the rights of the defendant.

This unconstitutional silencing of

Kolis will also be included in the appeal.

Appearing with Kolis at the news conference was Mel Crain, vice-chairman of the Democratic Party of San Diego County. Craine said, referring to the fact that the city has declined to prosecute 22 Democratic and Republican candidates who violated a new election financing law in the recent elections: "This is a blatant case of selective enforcement. The SWP has been under this kind of political attack for years. It's a continuation, or spillover, of the mentality of Watergate and the Nixon administration against socialists, the antiwar movement, and the Democratic Party."

Mary Lipman, secretary of the CDSK, said, "We will move for a new trial. If this is denied, we will appeal the conviction—all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, if necessary. We have said from the beginning that this case is a political frame-up. We now have the evidence to prove it."

The expenses involved in appealing this case will be considerable. To contribute to the CDSK, or to find out more about the case, write to CDSK, P.O. Box 5313, San Diego, Calif. 92105.

Antiwar GI in Colorado fights for amnesty

By JON HILLSON

DENVER—This is the traditional time of the year for amnesties and pardons, but not for the U.S. soldiers who deserted during the Vietnam war. The number of deserters and draft resisters living in this country and abroad is conservatively estimated at 300,000.

One of these men is Dick Bucklin, an antiwar GI who deserted and went to Sweden in 1968. He had enlisted a year before as a supporter of the U.S. role in Vietnam.

When Bucklin returned to the U.S. last July, he turned himself in at Fort Carson in Colorado Springs, Colo. He was initially promised an undesirable discharge instead of a court-martial and placed on an extended leave.

Then a shift in the "lenient" attitude of the brass occurred. They recalled Bucklin to Ft. Carson from his leave.

The antiwar GI's comments to local reporters, criticizing the Army, had rankled his superiors. For example,

Bucklin had told the media that while he wanted to "start my life over again," he must first "expose the military as the headless giants who not only don't mind killing the peoples of foreign lands, but also don't mind destroying their own people in order to further their goals."



Bucklin found that Army brass 'not only don't mind killing the peoples of foreign lands, but also their own people.'

One of Bucklin's major reasons for returning to the U.S.—and facing a possible prison term—is to focus public attention on the plight of draft resisters and deserters and to win support for amnesty.

The Army, in a star-chamber hearing, dropped its phony front of "taking it easy" on Bucklin and moved full speed ahead for a conviction on AWOL charges. They slammed Bucklin into maximum security in the Fort Carson stockade and then into solitary confinement. This brutal treatment was to "protect" Bucklin, they claimed: "We felt that the Vietnam veterans in our stockade might physically harm him or kill him."

The real harassment in the stockade came not from Vietnam veterans, but from Army monitoring of Bucklin's conversations with his lawyers. A protest by his defense team resulted in a halt to the eavesdropping.

The military court trying Bucklin has not yet decided if it will allow

the GI to base his defense on the Nuremberg trials. Bucklin plans to argue that these trials justify his refusal to remain in the Army. Preliminary indications are that the military judges consider this type of defense "political" and out of place in a "non-political" court.

But Bucklin's defense committee has already begun to expose the clearly political treatment the GI has received thus far from the military court. In addition, the offices of Congresswomen Pat Schroeder (D-Colo.) and Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.) are investigating the case.

Bucklin's fight has won the support of amnesty organizations such as the National Coalition for Universal and Unconditional Amnesty, AMEX, and Safe Return, as well as many political groups.

More information on the case is available from the Richard Bucklin Defense Committee, c/o Rocky Mountain Military Project, 1460 Pennsylvania #3, Denver, Colo. 80203.

New facts prove Kissinger lied under oath about his role in setting up the 'plumbers'

By LINDA JENNESS

When Henry Kissinger appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last September he testified under oath that he "did not know of the existence of the 'plumbers group' by that or any other name." He added that in his opinion the entire Watergate affair was a "deplorable event."

Kissinger was specifically being questioned about the fact that his former aide, David Young, had surfaced as one of the leaders of the plumbers. Kissinger pleaded innocence. "I have no knowledge of any such activities that David Young may have engaged in," he told the committee, still under oath.

Quite a different picture was drawn in two recent articles by Seymour Hersh in the *New York Times*. The results of extensive interviews and investigations show that: "Mr. Kissinger, now the Secretary of State, played a far more critical role than publicly known in the White House decision to begin an extensive inquiry into the background of Dr. Ellsberg and, ultimately, to set up the plumbers operations."

'Henry was climbing the walls'

When the Pentagon papers were released to the press by Daniel Ellsberg, no one, according to the *Times*, was more upset than Henry Kissinger. "Henry was literally climbing the walls," one White House source said. And a former White House official recalled Kissinger "literally pounding the President's table" in anger over another leak.

Kissinger, along with former attorney general John Mitchell, speculated in meetings with Nixon that "Ellsberg could have been either a Soviet informer or part of a domestic Communist conspiracy," writes Hersh.

Fearing that the FBI investigation into Ellsberg's background would take too long—and that the FBI itself wasn't totally trustworthy—the plumbers unit was established.

Hersh's "sources" say that the decision to add Young as codirector of the plumbers was made on a helicopter trip from Los Angeles to San Clemente. The discussion took place among Nixon, Kissinger, and former White House aides Ehrlichman and Haldeman.

Ellsberg gets Hiss treatment

In order to heighten the plumbers "sense of urgency" Nixon advised Egil Krogh, the other codirector of the plumbers unit, to read the first chapter of his book *Six Crises*.

That particular chapter of the book deals with the case of Alger Hiss. Hiss was accused in 1948 of turning over highly classified government documents to the Soviet Union. Nixon, a congressman at that time, was the chief inquisitor. In his book Nixon claims that "the Hiss case aroused the nation for the first time to the existence and character of the Communist conspiracy within the United States" and involved "the security of the whole nation. . . ."

It was in this witch-hunt atmosphere that the plumbers began their operation.

"Government investigators," writes Hersh, "now believe that by the time the plumbers began their operation . . . part of their operation was avowedly political, to discredit Dr. Ellsberg and the antiwar movement."

The plumbers were given instructions to discover who was responsible



KISSINGER: 'Senator, I did not know of the existence of the "plumbers" group by that or any other name.'

for the leaks. "I want every son of a bitch in the State Department polygraphed until you find the guy," Nixon was quoted as saying. "Nixon wanted to polygraph everybody," according to one source. "He wanted more polygraphing than there were machines available. So Bud [Krogh] had to tell him that there weren't enough machines."

The plumbers were given a room in the basement of the Executive Office Building. "There was a special alarm system," reported E. Howard Hunt, "three-way combination safes. And there was also a type of war room. It was an office in which there was a cork bulletin board. It indicated a large number of ongoing projects, their status, and the names of the individuals responsible for their completion."

Kissinger continues to plead innocent. He says his previous denials still stand and that information about the White House fears of national security "evokes nothing in my mind."

"That's bull," commented a key former White House official in regard to Kissinger's denials.

1974 has Republicans worried

In the meantime, the 1974 elections are around the corner and Republican strategists are feeling the weight of the Nixon albatross around their necks. Most Republican politicians are



ELLSBERG: First target of 'plumbers'

scrambling to dissociate themselves from Nixon as much as possible. Senate GOP Campaign Committee Chairman William Brock put it this way: "There is no question as to the effect of Watergate—we have been severely wounded."

Senator Barry Goldwater, in a Dec. 17 interview with the *Christian Science Monitor*, said, "I don't think it's Watergate, frankly, as much as it's just a question in people's mind of just how honest is this man? I hate to think of the old adage 'Would you buy a used car from Dick Nixon?' but that's what people are asking around the country."

"We've got a nation of 210 million people who need leadership and need it badly," laments Goldwater.

Polls show disenchantment

Just how deep the crisis in confidence in both the Democratic and Republican parties runs is shown by a recent Harris poll conducted for the U. S. Senate Committee on Governmental Operations. The poll shows that a majority of the American people "feel alienated and powerless." Seventy-six percent feel that the "rich get richer and poor get poorer"; 55 percent agree that the "people running the country don't really care what happens to you"; and 61 percent feel that what they think "doesn't count much anymore."

Overall, the 55 percent who feel "alienated" is almost double the number who felt the same way in 1966. In that year the percentage was 29 percent.

Of all the groups polled, Black Americans had the highest increase in disillusionment—up 35 percent from seven years ago.

Next was the group under 30 years old, who went from 24 percent in 1966 to 57 percent today.

Nixon supporters claimed to be heartened by reports that his popularity climbed from an abysmal 27 percent to a whopping 31 percent during the month of November. A Dec. 17 Harris poll, however, showed that a plurality of the population, 45 percent, said they would "respect President Nixon more if he resigned." Thirty-one percent were against his resignation, and 24 percent were not sure.

As the scandals continue to unravel, things get worse, not better, for the Nixon gang.

The cause of the 18-minute erasure

on one of the subpoenaed tapes, for instance, is still up for grabs. One White House explanation, however, was recently rejected by a panel of technical experts. Nixon's flunkies had suggested that the humming noise might have been caused by Rose Mary Wood's high intensity lamp on her electric typewriter. But Judge John Sirica reported that a "preliminary result" of a study by a panel of experts shows that neither the lamp nor the typewriter was the likely cause.

Adding insult to injury, the White House is now claiming executive privilege for that particular tape—on the grounds that it no longer contains any conversations about Watergate on it!

Nixon has been forced, however, to back off in his fight with the Ervin committee over the tapes and other subpoenaed White House material. Both the Senate and the House have passed a bill granting the United States District Court authority over any suit on Watergate subpoenas.

This means that the Senate Watergate committee now has the backing of the federal courts in demanding material from the White House. Previously, Judge Sirica had ruled that the federal courts had no jurisdiction in such cases.

Nixon allowed the bill to become law without either signing it or vetoing it. He explained that while he was opposed to the bill, he recognized that both "the Congress and the public" would misinterpret a veto. The truth of the matter is that Nixon knew that a veto by him would be quickly overridden by Congress.

Watergate Special Prosecutor Leon Jaworski has also announced agreement from the White House to open some secret files relevant to his investigations.

"Many of the documents being sought" by Jaworski, writes the *Washington Post*, "apparently involve the activities of the White House 'plumbers' and their 1971 break-in at the offices of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist."

According to the Hersh articles in the *Times*, there's an abundance of that kind of material. Of the many memos of the plumbers, most of which were written by Kissinger's ex-aide David Young, "only a few" have been made available to the Senate Watergate committee and publicly released," Hersh reports.



Nixon led witch-hunt investigation of Alger Hiss. He tried to do the same to Daniel Ellsberg.

Socialists demand 'COINTELPRO' files

Outrage over FBI's spy project mounts

By CINDY JAQUITH

Squirring at FBI headquarters is continuing as demands mount for details of the newly revealed secret-police plot, COINTELPRO.

"It's just too hot to talk about," one government official told Associated Press. A Dec. 9 AP dispatch said, "The material is so sensitive that only a handful of officials outside the FBI even know the general details. . . ."

The nature of COINTELPRO was revealed Dec. 6, when NBC newsman Carl Stern made public two FBI documents on the plan that he received through a successful court suit. One document is a 1968 memo from former FBI director J. Edgar Hoover authorizing COINTELPRO, a "counterintelligence program" designed to "expose, disrupt, and otherwise neutralize" the Socialist Workers Party, Black groups, the Communist Party, and the "New Left."

The second document is an April 1971 memo from Hoover canceling

these techniques are a permanent part of the capitalists' repressive arsenal.

Public outrage over this latest proof of government sabotage against the left has now forced acting attorney general Robert Bork to call for a study of COINTELPRO as part of an overall review of FBI policies.

While admitting that COINTELPRO was "wrong" if it was "disrupting legal political activity," Bork argued that use of secret-police tactics against so-called "violence-prone" groups is "entirely proper." He neglected to note that much of this "violence" has been the work of government agents provocateurs.

Furthermore, Bork acknowledged that what has been exposed thus far concerning COINTELPRO has merely scratched the surface. According to UPI, "Bork said that if Stern had sought details of all the FBI activity under the Hoover program rather than merely two memos, 'we would have had to weigh a mountain.'"

This confirms earlier reports that many other documents exist containing specific details of how COINTELPRO was put into action. Attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance are now going after these documents.

The SWP and YSA have filed suit against government Watergating, and the new information on FBI spying is an important breakthrough for their case. On Dec. 13 attorneys for the SWP and YSA notified Clarence Kelley, FBI director and one of the defendants in the suit, that he must produce a series of documents on COINTELPRO by Jan. 14.

The requested documents include "all analyses and/or recommendations" for potential counterintelligence action, and "all reports, memoranda and other documents relating to the 'Socialist Workers Party — Disruption Program,'" which was mentioned in Hoover's 1971 memo.

In addition, attorneys for the suit have given the FBI 30 days to answer a series of specific questions on COINTELPRO. These questions, or "interrogatories," include:

- The names of all FBI employees who were ever involved in COINTELPRO.



Was FBI disruption plan used to sabotage antiwar protests?

- The names of the "Key Activists" singled out by Hoover as "the moving forces behind the New Left."

- Whether COINTELPRO disruption projects continued after April 1971 under different names.

- What the objective of the SWP Disruption Program was; the tactics that were employed; the date the program was begun; who ordered it to start; and the reason given for discontinuing it.

If the FBI is forced to make any COINTELPRO documents public, it could lead to new revelations concerning not only harassment of the SWP and YSA, but attacks on the Black Panthers, provocation within the antiwar movement, and sabotage of radical student organizations.

For example, was the 1969 killing of Illinois Panther leader Fred Hampton a COINTELPRO project? Were COINTELPRO agents involved in efforts to wreck the defense committee of Daniel Ellsberg? Did these agents inspire right-wing terrorist attacks on the left by groups such as the Legion of Justice in Chicago, the Ku Klux Klan, or anti-Castro Cuban organizations?

In another suit against government Watergating, former White House aide H.R. Haldeman and the Secret Service are trying to duck charges stemming from a suit filed by 14 antiwar ac-

tivists. The plaintiffs argue that their constitutional rights were violated at a protest they joined in October 1971 against Billy Graham in Charlotte, N.C. Haldeman is charged with conspiring to provoke violence that would "work to the political advantage of the president."

In its argument for dismissal of charges, the Secret Service claims that it cannot reveal certain documents because its "protective operations . . . would be impaired." Haldeman's attorneys have requested a dismissal on the grounds that he does not reside in the state where the suit was filed. He has used the same argument in a motion for dismissal in the SWP suit.

Efforts to fight illegal government harassment won a victory Dec. 11, when U.S. District Court Judge Charles Richey ruled that the White House had used the Internal Revenue Service to sabotage its enemies. Richey decided to grant tax-exempt status to the Center for Corporate Responsibility, which he said had been "singled out for selective treatment for political, ideological, and other improper reasons" by the IRS.

Political Rights Defense Fund

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) is organizing support for the SWP and YSA suit against government Watergating. To find out more about the PRDF, or to make a contribution, send the coupon below to the Political Rights Defense Fund, P.O. Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.

() Please send me more information on this suit.
() I would like to arrange a meeting for a PRDF speaker.
() Enclosed is \$ _____ to help with expenses.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____



FBI CHIEF KELLEY: Squirring under demands for details of COINTELPRO.

portions of the plan, but ordering the continuation of certain projects.

The memos prove that use of undercover agents, spying, wiretapping, and other harassment of Blacks and radicals existed long before the 1970 Huston spy plan was even proposed. The fact that COINTELPRO was actually in effect for two years before the latter plan was developed further undercuts Nixon's claims that the methods outlined in the Huston scheme were never implemented. Many of

Some of the best-kept secrets in the world

By LARRY SEIGLE
Secrets.

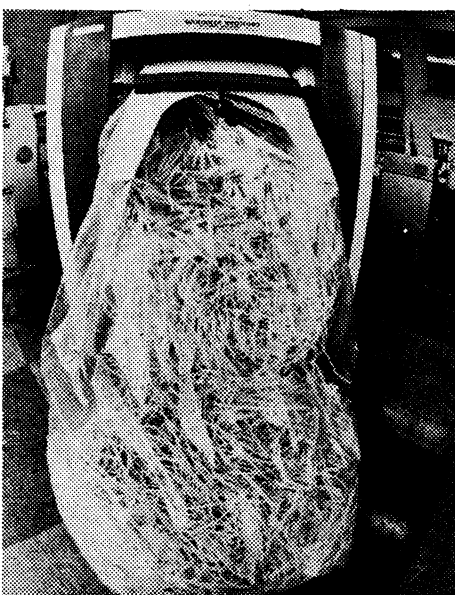
Political secrets. Military secrets. Diplomatic secrets. Economic secrets. Police secrets.

Measure them by the ton, by the cubic yard, by the thousands of filing cabinets. Above all, by the danger to the capitalist rulers if they ever get out.

They are all there in Washington, locked up in the vaults to be kept hidden from us. Some of the more vulnerable ones get shredded. The rest remain under lock and key, in vaults, under armed guard. Some of the best-kept secrets in the world.

Daniel Ellsberg, who was high enough up in the government to know plenty, explained in a recent interview with *Rolling Stone* magazine that in the Pentagon there is a series of reading rooms where the secret files—like the Pentagon papers—are kept. But even the existence of these rooms, let alone their "address" in the endless miles of Pentagon corridors, is a tightly held secret.

This, in a "democracy" where the government is supposed to represent the people! While liberals and conser-



Gov't paper shredders work overtime to keep secrets hidden from public.

vatives, Democrats and Republicans, come and go, trading places with each other, the billions of secrets remain undisturbed, kept under wraps by bipartisan agreement.

But, like everything else about this capitalist government, there are new problems. Like Daniel Ellsberg. A

trusted man. Trusted with secrets. But he changed his mind and blew the cover off a couple of important ones.

Nixon, Kissinger, and the others freaked out. *How many other Ellsbergs are there? What else will he reveal?* They didn't know. So they set up the plumbers. To keep the secrets. And prove a point to anyone who might challenge their right to secrecy.

There are other problems. Watergate has heightened the consciousness of millions about government secrets, and there is a growing clamor for less secrecy and more information.

A little-noticed law passed in 1966, the Freedom of Information Act, was one of the first attempts to paint a prettier face on the secrets policy. The law was supposed to reverse the policy of releasing government records only to those who were "properly and directly concerned."

Under the law, anybody is supposed to be able to get hold of anything in the files. It was this law that newsman Carl Stern used to get copies of the FBI's secret "COINTELPRO" disruption plan. Some other secrets have been uncovered this way. But the law has enough loopholes to drive

a warehouse full of file cabinets through.

For one thing, you've got to specify the documents you want. That's hard, especially if their very existence is kept secret. And, of course, there's no index.

There's also the cost. One diligent researcher for Ralph Nader finally tracked down Agriculture Department reports on safety and pesticides. He won a court suit, but was then informed politely that there would be "expenses" of \$91,840 to get him copies of the reports he wanted.

Finally, there are "exempt" secrets. First and foremost—you guessed it!—"national security." Last January, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the president's power to classify documents for "security reasons" without court review.

Of the nine specific exemptions from the so-called Freedom of Information Act, Number 9 is particularly enlightening in the context of the oil trusts' conspiracy to create a fuel shortage. No one has the right, under this law or any other, to find out "geophysical" secrets, specifically the location and description of oil and gas wells and reserves.

Defense campaign under way for 60 indicted 'Attica Brothers'

By BAXTER SMITH

BUFFALO—Operating from five upstairs rooms in a two-story office building here, the Attica Brothers Legal Defense cranks out press releases and educational materials, raises money, organizes supporters to attend court hearings, coordinates speaking tours, and finds time to speak with reporters.

Day after day the office staff, volunteers, and several released "Brothers"—as the indicted Attica prisoners are called—settle in to work on what is one of the largest and most complex criminal cases in U.S. history.

Forty-two indictments, containing 1,300 charges have been handed down by a special Wyoming County grand jury. Sixty prisoners have been charged for their role in the Attica revolt—a revolt that glued this country's attention to that big prison in a small hamlet in rural upstate New York, Sept. 9-13, 1971.

Although the grand jury was impaneled to investigate all crimes that occurred *during and after* the revolt, no guards, state troopers, or prison or state officials have been held responsible for the bloody suppression of the revolt. When the troopers' guns stopped firing, 80 men were wounded, and 43 were left dead.

Following the slaughter, Governor Nelson Rockefeller appointed Robert Fischer as the special prosecutor in



Harlem, Sept. 18, 1971. Three thousand people march to protest Attica massacre.

Twelve have friends or relatives who work in the prison. Five have friends who were hostages in D-yard (the area the rebel prisoners held), and three knew guards who were killed or wounded. None have friends who were prisoners.

In addition, all the jurors had read newspaper accounts of the revolt and were thus prejudiced by the false sto-

spokesmen—Frank Smith, Roger Champen, Herbert X Blyden, Eric Thompson, and Bernard Stroble—with the kidnapping and murder of two prisoners.

Earlier indictments range from murder, assault, coercion, and unlawful imprisonment to possession of prison contraband.

On Nov. 15, U.S. District Judge John Curtin heard arguments, but reserved decision, on whether New York state officials should be brought to trial for violating a federal injunction prohibiting beatings and other reprisals against prisoners after the rebellion.

In December 1971, Curtin had ordered state officials to refrain from beating and verbally abusing prisoners. A federal magistrate investigated five such beatings and has recommended that one case be brought to trial.

Watergating and Attica

The defense has protested Watergate methods of harassment and illegal surveillance that the government has used to hamper the defense work. Last month, former U.S. attorney general Ramsey Clark and other defense lawyers argued for a hearing into alleged government wiretapping of the defense committee's telephone.

On Nov. 2 one of the attorneys, through an apparent electronic foul-up, overheard a previously taped conversation of an office staff worker.

The defense has asked the court to order the prosecution to reveal or find out who is doing the bugging. The prosecution denied requesting the wiretap but argued against a motion for a full court hearing into the matter. State Supreme Court Justice James Moore has reserved decision on the defense motion.

'They'll try anything!'

Mariano Gonzalez is one of the Attica defendants who is held here in the Erie County jail. He is a 22-year-old Puerto Rican from New York City.

In an interview he spoke about government surveillance of the defense office. "It didn't surprise me," he said. "Look at Watergate and the Ellsberg break-in. These people are spending \$3-million in an investigation for the state. They're going to try everything in their power to get information. They're going to try anything! And Ma Bell is going to go along with the state."

Another defendant at the county jail is Herbert X Blyden, a 37-year-old native of the Virgin Islands. He is well known for his role in the 1970

prison revolt in the Tombs in New York City. He is now charged with kidnapping and murder during the Attica uprising.

In an interview he stated that the defense is trying to get the tape of Rockefeller's phone call to the White House just prior to ordering the murderous assault on Attica. Blyden believes that former attorney general John Mitchell intercepted the call to Nixon. "But Agnew also had wind of it because the very next month after Attica he was out here in Buffalo, at the Statler Hilton, talking," Blyden said. "And Agnew sanctioned what Rockefeller had done, which was what Nixon did also."

Both Blyden and Gonzalez were out-

To help defense

Those interested in supporting the Attica defense should contact the Attica Brothers Legal Defense, 1370 Main St., Buffalo, N. Y. 14209. The telephone number is (716) 884-4423.

A speakers' bureau has been organized to provide interested organizations, schools, and community groups with speakers on the defense case. Indicted Attica prisoners and lawyers working on the case are available for engagements.

A color film, *Attica*, which vividly portrays the conditions at the prison during the rebellion and the ensuing massacre, is also available.

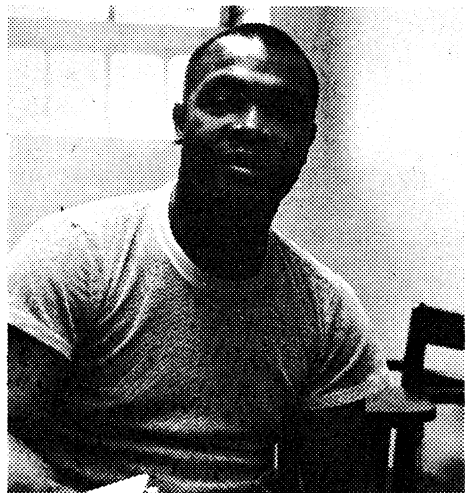
raged that the defense motion for dismissal of the charges had been turned down.

"But it's a blanket denial, so this leaves us grounds for attacking it in the appellate courts," Blyden said. "The denial proves that we can't get any semblance of justice in this district."

Gonzalez agreed: "Oswald's book, *Attica: My Story*, the McKay Commission report, and even Representative Herman Badillo's *A Bill of No Rights* clearly show the firing in the yard, the assaults. And yet not one inmate went before the grand jury to testify against the state.

"They don't see that as biased," Gonzalez said, "yet there were a lot of people who were injured or killed. And what about those who were beaten not only on the day of the assault, but in the days following?"

"Some of the jurors," Gonzalez continued, "were either relatives or friends of those in Attica who were hostages, or were killed, or are guards that still work at Attica. Yet the judge says it was a fair and impartial grand jury!"



Militant/Baxter Smith

HERBERT BLYDEN: Wants tapes of Rockefeller's phone call to White House.

charge of the grand jury. But in November of this year Fisher was elected as a judge, and he has been succeeded by Anthony Simonetti. Heading the defense legal team is Don Jelinek, who was an attorney for Martin Luther King.

Originally, Fischer had placed Captain Williams—the guard who led the assault force—in charge of the day-to-day grand jury investigation. Three weeks later, after protests over Williams's bias, he was removed.

Motion to dismiss

In a comprehensive motion to dismiss the Attica charges, the defense raised a number of challenges to the grand jury's composition and procedures. That motion was denied in November but will be appealed.

According to the defense lawyers, some people were excluded from the jury panel illegally. Nine people who expressed disfavor toward the death penalty were removed, although this panel will not sit in actual trial judgment of the defendants. People under the age of 21 were barred, as were convicted felons.

Each of the jury members is white, but only seven of the 60 Brothers are white. (Of the 1,024 Blacks in Wyoming County, approximately 1,000 are prisoners at Attica.)

Only one grand juror is under 30.



Militant/Baxter Smith

MARIANO GONZALEZ: Blasts composition of grand jury.

ries of slashed throats, castration, and other horrors spread by officials.

Another major defense objection to the grand jury, which is still in session, is its selective enforcement of the laws. The jury neither requested, nor did the prosecutor present, testimony about any aspect of state officials' criminal acts during the revolt or in the post-assault brutality inflicted on the prisoners. This brutality has been documented in the McKay Commission report on the uprising.

Coercion of witnesses

The defense also charges that the special prosecutor coerced witnesses who appeared before the grand jury. Prisoners called to testify—some of whom were hooded to conceal their identity—were told that they would be denied parole or would be indicted unless they offered evidence against fellow inmates.

Some prisoners refused to testify against the guards for fear of indictment.

Despite these and other arguments attacking the validity of the prosecution, the motion to dismiss the charges was denied.

In September, new indictments were handed down against four Brothers. These were the first since the original batch of 37 in December 1972. The new indictments charge five prisoner

Two years after Attica revolt: 'the repression is still there'

By BAXTER SMITH

ATTICA—Early in November, Black prisoners here were allowed to hold cultural events on Black Solidarity Day. Then, on Nov. 19, in commemoration of Columbus's discovery of Puerto Rico, prison officials allowed the Concerned Puerto Rican Committee at Attica to invite outside guests, entertainers, and reporters to a cultural event they held. This reporter was invited.

A chilly, foggy mist bathed the cement buildings of the 55-acre complex that morning. One of the changes since the rebellion was hard to avoid: new gun towers, built to placate the guards' demands, towered over everything like redwoods.

A dapper Sergeant Anderson, with his hair slicked back in a pompadour, greeted guests with a tie-tack replica of a .45-caliber automatic pistol.

It was a cool reception, but once inside the prison auditorium, the catchy rhythms of the Latin-rock prison band that pulsed forth warmed, relaxed, and held rapt listeners.

A group of Puerto Rican grade-school youngsters from Buffalo did a skit about Columbus's discovery. A Puerto Rican flag garnished the stage. Political speeches punctuated with shouts of "Viva Puerto Rico libre" that raced to the high ceiling were interspersed with the entertainment.

Alexander Del Hoyo, who helped organize the event, was one speaker. Risking trouble from prison officials, he denounced the system and prisons, Attica in particular. Speaking under the red and blue stage lights, he remarked, "Every Puerto Rican brother and sister is oppressed by the system, no matter where they were born. And if you fight amongst yourselves, there is division in the ranks. So let us work together for our defense."

The reprisals

The joy and camaraderie that brimmed from the hall barely masked the agony written on the faces of the 200 prisoners present. Nor could it overcome the remnants of fear and apprehension. Yet one could sense the deeply felt humanity that the rebel prisoners displayed near this hall a little more than two years ago, before they were cut down by bullets ordered by Nelson Rockefeller.

From Sept. 13, 1971—the beginning of the guards' assault—until this time two years ago, Attica prisoners suffered indescribable brutalities from the guards—one of whom is town mayor, others who are town cops—that make a burlesque of the state's indictments of the Attica prisoners.

Brother Herbert X Blyden described in the May 15, 1972, *New York* magazine what happened to him: "The guy



Sept. 10, 1971. Attica prisoners negotiate demands with State Corrections Commissioner Russell Oswald (lower left).

standing to my left was shot and killed, and the guy standing just to my right was also killed. It all happened so fast it was unreal. It was eerie. The mist and gas came over everything, and helicopters, and suddenly the troopers came in shooting. One trooper grabbed me and said they would save me for the electric chair.

"... we were beaten. I learned to walk again here in the Bronx [Bronx Men's House of Detention]. They called us 'nigger' and made us crawl naked on the ground across the whole yard. Guys were vomiting and going into convulsions, and if they moved, they were beaten. Three inmates were murdered by the troopers after we gave up. They killed Sam Melville, Elliott Barkley and Tom Hicks in the yard. Some day we will prove that..."

"Then after we crawled across the yard we had to run a gauntlet of about 40 correction officers. We were still naked and they beat us with sticks and batons. Some guys had lighted cigarettes put against their genitals."

The random beatings, an orgy of cop violence unmatched by Hollywood filmmakers, is documented in the McKay Commission report: "National Guardsmen in the yard to evacuate the wounded testified they saw correction officers, troopers, and sheriffs' deputies strike inmates with nightsticks during the strip searching. One guardsman said that as he helped carry out an inmate who had been shot in the groin several troopers came over and hit the inmate with nightsticks. The inmate screamed in pain, the guardsman recalled, and a trooper responded: 'Fuck you, nigger. You should have gotten it in the head.'"

"... A correction officer on the sec-

ond tier in A block that morning [Sept. 13] testified he saw a trooper pick up a guitar from a pile of inmates' belongings outside a cell and break it over the head of an inmate running by. 'It knocked the inmate to his knees,' the correction officer said, and the 'trooper made a joke out of it.'"

Little has changed

Two years have elapsed since scores of prisoners were killed, wounded, or beaten for the crime of struggling for change at Attica prison. But few of the changes they fought for have arrived.

In the Sept. 12 issue of the *Buffalo Challenger* Arthur Eve explains what little has been done to implement 28 of the rebels' original 33 demands. Eve is a Black state assemblyman from Buffalo. During the Attica revolt he was a member of the observers' committee.

Some of his findings include:

- The prison has failed to provide adequate shelter and food for all prisoners.

- The prisoners asked for state minimum wage laws to be applicable to them. Prior to the rebellion they were paid 25 cents a day. They have received a 10-cent-a-day raise.

- Another demand stated, "Allow all New York State prisoners to be politically active without intimidation or reprisal." Eve found that "repression is still there, possibly increased. In the last 6 months more men have been sent to the Box [segregation] than before."

- The prisoners demanded modernization of the prison's educational system, including the establishment of a Latin library. A couple of vocational programs and a small Latin library have been set up.

- One demand included the right to adequate medical treatment. Eve writes, "Dr. Williams, perhaps the most inhuman doctor on the face of the earth, is still at Attica." Medical treatment has improved little.

- Another demand was that no prisoner should be kept in the segregation unit more than 30 days. Eve writes, "This has not been changed. Men have stayed in the Box for as long as 90 days." Prisoners in the box stay confined in a cell for 23 hours a day. They get one hour for outside exercise.

- One demand concerned increased recreation time for the general prison population and better recreational facilities. According to Eve, this aspect of life in Attica has improved 1,000 percent.

Iranian students recall 1953 killings

NEW YORK—Two hundred people attended a meeting of solidarity with the Iranian student movement at Columbia University Dec. 14. The Iranian Student Association (ISA) sponsored the meeting to commemorate the 1953 killing of three students who were protesting the visit to Iran of then vice-president Richard Nixon.

This was one of the major events following the CIA-backed coup of August 1953 that overthrew the nationalist government of Mohammed Mosaddegh and set up the shah as an absolute dictator.

The meeting heard talks about the present situation in Iran and the role of the shah as a U.S. puppet. Iran serves as a major base for the U.S. in the Middle East, and the shah has announced his readiness to crush any movement against the status quo in that area. Greetings were presented from Arab, Ethiopian, and Pan-African student organizations, as well as the Greek organization Demokratia.

Among those presenting greetings from American radical organizations was Sam Manuel, a member of the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance. Manuel said, "Many of our brothers and sisters from around the world have been harassed by the U.S. government when they speak out against undemocratic regimes." He pointed to the importance of defending the rights of foreign students in the U.S. and pledged the help of the YSA in such defense campaigns.

An example of the shah's policy of suppressing dissent is the recent case in which the regime charged 12 prominent writers and filmmakers with plotting to kidnap the monarch's family. Another important defense case is that of Dr. Reza Baraheni, formerly a visiting professor at the universities of Texas and Utah, who was recently arrested in Iran for his dissenting ideas.

The ISA is building a demonstration to defend the 12 intellectuals, to take place in Washington, D.C., Dec. 28.



Iranian soldiers. Iran serves as major base for U.S. imperialism in Middle East.



Sept. 13, 1971: 'They called us "nigger" and made us crawl on the ground across the whole yard.'

Geneva conference

The struggle of the Arab people against Israeli aggression and expansion has remained at the center of world events since the October war. In recent weeks the intense diplomatic activity leading up to the Geneva talks, scheduled to begin Dec. 21, has dominated the news media.

Although billed as a conference that will provide a "just and lasting" solution to the Mideast conflict, the preparations for the Geneva talks show the contrary.

On Dec. 9 U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger began a series of meetings with Washington's NATO allies. After letting the European imperialists know what was expected of them in the way of support for the U.S.-Israeli side, Kissinger went on to the Middle East. On Dec. 17 New York Times reporter Henry Kamm wrote from Jerusalem that Israeli officials had agreed to participate in the Geneva talks "in exchange for assurances from Secretary of State Kissinger that American support in the talks would be firm."

Just how firm was underlined by the U.S. Senate that same day when it gave final approval for \$2.2-billion in arms aid to Israel. Since the outbreak of the October war the U.S. has delivered \$1-billion worth of armaments to Israel, enough to more than restore its prewar military strength. The Nixon administration has not specified how the remaining \$1.2-billion will be used.

It is obvious that Washington is not too worried about the Israelis taking a hard line at the Geneva talks. What is being set up is a squeeze play aimed at extracting more concessions from the Arab regimes—concessions that will "guarantee" Israel's continued occupation of Arab lands and further entrench imperialist control of the Middle East. These concessions will be made at the expense of the Arab peoples, particularly the Palestinians.

For the Arab peoples, the Geneva conference offers no way to end Zionist aggression. The Israelis have already begun to build not only settlements but even cities within the territories occupied during the 1967 war, and Washington has given the colonizers the arms to hold out in their refusal to return the bulk of the land. The Palestinians don't even have a representative at the talks.

The awareness of these facts among broad layers of the Arab masses has been shown by the intense pressure within Egypt for a renewal of the fight against the Israeli occupation and by a massive demonstration in Beirut, forcing Kissinger to land elsewhere in Lebanon.

Whatever agreements are reached at Geneva, one thing remains certain. There will be no peace in the Middle East as long as the area is dominated by imperialism, as long as the Israeli settler-state is maintained, as long as the Palestinian people are denied their homeland.

* * *

On Dec. 17, 31 people were killed by Palestinian commandos at Rome's international airport. The New York Times was quick to use the terrorist action in Rome as a handle to demand further concessions from the Arabs, asking, "will Syria and the other Arab states on Israel's frontiers recognize their obligations now to make specific gestures of peaceful intent toward Israel, in light of the barbaric acts of yesterday?"

The Times editors, who hailed the Israeli terror raid on Lebanon in April 1973 in which more than 30 Arabs were killed as an operation of "daring and brilliance," and "a stunningly effective blow in the 'war against terror,'" are hardly in a position to talk about barbarism.

Terrorist actions such as those in Rome stem from the frustration and rage of an oppressed people.

The Palestinians have been the victims of a brutality so systematic and immense that it drove 1.5 million of them into exile. It is the Israeli state that is to blame for large-scale acts of inhumanity in the Middle East. Unfortunately, this truth is often obscured before the eyes of the world by the terrorist actions of small groups of individuals. The action in Rome was an example of this. It had the effect of turning many people against the Palestinian struggle, and diverting attention from the crimes of the Zionists.

The liberation of the Palestinian people can only be the work of the Palestinian people as a whole, together with the rest of the Arab world. Terrorist actions by a handful of individuals, however dedicated they may personally be to the cause of Palestinian liberation, only cut across the organization of the masses of people, which is the only effective way of advancing the struggle of the Arab peoples.

The Militant receives many letters from prisoners all across the country. This week we are turning the entire letters column over to our prisoner readers.

These letters are just one indication of the radicalization occurring behind prison walls. A growing number of prisoners subscribe to The Militant. Many cannot afford to pay. In such cases we send complementary subscriptions.

We hope readers will help defray the cost of these subscriptions. \$2.50 sends The Militant to a prisoner for six months. Send your donation to The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014.

Boycott of Xmas dinner

We call on all prisoners to join in a nationwide prisoners' boycott of the traditional Christmas dinner.

We prisoners are expected to pause at Xmastime with Middle America: to eat and be merry and feel thankful. But all across America, hidden behind the myths and the dollar signs and fancy tinsel, there is hunger of body and spirit. The system-enforcers are everywhere: repressing people, violating the Bill of Rights, protecting and enforcing the priorities and life styles of the profit-makers.

Forty million people live in poverty. Millions more can barely make ends meet. There is massive inflation, unemployment, broken-down neighborhoods, outrageous price tags on everything from the basic necessities of life to civil rights. And for the millions of Third World and poor white people, the injustices of poverty, institutionalized racism, inequality of opportunity, exploitation and oppression is what life is all about. We prisoners know this. These injustices are what prison is all about.

Many of us have always refused to take any holiday dinners—as a silent personal protest. Let them keep their turkeys and stuffing, even though it is the only decent meal most of us would have all year.

We refuse to take the Xmas meal as a gesture of solidarity with the 60 Attica Brothers who are taking the weight. We are protesting everything Attica represents.

Walpole Chapter
National Prisoners Reform Association

Prisoners Against Poverty,
Racism and War

'One little meal'

This year at Xmastime the New England prisoners will be abstaining from their Xmas meal. They will form groups and request the administration to donate their meal on Xmas to poverty areas in their states.

If you are not allowed to send your meal to a poverty area, just fast from that one meal in symbolic protest. One little meal can strengthen bonds of solidarity.

A prisoner
Missouri

Boycott spreads

We are in the process of organizing a boycott of the Xmas dinner in support of the 40 million who won't have any and the million of Koreans, Vietnamese, and Cambodians who were murdered.

A prisoner
Georgia

Most exploited workers

The prisoners are by far the most exploited workers in America. By today's standards the prisoners have become the new "slaves" of America. Low wages, medium working conditions, poor housing, and inadequate medical care.

Nowhere in America is the pay scale so low and the profit so high. The men are required to work a full 40 hours per week. Hourly wages are from 21 cents to 51 cents—yet each man produces in goods and services \$12,000 per year.

We must have a hand in shaping our destiny. They have tried and failed. We are only asking to be treated as humans.

A prisoner
Georgia

Study program

I received the books that you made possible for me to receive and I appreciate it very much. We here are trying to organize and form a study program. Many of the brothers are very interested in learning about the struggle and are working very hard to try to help all those that we can.

A prisoner
Missouri

Made life easier

Another year has passed and I am still struggling to be free, but then so are so many others. Certainly I am more fortunate than some because I've had you to make living easier for me.

I am grateful to you for your gift of The Militant. I have enjoyed it completely and do hope it will continue.

May the New Year bring you and yours peace and freedom without end.

A prisoner
Pennsylvania

Something honest

I am writing this letter to inform you that I would like to have another subscription to The Militant. Being here in this hellhole, let me say that it is a relief to read something honest and sincere.

A prisoner
Pennsylvania

Good luck

Your newspaper has taken courageous stands in regards to controversial issues, especially those that the government wishes to suppress.

During the two and a half years in prison, I have vigorously fought for prisoners' rights, especially in court. I have been successful in having 87 men be released from illegal prison sentences and convictions so far, and I brought court suits to correct some of the conditions in prison.

In January 1974, I am scheduled to leave prison at the ripe old age of 30.

A prisoner
Missouri

World Outlook

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

DECEMBER 28, 1973

Millions strike against high prices in France

By Marcel Black

Millions of French workers went on strike December 6 to protest rising prices and the threat of unemployment.

The general strike was called by the major trade unions and the parties of the Union of the Left: the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, the Stalinist-led unions); the CFDT (Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail—the French Democratic Confederation of Labor, dominated by social democrats); the FEN (Fédération de l'Education Nationale—National Education Federation, the teachers union); and by the Socialist, Communist, and United Socialist parties, and the Left Radical movement.

The strike was also supported by the French "far-left" organizations. A joint statement was issued before the strike by the Revolutionary Marxist Alliance, Workers' Struggle, Revolution!, the United Socialist Party, and the Trotskyist weekly *Rouge*. The statement declared "total solidarity with the workers who will be on strike, December 6."

The declaration said that "the general strike of December 6 must not stop on the next day but must become

the point of departure for a united working-class offensive against the lowering of the buying power and the living conditions of the workers and against the threats of unemployment."

Inflation has mounted in France at an annual rate of 13.2 percent, while the corporations have threatened workers with large-scale unemployment.

The *Wall Street Journal* reported December 7: "Work was halted in the nation's steel, railroad, chemical and other industries. The stock market was closed, newspapers weren't published and few subway trains ran in Paris, where hundreds of thousands of protesters marched through the streets shouting antigovernment slogans."

Figures varied as to the level of participation in the strike. Right-wing unions opposed the strike, and threats were made against some workers.

The December 8 *Le Monde* reported that public transportation was sharply reduced during the strike and that only a few provincial daily newspapers were published. Radio and television broadcasts were cut drastically. The minister of education reported that 53.5 percent of the workers in the national educational system joined the strike.

Le Monde also reported that ship-

ping was completely stopped. Forty concert halls and theaters in Paris alone were closed on an appeal from the entertainment and actors unions.

A mass demonstration took place in Paris December 6. *Rouge* reports that between 300,000 and 500,000 marchers participated. It was led by union leaders and by leaders of the Stalinist, social-democratic, and United Socialist parties. Large contingents participated from unions and student groups as well as from the different "far-left" organizations.

On banners and buttons and in the shouts of the marchers slogans were raised such as "Against the high cost of living; for buying power." Hospital and public workers raised the demand "More money for health, not for the army; more personnel to care for hospital patients."

Supporters of the Union of the Left, a class-collaborationist electoral bloc involving the CP, the SP, and the Left Radicals, raised slogans such as "Power to the People's Union," and "Only solution is the Common Program [of the Union of the Left]," *Le Monde* reports that "far-left" groups such as the United Front of High School Action Committees raised such slogans as "The only solution is revo-

lution!"

The December 6 strike and demonstration displayed the immense power of the French working class on a scale that has not been seen since the 1968 May-June workers' and students' struggles. Despite this immense power, the French working class is still laden with reformist misleaders who want to collaborate with the capitalists rather than replace them with workers' power. They projected the December 6 strike as a one-day protest rather than as part of a continuing struggle.

Rouge projected a break with these policies. In its campaign around the issue of inflation it has projected the sliding scale of wages and hours as a solution to rising prices and unemployment.

In an editorial on what to do in the wake of the December 6 strike *Rouge* wrote:

"What next? Numbers must be transformed into force! By the democratic organization of struggles on the basis of specific demands. By coordinating them on a regional and national scale. By coordinating them on an international scale: the bosses and the top government officials are getting together, the workers must unite. . . ."

U.S., Britain block seating of Guinea in United Nations

London

On November 2, 1973, the General Assembly of the United Nations passed a resolution recognising the independent state of Guinea. Ninety-three delegations supported the resolution, but seven, including those of the United States and Britain, voted against it.

Washington's backing for Portugal's claims to Guinea stems from years of mutual collaboration. In December 1971 the American and Portuguese governments signed a treaty at NATO headquarters in Brussels that gave the Pentagon use of air bases on the Azores in return for loans of \$400 million.

The Azores bases were used in the U.S. airlift of war materiel to Israel during the October war in the Arab East. The October 30 *Daily Telegraph* commented that U.S. support for Portugal in the vote on Guinea in the

General Assembly was "in return for the use of the Portuguese Azores by United States aircraft taking war supplies to Israel."

British opposition to seating Guinea at the UN is no surprise either. Britain is Portugal's largest export market. Britain is also a big supplier of Portugal's armed forces and owns much of the Portuguese economy. The record of collaboration with Lisbon was appropriately "celebrated" by the Tories and the Caetano government during last summer's six hundredth anniversary of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance.

British delegates to the UN General Assembly hid their real political opposition to the seating of Guinea behind a seemingly neutral and technical argument that Britain could not recognise a state that was not in effective control of its territory and population, a criterion apparently not met in Guinea because of Portuguese occupation of the capital, Bissau, and its maintenance of scattered military bases in the country.

The argument is fraudulent. The Tory government has recognised numerous states scarcely in control of their national territory or commanding the allegiance of their population—an outstanding example being the "Republic of South Vietnam."

In September 1973 two governments appealed to the world for recognition: the independent state of Guinea



Afrique-Asie/Bruna Amico

National Assembly in liberated Guinea voted September 24 to declare independence from Portugal.

and the junta installed in Chile following the military coup that toppled the constitutionally elected government headed by Allende. It is noteworthy that while the American and British

governments rushed to recognise the hangmen of Santiago, they rejected the aspirations of the people of Guinea to free their country from Portuguese colonial domination.

Lessons of the coup in Chile: an exchange

[In our October 5 issue, we published an article entitled "Lessons of the defeat in Chile" by Gerry Foley. The article was reprinted from *Intercontinental Press*. The following is a letter to *Intercontinental Press* criticizing Foley's article, and the reply from *Intercontinental Press* editor Joseph Hansen. The exchange appeared in the November 5 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. We are printing them for the information of our readers.]

Stockholm

Editor:

In the September 24 issue of *Intercontinental Press*, there is an article by Comrade Gerry Foley entitled "The Coup in Chile—What Happened and

Why." One of the conclusions drawn by Comrade Foley is open to misinterpretation and can be taken for a serious political error. Therefore it has to be clarified. Among many revolutionists in Sweden, as in many other countries, this article is taken as stating the revolutionary Marxist point of view in relation to the bloody confrontation in Chile. Therefore I think a public rectification is urgently needed. The conclusion that I find in contradiction to the principles of revolutionary Marxism is the following:

"A revolutionary party able to give leadership to the resistance could have completely changed the outcome. Without this, the military force of the former guerrillas was insignificant. The final irony was that they died defending a government that had irrevocably condemned itself to death, when they were needed to help form the nucleus of a government based directly on the workers that could have really fought imperialism and dealt it a decisive defeat." (P. 1052.)

This can be taken for moralizing cynicism! An insult to those who died in the battles with the counterrevolutionaries!

Comrade Foley's proposal to those who took up arms and wanted to fight is the following: Stop fighting,

you are "needed to help form the nucleus of a government based directly on the workers"! This is nonsense. Those who died were defending their own lives. They were defending the working class. The counterrevolutionaries wanted to wipe out the political organizations of the working class. They wanted to jail or execute all

leaders of the working class. In this struggle the workers of course were not neutral between the camp of Allende and that of Pinochet:

"The Bolsheviks did not remain neutral between the camp of Kerensky and that of Kornilov. They fought in the first camp against the second.



Military terror in Chile. Workers and peasants lacked revolutionary party that could have prepared and led effective fight against right-wing generals.

Chilean junta faces economic disaster

The accelerating unemployment in Chile, along with record inflation, has apparently begun to alarm even the officials of the ruthless Chilean junta, according to a report from Santiago by Fernando Martínez. In the November 24 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*, he quoted an official of the SENDE (Servicio Nacional del Empleo—National Employment Service) as saying:

"The most dramatic thing is that this figure [an increase of 2,700 persons looking for jobs between September 24 and October 27] has con-

tinued to mount. A week-to-week comparison speaks volumes. In the period September 24-29, some 300 persons registered with this office. In the first two weeks of October, it was 556 and 650 persons respectively. And then between October 21 and 27, it was 800. Since the first of November, more than a thousand unemployed persons a week have registered here. I don't know the figures in the provinces, but I assume that the problem there is as bad or worse."

From October to November, the government's own price index rose by 87.6 percent, the biggest inflationary jump in the country's history. Thus, with catastrophically mounting unemployment and drastic cuts in the buying power of employed workers, retail receipts have not risen as a result of higher prices but have continued to drop because of greatly decreased sales.

Like other belated defenders of "pure" capitalism, the junta's advisers have found out that even under the most repressive regime it is not always possible to wait for "economic equilibrium" to be established by the "natural forces

of the market."

"There is a consensus," Martínez wrote, "that the solutions originally expected will not come about. . . . Now it is thought that if the problem is not approached in a more direct, short-term way, social tensions will continue to mount, creating an atmosphere conducive to crime." Since even before the coup, Santiago, like most other large Latin American cities, had a huge semiemployed population that had to survive as best it could, it seems clear that the "crime" the junta fears must be something quite serious.

In the critical first weeks after the coup, there was an appearance of economic improvement as business put their hoarded stocks on the market again. This brief glimpse of plenty quickly vanished in the gloom of a rapidly deteriorating economic situation, which has hit not only the working-class supporters of the popular-front regime but the petty-bourgeois layers that originally backed the junta.

In the first place, there were the political purges in the governmental offices and in education. Then there

were mass firings in the state-controlled industries "to restore labor discipline." The thousands upon thousands of workers fired for political reasons almost certainly do not appear in the official unemployment figures. With the massacres and the concentration camps, they would not dare apply for government help.

Even the side effects of a repression as massive and ruthless as that carried out by the junta have been enormously costly. Because of the early curfew, which Pinochet says will be maintained for at least eight months, virtually all of the small service establishments, restaurants, and coffee shops have been forced to close. Because of the distortions of an underdeveloped economy, this category of workers is undoubtedly very numerous. According to Martínez, the closing of these establishments put 10,000 persons out of work, presumably in Santiago alone.

Ironically, the small proprietors and street merchants were originally among the most enthusiastic supporters of the coup.

U.S. troops to remain in South Korea

The debate over "reunification" of North and South Korea, which threatened to break out in the United Nations at an embarrassing moment for the Seoul regime—just as student demonstrations continued to escalate—has been averted through a series of diplomatic maneuvers. On November 20 it was announced that Pyongyang and Seoul had agreed to shelve their separate motions before the UN, in effect

sanctioning, at least for the time being, a continuation of the status quo.

The South Korean resolution, backed by Washington, Tokyo, and other imperialist centers, called for the admission to the UN of two separate Koreas (neither are now officially represented), thus legitimizing the existence of the U.S. puppet regime in Seoul. The other motion, which had received the backing of the Fourth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned States, held in Algiers in September, called for the "peaceful reunification" of the two parts of Korea, the dissolution of the UN command, and the withdrawal of the 42,000 U.S. troops presently stationed in South Korea under the UN banner.

In the interests of keeping the surface waters of détente as smooth as possible and to avoid fueling any more anti-American sentiment in Asia, Washington opted to avoid a diplo-

matic showdown on the question of its military presence in South Korea. The Japanese imperialists, who have sizable investments in South Korea, also have a long-term interest in maintaining the Seoul regime, whether or not it is an official member of the UN.

But the imperialist backers of the Seoul resolution were not the only ones interested in avoiding a diplomatic confrontation. Both Peking and Pyongyang, which have their own bureaucratic interests to safeguard, also considered it advisable to accept the status quo.

While Pyongyang could not but oppose the two-Koreas resolution—which flew in the face of its long-established diplomatic posture of "peaceful reunification"—the question of "principled" opposition to the presence of U.S. troops was quite another matter.

Even as late as the November 10 issue of the *Pyongyang Times*, President Kim Il Sung had called on the UN General Assembly to "strip the U.S. imperialist aggressor troops in south Korea of the 'U.N. forces' helmets and make it withdraw." But he switched to a different song just a few days later. David Winder, reporting from the UN to the November 20 *Christian Science Monitor*, noted that Chinese Ambassador Huang Hua had borrowed a phrase from Kim Il Sung to the effect that U.S. troops should be withdrawn at the "earliest possible date," rather than "immediately."

Even such mild phraseology proved too much for the backers of the Seoul resolution, so Kim agreed to drop all mention of the U.S. troops in the compromise agreement that was read on the floor of the General Assembly on November 20.

Secret connivance between Washing-

They accepted the official command as long as they were not sufficiently strong to overthrow it. It was precisely in the month of August, with the Kornilov uprising, that a prodigious upswing of the Bolsheviks began. This upswing was made possible only thanks to the double-edged Bolshevik policy. While participating in the front lines of the struggle against Kornilov, the Bolsheviks did not take the slightest responsibility for the policy of Kerensky. On the contrary, they denounced him as responsible for the reactionary attack and as incapable of overcoming it. In this way they prepared the political premises of the October Revolution, in which the alternative Bolshevism or counterrevolution (communism or fascism) evolved from a historic tendency into a living and immediate reality." (Leon Trotsky, *The Spanish Revolution*, pp. 296-97.)

Maybe Comrade Foley has the opinion that there was no possibility to win the battle. Maybe that's why he writes that the young former guerrillas "died heroically in a futile (!) defense of a capitulationist government." (*Intercontinental Press*, September 24, p. 1051.) But this doesn't change things: "A revolutionary party will always

prefer to subject itself to a defeat together with the masses, rather than stand aside moralizing, and leave the workers without leadership under the bayonets of the bourgeoisie. A party beaten in battle will root itself deeply in the hearts of the masses and will sooner or later take the revenge. But a party that has deserted the class at the moment of danger will never come to life again." (Op. cit., p. 132.)

Communist greetings, with a hope for a rectification.

—Göte Kildén

Reply—

The sentences to which Comrade Kildén calls attention are from the final section of Gerry Foley's analysis of the coup in Chile. They appear under the subheading: "What Was Lacking in Chile?" Foley offered as his answer that what was lacking was a Bolshevik-type party.

In separation from the context, the sentences can be misinterpreted. We appreciate Comrade Kildén's calling our attention to this.

There was no intent, however, to insult those who fought in defense of their lives, their rights, or their gains under the Allende regime against the military butchers. Quite the contrary!

Foley's point was strictly *political*

—that besides heroism, a correct policy is required. Without a correct policy, the lives of valuable cadres can be wasted. In Chile a fight should have been opened on another front long ago, a fight to construct the instrument that could assure success against the counterrevolution; that is, a Bolshevik-type party that would have taken as its axis of action the establishment of a workers and peasants government. Through articles and documents, *Intercontinental Press* has urged such a course since Allende's popular-front government came to power in 1970.

The quotations from Trotsky are pertinent in that they indicate the policy that a revolutionary party would have followed in Chile. Against the counterrevolutionary moves of the generals, a revolutionary party would have defended the popular-front government while opposing it politically. When the generals were defeated, it would have moved to topple the Kerensky of 1973 and replace his regime with a workers and peasants government. *But the Chilean workers lacked such a party.* They had no way of effectively applying the policy advocated by Trotsky and practiced by the Bolsheviks in 1917.

In Chile, because of the treacherous role played by the Social Democrats and above all the Stalinists, the task of building a revolutionary party was not undertaken. The Chilean workers were thus left disarmed politically. It must be added that those who thought that guerrilla war could be counted on to provide a shortcut, obviating the need for a revolutionary party, must likewise share political responsibility for this failure. Insistence on assigning political responsibility, let it be repeated, does not deny the heroism of individual members of these currents who took up arms in a desperate struggle against the counter-revolutionaries; nor does it deny the positive role that their heroism can play in a future upsurge of the class struggle in Chile.

After seeing what happened in Chile, many who held illusions about Allende will now agree that the "peaceful, parliamentary road to socialism" proved once again to be a deadly trap. It is to be hoped that they will also draw the still deeper lesson—the need to build a revolutionary party in time. This was what Gerry Foley sought to stress in his analysis of the coup.

—Editor

Swedish ambassador expelled from Chile

"While Consuela Ferreira was lying half conscious after the operation, several plainclothes detectives forced their way into the clinic in an attempt to arrest her. Ambassador Edelstam was called by some doctors. He rushed to the clinic together with five embassy officials. He was also accompanied by the French ambassador, Pierre de Menthon, and later joined by a West German U.N. official."

This is the way the Copenhagen daily *Information* described the start of the incident that led to the Chilean junta's expulsion of the Swedish ambassador on December 4.

Consuela Alonso Ferreira (in reality Mirtha Fernández Pucurull, the widow of a Tupamaro leader slain in 1970), is a 31-year-old Uruguayan woman who took refuge in the Swedish Embassy in Santiago after the September 11 coup. When she was found to have uterine cancer, Ambassador Edelstam managed to get permission for her to undergo surgery in a Chilean clinic. But the junta broke its word and violated the protection of the Swedish Embassy. Nor did the police and soldiers of the bloodthirsty U.S.-backed regime respect the persons of the French and Swedish ambassadors. The police called an army unit to drag the semi-conscious woman away.

"The diplomats went into the ward to stop the soldiers from taking the patient out on a stretcher," *Information* continued. "Edelstam and his secretary were pushed aside. The Swedish ambassador was knocked down and struck in the face. . . . Various patients suffered nervous collapse and fainted."

Once again, however, the junta was forced, despite its savagery, to back-track under the pressure of interna-

tional protest. The woman was allowed to leave for Sweden, where she was reportedly rushed to a hospital in grave condition.

In the same period, other extreme violations of international law occurred. On December 3, according to the December 6 *Le Monde*, three persons were wounded as they were entering the Panamanian Embassy. The soldiers on guard around the building opened fire on them after they were already behind the gate.

The ouster of the Swedish ambassador, who has saved hundreds of political refugees from death, torture, and prison camps at the hands of the junta, is an indication that the regime is still trying to close the few escape routes that remain for the political exiles trapped in the country. At the same time, the release of Mirtha Fernández Pucurull shows that continued international protests can keep these routes open.

15,000 killed

Upon his arrival in Sweden after being expelled from Chile, Swedish ex-ambassador Harald Edelstam told reporters that approximately 15,000 people had been killed since the rightist coup Sept. 11. "Torture and arrests of people continue in Chile three months after the military take-over," he stated.

Edelstam's estimate was that 7,000 people were arrested since the coup, and 30,000 left homeless.

As to U.S. involvement in the coup, Edelstam said, "The Americans are everywhere in South America, and it wouldn't surprise me if they were involved in some way or at least knew what was coming."

ton and Peking evidently helped pave the way for this compromise agreement. On his way from Peking to Tokyo during his November diplomatic tour, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger stopped for a few hours in Seoul to reassure President Park Chung Hee that Washington had no intention of withdrawing its military forces from South Korea. The November 20 *Christian Science Monitor* reported "informed sources" as speculating that "China tacitly approves the continued presence of American troops in South Korea and fears that Japanese forces might come fill the vacuum if American troops left."

"This was one of the messages that U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger brought to Seoul in his 4.5-hour visit here Nov. 16."

While the Kremlin may not have had a direct hand in the compromise,

it too would favor such a tacit agreement. The November 30 *Washington Post*, reporting on Brezhnev's trip to India, mentioned his proposal for an international conference to discuss a collective security system for Asia. "Brezhnev said the need for such a system was a natural outgrowth of the detente between the Soviet Union and the United States," wrote the *Post*. Such a "security system" would have to include Korea.

Part of the UN agreement also included the dissolution of UNCURK (the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea).

The disbanding of UNCURK in no way affects the U.S. military presence in Korea. Even if the UN banner were removed, U.S. troops would still remain under the bilateral security pact Washington has with Seoul.

Intercontinental Press

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Crisis for Velasco regime

Teachers' strike touches off mass protests in Peru

"The government suspended constitutional guarantees, declared a state of emergency, and imposed an eight-hour curfew to contain a wave of violence in the southern cities of Arequipa and Puno," José Calmet wrote in the November 22 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* on the events touched off by the Peruvian teachers' strike. "In Arequipa . . . the violence culminated last night in an assault on two police stations. Two persons were killed and seventeen injured."

In the last two weeks of November, mass mobilizations in support of the teachers' demands for trade-union rights created one of the gravest crises in the history of the "progressive" military regime of General Juan Velasco Alvarado.

These actions marked a resurgence in the militant high-school teachers movement after the strike of early fall 1971, which was broken by military repression, including the arbitrary deportation of the main union leaders. The Trotskyist peasant union leader Hugo Blanco, the most well-known revolutionary leader in the country, was deported at the same time for speaking in defense of the teachers' strike.

In this country of about 12,000,000 inhabitants, the teachers, numbering more than 100,000, form one of the largest and most impoverished layers of white-collar workers, and they are closely tied to the combative student organizations.

With the support of the students and sections of the workers, the strike in late November by SUTEP (Sindicato Único de Trabajadores de la Educación del Perú—United Federation of Educational Workers of Peru) paralyzed the three major cities in the southern part of the country and apparently won the support of a majority of teachers nationwide.

In Arequipa a trade-union united front, the Comité de Defensa del Fuero Sindical (Trade-Union Rights Defense Committee), called a general strike to demand the release of imprisoned SUTEP leaders, according to Calmet. Mass demonstrations in support of the action led to a violent explosion in the traditionally combative industrial city.

"The incidents occurred in the downtown area," Calmet reported, "near the markets and inside the university district . . . Government offices were attacked, including the Banco de la Nación and SINAMOS [Sistema Nacional de Apoyo a la Movilización Social—National Network for Supporting the Social Mobilization, the junta's organ for social work and propaganda]."

"The demonstrators threw up barricades and stoned the police forces, who fired in the air and launched gas grenades in an attempt to disperse them."

Reports in the carefully censored Peruvian press indicated that the strike halted a wide range of economic activities throughout the southern region.

"It was reported that the material losses for the seven days of the strike were very high; losses caused by the

paralysis of vehicular traffic were also grave. A shortage of fuel has developed in Puno, Cuzco, and Arequipa."

The strike leadership in Arequipa city imposed an effective control over the distribution of food, the Buenos Aires Trotskyist weekly *Avanzada Socialista* indicated in its November 29 issue. Food stores whose owners did not follow the discipline of the strike were sacked. An alliance developed between the unions and the farmers in the region, who distributed 50,000 liters of milk free to the strikers.

The regional council of the CGTP (Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú—General Federation of Peruvian Workers), Calmet went on to say, was going to join in the strike. Since the Communist party, which dominates the leadership of the CGTP, has been the most uncritical defender of the junta and its policies, the pressure from the ranks for supporting militant trade-union action in defiance of the government must have been considerable.

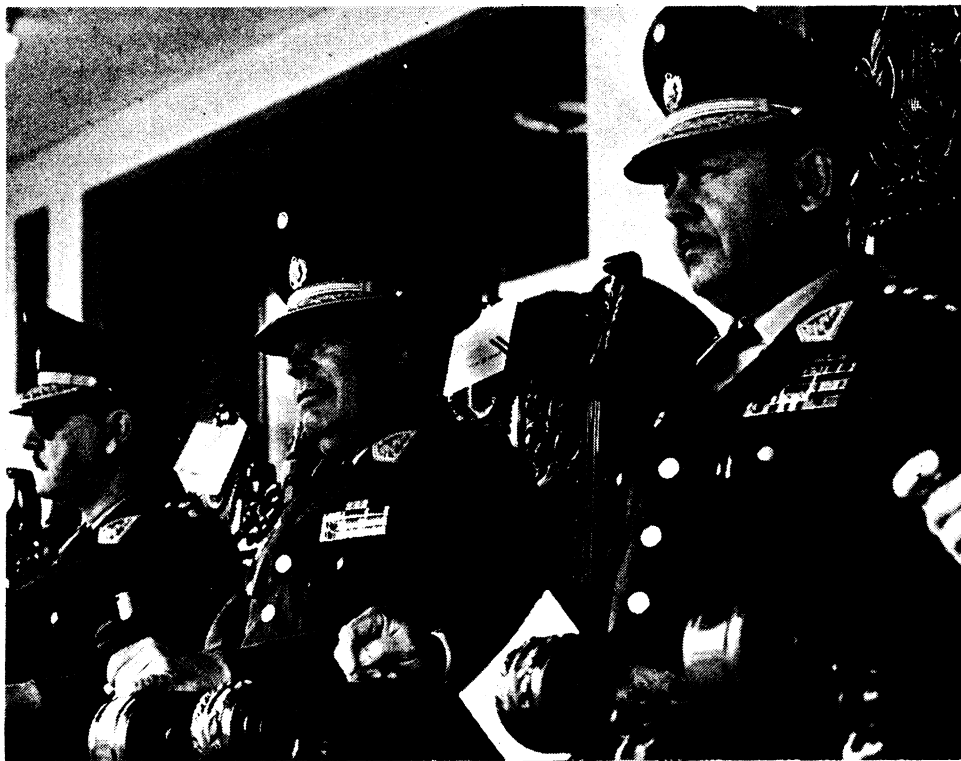
The junta left no doubt that it was determined to crush the latest "unauthorized" strike as it did the one in 1971. Among other things, it re-

He noted, moreover, that Pope Paul VI and the Peruvian hierarchy had declared their support for his government's policy because of its "humanism."

But General Velasco's message to the strikers did not take a notably "humanist" tone. Here is the way *La Opinión's* correspondent summarized his remarks in the November 24 issue of the Buenos Aires daily:

"On the agitation unleashed by the extremists in Arequipa and Puno, using the leaders of the so-called Sindicato Único de Trabajadores de la Enseñanza en el Perú as the pivot, General Velasco Alvarado said: 'The men of the revolution are obligated to defend it with all the weapons at their command.'"

The government's favorite weapon, the reporters present could be expected to remember, has been deportation, rather than the long jail terms favored by the previous regime. Perhaps because the junta has had the advice and help of the whole spectrum of the opportunist left, from the Communist party to the ex-Trotskyist Ismael Frias to the former guerrilla leader Héctor Bejar, it has been able to exercise its repression more skillfully than its predecessors, and temper



General Velasco Alvarado (right) has resorted to both demagoguery and repression to counter the new upsurge.

sorted to the "guerrilla" scenario that is now classic in Latin American countries. The minister of the interior announced: "The forces of public order have discovered that in order to exacerbate the conflict, the extremists intended to use arms and explosives stored in Puno and Arequipa." The local papers, Calmet noted, carried pictures of the "confiscated arms."

As the labor movement threatened to break loose from its tutelage, the government escalated its social demagoguery. On November 21, General Velasco promised to incorporate "suggestions" from the people into a projected law to put a section of the economy under "workers self-management."

it with a heavy dose of demagoguery.

But open political opposition on the left is immediately and ruthlessly crushed. After deporting the teachers union leaders and Hugo Blanco, the junta has now gone to the point of expelling individual socialist intellectuals who raise any criticisms of the government.

The U.S. academic socialist journal *Monthly Review* made this complaint in its November issue about the treatment of two of its Peruvian collaborators:

"A communication from Lima, Peru, dated September 25th and signed by our good friend Aníbal Quijano, author of MR Press book *Nationalism and Capitalism in Peru: A Study in*

Neo-Colonialism, reported that the latest issue of the magazine *Sociedad y Política*, of which Quijano is the editor, had been confiscated. Early in October a letter from another friend in Lima brought the disturbing information that Quijano and Julio Cotler, a sociology professor at Lima's San Marco University and a member of the Editorial Committee of *Sociedad y Política*, had been summarily deported to Argentina. These acts on the part of the Peruvian military junta against two of Latin America's most distinguished Marxist social scientists constitute a serious blow to the entire Latin American Left. The immediate cause was apparently the inclusion in *Sociedad y Política* of an editorial denouncing the brutal military coup in Chile and of an article by Cotler sharply critical of the Peruvian regime. At the same time, as Quijano emphasized in the communication mentioned above, the magazine had at all times scrupulously avoided any infraction of the press laws promulgated by the military junta itself. . . . Acts of this kind speak louder than volumes of official propaganda about the 'revolutionary' nature of the military dictatorship now in power in Peru."

The *Monthly Review* editors called for protests against the persecution of Quijano and Cotler.

In his article in the November 27 *La Opinión*, Miguez indicated that the junta's recent repressive moves were a sign that its "native Bonapartism" was less and less able to contain the increasing social tensions in the country:

"It is clear that the government still lacks the necessary popular support and social base required to endure as a civilian national government."

Such a regime is unlikely to be able to resist the pressures as U.S. imperialism moves, in the wake of the Chile coup, to limit still more the room for "nationalist" experiments. On the other hand, its ability to maintain its control over the workers seems to be eroding rapidly. The last reports in the international press indicated that the recent struggle for trade-union rights has made a deep impact on at least the southern region:

"The streets of Cuzco are still being patrolled by the army," a dispatch from Lima reported in the November 29 *La Opinión*.

"The students barricaded in the university district have not cleared out and have received food and clothing from local representatives of the International Red Cross."

"In Arequipa, 300 kilometers to the west of Cuzco, a curfew is also in effect. On Tuesday [November 27] a day of mourning was observed for the victims of last week's incidents. . . ."

"All the workers and students wore black armbands and a black flag was raised in the university district. . . ."

"In the banks the workers observed a minute of silence in memory of the events that occurred in the general strike of the Arequipa trade unions in defense of the teachers fired because of their activity in SUTEP, a union that the government does not recognize and calls 'ultraleftist.'"



Capitalism's best

I am one brother among many who have been dealt capitalism's best. I'm being held for ransom of 20 to 30 years for a crime I had and still have no knowledge of.

I read *The Militant* from brothers here with me. I would like to receive *The Militant* and will endeavor to keep you informed as to events that may occur here in this concentration camp.

A prisoner
Mississippi

A brother died

Today a brother died here. The Department of Corrections will, as so many times in the past, issue a statement claiming suicide. But we the people who are fighting the yoke of oppression know better! He was murdered by the system, by their callous disregard for human life.

Several of us watched from the open windows in front of our cells the futile attempts made to save another fellow prisoner. Later when the same nurse responded to another call, we asked him why wasn't a doctor called to aid him? He said, "Doctors are not on duty at night."

Why not? You would think that an institution of this size would employ a qualified doctor 24 hours each day. This would ensure over 1,400 men the proper medical care. The question that immediately entered into our minds is this: would this man be alive today if there were a doctor on duty?

A prisoner
New York

Important publication

I'm engaged in writing a book that hopefully will throw more light on prisons, the educational institutions, and the family structure. Just recently, I was fortunate in reading a copy of *The Militant*. As I read it, I began to realize how important your publication is in terms of presenting an alternative viewpoint to the various establishment literary organs.

A prisoner
California

Paroled!

It turns out I am being paroled.

I want to thank you at this time for your solidarity over the last year and a half. I want to tell you that the subscriptions you sent are very, very important to many prisoners other than myself.

The permanent revolution is no secret to many men and women throughout state and federal prisons because of *The Militant* and *International Socialist Review*. And, like myself, many of these same folks will be joining you in struggle out there very soon.

For a workers government!
A prisoner
Indiana

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.

Steelworkers & democracy

The following is a guest column by Herman Kirsch, who is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Ohio.

New sounds are coming from the steel mills these days. Not the roar of blast furnaces or the whining of electric motors moving giant overhead cranes. Steelworkers are demanding a voice in the affairs of their union and a free hand to protect themselves against the steel companies.

A Midwest conference of union leaders opposed to the company-oriented policies of United Steelworkers President I.W. Abel met in Youngstown on Dec. 9. Thirty-five delegates from 25 United Steelworkers of America (USWA) locals came from Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. One-third were Black.

Ed Mann, president of Youngstown Local 1462, extended a warm welcome and opened the conference. It was called specifically to organize opposition to the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), which was signed this year by Abel and the steel companies. Under this "no-strike" agreement, all unresolved issues are to be submitted to binding arbitration when the basic steel agreement expires next summer.

Resolutions condemning the ENA have been adopted by many USWA locals from coast to coast. Petitions have been circulated on the job to reject this undemocratic agreement. Papers have been signed by thousands of steelworkers retaining Rutgers University professor Arthur Kinoy and attorney Michael Tigar to represent them in a court action to declare the ENA null and void on the grounds that it violates their basic rights as union members. The primary aim is to gain more democracy in the union—the right to vote on all contracts.

Such court actions can serve to scandalize the Abel bureaucracy. But it was generally recognized at this

conference of steelworkers that their rights will finally be won only by their own actions, which must go beyond the limits imposed by the union.

The first speaker at the conference was James Davis from Youngstown Local 1462. He is national vice-president of the Afro-American Labor Council and chairman of a Black steelworkers caucus. "Any movement which is not in support of Black workers is doomed to failure," he said. He spoke about conditions in the mills and in the Black communities. The Steelworkers union has failed to fight for plant-wide seniority and preferential hiring of Blacks in skilled classifications where they are still excluded.

Near the close of the conference Alice Peurala of Chicago Local 65 spoke on the need to project meaningful demands for the 1974 bargaining—substantial wage increases, a better cost-of-living clause, the four-day workweek with no reduction in pay, and no more layoffs.

The conference planned a rally in Youngstown for Jan. 1 against the ENA. It also made plans for the USWA basic-steel conference in Washington, D.C., on Jan. 9-10.

Joe Kun from Local 1462 may have expressed the feelings of most steelworkers when he said, "I'm against this ENA. I've been experimented with all my life—in the depression of the 1930s, in the second world war, and in the plant. I don't want to be experimented with for the next three years."

Steelworkers are not the only ones who must sense that they are the victims of experiments in profit gouging—fuel shortages, high prices, unemployment, low wages, race and sex discrimination, dangerous working conditions, polluted air and water, poor schools, and all the other evils of capitalism.

The times cry out for workers to move massively against these evils. The Youngstown conference of dissident steelworkers was a signal that they will.

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



A reply to Gutierrez

In a recent open letter to the Chicano movement, José Angel Gutiérrez expresses sharp disagreement with the outlook of many Raza Unida Party activists.

Gutiérrez is a leader of the Texas party and was elected chairman of the *Congreso de Aztlán* at the El Paso conference of Raza Unida parties last year.

Gutiérrez criticizes the Colorado and California parties for having taken stands in support of the independence movement in Puerto Rico, the Cuban revolution, and revolutionary struggles in Mexico, Chile, and Africa. He asserts that Chicanos "understand little and care less" about these things.

Gutiérrez recommends that the *partido* confine its interests and activities to such issues as education, health care, wages, and elections.

Attacking those in the Raza Unida Party who are interested in socialist ideas, he implies that there is no place for them in the party.

To those who are thinking along these lines, Gutiérrez has the following advice: "If they want a revolutionary party, let them form one. If they want a socialist party, let them join one. If they want an international movement, let them keep poking their noses into world affairs."

This is a very narrow outlook.

To be sure, La Raza Unida must immerse itself in the struggles for better schools, higher wages, adequate health care. Many of these struggles will point toward the need for the Chicano people to control their communities. And the party must run vigorous election campaigns.

But if La Raza Unida is to offer a clear alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties and the racist oppression they represent, it will also explain that the plight that besets the Chicano masses is not just an unhappy coincidence. It is the result of a reactionary social, economic, and political system. For La Raza Unida to be effective, it must also fight the disease, not just the symptoms.

Gutiérrez says Chicanos are not interested in what happens outside the *barrio*. Well, to the extent that this is the case, the role of Raza Unida must be to educate them. Explain to them that the system

that exploits them here is sucking the blood of the masses of Latin America, Africa, and Asia. The murderers of students in Mexico, the torturers in Brazil, the mass executioners and book burners in Chile—none of these could exist without the aid of the U.S. government.

And it is not simply a question of solidarity with the victims of *yanqui* imperialism abroad. Struggles of the oppressed in other countries have a great bearing on struggles here. When workers and *campesinos* in other lands deal a blow to the imperialist monster, it strengthens the movement for Chicano liberation. Conversely, every victory for imperialism abroad serves to maintain exploitation and oppression at home.

But Chicanos are not as disinterested in world affairs as Gutiérrez would have us believe. A dramatic case in point was reported in last week's *Militant*. Linda Wine, reporting on the coup in Chile for the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, was enthusiastically received by Chicanos in south Texas.

To hear Gutiérrez tell it, those activists who are internationalists or who are considering socialist ideas don't do anything but read books all day and make speeches.

But he knows this is not the case. For example, Raza Unida activists in Colorado, a state singled out by Gutiérrez, carry out many activities relating to the day-to-day needs of Chicanos.

The Raza Unida parties are undergoing a process of development. Vital questions of philosophy and political program are still being thought through. The ideas of socialists are highly relevant in this discussion.

If Gutiérrez disagrees with those favoring an internationalist perspective for the movement and/or consideration of socialist ideas, he should argue the question politically. This is the positive way of resolving political disputes. It cannot be done by trying to silence or drive out those with differing views. Attempts to do it that way can only injure the *partido* and the cause of Chicano liberation.



And rightly so— The president's physician complains that Nixon's setting a fuel conservation example by spending more weekends in Washington means he'll do less swimming and walking. Asked why the president couldn't walk on the White House grounds, the doc explained it was better for him to do his walking "where no one's going to be watching him."

Problems, problems— If drivers think the gas shortage is tough on them, they should consider the problems confronting the oil industry. For instance, when the price of gas goes to more than a dollar a gallon, every pump in the country will have to be replaced. The present ones can't list prices beyond 99.9 cents.

No parking— Detroit police have their instructions for dealing with UFOs. Top priority is to get them to the ground, even if a bullhorn is required.

Tickets may be issued where there is a violation, and the alien visitors may be searched. Males and females will be separated for questioning. And if they talk back, just bust heads, right?

Conservation tips — Representative Glenn Anderson (D-Calif.) and his wife are conserving energy. They've shut down their electrically generated waterfall, and Ms. Anderson waits till her hair is half dry before getting under the dryer. They have three couples for dinner instead of one, thus reducing the number of dinner parties. They try to invite people from the same neighborhood so they can pool up.

Promoters— Taxpayers and gas users alike will be gratified that our good president assigned an Air Force jet to fly that sterling opponent of tax waste, Governor Reagan, to the Orient to "promote trade." The promotion

party of 14 included the governor's wife and her hairdresser. The trip took 65,000 gallons of fuel.

Some of us, at any rate— "Our whole way of life depends on profit." — Governor Reagan.

True paytriots— Convicted Watergate burglar Frank Sturgis was also convicted with several other Cuban exiles of having operated a stolen car ring in 1968. Their defense was that in 1968 they were busy preparing an invasion of Cuba. Which, for official White House plumbers, is perfectly legal, right?

Videogate— A Newsweek letter writer says the government may be moving to take over TV and that this could give new content to some of the old programs, like "To Tell the Truth," "What's My Line?," "I've Got a Secret," and "Father Knows Best."



'Unfair? Lady, rich folks pay the same prices as you'

By Any Means Necessary

How to handle Shockley

Some universities have recently put out the welcome mat for Dr. William Shockley.

Shockley is a Nobel Prize-winning physicist—he is credited with inventing the transistor. He is also a propagator of racist, pseudoscientific theories of inherent Black inferiority. Lately these theories have been granted an unearned respectability as a result of his campus lectures and debates.

Shockley stubbornly defends the results of biased IQ tests as proof of white superiority and talks about Black crime statistics and Black predilection for violence. He raps "the encouragement to have large families that our welfare programs have given to the least effective elements of our population."

These racist ideas must be combated because they are used to justify the oppression of Black people. Just as racism developed to justify the enslavement of Black Africans. Just as Hitler used anti-Semitism to justify the killing of six million Jews.

Such racist ideas cover for the moves to cut back or cut out the meager gains that Blacks have won through struggle.

On the campus, open admissions and Black studies programs are being questioned or curtailed. "Educators" sometimes seek tuition hikes on the assumption that Black people don't really deserve a college education.

Shockley's ideas provide a convenient rationale for prison mind-control programs where psycho-surgery and psychotherapy are applied to Blacks deemed by prison officials to be "chronic problems."

They are used to justify the maintenance of armies of cops in the ghettos who maintain our oppression through murder and frame-up.

And they are used to justify cutbacks of already scarce funding for various social welfare programs.

Recently at New York University a Conference Against Racism was held that discussed how to combat white-supremacists like Shockley. Other such conferences have been planned and show the depth of opposition that exists on campuses to such ideas.

Shockley's attempts to spread his filth on the campuses should be met with a massive organized

Baxter Smith



response. A united protest—demonstrations, pickets, and boycotts of his meetings—by all students and faculty opposed to the preaching of racist ideas on the campus is needed. This is the best method of fighting Shockley and other racists like him who he is emboldening.

Such a mass-action campaign can be effective. At Princeton, when Shockley spoke, 500 protesters demonstrated.

Other strategies fall short of what is needed.

Small groups of protesters disrupting his meetings—as occurred recently at Staten Island Community College—have allowed his protectors the opportunity to confuse the real issue. They then claim that Shockley's civil liberties are being denied by undemocratic students. And the attempt to pressure campus officials into canceling his appearances concedes to such officials the right to decide who can and cannot speak on campus. This is a right that the students should hold and should enforce through their own power organized independently of such officials.

So, when Shockley comes to your campus, make sure large numbers of students show him that he and his racist ideas are not welcome.

Women In Revolt

Union women on the march

The Coalition of Labor Union Women held its East Coast planning meeting in Philadelphia Dec. 8. Three hundred women attended to discuss plans for the national conference to be held in Chicago March 23-24.

The following are major excerpts from the opening speech presented by Shelli Sonstein, one of the organizers of the meeting and a member of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists.

Sisters, we are making history. Union women are organizing for our rights. For over 100 years, women have built the union movement in this country. Yet, for over 100 years, we have been denied equal status with men.

We get 60 percent of men's earnings, we are denied equal promotional opportunities, and we are denied equal representation in union structures.

All across the country, union women are holding meetings to discuss our special problems and concerns. Union women's conferences have been held in Chicago, New York, St. Louis, Ann Arbor.

We constitute two-fifths of all the workers in this country, and our numbers are growing every year. There are 33 million female workers in the

United States. Yet, union sisters are only three million strong. In other words, our 30 million unorganized working sisters have no way to fight job discrimination . . . no way to protect their benefits . . . no way to fight inflation . . . and, most important, they have no job security.

Without unions, working women have nothing. The best way women workers can fight against job discrimination is through the unions. One of our most important tasks is to bring these 30 million unorganized women into the unions.

Without the unions, women will be forced to accept the same arguments from employers. Employers tell us that women only work for pin money, that women should not be promoted because we will marry, get pregnant, and have children. We all know these arguments. We hear them all the time. We know they are completely false.

We work because we have to. We need money to struggle with the problems of inflation, rent, food, and doctors' bills. Four million working women have children. One out of every nine women workers heads a family. And they tell us we work for pin money?

We are here to destroy these myths. We want the bosses, the government, and the unions to know

our time has come. We are here to say our needs have been ignored way too long.

As women we do have special concerns. Yes, we get pregnant and have children. But we don't want to be forced to quit or take a sick leave for pregnancy. We should be able to decide when or how long we want to take off the job for pregnancy . . . with full compensation.

We have footed the bill for child care too long. It is time for the employers and the government to provide child care.

We are union members and union activists. But we know there is a need for a change in our unions. We see that we are underrepresented. Our unions have not taken our needs seriously.

But we can see the beginnings of change. The AFL-CIO endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment. We forced that change. Union women forced that change. We are demanding that the unions take us seriously and women's issues seriously. And, from the endorsements and support we have received for this conference, we know we are on our way.

We can't do it without the unions and the unions can't do it without us. Together, we are going to win our goals.



Linda Jenness

Gov't wage controls are target of strikes across country; workers' patience low

By FRANK LOVELL

Strikes in several cities across the country, beginning this fall, served notice that workers will no longer quietly suffer the steady decline in their living standard without trying to halt this downward trend.

Some strikes were local and of short duration; others are national in scope and likely to continue into the new year. They signal an end of the so-called labor peace that has been imposed by government wage-control agencies with the participation of the top bureaucracy of the trade-union movement.

In recent weeks the following strikes show that the patience of workers is running low:

- Carpenters in the San Francisco Bay Area are hitting building contractors there for a long-delayed wage raise that has been held back by the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee (CISC), a tripartite wage-control agency in Washington.

- A one-week strike of 30,000 hospital workers in 48 New York City private hospitals and nursing homes was aimed against the government wage-control agency for the health industry, and against Nixon's Cost of Living Council (CLC).

- Hospital workers at George Washington University Hospital in Washington, D.C., and in hospitals in other cities are fighting for union representation, higher pay, and better working conditions.

- In Milwaukee, firemen stayed home sick because they could not get a wage raise to meet rising living costs. The National Guard was called to fight fires and firemen.

- Electrical workers in the Miami area struck the Florida Power and Light Company for a wage increase and improved working conditions. The power company retaliated by hiring strikebreakers and accusing the 4,500 striking members of the Inter-

ers who refused to come to terms on production standards.

Before the final terms of the new contracts could be clarified or tested, auto workers were hit by an avalanche of more than 200,000 layoffs caused by industry conversion to small-car production to meet the fuel shortage, and to satisfy other needs of the giant auto companies.

- Striking cabin attendants closed Trans World Airlines, and planes of that company were grounded for six weeks. This strike was provoked by the company and appeared to be an effort to break the union.

- The New York *Daily News* and the *Washington Post* were both closed for two days by different unions demanding decent wages and job protection against automation in the printing industry.

- Three major supermarket chains in Southern California have been struck by four unions—Teamsters, Meat Cutters, Machinists, and Operating Engineers. About 25,000 workers are involved. The Meat Cutters extended the strike statewide. Here also there appears to be a carefully planned drive on the part of the Food Employers Council to destroy the unions in this industry, taking advantage of the energy crisis, artificial shortages of food, an antiunion administration in the state, and divisions among the striking unions.

- Striking coal miners closed the Eastover Mining Company in Brookside, Ky., in a move against the giant Duke Power Company complex, which operates several nonunion mines. The recent United Mine Workers convention in Pittsburgh served notice that the UMW will seek to organize all unorganized coal miners. They also aim to force every mine in America to operate under the terms of a national contract for the industry, pay union wages, contribute to the union pension fund, and comply with union

These strikes and impending strikes all have in common the demands of workers for an end to government wage controls and other repressive measures by police, courts, and government agencies of all kinds that depress their standard of living. The strike of low-paid New York hospital workers and the unjust settlement imposed on them is an example of how the government bureaucracy operates against the working class.

One of the lessons of the hospital workers' strike that applies to all the others is that wage controls can no longer be imposed without the active participation on the labor-management advisory committee to the Cost of Living Council by AFL-CIO President George Meany, United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock,



N.Y. *Daily News* was closed for two days by strike over wages and job security.

Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons, and Steelworkers President I.W. Abel.

The hospital strike was a direct challenge to the Cost of Living Council, the only remaining roadblock to a small wage increase awarded 16 months earlier by a New York state arbitration panel. The first stage of the award in 1972 was held up for 11 months, while food prices leaped ahead. These workers had been waiting four months for their second-stage raise when they struck on Nov. 5 out of desperation. Most of them were getting only \$142 weekly before taxes, and the overdue raise was only \$12.

The Cost of Living Council in Washington was under considerable pressure to withdraw its patently false objections. Whatever the causes of inflation, it could not logically be argued that such a modest wage increase for these underpaid workers would send already sky-high prices soaring higher. The mayor of New York, the governor of the state, and a U.S. senator publicly urged the Cost of Living Council to act favorably and with dispatch on the urgent needs of these striking workers.

In addition, Treasury Secretary Shultz had announced that the administration plans soon to abolish economic controls and that the life expectancy of the CLC from that point on was very short. As long as it manages to hang on, it is a lame-duck agency, determined to do its worst before expiring.

In the case of the hospital workers, it held to its 5.5 percent formula, even though the raise that had been awarded them in terms of dollars was smaller than better-paid workers had been forced to settle for in 1973. How was it possible to single out these workers at the very bottom of the wage ladder in this harsh and unreasonable manner?

The chairman of Nixon's CLC, John Dunlop, could not have imposed his will upon hospital workers and would not be in business today if it were not

for a working relationship he has established with certain top officials of the union movement and the services they render him.

Union members are not privy to the private arrangements that have developed between the labor and government bureaucracies, nor are we told of the common "understandings" that exist between them. But others are.

Those who share the interests and outlook of the employing class, and analyze developments in the union movement for their benefit, hold frequent interviews with Meany and his coterie at AFL-CIO headquarters, and with Dunlop and his aides. They report periodically on the stresses and strains of the working relationship of the two groups.

A.H. Raskin, labor editor of the *New York Times*, summarized the existing relations between Meany and Dunlop in a Nov. 11 article on the hospital strike when it was still uncertain what the outcome would be. He wrote: "A fundamental Dunlop precept in administering controls is to involve labor and management as partners with the Government in reviewing wage contracts. This technique has enabled him to make effective use of the international presidents of building trade unions to put the damper on fractious locals bent on upsetting the stabilization formula."

Dunlop expected to do the same in the case of the hospital workers. His method in all instances is to stall, hold back, give in grudgingly only when the pressure of rising prices forces it. Thus wage raises always lag, never buy as much as would have been possible if paid when due.

The tripartite advisory committee regulating health wages was prepared early in November to cut back the small overdue wage raise of hospital workers. The labor members on that wage-control committee, including Max Greenberg of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, in order to forestall a showdown, moved for postponement until Nov. 30. This served Dunlop's purposes in the matter to the letter.

Raskin described what happened next. "Dr. Dunlop," says Raskin, "after checking with A.F.L.-C.I.O. headquarters, endorsed the postponement. His experience in the rest of the stabilization program made him feel that the international union [in this case RWDSU] would keep its New York members at work during the truce."

What Dunlop felt would happen did

Continued on page 26



Strike of 30,000 hospital workers in N.Y. was aimed at Nixon's Cost of Living Council

national Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of "numerous acts of violence."

- Members of the United Auto Workers struck several plants around the country after announcement of a new three-year wage pattern in successive settlements with Chrysler, Ford, and General Motors. These short-term strikes were partly protests against the low-level 3.5 percent annual wage raises, the inadequate cost-of-living clause, and other shortcomings of the industry-wide settlement. They were also provoked by local plant man-

health and safety standards.

- Over-the-road-drivers of operator-owned tractor-trucks, most of them heavily mortgaged to banks that finance these high-priced rigs, began blocking major expressways Dec. 4 to protest high gas prices, government-imposed speed limits, and other effects of the "energy crisis." The Teamsters union, in a separate move from the independent owner-operators, called for new mileage rates to cover the reduced speeds and the resulting longer hours of drivers on the highways.

The government's 'anti-inflation' program

'You might try something I've tried recently: eat a little less'—John McLane, deputy director, Cost of Living Council

And the socialist alternative:

INFLATION: WHAT CAUSES IT, HOW TO FIGHT IT by Linda Jenness, Dick Roberts, 24 pp., \$.25

ISSUES FACING THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE 1970s edited by Paul Davidson, 32 pp., \$.60

THE WAGE-PRICE FREEZE SWINDLE by Les Evans, Linda Jenness, 24 pp., \$.35.

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

Rank and file wins voice in union

Convention of United Mine Workers sets challenge to coal operators, government

By CINDY JAQUITH

PITTSBURGH—Miners are challenging the idea that they should give up their standard of living and their lives for Nixon's "equality of sacrifice" solution to the energy crisis and inflation. This was the clear message from the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) convention held here Dec. 3-14.

The gathering undoubtedly drew the close attention of the coal barons and the White House, as well as attracting the notice of workers in other unions who face similar problems.

UMWA delegates approved new contract demands that include a cost-of-living escalator clause, a 30-hour week with no reduction in wages, and sick pay, which the miners never received before. They are also demanding a tripling of the royalties paid by coal operators into the Welfare and Retirement Fund, so that retired miners can get \$500 monthly pensions.

The final contract will be ratified by the membership, a new right won at the convention. The old contract runs out Nov. 12, 1974. If necessary, the miners are prepared to strike to get what they want.

Drive for safety

In his opening address to the convention, UMWA President Arnold Miller warned that the coal companies will now try to exploit the energy crisis



ARNOLD MILLER: 'To understand problems of miners, you have to remember what coal dust tastes like.'

"as an excuse to take additional shortcuts with our safety."

The grim reality of this danger was brought home by the deaths of three miners during the course of the convention itself, all in mining accidents. As of Nov. 9, 137 other men had died in the mines during 1973.

In their new contract, the miners will be fighting for the union's right to withdraw men from mines that are unsafe and to make the company pay workers for time lost. In addition, the delegates approved having safety committeemen in every mine, to be elected by the union.

A drive to organize unorganized miners, beginning in Brookside, Ky., also won the convention's support.

These proposals were passed in the context of big changes going on within the UMWA itself. This was the first convention held under the leadership of Arnold Miller, president; Mike Trbovich, vice-president; and Harry Patrick, secretary-treasurer. The three were elected to office in December 1972 on a program of democratizing the



Convention showed that miners are prepared to strike if coal bosses refuse their demand for better contract.

union. W.A. "Tony" Boyle, who now faces murder charges in the killing of "Jock" Yablonski, was ousted from the presidency.

Conventions under the Boyle regime were notorious for intimidation of dissident delegates and lack of debate. As one delegate here told *The Militant*, "We were generally just called out of order and had to sit down before we had a chance to present our views. I've never been to one where we had access to the floor like we have at this one."

Democratic atmosphere

The discussion at this convention proceeded in a democratic manner, with opposing views freely expressed from the floor. Delegates frequently overruled the chair and they rejected reports that did not meet their approval.

The majority of delegates were working miners, and a large number had never been to a UMWA convention before, including Miller himself. A significant number of the men were in their twenties and thirties.

Many steps were taken at the convention to increase the voice of the rank and file in the UMWA. One proposal that received particular enthusiasm was a motion to move the UMWA headquarters out of Washington, D. C., and into the coalfields. When it passed overwhelmingly, delegates jumped up and down and cheered.

At the heart of this proposal was the desire of the membership to make the leadership more accessible. Miller articulated this sentiment when he said:

"To understand the problems of a man who works eight hours a day in a coal mine, you have to remember what coal dust tastes like. To represent the interests of miners, you have to see a slag pile outside your window, not a skyscraper. To lead the United Mine Workers of America, you can't be shielded from the look in a woman's eye while she waits for her husband trapped in a mine explosion."

The majority of delegates viewed the headquarters move as a symbolic break with the corruption of the Boyle regime. As James Miller from Local 8872 in West Virginia explained to *The Militant*, "I think that most of them that don't want to move is bureaucrats. They have the idea of going to Washington themselves sometime

and having a big mansion on the hill and rubbing shoulders with senators and congressmen."

Curbs on election fraud

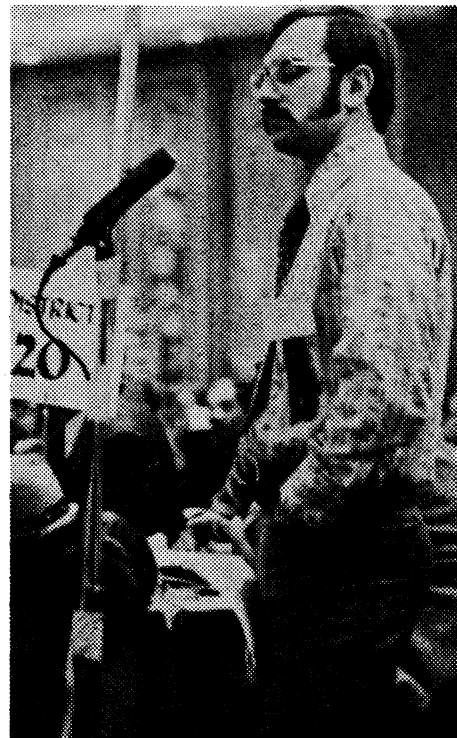
In another break with the past, the delegates voted that every UMWA local must have at least 10 working miners. This hotly debated motion means that the many "retiree locals" in the union will no longer exist, and their members will be transferred to active locals.

In the past, Boyle threatened these retiree locals with loss of pensions, union membership, or health care if they failed to support him in the elections. Eighty thousand of the 205,000 UMWA members are retired.

Delegates also voted that only working miners may run and vote for local president, vice-president, and mine and safety committeeman. A maximum age limit of 64 was set for candidates in local and district elections.

One 28-year-old delegate told *The Militant*, "The older miner is not going to be with us forever, so it's going to be left up to the younger miner. How important he views his role is going to decide what kind of union we have 20 years from now."

The delegates looked at all the proposals with a critical eye and were not



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Convention discussion was conducted in democratic manner.

afraid to raise objections. On the final day of the convention, ignoring the appeals of Miller, the delegates rejected a new grievance procedure that had been negotiated with the coal operators. "The restrictions I read here are on the mine worker, not on management," complained one speaker.

The coal companies had hoped the new procedure would end the series of wildcat strikes that have persisted in the mines. The delegates feared it would take away rank-and-file initiative.

Distortions in media

The capitalist press has played up several other defeated motions as a sign that the new leadership lacks the support of the membership.

In particular, a number of papers have tried to portray the defeat of a motion to create a strike fund as opposition to a strike. Nothing could be further from the truth.

In his closing remarks to the convention, Miller asked delegates to express their sentiment about striking to win their new contract. He was met with resounding applause. Richard Cicci, a delegate from Local 1190 in Pennsylvania, reflected the militant mood of many miners:

"If we go on strike, Nixon might try and label coal miners as damaging and hurting the security of the nation. We feel this is wrong because our demands have been so long waited for. I don't think we'll accept any legislation ordering us back to work."

The media also distorted the defeat of a motion for Nixon's resignation, construing it as a sign of support among miners for the president. But as the floor discussion demonstrated throughout the convention, miners are disgusted with Watergate and with Nixon. Most delegates simply did not vote on the motion, and many seemed to view it as a distraction from the discussion at hand.

False reporting aside, the newspapers representing the interests of the coal trusts did not miss the significance of what happened at the UMWA convention. As an editorial in the conservative *Pittsburgh Press* warned Dec. 11, "... there should be no misreading the mood of the tough-sounding miners and their new leaders, who now are turning to issues other than cleaning up their ranks." The most serious of those "other issues" is the threat of a six-month strike if the coal operators refuse to yield on the UMWA demands.

The miners are in an excellent bargaining position. The oil monopolies that own many coal companies want to increase production of coal, but they can't do it without the miners. In the estimate of the *Christian Science Monitor*, "... there is every sign that the nation's miners are ready to strike the industry unless they get large contract gains."

The *Monitor* also noted another aspect of the UMWA convention that surely alarms the coal bosses and Nixon too: "... the mine union's top officers ... appear less a threat to coal peace in 1974 than its members, who have been given heady new powers in Mr. Miller's 'democratization' of the union."

The capitalists have plenty of reason to fear the logic of the democratic rights the delegates consolidated at this convention. The miners are now determined to carry that fight into the arena of contract negotiations.

Coal miners speak out on energy crisis, politicians, and democracy in their union

By ED HEISLER

PITTSBURGH — I attended the United Mine Workers convention as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. senator from Illinois, and as a railroad switchman and member of the United Transportation Union. Unlike most of the Democratic and Republican politicians who appeared briefly to address the gathering and then left, I came to talk with the miners



"We don't intend to tolerate anything from the companies that will jeopardize the health and safety of our people."

and listen to what they had to say. Here are some of their views on several issues:

● About the changes in their union:

John Henry, a delegate from Local 1131 in Illinois, said, "This is the most democratic convention in the history of the United Mine Workers of America. Arnold Miller is a student

of democracy. He has shown that rank-and-file miners can run their union. A lot of delegates here would never have been delegates before under Boyle." Henry was active in Miners for Democracy, the group that backed Miller in the 1972 union elections.

Lewis Pierce, a delegate from Local 6023 in West Virginia, said he did not support Miller in the 1972 election. "But I support him now wholeheartedly. I think the convention is going well."

Delmer Beck from Zap, N.D., thought this convention was different from the one in 1964, at which he was a delegate. "Men are coming out now and expressing their opinions freely. It's real relaxed at the convention. They know they have a right to say something, and they do."

● On politics:

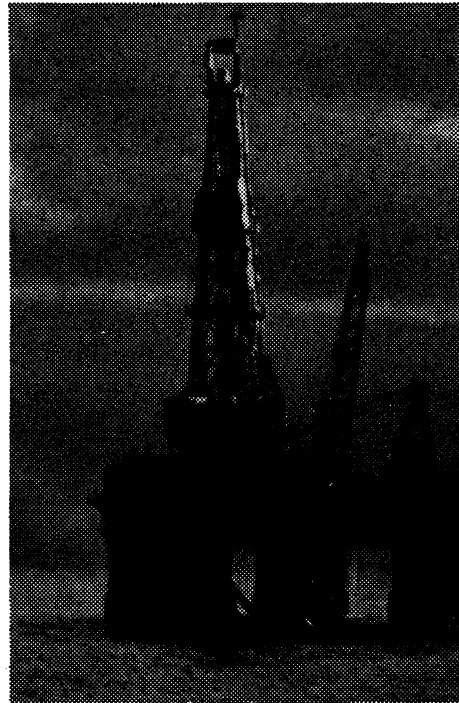
Pierce told me he thought the convention got a lot done. "The only thing is, I didn't like all the politicians who came to give speeches. I don't like being talked to death."

Richard Cicci, a delegate from Local 1190 in Pennsylvania, said, "We need more representation of labor in Washington. We have no really good representation of labor people now. Only a person who has worked with the workers knows how they feel, what their demands are, and what their needs are. People who do not work in industry and have had everything handed to them on a platter run for office and try to tell you they are for labor. It's hard to take."

Luther Burke from Local 1441 in Ohio said, "If we had a coal miner as president of the United States, a few of these coal mines would shape up a lot better. A labor party would be all right."

● On the chances of a strike:

Henry told me miners are primarily concerned about the welfare fund, seniority rights, and safety in the mines. If the coal operators won't give



"The oil companies are behind the coal operators and they're just holding back until contract time."

much on these demands, he thought there would be a strike.

"I know there's going to be a strike," Pierce said. "Miners have always been no contract, no work. If you look back in our history you will find that the UMW went out on strike during a world war. I hope we get a contract, but we'll cross that bridge when we come to it."

Burke said, "If we have no contract, no work. If the government orders us back to work we'd fight it."

● What about the "energy crisis?"

Burke says he doesn't believe there is an energy crisis. "I think the oil companies are behind the coal operators and are just holding back until contract time. When we go out on strike we are going to have all kinds of oil flowing."

Henry said, "The oil companies have a big monopoly in energy. Con-

tinental Oil owns Consolidated Coal, one of the largest coal producers in the United States. We are not just fighting the coal operators now. We're fighting the big energy trusts. Antitrust laws don't seem to mean anything."

He added, "They are not going to speed up a coal miner if he don't want to be speeded up. We don't intend to tolerate anything from the companies that will jeopardize the health and safety of our people. I don't think the coal operators have changed much from 100 years ago. Their main goal is production."

Cicci said, "I'd definitely like to see the six-hour day at eight hours' pay. That will solve a lot of unemployment problems. It will make more jobs. Plus coal mining is a health-hazard occupation not only because it is dangerous, but because of the black lung situation. A six-hour day would mean less time in the mine, so this would help relieve some of the workers from being disabled by black lung."

Robert McVicker from Local 1267 in Kansas said, "The main concern as far as wages go is the cost-of-living clause."

● The miners were in solidarity with the protests by truckers against high fuel prices and lower speed limits.

Burke said, "A friend of mine is a truck driver, and the prices they have to pay for fuel are ridiculous."

"I feel the truckers are doing it out of their heart," said Cicci. "They're concerned about the nation as a whole, and I honor their blockades."

● On lifestyles:

James Scott from Local 6039 in West Virginia told me, "If a boy joins the union and he wears his hair down to his damn knees—I don't care, as long as he's a member of the United Mine Workers union and stands up for it."

"Let him do whatever he wants to do. That's not my business," Scott said.

Interview with Ky. black lung activist

Black lung is a miners' disease caused by years of coal dust building up in the lungs. Its victims suffer shortness of breath, they cough up blood, tire easily, and usually die prematurely.

Members of the Harlan County Black Lung Association are among the most ardent supporters of the miners' strike in Brookside for recognition of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) contract.

Recently *The Militant* interviewed Hobert Grills, chairman of the association, in Evarts, Ky. Grills actively campaigned for Arnold Miller, another black lung victim, in the United Mine Workers' election in 1972 that ousted the corrupt leadership of Tony Boyle.

Grills explained how the local chapter of the Black Lung Association helped build support for the Brookside miners. When the coal operators obtained an injunction severely limiting the number of pickets, Grills and others bought radio spots and a newspaper ad calling for 1,000 people to show up at the picket site. They also drove through neighboring coal towns with a loudspeaker, urging a big turnout.

"We didn't get 1,000, but we got quite a few to come out," said Grills. The success of this effort led to the

arrest of Grills, along with striking miners and members of the Brookside Women's Club. Slapped with a \$500 fine he could not pay, Grills spent two days in jail.

In addition to its involvement in the Brookside strike, the Black Lung Association is fighting for better health care for miners and other workers in eastern Kentucky. Much of this fight centers on the Harlan Appalachian Regional Hospital, the only hospital in the area for poor people.

Miners who have black lung frequently can't get accurate diagnosis at the hospital, said Grills. They also have difficulty obtaining the compensation that is due them from the federal government. Grills believes this is partly because the hospital's board of directors is made up of "coal operators, their lawyers and big preachers. There are no miners sitting on the board."

"We want the coal miners and the little people to be fairly represented," he explains. "We'd like to have 51 percent coal miners on that board."

In addition, the Black Lung Association is fighting to get doctors who will be sympathetic to the miners' needs. And if the hospitals are making a profit, the association wants that

money used to do research on black lung and other miners' ailments, as well as to pay for regular examinations of the men currently in the mines.

Grills worked in Harlan County mines for 20 years. He remembers how in the 1950s, the United Mine Workers built 10 hospitals to serve its members and their families. "The union put an assessment on the coal miners, they built the hospitals, and they even hired the doctors and staff."

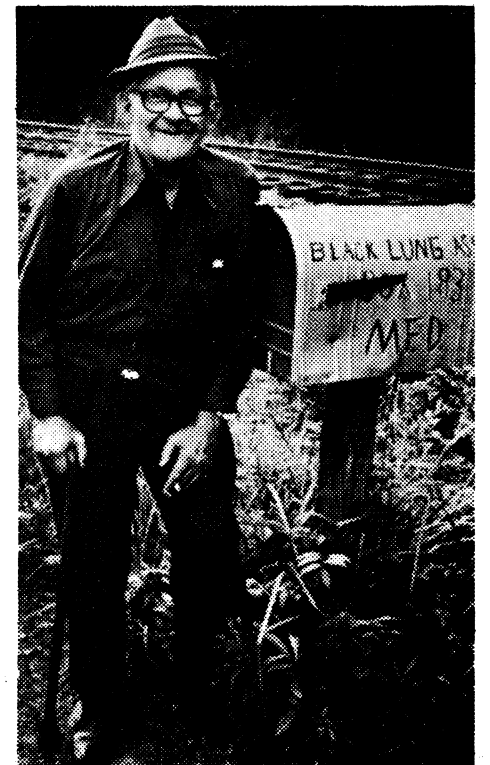
"The hospitals were run in good order as long as the union ran them. But the union claimed they were losing money, and this Presbyterian Church organization bought them at about half the price it cost to build them."

That was during the reign of Tony Boyle. The miners are now looking to the new union leadership to wage a battle to win back their health rights.

The UMWA convention that just ended took some steps in this direction. Grills served as an advisory member of the convention's Welfare and Retirement Fund Committee.

Delegates at the convention passed a resolution from this committee to demand that the Appalachian Regional Hospital include miners, their wives, and widows on the board of directors in proportion to the amount of money

the hospital receives from the union's welfare and retirement fund. The resolution also asked that rank-and-file miners be represented on the boards of all UMWA health clinics.



HOBERT GRILLS: "We want coal miners and little people fairly represented."

Weld County, Colo., Raza Unida Party confronts Democrats and Republicans

By PETER SEIDMAN

GREELEY, Colo. — Chicanos have begun to challenge the economic and political power of the Anglo ranchers and sugar-beet growers who rule Weld County through the Democratic and Republican parties.

This challenge comes from La Raza Unida, a small but growing party that has set out to change things for the Chicano people, who comprise 25 percent of the population of Weld County. This independent party carries out a broad range of activities, from demonstrations to election campaigns.

José Calderón is a leader of the Weld County Raza Unida Party and cochairman of the Colorado party.

First efforts

Calderón told *The Militant* that the Weld County Raza Unida Party ran its first campaign in the summer of 1970, when Ricardo Falcón entered the race for Weld County sheriff.

The party began to assemble its activists through the course of this campaign, especially beginning in the fall, when there were walkouts by Chicano high school students in Fort Lupton and Greeley, as well as a protest at Aims College in Greeley.

These protests culminated in a march of 70 activists from Ault to the state capitol in Denver to demand improvements in education for Chicano students. The 70-mile walk was made in freezing weather.

In the 1970 election Falcón received

The Colorado Raza Unida Party sponsored a "Youth Awareness Conference" recently in Pueblo. About 200 persons attended workshops and heard various speakers. Numerous questions were debated such as whether to run in elections, the role of alternative Chicano schools, and how to relate to college students. It was decided to hold a statewide convention on March 23 in Denver to nominate candidates for statewide office in the 1974 elections.

less than 2 percent of the vote.

The following year the party helped mobilize the Chicano community when the County Welfare Commission refused to pay that month's welfare payments.

"We organized," said Calderón, "and we went into every community to protest this. About 1,100 Chicanos showed up at a demonstration we called." Two hundred of the demonstrators then registered to vote so they could vote Raza Unida.

The '72 elections

Calderón said the party "really got going during the summer of 1972, in preparation for the November elections." The party ran six candidates for county offices—Ricardo Falcón (until he was killed by an Orogrande, N.M. gas-station owner on Aug. 30, 1972); Maria Arellano, a welfare mother; Calderón; a student; and a farm worker.

Only about \$100 was spent on the Raza Unida campaign. The party relied on a voter registration and organizing campaign to win support.

Each candidate was responsible for



Greeley, Colo., protest against military coup in Chile. Raza Unida Party activists were key organizers of this action.

organizing a committee of campaign activists. These activists went door to door, block by block, in the little *barrios* called *colonias* that dot the towns of Weld County. They registered new voters and won them to the idea of political action independent of the Democrats and Republicans.

A problem for the Raza Unida Party was the board of elections' refusal to let people register in the evenings, the only time many working people could do so. Party activists organized a five-day fast, ending with a rally of 200 people.

The Weld County voter registration office then decided to remain open one hour later every day.

"By election day," Calderón said, "so many people knew who we were that they were calling us left and right to bring them down to vote."

Calderón received 6.5 percent of the

vote. But the real importance of the campaign, Calderón explained, was that "we were running to bring out the issues that affected the Chicanos in Weld County: that there were 11 *colonias* in Weld that need water, regular trash removal, paved roads; that our young people had a very high drop-out, rather push-out, rate from school, and many were beginning to sniff glue.

"We explained that major changes in this country have never come about through the ballot box, that only an organized effort by the people could bring to change these conditions. We proved we were not like other politicians."

For the next three weeks the party organized to bring Chicanos to the meetings of the county commissioners, demanding that they use federal revenue-sharing funds, which they had been sitting on, to bring improvements to the *colonias*.

Calderón said the sheriff threw the Chicanos out of the third meeting, but after this, "they got down to serious business. They did begin to put in some street lights, they paved some roads in certain *colonias*, and began trash removal."

RUP runs for school board

During the fall of 1972, Chicano students began a series of walkouts from Greeley Central High School. These walkouts led to a special election for the Greeley school board. The Raza Unida Party decided to enter that race as well. Calderón was the first Chicano to announce his candidacy for the school board. Although the election was officially nonpartisan, Calderón ran on the Raza Unida Party platform. Two other Chicanos and a few Anglos also entered the race.

The Raza Unida campaign stressed that the educational system makes robots out of people, that it miseducates and dehumanizes students. The party called for Chicano control of education in the Chicano community and a separate school for Chicano students.



El Gallo

JOSE CALDERON: 'We're not like other politicians.'

Calderón explained that because he ran on a program that addressed the real needs of Greeley's Chicano community, none of the other Chicano candidates bettered the 26 percent of the vote that he won. He won the votes of many Anglos, since only 12 percent of the population of Greeley is Chicano.

A fighting party

In the year since this school board election the Weld County Raza Unida Party has continued to show that it is a fighting party dedicated to defending the interests of the Chicano community, whether there is an election or not.

"Even though many people do not fully understand our ideas on the need to break with the Democrats and Republicans," Calderón explained, "they see us as an example of how to fight for their rights."

Calderón explained that the party is concerned with striking a balance between running election campaigns and being involved in day-to-day struggles. While stressing the importance of running in election campaigns to provide an electoral alternative to the two capitalist parties, he stated that "sometimes in the past we have placed too much emphasis on electoral work. In the future we want to put more emphasis on organizing local activities."

Some of these activities were outlined in resolutions passed at a Weld County Raza Unida Party convention in early November. The convention was attended by more than 100 activists and organizers of the party in Weld County.

The party maintains centers in Greeley, Eaton, and Ault, and plans to resume the operations of the Academia Ricardo Falcón, a Chicano school in Brighton that was attacked by police this fall.

Raza Unida activists have organized a Weld County Labor Committee to help win support for the Coors Beer, Farah pants, and lettuce and grape boycotts. Through the Political Defense Committee, they are involved in the defense of Calderón, who faces charges stemming from a protest by Chicanos during a speech by Congressman Henry Gonzales (D-Texas).

In Greeley, the party holds weekly community meetings, puts out a newsletter, *Chicanos en Acción*, and runs a bookstore.

Readings on Chicano Liberation

BERT CORONA HABLA del partido de la Raza Unida y del Alarma en Contra de los "Illegales", \$.35

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By HARRY RING

SAN ANTONIO—La Raza Unida Party in Texas is planning an ambitious gubernatorial campaign in 1974. An all-out effort will be made to win 20 percent of the vote.

Mario Compeán, state chairman of the independent Chicano party, says the candidate for governor will be selected in primary elections this spring, but it is generally assumed that the nominee will be Ramsey Muñiz.

Muñiz waged a vigorous campaign

potential supporters that La Raza Unida Party is in fact a viable, realistic electoral alternative to the Republicans and Democrats.

'Not like CREEP'

Since the 20 percent must be cast for the gubernatorial candidate, Compeán said, the RUP will focus its main energies on the campaign for that office. A separate committee will be established to promote the gubernatorial campaign. ("But not like [Nixon's] CREEP," he assured.) A \$100,000 campaign fund will be sought for the governor's race.

porting local party campaigns in elections to be held in December and April and he has not made any decisions on just what his activity will be beyond that.

The party will be contesting in a number of municipal and county elections before the 1974 state campaign. Among these will be a bid for the San Antonio school board by Compeán.

While Compeán assesses the goal of 20 percent of the vote in 1974 as a "possibility," he and other party leaders are confident that the campaign will be significantly bigger than that

Compeán said, "We have to push these people by the wayside."

He said three principal Mexican-American Democrats would be up for reelection to the state legislature and that Raza Unida would run against at least one of them, and perhaps all three.

The need for La Raza Unida to confront the Mexican-American Democrats was emphasized by Alberto Peña III, an associate of Ramsey Muñiz. In 1972, Peña ran for the state legislature against Joe Hernandez, a Mexican-American Democrat.

He and Muñiz are law partners, and shortly after the 1972 campaign moved their office from San Antonio to Corpus Christi. They established a law firm there along with Alberto Huerta, also a leading Raza Unida member.

Peña explained they set up their office in Corpus Christi for two principal reasons. He said it made possible a more stable legal practice, thereby giving them more freedom for political activity. In addition, Peña said, La Raza Unida has excellent prospects for growth in the area.

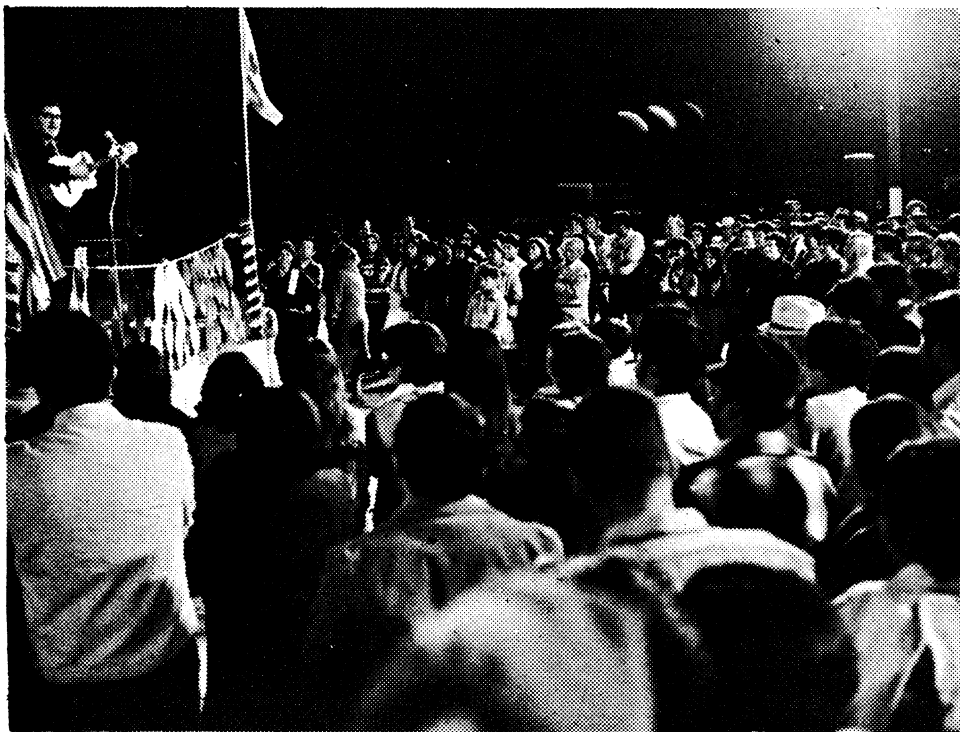
He said that in the 1972 race, Muñiz had gotten his best vote in the coastal bend area. Heavily populated by Chicanos, this runs from the port city of Corpus Christi southwest to the Río Grande Valley.

He said that in the gubernatorial election Muñiz would make an extensive campaign effort in the coastal bend and Valley areas.

Peña said that attacks, direct and inferred, on Raza Unida by Mexican-American Democrats were increasing in Corpus Christi.

In a way, he said, it's really not new. "They know that as *mexicanos* we are very nationalistic. So they send someone who talks the language, can use the phrases. But it's still a white man sending a brown man to tell

Texas Raza Unida Party plans big '74 campaign



Militant/Howard Petrick

Raza Unida Party rally in Crystal City, Texas in 1971. Chicano party hopes to win 20 percent of statewide vote in 1974.

for governor in 1972, winning more than 200,000 votes, 6 percent of the total. Two percent is needed to win state ballot status.

The decision to select state and local candidates by primary elections was made by the party's state committee this November. Present state law permitted the option of selecting candidates by primary elections or by holding state and local nominating conventions.

There was a division within the party on the question. Some argued that conducting primaries would involve unnecessary expense for filing fees and prove a dissipation of energies. It will probably mean fewer local candidates throughout the state. In many places, the RUP has sufficient supporters for a nominating convention, but not for a primary.

Those favoring primaries argued that it would enhance the party's image as a viable political force if it employed the same procedures as the major parties.

This concern for political image is also a factor in setting the party sights on winning 20 percent of the vote in the coming campaign. According to revisions in the election code, while a party still needs to win only 2 percent of the vote to secure ballot status, it must poll 20 percent to acquire the same full legal status as the Republicans and Democrats. Winning 20 percent also would make it mandatory to hold primaries to select candidates.

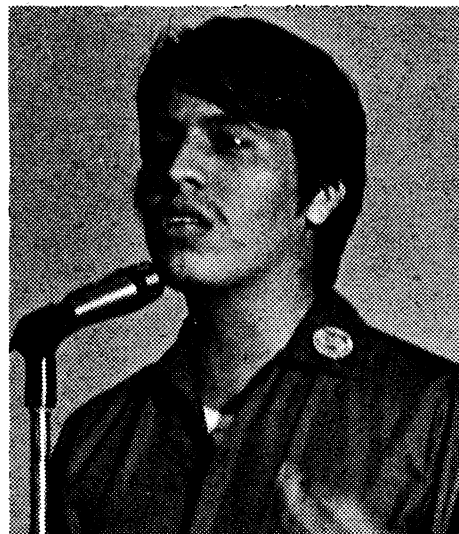
Compeán and others in the party see it as a political necessity to achieve that status. To win significant support within the Chicano community, they feel, it is necessary to persuade

Although not yet formalized, it is expected that if Muñiz is the candidate, his campaign manager will be Carlos Guerra, who is regarded as a key figure in the Texas party.

While Muñiz seems agreed on as the candidate for governor, the rest of the state ticket apparently remains to be filled.

It is expected that one of the slots will be filled by Dr. George Treviño, Corpus Christi coordinator of the party. A physics and math professor at Del Mar College in Corpus Christi, he has been active in Raza Unida for several years.

There is also speculation that José Angel Gutiérrez, the Raza Unida leader from Crystal City, may possibly run for U.S. senator or congressman. Gutiérrez, however, told this reporter that his present plans focus on sup-



Militant/Howard Petrick

MARIO COMPEÁN: 'Push Chicano Democrats by wayside.'

in 1972.

For one thing, the party will not have to engage in the massive petition-gathering effort that was then required to win a ballot place. And as a result of the 1972 campaign, the party is much better known throughout the state.

In addition, the 1972 campaign won a whole new layer of activists to the party who will be participating in this campaign. The people who ran on the party ticket in Brownsville this November, for example, as well as several of those who ran in Harlingen this month, were attracted to Raza Unida by the 1972 Muñiz campaign.

Democrats

A significant aspect of the coming period of campaigning, Compeán said, is that the party will be increasingly laying down a challenge to Mexican-American Democrats. Until now, some in the party seemed to prefer avoiding such a confrontation.

For example, when Joe Bernal, a prominent Mexican-American Democrat made his unsuccessful bid for reelection to the state senate last year, Raza Unida did not run against him. The rationale has been that the community doesn't like to see a *mexicano* run against a *mexicano* even if one is the nominee of the racist Democratic Party.

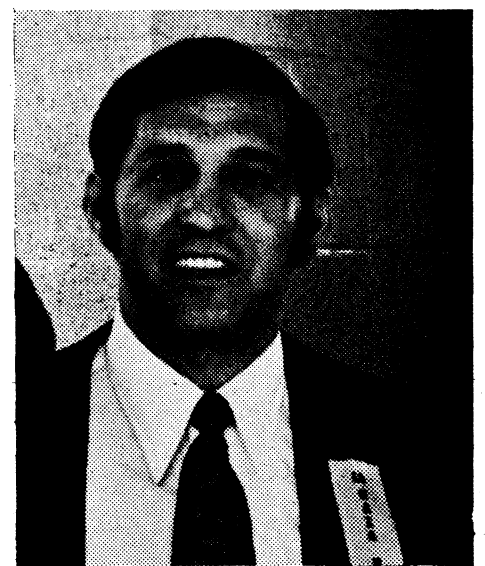
La Raza Unida Party, Compeán said, now recognizes that it cannot make a significant advance in winning a mass following unless it is ready to confront the Mexican-American Democrats.

In part, this recognition was spurred by the Democratic Party. Fearful of the possibility that La Raza Unida will break the Democratic Party's traditional hold on the Chicano voters, the Texas Democrats have been using their Mexican-American tokens for an increasing attack on La Raza Unida.

Compeán assumes there will be a very definite strategy on the part of the Democrats to discredit and isolate La Raza Unida in 1974. Charges by Democratic Congressman Henry Gonzales and others that the Chicano party is being secretly funded by the Republicans is just one feature of the attack.

Such smear charges, Compeán said, are part of a dual strategy. First, the Mexican-American Democrats began to talk more militantly after the Raza Unida showing in 1972. Second, in addition to the frame-up charge of being an instrument of the Republicans, the principal argument is, "We're as militant as they are, but we can get more done because we're more practical and realistic and we have the connections."

For La Raza Unida to advance,



Militant/Antonio Camejo

RAMSEY MUÑIZ: Likely Raza Unida gubernatorial candidate.

another brown man how good the white man is."

It is Peña's estimate that there is an increasing sentiment among the Chicanos "to confront those being used by the Democratic establishment." Current developments, he says, are fueling this.

Watergate's impact

Referring to the deep impact of the Watergate scandal in the Chicano community, Peña said, "I don't want to say, 'I told you so,' but we've been saying this about these people all along, and now it's coming to light. There's a great amount of dissatisfaction and distrust of all politicians, whether they be Republicans or Democrats."

"If we can project ourselves accordingly," he continued, "if we don't sell out, if we do become something other than Republicans or Democrats, then I think we have a hell of an opportunity to capitalize on the weakness of the two parties and the low regard the people have for them."

By DAVE FRANKEL

Just as it pressured the Vietnamese to compromise their original demands and sign a "peace" treaty that set the stage for renewed warfare, the Soviet bureaucracy is now pressuring the Palestinian resistance movement to tone down its struggle and hop on the Middle East "peace" bandwagon being led by con-man-in-chief Henry Kissinger. Unfortunately, there is no reason to believe that the results of the Moscow-Washington détente in the Mideast will be any more beneficial to the revolutionary movement than they were in Vietnam.

Predictably enough, this has not deterred the Kremlin's camp followers in the U.S., the leaders of the Communist Party, who have lost no time

Under the heading of "How Trotskyites support war aims of Tel Aviv hawks," Foley asks, "What does the Trotskyite position mean?" He answers: "First of all, it means *war*, with no peace possible until Israel is destroyed. This is the position of the imperialists and the Zionist rulers of Israel—that Israel must remain in a state of perpetual war or be destroyed."

Foley has things reversed. The Middle East has been torn by constant wars, punitive raids, and daily terror directed against the Arab peoples, and especially the Palestinians, since the creation of Israel. This has occurred independently of the political positions or desires of the Trotskyist movement. The responsibility for this lies not with the SWP or with the Palestinian masses struggling to return to their homeland. Rather, it lies with the Zionist state, which must use war and violence

the Lebanese and Jordanian regimes in 1969 and 1970. Their struggle has shaken the Arab rulers again and again. It is the procapitalist elements among the Palestinians who favor a retreat in the national struggle and some type of compromise solution.

And within Israel, the Palestinian national question is also key to the class struggle. As long as the Jewish workers remain tied to the idea that they must fight to preserve a Jewish state at the expense of another people, they will be incapable of challenging their own ruling class.

In view of this, when Foley charges that "the Trotskyites ignore *class* and the class struggle entirely in their position," he only reveals that he doesn't understand the relation between the struggle for national liberation and socialism. Or else that he is willing to subordinate that understanding to the narrow interests of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Just how far Foley is willing to go in defending the policies of the Kremlin hierarchy is shown in his scurrilous statement that according to the SWP, "realization of one nation's rights means the destruction of the other."

Foley equates the survival of the Jewish people with the existence of the Zionist state. He says the demand for the destruction of the Israeli settler-state is the same as the demand for the destruction of its inhabitants. Foley writes:

"The Israeli ruling class could do no better than to post the SWP position in all public places in Israel, especially places where workers congregate, and assign 'innocent bystanders' to make loud comments like: 'You see? They want to destroy us. All of us, workers and bosses alike. All Jews. That shows that we all have to stand together and fight for the same thing. You can see, they say here that we have no rights, that they are going to destroy our national state . . .'"

The 'annihilation' argument

This is all very eloquent, but the Israeli ruling class didn't need Tom Foley in order to come up with the argument that support to the Palestinian struggle for self-determination is tantamount to



Israeli troops after 1956 Suez campaign. CPUSA now claims Israeli aggression didn't begin until 1967.

calling for the annihilation of the Israeli Jews. Israel's rulers have charged all along that the Palestinians are motivated by the desire to "drive the Jews into the sea." That is how they justified driving the Palestinians into exile to begin with.

The job of revolutionaries is not to call on the Palestinians to accept their oppression in order to prove to the Israeli oppressors that they have nothing to fear. We have to explain to the Israeli people that they can only find security by abandoning their own exclusive state and living together with the Palestinians.

By giving credence to the Israeli propaganda that a democratic secular Palestine would mean the destruction of the Israeli Jews, or at best the denial of their democratic rights, Foley does a disservice to the Arab revolution as a whole. His argument leads to the conclusion that Zionism really is in the interests of the Jewish people, and that a separate Jewish state is necessary to guarantee the rights of the Jews in the Middle East.

This is the argument developed in Foley's second article. It will be discussed in more detail in a future issue of *The Militant*.

Why Communist Party opposes national struggle of the Palestinian Arabs

in adding their own embellishments to what they dub "the road to real peace."

The basic CP position was stated in an advertisement in the Oct. 21 *New York Times* headed "Egypt, Israel and Syria Can Live." This ad claimed, "The world is ready to defend the pre-June 1967 borders in the Mid-East. It will never back annexation of Arab lands. Return of the occupied lands is the only way Israel can maintain its own lands. It will mean a just, immediate and lasting peace."

The problem with this position is that Israel's "own lands" were gained through conquest and the expulsion of the Palestinian people. The Arab-Israeli conflict existed before the 1967 war—its basic cause was the expulsion of the Palestinians and the setting up of a racist settler-state. The interest of the Arab regimes in regaining their occupied territories only added an additional element to the struggle.

The question that the CP has to answer is: were the Palestinians justified in fighting against the attempt of the Zionist settlers to take over their



Kissinger & Brezhnev in Moscow. Detente won't be any more beneficial to socialist revolution in Mideast than it was in Vietnam.

land in the first place? Has anything changed to make that struggle any less necessary or just?

Although the CP advertisement refers vaguely to "the rights of the Palestinian Arabs," it fails to define these rights.

'Trotskyites' for war?

These issues are taken up in a recent series of articles by Tom Foley in the *Daily World*, newspaper of the CP. Foley charges that by denying the right of the Zionists to set up their own state in Palestine, and by supporting the demand of the Palestinian organizations for a democratic secular Palestine in which both Arabs and Jews could live together, "The SWP pits Israeli and Palestinian working people against each other. . . ."

to perpetuate its existence, and with the imperialist powers, which use Israel as a bludgeon against the Arab masses.

According to Foley, détente between the Soviet bureaucrats and U.S. imperialism can bring peace. But by its very nature a détente with imperialism means acceptance of its continued rule.

When Foley charges that the Trotskyist position "means *war*," what he really means is that détente between the Soviet bureaucrats and Washington will founder on the rocks of the revolutionary struggle of the Arab masses. Therefore the Arabs should accept the status quo in the interests of Soviet foreign policy.

Self-determination for Palestine

The argument that the demand for a unitary Palestine "pits Israeli and Palestinian working people against each other" is worth about as much as the argument by racists that the struggle of Blacks for preferential hiring pits Black workers against whites.

It is true that Israelis and Palestinians have been pitted against each other. But this is not because of the demands of the Palestinians, any more than the divisions between Blacks and whites in the U.S. are caused by the demands of Black people.

The national demands of both Blacks and Palestinians are a response to their oppression. The argument that support to such demands "divides the working class" ignores the fact that the working class is already divided by national oppression. Foley's argument puts racist oppression and the struggle against this oppression on the same plane.

The Palestinians are an oppressed nationality. Half of all Palestinians live in United Nations refugee camps, dependent on charity for food and housing—such as it is. Inside the territories occupied by Israel, the Palestinians are subject to direct military occupation. In Israel proper they are kept in line by the repressive Emergency Regulations adopted by the Zionist state from the British. Palestinians are discriminated against in jobs, in education, in housing, and in every other aspect of daily life.

In order to defend the continued existence of the Israeli state, Foley comes down in the end to a denial of this national oppression of the Palestinians. He argues that "the Trotskyites . . . have dreamed up an entirely artificial 'national conflict' between all Palestinians and all Israelis."

Nationalism and socialism

Palestinian farmers, workers, shopkeepers, and even landowners and capitalists were all expelled to make way for the establishment of Israel. Their national struggle against that displacement will be part and parcel of the socialist revolution in Israel and the whole Mideast. The Palestinians who organized to demand their national rights were in the forefront of the confrontations with

New support for NY bombing victims

Demand freedom for 7 Chilean prisoners

By JEAN WALKER

Since the Sept. 11 rightist coup in Chile, the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has been waging a campaign to publicize the names and histories of well-known political and cultural figures in Chile who are known to be in the hands of the military junta and whose lives are therefore in danger.

USLA staff member Judy White told *The Militant* that the upcoming issue of the *USLA Reporter* will zero in on the cases of seven persons. "These are seven among thousands," said White, "but they are symbolic of the brutalization of the entire Chilean people."

The committee recently received new information on the situation of Luis Vitale one of the seven. Vitale is a prominent Chilean historian and former leader of the United Federation of Workers (CUT, the Chilean trade-union federation).

According to a letter received from Santiago Dec. 10, "Luis Vitale was taken prisoner on the 12th of September and held in the Estadio Chile. He survived that experience and was then transferred to the Estadio Nacional, where he remained for the next two months and was beaten, interrogated, inadequately fed (he has kidney problems from the past) and threatened, all without breaking his body or spirit."

The letter continues: "Two weeks ago he was transferred back to the Estadio Chile with a group of some 300 prisoners who were awaiting trial, while the great majority of those still in the Estadio Nacional were taken north to the deserted nitrate mine of Chacabuco to be held in that detention camp in the desert near Antofagasta."

"Vitale was seen about three weeks ago, when he was OK, but very thin and undernourished. He had burned up all his fat and was burning protein. As a result he had a serious skin infection on his face, and was not getting adequate medical treatment for it, the doctors involved saying the military refused to give them the medicines they needed for his treatment

and others.

"In the Estadio Chile, executions are still going on. In the case of Vitale, it is understood that he is to be submitted to a long trial procedure. Steps have been taken to interest the Argentine Embassy in his case, as he was born in Argentina, and it is understood that they are asking for his expulsion to Argentina in lieu of other

barren southern tip of Chile. According to the Dec. 15 *Daily World*, he is soon to face military trial.

A report in the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* indicated that Corvalán's son Alberto and Alberto's wife have both been sentenced to death by the junta, but it is unknown whether the sentences have been carried out.

● Jaime Barrios, the central eco-

launched a campaign of telegrams and petitions to the Chilean junta on their behalf, as well as fund raising in order to provide material aid for them and their families as this becomes possible.

Telegrams, letters, and petitions should be sent to General Augusto Pinochet, c/o Chilean Embassy, 1730 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washing-



Chilean political prisoners (from left): Luis Corvalán, Guillermo Cahn, Juan Flandes, Marcelo Romo.

punishment.

"Nothing is sure, however, and it would be important for many reasons if an international campaign around the case of this Argentine-born intellectual—a clear case of persecution for his ideas, (versus the Chilean government claims of what they are doing)—could be undertaken."

This information is somewhat different from that carried in the Nov. 22-29 issue of the Argentine weekly *Avanzada Socialista*, which cited "compañeros escaped from Chile" who reported that Vitale had been taken to the concentration camp at Chacabuco, the abandoned mine. "Locked up in the shafts, the prisoners are submitted to a brutal regime of forced labor, blows, and little food," says the article.

The six other persons that USLA is focusing on are:

● Luis Corvalán Lepe, leader of the Chilean Communist Party. Corvalán is being held at the notorious Dawson Island prison camp near the

nomic adviser to Salvador Allende prior to the coup.

● Hector Gutiérrez, formerly a professor of demography at the University of Chile. Last month USLA received information that Gutiérrez was to be tried at any moment by a military tribunal, but there has been no further word of his fate.

● Juan Flandes, formerly a student at the University of Los Angeles in Chile. Flandes is also to be tried shortly if he has not been already.

● Marcelo Romo, a 32-year-old Chilean film actor well known in Chile.

● Guillermo Cahn, a 27-year-old film director. Both Romo and Cahn are being held in the Buin Regiment in Santiago. It is unknown what charges have been placed against them, but USLA has received reports that Romo has been severely tortured.

The upcoming issue of the *USLA Reporter* contains more complete biographies of these seven victims of the junta. The defense committee has

ton, D.C. 20036 with copies to USLA at 156 Fifth Ave., Room 702, New York, N.Y. 10010.

The *USLA Reporter* can be ordered from USLA for 25 cents each, or 20 cents each on orders of five or more.

The office of USLA and two other civil liberties organizations was bombed on Dec. 3, and the committee has been forced to move into new offices. Protests against the bombing, and the refusal of the city administration to apprehend and prosecute the criminals, have come most recently from Harold Taylor, former president of Sarah Lawrence College; Luis Fuentes, superintendent of schools in Manhattan's District 1; and Dave McReynolds of the War Resisters League.

In Chicago on Dec. 16, 3,000 people turned out for a protest meeting addressed by Hortensia Allende, widow of the slain Salvador Allende. A petition protesting the bombing of the USLA office in New York was signed by more than 200 of those present.

Continued on page 22

Twenty new strikes a day reported in Thailand

By ERNEST HARSCH

Following in the turbulent wake of the student and worker uprising that overthrew the old military regime in mid-October, Thai workers are continuing to act against their economic conditions. They have initiated a wave of strikes and demonstrations for higher wages and better working conditions. As many as 20 new strikes a day are reported.

Nikhom Chandravitoon, the director of the labor department, told a correspondent from the *Washington Post*

Dec. 7: "The last five weeks have seen the worst labor unrest in our history. Over 100,000 workers have been involved."

Premier Sanya Thammasak, in a television broadcast, 'appealed for more "restraint." "The present situation," he said, "is causing me great worry. Dissatisfaction is being displayed from all directions simultaneously, making me feel completely exhausted."

While labor unrest was evident even before the overthrow of the old re-

gime, the political confidence acquired in October could only prompt broader and broader sectors of the Thai population into raising their own demands and acting to implement them. Railroad workers, taxi drivers, bank employees, hospital and communications workers, electricians and hotel stevedores all held brief strikes or demonstrations and won most of their demands. Even workers at Dusit Zoo raised demands for higher wages, threatening to release lions and tigers onto the streets if their demands weren't met.

Inheriting the worsening economic problems of the old regime—a rice shortage and skyrocketing inflation, now further exacerbated as a result of oil shortages—the new "caretaker" government will have grave difficulties in trying to "stabilize" the situation.

While the Sanya administration has so far taken no action against the strikers, there are some government officials, recalling the methods used under the military regime, who would be more than willing to initiate a crackdown if it were possible to do so. General Prachuab Suntarangkul, the police-director-general, charged that "communists" were involved in strikes and that they were even trying to infiltrate the ranks of the military. Similar charges had often been di-

rected against the students.

The success of the Thai students in October had immediate repercussions on other students in Asia. In South Korea, university and high school students, who were already beginning to hold public demonstrations, escalated their opposition to the dictatorship of President Park Chung Hee. In Indonesia, student leaders planned

The next issue of The Militant will feature an interview with Seksan Prasertkul, president of the Federation of Independent Students of Thailand (FIST). Seksan was a central leader of the October student upsurge that toppled the military regime.

a campaign against Japanese goods and held a few small demonstrations in November. On Dec. 15 the student movement there received a new impetus: 3,000 students in Jogjakarta, central Java, held a four-hour demonstration against high prices and corruption.

The growing solidarity and coordination of the student movements in Asia were reflected Nov. 30, when

Continued on page 26



October uprising in Thailand

Pamphlet explains socialist view on Mideast

What are the roots of the Arab-Israeli conflict? How has the Washington-Moscow detente affected the Mideast? What was behind Nixon's troop alert and threat of nuclear warfare in October?

These and other questions are answered in *War in the Middle East—The Socialist View*, a new pamphlet available for 60 cents from Pathfinder Press (410 West St., New York, N.Y., 10014). The pamphlet contains some of the most important articles written for *The Militant* during and after the October war. The authors are *Militant* staff writers Dave Frankel, Dick Roberts, and Tony Thomas.

Two articles, "Roots of the Mideast Conflict" by Tony Thomas and "Why the Arab Peoples Fight Israel" by Dave

Frankel, explain that the origins of the 25-year Arab-Israeli conflict are in the settler-colonialist character of Israel. The existence of Israel is based on the expulsion of the Palestinian people from their homeland, and Israel must maintain itself by keeping the Arab peoples weak. In the recent war, the Arabs were fighting to recover land seized by Israel.

Writing on the role of the Washington-Moscow detente, Tony Thomas observes that "the detente became more and more clearly an attempt to impose solutions favorable to U.S. imperialism on the peoples of the world, as was clear in Vietnam. In the Mideast, detente encouraged the Israelis to launch dozens of attacks on the Arab peoples and *not* to make any

concessions in the direction of returning Arab lands."

Dick Roberts's "Nixon's Mideast War Drive" and Dave Frankel's "Behind Nixon's Threat of Nuclear War" document U.S. plans for military intervention in the Mideast, including Nixon's threat to launch nuclear confrontation with Moscow. Also documented in these and other articles is the massive amount of U.S. aid that has been essential to maintain the Israeli state since its foundation 25 years ago.

The article "Why Socialists Support the Arabs" by Tony Thomas explains the views of Marxists on the Mideast regimes.

Marxists support the struggle against Israeli oppression despite the

fact that the Arab capitalist rulers, like Egypt's Sadat and Libya's Qaddafi, are incapable of leading that struggle to victory. Marxists call for replacing these regimes with governments based on the Arab workers and poor farmers.

The pamphlet presents a clear case for the only solution to the Mideast crisis: the establishment of a united Palestine with equal rights for Palestinians and Israelis, and the removal of imperialist exploitation from the Arab East through a socialist revolution. As such, this pamphlet constitutes not only an interesting and timely analysis of the events surrounding the October war but a guide to the future problems and solutions of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

N. Calif. carpenters' strike in fifth week

By ROBERT WEST

SAN FRANCISCO—The strike of Northern California carpenters continues into its fifth week despite heavy fines.

Carpenters union officials remain publicly dissociated from the strike. An ad hoc committee of striking carpenters has put together a rudimentary strike organization that has succeeded in maintaining pickets on major building sites.

The strike was declared illegal by a federal judge Dec. 7.

At issue in the strike is the order of the Construction Industry Stabili-

zation Committee declaring "inoperative" a wage increase of 65 cents an hour negotiated as part of a three-year agreement in 1971. The government board ordered this cut to 15 cents. A pension contribution of 25 cents an hour was previously approved.

The construction industry has more than a dozen different craft unions, each with separate contracts and expiration dates, and separate and jealously guarded jurisdictions. It has always been a problem to get close cooperation between these different crafts. In the present strike the pickets

have met with rarely seen solidarity in action as many other tradesmen refuse to work, despite the insistence of their union business agents that the strike is illegal.

The ad hoc strike committee is working against major obstacles in seeking to maintain the strike. It cannot draw on the resources or facilities of the unions for the strike. Not a single elected official has stepped forward to make a public explanation of the carpenters' case, even as a private citizen. No striker can collect unemployment insurance or welfare since the government declares the strike illegal.

Each striker on the picket line becomes a marked man for the law to eventually come down on if he is identified by a stooge.

The Carpenters union began nearly a century ago as a secret brotherhood in order to protect its members against the joint force of the contractors and the law. Over the years the union became a model of class collaboration with the boss and his parties of profit, the Democrats and Republicans. A full circle has been turned, and once again the only protection the carpenters of the 1970s have lie in their tenacity, resourcefulness, and solidarity.

...UFW

Continued from page 28

the Democrats have also done their share. When the Democratic Party held the governorship in California, Governor Edmund Brown made sure their interests were represented in the State Board of Agriculture. As head of it he appointed none other than Jesse Tapp, board chairman of the Bank of America. Every one of the appointees was tied to big landholding interests.

Federal 'aid'

The influence of agribusiness is not limited to local and state authorities. Among its partners in the crimes committed against farm workers is the federal government.

In 1969, in the midst of the grape boycott, the Defense Department doubled its purchases of grapes, buying more than 16 million pounds. The Pentagon sent an average of eight pounds of grapes to every U.S. soldier in Vietnam.

During the lettuce boycott in 1970, the Defense Department drastically curtailed its purchases from Interharvest after that company signed a contract with the UFW. Instead, it more than tripled its purchases of scab lettuce from Dow Chemical subsidiary Bud Antle.

Aid from the federal government to these agribusiness giants takes a number of forms. These include:

- Tax write-offs. Tenneco ended up with \$13.2-million credit on its income tax return in 1969.

- Direct government subsidies, the bulk of which go to the largest corporations. In a recent year, 500 large growers in California's Imperial Valley received \$12-million in farm subsidies. In 1970, Tenneco alone re-

ceived crop subsidies of more than \$1-million.

- Subsidized land and water development on land owned by corporations.

- Subsidized agricultural research done by universities on the growers' behalf. The University of California spends more than \$20-million a year of state and federal tax dollars in agricultural research aimed at aiding farm corporations.

- Failure to include farm workers in the minimum wage law. This helps account for farm labor wages that are well below the poverty level.

- Failure to include farm workers in the National Labor Relations Act. Because of their exclusion from the provisions of the NLRA, farm workers are unable to hold binding elections for the union of their choice. This is why the Teamsters can sign contracts with the growers even though the vast majority of the farm workers prefer the UFW.



'Farm workers are one of the lowest paid sectors of the American labor force.'

The power of agribusiness goes a long way toward explaining why previous efforts to organize the farm workers have been largely unsuccessful. But even these giants of modern-day industry are not invulnerable. A boycott that seriously affects their sales and publicly scandalizes them could win recognition for the UFW.

In order to bring the mighty growers to terms, it will be necessary to mount a boycott of massive proportions.

La Causa must become the cause of millions: the Chicano community, students, the labor movement, individual consumers. To be effective, the grape, lettuce, and Gallo wine boycotts need the active support of large numbers of people.

Large-scale picketing of supermarket chains has already succeeded in getting some stores to stop carrying scab produce. But if the impact of the boycott is to be felt by the growers, these scattered successes will have to be duplicated in major cities throughout the country.

That is the kind of boycott campaign that is called for to support the farm workers in their struggle against one of the most powerful union-busting forces in the history of the American labor movement.

...Chile

Continued from page 21

Between 2,000 and 3,000 attended a rally in Los Angeles Dec. 9 to hear Hortensia Allende. The rally was chaired by Bert Corona of the Coalition for the Restoration of Democracy in Chile.

International protests continue against the brutal repression in Chile. A Canada-wide tour for Hortensia Allende drew audiences of 4,500 in Montréal, 1,600 in Toronto, 1,400 in Vancouver, and 1,000 in Ottawa.

According to the Dec. 17 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a big factor in the success of the tour was the fact that it was a united effort, with all groups invited to cosponsor the meetings.

In Vancouver, for example, the sponsors of the meeting, all represented on the platform, included the Chile Solidarity Committee, Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, New Democratic Party Vancouver Area Council, Vancouver and District Labor Council, Communist Party, League for Socialist Action, Young Socialists, Canadians for a Democratic Chile, and the Spartacus Bookstore.

In Paris on Dec. 9, 40,000 persons marched in a demonstration against the Chilean junta. According to the report in the Dec. 11 *Le Monde*, the protest was organized by the Committee of Support to the Revolutionary Struggle of the Chilean People, which includes the United Socialist Party (PSU), the weekly *Rouge*, and others.

According to *Rouge*, the aims of the action were to denounce "the complicity of the French government with the Chilean puthists" and to demand the banning of a meeting in support of the junta scheduled by a fascist group for Dec. 19.

VIVA LA HUELGA!

The Struggle of the Farm Workers

By Jose G. Perez

25 cents

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

The Militant's Anniversary Fund: success establishes basis for new gains in 1974

By ANDREA MORELL

The Militant Forty-fifth Anniversary Fund winds up with a total of \$26,226! This is a big leap over our original goal of \$20,000.

This money represents, above all, the confidence in *The Militant* that is shared by our readers, and the en-

Andrea Morell is the chairwoman of the Militant Forty-fifth Anniversary Fund.

thusiasm for expanding our circulation and coverage. As a contributor from Youngstown, Ohio, who sent in \$13 last week put it: "Our newspaper, *The Militant*, is the only one that tells the truth, the facts, and what's really going on here and around the world. Keep on going."

The fund got off to a fast start at a rally at the Socialist Workers Party convention in August. Almost \$13,000 was contributed there by hundreds of our supporters. Another \$7,641 was contributed at *Militant* anniversary banquets and rallies held in 15 cities across the country. The remainder, \$5,820, came in the mail from individual supporters and subscribers.

The donations ranged from \$1 to \$500. The latest \$1 donation that arrived contained the following note: "I, like many others, only wish that this amount could have been much larger. This only goes to prove that the workers or students cannot, like their capitalist bosses, afford to contribute vast sums of money to their favorite cause."

Hundreds of readers received copies of the book *The Militant: 45 Years*

in the *Struggle for Socialism* by contributing \$45 or more to the fund drive.

Many readers decided to become regular contributors to *The Militant* by making a monthly pledge. These regular contributions are an important source of steady income for the paper, and we hope that more readers will decide to make an ongoing monthly contribution.

In addition to those who helped the fund at a local rally or banquet, 397 readers from 32 states plus the District of Columbia, Canada, and England contributed to the fund drive.

Much of the money raised for the Anniversary Fund has already been put to good use.

Part of it was used to help finance the 12 *Young Socialist* and two *Militant* teams that traveled around the country this fall. These teams sold a combined total of 12,769 *Militants* and 7,080 introductory subscriptions. They also brought 102 new members into the Young Socialist Alliance and sold more than \$3,000 worth of revolutionary literature.

Impressive as they are, these are just the bare statistics. There is no way to measure the effect of talking to thousands of people on the campuses, in the high schools, at plant gates, and on radio and television about socialist ideas.

One expense that we had not anticipated was the shortage of newsprint, which forced us to use more expensive paper for four issues of *The Militant*. This expense, coupled with increased newsprint costs, made it necessary to go over the original fund goal.



Militant/Mark Satinoff

In spite of the extra paper expense, however, *The Militant* was 32 pages—instead of the normal 28—on two occasions during the fund drive. This was done in order to give special coverage to major world developments, especially the coup in Chile, the crisis in the Middle East, and Watergate.

The current issue is also 32 pages.

Some of the money is being used to cover the increase in postage. Second-class mail costs went up 19 percent in the last six months, and the Post Office is threatening another 38 percent hike.

The Militant Forty-fifth Anniversary Fund is also being used to help pay the expenses of on-the-spot coverage. *Militant* reporters have been on the

scene for the elections in Argentina, the trial of the Gainesville Eight, United Farm Workers' activities, hearings for Attica prisoners, the Harlan County miners' strike, the student strikes in Puerto Rico, to mention only a few.

The fund drive was only one aspect of the forty-fifth anniversary activities of *The Militant* this fall. Along with the campaign to raise funds, we increased our circulation. Those areas that participated in our sales campaign boosted weekly sales from an average of 6,500 last spring to 8,500. And, we sold 16,800 new introductory subscriptions.

We begin the new year with a much stronger circulation and financial base. The success in all aspects of *The Militant's* forty-fifth anniversary activities gives us confidence that 1974 will see an even greater growth of our paper.

The Militant Forty-fifth Anniversary Fund was a tremendous success. More contributions, however, are always needed. If you would like to pledge a monthly donation in 1974 to help us publish, just fill out the coupon below.

() I would like to pledge \$ _____ a month to *The Militant*
() Enclosed is \$ _____ for the first month.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Mail to 14 Charles Lane, N.Y., N.Y. 10014.

Why Puerto Rican Socialist Party avoids clear discussion of political differences

By DOUG JENNESS

In the Nov. 2 *Militant* I answered a sharp attack by Puerto Rican Socialist Party leader Ramón Arbona, on the radical organizations in the United States. I pointed out that Arbona's criticisms were so sweeping as to be virtually useless and that he avoided discussing the important political differences between opposing organizations. I indicated that the Socialist Workers Party would welcome a dialogue on key political issues with the PSP.

Arbona responded to my article, along with one that appeared in the Communist Party's *Daily World*, in the Nov. 4 *Claridad*. His article is entitled "The proof of the pie is in the eating."

While tipping his hat to the reality that ideological differences among radical organizations exist, he announces that "at this stage particularly we want to focus on the fact that the groups are trapped by the subtleties of bookish purity and consequently their practice manifests a dearth of vanguard work."

This has led, he argues, to "the inability to provide courses of action enabling the masses to take on their role as agents of history." This deficiency, he says, "characterizes the left in every country where it is weak, or where it has been stagnant during the last 40 years." Presumably this includes the United States.

The gist of his argumentation seems to be that the relatively small size of

the radical organizations and the relative quiescence of the working class is the fault of the "vanguard." But when he gets down to letting us know what "courses of action" the "vanguard" should be pursuing he doesn't have much to say.

He explains that the "vanguard"



PSP's Juan Arbona continues to dodge discussion of real political issues, such as the reasons for the defeat in Chile. Above, Santiago during the rightist coup.

should "open roads," and that it can't do this if it "remains on dead-end beaten tracks" or if it is "so distant from its rearguard that it becomes a lost army." He safely adds, "There are no magical solutions."

In the remaining paragraphs he offers truisms about Marxism being a guide to action rather than dogma, and not applying old norms, parrot-like, to new situations. His final admonition is that the struggle to over-

turn capitalism "requires bold ingenuity."

We would agree with Arbona that the proof of the pie is in the eating. But the burden of proof is on him to show us what the Socialist Workers Party should be doing to advance the struggle of working people in the

tinuous orbiting around the same clichés in their various permutations, is the most incapacitating problem of the left in the United States."

In my previous article I challenged Arbona to present an evaluation of the tragic defeat of the Chilean working class. What does the PSP think about the strategy of supporting the Allende regime—a coalition, "popular front" government in which the two largest working-class parties helped prop up a capitalist government?

Does Arbona agree with PSP General Secretary Juan Mari Brás, who stated at a memorial meeting in Puerto Rico that Allende was a "revolutionary," an "anti-imperialist fighter," and "one of the greatest leaders in Latin American history" (Oct. 14 *Claridad*)?

Does he think supporting the Popular Unity government was an effective strategy for overturning capitalism that should be repeated in Chile and other countries? Or does he think, as the SWP does, that this policy was responsible for the defeat? Maybe he feels that discussing such life and death questions is simply "bookish purity."

The fact of the matter is that Arbona avoids discussing political differences with the SWP because he considers short-run organizational gains to be more important than political clarity. The present policy of the PSP is to attract those who consider themselves Marxists-Leninists and are for "revolution," even though they may have opposing views on many important

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In Review

Socialism on Trial: introduction to the fundamentals of Marxism

Socialism on Trial by James P. Cannon. Pathfinder Press (410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014). 1973. 192 pp. Paper \$2.25.

"In no labor trial in this country have defendants so consciously and systematically defended their revolutionary doctrine, utilizing the courtroom as a forum from which to proclaim their real views," writes George Novack in the introduction to this book.

Socialism on Trial is the transcript of the testimony by James P. Cannon in the 1941 trial of 28 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis truck drivers union Local 544. The case was the first prosecution under the antidemocratic Smith "Gag" Act, which had been enacted the previous year.

Like the assaults on civil liberties organized by Nixon's Watergaters, this case, prosecuted under Franklin D. Roosevelt, had the purpose of silencing critics of the capitalist government. FDR wanted to railroad to prison irreconcilable opponents of World War II.

In addition, he was doing a favor for the corrupt head of the Teamsters union, Daniel Tobin, who wanted to eliminate the leaders of militant opposition to his bureaucratic machine. Eighteen of the defendants were convicted and served terms of 12 to 18



James P. Cannon, second from left, with other Minneapolis defendants on their way to prison in December 1943.

to workers who, through the trial, would be hearing these ideas for the first time. He described the socialist position of opposition to all capitalist wars, including World War II, pointing out that Roosevelt's democratic rhetoric was aimed at covering the ruling class's imperialist aims.

Cannon argued that the SWP is the very opposite of the conspiratorial grouping the Justice Department sought to portray. Socialists seek to win the support of the majority of people in order to establish a regime that will represent the working class. This new workers government "will be the most democratic government from the point of view of the great masses of people that has ever existed," he declared.

Replying to the charge that revolutionary socialists are the inspirers of violence, Cannon placed the blame for the violence of capitalist society squarely on the shoulders of those who actually cause it—the ruling class.

He used the graphic example of fascism to show how the ruling minority employs brutal repression to maintain its power whenever the majority begins to seek fundamental change. Because of this, Cannon explained, the workers have always been compelled to defend themselves against reactionary violence.

Cannon dealt similarly with the charge that the SWP advocates "insubordination" in the Army. He explained why Marxists consider individual acts of draft resistance or sabotage in the Army ineffective. While opposing the draft, Cannon said, revolutionary socialists enter the armed forces with their fellow conscripts and continue to exercise their democratic rights.

GIs, he explained, "should have all the rights of citizens. They should have the right to petition Congress; they should have the right to vote; they should have the right to select committees to present their grievances. . . ."

Socialism on Trial remains a valuable introduction to Marxist ideas. Clear explanations are given on the nature of capitalism, the causes of war, the character of the socialist revolution, internationalism, the class struggle, dictatorship of the proletariat, and many other fundamental concepts of Marxism.

Included in this expanded edition is an exchange of views between Cannon and Grandizo Munis, a former member of the Fourth International. Munis criticized Cannon's testimony at the trial on two basic points.

Instead of arguing that the capitalists are responsible for violence, Munis wrote, Cannon should have declaimed, "We assure, we ask, we advocate temporary violence of the majority. . . ."

In his reply Cannon shows that such bombast, in addition to playing into



Paris, 1946. 'When the U.S. soldiers organized the "Bring Us Home" movement at the end of World War II, they used the approach advocated by Cannon at his trial.'

the hands of the prosecution, has no support in the letter, tradition, or spirit of Marxism.

In addition, Munis disagreed with Cannon's opposition to individual acts of sabotage in the Army. Munis confidently predicted, "Sabotage will be the reaction of the masses against the imperialist war."

But events themselves soon refuted this ultraleftist delusion. When the U.S. soldiers in the Pacific organized the "Bring Us Home" movement at the end of World War II, they used the approach advocated by Cannon at his trial.

This debate, complementing Cannon's testimony, makes this new Pathfinder publication an indispensable handbook of socialist ideas and how to defend them. — FRED FELDMAN

Executive Action: more fiction than fact

Executive Action. Screenplay by Dalton Trumbo, story by Donald Freed and Mark Lane. Starring Burt Lancaster and Robert Ryan. National General Pictures.

Watergate has created a ready market for films like *Executive Action*. Many people are justifiably suspicious of the official version of the assassination of John Kennedy, as they are of the killings of Dr. Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, or Fred Hampton.

This film is meant to be a mixture of fact and fiction on the Kennedy assassination. Unfortunately, the writers of the screenplay try to pass off quite a bit of fiction as fact.

According to the plot, wealthy Southern reactionaries decide they must stop the "Kennedy dynasty" at all costs. So they hire a gang of CIA-linked gunmen to do the job.

To cover themselves, the capitalists

Film

frame up Lee Harvey Oswald, hoping that his activity in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and his trips to the Soviet Union will make the assassination appear inspired by the Left.

While none of this is implausible, what is hard to stomach is the motivation given for the assassination. These "Southern Rim" capitalists actually argue that if he is not stopped, Kennedy will "lead the Black revolution" and bring the troops home from Vietnam.

Even the *New York Times* reviewer felt compelled to write, "The last two points may give you the hiccups, but that is what these characters say."

To bolster this absurd theory, the film shows clips of old speeches by Kennedy, carefully edited to leave in his rhetoric about "peace" and "equality," but with the threats against Cuba, the violence-baiting of civil rights marches, and the talk of "Communist subversion" deleted.

For example, Kennedy made his real position on Vietnam quite clear just three months before his death: "For us to withdraw . . . would mean a collapse not only of South Vietnam, but Southeast Asia. So we are going to stay there." This quote does not appear in the movie.

The film is also sloppy in many details. In one scene the plotters superimpose a photo of Oswald's head over a picture of someone holding a rifle and a copy of *The Militant*. But it's a 1973 *Militant*!

As for entertainment value, the actors seem as disenchanted—and frankly bored—with the plot as most viewers will be. — CINDY JAQUITH

Books

months in 1944 and 1945.

The frame-up charges leveled by government prosecutors included: advocating the "violent" overthrow of the government; "conspiracy" to overthrow the government; and advocating "insubordination" in the armed forces. The only proof advanced for these charges was the revolutionary program of the defendants.

Just as in the "conspiracy" prosecutions against antiwar activists in recent years, the Roosevelt administration aimed to portray the opponents of imperialist war as a small, secretive band of would-be terrorists, seeking to forcibly impose their will on the majority of the people.

Cannon, who is now national chairman emeritus of the SWP, had to defend the ideas of Marxism against these lies and distortions. At the time, he was the SWP national secretary.

Cannon used his testimony to explain the fundamentals of Marxism



ROOSEVELT: used Smith 'Gag' Act in effort to silence opposition to World War II.

HISTORY OF THE LEFT OPPOSITION

1928: STALIN SHIFTS TO 'LEFT COURSE'

By DAVE FRANKEL

The socialist movement on a world scale consists of three basic tendencies, each arising out of specific historical developments.

The Second, or Socialist International, founded in 1889, disintegrated as a revolutionary organization in 1914, when its member parties supported their "own" imperialist governments in the slaughter of the first world war. This tendency is represented today by the staunchly procapitalist social-democratic parties led by such figures as Willy Brandt in West Germany and Harold Wilson in Britain.

The Third International was founded in 1919 under the leadership of the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky. But with the rise of Stalinism in the 1920s, it was transformed into an appendage of the Soviet bureaucracy; it was finally dissolved by Stalin in 1943 as a gesture of friendship to his imperialist allies.

Under Stalin the parties of the Third International, or Comintern, defended the immediate foreign policy of the Soviet bureaucrats, not the needs of the world revolution. Although today there are pro-Moscow and pro-Peking Stalinist parties, owing their allegiance to different national bureaucracies, in essence these parties follow this same policy.

The third historic tendency in the world working class movement is Trotskyism. The Trotskyist movement, represented by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in the United States, and organized around the world in the Fourth International, is the continuator of the revolutionary tradition and program of Marxism.

This year is the fortieth anniversary of the call to found the Fourth International, put forward by Trotsky in 1933. An earlier series of articles in *The Militant* described the degeneration of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), the struggle against this degeneration led by Leon Trotsky, and the defeat of the Left Opposition in the USSR. This series will cover the history of the Left Opposition in the period of 1928-33.

Continuing the fight

When Trotsky and the others in the Left Opposition were expelled from the CPSU at its fifteenth congress in December 1927, they didn't give up their fight. They organized themselves as a faction of the official party, and continued with the perspective of converting the CPSU to their views, rather



STALIN: His policies led to economic crisis.



BUKHARIN: First Stalin's ally, then disgraced as leader of the Right Opposition.

than forming a new party.

The fight to reform the CPSU and the other parties of the Comintern was the central orientation of the Left Opposition until 1933.

The Opposition argued that although the Communist movement had become bureaucratized and its ranks miseducated, there was no basis for saying that this was irreversible. Only the test of great new events could decide this; in the meantime, the vanguard of the world proletariat was concentrated in the ranks of the Comintern, and it was the job of the Left Opposition to reach these workers.

From his exile in Alma-Ata, an isolated town in the far east of the Soviet Union, Trotsky continued the work of organizing and leading the Left Opposition. Between April and October 1928 he wrote 800 political letters, many of essay length.

Economic crisis

While Trotsky was exiled in Alma-Ata, Stalin's troubles were mounting. On top of the defeat of the Chinese revolution in 1927 as a result of his policies, and the continuing activity of the Left Opposition, he was now faced with an economic crisis. His reliance on the rich peasants (kulaks) to develop agriculture, and his support to industrial development "at a snail's pace," had led the Soviet economy into a dead end.

The economic crisis in the winter of 1928 took the form of an artificial shortage of grain. The harvest of 1926-27 had set a record, leaving the peasantry better off than at any time since the revolution. However, as a result of Stalin's policies of downplaying the need for planning and more rapid development of industry, there was a shortage of industrial goods.

With the next harvest, at the end of 1927, the peasantry preferred to hoard grain, rather than sell it to the Soviet government for money that they couldn't buy clothes or tools with. Grain collections in November and December were less than half of what they had been the previous year, and the cities were threatened with famine. The price of bread rose repeatedly, and long lines formed outside the bakeries.

The kulaks demanded access to industrial goods on the world market and a steep increase in the price of grain. At stake was the very survival of the Soviet regime. If carried out, such demands would have resulted in the abandonment of the already

inadequate program of industrialization, the restoration of free trade, and soon after, of capitalism.

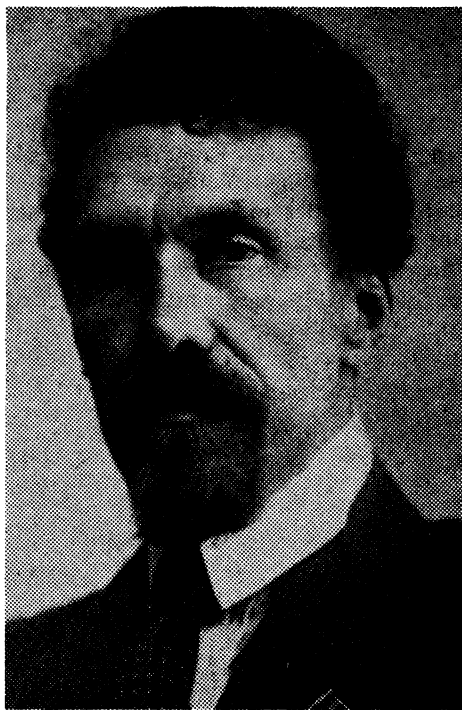
The right wing of the CPSU, grouped around Bukharin, Rykov, and Tomsy, favored further concessions to the peasantry. But events were pushing Stalin into a new policy. A campaign of "extraordinary measures" such as the requisition of hoarded stocks of grain and forced grain loans was initiated.

By April 1928 the party leaders thought that their emergency measures had been successful, and Stalin declared that "the crisis has been surmounted."

But new difficulties in grain collection caused a rapid reversion to the "emergency measures." All grain exports were halted, bread rationing was instituted, and finally 250,000 tons of grain had to be imported. Resistance to the requisitioning of grain was widespread. In the first half of 1928, 150 scattered peasant rebellions had to be quelled, and there was fear that the peasantry would refuse to sow enough seed for the next harvest.

The Right Opposition

These conditions sharpened the conflict that was already brewing in the Politburo of the CPSU between Stalin's faction and Bukharin, Rykov, and Tomsy. Trotsky had earlier predicted that since the two wings of the old



RYKOV: Another of Stalin's close associates, accused of 'speculating on the economic difficulties of the Soviet power.'

Politburo majority were consolidated by their common hostility to the Opposition, and not by a common political program, the defeat of the Left Opposition "would inevitably accelerate the conflict between them."

The truth of this analysis was already apparent at the fifteenth party congress in December 1927. Having expelled the Left Opposition, Stalin's supporters now began to turn on Bukharin. Shatskin, one of Stalin's lieutenants, accused Bukharin of glossing over the rightist errors of foreign communist parties, and held that "the Right danger in the ranks of our supporters and of our parties is very great."

This was a particularly pointed attack, since Bukharin had replaced Zinoviev as president of the Comintern two years before. By the time of the meeting of the Comintern Executive Committee in February 1928, the "right-wing danger" was receiving almost as much attention as the Left Opposition. At the sixth congress of

the Comintern in July-September 1928 the "Right deviation" was presented as the central danger.

Within the CPSU Stalin moved to replace Bukharin's supporters on the editorial boards of *Pravda*, the party newspaper, and *Bol'shevik*, the party theoretical organ. This process was completed in September 1928, and in November another Bukharin supporter, Uglanov, was removed from his position as secretary of the Moscow party organization.

'Against the Kulak'

The eleventh anniversary of the revolution, in November 1928, was celebrated by the Stalinist apparatus with slogans that had formerly been the watchwords of the Left Opposition. The official banners read: "The Danger is on the Right!"; "Strike Against the Kulak!"; "Curb the NEP-men!"; and "Speed up Industrialization!"

It was for carrying just such slogans only a year before that the Left Oppositionists had been accused of organizing a counterrevolutionary demonstration and had been expelled from the CPSU.

While Stalin continued the process of undercutting the Right Opposition and deepening his new "left course," he refrained from any public attacks on the Right Opposition leaders in the Politburo, and rumors of an impending rupture were repeatedly denied. He wanted no public break with Bukharin while Trotsky was still functioning as a rallying point for the Left Opposition inside the USSR.

Stalin had to remove the threat posed by Trotsky. Still too insecure to risk Trotsky's imprisonment or murder, he decided on another course. On Jan. 20, 1929, one year and three days after his exile to Alma-Ata, Trotsky was informed of the order to deport him from the Soviet Union on the charge of counterrevolutionary activity. Less than a month later, he arrived in Turkey, and Stalin felt it safe to proceed against the Right Opposition.

The leaders of the Right Opposition were condemned inside the CPSU central committee in April, and soon after they were publicly disgraced. In June 1929 Tomsy lost his position as head of the Soviet trade unions; in July Bukharin was removed from his post as president of the Comintern, and in November he was ousted from the Politburo.

By this time the Soviet press had announced that the chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissars,

Continued on page 26

FOR FURTHER READING

The following books by Leon Trotsky, the central leader of the International Left Opposition, explain in greater depth the issues in the fight against Stalinism.

- THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AFTER LENIN, 348 pp., \$3.45
- THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED: What Is the Soviet Union? Where Is It Going?, 314 pp., \$2.95
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...strikes

Continued from page 15
not happen. Just the opposite.

Members of Drug and Hospital Union Local 1199, RWDSU, walked out. According to Raskin's account Dunlop was very angry. He vowed not to call a CLC emergency meeting nor to approve the hospital workers' wage raise.

A federal judge in New York imposed heavy fines on the striking union and ordered Dunlop to hand down a decision "forthwith." The CLC decision on wages came quickly. It reduced the wage increase to 6 percent, or \$9 weekly. The strikers were forced to return to work under these conditions.

During the entire week of the hospital strike not one of the top-ranking officials of the AFL-CIO or any international union demanded that the CLC be brushed aside. Not one threatened to resign. Not one called for the resignation of those who served it.

What happened to the hospital workers is the established pattern. It has happened often before to others. This is the way "labor peace" is imposed.

Many workers are asking why the labor skates play Dunlop's game. Why don't those who sit as Nixon-appointed advisers to the Cost of Living Council resign? This applies not only to top bananas like Meany, Fitzsimmons, and Woodcock. It applies to all the others who serve on the various industry panels, Raftery on CISC and Greenberg on the health panel, a whole raft of them in similar spots. Why don't they bail out?

When the entire union movement is officially calling for Nixon's impeachment, why do these top-ranking union officials continue to serve loyally and dutifully on the Nixon-appointed wage-control boards? What is the good of Nixon's resignation or impeachment if his antiunion government con-

trols remain?

There are two basic reasons for this apparent contradiction in the policy and behavior of the union bureaucracy. First is the conviction that it is the responsibility of the employing class to govern; their part is to "help out," to insist only that workers must get a fair shake." Second is the belief that rising wages somehow contribute to inflation. Union officials fear the accusation that they have abandoned the economic stabilization program, that they don't care about the economy, that they are self-seekers interested at most in the narrow strata of workers they profess to represent.

There are other reasons for their treacherous behavior. They don't care much about the poor. They think it is "politic" to sacrifice the needs of low-paid and unorganized workers, about 75 percent of the work force, in the hope that they can wheedle a few marginal benefits for "their" union members.

With this basic outlook, it is no wonder that the Meany gang has been easily lured into the services of slick operators like Dunlop who devise ways to serve the employers at the expense of the workers.

The strikes that have broken out in recent weeks, and others that are brewing, will crack the wage-control machinery and probably lead to the abandonment of Nixon's CLC. This does not mean, however, that the employing class will abandon its efforts to drive down the standard of living of the working class, or that the employers won't find union officials to serve their needs.

It does mean that the strike weapon, in the final showdown, is the only effective weapon of the working class. It remains for this weapon to be perfected, and for a politically conscious leadership to develop that knows how to wield it.

...Thailand

Continued from page 21
representatives from student groups in Australia, Hong Kong, Cambodia, Laos, and Singapore met with their Thai counterparts in Bangkok, at a conference organized by the National Student Center of Thailand (NSCT), the largest Thai student organization.

Students from Indonesia, Malaysia, and South Korea, although prevented from attending the conference because of government harassment, sent messages of solidarity.

The theme of the conference was "The Students' Role in Solving Economic Difficulties in Asia." In plans for a region-wide campaign against Japanese imperialist penetration of Asia, protest actions have been scheduled for Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore in January, when Japanese Premier Kakuei Tanaka plans to tour those countries. After the conference, about 70 delegates marched to the Japanese embassy and chanted, "Yankee-Japanese Go Home!" "All Asian People Unite and Rise!" and "Down with Economic Invasion by the United States and Japan!"

The left-wing of the Thai student movement, which split away from the more moderate NSCT, organized itself into the Federation of Independent Students of Thailand (FIST). The Dec. 12 *Washington Post* quoted one FIST member as saying: "We could not work within the NSCT, because they are unwilling to push hard enough. They do not realize that getting rid of the military government is only the first step."

The Dec. 10 *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported that FIST held its first demonstration in late November at Thammasat University, protesting Thailand's oil crisis. The *Review* even speculated that if FIST's support continues to grow, it might become stronger than the NSCT.

The president of FIST, Seksan Prasertkul, went on a speaking tour of Thai communities in the United States in early December.

...PSP

Continued from page 23
issues. No serious attempt is made to politically define the organization in relation to the major tendencies in the working-class movement.

The PSP is trying the shortcut approach to building a party by winning members on a minimal programmatic agreement rather than to a strategy based on decades of class-struggle experience. This method has always failed in the past.

One example was the Students for a

Democratic Society, which tried this in the 1960s. SDS was led by "New Left" ideologists who thought they could lump together the major tendencies in the working-class movement—Stalinism, including both its pro-Moscow and Maoist forms; Social Democracy; and revolutionary socialism, i.e., Trotskyism—dub them the "Old Left," and reject the whole package.

This experiment died when SDS was shipwrecked on the rocks of an ideological battle involving tendencies and arguments from the "Old Left," particularly the Maoist variety of Stalinism. This experience showed that no new ideologies or new tendencies have developed in the working-class movement. Nor is it possible for long to remain neutral or stand aside from the central ideological debates of the workers' movement. As people radicalize they end up gravitating to one of the three major international currents.

No matter how much Arbona tries to avoid political discussion, members of the PSP are going to be continually confronted with important developments in the worldwide class struggle and with the positions of all of the radical organizations. They will feel pressure to take stands. Political discussion will end up taking place both inside and outside the PSP despite Arbona's warning that this is "bookish purity."

...left opp.

Continued from page 25
Rykov, "had speculated on the economic difficulties of the Soviet power." Bukharin, it turned out, was "a conducting wire of bourgeois-liberal influences."

The leaders of the Right Opposition capitulated to Stalin, renouncing their views in the groveling terms that had come to be expected of repentant dissidents in what had once been the party of Lenin.

Not unnaturally, Stalin's new economic policies and his attacks on the Right Opposition gave rise to the idea that he had decided to carry out the program of the Left Opposition. The next article will discuss exactly what Stalin's new policies consisted of and how the Left Opposition responded to them.

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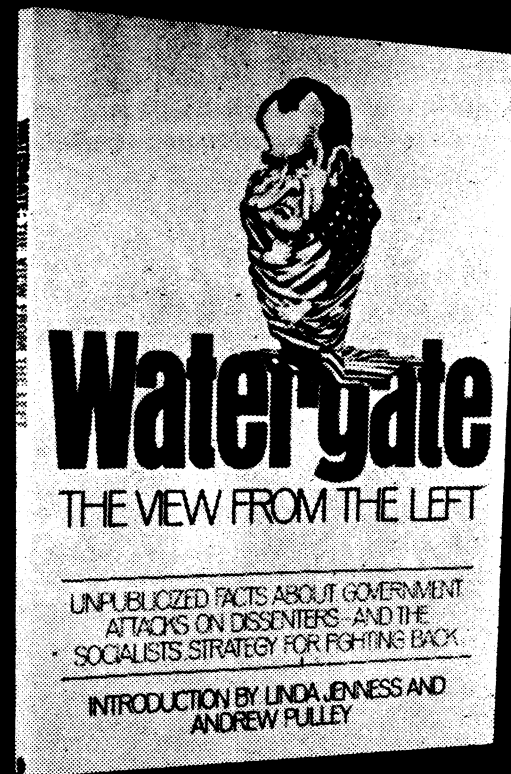
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THE MILITANT

What UFW is up against Agribusiness vs. the farm workers

By MIRTA VIDAL

Part of the campaign to crush the United Farm Workers' organizing efforts has been to depict the growers as innocent victims in a jurisdictional dispute between the Teamsters union and the UFW.

Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz, for example, tried to conjure up such an image when he asserted, "It is not fair for a farmer to work all year to produce a crop that can be wiped out in a two-week strike."

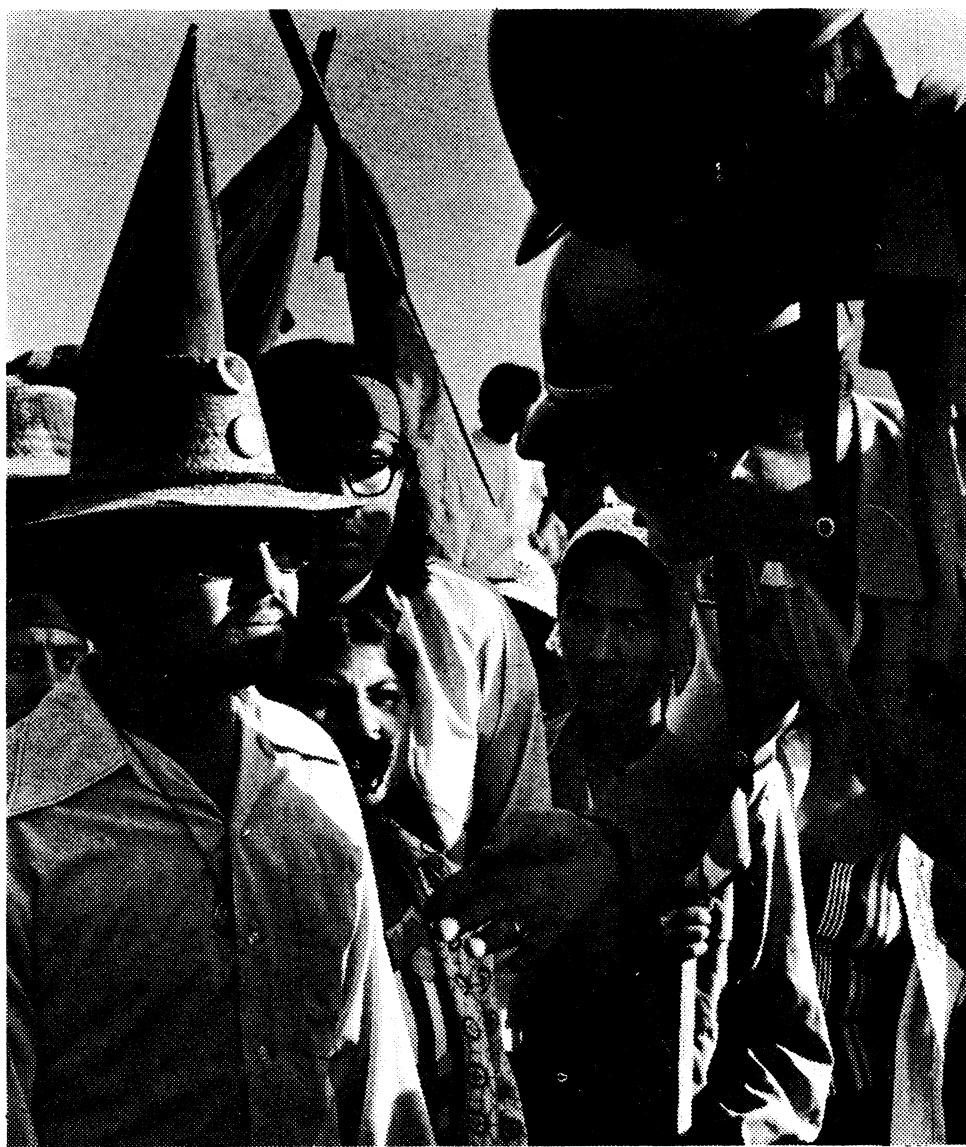
In reality the struggle of the farm workers is not against small farmers looking out for their own interests, or even against large farm corporations alone. It is a bitter fight for survival against one of the richest and most powerful forces in the U.S. economy: the system of farming conglomerates known as agribusiness. Comprising this are the handful of giant corporations that own vast tracts of land and control most of the food industry.

Most of the two and a half million farm workers in this country, the majority of whom are Chicanos, Blacks, and Puerto Ricans, are employed by these agribusiness conglomerates. One association of farmers, with some 1,000 members, claims to employ about 80 percent of the entire farm labor force, according to testimony before a U.S. Senate committee.

Farm workers are one of the lowest paid sectors of the American labor force. They suffer wretched working conditions and racist oppression. They are forced to live in shacks, often without heat or running water. Child labor, supposedly a relic of the past, is still common in the fields.

Through the superexploitation of farm workers these conglomerates reap millions of dollars in profits. In 1971, 1.4 million farm workers in this country earned an average of \$1,576.

It has been estimated that the



Militant/Peggy Bunn

Striking farm workers confront Kern County cops. Agribusiness uses local cops as private army to try to crush United Farm Workers Union.

growers pocket an extra \$3-billion a year from the discrepancy between farm workers' wages and the prevailing wages in industry.

Monopoly control of the food industry by agribusiness has developed

through two processes. One has been a consistent trend toward "horizontal" expansion, that is, large food corporations swallowing up smaller farmers and corporations.

In an article entitled "This Land is Their Land" in the July 1972, *Ramparts*, Larry Casalino points out that by 1969 "just 2 percent of U.S. farms made 30 percent of all farm sales, and 5 percent made more than half."

Roughly 40 percent of the cropland in California is owned by less than one-tenth of 1 percent of the farms.

But another phenomenon developing at a swift pace is the trend toward "vertical integration"—ownership and control by one giant conglomerate of every step from farming through processing to distribution and retailing.

A large portion of the food we eat today is brought to us by such business empires as Boeing, Good Year Tire and Rubber, Standard Oil of California, and Southern Pacific.

Among the biggest "farmers" in Cali-

fornia are Safeway, the third largest food chain in the country; Dow Chemical, which owns the Bud Antle company; and Purex, which controls a major portion of the lettuce market.

The Bank of America, the largest agricultural lender, finances the bulk of these operations. It also discriminates in favor of the agribusiness giants, often refusing loans to small farmers.

For these giant corporations, farming accounts for only a small portion of their overall profits. This enables them to claim they are taking a loss on some operations in order to conceal the real profits made in the entire process and obtain lucrative tax breaks.

It also means that—far from being "wiped out in a two-week strike"—they can afford to take a certain loss caused by a strike or boycott. This underlines the importance of a massive, sustained boycott campaign if these giants are to be brought to terms.

Boycott activists often hear the plea from big supermarkets that they should not be boycotted just for carrying non-UFW lettuce and grapes. They claim to be innocent victims of the conflict between the farm workers and the growers—omitting the fact that they are often part of the same corporation, if not direct employers of farm workers themselves.

Power of agribusiness

The concentration of wealth in the hands of a few corporations means, in turn, a concentration of power. The tentacles of agribusiness are far-reaching in the politics of California, for example, one of the biggest agricultural states.

Local governments of many small farm towns are completely controlled by agribusiness interests, with the sheriffs and police literally acting as private armies for the growers.

Just before the 1972 elections, agribusiness put its power to work to get a union-busting measure on the November ballot, aimed at destroying the UFW. Proposition 22, defeated in the elections, would have practically nullified the right to organize, to negotiate a contract, to strike, or to carry out boycotts.

The campaign to promote Proposition 22 was sponsored by the so-called Fair Labor Practices Committee, a front for the California Farm Bureau Federation—an association of the biggest growers in the state. The California Agricultural Conference, previously a lobbying outfit, poured more than \$150,000 into the project.

While Governor Ronald Reagan has been a faithful servant of agribusiness,

Continued on page 22

Tenneco: a billionaire farmer

One of the "farmers" the United Farm Workers are struggling against is Tenneco, the thirty-fourth largest conglomerate in the U.S., which owns more than 300,000 acres of California land.

In 1967 Tenneco acquired the Kern County Land Company, California's third largest landowner. Three years later it took control of Heggblade-Marguleas, the nation's largest marketer of fresh fruits and vegetables.

Tenneco is a classic example of the "vertically integrated" food corporation. "Tenneco plows its own

land, fertilized and sprayed with chemicals from its own chemical division, using its own tractors fueled with gas and oil from its own oil wells and refineries. The food is processed, packaged, and distributed by Teneco subsidiaries." (Larry Casalino, July 1972 *Ramparts*.) It has recently developed its own brand name: Sun Giant.

In 1970 Tenneco had gross revenues of \$2.5-billion and assets of \$4.3-billion. Its profit from farming and land development that year was \$22-million. This is the kind of agribusiness giant that is out to destroy the United Farm Workers.