

THE MILITANT

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

OUTLOOK FOR WORKERS

SOARING PRICES & MORE LAYOFFS



Democrats and Republicans have no answers to longer unemployed lines and rampant inflation. For socialist alternative, see page 8.

Protests to hit repression in Chile/³

How IRS plotted against Nixon foes/⁴

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In Brief

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN STUDENTS BEGIN ANTI-GALLO DRIVE: To kick off its stepped-up campaign against Gallo wines on campus, the University of Michigan United Farm Workers Support Committee organized an outdoor meeting of 75 on April 5. Following the rally, the protestors marched on four local wine stores and persuaded the managers of two to take Gallo products off their shelves.

Speakers at the rally included Robin Maisel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Michigan; State Representative Perry Bullard (D-Ann Arbor); Kathy Kozachenko, a member of the Ann Arbor city council; and Sam Baca, UFW statewide boycott organizer in Michigan.

In his talk, Baca stressed the importance of such rallies against Gallo on university campuses, since the strike-breaking company derives much of its profits from sales to students.

KENT STUDENTS PROTEST KILLING: Three hundred angry demonstrators, mainly students at Kent State University, rallied in front of the Portage County (Ohio) Courthouse April 12 to protest the shooting death of Gary Sherman, a KSU student. Sherman had been arrested by a secret police unit known as MAT, a group of cops from Mahoning, Ashtabula, Trumbull, and Portage counties. As Sherman was walking with the MAT agents to their car, he turned to ask a question. Special agent Robert Jardine then shot Sherman with a .357 magnum pistol from two feet away.

Jardine was later exonerated by the Portage County grand jury.

The demonstration, organized by the KSU student union, was based on two major demands: abolish MAT, and for a federal grand jury investigation of the killing. Among the speakers at the rally was Herman Kirsch, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Ohio. He compared MAT to other police terror units such as the STRESS unit in Detroit and said that only a massive struggle would eliminate injustice at the hands of the police.

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HOSPITAL WORKERS FINED FOR STRIKE: Drug and Hospital Union Local 1199 was fined \$723,500 on April 19 by Federal Judge Robert Carter for its strike last November in New York. Local 1199 plans to appeal the ruling.

In making his decision, Judge Carter repeated the slander that the hospital workers' walkout had "put in jeopardy the lives of many sick and hospitalized persons." The federal judge fined the union \$600,000 and 10 of its officers \$123,500.

Leon Davis, president of the predominantly Black and Puerto Rican union, pointed out that 1199's members "have learned through bitter experience that poor people rarely receive justice in courts."

This court decision is aimed at sabotaging hospital workers' fight to win a living wage in the upcoming hospital negotiations. The present 1199 contract expires this July.

BLACK STUDENTS PROTEST POLICE BRUTALITY: More than 200 Black students at the University of Louisville rallied April 16 to protest the beating of Stephen Boyd, a Black student, by campus cops.

Boyd was beaten April 14 after a dormitory night clerk, who students say is a notorious racist, objected to the Black student sitting with a white woman, and called the cops. The cops handcuffed Boyd, pushed him outside, and brutally beat him. Then Louisville city police arrested Boyd for assault, disorderly conduct, and destroying private property. Boyd is now out on bond, with the trial set for May 9.

The Black students are demanding that the head of campus police resign and are calling for an investigation into the beating of Boyd. They also want a permanent "Human Relations Committee" to investigate and expose the racist nature of the security forces and other university institutions.

CLASS JUSTICE: Herbert Porter went to jail April 22 to begin a 30-day sentence for lying to Watergate investigators.

Porter, who was the scheduling director for Nixon's reelection committee, was given the lightest sentence yet for a convicted Watergater and got a number of other breaks. The federal judge in his case suspended all but 30 days of a 15-month sentence. Porter could have gotten five years and a \$10,000 fine.

Porter will do his time at Lompoc, a minimum security prison near his home in Laguna, Calif. That's so he'll be close to his wife, the judge explained.

Compare this kid-glove treatment to the harsh sentence meted out to Martin Sostre, a Black activist from Buffalo, N.Y. Sostre is now serving a 25- to 30-year sentence on a frame-up drug conviction and faces a mandatory life sentence if convicted on trumped-up charges of assaulting prison guards.

PROTEST FORCES BANK TO SEVER TIES TO SOUTH AFRICA: Because of the protest of groups and individuals in Baltimore, Md., the Maryland National Bank there has announced that it will "divest" itself of its loans to the government of South Africa.

In a letter to Josiah Beeman of the United Presbyterian Church in Washington, D.C., the bank stated that since it didn't support apartheid it would not make or participate in loans to the government of South Africa. The bank went on to say:

"In order that there be no confusion and that our position in this respect be perfectly clear, we will divest ourselves of the South African Government loans presently on our books."

WHITE MERCHANTS SUE BLACK ACTIVISTS: Eight years ago, Blacks in Port Gibson, Miss., who were fighting against segregation, launched a boycott of white-owned businesses. By 1969, a number of these businesses were bankrupt and the Blacks had eliminated some of the racist abuse they had been suffering.

Now, the white merchants have decided to counterattack. They have filed a \$3.5-million suit against the boycotters and the civil rights groups they belonged to. The main group organizing the boycott was the NAACP, and the outcome of this suit will have a significant effect on this organization, which organized many similar boycotts throughout the country.

The merchants are charging that they were the victims of an illegal secondary boycott that was used to force them to use their influence on government to help Blacks win their demands for equality.

The defendants point out that they were simply exercising their constitutional right to protest.

In recent years white merchants in Grenada, Miss., and Savannah, Ga., have won similar suits against civil rights activists and groups. In these two suits the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the NAACP respectively were forced to pay tens of thousands of dollars in damages. If Blacks lose this Port Gibson suit, it could prove an ominous sign for civil rights groups elsewhere.

—NORMAN OLIVER

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May 11 action to hit Chile terror, show trial

Over the past week news reports from Chile have described the military junta's court-martial proceedings against 57 air force officials and 10 civilians in the first open trial of political prisoners since the rightist coup last September.

This "trial which puts them [the junta] on trial," as one American lawyer described it, is a showcase affair. But even so, it has exposed the extent to which democratic rights have been trampled on in Chile. The "crime" of which the prisoners are accused is simply active support of the legally elected government of Salvador Allende.

Each of the 67 is said to have signed a confession of guilt. But at least one defense attorney, Roberto Garretón, told a *New York Times* reporter, "According to my clients, they all were tortured through beatings and electricity into signing confessions."

If this frame-up is the best the junta can do in a public trial, one can imagine the travesty of justice that has occurred in the secret "trials" and sum-

mary executions throughout Chile in the months since the coup.

The April 18 *New York Times* cited church sources in Santiago as estimating that more than 6,000 political prisoners are still being held in Chile.

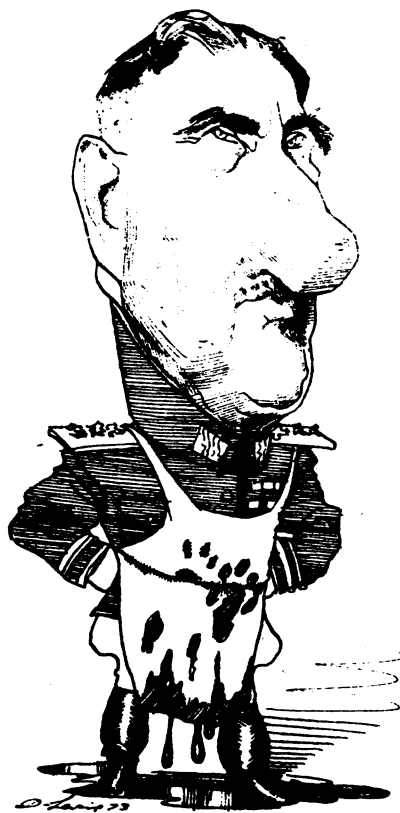
The junta has also issued new decrees expanding the grounds for firing workers from their jobs for political reasons. Thousands have been illegally thrown out of work, says the *Times*.

While the butchers of the Chile junta are trying to clean up their image with show trials, support and publicity are building up in this country for the May 11 nationwide demonstrations against the repression in Chile and U.S. complicity with the junta.

In Atlanta 150 demonstrators marched April 18, on the eve of the conference there of the Organization of American States, demanding freedom for all political prisoners in Chile. The OAS was scheduled to debate the issue of the repression in Chile, and the Atlanta Chile Protest Coalition called another demonstration to occur while the issue is being debated in the conference.

The Atlanta protests were seen as building toward the May 11 national day of protest. The national action was called by five organizations prominent in Chile defense work: Non-Intervention in Chile (NICH), the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), Chileans for Democracy, the Medical Committee for Human Rights, and the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA).

The Chile Solidarity Committees are also supporting the actions, as well as the *Guardian* newspaper, the Socialist Workers Party, Young Social-



Junta's General Pinochet

USLA, Atlanta Workshop in Nonviolence, United Farm Workers, Great Speckled Bird Collective, Socialist Workers Party, and Young Socialist Alliance.

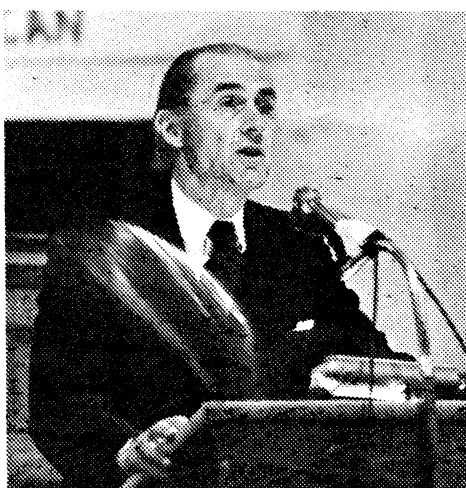
Contributing to the exposure of the crimes against human rights taking place in Chile have been speaking tours organized by USLA and other groups. Harald Edelstam, who was the Swedish ambassador to Chile during the coup, continued his two-month tour of the U.S. with engagements in Denver and Los Angeles.

His two meetings in Denver and at the University of Colorado in Boulder succeeded in raising \$1,300 for aid to Chilean political prisoners and refugees. Among the broad list of sponsors of Edelstam's Denver-area tour were the Crusade for Justice and the Weld County La Raza Unida Party.

In Los Angeles Edelstam addressed a city-wide meeting chaired by Heather Dashner of NICH. Working together on organizing the tour, which raised more than \$1,000, were NICH; the Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Chile, chaired by Bert Corona; USLA; the Los Angeles Group for Latin American Solidarity; and Abe Feinglass of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters.

Professor James Ritter is another eyewitness to the coup who is touring under the auspices of USLA to tell the truth about the terror tactics of the Chile junta. During April Professor Ritter spoke at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tenn., as well as being interviewed by a Nashville newspaper, a radio station, and two TV stations.

From Nashville, Ritter went on to Atlanta, where he spoke on several campuses and held a news conference.



Militant/Muffie Page

Ambassador Edelstam speaks in Denver

ist Alliance, and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, among others.

In New York City, where a Chile Action Week is planned leading up to May 11, the New York state Americans for Democratic Action, the West Side chapter of the New American Movement, and the Queens Liberal Party have added their support to the demonstration.

The Chile Protest Coalition in Atlanta, which built the demonstration at the OAS conference and is also planning the May 11 protest, includes

Ethiopia: promises fail to stem revolt

By TONY THOMAS

The massive student, worker, peasant, and soldier upsurge that has shaken Ethiopia for several months continues. The rebelling masses have not been satisfied by promises of future concessions, by the granting of de facto political and industrial freedoms, or by the recent announcement of Prime Minister Endalkachew Makonnen that the former cabinet members will be arrested.

Charles Mohr, writing in the April 19 *New York Times*, complains that "Ethiopians, freed from old shackles, have seemingly paid little attention to the pledges of basic reform and have engaged in an almost unremitting series of strikes, demonstrations and other disturbances that threaten to ruin the economy and make orderly government difficult."

An Ethiopian told Mohr that rather than rely on Makonnen's promises of reform, "People want immediate action." He continued: "The whole attitude is, strike while the iron is hot." Another Ethiopian told him, "People want to get their own benefits before it is too late."

A new struggle developing is that of the Moslems, who make up more than one-third of the population. More than 30,000 marched through the capital, Addis Ababa, April 20 to protest religious discrimination and to demand action on a 13-point petition presented to Makonnen two weeks earlier. "We cannot afford to remain second-class citizens," said signs carried by the marchers. "Ethiopia is not a Christian island. We too are Ethiopians."

The Coptic Christian Church of Eth-

iochia is supported by the government. It holds roughly one-third of the land of Ethiopia, and its several hundred thousand priests and monks live mainly off tithes and other exploitation of the Ethiopian peasantry. This is despite the fact that less than half the Ethiopian population supports the Coptic faith.

Among the continuing strikes in the country is one by customs and Finance Ministry officials, which has stopped foreign trade and disbursements of government funds. Garbage collectors and other municipal employees in Addis Ababa ended a two-week strike after winning their demand for the dismissal of the city's mayor.

There was also a demonstration Ap-



Ethiopian peasant children. Conditions of poverty, repression, and exploitation fueled revolt.

ril 18 in Addis Ababa by 3,000 veterans who asked for pension increases.

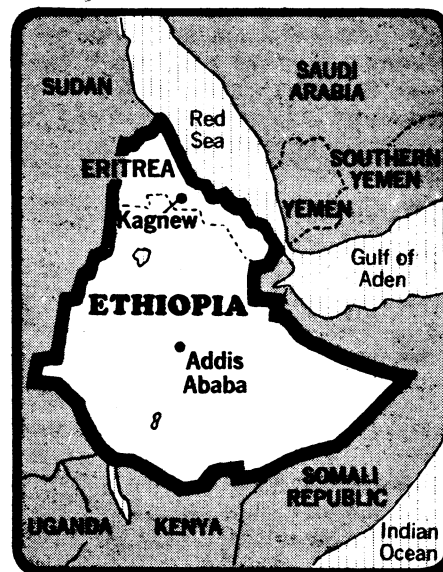
The April 16 issue of the French daily *Le Monde* noted, "The agitation has spread throughout the country; in certain provinces, for example in Kefa . . . 'revolutionary committees' seem to be trying to substitute themselves for the local authorities." As we reported last week, the officials of many provincial centers had fled to Addis Ababa after mass demonstrations and rebellions.

One of the reasons for the ability of the Ethiopian masses to wage such struggles is the fact that, as Charles Mohr put it, "Above all there appears to be no such entity as 'the army.'"

Broad sections of the armed forces have expressed sympathy with striking workers and students, and have carried out frequent actions for their own demands. "Committees of non-commissioned officers have continued to seize towns, formulate demands and disrupt national life . . .," the *Times* correspondent wrote.

Asmara, capital city of Eritrea, a colony of Ethiopia on the Red Sea Coast, was taken over April 19 by rebellious police. They demanded the ouster of Lieutenant General Yilma Shibeshi, Ethiopia's top cop, whom they charged with neglect of duty and conspiracy with corrupt government officials.

Makonnen was summoned before a meeting of 2,000 officers and men from the various branches of the armed forces in Addis Ababa on April 18. In an effort to reestablish stability in the armed forces, he announced that members of the Aklilu



Abde Wold government would be placed under house arrest.

Wold preceded Makonnen as prime minister. He was replaced at the end of February as a concession to the military revolt. One of the main demands of the mass upsurge since that time has been that Wold and other members of his administration be arrested and tried. Until now, Emperor Haile Selassie and Makonnen, who was himself a minister in Wold's government, have protected them from the masses.

The April 19 *New York Times* reported that although the troops wanted Wold and his confederates arrested and tried, the 2,000 soldiers who met with Makonnen "indicated they would be satisfied with house arrest."

The inability of the police and armed forces to brutally repress the Ethiopian masses has presented a big opportunity to fight for social change.

Memos reveal new 'dirty tricks'

How IRS plotted against Nixon's

By CINDY JAQUITH

The capitalist news media have underplayed or ignored new revelations on the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) contained in documents released April 8 by Senator Lowell Weicker (R-Conn.). The documents—which expose widespread illegal practices by the IRS against political dissidents—were only sketchily reported by most major newspapers and the TV networks when Weicker made them public.

These memos, obtained from former Nixon aide John Dean, reveal that in 1969 the IRS embarked on a campaign designed to silence critics of the Nixon administration through tax harassment. Released with the IRS documents were other memos, which contain detailed information on illegal White House activities directed against the antiwar movement, the media, Democratic Party opponents, and others.

The basic outlines of the IRS campaign appear in a memo dated July 24, 1969, on the "Activist Organizations Committee" (reprinted in box). Described as "an extremely important and sensitive matter in which the highest levels of government are interested," this committee was secretly set up by the IRS to harass dissenters through tax audits and other IRS investigations.

The Activist Organizations Committee was later renamed the "Special Services Staff." It was officially disbanded on Aug. 9, 1973, after Watergate revelations revealed its existence to the public.

Most of the targets of this committee remain a secret. The memo explains that there is a list of "77 specific organizations" that the IRS could go after. This list has never been released. The memo does, however, give a picture of the sort of group the IRS was out to victimize.

'Ideological & militant'

"The type of organization in which we are interested may be ideological, militant, subversive, radical, or other, and one of our first problems will be to define and to determine what kind of organization we are interested in," the memo says.

In a later memo, dated Aug. 20, 1969, Paul Wright, head of the Activist Organizations Committee, indicated that the targets were "predominantly dissident or extremist in nature and . . . people prominently identified with these organizations."

"Many of the organizations are controversial, all are newsworthy, and a large number are known to be militant, revolutionary and subversive," Wright said.

Undoubtedly this list included antiwar and Black organizations, and very likely political parties such as the Black Panther Party, Socialist Workers Party, and Communist Party. IRS interest in these latter groups was shown in another section of the July 24 memo:

Where your tax \$ goes

It's bad enough that the IRS collects taxes from poor people and lets freeloaders like Nixon, John Wayne, and Billy Graham off scot-free. It's even worse that our tax dollars get funneled right back into secret spy operations in the IRS, the White House, and the FBI.

Take a look at how our tax dollars have been spent in recent years to send Tony Ulasewicz around the country picking up political dirt for the White House. Ulasewicz, a former New York "red squad" cop, was hired by Nixon to do "investigations." One of the memos released by Senator Weicker reports on who Ulasewicz investigated:

- "Donald Nixon, Jr.—allegations that he's been involved in improper conducts, that drugs were involved, and love-making groups, at Three Forks, Sierra Madre. . . ."
- "Jefferson Hospital, Pennsylvania—anti-war activity among Doctors, nurses—went to security offices, lounges, restaurants"
- "Allegations that Carl Albert was involved in improper behavior at the Zebra Room . . . allegation untrue"
- "Viet Vets against War, in New York City"
- "National Peace Action Coalition"
- "Quakers staying in front of White House"
- "Viewed the movie 'Milhouse'—had his pocket picked"

" . . . we may have some of these organizations who claim to be political parties and we will need the Chief Counsel's guidance and advice because of the extremely delicate and sensitive nature, and the unanswered questions, as to what should be done."

The memo proposes various tactics to victimize the groups on the list of 77:

- "Some organizations should have filed income tax returns but have not done so; others may be liable for payroll tax returns but have failed to file."
- ". . . one of our principal functions will be to determine the sources of their funds, the names of the contributors, whether the contributions given

These guidelines were a thinly veiled attempt to roll back the gains of the May 1970 strike, during which students turned school facilities into organizing centers for the antiwar movement. University administrations often tried to use the guidelines as an excuse to deny budgets to antiwar or radical groups, to tighten control over school newspapers, and to prevent socialists and others backing candidates from holding meetings on campus.

Another attack by the IRS on student antiwar activists was its harassment of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War (SMC). The SMC was the leading student antiwar organization and



Student Mobilization Committee was harassed by Internal Revenue Service after May 1970 student strike

to the organizations have been deducted as charitable contributions. . . ."

In other words, while Nixon and his buddies were evading income taxes to the tune of six figures, the IRS was looking for ways to send "White House enemies" to jail or saddle them with big fines. In addition, the IRS agents clearly hoped to intimidate potential contributors to such causes as the antiwar movement or other protest movements.

Wayne & Graham

And to top it all off, when one of the White House friends got into tax trouble, the IRS tops immediately intervened to smooth things over. Thus another memo shows how John Dean tried to quash tax audits of Nixon sidekicks John Wayne and Billy Graham.

This use of the IRS for purely political purposes is hardly new. Radical groups have frequently been victimized by IRS agents, while rich friends of the Democrat or Republican sitting in the White House dodge taxes altogether. In the 1950s, for example, the IRS harassed the Communist Party and its newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, for alleged tax violations.

The IRS was well aware that its Activist Organizations Committee was merely using taxes as a pretext for illegally harassing dissident groups. So the July 24 memo cautioned members of the committee to keep its activities completely secret:

"We do not want the news media to be alerted to what we are attempting to do or how we are operating because the disclosure of such information might embarrass the Administration or adversely affect the Service operations in this area or those of other Federal agencies or Congressional committees."

Although only a few documents showing how the IRS put its campaign into practice are public, the revelations shed light on several other attacks on protest movements around the time the committee was launched.

'IRS Guidelines'

One such attack was the "IRS Guidelines" that were issued in the wake of the May 1970 student strike. These guidelines stipulated that universities might jeopardize their tax-exempt status if they gave students time off for political events; if they allowed school facilities to be used for free by "outside" groups; or if they permitted campus organizations backing candidates to freely use school property.

played a big role on many campuses during the May 1970 strike. IRS officials threatened a tax investigation of the SMC in 1970, but backed down without taking action.

Alcohol, Tobacco & Firearms unit

It would appear that much of the dirty work associated with the Activist Organizations Committee was farmed out to the IRS's Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division. The July 24, 1969, memo mentions that this outfit was already "conducting investigations of many of these organizations. . . ."

In January 1970, the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division tried to get Seattle Mayor Wesley Uhlman to carry out a raid of the Seattle Black Panthers headquarters, according to the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*.

What did such a raid have to do with taxes? Obviously nothing—even Uhlman realized the real purpose of such a raid would be to wipe out the Panthers. He refused the IRS request, according to the Feb. 9, 1970, *New York Times*, because it "smacked of gestapo-type tactics."

The Socialist Workers Party was also victimized by this IRS division. In 1971, a bomb exploded at the Houston offices of the SWP. While it was widely known that the local Ku Klux Klan had carried out many attacks of this nature, when an agent of the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division arrived on the scene, he began investigating SWP members, accusing them of planting the bomb themselves!

Socialist suit

The SWP and Young Socialist Alliance have named this IRS division as a defendant in their suit against government harassment and violence. The suit also cites other bombing attacks, wiretapping, use of police agents, and burglary directed by the government against the socialists.

But the left was not the only victim of the IRS attacks. Weicker also released a pile of documents on the Brookings Institution, a capitalist "think tank" in Washington, D.C. They contain memos to Egil Krogh, head of the White House "plumbers," from John Dean, discussing possible tax audits of Brookings and the Ford Foundation. One activity of Brookings that apparently had the White House worried was the planned publication of a study on Vietnam.

The memos outline a possible publicity cam-

'enemies'

paign to lay the basis for tax action against Brookings. It would begin with a statement by then secretary of the treasury John Connally against abuses by tax-exempt foundations. Then, "If the Secretary were not inclined to specifically attack Brookings and Ford in that speech, the Vice President could effectively follow with a hard hitting specific effort in that regard."

The White House didn't stop at tax harassment of Brookings. According to the June 9, 1973, *New York Post*, Nixon advisor Charles Colson also suggested a burglary at the institution, to be followed by a fire-bombing to cover the White House tracks!

Gagging the press

Several other documents deal extensively with various illegal means used to intimidate the media. One proposes an investigation of *Newsday*, a Long Island newspaper that was planning an exposé of Bebe Rebozo. The same memo recommends antitrust action against the *Los Angeles Times*.

Another sheaf of memos, largely written by Jeb Stuart Magruder, discusses the White House's campaign against the TV networks. "We will continue to hammer at press favoritism on a regular basis," reads one memo written in 1970. "We will ask the Vice President to make this a standard fare while he's on the stump in the Congressional campaigns."

Another Magruder memo, titled "The Shot-gun versus the Rifle," was sent to H. R. Haldeman on Oct. 17, 1969, two days after the massive Vietnam Moratorium that had been covered extensively by the media. Magruder proposed abandoning the administration's "shot-gun" method of countering bad publicity. Instead, he suggested a more concentrated attack on the media, including:

- Manipulation of the Federal Communication Commission (FCC) to bring charges against networks.
- Antitrust action: "Even the possible threat of anti-trust action I think would be effective in changing their views in the above matter."
- "Utilizing the Internal Revenue Service as a method to look into the various organizations. . . ."
- "Begin to show favorites within the media."

'Press objectivity'

It is hardly a coincidence, then, that the issue of "press objectivity" suddenly became a major issue—particularly through the mouthpiece of Agnew—in the next few weeks, which were also the weeks leading up to the massive Nov. 15, 1969, antiwar march on Washington.

Another document, written by Charles Colson in 1970, indicates that "gentle persuasion" was also used with the capitalist media. His memo describes a meeting he held with "three network chief executives" about their coverage of administration policies. After his chat, Colson reported: "In short, they are very much afraid of us and are trying hard to prove they are 'good guys.'"

George McGovern was another target of the White House snoopers. One memo, enigmatically captioned "Please Burn Before Reading," concerns a White House request for background information on the 1972 Democratic Party presidential candidate: "We are virtually certain that he was probably involved in every left-wing radical group that existed at that time [college days, etc.] and would like to somehow receive this documentation."

The Department of Commerce was asked by the White House to dig up information on a scandal concerning Senator Edmund Muskie (D-Me.) and a bankrupt sugar beet concern in Maine.

Trade unions

The trade unions also received special attention from the White House. One memo released by Weicker concerns presidential efforts to speed the parole of Calvin Kovens, who had been jailed for misuse of Teamster pension funds. The Nixon administration wanted his support in the 1972 elections.

Harold Gibbons, vice-president of the Teamsters, was given different treatment. Because of his anti-war activities and his support for McGovern, he was placed on the White House "enemies list." Charles Colson ordered a tax audit on him, and Teams-

Continued on following page

Targets of secret IRS drive: 'subversives' and 'extremists'

DISCLOSE ON NEED-TO-KNOW BASIS ONLY

CP:C:D

July 24, 1969

MEMORANDUM FOR FILE:

SUBJECT: Activist Organizations Committee

In response to Assistant Commissioner Eason's memorandum of July 18, 1969, the following persons attended the organizational meeting today:

Mr. Paul H. Wright	CP:C	Mr. Paul L. Kane	TMS:20
Mr. Donald F. Conles	CP	Mr. James J. McGarry	CP:A
Mr. Charles E. Fink	D:O:P	Mr. Bernard L. Mahan	CP
Mr. William F. Gibney	CP:I:O	Mr. Richard T. Johnston	T:I:I
Mr. Richard M. Hahn	CC	Mr. Walter L. Stumpf	CP:AP:SA
Mr. Gilbert F. Kaley	CP:I:O	Mr. Donald O. Virdin	CP:C:D
Mr. Thomas W. Rinas	CP:AT		

The purpose of the meeting was to establish basic communications between the various functions of the Service and to furnish an overall picture of the purpose and sensitivity of this Committee. The following were the principal items mentioned:

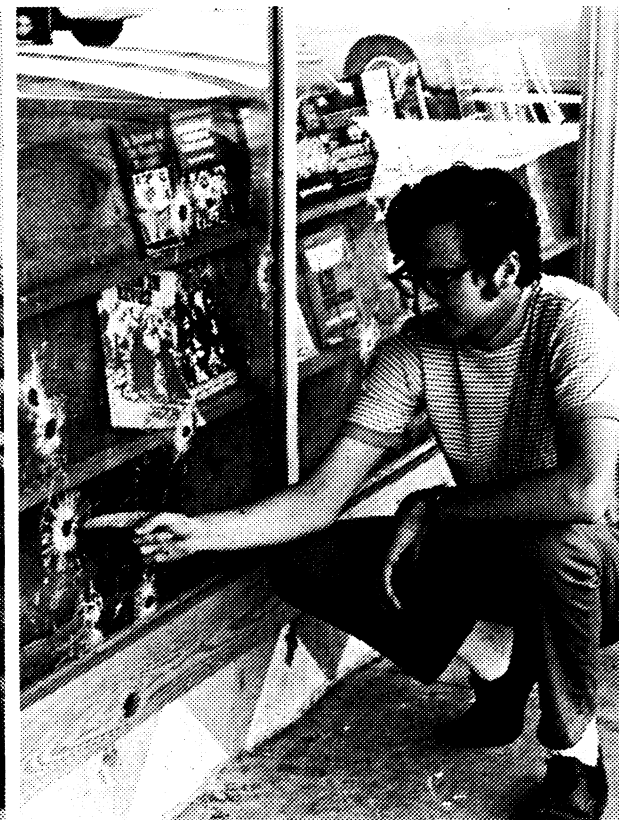
1. This is an extremely important and sensitive matter in which the highest levels of government are interested and in which at least three Congressional committees are currently conducting investigations. In addition, the Internal Security Division, Department of Justice, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation have files on many of these organizations.
2. To indicate the type of organization in which we are interested, each person attending was furnished the memorandum to all Regional Commissioners dated July 14, 1969, and March 25, 1969, from Assistant Commissioner Eason. These lists, which identified 77 specific organizations, will give some idea of the identity and importance of this project.
3. Reports which have been received in response to these memorandums from Regional Commissioners indicate that many Compliance activities have some facts about various organizations but there has not been coordination between Compliance activities or other parts of the Service to the extent that is necessary to insure that all Internal Revenue Service laws have been complied with. Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division is conducting investigations of many of these organizations; the Intelligence Division has much material on others; the Audit Division has examined or investigated several of the organizations; and the Collection Division has failure to file investigation underway on others.

may be necessary in coordination with other Compliance activities. If the matter appears to be one for Intelligence or Audit, the Division having the principal interest in the matter will assume the primary field investigative function.

4. All parts of the Service are interested. Thus, we may have some of these organizations who claim to be political parties and we will need the Chief Counsel's guidance and advice because of the extremely delicate and sensitive nature, and the unanswered questions, as to what should be done. Data processing may be asked to use their resources, if necessary, where filing records are needed or where it is found necessary to use their data processing capabilities in this work. The Office of International Operations is affected because some of these organizations have members or activities outside the United States. The Appellate Division already has some cases pending, and it is expected that many others may reach that level. Thus, we cannot say that any part of the Service will not be asked to participate actively in this matter.
5. It was pointed out that although the fact that this Committee exists will become known, its activities should be disclosed generally only to those persons who need to know, because of its semi-secretive nature. Indeed, action is being taken to obtain top secret clearance for the full-time Committee members. Our files will be protected with usual intelligence type security. We do not want the news media to be alerted to what we are attempting to do or how we are operating because the disclosure of such information might embarrass the Administration or adversely affect the Service operations in this area or those of other Federal agencies or Congressional committees.
6. Because of the type of organizations involved, we would expect the Exempt Organizations Branch of the Audit Division to play an active part. Also, the Income Tax Division and the Miscellaneous and Special Provisions Tax Division will also be active participants. We estimate that it will take the four Divisions represented on the Committee and their secretarial and clerical support about four months to assemble the data and to really initiate actions that we plan to take.
7. The permanent Committee will be composed of Mr. Paul H. Wright, Chairman, CP:C; Mr. William F. Gibney, CP:I:O; Mr. James G. McGarry, CP:A; and a member to be designated by Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division.
8. In addition to the permanent members, each activity represented at this organizational meeting was asked to advise the Chairman as to the permanent representative who would be contacted for advice, coordination, special meetings, etc.



Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of IRS was used against Black Panther Party and Socialist Workers Party. In 1970, IRS unit urged raid on Seattle Black Panthers. In 1971, terrorist attacks on Houston SWP (right) were blamed by IRS on socialists themselves.



4. Some organizations should have filed income tax returns but have not done so; others may be liable for payroll tax returns but have failed to file.
5. Some of these organizations may be a threat to the security of the United States and one of our principal functions will be to determine the sources of their funds, the names of the contributors, whether the contributions given to the organizations have been deducted as charitable contributions, what we can find out generally about the funds of these organizations.
6. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has prepared monographs on many of these organizations and has files on most of them. That agency will be requested to furnish data to the Committee. Also, the Senate Committee on Government Operations has much information, including charts showing the organizations' structure, membership, and some indication as to the source of funds.
7. Notwithstanding the fact that we will cooperate with and obtain information from outside sources, this Committee will not conduct joint investigations. Our principal purpose will be to coordinate the activities within the Compliance organization to insure that all information available throughout the United States is collected and made available to the appropriate Compliance division conducting the investigation of the organization.
8. A review of the files assembled in the National Office on some of these organizations shows Communist infiltration and indicates that there is a proliferation of the activities of some organizations; that is, they have many local units and may have suborganizations under other names.
9. It is emphasized that this Committee will only coordinate and recommend action to be taken. Each division will still do its own work. Thus, the Committee will recommend to the functional division that it has developed certain information which appears to warrant investigation, but it is up to the division concerned to take any action deemed necessary.
10. The permanent Committee will meet in Room 3049 at 9:30 A.M., Tuesday, July 29, 1969, to discuss generally what we plan to do with Mr. Philip R. Manual, a representative of the Senate Committee on Government Operations. Other members in attendance today may participate if they desire.
11. Because we have limited resources in money and manpower, we must make the most effective use of our information. We cannot waste our efforts; we have to hit the high spots. The tentacles of some of these organizations are so far reaching that it would take an exorbitant amount of our resources if we did everything that could be done. Thus, the decisions concerning any field investigations or other activities must be made with this thought in mind. The type of organization in which we are interested may be ideological, militant, subversive, radical, or other, and one of our first problems will be to define and so determine what kind of organization we are interested in. We have a general idea as set forth in two lists which have been given you, but we have not made any final decision.
12. In effect, what we will attempt to do is to gather intelligence data on the organizations in which we are interested and to use a Strike Force concept whereby all Compliance divisions and all other Service functions will participate in a joint effort in our common objective.
13. As soon as permanent space has been assigned, all members will be advised promptly. Meanwhile, any questions should be referred to Mr. Paul H. Wright, Chairman, on Extension 3697, or may be sent to Room 5242.

D. O. Virdin

NOTE: A copy of this memorandum has been delivered to each person attending the meeting.

...Internal Revenue Service plot

Continued from preceding page

ters President Frank Fitzsimmons later had him removed from one of his official positions.

So pervasive was the White House's campaign against opponents that a special drive was launched against the movie *Millhouse*, a satire on Nixon. John Caulfield wrote several memos to Dean advocating tax action against the film's producer, Emile de Antonio.

Caulfield pointed out that the FBI had "a significant derogatory dossier" on de Antonio and advised "discreet IRS audits."

Caulfield also alerted Dean to another satire on Nixon, in which the president was the star performer: his 1952 "Checkers" speech. Caulfield reports: "I will have someone take a look at the Washington showing of the Checkers Speech once it is advertized, with a view towards determining if the showing is a shady money-making scheme or a politically directed attack—or both."

By the time the Activist Organizations Committee—then known as the Special Services Staff—had been formally disbanded, it had accumulated files on 11,000 individuals and groups. This information was collected with the cooperation of the FBI, the Justice Department, the White House, and, significantly, at least one congressional committee.

Role of Democrats

The Congressional role in this illegal operation underscores the hypocrisy of the Democratic politicians, who claim that Watergate is strictly the crime of the Republicans. The IRS memos show that key Democrats in Congress knew what was going on all along!

The July 24, 1969, memo, for example, mentions that "the Senate Committee on Government Operations has much information, including charts showing the organizations' structure, membership, and some indication as to the source of funds." Which organizations does this Senate body have charts on, and why haven't they been made pub-



John Wayne ducked tax-evasion charges with a little help from his friends.



White House launched special investigation in attempt to suppress showings of Nixon's 1952 'Checkers Speech.'

lic?

IRS Commissioner Donald Alexander has even stated that the Activist Organizations Committee was initiated to help answer inquiries from 'Dixiecrat' Senator John McClellan (D-Ark.), head of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. Why hasn't the Senate Watergate committee investigated the Senate Investigations Committee?

Perhaps because there is much evidence to indicate that the IRS has never actually terminated its illegal activities against protesters. When Commissioner Alexander announced the end of the Special Services Staff, he said, "Political or social views, extremist or otherwise, are irrelevant to taxation." This was an oblique admission that the IRS spying had indeed been unconstitutional.

But Alexander's action only came after the existence of the secret committee had been exposed. And there is evidence that the tax harassment has continued under a new organizational form.

Still-secret memo

This is the opinion of Robert Brandon of the Tax Reform Research Group in Washington, D. C. In a telephone interview with *The Militant*, Brandon explained that "the same date that Commissioner Alexander issued a memorandum publicly on the abolition of the Secret Services group, another memorandum went around secretly, dealing with the Special Services group. We don't know the contents of it."

Such a memo, Brandon explained, could easily have outlined a new front through which the IRS would continue its illegal activities.

Brandon said his organization has tried unsuccessfully for months to obtain this second memo from the IRS. He is now planning to sue under the Freedom of Information Act for access to all documents on the establishment of the Activist Organizations Committee, its dissolution, and any transfer of its operations to other IRS departments.

U.S. Army still snooping in 1973

In late 1969 a broad spy operation conducted by the U.S. Army was exposed. The military intelligence program included surveillance of GIs but went much further, encompassing students, anti-war groups, Black organizations, socialists, and even members of Congress.

The public indignation greeting the discovery of this surveillance forced the Army to declare it would end spying against civilians, or would notify Congress if surveillance was reactivated. Now, however, Senator Lowell Weicker (R-Conn.) has released new documents outlining a secret military counterintelligence program in West Berlin that was still in operation as little as nine months ago.

The documents, made public by Weicker along with memos on Internal Revenue Service spying, contain reports to the commanding officers of the 66th Military Intelligence Group on an organization called Concerned Americans in Berlin (CAIB). Originally a McGovern campaign support group, after the 1972 elections CAIB was involved in GI rights work, fighting against housing discrimination, and impeachment activities.

The Army began spying on the Concerned Americans in August 1972. Some of the tactics used by Army agents were described in a letter dated June 10, 1973: "Insert coded Confidential Sources as penetration agents into these meetings to ascertain information concerning the meetings and identify members, Americans, leaders of CAIB."

Another document, headlined "WARNING NOTICE—SENSITIVE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED," is a photostat of a letter sent to the CAIB's magazine. The Army obviously intercepted the letter, opened it, and photostated its contents before sending it along to the group. The "subversive" material enclosed proved to be a routine request for information from a library in Charleston, S.C.

This letter is documentary proof that illegal mail tampering is a routine practice of the U.S. government. It should lay to rest Nixon's claim that such tactics, while discussed, were never put into practice. And the Army is not the only wing of the government that opens and copies the correspondence of "subversive" groups.

In fact, the use of such illegal methods even worried some of the Army's intelligence agents. One wrote in a report: "Frankly, I was amazed when I discovered from my review of the files of the voluminous material that has been collected and filed. For my own part, I consider myself a citizen-soldier and I believe American constitutional guarantees have been violated."

Other documents include a list of CAIB members and their activities, the platform of CAIB, and a report on a conference on "GI Rights and American Civil Liberties." Although the reports indicate that CAIB members were primarily civilians, it is clear that the main fear of the Army snoopers was that the group would have an impact on American GIs.

For example, one report says that CAIB has attempted to "establish a GI Rights counselling service to inform GIs of their rights. . . ." Another report notes that "in February, 1973, CAIB once again came to our attention when leaflets were distributed near U.S. military installations. . . ."

The Army was particularly sensitive to any political activity around its West German bases because of the history of antiwar, antiracist activity on the part of GIs there. In 1971, for example, Black GIs all over West Germany were organizing against the war in Vietnam and the racist discrimination against Blacks in the Army.

The most outrageous aspect of this spying is that the Army's own reports admit that the CAIB was doing nothing illegal or "subversive." As one document states, "They offer no present indication of subversive activities either among or around the US military. The actions of [CAIB], to date, have been strictly within the legal rights of US citizens."

Despite the fact that no "crimes" were being committed by CAIB, there is no document indicating that this illegal Army surveillance was ever terminated.

Like the many other government spy programs that are being uncovered, the Army's Military Intelligence teams were never intended to investigate genuine crimes, but to harass, intimidate, and disrupt the activities of any group whose political views do not suit the generals and their friends in Washington.

Socialist suit wins new support

On April 16 the city council in Berkeley, Calif., passed a resolution supporting the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), the organization backing the Watergate suit of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

The suit charges Nixon and other present and former federal officials with wiretapping, spying, bombing, burglary, and attempted intimidation of the SWP and YSA. It was filed in July 1973 by constitutional attorney Leonard Boudin.

Among other recent endorsers of the PRDF are Moe Foner, executive secretary, Drug and Hospital Union Local 1199; Larry Friedman, president of the National Student Association; David Livingston, president, Distributive Workers of America District 65; Jack Weir, president, Cleveland Newspaper Guild; and the Reverend Hosea Williams, Atlanta Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The Berkeley city council also endorsed the Committee to Defend Salm Kolis. Kolis is fighting to overturn her conviction on a frame-up perjury charge stemming from her campaign for San Diego city council in 1973 on the SWP ticket. She is now the SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in California's 41st C.D.

In a related case, Democratic former congressman Allard Lowenstein of New York, who is also an endorser of the PRDF, has announced a suit against Nixon administration figures who placed him on the White House "enemies list." Lowen-

stein is seeking an injunction against Internal Revenue Service and FBI activities used to harass him.

Among the individuals named as defendants in his suit are John Dean, Charles Colson, John Ehrlichman, and H.R. Haldeman.

Lowenstein has filed a second suit with Peter Eikenberry against the FBI and Congressman John Rooney (D-N.Y.). The suit charges that the FBI gave Rooney information from its files on both Lowenstein and Eikenberry, which Rooney then used in his primary campaigns against the two. Rooney defeated Eikenberry in 1970 and Lowenstein in 1972.

For more information on the Political Rights Defense Fund, send in the coupon.

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

() Enclosed is \$_____to help cover expenses.

() Enclosed is \$_____for_____booklets *Challenge to the Watergate Crimes*. (\$1 each or 75 cents each on orders of five or more.)

() Please send me_____PRDF newsletters. (\$2 per 100; single copies free.)

Name_____

Address_____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

L.A. County workers prepare for strike

By WALTER LIPPMANN

LOS ANGELES, April 23—As this is written, 60,000 angry Los Angeles County workers are moving toward a tentative strike deadline of April 29.

In the wake of the successful San Francisco city workers' shutdown, workers here are demanding major wage increases to keep up with the skyrocketing cost of living.

In San Francisco, city workers struck for nine days this March. They demanded and won an across-the-board wage increase for all workers as well as improved fringe benefits. This action enjoyed widespread support; thousands of other workers honored the strikers' picket lines.

Los Angeles union officials have characterized as "peanuts" the county's offer on wages. They explain that after taking into account the rising cost of living, the "offer" means real wage cuts of 5.5 percent.

In the welfare department, where this reporter works, the county has consistently refused to negotiate our vastly increased case loads, defying the repeated court decisions in which the union has won the right to negotiate the size of case loads.

The unions involved have asked for wage hikes of 10 to 12 percent. County officials first offered an insulting 2 percent. This was later revised to 4.1 percent, but as negotiations bogged down, even that offer was withdrawn.

The workers have been particularly angered by the fact that 26 top county officials were recently

granted raises averaging \$241 a month.

The county has demanded that a number of key provisions in past agreements be dropped from the new contract. One clause they want to get rid of covers the unions' right to file grievances on behalf of whole classes of workers. The county also wants to get rid of a requirement that it must negotiate any changes in work rules.

Typical of the county's provocative approach to the negotiations is a proposal to charge county workers for parking their cars. One top county official, Supervisor Pete Schaburm (who gets a tidy \$37,615 a year), has called for the leasing of county parking lots to private businesses. These would then charge the workers \$8.50 a month for the right to park at work.

A direct effect of the San Francisco strike has been the unprecedented unity of the unions involved. Six unions representing the workers in county hospitals, welfare, probation, building services, and courts, operating engineers, and others have been meeting regularly and planning a joint strategy. They have agreed that in the event of a strike none of them will return to work until the demands of all are satisfied.

An overall strike committee has been formed including two members from each of the 36 bargaining units within the county and one business agent from each of the six unions involved.

Union meetings, larger than any in recent years, have been held in many work locations. Scores of new union members have been signed up as the workers' anger at the county has grown.



Militant/Howard Petrick

Scene from recent municipal employees' strike in San Francisco.

Anti-abortion crusaders indict Boston doctors

By SUSAN LAMONT

BOSTON—A heightened campaign by anti-abortion forces in Massachusetts has led to the indictment of a doctor for manslaughter because of a legal abortion performed in October 1973. Four other doctors at Boston City Hospital have also been indicted on charges of "illegal dissection" of fetuses obtained following legal abortions.

The indictments were handed down by a Suffolk County grand jury April 11 following an eight-month study of abortion practices at Boston City Hospital. It is widely assumed that the study and the resulting indictments stem from pressure by anti-abortion forces on Suffolk County District Attorney Garrett Byrne, who is up for reelection this year.

Two separate issues are involved in these indictments.

Dr. Kenneth Edelin, a Black physician who is the chief resident in obstetrics and gynecology at Boston City Hospital, is charged with the death of a fetus reportedly 24 weeks old.

In charging manslaughter, the grand jury is clearly trying to force the courts to rule on the question of when a fetus becomes viable. The Supreme Court, in the January 1973 decision legalizing abortion in the United States, defined viability as that time when a fetus is "potentially able to live outside the mother's womb, albeit with artificial aid."

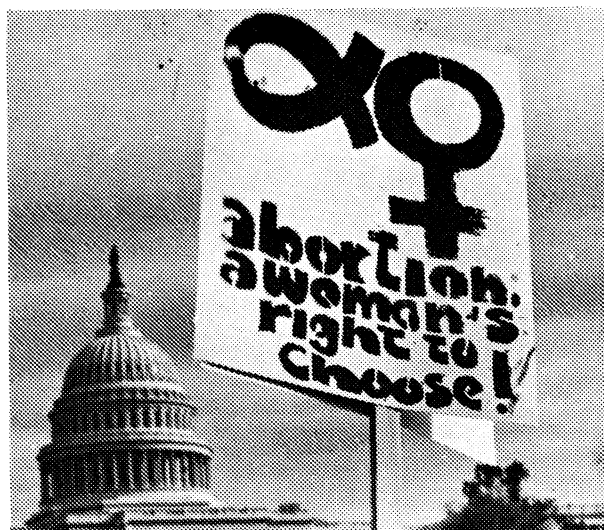
The court said viability is "usually placed at about seven months [28 weeks], but may occur

earlier, even at 24 weeks."

Based on this definition of viability, the Supreme Court ruled that states can prohibit abortion after 24 weeks. One of the arguments used by opponents of abortion is that the point of viability may occur earlier than 24 weeks. By using the Supreme Court's definition of viability and trying to show that it cannot be set at 24 weeks, they are hoping to push back the time at which states can restrict abortion.

Dr. Edelin has pleaded innocent and has been released on bond. His trial is set for May 22.

The interns and residents of Boston City Hospital have come to Dr. Edelin's defense. Dr. Steven



Militant/Lora Eckert

Saltzman, president of the Boston City Hospital House Association, told the *Boston Globe* on April 13 that Dr. Edelin is being "scapegoated" by anti-abortion forces.

As a result of the grand jury investigation and indictments, Boston City Hospital has suspended performing abortions.

In the second case, Dr. Leon Sabath, Dr. Leonard Berman, Dr. David Charles, and Dr. Agneta Philipson were charged with "illegal dissection" under an 1814 law that originally pertained to grave-robbing.

In 1971 and 1972, these doctors conducted a study on the effects of certain antibiotics on fetuses that were examined following therapeutic abortions.

Dr. Edelin, Dr. Sabath, and Dr. Berman were suspended without pay from Boston City Hospital immediately following the indictments. Dr. Charles and Dr. Philipson had already left the staff. These suspensions were lifted on April 18 because of pressure from the hospital staff and Boston's medical community.

Meanwhile, a major anti-abortion bill has been filed in the legislature. This bill would prohibit all abortions after 20 weeks, require that all abortions after 10 weeks be performed in hospitals, and require the physician performing the abortion to file a written statement giving the reasons justifying the abortion. The bill also would require the consent of the husband, or, in the case of unmarried women or women under 18, the consent of the parents.

Seattle City Light workers stage militant strike

By JEFF FORD

SEATTLE—On April 9, seven hundred Seattle City Light employees walked off their jobs in protest against the policies of the City Light Superintendent Gordon Vickery. Within two days they were joined by hundreds of others to bring the total on strike at the public utility to 1,100 out of a work force of 1,800.

The action came in response to the suspension and proposed two-year probation of two line crew foremen who are accused of directing their crews to take too long for coffee breaks. Resentment that led to the strike had been building for almost two years. The strike was a culmination of the growing dissatisfaction with programs and rules instituted by Vickery after being appointed head of City Light by Mayor Wes Uhlman.

The action taken against the two foremen was carried out under the authority of a new disciplinary code handed down by Vickery April 3. As one worker put it, "We have had so many rules

that you can't work a day without breaking one of them."

Although the initial nucleus of those who walked off the job were members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 77, an estimated 45 percent of the strikers were nonunion.

The union officials took a hands-off attitude toward the strike and even urged the workers to return to work. This attitude contrasted sharply with that of the striking workers, who held mass meetings every morning and evening with attendance up to 1,000.

The five demands for the strike were: removal of the suspension of the two linemen; removal of their two-year probation; rewriting of the disciplinary code with employee representation; no retaliation against workers who participated in the strike; and resignation of Superintendent Vickery.

A six-member committee was elected at these

meetings to negotiate with the city administration. All proposals were voted on at the general meetings. This procedure has caused great consternation in city hall, where the administration is used to dealing with a different breed of "labor representatives."

On April 19, the workers voted to return to work short of two of their goals. Vickery is still in office, and the disciplinary action against the two linemen is still pending a decision from a committee made up of one employee representative, one management representative, and one from the University of Washington Law School. The other demands have been met.

This strike was a test of strength between the city administration and the city workers. The administration fears the effect of a successful strike on city employees and other workers. In this regard the administration was the loser. The militancy of the workers and the democratic conduct of the strike will be seen again.

Democrats & Republicans have no answers

Working people face 'stagflation':

By ANDY ROSE

The senators and congresspeople in Washington are trying to outdo each other making solemn speeches in favor of prosperity and against the evils of unemployment and inflation.

Democrats blame these evils on the Republicans; Republicans blame them on the Democrats. Nixon accuses Congress of not acting on his legislative proposals, while Congress accuses Nixon of vetoing vital bills.

As the economy lurches into "stagflation" (simultaneous stagnant or declining output, high unemployment, and soaring prices), these hollow debates only underline the fact that neither the Democrats nor the Republicans have even the hint of a program to resolve this crisis.

The economic statistics for the first three months of this year were widely agreed to be "the most alarming of the entire postwar period," as the *New York Times* declared.

Real output of goods and services declined at an annual rate of 5.8 percent, the sharpest drop since the 1958 recession and far worse than expected. Industrial output has declined for four months in a row.

At the same time, the Consumer Price Index jumped another 1.1 percent in

the government's ability to improve the situation, and with good reason. Both sides of the economic problems of capitalism—unemployment and inflation—are being laid on the backs of working people.

The staggering onslaught of price increases poses the urgent need for cost-of-living escalator clauses for all wages and other income of working people. A united-front of trade unions in Québec has launched a campaign around this demand. The united struggle of Québécois workers points the way forward for trade unions in this country, as well. (See article on facing page.)

But top labor officials here, instead of mobilizing the unions to defend workers' standard of living, are beating the drums to "elect a veto-proof Congress."

This strategy of electing an even bigger Democratic majority in Congress discreetly ignores the fact that it was the Democrats who pushed through wage control legislation in 1970. It conveniently forgets that every major antilabor move by Nixon has had the approval of the current Democratic congressional majority. Most important, the "veto-proof Congress" strategy conceals the fact that the Democrats, just like the Republicans, put the needs of the capitalist system first.

Ironically, at the same time, Democratic strategists are quietly warning that actually winning a veto-proof majority might be "political overkill." As Senator Hubert Humphrey put it, "then there can be no excuse for our failure to act."

Millions unemployed

While the Wall Street economists haggle over whether the current downturn is a recession or merely a "slump," unemployment already stands at 4.6 million. This government figure does not include workers who have become discouraged and stopped looking for work or those who work only part-time but want full-time jobs.

As of March, the Labor Department listed 41 metropolitan areas with "substantial unemployment," defined as a jobless rate of 6 percent or more, expected to continue for at least two months.

The bare statistics hardly convey the hardship imposed on millions of workers because the capitalist system cannot provide jobs for them.

Unemployment benefits or welfare, for those who can get them, are pitifully inadequate as prices skyrocket. Many workers have purchased homes, furniture, cars, and appliances on credit. To be out of work for 9.4 weeks (the current average) can spell disaster.

One victim of the "slump" is Agnes Pritchard of El Monte, Calif. A factory worker for the last 10 years, she was laid off in December. Instead of her former pay of \$118 a week (before taxes), she must now try to support her four children on \$62 a week in state unemployment benefits.

"We haven't had bacon in the house for at least two months, and it's probably been three months since we had real beef. I buy high-protein food supplements for the children," she explains.

The Pritchard children need dental work, but there is no money for such a "luxury."

For women, Black, and Chicano workers, the bitter aphorism—"last hired, first fired"—accurately denotes that recession is the norm, and any economic downturn means near-de-



Chicago unions and Black groups organized march last September against high prices, unemployment, wage controls.

pression levels of unemployment.

While white joblessness in March was 5.1 percent, the figure for Blacks was 9.8 percent. For the first time the Labor Department provided a separate unemployment figure for "persons of Spanish origin"—8.4 percent. The unemployment rate for women is about twice that for men; the rate for 16- to 19-year-olds is about four times higher than for workers 20 and over.

Moreover, capitalist economists are beginning to argue that because more women and youth are entering the labor force, their previous definition of 4 percent unemployment as "full em-

ployment" is no longer valid, and that a figure around 5 percent should be considered an acceptable norm.

The rationale for this—that women don't really need to work—doesn't put food on the table for Agnes Pritchard or the millions of other women who need jobs in order to support themselves and their families.

Right now, while millions of workers are looking for jobs, only 80.1 percent of U.S. manufacturing capacity is being used. There is an urgent need in this country and around the world for all sorts of goods. What kind of a system is it that allows—or rather produces—such discrepancies?

A rational course—one that puts human need before profit—would be to spread the available work around by shortening the workweek with no loss of weekly pay. At the same time, the government could launch a massive public works program to employ millions of people at union wages to produce needed schools, homes, hospitals, and so on.

But this effective method for ending unemployment is not to be found in the program of either capitalist party.

Capitalist dilemma

A recession fundamentally means that the capitalists have produced more than they can profitably sell on the market. Consequently, inventories rise, production is cut back, and workers are laid off. It takes an up turn in demand to get production rolling forward again.

Left to the "free market" forces, such a recession would tend to rapidly snowball into another great depression. Since the 1930s the standard prescription for avoiding this catastrophe has been for the government to artificially spur demand through a combination of higher government spending, tax cuts, or increasing the money supply. All these measures, however, are inflationary.

The Nixon administration apparently plans no steps to reduce unemployment. The April 29 *Newsweek*, discussing the plans of new Treasury Secretary William Simon, reports, "Simon is willing to take the chance that unemployment will top 6 per cent because of his anti-inflation fight, and he might even stand fast if joblessness rose to 7 percent."

Of course, Nixon's bloated war budget already shows a large—inflationary—deficit. He also hopes that high

Wages down...

It is obvious to every working person that rising prices and taxes have eroded the buying power of their weekly paycheck. The drastic extent of this erosion is rarely published, though.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics computes a figure for the spendable average weekly earnings of a private nonfarm worker with three dependents. This represents real purchasing power in 1967 dollars, after inflation and taxes are deducted. Here are the figures since 1965:

1965	\$91.32
1966	91.21
1967	90.86
1968	91.44
1969	91.07
1970	89.95
1971	92.43
1972	96.40
1973-March	95.05

The reports for March 1974 indicate a drop of 4.7 percent from the year before, bringing this figure down to \$90.58.

Thus the average worker is taking home lower real wages than in 1965!

March. For the first quarter of 1974, the CPI rose at an annual rate of 14.5 percent! Wages fell still further behind prices, so that the average worker's real purchasing power was 4.7 percent less than a year ago.

Economists bewildered

"Theories, officials clash over inflation-recession," "Dismal economy—political dynamite," and "U.S. Economists Divided on How to Curb Inflation" are typical recent headlines from the capitalist press.

The current bewilderment of capitalist economists and politicians is a far cry from their confidence just a few years ago that adroit manipulation of monetary and fiscal policies could ensure long-term prosperity.

Polls show consumers have lost faith

...profits up

If you're wondering what happened to the money you've lost because of inflation, the latest profit figures for major banks and corporations should make everything perfectly clear.

"By most standards, the U.S. economy is slumping into a recession, but corporate profits for the first quarter have all the glow of an unrelenting boom," reported the April 29 *Newsweek* magazine.

It's not just a matter of total profit dollar figures being swollen by inflation. According to Irwin Kellner, vice-president and economist for Manufacturers Hanover Bank, "profit margins improved at the fastest rate in several years."

Keeping in mind that 1973 profits were themselves record-breaking highs, here are a few reports on first quarter 1974 figures:

The big oil extortionists continued to be front-runners. Exxon racked up first quarter profits of \$705-million, up 39 percent from the first quarter of 1973; Gulf, \$290-million, up 76 percent; and Texaco, \$589-million, up 123 percent.

Metal manufacturers managed to keep in the black, too. American Can's profits were up 56 percent; Alcoa's up 114 percent; and Reynolds Metals' up 707 percent!

Banks did particularly well because of heavy borrowing at high interest rates. Net income was up 16 percent at J.P. Morgan, 21 percent at Mellon National, 27 percent at Chemical Bank of New York, and 33 percent at Manufacturers Hanover.

soaring prices, unemployment

levels of unemployment will dampen workers' willingness to struggle for higher wages and escalator clauses.

Prominent Democrats have called for a modest tax cut to increase consumer demand and spur the economy. Nixon opposes such a move as inflationary (although Simon will reportedly propose new tax breaks for some industries to provide "incentives" for expansion).

While the Democrats' proposals are no doubt aimed more at the upcoming elections than at the economy, it is not excluded that some tax cut might be passed.

What is excluded is that either the Democrats or Republicans will change the tax structure so as to give back to workers what they have lost through inflation, or to provide jobs for all or even most of the unemployed.

The top priorities of both parties are to maintain the profits and international competitive standing of U. S. capitalism. From this point of view, fighting inflation and unemployment poses an impossible dilemma: The only measures to pull out of a recession are inflationary, while the only way to dampen inflation is to provoke a

For further discussion of the need for cost-of-living escalator clauses, see the National Picket Line, page 13.

slowdown. And as the current "stagflation" demonstrates, this "trade off" is becoming less and less effective.

If the Democrats' and Republicans' debate over economic policy were honestly posed, it would boil down to, "Can we get away with more unemployment or more inflation right now?" Either course is aimed at making the working class pay for the decay and irrationality of the capitalist system.

The Nixon administration is arguing that the current downturn is mainly the result of last winter's fuel short-

age, and that recovery is likely in the second quarter.

However, the slump was already underway before the energy crisis, and while it is difficult to measure exactly how big a role the fuel shortage played, there are several indications that the downturn is far from over.

● Inflation has meant that consumers have less real buying power, even though the dollar volume of consumer spending is going up. After taking account of rising prices, consumer spending on both durable and non-durable goods declined in the first quarter, and spending on services stayed the same, according to an analysis by New York's First National City Bank.

"This pervasive nature of the downturn," the bank commented, "has the earmarks of a recession rather than a temporary dip due to weakness in a single sector of the economy."

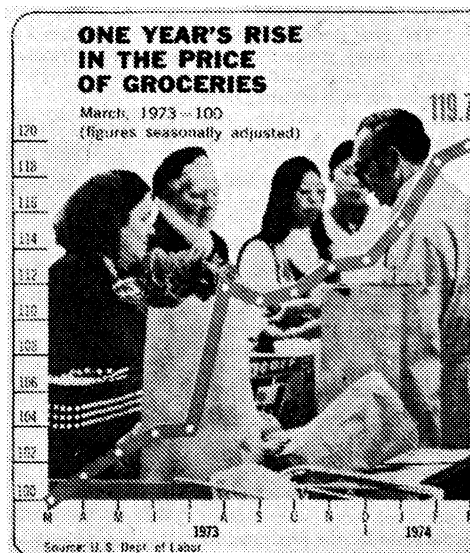
● Similarly, spending by capitalists on plant and equipment has declined in real terms in the first quarter. These figures "reinforce the feeling that there isn't going to be a quick upturn," says a former Nixon Treasury official.

● Housing starts declined again in March, to a point 36 percent below a year ago. Construction is such a large proportion of total national output that a decline here has a major effect on the entire economy.

Soaring interest rates

A particularly ominous sign is the upsurge in interest rates, which points to the precariousness of the economy and the uncertainty of all forecasts.

In recent weeks the prime rate (the interest rate banks charge their best corporate customers for short-term loans) has soared past 10 percent to 10.25 percent and now to 10.5 percent at some banks. These are all-time record highs, but still more increases are expected.



Interest rates have been pushed up by a high corporate demand for loans. This demand probably arises from a combination of two factors.

First, as *New York Times* financial analyst Leonard Silk pointed out April 17, "to some observers, the upsurge of loans looks more like a desperate act of refinancing by businesses strained for cash, rather than like a healthy business recovery."

"Much of the extra borrowing from banks is to carry bigger inventories," Silk wrote. This would be typical of the inventory accumulation immediately preceding a recession.

But in addition, capitalists may be borrowing to buy materials and machinery they can't actually use now, because they expect the prices of these materials to go up so rapidly in the future. This could have the effect of putting off a recession briefly, but would only add to excess inventories and capacity and make the recession that much worse when it comes.

Right now the Federal Reserve Board is refusing to ease up its lending policies to make more money available and bring interest rates down, on the grounds that this would be inflation-

ary (which it would).

But the continuing high interest rates hold a triple threat:

● **Worse inflation** as the higher cost of money to corporations is passed along as higher prices for their products.

● **Recession** as money for mortgages dries up and home-building is depressed.

● **Collapse of major corporations** that have overextended themselves on credit. In 1970 a similar rise in interest rates led to the bankruptcy of the Penn Central Railroad. To ward off further business failures, the Federal Reserve Board immediately made more money available, thus worsening inflation.

No wonder the capitalists are far from confident about the future!

Class-struggle policies

The only prediction that can be made with any certainty is that further attacks on the living standards of workers are in store.

In the last years these attacks have been met with some strikes for higher wages. There have been other militant but sporadic responses: the meat boycott; the truckers' shutdown; protests against utility rate increases; and demonstrations in San Francisco and Chicago against unemployment, wage controls, and high prices.

What has been lacking is an overall class struggle perspective on the part of the trade-union movement to defend the workers' interests and provide leadership to these other manifestations of protest. A powerful united campaign could be launched for such demands as substantial wage increases, escalator clauses, a shorter workweek, and preferential hiring of women, Blacks, and Chicanos.

This will require an end to reliance on fake "friends of labor" in the Democratic and Republican parties and taking the road of independent labor political action.

Quebec: unions map fight for escalator clause

By TONY THOMAS

On May Day, tens of thousands of workers are expected to fill the streets of Montréal, Québec City, Joliette, and other cities in Québec.

They will be marching under banners calling for regular wage increases tied to the rise in the real cost of living and for reopening all contracts to implement this demand.

This action was called by a united front of the three main trade-union federations, the CSN (Confederation of National Trade Unions), the FTQ (Québec Federation of Labor), and the CEQ (Québec Teachers Federation). The conference that formed the united front also had participation from the Union des Producteurs Agricoles (Farmers Union) and the Fédération des Cooperatives Familiales (the cooperative movement). The conference was held March 22-23.

The delegates to the conference demanded an increase of the minimum wage to \$2.50 an hour and the tying of the minimum wage to the cost-of-living index. They also demanded that old-age pensions be set at a minimum of \$200 a month and that all pensions, unemployment insurance, welfare payments, and family allowances

also rise with the cost-of-living index.

Québec has seen a skyrocketing inflation like that of the U. S. A study published in *Québec-Presse*, a Montréal labor weekly, pointed out that food prices alone went up by 17 percent between December 1972 and December 1973.

On March 29, the united front turned out more than 8,000 demonstrators in front of the United Aircraft plant near Montréal. A major issue in the long-

fought strike there is the refusal of United Aircraft to grant the workers' demand for a cost-of-living escalator clause. The turnout of 8,000 surprised union leaders, who had expected a much smaller turnout.

Following this success, the unions have called for the massive May Day demonstrations around their demands in cities across Québec. In addition, work stoppages and other actions are expected as part of the May Day dem-

onstrations.

The unions in the FTQ, the largest of the union federations, are affiliated with the AFL-CIO. The firms they face are often the same firms exploiting U. S. workers. Auto workers, aircraft workers, and others in this country may be encouraged to take actions similar to those of the United Aircraft workers, who are members of the United Auto Workers and fighting against a U. S.-based corporation.



Eight thousand Quebecois workers demonstrated March 29 in solidarity with strikers at United Aircraft

Socialist addresses IUE local

'Workers need independent labor party'

By HERMAN KIRSCH

CLEVELAND—The union to which I belong—International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) Local 707, AFL-CIO—has 2,200 members in the Cleveland area. All are employed by General Electric.

Local 707 was born in 1949 when the CIO bureaucracy moved to expel the left-wing unions, including the United Electrical Workers (UE). Rival unions, such as the IUE, were then established to raid and smash the expelled "communist-dominated" organizations.

This move by the union bureaucracy played a large part in weakening the electrical workers. These workers are still paying the price for the 1949 split and expulsions from the CIO in marginal wages, bad conditions, and inferior bargaining position. GE has been able to play three unions against each other: the IUE, the independent UE, and the Inter-

[The following is the text of the speech given by Herman Kirsch to IUE Local 707. It has been abridged slightly for reasons of space.]

President Nixon, in his State of the Union message, said, "There will be no recession in the United States of America." One newspaper, the *New York Times*, aptly compared Nixon's proclamation to "King Canute, up to his ankles in the rising tide," commanding the waters to recede.

Unemployment has now exceeded five million and is rising at an alarming rate. In 1973 the real wages of workers fell by more than 3 percent. The truckers' action brought attention to the incredible rise in fuel prices. We are the victims of an inflationary spiral, accentuated by the profit-hungry corporations.

The State of the Union message, as you know, was delivered to the U.S. Congress, a group of tricksters who applauded the speech for the television audience. Given the real state of the union, the performance of these politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties was obscene.

Economic crisis

Neither Nixon nor the hypocrites in Congress know what to do about the inflation or the recession. The condition existing today, namely, skyrocketing prices while there is already high unemployment, is contrary to all the prescriptions of capitalist economics.

The methods the government used in the past to head off recessions were to "prime the pump" with federal funds, increase military expenditures, appropriate more money for intercontinental ballistic missiles, and so on. These were admittedly inflationary measures, which were considered a calculated risk.

But there is a limit to the number of wars the American people will allow. Furthermore, even the increase of the proposed military budget for 1975 to \$100-billion has not alleviated the high unemployment. Worse yet, it will contribute further to the inflationary spiral.

In the meantime, the giant corporations are reaping the highest profits in history.

Energy crisis

Doesn't it seem incredible that despite the overwhelming proof we now have that the energy crisis has been artificially created, the U.S. government stands seemingly helpless, unable to take measures to correct the situation?

The oil corporations are withholding the most critical commodity in order to increase prices and win other concessions. It wouldn't be an exaggeration to say that a billion human beings are adversely affected by the shortage. Many colonial countries are in danger of going bankrupt.

Yet the U.S. government, that is, the Democratic and Republican party politicians, do nothing to correct the crisis, because if they did, it would upset the cardinal principle this government is committed to: the sanctity of private property.

Washington has done nothing to force the oil monopolies to open their books, much less taken the first step toward nationalizing the oil corporations.

I want to say a few words about the power of these giant corporations.



GE strike in 1969. Attitudes are beginning to change among union ranks, with greater willingness to listen to socialist ideas.

They are controlled by less than 2 percent of the population of the U.S. This 2 percent I am referring to is the ruling class of this country, which is so rich it owns two-thirds of the world's natural resources.

Don't believe the fairy tales about the Arab boycott. Seventy-five percent of Saudi Arabian oil and 40 percent of Iranian oil is owned by the American oil companies!

Exxon, Texaco, Gulf, Mobil, and Socal, together with British Petroleum and Royal Dutch Shell, comprise the "Seven Sisters" that predominate over the extraction, shipping, and refining of oil.

And to guarantee their monopoly of energy, the same corporations have bought up 72 percent of this country's natural gas reserves, 20 percent of the coal production capacity, and 55 percent of the uranium reserves.

Gov't of the rich

Why doesn't the U.S. government move against the oil monopolies?

The answer to that question exposes the myth of the impartial nature of the government. The myth is that the government represents all the people in this country. That hogwash is still

taught to schoolchildren. How many people still believe it?

The fact is that this government of Democratic and Republican politicians represents only the very rich, the corporations and the banks. It is the "executive committee of the ruling class."

It is the capitalists who told Nixon to impose the wage freeze in 1971 to increase their profits, and it is these same men who tell the Democrats and Republicans in Congress, their willing servants, to write tax laws that favor the rich and milk the poor.

Make no mistake about this. There is nobody in Washington today, nor in Columbus, to speak for working people, or the poor or the national minorities in this country.

Blacks hardest hit

These economic problems have already caused disproportionate hardship to Black people, who are the last to be hired and the first fired.

Black unemployment remains double that of white workers. The hidden unemployment, unaccounted for in the government statistics, is far greater. In some Black neighborhoods it includes a majority of the youth.

Add to this the spiraling prices of food and other necessities of life and you will realize the terrible misery of the unemployed today.

You may ask why I am running for the office of lieutenant governor of Ohio on the Socialist Workers Party ticket? We are a small party compared to the Tweedledee and Tweedledum Democratic and Republican parties.

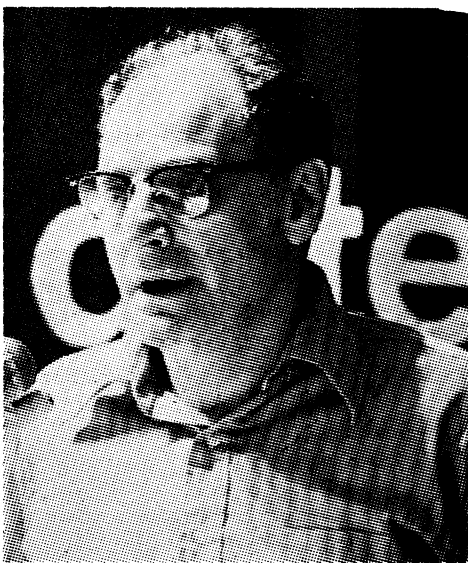
We believe we have the program that answers the needs of those who work for a living. Our program calls for a sliding scale of wages and hours, that is to say, a 30-hour workweek with no reduction in pay and cost-of-living escalator clauses in all union contracts, as well as for those on fixed incomes.

We are in complete agreement with the call passed recently by the IUE conference board for a national demonstration or a one-day national strike to express the dissatisfaction of working people with the government.

The organized labor movement in this country is the most powerful in the world. Its greatest weakness, however, is its lack of independent political consciousness. Labor has no voice in politics in this country.

Without an independent labor party, labor has to fight the corporations with one hand tied behind its back.

These are some of the issues and proposals the Socialist Workers Party is raising in our campaign.



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Herman Kirsch, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Ohio.

national Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO.

The 1949 purge also had the political effect of boosting the authority and credibility of the government's witch-hunt of radicals inside and outside the labor movement.

But now changes are taking place in the former right-wing unions. They have a different membership, somewhat younger, and attitudes are shifting.

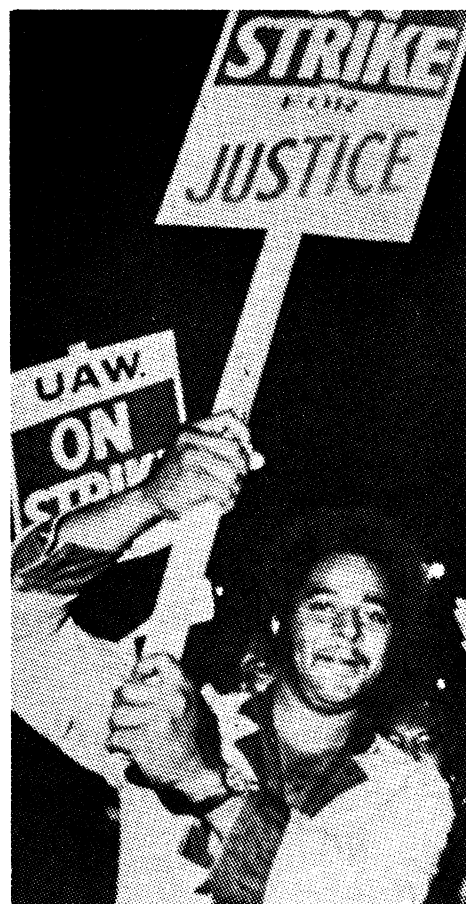
As Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Ohio and a GE employee, I was dramatically reminded of this change in attitudes when I received a phone call from my union steward, John Pelka.

Taking me to task, he scolded, "Why in hell weren't you at the last union meeting? The president heard you interviewed on radio station WERE. He liked what you said, and in front of the meeting he invited you to speak." Pelka underscored the rebuke with "You blew it!"

Well, it turned out I didn't blow it, since the invitation to speak was extended to the following month. For the first time in the history of this local union, a socialist literature table was set up and *Militants* were sold inside the hall.

I presented a brief speech and then the floor was thrown open for questions and discussion. Several questions were asked.

By itself, this one invitation to speak at a union meeting is not earth-shaking. However, it does indicate a different mood in the ranks of organized labor that all SWP campaign committees should be aware of.



'The organized labor movement in this country is the strongest in the world, but without an independent labor party, it has to fight the corporations with one hand tied behind its back.'

But which class?

It takes class to become a 'public servant'

By FRANK LOVELL

Early last year, during the Meany-Nixon honeymoon following the 1972 presidential election, there were unconfirmed reports that Nixon was offering jobs to AFL-CIO representatives "at the Assistant Secretary level in the Departments of Defense, Commerce, and Housing and Urban Development."

The *New York Times* ran an editorial at the time bitterly protesting this method of selecting high government officials.

It's not that the *Times* doubts the ability of many union officials, or that it believes all of them are incompetents. It was, instead, a simple matter of class allegiance.

The idea that duly constituted bodies of the union movement should designate their representatives for these positions is "insufferable," said the *Times*.

Who should select appointed government officials and to whom they should be responsible was one of the issues in the long-smoldering dispute between CIO President John L. Lewis and Franklin Roosevelt prior to World War II.

In 1940 Roosevelt appointed Sidney Hillman, head of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, to the National Defense Advisory Committee without consulting Lewis. The CIO president felt (correctly) that Roosevelt was trying to win over CIO leaders with favors and appointments, and to build a faction inside the CIO to destroy Lewis.

There was never any reason for Nixon to try to destroy the authority of AFL-CIO President George Meany. On the contrary, Nixon sought in every way possible to build up Meany's authority because there was—until Nixon's Watergate downfall—no more willing and able stooge available. Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons and Steelworkers President I. W. Abel were running a close second, but still a step or two behind Meany.

Nixon may have hoped that appointing a few of Meany's cronies to government posts would help him keep the reins on the union movement while his antilabor policies were implemented. This would be similar to the way Nixon successfully put over the wage controls by getting union officials to serve with the Cost of Living Council.

The plan never got too far, though, and the one union bureaucrat so appointed—Labor Secretary



GEORGE TAPPERT: Swapped between General Electric management and Nixon administration.

Peter Brennan—is now stranded high and dry without support from either Nixon or Meany.

But the mere suggestion that labor was entitled to a voice—even a bureaucrat's voice—in government was abhorrent to the *Times*, which wrote, "Our objections would be equally emphatic if the designations came from the National Association of Manufacturers, the United States Chambers of Commerce or the American Farm Bureau Federation—and we think the parallel is exact."

Not quite. If not those specific organizations, there are other organizations and institutions of the same class that make the selections of all high government officials—the elected ones as well as the appointees.

One example of how this is systematically done is the "executive swap plan" between business and government, which has been in effect for more than five years. It operates under the President's Commission on Personnel Interchange.

One of those participating is George Tappert, a financial analyst at General Electric. George did a stint with the Department of Housing and Urban Development last year and plans to return to GE. He thinks such experience is important for corporate management "because the relationship be-

tween the private and public sector is growing more close."

Who chose George Tappert to work for HUD if not GE? And even if Tappert or others made the suggestion, it must surely have been approved by GE, or else he would not be welcomed back into the corporation.

The White House announced April 8 that Paul Volcker, under secretary of the Treasury for monetary affairs, will resign later this year. Volcker is an influential government official, described as the chief architect of U.S. international monetary policy.

Before assuming his duties in government Volcker was a vice-president of the Chase Manhattan Bank. Who selected Volcker as under secretary of the Treasury?

It is fatuous to suppose, as propagandists for the monied class pretend to do when they decry the idea that unions should select men and women for high government posts, that the omnipotence of "The Presidency" provides for the impartial selection of government officials. But it is useful to keep up appearances and foster myths of this kind.

Indeed, who selected Nixon? He became the Republican presidential candidate because he was sponsored by some of the major financial and industrial institutions of the country and acceptable to others. The same is true for candidates of the Democratic Party.

And how are the basic policy decisions of the government made, whether under the Nixon administration or a Democratic administration, if not by organizations and institutions of the capitalist class that stand apart from and above the government?

The false notion, fostered by the trade-union bureaucracy, that this will be altered by electing a "veto-proof Congress" under the control of the Democratic Party is designed solely to preserve this behind-the-scenes control by the big banks and corporations.

The interests of the vast majority of people will be served only when the government is based on the organizations of the working class. That process will begin when the working class breaks all ties with the political parties of the employing class and builds a mass labor party based on the 20 million strong union movement.

Could you get by on only \$923,000 a year?

How would you like to walk into a supermarket and pick up anything you like—rib roast, strawberries, the nicest vegetables—without once looking or caring about the price labels?

How would you like to never worry again about medical bills for your family?

Or to be able to take your family on a good vacation anywhere in the world whenever you felt the urge—and stay in the finest hotels rather than camping out to save money?

As you think about how nice it sounds, consider what life must be like for Richard Gerstenberg, chairman of the General Motors Corporation, who admits making \$923,000 last year. This was \$48,037 above his 1972 salary. You see,

The American Way of Life

the company limited his raise to only 5.5 percent so as to stay within "the regulatory provisions and the spirit" of government wage controls. Poor thing.

The only difference is that Gerstenberg's 5.5 percent raise probably meant something like a gold toilet seat for his yacht, while a 5.5 percent raise for the average working person meant having to skimp even more than in the previous year on necessities of food, clothing, housing, and medical care.

To get a picture of the magnitude of inequality between the ruling rich and working people, take the case of Henry Ford II. He took a little more than 1 percent pay cut from 1972 to 1973, reducing his admitted salary to \$865,000. The difference—\$9,567—is about what the average work-

er earns in a year.

Ford was an exception, however, in taking a pay cut. According to Senator William Proxmire, "some of the top executives of America's largest corporations have routinely received 20 to 50 percent cash salary and bonus increases in 1973 over 1972."

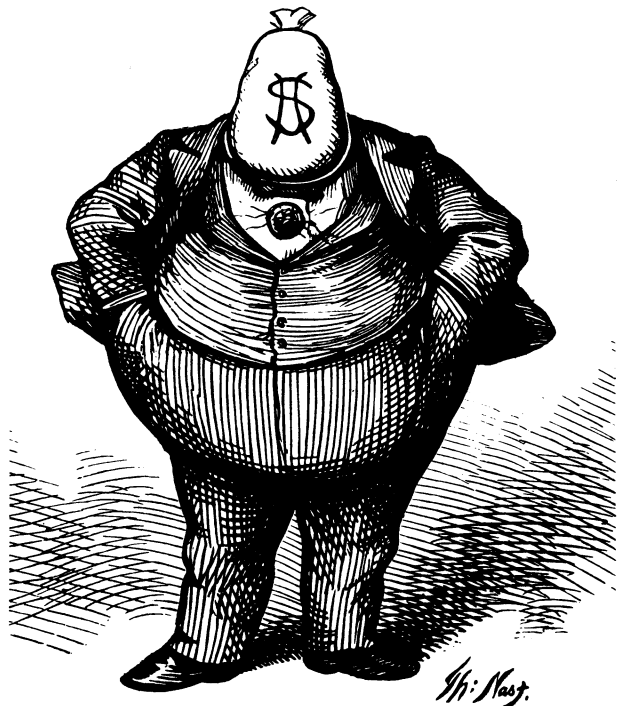
The capitalist rich aren't getting any poorer, either. The annual report of Nixon's Council of Economic Advisers released earlier this year found that the percentage of national income hogged by the rich has remained fairly constant since World War II. That is, the top one-fifth of families in this country get 41.4 percent of the income, while the bottom fifth have to live on only 5.4 percent of total income.

An even more revealing figure was given in a study by James Smith and Stephen Franklin of Pennsylvania State University. They found that 0.5 percent of Americans hold 22 percent of all personal net wealth.

Now, we have to take even these astounding figures with a grain of salt; the real gap is significantly more. These studies are based on Internal Revenue Service statistics, and their trustworthiness in reflecting the wealth of the rich can be judged from their accuracy in collecting Nixon's taxes.

The capitalists have a standard line of defense they use to try to minimize the importance of their bloated bank accounts. They say, "But even if you took away all of our large incomes and divided it amongst the population, it wouldn't be enough to significantly increase the average wage." Whatever the increase would amount to, this is not the main point. The main problem is not the income used for personal consumption of the rich—no matter how disgusting and gluttonous they are.

Rather, the most important inequality comes



from the fact that the rich own the means of production—the factories, transportation systems, oil wells, mechanized farms, etc. It is this ownership of the means of production—not simply their gigantic personal incomes—that gives the capitalist rich the enormous power they have. Power to close down factories and throw thousands out of work, power to snuff out the lives of hundreds of thousands from the famine in Africa, power to destroy the face of the earth with pollution, power to force the world's peoples to war.

By contrast, what does the average worker own? Some furniture, some clothes, maybe a car, and a mortgaged home—not much. It is this most basic inequality that socialists are out to eliminate.

—CAROLINE LUND

'A Loaded Gun'

With each new exposure of the government's secret-police measures, the outcry grows louder against one particularly obnoxious weapon in the witch-hunters' arsenal—the attorney general's list of "subversive" organizations.

Now the *Los Angeles Times*, in an April 15 editorial titled "Vigilantes with a Loaded Gun," has joined this protest. "The attorney general's list . . . should be abolished," the *Times* editors declared, comparing the list to "a loaded gun that can be picked up at any time."

The list was drawn up in 1947. ". . . once published," the *Times* explained, "it became an instrument for slander and intimidation. 'Subversive' was a word whose definition was restricted only by the imagination of anyone who wanted to apply it.

"Individuals, although not charged with violation of any law, were subject to unofficial penalties, like the loss of a job, if they happened to be a member of any organization that went on the list."

Furthermore, the organizations branded with the "subversive" label were never allowed a hearing before being placed on the list.

Of the hundreds of groups originally listed, only a handful still exist. Among them are the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party. Contrary to the *Los Angeles Times* editorial, however, the list has not "remained dormant" in recent years.

Quite the opposite. Members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party, for example, have been subjected to incessant government attacks, which continue to this day. For the "crime" of being socialists, they are fired from government jobs, plagued by FBI visits, discriminated against in the armed forces, and spied upon through police agents and electronic surveillance.

The SWP and Young Socialist Alliance have launched a broad challenge to these unconstitutional practices through their suit against government Watergating. How do Nixon and his fellow defendants answer the socialists' charges? They argue that their harassment is *legal* because the SWP is on the attorney general's list!

Even the attorney general himself, William Saxbe, has been forced in recent weeks to make the pretense of reviewing the use of his list. In doing so, Saxbe revealed that anti-communism and anti-Semitism go hand in hand, by his unabashed attack on "Jewish intellectuals" who were "enamored with the Communist Party."

The socialists' suit, which seeks, among other things, the abolition of the attorney general's list, is the most serious challenge yet to the continuing use of this McCarthyite remnant. If this suit is successful in eliminating the list, it will be a major victory for everyone's democratic rights.

Attacks on UFW

As work in the California grape fields picks up once again in preparation for the summer harvest, the pressures against the United Farm Workers (UFW) are mounting.

On April 12 the editors of the *New York Times* assured their readers that "our sympathies . . . are all with the United Farm Workers. . . ." But, argued the *Times*, the UFW should rely on Congress, not on its boycott of scab grapes and lettuce. "Mr. Chavez's reluctance to abandon the secondary boycott has been a potent obstacle to Congressional action," pontificated the *Times*, as if this were a reason rather than an excuse for the Democratic-controlled Congress doing nothing to help farm workers.

Meanwhile, Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons warned AFL-CIO unions not to support the UFW boycott. "If you aren't with us, you must be against us," he said. "We don't propose to support unions that are fighting us."

Many AFL-CIO unions depend on the Teamsters to honor their strike picket lines.

The *Wall Street Journal* also chimed in April 22, opposing the boycott.

If it is no accident that these attacks have centered on the boycott. The boycott was the key weapon in the initial victories of the UFW. Having lost most of its contracts and without money to pay strike benefits, the UFW is still dependent on this tactic. Moreover, the boycott of non-UFW head lettuce and table grapes—now sanctioned by the AFL-CIO—has the potential to draw massive support in the Chicano community and from unionists and students.

The answer to the venomous attacks on the boycott is to mobilize this potential support. Si se puede! Viva la huelga!

26 more times

It has only been since I have been incarcerated within these walls that I have fully understood the need for revolution guided by scientific principles; and I must admit that *The Militant* is one of the most dominant influences in shaping my consciousness.

Unlike most papers, *The Militant* attempts to extend its reporting to all kinds of people. In its reporting it has prized itself on reporting the facts and not just a portion of them or distorted facts.

Behind these walls where violence is a natural occurrence (and sanctioned), sexual assaults are the in thing (and sanctioned), racism is the taught form of behavior (and sanctioned), and slave labor is the predominant fact (and, well . . .), more progressive literature is very much needed. The type of literature that could break down the mechanisms of this oppressive system and explain its methods of exploitation. That is why I often refer inmates to *The Militant*, and usually they dig it.

As for myself, I have 15 years to do here. Two of them are already done. Therefore I will be renewing my six-month subscription 26 more times.

*A prisoner
Missouri*

From a GI

I appreciate your show of concern for my welfare in wrapping my weekly copies of *The Militant*. It's really unnecessary, though, as I don't hide my politics. (It is, after all, much easier to talk to other GIs that way.)

The brass is familiar with my political views. I was informed by my First Sergeant that Intelligence had searched my room and declared that my political posters, books, back issues of *The Militant*, etc., are "marginal" but conceded (reluctantly, no doubt) that I have every right to keep them. That, of course, is exactly what I've been telling them all along.

Being a socialist in the Army is a bizarre and sometimes difficult situation. The Army calls it "politically undesirable"—I've been telling them that all along, too. So, by mutual consent, the U.S. Army and I part company this August.

Meantime—keep *The Militant* coming—unwrapped.

*A GI
Georgia*

From a navyman

I came across the March 15 issue of *The Militant* quite by accident. I have read it from front to back. I have been in the Navy since November 1972. My enlistment thus far has been typical Navy, one disaster after another.

The United States supports dictatorships in the Philippines, Chile, South Korea, or anywhere else its interests are served, despite the fact that I am supposedly defending the ideals of democracy, personal freedom, and all the other varied trappings.

I am sick and tired of the military, the political leaders, and the American capitalistic system. Capitalistic society breeds an unhealthy competitiveness in its citizens creating

in them the desire to amass as much economic power as possible regardless of the means. The people, the working people, have no choices to make. Their lives are governed by moneyed corporations, institutions, and politicians whose power is based on the accumulation of dollars.

*A navyman
California*

Depressed

Please discontinue my subscription to your paper. Every time I read your paper I get exceedingly depressed. I'm sorry, but I just can't take that much of a pessimistic view of the world.

*D. C.
Hammond, Ind.*

Serving 50 years

First of all let me thank you for sending me *The Militant*. I am serving a 50-year term here at the penitentiary. I find *The Militant* the best newspaper of its kind. There is really a great interest in the paper here and so when I finish with it, I pass it on to other inmates.

*A prisoner
Virginia*

Rape frame-up

James Carrington is a young Black man who has served four years of a 75-year sentence on a frameup rape charge. He is attempting to win a new trial on the basis of racist discrimination in the selection of the jury. The jury that sentenced him was composed entirely of elderly men, all white.

During the trial, a doctor testified that there was no evidence of a sexual act, much less rape, and even the FBI said there was no evidence of abduction. All that the evidence showed was that Carrington had been found sitting in a car with a white woman friend on the night of April 10, 1970.

The true purpose of the "trial" was revealed by the prosecutor, who stated, "We're going to make an example of this boy, so that no colored man will ever lay hands on a white girl again."

Carrington's supporters have also been active in the fight to free Thomas Wansley, who was reincarcerated in November to serve a life sentence on a similar racist charge of raping a white woman.

At a press conference after the hearing for a new trial, Carrington's mother stated, "My son is innocent. He has spent three years in prison and I know that there are hundreds of young Black men like him who are framed, innocent, and suffering in these prisons."

Representatives of the Prisoners Solidarity Committee in Virginia vowed to continue fighting until both Carrington and Wansley are free. *Prisoners Solidarity Committee
Norfolk, Va.*

Hearst kidnapping

Another piece in the SLA puzzle has just come to light. It seems that the San Francisco police had found a notebook written by the SLA. The



police found the notebook *three weeks* before Patricia Hearst was kidnapped.

What is interesting is that Hearst's name was listed in the book as a possible target for abduction. Along with her name were names of 14 San Francisco businessmen. It was further revealed that the police did not warn Hearst, nor did they tell most of the other 14 people.

All this brings up the question of police complicity in the kidnapping. It is obvious that only the police and their masters in the ruling class could benefit from such an event as the Hearst kidnapping. It will be very interesting to see if the police had deeper reasons for withholding those names.

We all know that provocateurs have plagued the left from the first Moratorium marches to Weathermen to Watergate. When we see who the Hearst kidnapping has helped, the possibility of police instigation is very great indeed.

Tom Chaddock
Seattle, Wash.

Wounded Knee

Readers of *The Militant* might be interested to know that in Minneapolis several weeks ago, an International Solidarity Dinner for the Defendants of Wounded Knee took place. The dinner was organized by the Third World Caucus of the University of Minnesota International Student Association with co-sponsorship by 18 other groups.

Besides the excellent international meal, Clyde Bellecourt, Mark Lane, and Toni Ackerman spoke to the gathering of 200 people. The dinner raised more than \$700 and clearly pointed out the international solidarity felt for the Wounded Knee defendants.

Glen Boatman
Minneapolis, Minn.

A small error

Your article in the April 12 issue on Socialist Workers Party street meetings in New York City contained a small error. The article said, "Finch [Rebecca Finch, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from New York] believes that receptivity to the street rallies has improved noticeably since the New York SWP first tried them in 1972."

Actually, as you know and have reported, the SWP has been holding street rallies in New York City for many years. Maybe 1972 was the first year Finch or your reporter first participated in such meetings. Finch's point about the hearing that can be gained for socialist ideas through the use of street meetings is well taken, and I hope such meetings continue.

E. J.
New York, N. Y.

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

Effective escalators needed

More unions are demanding cost-of-living escalators in wage contracts, prompted by the 10.2 percent government-recorded jump in consumer prices in the last year.

Two faults undercut existing wage escalators. One is the way the Department of Labor compiles the Consumer Price Index (CPI), which is the standard measure of prices for nearly all cost-of-living agreements. The other is the failure of escalator clauses to provide a one-to-one wage raise as prices mount.

The CPI includes a wide variety of items that workers do not and cannot buy with their weekly paycheck, things such as fine china and domestic service.

A decision to revise and further distort the method of calculating the CPI was made Feb. 7 and rubber-stamped the next day by Labor Secretary Peter Brennan. This would add more items that are bought exclusively by the rich. This scandalous decision is not slated to take effect until 1977.

An accurate cost-of-living index to serve as a measuring rod for the purchasing power of wages should be computed by independent price-watch committees of the unions and consumer groups. It would be based on those goods and services workers buy from week-to-week.

The high price of food has forced most workers to adjust their budgets. After the rent raise and the food bill little is left for clothes, much less other things.

But food prices are rising nearly twice as fast as the CPI. Worst of all, the greatest price increases have been for the staples low-income families depend on.

Potatoes, dry beans, rice, cereals, and bread have gone up even faster than most good cuts of beef. From September 1971 to March 1974 (the period of government "wage-price" controls) a pound of rice went up from 22 to 43 cents, green split peas from 13 to 57 cents, macaroni from 13 to 39 cents, and a half-pound of American cheese from 34 to 63 cents. This is an average 180 percent increase in these items. It means that a low-paid worker may need to pay more than twice what he did in 1971 to feed his family. His wages certainly have not doubled.

The CPI shows an increase of only 16.9 percent over this period. But most escalators are not adequate even if the CPI were corrected. This is the other side of the swindle.

A reported 600,000 nonunion production workers are covered by some form of wage escalator, as well as about four million workers under major union contracts. But a majority of these workers receive very little in wage adjustments. The escalator starts only after the CPI has gone up several points and stops at a specified limit. If wage adjustments are required they are made annually, sometimes semiannually. This is a promise without a payoff.

The United Auto Workers has had a Cost-of-Living Allowance (COLA), or wage escalator, since 1948. It remains one of the best.

It is not limited. This is what the 67-day GM strike in 1970 was about. The UAW won, forcing the auto industry to lift the "cap" it had imposed on the escalator clause in 1967.

It is clearly defined. For every rise of 3.5 tenths of one point in the CPI, one cent is added to the hourly wage. In 1973 the CPI rose from 127.3 to 138.5, a total of 11.2 points. Thus, auto workers' hourly wages should have been 32 cents more at the end of the year than at the start.

It is paid quarterly. Every three months the wages of auto workers are adjusted. As prices rise over each three-month period, the weekly buying power of most workers shrinks. But at the end of each quarter auto workers get a raise. This does not compensate for what they have already lost. It only brings their wages up to a new starting point in the race against rising prices.

Wages keep slipping further behind. But the escalator in the auto industry is better than most. The fact that the union movement has not yet tried to protect the standard of living of all workers and poor people in this way is a measure of its weakness and the short-sightedness of its present leaders. This failure can lead to further undermining of the unions.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Abortion foes continue attacks

The indictment of a leading Boston physician for manslaughter is the latest and most brazen attack by "right-to-life" forces on legalized abortion. Dr. Kenneth Edelin, chief resident for obstetrics and gynecology at Boston City Hospital, is accused of killing a 24-week-old fetus in the process of performing a legal abortion.

Edelin's indictment is aimed at challenging the Supreme Court's ruling on the time period in which a woman can legally have an abortion. Several state and federal laws passed during the last year are designed to restrict a woman's right to choose abortion and to narrow the concept behind the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.

A provision declaring that no physician and no hospital can be required to perform abortions when it violates their moral or religious convictions was tacked onto a federal health bill. This provision was enacted into law and applies not only to private hospitals but also to public hospitals that receive federal funds. In addition to the federal law, 19 states have also passed these so-called conscience clauses.

While no woman should have to undergo an abortion by a doctor who is opposed to performing them, public hospitals and clinics should be required to have abortion facilities available as well as doctors on staff who will perform them. If private hospitals are the only ones available in a community, they should be required to perform these services also.

Bills that would particularly affect poor women and push many back to illegal abortionists are pending in Congress. The most serious is a provision in the Social Security amendments bill that would prohibit

the use of Medicaid funds to pay for abortions. The effect of such a law can be estimated by the New York City abortion statistics for 1973.

In the year June 1972, to June 1973, 69,776 legal abortions were performed in New York City. About half of them were covered by Medicaid.

Another provision that would particularly affect poor women is a rider to the legal services bill. It would bar legal services lawyers from helping women obtain nontherapeutic abortions.

Twenty-three states have passed laws restricting the availability of abortion. In addition, 15 state legislatures have delivered petitions to Congress asking for reversal of the Supreme Court decision.

The restrictive state laws range from requiring the consent of a woman's husband, or if unmarried or under 18, the woman's parents; denying abortion clinics and referral services the right to advertise; prohibiting abortions during the second half of pregnancy; and others.

When challenged in court, some of these laws have been ruled unconstitutional. Women in Massachusetts, Illinois, Florida, and Utah, for instance, have succeeded in overturning the consent requirements. A Rhode Island law prohibiting abortion except to save the life of the woman was overturned. And there are other challenges still in court.

The reactionary "right-to-life" forces have made some gains in their attempt to limit the availability of abortion. Women in trade unions, abortion rights organizations, and feminist groups should continue to challenge and fight these attacks, including a defense of those doctors now under attack for performing legal abortions.



The philosophical approach—Dr. Derrick Jeffilee, a UCLA professor of public health and pediatrics, says "milk is a very palatable source of animal protein and calcium. But the majority of the world obviously doesn't need it since they don't drink it." And a majority of the people obviously don't need money since they have so little of it, right Doc?

Right from the Butz's mouth—Housewives and politicians are responsible for higher meat prices, explains Agriculture Secretary Butz. By demanding price ceilings, they forced the industry to stop producing, thus driving prices up. Or, if they had let them raise prices in the first place, they wouldn't have had to in the second place. And why did the industry raise prices be-

fore the demand for a ceiling? Obviously because they knew they'd be asked not to.

Off to a good start—The president of Lewis and Clark Community College in Illinois was upset to learn about cheating among 200 cops in a law enforcement course. It seems campus security police were helping them rip off test papers and answer sheets. The prexy said the "credibility" of the school was affected.

Semantics dep't—We understand the word cop derives from when policemen had copper buttons on their uniforms. We assume the slang expression "to cop" something—that is, to steal it—developed shortly thereafter.

Antialienation—Refuting the notion that capitalism deepens the split between town and country, the operator of an apple orchard near San Francisco has gone into the rent-a-tree business. For an annual fee you can have your own tree to visit, sit under, climb, and eat apples from.

Vampires outlast victims—Executives of top corporations live significantly longer than other American men, according to a Metropolitan Life Insurance survey. Metropolitan concluded: "It may well be that work satisfaction, together with public recognition of accomplishments, is an important determinant of health and longevity." Like, the way fan mail must be pouring in at Standard Oil, they should live to be a hundred.



By Any Means Necessary

The Marco DeFunis case

A Supreme Court case involving a student who claimed he was barred from acceptance to the University of Washington law school in 1971 because he is white, was recently ruled to be moot.

Marco DeFunis had claimed that because the school admitted 36 Blacks and students of other oppressed nationalities whose test scores were lower than his, it violated the equal protection provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Though DeFunis was originally denied admission, a state court ordered him admitted. But the university appealed, taking it to the Supreme Court. The high court then ducked the issue, saying DeFunis is due to graduate in May anyway.

Had the court ruled in favor of DeFunis, it would no doubt have been a setback to all so-called affirmative action programs and quotas. These programs are designed to offset the effects of past discrimination against Blacks and other oppressed nationalities and women in education, employment practices, housing, and other areas.

The case drew nearly three dozen "friend of the court" briefs.

Lining up for DeFunis were the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith; sections of the AFL-CIO officialdom; the U. S. Chamber of Commerce; the National Association of Manufacturers; and others.

Supporting the law school were 60 law school deans; the American Bar Association; United Auto Workers; United Farm Workers; United Mine Workers; AFSCME; and an array of civil rights, Black, Chicano, and women's organizations.

At issue was the law school's practice of admitting Blacks who would not ordinarily qualify, to make up for past discrimination. Out of 3,812 students graduated from the law school between 1902 and 1969, only a dozen were Black. Nationally, some 1 percent of all lawyers are Black.

The law school denies it has a quota system and says it only seeks a "reasonable representation" of Blacks and a variety of cultural and social backgrounds to flavor its student body.

Twenty-nine whites who had better test scores than DeFunis were also rejected, but 38 whites with scores lower than DeFunis were admitted. The uni-

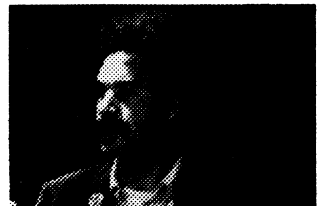
versity called DeFunis a "marginal applicant," and when the 36 Blacks and students of other oppressed nationalities got the nod, DeFunis cried foul.

DeFunis's lawyers said this was a case of "reverse discrimination." But their arguments were absurd and crude, if not backwards.

"The predominance of whites in the university law school may well be explained by a lack of inclination or aptitude on the part of Blacks for such studies," another said.

Vernon Jordan, head of the Urban League, blasted such notions: "Proponents of DeFunis's case seem to be arguing about a nonexistent America, a nation in which everyone has equal opportunities, a nation in which all gains are through personal merit alone, and a nation in which there are clear, objective means with which to determine an individual's personal abilities."

In reply to that argument he said, "equality of opportunity is a meaningless phrase unless it [society] makes special efforts to repair the damage done by past discrimination and present inequality."



iLa Raza en Acción!

Carrizo Springs, Texas

To appreciate the changes and improvements that have taken place in Crystal City, Tex., since the Raza Unida Party took control from the local Democrats and Republicans, all you have to do is take a look at some of the other south Texas towns where this has not yet occurred.

While on a recent trip to the area, I visited Carrizo Springs, a town very similar to *Cristal*. Carrizo, just 10 miles down the road, has a population of maybe 8,000—just a couple of thousand fewer than Crystal City. As in *Cristal*, the Chicano population is about 80 percent. The big difference is that the small minority of racist-minded whites are still in the saddle.

There is a pall of fear hanging over the town, according to Chicano activists. The *gringo* powers that be try to intimidate any Chicano who might speak out against injustices and disturb the status quo.

Raza Unida activist Rubén García said the town has become more conservative since Anglos started leaving Crystal City after Chicanos took over the city council and school board there. García compared Carrizo to Florida, which has become a haven for counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles. Carrizo Springs gets the "refugees" from *Cristal*.

When García and José Pérez tried to get on the

ballot to run for city council in the recent elections, they were told they couldn't file because they were not property owners. The city clerk must have assumed that since they were Chicanos, they must not own any property. As it turns out, García does own some property. But as he pointed out to the clerk, reactionary laws requiring candidates to own property were declared unconstitutional years ago. It was only after threat of legal action that the Raza Unida candidates were placed on the ballot.

García has to travel a long distance to get to his job. Since he became associated with the RUP a couple of years ago he has been unable to find work in Carrizo Springs.

Ricardo, García's son, also felt the wrath of the white power structure. The 13-year-old junior high student was kicked out of school for having his hair too long. The principal told him not to come back until he got a haircut. But when Ricardo García reported back after getting a haircut, the principal was still not satisfied. He grabbed a pair of scissors and chopped away at Ricardo's hair until it was even shorter.

This made the students angry. Others have been hassled about their hair. Dress codes are a big

issue in Texas schools, where they are discriminatorily enforced against Chicanos. In *Cristal*, dress codes have been abolished.

A mimeographed newsletter, *La Voz*, put out by Chicano students in Carrizo discussed the incident and what to do about it. One student wrote a letter to the editor saying, "I want to know when I am going to be allowed to decide for myself when I should get a haircut. Somebody must think I have not got brains enough to decide when my hair needs cutting."

Another student proposed a walkout, and *La Voz* urged a vote for Cruz Sánchez for school board in the April 6 election. Sánchez is a young Raza Unida Party activist and a social worker who works with migrants.

Anyone who thinks haircuts are an irrelevant issue should recall the struggle that led to the Raza Unida Party victory in Crystal City. That struggle was kicked off by a protest against racial discrimination in the choosing of a homecoming queen at the high school.

García, Sánchez, and Pérez were unsuccessful in their bid for office. But as a sign on the back of their campaign vehicle, a pickup truck, says, "The revolution has not ended."



Gay rights bill gains in New York city council

NEW YORK — After a packed 10-hour hearing at city hall April 18, a bill banning discrimination against gay people in employment, housing, and public accommodation was finally voted out of the city council's General Welfare Committee.

The bill, Intro 2, is a reintroduced version of Intro 475, which had been buried in the committee for three-and-a-half years. The bill is expected to come before the full city council later in April, and Mayor Abraham Beame has said that if passed he will sign it into law.

A number of other cities, including Seattle, Detroit, Minneapolis, and Washington, D.C., have already passed laws banning discrimination against gays.

Testimony at the New York hearing was by invitation only. Almost 50 persons, mostly elected and appointed officials, were scheduled to testify. The majority spoke in favor of the bill. Former attorney general Ramsey Clark, former U.S. attorney Robert Morgenthau, and Human Rights Commissioner Eleanor Holmes Norton were among those testifying for the bill.

Representatives of the police and fire departments were among the few testifying against Intro 2.

The bill won approval of seven of the eight committee members present after an amendment exempting transvestites from provisions of the legislation was approved.

Katherine Sojourner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 18th C.D., attended the hearings and released a statement in support of Intro 2.

Sojourner said in part, "Both the Democratic and Republican parties have kept this bill bogged down in committee for several years now and have done nothing to change the conditions of gay people in New York."

"We demand an end to this bipartisan stall on basic rights for gay people and give our full support to the passage of Intro 2."

Sojourner also called for the repeal of all laws, such as New York's sodomy law, which oppress homosexuals.

In a related development, the Christopher Street Liberation Day Committee has set June 30 for the fifth annual Gay Pride March. A news release from the group urges all who support "the dignity and civil rights of homosexuals" to join the march from Sheridan Square in Greenwich Village up Sixth Avenue to the Central Park Mall and Bandshell.



1973 Christopher Street demonstration

Militant/John Lauritsen

CLUW wins support of Pennsylvania AFL-CIO

PHILADELPHIA — The fifteenth constitutional convention of the Pennsylvania AFL-CIO adopted a resolution March 29 supporting the newly formed Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). The Pennsylvania AFL-CIO is the first statewide union body to formally support CLUW.

The precedent-setting resolution stated in part: "Whereas, this Convention notes with great interest the formation of a National Coalition of Union Women in March, 1974—the first organization of its kind in history to be composed exclusively of female members of the trade union movement. We note with particular interest this coalition includes the participation of union women not now affiliated with the AFL-CIO, thus broadening its scope and giving greater effectiveness to its voice. . . .

"Resolved, that this Convention supports the formation of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and urges par-

ticipation of all labor union women in this new historic organization."

The resolution was submitted by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) District Council 88, Retail Clerks Local 1357, and the Pennsylvania Social Services Union.

Passage of this resolution opened the door to support for CLUW in many unions. At least five unions have already requested CLUW speakers for their membership meetings. The Philadelphia area CLUW plans to speak to as many union meetings as possible asking for support, financial assistance, articles in newsletters, and the active participation in CLUW of female unionists.

CLUW was founded March 23-24 in Chicago by 3,200 women from 58 unions. The group aims to organize women to fight for "full equality of opportunities and rights in the labor force."

Kunstler argues for Lawton case dismissal

RIVERSIDE, Calif. — Attorney William Kunstler, now cocounsel for Gary Lawton in the police frame-up trial here, argued April 19 for dismissal of the case.

Lawton and his codefendant, Zurebu Gardner, are facing a third trial on charges of killing two Riverside cops. Two previous trials ended with hung juries. In both trials of the two Black community activists, the defense had established that there was wide scale perjury and conflicting testimony on the part of prosecution witnesses.

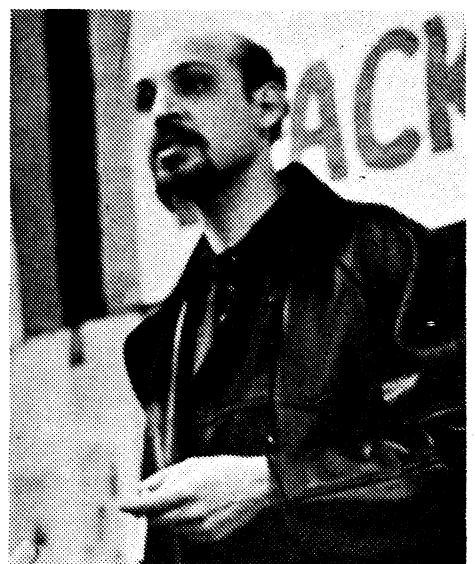
During the course of the lengthy prosecutions, the defendants worked persistently to rally a united defense movement in their behalf. Recently the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California made the unusual decision to enter directly into the trial proceedings because of the civil rights issues involved in the racist prosecution.

In arguing for dismissal, Kunstler asked the presiding judge to consider the Fifth Amendment issue of double jeopardy. He conceded that the Constitution did not specifically include prosecutions ending with hung juries in this category. But he argued that there is a growing body of legal opinion that the constitutional ban on retrying defendants for the same offense should apply in cases of hung juries as well as in those where the defendant is found innocent.

Kunstler also presented what he described as an unprecedented motion that the case be dismissed on Fourteenth Amendment grounds providing equal protection under the law. He said that a preliminary survey indicated that in virtually all hung-jury cases where the prosecution sought a new trial, the defendant was Black.

He further cited instances of hung juries in cases of policemen tried for murder. In not one of these cases, he said, was the defendant retried.

In presenting this motion, Kunstler proposed that the judge not act on it



Militant/Harry Ring

Gary Lawton faces third trial on frame-up charges.

immediately. Instead, he asked him to wait for the outcome of an extensive study the ACLU was prepared to conduct throughout California. This study would determine how many people whose original trial ended in a hung jury were retried and what racial trend was revealed by such a statistical compilation.

Other members of the defense staff made discovery motions relating to prosecution evidence illegally gathered through bugging, wiretapping, and other such means. In response, the prosecutor took the witness stand to swear that he had no knowledge of such illegal evidence. However, he acknowledged that there had been three prosecutors previously involved and he had not investigated the possibility of any of them gathering such evidence.

The trial is slated to begin May 20. The judge will rule on the discovery and dismissal motions prior to that date. To aid the defense write Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Fund, P.O. Box 244, Riverside, Calif. 95202.

Kentucky miners picket at N.Y. Stock Exchange

NEW YORK — Twenty-five miners from Brookside, Ky., picketed at the New York Stock Exchange here April 18 to publicize the issues in their nine-month-old strike against the Duke Power Company.

Dressed in full mining gear, the strikers attracted considerable attention as they leafletted passers-by with information about Duke Power. Several members of the Textile Workers Union joined the picket line with their own banners and signs.

Duke Power is the sixth largest public utility in the country. The company is currently making a new stock offering, and the miners' picket line was aimed at dissuading potential buyers of the stock.

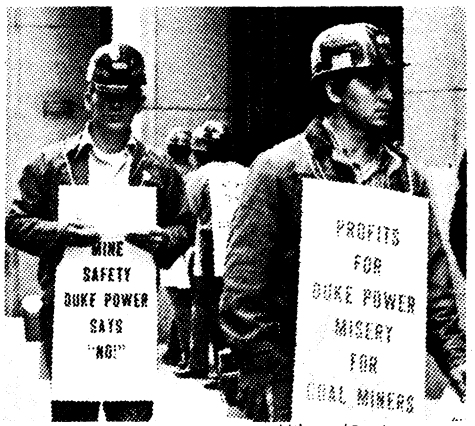
The miners went on strike against the Eastover Mining Company, a Duke subsidiary, last July, when the company refused to recognize the terms of the national United Mine Workers (UMW) contract. The men had voted by a 2-to-1 margin to be represented by the UMW after years of deception and trickery under the Southern Labor Union, a company union.

Bill Doan, one of the picketers on Wall Street, told *The Militant* that safety was the key issue for him in the strike. He described how he got "covered up" in a rock fall at Brook-

side last year because of the rampant safety violations. Duke Power refuses to accept the UMW demand for a union safety committee in the mines.

Hospital benefits are another issue in the strike, Doan said. Miners found that the Southern Labor Union hospital coverage was virtually worthless. Duke Power is balking at the demand for improved health coverage and increased royalties for pensions.

The miners have also picketed the company in North Carolina, where its central offices are located, joined by students from Duke University and other schools, trade unionists, and consumer activists opposed to Duke's attempts to get a rate increase.



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

Brookside miners picket against Duke Power Company.

New York's District 1

The struggle against racism in the schools



Militant/Michael Baumann

The following is based on a talk given by Ethel Lobman at the Brooklyn Militant Forum last winter. Lobman was chairwoman of the Coalition for Education in School District 1 in New York from 1972 to 1973 and a member of the executive committee of the Parent Association of Public School 63 from 1967 to 1972.

She is currently an active participant in the Por Los Ninos campaign, which is running candidates for the May 14 school board election in the district.

A longtime socialist and union activist, Lobman was a member of the United Auto Workers in New Jersey during World War II and active in a major organizing strike of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in Los Angeles in 1947. She was the organizer of the Socialist Workers Party youth branch in New York City from 1950 to 1954 and is now a member of the Lower Manhattan SWP.

By **ETHEL LOBMAN**

School District 1 is on Manhattan's Lower East Side. Incorporating what was in the past mainly a Jewish ghetto, it is now becoming increasingly Puerto Rican.

Fifty percent of the people living in District 1 are white, and most of them live in high-rise middle-income co-ops on the district's southern edge. The other 50 percent are mostly Puerto Ricans, Blacks, and Chinese, living in 100-year-old tenements and projects along the East River. The district is next to overcrowded Chinatown, and newly arriving Chinese are settling here.

But the composition of the 17,000 students in the district's 21 elementary and junior high schools is 92 percent Puerto Rican, other Latino, Black, and Chinese. Only 8 percent are white.

So you have a population that is half white but whose children are for the most part not in the public school system. White children attend private schools in other parts of the city. Every single school in District 1 is Puerto Rican in its majority.

On top of this situation, any registered voter is entitled to vote for school board representatives regardless of whether they have children in the schools or not.

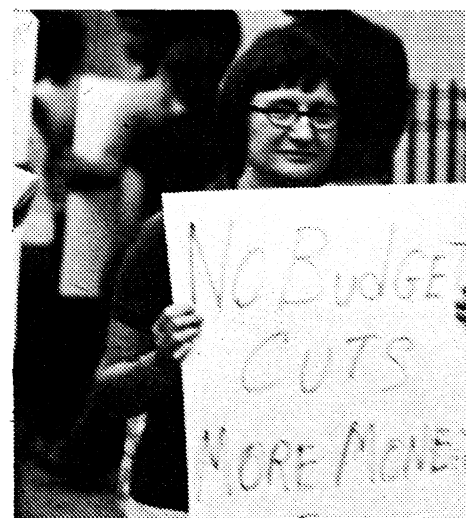
So you can see that the 50 percent of this district who are white have a lot of power. When they are motivated—as they were in the school board elections last May—they control a dis-

trict where they do not have children in the schools.

Consequently Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents are struggling to have a say over the education of their children. As such, they are demanding reforms; they are not asking for an end to the capitalist system. But their demands to control their schools have a revolutionary dynamic because they touch at the heart of the racist institutions of the capitalist system.

The parents are told that if their children study hard, they will get out of the ghetto. They will get all the goodies that this system has to offer. They are not told that their children are actually being trained to be unemployed. In District 1 the overwhelming majority of the children who graduate from junior high school are three or more years behind in their reading, and many are reading at third-grade level.

While many parents in District 1 had faith in the schools as an institution of learning, they also feared them. In many ways public schools in this city look very similar to police stations. And in District 1 you can see this very clearly. The same flag flies



Ethel Lobman

there, the same bars are on the windows, the same hostile attitude towards people coming in.

There was always a lot of fear by parents, who were poor and didn't speak English, to go into the building. They took their children. They pushed them in there, saying, "Learn, learn, and you'll get out of the ghetto." But the parents wouldn't go in.

Before going on, it is important to know the background of the area itself. From the early 1900s until the early 1950s, this was predominantly a Jewish, Slavic, and Italian area.

It was a highly political area. For example, the Socialist Party, backed by Jewish workers, was influential in the area with its Jewish *Daily Forward*. It was where the newly organized garment workers lived.

In the 1950s there was a large migration of Puerto Ricans into the city and into the area, with many of the younger Jewish and white working-class and middle-class people moving out to the suburbs.

There was a complete breakdown of services. Large numbers of gangs flourished. On Avenue C there were these pushcarts, and every night garbage and cardboard boxes would be heaped up in them and set on fire. This was the customary way of getting rid of the garbage. They would just burn it up on Avenue C.

There was the hatred between the Jewish entrepreneurs and the Puerto Rican and Black people moving in. The dilapidated tenements were infested with vermin.

By the early 1960s the civil rights struggle began to have its impact on the Lower East Side. The first battles that took place here were rent strikes.

But at the same time, throughout the country, the federal government began one of its most successful tactics, which was both a concession and a counterattack to the civil rights struggle. That is, the pouring in of millions of dollars into the antipoverty agencies. In District 1, within a few years, there were antipoverty agencies up and down every street.

I will return later to the role of these agencies in the District 1 struggle.

When the Puerto Ricans moved in and became a majority in the schools, they found the school system staffed almost 100 percent by Jewish and other white teachers and principals. Parent Associations also continued to be controlled by white parents.

They ran these Parent Association (PA) meetings in such a way that you would never know where you were if you didn't look out the window. Their discussions were of the most trivial things, like "What kind of orchid should we get for the teachers' party at the end of the year?" or "Should we have champagne or burgundy to go with these orchids?"

UFT walkout

The first sign that there was going to be a struggle in District 1 came in 1967. That September the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) organized

mass resignations to demand higher wages. This was in defiance of the union-busting Taylor Law, which forbids strikes by public employees.

But in addition to higher wages, the UFT demanded the right to expel "the disruptive child." That phrase, "the disruptive child," touched a nerve among the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese parents. Black parents especially responded with militancy and anger. They had become sensitive to certain phrases from the civil rights struggle, and when they heard the phrase "the disruptive child," they said, "Shanker is moving against our children. He is not coping with the problems of our children."

There was a Black caucus in the union, the African-American Teachers Association, which decided to go into the schools and teach classes during the walkout. They opposed this demand and supported growing sentiment by Black and Puerto Ricans to have a greater say in how their schools should be run.

This action by the Black teachers should have given a message to the UFT leadership. In order to bring about the best situation for unity between parents and teachers, the UFT should have supported the just demands of the Black and Puerto Rican parents for more funds and control over the education of their children.

Teachers fighting for better wages, job security, and smaller classroom sizes share a common enemy with parents who want more funds and better education for their children. This enemy is the capitalist-run city government.

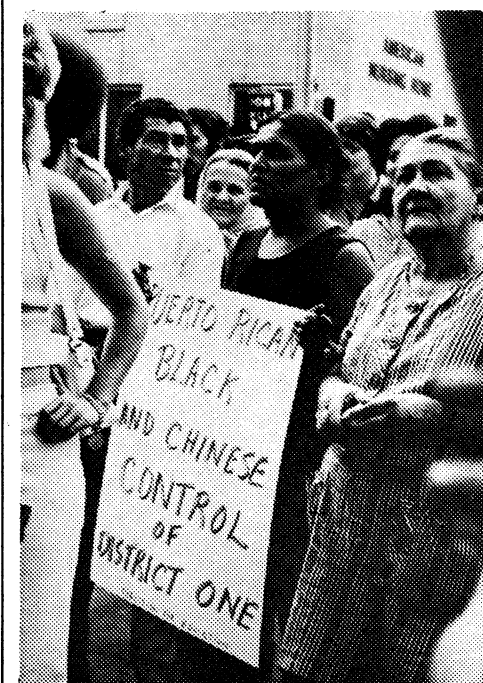
But the racist leadership of the UFT, headed by Albert Shanker, opposed the demands of the parents and widened the gap between parents and teachers.

Ocean Hill-Brownsville

In 1967 there were three districts in the city set up as experiments in school decentralization—Ocean Hill-Brownsville in a Black section of Brooklyn; Intermediate School 201 in Harlem; and Two Bridges, a district that has now been divided up between District 1 and District 2. When the Ocean Hill-Brownsville experimental district tried to bring in Black and Puerto Rican teachers and institute new teaching methods, the UFT leadership called a strike in the fall of 1968.

This was a nine-week city-wide strike by the 90-percent-white UFT against the community school board in one Black ghetto.

Just before the strike began, pressure began to build up in District 1 for a Puerto Rican superintendent. The only Puerto Rican principal in all of the city was Luis Fuentes, who had been brought into Ocean Hill-Brownsville because of his experience in bilingual education and his support of community control.



Militant/Michael Baumann

But during the UFT strike, the focus of the struggle in District 1 shifted to a fight to keep the schools open. This fight lifted the struggle to a new level.

Ocean Hill-Brownsville was so significant because this experimental district was trying to break out of the chains that this racist system puts the public schools in. They were trying to bring in new Black and Puerto Rican teachers and programs so that these children, mainly Black, would have a chance to develop.

And that is why District 1 identified so enthusiastically with the Ocean Hill-Brownsville struggle.

Opened every school

District 1 parents opened up just about every school in District 1, and this was a heroic thing. The district office was taken over by community people and run by them. Teachers, principals, and for the first time poor Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese parents came into the school and actually participated in running them.

Parents came in and volunteered as custodians, electricians, firemen. They came in as teachers' aides. At my children's school, Public School 63, we had meetings of the parents every day. Three groups would meet—the Chinese, the Puerto Ricans, and the English-speaking whites and Blacks. When they came together, spokespersons for each group would hold a three-way discussion.

The most interesting part of that experience was the participation of the Chinese parents. At the first meeting when we opened the school, they had a list of grievances a mile long. They had been insulted in front of their children. They had been yelled at.

One woman took a book and threw it up in the air, emphasizing what she thought of her children's textbooks. They were the most active participants in the running of the schools.

Every day during that strike, the teachers who were teaching in the school, and the principal, would meet with the parents to discuss the curriculum of the school and the problems, of which there were many.

But the teachers picketing outside weren't interested in anything except finding out if their plants inside were being watered. They never asked about the children, the classes, the curriculum. They'd try to stop the parents from going in, speaking to them in pidgin English. "Go in? No. No go in."

Another interesting thing was that at the time I wrote a few articles for *The Militant*, reporting what was going on in P.S. 63 and District 1.

The teachers on the picket lines would pick up copies of *The Militant* and as the parents would come they'd show it to them. "She's a communist," they'd say, pointing to me.

I used to tell these teachers they were barking up the wrong tree. The teachers were so out of touch with the struggle that they thought red-baiting was going to scare the parents into not associating with me.

After the strike, and as a concession to the community-control fighters, the school decentralization law was passed, providing for elected school boards. It was not passed to give control to the oppressed communities, however. It was full of provisions designed to prevent that control—for instance, by keeping control of funds, hiring, and firing in the hands of the central board.

Despite its many deficiencies, the community-control forces have effectively utilized the decentralization law as a weapon in the struggle for real community control. And that's what's being done today in District 1.

Reactionary coalition

In the first school board election following the strike (this was in 1970) there emerged the most reactionary coalition you could imagine—the UFT leadership, conservative elements from the Catholic Church, the police department, the regular Democratic Party, and every other reactionary force on the Lower East Side. It was a disgrace for a union to be in such a coalition.

Against this slate was a coalition dominated by the antipoverty agencies. Seven of the nine seats went to candidates on the UFT slate, and the other two went to pro-community-control candidates. Of the seven, one was a Puerto Rican, Georgina Hoggard, who later came to support community control.

The decentralization law requires that board members vote at public monthly school board meetings. These meetings became the focal point for mobilizing the community.

When the first open board meeting took place, the community looked at who was on that platform—the chairman was a Catholic priest (who, by the way, is now the head of an anti-abortion "right-to-life" committee), and the woman who owned the funeral parlor and had nothing whatever to do with the schools, and all the other reactionaries. When the community people saw this, they just rose up and expressed spontaneous anger.

And from that time on, from 1970 to 1972, that's what the school board



Militant/Arthur Hughes

District 1 residents campaigning for community-control candidates in last May's school board election.

meetings were like. They were tremendous spontaneous demonstrations. The protest was not always coherent, but the fight was on. And the pressure that came down on these six made them just drop off the board one by one.

Finally, by June 1972, these people had been replaced by appointments to the board until there was an 8-to-1 majority for community control. And that was a victory! Soon Luis Fuentes was hired as superintendent.

Antipoverty agencies

Here it is necessary to explain the role of the antipoverty agencies in the District 1 struggle. There are nine educational agencies in District 1 alone, funded by the federal government as part of the poverty program. What they do is co-opt the best young militants who have the potential to lead real struggles.

About 200 young men and women in the District 1 area were brought into this agency structure and trained to make leaflets, make speeches, and "organize" the poor. So the agencies have many activists within their framework, some of them corrupted, but not all of them, as we found out in the struggle.

The millions and millions of dollars sent into the poverty agencies distort and undermine the struggle. The minority youth in the agency structure

are supposed to appear militant, and carry out certain struggles, but only up to a certain point. Then they're pulled back. The allocation of this money is also used to create frictions between the different minority communities, who are put in a position of having to compete for it.

In District 1, after the victory, there was a lot of discussion of the role of the agencies. The way they manipulated the coalition during the struggle. And how they would vote for great projects—to put out leaflets and mobilize the community for some action—and then do the opposite.

The first thing the community people did independent of the agencies, after hiring Luis Fuentes, was call a meeting to draw up a program. It was attended by about 40 people and went on for 48 hours.

Community-control program

The program called for the schools to be open 24 hours and to be used by the community as child-care centers and for adult education. The meeting decided to investigate all the books used in the schools for their racism and sexism, and to quickly bring in bilingual, pro-community-control principals, to be screened by the parents. It called for the teaching of Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese culture.

These demands were consciously made to their own procommunity school board, because they wanted to make sure that this board and Luis Fuentes would carry out their programs.

Following this, a number of militants reconstituted the community-control coalition on an independent basis—independent of the poverty agencies.

This independence was reflected in the fact that we set up a fund-raising committee. This surprised everyone, because up until then nobody ever mentioned money. The agencies took care of paying for anything that they approved of, and they had controlled the coalition.

When it was seen how serious people were about having an independent coalition, the agency people were told, by their superiors "downtown," to get out of this coalition and to try to destroy it.

But the new Coalition for Education in District One grew, and played the leading role in the May 1, 1973, school board elections. One of the first things the coalition had to do was broaden support for the struggle.

This was necessary because as soon as this community-control board hired Luis Fuentes, all the powers

Continued on following page

Militant forum hears community leaders

By KATHERINE SOJOURNER

NEW YORK—Three community school board candidates from District 1 addressed the Lower Manhattan Militant Forum April 18 to discuss the special election to be held on May 14.

The three speakers, Francisco Ferrer, Georgina Hoggard, and Edwina McLaughlin, are part of the nine-member "Por Los Niños" (For the Children) slate that was screened and endorsed by the District 1 parents and community. Ferrer and Hoggard are Puerto Rican and McLaughlin is Black.

Among the 120 who attended were many activists and parents involved in the struggle for control by the predominantly Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents for control of their children's schools.

The community-control slate is opposed by a predominantly white

slate, most of whom were on the racist board that stole the election last May 1 through discrimination against Puerto Rican, Chinese, and Black voters.

During the discussion period the candidates were asked about the course of the struggle for community control after the May 14 election. Hoggard replied, "Whether we win or whether we lose, this struggle is not going to end."

McLaughlin added, "We are not thinking about losing on May 14, but if by chance we do, the struggle goes on. We will not tolerate what happened under the old board. These are our children, and their very lives are at stake."

A collection was taken for the Por Los Niños campaign, and many took leaflets and posters for distribution. Weekly campaign meetings are held every Sunday night at 7:30 at 34 Avenue B at Third Street.



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Edwina McLaughlin

...struggle against racism

Continued from preceding page

that be came down upon their heads. Almost daily, in the newspapers, four of the largest Jewish organizations accused Fuentes of anti-Semitism and the board of complicity. Hearings by the city government on this charge went on for months, where Fuentes and the board had to appear before ex-police commissioner Broderick, who sat as judge, while every detail of Luis Fuentes's private and public life was dragged up.

The hearing officials finally had to admit that the charge was unfounded.

Broaden the struggle

One of the first things the new coalition did to broaden the struggle was to propose a tour by Fuentes of campuses in New York City. Students started coming to the coalition to help, and money began to come in from the tour. Now, with independent funds, we could plan a budget. The whole attitude in the coalition began to change.

Meanwhile the board, with Luis Fuentes, carried on and accomplished many things. They moved the district office from the southern edge of the district to the heart of the ghetto. Competent Spanish-speaking, pro-community-control principals were brought in. A new lunch program was set up, with parents and children on a committee to discuss the menus—Chinese food, Puerto Rican, and soul food were added.

If you're a revolutionary socialist for a number of years, you become sensitive to what's real and what's phony. When you walk into the district office, and see Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese people speaking different languages, and hear discussions and arguments going on about programs and policy, and see Luis Fuentes welcoming parents and discussing with them—you know that real changes are taking place in the schools.

There are many problems in the community-control struggle. Blacks, who are a minority in the district, have strong feelings that the Puerto Ricans are disregarding them, and have organized a caucus to look after their interests. And the Chinese,



Luis Fuentes, superintendent of District 1, at press conference with Judy Baumann of Committee for Democratic Election Laws. Community leaders brought suit against racist discrimination in last year's school board election.

also a small minority, must always fight for recognition and personnel. But the coalition stuck together.

The coalition made a tremendous effort campaigning for its slate in the May 1, 1973, school board election, but we lost. Not through the fault of the community, not through the fault of the coalition. The political apparatus in the district—controlled by old-time, mainly white Democrats and Republicans—saw to it that as few Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese residents voted as possible, doing everything in their power to make it easy for whites to vote.

In one high-rise co-op on Grand Street, with mainly Jewish voters, the UFT slate got 1,000 votes. Every name on the print-out sheet was signed. They were wheeled into the polling places in wheelchairs. Some had been told that if the UFT slate lost, they would be driven from their apartments by mobs of Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

We lost the election, but that night Georgina Hoggard made a speech. She said, "Win or lose, we've reached a level of organization never before reached." We did get Georgina, Lyle Brown, and Henry Ramos on the board. The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) and the NAACP filed a federal suit charging discrimination in the election against Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese voters.

After the elections the new racist board was not able to carry out any of their plans. Not one! First they were prevented from moving the district office back to the edge of the district in the midst of the middle-income houses.

Then they made a move to fire the bilingual staff. But when the word got out about this, and the reaction built up, they dropped it and instead tried a maneuver of firing three of the pro-community-control whites on the district staff. They thought the Puerto Ricans and Blacks would not come out and support the whites. But they made a big error.

Five hundred community people turned out to that board meeting, chanting, and raising placards in the auditorium. The first one to speak was a Black teacher who was treasurer of the coalition. He said, "You thought you would fool us, that we wouldn't support them because they're white. We're here to tell you that you can't fire them because for us they represent community control first and white second."

The whole place went into an uproar. "You always said Fuentes was

going to fire all the whites," he said. "And you're the first one to fire three white people because they support the Puerto Ricans, Blacks, and Chinese."

And from 8 p.m. to midnight, those 500 people, by arguments and pressure, forced the board to table every one of its motions.

Since then we won a favorable ruling on our suit, and the election of the racist board was overturned. A new election is scheduled for May 14. The community is more together than ever in a new coalition backing the Por Los Niños (For the Children) slate. And now there is the possibility of getting more support from teachers.

SWP participation

I want to conclude with some words about the Socialist Workers Party and its candidates, who play an active role in the coalition and in the district. SWP members who are part of the community have participated with the other militants. Our candidates for congress and for state and local offices—Norman Oliver and Eva Cher-tov in 1973, and Rebecca Finch, Katherine Sojourner, Derrick Morrison, and others this year—have helped publicize and urge support for the District 1 struggle.

Through its participation and campaigns, the SWP has helped organize mass support and involvement in this struggle. It has carried it to a higher level of organization and of understanding of the enemy it faces.

We think that the experience in this important struggle will lead some of the militants to see that the roots of the race-prejudiced and class-prejudiced school system lies in the system of capitalism. And we welcome their joining us in building a revolutionary-socialist party that can lead the overall struggle to replace that system of oppression.

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LA march hits US aid to Israel

By MARC BEDNER

LOS ANGELES—Two hundred people marched five miles here in support of self-determination for Palestine. Signs carried along the April 13 march called for an end to U.S. aid to Israel and support for a democratic secular Palestine.

A rally in MacArthur Park heard Rabbi Elmer Berger, founder of American Jewish Alternatives to Zionism, dispute the Zionist claim that all Jews are bound to support Israel. He noted the hypocrisy of a Congress that voices concern about Soviet Jews while not having "raised a finger for the Palestinians."

Colin Edwards, a journalist who has covered events in the Arab East since 1947, presented a history of Zionism from its beginning in the late nineteenth century. "Israel is as much a record of victimization of Palestinians as Nazi Germany was a record of victimization of Jews," he said.

Sadat Hassan, founder of the Organization of Arab Students and currently the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the U.S. and UN, denounced "those who thought the rights of the Palestinians could be washed away with resolutions." He declared, "Our struggle will continue, Geneva or no Geneva."

The demonstration was organized by the Southern California Easter March Committee, an ad hoc coalition of individuals supporting the Palestinian cause. Groups that helped to build the march and rally include the Palestine Support Committee at Cal State University-Los Angeles, the Organization of Arab Students, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Shockley's Yale visit protested

Nearly 1,000 Yale students and other residents of New Haven, Conn., protested the appearance of racist physicist William Shockley at Yale University April 15.

Shockley, a proponent of the theory that Blacks are genetically inferior, was invited to speak at Yale by the Young Americans for Freedom.

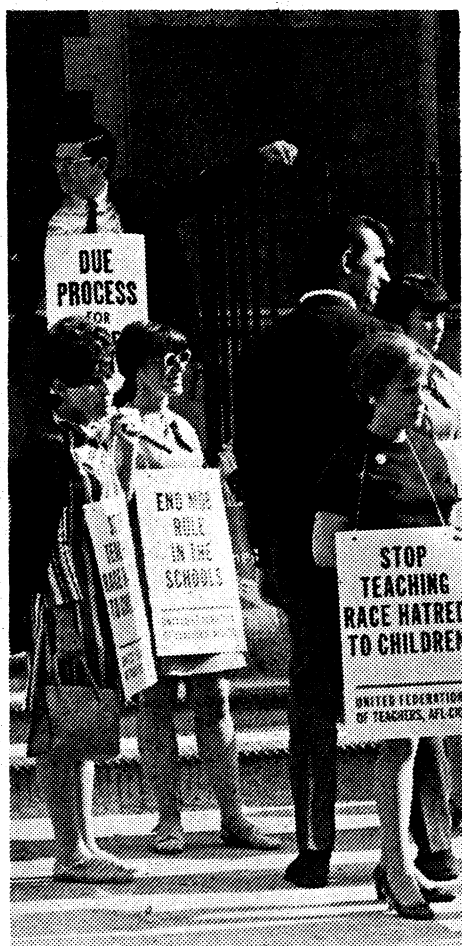
Shockley failed to attract many supporters to his meeting. But large numbers of students attended the lecture and stamped, clapped, and shouted "racist" until Shockley left.

Following administrative threats of reprisals against the protesters, students set up a defense committee and began circulating a petition demanding no suspensions and no disciplinary actions. A defense rally on April 18 drew several hundred participants to hear speakers condemn Shockley's theories and demand no disciplinary action. A local rabbi spoke in defense of the students.

Many groups and individuals are involved in the defense campaign, including the Third World Students Alliance, the Committee to Stop Shockley, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

In a related development, some 300 protesters demonstrated in Washington, D.C., April 20 in opposition to racist "theorists" like Shockley and demanding an end to cutbacks in funding for education and health care.

The Washington action was sponsored by the Committee Against Racism.



Militant/Brian Shannon

UFT pickets during racist strike in 1968 against Black and Puerto Rican community control.

World Outlook

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

MAY 3, 1974

See more political instability ahead

French elections: Gaullists seek heir to Pompidou

By Dick Fidler

It was an unsettling week for the French ruling class. Within hours of the death of President Georges Pompidou on April 2, the leaders of the Gaullist "majority" were combining against Jacques Chaban-Delmas's bid for the presidency.

For several days, the majority of Premier Pierre Messmer's cabinet maneuvered frantically. On April 4, just as Messmer was about to declare his own candidacy as a representative of the Gaullist Union for the Defense of the Republic (UDR), Chaban-Delmas, also a UDR member and far more popular with the party's membership, announced he was running. A convention of the UDR on April 7 then "unanimously" declared its support for Chaban-Delmas.

Yet only two days later Messmer declared that he would run if the other leading candidates of the government majority, including Chaban-Delmas, Finance Minister Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, and National Assembly President Edgar Faure, would step down. Chaban-Delmas rejected this "offer," insisting that he was "the one best able to block the way to the single candidate of the left" (François Mitterrand of the Socialist party).

Messmer then dropped his attempt—while yet another minister, Jean Royer, threw his hat into the ring. The point was painfully clear: The Gaullist "majority" was showing all

the symptoms of a Bonapartist movement that badly lacked a Bonaparte.

Meanwhile Nixon took advantage of his attendance at Pompidou's funeral to score a few points on his French hosts. He engaged in a conspicuous round of diplomacy with Soviet and West European statesmen; and, for the sake of television at home, he even plunged through police lines to shake hands in the crowds gathered to watch the funeral.

Nixon's antics galled the French bourgeoisie. "Why are we still debating the 'American presence' in Europe," the editors of *Le Monde* complained, "when the leader of the White House—under as heavy fire as he is at home—need only show his face here for the truth about the relationship of forces, the true relations of superiority and inferiority, to be plain for everyone to see?"

Taken together, Nixon's barnstorming and the disarray in Gaullist ranks served to underscore two key problems facing the French bourgeoisie: the increasing challenge on the economic front in a period of intensifying interimperialist rivalry; and their failure to come up with a demagogue able to rally the right wing against the left.

This last consideration was clearly uppermost in the minds of the Gaullists as they debated who should represent them in the presidential election campaign. Interior Minister Jacques Chirac, one of the leaders of the attempt to block the Chaban candi-



CP's MARCHAIS (left), SP's MITTERRAND: Steering popular discontent into class-collaborationist politics.

dacy, said: "I am very worried. Jacques Chaban-Delmas is the best man, but we must think beyond today. . . . Fifteen years after we held all the power we are nothing more than the challengers of François Mitterrand. I am very worried about the future of this election."

Mitterrand, leader of the Socialist party, is currently riding the crest of the growing opposition to the regime. Backing him is the coalition that made its electoral strength felt in the 1973 legislative elections: the Union of the

Left, composed of the Communist party, the SP and the Left Radicals, a small bourgeois party.

Mitterrand's candidacy has been bolstered by support from the left Social Democratic Parti Socialiste Unifié, which had previously refused to support the Union of the Left, and from France's second-biggest labor federation, the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT).

The Communist party is doing all it can to keep a "low profile" in the elections. No sooner had Pompidou dropped dead, than the CP leaders were pressing Mitterrand to declare himself the "common candidate" of the whole left. CP General Secretary Georges Marchais had already made clear months earlier that the party had no intention of fielding its own candidate for president.

The Stalinist leaders see the Mitterrand candidacy as a means of making further inroads into traditional support of the bourgeois parties, specifically the "center" parties, the parties between the Gaullists and the left. For this, they are quite prepared to grant Mitterrand a free hand, asking only that the SP leader's electoral platform not renounce the "Common Program" of the Union of the Left, and that the CP be permitted to participate in his campaign.

Mitterrand has of course readily agreed to this, while insisting that he is not the "common candidate" of the left, but the "unitary candidate" nominated by the SP and supported by the other major left organizations and unions.

In the context of the increasing disarray among the bourgeois parties, the election campaign, whatever its outcome, may usher in a period of greater political instability in France.

'Rouge' supporters organize, field candidate



Krivine addressing Renault workers as presidential candidate of Communist League in 1969 elections.

Supporters of *Rouge*, the French Trotskyist weekly, have formed a new organization, the Front Communiste Révolutionnaire (FCR—Revolutionary Communist Front).

The formation of the FCR was announced at the conclusion of a public meeting of 3,000 in Paris April 10, called by *Rouge* in support of a revolutionary alternative in the current presidential election campaign. A keynote speaker was Alain Krivine, candidate of the banned Communist League in the 1969 French elections.

Krivine affirmed that in the event that the far-left organizations in France could not agree on a common candidate, the new organization would present its own candidate. Krivine has since announced his candidacy for the presidency.

The meeting issued a call for the organization of "federations and sections" of the new organization

throughout the country, "with the perspective of holding a first congress very soon."

Among the members of the "provisional leadership," according to the April 12 *Le Monde*, are Alain Krivine, Pierre Frank, Pierre Rousset, Jean-Marie Vincent, Michel Field, and Michel Récanati. Krivine, Rousset, and Récanati were jailed by the Pompidou regime last year on frame-up charges stemming from an antifascist demonstration last June 21. The Communist League was banned by the government for organizing the demonstration, and Krivine and Récanati still face charges under the notorious "antiwrecker law," even though Krivine did not even take part in the June 21 action.

A future issue of *The Militant* will carry further coverage of the positions of the FCR and other far-left organizations in France on the current elections.

Underground Trotskyist paper debates tasks in

By Gerry Foley

In June of last year Juan Maria Bordaberry, the president of Uruguay, declared the constitution null and void, dismissed Congress, and instituted decree rule backed by the military.

As Bordaberry moved toward his coup, the working class responded with a general strike of such potential force that it could have ended the capitalist system in Uruguay, had a revolutionary-socialist party stood at the head of the masses.

Unfortunately the dominant force on the left is the Communist party, one of the two mass CPs in Latin America. (The other CP masterminded Salvador Allende's suicidal strategy in Chile.)

The line of the Uruguayan CP was to block the general strike from developing into a struggle for governmental power. Instead, the CP held out the perspective of a "nationalist

pressed in a clear and forthright way. Some extracts from recent issues of *Prensa Obrera* will indicate the orientation of the Uruguayan Trotskyists.

In the February 18 issue the editors discussed the lessons of the general strike mounted by the Uruguayan workers last June:

"The general strike was a colossal demonstration that the workers are sick of hunger, poverty, and repression. By occupying the factories they tried to save the democratic freedoms won through years of struggle from being crushed. Despite the heroism of the thousands of strikers, the strike was defeated.

"In the pages of *Prensa Obrera*, we have noted our differences with the line the Communist party imposed on the strike through the CNT [Convencción Nacional de Trabajadores—National Convention of Labor, the CP-controlled national union federation]. In our opinion this line was one of the

tation it did during the strike."

In the period of demoralization that followed the failure of the general strike, the PRT has analyzed the deepening crisis of the Uruguayan ruling class in issue after issue of its underground publication, putting forward a concrete program that incorporates the demands of the various sectors of the mass movement into a concerted strategy for overthrowing the dictatorship.

"In our last issue," the February 18 *Prensa Obrera* said, "we explained that a new crisis was brewing at the top levels of the government, since the dictatorship has been unable to come up with a concrete economic plan that meets the demands of the various bourgeois sectors.

"Since the only valid law for the bourgeoisie, whether they are civilians or military, is the law of profit, the changes that are beginning to be carried out in the government in the name of the 'highest patriotic purposes' in fact reflect the development of a fight among the various sectors of the capitalist class to see which one can get the biggest slice of the pie."

Independent mobilization

Prensa Obrera argued that only independent mobilization by the workers and other popular strata could bring the contradictions in the ruling classes and the regime to a head. In its March 11 issue, it asked: "How can the dictatorship maintain itself in these conditions? We think that it is because of a combination of two factors. On the one hand, the contending forces are roughly equal, and no single sector feels strong enough to push the others aside and take the reins of the situation in its own hands. But the fundamental factor is the state of disorganization and demobilization in which the working class has been left after the defeat of the general strike. This has enabled the dictatorship to reconcile its internal differences free from the pressure of the mobilized masses.

"Nonetheless, the more reactionary sectors have been gaining strength. The new CONAE [Consejo Nacional de Enseñanza—National Council of Education], the new minicouncils in basic education, the closing down of the EPU, and the proposed rules for trade-union elections are indications of this.

"But it cannot be excluded that despite its weaknesses this government can, by taking advantage of the demobilization of the masses, achieve a momentary respite with the help of Argentina and Brazil. The concrete fact, however, is that our rulers have no plan that can offer even temporary satisfaction to the minimum immediate demands. . . .

"Only a government of the workers themselves setting out to build socialism in Uruguay can get the country out of the crisis in which it is mired and end exploitation once and for all.

"Since this is clear, the problem now is to find the most appropriate ways to reverse the decline in our level of organization and struggle and to move ahead to overthrow the dictatorship and call free elections in which all parties can participate."

The way to achieve this, *Prensa Obrera* said, was for the left organizations and the trade-union movement to unite behind the immediate demo-

cratic objectives on which they all agreed and to mobilize the workers and the masses to fight for these demands, the ones most deeply felt at the present time.

"We think that today more than ever the fight for higher wages, for reorganizing the trade unions and electing new leaders, for jobs, and for the release of the prisoners is indissolubly linked to the fight for democratic rights, which, in turn, means the liquidation of the dictatorship. Workers cannot fight for higher wages unless they have the right to assemble and to organize, as well as the right to freedom of the press, all of which have been abolished by the putschist government. These rights in turn will make it easier to reorganize the unions and the national federation and enable the mass movement to advance to new gains.

"For all workers, then, the need for ending these starvation wages and winning a better standard of living is becoming more and more acute. But any step they try to take will immediately run up against the barriers imposed by the dictatorship, first of all against the obstacles that have been placed in the way of their reorganizing.

"In view of this situation and the way the consciousness of the working class has advanced as a result of the colossal general strike it fought in defense of the last vestiges of its democratic rights, which were wrenched away by the putschists, we think that the struggle begun in June must continue. It must go forward to overthrow the dictatorship by raising a program that sums up the most urgent demands of the workers and draws behind it the entire people's movement, including sectors of the bourgeoisie itself that are opposed to the dictatorship. We think this program . . . is summed up in the demand for free elections in which all parties can participate."

Beyond bourgeois democracy

The essential purpose of campaigning for free elections, the March 11 *Prensa Obrera* explained, was to mobilize the workers and popular strata in a process that would go beyond the old bourgeois democracy, whose limitations had been revealed so starkly by the establishment of a dictatorship under the auspices of an elected president. The democratic issue took on a particular importance in a country where the masses are still strongly influenced by bourgeois democratic traditions, which have gone into decline only recently, and where even the dictatorship and the top military officers still claim to be restoring the conditions for "healthy democracy."

"Some compañeros with whom we have discussed the previous issues of *Prensa Obrera* have asked us if we put our confidence in elections. They have told us that only the bourgeoisie or the reformists can raise such a slogan, not a revolutionary party.

"First of all, we want to make clear that we have one constant aim: to mobilize the masses to take power and build a socialist Uruguay. Because of this, during the general strike we were the only party on the whole left that did not look to a counter-coup by the military or civilian 'left' but called on all popular sectors to



Trucks spray demonstrators in Montevideo during general strike last summer

wing" emerging in the military that would set up a "progressive" regime on the model of General Velasco's government in Peru. Because of the role played by the CP, the general strike petered out.

Since then, the Uruguayan CP, an organization of tens of thousands of members, has been unable to put out even an underground paper. The only organization on the left that has succeeded in publishing a clandestine journal on a regular basis has been the Trotskyists of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party), a sympathizing group of the Fourth International.

Although its forces are small, and its organ, *Prensa Obrera*, is produced with considerable difficulty under the repressive Bordaberry regime, the PRT has pointed up the contrast between its active role and the lethargy of the CP by offering to open its pages to all tendencies to discuss how to organize a counterattack against the dictatorship.

The PRT's own views have been ex-

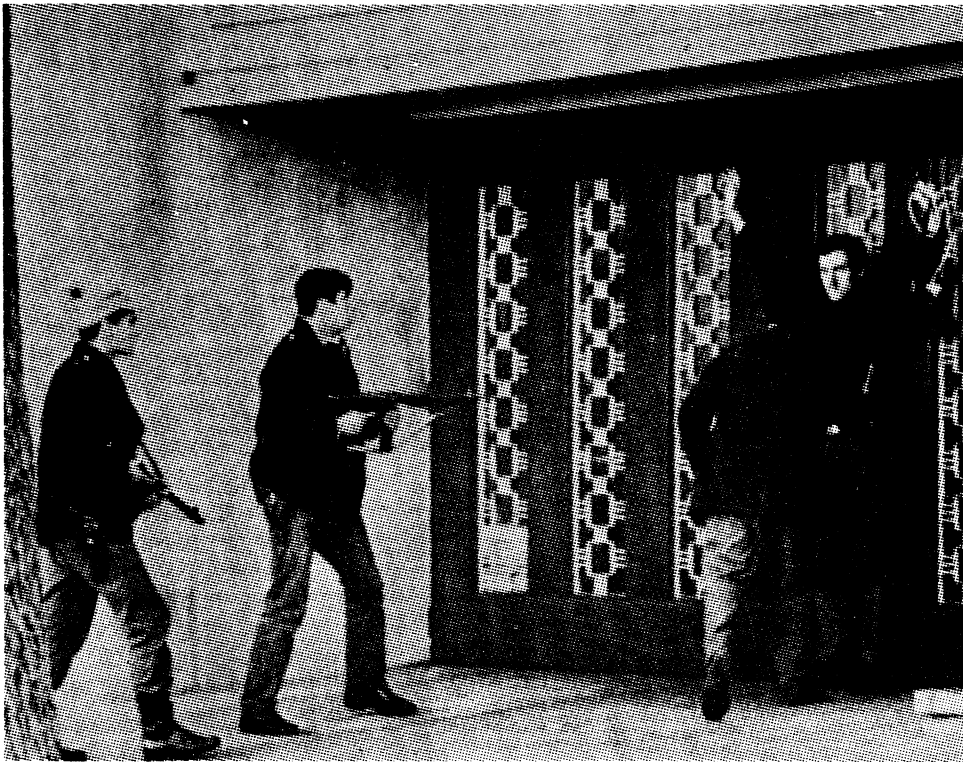
causes of the defeat because it led the striking workers to expect a solution from the 'progressive' civilians and military.

"Many workers began to believe at that time that Ferreyra would cross the river, or that the navy was going to rebel. The Communist party claimed that this was what was needed because the Uruguayan workers were not ready to govern. They believed that in our country a 'progressive' bourgeois figure would appear, such as in Peru, or Chile, or, as they say, such as Perón today in Argentina.

"But the workers know about the tragic events in Chile, as well as the continual rebellions of the Peruvian workers and peasants against the arbitrary policies of their military rulers, and the successive rightward turns of Peronist policy.

"On the basis of these experiences as well as the one the Uruguayan workers themselves have gone through, it disturbs us very much that the CP, which has a strong influence in the working class, is continuing today to put forward the same orien-

Uruguay, maps campaign against dictatorship



Police terror. Campaign for democratic rights can help mass movement recover from repressive blows.

defend and extend the strike. We were the only ones who raised the slogan of a Provisional Government of the CNT and the workers and people's parties. We relied solely on a mobilization of the masses led by the working class.

"Given the present demobilization and disorganization of the mass movement, a similar call now would be criminal. Appealing for a general strike or an armed insurrection at this time would amount to an adventure whose consequences would only deepen the momentary decline through which the mass movement is passing.

"The duty of the revolutionary vanguard at all times is to mobilize the masses, and for this it is essential to start from the concrete conditions in which the masses find themselves and, at first, propose obtainable goals. That is why we raise the program we do. We believe it reflects the immediate needs of the workers and people's movement, and that the objectives of bringing down the dictatorship and calling free elections sum up these needs.

"In the second place, there is no such thing as a reformist or revolutionary demand in the abstract. The character of a demand depends on the concrete circumstances in which it is raised. If in the midst of a general mobilization like the strike last June and July we had proposed elections, we would in fact have had a reformist line. But today we are faced with a dictatorship that is oppressing and suffocating a mass movement that has not yet recovered from the defeat it suffered.

"On the other hand, the means by which the masses freely choose their rulers—elections—is the greatest concession the working class has won by its struggle within the framework of the capitalist system. And by raising this banner, the workers movement has a chance in the immediate future to win to its struggle enormous sectors of the radicalized petty bourgeoisie, including even some sections of the bourgeoisie that oppose the dictatorship.

"In the third place, we have been asked in what sense elections sum up the body of democratic freedoms. We

think they do in two senses. The first is that there can be no free elections for all without freedom of the press, freedom of association, and full legality of all parties and political and trade-union organizations, etc. The second is that elections mean the end of the dictatorship, whose essence—the restriction of freedoms—will have ceased to exist.

Reorganize workers movement

"In the fourth place, the struggle for elections itself means putting into practice the most elementary freedoms, such as those mentioned above, which in turn will enable us to move toward reorganizing the workers movement and the mass movement in general, thus preparing the way for raising the struggle to new levels.

"At this point, readers might say that this is all very nice, but in the last analysis the important thing is the kind of elections. They would be right. Furthermore, unless elections are brought about by the struggle of the workers movement, the only force consistently defending democratic rights, as well as by the struggle of the white-collar workers and the students, they will not be free elections in which all can participate. Also, no matter how broad the eventual elections are, they will not be able to solve the fundamental problems of the masses, because only socialism will do that.

"However, by forcing the bourgeoisie to hold elections, the workers movement will experience a new political leap forward, developing its morale and its organization for more deepgoing struggles. And if elections are held, we will fight for the political independence of the working class in the electoral field as well, opposing the bourgeoisie, its program, and its candidates, and taking on the bosses to win the leadership of the rest of the popular sectors away from them."

In its January 31 issue, *Prensa Obrera* made some specific suggestions for developing a united campaign against the dictatorship:

"Let us begin by unifying our slogans. Instead of writing 'The CP lives' or 'Resist the dictatorship' on walls in Montevideo, let's cover them all with 'Down with the dictatorship;

immediate free elections!' In this way we will show not only that the left still exists, despite the reactionary decrees, but that it is pointing out the way to overthrow the dictatorship and that it is ready to lead the masses in a fight for democratic rights they themselves won by their sacrifice at other stages of the class struggle."

One of the most important layers that could be mobilized against the dictatorship by democratic demands, *Prensa Obrera* said, were the students. In its March 11 issue, it wrote:

Mobilize students

"Since 1968, the sectors linked to education, primarily the students, have constituted a serious threat to the stability of the system. Because of their access to knowledge and because of the way they reflect society as a whole, students make up a highly sensitive layer. They can respond rapidly to critical situations and assume a revolutionary role, acting often as a detonator of big mobilizations.

"Moreover, the students have already demonstrated their overwhelming repudiation of the dictatorship in the free elections held in September 1973, whose results were overturned by the putschists when they intervened the universities. In turn, the high-school students have shown a capacity to resist the intervention of the dictatorship in their centers of study. They waged a massive struggle against intervention, going to the point of challenging the leadership of the interventors by setting up people's high schools and student control. These arose spontaneously in various institutions.

"Not only did sections of teachers, administrators, and parents join in the fight, but it was fundamentally in the heat of these struggles that effective worker-student solidarity developed. This led the more advanced sections of the student movement to realize that an alliance with the working class was decisive, since the workers hold the country's production in their hands, and that therefore the educational centers should be put at the service of the workers and the people's struggles."

As for the workers movement, *Prensa Obrera* argued in its January 31 issue, the importance of democracy as an issue was shown concretely by the immediate tactical problems fac-

ing the trade-union movement. Especially since the coup, the regime has been seeking a democratic pretext for "reorganizing" the unions along lines more favorable to the political and social needs of the ruling classes. The latest attempt was a new set of "regulations" for the functioning of the trade-union movement.

"The trade-union regulations include a requirement to call elections very rapidly.

"These elections were conceived of by the dictatorship as a way of starting to exploit the effects of the strike defeat by putting pressure on the more conservative sectors, and, if possible, setting up yellow unions, or unions under the control of 'non-political' leaderships, which would prevent the workers from continuing to wage a political struggle through their unions. In any of these variants, the most active and militant sectors would be pushed out and the trade-union movement deprived of its vitality and effectively disarmed in the face of the continuing crisis of the economy and the dictatorship itself. All this was covered up with pompous phrases about democracy and the need for keeping politicalized cliques' from continuing to dominate the workers, who should be the ones to decide things by secret ballot.

"But if any capitalist had any doubts left about the workers' opposition to the dictatorship and their determination to defend their unions, the workers' reaffiliation to the component organizations of the CNT demonstrated both clearly. Despite the CNT leadership's initial vacillations in undertaking a campaign, and despite the confused position adopted on this question by both the Corriente and the ROE [Resistencia Obrero-Estudantil—Worker-Student Resistance], the workers massively backed their unions, demonstrating in practice that they are not losing the political consciousness they have acquired in years of struggle—and most of all in the general strike.

"Reaffiliation represented a great defeat for the government. It confirmed the regime's lack of a social base. But the problem is that unless we are able to take full advantage of our victories, the dictatorship can adjust to and absorb the blows.

Continued on following page



1971 demonstration of Uruguayan Broad Front, patterned after Allende's Popular Unity in Chile. CP has blocked workers from taking power into their own hands, both through the procapitalist Broad Front, and through CP policy in the 1973 general strike.

...Uruguayan Trotskyists

Continued from preceding page

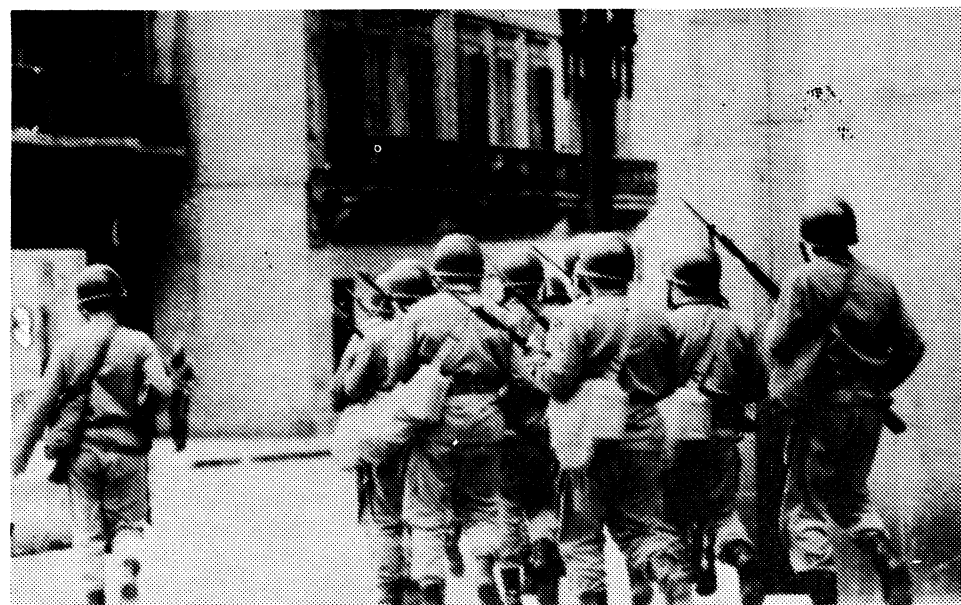
"The defeat of the dictatorship in the campus elections showed clearly that if a vote were held in the unions, the government would suffer a crushing defeat. Therefore, it postponed these elections indefinitely."

Prensa Obrera explained precisely how democratic demands could be used to reorganize the union movement for fighting the dictatorship.

"The dictatorship itself has carried out a propaganda campaign to convince the people of the need for 'democratizing' the unions, trying to take advantage itself of the democratic feeling that exists among the

by a single union. The reactionary decree that outlawed the CNT prevents it from formally assuming this task. We must coordinate the greatest possible number of individual unions to carry this campaign forward, to decide on its forms and tempo. The summer ebb has to be taken into consideration. The problem should be studied of how to unite this campaign with one on wages and prices. And first of all it is necessary to develop a discussion involving all the workers so that whatever measure is decided on will have the massive support of the working class."

Maintaining an underground paper



Workers' fight for better wages and living conditions is linked to struggle to abolish the dictatorship.

population in order to isolate the working-class tendencies they call totalitarian. We must turn this campaign into a boomerang against the dictatorship.

"The workers have shown that they are the only ones who can consistently defend democratic rights at the national level. They must do the same in the trade-union movement—show the people that the workers not only defend democracy but practice it in their unions and that, unlike the dictatorship that talks about 'democratizing' the trade-union movement but suspends elections indefinitely, the workers have nothing to fear from a vote.

"We must increase the social isolation of the dictatorship and broaden the social support for the union movement through a campaign explaining the need for elections without outside interference. . . .

"We must say that we are not afraid of the workers freely expressing themselves because we know that just as they did in the strike, they will demonstrate their defense of their unions and their repudiation of the dictatorship in a massive way. We must say that these people who claim to be defending democracy are the ones who are outlawing it in the country and in the unions and that we workers defend democracy and practice it on both levels.

"Waging a public campaign using all the possible legal opportunities is, we think, one of the most urgent tasks of the moment. This sort of campaign should be taken up immediately by the leadership of the CNT, in combination with a struggle against higher prices and for wage increases.

"These objectives cannot be attained

has been costly for a small organization like the PRT, which has suffered some brutal blows at the hands of the dictatorship. But for the Uruguayan workers movement to regain its rights and solve the problem of the country's prolonged economic decline in the only way possible—by taking full power in the society into its own hands—it is essential for it to develop the kind of clear and constructive discussion exemplified in the pages of *Prensa Obrera*.

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World news notes

Peronists jail Trotskyist leader

Juan Carlos Coral, the former presidential candidate of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International), was arrested March 25. According to the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*, the arrest was "for participating in a rally held by the striking workers at the Banco de la Nación [National Bank]."

It was not clear from the article what law Coral was accused of violating, but he was reportedly sentenced to two weeks in the Villa Devoto prison. His arrest was widely protested, including by the major bourgeois opposition figure Ricardo Balbín, who called Perón's secretary demanding the Trotskyist candidate's release.

German police raid Marxist journal office

Dozens of armed police raided the Frankfurt offices of the newspaper *Was Tun* on the evening of April 3. For three hours the police searched the offices and adjoining printing and archive rooms. *Was Tun* is published by Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM—International Marxist Group), German section of the Fourth International.

The official justification of the police raid was a search for allegedly "slandorous and defamatory" leaflets and the equipment used in their printing. The GIM's political bureau said in a statement the next day that the warrant "was so filled with phrases like 'among other things' and 'et ceteras' that practically anything could be searched and confiscated."

When they left, the police took with them two sacks filled with confiscated materials. The GIM statement noted that the raid was "one in a series of repressive police measures that have recently become common, especially in Frankfurt" and called on all democrats and socialists "to organize a broad united defense against all forms of police repression and interference with freedom of the press and organization."

Brazilian students defend political prisoners

For the first time since 1968 students in Brazil have begun to organize open meetings against the dictatorship of President Ernesto Geisel. On April 5, 1,500 students met at the University of São Paulo to form a Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners in Brazil, reports *Washington Post* correspondent William Long. Subcommittees were set up to organize support for the campaign and to distribute leaflets listing cases of political arrests.

"Thousands of young students, intellectuals and workers disappear in the jails of the country, are tortured and are killed," says one leaflet. Students hope the government will not be able to crush the new organization because of its size. "It is still risky," said one student, "but 1,500 persons means something."

Other protests have confronted Geisel's regime, which took office March 15. In mid-March a strike broke out in the school of medicine at the University of São Paulo in protest against the system of internship. The action was backed by all 1,050 students.

At the university's branches at Ribeirão Preto and São Carlos, students staged strike actions to protest increased prices in student restaurants.

Revolt at Soviet mental hospital

Two inmates of a Soviet mental hospital were tied up and beaten to death by guards following a recent rebellion in the institution, dissident sources reportedly told the *New York Times*.

The revolt over hospital conditions ended in fighting between inmates, guards, attendants, and ordinary prisoners put to work at the institution, according to the report in the April 17 *Times*. The hospital is in the Amur River city of Blagoveshchensk in the Soviet Far East.

Soviet dissidents have documented the fact that the bureaucrats in the Kremlin regularly utilize mental hospitals to lock up their political opponents.

Abortion tribunal indicts Canadian gov't

More than 500 women and men from across Canada participated in an "Abortion Tribunal to Defend Dr. Morgentaler" held in Ottawa March 9. Organized by several groups fighting for the right to abortion on demand, the tribunal heard testimony from women and doctors victimized by Canada's reactionary laws restricting women's right to abortion.

According to Linda Meissenheimer, writing in the Canadian revolutionary-socialist biweekly *Labor Challenge*, the tribunal was "one of the largest actions of the Canadian feminist movement to date."

Among those who testified were Doctors Henry Morgentaler and Yvon MacHabee of Montréal, who currently face trial on charges of performing abortions.

By a standing vote, everyone attending the tribunal declared the federal government responsible for "the psychological and physical suffering, mutilation and deaths of countless women" under the present abortion law. The tribunal demanded that all charges under the law be dropped and the law be repealed.

Shift to right in Mideast: fruit of detente

By DAVE FRANKEL

The Kremlin bureaucracy is reaping the fruits of détente in the Middle East, and the harvest is a bitter one.

When Leonid Brezhnev came to the U.S. last June, the Middle East was listed right after Vietnam as one of the areas where he would work with Nixon to impose a "solution."

Spartak Beglov, a Soviet commentator, arrogantly explained in the June 29, 1973, *New York Times*, "The two most powerful countries have clearly given the world to understand that they expect other major and smaller



Soviet Premier Kosygin and Sadat in happier times. Shift to right has weakened Soviet diplomatic position.

countries . . . to follow their example by adhering to certain rules of conduct . . ."

But Brezhnev thought the "rules of conduct" would include the maintenance of Soviet and U.S. spheres of influence. On that basis he was willing to subordinate the interests of the Palestinian people and the socialist revolution in the Arab East to the search for increased trade and "peaceful co-existence" with imperialism.

In practice, much to the chagrin of the Soviet bureaucrats, the blows struck against the Palestinian liberation movement and the more militant anti-imperialist forces in the Arab world have resulted in a shift to the right in Mideastern politics that has begun to threaten the Soviet position in the whole area. There has been a dramatic strengthening of proimperialist currents and a whittling down of Soviet bargaining power.

Shift to right

These developments have been most obvious in the case of Egypt, the most populous country in the Arab world. Egyptian President Anwar Sadat has repeatedly praised U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Diplomatic relations with the U.S. have been restored, American capital has been invited into Egypt, and opponents of a rapprochement with Washington have been purged.

In contrast, Sadat has publicly accused the Soviet ambassador of lying to him during the October war in hopes of ending the fighting. On April 21 he accused Moscow of using weapons supplied to the Egyptian mili-

tary as an "instrument of policy leverage." This followed an April 18 announcement that Egypt would end its reliance on Soviet arms.

During the recent Israeli-Egyptian military disengagement talks, Moscow was put in the humiliating position of having to find out about details of the negotiations from Kissinger.

Although the shift in Egyptian policy is the most dramatic occurrence, other shifts to the right are also going on in the wake of the October war. Many bourgeois nationalist regimes that have been at odds with Washington in the past are following Sadat's example—and Brezhnev's as well—and are making concessions and trying to establish closer relations with the U.S. The April 29 issue of *U.S. News & World Report*, for example, reports:

"In Syria, one of the most radical of the Arab countries, President Hafez Assad sent a delegation to Washington to conduct bilateral negotiations with Israel with Mr. Kissinger acting as conduit. The Syrian leader has resisted strong Soviet pressure to boycott the American-sponsored negotiations which keep the Russians on the sidelines and enhance U.S. influence. [The Soviet bureaucrats favor transferring these negotiations to the Geneva conference, where Moscow is represented. — DF]

"Algeria's President Houari Boumedienne, another Arab militant, met President Nixon in Washington on April 11, and is now reported to be considering renewing diplomatic relations with the U.S. He is also said to be giving tacit support to Mr. Kissinger's Mideast peacemaking efforts while at the same time trying to develop strong economic ties with America."

Behind U.S. comeback

These developments should come as no surprise. The Soviet bureaucrats are not willing to risk a confrontation with Washington by giving the Arab regimes the military hardware that would enable them to force the Israeli government to come to terms. The Arab capitalists fear their own populations too much to mobilize them in an all-out struggle to regain their lands. Therefore, the logic of the situa-



Israeli tank on Mount Hermon. Battles between Syria and Israel are being fought to gain leverage in negotiations.



Israeli soldier being restrained from attacking Arab workers

tion impels them to seek help from Washington.

The independent power of the Arab masses, and their hatred of U.S. imperialism, prevented this logic from coming to the fore for a long time. It took the help of the Soviet bureaucracy to open up the opportunities now blossoming for Washington in the Arab East.

In light of these setbacks, the Soviet bureaucracy has attempted to step up its courtship of the Syrian and Iraqi regimes. It has come out squarely in favor of the Iraqi government in the latter's conflict with the Kurdish rebels demanding greater autonomy, and Syria was reportedly promised new arms aid during Assad's visit to Moscow in mid-April.

Moscow was not upset by the recent increase of fighting along the Syrian cease-fire line, and may well have encouraged it as a reminder that its co-operation is still needed for any Mideast settlement. All sides agree that the fighting is not aimed at sabotaging the negotiations, but rather as a tactic for applying pressure within the framework of the talks. (Kissinger is due in the Mideast around April 25 for another round of "shuttle diplomacy.")

What Israelis want

If the Israeli rulers get their way, a military disengagement agreement with Syria will follow the precedent set in the Sinai. This would leave Israel in control of practically the entire Golan Heights area seized in 1967, with a United Nations force stationed in a buffer zone to remove the possibility of another Syrian surprise attack. The Syrians would then be wholly reliant on diplomatic pressure on Israel to secure the return of their territory—pressure that could only come from the U.S.

Some journalists have already begun to speculate on the possibility of the diplomatic evolution in Egypt being repeated in Syria. Robert Keatley points out in the April 11 *Wall Street Journal* that American and British diplomatic offices have been reopened in Syria after having been closed since 1967.

"A slight Westward tilt to Mr. Assad's diplomacy is another sign of moderation these days," says Keatley.

Moreover, "Economics Minister Omadi recently relaxed some financial controls, and local businessmen believe that much more is to come. . . . Foreign investment is being sought, particularly from other Arab states

and even from the U.S."

Keatley points out that such changes in Syria would necessarily be less precipitous than in Egypt, since Assad's regime is much weaker than Sadat's and there are strong currents opposing any such moves. Moreover, even in Egypt the tilt toward Washington is not irreversible. A new crisis could easily blow up the agreements reached so far and open up the whole situation again. The recent Israeli raid into Lebanon was a grim reminder of how explosive the Mideast still is.

Pogroms in Israel?

Most important, regardless of the diplomatic deals being worked out among the various governments involved in the region, the basic problem will remain unresolved short of a socialist revolution and the establishment of a democratic, secular Palestine.

Since the October war, the Israeli regime has had to step up its repression of the Palestinians considerably. The Israeli League of Human and Civil Rights recently issued an appeal listing practices of the Israeli occupation regime. These included the blowing up of houses, the expulsion of Arab leaders from the country, and the carrying out of mass arrests. In Nablus alone, 550 people were arrested in two days this January. Five of those arrested have simply disappeared.

The racist hysteria whipped up against Arabs within Israel has been indicated by news of an attempted pogrom against the Arab section of Jerusalem. The April 19 *New York Times* reported that police had to intervene to dissuade Israeli taxi drivers from "avenging" the killing of a cab driver in a terrorist action.

Continued on page 26

WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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Martin Sostre tells of prison harassment

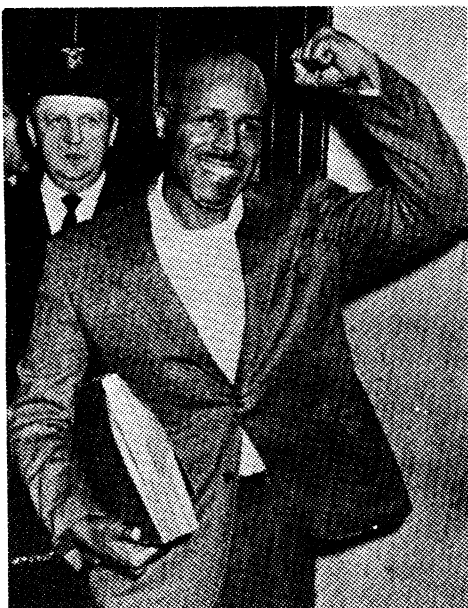
By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK—Last May 19 Martin Sostre prepared to leave his cell in solitary confinement at Clinton prison for a hearing on his case in federal court in Buffalo.

But before he could depart, the guards demanded to carry out a rectal search. When Sostre resisted what he terms an "undignified and dehumanizing" procedure, he was brutally beaten.

This same procedure, including the beating, was repeated three more times during the rest of the year when Sostre

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



Martin Sostre, victim of police frame-up.

had occasion to go to court for a hearing. But it is Sostre, not the guards, who is liable to be charged with "assault" by prison authorities. If convicted, he would automatically be sentenced to life imprisonment.

Sostre is now serving a 25- to 30-year sentence for a frame-up drug conviction in 1968.

On April 9, I was able to visit Sostre, who is now in the Federal House of Detention here. He told me of one prisoner who had heard and seen how the "assault" was arranged last May 19.

The prisoner, James Sullivan, asserts in a sworn affidavit that he overheard the guards conspire to beat up Sostre, saw them administer the beating, and then was present when the

guards forced the prison doctor to "write down the lie that two of these correction officers had bruises."

Sullivan, who was working as a porter when he witnessed all this, says in his affidavit that he "has been threatened, harassed, and intimidated and terrorized by two correction officers since July of this year [1973] because he tried to testify to what he saw and heard." He has been told that "he would be framed on a rule infraction . . . if he dares to testify for that commie nigger called Sostre."

Sullivan requested an interview with the commissioner of corrections, but had received no answer at the time

he wrote the affidavit last October. While Sullivan is being harassed, the Clinton prison officials have yet to press "assault" charges against Sostre.

Sostre's continued presence in the federal detention center is an implicit indictment of how the state prison officials have been treating him. He came to the detention center to be able to testify in a suit brought by Silas Davis, an ex-inmate, against state officials.

The suit, heard in federal court before Judge Charles Stuart, is demanding \$25,000 in damages for the year Davis spent in solitary confinement in 1968 at Greenhaven prison. Judge Stuart has yet to rule on the suit.

After the hearing Sostre asked that he be kept in federal custody to prevent state officials from retaliating against him for testimony in the Davis suit. Pending Stuart's decision, Sostre remains in the federal detention center.

Since his frame-up conviction in 1968, Sostre, who is 51, has done time in Greenhaven, Wallkill, Auburn, and Clinton state prisons.

At Greenhaven he did a year in solitary confinement simply because he threatened to file a lawsuit against the warden in order to get unrestricted correspondence with his attorney.

He was released from the box, as it is called, when a federal judge, in response to a suit Sostre had filed against prison conditions, ruled that he was being subjected to "cruel and unusual punishment." The judge

awarded Sostre \$13,000 in damages against the warden, but the warden died before it could be collected.

At Wallkill, a minimum security prison, Sostre attempted to organize a labor union as well as a political group, which brought out a paper called *Vanguard*.

When he was transferred to Auburn in the middle of 1972 because of his activities at Wallkill, Sostre again attempted to organize a union in the license-plate shop, raising the demand that the state's minimum wage apply. He was again transferred, this time to Clinton in December 1972.

Because he refused to shave a quarter-inch beard he had worn for the last three years, he was put in the box, where he spent all his time until being transferred to the federal detention center early this year.

Sostre recently lost a bid for his freedom when Federal Judge John Curtin refused to overturn the 1968 conviction and grant a new trial despite the recanted testimony of the state's main witness.

This witness has since told how the Buffalo police organized the frame-up in order to victimize Sostre for his radical bookstore and activities in the Black community. Sostre was given 25 to 30 years, not for selling drugs, but for selling books!

Despite this continual harassment, Sostre continues to fight on, appealing and preparing a number of legal suits. To help his defense, contact the Martin Sostre Defense Committee, Box 839 Ellicott Station, Buffalo, N. Y. 14205.

Colo. Raza Unida Party nominates candidates

By MIGUEL PENDAS

DENVER—Colorado Raza Unida Party activists held a statewide meeting here April 20 to nominate candidates for the fall elections. Approximately 135 Chicano youth came from Denver, Boulder, Weld, and Larimer counties, and from the towns of Trinidad, Alamosa, Rocky Ford, and Pueblo.

The delegates approved the nomination of Ernesto Vigil, leader of the Crusade for Justice, to run for Congress from Colorado's 1st C.D. against the Democratic incumbent Pat Schroeder.

In Weld County the party will be contesting four state representative seats. Lovida Rodriguez is running in District 48; Priscilla Salcón in District 49; Eddie Guerrero in District 51; and Juan Heredia in District 50. Heredia speaks Spanish only, and it is expected that the racist English-language-only ballot will be a big issue in his campaign.

Alfredo Archer and Martin Serna are running

for state representative from the Pueblo area. Archer is currently on parole from Cañon City penitentiary where he became well known as the central figure in a Chicano prisoners organization.

The meeting also approved the nomination of Chico Martínez for sheriff of Larimer County and Emilio Islas for state treasurer.

The question of running for major statewide offices came up and was referred to a May 11 statewide RUP steering committee meeting. A lack of preparation and prior discussion made it impossible to reach a fully thought-out conclusion at this meeting.

Among the more important offices open are governor, lieutenant governor, U.S. senator, three seats on the University of Colorado board of regents, secretary of state, attorney general, and state board of education. There are also a number of congressional races in which the independent Chicano party could make gains by challenging the Democratic and Republican candidates.

Sentiment was expressed in favor of running a strong campaign against incumbent State Representative Betty Benavides, in Denver's West Side barrio. Benavides is a liberal Democrat who poses as a friend of the Chicano movement. But she recently wrote a venomous letter published in the *Denver Post* calling Chicano militants "misfits," "frustrated neurotics," and "losers."

The board of regents race in Colorado traditionally attracts a great deal of attention. In previous races, the RUP has run Chicano students and professors, but some of the students from the Boulder delegation expressed hesitation about the desirability of running election campaigns at all.

Several other activists rose to answer their arguments. José Gonzales, Denver county Raza Unida chairman, pointed to the 1972 campaign of Florencio Granado for regent, in which the Chicano party won 23,000 votes. Granado was at that time under attack by authorities for his role as president of the United Mexican American Students at Boulder for leading protests against the administration. The strong showing at the polls played an important role in defending Granado.

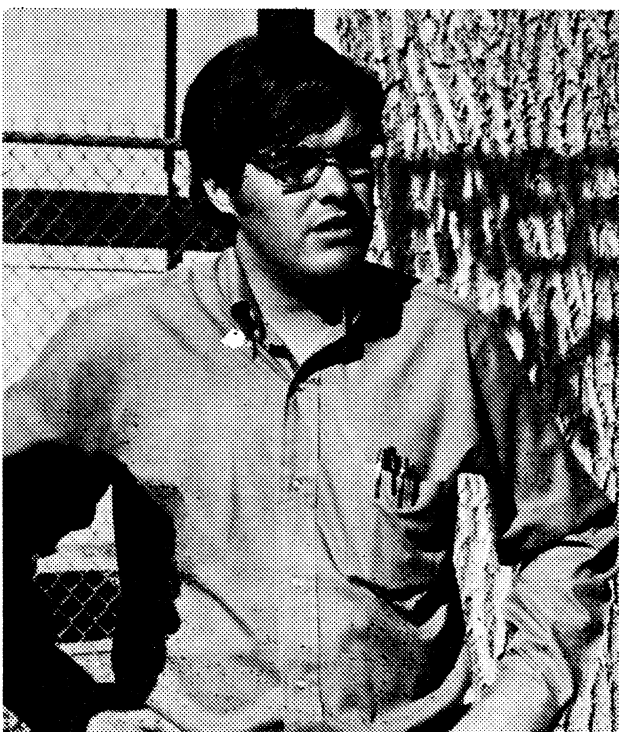
Gonzales also pointed out that election cam-

paigns can help La Raza Unida popularize its ideas.

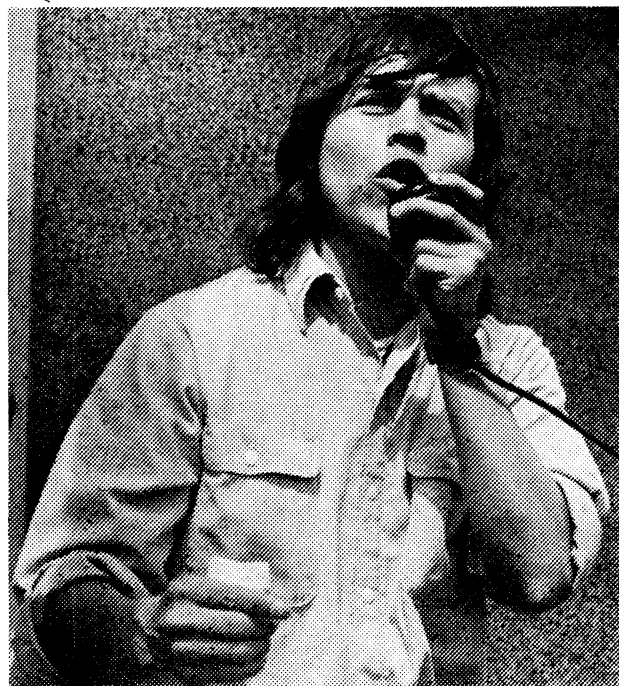
José Calderón, state RUP chairman, explained that past campaigns have played a valuable function in developing Raza Unida activists as public speakers in confrontations with their Democratic and Republican opponents.

United Farm Workers Colorado boycott director Richard Longoria was a featured speaker at the meeting. He gave a summary of the treacherous history of the Teamsters union bureaucrats and urged support for the boycott of scab lettuce, grapes, and wine.

Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales also addressed the meeting and announced that he was stepping down as the cochairman of the Colorado party, an advisory post. He nominated José Gonzales to take his place, saying that he would continue to serve the party in an advisory capacity. Corky's stepping down was intended to symbolize a transition of leadership to the youth.



Militant/Harry Ring
Jose Gonzales, Denver County Raza Unida chairman, explained importance of election campaigns during discussion at statewide meeting.



Militant/Miguel Pendas
Jose Calderon, state Raza Unida chairman, said past confrontations with Democratic and Republican opponents have developed RUP activists as public speakers.

Pa. unions, consumers protest soaring cost of electric power

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS

PHILADELPHIA—An angry crowd of 250 people representing unions, consumer groups, and the elderly packed the offices of the Public Utilities Commission here April 18 to protest proposed rate increases for the Philadelphia Electric Company (PECO).

The hearing was preceded by a picket line of 150 people outside the state office building where the hearing was held.

PECO has asked the Pennsylvania Public Utilities Commission to approve a three-stage 21 percent rate increase for electric service. The total cost to PECO's consumers will be more than \$136-million.

PECO at first tried to justify the request by claiming that reduced usage of electrical power—officially encouraged during the energy crisis—made it necessary to raise their rates. Now they have dropped this argument and instead claim that their future construction costs necessitate the increase.

But the real reason can be stated in one word: profits. Or as PECO President James Everett put it, "Our real big struggle [is] to get our earnings per share up to where we can enhance our dividend."

Yet PECO's profits jumped 15.3 percent in 1972 and another 13.8 percent in 1973, to a total of \$122-million.

The Public Utilities Commission has been more than cooperative with PECO, approving every rate increase asked by the company. The commission has already granted the first-stage increase of 4 percent without even a public hearing.

To fight against the proposed increase, the Strike Committee on Philadelphia Electric (SCOPE) has been formed.

Organizations represented in SCOPE include the 100,000-member Action Alliance of Senior Citizens, the local chapter of the Pennsylvania State Education Association, United Electrical Workers, United Auto Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and Clergy and Householders Opposed to Petroleum Profiteering (CHOPP).

So far more than 40,000 signatures have been collected on petitions demanding a halt to the proposed increase.

Five hundred people attended a mock hearing April 1 to protest the first-stage 4 percent increase.

At the April 18 hearings, Frank Bradley of the Action Alliance of Senior Citizens made a dramatic presentation on behalf of SCOPE. Calling the hearing "only the first step in the fight," he labeled the Public Utilities Commission "partners in the rate in-



Militant/Jon Flanders

Roberta Scherr, SWP candidate for governor, calls for nationalization of Pennsylvania Electric Company.

crease."

Bradley called for a legislative investigation of the Public Utilities Commission, establishment of an independent consumer advocate office in the state government, and higher electricity rates for big industries.

Roberta Scherr, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, also submitted testimony to the hearing. She pointed out that "as long as Philadelphia Electric is run for profit, it will be more interested in making profits than in providing decent power service for working people and consumers."

Scherr called for full public disclosure of all the financial records of PECO and for the nationalization of PECO and all other utilities.

She also said the Public Utilities Commission should be replaced "with a real commission made up of working people and consumers from the unions, senior citizens groups, the Black community, and everybody who is expected to sit in the dark and freeze so that Philadelphia Electric can make its profits."

Smith defends YSA's rights at S. Texas college

By MIKE SHUR

SAN ANTONIO—A meeting of 80 students and faculty at San Antonio College (SAC) April 10 marked the opening of the Socialist Workers Party campaign in this south Texas city.

Sherry Smith, SWP candidate for governor, spoke out strongly for the right of the Young Socialist Alliance to exist at SAC as an official campus organization.

The SAC administration has refused to recognize the YSA, even after the Student Assemblage voted to do so.

Smith cited the Student Assemblage election results as an indication of student support for the YSA. Andy Gonzales, a YSA member, won a seat in the Assemblage, receiving the second highest vote total of all the candidates.

Smith also voiced support for a struggle by Black and Chicano students at SAC against attacks by the school administration. "A government funded program was introduced here to help Chicano and Black students," Smith said.

"The program was to be run by the community, faculty, and the administration. The SAC administration has taken total control of the program into their own hands and refused to implement any more of this program. They then fired three Chicano instructors hired under the program."

Robert Torres, a representative of the Committee of Concerned Students, then addressed the meeting and urged students to attend an upcoming rally against the administration's action.

Torres added, "We realize that this is just one of many undemocratic actions taken by the board of regents, and we will support and fight for the rights of all groups."

During the discussion period Smith was asked about the SWP's position on the Raza Unida Party, an independent Chicano party that is running for state and local office.

Smith replied, "We support the RUP as a positive alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties. We think that the RUP's campaigns, like that of Armando Cavada, who ran for school board here in San Antonio recently, are extremely important in building the Chicano movement."

The SWP campaign meeting was widely covered in the San Antonio news media, and two radio stations interviewed Sherry Smith. After the meeting, seven people asked to join the YSA.

Smith also addressed a meeting at the University of Houston April 17, sponsored by Young Socialists for Smith. Held outside, the meeting drew about 50 people, while many others passed by and listened for a few minutes.

Smith spoke on the declining standard of living of working people, and linked this to the inadequate government spending for education. Texas, she said, ranks forty-ninth among the states in educational spending.

Help put SWP on Pa. ballot

Supporters of the Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Party campaign have already gathered more than 10,000 signatures on nominating petitions to place the party's candidates on the November ballot.

The goal is to collect 65,000 signatures for gubernatorial candidate Roberta Scherr and senatorial candidate Christina Adachi.

Although the major part of the petitioning is planned for June, 5,000 signatures were gathered on Pittsburgh campuses in a few days with a blitz effort.

The Pennsylvania Young Socialist team got more than 5,000 signatures during a seven-day drive in Philadelphia at the beginning of April.

Anyone interested in helping to get the SWP candidates on the Pennsylvania ballot should contact the Socialist Workers campaign at 1004 Filbert St., Philadelphia, Pa., 19107, or 304 S. Bouquet St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213.

What answer to energy crisis?

Ore. SWP candidate debates rivals

PORTLAND—Stacey Seigle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Oregon, debated several of her capitalist party opponents April 12 at Portland State University.

Sponsored by Choice '74, a project of several groups at PSU, the debate focused on the energy crisis.

The other speakers were three Democratic Party candidates—State Senator Betty Roberts, State Treasurer Jim Redden, and Robert Straub—and a representative from the campaign of Republican Victor Atiyeh.

All the capitalist party candidates insisted that the energy crisis was real, and that the major issue was conservation of energy and development of energy sources other than oil.

Seigle contended that the fuel shortage was artificially contrived by the oil trusts to boost prices and profits, roll back conservation measures, and drive smaller oil distributors out of business.

She demanded that the books and records of the oil corporations be opened so the public can determine the truth about their profits and their manipulation of oil supplies.

While Democrats Straub and Redden called for "the breakup of the oil monopolies," Seigle demanded the



Stacey Seigle, SWP candidate for governor of Oregon, argues that fuel shortage was contrived by oil trusts.

nationalization of the energy industry, to be run under workers control.

The state of Oregon has recently been accepting bids from private corporations such as the Sun Oil Company for the development of potentially vast sources of geothermal energy.

The capitalist candidates on the panel, while agreeing that the state should retain some control over geothermal energy, all argued that this resource must be exploited in cooperation with private industry.

The socialist candidate argued that

geothermal energy could be developed to meet human needs and protect the environment only as a public resource, not in the hands of private profiteers.

Following the debate one woman, although still sporting a "Roberts for Governor" button, signed up as a supporter of Seigle's campaign. "I came here expecting you to be the idealistic candidate and the others to be the practical ones," the woman remarked. "But you have the only answers that make sense. You really turned me around."

In reply to Maldonado-Denis

Puerto Rican writer covers up for Kremlin attacks on dissidents

By DOUG JENNESS

A prominent Puerto Rican intellectual and *independentista*, Manuel Maldonado-Denis, has unfortunately added his voice of approval to the Soviet bureaucracy's slander campaign against Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. Maldonado-Denis is the author of *Puerto Rico: A Socio-Historic Interpretation* (Vintage, 1972) and was a visiting professor from the University of Puerto Rico to Queens College in New York last year. He is a member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and a regular contributor to the party's paper *Claridad*.

Maldonado-Denis's apology for the Kremlin appears in the Feb. 24 issue of *Claridad*'s bilingual supplement in an article titled "Solzhenitsyn—A case of megalomania."

The core of his argument is that Solzhenitsyn and Andrei Sakharov have become "symbols of the anti-Soviet and anti-Communist phobia," and "belong to a group of Soviet and anti-Communist intellectuals who want to see Soviet society transformed into a carbon copy of North American capitalist society." He puts down these dissidents as "olympic defenders of liberty in the abstract." He adds that Solzhenitsyn has "a bad case of that intellectual malady called Megalomania."

Maldonado-Denis accurately points out that "liberals and reactionaries of every ilk" are using Solzhenitsyn's and Sakharov's utopian and reactionary views to whip up a holy crusade against communism. Prominent social democrats such as Bayard Rustin, Michael Harrington, and United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker are among the loudest voices in this anti-communist chorus. Marxists, of course, don't want to have anything to do with this campaign.

Some obvious questions

However, Maldonado-Denis avoids answering some obvious questions: Does the regime of Brezhnev and Kosygin have so little confidence that it cannot answer Solzhenitsyn's and Sakharov's mistaken ideas? Doesn't the expulsion of Solzhenitsyn and the jailing of scores of other dissidents unnecessarily add fuel to the fires of the anti-Communist crusaders?



Roy Medvedev (left) considers himself a Communist. Solzhenitsyn does not. Other dissidents like Grigorenko are revolutionary socialists. All are persecuted for demanding democratic rights, not for being anticommunist.

A twisted piece of logic is the closest Maldonado-Denis comes to dealing with these questions. He says that "Soviet society is sufficiently stable to neutralize the presence in its midst of dissidents like Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn. It looks, however, like these intellectuals are looking for just the opposite: outright repression by the authorities."

Maldonado-Denis seems to be saying that the victims of repression are just begging for more blows. If this were really the case, he might have more aptly called his article "A case of masochism."

But is this true? All Solzhenitsyn had to do to



Brezhnev at his country estate. It is equipped with swimming pool, sauna, high-speed boats, and a vast duck-and-boar-hunting preserve. But Maldonado-Denis says dissidents should not expect special privileges and rights!

provoke his expulsion from the USSR was to authorize publication abroad of his book *The Gulag Archipelago*. All Sakharov had to do was to speak out in defense of victimized dissidents and against violations of Soviet legality. Were these really such provocations?

Furthermore, Maldonado-Denis fails to mention that Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov are only two voices in a growing opposition movement to the Kremlin's suppression of democratic rights. This opposition includes not only anti-Marxists but revolutionary socialists like former major general Pyotr Grigorenko. It includes defenders of oppressed national minorities in the Soviet Union, like Valentyn Moroz and Vyacheslav Chornovil, as well as Great Russian Slavophiles like Solzhenitsyn.

Despite the wide range of views among the oppositional currents, they have one thing in common—opposition to the bureaucratic suppression of the right to publicly express and circulate their ideas. The existence of *samizdat*, that is, the underground circulation of dissident writings, testifies that this is not a question of "liberty in the abstract."

The Marxist wing

Perhaps Maldonado-Denis thinks it's all right for the Kremlin to expel or imprison anti-Marxist dissidents like Solzhenitsyn but opposes repression against Leninists like Grigorenko, who is involuntarily confined to a "psychiatric" hospital. But since he doesn't mention the Marxist wing of the movement, we have to assume his silence signifies approval of the Kremlin's attacks against it too.

If the Kremlin is successful in repressing the Solzhenitsyns and Sakharovs, its hand will be strengthened to move more confidently against revolutionists fighting for socialist democracy.

Furthermore, it is not Solzhenitsyn's anti-Marxist alternative for Soviet society that the Kremlin fears. Rather it is the *questions* he asks about the regime itself. His most powerful writings are those that describe the Stalinist prison camps and include his dissections of the parasitic bureaucracy that rules the Soviet Union. He has helped put a spotlight on some of the worst crimes of Stalin and his heirs—crimes unfortunately committed in the name of socialism.

Does Maldonado-Denis's support for the campaign against Solzhenitsyn mean that he thinks the activities and policies of the Soviet leadership are revolutionary?

The revolutionary Marxist view is that capitalism was overturned during the 1917 revolution and hasn't been reestablished since. However, the workers democracy of the early Soviet regime was forcibly replaced by a privileged and undemocratic bureaucracy. Its repressive internal measures parallel a class-collaborationist foreign policy. Under the guise of building "socialism in one country," aid to revolutionary movements around the world is sacrificed to establishing "nonaggression pacts," "peaceful coexistence," and "détentes" with one or more imperialist power.

Revolutionary Marxists both inside and outside the Soviet Union support the nationalized and

planned economy and defend it from all imperialist attacks. But we also believe that these bureaucratic usurpers have to be thrown out by the Soviet workers if the country is to advance toward socialism.

We don't think this struggle for socialist democracy aids imperialism as Maldonado-Denis implies. Rather, a revolutionary government in the USSR would strengthen the worldwide struggle for socialism.

Special privileges?

It is ironic that Maldonado-Denis takes a paragraph to lecture his readers on why intellectuals should not expect special privileges and rights in a socialist society. There are those with special privileges in the Soviet Union, but they are not the persecuted dissidents. Who owns at least five sports cars and hunts on special game preserves reserved for high officials: Brezhnev or the dissidents?

The real issue is not some mythical demand for special privileges for intellectuals. It is that the masses of workers and peasants in the Soviet Union, along with the intellectuals, are denied their basic democratic rights.

Democracy is not something of interest only to intellectuals. Workers want to be able to read different ideas too. And it's not just a question of books. Workers are also denied the democratic right to organize to form their own organizations, to strike, or to discuss and vote on political and economic issues affecting their immediate lives.

Is Maldonado-Denis for this? If not, why doesn't he say so?

If he is in favor of democratic rights for the Soviet masses, why does he attack those struggling for these rights?

Is USSR socialist?

Furthermore, Maldonado-Denis implies that the Soviet Union is socialist. This is not the case. Although capitalist property relations have been abolished there, socialism still doesn't exist in the USSR. Socialism is incompatible with inequality and bureaucratic repression. This was the view of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and there is no reason why we should accept anything less today.

One of the more flagrant examples of bureaucratic suppression is the attempt to forcibly Russify non-Russian nationalities in the USSR. The treatment of Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians, and other oppressed nationalities as second-class citizens in their own lands is generating struggles for the right to self-determination. In the case of the Crimean Tatars a whole nation is being denied the right to return to its homeland. How does Maldonado-Denis, who supports the progressive struggle for Puerto Rican independence, view the new prison house of nations the USSR has become under Stalinist rule?

It is not clear whether Maldonado-Denis's article represents the thinking of the entire PSP membership. We hope not. The PSP's support to the struggle for socialist democracy in the USSR would be welcome indeed.

Meeting set to build May 7 action

New York forum defends Soviet dissidents

By DAVE FRANKEL

NEW YORK — One hundred and fifty people turned out at New York University April 18 to hear a number of well-known figures in the radical movement speak in defense of Soviet dissidents.

The meeting, organized by the New York Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners and the Young Socialist Alliance, featured Dave Dellinger, editor of *Liberation* magazine and a leader of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice; Grace Paley of the War Resisters League; George Novack, noted Marxist scholar and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party; and Aleksandr Yesenin-Volpin, an exiled Soviet dissident.

Grace Paley was a delegate to the World Peace Conference in Moscow last fall. While there she was one of those who raised the plight of Soviet dissidents in a statement on the floor of the congress. She also met with Andrei Sakharov, Aleksandr Galich, and other dissidents. She and Paul Mayer, a PCPJ delegate to the Moscow conference, asked the dissidents to speak out in defense of political prisoners in Chile, South Vietnam, and elsewhere in the "free world."

Speaking at the New York meeting, Paley insisted on the necessity of supporting the dissidents' rights while maintaining a critical attitude to the political ideas expressed by many of them.

George Novack recalled his work in helping to expose the infamous Moscow show trials of the 1930s. He pointed out that these purge trials had confronted "every friend of the Soviet Union, every socialist, every democratically minded person . . . with a heavy responsibility. What should they say and do in face of these developments?"

Novack stated that Stalin's methods of repression were still being used by his bureaucratic disciples, although on

a smaller scale than before, and that socialists still had the responsibility to speak out against this.

While noting that the dissident movement includes many political currents, Novack explained, "They are objectively united by the necessity of protecting their lives and livelihoods and claiming the rights granted on paper to all citizens under the Soviet constitution."

"Their struggle against persecution imposes the obligation upon all who value basic human rights and have a commitment to the cause of socialism to come to their defense."

Solidarity actions around the world, he said, would inspire those struggling for democratic rights within the USSR, would help restrain the bureaucratic repression against them, and could be a factor in encouraging the action of much broader sections of the Soviet population.

As Novack explained, "These dissidents represent much more than themselves. Each, according to his lights, is giving expression to deepgoing desires among broad layers of the population for radical changes in their economic, political, and cultural conditions."

Dave Dellinger referred to his own experience during the Chicago Eight "conspiracy trial" in which he and others were charged with planning riots at the 1968 Democratic Party convention as an example of the importance of solidarity actions.

Dellinger pointed out how ironic it would be, in light of Kissinger's invitation to Solzhenitsyn to come live in the U.S., "if the U.S. became the political haven for Soviet dissenters while political dissenters from our own country have to find asylum in Canada."

Aleksandr Yesenin-Volpin discussed the plight of a number of Soviet dissidents, particularly Pyotr Grigorenko, Vladimir Bukovsky, and Ukrainian oppositionists Vyacheslav Chornovil, Valentyn Moroz, and Leonid Plyushch.



George Novack speaking at meeting on Soviet dissidents

Militant/Sally Rhett

vil, Valentyn Moroz, and Leonid Plyushch.

Chornovil is currently serving a sentence of seven years at hard labor and five in exile. Moroz, who was imprisoned for nine years on charges of "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation," is now being held in an insane asylum and is being administered mind-destroying drugs. Plyushch has also been sent to a prison psychiatric hospital.

The latest development in these cases concerns Bukovsky. He was sentenced to a prison term of five years at hard labor and five years exile after having already spent two years in prison. His offense was communicating details about the use of confinement in mental hospitals as a form of punishment against political dissenters, and attempting to bring into the Soviet Union details of how to construct a duplicating machine.

According to reports from the USSR, Bukovsky has begun a hunger strike in protest over his confinement in a punishment cell and over the refusal of the authorities to provide medical treatment for him. Fifty prisoners in

the Perm camp complex in the Urals, where Bukovsky is being held, have joined the hunger strike in solidarity with Bukovsky.

Grigorenko has also been confined to a mental hospital. An appeal issued by exiled dissident Pavel Litvinov on behalf of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the Soviet Union, Andrei Sakharov, Czechoslovak dissident Jiri Pelikan, and Ken Coates and Chris Farley of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation set May 7 as a day of action in defense of Grigorenko.

The appeal, which was read at the meeting, called for "worldwide participation by socialists, communists, democratic and humanitarian organizations and individuals" in defense of Grigorenko. Bukovsky is also singled out in the appeal, and a meeting to plan a May 7 action in New York to defend these dissidents was announced.

Messages of solidarity were read to the meeting from writer Nat Hentoff and AFSCME Library Guild Local 1930.

Abe Lincoln & 'complexities' of detente

By HARRY RING

I stopped in at this bar for a beer the other evening but stayed for a couple and listened to a discussion that was going on between two old-time Communist Party supporters who hang out there.

One of them, Stanley, hews strictly to the party line on all questions. The other, Max, has apparently grown a bit cynical over the years and often

raises questions and doubts.

When I sat down they were discussing a clipping Max had taken from the April 15 *Los Angeles Times*. It was an AP dispatch from Moscow that reported that a Soviet paper, *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, had said that the same reactionary forces that "conspired" to shoot Abraham Lincoln were out to get Nixon.

"That's pretty wild," Max said. "Like

do they really think it's the slaveholders that are howling for his head?"

"No," Stanley replied, "it's more complicated than that."

"Oh, you read the *Times* article? How come you didn't say anything about it?"

"Well, as I said, it's a complex question."

"Look, Stanley, this is crazy. Nixon says he's a modern Lincoln—OK. But for the Russians to say it, that's pretty far out."

"Don't distort their position. The article didn't actually say Nixon was another Lincoln. It merely pointed out that as with Lincoln, the reactionary forces are out to do him in."

"But for Christ's sake, why Stanley? Why should the reactionaries want to get rid of a superreactionary like Nixon? And don't tell me he ain't. The *People's World* says so every week. Gus Hall said it. We haven't changed our line on that."

"You don't get it, Max. It's the detente. They're out to get him because he made a detente with the Soviet Union."

"You mean they think he's soft on communism?"

"I rather doubt that. It's simply that he's more practical."

"Well, OK, if that's the setup, why shouldn't the party be fighting to save Nixon? Shouldn't we be exposing the Impeach Nixon movement as a right-wing plot?"

"Don't be facetious, Max. You know that would only isolate us from people like the ACLU and the different union and church groups that relate to the impeachment demand."

"Are they part of the right-wing plot to get Lincoln . . . I mean Nixon?"

"Of course not, Max. It's simply that they don't grasp the complexities. They don't see what's beneath the surface."

"So why don't we explain them. Why does the party say it's in favor of impeachment? Or did we get mixed up on this one? I know the mail's pretty slow these days, but by this time Gus must certainly know what Moscow's thinking."

"I realize you're being snide, Max. But you have touched on one of the complexities. Although it could have advantages. Remember those terrible jokes about us being slavish followers of the Moscow line?"

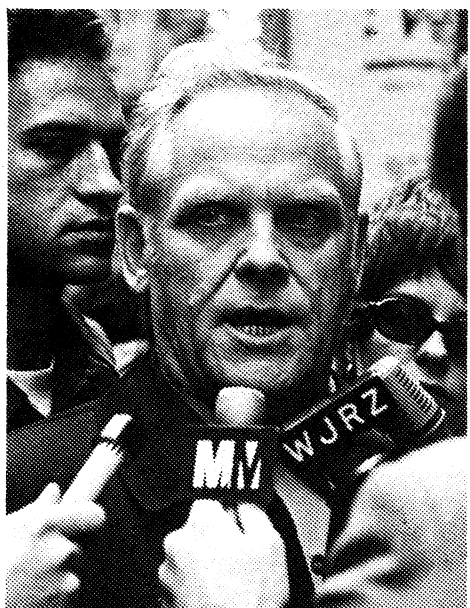
"Sure I remember, Stanley. Like I still remember the World War II jokes about 'when Stalin uses pepper, Browder sneezes.'"

"That's not quite what I had in

Continued on page 26



BIRDS OF A FEATHER?: Moscow Stalinists say the same reactionary forces that killed Lincoln are out to get Nixon. At left is John Wilkes Booth assassinating Lincoln. At right is CP leader Gus Hall, calling for Nixon's impeachment.



EARTH, WIND, AND FIRE

Open Our Eyes by Earth, Wind and Fire. Produced by Joe Wissert and Maurice White. Released by Columbia Records.

Subtle Brazilian rhythms, Gospel swing, rhythm and blues, and hard-driving jazz are four of the musical ventures that unfold in this new and long-awaited album of the skyrocketing Afro-rock group, Earth, Wind and Fire.

The varied musical explorations, all underscored by that catchy, distinctive Earth, Wind and Fire sound, combine to make this zesty album surpass even their last blockbusting smash.

The light, airy Brazilian jazz/pop style that was woven through much of their last album appears again in two soothing cuts on this one. A Sergio Mendes buff, in a blindfold test, might be hard-pressed to guess that "Caribou" and "Feelin' Blue" are not original performances of the group led by the bearded music-maker from Rio.

Swift mood changes are apparent

Records

throughout the disc, even in single cuts.

"Devotion" is a slow rhythm and blues vocal. The ringing voices of the eight-member group create a patter that could put this tune smack on the Top Ten soul chart. "Mighty-Mighty," one vocal on the album, is already climbing the chart.

A departure from this is an up-tempo jazz piece, "Spasmodic Mood." To veteran ears, the John Coltrane-sounding soprano saxophone work of Andrew Woolfolk here sounds almost as if Coltrane had picked a sax duel with Pharoah Sanders, beat him to the reed, and knocked him flat as a drum head with a fast volley of notes.

Unlike a few other comparable popular groups, little social commentary or Black awareness comes through in the lyrics of most Earth, Wind and Fire songs. They often refer to ethereal interests, but exceptions can be found.

Part of "Fair But So Uncool" refers to the plague of drug dealers:

Greedy joker slidin' by. Dealin' joneses with a high -

Don'cha see it's wrong,

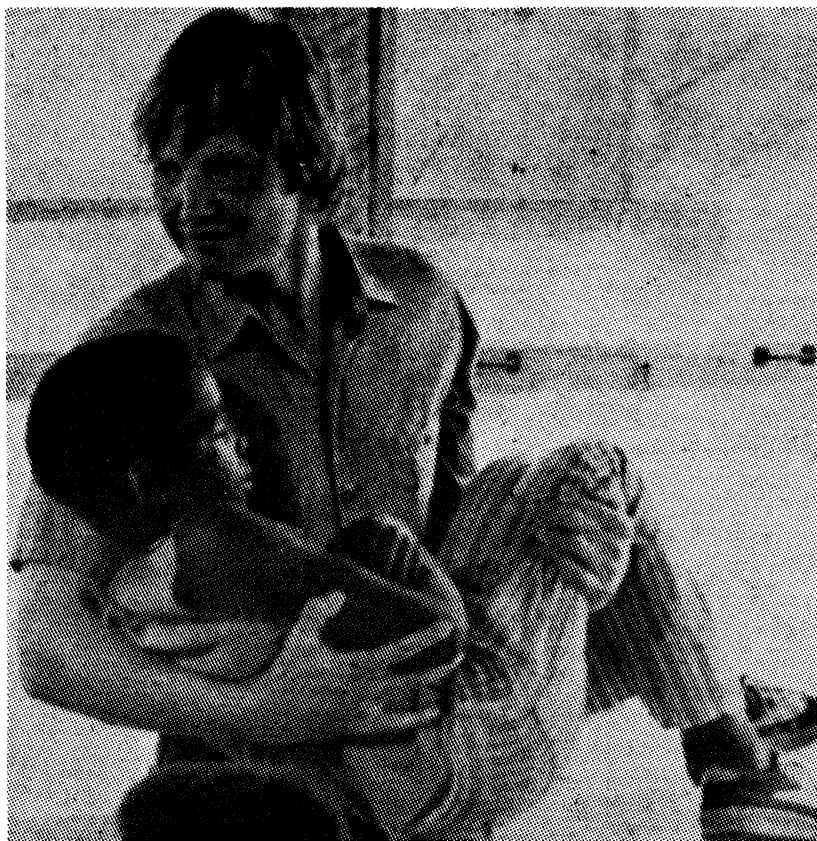
Don'cha wait too long.

Life is fair but fair is so uncool.

The album rates four stars (a worthy buy). — BAXTER SMITH



Afro-rock group has big hit



Jon Voight as 'Conrack': Film projects Blacks as white man's burden.

'CONRACK': SON OF SOUNDER

Conrack. Directed by Martin Ritt. Screenplay by Irving Ravetch and Harriet Frank Jr. Starring Jon Voight. Produced by Martin Ritt and Irving Ravetch.

Conrack is the latest word in white liberalism's gratuitous love affair with Black people in the backwaters of the backward South.

According to a public relations handout, the movie is based "on the actual experiences of a white school teacher who came to live among and work with a class of black children in a primitive Southern island remote from the Twentieth Century in everything but time."

Just as in his last film, *Sounder*, director Martin Ritt's *Conrack* tries to provide a morally superior hero to counter today's films' popular macho characters. Ritt's intentions, however, never crystallize because of his shallow treatment of Pat Conroy's 1969 memoir *The Water is Wide*. What we get is a rather boring, rehashed tale of the white man's burden.

The story is simple. Conroy (called Conrack because the Black children can't pronounce his name correctly) is an all-but-perfect

Film

white teacher, played by Jon Voight. He arrives on an all-Black island off the coast of South Carolina to educate the ignorant Black children. Superman that he is, Conroy teaches them more than anyone expected.

He is fired by a reactionary superintendent and isn't backed up by the Black principal, who, unlike Conroy, abdicates his conscience. Conroy returns to his world on the mainland. Having given the children some knowledge and won their love, Conroy leaves with the satisfaction of a job well done.

The children themselves are a jumble of stereotypes straight out of a liberal anthropologist's notebook. They have no individual characters of their own and are always shot as a group. It seems that Conroy's students' only purpose in life is adoring him—all shots of this great white hope are taken tear-jerkingly from the children's point of view.

There are no adults visible besides Conroy except when they are needed to highlight some personal problem of his.

The message is clear. Only the help of concerned whites like Conroy will improve the impoverished lives of Black folk. Ritt takes great pains to ensure the fact that the audience is aware of only the love between Conroy and the children. His closing shots of the island as Conroy leaves takes the cake for nostalgic treatment.

While I hardly expect Ritt to give a full-blown, Marxist analysis of the Black predicament in America (nor would that be necessary for *Conrack* to become a good film), the Peace Corps mentality of his latest venture is too much to take. — NORMAN OLIVER

THE GREAT GATSBY

The Great Gatsby. Directed by Jack Clayton. Screenplay by Francis Ford Coppola. Produced by Paramount Pictures.

The plot of *The Great Gatsby* centers on a cliché romance such as we've all seen in dozens of other novels and films. But the context of this romance makes the movie just as intriguing as the original novel written by F. Scott Fitzgerald in the 1920s. That context is the moral disintegration of a decrepit class—the American capitalist class.

To his credit, the screenwriter adhered closely to the novel's plot and dialogue. The film is narrated through Nick Carraway, who represents Fitzgerald.

Carraway at various times expresses awe, disgust, and bewilderment toward these reactionaries without a cause. Sam Waterston, who plays Carraway, excels at bringing Carraway's specialty to life—awkward, comical reactions to uncomfortable predicaments.

Film

Robert Redford succeeds in making Jay Gatsby the naive, sympathetic character Fitzgerald intended. The romantic scenes are unconvincing, the novel's syrupy dialogue made worse by sentimental violin music in the film's background.

More interesting than Redford is Mia Farrow, as Daisy Buchanan, denied her self-respect as a woman, totally irresponsible and lacking any scruples as a member of the ruling class.

Finally, Bruce Dern is Gatsby's foe, Tom Buchanan—boorish, pretentious, ignorant, and hypocritical.

The audience reaction adds a quality the novel couldn't have. The audience justifiably felt little in common with this odd assortment of people so far removed from most viewers' world. This gap between the audience and the characters has the effect of making the romance and the anguish of the characters at times comical instead of sympathetic.

For example, at one "poignant" moment Tom asks Daisy if she loved him "that day I carried you down from the punch bowl to keep your little shoes dry?" As you'd expect, this provoked uproarious laughter. Another highlight of audience reaction was the widespread protestation and disbelief when one character got her gas tank filled up for 40 cents!

Fitzgerald once said, "Let me tell you about the rich. They are very different from you and me." *The Great Gatsby*, of course, does not try to provide a class analysis to explain the pettiness and irresponsibility of this group of people who ruled American society then and now. Instead, it tries to encourage a kind of nostalgia for these people. However, the effect of *The Great Gatsby*—as confirmed by the audience reaction—is just the opposite. — TOM SCHARRET

Militant sales campaign

May 17 issue set for special effort to hit 10,000

By ROSE OGDEN

Areas reporting on sales of our April 19 issue (headlined "New facts on gov't killing of Panther leader") inform us that we sold 8,276. Fifteen areas met or went over their goals.

The *Militant's* campaign to boost circulation through an intensive effort to expand street-corner and campus sales is now in its final month. The goal is to reach weekly sales of 10,000 in addition to the thousands of copies sent out to subscribers, sold on newsstands, and sold by readers who do not report their sales for the scoreboard.

The goal of 10,000 is based on supporters throughout the country meeting the projected goals for their cities. Over the course of the spring, each area has been organizing to expand its regular sales locations and to involve more people in weekly sales.

A national target week for all areas to maximize their sales and go over the 10,000 goal has been set for sales of the May 17 issue. This is the one week in May when every area will be able to fully participate.

The national sales total of the other May issues may be reduced somewhat because supporters in Texas and Massachusetts will be involved in intensive campaigns to place Socialist Workers Party candidates on the ballot. Reactionary laws require parties other than the Democrats and Republicans to collect large numbers of sig-

natures on nominating petitions to secure ballot status. Although sales will continue, the time-consuming petitioning effort will hamper the ability of campaign supporters in these two states to meet their sizable sales goals.

Reports on sales of the April 19 issue indicate that the national drive for 10,000 is well on its way.

Members of the St. Louis SWP and Young Socialist Alliance, for example, were able to sell 482 copies—134 percent of their goal. Sales director Dave Welters reports, "Until a couple of weeks ago, our record for sales in St. Louis was 347 copies, sold during the height of the Middle East war last fall. We then broke that record with the issue featuring the FBI memos. To sell the April 19 bundle we had to carefully organize our sales at community colleges and in the Black community. We also had more people participating than before."

Another area successfully meeting its goal was Oakland/Berkeley. They report that "more and more salespeople are finding it easier to sell *The Militant* because it is so well known in this area." These supporters, who have the highest goal nationally, sold more than 800 papers for the third week in a row.

Houston's expansion of regular sales in the Black and Chicano communities enabled them to meet their goal for the first time this spring.

Reports from the Young Socialist teams that are still on the road indicate that *The Militant* and *Young Socialist* are well received on the campuses they visit. The Ohio/Kentucky team sold 200 YSs and 102 *Militants* at Ohio State University. And the Northwest team sold 107 YSs, 117 *Militants*, and 21 *Militant* subscriptions on the University of Oregon campus. These *Militant* sales are in addition to those reported on the scoreboard.

A number of YSA locals also report that campus sales are increasing. Linda Hite from the Bowling Green, Ohio, YSA reports, "Our bundle of 30 *Militants* a week is just selling too fast. Therefore, we've decided to up our bundle to 50 a week. We have plans for more literature tables and night sales on campus, and this can't take place without newspapers to sell." YSA members from Dallas and Cincinnati sent in similar reports and also increased their bundles.

Although the bulk of the papers sold each week are sold by units of the SWP and YSA, dozens of other readers sell bundles in their cities. New bundles are being sent this week to Buffalo, N.Y.; Moorhead, Minn.; and Gary, Ind. Other readers who want to participate in *The Militant's* circulation campaign, and we urge you to do so, can order a bundle by sending in the coupon on page 27.

AREA	GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	%
St. Louis	325	435	134
Detroit	400	482	121
Pittsburgh	350	404	115
Houston	500	525	105
Oakland/Berkeley	800	822	103
Philadelphia	400	408	102
Bellingham, Wash.	30	30	100
Indianapolis	50	50	100
Iowa City	20	20	100
Logan	30	30	100
L.A. (West Side)	350	351	100
Nashville	70	70	100
Toledo	10	10	100
Vermillion, S.D.	20	20	100
Wallingford, Conn.	20	20	100
Chicago	700	676	97
Seattle	425	410	96
Amherst	50	46	92
Ann Arbor	35	32	91
Cleveland	350	309	88
San Diego	325	283	87
Atlanta	500	410	82
Cincinnati	50	39	78
Albany, N.Y.	20	15	75
Brooklyn	450	323	72
Twin Cities	350	253	72
Denver	450	315	70
Milwaukee	30	20	67
Lower Manhattan	500	314	63
Washington, D.C.	400	242	61
L.A. (Central East)	350	210	60
Portland	325	177	54
Upper West Side, N.Y.	475	201	42
Boston	700	250	36
San Francisco	525	74	14
TOTAL SOLD	10,000	8,276	83

Puerto Rico: Young Socialists exchange views

By DOUG JENNESS

I recently had an opportunity to talk to Candida Barberena and Selva Nebbia, two members of the Young Socialist Alliance who have just returned from a month-long trip to Puerto Rico. They were part of a three-person team that went there to exchange ideas with Puerto Rican socialist youth and acquaint them with the views of the Young Socialist Alliance.

"What did you do while you were there?" I asked.

"Well, first of all, we rented a Pinto wagon so we could get around and carry the books and newspapers we brought with us," Selva said. "We then made a big red banner that said, '*literatura revolucionaria*,' and bought a folding table. We set up a literature display at the University of Puerto Rico in Río Piedras."

"What was the response?" I asked.

"Nearly everyone was friendly," Candida answered. "Almost everyone who came to the table was for independence for Puerto Rico and for socialism. The first day the students bought \$60 worth of pamphlets, books, newspapers, and magazines. While we were there we went to campuses in Ponce and Mayagüez, and altogether people bought \$850 worth of literature and subscriptions."

"What kinds of things sold best?"

"Chile and women's liberation," both of them answered at once. They indicated that the newspapers in Puerto Rico carried very little news on Chile and there was a great thirst for more knowledge about the situation there.

"Although these were the main issues," Selva said, "people were interested in a variety of subjects including Watergate and the expulsion of Solzhenitsyn from the Soviet Union. We got into a lot of lively discussion on these questions."

Candida explained that they sold both Spanish-language and English-language pamphlets and books. "Of course the Spanish-language stuff sold better. We had a number of titles by Leon Trotsky in Spanish and these went pretty well, especially *The Transitional Program* of the Fourth International."

"What was the reaction to the views of the YSA?" I asked.

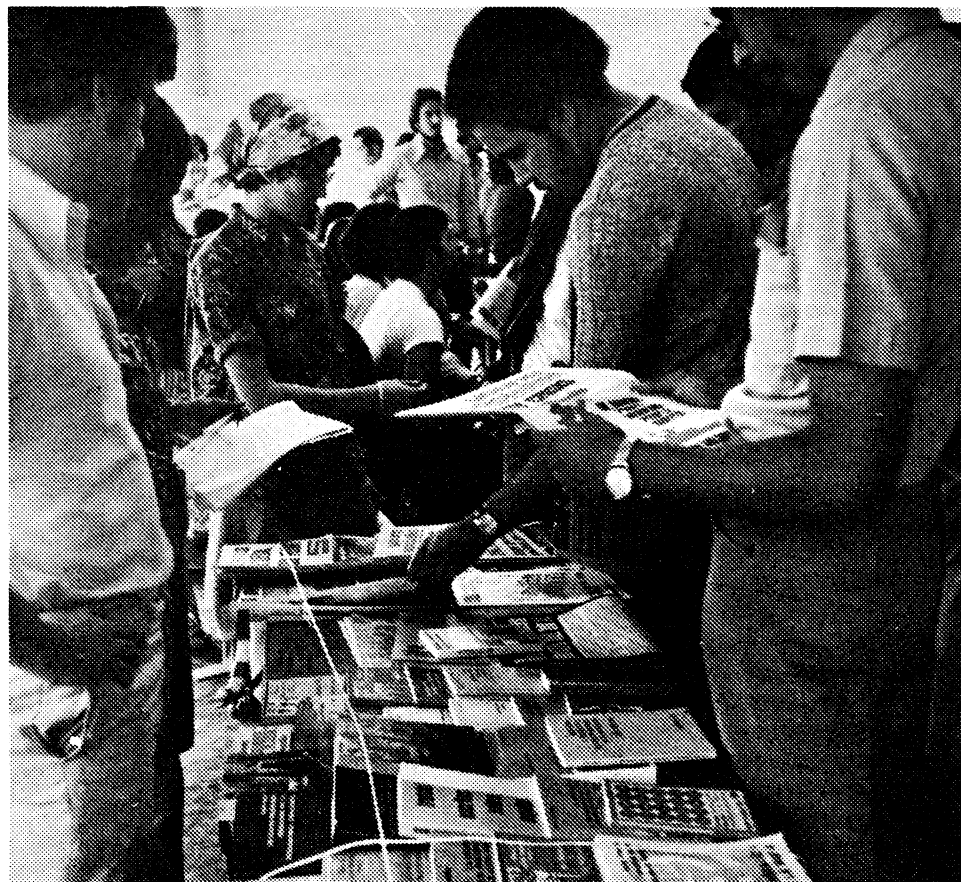
"Well, there has been quite a lot of discussion about Trotskyism among some of the radicals there," Selva said. "There have been attacks on Trotskyism and counter attacks by others. But most people don't know much about it and were glad to see us and get it from the horse's mouth, so to speak."

"For example," she added, "Rudy Zeller, the other person who was with us, spoke at a couple of sociology classes at the university on 'Trotskyism in the United States.'"

Selva pointed out that unfortunately there is no Trotskyist party in Puerto Rico at this time, which partially explains the lack of knowledge about Trotskyism. "However," she said, "we were surprised at the number of people who were familiar with *The Militant*, the *Young Socialist*, and *Intercontinental Press*."

Candida, who has contributed articles to *IP* herself, added that a couple of publications in Puerto Rico have reprinted articles from *IP* or used material from it for their own articles.

While they were there the three YSAers attended meetings, forums, classes or talked to members of several organizations. These included the People's Socialist Movement (MSP) and its youth affiliate, the Union of Socialist Youth (UJS); the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and its



YSA team found wide interest in revolutionary socialist literature. At center is Selva Nebbia, one of team members.

youth organization, the Pro-Independence University Federation (FUPI); and the feminist Women Get Involved Now (MIA).

They attended several meetings celebrating International Women's Day and talked to feminist leaders such as Ana Rivera, who heads MIA.

"We also participated in a march of about 1,000 students in support of a proposed New University Law that would give more decision-making to students," Candida stated. "It was a united-front action of all the major

student groups including UJS and FUPI.

"In general, however, the student movement has declined from what it was a few years ago when it organized large antidraft actions and demonstrations against U.S. target practice on Culebra."

Both Candida and Selva said they'd like to go back as soon as possible and continue discussions with people they had met. "But we feel good anyway," Selva said, "knowing that there will be more people getting our press every week."

Calendar

ATLANTA

SOUTHEAST SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE, MAY 3-4. Fri., May 3, 8:30 p.m.: Watergate crimes and the myth of American democracy. Speaker: Stephanie Coontz. Sat., May 4, 10 a.m.: Black and trade-union women organize. Speakers: Virginia Jackson, Georgia United Auto Workers state representative; Vicki Griffith; 2 p.m.: Prospects for African liberation. Speakers: Vince Egan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia; John Hawkins; 4:30 p.m.: Will American workers make a socialist revolution? Speaker: Lynn Henderson; 8:30 p.m.: Hear the 1974 Socialist Workers Party candidates. All sessions at Georgia State Univ., Student Activities Bldg., Rm. 460. Ausp: Georgia State Young Socialist Alliance. For more information write Southeast Socialist Educational Conference, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga., 30301, or call (404) 523-0610.

BOSTON

'POTEMKIN.' Film by Sergei Eisenstein. Wed., May 1, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.), Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

CHICAGO

MAY DAY 1974—THE STATE OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION. Speaker: Gus Horowitz, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., May 4, 8 p.m. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

DENVER

THE STRUGGLE FOR GAY RIGHTS IN BOULDER. Speakers: Penfield Tate, mayor of Boulder; Joyce Tally, Socialist Workers Party candidate for regent, Univ. of Colorado, Boulder; representative of the Gay Coalition in Boulder. Fri., May 3, 8 p.m. 1203 California. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

DETROIT

ISSUES FACING THE OPPRESSED—1974 SPRING SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE, MAY 3-5. Fri., May 3, 8 p.m.: The struggle for workers democracy in the Soviet Union. Speaker: Caroline Lund, staff writer for The Militant. Hillberry A UCB, Wayne State Univ.; Sat., May 4, 9:30 a.m.: The energy crisis: causes and solutions. Speakers: William Harpster, district mgr., Sun Oil Co.; Joseph Browder, director, Environmental Policy Center, Washington, D.C.; Dick Roberts, associate editor, International Socialist Review. Second Floor UCB, WSU; 7:30 p.m.: Black power: how it will be won. Speakers: Riley Smith, Michigan director, Black Political Assembly; Larry Simmons, coordinator, Michigan African Liberation Support Committee; B.R. Washington, Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general of Michigan. Rm. 583, UCB, WSU; Sun., May 5, 1 p.m.: Profits vs. needs: life in the United States. Speaker: Lee Artz, SWP candidate for Detroit school board. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1 per session, \$2.50 for entire conference. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (313) 833-5898.

LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

AMERICAN VETERANS MOVEMENT. Speaker: Bill Unger, national coordinator, AVM. Fri., May 3, 8 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (213) 483-0357.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

LOS ANGELES COUNTY WORKERS ON STRIKE. Speakers: Jon Tavast, field representative, Social Services Union Local 535; Ned Moore, delegate to state executive board, SSU Local 535. Fri., May 3, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

NEW YORK CITY

AMERICAN POLITICS 1974—SOCIALIST CONFERENCE, MAY 3-5, AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY. Fri., May 3, 8 p.m.: Will America go socialist? Speaker: Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers Party. 170 Waverly Bldg. Donation: \$1. Sat., May 4, 11 a.m.: Women and the Unions: working women fight back. Speaker: Linda Jenness, SWP 1972 presidential candidate. Main Bldg. Donation: \$50; 2:30 p.m.: Watergate vs. the Black struggle. Panel. Main Bldg. Donation: \$50. Sun. May 5, 4:30 p.m.: May Day Banquet: Celebrate 10 years of Intercontinental Press. Marc Ballroom, 27 Union Sq. West (between 15th & 16th St.). Tickets available. Ausp: Young Socialists for Finch and Morrison. For more information and tickets call (212) 982-8214, or write YFSM, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003.

OAKLAND/BERKELEY

THE FBI VS. THE BLACK MOVEMENT. Speaker: Maceo Dixon, cochairman, Socialist Workers Party 1974 National Campaign Committee. Fri., May 3, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave. (near Grove St.), Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

SAN DIEGO

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN CONFERENCE, MAY 3-4. Fri., May 3, 8 p.m.: Women in politics. Speakers: Salm Kolis, Evonne Schulze, Nikki Symington; Sat., May 4, 1 p.m.: Watergate and the plot to disrupt the Black movement. Speaker: Maceo Dixon, cochairman, Socialist Workers Party 1974 National Campaign Committee; 3 p.m.: Nixonomics: inflation and energy crisis. Speaker: Don Styron, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. All sessions at San Diego State Univ., Library East, Rm. 502. Ausp: Young Socialists for Rodriguez. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN BANQUET. Speakers: Don Styron, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Salm Kolis, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 41st C.D. Sat., May 4, 6 p.m.: refreshments; 7 p.m.: dinner; 8 p.m.: program. 10707 San Diego Mission Rd. Donation: \$3.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party 1974 Campaign Committee. For more information call (714) 280-1292.

SAN JOSE

SAN JOSE'S FIRST SOCIALIST ELECTION CAMPAIGN NIGHT. Speakers: Olga Rodriguez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California; Peggy Wilson, SWP candidate for secretary of state; Jim Beller, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., May 4, 8 p.m. Unitarian Church, 160 N. Third St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee and Young Socialists for Rodriguez. For more information call (408) 292-3289.

SEATTLE

CRISIS OF CAPITALISM. Speaker: Milton Alvin, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 3, 8 p.m. 5623 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM IN GERMANY. Three classes by Milton Alvin, May 4-5. Sat., May 4,

3 p.m.; dinner at Seward Park. Sun., May 5, 10 a.m. and 1 p.m. 5623 University Way N.E. Donation: \$1 per class, \$1.50 dinner, \$4.25, classes and dinner. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (206) 522-7800.

...detente

Continued from page 8

mind. But actually what's involved, I think, is a kind of division of labor. We push the impeachment thing because we do favor the man getting a fair trial. Besides, you can't explain it the same way to an ordinary American as you can to a politicized Soviet worker."

"But they're not explaining it much, Stanley. I read it in other places too. But it says right here in this AP report that Nixon's 'tax and Watergate problems have received brief but sympathetic mention in the Soviet press.'"

"You seem to forget, Max. The Soviet leaders have a responsibility to the people. They have to guard against political paranoia. Fill the Soviet press with articles about illegal government gangs—spying, bugging, political frame-ups, dirty tricks. People might get the insane idea it's happening there too."

"Far out. I'm sure it never occurred to them."

"All right, Max, let's cut the sarcasm. And besides, what about the Maoists? Peking is really giving Nixon a sympathetic treatment. But the only reason they do it is because they place a higher premium on their secret agreements with Nixon than they do on the interests of the world proletariat, not to speak of the American people."

"That sounds like a reasonable point, Stanley. But couldn't people say the same thing about Moscow?"

"No."

"Why not?"

"Well, I'm sure the Trotskyites are saying it. But it's not true. You see, Max, you have to view it dialectically. When the Chinese cover up for Nixon, they're motivated by narrow bureaucratic interests."

"And Moscow?"

"You forget, we're the vanguard of the world anti-imperialist struggle. For us, world peace is decisive. And, of course, it's U.S. imperialism—Nixonism—that constitutes the principle threat to world peace. We have

to contain the imperialist aggressor."

"I think I'm beginning to get it, Stanley. Moscow wants Nixon to stay in power so that it can continue to mobilize the world peace forces against him. But we keep him confused by having the American party yapping against him."

"Well, that's probably oversimplifying it, Max. But you are beginning to comprehend some of the factors involved."

"Well, I agree it's a tricky question. I'll tell you frankly, when I first began to read how Moscow was covering up for him, my first thought was maybe he has something on Brezhnev on one of those tapes."

"Don't be ridiculous, Max. The Soviet leaders have a well-earned reputation for being up front on all questions. Particularly Brezhnev. I understand he's known over there as 'Honest Abe.'"

...Mideast

Continued from page 19

The same article reported a grenade attack that wounded 12 Arab workers and an Israeli Jew. Although police claimed to be unsure of whether the attack was the work of Arab guerrillas or an act of revenge for the attack on Qiryat Shemona, they admitted that the grenade was of the type used by the Israeli armed forces.

An April 17 Associated Press dispatch described how demonstrators from Qiryat Shemona demanded that the government "expel Arab workers" from the town. Druze soldiers in the Israeli army, who speak Arabic, were called names and beaten in the streets, reports the April 19 *Washington Post*.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

Tucson: YSA, S.U.P.O. 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-1512.

Los Angeles, West Side: SWP and YSA, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

Los Angeles—City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

Riverside: YSA, c/o University of Calif. Riverside, 1134 Library South, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Glenda Horton, 1253 S. 7th St. #70, San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 292-3289.

Santa Barbara: YSA, 760 Oak Walk, Apt. H, Goleta, Calif. 93017.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.-7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101. Tel: (203) 523-7582.

New Haven: YSA, c/o Jon Keger, 1563 Chapel St., Apt. 3, New Haven, Conn. 06511.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, Box U-6014, Tallahassee, Fla. 32306.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

HAWAII: Honolulu: YSA, c/o David Hough, 447 Seaside Ave. #186, Honolulu, Hawaii 96815

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737, YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Dave Ellis, 309 E. Vermont, Indianapolis, Ind. 46201.

IOWA: Iowa City: YSA, c/o IMU, Univ. of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa 52240.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, Dept. of Entomology, Univ. of Kansas, Lawrence, Kans. 66045.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

Louisville: YSA, P.O. Box 8026, Louisville, Ky. 40208.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, 2103 Belair Rd., Baltimore, Md. 21213. Tel: (301) 732-8996.

College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, R.S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers' Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

Worcester: YSA, P.O. Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103 Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 668-6334.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Kalamazoo: YSA, c/o Gail Altenberg, 728 S. Burdick St., Apt. 3, Kalamazoo, Mich. 49007.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, P.O. Box 98, Warriner Hall, CMU, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls., Minn. 55414.

Tel: (612) 332-7781

St. Cloud: YSA, c/o Atwood Center, St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud, Minn. 56301.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4660 Maryland, Suite 17, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW JERSEY: New Brunswick: YSA, Box 445, Woodbridge, N.J. 07095. Tel: (201) 634-3076.

Paterson: YSA, P.O. Box 1532, Paterson, N.J. 07509.

NEW YORK: Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Wiloughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Long Island: YSA, 20 John St., Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR9-0289.

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 2726 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

NORTH CAROLINA: Charlotte: YSA, c/o Gene Phil-yaw, 1023 Dorm '73 UNCC, Charlotte, N.C. 28213. Tel: (704) 537-3235.

OHIO: Bowling Green: YSA, Box 27, U. Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-9043.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553, YSA—(216) 391-3278.

Columbus: YSA, c/o Margaret Van Epp, 670 Cuyahoga Ct., Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 268-7860.

OREGON: Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh: SWP and YSA, 304 S. Bouquet St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8476 University Station, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 524-8967.

Memphis: YSA, c/o Maryrose Eannace, 3681 Winchester Pk. Cr. #7, Memphis, Tenn. 38118. Tel: (901) 365-2528.

Nashville: YSA, P.O. Box 67, Station B, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 37212. Tel: (615) 383-2583.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, SWP, Militant Bookstore, Harriet Tubman Hall, 1801 Nueces, Austin, Texas 78701. Tel: (512) 478-8602.

Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

Washington, D.C.: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

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RACIST FRAME-UPS FIGHT THE SYSTEM THAT BREEDS THEM

Attica, Wounded Knee—these are only two of the names that symbolize the government's racist drive against Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican and Native American activists. The Young Socialist Alliance is building broad support for these frame-up victims and is helping to organize protest meetings and demonstrations. Ultimately, the sure way to end these victimizations is to abolish capitalism, the system that breeds them. A socialist society would be free of racism, discrimination against women and the exploitation of working people. It would put human needs above private profit. If you believe this kind of society is worth fighting for, join the YSA.

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THE MILITANT

Black community outraged at 'Zebra' dragnet by S.F. cops

By JAMES LEWIS

SAN FRANCISCO—Anger is mounting rapidly in the Black community here against the massive police stop-and-search operation ordered April 17 by Mayor Joseph Alioto.

The operation was ostensibly launched to catch the so-called Zebra killer, the person or persons responsible for the killing of 12 whites in San Francisco since last November.

In the first four days of the search, police claim to have stopped more than 300 Black males on the basis of a composite drawing of a man 20



James Lewis, Socialist Workers Party candidate for California controller, was picked up three times in cop dragnet.

to 30 years old, 5 feet 9 inches to 6 feet tall, of slender to medium build. It is obvious that the number stopped is actually in the thousands.

I got a firsthand look at this indiscriminate harassment recently while attempting to interview San Francisco Blacks about the dragnet.

I drove from my home in Oakland over to San Francisco. As soon as I got into the largely Black Fillmore District I was stopped by a cop car.

The cops approached with their hands on their guns and ordered me to get out of the car. They began to pat me down. I protested. They told me to shut up and demanded that I prove who I was. This whole operation took about 15 minutes.

It was evident the cops are stopping any Black male they see, since I in no way fit the description of the so-called Zebra killer.

I pulled away and began to drive to the home of a local community activist, only to be pulled over by

different cops. I explained that I had been stopped just a few minutes before, but they ignored me.

After going through the whole routine again, I decided it might be better for my health to go home. I drove off and tried to find the quickest way to the Bay Bridge. I nearly made it out of the district before I was stopped for the third time.

Several demonstrations, numbering from 50 to 400 people, have been held to protest the police harassment. At one of these I was finally able to interview several people.

One young couple I talked to had moved here from Texas six months ago. After I introduced myself as a Socialist Workers Party candidate, they asked, "Aren't you the people who had the fight with the Klan?" I said Yes, and the sister commented, "You people sure did it to them."

She was referring to a successful campaign by the SWP to mobilize support for the party's right to function in the face of Ku Klux Klan terrorist attacks.

The brother said, "I thought Houston was bad. But this place makes my home town look pretty good."

A particularly offensive innovation is the "Zebra card"—an identification card given to Black males who have been stopped and checked out. These have been likened to the infamous pass system in South Africa.

One sister told me, "I bet they make the brothers keep the cards—maybe find a way to make all of us in the



Mayor Alioto is target of suit challenging racist searches.

community get one."

On April 19 five Black San Franciscans filed suit against Mayor Joseph Alioto, Police Chief Donald Scott, and two members of the police commission. The suit, spearheaded by the NAACP, maintains that the stop-and-search procedure is tantamount to suspension of Black people's constitutional rights.

The suit was filed as a class action

treated courteously by the police.

Among the Black leaders who have condemned the dragnet are Percy Steele Jr., executive director of the Bay Area Urban League; Cecil Williams, pastor of Glide Memorial Church; and Bobby Seale of the Black Panther Party.

A statement issued April 18 by Socialist Workers Party candidates Olga Rodríguez (for governor) and Nat



San Francisco cops in action during ghetto revolt in 1966. Alioto's 'Zebra' directive gives them green light for assaults on Black community.

on behalf of all Blacks, who are "in imminent danger of being stopped . . . without a warrant or probable cause." Plaintiffs include Dr. Carlton Goodlett, publisher of the *Sun Reporter*, and Benjamin Criswell, president of the San Francisco NAACP. A similar suit was filed April 22 by the American Civil Liberties Union.

On April 18 several hundred people turned out for a public hearing on "crime in the streets" previously called by the San Francisco board of supervisors. While a number of older whites applauded the police operation, numerous Blacks took the microphone to denounce Alioto's stop-and-search operation, the racism of the police, and the violation of basic democratic rights.

Several brothers challenged from their own experience Chief Scott's claim that people were stopped only on "reasonable grounds" and were

Weinstein (for U.S. Congress, 6th C.D.) denounced the dragnet as "an intolerable attempt to intimidate the city's Black community and deprive it of basic democratic rights."

Rodríguez and Weinstein stated: "The recent arrest of 14 Oakland Black Panther Party members, the shooting of Black Muslims in Berkeley, and the attempted frame-up of Yvonne Golden here in San Francisco reveal a campaign on the part of government and police officials to dampen the militancy of the Black community."

"The mayor and the police are now whipping up a racist hysteria around this rash of murders. A dragnet such as this has never been carried out in a white community. Their goal is to make the entire Black community suspect."

The socialist candidates demanded that Alioto "withdraw his racist directive and end the dragnet."

Struggle for Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese control of NY Dist. 1 schools/16