

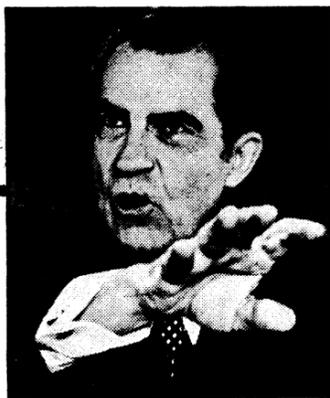
THE MILITANT

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

NIXON GANG EXPOSED

WATERGATE CONSPIRACY

— page 4



HALDEMAN: arranged 'hush money'



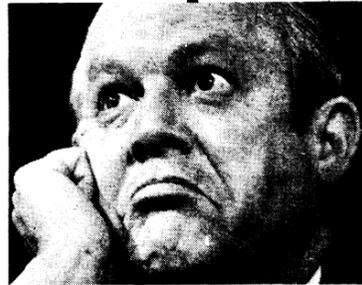
EHRlichMAN: ordered documents burned



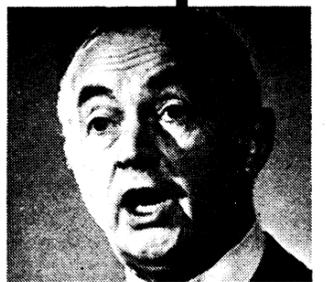
MITCHELL: headed 'Justice' Department



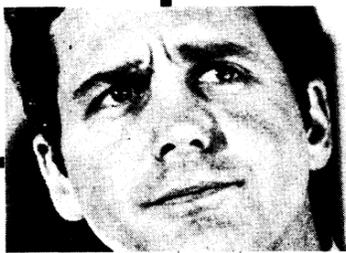
DEAN: won't be scapegoat



KLEINDIENST: 'resignation' accepted



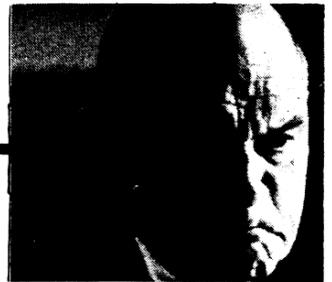
STANS: paymaster for the gang



MAGRUDER: set up CREEP in '71'



CHAPIN: hired political saboteurs



GRAY: nation's top cop ('retired')



LIDDY: won't rat on friends—yet



McCORD: first to sing



HUNT: forger, burglar, White House aide

In Brief

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 3 S.F. labor protest broadest in 25 years
- 5 Two Indians killed at Wounded Knee
- 9 Nixon widens terror bombing of Cambodia
- 10 United support for May 5 action
- 11 Congress extends wage-control legislation
- 12 'Labor Committee' in new attack
- 13 N.Y. school board election suit
- 14 Nixon axes gov't child-care programs
- 15 Oregon rallies hit budget cuts
- 16 Black Longshoremen protest cop brutality
- 17 Why Berkeley 'radicals' lost
- 18 August 1914: challenge to Kremlin 'history'
- 24 Detroit cops harass Black leaders

- 2 In Brief
- 6 In Our Opinion Letters
- 7 National Picket Line Women in Revolt
- 8 Great Society La Raza en Accion By Any Means Necessary
- 20 In Review
- 21 American Way of Life

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 1 French students set May Day protest
- 2 How trade unions joined student struggle
- 3 World News Notes
- 4 Shah celebrates as students are shot

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ARMENIANS COMMEMORATE MARTYR'S DAY: In commemoration of Armenian Martyr's Day, the anniversary of the 1915-18 massacre of 1.5 million Armenians by the Ottoman Turks, 1,500 people demonstrated in front of the building housing the Turkish Information Office in New York City April 24. The action was organized by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation and Armenian Youth Federation.

The marchers demanded "Turkish admission of guilt and a return of Armenian territories still occupied by Turks." They also demanded that all foreign aid to the criminal Turkish government be stopped. Many signs and chants also emphasized the complicity of the present Turkish regime in the heroin trade, and demanded an end to "all illegal production of the heroin producing poppy." Similar actions were held in Boston, Los Angeles, Chicago, Ottawa, France, and the Middle East.

WOMEN PROTEST 'RIGHTS FOR FETUSES' BILL: Militant correspondent Betsy Farley reports from St. Paul, Minn., that more than 100 women and men demonstrated there in protest April 12 as the state legislature debated and later passed an anti-abortion bill. The measure, calling for a constitutional amendment to guarantee human rights for fetuses, is similar to those passed in six other states in the wake of the January Supreme Court



Militant/Ed Jurenas

decision that abortion is a woman's right. The court ruling also stated that the fetus does not have a "right to life."

The demonstration at the state capitol was called by the Minnesota Women's Abortion Action Coalition (MWAAC), the Twin Cities chapter of the National Organization for the Repeal of Abortion Laws (NOW), the Minnesota Organization for the Repeal of Abortion Laws (MORAL), and University of Minnesota Women's Liberation. Etta Magnusen of MWAAC received spirited applause when she said: "We came out here today to show that we will continue to fight to uphold the Supreme Court decision. Only when women stood up by the thousands in the streets, in the legislatures, and in the courts did we begin to see change."

MAY IS AFRICAN LIBERATION MONTH: In announcing plans for demonstrations on May 26, African Liberation Day, Owusu Sadaukai, national chairman of the African Liberation Support Committee, also designated the month of May as African Liberation Month.

The African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee (ALDCC) is sponsoring the May 26 demonstration in New York City. At its request, Percy Sutton, the Borough of Manhattan president, proclaimed May as African Liberation Month. In doing so, he also renamed, for the month, the area around 125th Street and Seventh Avenue in Harlem as African Liberation Square.

Roy Innis, national director of CORE, has recently announced his support for May 26. The committee also reports success in involving Black high school students in preparations for May 26.

The ALDCC recently obtained a donation to enable them to purchase a huge banner to advertise May 26, which will hang across 125th Street near Seventh Avenue, a central area in Harlem.

TRIBUTE TO JULIUS HOBSON: The well-known Black civil rights fighter and supporter of the antiwar movement, Julius Hobson, was the honored guest at an Antioch School of Law gathering May 1, and presented with an award "in recognition of his distinguished service and singular contribution to law and justice."

Hobson gained fame for his fight to achieve racial balance in the D. C. schools, setting a precedent for school desegregation. He now suffers from incurable spinal cancer, which had made him virtually an invalid. However, in recent months his condition has improved, and he can now walk without crutches and can drive a car. In December, he underwent acupuncture treatment to relieve the pain, and this has apparently been successful.

POLICE BRUTALITY HEARING HELD IN CLEVELAND: Testimony about police brutality against Blacks was given at a recent meeting called by the Cleveland Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). The meeting was held to protest the mounting number of incidents of police brutality in the Cleveland Black community. The hearing was endorsed by Black Unity House and Afro-Set.

The most frequent complaint from the victims, in addition to police illegally breaking into their homes, beating them, and imprisoning them under false charges, was that their money and possessions were being stolen by police during these dragnets.

Bishop Alvin Warde, chairman of CORE, read a letter by the Cleveland Spanish-American Committee also protesting the tactics of Cleveland police.

Police officials present at the hearing unsuccessfully tried to answer questions from the audience and refute charges from those testifying. They walked out of the meeting when the questions got too hot.

NEW NPAC BROCHURE: A brochure entitled "OUT NOW! or Honor the Agreement—Which Demand for the Antiwar Movement?" has just been published by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC). The brochure contains excerpts from a speech by Jerry Gordon, a national co-coordinator of NPAC, given at a national steering committee meeting of NPAC and the Student Mobilization Committee on Feb. 24, 1973. Copies of the brochure can be obtained from NPAC, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 737, N. Y., N. Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.

CHICANO ACTIVISTS WIN ACQUITTAL: Four Chicano activists in Los Angeles were found innocent recently on charges growing out of demonstrations held last summer against the Million Dollar Theater. Acquitted were Raul Ruiz, Alma Madrigal, and Maria Marquez of the Raza Unida Party, and Ray Andrade. They had been charged with battery and interfering with cops while picketing against high prices and rotten conditions at the Anglo-owned theater in downtown L.A.

NEW REFERENCE SOURCE FOR WOMEN: The New Woman (North American Publishing Company, \$27.50), is a reference encyclopedia of women's liberation. It includes several essays by prominent spokeswomen, such as "Women in Politics" by Bella Abzug and "Sexism" by Anne Forfreedom. An essay called "A View from Inside the Movement" by Sherry Ryan Barnett contains short biographies of "able thinkers and spokeswomen . . . who will be the new architects of the movements." These include Gloria Steinem, editor of Ms. magazine; Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party 1972 presidential candidate; and Lupe Anguiano, a Chicana activist.

Another essay, "Notes on the Philosophical Problems of Women" discusses two leading radical theoreticians—Shulamith Firestone and Evelyn Reed. Of Evelyn Reed's *Problems of Women's Liberation* the author says: "the Marxist women have a theoretical basis to their approach to revolution which is lacking in every other Women's Liberation group with the exception of the Radical Feminists."

The annotated directory and bibliography includes the works of Evelyn Reed as well as the publications of Pathfinder Press and *The Militant*. —MIRTA VIDAL

YOUR FIRST ISSUE? SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT



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Unions demonstrate against inflation, wage controls

S.F. labor protest broadest in 25 years

By BOB SCHWARZ

SAN FRANCISCO, April 28—"We have to be ready to move and to march," said International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union President Harry Bridges. He was addressing today's militant rally of trade unionists and others protesting inflation and wage controls. It was the first time in 25 years that labor here has united on so broad a basis in defense of its rights, organizers explained.

The United Labor Action Committee (ULAC), a coalition of Bay Area unionists, sponsored the rally. The official leaflets urged demonstrators to "Smash these chains—Highest price rises in history! Wage Controls! Five million unemployed! Unequal taxes that favor the rich! \$8 billion cutback in health and social service programs!"

The overwhelming majority of the demonstrators were workers, with a large number of older workers, as well as young workers on their first labor action. There was also a sprinkling of students and consumer and antiwar activists. Both the San Francisco *Examiner* and the *Chronicle* estimated the size of the rally at between 3,000 and 5,000, which seemed to be an accurate count.

Bridges drew the best response from the crowd. "No one has to stand here and tell the average working-class family what has happened to our wages, our grocery bills, and our rent. We know these things. What we need to know is what the hell we are going to do about it."

Addressing himself to the charge that higher wages cause prices to rise, he argued: "... no matter what happens to wages, somehow or other the prices go up and up and up. Nothing strange about it. It's the name of the system; it's the name of the game. I don't know of a single corporation that doesn't exist to make money, a profit, no matter what happens to wages. . . ."

"This is no new thing," Bridges continued. "The labor movement has had to battle enemies before. The labor movement has been up against what at one time seemed to be insurmountable odds. . . ."

"I remember some of those occasions, and I remember how the workers got together and responded and were ready and determined to lick



Militant/Howard Petrick

Sign at April 28 labor rally in San Francisco.



Militant/Howard Petrick

April 28 labor rally in San Francisco was called to 'smash the chains' of high prices, wage controls, unequal taxes, and unemployment.

anything in sight. I think we are approaching a similar situation today, and it's going to be our job to organize workers . . . to close ranks and call upon our friends and supporters to expose the evil aspects of Phase 3."

There was applause after Bridges read a 1904 statement by Eugene V. Debs, Socialist Party leader and labor organizer. "'Ten thousand times has the labor movement stumbled and fallen and bruised itself," the statement said, "been . . . shot down by the regulars, deceived by politicians, smitten by priests . . . betrayed by traitors, bled by leeches and sold out by leaders."

'Vital and potential power'

"But not withstanding all this and all these, it is the most vital and potential power the planet has ever known. And its historic mission of emancipating the workers of the world from the chains of ages is as certain of ultimate realization as the setting of the sun."

Bridges continued: ". . . from here we will branch out to other communities, and we will take to the streets if need be. And if we have to take a few holidays where things get shut down, it's too damned bad."

"Now, we can get the job done; we only have to know how to organize our ranks, our friends, and our supporters. And we want all kinds of them. We want the minorities, we want the Black people and the Chicanos, we want the young and the old, and we want the women. We want everyone to unite with us, march with us, and we'll get the job done."

There was a consistent attempt on the part of the rally organizers to identify the action and ULAC with various unions, strikes, and struggles such as the Shell Oil boycott and the Farah Pants boycott. Mention of these struggles from the podium got a good response from the crowd.

A sizable and well-organized contingent of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union members came to the demonstration, passing out buttons, posters, and other literature on the Shell boycott. A number of teamsters carried signs saying "Rank-and-File Teamsters Support UFWOC" and "Fight Nixon, Not Chavez," referring to recent attempts by Teamster union officials and growers to smash the United Farm Workers Union.

The crowd was tightly packed around the podium, and they listened attentively to the speakers. The platform was covered by official union banners from ILWU Locals 6, 10, and 34; International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU); International Association of Machinists; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union; and Communications Workers of America.

Especially visible in the crowd were the painters and carpenters, oil and chemical workers, teachers, longshore workers, department store employees, hospital employees and public workers. Fifty chairs in the front were filled by elderly and disabled people.

As each speaker was introduced, there was a vocal response from the section of the crowd where the speaker's union stood.

Walter Johnson, ULAC cochairman and secretary-treasurer of Department Store Employees Union Local 1100, told the crowd:

"My friends, we have been prisoners of hope. We have hoped that our Congressmen would work for us. We have hoped that the president would work for us. But our hopes have died on a desolate plain of inaction and unconcern. Therefore we have to join the battle as democratic citizens against corporate citizens—the citizens against big business. . . ."

"I'm sure that the groups gathered here today can suppress their differences and we can join on those things we agree on and with that can march forward in a united way."

Jerry Wurf, international president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), continued the theme of united action. ". . . we who are labor have to join ranks with consumers, join with the liberals, join ranks with the minorities, join ranks with the women, and join with whoever will join us. . . ."

"And if the day comes that we have to march on Washington by the hundreds of thousands to make known to Congress that they should use their clout to deal with Nixon, that day will be forthcoming."

Women workers

There were many women at the rally, mainly from the hospital workers, department store employees, and AFSCME. Explaining how working

women are hit particularly hard by Nixon's cutbacks, Maddie Jackson of the ILGWU said: "Daycare services, which are directly connected with employment, are of great concern to the women in the labor market. Women want to go to their jobs knowing that their children are properly cared for." Some women came to the rally with their children and carried "Child Care, not Welfare" signs.

At the close of the rally, Jim Herman, president of ILWU Local 34 and cochairman of ULAC, said:

"We want it known, no mistake about it, that we are here today for just the first time around. We want to develop a unity with our allies. We intend to see that strikes are won. We intend to see that these swindles in Washington under this administration are stopped. We intend to see that people are no longer fined, that working people, mothers, minorities, no longer are the victims."

"We'll be back marching again and it won't be too long—if it's the required thing to do—before we'll be shutting down this town and this country to get the things we're entitled to."

In addition to the Longshore Drill Team and a few other unionists, there were defense guards for the rally from the Delancey Street Foundation, a half-way house for drug addicts and ex-prisoners. The foundation is located in San Francisco's wealthy Pacific Heights neighborhood, whose residents are trying to get the foundation removed. The crowd responded well when Jim Herman announced the participation of the foundation in the defense, saying, "They may not be welcome in Pacific Heights, but they are welcome here."

Many groups—radical, antiwar, and consumer—set up tables and distributed literature at the rally. There was a large "Stop Inflation, Stop War Spending" banner from the Northern California Peace Action Coalition.

Antiwar, consumer, student, and women's organizations helped build community support for the action. Kay Pachtner, director of San Francisco Consumer Action, spoke at the rally, announcing plans for the Bay Area demonstration against high prices on May 5. Consumer advocate Jerry Voorhis also spoke.

More than 250 copies of *The Militant* were sold.

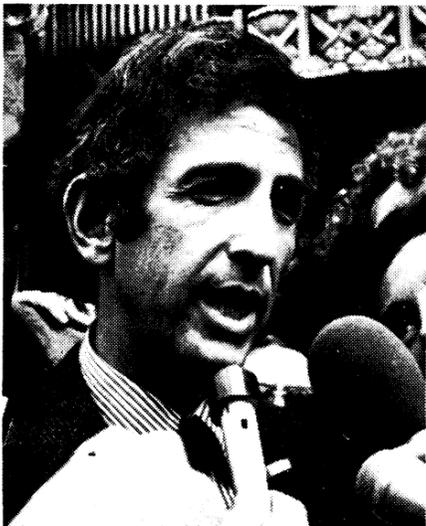
'Some will say the system is bankrupt'

Watergate shows who the real criminals are

By PETER SEIDMAN

On April 30, President Nixon announced the "resignations" of three of his closest aides and the U.S. attorney general, who were implicated directly in the Watergate crimes of sabotage and espionage against their boss's political opponents. Two days later, the *New York Times* reported that the four, along with two other top officials, are expected to be indicted by a federal grand jury.

Nixon, trying desperately to shore up sinking public confidence in the government resulting from the snowballing scandal, pointed in his statement to what he considers a positive aspect of Watergate. Referring to the fact that the scandal was initially exposed through the persistence of news reporters and one federal judge, Nixon claimed, "Some people, quite properly appalled at the abuses that occurred, will say that Watergate demonstrates the bankruptcy of the Amer-



Daniel Ellsberg. His judge in Pentagon papers case met secretly with White House.

ical political system. I believe precisely the opposite is true."

Although Nixon's defense of the "American political system" is hardly surprising, it seems in poor taste coming as it did in the midst of the exposure of the severest government scandal in U.S. history.

Consider the facts about the capitalist "American political system" already on record from the Watergate revelations:

- *The Nixon administration and the Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP) conspired to rig the 1972 election.*

In January 1971, the polls showed that Nixon would be hard pressed to beat the leading contender for the Democratic presidential nomination, Edmund Muskie. At that time, Attor-

ney General John Mitchell, in collaboration with other White House and CREEP officials, launched a campaign of "dirty tricks" and spying against the Democrats. This campaign was aimed at knocking Muskie out of the running for the nomination, because the Republicans considered George Wallace or George McGovern easier to beat.

Once McGovern was nominated, CREEP hired agents to infiltrate his campaign committees and meetings to disrupt and sabotage them.

And of course, CREEP hired the agents who were caught bugging the headquarters of the Democratic Party national committee in the Watergate building.

- *The Nixon administration conspired to railroad Pentagon papers trial defendants Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo to prison.*

At the request of President Nixon, a secret White House investigation was made into the leaking of the Pentagon papers. Nixon was enraged by the actions of Ellsberg in releasing the Pentagon's secret history of the war, which documented the repeated government lies about Vietnam.

White House agents E. Howard Hunt and G. Gordon Liddy broke into the office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist, seeking information relating to Ellsberg's "emotional and moral problems."

CREEP also hired a group of right-wing Cuban exiles to physically attack Ellsberg during a May 1972 antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C., hoping to provoke a riot.

Furthermore, Pentagon papers trial Judge Matthew Byrne has revealed that in early April 1972, while he was presiding over Ellsberg's trial and while White House officials were carrying on their own efforts to convict Ellsberg, he had been invited to meet separately with both presidential assistant John Ehrlichman and President Nixon in San Clemente. At that time, Byrne said Ehrlichman offered him a "different" job in the government!

Ellsberg's attorneys have described the meaning of this very well: "Given the extraordinary interest the White House has shown in this case, we would, were we to use blunt language, characterize this as an attempt to offer a bribe to the court—an attempt made in the virtual presence of the president of the United States—which was frustrated only because the judge refused to listen to the offer."

- *The Nixon administration and CREEP conspired to sabotage the antiwar movement.*

For example, CREEP paid \$750 to Theodore Brill, head of the Republican organization at George

Kleindienst says Nixon gave a lift to law and order in 1972

Most people recognize that the Watergate scandal has shaken the confidence of masses of people in the honesty of the U.S. government. Watergate represents a crisis for the capitalist ruling class because it exposes the real nature of the government's commitment to "law and order."

Richard Kleindienst, who resigned as attorney general April 30 because of his own unsavory connections with the Watergate case, seems to have failed to understand just why everybody's so upset.

Kleindienst told a May 1

(dubbed "Law Day" by some governmental wit) ceremony of the District of Columbia Bar Association that in 1972, "the growing popularity of lawlessness, where Americans put themselves above or outside of the law, has been halted."

Then again, Kleindienst also told reporters a few months ago that if he should every be asked to leave his job as attorney general, "I'm going to feel I've had one of the greatest experiences a dumb-bell lawyer from Arizona could have."



Washington University, to disrupt and spy on antiwar demonstrations in Washington, D.C., in 1972.

- *The Nixon administration and CREEP conspired to fraudulently claim support for their policies of bombing Hanoi and mining Haiphong harbor in April-May 1972.*

When popular opposition to the war threatened to explode into a major social crisis in April and May 1972, a former Nixon campaign official reported, CREEP "put the entire staff in overdrive for two weeks. . . . The work included petition drives, organizing rallies, bringing people in buses to Washington, organizing calls to the White House, getting voters to call their Congressmen.

"We felt the Haiphong decision could make or break the president," the official said.

As part of this effort to "make or break" the president, White House aide Charles ("I'd walk over my grandmother to reelect the president") Colson illegally placed a fabricated advertisement in the *New York Times* on May 17, 1972, which claimed to be an expression of public support for Nixon's war policies. The ad was intentionally amateurish, to give the appearance of grass-roots support for Nixon.

CREEP also paid for and organized the sending of telegrams to the White House in support of U.S. aggression in Vietnam. White House press secretary Ron Ziegler then used these telegrams as evidence of massive support for the president. He told a May 10 news conference that telegrams, letters, and phone calls were "running five or six to one in support of the president's action."

In addition, when WTTG, a Washington, D.C., TV station, held a poll last May to solicit popular opinion of the government's war policies, CREEP mailed in two-thirds of the total responses received by the station. This dramatically reversed the results of the poll to the president's advantage.

- *The Nixon administration conspired to destroy government property.*

L. Patrick Gray, while acting director of the FBI, destroyed—at the direction of top White House officials—what he had been told were "highly sensitive, classified national security documents of political dynamite."

These documents included State Department cables proving President John F. Kennedy's complicity in the 1963 assassination of South Vietnamese dictator Ngo Dinh Diem. The government now claims these were forgeries. But even if that were true, Gray—who says he never looked at the papers before burning them—was acting illegally in destroying them.

- *The Nixon administration conspired to keep all of the above crimes secret from the American people.*

Top officials of the U.S. government and CREEP held secret meetings at the CREEP headquarters following the Watergate arrests to lay plans for the coverup. The *New York Times* reports that "the basic scheme was said to have called for all of those involved in the operation to deny any knowledge of it, and for the re-election committee to issue public statements to that effect. In essence, investigators said, everyone involved in the operation repeatedly lied to Federal investigators, prosecutors, other White House officials, and finally, to Pres-

Gov't prepares for final assault

Two Indians killed at Wounded Knee

By SKIP BALL

APRIL 30—To its long list of methods used to evict Indians from Wounded Knee, the government has now added murder. The first victim was Frank Clearwater, who died of a bullet wound in the head on April 25. Reports from Indians occupying the village on the Pine Ridge Reservation in southwestern South Dakota indicate that Clearwater, a 47-year-old Apache from Cherokee, N. C., was a noncombatant, and was shot while he was inside the church at Wounded Knee on April 17.

A second occupier of Wounded Knee, Larry Lamont, was killed while he was unconscious from a government gas attack on April 27. Lamont was 31.

Using the false pretext of local opposition to the Wounded Knee occupation, the government has moved its armed perimeter 300 yards closer to Wounded Knee, bringing all check points within direct view of the cluster of houses in the village. In addition, in preparation for a possible assault on the village, more U. S. marshals have been brought to the area, along with extra supplies of gas, ammunition, and an army helicopter.

Tribal Chairman Richard Wilson has increased the size of his goon squad at a roadblock outside Wounded Knee to 60, many of whom claim to be displaced residents of the village. In fact, there are only two displaced residents of Wounded Knee among Wilson's goons, according to Toni Ackerman. Ackerman is on tour around the country as part of the American Indian Movement (AIM) defense effort.

The residents of Wounded Knee have repeatedly stated their support for AIM and the demands of the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization. Waubun New Winini (Vernon Bellecourt) told *The Militant* that 98 residents just passed another resolution supporting the demands of the occupation. An earlier resolution giving total support to the action had been passed by the 52 families residing in Wounded Knee.

With press access to Wounded Knee eliminated, however, only the government's and Wilson's stories are being covered. Under this cover Wilson has extended his police rule, arresting Matthew King and Isaac Brave Eagle, two Oglala Sioux headmen. They were elected members of the treaty council, which was set up earlier this year to study the federal treaties with the Sioux nation.

The two were arrested on April 25 in Kyle, a district village north of

Wounded Knee. They were part of a group of 50 people who had been invited by Oglala Chief Frank Fools Crow to a meeting at his house. All were charged with unlawful assembly.

In the meantime, the government has proceeded to arrest two prominent AIM leaders. Russell Means was arrested in Los Angeles on April 27, supposedly for violating bail. This charge was based on the failure of his bail bondsman to sign a particular paper.

Means was in Los Angeles as part of a speaking tour to help defend the Wounded Knee occupation. The day before his arrest he spoke to a rally of 200 at UCLA sponsored by United People for Wounded Knee and the Young Socialist Alliance. A picket line of 50 to 100 people protesting his arrest was up for the whole weekend outside of the L. A. County Jail, while inside the jail inmates gave Means ovations, cheers, and clenched fist salutes every time he passed.

Pedro Bissonette, another Sioux leader of AIM, was arrested in Rapid City, S. D., on charges of insurrection, also on April 27. Bissonette was one of the key local leaders of the Wounded Knee occupation who, according to government rumors widely circulated in the national media, had been leading an anti-AIM faction fight in the village.

In response to the stepped-up government repression, AIM has launched a nationally coordinated defense effort. National speaking tours to raise funds and get out the truth about what is happening at Wounded Knee are being coordinated out of a communications center in Rapid City. A national demonstration is being planned and will assemble on the neighboring Rosebud Reservation. Mass rallies all around the country are being encouraged, and reservation resistance is now being coordinated out of the home of traditional Oglala Chief Frank Fools Crow in Kyle.

An earlier demonstration from Rosebud to Wounded Knee was turned back at the Pine Ridge Reservation line by police in riot gear. This happened despite the fact that the march, composed of Indian, Chicano, Black, and young white supporters, was peaceful. Although federal treaty guarantees all Sioux free and unlimited passage across their reservation, Sioux were also barred from marching to Wounded Knee. Three Sioux chiefs were arrested when they tried to proceed at night.

Toni Ackerman said that those who were unable to make it to the national demonstration at Rosebud are

encouraged to organize support rallies and to get honoraria for national AIM speakers invited to address such rallies. All defense efforts are being coordinated through the national communications center at Rapid City, she said.

Speaking at one such rally in Boulder, Colo., Waubun New Winini explained the need for these rallies. "We know," he said, "that the government would have moved in on Wounded Knee a long time ago if it had not been for the support expressed at rallies and on campuses all around the country." Rallies are especially important now, to get out the truth, since the press is barred from Wounded Knee, he said.

Clyde Bellecourt, a founding leader of AIM and for 53 days one of the leaders in Wounded Knee, is also touring the country. Speaking at an April 28 rally organized by the Crusade for Justice in Denver, Bellecourt recounted the resistance represented by Wounded Knee and called for further support.

Contributions to the Wounded Knee Defense Fund should be sent to ac-



Militant/Harry Ring

Waubun New Winini (Vernon Bellecourt)

count number 295703-3, National Bank of South Dakota, Rapid City, S. D.

Messages of support should be sent to 208 Eleventh St., Rapid City, S. D. The phone number is (605) 348-1005, 1094, or 1095.

Because of the widespread support for Wounded Knee, a number of autonomous defense groups have developed. AIM is appealing to everyone to report all such funds and local defense groups to the above address, both to eliminate fraudulent collection of funds, and to help centralize and coordinate defense efforts.

ident Nixon."

That last, of course, is virtually impossible to believe—since Nixon is the political godfather of the entire conspiracy.

These crimes were carried out by a secret task force of ex-FBI and ex-CIA agents and counterrevolutionary Cuban exiles. In addition, their efforts were aided by the discreet assistance of the nation's chief law enforcement officer, Attorney General John Mitchell.

It is now known that CREEP maintained at least three secret cash funds totaling at least \$1.5-million, largely in \$100 bills. These funds were used to pay CREEP expenses for illegal activities. Some of this money is now finding its way into a mysterious numbered Swiss bank account.

Huge amounts of these secret CREEP funds were raised from giant corporations seeking special favors from the Nixon administration, including the dairy industry, ITT, and international financier Robert Vesco.

Already on public record against Nixon and his close political collaborators is more criminal evidence than any used by Nixon and Mitchell in seeking convictions of radicals, Blacks, and other opponents of the capitalist government.

Father Philip Berrigan was sentenced to six years in prison for demonstrating his opposition to the war in Vietnam by pouring lamb's blood on draft records. Nixon charged him with destroying government property!

The government is currently seeking prison terms for Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo because they made the Pentagon papers available to the U. S. public, exposing the government's lies about the war in Vietnam. Nixon is charging them with theft!

The government sought to imprison the Chicago Seven for organizing antiwar actions at the 1968 Democratic Party convention in Chicago. It is taking similar action against seven Vietnam veterans and one sympathizer for organizing antiwar actions at the Republican Party convention in Miami in 1972. Nixon is charging them with conspiracy!

In his April 30 speech, Nixon insisted that he knew nothing of the Watergate scandal until late March, but the *New York Times* delicately editorialized the following day that it found "a certain want of candor" in this assertion.

Although the *Times* welcomed the resignations of the top White House and other government officials, it was disappointed in Nixon's choices to replace them: "These appointments convey the impression of a President still reluctant to move beyond his own political circle and still determined to keep the investigation of Watergate as far as possible under his control."

But it will be very hard to keep the developing scandal under control. Every official and hireling of the Nixon administration and CREEP has been steeped in the values of their boss and the capitalist system he defends: "look out for number one." James McCord, the first of the Watergate criminals to spill the beans, set in motion a chain reaction of exposure.

Each person implicated in the Watergate scandal will now follow the example set by presidential aide John Dean. When Dean found out he was being set up as the highest official responsible for Watergate, he quickly ratted on his two immediately superiors, who, to be sure, were equally guilty. "You won't make a scapegoat out of me!" he explained.



Tribal chief Richard Wilson (center), and private goon squad have repeated threat to 'retake' Wounded Knee.

On Watergate

The revelations surrounding the Watergate plot have lifted a corner of the curtain on the real nature of the U. S. capitalist government. Those who are supposed to represent the highest authority in this country—the president and his administration—have been exposed as crooks and liars. Those who claim to administer "justice" and carry out the law are involved in sabotage, theft, bribery, bugging and spying, and conspiracy to obstruct justice.

The gangster methods of Nixon and his henchmen obviously go far beyond Watergate. They are the same methods that the imperialist rulers of this country—both Democrats and Republicans—use to protect their interests throughout the entire capitalist world. These politicians, working hand-in-glove with the giant corporations, carry out undercover operations against all social movements opposing them at home, as well as against popular struggles threatening the capitalist system abroad. The goal is always the same: to maintain their power by any means necessary.

The American capitalist government claims to represent the "free world." Yet Nixon and his underlings in CREEP conspired to rig the 1972 elections in the U. S., just as they tried to manipulate the Chilean elections in 1970. The Democrats made the same type of attempt to rig the Chilean elections in 1964.

They claim to represent the "free world, and yet the Pentagon papers show that the U. S. was involved in conspiring to assassinate former South Vietnamese dictator Diem. How many other political figures have they assassinated?

The U. S. imperialist rulers claim to represent a system of democracy. Yet these "public servants" conspired to hide the Pentagon papers from the American people—to hide the truth about the war being carried out in their name.

They claim to represent democracy, yet they have to tamper with opinion polls and arrange phony shows of "public sentiment" to demonstrate support for a war they have carried out against the wishes of the majority of Americans.

They claim to support self-determination while they train and finance counterrevolutionary mercenary armies to invade and terrorize other countries, such as Cuba in 1961.

Nixon's gang of CIA and military operators run military and police training schools throughout the world to build up their network of agents, who all operate in the same spirit of cynicism, deceit and ruthlessness displayed by the Watergate conspirators.

The Watergate revelations of the methods of the U. S. rulers reflect the fact that the American imperialists only hold their power at the expense of the masses of people in the world as well as the masses of the American people. Such rulers cannot afford the truth or full democratic freedoms.

Defend UFW!

The United Farm Workers Union is in a fight for its life against the powerful, well-financed Teamsters union bureaucracy. The UFW won contracts with many California grape growers three years ago after a hard and bitter struggle. Now that these contracts have expired, the growers have been signing sweetheart contracts with the Teamsters union.

They want a more docile union leadership than that of the UFW, which has for the first time succeeded in organizing this most exploited sector of the labor movement in a fight for decent treatment.

Last week the *New York Times* revealed that the Justice Department had "turned down a request by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to continue the electronic surveillance that had begun to penetrate teamsters' union connections with the Mafia." The *Times* quotes government sources as describing "a Mafia plan to reap millions of dollars in payoffs" from Teamster welfare funds.

The investigation was proving "potentially damaging and certainly embarrassing" to the Teamster bureaucrats. Nixon's protection of the Teamster officers is repayment for their endorsement of his reelection campaign, and their cooperation in foisting wage controls on the American workers.

We can also assume that the Nixon administration is working hand in glove with the Teamster bureaucrats in their war on the Farm Workers Union.

In defending the UFW we are defending the interests of the farm workers, and the policy of militant union struggle and mass mobilization through which the UFW was built.

A broad campaign is urgently needed to back up the Farm Workers Union against the unholy alliance of the Teamsters bureaucrats, the growers, and the White House.

U. S. ends minesweeping

In the closing days of March the Pentagon announced it was teaching North Vietnamese authorities how to remove U. S. mines from North Vietnamese waters so that the U. S. could be relieved of the task.

Three weeks later the Pentagon announced its mine removal operations are being stopped in view of alleged cease-fire violations by the North Vietnamese—even though most U. S. correspondents on the scene blame the U. S.-supported Thieu regime in the South for the vast majority of aggressive military actions since the "cease-fire."

Some interesting questions are raised: How many mines are there in North Vietnamese waters? Why does it take so long to remove them? And why doesn't the Soviet Union make available its sophisticated mine-sweeping equipment?

L. D.
Boston, Mass.

Abortion

I am very impressed at the tremendous coverage your newspaper has directed at the issue of abortion. We should also make an all-out attempt to make contraceptives and information about them relatively inexpensive and easily obtainable by all persons in their reproductive ages.

J. E.
Mitchellsburg, Ky.

Bloomington SMC

The Student Mobilization Committee in Bloomington was able to organize a demonstration here April 5 against Thieu's visit to the U. S. and against Indiana University's complicity with the war in Southeast Asia. Sixty people marched around the demands ROTC off campus, ARVN troops off campus (there is a training program here for South Vietnamese troops), end war-related investment, and SMC access to university investment records.

The march ended at the administration building, where delegates were sent in to speak with the administration. The administrators were completely unresponsive to SMC demands, often refused to answer SMC's questions, and said we had violated the rules of the meeting by inviting the press.

A. F.
Bloomington, Ind.

Jewish women's movement

Since *The Militant* has carried little about the Jewish women's movement, I'd like to pass on this information. Madison feminists recently organized a "Jewish Women's Workshop." The event drew about 80 women from all parts of the city and of different occupations. Discussion centered around the need for change in Jewish law, in women's image of themselves, and the necessity of accepting alternative life-styles.

We college students found the women involved in the community remarkably open to our suggestions about child care, reform in Jewish education, and the need to encourage women to take more positions of leadership within the synagogue and local organizations.

Janet Heller
Madison, Wis.

Israeli prison

For the third time in two months (January and February 1973) the prisoners in Beit Lid prison in the Israeli-occupied Sinai have declared a hunger strike. The majority of the 250 prisoners there are serving terms exceeding 15 years. The officers chosen to supervise Beit Lid are among the cruelest and most inhuman. Many of the methods used in this camp are a true copy of those the Nazis used in Auschwitz.

Talk is completely forbidden in the cells; midday break does not exceed the half hour. Prisoners are made to sit down cross-legged for hours on end and are prevented from wearing shoes or even slippers. Harsh, inhuman punitive measures are applied for any excuse: humiliation, beatings, imprisonment in isolated cold cells, etc.

Health conditions are extremely bad. The answer of the prison doctor to any complaint is: "It does not matter as long as you are not dead yet." Some prisoners are afflicted with tuberculosis, yet they are neither in isolation nor treated.

However the worst thing about this prison is that it is used to train troops from the neighboring army camps. When the bell rings for the end of midday break, a group of soldiers runs in with whips in their hands, beating the prisoners back to their cells. It is part of the training used for suppressing demonstrations, etc. Many detainees are known to have suffered fractures as a result. The guards keep their names secret, fearing punishment one day.

Women in Jordan in the Occupied West Bank
Amman, Jordan

Guards don't like 'Militant'

I am an inmate serving 30 years for armed robbery. I have been given additional sentences of 15 years for three escape attempts.

I wrote to your paper March 28 asking you to send me a few sample copies of *The Militant* to allow me to determine if I wanted to subscribe. Prison officials intercepted my letter in the mail room and processed it along a line of institutional red tape.

It appears that your paper is not popular with them. I might add, in that event, I feel that I more than ever before desire to subscribe, for I too am unpopular with them.

A prisoner
Louisiana

Los Tres

The National Committee to Free Los Tres is a defense organization in the process of collecting money for the bail of Rodolfo Sanchez, Alberto Ortiz, and Juan Fernandez. Bail has been set at \$50,000 each. We are also at this moment planning a rally for Los Tres and all political prisoners on May 19.

In light of the fact that we do not have funds at the present time, we are asking movement newspapers to include us on their mailing lists and send us a copy of their papers. We hope that sometime in the near future we will be able to have subscription money.

National Committee to Free Los Tres
4400 South Huntington Dr.
Los Angeles, Calif. 90032



National Picket Line

Frank Lovell

Bobby Seale

The Militant declares that Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown, by working in alliance with the Democratic Party, are "seriously misleading . . . the Black community about the possibility of achieving any improvement in the conditions of Black people through reliance on capitalist politics."

You have an anti-Trotskyist position. Don't you know that reform is improvement within the capitalist system, and that you can't get to revolution without reformism? Any improvement (and a reform is an improvement and it can be gotten by working with the Democrats) in the condition of Blacks is preferable to no improvement at all. And improvement can be secured through capitalist politics.

Seale and Brown and the Black Panther Party have a correct tactic. Its purpose is to prevent the coming fascist extermination of oppressed people, primarily of Blacks, by forming a coalition with other groups (even left-of-center bourgeois) in order to prevent fascism and insure the victory of socialism.

B. R.

Iowa City, Iowa

In reply—The fight for reforms is very important, but the way to win reforms is not by supporting one of the parties responsible for the capitalist system of exploitation and racial oppression. The history of the 1960s shows that even the small reforms won by Black people have come not because of the work of "good Democrats" but rather because of the militancy and determination demonstrated in the civil rights marches, Black student actions, etc. Liberal capitalist politicians can't be looked to as allies against fascism because their fundamental loyalties are to defend the capitalist status quo, the system that gives rise to fascism.

Labor Committee

As a frequent attendant at Labor Committee classes, I'm appalled at the reckless LC policy of violence known as "Operation Mop-up." I understand that a group of hierarchy hotheads ramrodded "Operation Mop-up" into effect without consent of the LC rank and file. This was possible because the LC is a bureaucracy.

About two months ago, I attended an LC class during which announcements were made about the impending state of LC bankruptcy. So they passed the hat. The leader rationalized by claiming the Bolshevik Party was once reduced to nothing more than a few letter writers.

From this and other indications, I'm convinced the decision to perpetrate violent aggressions on other leftist parties (of all targets) was an irresponsible act of desperation.

A reader

Rochester, N. Y.

P. S. I'm not a member of LC or any other party.

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.

Open-shop challenge to unions

This week's National Picket Line is a guest column by a member of the Painters Union in New York.

The campaign against open-shop contractors by the Philadelphia building trades unions, begun so promisingly with a 24-hour work stoppage throughout Pennsylvania and a giant march of 50,000 on June 22, 1972, has produced no tangible results and seems to be petering out. Its central target, the Altemose Construction Company, largest of the nonunion contractors in Philadelphia, is still going strong.

These open-shoppers are moving into cities all over the country in greater numbers, many in areas supposed to be controlled by the Associated General Contractors, employers of union labor.

The companies that belong to AGC are thought by some union business agents to be "friends" of the unions.

It now turns out that many of them are shifting over to the Associated Builders and Contractors (ABC), the association of open shoppers that represents Altemose and others in all parts of the country. Some of our "good" contractors belong to both employer outfits under different names.

The ABC is getting big support from the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and is reported to have the private support of the Business Roundtable, a group of major corporations.

This is a new turn for the major employers in the construction industry. As long as I can remember the big contractors have always depended on unions for their work crews. When they needed men for a new job or wanted to hire extra workers, they always called the union hall.

In the past if a small scab operator needed to get a job done, he usually pieced off the business

agent or got cover from one of the big contractors to bring in his own unorganized crew at below-scale wages. No more.

These open-shop contractors are now big and out in the open, challenging the union movement. They are driven by their insatiable hunger for greater profits. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, "in the building trades, union craftsmen surpass the median earnings of their nonunion counterparts by more than 40 percent."

The ABC has put the building trades in Philadelphia on the defensive. It has gone to court, charging more than 50 building trades locals with "conspiracy" because these locals have tried to force Altemose and other open shoppers to sign up with the unions and pay union wages. This court action is supported by powerful banks and corporations outside the construction industry.

There is no way the unions can fight back except by starting to organize all construction workers. This means that the craft unions will probably be forced to merge and form one industrial union of all construction workers, not an easy move for these craft-minded union bureaucrats in the building trades. But if a nationwide organizing drive of construction workers is not undertaken soon, there will be very little work left for craftsmen who go to the union halls for their jobs.

It should be possible now to organize construction workers, as I would think it is to organize all others outside the union movement. Zooming prices demand a big wage raise for all low-paid workers. Unions—including the building trades—will have to fight for cost-of-living escalator clauses in all contracts, in order to buy next week what the pay check covers this week.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



'Honest' George retreats

Frances Farenthold, head of the National Women's Political Caucus, recently criticized Senator George McGovern for proposing a "retreat" from the standards that were used in 1972 to pick delegates to the Democratic national convention.

She was referring to McGovern's testimony before the Democratic Party Charter Commission, which is writing permanent rules covering the party's organization and structure. McGovern proposed that the phrase calling for delegate representation on the basis of "their presence in the population" of the state be eliminated. This is the reform that allowed larger participation of women, youth, Blacks, and Chicanos at the Democratic Party convention in 1972.

This is neither an isolated nor the most important "retreat" of the South Dakota senator since his defeat in November. He has retreated on the war in Vietnam by saying that he has "no quarrel" with the Nixon administration's current policies in Vietnam. He has opposed giving economic aid to North Vietnam. On amnesty he states, "I'm not going to have much to say about that. . . . [It's] a kind of academic issue for me now."

In his scramble to win favor with conservative interests in South Dakota, McGovern is trying hard to change his image. He told the *New York Times* that his legislative priorities are agricultural subsidies and turning attention "from hunger among the poor to eating habits of the middle class." And he recently asked the federal authorities to clear the Indians out of Wounded Knee.

These shifts to the right by McGovern should come as no surprise to the Women's Political Caucus—they began long before the elections. In fact, McGovern began "retreating" as soon as he felt he had accomplished his stated goal of "co-opting the left," which included the women's liberation movement.

McGovern callously betrayed women delegates to

the Democratic Party convention by killing the abortion rights plank and by refusing to back up the challenge by women to the South Carolina delegation. By the time November rolled around, Sargent Shriver was saying that McGovern's stand on abortion was "exactly the same as Nixon's."

McGovern just used women in his campaign. He paraded women before the television cameras as window dressing and then backed down on every single issue of concern to women.

McGovern lost the elections and is retreating. Just imagine the backsliding if he had won! As president of the United States, McGovern would have been forced to follow the same policies Nixon is following, because on the basic, fundamental issues the Democrats and Republicans agree. They both support and defend the capitalist system and serve the interests of the tiny handful of bankers and businessmen who profit from it. The freedom of women is diametrically opposed to the interests of capitalism. In order to liberate women we are going to have to totally restructure this society from top to bottom—and neither the Democrats nor the Republicans are interested in doing that.

Many women supported McGovern because they were fooled into thinking that he supported their demands. They have learned a valuable lesson about capitalist politics. They should draw the only possible conclusion from the experience with McGovern and swear off "lesser-evil" politics once and for all.

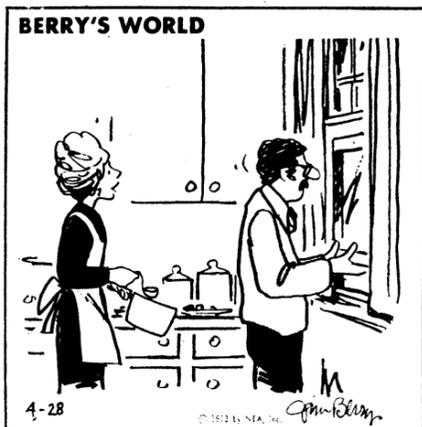
If the Women's Political Caucus had been consistent in their fight for women's demands, they would have supported the only candidates consistently campaigning on a feminist program and against the capitalist system—the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

True, the SWP didn't get elected in November either. But people who voted for us don't have to apologize for their vote, or call us to order for "retreating."



Environmental progress—Complying with a federal statute, the Pentagon filed a statement with the Council on Environmental Quality regarding the B1 plane being developed to bomb the USSR in a nuclear war. The Pentagon assured the plane "will not emit smoke" and the engine will be more quiet than previous nuclear bombers.

Balanced view—Discussing efforts by Australians to quit smoking, one fellow aged 58 who's been smoking regularly since he was eight, commented: "For a bloke like myself it would do more harm than good. But for young people—yes. It's something you can live without, not like a drink or a meal."



'Close the window. Dinner's getting dirty!'

Probably more nutritious—If your canned tuna seemed more brown and dry recently, maybe you got some from the batch shipped by a Japanese canner who got his regular and pet food labels mixed up.

Morality dept.—Pennsylvania legislators are considering a bill to prohibit premarital and extramarital sex. Governor Shapp suggested that voting on the measure be limited to those passing a lie detector test concerning their own behavior. We'd agree if they included a few questions about screwing the public.

Sweet—Congress is being urged to extend a law under which the gov-

ernment paid indemnities for an estimated total of 21 million dead bees. The payoff was to beekeepers whose colonies were killed off by pesticides sprayed in their areas. One operator recently collected \$610,000. Farm workers and other pesticide victims are, of course, not eligible.

Truth in advertising—An ad in *Business Week* was headlined, "Instead of sharing the wealth, why not share the secret of getting it?" It said: "Vista volunteers don't make a lot of money for themselves. But they do see other people make money through their efforts. . . ." Now if they would share the secret of just who makes money through VISTA efforts.

iLa Raza en Acción!

'Racism in reverse'?

One of the ways that Chicanos are oppressed is by being denied access to the professions. The number of Chicano lawyers and doctors is negligible. Until a few years ago, most law and medical schools were lily-white institutions where well-to-do Anglos sent their children to prepare them for a successful career.

In some places this is beginning to change. Because of the pressure exerted by Black and Chicano liberation struggles, some schools have been forced to institute special programs for the admission of nonwhites.

In a few schools, Chicanos have achieved what is known as "parity." This means having the percentage of Chicano students equal the percentage of Chicanos in the population of a given area. This is actually a very modest and minimal gain. It will take a long, long time for the percentage of Chicano doctors and lawyers to equal the percentage of Chicanos in the population through "parity."

Chicanos have a lot of "catching up" to do, and the only way to do this is for the universities to admit *more* Chicanos than just what constitutes parity. Some law schools are beginning to do this, too. It is a step forward, but law schools

are still 93 percent white.

In spite of the pitifully small number of Chicanos in law school, some people still have the arrogance to label these halting steps toward equality "reverse racism" and "discrimination" against whites.

Paul Hartman, director of the Law Department of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in New York, has thrown in his two cents' worth, saying, "Any action where a less-qualified student is taken over a better-qualified student is reverse racism and discrimination."

One Anglo honor student who was denied admission to law school is suing the University of Washington, saying that he was discriminated against because of his race. He claims the school was admitting "less qualified" nonwhites under a special program, while turning him down. The lawsuit is drawing nationwide attention.

The argument that the "best qualified" applicants should be accepted regardless of race is a phony, racist argument. This is the argument that has kept Chicanos out of the universities under the guise of "equality." As Jaime Gallardo, chairman of the La Raza Law Students Association, put it: "If they use the same criteria for minorities—who

get an inferior public school education—as they do for whites, we'll never get many minority students in law schools."

The logic of the arguments being used by the people who cry "reverse racism" is to pin the blame on Chicanos for the fact that the capitalist education system is geared to producing Chicanos who are "less qualified" for university and postgraduate work. Chicanos are not to blame; they are the victims of this system.

Instead of blaming Chicanos for the fact that a limited number of people are able to pursue a higher education, Anglos should join the fight for a guaranteed education for all who want one. Until everyone has that opportunity, Chicanos and other oppressed nationalities must be afforded preferential treatment to make up for past and present discrimination.

If the lawsuit against the University of Washington is successful, it will endanger all special university admissions programs for Chicanos—not just in law schools. The struggle by La Raza to have access to higher education has barely begun. And yet, even the modest gains that have been made are under attack and will have to be defended.

Miguel Pendas



By Any Means Necessary

If you're Black, you'll catch hell

Two outstanding examples of capitalist justice were in the news recently. One marked the "freedom" of four Blacks known as the Harlem Four. The other marked the completion of the trials of the Kitty Hawk 27.

The two cases are separated by 3,000 miles and involved different "crimes." But there are two similarities. Both were obvious frame-ups of Blacks. And both involved long periods of pre-trial detention.

The Harlem Four's ordeal began nine years ago, in April 1964, when they were accused of murdering a woman and attempting to murder her husband in a robbery of a Harlem clothing store. Since then, the four have gone through three trials and were about to face a fourth when they pleaded guilty to manslaughter in return for suspended sentences.

All along they had maintained their innocence, and upon leaving the courtroom they emphatically reaffirmed this position. William Craig, one of the four, said: "We've said all along we are not guilty, and what we feel the world should understand now is that we are still not guilty. We hope our friends, our mothers, our fathers, anybody who cares, will understand why we had to do

this, why we had to make this decision."

Craig was referring to the fact that they were facing yet another trial. Of the three earlier trials, one resulted in a conviction (later overturned). The other two ended in hung juries. The Harlem Four were held in jail for eight years, denied their right to bail until they were finally released last year.

All these years they've been hounded by Manhattan District Attorney Frank Hogan. According to defense lawyers, Hogan decided not to insist on a fourth trial because it might prove embarrassing in his campaign for reelection to a ninth term.

The events leading up to the trials of the 27 Black sailors from the *Kitty Hawk* began 1st Oct. 12-13 in the South China Sea aboard the giant aircraft carrier.

The events were described as a "race riot." Twenty-seven Black sailors were arrested. Even a Black officer, second in command, had been threatened with a beating by rampaging white Marines.

Subsequent trial testimony disclosed that many whites were instigators of the events, though only one white sailor was arrested (and he was acquitted).

The final score was Navy brass 18, Black sailors 9. Nine Blacks were either acquitted or had the charges against them dropped. Eighteen were found guilty. Fourteen were convicted of assault, and four on riot charges. Most were fined and reduced in rank. And most have been locked up in the brig from the October events until their trials.

What do these two cases say about capitalist "justice?"

Neither case involved people who were known from the start as "Black militants" and framed for their political views. No, these brothers weren't the Rap Browns, Martin Sostres, Gary Lawtons, or Ben Chavises.

These brothers didn't have a plan to change things; they were just "ordinary" Blacks. They are just a few of the many Black victims of capitalist society. A society that each day metes out the most brutal punishment to people simply because of their color—punishment that cuts across all religious, moral, or political bonds.

As Brother Malcolm often said, "it doesn't matter if you're a Christian, a Muslim, a Confucianist, an atheist, or a communist or socialist. It doesn't matter. *If you're Black*, you're going to catch hell just like I do."

Baxter Smith



Liberation forces on outskirts of Phnom Penh

Nixon widens terror bombing of Cambodia

From *Intercontinental Press*

By ALLEN MYERS

"Three months after the signing of truce in Vietnam," the *New York Times* commented in an editorial April 29, "the United States is still at war. Not only is the end not in sight, but each day brings new intimations that the Administration is ready for heightened combat in Southeast Asia."

The paper estimated that since the January 27 signing of the cease-fire agreement, U.S. forces have dropped 150,000 tons of bombs on Indochina. The estimate, based on figures released by the Defense Department April 25, may have been conservative.

The department stated that in March it had dropped some 39,000 tons of bombs on Cambodia. In February, U.S. planes dropped 70,000 tons on Cambodia and Laos. In April, although the government has not yet released any figures, it has been widely reported that the bombing of Cambodia has significantly increased. John W. Finney reported in the April 26 *New York Times*:

"The United States bombed intermittently in Cambodia in the three final weeks of February, and then on a daily basis starting March 1. Currently, the United States is reportedly sending about 60 B-52's and 140 F-4 and F-111 fighter-bombers on daily bombing missions against targets in Cambodia. Each B-52 carries an average bomb load of 20 tons, the F-4 2.5 tons and the F-111 four tons."

Finney added that from 1966 to the end of March of this year, U.S. and puppet forces have dropped 7,288,965 tons of bombs on Indochina. This is more than three-and-a-half times the total dropped by U.S. planes during all of the second world war.

On April 27, a Senate subcommittee released a staff study that confirmed widespread reports that the bombing in Cambodia has shifted steadily toward more populous areas. Senator Stuart Symington, the subcommittee chairman, issued a statement saying that bombs were being dropped in

densely populated areas and that "the safeguards employed to avoid civilian casualties [are] far less stringent than those recently in effect in Laos."

Symington added that the study should correct "the erroneous impression" that "the fighting in Cambodia was between Cambodians and North Vietnamese." Rather, the study "confirms the fact that the struggle going on in Cambodia is essentially a civil war between opposing Cambodian groups and that our bombing is devoted primarily to the support" of Lon Nol.

In a dispatch to the April 23 *Christian Science Monitor*, Daniel Southerland described a typical bombing attack on a Cambodian village, Prek Youn on the Mekong River.

"According to villagers from Prek Youn, and they all agree on this," he wrote, "the bombs hit the village several hours after the Cambodian insurgents had left it. The only people hurt by the bombing of Prek Youn, therefore, were civilians."

Villagers told Southerland that insurgent forces had entered the village one night after firing on a patrol boat



Lon Nol, 'mayor of Phnom Penh'

of the puppet regime. They urged villagers to leave because of the threat of American bombs. About 9:00 o'clock the next morning two U.S. jets began bombing the village, destroying or damaging half the houses in it. On the following nights, more planes bombed an area nearby where the villagers had taken refuge.

U.S. planes are already hitting areas within view of correspondents in Phnompenh. Malcolm W. Browne wrote in a dispatch to the April 28 *New York Times*:

"American jet fighter-bombers were screeching over the Cambodian capital all day today, pouring bombs, rockets and napalm onto Communist positions just across the Mekong River."

The rebel forces were reported to be in positions from which they could shell any point in the city, although so far their attacks have been confined to the airport.

Yielding to pressure from the Nixon administration, Lon Nol on April 24 announced the creation of a four-man executive to run the puppet "government." Joining Lon Nol in this executive are Sirik Matak, Nixon's favorite, and In Tam and Cheng Heng. In Tam was president of the National Assembly that approved the coup against Sihanouk, but later had a falling out with his boss. Cheng Heng was made "chief of state" for a time before Lon Nol decided to take that post himself. Prior to the coup, Cheng Heng's chief claim to fame was that he had been governor of the Phnompenh jail.

Washington has been insisting that the creation of the four-man executive represents a "broadening" of the puppet "government." And, indeed, it is unquestionable that four persons are four times as many as one. But they are not sufficient in number to exercise control even over Phnompenh without massive U.S. support.

"Many American officials," Murrey Marder wrote in the April 26 *Washington Post*, "look with despair on the situation in Cambodia. They see in

it nightmarish memories of how the United States plunged progressively deeper into South Vietnam, in the days of President Ngo Dinh Diem. . . ."

Given his commitment to the maintenance of a puppet regime in Phnompenh, Nixon has little choice but to increase the level of U.S. aggression. The only other alternative is to force Hanoi to persuade the Cambodian liberation forces to abandon their struggle—something that Hanoi may



Refugees stream into Phnom Penh from areas under U.S. saturation bombing.

not have the ability to do. This is what Nixon was talking about when he sent representatives to Paris April 27 to discuss "strict implementation" of the January 27 agreement with the North Vietnamese.

In the past, when "diplomatic" activity has not been able to stave off impending military defeat, Nixon has responded by widening the war. In the present situation, his frequent threats over the past few weeks have indicated that renewed bombing of Vietnam is an "option" that looks increasingly attractive to the U.S. imperialist leader.

Expose massive corruption in Thieu gov't

By DAN ROSENSHINE

The *Los Angeles Times* has gotten ahold of 100 pages of previously unobtainable reports by American civilian advisers in South Vietnam. The documents provide graphic accounts of brutal population control methods, political repression, economic deterioration, and corruption characterizing the Saigon regime.

The reports, written from the provinces under Thieu's control and filed with higher-level American officials, were summarized by Jacques Leslie in the April 23 *Los Angeles Times*.

One of the policies discussed in the reports is population "relocation." This is carried out under the Hamlet Evaluation System (HES), which originated in 1966 by the Americans and was "Vietnamized" in 1972. Under HES, various letters are assigned to individual villages to denote their degree of government control, with the American advisers report, more than a little statistical tampering. Some Vietnamese officials even go so far as to declare hamlets controlled by the Provisional Revolutionary Government to be "nonpopulated areas" in order to produce a better "HES count" to send their superiors.

Robert Traister, an American "inter-

province representative" in the Mekong Delta wrote the following about Vinh Long province: "The forced movement of people from one location to another in order to better control them for security purposes continues. American aid has been requested to assist these people. The major objective of the program appears to be achievement of the HES goals assigned by Saigon."

A report from Binh Tuy by Robert McCandliss describes a population control procedure that is widespread in South Vietnam: forcing entire families to have their pictures taken while standing by the GVN (Government of South Vietnam) flag. Family members face arrest or punishment for not allowing their pictures to be taken. And, to top it off, the families themselves are forced to pay for the photos.

But Leslie also notes that "not all the relocation has been in the government's favor." An American adviser writing from An Xuyen, the southernmost province of Vietnam, says that National Liberation Front propaganda in the area is "effective," and warns of a trend toward "increased population under Viet Cong [sic] control."

The adviser goes on to say, "Rea-

sons for this alarming movement of people to non-GVN areas include persuasive promises by the Communists of land, tax breaks, security, and freedom from military obligation by the Viet Cong, aggravated by general disgust with the maladministration by government officials."

The organization of President Thieu's New Democracy Party is dis-



Indochina Resource Center

Sign in S. Vietnam refugee camp reads "Refugees from communism are prohibited from leaving the camp."

cussed in many of the U.S. advisers' reports. The reports, Leslie says, "verify that government officials can lose their jobs if they refuse to join the party."

Leslie writes that the reports reflect a worsening economic situation "overshadowing the government's other problems." He quotes reports that cite rising prices, lack of government efforts to stabilize the economy, and widespread popular dissatisfaction.

The bitterness of the South Vietnamese masses is all the more increased by the widespread and obvious corruption of government officials. "Officials in areas of doubtful security appear to be stepping up their level of corruption and alienating the population," an adviser from An Xuyen reported. "In reaction to this, the province chief has ordered complete investigations, not of those accused, but of the accusers."

The reports of these American civilian advisers, many of whom are in reality military advisers in disguise, reveal that South Vietnam continues to be a social powder keg containing all the ingredients that can lead to new mass struggles against the Thieu regime and against continued U.S. interference in Southeast Asia.

United support for May 5 demonstrations shows potential for fight against inflation

By CINDY JAQUITH

MAY 1—"The sentiment we've encountered up to now is just the tip of an iceberg. The key to May 5 is unity in action: trade unions, together with the antiwar movement, women's groups, students, Blacks, the unemployed, the elderly, and the consumer movement are capable of generating tremendous power," says Eileen Berlow, an organizer of the Cleveland May 5 demonstration against high prices.

The protests initiated by women's consumer groups through the April 1-7 meat boycott have spread to include broader social forces. The good response to the National Consumers Congress call for May 5 local demonstrations indicates the willingness of the American people to take action against inflation.

Support for May 5 shows the failure of Nixon's attempts to pit consumers against workers and small farmers. As a New York May 5 leaflet printed by Social Services Employees Union Local 371 points out, unionists have to "demonstrate to consumers and other victims of inflation that unions are their allies in this fight and not their enemies."

A statement by the Michigan Committee Against High Prices, the group building the May 5 action in Detroit, explains, "This rally is to protest the inaction of the government and the avarice of the giant corporations of the food industry, not to hurt small farmers or the meat and grocery workers."

An impressive list of trade-union bodies and officials has endorsed the May 5 demonstrations, including the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly (see story this page); Cleveland Federation of Labor; Greater Washington (D.C.) Central Labor Council; John

Wright, head of Atlanta Labor Council; Frank Valenta, president of Cleveland AFL-CIO; Raoul Teilhet, president, California Federation of Teachers; and the national United Auto Workers Community Action Program.

Consumer groups, including leaders of the meat boycott, are organizers of the protests in many cities. The San Diego Fight Inflation Together (FIT) chapter, which organized two marches during the boycott, is now building May 5. In Venice, Calif., the Westside Concerned Consumers Fighting the High Cost of Living will hold an "empty pots" march and community meeting as part of the May 5 activities in the Los Angeles area.

Members of Westchester Against Inflation Now have set up tables in front of supermarkets all week to build the May 5 rally in New York City. The Greater Philadelphia Meat Boycott, Philadelphia Area Consumers Organization, and the Consumer Protection Association are backing the May 5 protest in Philadelphia.

The support for May 5 indicates that participants in all the movements for social change have been hard hit by inflation and want to do something to combat it. Antiwar groups, particularly the National Peace Action Coalition and the Student Mobilization Committee, are building May 5, emphasizing that war spending is a major cause of inflation.

Inspired by the role women have played as the leaders and organizers of the meat boycott, some women's organizations have joined the protests. At a recent meeting of the San Diego National Organization for Women (NOW), for example, 64 women signed up to participate in May 5 activities.

Forces fighting the federal cutbacks in social services are also involved.



Militant/Peter Seidman

April 25 news conference in New York to announce plans for local May 5 rally. From left to right: Elizabeth Feinstein, from District 37 AFSCME Operation Pricewatch; Alfred Del Bello, mayor of Yonkers; Al Evanoff, vice-president of District 65, Distributive Workers of America; Adam Glantz, representing Queens Borough President Donald Mannes; Ruth Robinett, a coordinator of Greater New York May 5 Committee; Florence Rice, Harlem Consumers' Educational Council.

"We share with other organizations here a deepening concern over the steadily rising cost of living, wage controls . . . and cutbacks in human service programs," explained a news release from the Detroit Welfare Reform Coalition.

"Together, rising prices and the dismantling of social programs signify the resolution of the Administration in Washington to siphon more and more American wealth into corporate coffers," reads a statement from AFSCME Local 1880, a Detroit social service employees union. "The assumption is that the voice of the poor—employed and unemployed—will not be loud enough to be heard. At the May 5 rally these voices will be heard."

The National Welfare Rights Organization in many cities is supporting the protests, as is the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Other organizations and individuals backing May 5 in the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities include Students for Afro-American Unity at Cleveland State University; Luis Fuentes, superintendent of schools in New York's District 1; Harlem Fightback; Chicano Federation in San Diego; and the Colorado Raza Unida Party.

Student governments in Cleveland, Houston, Denver, and other cities are supporting the May 5 actions as a means of protesting tuition hikes and the deterioration of educational facilities.

Several members of Congress, in-

cluding Representatives Bella Abzug (D-N.Y.), Elizabeth Holtzman (D-N.Y.), Donald Fraser (D-Minn.), and Benjamin Rosenthal (D-N.Y.) have also endorsed the actions.

Coalition meetings have been open to all groups and individuals who support the demonstrations, regardless of their stands on other issues. The range of groups and individuals involved includes Willie Hardie, Afro-American Woman of the Year; Detroit YWCA; Chicago Federation of Settlements; Margaret Carter, president of the Washington, D.C., Parent Teacher Association; Socialist Workers Party; Communist Party; as well as many unions and consumer groups.

Organizers of the actions aim to bring the largest possible number of people into the streets May 5 to demand the U.S. government take action to end inflation. "We want to produce a demonstration of such magnitude here that it will be heard all the way to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue," says Rose Ann Washington, head of the Colorado Consumers Congress.

Because the protests have been built on short notice, and because this struggle is new, the size of the May 5 actions will be modest. Activists, however, view this as the first step in building a nationwide movement.

"What is needed is a continuing movement of protest which unites everyone in common action against the soaring cost of living," explains Bill Sellers, head of the Washington Teachers Union.

Unions back May 5

The St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, the central labor body in St. Paul, Minn., passed a resolution April 25 endorsing the May 5 protests against high prices. The resolution states:

"Whereas all consumer goods and prices have steadily increased, reflecting a general inflation caused primarily by government deficit spending, reflecting high corporate profits, including those of corporate farms;

"Whereas the average wages of America's working people have been steadily eroded by these rising prices;

"Whereas all attempts by the government to control prices and inflation have failed, resulting only in holding back needed wage increases;

"Whereas the recent actions of tens of millions have shown that action against high prices has the support of the majority of the American people;

"Therefore, be it resolved that the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly supports the protest against rising prices scheduled for May 5 at the state capitol, and further that the members of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly participate in its peaceful rally with their own banners and slogans and urge all organized labor to join us."

In California, the State Executive Board of Social Services Union Local 535 voted unanimously April 29 to back the May 5 protests and to adopt a statement on inflation. The statement reads in part:

"To protect ourselves from inflation, we need cost-of-living escalator clauses in labor contracts and welfare and Social Security allowances.

"Wage controls must be ended so working people can win wage increases and catch up with inflation. Labor's representatives should be withdrawn from Nixon's 'Labor-Management Advisory Committee.' "To end unemployment, a shorter workweek with no cut in pay can spread existing work to all who want jobs. War spending, a principal cause of inflation, should be eliminated and the money spent to restore and expand social services, medical care, child care, pollution-free rapid transit, and quality low-cost housing.

"Bay Area unionists took the first major action by the labor movement in organizing yesterday's rally in San Francisco [see page 9]. . . .

"We believe this approach should be discussed throughout the labor movement and adopted, to make possible a successful fight to protect ourselves from the effects of inflation."



Militant/Jim Burfeind

Laura Aulds, chairwoman of Fight Inflation Together (FIT) in Austin, speaking to reporters on plans for local May 5 demonstration.

Rejects measure to roll back prices

Congress extends wage-control legislation

MAY 2—On April 30 Congress voted to extend for one year the Economic Stabilization Act, giving Nixon a free hand to continue wage controls. Enough Democrats had blocked with Republicans in the House to vote down a series of amendments to roll back prices. Proponents of mandatory rent controls also buckled under and withdrew their proposals in the course of a Senate-House conference to arrive at a joint bill.

By rejecting the price-rollback and rent-control amendments, the Democrats and Republicans in Congress showed they have no intention of even pretending to keep prices in check.

The measure approved by Congress exempts from wage controls all workers making less than \$3.50 an hour. The exemption had previously been for those under \$2.75 an hour. Another new provision in the bill is a requirement that the Cost of Living Council hold public hearings before ordering reductions in negotiated wage increases.

The measure also requires that large companies that raise prices by more than 1.5 percent a year must publicly reveal certain of their financial records.

Meanwhile, President Nixon is expected to announce new measures aimed at giving the appearance of tighter controls on prices. White House sources say the administration fears an "erosion of confidence" in the wage-price control program.

Working people have every reason for having no confidence in the government's "wage-price controls." Even if Nixon announces some new formula for controls, it has become increasingly evident that this capitalist government will not and cannot enforce meaningful price restraints.

This is the lesson from Phase 1 and Phase 2 of Nixon's "New Economic Policy." Phases 1 and 2 did



Congress refused to act against skyrocketing food costs.

not halt inflation but only held down wage increases. Meanwhile, profits of the big corporations soared to record levels.

According to a survey by *U.S. News & World Report*, profits for the first quarter of 1973 were up 26 percent from the same period a year ago. The survey calculates the first-quarter 1973 profits to be "by far the highest dollar figure on record."

One of the steps Nixon is expected to announce is greater supervision of prices by government monitors. Any such measures would only be window dressing to boost the sagging credibility of price controls. During Phase 1 and Phase 2 there was no effective enforcement of price controls against the supermarkets and department stores. Employers, on the other hand, have been more than willing to do

their best to hold down wage increases.

Working people and consumers have nothing to gain from any government-imposed system of controls.

The way for workers to protect their standard of living from the effects of inflation is to fight for cost-of-living escalator clauses in all union contracts.

Working people also need *improvements* in their standard of living, but the 5.5% wage increases proposed by the government are not even enough to get along on their present meager budgets.

Just as workers need their wages adjusted to protect them against inflation, there is also a need to adjust the workweek downward according to the number of people who need jobs. A shorter workweek at no reduction in pay would open millions of new jobs for the unemployed.

If the government were really interested in defending the rights of the majority of people—who create the vast

wealth of this country—then it would move toward instituting these simple and logical policies. Instead, the government acts as a servant of big business, devising policies to maximize profits for the rich.

Workers cannot rely on Congress to protect themselves and their families from having to bear the brunt of inflation, as the vote on the Economic Stabilization Act proves. The Democratic Party "friends of labor" in Washington will unite with the Republicans every time to protect the profits of the capitalist class.

Working people can only win gains by relying on their own strength—through strikes or other job actions, demonstrations, rallies, and other forms of independent political action to force changes.

The actions called for May 5 against high prices are one opportunity for workers to get involved in building a powerful movement to fight wage controls and inflation.

UP FROM UNDER

Booming business lifted first-quarter corporate earnings 24 per cent over last year's levels. Some individual results:

	Earnings in millions	% gain		Earnings in millions	% gain
American Broadcasting Co.	\$13	92	General Motors	\$817*	26
American Express	31*	25	General Telephone	77	22
Anaconda	15	55	B.F. Goodrich	13	15
BankAmerica	47	13	Goodyear Tire	45*	17
Bethlehem Steel	41	62	Gulf Oil	165	12
Borg-Warner	17	35	Kimberly-Clark	26	88
Braniff Airways	4	14	McDonnell Douglas	34	58
Bristol-Myers	20*	35	Mobil Oil	156	10
Burlington Industries	20	69	Monsanto	74	55
Chrysler	90*	151	Pfizer Chemical	28	20
Crown Zellerbach	23	197	Republic Steel	21	118
Eastman Kodak	123	38	Tenneco	53	14
Exxon	508*	43	U.S. Steel	49	157
Federated Dept. Stores	108	11	Xerox	70*	22
First National City Corp.	58	13	Zenith	16*	68

*Record

Wage controls have enabled big corporations to amass record profits

Rubber contract a danger sign for unions

MAY 2—The contract agreed to by the United Rubber Workers union April 25 is a danger signal for other unions negotiating contracts this year. The three-year settlement covers 23,000 workers for the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company. It provides for wage increases totaling only 16 percent over three years, or 5.3 percent a year.

The Nixon administration has hailed the agreement as "within the guidelines" of government wage controls. "Phase 3" of the government's assault on wages became effective Jan. 11, removing all restraints on prices while attempting to hold wages to 5.5 percent annual increases.

The Goodyear settlement will be snatched up by the other three major rubber companies, Firestone, Uniroyal, Incorporated, and B.F. Goodrich. Other companies are expected to use it as a pattern for upcoming negotiations in the electrical, trucking, and auto industries.

The terms of the rubber settlement are totally inadequate even to keep rubber workers abreast of today's skyrocketing prices, much less to improve their lives and the lives of their families. Here are some of the terms:

- A long-term no-strike contract effective until July 1976, with no provision for a wage reopener (renegotiation of wages) and no escalator clause to keep wages in line with rising prices.

- An inadequate annual wage increase of less than 28 cents per hour in an industry where the average hourly wage is \$4.82. While rubber workers will be receiving a 5.3 percent wage increase per year, government figures show that consumer prices rose at an annual rate of 8.8 percent in the first quarter of 1973.

And all indicators show that inflation is getting worse, not better. In

What does inflation mean in terms of a worker's pocket book? Here are some down-to-earth examples of how the average costs of necessities of life have risen over the past four years, according to the April 17 Congressional Record:

Item	1969	1973
Bus fare	\$.29	\$.37
Tooth filling	7.83	9.45
Boy's sneakers	6.08	6.95
Half gallon of milk	.55	.63

These price rises mean that families of rubber workers will be feeling the pinch. The new contract with Goodyear is far from adequate to offset inflation.

the second half of 1972 prices were rising at 4 percent. In the first quarter of this year wholesale prices leaped up at an annual rate of 21.5 percent, which can be expected to be reflected in future consumer prices.

What this means is that the real wages of rubber workers will most likely *decline* over the next three years as a result of this contract.

- A "30 and out" pension plan that allows workers with 30 years of service to retire at age 55. They will collect \$8.50 for each month of service, up from the previous \$7.75 allowance.

The agreement is scheduled to come before the union membership for a vote within a week.

In this settlement the rubber union bureaucrats give in to Goodyear on all the major demands being pressed by the big corporations in this country against workers: acceptance of government wage controls; a long-term, no-strike contract that invites court injunctions against "illegal strikes"; compliance with management's "competitive needs"; a few sops in "fringe benefits" that cost the corporations little or nothing; no escalator clause to protect workers against rising prices; and recognition of the eight-hour day to exclude reduction of the workweek to create more jobs for the unemployed.

This kind of agreement ties the

hands of the workers, inhibiting struggles against declining real wages, speedup, cutbacks of the work force, and plant closings.

No wonder representatives of the Nixon administration are hailing the rubber settlement. W.J. Usery Jr., director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, found it "most encouraging" that the agreement with Goodyear was the first in more than a decade that was arrived at with the rubber industry's "big four" without a long strike.

"This is another in a recent series of developments," Usery said, "in which it is strongly indicated that labor and management are striving to reach a new era of statesmanship and understanding."

"We have seen earlier instances of this favorable trend in the steel and railroad industries," he added.

One of the first effects of the announced settlement will be a jump in tire prices. The April 26 *Wall Street Journal* reported that "the contract would appear almost certain to produce price increases on passenger car tires. Goodyear and Uniroyal already increased truck and industrial tires 2% to 7%, citing higher costs of materials, transportation and other expenses."

Meanwhile, Goodyear, the world's largest tire firm, had a net profit in 1972 of \$193.2-million, up 13.5 percent from the previous year.

Groups unite to defend right to hold meetings

'Labor Committee' in new hoodlum attacks

By CAROLINE LUND

MAY 1—The Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, and other radical groups continue to face a serious threat of hooligan attacks by the so-called National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC). At the same time, protests against NCLC violence have multiplied. In several cities movement groups have succeeded in mounting effective united defense efforts to ensure the right to hold meetings without disruption.

The NCLC is a small, sectarian group claiming to be socialist. The organization has recently opened itself up to right-wingers and police agents by launching a campaign to physically "destroy" the Communist Party, Young Workers Liberation League, and any other group that comes to the defense of the CP's and YWLL's right to free speech.

On the evening of April 30, some 50 NCLC goons armed with numchucks (jointed clubs of wood) attacked a meeting of the New York Center for Marxist Education. The main speaker at the meeting was Rashed Storey, the CP's candidate for mayor of New York.

Storey was one of the main targets of the NCLC assault on the April 23 meeting for mayoral candidates at Columbia University (see story in last week's *Militant*).

According to John Gallo of the New York Communist Party, marshals succeeded in preventing the attackers from entering the meeting but several persons were injured. One of those injured was still hospitalized and on the critical list as of today. Another was a passerby who had nothing to do with the meeting.

Gallo said that a person who witnessed the attack from a fire escape was astonished at the way the goons operated as if they were experienced cops.

The meeting was able to continue, and Storey spoke as planned.

On May 1 the CP's May Day rally of about 1,000 people took place without incident in New York's Union Square.

Another NCLC attack occurred April 26 at Temple University in Philadelphia. Michael Maggio, a graduate student and teaching assistant, and James Smith, an instructor at the university, were assaulted by six NCLC thugs outside the Student Activities Center. According to the April 28 *Daily World*, Maggio, a member of the YWLL, required four stitches.

In other areas of the country, apart from New York and Pennsylvania, the NCLC has not yet carried out physical attacks. They have limited themselves to general harassment, threatening phone calls to CP members, and pasting up threatening leaflets and slogans on headquarters and

bookstores of the CP and SWP.

A leaflet distributed by the NCLC at Portland State University and left outside the headquarters of the Portland SWP and YSA states the following in regard to the NCLC campaign against the CP:

"The national decisions in timing and implementation are designed for the best military maneuverability. The tactics and timing for the NW [Northwest] are not yet made public."

There is new evidence that the NCLC campaign of physical attacks against the CP has attracted the participation of right-wingers and/or police agents. A *Militant* reader in Detroit reports that he was sitting in a bar when several people came in and passed out copies of the NCLC publication *New Solidarity*, asking if there was anyone interested in "getting the comics."

During the night of April 27 a glass-bottle fire bomb was thrown at the offices of the Communist Party in New York. There was only minor damage and no injuries since no one was present. The NCLC denied responsibility for the attack when contacted by SWP representative Joanna Misnik.

SWP mayoral candidate Norman Oliver sent the CP a telegram the following morning condemning the attack and noting that "the atmosphere created by NCLC physical assaults on democratic rights within the radical movement serves only to inspire this activity."

Following the vicious attack on the meeting to hear the mayoral candidates at Columbia, many organizations and individuals were ready to join together in efforts to counter NCLC hooliganism. On April 26 a meeting was planned at Columbia University to commemorate the 1965 uprising in the Dominican Republic. Endorsers of the meeting organized a united defense guard to protect the meeting from any assaults by the NCLC.

Participating in the defense effort were the Columbia Anti-Imperialist Movement, North American Anti-Imperialist Movement, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Young Workers Liberation League, Latin American Students Organization, Youth Against War and Fascism, International Socialists, members of the Attica Brigade, El Comité, Derechos Humanos, and the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners.

There was no attempt by the NCLC to disrupt the meeting. Sponsors of the event had agreed to exclude NCLC members from the meeting if they had shown up, because of their threats of violence.

A statement condemning the NCLC's



Vandalism by 'Labor Committee' sect on door of Chicago headquarters of SWP and YSA. Other offices plastered with 'Solidarity' newspaper in Chicago were Modern Books, Guild Books, New World Resource Center, Chicago Peace Council, and Iran House, which is run by the Iranian Student Association.

attack on the April 23 candidates' meeting and repudiating the use of violence within the movement has been signed by an extremely broad spectrum of organizations, student leaders, and other individuals on the Columbia campus.

At Queens College in New York a meeting was held by the Young Socialist Alliance and the Unión Estudiantil Pedro Albizu Campos (the Puerto Rican organization on cam-

NCLC. It was noted that such methods must be stopped from spreading inside the labor movement.

A statement condemning NCLC hooliganism has also been circulated in Chicago. Urging all groups to come to the defense of the CP, YWLL, and other groups threatened with attack, the statement is signed by author Sidney Lens, Richard Criley of the Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, Professor Rich Rubenstein of



Columbia Spectator

About 60 'Labor Committee' goons attacked April 23 meeting for mayoral candidates at Columbia U.

pus) with a joint defense guard that also included several members of Black student groups.

The previous day, YSA member Tom Tilitz, one of those injured in the NCLC attack at Columbia, held a press conference at Queens College, where he is a student. His condemnation of NCLC violence and his call for defense of democratic rights within the movement were picked up by both campus newspapers.

Another New York organization that has voted to exclude NCLC members from all their functions is the Coalition for Education in School District 1. The coalition is fighting for control of the schools by the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese communities, whose children make up the overwhelming majority of students in District 1 schools.

The NCLC has a history of extreme hostility toward the struggle for community control of schools in New York's Puerto Rican and Black communities. The Coalition for Education has taken steps to defend their meetings in case of NCLC attacks.

On April 30 some 200 delegates from Social Service Employees Union Local 371 voted overwhelmingly to condemn the goon tactics of the

the Chicago Peace Action Coalition, and Professor Alex DeGrand of Roosevelt University, among others.

In Boston, representatives of the SWP met with Sandy Eaton of the CP and Bob Guild, organizational secretary of the YWLL, to work out plans for cooperating in the defense of meetings of the two organizations. SWP and YSA members helped defend a meeting where YWLL chairman Jarvis Tyner spoke at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, and CP members came to defend the Boston Militant Labor Forum April 27.

Both the SWP and CP plan to help defend a planning meeting for the May 5 protest against high prices to be held May 1 in the hall of the Meat Cutters union. The union has also promised to help defend the meeting.

Other organizations that have adopted statements in opposition to NCLC goon attacks and against violence within the movement are International Socialists; the Workers League; Spartacist; Workers World Party; and *Claridad*, newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

The *Guardian* newspaper has also condemned the NCLC tactics editorially, and has taken steps to defend its own meetings from attack.



Militant/John Lauritsen

Columbia University meeting on Dominican revolution proceeded without disruption by NCLC, after wide spectrum of groups organized united defense effort.

World Outlook

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

MAY 11, 1973

Trade unions join call for action

French students set May Day demonstrations

By M. Recanati

[The next target date of the current mass mobilization of French youth is May 1. For that day, the strike committees based in the high schools, universities, and CET (Collèges d'Enseignement Technique, technical education institutions) have called for huge demonstrations in conjunction with the country's trade-union federations. It is the first time that the Communist party and Socialist party trade-union leaderships have agreed to hold a united May Day demonstration with groups led by forces to their left, including the Trotskyists.

[The mobilization began in February, when high-schoolers launched actions against the Debré law, a "reform" of the military service system that abolishes deferments for students. The high-schoolers demanded repeal of the law, reestablishment of the deferments, and their extension to all youth.

[In March, the university students entered the fray, demonstrating against both the Debré law and a series of decrees creating a new diploma, the DEUG (Diplômes d'Etudes Universitaires Générales — General University Studies Diplomas), which are to be issued after two years of post-high-school study and are basically a means of getting students out of the universities and onto the job market as semiskilled workers as quickly as possible.

[After the university students, the apprentices of the CET joined the struggle, demanding repeal of the Debré law and denouncing the army-like regimen in the CET.

[On April 10, Easter vacations began in France. The regime evidently hopes that the youth mobilization, now supported by ever-growing numbers of workers, will run out of steam during the two-week break. The youth feel otherwise.

[The following article on the current situation in the movement and its prospects is abridged from the April 13 issue of *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste. The Ligue, French section of the Fourth International, has played a leading role in the mobilizations.

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

"The mobilizations of high-school, university, and CET youth on March 22, 27, and 28 and on April 2 and 4 are unprecedented in our country. Each successive day of action has demonstrated our movement's breadth, continuity, and determination to all those who hoped to see the movement decline. This power of

youth in struggle derives from the exceptional unity that has been deeply developed around the slogans selected and around the united, nonexclusive organizational forms embodied in the democratic strike committees, coordinated on local, regional, and national levels.

"The regime made a pretense of ignoring the movement, then of distorting and fighting it. It made no real concessions, just resorted to some demagoguery. Fontanet's latest pronouncements raised the threat of repression against the movement, refused to give the slightest guarantee



French students with effigy of Debre and the new military system sponsored by him.

that repeal of the Debré law would even be considered, affirmed that the DEUG would go into effect in September 1973, and attacked the movement head on. This was a scandalous provocation.

"The regime's contempt for the youth is an intolerable insult. Who can deny the unanimity of our struggle? The regime's intransigence now compels us to take new steps in the escalation of our fight:

"The continuation of the mobilizations, on April 9 and after the Easter vacations, will show that the regime cannot turn provocateur with impunity as long as there exists among the population such unity around the current demands of the high-schoolers, technical-school students, and university students."

This extract from a resolution adopted by the national coordination of the student strike committees, which met at Jussieu on April 7, sketches out a program: In no case will the youth movement against the Debré law and its logical extension, the DEUG, disappear after the Easter vacations; nor will it be satisfied with vague promises about "bringing be-

fore parliament the new problems that have come up."

This movement is unprecedented. Not only have the youth never before mobilized in such numbers as in the past month. The students have even gone beyond May '68. For the first time in France, the CET apprentices have been organized and centralized; for the first time in France, it was possible to set off a general strike in the national education system on two consecutive occasions (March 22 and April 2) with mass demonstrations, around slogans and goals decided on by each high school, college, and CET.

Right after March 22, the bourgeoisie and its press were hoping for a drastic collapse of the movement. And wasn't it an encouraging sign that a few students were returning to class in some high schools? Then came April 2; the demonstrations were even more massive. Then, on the eve of the Easter vacation period, there was the April 9 demonstration, in which the trade unions partly took the initiative. Well, wouldn't that be the last bang of these fireworks displays that had already gone on too long?

Wrong again. More than 150,000 people took to the streets in Paris, many of them workers, and the high-school, university, and CET strike committees retained the initiative. Finally, the last hope: The vacations should calm everybody down. There again, we can safely predict, the regime's hopes will be shattered.

This movement is deep. Progressively, as it has developed, it has gone beyond the issues that first triggered it off, and is now challenging the content of education in the high schools, the working conditions in the CET, and the function of capital's army among all the youth. And this movement also understands that, alone, it cannot win.

"The guarantee of our victory is the extension of our movement and its linking up with the workers to continue to demand repeal of the Debré law and to respond immediately to the regime's attacks." (Extract from the resolution adopted at the high-school coordination on April 7.)

Because of the government's intransigence, the movement is now consciously posing itself the task of directly confronting the bourgeois state apparatus. It is not, as *L'Aurore* and *Parisien Libéré* pretend to believe, a matter of throwing up a few barricades in the Latin Quarter. It is a matter of deciding to carry the mobilization to its highest level, to proclaim ourselves ready to organize the draftees in effect to boycott the Debré law.

"We will continue the struggle—by

carrying out our decision to boycott the Debré law, especially by organizing and uniting the future draftees so that the objectives of this law, militarization and selection of youth, may be defeated." (From the high-school resolution.)

It is also a matter of taking up the resolute support to all struggles inside the army itself. And we do not believe we are kidding ourselves when we predict that the soldiers will not remain indifferent.

Another decision has been made. That is to make May 1 a new target date for the movement. The international workers' day falls one week after the high schools and universities return from Easter vacations. This is plenty of time to systematically organize new general assemblies in all the educational institutions so as to inform people about the mobilization and to prepare a huge contingent of youth in struggle to march in the demonstrations.

Will the strike continue? In each high school, college, and CET, this will be decided by general assemblies. New national coordination meetings have been called for April 28, three days after the schools start up. They will examine the situation and decide on the forms for continuing the movement.

"The strike at the universities must be maintained until the strike committees convoke new general assemblies everywhere (after Easter) to decide on the ways of carrying out the struggle.

"The strike committees, the local coordinating meetings, and the national collectives have the responsibility of assuring the transition over the Easter vacations. The elected student collective will convoke a new national coordination on the basis of the discussions in the general assemblies." (The student coordinating body, April 7.)

Whatever attitude the regime may take, things are too far gone for it to reestablish the premobilization situation any more. The end-of-the-year expulsions, more and more numerous since 1968, did not prevent the outbreak of the recent mobilizations. Messmer's threat to prohibit all political activity in the high schools will have no greater effect. Remember how the Guichard circular was abrogated in action by the high-schoolers.

The postvacation reopening of the schools will be decisive. We are confident: We were not deluding ourselves when, in the midst of the legislative elections, we began to push for the development of a struggle against the Debré law, foreseeing that this could be one of the first big extraparliamentary mobilizations to confront the new government. □

Interview with French student leader

How the trade unions came to support the student struggle

[Olivier Martin is a member of the Ligue Communiste and of the national coordinating committee of university strike committees. He was chosen to be on the negotiating team that met with leaders of the trade unions to reach agreement on holding a united demonstration, which took place on April 9.

[The negotiations, unprecedented in France, involved the elected representatives of the high-school, university, and technical-school strike committees and the top leaders of the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, the country's largest trade-union federation, dominated by the Communist party), the CFDT (Confédération Française Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor, the Socialist-party-dominated labor federation), and the FEN (Fédération de l'Education Nationale—National Education Federation, the largest teachers union).

[In the April 13 issue of *Rouge*, the Ligue Communiste's weekly paper, Martin was interviewed on the course of these negotiations. Below is the text of that interview. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Rouge. Who initiated the April 9 demonstrations and why?

Martin. The plan for the united demos came out of a CGT-CFDT meeting held Wednesday, April 4. But the high-school, university, and CET collectives had already proposed such a common action for the April 2 demos. The trade-union federations reacted each in their own way. The CGT refused to really throw itself into the mobilization; the CFDT sent a rather large delegation.

After that, the two federations invited us on Thursday, April 5, to a meeting at the CFDT offices, where we met with, in addition to Maire and Séguy, representatives of the FEN, the two UNEFs, and UNCAL [Union Nationale des Comités d'Action Lycéens—National Union of High-School Action Committees, the CP-dominated high-school organization].

The CGT put forward a plan that would draw back from the demands of the high-school, university, and technical-school students and proposed united demonstrations "to create a relationship of forces that favors forcing the opening of a parliamentary debate on these questions."

Clearly, the CGT initiative was a response to a twofold concern:

It wanted to co-opt a movement that it couldn't control—by diverting it into parliamentary channels.

It wanted to put the brakes on the dynamic that had been set in motion toward May Day, which had already become established as an important target date for our movement.

In fact, what it wanted to do was reverse the head of steam that was building up, take charge of events, and prepare for a May Day that would be united, but under the control of the trade-union federations.

Rouge. How did you react to these proposals?

Martin. First of all we made it very clear that we had not been mandated to make any decisions "in the name of the movement." As elected delegates

We reacted on Friday morning [April 6] by asking for a new meeting. There, we again explained that our decision would be made democratically by the national coordinating meetings. But we also asked for an explanation of the previous night's



French students set May 1 as target date for mass mobilization in the struggle against the new draft law and for control over their education. Reformist trade-union leaders have been forced to call for united actions.

of the general assemblies and the coordinating bodies, we would have to report back to them on all proposals made. The three national coordinating bodies (college, high-school, and CET), which were to meet on April 7, would be the only groups entitled to make decisions.

Nevertheless, right from this first meeting, we went on record with our opposition to any attempt to channel the movement toward a parliamentary debate. Furthermore, we denied the claims of the two UNEFs and UNCAL to set themselves up as the leadership of the movement on the same level as the collective bodies elected by rank-and-file assemblies, which were therefore the only representatives of the youth in struggle.

So the meeting adjourned without any decision being made.

Rouge. Nevertheless, the CGT and the CFDT announced the demonstration that same night.

Martin. That's right. Their communiqué even suggested that the "call to demonstrate" had been held up because of the bad faith displayed by the high-school and university strike committees, whose response they were still awaiting!

Did the union federations mean to call for a demo without the strike committees?

The FEN and the CFDT immediately answered, saying this was out of the question. The CGT fell into line then, and Saturday's [April 7] *l'Humanité* changed their tone by explaining that "if the strike committees have not yet taken a position, it is because they have to consult the national coordinating bodies."

Rouge. What differences came up within the coordinating bodies?

Martin. The same debate went on in all three bodies. The question was how to reconcile the necessity of broadening out the movement to the workers with our rejection of any attempts at co-optation by the trade-union leaderships. And, what attitude to take on whether the two UNEFs and UNCAL should be co-callers of the demos?

Three positions were put forward. The first was argued by the comrades from *Révolution* [a split-off from the Ligue Communiste]. It was to refuse to consider a demo organized jointly with the unions as a means of extending the movement to the

workers; they proposed instead organizing separate contingents that would join in at the end of the demos. But the union leaders had already made it clear that they would refuse to call a demonstration under those conditions.

The second position was defended by the delegates adhering to the AJS [Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme—Alliance of Youth for Socialism, the Lambertist youth group]. It was to agree to any conditions proposed by the union leaderships. This was obviously a way for the AJS to polish up the image of "its" UNEF by throwing it forward as the leadership of a mass movement on the same plane as the coordination bodies.

The third position was put forward by the comrades of the Ligue Communiste and the Red Circles: a joint demonstration of the union federations and the high-school, university, and CET strike committees; categorical refusal to consider the two UNEFs and UNCAL co-callers of the demonstrations.

Rouge. Why this refusal? Isn't it a sectarian attitude?

Martin. Absolutely not. On the contrary, it was a matter of defending the unity and organizational independence of the movement against any attempts at splitting or co-optation. Already on March 21 UNEF-Renouveau [CP-led] and UNCAL had engaged in such maneuvers by calling for an "independent" demonstration, even though the demonstration had already been planned for March 22. The stinging defeat they suffered that day was enough to deprive them of any right to represent the whole movement.

We don't deny that they are a political tendency within the movement, but we reject their claim that they are leading a movement in which their members are very much a minority

and often discredited. To agree to place a "tendency" on the same plane as the leadership elected by all would be to destroy the democratic framework that has assured the development of the current struggles.

Rouge. What decision did the coordinating bodies finally make?

Martin. To do everything to organize joint demos with the union federations and the strike committees; to sign no joint call with any single tendency within the strike committees.

This position proved to have a strong majority in all three coordinating meetings. In the university meeting, it got 190 votes. The proposal to have a joint call with UNEF and UNCAL got 72 votes, and the proposal to organize separate contingents got 63 votes.

In the high-school meeting, the three positions got 67, 33, and 11 votes respectively. In the CET coordination there was no hand count, because the majority was obvious.

Rouge. How did the trade-union leaders greet these decisions?

Martin. A new meeting was held on Saturday night [April 7]. We explained what the votes had been. The union leaders refused "to exclude the student and high-school union organizations" from the joint call. The CGT even clearly suggested that "the strike committees will never take the place of the representative union organizations."

Rouge. Was a break then inevitable?

Martin. In any case we could not have revoked the decisions of the coordinating bodies. We denounced the CGT's meddling in the youth movement and we resisted all pressure aimed at imposing UNCAL and the two UNEFs on us.

But everyone was aware of the importance of these demos, especially after the threats from Pompidou and Messmer.

So another meeting was held on Sunday. There, we put forth specific proposals: A text of a joint call that could be signed separately by all organizations that wanted to. And it would be possible for each organization to add an explanatory note to this text. Finally, for the logistics of the Paris demo, we proposed that the first line of marchers be trade unionists, the second be the strike committees, and the third be the two UNEFs and UNCAL.

These proposals were rejected and

we left the session.

But during the course of a final meeting, Sunday afternoon, the union leaderships explained that "in view of the circumstances (the government threats) they would accept [the strike committees'] conditions, but no precedent should be seen in this. This would be the first and last time that such an agreement would be achieved."

Rouge. Was this drawn-out "negotiation at the top" really necessary for the movement?

Martin. Everyone knows that the youth cannot win alone. To open the way for political victory the youth movement must extend itself and create the best possible conditions for unity with all the workers.

We do not have a hard and fast conception of the way this indispensable extending of the movement can come about. On March 28, the "day of national explanation," the high-schoolers, students, and CET apprentices carried out "independent work": handing out leaflets at plant gates, discussions in the working-class neighborhoods, and so on.

But, when the movement reached a higher level, its social extension had to occur through an agreement with the formations in which the working class is organized. Not in order to fall in behind the union leaders, but to bring the workers around to demonstrating concretely the convergence of the youth mobilization and the workers struggles.

This reasoning proved to be correct. The number of workers at the April 9 demo far exceeded the number at the April 2 demo, which the trade unions endorsed but did not call for.

By achieving this agreement we showed that we would adhere to unity in struggle and we thereby prepared for the May Day mobilization.

Rouge. So would this be nothing but a question of tactics?

Martin. No. One of the first lessons to draw from the April 9 demonstrations and the long negotiations that preceded them is exactly that unity between the youth movement and the workers movement is possible. But this unity does not come out of bureaucratic agreements between college or high-school pseudo unions and the trade-union federations. It comes out of the mass mobilization of youth, who, by democratically electing a representative leadership, create the means of negotiating and of forging the convergence of struggles. □

World news notes

Zimbabwe: secret trial provokes protest

The imprisonment of Peter Niesewand, following a secret trial and without any charges against him being made public, has stirred a worldwide furor. Niesewand, a white, is the representative of the British Broadcasting Corporation, the British *Guardian* newspaper, UPI, Reuters, and Agence France-Presse in Zimbabwe (the African name for Rhodesia). He was sentenced to two years at hard labor on April 6, apparently for his reporting on the Black guerrilla movement that has been a growing problem for the white minority government of Prime Minister Ian Smith.

The outcry prompted by Niesewand's trial has further isolated the racist Smith regime and exposed its repressive nature. The only reply the white supremacist government was able to come up with in answer to the worldwide revulsion at its action was to argue that secret trials were held in other countries too.

Unfortunately, the publicity given the case of Peter Niesewand stands in sharp contrast to the silence that has greeted the summary execution of Black freedom fighters in Zimbabwe. One African leader, Daniel Madzimbamuto, is now entering his fourteenth year of detention without trial.

The U.S. and Britain have never seen fit to protest such injustices; instead, they have backed them up. On April 2, when the United Nations Human Rights Commission approved the draft of a convention that would make apartheid a crime, only the U.S. and Britain voted against it. And more recently, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the legality of the U.S. violation of the United Nations trade embargo on the Smith regime.

Tito rejoins the angels

The rehabilitation of Yugoslavia's President Tito is complete. Nikolai Tikhonov, the chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, recently urged the Nobel Committee to award Tito the Nobel Peace Prize. Tikhonov was quoted in the Soviet daily *Pravda* as having written that President Tito "constantly comes out on the side of peace-loving forces who are struggling for freedom, independence and security."

Pravda neglected to note its characterizations of Tito in 1948 and 1949. At that time, immediately after a break in relations caused by Tito's independence from Stalin, Tito was accused of being a "Trotskyist," a "nationalist," and an "adventurer," who was pursuing a "hateful policy" toward the Soviet Union.

Moreover, Tito was accused of deserting "the united front of all the forces working for peace." Within a year after the diplomatic break, which was accompanied by a trade embargo, *Pravda* accused Yugoslavia of being a "fascist capitalist state" run by a "clique of spies."

Greek lawyers & defendants in same boat

During its six years in power, the Papadopoulos government in Greece has denied the most elementary democratic rights to those it has jailed. Trial by jury and access to adequate defense and legal counsel have been denied to thousands of political prisoners in Greece.

Reports of torture are commonplace, and hundreds have been held in prison for years without charges. This sort of treatment, which has been meted out to worker and student militants opposed to the junta, has now been extended to lawyers who attempt to defend them.

On April 12 the International League for the Rights of Man and the International Commission of Jurists, nongovernment organizations affiliated to the United Nations, issued a statement charging that six lawyers had been held incommunicado for more than a month without charge or access to counsel. Moreover, it claimed that "both organizations have circumstantial evidence that the lawyers were tortured. Four of the six recently defended Greek students at a trial."

A mission was sent to Greece to establish the facts surrounding the case, but the Greek government refused to meet with its representatives. Instead, it publicly denounced the efforts "of foreign lawyers . . . to collect information" as interference in Greek internal affairs.



Police attacking student demonstration in Paris.

New Zealand

Socialists explain how to fight runaway inflation

By Mike Goodger

[The following article is reprinted from the April 13 issue of *Socialist Action*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Wellington.]

The serious erosion of living standards caused by rapidly rising prices is becoming a matter of concern to working people throughout New Zealand. The Consumers' Price Index for the first quarter of the year is expected to show an increase of around 2.4 percent, equivalent to an annual increase of 10 percent. This would give New Zealand the distinction of having the highest rate of inflation of all industrialised capitalist countries.

In Auckland, the Campaign Against Rising Prices (CARP) listed 370 price increases in February alone.

The price rises are largely restricted to such basic necessities as food, accommodation and clothing. Of these, food has undergone the sharpest price rise. During February the all-food price index rose by 2.9 percent. If this trend continues throughout the rest of the year, it will result in an annual increase of over 34 percent in the cost of food.

It is clear that the hardest hit by

such dramatic rises in food costs are those in the "lower income bracket," that is, workers, students, and people on social security benefits.

These people put Labour in power last year and it might be expected that the government would be doing everything possible to ease the burden on them.

But what has been the response? Government measures include a freeze on mutton, lamb and fish prices. But pork, beef and smallgoods will not be affected. These are the types of meat which are rising so steeply in price that most people simply cannot afford to eat them any more. The price of mutton and lamb has been reduced by two cents a pound, by means of a government subsidy to wholesalers. As if the meat industry needs a helping hand from the government! (The chairman of the New Zealand Meat Producers' Board, C. Hilgendorf, has predicted a record export income for the industry this year of \$750 million, a 50 percent increase over former years.)

Maximum retail prices are to be fixed for certain manufactured and processed goods, and these are to be displayed on the packaging. However, the range of commodities brought under this control is to be determined in consultation with none other than the

Manufacturers' Federation and the Retailers' Federation.

The government intends to stop auctioneering firms from bidding at their own auctions and setting artificially high fruit and vegetable prices, but it has not revealed how it is going to achieve this. It is also intended that apples and pears will be brought under full price control.

Just how rigorously the government intends to enforce the price freeze was revealed by the Minister of Trade and Industry, Warren Freer. When asked whether a person who had been overcharged by a retailer would be able to claim a refund, Freer vaguely replied: "I would hope that might be possible."

The principal defect of the government measures is that they do not go to the root cause of high prices. While the National party has tried to blame the abolition of the Remuneration Authority for the price increases, it has quite clearly *not* been wage rises which have pushed prices up. One of the reasons put forward for the increase in the price of meat has been the high prices which meat is fetching on the world market. Isn't it paradoxical that when one of the country's most important export products is enjoying such success internationally, ordinary New Zealanders cannot even afford to buy it? Who is benefitting in this case? Obviously only the meat industry, which is making record profits and is receiving subsidies from the government. It is not market gardeners or fishermen who are getting rich either, but the wholesaling companies which stand between them and the consumer. Food processing firms are doing very nicely too. Last October James Wattie pointed out that his company's profit of \$4,710,717 was only 6.2 percent up on the previous year's

take-off. "But we're not complaining," he added. "We think our results are satisfactory."

In the face of this situation, Labour's price control measures are hopelessly inadequate. Much more radical steps are necessary to halt the rapid decline of living standards.

For a start, the Consumers' Price Index is almost useless for determining the real increase in the cost of living. The index merely records changes in the prices of a narrow range of selected goods and services, and it is ten years out of date.

The government should work with the trade unions to set up committees which would be able to record price increases on a week-by-week or day-by-day basis. The results of these committees' findings could be tabulated and the necessary adjustments made to wages on a frequent and regular basis, so that workers' wages keep pace with the *actual* cost of living. These regular income adjustments should also apply to students and people on social security benefits, such as old age pensioners.

For companies which insist on raising the prices of their goods the government should empower the trade unions or elected committees of workers to inspect the financial records of those companies. Then the public would be able to see just who is making a fortune out of inflated food prices.

A real workers' government would nationalise the freezing companies, food companies, wholesalers and supermarket chains, placing the production, processing and distribution of food under the democratic control of the working people of New Zealand. This would allow the country's plentiful food resources to serve human needs instead of private profits. □

Iran

Shah celebrates as students are shot

By Kaveh Ahangar

In recent weeks students at Iranian universities have been conducting demonstrations against police and SAVAK (secret police) repression and executions, and against the military purchases and foreign loans of the shah. Some of the wall posters and handbills have demanded: "No more foreign loans," "Stop the killings," "Executioner go," and "Bread, not military hardware."

While some of the actions have been peaceful, the streets and the campuses of Tabriz in the Northwest, Meshed in the Northeast, Jundi Shahpour and Khuzestan in the Southwest, and Teheran have been the scene of serious confrontations between the regime and the university students.

On the Jundi Shahpour campus Special Forces Commandos charged a peaceful demonstration, leaving a score of students dead. On the campus of the National University in Teheran scores of students were wounded, and reports say that ten students were shot to death by Special Forces Commandos at the University of Tabriz.

The most recent demonstrations took place at the University of Meshed, where fourteen students were reported killed.

At this point, almost all the universities throughout Iran are closed, and the University of Tabriz is under military occupation. The exact number of dead is unknown because many students have been arrested and taken

to jail. SAVAK refuses to release their names.

Meanwhile, the shah's circus is in full swing. Each day "his majesty" finds some occasion that must be celebrated, and each celebration brings with it a wave of shootings and executions of Iranian revolutionary fighters.

During these "celebrations" schools must close, students, teachers, many office workers, and sometimes street cleaners, are trucked to the streets in freezing cold or the burning sun to "celebrate," while SAVAK agents solicit funds and materials to finance "the occasion."

This March the shah's circus went into full swing again, and for ten days Iranians were ordered to "celebrate" the "white revolution," sometimes called the "revolution from the

top," or more appropriately, the palace counterrevolution. During these "carnival" days the shah announced the "real and effective nationalization of the oil resources in Iran," and thus ordered another ten days of celebrations.

Apparently the shah had forgotten that "real and effective nationalization" took place in 1950 under the leadership of Premier Mossadegh. The shah was the principal instrument in the conspiracy to overthrow Mossadegh, which was organized by the CIA and British intelligence in cooperation with reactionary elements in Iran.

As a result of this 1953 coup d'etat, Iran's oil resources were returned to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. And on top of this, Iran agreed to pay Anglo-Iranian Oil \$50 million in return for "lost" assets—a 60 percent

interest in Iranian oil, which was divided up among other foreign oil companies.

While working to enrich himself and the foreign oil companies, the shah disregards the economic deprivation of thirty million Iranians. According to UN statistics, Iran has only twelve hospital beds for every 10,000 people. It has a per capita meat consumption of thirty pounds per year, 40 percent of its families live in one room huts made of wood or mud, and 70 percent of its population is still illiterate. Despite this poverty, the shah approved a new military budget 47 percent higher than last year's.

One of the purposes of the shah's military expenditures was shown when his Prime Minister, Hoveyda, acknowledged at a London news conference that Iran had landed 600 paratroopers in Oman, one of the Trucial States in the Gulf area, to help the imperialist powers crush the popular resistance movement there. No doubt the arms purchases will also come in handy for the continued suppression of the Iranian people. □



The Coming Confrontation

Where is Allende taking Chile? When the chips are down, where will the military stand? What are the organizations of the workers, peasants, and the left doing? What are their programs? What are the perspectives facing the Chilean people?

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Pro-Fuentes slate mounted massive final drive

N.Y. school board election suit charges official negligence and voter intimidation

By REBECCA FINCH

NEW YORK, May 1—Speaking at an emergency news conference on the New York school board elections at 3:00 p.m. today, Judy Baumann, national secretary of the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), announced that massive irregularities in today's voting procedures have jeopardized the results of the entire election. Parents and candidates from Districts 1, 3, 4, 6, 9, 14, 19, and 23, along with CoDEL and Williamsburg Legal Services, will file suit May 2 to enjoin the ballots from being counted and to invalidate the results of today's voting.

Poll watchers for candidates of the community-control slate in District 1 began calling the offices of the Coalition for Education at 5:45 a.m. today to report election irregularities. Many voters were turned away from the polls because their names were not listed on the computer printout sheets.

Baumann charged that "poll inspectors were told that this was a second-class election, and that the regular laws providing for voting procedures did not need to be followed.

"Schools where many Puerto Rican and Black parents vote did not open until after 12:00 (the official opening time is 6:00 a.m.). Some polling places had no ballot boxes. Interpreters were not provided at some polls, and were driven off by opposition poll watchers in others. Ballots for a West Side school district were sent out to one District 1 polling place. Parent voting cards were not provided in many places."

At PS 15, the election inspectors posted the palm cards of the UFT-endorsed candidates in the polling booth, and official inspectors at PS 63 were handing out these same palm cards with the ballots. An assistant attorney general tried to throw poll watchers for the community-control slate out of PS 134. Intimidation of many voters was reported.

Luis Fuentes, superintendent of District 1 schools, called the election procedure a scandal. He stated he would support the law suit even if the candidates backing him win the election.

NEW YORK, April 30—The May 1 local school board election here in District 1 on New York's Lower East Side has been an all-out fight between supporters of the present pro-community-control majority of the board, which is running for reelection, and supporters of the Committee for Effective Education, which has been endorsed by the United Federation of Teachers.

The pro-community-control forces are running a slate of seven candidates, one Black, four Puerto Ricans, one Chinese, and one white, while the UFT slate has seven whites and one Black. Sixty Spanish-speaking and 16 Chinese teachers have been hired in District 1 by the local board as part of its bilingual education program.

Impressive support has developed for the community-control slate. District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (the only other union besides the UFT organizing school employees) and the Coalition for Education endorsed and actively participated in the campaign.

Priests in five Catholic churches in District 1 urged their parishioners to vote for the community-control candidates. District Council 37 printed



Militant/John Lauritsen

Luis Fuentes (l), District 1 school superintendent, and Judy Baumann, national secretary of Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL), at May 1 press conference.

10,000 leaflets and 4,000 posters for the campaign, mailed a special leaflet to all its members in District 1 urging them to support the slate, and promised 25 to 30 poll watchers and campaign workers to help on election day.

The April 29 *New York Times* reported that the pro-community-control campaign in District 1 was "well organized and amply staffed." Just this week alone hundreds of people have been organized by the Coalition for Education to distribute more than 50,000 leaflets, 20,000 newsprint brochures, 7,000 posters, 20,000 stickers, and 21,000 palm cards.

Bertram Beck, one of the candidates on the community slate, organized a mailing to 3,000 voters, while sound trucks toured the varied neighborhoods of District 1 this weekend. Speakers urged a vote for community control in Spanish, English, Chinese, and Yiddish.

A two-block-long motorcade, led by the candidates, wound its way through Puerto Rican neighborhoods and low-income housing projects on Sunday, April 29, its 200 participants passing out literature and talking to people on the street about the issues. The motorcade ended with a rally.

Two candidates meetings, sponsored by the Lower East Side Mobilization for Peace Action and the Educational Alliance, were attended by large numbers of Puerto Rican youth and other community-control supporters who mobilized in response to threats of possible violence to the candidates and to Luis Fuentes, the District 1 school superintendent.

A school board meeting last year was attacked by the Jewish Defense League, and on April 22 vandals did some \$20,000 to \$30,000 damage to the headquarters of the Negro Action Group. Lyle Brown, the group's director, is one of the community-control candidates, and its members and employees have been active in the election campaign.

In another threat, a member of the National Caucus of Labor Committees, posing as a reporter from a City College newspaper, obtained a schedule of Fuentes's meetings from the Coalition for Education offices. When recognized and asked to leave, he told Coalition activists that Fuentes was a scab and would be dealt with in the same manner as the Communist Party. (For further reports on the

harassment and hooligan attacks on movement groups by the NCLC, see page 12.)

In other campaign developments, a special picket line was set up in front of the headquarters of the Committee for Effective Education by whites sympathetic to the community-control slate to protest the racist and slanderous campaign materials being distributed by the UFT-supported candidates.

The Commission for Human Rights required the UFT-endorsed slate to withdraw some 6,000 copies of its campaign literature, which violated their ethical campaigning guidelines. The literature reprinted charges that Fuentes is a racist, despite his acquittal on these charges by the spe-

major campaign. The UFT paid for two mailings to its whole membership, thousands of leaflets, palm cards, posters, five phone lines, a special ad on buses going through the Lower East Side, and full-page ads in the *Daily News* and the *New York Times*, as well as lending full-time paid staff members to work on the campaign.

Albert Shanker, the president of the UFT, used his regular, paid Sunday column in the *Times* April 29 to again single out Fuentes and the community-control school board for special attack. "Under their control," complains Shanker, "it is quite apparent that the schools have become arenas of political extremism, racism and patronage."

What is Shanker so bitter about? He explains that "a sign posted on a school building on East Houston and Columbia Streets gives the flavor of the District. 'SUPPORT PUERTO RICAN, BLACK, AND CHINESE CONTROL OF SCHOOLS IN DISTRICT 1,' it urges."

Later in the article, Shanker again repeats the slanderous allegations that Fuentes has made racist remarks about Jews, Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Italian-Americans, Catholics, and other groups.

Whatever the outcome of the elections, the results are liable to be challenged because of the refusal of the board of elections to use signature cards for voters at the polls. Instead, computer printouts will be used, with each voter required to show identification in order to vote. This opens the results up to massive fraud, as any organized group can collect identification and move from poll to poll.

The elections are being held under these procedures despite lawsuits initi-



April 29 motorcade ended with rally

Militant/Arthur Hughes

cially appointed Broderick commission.

Press coverage on the campaign has also picked up this week. Most noteworthy was a special article in the April 26 *Village Voice* by columnist Nat Hentoff. Hentoff refuted the lies that have been repeated over and over by reporters from the *New York Times* and the *New York Post*, and gave his support to the community-control slate and Fuentes.

The United Federation of Teachers, although it is supporting slates in every district, has made District 1 its

ated by the Williamsburg Legal Services and the Committee for Democratic Election Laws.

An initial decision in a lower court requiring the board of elections to provide the signature cards for all voters on May 1 was overturned, but then validated again by the New York State Court of Appeals. In a last minute move, the New York State legislature passed a bill initiated by UFT forces and Governor Rockefeller making it legal for the elections to be held using only the computer printout sheets.

Nixon axes gov't child-care programs

By CINDY JAQUITH

APRIL 30—After a delay of more than a month the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) has finally announced the new eligibility rules for federally funded day care. The final regulations represent only a token concession to the protests of angry parents against the cutbacks in day-care funding. Under the new rules, all families whose incomes exceed the official poverty level

SAN FRANCISCO, April 27—More than 175 people marched from Chinatown to the posh Nob Hill district today to picket a speaking engagement by Caspar Weinberger, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). The demonstrators were protesting the HEW cutbacks in day-care and senior-citizens programs, and college tuition hikes. The Community Committee to Support the April 28 Labor Rally in San Francisco sponsored the action.

by more than 50 percent will no longer be eligible for inexpensive day care.

The Nixon administration would like to pretend that families in this income range are "middle class," but this is not true. The government's poverty level is so low (\$4,137 for a family of four) that families whose income is far above this figure are still poor. The Department of Labor, for example, says that to live in moderate comfort, a family of four needs an annual income of more than \$11,000.

There is no official interpretation of the exact income levels for eligibility as yet. However, based on the way the HEW determined eligibility for its original proposal, the new rules will disqualify a family of four in New York that earns more than \$6,090. A woman with one child in Washington, D.C., can only earn \$2,820 a year.

The initial HEW proposal was even more drastic. It set the maximum-income level at only 33 percent above the poverty level. The modification of this figure came as a response to protests by parents and day-care activists.

Since the HEW announced the cutbacks in February, there have been demonstrations in at least a dozen cities. The largest actions have occurred in San Francisco and New York, which have the largest networks



Militant/Howard Petrick

of day-care centers. The most recent protests in New York have focused on the city's moves to deny funds to centers that refuse to file parental income forms.

While slightly changing the income-eligibility rules, the final HEW regulations keep intact two other provisions. Families that go off welfare will have only three months' time to continue using public day care, instead of the present two-year period. In addition, the new regulations reduce from five years to six months the time in centers allowed for families who receive

some public assistance but are not on welfare.

Nixon's original proposal would have dropped nearly 350,000 of the 700,000 children in federally funded day care. The final version of the regulations will still force out a large portion of these children. Most of them come from poor families where both parents must work, or from families where the woman is the head of the household. The majority of these families are Black, Puerto Rican, and

from state and city funds. This has meant that most families pay \$2 or less per week for day care.

Unless Congress passes some new measure, the day-care cutbacks will begin taking effect July 1, and all the regulations will be in effect by Jan. 1, 1974.

The alternatives facing those families that will lose the right to inexpensive day care are grim. Private day care costs from \$25 to \$50 a week.

Because so many of these families depend on the incomes of both parents in order to get by, forcing one parent to quit work to take care of the children will impose severe hardships on the family. Many will be forced to go on welfare.

The problem is all the more severe for women who are heads of households. With the new rules, many will have no alternative but to quit their jobs and apply for welfare. Parents already on welfare will be locked into dependence on the government's inadequate welfare payments in order to qualify for day care.

And those on welfare will be subject to Nixon's "workfare" program. Passed off by the Nixon administration as "job training" for those on welfare, in reality workfare forces welfare recipients to work at rotten jobs for substandard wages.

"Boeing, ITT, everyone seems to get support except our children," said Ann Jordan of the Black Women's Political Alliance at a recent day-care rally in Philadelphia. "People must be the priority in this country and not the giant conglomerates."

What is needed is *more* money for child care, not less. Compared with the \$82-billion allocated for war spending, the \$397-million set aside for 1973 for day-care centers is tiny indeed. These funds will provide care for only a fraction of the six million preschool children whose mothers work.

In New York City, for example, there are places in day-care centers for

Continued on page 22

How day-care centers help children

By MARTHA HARRIS

NEW YORK—It's early in the day as my four-year-old son and I step inside the Billy Martin Child Development Center, a federally funded day-care center in Brooklyn. This center serves 77 children, most of whom are Black and Puerto Rican, between the ages of three and five years.

Day-care centers are often described by opponents of day care as "dumping grounds" for poor children, where they receive little or no warmth and attention. The Nixon administration likes to portray day care in this negative light because it wants to undercut the movement to protect these centers in the face of federal cutbacks in funding.

But day-care centers don't have to be merely "custodial care" institutions. The Billy Martin Center is proof of this. Those of us who have access to this center are very lucky, because many, or most, of the centers in New York are not nearly so pleasant.

At 7:30 a.m. the kitchen crew of three people begins the day's meals. Breakfast is served to any child whose parent has arranged for it. At 8 a.m. the children begin to arrive. In my son's class are 16 children and three

teachers. His room is full of equipment—art supplies, books, puzzles, blocks, phonograph, records, a sand table, games—all in good working order.

After outdoor play, a midmorning snack, and group singing, a story, or exercises, the class divides into three groups. Each group pursues its own study unit, which might include cooking, carpentry, nature studies, music, or art.

Lunch is a comfortable communal activity. Into the classrooms are wheeled carts carrying nutritionally planned and prepared meals. The children take turns setting the tables beforehand, and along with their teachers, assemble there to eat "family style." On the classroom wall is pertinent information concerning each child, including dietary restrictions. All requests are unfailingly observed.

Following an afternoon nap, the children play outdoors again in a fenced-in area that has safe sliding, climbing, and riding equipment. Trips are a regular part of the curriculum; sometimes it is a casual "neighborhood walk" to purchase lumber for a wood-working project, but often it is to attend children's theater or a museum.



Twice a month the school visits the public library to view films. And once a month, the children's librarian comes to the center to leave film strips and a new supply of books, and perhaps to present a "mini" puppet show.

A doctor visits the center monthly to perform routine physical examinations and to make necessary medical referrals. Last month a complete dental program was begun.

Almost more important than the stimulating program that my son and his classmates enjoy is the respect the teachers show toward the children. Time and space prevail for quiet conversation, and each child works at her or his own pace. Yelling, punishment, humiliation—nonexistent.

The center, whose parents voted unanimously not to comply with the new government income investigations, recently received a letter stating that beginning May 1 there will be no more funds. A rich program that speaks to the educational, social, and emotional needs of children is to be crushed at its core.

"Daycare centers equal maintenance care for poor children." The Nixon administration is trying its very best to achieve that infamous goal.

OREGON RALLIES HIT BUDGET CUTS

By LISA POTASH

PORTLAND, Ore., April 30—The Oregon Coalition for Child Care sponsored two activities against the new federal day-care cutbacks last week.

On April 26 the coalition held a public rally in Portland attended by 80 people. One of the speakers, day-care activist Helen Gordon, pointed out that while voting for a cut in all social services, including day care, Congress also approved a new military budget larger than last year's.

Russ Dawson, director of the Model Cities Consumer Protection Agency, explained that the most effective thing parents can do to fight against the cutbacks is to continue protests in the streets. He also urged everyone to participate in the May 5 march and rally in Portland against high food prices.

Other speakers at the rally included Jettie Wilds, chairman of the Oregon Black Caucus; Fred Stickney, chair-

man of the Confederation of Provider Agencies; Judy Stranahan from the Portland State University Committee for Child Care; and Beverly Van Tassel, a parent. Barbara Norris of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom cochaired the rally.

On the day of the rally, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare announced its new regulations. The director of Community-Coordinated Child Care, Portland's day-care network, immediately issued a statement condemning the new rules, saying that they spelled the end for its programs.

The following day, April 27, the Coalition for Child Care held a picket line in front of the capitol building in Salem to demand passage of Senate Bill 74, which would provide additional state funds for day-care centers. Seventy-five people, including a dozen Black women, participated.



Militant/Arthur Hughes

DAY CARE OR WELFARE?

The following letter was sent recently to Caspar Weinberger, secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

Dear Sir:

I am 27 years old, divorced, and employed as a clerk-typist at Crocker National Bank. I have a six-year-old son who is now attending the Kate Kennedy School Age Center in San Francisco. He is in the first grade.

Because I must work to earn a living for myself and my child, he is also cared for after school hours, 1:30 to 5:30 p.m., by this child-care center.

I was notified that, because of federal budget cuts, I will no longer be able to send my son to this school and will have to find a baby-sitter for those hours he is not in school. This will cost approximately \$20 to \$30 per week.

I take home \$368.04 per month, out of a gross income of \$450. I would have to pay an additional \$80 to \$120 per month in order to care for my child after school hours when I am still at work.

My budget is as follows:

Net pay	\$368.04
Rent	130.00
Telephone	7.50
Gas & electric	20.00
Child care	20.25

Surplus spent on food, transportation, medical care, and clothing 190.29

If I have to pay the additional \$120 per month for a baby-sitter, my budget will look like this: surplus to spend on food, medical bills, clothing, & etc.—\$90.54 per month or \$20 per week!

I know you never had to live like this.

I demand that the budget cuts be rescinded. I do not want to be forced to quit my job and go on welfare. I thought that is what you wanted to avoid!

There are many women like myself. We are trying to make a better living for ourselves and our children—we will not stand by while we are pushed into the poverty level.

Bonnie Sheppard

San Francisco, Calif.



Militant/Howard Petrick

San Francisco day-care demonstration. Sign reads: 'Children are our priority.'

WWII: Gov't sang a different tune

Hypocrisy over child-care issue

By LINDA JENNESS

The proposed cutbacks in day-care funds show the total hypocrisy of the U. S. government. Nixon claims that childcare is unfeasible, not good for children, too costly, and that women shouldn't work anyway.

During World War II, however, the government sang a different tune. Working women were portrayed in movies, books, and magazines as patriotic, heroic, and much more intelligent than their housewife counterparts. The government applauded the virtues of childcare for both mother and child—and managed to find the funds to provide it.

This policy prevailed during the war not because the government cared for women and children any more than it does today. It was because large numbers of women were needed to work in the war industries. And, if women workers were to be forced to work long hours at low wages, provisions had to be made for their children.

In 1942, under the Lanham Act, Congress authorized federal aid for the maintenance and construction of child-care facilities. During the two-and-a-half years covered by this act, more than \$51-million was allotted to 829 day-care projects in 47 states. This money supplemented \$26-million in city and state funds.

By 1945, there were more than 3,000 day-care programs nationally. Approximately 600,000 children received care at some time during the program. Fees were set on a sliding scale based on family income.

Most centers were open 10 hours a day. They served three meals and frequently had facilities for sick children. Many centers also supplied a variety of additional services, such as taking children to the dentist and providing a drop-off and pick-up service for the family laundry.

In addition to the public programs, several industries established their own programs. Kaiser Shipbuilding Corporation, for instance, maintained two day-care centers in Portland, Ore. The centers, located at the shipyard entrances, were open seven days a week, 24 hours a day, 365 days a year. They accepted children as young as 18 months. The centers also admitted school-age children on weekends and school holidays. During their operation, they served more than 4,000 children.

Each Kaiser center provided a director, teachers, social workers, nurses, and nutritionists. Children received breakfast and lunch. As a result of studies about the needs of working mothers, a special home food-service program was begun. This service allowed a woman to pick up a take-

home dinner from the day-care kitchens at the end of her work-shift. While not utilized widely, this service gives a small glimpse of the kinds of social services that this society could provide.

Towards the end of 1945, as the need for women in the defense industry slackened, the ruling class began to change the image it projected of women. The heroines became faithful housewives who would never dream of "abandoning" their children in day-care programs. To back this image up, the industries began to lay off women and the government cut off day-care funds—but not without protest from parents.

In Philadelphia, for instance, a group of about 60 servicemen's wives went to the council chambers at city hall and took seats in the balcony. When the meeting began they threatened to literally dump their babies in the laps of the councilmen. "We want the centers continued indefinitely," they said, "and not just for servicemen's children, but for all women who have to work."

This society has the wealth and resources to provide adequate child-care facilities for all who need it. The capitalist government, however, makes childcare available solely on the basis of whether it's profitable for big business.

'END WAR SPENDING TO FUND DAY CARE'



Militant/Arthur Hughes

Norman Oliver on New York day-care demonstration.

The following statement by Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City, was released April 28.

The Socialist Workers Party candidates in the 1973 municipal elections support the struggle against Nixon's day-care cutbacks. These cutbacks will be disastrous for the hundreds of thousands of families who use federally funded day care.

This is the richest country in the world, with the capacity to provide for a good life for all, including child care for all who desire it. Yet the Nixon administration is slashing social services to the bone while increasing military spending to a whopping \$82-billion!

The Democrats and Republicans in Congress continue to vote for bigger and bigger war appropriations. They

were also the ones who approved Nixon's budget proposal to reduce spending for social needs. They clearly do not see child care and other basic human needs as priorities.

The Socialist Workers Party demands:

- No cutbacks in federal funding for day care. No penalization of centers that do not file parent income forms.
- Launch a program with federal, state, and city funds to build child-care centers for all who need them. These centers should be free, available at all times, and controlled by those who use them.
- End military spending—turn the \$82-billion military budget over to badly needed social services, including child care.
- No forced work programs for welfare recipients.

600 join one-day work stoppage in Houston

Black longshoremen protest cop brutality

By TOM VERNIER

HOUSTON—On Wednesday, April 11, more than 600 Black longshoremen did not report to work at the Port of Houston. They went instead to the Houston city council chambers to protest the beating by Houston police of four members of their union, International Longshoremen's Association, Local 872. The beatings had occurred the previous Friday evening, April 6, outside the union hall.

The police maintained that the four men had interfered with a cop who was writing a ticket, and that they had resisted arrest. The four were charged with aggravated assault on police officers, disorderly conduct, and interfering with a police officer.

The longshoremen's version was different. They told the city council that the police became irritated when one of the men, Ray Bryant, began honking his horn to attract the attention of a friend. The police arrested him. When the other three, Emanuel Lawson, Jimmy Bryant, and Tommy Harris, came to his aid, the police arrested them too. Then, while the four were handcuffed, the cops began swinging their shotguns. One of the men was still in the hospital five days later.

According to Reuben Wheatley, pres-

ident of ILA Local 872, the police cursed the arrested men and taunted them with racist slurs while taking them to the main police station. When they arrived at the station, the men were beaten again.

Wheatley said that the three men who were taken into custody after the initial arrest were only asking the police why they were beating Bryant. When Wheatley tried to intervene, a policeman stuck a gun in his face and told him to get away. He didn't argue.

After union attorney Arthur Mandell had presented an account of the police attack to the city council, Houston Mayor Louie Welch dismissed the attorney's remarks as "hearsay" because Mandell was not present when the incident occurred. Then, when Wheatley attempted to give an eyewitness report, Welch ruled him out of order.

The union leaders demanded a complete investigation of the beatings, and Welch ordered the city legal department to "look into" the incident. Wheatley and Mandell both pointed out, however, that the close relationship between the mayor's office and the police department would make it very difficult for a complete and impartial investigation to take place.



Militant/Tom Vernier

Reuben Wheatley, head of ILA Local 872.

I talked to Wheatley later in his office about the sentiment of the union membership. He told me that "Friday night the men didn't feel like working anymore until something was done about it. . . . If we get a man seriously hurt or killed on a ship, they don't

work the ship that day. We have that policy."

"I had to go out of town, but when I got back, the men still wanted something done. I suggested that the executive board go down to city hall, but the men said 'No! We're all going down there.' So we all went. We were there protesting the police beating up these men in the street as if they were trying to start a riot. That's what we thought the cops were doing."

I asked Wheatley whether the police often came around the union hall. "We used to just see them every once in a while," he said. "But for the last three weeks or a month they've just been riding through here all the time. And these longshoremen are hard-working men. They come down here, go to work, come back, get in that car, and go home. I don't think that merits the police coming in here and bothering them and following them like they do."

"And I don't see why any man weighing around 210 pounds has to use the butt of a shotgun to arrest an unarmed man weighing around 150 pounds."

The longshoremen are presently following legal channels to counter this incident of Houston police brutality.

Cleve. SWP mayoral candidate wins ballot status

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS

CLEVELAND, April 27—Roberta Scherr, SWP candidate for mayor of Cleveland, was notified today that she has been certified for the Cleveland mayoral ballot in the Oct. 2 "nonpartisan" primary. Scherr is the first, and so far the only, mayoral candidate on the ballot.

Scherr's ballot status marks a major victory for democratic rights in Ohio.

Ever since 1969, when SWP candidate Syd Stapleton became the first socialist on the Cleveland mayoral ballot in decades, state and county election officials have sought to keep the SWP off the ballot.

In 1972, Ohio officials barred SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness from the ballot on the pretext that she was too young to run for office.

This unconstitutional decision was protested by a wide range of supporters of civil liberties, including Representatives Bellz Abzug, Charles Rangel, and Louis Stokes.

Although upheld by a federal court, the Ohio ban on Jenness did not prevent 9,773 Cuyahoga County (Cleveland) residents from voting for the SWP when Jenness's name appeared on the ballot there despite the ruling against her.

In 1971, county election officials banned John Hawkins, SWP candidate for mayor, from the ballot on a technicality despite the fact that he had submitted 16,000 signatures—twice the minimum required at that time—to gain ballot status.

Scherr won ballot status only after a last-minute drive to gain additional signatures. This effort began after it was learned April 20 that of the 6,900

signatures filed on April 10, only 2,446 were declared valid.

Within hours, supporters of the socialist campaign organized a three-day drive that netted an additional 2,900 signatures. These were filed April 24. (Under the law, candidates have five days to file additional signatures if their petitions are declared insufficient.)

In a statement released today, Scherr blasted the Cuyahoga County board of elections. "They're been a hindrance rather than a help in my efforts to comply with all city and state election laws," she said. She explained that board of elections director Virgil Brown was not even aware of the city charter provision permitting five extra days to collect additional signatures. Scherr pledged to continue to expose the undemocratic nature of the Ohio election laws.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Roberta Scherr's ballot status is a victory for democratic rights in Cleveland.

Gay rights bill still blocked in N.Y. city council

By JOHN LAURITSEN

NEW YORK—The New York city council's General Welfare Committee refused for the third time on April 27 to vote out Intro 475, a bill to extend basic civil rights to gay people. Intro 475 has been bogged down in committee for almost three years. Only an extensive campaign by New York's gay groups, primarily the Gay Activists Alliance, brought it up for a vote again.

While the bill was argued in closed session, more than a hundred men and women demonstrated for its passage in the rain in front of city hall. When the demonstrators heard of Intro 475's defeat by a one-vote margin, several dozen ran over a ramp of the Brooklyn Bridge, and briefly blocked traffic. Police arrested 20 demonstrators, charging them with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. That same evening a demonstration of 300 took place in Greenwich Village.

At a meeting the next day called to plan protest actions, anger was



Militant/John Lauritsen

Gays demonstrate for passage of Intro 475

focused on liberals Aileen Ryan and Thomas Manton, as well as on more outspoken bigots such as city council majority leader Thomas Cuite ("that fag bill") and Joseph Ribustello ("If my son was a homosexual, I'd hang

him!").

Both Ryan and Manton were among a majority of the 15-member committee who had signed a petition stating they would vote for Intro 475.

Ryan left the meeting at lunch recess and did not return. The next day she called a press conference to claim she had been harassed by threatening phone calls and that an effigy had been placed on her doorstep. She said her vote would have been against Intro 475 anyway because she didn't want to see homosexual schoolteachers who would "show up as a man one day and a woman the next."

Apart from the vicious stereotype her statement conjures up, it was also a conscious lie. Ryan possessed statements from New York City's Human Rights Commissioner Eleanor Homes Norton and the New York City Bar Association that directly refuted this possibility.

According to the Special Committee on Sex and Law and the Committee on Civil Rights of the New York City Bar Association, "All such legislation

does require is that for an individual otherwise qualified, sex, race, or sexual orientation in and of itself cannot be disqualification for employment, housing, or public accommodations."

With regard to employment provisions, Eleanor Holmes Norton summed up: "[we] must make our position unequivocal that only performance-related criteria can be allowed as grounds for refusal of employment in this city, both in the private and public sectors."

Responding to Ryan's charges of harassment, GAA President Dr. Bruce Voeller emphasized that GAA is committed to nonviolent action except in self-defense.

Intro 475 is not dead. Similar bills have been passed in San Francisco, Ann Arbor, and Lansing, Mich. Several city council members have indicated they will introduce a discharge petition to bring the bill before the full council.

The range of support for Intro 475

Continued on page 22

By HARRY RING

BERKELEY—One more attempt by radicals to "work within the system" has ended in fiasco.

In 1971, a radical-supported electoral bloc, the April Coalition, contested for four seats on the Berkeley city council and won three of them.

This year, the Coalition again contested for four seats. Three of its four candidates were defeated.

The experience is worth assessing because many radicals in Berkeley

tial number of the city's voters.)

The inability of the April Coalition to respond effectively to the opposition strategy was well illustrated when the Coalition decided to picket the Civic Unity slate to protest the alleged theft of its platform.

The campus *Daily Californian*, which campaigned for the April Coalition, offered this rather bleak description of the demonstration:

"Members of the April Coalition picketed the . . . Headquarters of the rival Berkeley Four city council slate yesterday in an attempt to dramatize charges that the Four have 'looted

onstration. Widener had helped put together the Berkeley Four slate against the April Coalition.

Responding to the charge of "theft," Widener pointed to a section of the April Coalition platform that he said was identical to the language he used in a 1971 position paper.

"These ideas have been around for a long time," Widener observed. "We could charge that they stole them from me."

While the Berkeley Four unquestionably engaged in "left" verbiage to pick up votes, the fact is that the April Coalition moved steadily to the right

agreed that "America's rulers" are "enemies." Birdsall responded: "They are enemies in the sense they don't recognize the popular needs and feelings—take their attitude in regard to the Vietnam War, for example."

In a campaign debate with Ken Milner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the council, April Coalition candidate Lenny Goldberg asked the audience to vote for him because he too was a "socialist." But in a *Gazette* interview, he assured: "There's nothing in our platform that could make it possible for them (the Berkeley Four) to say that our election will drive business out of Berkeley."

Against 'Marxianizing'

Or, as Birdsall told the *Gazette*, "I see myself as attacking the abuses of the current system. I'm not interested in Marxianizing the city or Leninizing the city."

With that kind of a "contest," only 65 percent of Berkeley's voters went to the polls. In 1971, when the April Coalition assumed a more radical posture, the turnout was nearly 80 percent.

In 1971, the student turnout was nearly 70 percent. This year it was 60 percent.

The April issue of *New American Movement*, publication of the organization of the same name, offered a gloomy estimate of the situation. Reviewing the developments in the April Coalition prior to the elections, the NAM paper stated in part:

"These events demonstrated the inescapable logic that prevails in an electoral coalition based simply on immediate issues and without a long-term commitment to building a socialist movement. . . . as is already happening, the once radical movement will find its success increasingly rewarded by a welcome into the Democratic Party—the traditional graveyard of radical movements."

The Democratic Party assuredly is a graveyard for those radicals, like NAM, who support its candidates. That will be the subject of another article.

APRIL COALITION AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY WHY BERKELEY 'RADICALS' LOST

and elsewhere were persuaded that the April Coalition represented a viable strategy for promoting basic social change.

In the elections just held April 17, radical supporters of the April Coalition found themselves in the sorry situation of supporting a slate of liberal Democrats against a contending slate of moderate Democrats.

In April 1971, the April Coalition was able to win three council seats because their Republican and Democratic opponents were divided among themselves. This time the Republicans

and diluted' proposals in the Coalition's platform."

"About 15 Coalition pickets . . . were joined by half a dozen Berkeley Four supporters who infiltrated their picket line, carrying cards that read 'Another student for the Berkeley Four,' 'April Coalition supports the Berkeley Four Platform,' and so on.

"The Four's infiltrators illustrated the Coalition's problem—perhaps unwittingly. It would have been hard for the observer who didn't know the participants' names and faces to determine who was picketing whom,

in its bid for election, and it was this shift to the right that made it virtually indistinguishable from the Civic Unity group.

In announcing his support for the April Coalition, State Assemblyman Ken Meade said, "While the public statements of the two opposing slates may sound confusingly similar," the Coalition candidates "come closest to representing the mainstream of progressive thought in the Democratic Party."

The "respectability" of the slate was further underscored when it won the endorsement of the principal members of the 1972 Berkeley McGovern campaign staff, who declared the April Coalition represented "the kind of progressive change in Berkeley that George McGovern represented on a national level."

All of this required an extra gulp for the radicals in the Coalition to swallow, although they managed.

At the outset of the campaign, various "anti-imperialist" groupings dominated an April Coalition gathering that wrote the election platform. The rhetoric was militant. It declared in part:

"America's rulers are the enemies not only of the people struggling for liberation in Southeast Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East, but of the majority of us, the American people. . . ."

"We hope," the platform declared, "to make clear the limited possibilities of reform in a capitalist context while at the same time developing alternatives or symbols which point the way to the future economic transformation of the entire society."

But that was strictly for the radicals. The right-wing *Berkeley Daily Gazette* subsequently had a lot of cheap fun pointing 'a finger of mock horror at the "real" platform of the April Coalition as compared to the "toned-down version" circulated for popular consumption.

Toned-down platform

The toned-down version was, of course, the real platform of the April Coalition and the one that the Democratic Party candidates selected by the Coalition stood on.

The *Gazette* interviewed April Coalition candidate Peter Birdsall, a campus McGovern campaigner in '72. The paper reported:

"He claimed the economic reforms and police measures espoused by the Coalition will result in a healthier business climate and a better police department."

The *Gazette* asked Birdsall if he

Vote DEMOCRATIC Tuesday April 17th for CITY COUNCIL

Peter Birdsall is 22 years old. A graduate at U.C., he has lived in Berkeley for the past five years. Peter's first political effort in Berkeley helped elect Congressman Ron Dellums. He has since coordinated campus campaigns for Loni Hancock in 1971 and the McGovern-Dellums. No on M campaign in 1972. He does staff work on a regular basis for both Congressman Dellums and Councilwoman Hancock. Peter worked with the Fair Rent Committee to help develop Berkeley's Rent Control Law and he organized the initiative effort that resulted in the passage of the Rent Control Charter Amendment last June.



PETER BIRDSALL

Margot Dashiell was born and raised in Berkeley. She received her B.A. from U.C. Berkeley and did graduate work in criminology. Currently a Sociology instructor at Laney College, member of the Berkeley Planning Commission, and a leader of the Berkeley Black Caucus, Margot has served as a Director for the Berkeley Poverty program, a teacher in the East Bay Skills Center, a counselor for the Berkeley Neighborhood Youth Corps and a community organizer in Hunters Point. Margot's candidacy has grown naturally from her community work, but it was Congressman Ron Dellums who finally persuaded her to run.



MARGOT DASHIELL

Lenny Goldberg, 27, came to Berkeley in 1967 as a graduate student in economics. He is a union member, has worked as a welfare rights organizer and



LENNY GOLDBERG

he has worked directly with drug rehabilitation programs. As an economic policy advisor to Councilwoman Hancock, Lenny revised the business license tax to make it more equitable and authored a progressive municipal income tax to reduce Berkeley's property tax rate. Lenny currently works as an economics instructor at Laney and at U.C. In 1968 Lenny campaigned for Gene McCarthy and in 1972 he did precinct work in the McGovern for President campaign.

Ying Lee Kelley was born in Shanghai in 1932. In 1945 her family came to San Francisco. She is now a teacher in the Berkeley schools and is currently on a leave of absence



YING LEE KELLEY

taken to allow herself full time for anti-war work. A member of the Berkeley Federation of Teachers, she served as a shop steward at Willard Jr. High in 1965. Ying helped organize the Berkeley chapter of the Asian American Community Alliance and was selected as a McGovern delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1972. Ying has a strong concern with local Berkeley issues and she currently serves as the moderator on the Charter Review Committee.

Newspaper issued by Democrats supporting the April Coalition.

and moderate Democrats agreed on a "Civic Unity" slate that could compete effectively for liberal votes. Like the April Coalition, the Civic Unity candidates—known as the Berkeley Four—were all Democrats.

(The political climate in Berkeley is indicated by the fact that the newly elected city council includes five Blacks, three women, and an Asian-American. This is due mainly to the influence of the University of California, Berkeley, campus. Students and faculty members comprise a substan-

and for what. . . . "Three Coalition candidates attended the demonstration. . . .

'We have seen their platform and we are furious,' Coalition candidate Ying Kelley said. 'They have co-opted the rhetoric of our positions, but they are really only giving lip service to the things we are really concerned about.'

Warren Widener, a Black Democrat who was elected mayor in 1971 with a substantial number of April Coalition votes, was on hand at the dem-



The Socialist Workers Party presented a meaningful socialist alternative in the Berkeley city council elections. Shown here is SWP candidate Ken Milner; the other SWP nominees were Nancy Makler, Kathryn Pon, and Brian Williams.

AUGUST 1914: A CHALLENGE TO KREMLIN 'HISTORY'



Russian infantry in World War I

August 1914 by Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Farrar, Straus, and Giroux. New York, 1972. 622 pp. \$10.

By NAOMI ALLEN

In one of his short stories ("For the Good of the Cause") Solzhenitsyn's hero remarks that unpleasant things always happen in August. *August 1914*—the first volume of an epic history of modern Russia—is the story of an unpleasant thing on a gigantic scale: a military disaster that was the prologue to the Russian defeat in World War I and (not coincidentally) to the victory of the Bolshevik revolution as well.

The First and Second Russian Armies invaded East Prussia in early August 1914. They did so without benefit of reconnaissance; with inadequate supply and transportation facilities; with no code for their dispatches; with understrength divisions and untrained soldiers; with commanding officers who had never seen active service and dreaded the very idea of ever seeing it; and above all with no plan of attack. In fact, they were utterly unprepared for the Prussian campaign. They only launched it because the Russian government had given its word to its allies that the attack would begin as scheduled.

The czar's officers were not too disturbed at the deficiencies of their forces. The German army might have a superior technical and strategic organization, more skilled troops, and a discipline and coherence the Russian army lacked; but the Russian officers relied on God and the Virgin Mary to see them through, and they advised their soldiers to do likewise. The result was the destruction of the Russian forces, with 90,000 captured and additional thousands dead.

Attacked by bureaucracy

In choosing the initial stages of WWI as his subject, Solzhenitsyn has broken the formal pattern of his previous writings, which have all fallen within the scope of his personal experiences. *August 1914* is a monumental attempt at an independent and frankly critical history of the prerevolutionary

period and of the forces at work within Russian society at that time.

The ruling bureaucracy views such a candid approach as a threat to its own official monopoly of writing in general and of historical and political writing in particular. Ever since the narrow nationalist bureaucracy gained the upper hand over the internationalist core of the Bolshevik Party and began the Russification of the Soviet Union at the expense of the other nationalities, it has glorified everything Russian, including the Russia of the prerevolutionary period. (During the second world war, a specimen of the officially approved cinema was *Alexander Nevsky*, which in a racist spirit retrospectively portrays the Germans as aggressive barbarians in contrast with the noble, righteous Russians of the thirteenth century.)

The bureaucracy has not only prevented publication of *August 1914*. It has also deliberately translated and published an American bourgeois historian's account of the same period, Barbara Tuchman's *Guns of August*. Tuchman's version places the blame for WWI on errors and miscalculations among Western statesmen that dragged the world into war. She pictures the Russian invasion of Prussia as a tactical diversion to draw the Germans' attention away from the Western front and so enable the French to carry the day there.

The Stalinist bureaucracy has forced Solzhenitsyn's audience to rely on clandestine *samizdat* circulation of the book, at great personal risk to anyone caught with a copy. But it has not stopped there. Both the official Soviet press and the Stalinist press in other countries have leveled charges against him and the book.

First, they have accused Solzhenitsyn of glorifying the Germans at the expense of the Russians. In a review of the book published in the March 1973 *Political Affairs*, the theoretical journal of the Communist Party USA, Robert Lumer accuses Solzhenitsyn of giving "gratuitous and exaggerated praise of all things Prussian," and asks why anyone would praise a society that was "highly militaristic . . . savagely oppressive" and "notoriously

vicious." And he labels Solzhenitsyn's picture of the German army "praise for militarism and reaction."

August 1914 does not glorify the Germans. As they march into Prussia, the Russian soldiers marvel at the neatly manicured countryside, which speaks of a superior technology and a higher standard of living than the Russian peasants enjoy.

As they withstand inhuman bombardment in the trenches, they become aware that this technical superiority extends to the German army, which has the most modern equipment and methods, and professionally trained soldiers; in short, it is a modern mechanized army, while the Russian army is still modeled along obsolete, nineteenth-century lines.

(As if to sum up the tradition-bound nature of the Russian army, the officers are required to wear heavy swords, which impede their movement and weigh them down, and are utterly worthless for their defense.)

The German officers are just as pompous, vain, and fatuous as their Russian counterparts. But they happen to have modern artillery to answer the Russian officers' swords. Here is not a glorification of the Ger-

mans but a damning indictment of the stupidity, viciousness, and obsolescence of the czarist system.

It was a system that based military promotions on seniority and connections, without regard for qualifications, and so sent to war at the head of its army a host of incompetents. It was a system that could forcibly mobilize hundreds of thousands of men—of whom almost none were literate enough to read an artillery manual—but fail through oversight to provide reinforcements or a supply of ammunition, or even to coordinate the actions of the different corps.

In fact, it was a system that cried out to be overthrown. In that respect Solzhenitsyn paints a historically truthful picture of 1914 Russian society, seen in the merciless mirror of its armed forces.

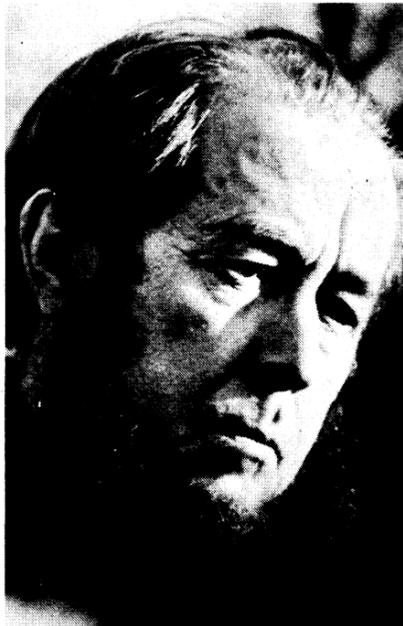
No Bolshevik characters

The second major charge leveled against *August 1914* is that it distorts the historical prelude to the Bolshevik revolution. The charge of distortion is based chiefly on the absence of characters who are conscious Bolsheviks, and on the rather contemptible figures who portray the various strains of revolutionists. The CPUSA's *Daily World* review (March 8) complains that "no Marxist-Leninist thought enters the book, although Lenin was alive and operating then. . . ."

Yes, Lenin was alive and in exile in Switzerland; the action, however, takes place in Prussia. And aside from Lenin and the handful of other internationalists, who were nearly all in exile abroad, how many Bolsheviks were there in Russia in 1914 who stood up and denounced Russia's role in the imperialist war?

In one of his last articles, Trotsky—who had been an outspoken opponent of WWI—calls attention to the fact that the official biographies of most of the figures who later became bureaucrats in the Stalinist machine are silent about the years 1914-17. The reason is that most of them supported the war.

Among the most interesting scenes in the book are those that picture



Alexander Solzhenitsyn

the near total abdication of the Russian left in the face of the war. An honorable exception was the Bolshevik delegation in the Duma, which courageously denounced the war—as Solzhenitsyn mentions—and was arrested and exiled—as he does not mention. But on the whole, even criticism of the czar, which had been the calling card of every self-respecting intellectual, abruptly ceased with the declaration of war. The same thing happened throughout Europe.

Even a year later, when much of the patriotism had turned into disillusionment, a meeting of antiwar Social Democrats and Bolsheviks in Zimmerwald, Switzerland, drew so few people that Trotsky commented that 50 years after the *Communist Manifesto* all the internationalists in the world could fit into four horse-drawn coaches.

However, we might legitimately ask why Solzhenitsyn did not include any Bolsheviks in his cast of characters. The answer would probably be that he was more concerned with exploring



Former Major-General Pyotr Grigorenko, a leading Soviet dissident, documented Stalin's incompetence in World War II. Kremlin bureaucrats don't like the parallel suggested by 'August 1914.'

the options of the individual under czarism than with providing the reader with a history of the Bolshevik Party. This is his right as an author; as it happened, the impact of the Bolsheviks in the early days of the war was insignificant, and no historical falsification results from his decision to omit such a character. Many of his previous books and stories have featured Communists as central figures, so it is foolish to generalize from the lack of such a character in *August 1914*.

The decisive element in the immediate prerevolutionary period was the war. The omnipresent threat of death in the trenches intensified the dissatisfaction of the people and the urgency of their situation.

Solzhenitsyn's portrait of the Russian peasant-soldier is historically truthful—a character shaped by centuries of oppression but already beginning an experience that would shake him out of his lethargy. "I give you the Russian soldier," toasts General Samsonov, "the soldier of Holy Russia, to whom endurance and suffering are second nature!"

But this cannot be read without a sense of historical irony, the product of hindsight. The soldiers didn't remain docile cannon fodder for long. They were willing to put up with reasonable hardship and discomfort, to tolerate the stupidity of their officers, as long as they thought, like Senka, that "it would all be over by the Feast of the Intercession on October 1." But when it became clear that the war would drag on interminably, it was

a different story. (We should keep in mind that *August 1914* is conceived as only the first chapter of an extensive history of the period.)

'Lacks patriotism'

The third Stalinist charge against the book is that it lacks "the highest principle of literature—patriotism."

This charge reveals more about its authors than about the book they accuse. One is that they consider patriotism to be an uncritical eulogizing of everything Russian. In fact, *August 1914* is intensely patriotic, in both the good and the bad sense of the word.

The axis of the novel is the contradiction between the senile and ineffective government and military system, which can lead Russia only to its destruction, and the really dedicated individuals who struggle to achieve a victory for the Russian troops. Colonel Vorotyntsev, who is the chief expository device and central figure in the novel, if not the hero, rushes from place to place on the front lines, turning crumbling positions into battering rams, assuming command of divisions whose officers have inexplicably disappeared, rousing the exhausted soldiers with appeals, attempting to compensate for the inferior stuff of the czarist army with his own wits. He has nothing but contempt for the czar and the general staff; he is motivated by his sense of duty and his love of his country.

The last chapter of the book—and its climax—show Vorotyntsev throwing all thought of personal advancement to the winds, violating the holiest of military etiquettes, and denouncing the incompetence and treachery of the general staff to its face, in the presence of the commander-in-chief.

The flaw in this type of patriotism is that it identifies the interests of the country with the interests of its rulers. Not only Vorotyntsev but also the two aging civilian engineers, Obodovsky and Archangorodsky, who had been revolutionists in their youth but who now want only to build up their country, are patriotic with a misplaced patriotism. They support their government's war because they think their role is to construct a new Russia and not get involved in politics. But they don't realize that czarism will not let them construct a new Russia—to do that, they must first overthrow the czarist system.

Solzhenitsyn mistakenly idealizes the patriotism of the Russian masses. The Kremlin bureaucrats attack him for this, but they attack him *from the right*. They defend the patriotism of the czarist general staff and attack Solzhenitsyn because he criticizes "the Russian side" in the conflict. That is what they mean when they accuse *August 1914* of renouncing "the highest principle of literature—patriotism."

It is this same misrepresentation of patriotism—deliberate in this case—as uncritical admiration for the status quo that enables the Soviet bureaucrats to label as anti-Soviet anything that attacks or challenges or even questions their own status as a privileged, reactionary caste. But the interests of the Russian people today, as in 1914, are completely opposed to the interests of their rulers in the Kremlin, however much the social setting has advanced.

As in Solzhenitsyn's previous books, the action in *August 1914* takes place simultaneously on a grand and on an individual scale. How could this be better depicted than with the movement of armies and nations, on one hand, and that of Vorotyntsev, through whose critical eyes we view everything, on the other.

The omnipotence of the machine, and the crushing pressure to conform to its dictates, are pervasive themes in Solzhenitsyn's books. But equally pervasive is the determination of his

leading characters to assert their humanity and independence in the face of the most overwhelming odds, and at the risk of personal disaster.

The physicist in *First Circle* destroys the formula that will win him his freedom because he knows it will only contribute to the power of the bureaucracy to oppress; and he knows that he, an individual, must act if the oppression and despotism are ever to end. Similarly, Vorotyntsev rejects advice to think about his career and mind his own business. He knows what is wrong with the system he finds himself in, and he strikes out to change it. Unless he behaves in that way, he cannot consider himself an honorable human being.

That this theme preoccupies Solzhenitsyn is not an accident. It is a theme that highlights much of modern *samizdat* literature in the Soviet Union. The movement for democratic rights—an underground movement—is one that has been nourished on the victimization of men and women sent to labor camps and "special" psychiatric prisons for the crime of publicly demanding that the Soviet government abide by its own laws and constitution.

In this context, public acts, like unfurling a banner on Red Square opposing the invasion of Czechoslovakia or signing a petition demanding that a dissident poet be given an open trial instead of a closed one—these acts have become a symbol of resistance and a token of human dignity. That they have remained by and large individual actions and not massive

an emphasis on the early days of the Hitler invasion. (Grigorenko, a leading Soviet dissident, is currently confined to the special psychiatric prison at Chernyakhovsk, diagnosed as suffering from "reformist delusions.")

Solzhenitsyn describes the incompetent and bureaucratic officer staff, and the bungling that took its toll in human lives. This cannot help but be read as an elaborate allegory of Stalin's criminal responsibility for the devastation of the Soviet Union during WWII.

This began with the Stalin-Hitler pact and the decapitation of the Red Army on the eve of the war, when 40,000 of the top military officers were executed as traitors and saboteurs. It included the underestimation of German strength, the failure to fortify the frontier despite warnings, the failure to supply the front with adequate munitions, severe punishment for any signs of initiative on the part of lower officers, and an attempt to place the blame for military defeats upon the troops themselves.

After the war, returning prisoners of war were accused of desertion and treason and shot, or bundled off to labor camps, in an attempt to hush up the truth about the responsibility for the carnage.

The book itself openly alludes to this episode: lying on his stomach in the forest, during the attempt to break out of the German encirclement, Vorotyntsev tells his companion that he knows he won't be killed. Someone had told his fortune during the Japanese war.



Russian and Austrian soldiers fraternize at the front in 1917. Bolsheviks were for internationalist workers solidarity, but today Kremlin bureaucrats attack 'August 1914' as not 'patriotic' enough.

ones is due to the harshness of the Stalinist regime, which answers an appeal for justice with renewed repression.

Analogy to WWII

The analogy with more recent history extends beyond the behavior of Solzhenitsyn's hero. We should recall that Solzhenitsyn fought in World War II, and was twice decorated for bravery. In *The First Circle*, a dialogue among the prisoners describes the wretched conditions under which Russia's army went to war in 1941, the lack of preparations for an attack, the bungling of defensive measures, and the consequent decimation of both the military and the civilian population at the hands of Hitler's armed forces. Former Major-General Pyotr Grigorenko, in his study entitled "The Soviet Collapse in 1941," has documented the incompetence and shortsightedness of Stalin and his general staff in the conduct of the war, with

"He predicted that I wouldn't be killed in the Japanese war [or] in any other war in which I might fight, but that I should die a soldier's death all the same at the age of sixty-nine. . . . One hardly dares say it aloud: it will be in 1945." Solzhenitsyn himself spent eight years in labor camps and three in exile starting in 1945. Undoubtedly a contributing factor in its decision to suppress and malign this novel is the bureaucracy's reluctance to permit open discussion on the subject of responsibility for the military defeats in twentieth-century Russian history.

August 1914 is an important book not only because it is a major piece of fiction by the Soviet Union's leading novelist; and not only because it casts a fresh light on an important area of Russian history; but also because of the implicit challenge it offers to the twisted "official" histories, the trite "official" style, and the submissiveness of the "official" Soviet intelligentsia.

In Review

LAST TANGO

Last Tango in Paris. Directed by Bernardo Bertolucci. Starring Marlon Brando and Maria Schneider. A United Artists release. 1973.

For those who grew up nurtured by the brooding image of Marlon Brando sulking defiantly on his motorcycle, his latest movie—*Last Tango in Paris*—will be somewhat of an emotional shock. For here he plays a 45-year-old expatriated American "down and out in Paris." His rebel spirit has been broken, and the film comes across as a case-study appendix to Sartre's *Being and Nothingness*.

Paul (Brando) first encounters 20-year-old Jeanne (Maria Schneider) in an empty apartment each wants to rent. After circumventing each other seductively, Paul lunges at Jeanne, rips off her clothes, and they have sex. Having thus met, they agree to return regularly to the apartment. Paul insists, however, that their relationship remain uncluttered by details such as their names, or their past history. "I don't want to know anything about you. Nothing, you understand. Everything outside this place is bullshit."

So that we will understand why Paul and Jeanne are prone to such an arrangement, director Bertolucci lets us know where each travels from.

Paul comes from the body of his wife, Rosa. She

Film

has just committed a bloody suicide. It was the classical absurd act; Paul has no idea why she did it. Rummaging through her belongings in search of clues, he realizes he didn't know anything about her. Standing over her embalmed body, he shouts out in anguish, "I mean, who the hell were you?"

Her incomprehensibility leaves Paul with the feeling that you can never really know anyone, making all pretenses towards intimacy "bullshit." Not only does he feel a blinding rage towards the society that has short-changed him in the arena of love, but he also hates Rosa for getting out cheap (on a 35-cent razor blade), leaving him to face death alone.

Jeanne is shuttled back and forth between Paul and her film director fiancé, Tom (Jean-Pierre Léaud). Viewers will recognize him as a Truffaut regular, and indeed the parts of *Last Tango* he graces with his twerpy presence are like a mini-Truffaut film within a film. He is making a *cinéma vérité* film of Jeanne's life. He is an emotional parasite, a voyeur, and he thinks that by capturing Jeanne on film, he is knowing her.

But Tom leaves Jeanne restless, unfulfilled, and thereby vulnerable to Paul's sullen mystery, his se-



ductive despair, his indifference to her. True, Paul treats her brutally, but it's far more authentic than the script Tom offers her.

Paul taunts Jeanne for her sentimentality, her naive faith in the institutions he so despises—the family, religion, romance. After she has raved to him about childhood being the "most beautiful thing," he responds cynically: "It's the most beautiful thing to be made into a tattletale or forced to admire authority or to sell yourself for a piece of candy?"

Every forbidden show of intimacy on her part is punished in almost Pavlovian fashion by Paul. In the sodomy scene that has made *Last Tango* so notorious, he forces her to repeat after him a litany. "Holy family, the church of good citizens . . . where the will is broken by repression, where freedom is assassinated," she recites, punctuated by her screams of pain.

Subtly, an emotional reversal takes place in the



final sequences of the film. Paul falls in love with Jeanne, but too late. He has successfully seduced her into the abyss of the absurd; she no longer wants to know anything about Paul. They leave the apartment and go to a dance hall where a tango contest is in process—a bizarre scene seeming to symbolize the dying dance, the death rattle, of bourgeois society. They try to enter the contest but are disqualified.

Paul chases Jeanne to her mother's house, where she shoots him with her father's gun to ward away the death he has made her see. As Paul dies a romantic death on the balcony, we see Jeanne, still holding the revolver, muttering in a half-calculated way, "I didn't know who he was. . . . He was crazy. He tried to rape me. . . ."

Last Tango in Paris deserves the reputation it has gotten as "the big-deal film of 1973," but not for the reasons usually given. It is not any more sexually explicit than other recent Hollywood productions. And unless alienated sex turns you on, it is not particularly erotic. It is outrageous that so many critics have reviewed *Last Tango* jointly with *Deep Throat*. The plot of *Throat* never extends beyond its 17 sex scenes; the star of the show is Linda Lovelace's clitoris, not her.

In *Last Tango*, however, the emotions of the characters, their life experiences that lead up to their sadomasochistic relationship are illuminated. You realize that the reason Paul is so sexually abusive is that he sees it as the only honest response to a bestial world. The aching you feel in your groin is the only thing that is real—all else is illusory—so why try to be anything but "a prick." And although you may fume over Paul's male chauvinism, Bertolucci simultaneously makes you sympathize with Paul and rage at the society that makes it impossible for him to be otherwise.

Although it has long been in vogue for films to feature the emptiness of human contact, many directors, like Jean-Luc Godard, do this by making alienation seem exotic. In *Last Tango*, however, Bertolucci refuses to smooth over the rough edges and thrusts the most primitive acts of emotional torture in our faces.

In one scene, for example, Jeanne, having accused Paul of not listening to her, masturbates in front of him, while Paul weeps for his isolation. In another scene, Jeanne spitefully has Paul plug in a record player she knows will give him a shock. Rather than being presented to the viewer as an art form, such episodes have the effect of a horrified shriek.

Last Tango has come under fire by some who claim it is sexist. It is true that the characters reflect traditional sex-typing (i.e., the dominating male, the passive female object), and that Paul's abusive sexual assaults provide rich raw data for male chauvinist fantasies. And it is correct that, once again, this is a film odyssey into the depths of the male character, leaving Jeanne relatively unilluminated. Yes, it is true that all the sex in the film is initiated by Paul, with Jeanne, until the final scene, dancing to the constant choreography of either Paul or Tom.

But these situations are all realities of capitalist society. And for a film to mirror sexism does not automatically make it sexist. If people are to be galvanized into changing society, they must first be confronted with a statement of where things stand as they are. This is what *Last Tango in Paris* does so well.

—DEBBY WOODROOFE

ROCK FROM WEST INDIES

Cymande. Produced by John Schroeder. Janus Records. 1973. \$4.99.

This is the first album put out by Cymande, a nine-member band. Most of the members are veterans of other bands and live in England. All are Black and hail from either Guyana, Jamaica, or St. Vincent.

The symbol of Cymande is a dove and the head of a Rastaman, a member of a religious sect called Rastafarians. This sect, found in Jamaica and other West Indian islands, believes that Haile Selassie, the Ethiopian emperor, is their god. Rastafarians are often recognized by their brightly colored clothes and plaited hair covered with beeswax.

One track on the record is entitled "Rastafarian Folksong." According to the group, it is "dedicated to the world's first hippie."

Cymande terms their music NYAH-ROCK. From the liner notes: "We call our music NYAH-ROCK and through

Records

it we speak of our ideals, our heritage and ourselves."

The group originated in 1970, around the same time that Afro-rock was popularized. NYAH-ROCK is a type of Afro-rock. Groups such as Mandrill, War, and Earth Wind and Fire are perhaps better-known bands playing this style of music.

Afro-rock reflects an evolution of contemporary music. It's characterized by the modern rock style of deliverance, dominated by a heavy Afro-rhythmic beat. This synthesis of musical style is reflected in the makeup of some of these groups. Some of the musicians come from jazz and even avant-garde jazz backgrounds. Others, such as Buddy Miles, are better known from their rock backgrounds.

This musical fusion is strongly reflected in the tracks of this album. "Bra," for example, has a fast four-four almost up-tempo jazz quality, while "Dove" has a straight bluesy sound. "Zion I," on the other hand, is heavily drum-accented and quite reminiscent of an African tribal rhythm. Some other cuts are punctuated with an Afro-Latin beat.

Cymande doesn't possess the singularly dominant rhythm and blues character of a large percentage of other Black groups. Their style is a reflection of various musical influences, but there's no mistaking its African roots. It's quick-paced. It's exciting.

Producer John Schroeder writes, "On this album I have tried to capture the excitement of this band. The music is unpretentious, extremely infectious but above all absolutely sincere. . . . The colour and movement is captivating and the music is simply—NYAH-ROCK."

Check it out. —BAXTER SMITH

Berkeley sets sales record

By NANCY COLE

MAY 2—Militant supporters from the Oakland-Berkeley area set a national record for the sales campaign last week, becoming the first area this spring to sell more than 600 Militants in one week. According to sales committee member Carol DeBerry, supporters there viewed sales of the April 27 issue—with the banner headline on Northern California unions—as one of the major ways to build participation in the April 28 and May 5 price protests.

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance at the University of California at Berkeley sold 174 Militants and 50 Young Socialists; 61 Militants were sold at plant gates, primarily the Caterpillar and Harvester plants; 86 were sold at shopping centers and supermarkets; and 50 were sold in downtown Oakland.

Other cities also combined sales with publicizing the May 5 protests. Both in Washington, D. C., and Philadelphia, Saturday teams distributed 7,000 leaflets and sold 50 to 60 Militants at grocery stores. Cleveland combined leafletting for May 5 and selling with sales of 150 at grocery stores. In less than an hour four supporters sold 35 Militants at a Republic Steel plant.

Members of the YSA and SWP in Lower Manhattan made their new quota of 400 last week. With heightened interest in the May 1 school board elections, they report the major selling features were the interview with District 1 Superintendent Luis Fuentes and the article on the community-control slate.

Atlanta also surpassed their new quota of 300 with a total of 339 Militants sold last week. This continues their trend of increasing sales every week without exception since the beginning of the sales campaign in March. Last week's sales included 52 to Rich's department store strikers and more than 200 at "Underground Atlanta," which is now attracting large crowds of young people as the weather warms up.

Several new quota increases were received this week. San Diego raised theirs from 225 to 250; Huntington, W. Va., from 40 to 70; and Nashville from 25 to 40. Our salesman in Nashville, Ben Harris, included a note that is probably relevant to other areas: "It rained seven days straight in Nashville, and so I went indoors last week, selling 25 Militants at the University of Tennessee, a night school for people who work during the day. Sales were pretty easy in the lounge and halls there as everyone was concerned about the cost of living and there was also interest in the Rich's strike in Atlanta."

AREA	SOLD WEEKLY		SOLD PREVIOUS WEEK	
	LAST WEEK	GOAL	%	WEEK
Cleveland	315	250	126	(120)
Phoenix	50	40	125	(35)
Oakland/Berkeley	618	500	124	(377)
San Diego	265	225	118	(251)
Huntington	80	70	114	(40)
Atlanta	339	300	113	(332)
Upper West Side	353	325	109	(460)
Lower Manhattan	410	400	103	(372)
Bowling Green	20	20	100	(*)
Elyria	10	10	100	(10)
Hershey	10	10	100	(10)
Nashville	25	25	100	(25)
Riverside	10	10	100	(10)
Salt Lake City	10	10	100	(*)
Washington, D.C.	246	250	98	(254)
Seattle	225	250	90	(190)
Portland	165	200	83	(143)
Pittsburgh	20	25	80	(*)
Storrs	24	30	80	(*)
Austin	147	200	74	(160)
Brooklyn	239	325	74	(157)
Cincinnati	52	70	74	(*)
Los Angeles	405	550	74	(440)
Philadelphia	198	275	72	(176)
Chicago	348	500	70	(330)
Houston	350	500	70	(500)
Boston	333	500	67	(351)
Twin Cities	284	425	67	(266)
Madison	35	55	64	(*)
Denver	135	225	60	(80)
Kansas City	15	25	60	(*)
Long Island	27	45	60	(*)
Boulder	34	65	52	(*)
College Park	25	50	50	(23)
Hartford	17	35	49	(*)
Detroit	160	350	46	(286)
San Francisco	230	500	46	(220)
St. Louis	10	35	29	(*)
Columbus	5	20	25	(*)

TOTAL SOLD LAST WEEK 6,244
GOAL 7,000

(*no report)

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New Orleans YSA chapter set up

By DELFINE WELCH

The Philadelphia-D. C. Young Socialist team ended its campus tour by selling 687 copies of the Young Socialist and The Militant last week—the highest sales figure for one week for any of the teams. Four other teams also surpassed their sales goals for the past week.

The Young Socialist Alliance now has 68 new members thanks to the work of the 12 Young Socialist Teams. In the last week six students joined the YSA in New Orleans to form a chapter there.

After hearing a forum on "The YSA and Perspectives for Revolutionary Change" given by a member of the Chicago team, two students from Illinois State University in Normal decided to join the YSA. The Seattle-Portland team signed up three new YSA members while at Western Washington State College in Bellingham, including a person from Juneau, Alaska, who was passing through town.

During the team's third day at Western Washington State College the campus security police told the team to shut down their literature table because none of the team members were WWSC students. A sympathetic crowd immediately gathered around the table, including a reporter for the campus newspaper. The students' response forced the administration to relent and say that "the whole thing is a misunderstanding."

Since the teams are consistently surpassing their sales goals for The Militant, Young Socialist, and revolutionary books and pamphlets, the amount of money needed to be raised by the Young Socialist Teams Fund to subsidize the expenses of the teams is less than originally projected. The total needed to finance the teams has been revised

to \$8,000—\$7,034 of which has already been received.

Please send in a contribution today so that we can successfully complete the drive for \$8,000.

TEAM	MILITANT		YOUNG SOCIALIST	
	SOLD LAST WEEK	WEEKLY GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	WEEKLY GOAL
Philadelphia-D. C.	341	200	346	200
Berkeley-San Francisco	226	175	294	175
Boston	220	200	257	200
New York	152	150	187	150
Austin-Houston	153	150	151	150
Atlanta	175	200	105	200
Chicago	190	200	200	200
Cleveland-Detroit	215	200	171	200
Denver	244	200	100	200
Seattle-Portland	112	150	104	150
Twin Cities	150	150	103	150
TOTAL	2,178	1,975	2,018	1,975

\$0 \$7,034 \$8,000

() I can contribute \$ _____ to the \$8,000 YS Teams Fund.

() I can provide food and housing, set up a speaking engagement or interview, or otherwise help a team visiting my area.

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YS Teams Fund, Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Law & order Nixon style

"The nation's two top Secret Service officials testified yesterday it is unlikely a mob storming the White House could reach President Nixon and that ample security defenses would make it unnecessary for him to escape through an available tunnel" (Washington Post, April 25).

It's interesting to note that President Nixon, perched precariously atop the biggest scandal in the history of American politics, has already plotted his escape route. However, most working people feel far less secure in their homes. Especially when the "mob" breaking down your door turns out to be heavily armed cops acting on a supposed "tip."

Herbert Giglotto, a 29-year-old boilermaker who lives in Collinsville, Ill., found out what this is like the evening of April 23. He and his wife, Evelyn, had gone to bed at 8 p.m. that night because he had to get up for work at 5 a.m. the next morning.

American Way of Life

At 9:30 they heard a crash. "That was the storm door being ripped out," reports the April 29 New York Times. "A second crash followed. That was the inside door buckling off its hinges."

By the time Giglotto reached the top of the stairs, a man had a gun at his head. He turned to his wife: "Honey, we're dead."

"That's right, you [obscenity]," replied the man with the gun, according to the expurgated Times account. He then threw Herbert Giglotto face down on the bed, handcuffed his arms behind his back, and said, "You move and you're dead. Who's that bitch?"

"That's my wife and this is our bedroom." "Don't get smart," said the gunman as he cocked his pistol. "I'm gonna kill you."

The Giglottes had just met 15 agents from Nixon's Federal Bureau of Narcotics.

Long-haired, unshaven, shabbily dressed, armed to the teeth, and with no known warrant, the federal cops were paying one of their house calls. This time they happened to stop at the "wrong house."

When Evelyn Giglotto pleaded for her husband's life, she was ordered to shut up and lie down on the floor. "You're going to die if you don't tell us where the drugs are," shouted one of the men.

The Giglottes heard crashes everywhere as the cops scattered their belongings across the apartment. One hefty agent threw their TV across the bedroom. Others bashed their cameras on the floor and scattered their furniture and books.

By this time the cops realized they had the "wrong address." But this didn't seem to improve the way they treated the Giglottes.

"Why did you do this?" Herbert Giglotto asked as they took off his handcuffs and allowed him to stand up. "Boy, you shut your mouth," said one of the cops, who then knocked him over again. The cops then strolled off down the street.

Half an hour later, across town at the home of Don Askew, a local filling-station operator, another group of heavily armed federal narcotics cops repeated the same scene of terror.

The Askews and the Giglottes aren't taking this sitting down. Two days after the invasion of their home the Askews filed suit against the federal government for \$100,000 for violation of their civil rights. The Giglottes have hired a lawyer and intend to fight back too.

"I think people should know," Evelyn Giglotto told reporters, "that this kind of thing can happen in America. God only knows how many families this has happened to."

Herbert Giglotto, who also lost a week's wages because of the turmoil, is just as angry. "Every day I get madder," he said. "They acted like those German Gestapos. If they were representatives of the federal government, we're all in trouble."

And, he might have added, had I been Black, I might well be dead. —MICHAEL BAUMANN

Calendar

BOSTON

THE FIGHT AGAINST INFLATION. A panel discussion with representatives from the trade-union, antiwar, women's, and socialist movements. Fri., May 11, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

BROOKLYN

THE DEEPENING MIDEAST CRISIS: ISRAELI REPRESSION AND ARAB RESISTANCE. Speaker: Denis Collet, recently returned from Israel; others. Fri., May 11, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp: Brooklyn Militant Forum. Preforum dinner, 6 p.m., \$1. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

LOS ANGELES

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKEND. At UCLA, Social Welfare Bldg., Room 121. Fri., May 18, 8 p.m.: Debate: Meaning of the Vietnam Peace Treaty, Fred Halstead and Robert Scheer. Sat., May 19, noon: Dick Roberts: Inflation Epidemic: World Crisis of Imperialism; 3 p.m.: Linda Jenness: Four More Years of Nixon: Why We Need Socialism; 8:30 p.m.: Party. Donation: \$1 per session; h.s. students 50c. For more information call (213) 463-1917 or (213) 463-1966.

NEW YORK CITY

TEACH-IN ON POLITICAL REPRESSION IN LATIN AMERICA. Sat., May 12, New York University, Washington Square campus. 2 p.m., Loeb Student Center: workshops; 7:30 p.m., Catholic Center: rally. Featured speakers: Mary Harding, ex-Bolivian nun; James Petras, author of several books on Latin America; Ruth Reynolds, active in Puerto Rican nationalist movement, jailed for two years in Puerto Rico for involvement in independence movement. Entertainment; films. Donation: \$1. For more information contact U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 737, N.Y., N.Y. Telephone: (212) 691-2880.

SEATTLE

SOCIALIST PERSPECTIVES '73. Socialist educational conference—May 11-12 at University of Washington, Sieg Hall, Room 134. Fri., May 11, 7:30 p.m.: Defending the African Liberation Struggle. Panel: Mark Smith, vice-chairman, YOB; Tony Thomas, Militant staff writer. \$1. Sat., May 12, 10 a.m.: Nixon's Squeeze on the Poor: Cutbacks and Inflation. Panel including Shirley Siegel of Seattle meat boycott; Eke Nelson, Martin Luther King Day-Care Center; Claire Fraenzl, SWP candidate for school board of Seattle; others. 50c. 1 p.m.: A Strategy for Revolutionary Youth. Presentation by Fred Lovgren, former national coordinator of Student Mobilization Committee and national committee member of Young Socialist Alliance. 50c. \$1.50 for entire conference. Sponsored by Young Socialists for Honts, Associated Students at the University of Washington, YSA, and political science dept., U of W.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND RALLY. Featured speakers: Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for mayor of New York City; Louise Pitell, SWP candidate for Seattle city council; Craig Honts, SWP candidate for mayor of Seattle; entertainment. Sat., May 12, American Friends Center, 4001 Ninth Ave. N.E., Seattle. Banquet: 6:30 p.m. Rally: 8 p.m. Donation: \$3.50 for entire evening. \$1.50, rally only, h.s. students 75c. For more information contact YSA, 5257 University Way N.E. Tel: (209) 523-2555.

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TWIN CITIES

WHO RUNS MINNEAPOLIS. Speaker: Jane VanDeusen, Socialist Workers Party 1973 candidate for mayor of Minneapolis. Fri., May 11, 8 p.m. 1 University Ave. N.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

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...STRESS

Continued from page 24

Dixon, speaking for the Socialist Workers Party; and Dorothy Clore, mother of John Percy Boyd, who was killed by police in Atlanta while being sought as a suspect in the shooting of STRESS officers in December.

Dorothy Clore is also the aunt of Hayward Brown, who is currently facing charges ranging from assault with intent to murder to arson, stemming from several incidents involving STRESS cops last December. Part of the collection taken at the rally was given to Dorothy Clore for the Hayward Brown Defense Committee.

In his speech, Lockett said the way to get rid of STRESS is through mas-

sive mobilizations of the Black community, to "politically handcuff" the cops. He pointed out that federal funds for local police units like STRESS are increased while money for social programs are cut to the bone.

Maceo Dixon told the rally, "If you trace the history of our struggle you'll realize that every struggle of Black people began or ultimately clashed with the police. Every time Black people wage a war against our oppression, it is the police who physically try to put us down. During the 50s and the 60s, when we marched for our civil rights, it was the police in collusion with the Ku Klux Klan who put dogs on our people, put cattle prods on us, set water hoses on defenseless Blacks.

"In the late 60s it was the police who gunned down Black Panthers, claiming 'justifiable homicide.'"

Dixon described the development of the movement against STRESS in Detroit, and said that "every time we organize for liberation we run up against the police." He urged the movement against STRESS to continue its efforts to win support from the Black community, and from whites who can be won to the struggle against STRESS.

...child care

Continued from page 14

only 18 percent of preschool children. This includes private centers, which make up almost two-thirds of the total centers available. The cost of private care in New York averages \$6 a day.

Of the 40,000 children in federally funded day care in New York City, at least 12,000 are in Head Start programs or are cared for in private homes, rather than in centers. The centers themselves will not accept children under three years. Except for a few cases, they are open only during daytime working hours.

But as inadequate as they are, Nixon wants to take more funds away from day-care programs. And he has

the gall to justify his actions by accusing working women of depriving their children of care!

Parents have refuted Nixon's attacks on their right to day care. "It's not a place to drop off your kids so you can make money for yourself," explained one Seattle day-care activist. "It's where they can learn and create, and my kids need it."

This concern for children's welfare expressed by parents in scores of demonstrations, picket lines, and other protests stands in sharp contrast to the lack of concern for both parents and children shown by the Democratic and Republican politicians. The determination of the capitalist parties to make working people sacrifice social services like day care indicates that day care will not be won without a long and hard-fought battle.

...gay rights

Continued from page 16

is indicated by the news conference held at the GAA headquarters April 25. Appearing in person to offer support were: Councilmen Eldon Clingan and Carter Burden; Congressmen Herman Badillo and Edward Koch; Bronx Borough President Robert Abrams; Wilma Gottlieb of the National Organization of Women; Roberta Weiner of Manhattan Women's Political Caucus; a spokesman for Eleanor Homes Norton; Marie Rothman of Americans for Democratic Action; Don Goodwin of New York Mat-tachine; Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor; Robert Wagner Jr., city council candidate; Ginny Vida, head of GAA's Lesbian Liberation Committee; and heads of various gay groups.

Norman Oliver expressed the unequivocal support of the SWP for Intro 475 and for full civil and human rights for gays. He received much applause when he said, "We demand an end to this bipartisan stall on basic rights for gays—we demand city council pass Intro 475 now!"

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SEATTLE

SOCIALIST PERSPECTIVES '73

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SWP CAMPAIGN BANQUET

SATURDAY, MAY 12, 6:30 p.m. at the Friends Center, 4001 Ninth Ave. N.E. Featured speaker: Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York. Tickets, \$3.50; rally only, \$1.50. For more information, call (209) 523-2555.

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THE MILITANT

Rally hits STRESS terror squad

Detroit cops harass Black protest leaders

By RACHEL FRUIT

DETROIT, April 28—Detroit police today for the first time directed their campaign of harassment and intimidation squarely at the activists fighting to abolish the special terror unit of the Detroit police department known as STRESS. A demonstration organized by the Coalition to Abolish STRESS (CAS) was held today, and the cops harassed organizers of the demonstration in two separate and serious incidents.

In addition, the police resorted to the tactic of deploying large numbers of police in a highly visible way to intimidate people from joining and participating in a march and rally in downtown Detroit. In spite of these incidents, a spirited march of more than 50 anti-STRESS activists went from Wayne State University to Kennedy Square, where they were joined by 150 others for a rally.

STRESS ("Stop the Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets") is a special plainclothes unit of the Detroit police department that has killed at least 17 Black people in the last year and a half. CAS has been in the forefront of the movement to abolish this racist squad of trigger-happy thugs.



Maceo Dixon: SWP mayoral candidate and one of anti-STRESS activists harassed by cops.

Early this morning Detroit cops went after Isaac Shorter, a coalition activist who was scheduled to be chairman at the rally today. Police were waiting for Shorter when he went with other activists to pick up the sound equipment for the rally. Shorter was arrested and taken to police headquarters at 1300 Beaubien, where he

was photographed, fingerprinted, and told he was being held on "suspicion of armed robbery." The cops claimed he had robbed J. L. Hudson's downtown department store at 3:30 p.m. yesterday.

Yet at that precise moment yesterday Shorter was negotiating for permits for today's march with the police, in their headquarters at 1300 Beaubien. At 3:30 Shorter was meeting with two police department officers and with Maceo Dixon, CAS activist and candidate for mayor on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

Quick and vigorous action by attorney James Lafferty succeeded in getting Shorter released in time to chair the rally. No charges have yet been formally lodged against Shorter.

A still more grave and ominous incident occurred at the end of the rally, after most demonstrators had left the Kennedy Square area. Isaac Shorter, Maceo Dixon, Al Carter, and another CAS supporter were loading the sound equipment into Shorter's car when five squad cars suddenly converged on them.

Seven to 10 uniformed police jumped out, several waving their guns, and pushed the four up against the car and a lamppost. All were told they were being held on suspicion of auto theft, and that someone named Isaac Shorter had reported his car stolen that morning. All were released within a half hour, when the police "discovered" that the car belonged to one of those present.

The blatant character of these two incidents and their intimate connection with the anti-STRESS protests point clearly to a conscious, calculated attempt to intimidate the anti-STRESS movement. Had one of the four men facing the gun-slinging cops made an unexpected move, it is quite possible that the harassment could have led to another STRESS murder.

CAS spokesman Ronald Lockett has announced that the group is planning to file suit against the police and the city for false arrest in Shorter's case. Additional legal action is being considered in an attempt to put a stop to the campaign of police terror against the anti-STRESS forces.

CAS is planning a news conference later in the week to expose the police actions to the public and to announce

plans to mobilize a public outcry against the police actions.

"The police department actions today prove one thing," Lockett told *The Militant*. "And that is that the cops are becoming increasingly sensitive to the anti-STRESS political work we have done. In that sense, we are encouraged to continue our

cops and followed it in squad cars. There also were many police cars conspicuously displayed along the route of the march.

Despite the threatening atmosphere the police presence created, the marchers were enthusiastic and chanted their slogans loudly for all to hear. Dozens of Black youths joined the march as



Ronald Lockett addressing April 28 anti-STRESS rally

work because we know that we are having an impact in convincing people that STRESS must go.

"But we are also determined to continue organizing to stop police terror because what the cops did to us today is the logical extension of what they are doing to the Black community every day of the week. They want to terrorize us into silence. Fortunately, today, no one was killed or beaten. But the directly political character of today's harassment is a danger sign that requires us to step up our efforts to protest these police methods. We have to mobilize a massive outcry from the Black community and from all those who understand the need to protect civil liberties in Detroit in response to today's incidents."

As the march itself stepped off from the campus of Wayne State University it became clear that the police intended to try to intimidate the marchers and frighten people away from the demonstration. They surrounded the march with motorcycle

it went through the Brewster Street housing projects.

A car with two Black women in it drove alongside the marchers, chanting slogans along with the crowd. One of the women jumped out, picked up a picket sign, and marched down to the rally site. Many Black people stood in the doorways of the housing project, hung out the windows, and gave the Black power salute. Some yelled, "Right on, brothers and sisters!" and "End STRESS Now!"

Speakers at the rally included Janet Wingo from the National Welfare Rights Organization; Lonnie Dee from the Black Panther Party; a representative from the Action Committee for Black Unity; Trudy Hawkins from the Mumford High School Committee to End STRESS; and Lawrence Elliot, president of Wayne County Community College Black Student Union.

Also Gene Cunningham, editor of Wayne State's student newspaper, the *South End*; Ronald Lockett; Maceo

Continued on page 22

N.Y. police murder 10-year-old Black child

By GINNY HILDEBRAND

NEW YORK, May 1—Several hundred residents of the Black community of South Jamaica, N. Y., demonstrated last night at the 91st Avenue police station to protest the murder of a Black youth by a white policeman.

In the early morning of April 28 10-year-old Clifford Glover and his stepfather, Add Armstead, were walking together when they were ordered to halt by two white plainclothes policemen. The police were seeking two robbery suspects. The description of the two suspects included the information that both were around six feet tall. Clifford Glover was four feet 11 inches tall. Officer Thomas Shea, who shot

and killed Glover, claims the youth drew a gun. Add Armstead insists his son was unarmed and was shot without provocation. Armstead further states that the two men never identified themselves as police officers. The gun that Shea claims Glover drew is still being sought by police.

Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, denounced this latest incident of police brutality against Blacks.

"The Socialist Workers Party joins the Congress of Racial Equality and the outraged Black community of South Jamaica in condemning the brutal slaying of 10-year-old Clifford Glover," Oliver said.

"We demand that acting Queens district attorney Frederick J. Ludwig bring officer Shea to justice, and proceed immediately to seek an indictment for first-degree murder and nothing less.

"We demand as well immediate action on charges against Shea pending since March 1972 and stemming from a pistol-whipping he meted out to a 14-year-old Latino while on duty."

Oliver concluded by urging "that an independent commission of inquiry be set up by the Black community of South Jamaica to bring to light the full facts of this slaying and other instances of police brutality in this community."



Clifford Glover