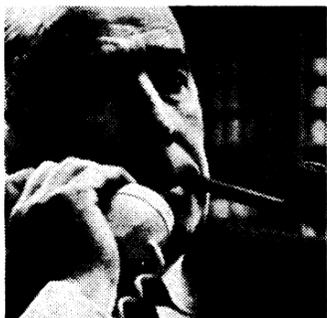


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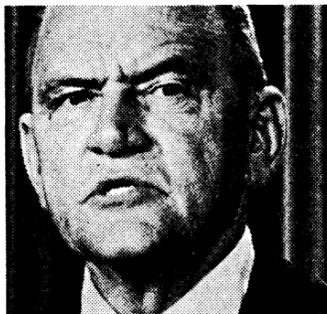
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Who rules America?

The meaning of Watergate



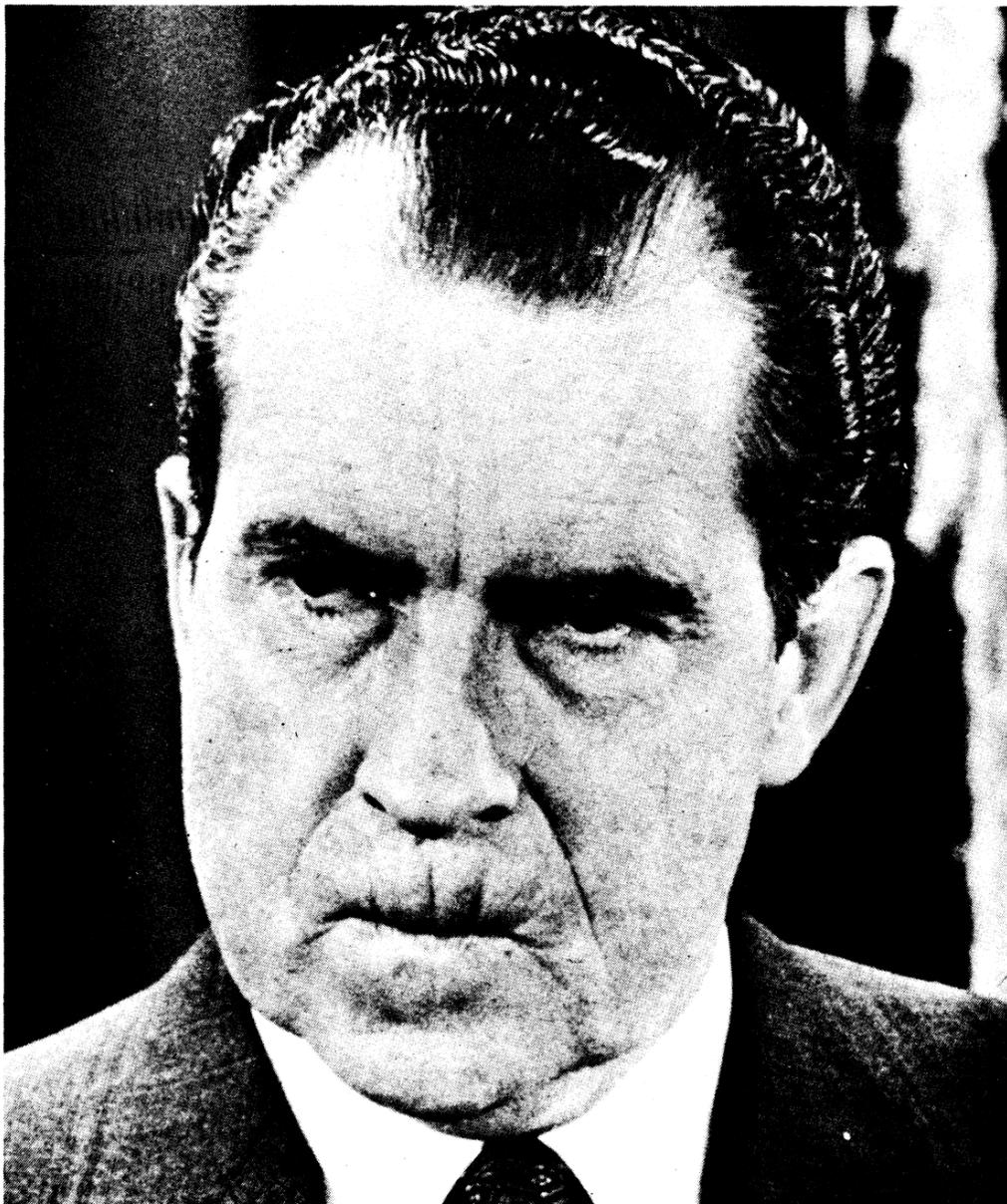
Justice Dept.'s Mitchell: indicted for perjury; organized Watergate as campaign chief.



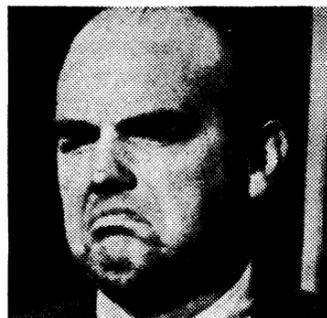
FBI's Gray: was boss of nation's secret police; helped cover up Watergate trail.



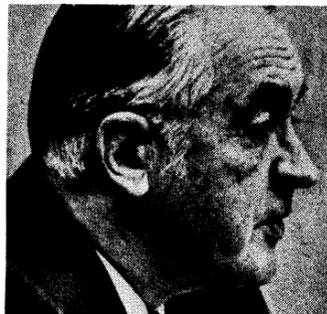
CIA deputy director Cushman: used CIA resources "to get" Ellsberg.



Nixon: still claims he knew nothing about any illegal acts



White House adviser Ehrlichman: stolen wiretap records found stashed in his safe.



Commerce Dept. head Maurice Stans: indicted in Vesco probe; supplied sabotage funds.



Securities and Exchange Commission: cooled its probe of Robert Vesco for \$200,000.

Watergate revelations show involvement of entire government apparatus in illegal acts. Whose interests are these people serving? See page 5.

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SIXTEEN-YEAR-OLD DENIED BALLOT SLOT: Scott Cooper, who we reported some weeks ago was challenging the minimum age requirement for running for office, lost his bid to be permitted to run for the Ossining, N.Y., school board because of his age. New York law requires candidates to be 18. He did, however, capture 3 percent of the vote in a write-in campaign.

Cooper's right to run was defended by the Committee for Democratic Election Laws. The judge, ruling on a suit filed by David Schwab II, refused to allow Cooper to be placed on the ballot, while conceding that the clerk who refused to certify him when he filed the petitions had exceeded her authority.

As a result of Cooper's campaign, the issue of student rights became a center of discussion to which all the school board candidates addressed themselves.

Indicating the popularity of his fight among fellow students, Cooper, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, was just elected interim student body president of his high school. He ran on a program of student-faculty control of education.

IRISH ACTIVISTS HARASSED: Three members of the Philadelphia Irish Northern Aid—Dan Duffy, Neil Byrne, and Danny Calahane—were subpoenaed to appear before a federal grand jury on May 8-9 to answer questions about the group's activities. Picket lines to protest their harassment were held on May 8, 9, and 10 at the federal building. The hearings have been postponed until May 21.

Earlier this year, five Irish Americans from New York were subpoenaed before a federal grand jury in Fort



Militant/Ellen Lemisch
Demonstrations like this one, held March 4, 1972, in New York City, indicate growing support for the Irish freedom struggle.

Worth, Texas, and are currently being held without bail for refusing to answer questions. In San Francisco, a grand jury indictment of an Irish activist led to a totally unconstitutional sentence prohibiting his involvement in any activities involving the Irish American community.

These acts of harassment are only a part of the U.S. government's complicity with British repression in Ireland. During March and April of this year, Green Berets trained 800 British Commandos in counterinsurgency tactics at Camp Lejeune, in North Carolina. The Defense Department has denied that this had anything to do with the struggle in Northern Ireland. But the 800 are part of a unit now doing occupation duty there, and the British embassy has confirmed that the training included bomb disposal and street fighting techniques.

The Irish Northern Aid groups have called for a massive protest rally on Sunday, May 20, at 3 p.m., at Independence Hall in Philadelphia, around the demands: "End Harassment of Irish Americans," and "End U.S. Complicity with Great Britain." The Irish Republican Clubs, the Socialist Workers Party and other groups are helping to build the demonstration.

MEMORIAL TO HONOR IRISH REVOLUTIONISTS: A meeting to honor the memory and accomplishments of the Irish revolutionists and labor leaders James Connolly and James Larkin will be held at 8 p.m., May 25, in the auditorium of the Robert F. Wagner Jr. High School at 220 E. 76th St. in Manhattan.

The program includes speeches on the lives and works of Connolly and Larkin by Gerry Foley, a staff writer for the socialist weekly *Intercontinental Press*, and Joseph O'Brien from the history department of John Jay University, as well as traditional Irish entertainment. The two Irish labor leaders played an important role in the American radical and labor movements as well, and the meeting will renew a long tradition of annual memorial meetings in New York City to honor the founders of Irish trade unionism.

COURT GRANTS A MOTION BY RUCHELL MAGEE: Ruchell Magee was granted a motion on May 4 to move his trial away from San Francisco. The court's action in granting the motion contrasts with the previous rulings that Magee, a self-taught "jailhouse lawyer," must speak only through his court-appointed attorney. Defense counsel Robert Carrow later expressed surprise at the motion, but reported that Magee "wants to go to Los Angeles."

Before the ruling, Judge Morton Colvin denied a motion by Carrow that the charge against Magee of aggravated kidnapping be dropped. Carrow maintained that the indictment constitutes double jeopardy. All 12 jurors in Magee's first trial voted on April 3 to acquit Magee of aggravated kidnapping, while voting 11 to one for conviction on the charge of simple kidnapping. The count charging Magee with the murder of Judge Harold Haley has been dropped.

RAP BROWN SENTENCED: H. Rap Brown was sentenced May 9 to five to 15 years imprisonment. Brown, former chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was framed up for the robbery of a Manhattan bar a year and a half ago. Two of his codefendants received similar sentences and a third was granted a postponement pending further evidence.

"Truth crushed into the earth will rise again," said Brown to the court before his sentencing. In response to other pleas in Brown's behalf, including one from Imamu Baraka, the prosecuting attorney insisted that "try as one might, this case is not political."

Just before the sentencing, Brown's attorney, William Kunstler, pleaded for a delay on the grounds that he had just received an affidavit from a man now in prison saying that he and two other men had actually committed the robbery. The judge, however, refused to grant the delay. Kunstler was given two weeks to develop the new evidence and is expected to file an appeal.

CODEL FIGHTS CALIF. ELECTION LAW: The U.S. Supreme Court last week granted the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) the right to file a friend of the court brief in a challenge to California ballot requirements for independent candidates. The suit, filed on behalf of Gus Hall, Communist Party candidate for president in 1972, and two other independent candidates, challenges the short 23-day petitioning period and restrictions on who can sign nominating petitions. CoDEL was granted the right to present arguments against the high number of signatures required.

The California election law is the most restrictive in the country. The undemocratic requirement that independent get signatures equal to 5 percent of the voters who do not vote in the primary, and that parties seeking recognition get signatures from 10 percent or register 1 percent of the voters into their party, makes it very difficult for an independent campaign to win support and gain a hearing.

Contributions to aid this important legal fight should be sent to CoDEL, Room 1104, 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011. —MIRTA VIDAL

YOUR FIRST ISSUE? SUBSCRIBE TO THE MILITANT



While the FBI, CIA, and CREEP were conspiring against Ellsberg and Russo... *The Militant* was exposing the Pentagon papers trial as a political frame-up. The Watergate revelations have now shown who the real criminals are. For the truth, read *The Militant*.

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Nixon vows to continue raids despite vote

House votes to stop bombing of Cambodia

From Intercontinental Press

By an unexpectedly large margin, the U.S. House of Representatives on May 10 voted to deny the Nixon administration funds to pay for the bombing of Cambodia. The 219-188 vote "was interpreted even by embittered Republican leaders as a vote of no confidence in Nixon policies in Cambodia," John W. Finney reported in the May 11 *New York Times*.

While the Senate has in the past approved bills critical of the war, this was the first time that the House had taken such a step.

The vote came on an amendment to a supplemental appropriations bill. It specifically denied the Defense Department authority to transfer funds between different accounts in order to pay for the bombing.

The House action came three days after the release of a Harris poll showing that the U.S. public opposes the bombing by a margin of 49 to 33 percent. While the vote reflected fears

that this sentiment could result in new mass antiwar protests, it was also influenced by the Watergate scandal, which has put former supporters of Nixon under pressure to show some independence of the administration. Finney's report noted that Nixon "had evident difficulty holding in line some Republicans and Democrats who have normally supported the President on his war policies."

The division between Nixon and Congress seems likely to provide some lessons in the realities of "American democracy." In testimony before two Senate committees May 7 and 8, Secretary of Defense Elliot Richardson announced that Nixon would continue the bombing in spite of Congress.

"It must be emphasized," Richardson said in a prepared statement, "that the denial of the requested authority will not impact on U.S. air operations in Cambodia. . . ." Richardson explained that Nixon would simply pay for the aggression in Cambodia with funds appropriated for other "defense" purposes.

However, legislation sponsored by Senators Clifford Case (R-N.J.) and Frank Church (D-Idaho) now pending in the Senate would prohibit such a move by the administration. The Case-Church amendment, approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee May 14, would forbid the use of any government funds whatsoever for any military activities in Indochina not specifically approved by Congress.

In another move, the Senate Defense Appropriations subcommittee voted to deny a Pentagon request to use funds for continued bombing of Cambodia or Laos from a \$2.9-billion supplemental appropriations bill.

Richardson has attempted to play down the significance of the bombing by lying about it. Talking to reporters, he estimated the cost of the bombing in Cambodia as only \$5

million a month. In reality, that figure is less than the *daily* cost. In a lengthy article on Nixon's Cambodian war in the May 11 *New York Times*, Sydney Schanberg wrote:

"Despite repeated requests by newsmen, the Nixon Administration has refused to divulge any figures on the cost of the current bombing, but estimates by Washington in the past indicate that it is costing \$7-million to \$10-million a day. . . ."

Schanberg wrote that U.S. planes are averaging about 250 sorties a day in Cambodia.

"Although most are tactical strikes by fighters, nearly 60 a day are the vast raids by B-52's—nearly always in groups of three—which would make a total of about 1,700 a month. According to military informants, that is more B-52 raids than were being flown monthly in all of Indochina in 1971, the last year for which full statistics are available. . . ."

"Further, whereas the preponderance of air strikes in Cambodia used to be directed against North Vietnamese and Vietcong supply routes in the eastern third of the country, the bulk are now devoted to tactical support of Cambodian troops under attack in the rest of the country, where population density is higher."

Nixon's supplemental appropriations bill is also intended to provide funds for other U.S. military measures in Indochina. These would not be affected by the House vote.

Presumably covered by the bill would be the \$26 million now being spent annually to maintain Thai troops in Laos. In testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee May 9, the former U.S. ambassador to Laos estimated that there are now 15,000 to 20,000 Thai troops



U.S. bombing to save Lon Nol government costs \$7- to \$10-million per day in addition to untold loss of Cambodian lives.

in that country.

The Thai forces in Laos are additional evidence of the fact that the January 27 cease-fire agreement is seen by Nixon as nothing but a cover for continuation of the war. In the May 10 *New York Times*, Bernard Gwertzman, after describing the ambassador's testimony, added:

"It was later learned from a Senate source that there had been 8,000 Thais in Laos for most of last year, but beginning with October, additional forces were moved there to be in place in anticipation of the Vietnam cease-fire agreement."



Richardson: Nixon will bomb despite Congress.

Nixon's lies cover secret expansion of war

By CAROLINE LUND

MAY 15—Revelations coming out in the news media prove that secret U.S. military operations are continuing throughout Indochina. The pattern of lies, deception, and corruption currently being utilized by Nixon in Southeast Asia is the same as what has come to light in the Pentagon papers and in the developing Watergate scandal.

On May 12 and 13 the South Vietnamese Provisional Revolutionary Government charged the U.S. with bombing PRG-controlled territory in South Vietnam. Pentagon spokesman Jerry Friedheim flatly denied any such raids, just as he at first denied that U.S. B-52s had bombed Hanoi's Bach Mai hospital during Nixon's bombing raids on North Vietnam last December.

Meanwhile the Senate Foreign Relations Committee released the information that the U.S. is financing some 20,000 Thai mercenaries fighting in Laos. The State Department acknowledged that the cost to U.S. taxpayers of this secret army is more than \$100-million a year. The Nixon administration had previously lied about this force, claiming they were "volunteers."

Another recent disclosure is that the U.S. embassy in Phnom Penh is functioning as a secret command post for U.S. bombing raids in Cambodia. Nixon has repeatedly lied in claiming that the bombing is executed totally from bases in Thailand and the

Pacific. The revelation about the use of the embassy, which came out in a Senate staff report, indicates that Nixon is violating legislation prohibiting the use of U.S. advisers within Cambodia.

Another report cited in the May 8 *New York Post* says that U.S. civilians are being recruited as mercenaries by the Cambodian embassy in Saigon. The *Post* dispatch from Saigon says, "An almost uninterrupted procession of American civilians came to the



Cambodian refugees fleeing from U.S. bombs pass Phnom Penh troops.

Cambodian Embassy here yesterday ready to sign up as mercenaries for the Phnom Penh government, despite an embassy denial that U.S. helicopter pilots were being recruited."

This report originated with an ABC television correspondent, who, according to the *Post*, "said [helicopter] crewmen were recruited at a meeting held in Saigon and were offered \$2500 a month to serve in Cambodia."

On May 5 the U.S. embassy in Phnom Penh announced that it would hold no more news briefings for reporters on developments with the war in Cambodia. This makes it even more difficult for the American people to find out about the role of the U.S. in this war.

According to Malcolm Browne, writing in the April 23 *New York Times*, the Lon Nol government "exercises formal censorship of all dispatches and overseas telephone conversations of foreign correspondents." He reports that this censorship has been "at least tacitly encouraged" by U.S. officials in Cambodia.

Another indication of secret expansion of U.S. military operations in Asia appeared in an article entitled "The Moveable War" by Tad Szulc in the May 12 *New Republic*.

Szulc writes that "The United States is currently stepping up its direct involvement in the internal security problems of the Philippines and Thailand, where local insurgencies are again assuming serious proportions,

in a manner disturbingly reminiscent of the early days of our engagement in South Vietnam. Still quite limited in scope, new programs to support Filipino and Thai counterinsurgency efforts were quietly launched last month, largely through the Agency for International Development (AID), which in the past had been used as a cover by the Central Intelligence Agency for paramilitary operations in South Vietnam and Laos."

The Nixon administration has also lied about U.S. operations in Thailand. According to an exposé by Bill Saunders writing from Thailand in the April 24 *Los Angeles Times*, "Any number you come up with in regard to our armed forces level in Thailand must be an estimate because of the various devices used to obscure the real total." U.S. officials admit "a little over 50,000."

The May 11 *New York Times* reported that university students in Bangkok have opposed the presence of U.S. bases in Thailand and are reportedly "organizing a rally to call for the withdrawal of the United States troops."

These various disclosures provide a glimpse of the nature of current U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia. They show that the government methods revealed by Watergate and the Pentagon papers are not exceptions to the way imperialism functions. These methods are standard operating procedure, and they continue to be relied on today.

Defeat for government war secrecy Ellsberg, Russo freed, gov't indicted

By CAROLINE LUND

MAY 15 — The historic Pentagon papers trial ended May 11 with the dismissal of all charges against defendants Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo.

Their only alleged "crime"—which the two proudly admitted—was to make public a "top secret" Defense Department history of the Vietnam war. For this they were charged with espionage, theft, and conspiracy. In reality, they were being tried for stealing the truth.

The Pentagon papers case grew out of and reflected the general rise of antiwar sentiment among the American people. Ellsberg and Russo's action in disclosing the Pentagon study was part of a broader challenge by the American people to the U. S. government's right to wage war behind the backs of, and against the wishes of, the majority of the American people.



Ellsberg (left), and Russo celebrate victory for antiwar movement, democratic rights.

The impact of the mass antiwar sentiment in this country as a factor in the case was illustrated in the attitudes of the jurors in the trial. Although the case was dismissed right before going to the jury, nine of the 12 jurors told an Associated Press interviewer they would have voted for acquittal or at least leaned in that direction.

The fact that the Nixon administration has been forced to allow Ellsberg and Russo go free is a victory for the antiwar movement, for freedom of the press, and for democratic rights in general. It is a victory even though the dismissal of charges against the defendants left the key constitutional issue raised by this case unresolved by the courts: Does the public have the right to know the truth about government foreign policy?

Judge Matthew Byrne based his dismissal of all charges against Ellsberg and Russo on grounds of "improper government conduct" in relation to the case, making a fair trial impossible.

In a news conference following the judge's ruling, defense attorney Leonard Boudin remarked that the Pentagon papers case was now "coming full circle." Former Attorney General John Mitchell, who originally brought charges against Ellsberg and Russo, has been indicted, while the two defendants were set free.

The revelation triggering the dismissal of charges was an FBI report that Ellsberg had been overheard on wire taps in 1969 and 1970 but that all records of the taps had "disappeared." The wire tap records were reported to have been "found" only one hour after Judge Byrne had dismissed charges against the defendants. The records turned up in the private White House safe of former presidential aide John Ehrlichman.

The wiretap report was only one in a long series of disclosures of government deceit that came out in the final weeks of the Pentagon papers trial. These included revelations that the White House had plotted to: burglarize the office of Ellsberg's psychiatrist; physically attack Ellsberg while he was attending an antiwar demonstration; enlist the CIA's help in spying on Ellsberg; and bribe Pentagon papers Judge Byrne with the offer of the directorship of the FBI.

All these moves were part of a secret campaign ordered by Nixon and carried out by the White House to attempt to "get Ellsberg" and stop any further leaks of information to the American people.

In the context of this multiplication of scandals, Ellsberg-Russo defense attorneys suggested that the sudden FBI admission of the wiretap could

be a "tactical maneuver" by the White House to stop the trial proceedings because they had produced "the most profound Watergate disclosures," even suggesting "the involvement of the President in them."

The FBI wiretap admission came only two days after the defense had suggested to Judge Byrne that President Nixon himself and other government officials should be subpoenaed to testify in the trial.

Some defenders of this capitalist system will cite the freeing of Ellsberg and Russo as demonstrating the "fairness" of the court system. The *New York Times*, for instance, editorially called the dismissal of charges "a splendid affirmation of American justice."

This decision was not due to a system of justice. The dismissal came because the largely accidental revelations surrounding the Watergate scandal



Pentagon papers show that antiwar demonstrations had impact in limiting war in Vietnam.

made further prosecution impossible. Nixon was put on the defensive, and feared the further disclosures that continuation of the trial would have produced.

Without the Watergate scandal, who can say how Ellsberg and Russo would have fared, up against the combined efforts of the White House, CIA, and FBI to frame them? Moreover, the Pentagon papers defense committee had to spend some \$900,000 in its campaign to bring justice for the defendants. What about all those defendants who can't raise that kind of money? What kind of justice do they face?

This case illustrates not a system of justice, but, as Ellsberg put it, a "conspiracy, not only against Tony [Russo] and me, but against the American public."

Behind this conspiracy is Washington's attempt to hide the real nature of the Vietnam war—an imperialist war of domination. The reason the U. S. imperialist rulers can only operate according to *secret* diplomacy is because their foreign policy is in the interests of a small minority of corporation and banking magnates. It is not in the interests of the American people nor the people of the world.

This fact is what is revealed in the Pentagon papers themselves. They prove, among other things, that:

- The war in Vietnam is fundamentally a struggle by the people of South Vietnam, not "aggression" from North Vietnam. The papers admit that "South Vietnam was essentially the creation of the United States."

- That the reason for U. S. intervention had nothing to do with a desire to protect the right of the Vietnamese to self-determination, but rather, "to prevent the countries of Southeast Asia from passing into the communist orbit" and to keep the area open to imperialist investment and exploitation.

In addition, the Pentagon papers prove that it is not just the Nixon administration that has attempted to hide the truth about the Vietnam war from the American people.

The Pentagon papers show that President Kennedy fed the American people a series of lies about "North Vietnamese aggression" as he secretly escalated the war and plotted to overthrow Diem to replace him with a more effective puppet regime.

They document how the Johnson administration was plotting to escalate the war to new heights as early as the spring of 1964. This was while he

was asking the American people to support him as a "peace candidate" in the 1964 elections.

Another reason the U. S. rulers didn't want the American people reading the Pentagon papers is that they demonstrate that the antiwar movement was a powerful factor in limiting the government's aggression. While Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon were publicly pretending to ignore the antiwar demonstrations and belittle the support for them, the Pentagon history clearly proves that both Democratic and Republican rulers were terrified at the sight of thousands of Americans descending upon Washington, demanding their right to veto the imperialists' warmaking powers.

As Anthony Russo noted after the Pentagon papers case was dismissed, "The war still goes on. And all of us who have fought this war, who have opposed this war, still have a job to do."



Issue in Pentagon papers case was right of people to know truth about Vietnam war — a war for domination, not democracy.

In continuing the antiwar struggle, the Pentagon papers and this trial are a school for the American people, showing the real face of the *bipartisan* policies of military aggression, corruption, and deception of the American people carried out by the U. S. imperialist rulers. In fighting to end U. S. intervention in Southeast Asia, we cannot rely upon the Democratic and Republican politicians. We must build an independent counterpower, based on the masses of American working people, to end this system of war, exploitation, and deception.

Nixon's spies

Central among the undercover activities of Nixon's White House conspirators was infiltrating and spying on radical and antiwar groups. A "reliable source" told the *New York Times* that the main job of former Nixon counsel John Dean "was not to advise the President legally, but rather . . . keeping an eye on radical groups."

Dean reportedly tried to set up a network of espionage and undercover agents to infiltrate groups holding demonstrations at last year's Democratic and Republican conventions. It is not known how much money was spent on this, or where it came from.

Furthermore, it was reported that Watergate conspirator G. Gordon Liddy was paid \$100,000 by the Committee to Reelect the President also to infiltrate demonstrations at the conventions.

The FBI did its part, too. The May 10 *New York Post* reported that FBI undercover agents attempted to discredit the demonstrations by jumping nude into a public pool during the actions.

Meanwhile, a California legislator has suggested the possibility that the attempted staging of President Nixon in San Jose in 1970 may have been staged by agents provocateurs. The incident was seized upon by Nixon and "law and order" candidates in the 1970 elections in an attempt to discredit the radical movement.

By PETER SEIDMAN

MAY 16 — New Watergate evidence and indictments handed down in the last week show that what at first appeared to be a "caper" by a few individuals was in fact only a small part of a gigantic criminal scandal involving the highest circles of the government.

So far, top officials of the White House, the Justice Department, the State Department, the CIA, the FBI, the Commerce Department, the Securities and Exchange Commission, and the Marine Corps have been implicated.

Nixon's guilt has become so appar-

ent that leading capitalist politicians have begun to sound sharp warnings against the talk of impeachment increasingly being heard in Washington—not only from liberals like Democrat Bella Abzug, but from Republican stalwarts like conservative Barry Goldwater as well.

they own will be run: about how many jobs there will be, and at what wages; about how much food will be produced, and at what prices; about whether they will produce bombs or schools; about whether they will spend money to curb pollution; about whether they will overthrow the governments of other countries.

to manipulate [Watergate] in an overly partisan manner."

Both parties are upset that what seemed to begin as a partisan maneuver has gotten out of control and now threatens to severely undermine popular confidence in capitalist rule as a whole.

What alternative?

The federal government bureaucracy serves its capitalist masters no matter which party—the Democrats or Republicans—is in power.

The CIA supplied H. L. Hunt with a red wig for the burglary of the offices of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist at the behest of Richard Nixon. That same CIA also organized the

spiracy frame-up against the Chicago Seven under a Democratic administration.

And just as the Democrats and the Republicans are trying to close ranks and bring the Watergate scandal under control, so too will the Democrats and Republicans close ranks in defense of their class interests every time they come under attack.

Only by replacing the capitalist state with one run by and for the majority class—the working class—can the espionage, sabotage, bribery, forgery, perjury, and conspiracy that are standard operating procedure for the capitalist state be ended.

Such a state would turn the functioning of the U. S. government upside down. Instead of functioning as a tool to oppress the majority, that government would become an instrument to serve the majority.

While the capitalist government must keep its foreign policy secret (as its panic following the release of the Pentagon papers showed), a workers government would have no need to do so. It would not protect the imperialist exploiters of other countries. Consequently, it would have no use for the overt and covert acts of intervention into the affairs of other countries that constitute foreign policy under the Democrats and Republicans.

Instead of victimizing people like Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony Russo for revealing the Pentagon papers, a workers government would publish all the secret treaties and documents that show the plans of the imperialists to dominate the world.

A workers government, a government that represented the majority, would not use repression against the victims of society—those the government now calls "criminals" and puts behind bars. A workers government would turn its fury on the real criminals—the capitalist few who exploit the many, wage genocidal wars, pollute the air and water, and make corruption and bribery a way of life.

Obviously such a government cannot be based on the state bureaucracy assembled by the capitalists to do its bidding in Washington today. The whole corrupt gang of Democrats, Republicans, advertising men, counter-revolutionary Cuban exiles, "lawmen," and spies who "manage the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie" must be swept aside.

WHO RULES AMERICA? THE MEANING OF WATERGATE

ent that leading capitalist politicians have begun to sound sharp warnings against the talk of impeachment increasingly being heard in Washington—not only from liberals like Democrat Bella Abzug, but from Republican stalwarts like conservative Barry Goldwater as well.

U. S. News & World Report frantically echoed these warnings in a May 21 editorial entitled "Impeach? Unthinkable!":

"Think of what a trial of impeachment with its inevitable demagoguery—brought into American homes in living color by TV—could mean to this country. There is no way to measure in advance the impact of exploding emotions. It is entirely possible the violent reaction could pale the anti-war and civil-rights riots that created havoc in the 1960s."

Not the system?

Precisely because they fear the way in which the Watergate scandal has exposed the U. S. government, many defenders of the status quo have sought to find explanations for the scandal anywhere but at its real source: the rule of the capitalist class, which Nixon and his gang represent.

From their earliest days in school, Americans are taught that the majority rules through free elections. These elections are structured by a Constitution that, we are told, provides broad guarantees for the civil liberties and democratic rights of the U. S. population. And the whole process is tailored to achieve "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for all."

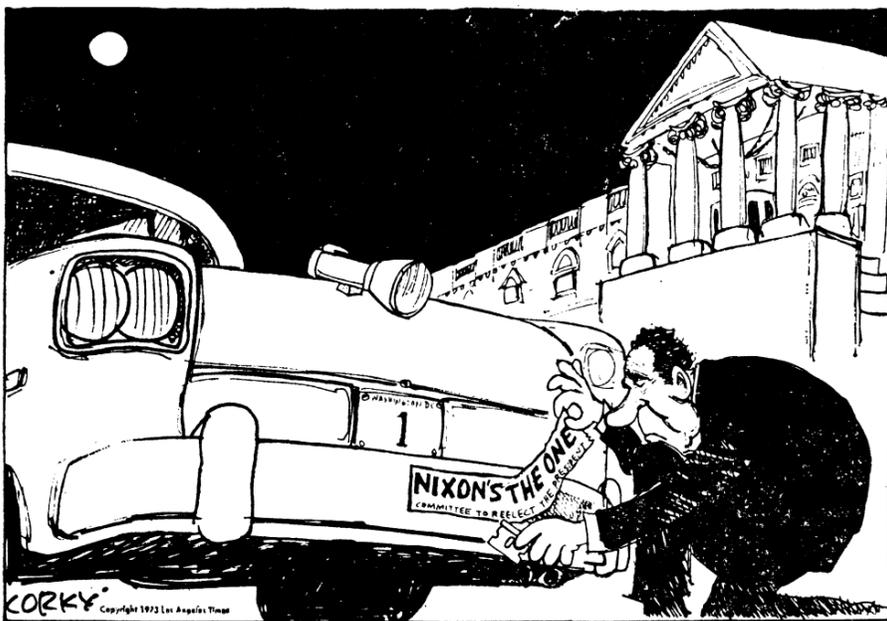
The capitalist state

But in reality, the U. S. government is the complete opposite of this popular myth. Far from existing to ensure "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" for the many, the government is run against the interests of the majority—as Watergate has shown.

The truth is that the U. S. government is a body of repressive institutions backed by huge military power—designed to enforce not the rule of the majority, but of a tiny minority, the U. S. capitalist class.

This minority consists of a few thousand people—"America's 60 Families," headed by the Rockefellers, DuPonts, Fords, and Mellons—who own and control the factories, the banks, and the corporations. Nixon and the government bureaucrats he leads are the tools of this capitalist class.

The capitalists and their government agents make all the decisions about how the factories and corporations



State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."

Because this state apparatus is used to enforce the profits-first needs of a capitalist minority as opposed to an exploited majority, it must resort to the ruthless methods that have been revealed in the Watergate scandals. Espionage, sabotage, bribery, forgery, perjury, and conspiracy are used constantly, and on a world scale, by this capitalist government.

Two-party shell game

To conceal the fact that a minority exploiting class really runs the U. S., the rulers go to great lengths to foster illusions among working people that through elections the majority chooses who will run the country.

The Democratic and Republican parties are the key to maintaining these illusions. While claiming to present voters with an alternative, these parties are in fundamental agreement on all the important questions. They both serve to protect the rule of the capitalist class and defend American imperialism against all its enemies.

Far from taking the lead in exposing the Watergate crimes and demanding prosecution of all those involved, including Nixon, the Democratic politicians have instead tried to minimize the implications of the scandal.

They have placed their class solidarity with their Republican co-defenders of the capitalist system ahead of the gains they might reap from Republican discomfort with the scandal. This is the meaning of the statement of the new National Democratic Campaign Committee chairman, Governor Jimmy Carter of Georgia, that "I honestly think it would be a big mistake

Bay of Pigs invasion of revolutionary Cuba under Democrat John F. Kennedy.

The same Justice Department that organized the conspiracy frame-up against Daniel Ellsberg under a Republican president organized a con-

NIXON: VICTIM OF RIGHT-WING PLOT?

For several weeks, the Stalinist rulers of the Soviet Union kept Watergate entirely out of Soviet news. But Soviet journalists are now offering an unusual account of the scandal.

The May 15 *Washington Post* reports that Soviet editors are circulating a theory that the Watergate scandal is the result of a "conspiracy" fostered by "reactionary American elements." These "elements," it seems, "never accepted the rapprochement with the Communists initiated by Mr. Nixon" and "have organized a plot to discredit him."

The *Post* goes on to say there is nothing to indicate that Stalinist boss Leonid Brezhnev, who is kept well informed of Washington developments, really believes this nonsense.

"Therefore," the *Post* says, "the circulation of the plot theory by Soviet representatives raises the question whether it may itself be an attempt to warn liberals and other supporters of the East-West dialogue against any steps that could make detente a casualty of the Watergate affair."

Or, as one Polish editor put it, "From our standpoint, Richard Nixon is the best possible American

president in the current circumstances, and we don't want to see him embarrassed."

Meanwhile, Robert Elegant reported in the May 9 *Los Angeles Times* that "the official organs of the Chinese Communist regime so far have preserved a most significant silence on President Nixon's Watergate imbroglio."

Elegant noted that "China specialists here [Hong Kong] felt the evidence was decisive that the Chinese don't want to cast any aspersions against the man who is the architect of new Sino-American amity."



Brezhnev and Nixon

Death penalty

Last July the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the death penalty, "as presently applied," was unconstitutional. Since then, 13 states have passed laws reinstating capital punishment.

One of the first to be sentenced to death under these new laws is Jesse Lee Coley, a Black man convicted of raping a white woman in Georgia. Coley's case illustrates what the death penalty really is. It is not a "solution" to crime. It is a tool of repression and terror used against Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos, against poor people, and against other victims or opponents of this capitalist system.

Last March—before Watergate broke wide open—President Nixon urged Congress to reinstate capital punishment for some crimes, including treason, sabotage, espionage, and murder.

Since then the American people have found out about some of the crimes being committed by Nixon's own administration—crimes of espionage, sabotage, rigging of the elections, conspiring to obstruct justice, and attempting to conceal continued U.S. bombing and destruction in Southeast Asia from the American people.

In his March speech to Congress Nixon said: "There are those who say that law and order are just code words for repression and bigotry. That is dangerous nonsense. Law and order are code words for goodness and decency in America."

This hypocrite Nixon was championing "law and order" while he knew his own White House staff—with the aid of his cronies in the CIA, FBI, "Justice" Department, and other government institutions—were up to their ears in illegal activities.

Nixon piously called for the death penalty as punishment for "cold-blooded, premeditated" crimes. He said this while he was placing wiretaps on his own advisers in order to ensure that he could continue to carry out cold-blooded, premeditated terror bombing of the Cambodian people without the knowledge of the American people!

The "law and order" problem faced by the American people does not come from the poor working people and Black people driven to prey upon each other by the poverty and degradation of capitalist society. Yet these are the people who have throughout the years been executed through capital punishment.

The danger to the American people lies in the well-organized, institutionalized crimes carried out against the masses of people in this country, and throughout the entire world, by the U.S. imperialist government.

Election reform?

The Watergate scandal has dealt a blow to the credibility of the American political system, and to the authority of all capitalist politicians.

In an effort to repair the damage, Nixon is now trying to convince us that the crooks who run this country are going to "reform" themselves. One of the first steps in this direction is his proposal that Congress set up a bipartisan election reform commission.

Nixon's major suggestion for this new commission to study is to lengthen the term of the president from four to six years, and U.S. representatives from two to four years.

This plan will reduce still further the influence that the American people can exert on the politicians.

Nixon's "reform" commission will be totally in the hands of the Democrats and Republicans. But it is precisely these two parties that are responsible for the undemocratic election laws and corrupt practices that now exist.

These two parties have passed restrictive laws designed to guarantee the preservation of their electoral monopoly.

While the Democrats and Republicans were keeping SWP presidential candidate Linda Jenness off the ballot in several states for supposedly being "too young," Nixon was demonstrating how corrupt a campaign can be when run by those who are "old enough."

While SWP candidates were being confronted with unconstitutional "loyalty" oaths as a requirement for ballot status, Nixon's Watergate operations were showing what standards of "loyalty" to the Bill of Rights are maintained by the Republicans and Democrats.

While the capitalists demanded that the SWP pay exorbitant filing fees to qualify for the ballot, Nixon was raking in illegal \$200,000 cash contributions from stock manipulators like Robert Vesco.

The U.S. election laws are sorely in need of reform, but the corrupt capitalist Democratic and Republican parties have no interest in transforming the election system into a democratic one.

'Labor Committee'

I bought a copy of *The Militant* at the recent Progressive Labor-Students for a Democratic Society conference in New York, and found it to be the only sane, honest, and relevant publication on the left. Your stand on the National Caucus of Labor Committees-Communist Party fight is the only one possible for a principled radical.

A reader

Buffalo, N. Y.

Can't please everybody

When I was sold a subscription to *The Militant*, I was told it would be full of news of all that was going on. But I saw hardly anything besides articles on the Vietnam war, abortion, Wounded Knee, and women's lib. Don't plan on me ever wanting to subscribe again.

J. M.

Missoula, Mont.

Anti-nicotine League

Right on for Harry Ring's "no smoking" campaign. He is conducting it by having digs at the obvious dangers and hang-ups of smoking rather than by moralizing, which would undoubtedly be met with scorn.

Tricia Brodie

Glasgow, Scotland

Solution to gov't corruption

The Fortune Society is greatly appreciative of political office-holders and office seekers who have noted varying causes and cures for crime in our society. We have noticed, of late, that their political waters have been muddied.

In a spirit of concern and reciprocity, we would like to aid our political brothers to clear away this stigma. We would like to offer some legislative suggestions that might serve as a deterrent against political corruption and criminality.

For high political administrators convicted of breaking into political offices of opposition parties, thereby corrupting the entire democratic process, we recommend *life imprisonment without chance of parole*.

For police officers who participate in the sale of narcotics and who shield drug sellers, we recommend the *death penalty or life imprisonment, or both*.

For governors who have been convicted of fraud or tax evasion, we recommend *life imprisonment with solitary confinement*. The cell should contain only a bed with a mattress, a Gideon bible, and a copy of the *Kerner Report*.

For political contributors of more than \$10,000 who are convicted of seeking government contracts, we recommend that they *report to the 14th Street Welfare Center each morning at 6:30 a.m. for six months*. If they have not been arrested on an assault charge in that time, we can certify them rehabilitated.

We think that if these laws are rushed into existence the public would be protected sufficiently, for evil persons would be sufficiently deterred from defrauding the public while in positions of leadership.

One other solution could be the

legalization of corruption in government. In that way, the system could be preserved. Just like the prison system was preserved by killing 43 people in Attica.

The Fortune Society
New York, N. Y.

Prison industries

Once a man enters federal prison he is forced to work as a slave for months with no pay for his work. In many instances he is forced to turn to his family (probably on welfare) for money in order to obtain cigarettes, soap, etc., to get by on.

Maybe after months of work he might be put in by his overseers for what they call MSA (Meritorious Service Award). If he is accepted, he will start receiving a mere \$10 a month. This is impossible for a man to get by on, let alone help support his poor family.

If a man has no one on the outside to help him out financially, he is forced to go into a prison industry. He is then forced to work for a slave wage of 21 cents an hour. Maybe after a long period of time he can reach the top pay scale of about 40 cents an hour.

These men are exploited due to the greed of the elite. The real truth behind these prison industries is that they are not set up to help the individual but to manufacture military and war materials for our oppressors, such as electrical circuits for missiles and clothing for the armed forces.

The prison industries are really a vast corporation, with people like George Meany (a Nixon puppet) on the board of directors. It even has shareholders. They earn about 16 percent on their investment.

Needless to say, in order to get a high return like this, these things are sold to the American people at high prices and net them more than 100 percent in profit.

A prisoner
Pennsylvania

Painters union

As Frank Lovell's articles have indicated, officials of the building-trades unions are reducing work rules and conditions of employment to meet nonunion standards. The thinking on the part of Painters union officials has long been clear. *The Journal*, the publication of the union issued monthly by the International, has reflected this in many ways.

Photographs of painters using oversize rollers with long sticks and spray guns have been shown without reservation or apology. This is consonant with their pressure on local unions to permit relaxation of rules on the tools in their agreements.

The Journal has also reported that one local union is allowing the number of apprentices in relation to the number of journeymen to be increased over the previous one-to-eight ratio (apprentices mean cheaper labor doing journeymen's work).

This was done to compete with nonunion contractors. But union shops can never compete with non-union shops. They're not supposed to.

There is no substitute for militancy and organization to build unions. That's the way they were



National Picket Line

Marvel Scholl

built in the first place. Our job is to organize the nonunion sector of the industry and to elevate their standards to ours—not to depress ours to theirs.

The thinking of our encrusted officials—that the way to beat non-union employers is to reduce our standards—is an absurdity.

H. Z.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Factual & interesting

School will be ending this week so please have my *Militant* sent to my home address. I find your paper very factual and interesting. For those of us just getting into socialism, that means a lot.

F. W.

Mt. Pleasant, Mich.

Rennie & the Guru (I)

I thought Rennie Davis was politically incorrect in his strategy for the antiwar movement when he advocated a confrontation with the police during the Democrats' 1968 Chicago convention and the Mayday demonstrations in Washington, D. C., in 1971. And I thought he was wrong again when he traveled the campuses pushing the "sign the treaty now" position. But his latest solution for the antiwar movement—the self-proclaimed god incarnate Maharaj Ji—is more than erroneous. It's pathetic.

Michael Smith

New York, N. Y.

Rennie & the Guru (II)

I was at the May 4 New York meeting where former New Left leader Rennie Davis spoke about his conversion to mysticism, and I think Michael Baumann's article (*Militant*, May 18) managed to capture a lot of the meeting's bizarre flavor.

The article is inaccurate, however, when it says "the audience of about 1,000 included 30 or 40 highly vocal Yuppies and Zippies" who kept the meeting in a state of constant interruption.

First, the 30 or 40 "highly vocal" people also included New Lefters, Maoists, anarchists, and others. Second, beyond those 40 there were about 200 other radicals in the audience, many of whom joined in the chants of "Free Rennie Davis!" and singing "Power to the People" (when the Guru's followers got up to sing "The Lord of the Universe Has Come to Us This Day").

Anyway, I thought one of the highly vocal people put the reason for the anger of the radicals rather nicely when he shouted, "You stole from us, Rennie! We built your name and you sold us out!"

Arthur Maglin

New York, N. Y.

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

'Mr. Labor' sounds off

For all the rhetoric in the AFL-CIO press about the wage freeze and mounting inflation, one would almost expect the current crop of "labor statesmen" to sound a call for a general strike. But that is the least likely of all possible variants. These guys fight a good fight with their mouths but they refuse to put their fists where their mouths are.

It isn't only in the labor press that top levels of the federation are sounding off. In the May 5 issue of the *New York Times*, two of them had three-quarters of the Op-Ed page to air their grievances.

George Meany answered a previous Op-Ed article by Roy Ash, Nixon's director of the Office of Management and Budget. Meany cites six lies contained in the Ash article and answers them with facts and figures.

He winds up his dissertation with the following:

"Obviously, American consumers and workers can have no faith in an Administration that practices public deception. How could they?"

All the facts and figures Meany cites are valid. But one must ask—what program does Meany offer to fight against the wage greeze, growing unemployment, and inflation. No program at all. Just words. And in that connection, while Meany is warning Nixon that the American consumers and workers have lost faith in him, just how much faith does Meany think *he* gets from his membership?

Does Meany think that the working class has forgotten that Mr. Labor (a nickname given him by the bosses and one he loves) himself sat on the Phase I board that froze wages?

Or his boast when he addressed the National Association of Manufacturers way back in 1955—to wit:

"I never went on strike in my life, never ran a strike in my life, never ordered anyone else to run a strike in my life, never had anything to do with a picket line."

The other AFL-CIO executive who shares the Op-Ed page with Meany is Edward Carlough, president of the 120,000-member old-line craft union, the Sheet Metal Workers' International Association. Carlough slings words and colorful analogies around with a great deal of verve, but he still supports wage and price controls—if they "are fair and equitable."

He cites the following data to support his argument

that Nixon's Phase 3 has become the "Day of the Jackal, and the guy in overalls is the prey."

1. A magazine [unnamed—M. S.] has revealed that the 880 biggest companies made profits (in 1972), after taxes, of \$52.6 billion, an all-time record.

2. During the period from January 1971 to the same month in 1973, overall lumber prices rose by 56 percent. All during that period building construction workers' wages were frozen. The lumber price increase added \$1,200 to the building of a \$28,000 home.

3. During the period of Jan. 1, 1972, to Dec. 31, 1972, profits for building material suppliers rose 31 percent.

4. While the unemployment rate continued at 5 percent nationally, jobless rates in the building trades stood at 10 percent.

5. Recently several leading banks announced a 0.5 percent increase in their prime interest rate, thus "further squeezing the ability of working people to buy the necessities of life on credit."

Carlough is especially irate at Nixon for advising people to "eat fish." He says, "We so-called great and powerful American trade unionists have become a tray of cream puffs. . . . We're so puffed up and polite with our middle-class status—we great 'silent majority'—that the jackals are eating us alive."

Carlough winds up his article with the following demands: an immediate freeze and roll-back on food, rent, medical prices, and interest rates, and effective price control on all the other necessities of life.

And then: "And we won't accept any 'eat fish' answers. The next thing you know they'll tell us to go barefooted to protest rising shoe prices. What are we supposed to do when the price of our pants goes up? Get arrested?"

"If all this doesn't work, maybe we'll just throw a picket line around the White House and start Phase 4."

What do you mean by Phase 4, Mr. Carlough? What will you do if your membership takes your fighting words as the call to strike? Will you support them, walk the picket line with them, or will you run to your leader, the "militant" George Meany, and ask plaintively, "What do I do now?"

It will be interesting to see.

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



'Honey, you're incredible...'

There's really no escape. I took an evening off not long ago to watch television and relax. I started with the 7 o'clock news to catch the latest shenanigans around Watergate and looked forward to the game between the New York Knicks and the Boston Celtics.

After about three minutes a commercial comes on. "I used to have to bribe Emily to make stuffing," says a Tony Perkins-type man. He proceeds to extol the virtues of a new, instant stuffing mix and ended by saying, "My mother says nothing tastes good unless it takes time. But now *my* Emily can make stuffing any time!" Mentally noting that I wouldn't have the foggiest idea how to make stuffing, I think, "So what? Who needs it?"

A few minutes later a Paul Newman-type appears on the screen and says to his wife, "Honey, you're incredible. . . . How do you do it?" She replies, "I take care of myself, exercise, eat right, and to make sure I get enough iron I take Geritol every morning." I moan out loud with disgust. (In spite of myself, however, I remember that my mother always told me that women need more iron than men, and I certainly don't get enough exercise. "So what?," I conclude. "Not all of us can be 'incredible.'")

But they are not through with me yet. A bunch of women in a roller derby come on. A sexy blond stops, tells me I should use Listerine mouthwash, and—to illustrate the wonders of it—shakes down a tumbling mass of blond curls and says, "After I take off my skates, I'm ready to let down my hair." I shout, "This is revolting!" (Besides, I note, my hair is very short. Listerine wouldn't do anything for me.)

All of these—plus a "For Brunettes Only," "Calm" antiperspirant, and an aspirin commercial—in less than 30 minutes!

Finally the basketball game starts and I get some temporary relief because none of the commercials are directed at me. They just assume that women are not interested in sports. All of the commercials are for cigars, after-shave lotions, razors, spark plugs, oil filters, cars, etc. But that's not to say that they still aren't offensive.

Lancer wine, which is "never timid or shy," brings the point home with a slinky model in a low-cut dress lying down in back of a glass of wine.

Nothing is sacred to these profiteers. They even take human emotions and try to turn them into commodities. Lincoln National Life Insurance, for instance, claims that "Love is Life Insurance."

I am just beginning to think that these advertisers are totally out of touch with what's going on in the world. Don't they know, I wonder, that there's a rising feminist sentiment and a growing repulsion at this kind of abuse? Yes, they know. Last, but not least, comes the cynical token to women's liberation. An attractive woman walks into a locker room, just like one of the guys, and tells us that she too, just like one of the guys, uses Vitalis Dry Control hair spray. On the way out she says to one of the players, "Your hair looks nice, Bob." Then, just like one of the guys, she slaps him on the stomach and says, "Now work on the gut!"

There really is no escape. But if at the end of an evening off you'd rather feel like a human being than a hunk of meat, I'd recommend reading a good book.



Standing Proud—Mark Spitz confided to *Cosmopolitan* that his most sensuous experience came when he listened to the "Star Spangled Banner" as he "stood at attention after winning my seventh gold medal at Munich."

No escape?—We don't know how extensive the experiment was, but a Philadelphia pharmacology professor reports that tests on mice indicate that marijuana tar produces cancer as readily as tobacco tar. The problem is compounded because users hold marijuana smoke in their lungs longer.

The clean machine—Testimony to American purity is offered by United Nations statistics showing that 94 percent of U.S. homes have bathtubs, compared to 49 percent in France and 10.5 in Greece. We hear the White House has one on every floor.

Progress on ecology front—The Navy used \$50,000 of its ecology funds to buy a machine that eats up secret documents. "We used to burn the material in incinerators, and sometimes the black smoke would blow in the admiral's office," a spokesperson explained. Besides, he added, "ecology funds are easier to get than operational funds these days."

Discredit to the profession—In 1960 Des Moines had a normal police scandal with 25 cops implicated in a burglary ring. But now the feces has really hit the fan. Three cops have been fired and a full probe promised. Seems they went on a spree, shattering windows with BBs fired from slingshots and bombarding cars with water-filled balloons. A shaken city manager said, "It would have been more understandable if they had done something serious. You know, you

expect a cop to go crooked."

Sounds reasonable—Just before leaving his Defense Dept. post to become attorney general, Elliot Richardson responded to congressional criticism by ordering a largely fictitious 10 percent reduction in the use of limousines by Pentagon staffers. Meanwhile he ordered his Cadillac repainted blue because he wasn't happy with black. Cost to taxpayers—only \$480.

Nice day in Daleyland—Silvio Irati, a Chicago city collector, was charged with taking \$150 from Geraldine Svedman to speed up her application for a tavern license. He denied taking the \$150 but said he might have accepted a smaller amount. "It might have been \$2 or \$3 for lunch," he said, "but no great amount." He said he and other clerks regularly accepted gratuities. "Some people feel like they

like to give you something because you're so nice," he explained.



"Well, here goes . . . hiyo, Silver, away!"

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendas



'Coyotes' and the border patrol

It seems that every time you turn around these days a new instance of corruption and shady deals involving the U.S. government is coming to light.

The *New York Times* recently revealed that officials of *la migra* (the Immigration Service) arrest Mexicans who live in the U.S. without proper documents and deport them into the hands of unscrupulous Mexican bus and plane companies. These companies then illegally transport them deep into the interior of Mexico, thousands of miles from their homes in the U.S. (See story, page 14.)

Scandalous as it may seem, this particular racket is only one of many that undocumented workers are subjected to, and it's not the biggest by any means.

It is estimated that two to three million Mexicans enter the U.S. "illegally" each year. Most people are forced to do this one of two ways: by buying a *chueca* (a forged document); or by paying a *coyote* (a labor smuggler) to sneak you across.

Frank del Olmo, writing in the Dec. 17 *Los Angeles Times*, reports that he went to Tijuana and

bought a forged "green card" for the going rate of \$200. A "green card" is a type of visa that allows the holder to work while in the U.S. His card wasn't prepared with the best of workmanship, reports del Olmo. The really well-made ones can cost up to \$1,000. If you get caught with one of these inferior products, it's your problem as far as the seller is concerned.

The going rate for *coyotes'* services is \$250 to \$300. You pay to be taken to a predetermined destination — usually Los Angeles. The *coyotes* herd their customers into miserably crowded trucks and cars and take them across when the border checkpoints are not being watched. *Migra* officers recently raided a motel in San Diego used by *coyotes* as a stopping-off point for their human cargo. More than 50 people had been forced to wait in one room.

It is not unusual for the *coyotes* to unload their passengers and let them fend for themselves if it looks like the border patrol is coming. Once again, if you get caught, that's your problem. *Coyotes* don't belong to the Better Business Bureau and there's no money-back guarantee on their services.

Two to three million people a year paying \$200 to \$300 apiece—you don't have to be Albert Einstein to figure out what that adds up to. It's a multimillion dollar racket in which even some *migra* officials themselves have been getting their share of the loot.

It may appear to many people that *la migra* by their raids, arrests, and deportations are suppressing the traffic in human beings; they claim to be doing this.

But the truth is that it is precisely *la migra* and the repressive immigration laws that make the *coyotes* possible in the first place. There is no way to "close" the border, and the U.S. ruling class has never really wanted it closed.

The vicious cycle of paying the *coyotes*, getting deported, and then having to pay the *coyotes* again to get back home is a grotesque game of cat-and-mouse, which works to the bosses' benefit. It is designed to maintain a pool of workers who are vulnerable to every kind of shady extortion racket and superexploitation by the greedy owners of the farms and sweatshops.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Malcolm X on African liberation

Were he alive, Malcolm X would be 48 years old this week on May 19. His birthdate falls exactly a week before May 26, African Liberation Day. It is thus appropriate to review some of Malcolm's thoughts and deeds on Africa and African liberation, many of which appear in the book *Malcolm X Speaks*.

During his life, Malcolm came to realize the significance of Africa, its struggles, and the importance of our African heritage. He was one of the few nationally prominent Black leaders to argue that we should stress and exhibit pride in our African heritage and reject all psychological forms of oppression.

As he grew to understand the criminal role of U.S. capitalism in oppressing and exploiting Blacks in America, he came to understand the role of imperialism in oppressing and exploiting Blacks in Africa.

In 1965 Malcolm told a Detroit audience: "After 1959 the spirit of African nationalism was fanned to a high flame and we then began to witness the complete collapse of colonialism. France began to get out of French West Africa, Belgium began to make moves to get out of the Congo, Britain

began to make moves to get out of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Nigeria and some of these other places. And although it looked like they were getting out, they pulled a trick that was colossal.

"When you're playing ball and they've got you trapped, you don't throw the ball away—you throw it to one of your teammates who's in the clear. And this is what the European powers did. They were trapped on the African continent, they couldn't stay there—they were looked upon as colonial and imperialist. They had to pass the ball to someone whose image was different, and they passed the ball to Uncle Sam. And he picked it up and has been running it for a touchdown ever since. He was in the clear, he was not looked upon as one who had colonized the African continent. At that time, the Africans couldn't see that though the United States hadn't colonized the African continent, it had colonized 22 million Blacks here on this continent."

Malcolm made two trips to Africa to learn firsthand about the African situation and to establish ties between Africans and Afro-Americans.

Most important, he saw that Africans were able

to win formal independence by uniting in organizations independent of and in opposition to their colonial oppressors. Malcolm said, "Once we saw what they were able to do, we determined to try and do the same thing here in America among Afro-Americans who have been divided by our enemies. So we have formed an organization known as the Organization of Afro-American Unity, which has the same aim and objective—to fight whoever gets in our way, to bring about the complete independence of people of African descent here in the Western Hemisphere, and first here in the United States, and bring about the freedom of these people by any means necessary."

Malcolm understood that by organizing to defend Africans, we were organizing to defend ourselves. Thus African Liberation Day stands in the best traditions of the thoughts and deeds of Brother Malcolm.

Or as he once said, "You and I should be organized in such a way that the American government will think a long time before it takes any steps towards dropping bombs on Africans who are our brothers and sisters."

Denver Chicanos run activist school bd. campaign

By AL BALDIVIA

DENVER, May 16—Three Chicano activists have just completed a campaign as Raza Unida Party candidates for Denver school board. During their campaign, Antonio Archuleta, Nita Aleman, and Madeline Navarro took an active part in local struggles for Chicano control of Chicano education.

Archuleta, who is from Denver's North Side barrio, is an elementary teacher at Escuela Tlatelolco, the school run by the Crusade for Justice. He participated in the struggle by North Denver Chicanos for control of La Raza Park.

Nita Aleman, an activist since high school in the Texas and Colorado Chicano movements, also teaches at Escuela Tlatelolco.

Madeline Navarro, a North Denver community activist, has participated for years in the struggle to improve Chicano education. She has five children attending Denver schools.

Aleman, Archuleta, and Navarro received 1,015, 993, and 769 votes respectively in yesterday's elections. Their totals ran close to 1 percent of the votes cast.

A major campaign issue raised by the RUP candidates was the racist treatment of Chicano students, who are constantly harassed by cops, teachers, and administrators. Some public schools in Denver have been closed down. In others, plainclothes and uniformed police patrol the halls.

At Remington Elementary School, for example, a third grade student who accidentally dropped a flag was expelled when he refused to pick it up. Madeline Navarro and Jose Gonzales, the Raza Unida Party campaign director, joined a picket line outside the school to protest the expulsion. They were arrested and charged with "loitering about a school." The Chicano community is demanding the resignation of the school principal.

On May 10 a blowout (student walk-out) occurred at another predominantly Chicano school, Horace Mann Junior High. Students were protesting racist treatment, lack of physical improvements, and denial of the right to form political organizations in the school. They also demanded the firing of nine racist teachers.

During the protest, teachers and cops brutalized several students, knocking one young woman down the stairs. Madeline Navarro, who has two children at Horace Mann, attempted to investigate the assaults on the students. When she arrived at the school, however, she was arrested and charged with "an unlawful act in or about the school."

The RUP candidates called for taxing corporations rather than individuals to cope with the problem of a declining tax base to support Denver schools. Tax revenue has dropped as white families have moved to the suburbs.

The Socialist Workers Party of Colorado urged a vote for the three RUP candidates.

New support for May 26

African liberation day actions set

By BAXTER SMITH

"The May 26 demonstration will be of extreme significance because Black people will be saying in massive numbers that we face a common oppression all over the world and that through our unity and support of the struggles, not just on the African continent but wherever we are, we can find a common solution." This was how Sister Alice Reid of the African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee (ALDCC) told a New York City news conference on May 9 of the importance of African Liberation Day.

The conference was chaired by Roger Newell of the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC). Other speakers included Percy Sutton, Manhattan borough president; Livingston Wingate, executive director of the Urban League; the Reverend Leon Modeste of the executive council of the Episcopal Church; and others.

The well-attended news conference, covered by most major daily papers, TV and radio stations, was a high point of last week's preparations for May 26 in New York.

A group of Black hospital workers from Lincoln Hospital in the Bronx

offered their support for May 26, as did the New York chapter of the National Association of Black Social Workers and the New York Society of Afro-American Transit Employees. Several groups of high school students have taken literature for distribution. Two groups of Black GIs in West Germany and Sweden have requested information and literature on the action.

This week the committee secured a sound truck for use in publicizing the action throughout New York's Black communities. More than 125,000 leaflets have been printed to build the demonstration, as well as 25,000 buttons, 50,000 stickers, and 9,000 posters. Literature tables are up every day in busy areas around the city building the protest.

The May 26 demonstration in Houston has also received wide support within the Black community. The march there will begin at 11 a.m. in Wiley Park (the original slave-trade base in Houston prior to the Civil War) and proceed through the downtown area to a 4 p.m. rally in Emancipation Park.

The protesters will make stops at

the federal building, Gulf Oil Corporation building, the First National City Bank, and the site of the shooting of Carl Hampton, a Black militant murdered during a police attack on the Black community in August 1970.

The main speakers will be Dawolu Gene Locke, local organizer of the ALSC, and Msanasekay Linda Gqobose, of the national executive committee of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa). Other speakers will include representatives of the sanitation workers, postal workers, and welfare workers, as well as college and high school students.

The ALSC has supporters in 11 cities across Texas. One of the groups supporting May 26 is the Texas Black Political Caucus. It is introducing legislation this week into the Texas state legislature that would ban importation of South African and Rhodesian products through Texas ports.

Eight Connecticut ALSCs are making final plans for the May 26 protest in New Haven. The protest will consist of a march from the Black community through downtown New Haven with stops at Shell Oil, Gulf Oil, and Holiday Inn. The marchers will also stop at Yale University to protest its complicity with these corporations.

Speakers at the rally will include Andrew Pulley of the Young Socialist Alliance and, tentatively, two Black state legislators. Articles have appeared in various newspapers around the state publicizing the protest.

Several Militant Labor Forums in cities across the country are holding meetings to build support for May 26. On May 11, the West Side Militant Forum in New York sponsored a discussion on apartheid in South Africa. Speakers included B. R. Washington, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Manhattan borough president and activist in the ALDCC, and Gail Morlan and Marie Orth-Pallavicini of the Southern Africa Committee.



Militant/B. R. Washington
New York press conference. Front row from left: Alice Reid, Roger Newell, Percy Sutton, Leon Modeste.

Abernathy, Williams jailed

Rich's strike continues in Atlanta

By TONY DUTROW

ATLANTA, May 14—The strike and boycott at Rich's department store by Black workers here has entered its seventh week. Although negotiations have begun, management still refuses to seriously consider the workers' demands.

The strikers are demanding a \$1 an hour across-the-board wage increase and an end to Rich's racist hiring, firing, and promotional practices. Of the 10,000 workers employed by the department store chain, 2,000 are Black.

On May 12, the Reverend Ralph Abernathy, national president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), joined 300 strikers in a spirited march to the suburban home of Harold Brockey, chairman of the board of directors at Rich's. Despite police efforts to barricade the area, the Black workers held a rally in front of the executive's home. Following this rally, police arrested Abernathy and the Reverend Joe Boone, a local civil rights leader.

Strikers had attempted a similar march on May 5, which resulted in the police arresting more than 50 demonstrators, including Hosea Williams of the SCLC.

Through an injunction won on April 24, Rich's has been able to limit the

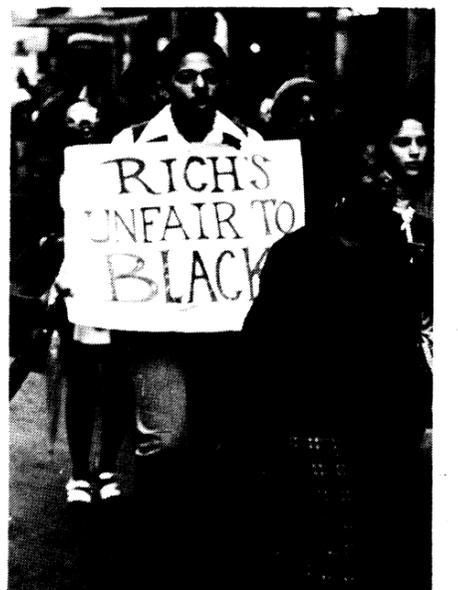
number of pickets at any one of its stores to 12, thus breaking up the mass picket lines used by the strikers. White workers had been crossing the picket lines since the beginning of the strike, but now with much smaller picket lines, many more white shoppers and workers are entering Rich's downtown store.

Black shoppers, most of whom previously honored the picket lines, have been crossing them in greater numbers, indicating confusion in the Black community as to whether the strike and boycott are still on.

The strikers have rejected two offers made by Rich's to end the strike. Management met with the strikers' negotiating committee, led by Hosea Williams, on May 1. The company balked at dealing with any of the strikers' demands and offered only a vague proposal. At a subsequent meeting, the strikers overwhelmingly rejected this deal.

Following last week's protest, Rich's came up with another offer. In this new proposal, management promised to rehire all but four of those on strike. The demand for a wage increase for the strikers, the proposal said, would be "considered within 90 days after they return to work." The workers turned down this plan as well and are continuing their strike.

In a related development, Rich's has appointed prominent Black businessman Jesse Hill to its board of directors. Hill is the first Black board member. According to an article in the May 13 *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, Hill says the strike at Rich's is unnecessary, claiming that the management was already planning to meet strikers' demands.



Militant/Joel Aber

Goodrich strike is a blow to bosses' hopes for 'labor peace'

By MARVEL SCHOLL

MAY 14 — Big business, the federal government, and the top union bureaucracy got a rude shock on May 8 when 10,000 United Rubber Workers (URW) employed by the B.F. Goodrich Company refused to accept the "model" contract entered into between the URW and the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company.

A strike began in six states immediately after contract negotiations were broken off. As of this writing, it is still going strong.

The so-called model contract negotiated with Goodyear is a danger signal for all the unions negotiating contracts this year.

With prices, unlimited by any government action, leaping into the stratosphere, the URW bureaucrats signed a rigid no-strike contract with no cost-of-living escalator clause and no wage reopening provision. They sought "labor peace" with a vital industry employing hundreds of thousands of workers. In so doing, this bureaucracy did the job the bosses and the government have assigned to them — assurance that the working class's standard of living will continue to go down, down, down.

But the B.F. Goodrich workers refuse to be led like sheep to the inflation slaughter pen. The *New York Times* on May 9 reported that the basic reason the Goodrich workers turned down the contract was that they were "unhappy with some fringe areas in the Goodyear contract. . . ." The truth is that these 10,000 men and women were "unhappy" about the whole deal.

The lack of an escalator clause and the no-strike pledge are two of those conditions they oppose. But the miserly



Scene from 1970 General Motors strike. Goodrich strike provides example for United Auto Workers and other unions facing contract talks.

wage increases (5.3 percent for each of the next three years) is more likely the true cause.

Consider the following facts: the old contract that just expired kept their wages way below living cost levels. During the last half of 1972, living costs went up 4 percent. During the first quarter of 1973, those same costs went up 8.8 percent.

Thus buying the meat and potatoes, to say nothing of paying the rent and doctor bills, now costs more than 12 percent above mid-1972 levels. So even if old wages were near cost-of-living levels, the rubber workers are already down by more than 12 percent—to be offset by an increase amounting to less than half of that.

The fact that the Goodrich employees have taken the bit in their teeth to fight for their rights is a good omen for the millions of workers whose contracts are due to be negotiated this year. These include employees of General Electric, the auto Big Three, the Teamsters, and the West Coast Longshoremens.

An article in the May 14 *U.S. News & World Report* (written before the Goodrich strike began) says, "A startling shift away from picket lines toward peaceful negotiations is showing up in bargaining on 1973 wage contracts."

U.S. News also reports in the same article that Secretary of Labor Peter Brennan—a time-serving union bureaucrat fronting for Nixon—has praised the United Steelworkers and the basic steel industry for their "unprecedented agreement to submit disputed issues to binding arbitration."

What Brennan and the author of the article don't report is the fact that the steelworkers do not have a single word to say about what kind of a contract they have to work under. Philip Murray, a predecessor of I.W. Abel as head of this union, brought into the first constitution of the



Militant/Howard Petrick

Bay Area trade unions protested wage controls and inflation at united rally in San Francisco, April 28. More such actions are needed to defend workers' standard of living.

United Steelworkers union a clause right out of the United Mine Workers constitution, providing that all contracts would be approved *only* by wage-labor committees consisting of selected local union officials.

However, in the USW (as well as in the railroad unions, which are similarly hamstrung) there are growing opposition movements. One of the main issues these oppositionists have in common is a demand for union democracy, the right of the membership to decide how to fight in defense of its interests.

Nixon and company may have another shock awaiting them when the International Brotherhood of Teamsters national contract expires on June 30. The IBT demands (as of now) are for a first-year wage increase of 8 percent—about 50 cents an hour—and a boost in employer contributions to the pension and welfare fund of 66 percent.

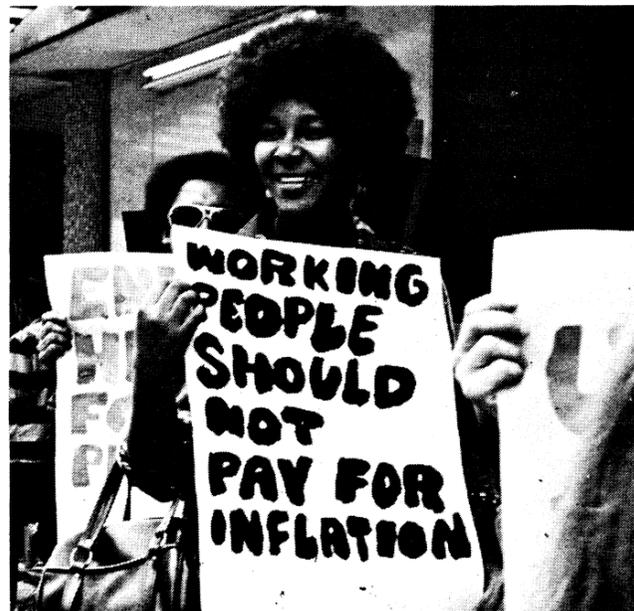
Nixon takes confidence in the fact that he has his buddy, IBT President Frank Fitzsimmons, safely tucked in his pocket. But both Nixon and Fitzsimmons may have a rude awakening. It may be that Fitzsimmons does not have the more than 2 million teamsters as securely under control as either of them thinks.

The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union contract on the West Coast runs out July 1. ILWU President Harry Bridges has been talking about signing a one-year contract this time so that wages can be renegotiated "to catch up with any additional boosts in the cost of living." The ILWU participated in the San Francisco April 28 trade union-consumer protest against wage controls and inflation, an indication of the rank-and-file pressure Bridges is feeling.

Referring to the auto contract talks, *U.S. News* says, "So far, the signs seem to indicate a peaceful auto settlement. But workers demands for larger pay boosts—to offset rising prices—may complicate the talks."

The complacency of the bosses, the Nixon administration, and some of the union bureaucrats may be misplaced.

The seeming quiescence of the labor movement has blown sky-high many times in the past. Only minor cracks appear in this facade as yet. But as history has shown, it can happen again. It is only a matter of time.



Militant/Tom Vernier

San Diego social workers demand pay hike

By HOLBROOK MAHN

SAN DIEGO, May 10—More than 500 San Diego County social workers and their supporters demonstrated today in a militant picket line at the county administration building. They demanded that the board of supervisors grant the 7.5 percent pay increase Social Services Employees Union (SSEU) Local 535 is asking for.

The social workers were joined on the picket line by representatives from other unions, including the American Federation of Teachers, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers.

In an interview with *The Militant* at the picket line, R. R. Washington, secretary-treasurer of the San Diego-Imperial Counties Central Labor Council, stated that the AFL-CIO had sanctioned a strike if the union membership so voted. He said the Central Labor Council would back the union 100 percent.

City employees, who face a strike themselves over their contract for fiscal year 1973-74, participated in the picket line. City workers in American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 127 voted down the city council's proposal of a 2.5 percent pay increase. (Just before the union members voted on the proposal, the mayor and city council voted unanimously to send letters to the 5,711 full-time city employees, threatening to fire them if they remained away from their jobs.)

The pay increases the city council and board of supervisors have proposed would in effect be cuts in pay, because the projected cost of living increase for the period covered by the contracts is 8.8 percent. The board of supervisors and the city council have said that an increase of more than 2.5 percent would be "inflationary."

They are having trouble convincing public employees of this, however, since the board recently *voted itself* a 37.5 percent increase (and the city council is also seeking a fat raise). The increase in pay for each board member is \$6,000. This is more than the annual wage paid to some county workers.

A 2.5 percent increase would mean a nickel an hour raise—from \$1.92 to \$1.97—for the lowest-paid county worker.

David Kramer, president of SSEU Local 535, termed the proposal an "insult." "If the picket line doesn't bring any action," he said, "then the unions will have to contemplate some sort of job action. We will take our demands to the streets, to the public. The public employees will not bear the brunt of inflation."

The city council is already making preparations to hire scab labor in the event of a strike. They are saying they will hire replacements from the Public Employment Program (PEP), which had its federal funds cut and will be forced to lay off 600 workers.

The city council has refused to allocate funds to maintain PEP and its community service programs, which include drug counseling, help for teenage runaways, and programs for minority groups and the aged.

'WATERGATE' OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

TEAMSTER OFFICIALS STEEPED IN CORRUPTION

By FRANK LOVELL

Many high roads lead straight to Watergate and there are some meandering byways that run a parallel course. These follow crisscross paths in the general direction of the White House, which is coming to be recognized as a cesspool of corruption.

There was a big Saturday night cocktail party and \$100-a-plate banquet in Washington, D.C., on April 28, attended by about 900 selected guests. The purpose of the event was to raise money for an organization to aid prisoners and ex-prisoners, called the National Association for Justice (NAJ). The guest of honor was ex-president of the Teamsters union, James Hoffa. Hoffa chose the occasion to announce his plans to run next year for president of Teamsters Local 299, his home local, in Detroit.

"I hope to work my way back up



James Hoffa: says Nixon 'victim of circumstances' in Watergate scandal.

to the top," he said, meaning that he wants to replace Frank Fitzsimmons, who became president of the union six years ago when Hoffa went to jail.

Fitzsimmons was not at the party.

According to all accounts there were about 200 "loyal teamsters" present who, for reasons best known to themselves, would like to get Fitzsimmons out and put Hoffa back as president. Teamsters Vice-president Harold Gibbons was one of them. Others were less anxious to be identified. One of these others told *Washington Post* reporter Myra MacPherson, "a lot of the Teamsters are for Jimmy but they don't want to say nothin' because he's got no power now."



Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons: FBI wiretaps connect him to union pension fraud.

Gibbons has a stake in the matter because Fitzsimmons fired him as head of the Teamsters Central States Conference for endorsing McGovern instead of Nixon in the 1972 elections.

Bobby Baker invited

The great majority of those at the party gained their prominence outside the labor movement. The best known is Bobby Baker, who was Lyndon Johnson's White House front man. Baker got in trouble while Johnson was president and served time for larceny and tax evasion.

One of the hosts of the party was C. Edward Lawrenson, director of NAJ, who served 12 years in an Atlanta prison for bank robbery. He told *New York Times* reporter Philip Shabecoff that Hoffa will head a team of prison specialists that will respond to appeals from prisoners for help and to "crises such as riots in prisons."

The great majority at the party had no record of conviction. This is not to say they were more honest. A priest, a rabbi, and Congressman Kenneth Gray (D-Ill.) were among the speakers. A large number of businessmen and their wives came, and some parole officers.

Hoffa was the main speaker, and he got a standing ovation. Mostly he talked about prison conditions and reforms, with only one or two references to Watergate, and nothing derogatory about Nixon.

When Nixon paroled him in time for Christmas 1971, Hoffa had served almost five years of his eight-year sentence for jury tampering and pension fund fraud. He then retired, and collected \$1.2-million (after taxes) from the union in retirement benefits.

Uppermost in Hoffa's mind now is how he can get his old job back, and that will not be easy. His parole stipulates that he cannot "engage in the direct or indirect management of any labor organization until March 6, 1980."

Kleindienst 'tied up'

Hoffa told reporters at the big Saturday night affair that he is working on changing his parole rules. He said that he wanted to meet with then U.S. Attorney General Richard Kleindienst, "but so far I haven't been able to meet with him—he's pretty tied up."

That was before Kleindienst got the ax as head of the Justice Department and when it was not yet perfectly clear to Hoffa that Nixon is not in a very good position to help him.

At the party, Hoffa expressed the deepest sympathy for Nixon about the Watergate scandal. "Nixon is a victim of circumstances," he said. "When I was president of the union I couldn't keep track of what was going on among two million members. The president is running a country of over 200 million people."

Underworld connections

The day after the Hoffa party in Washington, the *New York Times* revealed that high officials of the Teamsters union had conspired with underworld figures to steal millions of dollars from union pension funds. According to "Government sources," said the *Times*, the scheme was exposed through FBI wiretaps.

But after 40 days of wiretapping, former attorney general Kleindienst and his Assistant Attorney General Henry Petersen (one-time Justice Department prosecutor in the Watergate case) acted to halt the FBI investigation. They did so on the grounds that the information uncovered did not show "probable cause" to continue.

The recommendation to stop the spy operation came from L. Patrick Gray III. Then acting head of the FBI, Gray subsequently resigned when his role in the Watergate scandal began to come out. His order to cease the spying on the Teamsters officials was motivated by fear that revelation of the facts would damage the reputation of Frank Fitzsimmons.

The *New York Times* account noted that "The Kleindienst-Petersen decision came less than a month before Charles W. Colson, special counsel to the President, left the White House to join a Washington law firm to which Mr. Fitzsimmons had transferred the union's legal business." Colson, who has been accused of forgery and other crimes in relation to Watergate, was the man in charge of Nixon's political strategy regarding the union movement.

RANK & FILE
TEAMSTERS
OPPOSE
RAID ON
FARMWORKERS

THIS TEAMSTER SUPPORTS
FARMWORKERS UNION



Militant/Howard Petrick

Teamster bureaucrats have joined growers in attempt to destroy Farm Workers union. This move is meeting opposition from rank-and-file Teamsters.

Between Jan. 26 and March 6, the day the spy operation was halted, the FBI learned that People's Industrial Consultants in Los Angeles is a front to siphon off millions of dollars from the Teamsters Central States, Southeast, and Southwest Areas Pension Fund. The "sources" say three meetings between Fitzsimmons and underworld figures occurred from Feb. 8 to Feb. 12. At these meetings Fitzsimmons agreed to a plan to raid the union pension funds.

At the time of the first meeting, Feb. 8, Fitzsimmons was participating in the Bob Hope Desert Classic golf tournament in Palm Springs as a cover. Shortly after another such meeting on Feb. 12, he flew with Nixon to Washington on the president's plane.

These are charges that have not been proven, but Fitzsimmons knows if they are true. Nixon's liaison, whether Colson or his successor, also knows. That is all that is necessary for Nixon's purposes.

If Fitzsimmons balks at his role on Nixon's Labor-Management Ad-

visory Committee, or the National Commission on Productivity, or the National Commission for Industrial Peace, then the spy operation may begin again. If Fitzsimmons gets pressure from the membership of the Teamsters union to win wage raises above the government guidelines or to break the government's wage controls, then he may face government prosecution for conspiracy, kickbacks, and mishandling of union funds.

Of course as ex-president of the Teamsters James Hoffa knows, it is not easy to get a conviction, but possible. It has happened. "I was on nine trials and I know what it takes to prove a case," he says.

Hoffa has had more experience in these matters than Fitzsimmons, who has learned something from his predecessor's experiences, mostly the wrong things. He knows how to go along with the power brokers, when to keep quiet, what not to ask for.

Wage negotiations

In the current round of wage negotiations Fitzsimmons is asking for nothing. When the Teamster master freight contract expires this summer he is prepared to settle on terms dictated by government wage controls.

Hoffa spelled it out. "I guess \$1.20 over the three years on top of a \$6 base is O.K.," he said, shortly before sitting down to a juicy steak at the prison reform banquet in his honor. "People are more interested in fringes these days because the Government takes all your overtime," he observed.

On this matter Hoffa and Fitzsimmons see eye to eye. The \$6 hourly pay base applies to a small minority of the two million-member Teamsters union. Most get around \$4, and some, like the California farm workers whom the Teamsters claim to represent, will get maybe \$2.50 under the sweetheart contracts Fitzsimmons is signing with the growers.

The big thing for Hoffa and Fitzsimmons is the "fringes," which means the Teamster pension plans. "People," Hoffa thinks, "are more interested in fringes." These include only officials of the union, their hangers-on, and others outside the union who expect to benefit handsomely. The vast majority of the union members will never collect a penny in pension benefits.

These multimillion dollar pension funds are scandalously manipulated. They are not one of the main features in the Watergate revelations, but they may be exhibited as a minor attraction.

When the thieves fall out, as now seems possible, it may be that the members of the Teamsters union will find an opening to fight for decent wages and working conditions, to take control of their own organization, and to elect the next president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. When that happens it won't be Frank Fitzsimmons. It won't be James Hoffa, either.

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ILWU rank and file pushing Bridges for militant action

By ED HARRIS

SAN FRANCISCO, May 15—President Harry Bridges once again is at cross purposes with the longshore and ship clerks divisions of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). The present contract—achieved after a 135-day strike in 1971-72—expires July 1. The issue is: what changes are to be sought in a new contract?

A six-day West Coast caucus (conference) that ended May 12 worked out a set of demands and elected a negotiating committee. The caucus was marked by conflict throughout between the conservative Bridges leadership and the delegates representing a more militant rank and file. On a number of key issues Bridges was voted down.

The conflict and the relationship of forces is reflected in the composition of the 13-member new negotiating committee. This committee is composed of the four officers—President Bridges, Secretary-treasurer Goldblatt, and vice-presidents Martin and Chester—two ship clerks representatives, Jim Bone and Jim Herman, plus seven members elected from the longshore caucus delegates.

Unluckily for Bridges and the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) the present committee is much younger than previously. Several members are in their middle 30s. And at least four members are known to be severe critics of Bridges's past policies, including men such as Herb Mills, business agent of Local 10 in San Francisco; P. Fuller from Southern California; Calleo from Oregon; and Shawn Maloney, president of Local



ILWU West Coast Caucus meeting in 1972

Militant/Ed Harris

strike on July 1. Bridges used his usual scare tactics, warning the delegates that if the shipowners aren't soothed they will divert ships to Gulf ports. The letter sent to the PMA said that the union was "looking toward extension of the present longshore-clerk contract for one year without strike action July 1, if four points could be agreed upon.

These points were: no layoffs for the life of the contract; a pay guarantee plan; an interim wage increase of 25 cents an hour effective June 1; and negotiations to begin no later than May 15.

This was asking very little. The first two points are already in the contract (although the wage guarantee section is followed by 13 pages of "whereases," which render it almost totally ineffective). The preliminary wage demand of 25 cents is well below the 5.5 percent guidelines of Nixon's Cost of Living Council (CLC).

stoppage or threat thereof in connection with the 1973 negotiations." In addition, the PMA's letter stated that it "will seek provisions for effective use of steady men."

When this letter was read to the caucus, Bridges moved to concur! The delegates were justifiably outraged. They had voted for a program that sought a showdown with the shipowners, not binding arbitration. They had voted to eliminate steady men, thus running all jobs through the hiring hall. Bridges's motion in effect scuttled their demands.

Debate was hot and heavy. Finally Bridges and the few who supported him were forced to retreat. The union then sent a reply to the PMA reiterating its first stand, agreeing only to a longer contract of one year or more. It did not agree to arbitration.

Bridges and Edmund Flynn, PMA president, then held a news conference to assure everybody that all was going to be peaceful.

At present, the negotiating committee stands "instructed" to negotiate the eight-point program, whereas in the 1971 negotiations the caucus demands were merely "referred" to the negotiators. This meant that in 1971 demands could be shuffled like a deck of cards. As a result the demands that Bridges didn't like (such as a shorter workday and elimination of the employers' 9.43 clause) were discarded. Bridges again wanted the demands "referred," but no dice. He was voted down by the delegates.

Today the negotiating committee meets with the shipowners. Many caucus delegates feel that it is the strongest negotiating committee since 1948. But it faces a stern test. Fortunately, this time the Bridges leadership does not have complete control of the committee.

"The men want redress of their many grievances," one caucus delegate said. And that is true. After 135 days on strike in 1971-72 the men went back to work with less than they had been offered before the strike began. Bridges crowed, "We won hands down!" But nobody believed him. And subsequently the government wage board cut 30 cents from the 72 cent wage increase.

At the time Bridges vowed to continue the strike "if the Pay Board cuts back our negotiated settlement as much as one cent!" But he backed down. At a subsequent strike committee meeting in San Francisco, Bridges was called "a militant rabbit." His critic said, "He always squeals belligerently while running away."

The ILWU cannot run away from the problems it now faces. There are many only partially employed longshoremen who are denied the wage guarantee through technicalities. The low-seniority and younger "B-men" are scraping by on as little as one or two days work each week. And as the

Continued on page 22

300 at NY USLA teach-in

By RACHEL TOWNE

NEW YORK, May 12—More than 300 people participated today in a teach-in on political repression in Latin America held at New York University. Activities included a series of nine workshops, films, and an evening rally. The rally was addressed by Mary Harding, a former Maryknoll nun who was jailed and tortured in Bolivia in 1972. She is now making a national speaking tour for the United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), the initiator of the teach-in.

Also speaking were James Petras, a prominent scholar on Latin America and professor of political science at Harpur College in Binghamton, N. Y., and Ruth Reynolds, an American who was jailed for two years in Puerto Rico from 1950 to 1952, accused of participating in the nationalist movement there.

Harding spoke of her developing concern for the workers and peasants of Bolivia and Latin America during the 12 years she spent there first as a nun and later as a factory worker. She described the example of one woman she worked with who worked for a whole day to make a plastic article for which she was paid 90 cents. The article was sold in the public shop of the factory for \$4.

Harding began to understand that it is this kind of exploitation of Latin American workers and peasants by native and foreign (mostly American) capitalists that caused their extreme poverty. This awareness made her a union activist.

As a result of her union activity she was arrested in December 1972. She was held for a month and tortured before she was released under pressure from an international defense campaign in which USLA played a prominent role.

Petras explained that the growth of foreign investments in Latin America has led to increased dissent, which has in turn led to stepped-up attacks on workers, peasants, and radicals. He particularly singled out Uruguay, Peru, Bolivia, and Argentina.

Reynolds gave a history of the Puerto Rican nationalist movement from the time of the first direct U.S. intervention there after the Spanish-American war in 1898.

The workshops discussed political repression in Argentina, Venezuela, Colombia, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Brazil, and Haiti; the role of the churches in defending civil liberties in Latin America; and defense cases in the United States.

The workshop speakers included members of the Puerto Rican Independence Party; Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (PRD); KODDPA (Committee for the Democratic Rights of the Haitian People), a coalition of four Haitian groups; the Pancho Cruz Defense Committee; El Comité; and USLA.

In addition, a representative from the Thomas Merton Life Center, a Roman Catholic group of ex-nuns and ex-priests, and a Brazilian minister who is also the president of the Third World People's Coalition spoke.

Other groups participating in the teach-in included the Chicano Center, LUCHA, Coalition for Education in District 1, the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, the Communist Party, the Catholic Worker, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, NACLA, and Amnesty International. There were also students from many schools in the area.



ILWU members picketing in San Francisco last year

19 in Seattle.

Out of the caucus came an eight-point list of demands, which include: no layoff for the life of the contract; a guarantee of 40 hours pay each week; a seven-hour day with no loss in pay; changes in section 9.43 of the contract (which permits shipowners to hire "steady men" directly, thus bypassing the union rotational hiring hall); four paid holidays; and a 25 cent per hour raise effective June 1, one month before the contract expires.

These demands were reinforced with the following language: "All eight points or showdown," that is, with the threat of a strike. This threat must, however, be viewed in light of the fact that as yet no strike vote has been taken.

There had already been—at Bridges's insistence—an exchange of letters designed to allay the fears of the shipowners that the ILWU might

Bridges was careful to call the 25 cents only a "downpayment." But some of the delegates, although they voted for it, obviously feared that the maneuver might serve to block any further immediate wage increase. Also Bridges had wanted a longer contract—up to three years—but the delegates voted him down.

The PMA countered with its own demands. It agreed to no layoffs, the wage increase, and the wage guarantee, but with the proviso that the PMA's maximum liability would be no more than \$100,000 a week. This means that in case of severe unemployment only about 2,000 men of the 12,700 currently employed by the PMA would be provided for.

The PMA also wanted a two-year contract, and a proviso that any issues unresolved as of June 30, 1973, would be submitted to binding arbitration, "thereby eliminating any work

World Outlook

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

MAY 25, 1973

A step forward for the revolutionary socialist movement

Canadian Trotskyists hold convention in Toronto

By Tony Thomas

TORONTO—The convention of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the Canadian section of the Fourth International, held in Toronto April 20-23, was an important step forward for the hundreds of Canadian and Québécois revolutionaries who gathered there, and for the international revolutionary socialist movement as a whole.

More than 300 persons attended the convention. Fifty-three were elected delegates from the LSA/LSO's twelve branches, which stretch cross-country from Vancouver to Montréal. The twenty-nine members of the outgoing central committee of the LSA/LSO also participated as consultative delegates. In addition there were about fifty guests and observers from revolutionary socialist organizations in other countries.

The convention came at the close of a highly democratic eleven-month internal written and oral discussion within the LSA/LSO. Fifty-eight English-language and sixteen French-language discussion bulletins were published.

In the bulletins, half of the articles reflected views opposed to the resolutions that were introduced by the outgoing political committee and adopted by an overwhelming majority at the convention. The new central committee, which was unanimously elected by the convention, included representatives of each of the three formally organized tendencies that developed during the discussion.

The central issues discussed at the convention were of international importance: the national question both in the imperialist nations and amongst oppressed nationalities, the struggle for women's liberation, and the question of Canada's mass social-democratic labor party, the New Democratic Party. The answers to these questions reached by the Québécois and Canadian revolutionaries as registered by the decisions of the convention are an important positive contribution from which the international revolutionary socialist movement can draw.

In addition to their political decisions, the delegates demonstrated that out of the discussions and experiences of the LSA/LSO preceding the convention, a new level of political development and leadership had been obtained.

The great majority of contributions were on a high political level, reflecting an impressive understanding of the basic principles of Marxism as

well as a wealth of experience in the revolutionary struggle in Canada and Québec.

The majority of the delegates—thirty-nine out of fifty-three—were between the ages of twenty-two and thirty. For fifteen of them, it was their first convention of the LSA/LSO, for another twenty-three, only their second.

Credentials figures reported to the convention also reflected the delegates' deep involvement in the various struggles in Canada and Québec. Nineteen

socialists who have come into the movement since the early 1960s as well as the cadres who had led the Canadian Trotskyist movement in previous decades.

Joseph Hansen brought greetings from the Socialist Workers Party. He stressed the importance of the Canadian Trotskyist movement's success in broadening its leadership and maintaining the continuity of its revolutionary tradition. Hansen pointed out that the transition in leadership

other trends on the Canadian left had weakened and split during recent years owing to a temporary decline in radical activity, the LSA/LSO had increased its membership. It is the major radical organization to the left of the Communist Party.

Labor Challenge, the biweekly English-language organ of the LSA/LSO, and *Libération*, its French-language monthly produced in Québec, had both expanded from eight to



Labor Challenge/Macinnis

of the delegates were revolutionary socialist activists in the NDP; thirteen were activists in the women's liberation struggle, ten were active in the campus struggles, nine were antiwar activists, five were trade-union activists, and several were participants in the national struggle in Québec. The delegates were predominantly proletarian: thirty-seven were workers, including six teachers and nine unemployed; nine were students; six were full-time activists for the revolutionary socialist movement; and one was a farmer.

One of the most significant political gains that the Canadian and Québécois Trotskyists achieved was the further consolidation and broadening of a binational leadership incorporating the new generation of revolutionary

between different generations of revolutionaries was a difficult problem faced by revolutionary Marxists around the world.

The measure of the success of the older cadres of Canadian Trotskyism, Hansen said, could be seen in the development of the young leaders of the LSA/LSO who were taking the central responsibilities for the leadership of the binational movement. Hansen also cited the large number of women playing leading roles in the LSA/LSO as one of the signs of the movement's positive development.

An impressive feature of the convention was the confidence displayed by the delegates and the membership in the prospects for building the LSA/LSO. The organizational report given by Gary Porter stressed that while

twelve pages since the previous convention.

A representative of Crescent Books, Canadian distributors of books by Pathfinder Press, reported that Crescent sales had increased 100 percent in 1972 and had already increased 50 percent over 1972 figures in the first few months of 1973. He linked increased demand on campuses and bookstores for Marxist literature with the deepening of the radicalization.

One of the high points of the convention was a special session devoted to outlining special expansion plans for the LSA/LSO. In that evening alone, the delegates and members donated \$6,000—and a small airplane!—to a special fund to finance the expansion of the Canadian revolutionary movement.

By Dick Fidler

Toronto

The convention opened with a report on the world Trotskyist movement presented by Art Young, organizational secretary, for the Political Committee. He outlined the status of the current discussion within the Fourth International preparatory to the Fourth World Congress since Reunification. Pointing to the work of the national sections in a number of countries, he mentioned in particular the intervention of the Ligue Communiste in the recent student upsurge in France. He hailed the breakthrough in Argentina of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party). Illegal and underground only two years ago, the cadres of the present PST took advantage of an electoral opening to project a revolutionary class-struggle program. One of the consequences was an impressive increase in the party's membership, organization, and influence in the Argentine working class.

In addition to the official greetings sent to the convention from many sections and sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International, the delegates were addressed by Alain Krivine, a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and former presidential candidate of the Ligue Communiste in France; Joseph Hansen of the U.S. Socialist Workers party; and a leader of the Swedish Trotskyist organization, Revolutionära Marxisterna Förbundet (RMF—League of Revolutionary Marxists).

The convention sent greetings to the congress of the British section, the International Marxist Group, meeting that same weekend; to Peng Shu-tse and Chen Pi-lan, founders of the Chinese Communist party and the Fourth International; and to James P. Cannon, one of the founders of the U.S. Socialist Workers party and of the Fourth International.

The political report, presented by Dick Fidler for the Political Committee, dealt with the main themes of the 57-page political resolution, "The Developing Class Struggle in Canada," which had been discussed by the membership for several months.

Turn in World Situation

The report centered on the turn in the world political situation marked by Nixon's visits to Moscow and Peking, the resulting "détente" between imperialism and the workers states, and the success of the imperialists and the Stalinist bureaucrats in forcing the Vietnamese to yield major concessions.

Not the least of these concessions is the provision in the accords for a supervisory force with Canadian participation to oversee the cease-fire, a clear violation of the Vietnamese people's right of self-determination. The convention reaffirmed the commitment of the Canadian Trotskyists to campaign for an immediate end to imperialist intervention in Southeast Asia, for withdrawal of Canadian forces, and for an end to Canada's complicity in the war.

The détente, the resulting easing of the atmosphere of world political crisis focused for years on the Vietnam war, has produced a certain downturn in mass mobilizations in the student sector in Canada, reinforcing tendencies toward both opportunism and ultraleftism.

"What we are witnessing today is the reaffirmation of the main historical contradiction of our epoch, the crisis of revolutionary leadership"—manifested in the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism, of both the Mao and Brezhnev varieties (Indochina, Indian subcontinent), the bankruptcy of Guevarism and the guerrilla-war strategy (Bolivia, Argentina, Uruguay), and the continuing trend of the Social-Democratic and labor-reformist leaderships in the imperialist countries toward integration into the apparatus of the bourgeois state through parliamentary and governmental experience.

The appearance of a "new vanguard layer of young radicals and revolutionary-minded youth, the advanced elements emerging from the developing social struggles," poses unique and unprecedented opportunities for the construction of mass revolutionary parties. The main challenge before the cadres of the Fourth International is to win and assimilate these youth, and train them in the method and strategy of the Transitional Program.

The reporter stressed the increasing difficulties facing Canadian capitalism in a world characterized by heightened interimperialist rivalry. Canada is one of the largest imperialist powers without guaranteed access to foreign markets through membership in a common-market structure. Its "special relationship" with U.S. capitalism—the

result of the continental market and the high degree of interpenetration of capital between the two countries—is being undermined by growing U.S. protectionism. Whether it moves toward closer "integration" in the American market, or toward attempts to diversify foreign trade and investment, the Canadian bourgeoisie must step up the competitive capacity of Canadian manufacturing industries, that is, increase the rate of exploitation of Canadian workers. A general increase in the tempo and depth of the class struggle can be anticipated in the next period.

New Radicalization

As for the new radicalization, the main components in Canada have been the Québécois nationalist struggle for self-determination and political independence, the mass feminist sentiment, recurring student struggles, and anti-imperialist movements centered around defense of the Indochinese revolution. More recently, powerful nationalist movements have developed among the French-speaking Acadian population of the Maritime provinces, and Canada's half-million native peoples, the Indians and Inuit (Eskimos).

Rooted in the objective contradictions of Canadian capitalism, the radicalization has reflected in its contours the changes in composition of the work force and other social layers of the population under postwar capitalism (increasing role of the state and public sector, expansion of the educational system, regional underdevelopment, large-scale entry of women into the work force, etc.), as well as the impact of international developments, especially the colonial revolution, on radicalizing youth and oppressed national minorities. In this sense, their struggles, while unfolding largely outside the control and influence of the traditional working-class organizations, are a vital part of the developing class struggle.

The demands of these radicalizing layers of the population have given rise to repeated and massive struggles directed against the capitalist state and its institutions. In these struggles, the revolutionary Marxists seek to develop their dynamic independent of the control of the bourgeoisie and its parties, formulating demands that can impel them forward along the road of anticapitalist struggle. We seek to recruit the most advanced elements to the nucleus of the revolutionary party, the Trotskyist vanguard organization.

The general increase in labor militancy of recent years, registered in a rising number of strikes, has not resulted yet in a general politicization of the working class, or even in the development of a rank-and-file opposition current in the unions, which embrace about a third of the work force in Canada. Politically, the English-Canadian working class remains under the leadership of the Social-Democratic NDP and the labor bureaucracy, which supports the NDP. The NDP in turn exercises substantial influence on the radicalization, both positively in giving it a political link with the labor movement, and negatively in tending to channel independent struggles into parliamentarist, electoral forms of action.

New Democratic Party

Since the NDP embraces or holds the allegiance of the mass of politicized and politicizing workers, the Trotskyists "support the NDP as the elemental class alternative to the parties of the bourgeoisie, while giving no support to its reformist program and leadership." As a Social-Democratic party, the reporter emphasized, the NDP is not the party of the revolutionary Marxists. It is an obstacle to the revolutionary progress of the working class and must be removed from its path. The struggle to win the working class away from this reformist leadership and to a revolutionary course is the central strategic task of Canadian Trotskyists.

The League seeks to win recruits to the revolutionary party, to build the influence of the class-struggle elements within the NDP, and to change the relationship of forces between the revolutionary vanguard and the reformist bureaucratic leadership of the trade unions and their political party. Fraction work inside the labor party to build a class-struggle opposition in the ranks is combined with the independent activity of the revolutionary organization through its press, forums, election campaigns, etc. Within the NDP, the revolutionary socialists seek to mobilize significant layers of militants around key political issues, in struggles that challenge the bureaucracy's reformist positions. The masses who look to the NDP for leadership must discover *in the course of their own experiences* the bankruptcy of the Social Democracy and the necessity for a revolutionary party.

The LSA/LSO's orientation to the NDP is not con-

Report from Canada:

'A general increase in tempo and depth of the class struggle can be

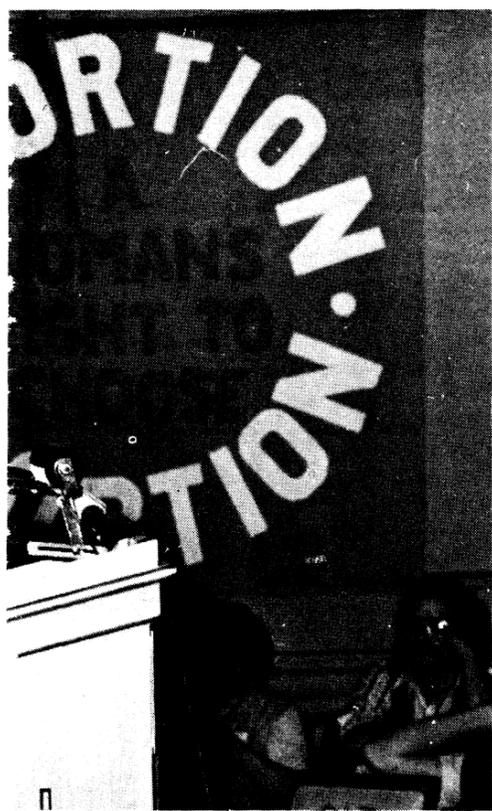


Jacquie Henderson giving the women's liberation Levis, organizer of the Montreal LSO, who chaired



This display of Trotskyist newspapers from around the convention.

ease in the both of the class 'anticipated'



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report to the convention. To her right is Colleen the session.



Labor Challenge/MacInnis

the world attracted considerable attention during

fined to fraction work. In the general agitation and propaganda of the League, our call for an NDP government has proved an effective way of getting the ear of the masses. By advocating what an NDP government should do, we do not express any illusions as to the revolutionary capacities of Social Democracy, but rather explain and popularize our concept of a workers and farmers government. This approach is entirely consistent with the method of the Transitional Program, where Trotsky stated:

"Of all the parties and organizations which base themselves on the workers and peasants and speak in their name we demand that they break politically from the bourgeoisie and enter upon the road of struggle for the workers' and farmers' government. On this road we promise them full support against capitalist reaction. At the same time we indefatigably develop agitation around those transitional demands which should in our opinion form the program of the 'workers' and farmers' government'."

The Canadian Trotskyists' orientation to the labor party, a long-standing central aspect of our politics, has been expressed through a diversity of tactical applications—sometimes maintaining only the most minimal connections inside the mass party when there were few opportunities for intervention and recruitment; sometimes, when openings appeared, allocating considerable forces to fraction work, even playing a leading role in peripheral bodies of the party or rank-and-file campaigns. Many of the younger leaders of the Canadian section today were only a few years ago the leaders of the NDP's youth organization in some provinces. More recently, in British Columbia, Trotskyists have played a prominent role in mobilizing committees of party and trade-union militants in struggles for implementation of women's liberation demands, and repeal of antilabor laws by that province's newly elected NDP government.

Far from inhibiting the building of the independent revolutionary party, the Canadian section's tactical approach to the Social Democratic labor party has been a principal means of building the influence and cadres of revolutionary socialism in the labor movement.

The resolution incorporates the analysis of the student movement contained in the 1969 resolution of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, entitled "The Worldwide Youth Radicalization and the Tasks of the Fourth International."

Canadian Nationalism

An important development in Canada in recent years has been the development of Canadian nationalism, much of it directed against the growing weight and influence of U.S. capital in the Canadian economy. This wave of anti-U.S. feeling has had a big impact in the left. In the province of Ontario, the main industrial center of the country, the mass left wing in the NDP split last year, and a large number of militants abandoned organized work in the labor party in order to build a nationalist "Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada."

Much of the preconvention discussion was devoted to analyzing this phenomenon of English-Canadian nationalism and how revolutionary socialists should approach it so as to promote anticapitalist consciousness.

The Political Committee position was presented by John Riddell, executive secretary of the LSA/LSO. His report, based on the PC's draft resolution, "Canada and the Crisis of World Imperialism," reaffirmed the validity of the traditional Leninist position of opposition to nationalism in imperialist, oppressor nations.

He noted that while U.S. capital now owns an absolute majority of the assets of Canadian secondary manufacturing and mining industries, and holds a substantial share in some other sectors, this process has not altered the fundamental character of Canadian capitalism or the Canadian state. The Canadian ruling class is an imperialist bourgeoisie, with highly monopolized holdings concentrated in Canada. It is in firm control of the Canadian state, and uses that state power to defend its class interests. The Canadian bourgeoisie has its own national interests, distinct from those of the U.S. and other bourgeoisies, and uses the Canadian state as an instrument to defend them. Its national interests include defending the interests of Canadian capitalism as best it can against its imperialist competitors.

In imperialist nations, which suffer no national oppression and where there are therefore no national tasks, nationalism can only play a reactionary role, blunting the cutting edge of the class struggle. The Canadian bourgeoisie employs nationalist demagoguery in support of its negotiating positions in its conflicts with U.S. imperialism, to rally workers in defense of wage controls or in support of federal repression in Québec, to help detour developing class consciousness and to fracture the organization of workers along class lines.

Since no "national" tasks exist in English Canada, its nationalism does not correspond to any objective needs of the working class and its allies, and there is no basis for revolutionary Marxists to support or identify with Canadian nationalism.

On the contrary, they must combat nationalist illusions in the working class. Where workers voice their social indignation in a nationalist form, revolutionary socialists must put forward a class-struggle program which can draw out whatever anticapitalist sentiments and real class interests are represented in this nationalism and direct their struggle against the Canadian ruling class, "the enemy at home."

The reporter held that the establishment of a correct theoretical framework, through the adoption of the Political Committee resolution, would lay the basis for further progress both in the study of the specific relationship of Canadian capitalism to U.S. and world imperialism, and in the working out of a correct line of tactical intervention.

A minority tendency, formed primarily around the question of Canadian nationalism, held that a "new nationalism" had appeared with an essentially anticapitalist thrust—a unique phenomenon based on popular reaction against the "domination" of important sectors of the Canadian economy by U.S. capital. This view was rejected by the delegates in a vote of 5 for, 48 against, 0 abstentions.

Women's Liberation

One of the major areas of involvement of Canadian Trotskyists, as well as the most important source of recruits to the section in recent years, has been the women's liberation movement. The wealth of experience gained in this field was reflected in the wide range of discussion in the preconvention period. Two counterreports to the line of the Political Committee were presented at the convention, and a third was withdrawn at the last minute.

The Political Committee resolution, presented by the LSA/LSO women's liberation director, Jacquie Henderson, was adopted by a vote of 39 for, 10 opposed, and 3 abstentions.

The struggle of women for their emancipation, Henderson noted, has an anticapitalist dynamic in that the goals of the feminist movement—freeing women from their oppression in class society—cannot be achieved without the destruction of the capitalist system. Revolutionists must project a mass-action strategy for the feminist movement, based on reaching out to women through demands that answer their needs, and drawing them into struggle independent of, and against, the ruling class and its institutions, which maintain and defend the oppression of women.

The reporter outlined a broad intervention by the Trotskyists into the feminist movement, on all the key issues and activities which women are mobilizing around—including struggles of working women for equal pay, child care, women's-studies courses, and abortion and contraception. A central aspect of the League's activity is in building the struggle for repeal of antiabortion laws, which has emerged as a key mobilizing issue in the feminist movement at this time. The recent U.S. Supreme Court ruling against state antiabortion laws has given a big impulse to the Canadian campaign, as indicated in the success of the recent conference of the Canadian Women's Coalition to Repeal the Abortion Laws. Many delegates noted the strongly feminist and radical character of this gathering, which brought together representatives of a wide variety of women's organizations.

Quebecois National Struggle

Another key area of Trotskyist involvement is the national liberation struggle of the Québécois, who constitute close to a third of Canada's population. The Political Committee's report on Québec was presented by Alain Beiner, national organizer of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, and a leader of the Front Commun pour la Défense de la Langue Française (Common Front for the Defense of the French language), which has organized and led mass demonstrations for an independent and French Québec. Beiner's report was based on a Political Committee draft resolution submitted to the membership in December 1972.

The resolution reiterates the LSA/LSO's characterization of Québec as an internal colony structurally assimilated into the Canadian federal state. The struggle for self-determination of this oppressed nation, which now takes the form of a struggle for political independence, assumes a particularly explosive character owing to the overwhelmingly proletarian composition of the Québécois nation,

Continued on following page

Report from Canada



Labor Challenge/MacInnis

John Riddell, executive secretary of the LSA/LSO, discussed the question of Canadian nationalism in his report.



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Art Young, organizational secretary of the LSA/LSO, gave a report on the world Trotskyist movement.



Labor Challenge/MacInnis

Manon Léger, former mayoralty candidate in Montreal, explained the special forms of oppression faced by women in Quebec.

Continued from preceding page

the high degree of industrialization, the weight of foreign imperialist investments (primarily English Canadian and American), and the resulting weakness of the national bourgeoisie. The Québécois national liberation struggle, in the full sense of a struggle to break with imperialist domination, can succeed only through socialist revolution, in accordance with the theory of permanent revolution first formulated by Trotsky.

Not only is it impossible for Québec to break all ties with imperialism without breaking from the capitalist system, but it is improbable that national independence will be achieved through a "cold" process, that is, without mass struggle against the federal regime.

The explosive character of the national struggle in Québec, and its importance in the development of the political class consciousness of the working class, mean that revolutionists must intervene actively in nationalist struggles for democratic demands, to lead them forward in mass struggle independently of the bourgeoisie.

In recent years, the reporter noted, the increasing militancy of Québec labor has been accompanied by a dramatic growth of nationalist consciousness in the working class, and by a tendency for the organized labor movement to increasingly take the leadership of the mass nationalist struggle, as in the campaign for defense of French-language rights. On the political plane, however, the demand for independence continues to be channeled through the bourgeois nationalist Parti Québécois. A key task facing the revolutionary socialists is to formulate demands and campaigns pointing up the necessity for the Québécois workers to break with the political parties of the bourgeoisie, including the PQ, and take the road of independent class political action. In this connection, the LSO advances the slogan, For a labor party based on the trade unions.

National oppression has served to heighten class tensions within the nation. The growing polarization within Québec society is expressed by, among other things, the provincial government's assault on the independence of the trade unions through severe antilabor legislation and through jail terms and heavy fines against unions convicted of violating antilabor injunctions. The LSA/LSO convention pledged to continue to build the campaign against Bill 89, a government draft law to ban strikes in "essential" public services, and for the freeing of the Québec labor leaders now in jail.

The massive labor upsurge in the spring of 1972 began as an economic struggle for higher wages and better working conditions by newly organized government and public service employees. Because it was directed against the government, the strike quickly developed into a major political confrontation.

In the public-sector strike the three main labor bodies joined forces through a Common Front. But the spontaneous mass upsurge in May that followed the jailing of the labor leaders essentially lacked leadership on the national level. The labor bureaucrats feared the radical, even revolutionary, thrust of a mass movement in which incipient dual-power situations developed within days in a few cities and towns across the nation.

The Trotskyists of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière participated in the May upsurge with special issues of their newspaper, *Libération*, and massive distribution of leaflets at union meetings and demonstrations. The LSO put forward a broad program of demands designed to overcome the inadequacy of the trade-union leadership and to lead the movement forward. This included mass demonstrations to generalize the upsurge and draw in new layers of workers; publication of a daily strike paper to counter the lies of the bourgeois press and to develop the programmatic side of the struggle; and the formation of action committees "in each factory and workplace, and at a citywide level."

Composed of representatives from the unions, democratically elected by the ranks, "such committees would be able to unify actions in each area and spread them to other workplaces. The committee would elaborate an overall strategy incorporating militant actions like strikes, occupations, take-overs of news media, work slowdowns, mass meetings and demonstrations." Such action committees began to form at the height of the upsurge in worker-occupied cities like Sept-Îles.

The LSO also projected the need for a labor party, in opposition to the Parti Québécois's craven support for the "forces of order."

One of the proudest chapters in the recent history of the LSO was its conduct during the War Measures repression of 1970, when it functioned illegally, with two of its leaders imprisoned, and even carried on an election campaign for the mayoralty of Montréal, winning 7,000 votes for its candidate, Manon Léger. The LSO and LSA were in the forefront of the movement to repeal the emer-

gency laws and to free the political prisoners. Their actions stood in sharp contrast to the ultraleftist adventurism of the Front de Libération du Québec, which has since disappeared from view.

The reporter noted that in the summer of 1972, a grouping led by Michel Mill split from the LSO, and thereby from the Fourth International. They have since set themselves up as the Group Marxiste Révolutionnaire (GMR—Revolutionary Marxist Group). Several Québec delegates reported that in recent labor and student struggles, the GMR had tail-ended the bureaucratic and conservative elements in the union and student leadership. In a united-front committee to defend the jailed labor leaders, GMR leaders had opposed the proposal for a May Day mass demonstration, claiming it was "premature." In the recent student strike at the Université du Québec à Montréal, the GMR argued for a return to classes against the proposals of a representative of the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes in the strike leadership to continue the strike.

Another Dissenting View

In addition to the United Tendency, which was supported by five delegates on the question of Canadian nationalism, another minority grouping, the Revolutionary Communist Tendency (RCT), was supported by eight delegates. (Delegates were chosen by proportional representation in the branches.) Organized on a platform expressing a wide range of differences with the Political Committee majority, the RCT presented counterreports on all the key points on the agenda. (To permit the fullest, most effective presentation of the RCT's views, the convention suspended the normal rules of procedure on three reports to allow members of the RCT who were not delegates to present counterreports.)

The RCT argued that some of the major areas in which the LSA/LSO and the Young Socialists have been active—such as women's liberation, the student movement, the Québécois nationalist movement—are "peripheral" to the class struggle, and urged that the League begin an immediate, aggressive turn toward "implantation" in the trade unions. Insofar as revolutionary cadres intervened in "peripheral" struggles like women's liberation, it should be as an essentially propagandist left wing. The League should not attempt to lead struggles for reforms, such as the campaign for repeal of antiabortion laws, but should direct these "peripheral" movements toward the organized working class. In student struggles, for instance, revolutionists should intervene primarily around themes like solidarity with workers' struggles and with the colonial revolution.

To the majority's orientation of building broad class-struggle caucuses in the unions and NDP around the key radicalizing issues of the day, the RCT comrades counterposed the building of organizations and "fronts" of League sympathizers and other revolutionists within the traditional organizations of the working class. These fronts or circles would act as a "transmission belt" for revolutionary ideas to the mass movement.

In Québec, the Revolutionary Communist Tendency held, the struggle for independence and against national oppression can be "co-opted" by the national bourgeoisie, and revolutionists should therefore not support independence without at the same time specifying that they mean socialist independence. While the majority held that as Québécois workers develop political class consciousness, they are more inclined to take up the struggle against national oppression, the RCT argued that nationalist demands (such as defense of the French language) become subordinated to class demands.

On Canadian nationalism, the RCT denounced the majority for what it termed their "ultraleft-abstract calls of 'workers of the world unite.'" It held that Canadian nationalism is mainly confined to the liberal petty bourgeoisie, that the working class is "relatively indifferent" to it, that the bourgeoisie has little use for nationalism "because its main thrust is directed against the project to which the bourgeoisie is most committed, the further integration of the North American economy," and that if the bourgeoisie were to promote nationalism at some time in the future, its clearly reactionary use as a defense of the existing order would be unlikely to win it mass support.

The RCT also advanced a different interpretation of the role and function of the Transitional Program.

The RCT's views were rejected by a large majority of the delegates.

At the end of the convention, the Majority Tendency, which had been organized in support of the positions of the Political Committee majority on Canadian nationalism and the discussion in the Fourth International, announced its dissolution. The United Tendency did likewise. The Revolutionary Communist Tendency declared it would continue to exist as an organized tendency. □

Discusses issues before int'l socialist movement

SWP National Committee holds meeting

By JOEL BRITTON

NEW YORK — The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party held a four-day meeting here at the end of April, attended by NC members from cities across the country.

The meeting issued a call for a national convention of the Socialist Workers Party, to be held in August, which will discuss and vote on resolutions concerning the major questions facing the revolutionary move-



Militant/Brian Shannon

SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes reported on opportunities for building international revolutionary socialist movement.

ment today, both nationally and internationally.

The convention will be of particular interest since it will take up key issues now being discussed by sections and sympathizing groups of the Fourth International in preparation for a world congress of this organization.

Although the SWP is prevented by reactionary legislation from belonging to the Fourth International, it maintains fraternal relations with the organization founded by Leon Trotsky and takes an active interest in its development.

There was extensive discussion at the National Committee meeting on questions related to the Fourth International, including reports by Political Committee members Mary-Alice Waters and Ed Shaw on the current development of the International and the debates taking place within it.

Another focus of discussion at the meeting was the major political changes that have taken place, both nationally and internationally, since the last SWP convention in August 1971.

In a report on the international sit-

uation, Jack Barnes, national secretary of the SWP, pointed to three developments in world politics that he described as having brought about a new world situation. These were: 1) the economic and political consequences of the Vietnam war; 2) the intensification of interimperialist economic competition; and 3) the evolution of the Sino-Soviet dispute and the détente between U.S. imperialism and the workers states as exemplified by the Moscow and Peking summit meetings.

Barnes pointed out that the present period is characterized by increased problems for the American capitalists — problems brought about by the continuing role of the U.S. government as world policeman for capitalism, and by sharpened economic competition between the imperialist countries.

It is also a period characterized by successful attempts on the part of the U.S. ruling class to look to both the bureaucratic rulers in the Soviet Union and China and the bureaucrats within the labor movement here at home to help solve their problems. This is reflected in the sellout of the Vietnamese struggle by Moscow and Peking, and in the collaboration of the union bureaucrats within the U.S. with the administration's efforts to hold down the demands of the working people and to cut social spending.

Barnes pointed out that despite the bureaucratic and reformist misleadership of the working class, militant struggles of workers are on the rise, not only in colonial and semicolonial countries such as Chile and Argentina, but also in workers states like Poland and in imperialist countries such as France, England, and Spain. The construction of revolutionary Marxist parties capable of leading these struggles to victory, he said, remains the crucial task of our epoch.

Developments in U.S.

In a report on the political situation in the United States Lew Jones discussed how developments within the U.S., such as the imposition of wage controls and the protests against inflation, reflect the economic difficulties of the U.S. ruling class internationally.

Jones pointed to the protests against inflation as an example of the fact that the radicalization that began in the 1960s around such issues as racism and the Vietnam war is still continuing and even spreading to new layers. He described how Nixon's attempts to turn back the radicalization

by withdrawing the troops from Vietnam and through appeals to racism and patriotism did not bring the results the administration had hoped for.

"The reaction to Watergate, and the anger and frustration expressed in the meat boycott," Jones said, "are examples of the growing lack of confidence many people feel in the government's ability to solve the problems facing American society."

Jones pointed out that within the context of a continuing mood of radicalism in this country we can expect to see ups and downs in the struggles carried out by different radicalized and oppressed sectors, as has been the case with the Black and women's liberation struggles. He also said that we can expect to see changes in the types of problems and issues around which struggles will break out. The Vietnam war is no longer the central issue in U.S. politics — although it remains an important issue — and new issues have come to the fore.

Building the party

A report by Betsy Stone discussed the activities of the party in the coming period. She emphasized the impor-



Militant/John Lauritsen

Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for mayor of New York. Socialist election campaigns were projected as one of main ways to build the revolutionary party.

tance of spreading the ideas of socialism and building the revolutionary Marxist movement through sales of socialist literature and support to SWP election campaigns.

Stone also discussed the present state

of the union movement, the Black liberation movement, and the women's liberation struggle, and stressed the importance of the party's continued participation in these movements. She pointed in particular to current struggles around such issues as inflation, cutbacks in social services, inferior schools, police brutality, and child care. Although these struggles continue to develop in the main outside the union movement, she discussed the importance of attempting to gain union support for actions around these issues.

Stone also stressed the need to continue to give support to the antiwar movement, despite the smaller scale of the protests. "The war still goes on," she said, "bombs are still being dropped on Cambodia and Laos, and we want to do whatever is possible to effectively protest this, and to educate people about the need to oppose continued U.S. intervention in Southeast Asia."

Preconvention discussion

On the basis of the reports and discussion at the National Committee meeting, resolutions for the coming national convention analyzing the situation in the U.S. and world today and projecting the future activities of the party will be drawn up. Any SWP members, or groupings of members with a common position, will have the right to submit counterresolutions if they disagree with the line of the resolutions.

In preparation for the convention, there will be three months of discussion. During this period all members of the SWP will have an opportunity to discuss the resolutions. There will be discussion in all SWP branches as well as a written discussion in the party's internal discussion bulletin. This bulletin is distributed within the party nationally and is available to any member who wants to submit a contribution on the issues facing the party.

At the end of the three-month period, the membership will vote on the resolutions and each branch will elect delegates to the convention. If there is a political disagreement, delegates will be elected in proportion to the support the different positions gain.

The national convention, which is the highest body of the SWP, will then make decisions concerning the political orientation and perspectives of the party, based on the discussions held both prior to and at the convention. The convention delegates will also elect a new National Committee.

New Zealand women march for right to abortion

From Intercontinental Press

Demonstrations took place April 13 throughout New Zealand for repeal of the abortion laws. Despite heavy rain, the number of participants in Auckland (350) and Dunedin (100) was double that of the July 1972 actions and reflected broader support for the movement than in 1972.

The build-up to the Auckland demonstration involved weeks of activity, wide distribution of posters and leaflets, forums, and a film show.

Speakers at the Auckland rally included the national president of the Abortion Law Reform Association, the candidate of the Values party in the last elections, and representatives of Auckland Women's Liberation and of Gay Liberation.

Cathy Carroll, secretary of the Auckland Women's Abortion Action Committee, stressed that the fight for abortion was a fight for women's democratic rights and called on all women to "join us in demanding that abortion be a woman's right to choose." Glenda Fryer, secretary of the Eden branch of the Labour party, attacked the party's weak position on abortion. Linda Dorizac, speaking for the Socialist Action League, stressed the importance of demonstrations in keeping the campaign visible to the public and in showing women not yet in the movement that the struggle is in their interests.

In Christchurch a public meeting April 12, chaired by a woman city councillor, was part of the build-up

to the spirited April 13 demonstration there, in which 100 people participated.

In Wellington 200 students attended a lunchtime forum organized April 13 by Wellington Women's Abortion Action Committee. Speakers included Dr. Margaret Sparrow from the Student Health Service, who had changed her attitude to abortion mainly because of her patients. The evening demonstration drew 120 participants, mostly women, and as the march proceeded the numbers grew to 170.

In Wellington, as in the other centres, the anti-abortion forces tried to counter the demonstration. That they could only raise 30 people to follow the march is perhaps indicative of the confusion in their ranks.



Socialist Action

U.S. gov't in 'illegal alien' shakedown

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—A "confidential" deportation procedure in use by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has been exposed by *New York Times* reporter Denny Walsh. Under this procedure, INS officials arrest undocumented Mexican workers ("illegal aliens"). They turn them over to a shakedown racket run by Mexican transportation companies while Mexican immigration officials look the other way.

Richard Kleindienst, who just resigned as U.S. attorney general as a result of the Watergate scandal, is said to have been one of those who helped engineer the system.

This procedure, which violates

going rate of \$250 to \$300.

The payoffs to the bus and plane companies alone amount to millions of dollars each year. Federal investigators have gathered evidence implicating two American immigration officials in a kickback scheme with the transportation companies.

INS officials coerce most undocumented workers into accepting deportation "voluntarily" by threatening them with fingerprinting and possible prosecution. The victims are kept ignorant of the rights that even workers without papers have under U.S. law.

The shakedown racket was inadvertently uncovered last May by a federal grand jury investigating John Alessio, a San Diego million-



Militant/Walter Lippmann

Los Angeles Chicanos demonstrate against laws that victimize 'illegal aliens'

many U.S. and Mexican laws, was first uncovered a year ago by a federal grand jury in Los Angeles investigating another matter.

The *New York Times* gathered its information from interviews with government investigators and other officials, and from sworn testimony given to several recent grand juries called to investigate the matter. The *Times* account, which appeared April 15, is the first time the scandal has been made public.

At the San Ysidro border crossing in California, the *Times* reports, border patrol officers turn over captured undocumented workers to representatives of a Mexican charter airline. U.S. officials take into custody the property of those arrested, subtract \$39, and hand this sum over to the airline.

The Mexicans are then herded into a waiting plane. When the plane takes off, they are told they may avoid the flight by bribing the crew. The plane lands, and those who pay off are allowed to go. The rest are flown to León, 1,200 miles away, deep in the interior of Mexico.

About half are willing to pay to avoid being taken so far from their homes in the U.S. Some live as far away as Idaho and Montana. Returning to their jobs in the U.S. as quickly as possible is a matter of survival for them and their families.

Buses instead of planes are used at several other points along the border. About one-quarter of the 425,000 undocumented workers arrested each year are subjected to this "removal system," as the INS cynically calls it.

U.S. officers screen out those captured and only turn over to the extortioners those who have enough cash on them to pay the bribes. The rest are merely dumped out just the other side of the border.

Those who are released and those who pay off still face the problem of getting back across the border. They usually have to turn to *coyotes* (labor smugglers), who do the job for the

aire now serving time in a federal prison for income tax evasion. Alessio is known as a contributor of substantial sums to the campaigns of many Democratic politicians as well as to the campaign of Richard Nixon.

Leonard Gilman, Southwest regional commissioner of the INS, testified that he used a government car to drive Armando Verdugo, a wealthy entrepreneur from Tijuana, Mexico, to visit Alessio in prison. Gilman said he did this because the INS owed Verdugo a favor in return for "unofficial" favors Verdugo had done for the INS.

This is when it came out that Verdugo had used his influence with Mexican government officials to set up the transportation-extortion scheme. Verdugo is a business associate of former Mexican President Miguel Aleman.

The revelations by the *New York Times* have since been reported by Mexico City's leading daily, *Excelsior*, and have caused a scandal in that country as well.

Gilman is the one who testified that former U.S. Attorney General Richard Kleindienst played a role in setting up the program. He told two federal grand juries that the program was set up in 1969 as a result of an "unofficial" arrangement between officials of the two countries. It could not be done officially, said Gilman, since the deported workers have violated no Mexican laws and cannot legally be moved hundreds of miles across Mexico.

The complicity of the Mexican and U.S. governments was further confirmed when reporters asked Mario Moya Palencia, secretary of the interior and head of the Mexican immigration service, whether the deportations would continue. "It's a delicate matter which the Presidents of Mexico and the United States discussed at their meeting in Washington last June," Palencia replied, according to the May 4 *New York Times*.

This admission that President Luis

Continued on page 22

Campaigning for Socialism

'IT WOULD BE CRIMINAL TO TELL OUR PEOPLE TO SIT IN THE BLEACHERS AS SPECTATORS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST STRESS': With these words, Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Detroit, and activist in the Coalition to Abolish STRESS, explained what is wrong with the strategy that "the way to deal with every aspect of capitalist exploitation" is to rely on getting a "good" politician elected to office. This idea is being put forward by Black attorney Kenneth Cockrel, a possible opponent of Dixon. Dixon was speaking to more than 100 supporters who came to a May 5 rally launching his campaign.

Referring to all his Democratic and Republican party opponents in the race, Dixon warned that "one thing all these candidates will have in common is that they will present themselves to the citizens of Detroit as individual people who can bring about change. Nothing could be further from the truth.

"Every time significant change has come about in this country, and this goes right back to the writing of the Bill of Rights, it has come about by mass mobilizations of the people."

Also speaking at the rally was Rachele Fruit, SWP candidate for Detroit common council. More than \$1,500 was donated by campaign supporters in response to a fund appeal by Linda Nordquist, SWP campaign manager.



Don Gurewitz

Militant/Howard Petrick

BLASTS RACIST POLICIES OF BOSTON SCHOOL COMMITTEE: The Boston School Committee has built only one new school in the past 30 years. Although the newly completed facility was built to replace English High, a school attended mainly by Black students, the school committee has given it to the predominant white Girls Latin High School.

"The new Fenway High must be immediately turned over to the students and faculty of English High School," said Don Gurewitz, SWP candidate for Boston School Committee in a statement to the news media. He emphasized that all decisions about where Black students should attend school should be made by the Black community, which has suffered the most from the rotten educational system in Boston.

Gurewitz said that control of the schools in the Black community must be placed "in the hands of democratically elected committees chosen by these communities themselves. Massive federal, state, and city funds should be made available to these community-control boards, so that they can take whatever measures they deem necessary to guarantee quality education for Black students."

WASHINGTON SOCIALISTS HOLD CAMPAIGN CONFERENCE: More than 90 participants from Seattle, Olympia, and Bellingham attended a May 11-12 conference on "Socialist Perspectives '73," held at the University of Washington in Seattle.

Panels were held on "Defending African Liberation Struggles" and on how to fight federal cutbacks in social services.

The weekend was highlighted by a socialist campaign rally Saturday evening. Speakers included Norman Oliver, SWP candidate for mayor of New York City, and Craig Honts, SWP candidate for mayor of Seattle. More than \$700 was raised at the rally to support the socialist campaign.

HOW THE BOLSHEVIKS RAN ELECTION CAMPAIGNS UNDER THE CZAR: Socialist campaign supporters—and socialist candidates and campaign managers too—can learn valuable lessons about how Marxists approach electoral activity from the pamphlet *Lenin As Election Campaign Manager* by Doug Jenness.

This pamphlet focuses on the rich experiences of the Bolshevik Party's election campaign work during the 1912 elections to the Duma, the parliament in existence under the czar in Russia. This 1912 election was to be the last before the February revolution of 1917. Lenin, the exiled leader of the Bolshevik Party, paid close attention to the campaign. He explained the importance of the party's campaign platform. He sent a steady stream of articles into Russia to help guide the campaign. And he worked closely with the Bolshevik deputies who were elected to the Duma—even writing some of their speeches.

Jenness explains Lenin's real views on why and how socialists participate in election campaigns. This pamphlet is of great value for today's revolutionists who want to learn from one of the most successful socialist campaigners in history. Available for 25 cents from Pathfinder Press, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014.

CLEVELAND CITY COUNCIL HEARS SWP TRANSIT PLAN: On May 3, the Cleveland city council held public hearings on the plight of the Cleveland Transit System (CTS).

At the hearing, Roberta Scherr, SWP candidate for mayor of Cleveland, declared her opposition to "any plan which places the burden of financing public transportation on the working people." Scherr called for free public transportation.

She pointed out that in 1972 three of the largest polluters in Cleveland—Republic Steel, Sherwin-Williams Paints, and Cleveland Cliffs Iron Company—made more than \$80-million in profits. "By taxing the profits of these and other corporations and banks, money could easily be raised to finance CTS and other social services. . . . In addition, five hours of federal military spending could easily finance free public transportation in Cleveland for one year."

Later in the week, Scherr addressed a May 5 rally against high prices where the socialist program to end inflation was well received by the crowd.

Scherr also spoke last week to approximately 120 students at Shaw High School and Rocky River High School, where 20 students endorsed her campaign.

—PETER SEIDMAN

WHEN IS A CANDIDATE NOT A CANDIDATE?

N.Y. CP SUPPORTING DEMOCRAT BADILLO

By DOUG JENNESS

Close readers of the Communist Party's *Daily World* may have noticed that the March 20 issue carried a report announcing the CP's ticket for the New York City elections. Rasheed Storey was selected as the party's candidate for mayor and Roque Ristorucci as the nominee for city council president. The article indicated that CP candidates for borough presidents and councilmen-at-large would be selected at a later date.

But now, nearly two months later, *Daily World* readers must be wondering what happened to the CP's campaign. Although a couple of statements by Storey have appeared in the pages of the *Daily World*, none of them indicated that he is a candidate. He issued them in his capacity as state chairman of the CP.

Only a few articles have even mentioned he is a candidate, and then only in passing. He has spoken at only a couple of candidate's meetings. No campaign literature has yet appeared, and no attempt by the party to organize campaign meetings is evident.

Why is the CP carrying out this non-campaign? The answer is simple. The Democratic Party primary is scheduled for June 4, and there is a heated contest over who will win the Democratic nomination. Among the contenders are Congressmen Herman Badillo and Mario Biaggi, State Assemblyman Albert Blumenthal, and City Controller Abe Beame. The CP is giving backhanded support to Badillo in this race and fears that a campaign effort behind its own candidates will cut across this.

The favorable attention given to Badillo in the pages of the *Daily World* is sufficient proof. For example, when the Liberal Party chose Albert Blumenthal as its favorite over Badillo, the *Daily World* ran an article in its April 14 issue under the headline: "Badillo spurs drive despite Liberals'



Militant/Mark Salinoff
CP's non-candidate Rasheed Storey

snub."

The article optimistically reported that "Badillo, who has a strong base among Puerto Rican and Black voters, is understood to have considerable strength in some labor circles and even among Reform Democrats. While Blumenthal edged out Badillo for the endorsement of the New Democratic Coalition, a grouping of Reform Democrats, Badillo is known to have considerable strength there." We can expect that in the few weeks remaining before the primaries, the *Daily World* will step up its promotion of Badillo.

None of this should be surprising, and if we go back to the CP's analysis of the 1969 mayoralty election in New York we can see why. In an article in the March 1970 *Political Affairs*, José Ristorucci and Ernest Kuddes explain that there were three levels to the CP's electoral policy. They were the primaries, the mayoralty campaign itself, and the campaign around

the CP candidates Rasheed Storey and Jesús Colón.

"There is a tendency," they wrote, "to underestimate the importance of the major parties' primary elections. The results of these primaries should go far to change this attitude. The truth of the matter is that if an all-out effort had been mounted behind the candidacy of Herman Badillo, Puerto Rican Borough President of the Bronx, it would have been a completely different ball game. Badillo could have won the Democratic Party nomination, and the New York [Communist] Party must assume some of the responsibility for a missed opportunity of considerable magnitude. The closeness of the vote helps to make the point."

And further in the article, "If the Party and those we could influence had worked for the Badillo candidacy with full commitment Badillo could have won. The advantage of having a progressive Puerto Rican running for mayor on the Democratic line in New York City is obvious."

There it is in a nutshell. The CP felt it made a blunder in 1969 that it doesn't want to repeat in 1973. The CP has put its own campaign on ice in order to promote the candidacy of a liberal in the Democratic Party, one of the four capitalist parties in New York.

This strategy flies in the face of the promise made by Storey when he announced his candidacy. According to the March 20 *Daily World*, he declared that "if the grass-roots movements of the people are fully involved as independent forces in the elections, pressing for a people's program, and with the *Communist Party running a strong campaign*, then no matter who is elected they will be under pressure from the left and under restraint as to what they can do." [Emphasis added.]

Even if we leave aside the questionable effectiveness of this approach, the CP has totally abandoned its own

stated purpose of using a "strong campaign" as a "left pressure" on the capitalist candidates.

Why then did the CP even bother to announce its candidates before the primaries?

The reason is that some of their members aren't sure that the CP should be supporting candidates from the capitalist parties. To them the CP can say, "Look, we're fielding Communist candidates. We haven't endorsed any capitalist candidates." Even with its present phantom-like character the CP's campaign is an attempt to cover its left flank while in practice pushing a liberal Democrat.

The nine Socialist Workers Party candidates in the New York City elections are taking the opposite approach. Since their candidacies were announced early February, they have been running a vigorous campaign against all the capitalist candidates. Norman Oliver and Joanna Misnik, the SWP candidates for mayor and city council president, have spoken at dozens of meetings, including two city-wide campaign rallies. And their supporters have distributed tens of thousands of pieces of literature explaining what the SWP candidates would do if elected.



CP has put its own campaign on ice in order to back Badillo in June 4 Democratic primary.

Richard Ariza speaks to tenants on housing crisis

SWP nominees debate rivals in New York

By DAVID JAMES

NEW YORK, May 15 — It's usually difficult for socialist candidates in this city to get a chance to confront their Democratic and Republican opponents before the primaries. However, this week Socialist Workers Party candidates have appeared along with other candidates at a number of community and student meetings.

Last night Richard Ariza, SWP candidate for Manhattan councilman-at-large, addressed a meeting sponsored by the Union of the West Side Tenants Corporation. Other speakers included Democratic mayoralty candidates Abe

Beame and Herman Badillo and Liberal Party mayoralty candidate Stanley Shaw.

It was clear to all those who attended, including those who disagreed with his solutions, that Ariza is very knowledgeable about the housing problem in New York City. He explained that the abandonment of rent controls in 1970 had an effect opposite to what supporters of this measure had promised. They claimed that it would lead to increased construction of new housing and better maintenance by the landlords.

However, "the construction of new housing in New York," Ariza pointed out, "dropped from 7,913 units in 1971 to 1,029 in 1972." He indicated that the city's Housing Development Authority admits that city-assisted housing starts will hit a 10-year low in 1973. "And most of this has been done under the Mitchell-Lama middle income plan, which provides housing at rents so exorbitant that only families with incomes above \$25,000 can afford to live in them."

Ariza praised the efforts of groups like the Metropolitan Council on Housing and the Union of West Side Tenants for their fight against the abolition of rent controls. He called for a crash program to build low income public housing with special priority

on construction in the Black and Puerto Rican communities.

On the same evening Norman Oliver and Joanna Misnik, the SWP's candidates for mayor and city council president, spoke to about 75 people at York College in Queens. Oliver protested the recent murder of a Black youth by a Queens cop. He explained that the solution to police brutality was to get the cops who defend businessmen and landlords out of the Black community and replace them with "our own police, selected and supervised by the people who live in our communities."

This view sharply contrasted to those held by the Democratic and Liberal party candidates. These candidates included a representative for Democratic mayoralty contender Albert Blumenthal; Democratic candidate for city council president Anthony DiFalco; and Stanley Shaw.

On Sunday, May 13, the Gay Activists Alliance sponsored a candidate's meeting attended by about 300. Oliver and Misnik both gave short talks and answered questions. The GAA has sponsored this type of meeting on several occasions in the past, but this was the first time socialist candidates were permitted to speak. This policy shift was due to pressure from the majority of the membership

to have a wider range of views.

It's significant that even such reactionaries as former cop Mario Biaggi, who's now running for mayor, came and paid lip service to the rights of homosexuals. The only prominent Democratic candidate not present was Abe Beame. Communist Party candidate Rasheed Storey was invited but failed to appear.

When someone from the audience asked which of the candidates had literature supporting the rights of gays, only the SWP candidates and Fran Youngstein of the Free Libertarian Party answered affirmatively.

Last week Misnik had an opportunity to confront state legislator Steve Solarz, a Democratic candidate for Brooklyn borough president, at Brooklyn College. She was substituting for Maxine Williams, the SWP candidate for Brooklyn borough president, who was unable to attend the meeting sponsored by the student government.

All of the SWP candidates have been urging support to the African Liberation Day demonstration on May 26. Oliver appeared at a May 9 news conference held by the African Liberation Day Coordinating Committee and spent an afternoon this week in the ALDCC office helping to work on the action.



Richard Ariza

Militant/John Lauritsen

Right wing attacks Supreme Ct. abortion ruling

By LINDA JENNESS

MAY 14 — Right-wing forces opposed to the January 22 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortions are continuing their efforts to undercut the decision. Even though polls show that a majority of Americans favor the Supreme Court ruling, and nearly two-thirds of the country's physicians support a woman's right to have an abortion, the so-called right-to-life forces have had some effect.

Two types of anti-abortion constitutional amendments have been introduced into Congress. Representative Lawrence Hogan (R-Md.) has proposed a constitutional amendment that would declare a fetus a person "from the moment of conception." Representative G. William Whitehurst (R-Va.), along with 24 cosponsors, has proposed a constitutional amendment saying that "nothing . . . shall bar any state . . . from allowing, regulating or prohibiting the practice of abortion." This amendment would allow each state to determine whether or not abortions could be performed in that state.

Senator Frank Church (D-Idaho) introduced a rider to a Public Health Bill that allows hospitals to refuse to perform abortions even if they receive federal funds. This bill, along with the rider, was passed by the Sen-

ate and is now in a subcommittee of the House.

Some states have also seen continued activity by anti-abortion forces. At hearings in Oregon on a bill to require tax-exempt hospitals to perform abortions, the "right-to-life" groups brought out 700 people to oppose the bill. These reactionary forces have called for a march and a rally on May 26 to protest the Supreme Court decision.

In response to the right-wing mobilization in Oregon a broad meeting of women's and abortion rights groups was held. The meeting included NOW; Abortion Information Referral Service; YWCA Women's Resource Center; Women's Place Bookstore; Oregon Council for Women's Equality; and the National Abortion Action Coalition. These groups will be holding a united news conference and are discussing plans for other actions.

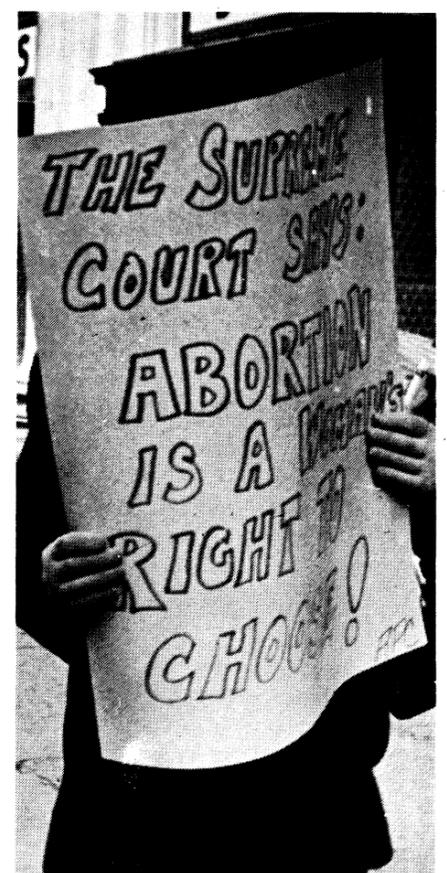
Bills openly flouting the Supreme Court decision have been introduced in many state legislatures and some have been passed. Rhode Island, for instance, has passed a bill that flatly forbids abortion except to preserve the woman's life. Wyoming passed a bill prohibiting abortion except in the case of rape, incest, or to save the life of the woman.

In several states bills have been introduced supporting the call for a constitutional amendment to declare a fetus a person from the moment of conception or to refer the decision regarding abortions to the individual states. These bills have been passed in Utah and North Dakota.

Other state legislatures are trying to circumvent the ruling through sheer trickery. For instance, Missouri is considering a bill that ostensibly allows abortion, but which contains provisions to prohibit the use of the three most commonly used methods of abortion.

Since the Supreme Court decision was handed down, six states—Georgia, Idaho, Utah, Wyoming, and North and South Dakota—have passed laws permitting hospitals to refuse to perform abortions. Similar bills are under consideration in more than 20 states.

These attacks on a woman's right to choose abortion show the need for the abortion rights movement to continue to explain and win support for its views. The Supreme Court decision is a victory for women. Federal and state governments must see that the abortion rights majority will not stand silently by while that victory is under attack.



Chandu

Speaking tours build Young Socialist Alliance

By JANICE LYNN

NEW YORK — Three national leaders of the Young Socialist Alliance are currently touring the country speaking on "Four More Years of Nixon and What to Do About It." Andrew Pulley, José G. Pérez, and Olga Rodríguez have spoken on college campuses and high schools and given interviews to numerous newspaper, radio, and TV reporters. After hearing these speakers,

many young people around the country have decided to join the YSA.

Andrew Pulley, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate in 1972, has been touring the South speaking on Nixon's cutbacks and how to fight against them.

At the University of Tennessee in Knoxville, Pulley told a meeting

of predominantly Black students, "We reject the racist Nixon myth that people are unemployed because they are ignorant and lazy. We can't look to those who defend the capitalist system to solve our problems. Our problems can only be solved through the struggle for socialism."

Pulley also spoke to audiences ranging in size from 15 to 65 in Georgia, North Carolina, West Virginia, Virginia, and Maryland.

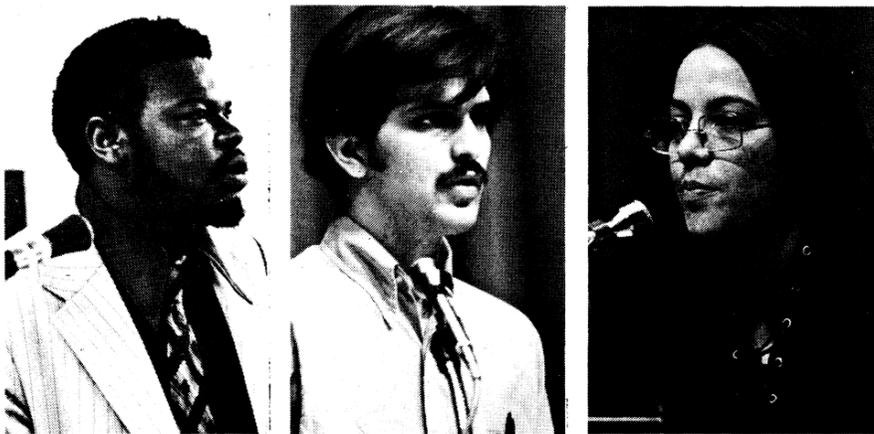
While in Philadelphia, Pulley was interviewed by the *Philadelphia Tribune*, which highlighted his comments on the Watergate scandal. The *Tribune* stated: "The notorious Watergate affair shows who the real criminals are in this country, one of the country's foremost Black radical leaders said here this week."

In Atlanta, Pulley participated in strike meetings of the workers at Rich's department stores, urging support for the strike at every campus meeting and radio and TV appearance. As a result of Pulley's tour in Atlanta, nine people joined the YSA.

José G. Pérez, staff writer for the *Young Socialist* newspaper, has been touring the West Coast. Pérez is speaking on the Chicano movement and La Raza Unida Party and outlining the steps necessary to combat four more years of Nixon. Many of Pérez's meetings have been sponsored by Chicano student organizations.

Olga Rodríguez, 1973 SWP candidate for mayor of Los Angeles and a Chicana activist, has been speaking at meetings, averaging 25 persons, in Texas, Illinois, Missouri, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. She has also spoken to women's studies classes on feminism and socialism and participated in a women's Union Fair at the University of Missouri, Kansas City. While in Chicago, Rodríguez participated in a picket line sponsored by the American Indian Movement in solidarity with the struggle at Wounded Knee.

To arrange speaking engagements for these speakers contact VIEWPOINT at P. O. Box 220, Old Chelsea Station, New York, N. Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 255-9229.



Andrew Pulley

Jose G. Perez

Olga Rodriguez

U of Texas women challenge sex discrimination

By ELOISE LINGER

AUSTIN, Texas — Women at the University of Texas (UT) here are organizing to fight sex discrimination on the job. On April 25 more than 500 women and men joined a noon rally on the steps of the school administration building to protest the inaction of President Stephen Spurr in ending discrimination against female campus employees.

The same day, a full-page ad appeared in the *Daily Texan*, the student newspaper, informing the university community about the administration's practices. The ad included a breakdown of salaries, showing that the highest paying jobs on campus are held by men.

The current struggle was triggered by a series of violations of the rights of women employees at the university. One case involves Jenny Liston, for-

merly employed at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs as a research assistant. She received less than half the salary of her male colleagues for doing the same work.

After appealing unsuccessfully through university channels, Liston filed a complaint with the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC). As soon as the university was informed of her complaint, she was reclassified as an editor. Shortly after, her new position was "phased out," and others were hired to carry out her former job. The EEOC has left her in the lurch, and she has been unable to find another job, since her reputation as a "malcontent" has spread to other employers in this relatively small city.

Another case involves Janet Berry, an assistant professor of art history

at the University of Texas. She had been unanimously recommended for promotion and tenure by her department in September 1970. The administration turned down the request. Appeals through faculty channels finally led to tenure, but no promotion or pay raise.

Berry filed a sex discrimination charge with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), which concluded in October 1971 that she had indeed been the victim of sex discrimination. But the university failed to comply with the HEW order for her promotion and a salary increase. After waiting a year and a half, Berry filed another complaint, this time with the EEOC.

In the meantime, the university not only failed to comply with the HEW order. But it also terminated the teaching contract of William Berry,

her husband. HEW has done nothing to back up the Berrys, and the EEOC has not even investigated the charges.

Women have collected more than 1,000 signatures of faculty, staff, and students in Janet Berry's defense.

The demands of the campaign against sex discrimination at UT include: university compliance with the HEW order to promote Janet Berry to associate professor; statement of reasons for the firing of William Berry; and reinstatement of Jenny Liston in a job suitable to her talents.

Women are also demanding that the university open to the public all reports on the status of women on campus; release salary schedules of men and women; and reveal the three affirmative action plans the administration has drawn up to end sex discrimination.

WHY SWEDISH EX-MAOISTS JOINED 4TH INT'L

From Intercontinental Press

[In the fall of 1972, a group broke away from the Swedish Maoist group, Marxist-leninistiska Kampförbundet (MLK—Marxist-Leninist Struggle League) after a lengthy period as an internal oppositional force. An entire district of the MLK membership left with the group. The former Maoists have now joined the Fourth International's sympathizing group in Sweden, Revolutionära Marxister Förbundet (RMF—League of Revolutionary Marxists).

[Martin Fahlgren, a leader of the former Maoists who have now joined the RMF, was interviewed for *Intercontinental Press* during April in Sweden. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Question. How did you come to the point of breaking with Maoism?

Answer. The opposition in the MLK did not begin by completely calling into question Stalinism and Maoism. Rather, the opposition arose by questioning the MLK's policy in the workplace, its propaganda, agitation, etc. Subsequently came the right turn in China's foreign policy (Ceylon, Pakistan, Iran, Ethiopia, the Common Market, etc.), which the MLK leadership naturally was able to react to only by copying the latest resolution adopted by the Chinese Communist party. We opposed this policy of tail-ending and demanded that the league make an independent analysis of China's foreign policy.

The response of the MLK leadership to our opposition was the usual Stalinist one: There was an attempt to isolate the opposition, publication of the opposition's material was held up, the district representative of the league leadership was removed (for completely nonpolitical reasons), etc.

This bureaucratic method of handling differences only caused the differences to deepen. We began to research history in order to find an explanation of why we were being dealt with in this way. In the process, we began to discover falsifications of history and other hallmarks of Stalinism.

Meanwhile, the Chinese party continued its open swing to the right. In order to understand this, we were also compelled to look into history.

By the spring of 1972, the differences had developed to the point that



Maoist support to Pakistan during the struggle for independence in Bangladesh helped spark a discussion in the Swedish MLK. Shown above are some of the Bengali guerrilla fighters who took part in the struggle.

they involved virtually every question: China's foreign policy, democratic centralism, party-building, revolutionary strategy and tactics, approach toward the workplace, the relationship to the trade-union movement, anti-imperialist work, the approach to take toward the Common Market, the nature of the Soviet

Union, the Comintern, the Stalin-Trotsky dispute, etc.

In the fall of last year, the entire district was expelled from the MLK, and after a few months we felt that we were ready to join the world Trotskyist movement.

Q. Why did you decide to join the Fourth International?

A. The struggle inside the MLK led us to break with Stalinism. Study of the history of the revolutionary movement made it clear to us that only the

today the only significant revolutionary force on an international scale—in Europe, the United States, Latin America, Japan, etc. Maoism, which arose as a reaction to the reformism of the pro-Moscow parties, is on the verge of collapse throughout Europe for lack of a truly revolutionary theory and under the blows of increasingly blatant betrayals of the world revolution by the Chinese bureaucracy. Consistent revolutionists within the Maoist movement are discovering that the principles they believe that they are fighting for have nothing to do with the Stalinist tradition they are frequently linked to. They are also discovering that the Chinese leadership is in no way capable of providing revolutionary inspiration. Maoists are faced with a very clear choice: either to follow Maoism into a swamp, or to break with Stalinism and Maoism and link up with revolutionary Marxism. We chose the latter alternative.

Q. The newspaper the Guardian in the United States has set itself the task of attempting to build a new Maoist party. What do you think the future holds for Maoism?

A. As I already said, Maoism is falling apart on an international scale. In Europe, there are only three countries in which it still has any influence worth mentioning—Sweden, Norway, and to a certain extent West Germany. In Italy, there are still Maoist groups of some importance, but they are of a more spontanéist type, as well as being anti-Stalinist and not uncritical of the new course in Chinese foreign policy. Under the pressure of the reality of the class struggle, the Maoist organizations undergo splits because of their lack of a clear ide-

Continued on page 22

world Trotskyist movement has the correct basis for developing a correct strategy and tactics for the three sectors of the world revolution: the colonial countries (permanent revolution), the industrialized countries, and the workers states (political revolution).

The world Trotskyist movement is

50,000 demonstrate in Paris on May Day

From Intercontinental Press

In spite of a driving rain, more than 50,000 people—workers, apprentices, high-schoolers, and university students—turned out for the united May Day demonstration in Paris. The action was the latest focal point in the current wave of mass mobilization that has progressively activated the high-schoolers, immigrant workers, university students, technical students, and the industrial working class.

The May 3 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* noted that the slogans of this year's march, while they included the traditional wage and economic demands, were more directly political. Political they were—and they reflected the increasingly sharp division between the Communist and Socialist parties, with their electoralist, reformist perspective, and the growing far left—the high-schoolers especially, who are pressing for continuing extra-parliamentary mobilization.

The May Day march had been called as a united action, one in which the trade-union leadership (dominated by the CP and the SP) and the democratically elected leadership of the youth struggles would get together on equal terms to confront the increasing threat of repression from the Pompidou regime.

But the Stalinist bureaucracy was not about to give the independent youth or the far-left leaders, notably the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International, that sort of recognition. Several days before the demonstration, the CP demanded

that the trade-union bureaucracy and the youth organizations allied to the CP have a privileged position in the demonstration. The independent high-school and university strike committees would have to subordinate themselves to the trade-union bureaucrats and their allies.

The strike committees in general refused, with the result that there were two contingents that marched separately but converged at a rallying point (not without opposition from the CP). The May 3 *Le Monde* reported that the contingent headed by the CP, the SP, and the trade-union federations had about 30,000, while the one headed by the Ligue Communiste, the Parti Socialiste Unifié (United Socialist party), and the strike committees had about 15,000.

But despite the Stalinists' attempt to sabotage the unity of the march, the slogans chanted by the marchers established a firm atmosphere of solidarity. *Le Monde* reported that there were a huge number of banners proclaiming unity between the French workers and the immigrant workers, who triggered the most recent strike wave in the automobile industry. The number of immigrants in the march was higher than had been expected, and French-immigrant solidarity was a hallmark of the demonstration.

Besides the immigrant workers, there were also banners representing Brittany, Occitanie [Provençal-speaking regions], Corsica, and the Basque country. A small contingent of visitors from Québec carried banners de-



Communist League contingent in Paris May 1 demonstration. Banner reads, 'Long live the offensive of the youth and the workers.'

manding that imprisoned Québec labor leaders be released. Other banners denounced the Greek and Turkish regimes, and several denounced the Franco regime—with the additional words "Pompidou—Accomplice!" There was even one banner proclaiming solidarity with the struggle of the American Indians.

One other special feature—unprecedented in recent May 1 actions—was the participation of a small number of soldiers, naval personnel, and airmen. With their faces masked so as to prevent victimization, they carried

a banner reading, "Front of soldiers, sailors, airmen—Soldiers in solidarity with the youth and workers in struggle!"

The youth organizations led by the Communist party tried to get the independent youth to take up their slogan: "The only solution is the Common Program." They were answered, *Le Monde* reported, by chants of "The only solution is revolution." The Stalinist youth tried a compromise: "The only solution is revolution. The only means to it is the Common Program." This, reported *Le Monde*, "had scarcely any success."

How Socialist Workers Party fought anti-Semitism in 1930s

By PETER SEIDMAN

In previous articles we showed that the Socialist Workers Party, in contrast to the leaders of Jewish and Zionist organizations like the B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Committee, had issued a call for a militant campaign to demand that the U. S. government admit to this country the European refugees from Nazi terror. The SWP viewed such an effort as part of an overall struggle against the growth of any fascist movement here in the U. S.

The SWP argued that in order for such a struggle to be successful, it would have to be carried out in a massive way, uniting in action not only those who were already convinced radicals but much broader forces as well.

As a step toward launching such a campaign, all the arguments put forward by the fascists and right-wingers, as well as by many liberal Jewish and Zionist leaders, to discourage the masses from actions demanding changes in the immigration law had to be answered and refuted.

The *Socialist Appeal*, which reflected the views of the SWP, explained why the demand for opening the door to refugees should be supported by working people. It linked this demand to their struggles against unemployment, for the building of trade unions, and other issues of concern to the workers.

Refugees and unemployment

For example, the Dec. 3, 1938, *Socialist Appeal*, in a front-page editorial, "Who Opposes the Open Door?," explains what was wrong with the argument that admitting the refugees would only increase unemployment. This objection was used by the capitalists to gain support for their closed door policies among U. S. workers, who were plagued with high unemployment.

The *Socialist Appeal* exposed this capitalist hypocrisy: "This is the reverse of the argument that killing off all the unemployed would get rid of unemployment. But the truth is that unemployment is a functional disease of capitalism, caused not by the lack of any need for work to be done but by the requirements of capitalist profit. . . . In point of fact . . . the introduction of a new body of consumers [might indirectly result in] an increase of general employment."

". . . However, the objection loses all weight when we merely reflect that there are now in the United States about 12,000,000 or more unemployed. The problem of unemployment is not going to be solved one way or another by the addition or subtraction of half a million persons. . . ."

The *Socialist Appeal* presented a program that would aid both the victims of Nazism and of unemployment. The SWP called on workers to fight for the right of everyone to a decent job and standard of living. This could be done by fighting to divide the hours of work available equally between all who wanted to work, without cutting pay for anyone.

Another common argument against admitting the refugees, and one generally accepted by many Jewish and Zionist leaders, was that if Jews were admitted to the U. S., their presence would only increase and aggravate anti-Semitism.

The Dec. 3 *Socialist Appeal* ex-

plained, however, that "fighting for and carrying through the demand to admit the refugees is today the most effective blow that could be struck against anti-Semitism. . . ."

"Anti-Semitism arises out of the needs of decaying capitalism, not from the attitude of the Jews. There is no doubt that it is making headway in this country. There is no doubt that in some quarters it becomes more open in the face of the demand to admit the refugees.



SWP called demonstration Feb. 20, 1939, against first big fascist mobilization in New York City. More than 50,000 workers turned out despite boycott of the action by the Communist and Socialist parties and the major Jewish newspapers.

"But it will not retire if the Jews try to hide in the sand. It will, as reaction always does, grow stronger at the weakness of its opponents. Anti-Semitism has to be *smashed*; it will not be conciliated into disappearing. . . ."

"In this way, reaction, which lurks behind anti-Semitism, will be prevented from consolidating; and the ranks of the genuinely progressive forces within the country, steeled by a firm and unambiguous battle, will be better prepared for the broader struggles that lie ahead."

SWP in action

The SWP carried out two kinds of campaigns aimed at doing as much as possible, given its limited resources, to put its ideas into action.

First was participation in the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, an organization established in June 1938 with George Novack, an SWP leader, as its secretary, and with John Dewey, Suzanne LaFollette, Sidney Hook, Meyer Schapiro, and Vincent R. Dunne on its national campaign committee. One function of the Fund was to raise money for the relief of some of the worst-off victims of fascism in Europe—the persecuted revolutionists who were ignored by the official "rescue and relief" agencies. Chapters were set up in cities across the country to raise these funds.

However, American Fund supporters also organized public meetings, petition drives and educational work

in unions, and other activities to win broad support and endorsement for resolutions and actions demanding that the government open the doors to all the refugees.

After only five months, for example, New York City supporters of the Fund had distributed more than 15,000 manifestos demanding the admission of the refugees; pasted up more than 25,000 stickers; and held street meetings in every borough. The SWP produced a special one-cent edition of the

fascist and anti-Semitic goon squads of the Coughlins, Pelleys, and Kuhns.

The most dramatic of these actions was called by the SWP for Feb. 20, 1939, when a fascist meeting was scheduled for Madison Square Garden in New York.

Fifty thousand workers turned out to show their opposition to the fascists. The massive demonstration was attacked by the police force of New York's Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia (a pro-Roosevelt "progressive"). The massive turnout was achieved despite a boycott of the demonstration by the Communist and Socialist parties.

Communist Party (CP) policies were always designed to promote the interests of the bureaucratic Stalinist rulers of the USSR, not to further the class struggle in the U. S. The CP sought to convince the U. S. ruling class that a friendly policy toward the Soviet Union would result in the CP using its influence among U. S. workers to blunt the class struggle. Hence CP leaders opposed any genuinely independent struggle against fascism that might threaten to bring workers into direct conflict with Roosevelt's New Deal.

The CP's Kremlin mentors had failed to lift even a finger to make the vast territories of the USSR available as a place of refuge for capitalism's victims in Europe. So the very existence of the demand on Washington that it "Open the Doors!" was an embarrassment—particularly after the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact in August 1939.

The major Jewish papers in the city also warned their readers against participating in the Feb. 20 antifascist action. The *Day* said: "Jews of New York, do not let your sorrows guide you! Avoid Madison Square Garden this evening. . . . Don't demonstrate! Don't give the Nazis the chance to get the publicity they desire so much."

Another Jewish paper, the *Forward*, wrote, "Reports have come . . . that certain irresponsible organizations are sending people to today's Nazi rally in Madison Square Garden in order to demonstrate there.

"There can be no more shameful thing for the Jews and opponents of the Nazis than such demonstrations which will lead to bloody fights and riots. . . ."

"Avoid the area around Madison Square Garden today and do not participate in any demonstration around the hall."

Six years after Hitler came to power in Germany, a Jewish newspaper is explaining that in order to avoid shameful fights and bloody riots, Jews and others should not demonstrate against the fascists!

Fourth International

The efforts of the SWP during the 1930s flowed from a revolutionary socialist analysis of and opposition to capitalism, the source of both anti-Semitism and fascism in today's world. In Europe, co-thinkers of the SWP in the Fourth International, who shared these views, fought bravely against the fascists. Many of them sacrificed their lives in the struggle.

The importance of the fight against anti-Semitism and for relief for its victims was stressed at the founding conference of the Fourth International in October 1938. *The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International*, the central programmatic document approved at the conference, says:

Socialist Appeal on the refugee issue; 10,000 of these were sold in New York. And the Young People's Socialist League, at that time a youth organization in solidarity with the SWP, vigorously sought support for the demand to open the door on campuses throughout the city.

Nationally, a massive petition drive was launched to win support for the demand that Congress admit the refugees. A reading of *Socialist Appeal* during 1938 and 1939 shows that the Fund obtained endorsement of its demand from, among many others: Executive Board, General Drivers Union, Local 544, Minneapolis; Carl Skoglund; Ferdinand Lundberg, author of *America's 60 Families*; James T. Farrell, author of *Studs Lonigan*.

Also from Local 5, American Federation of Teachers, New York; Toledo Industrial Union Council, CIO; Boston United Office and Professional Workers Union, CIO; Harris County (Houston) CIO; and the Executive Committee of the Essex County (New Jersey) Workers Alliance, an organization representing thousands of unemployed workers in the Newark area.

Thousands of individuals whose organizations may not have endorsed the Fund's appeal heard the arguments of its supporters at meetings throughout the country.

In addition to its support for the American Fund, the SWP was also active in alerting U. S. workers to the need for vigilant action against the

UFT-backed forces launch new challenge to N.Y. Dist. 1 school bd.

By EILEEN WELLS

NEW YORK, May 16—Six recently elected school board members of District 1 have challenged the right of the present board to function until July 1, the scheduled date for the new board to take power.

The six were elected from a slate opposing community control and backed by the United Federation of Teachers. Eight of the present board members, who are advocates of Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese control over schools in their communities, ran against the UFT-backed candidates. Three of them were reelected to the board.

The election, which was held May 1, was marred by massive irregularities and discrimination against Black, Chinese, and Puerto Rican eligible voters.

In their action to get rid of the present board, the six UFT-supported candidates obtained a court order preventing the present board from functioning on the grounds that since five of its members were appointed rather than elected, the board is unconstitutional.

The order is now being appealed. The appointment of the five board members was made after those elected to the board resigned their posts or became ineligible to serve because they had moved from the district. The five were appointed after consultation with community groups and after the community had voiced general approval of their appointment.

Claudio Tavaréz, an activist in District 1's Coalition for Education, said that he was sure the Lower East Side residents would mount an immediate campaign against any move by the newly "elected" board members to take power. "We don't recognize the election of these new board members," he said. "We didn't have an election; it was a fraud."



Militant/Arthur Hughes

May 3 demonstration protesting discrimination against Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese voters in school board election.

Legal action is now in the courts to invalidate the entire city-wide election because of irregularities in the way voters were identified at the polls. In addition, lawyers representing Williamsburg Legal Services and the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) are planning a suit to prove the charges of illegal campaigning by elections inspectors, mismanagement of the elections, and discrimination against Black, Chinese, and Puerto Rican residents in District 1. Judy Baumann, CoDEL national secretary, said the suit will be filed by June 1.

Meanwhile, CoDEL's call for an independent investigation into the elections has gained support. A number of organizations joined in an appeal to State Education Commissioner Ewald Nyquist to investigate the irregularities. Representatives of CoDEL, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Urban Coalition, Harlem Parents Union, and others will meet with Nyquist in Albany next week to ask that an independent commis-

sion be set up to hold hearings on a city-wide basis, following the model of the district hearings now being conducted.

In an editorial May 12, the *New York Times* characterized the elections as "chaos" and gave its support to the idea of an independent commission to investigate them.

District 9 parent groups, following the example of District 1, have scheduled a public hearing in their district May 17. The hearing is sponsored by CoDEL, the ACLU, and other legal groups.

The UFT singled out District 9, along with District 1, as a special target in their campaign to take control of school boards away from community forces representing Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

In the 30 districts where the UFT supported candidates, the union-endorsed candidates won 147 of the 270 seats. The union is estimated to have poured at least \$40,000 into its campaign to defeat community slates.

"An uncompromising disclosure of the roots of race prejudice and all forms and shades of national arrogance and chauvinism, particularly anti-semitism, should become part of the daily work of all sections of the Fourth International, as the most important part of the struggle against imperialism and war. Our basic slogan remains: Workers of the World Unite!" That analysis holds equally well today.

The silence of the major Jewish and Zionist leaders and organizations in the U.S. greatly hindered efforts to involve the masses of Jews in a campaign to fight anti-Semitism in the U.S. and offer some practical relief to hundreds of thousands of victims of Nazi terror in Europe.

The desire of the Zionist leaders to win the support of U.S. imperialism for a Jewish state in Palestine is what caused them to act in ways so detrimental to the real needs and interests of the Jewish people. The Zionist leaders follow the same strategy today. This is why they attack as "anti-Semitic" the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

But it is the Zionist organizations like the ADL, who defend—in the name of all Jews—the relative privileges of the Israeli Jews at the expense of the Palestinian people, that are acting against the best interests of the Jews. It is the Zionist organizations like the ADL, who attack—in the name of all Jews (as in documents like "Danger on the Left")—the struggles of Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans against oppression, that help genuine anti-Semites to gain a hearing among the oppressed, who are a majority of the people around the world.

These policies separate the Jewish people from their potential allies in any future fight against real anti-Semitism, as opposed to the slanderous and fabricated "anti-Semitism" charges hurled today by the Anti-Defamation League against revolutionary socialists and other fighters against capitalist injustice.



Following the November 1938 'Night of Broken Glass' pogrom in Germany, the SWP participated in this united-front demonstration at the German consulate in New York, demanding admission to the U.S. for the victims of fascism in Europe.

YSA free-speech suit gains support

By MALIK MIAH

Over the past month a number of prominent individuals across the country have endorsed the right of the Florida Young Socialist Alliance to be a recognized student organization at state universities.

Sally Whicker, national secretary of the Committee for Free Assembly and Political Expression on Campus (FAPEC), reports new sponsors of the committee include: Chuck Avery, national secretary of the People's Party; Anne Braden, editor of the *Southern Patriot*; Carl Braden, information director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund; Barney Frank, state representative of Ward 5, Boston, Mass.; Seymour Melman, professor of industrial engineering, Columbia Uni-

versity; James Lafferty, attorney and national co-coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition. Also, Ken Lawrence, Southern Conference Educational Fund; Michael Olivier, president of Student Government Association, University of Southwestern Louisiana; Michael Micam, editor of *The Seeker*, Community College of Denver; and Dr. Reginald Wilson, president of Wayne County Community College, Detroit, Mich.

The YSA was denied campus recognition in the spring of 1971 by the Florida board of regents for holding political ideas at odds with their reactionary views. This ban made the YSA a second-class organization and has provided the university administrators and state education bureaucrats a means of intimidating students from

being politically active on Florida state campuses.

At present, the suit filed by the YSA to overturn the board's ban is pending a hearing in the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans. The Florida American Civil Liberties Union, which is handling legal proceedings for the YSA, expects a possible hearing late this spring or early summer.

Letters of protest from individuals, student governments, and campus organizations can be sent to Board of Regents, 210 Collins Building, 107 North Gaines St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304 (send copies to FAPEC). Contributions and requests for more information can be sent to FAPEC, c/o Sally Whicker, 27-08 39th Ave., Long Island City, N.Y. 11101.

Court voids Berkeley rent control

By BRIAN WILLIAMS

BERKELEY—On Tuesday, May 15, Judge Robert Bostick of the Alameda Superior Court declared the Berkeley rent control charter amendment "unconstitutional and void." Bostick cited "evidence" that demonstrates that the "serious housing emergency" stipulated by the law does not exist. He stated that "the court has made a factual determination that even though segments of Berkeley's population suffer from a serious housing shortage, their numbers are not so great and the conditions are not so pervasive as to constitute a city-wide emergency."

This is despite the fact that the court hearings on the charter amendment reveal that one third of Berkeley's renters make less than \$5,000 a year and spend 35 percent of their income on rent.

Judge Bostick based his ruling on the grounds that the amendment denies landlords the right to due process under the Fourteenth Amendment. Bostick stated, "The right to own property and to do with it reasonably what you will is one rooted deeply in Anglo-Saxon law. It is no less a human right to desire a reasonable

income from an investment than it is to desire to pay a reasonable rent."

This charter amendment was passed by the majority of Berkeley voters in June 1972. It called for the rollback of rents in Berkeley to the level of August 15, 1971, and a setting up of a five-member board to enforce the law and make rent adjustments. This board was elected last Jan. 23.

The Berkeley Tenants Organizing Committee has called a mass community meeting for Wednesday, May 16, at Washington School to plan actions against this court decision.

In Review

Defending right to abortion

Abortion: Women's Fight for the Right to Choose; Abortion and the Catholic Church: Two Feminists Defend Women's Rights by Evelyn Reed and Claire Moriarty. Both published by Pathfinder Press. New York, 1973. 35 cents each.

Although the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that abortion is a woman's right, the debate around this issue is not over. The anti-abortion forces, in particular the Catholic Church hierarchy, persist in their attacks on women's right to control their own bodies.

Is abortion murder? Does it lead to disrespect for human life? Is it genocide against Black people? Is adoption a better solution to an unwanted pregnancy? These are the types of questions still on the minds of those who have been confused by anti-abortion propaganda. The current drive by right-wing forces to chip away at the Supreme Court decision through "fetus rights" amendments and other maneuvers makes these two pamphlets timely and important.

Abortion: Women's Fight for the

Pamphlets

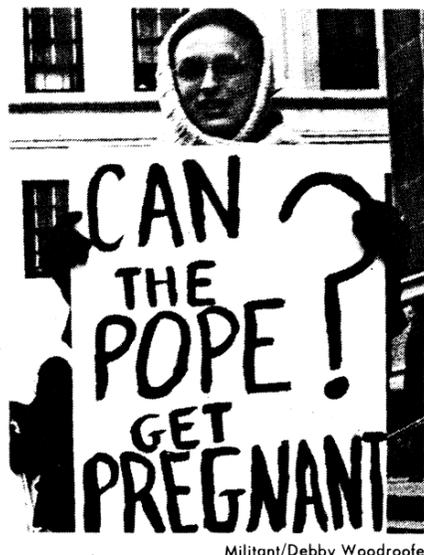
Right to Choose contains articles by Caroline Lund, Andrea Morell, Maxine Williams, and Linda Jenness. In the course of refuting the anti-abortion arguments, the authors expose the real intentions behind the hypocritical call for "protecting the life of the unborn."

Jenness's article analyzes the Supreme Court decision and the role of the women's liberation struggle in helping to bring about this victory.

In *Abortion and the Catholic Church* Claire Moriarty dissects the theological justifications for the Church's anti-abortion stand. She shows how "morality" has been used as a cover for the Church's role in helping to keep women oppressed. Evelyn Reed's article describes the roots of women's oppression in class society, disproving the tenet of the Catholic Church hierarchy and other anti-abortion forces that "biology is women's destiny."

Both pamphlets are available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

—CINDY JAQUITH



Militant/Debby Woodroffe



Stifling of scientific research under T.D. Lysenko (left) was part of campaign by Stalin (right) to silence all who dissented with Soviet bureaucracy.

Lysenko's rise & fall

The Rise and Fall of T.D. Lysenko by Zhores A. Medvedev. Anchor Books. New York, 1971. 254 pp. Paper \$2.50.

Zhores Medvedev's detailed account of the career of T.D. Lysenko throws a revealing spotlight on one aspect of the bureaucratic mismanagement of scientific research and industrial development in the Soviet Union. The ignorant and pompous Lysenko held the reins of control over both biological research and practical agriculture from 1937 to 1964, imposing his own inept theories in biology and genetics and stifling the give and take of discussion.

As Medvedev notes, the phenomenon of Lysenkoism "was not a normal stage of scientific development, but rather a symptom of a very serious disease. . . . The conflict with serious science (not only in agriculture) did not originate with Lysenko. It originated with Stalin and was continued later under Khrushchev."

In the atmosphere of the 1930s—with Stalin's purge trials, the censorship boards, the executions of the old Bolsheviks, and the

Books

whipped-up hysteria of the fabricated plots by "enemies of the people,"—disputes within the scientific community took on an overtly political and factional coloring.

The erroneous concept of "proletarian" science as opposed to "bourgeois" science became a neat method of applying labels to subordinate the work of scientists and technicians to the mandates of the ruling clique, just as the Stalinist formula of "socialist realism" in art and literature had been used to beat the intelligentsia into submission before the bureaucracy.

Lysenko, for his part, built his career around the rejection of contemporary genetics and the fostering of his own erroneous concept of evolution as the simple process of interaction between the environment and an organism. Under Lysenko's mechanical schema, there was no room for research into heredity. During his reign the science of genetics virtually disappeared. Those scientists who refused to bend themselves to fit Lysenko's molds, those who believed in the freedom of scientific research, were simply silenced or eliminated. Such world renowned scientists as Vavilov, Karpechenko, Levitsky, and Govorov, among others, were arrested, and they died in prison.

Before the rise of Lysenko, the Soviet Union had led the world in genetics research. Under Lysenko and Stalin, however, much valuable research was crudely thrown away, with disastrous results in biology and agriculture. Having forced all scientists and agricultural practitioners to apply Lysenko's misbegotten concepts of plant breeding, the Stalinists were unable to avoid producing inferior and meager harvests, thus retarding the development of the economy as a whole.

Lysenko managed to avoid the post-humous disgrace of Stalin at the twentieth congress of the Communist Party in 1956 by currying favor with Khrushchev. But the obviously disastrous results of his policies led to his downfall in 1964 when Khrushchev was deposed. Just as the Stalinist bureaucrats used Stalin as a scapegoat for all their past sins to ensure their own survival, so did the former Lysenkoites use Lysenko himself. While the chief charlatan met a bitter end, his compatriots continue to operate to some extent today. They have not been cleared out.

Although some concessions were made after Lysenko's fall and genetics research has revived, scientific research functions far from freely in the Soviet Union. Full scientific freedom awaits the removal of bureaucratic domination in the context of true socialist democracy.

—ERNEST HARSCH

Cadillac and \$3 to burn

Payday. Directed by Daryl Duke. Starring Rip Torn. Cinerama Releasing.

"You only pass by this way once—may as well pass by in a Cadillac," goes the philosophy of Maury Dann, fictitious country-western hero of *Payday*.

But this movie, highly touted by reviewers and promoters as a "slice-of-life," left this filmgoer with a somewhat different philosophy: "Since I only pass this way once—and hardly ever with an extra \$3 in my wallet (not to mention the Cadillac)—why did I waste it on *Payday*?"

Followers of recent cultural trends want to know what makes country and western idols tick, and what sort of relationship they have with their audience, the industry, and their fellow musicians.

Don't Look Back, a documentary study of Bob Dylan's renowned London tour, did just that for the Dylan fan. It showed the two Dylans: before an audience, his folk-rock is genuinely poetic as well as electrifying; but backstage he's quite an ordinary—

Film

disillusioned and disillusioning—individual.

But *Payday* director Daryl Duke never gives us the audience's view of Maury Dann, who is played by Rip Torn. We only hear Torn perform one set. (I'm convinced that an audience exposed to any of the greats of country-western music, from Jimmie Rogers to Kris Kristofferson, would walk out on this phlegmatic echo.)

When the camera turns to Dann's personal life it's even less convincing. First of all, the events are too contrived. (During the course of a few ordinary days in the life of this star, he kills a drunk with a knife, gives illegal drugs to his mother, and finally has a spectacular coronary thrombosis behind the wheel of his Cadillac.)

On the subject of Dann's more intimate relations, the camera is about as true-to-life as a *Playboy* centerfold. (And with the same air-brushed lack of content.)

The sentiments expressed in country music can provide a moving backdrop to the life of the country singer. *Baby the Rain Must Fall*, a film from the early sixties starring Lee Remick and Steve McQueen, accomplishes this. Despite its romanticism, *Baby* provides a convincing glimpse into the life of an unsuccessful country singer.

But *Payday* lacks the clear intentions of *Don't Look Back* and *Baby the Rain Must Fall*. It doesn't try to present a sympathetic account of why country singers "sing the blues"; and it doesn't give us a very realistic picture of the people behind the George Jones and Tammy Wynette masks.

So unless you're passing by in a Cadillac with \$3 to burn—why bother?

—DAVID SALNER

Still hungry in America

Precise statistics are available to tell how many telephones, automobiles, and miles of railroad track there are throughout the world. Hunger, however, is a different question.

The United Nations' best guess, released last fall, is that somewhere between 300 and 500 million people in the world suffer from malnutrition. In the United States, according to a recent report by the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, somewhere between 12 and 27 million people are malnourished.

Twelve million is a rock-bottom figure. It includes only those in danger of actually starving—that is, those who fall below the official poverty level but are not enrolled in any government food assistance program. Although all of these people qualify for government aid, a combination of deliberately obscure regulations and bureaucratic red tape keeps them from receiving assistance.

The figure of 27 million includes 15 million more people who, while they don't have enough money to buy food, do participate in one or another food

American Way of Life

assistance program. They don't get enough to eat either, the Senate report revealed, because "none of the programs assure nutritional adequacy."

Those enrolled in what the government calls "donated food" or "commodity" programs have been hit the hardest. For the last two months, rising food prices have prevented several food



Older people on fixed incomes have been among the hardest hit by rising food prices. There is no government program to ensure they get enough to eat.

programs from buying and distributing meat, fruit, and dairy products. So instead, people on these programs have been forced to live on pinto beans, lard, and peanut butter.

Even "at its theoretical best," the Senate committee reports, "the commodity program provides only 53 cents per person per day in food value. In actual practice," however, "the average value of food distributed is only about \$7 per month, or 23 cents per person per day."

Families in food stamp programs are not much better off. In high cost urban areas, especially in the Midwest and Northeast, they can't afford to buy the food items the plan is supposed to provide. The government's own statistics tell why.

"For a family of four," the Senate committee explained, "the food stamp program offers less than \$1 per person per day. For larger families, the benefits are substantially smaller."

Despite the fact that one person out of every 10 in the U. S. doesn't get enough to eat, Nixon has announced no plans to increase funds for the food assistance programs. Instead, he's looking for ways to cut back even further. The Agriculture Department has ruled that as of the end of May, federally funded school lunch programs may use "alternate foods"—macaroni and something described as a "textured vegetable product"—in place of meat.

Neither substitute will have the nutritional value of meat. Twenty-five million school children will be denied what is perhaps their only good meal of the day. But Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz doesn't see anything to complain about. Ralston Purina, a company with which he has had close financial ties, is a major supplier of the meat substitutes.

—MICHAEL BAUMANN

Sales drive goes over the top!

By NANCY COLE

MAY 16—Three weeks ahead of schedule, the spring sales campaign's goal of 7,000 street sales was met and surpassed last week! This was accomplished by the special efforts of hundreds of *Militant* supporters in many cities, especially members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Twenty areas made their quotas—a new record in itself—with some of them increasing their sales from the previous week by as much as 200.

Three areas—Boston, Twin Cities, and Los Angeles—reached their goals for the first time. According to Boston SWP sales director Jane Roland, "People who may have been reluctant to buy *The Militant* before readily bought it last week to see what the socialists had to say about Watergate." Sales in Boston included 112 at subway stations by supporters after they finished work.

Los Angeles supporters started selling at a few new locations last week, including a large shopping center in the Black community, where they sold 40, and at two museums, where they sold 25. In order to ensure they made their quota, members of the YSA and SWP met after participating in the May 5 price protest to go out on team sales.

Leading the scoreboard this week is Lower Manhattan, and their 528 sold makes it the best week of the campaign for them. Supermarkets and downtown department store sales accounted for 270 of these. Jim Kendrick, who sold 65 last week, notes that the Watergate issue "sparked a new response from people interested in politics but who had never bought *The Militant* before."

Supporters from the Oakland/Berkeley area tied their previous high last week with 618 sold. They sold 108 at 12 different plants, and at a Shell strike meeting of about 50 people they sold 26 *Militants*. Sales committee member Carol DeBerry reports that their steadily increasing sales at plants is due to consistent sales that almost all *Militant* supporters can participate in. Sales are organized for the early mornings with one sales team member in a car picking up the others and then dropping them off after the sale at a bus stop convenient for their jobs.

And as testimony to the success of both *The Militant* and *Young Socialist* sales campaigns, Mike Maloney, a YSAer at the University of California at Berkeley, reports that during April, YSAers sold 1,212 revolutionary papers on that campus alone—390 YSs and the rest *Militants*.

Cleveland also reports good campus sales and an especially open response to *The Militant's* coverage of Watergate. Last week they sold 180 on campus, more than 100 of those sold by three teams at night commuter schools.

The spring sales campaign will end with sales of the June 1 issue, which will feature special cover-

age of the Black struggle in the U. S. and the African liberation struggle. This will be the issue sold at the African Liberation Day actions on May 26, and some areas are already planning special campaigns for that week to distribute this issue as widely as possible in the Black community. They also aim to make their highest sales of the campaign with that issue.

Other areas are encouraged to consider such an effort and to order larger bundles to wrap up the sales campaign. Individual readers who do not have a bundle and want to help should return the coupon below to the business office by May 24.

Militant scoreboard

AREA	SOLD WEEKLY		SOLD PREVIOUS	
	LAST WEEK	GOAL	%	WEEK
Lower Manhattan	528	400	132	(377)
Phoenix	50	40	125	(*)
Oakland/Berkeley	618	500	124	(513)
Atlanta	365	300	122	(356)
San Diego	295	250	118	(280)
Twin Cities	399	350	114	(180)
Philadelphia	312	275	113	(186)
Cleveland	337	300	112	(250)
Boston	554	500	111	(359)
Denver	240	225	107	(75)
Brooklyn	340	325	105	(139)
Chicago	505	500	101	(421)
Austin	150	150	100	(150)
Columbus	20	20	100	(*)
Elyria	10	10	100	(10)
Houston	500	500	100	(450)
Los Angeles	452	450	100	(368)
Nashville	40	40	100	(40)
Storrs	15	15	100	(*)
Upper West Side	400	400	100	(405)
Detroit	325	350	93	(956)
Seattle	229	250	92	(220)
Portland	170	200	85	(110)
Washington, D.C.	173	250	69	(212)
San Francisco	340	500	68	(240)
Hartford	19	45	42	(*)
TOTAL SOLD LAST WEEK	7,386			
GOAL	7,000			

(* no report)

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NCLC thugs repudiated in Detroit

BY MIKE KELLY

DETROIT, May 12—Opposition to the goon-squad assaults by the so-called National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) has grown substantially in the past week here. Many groups and individuals have agreed to joint defense of meetings against these hooligans, who have launched physical attacks against the Communist Party, Young Workers Liberation League, Socialist Workers Party, and other radical groups in several cities.

On May 5, NCLC members armed with clubs and other weapons attempted to break up a Detroit Young Socialist Alliance conference at Wayne State University (WSU), but were repulsed by conference participants. Since this attack, many groups have come forward with further reports of threats and assaults by the NCLC.

Detroit's *Fifth Estate*, the local underground newspaper, came out with a special "extra" edition to condemn the NCLC attacks. The paper reports that on April 14, "ten NCLC members, some reportedly with pipes as weapons, disrupted a meeting of the largely black nurses' union at Childrens' Hospital, demanding that the nurses take sides in a national NCLC attempt to take over the National Welfare Rights Organization. When the nurses refused, the NCLC did not allow the meeting to continue."

NCLC members have verbally threatened to "get" Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Detroit, as well as a member of the International Socialists who played a prominent role in defending the YSA conference session attacked by NCLC thugs.

In a leaflet passed out at WSU on May 9, the NCLC bragged about its attack on the conference. The leaflet went on to threaten, "If the SWP, or any

other organization, repeats the foolish act committed by SWP marshals . . . their members will meet the same fate, at a ratio of 10 to 1."

A statement condemning the NCLC's attack on the YSA and calling for a "United Defense" has been signed by Jim Bish, Welfare Employees Union; Milton Tambor, president of AFSCME Local 1640; John Zupan, president of AFSCME Local 1497; Paula Reimers, vice-president, American Federation of Teachers Local 2000; Maceo Dixon, SWP; Peggy Goldman, Communist Party; Wendell Addington, WSU Young Workers Liberation League; Christine Wilde, chairwoman, WSU Student-Faculty Committee Against High Prices; and Irene Gorgosz, Wayne Women's Liberation.

A number of radical groups here have agreed to organize mutual defense of meetings. The groups include the International Socialists, Young Socialist Alliance, Student Action Slate at Wayne State University, Socialist Workers Party, Youth Against War and Fascism, Workers League, Spartacist League, and Revolutionary Communist Youth.

Members of these organizations participated in a united defense for a meeting held May 9 at WSU for Andrew Pulley, YSA national secretary. The meeting proceeded without incident.

NEW YORK—A growing number of organizations and individuals have condemned NCLC hooliganism and moved to isolate the NCLC from movement functions. The Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) in New York, for example, excluded NCLC mayoral candidate Tony Chaitkin from its "candidate's night" forum on May 13, because of NCLC attacks on radical groups. Chaitkin had originally been scheduled to speak at the meeting.

Calendar

ATLANTA

MILITANT BOOKSTORE FORUM SERIES. Held every week on topics of interest—the Black struggle, women's liberation, the Vietnamese revolution, socialism—panels, films, guest speakers, debates. Every Friday, 8:30 p.m., 68 Peachtree St., downtown Atlanta. For information call (404) 523-0610.

BOSTON

ROLE OF U.S. IN AFRICA. Panel with Malik Miah, Black liberation activist and national executive committee member of Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., May 25, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (opp. South Sta.). Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aisp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

CHICAGO

AFRICA: PROSPECTS FOR LIBERATION. Speakers: Professor Jan Carew, African-American Studies, Northwestern University; Sherry Patterson, coordinator for Evanston African Liberation Day Support Committee; Willie Petty, Socialist Workers Party; William Scott, chairman of social studies department, Wendell Phillips High School. Fri., May 25, 8 p.m. 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310. Donation: \$1, students 75c. Preforum dinner 6:30 p.m. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 641-0147.

DENVER

THE MILITANT FORUM. Denver's only weekly political forum, is held every Friday, 8 p.m., 1203 California St., on topics of interest.

LOS ANGELES

THE MILITANT LABOR FORUM presents weekly forums on Friday evenings at 8 p.m. Some of the topics covered are: economics; ecology; the struggles of women, Blacks, and Chicanos for liberation; the anti-war movement; literature and art; the student movement; trade-union movement; and the struggles in other countries. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For more information call (213) 463-1917.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

PANCHO CRUZ: THE FRAME-UP OF A PUERTO RICAN MILITANT. Speaker: Iris Cruz, Pancho Cruz Defense Committee. Fri., May 25, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near W. 4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aisp: Lower Manhattan Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

PHILADELPHIA

PHILADELPHIA SOCIALIST FORUMS presents a weekly forum each Friday at 8 p.m. at the University of Pennsylvania's Houston Hall, 3417 Spruce St., Second Floor.

PORTLAND

THE MILITANT FORUM presents weekly forums on Friday evenings at 7:30 p.m. Some of the topics covered are: the struggles of women, Blacks, Chicanos, and Native Americans for liberation; the trade-union movement; and the struggles in other countries. 208 S.W. Stark, Room 501. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. For more information call (503) 226-2715.

SAN FRANCISCO

INFLATION AND THE MONETARY CRISIS. Speaker: Dick Roberts, Marxist economist, staff writer for *The Militant*, coauthor of *Inflation: What Causes It, How to Fight It*. Fri., May 25, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. (near 11th St.) Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Aisp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

THE SWP ON THE AIR. Listen to Theodore Edwards, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, on his weekly radio program, 2 p.m. every Saturday, KPFF-FM, 90.7.

TWIN CITIES

FILM: BLACK UNITY: BREAKING THE CHAINS OF OPPRESSION. Fri., May 25, 8 p.m. 1 University Ave. N.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1, h.s. students and unemployed 50c. Aisp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

Calendar and classified ad rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide type-written copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

...ILWU

Continued from page 12

shipping industry automates, the situation worsens.

Since 1969, tonnage (according to West Coast PMA figures) has increased from 57 million long tons to 59 million long tons, a 3.4 percent increase. But hours worked in the same period have fallen from 29 million to 19 million. This is a 30 percent drop in hours in three years! Hence, the unemployment.

Furthermore, the number of longshoremen and ship clerks employed by the PMA has also dropped through attrition from 14,562 to 12,745. This is a 12.4 percent drop in employment while tonnage went up 3.4 percent. No productivity figures for the identical period are yet available. However from 1960 to 1970 there was a 138 percent productivity increase.

At present more than \$5-million lies unused in the guaranteed wage fund,

and the shipowners saved more than \$6-million by not paying the 30 cents cut by the Pay Board. The membership wants all of this, and more. They have so instructed their negotiating committee. The last strike was tiring, but a good measure of militancy still remains.

...aliens'

Continued from page 14

Echeverria and President Nixon have known about the deportations for at least a year contradicts the official statement issued by the Mexican Secretariat of Foreign Relations. The secretariat insisted it knew nothing of illegal practices in the Mexican immigration service.

In response to the outrage in Mexico and the U.S. over the deportations, Echeverria has set up a commission composed of high government officials to investigate the problem. According to the *Times*, the president will make a "major policy statement" based on the commission's recommendations.

The United States-Mexican Interparliamentary Conference, scheduled for May 22 in Guanajuato, Mexico, will also discuss the deportation racket.

...Sweden

Continued from page 17

logical foundation, their lack of a revolutionary strategy, etc.

In Sweden it is clear that Maoism is on the decline. The four groups that exist here have already begun to fall apart, and increasing numbers of their members are coming around to Trotskyism. The disintegration of the one we belonged to has continued: Every week we are contacted by members and sympathizers of the MLK who have begun to turn away from Mao-Stalinism. A similar situation exists in other Mao-Stalinist groups.

So in a sense it is surprising that groups are now appearing in the United States that are trying to carry on with Maoism. In my opinion, this

reflects the relatively low level of the class struggle in the United States, compared to other countries in the industrialized world. As the class struggle sharpens in the United States, Maoism will be swept away. Besides, I'd be surprised if the *Guardian* succeeded in bringing together in the same organization the heterogeneous groups it is staking its hopes on. The only thing they are agreed on is a senile approach of defending every counterrevolutionary maneuver of the Chinese leadership. This can hardly constitute the basis for a revolutionary party. Quite the contrary! The attitude appears to have more to do with the searching of the petty bourgeois for something to hold onto, something to believe in, in order to screen out the harshness of reality.

Maoism has considerably less chance of surviving than its predecessor, Stalinism. The traditional Stalinist parties had a certain base in the working class that they had acquired during the revolutionary period of the Comintern. During that period, a party apparatus had also been successfully built up, which functioned in a stable fashion. The Maoist groups have never been able to achieve this. They are therefore much more unstable than the traditional Communist parties.

This, together with the aspirations of the Maoist groups, has led to splits and disintegration within them and will ultimately bring about the complete demise of Maoism in the industrialized world.

...Detroit

Continued from page 24

of 29-year-old Robert Slaughter. Slaughter was stopped by police on Feb. 9 for "questioning." Police allege he shot one of them, was chased, caught, and after being handcuffed, struggled so violently he had to be "subdued." Slaughter died of head injuries six days later in Detroit General Hospital. He never recovered consciousness to tell his side of the story.

Socialist Directory

ALABAMA: Tuscaloosa: YSA, P.O. Box 5462, University, Ala. 35486.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 3536 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, Calif. 94609. Tel: (415) 654-9728.

Chico: YSA, c/o Kathy Isabell, 266 E. Sacramento Ave., Chico, Calif. 95926.

Los Angeles: SWP and YSA, 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Tel: SWP—(213) 463-1917, YSA—(213) 463-1966.

Riverside: YSA, c/o Univ. of Calif. at Riverside, 1134 Library South, Riverside, Calif. 92502.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Darren Crown, 2321 "E" St., Sacramento, Calif. 95816.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, c/o Krista Zane, 514 1/2 San Benito Ave., Los Gatos, Calif. 95030. Tel: (408) 354-2373.

San Mateo: YSA, c/o Chris Stanley, 1712 Yorktown Rd., San Mateo, Calif. 97330.

Santa Barbara: YSA, c/o Carolyn Marsden, 413 Shasta Ln., Santa Barbara, Calif. 93101.

COLORADO: Boulder: YSA, c/o UMC Hostess Desk, U of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. 80302.

Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825. Bookstore open Mon.-Sat., 10:30 a.m.—7 p.m.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101. Tel: (203) 523-7582.

New Haven: YSA, P.O. Box 185, New Haven, Conn. 06501.

Storrs: YSA, U of Conn., P.O. Box 344, Storrs, Conn. 06268.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Sarah Ryan, 1806 Lake Bradford Rd., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St. N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Carbondale: YSA, c/o Jim Miles, 1207 South Wall, Hoffman House #147, Carbondale, Ill. 62901.

Chicago: SWP, YSA, and bookstore, 180 N. Wacker Dr., Room 310, Chicago, Ill. 60606. Tel: SWP—(312) 641-0147, YSA—(312) 641-0233.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Mark Jacobsen, 2310 College St. Apt. B, Cedar Falls, Iowa 50613. Tel: (319) 277-2544.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952, University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506.

LOUISIANA: Lafayette: YSA, c/o Cliff Schlicher, 216 Spring St., Lafayette, La. 70501.

Lake Charles: YSA, c/o Cathy Harrison, P.O. Box 16, MSU, Lake Charles, La. 70601.

New Orleans: YSA, c/o Clarence Williams, 3141 N. Tonti St., New Orleans, La. 70117.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, c/o Dave McKim, 2103 Belair Rd., Baltimore, Md. 21213. Tel: (301) 732-8996.

College Park: YSA, University P.O. Box 73, U of Md., College Park, Md. 20742.

MASSACHUSETTS: Amherst: YSA, R.S.O. Box 324, U of Mass., Amherst, Mass. 01002.

Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speaker's Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

Mt. Pleasant: YSA, P.O. Box 98, Warriner Hall, CMU, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. 48858.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, and Labor Bookstore, 1 University N.E. (at E. Hennepin) Second Floor, Mpls. 55413. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

St. Cloud: YSA, c/o Atwood Center, St. Cloud State College, St. Cloud, Minn. 56301.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, U of Missouri at Kansas City, 5100 Rockhill Road, Kansas City, Mo. 64110.

St. Louis: YSA, P.O. Box 8037, St. Louis, Mo. 63156. Tel: (314) 371-1503.

NEW HAMPSHIRE: Portsmouth: YSA, P.O. Box 479, Durham, N.H. 03824.

NEW JERSEY: New Brunswick: YSA, c/o Ruben Montare, Livingston College, Room 313, New Brunswick, N.J. 10119. Tel: (201) 463-9766.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: YSA, c/o Kathy Helmer, 9920 Leyendecker Rd. N.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87112. Tel: (505) 296-6230.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Laura Grunberg, Box 2179, Mohican Hall, Indian Quad 1400, Washington Ave. SUNY, Albany, N.Y. 12203.

Binghamton: YSA, Box 1073, Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901. Tel: (607) 798-4142.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Wolloughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Long Island: YSA, P.O. Box 357, Roosevelt, L.I., N.Y. 11575. Tel: (516) FR-0289.

New York City—City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Upper West Side: SWP and YSA, 2744 Broadway (106th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

OHIO: Bowling Green: YSA, Box 27, U. Hall, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio 43402.

Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 381-2897.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553, YSA—(216) 391-3278.

Columbus: YSA, c/o Daryl Drobnick, 1510 Georgesville Rd., Columbus, Ohio 43228. Tel: (614) 878-5297.

Toledo: YSA, c/o Shannon O'Toole, 1606 Freeman St., #2, Toledo, Ohio 43606. Tel: (419) 472-2592.

Yellow Springs: YSA, Antioch College Union, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

OREGON: Eugene: YSA, c/o Dave Hough, 1216 1/2 Lincoln, Eugene, Ore. 97401.

Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP and YSA, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 117, Annex Sta., Providence, R.I. 02901. Militant Bookstore: 88 Benevolent St. Tel: (401) 331-1480.

SOUTH DAKOTA: Sioux Falls: YSA, c/o Deb Rogers, 2309 S. 4th St., Sioux Falls, S. Dak. 57105. Tel: (605) 332-4654.

TENNESSEE: Nashville: YSA, 1214 17th Ave. S., Nashville, Tenn. 37212. Tel: (615) 292-8827.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, SWP, Militant Bookstore, Harriet Tubman Hall, 1801 Nueces, Austin, Texas 78701. Tel: (512) 478-8602.

Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o P.O. Box 774, San Antonio, Texas 78202.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

Salt Lake City: YSA, Student Activities Center, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah 84112.

VERMONT: Burlington: YSA, c/o John Franco, 241 Malletts Bay Ave., Winooski, Vt. 05404.

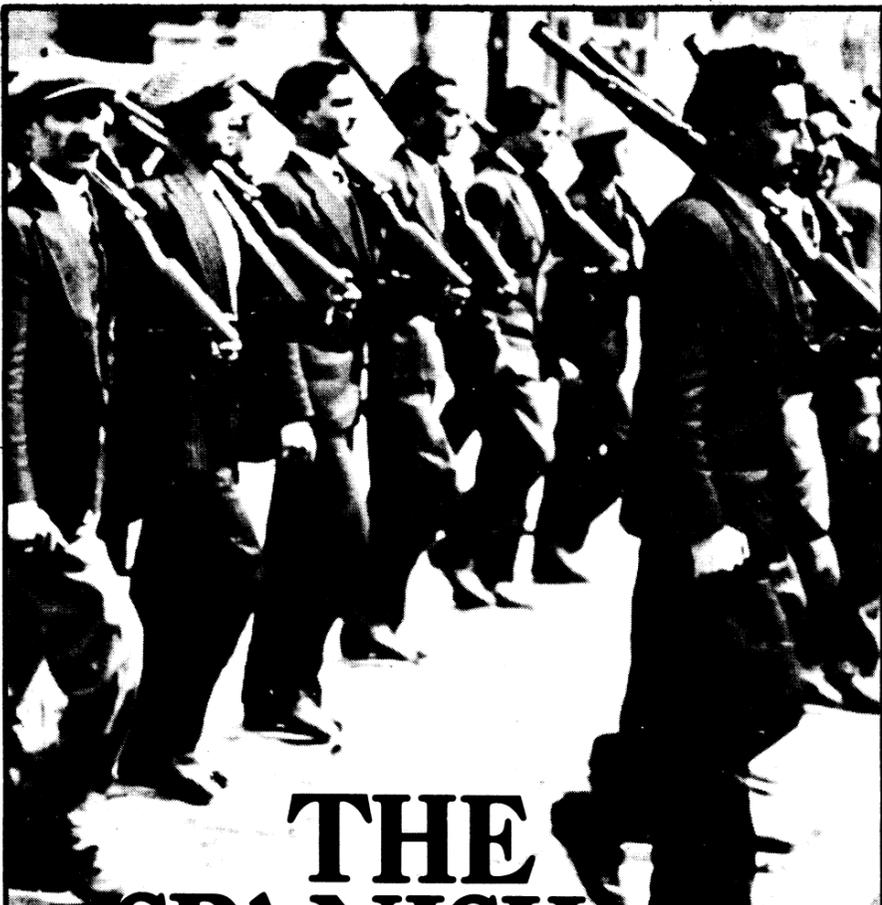
WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP and YSA, 746 9th St. N.W., Second Floor, Wash., D.C. 20001. Tel: (202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Pullman: YSA, c/o Dean W. Johnson, 1718 A St., Pullman, Wash. 99163.

Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon.-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

WEST VIRGINIA: Huntington: YSA, Marshall University, Huntington, W. Va. 25701.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, c/o James Levitt, 411 W. Gorham St., Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 257-2835.



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THE MILITANT

Hayward Brown found not guilty Demand mounts in Detroit for end to 'STRESS' police terror

By MIKE KELLY

DETROIT—The latest in a series of partial victories in the struggle to abolish the notorious STRESS ("Stop the Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets") police unit was won May 10 when Hayward Brown was acquitted of four charges of assault with intent to commit murder. The acquittal, however, came too late for Brown's two co-defendants, John Percy Boyd and Mark Clyde Bethune. Both were killed in February by Atlanta police during a nationwide dragnet. Brown has now been released on bail.

Brown, 19, had been charged with the shooting of four STRESS cops in an incident on Dec. 4. Brown claimed that the shooting was in self-defense. He explained that he, Boyd, and Bethune had begun a campaign to rid the Black community of dope pushers. The three were following a pusher when they were pulled over to the side of the road by four men in an unmarked car. Brown testified that none of the four identified themselves as police officers; instead, they began shooting.

The vote of the jury, composed of 10 Blacks and two whites, to acquit Brown was one indication of the way in which STRESS is viewed by the majority of Detroit's Black citizens. Kenneth Cockrel, the prominent Black attorney who defended Brown, pointed out that "the jury we selected was representative of the totality of Detroit. We said nothing to that jury it didn't already know . . . from their own life experiences."

Brown still faces a charge of assault with intent to commit murder in the shooting death of patrolman Robert Bradford on Dec. 27, and two counts of assault with intent to murder two Wayne State University policemen during an alleged chase on Jan. 12 following the firebombing of a Planned Parenthood clinic. But the charges arising out of the Dec. 4 incident were considered to be the most serious facing Brown.

A well-covered May 11 news conference by the Coalition to Abolish STRESS (CAS) and a major article in the *Michigan Chronicle*, Michigan's Black newspaper, have increased the pressure against STRESS. The CAS news conference was held to protest police harassment of anti-STRESS activists. *Chronicle* columnist Bill Black, in an article entitled "Detroit Cops Indulge in Own Brand of Watergate,"



Hayward Brown after being beaten by cops. Acquittal is victory for anti-STRESS campaign.

detailed the police tactics being used against opponents of STRESS.

Describing the peaceful march organized by CAS April 28, Black pointed out that "along the way, there appeared a police vehicle bearing officers with a movie or video tape camera. Ranking police officers had declared they were interested in keeping the peace. Fact is, there were almost as many policemen 'accompanying' the line of march as there were demonstrators, so that shouldn't have been any problem.

"But why the camera? Were those kids 'dangerous'? A 'menace' to society? Or was their shadowing by camera-wielding police officers proof that although the senator from Wisconsin is dead, McCarthyism lives on?"

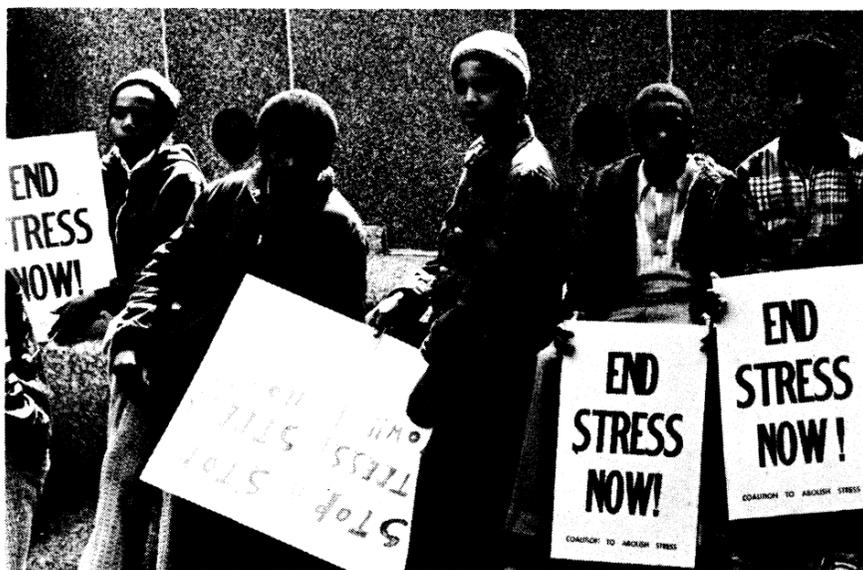
Black also detailed police surveillance of Judy Frutig, a reporter for the *Detroit Free Press* who exposed a case of police brutality and a later

Black Republican candidate for mayor, former judge Ed Bell, has pledged that the first thing he would do if elected was to abolish STRESS. Democratic State Senator Coleman Young, another candidate in the race, announced that "I would eliminate STRESS as one of my first moves" if elected.

The reactionaries and racists backing STRESS have called on police commissioner John Nichols to run. Nichols responded by announcing that he is in the running since "a certain unit of the police department will be highly involved (in the campaign)."

Further evidence of the opposition to STRESS in Detroit's Black community was seen at a Conference for Black Women called by councilwoman Erma Henderson in late April. More than 700 Black women, 99 percent of the audience, voted for the abolition of STRESS.

The adverse publicity generated by



Scene at April 28 demonstration against 'STRESS' police terror in Detroit

cover-up by high ranking police officials. The "ubiquitous but always anonymous 'they' began an extensive background investigation—not of the police officers who were accused of beating hell out of a prisoner and two of their 'brother' officers, of the non-investigation coverup of the incident—but of Judith Frutig!"

Another example of growing police sensitivity to the campaign against STRESS has been the harassment of CAS activists. The most recent incident of this type was the arrest on May 9 of Detroit Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Maceo Dixon. Dixon was arrested on a spurious charge of "deviating from a parade route" on a march that had occurred 11 days earlier and been surrounded by 40 policemen. Dixon has been a leading activist in CAS.

On May 10 Dixon pleaded not guilty to the charge against him, and requested a jury trial. He remains free on \$100 bond.

STRESS is looming as the biggest issue in the current Detroit mayoral race. Of all the announced candidates, only Maceo Dixon has been actively involved in the campaign to abolish STRESS. But opposition to it is so massive that even the conservative

the anti-STRESS campaign has forced the police department to curtail its normal "decoy" activity, which has led in the past to 18 killings, 17 of which were of Blacks.

Since its initiation, the anti-STRESS campaign has forced the investigation of two STRESS murders. On April 18 patrolman Raymond A. Peterson was bound over on a charge of second-degree murder in the killing of 24-year-old Robert Hoyt, a Cadillac employee shot by Peterson March 9.

The indictment of Peterson, who participated in nine of the infamous STRESS squad's 18 executions in the last two years, came only after CAS mounted a picket line in front of police headquarters demanding his arrest and the *Michigan Chronicle* followed with banner headlines questioning the police version of the killing.

It was proved in the initial inquiry that Peterson, who claimed Hoyt had attacked him with a knife, had actually planted his own knife on Hoyt after killing him. Hoyt was guilty of no crime and not charged with one.

A Wayne County citizens' grand jury is now investigating the killing

1,200 at rally to defend Denver Chicanos

By RAUL GONZALES

DENVER—The Denver Chicano Liberation Defense Committee has been formed to support three Chicano activists framed up in the wake of a vicious police attack here.

In the early morning hours of March 17, Denver police launched an assault on a dormitory owned by the Escuela Tlatelolco, a school run by the Crusade for Justice. The Crusade is a prominent Chicano civil- and human-rights organization in Denver.

Luis (Junior) Martínez, codirector of the Ballet Chicano de Atzlán, was shot and killed during the attack. Crusade leader Ernesto Vigil was shot in the back. Police beat and arrested dozens of other Chicanos.

Ten days later, Denver District Attorney Dale Tooley indicted four victims of the attack, charging them with assaulting the cops! The four indicted were Ernesto Vigil, Luis Ramirez, Mario Vásquez, and Charlie García.

Vásquez, charged with three counts of assault, faces up to 40 years in jail, if convicted. Vigil was charged with aggravated assault and Ramirez, with assault. The charges against García have since been dropped.

On April 28, a predominantly Chicano crowd of 1,200 turned out for a rally in support of the three defendants, sponsored by the Denver Chicano Liberation Defense Committee. The keynote speaker was Angela Davis.

Rudolfo (Corky) Gonzales, leader of the Crusade for Justice, gave a short talk in which he pointed to the importance of winning the broadest possible support for Vásquez, Vigil, and Ramirez.

Ernesto Vigil and Clyde Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement also spoke.

The rally ended on a high note with shouts of "Que Viva La Raza!" and "Chicano Power!"

Support for the Denver Chicano Liberation Defense Committee has come from Dennis Banks, American Indian Movement; Daniel and Philip Berrigan; CASA—Hermandad General de Trabajadores (General Brotherhood of Workers) in Los Angeles; Bert Corona, a CASA leader; Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party; Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Angela Davis; and Father James Groppi.

Corky Gonzales has recently returned from a Southern California speaking tour to gain support for Vásquez, Vigil, and Ramirez. The defense committee plans further speaking engagements of this type.

The committee urgently needs funds. Contributions and letters can be sent to Denver Chicano Liberation Defense Committee, P. O. Box 18347, Denver, Colo. 80218.

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